KIRKLAND

Its Native American Past and Present

The City of Kirkland rises unobtrusively from the east shore of Lake Washington. A little more than four miles north to south and two east to west, it is relatively small (~18mi^2), populous (c92,000) and wealthy (median income as of 2020, $122,000). Across from Seattle, Washington, it is a predominantly white city with about eighteen percent of residents of Asian ancestry, eight percent Hispanic or Latino, two percent identifying as Black or African American, and 0.2% reporting Native Hawaiian / Pacific Islander. Native Americans comprise only about 0.4% of the total--approximately 423 people. Of these perhaps a few descend from local native groups that occupied the area before white settlement. They probably did not number more than one or two hundred then, but while American settlers arrived on the lake's eastern shore in the 1860s--some seven generations ago--native people have lived here for about 12,000 years—600 generations. They have been here since the beginning, and their long presence can tell us much, especially now when we face environmental crises. To understand something of their story we need to know more about their world and how it came to be.

Land, Ice and Water

To say native people have lived here since the beginning is not meant as a rhetorical flourish. Archaeology shows that human beings lived in the region near the end of the Ice Age when the Puget Lobe of the Cordilleran ice sheet occupied the area between The Cascade and Olympic Mountains.

At its greatest extent, the lobe reached south of the City of Olympia. At that point the rate of flow from the north matched the rate of melting in the south, and, like a conveyor belt, what the ice picked up and carried during its passage: boulders, smaller rocks, cobbles, gravel, sand and silt, it dumped at a terminal moraine, part of which makes up the Wilkes Hills near the city of Toledo. As the climate warmed toward the end of the Ice Age and melting increased, the terminus retreated, leaving a broad lake behind the moraine until the water found its way into the Juan de Fuca trough, leaving exposed an astonishing and hitherto unsuspected terrain. Deeply carved channels separating enormous plateaus of earlier deposits filled with sea water formed the ancestral Puget Sound, much narrower and steep-sided-- beaches came later. The Duwamish, White and Green River Valleys and the Lake Washington basin were arms of the sea. Living people witnessed that.

Some had arrived from the north, travelling a gap between the Cordilleran and the even larger Laurentide Ice Sheets east of the Rockies more than 13,000 years ago. Others appear to have travelled south along the Pacific Coast in small boats. Memories of their experiences survive in native mythology.

They entered a cold, dry world. Mammoths, mastodons, reindeer, bison, and giant ground sloths grazed on tundra vegetation. When ice was still visible in the north, a group killed a mastodon near what is now the City of Sequim on Juan de Fuca Strait. 13,000 years later the killing ground belonged to Emmanuel Mannis, a farmer who uncovered a mastodon tusk in 1973 while digging a pond. Archaeological examination revealed a bone spearpoint lodged in one of the animal's ribs.

Kirkland's prehistory is older. During construction at the Rose Hill Elementary School, crews in 2007 uncovered another tusk. Radiocarbon dated as 19,250 years old, its owner died in a warmer world before the Puget Lobe headed south, reminding us that the most recent ice age was but one of four occurring during the last two million years. The tusk's interior structure permitted its identification it as that of another mastodon. No human tools were found because humans had not yet arrived.

Mastodons have large, knobby molars that mash vegetation foraged in wetlands. Mammoths, whose remains are more numerous in Washington, had molars like washboards that ground up tough grasses. Both lived in world of grassy plains dimpled with wetlands and wind-whipped groves of lodgepole pine.

Glacial Landforms

Kirkland's topography also resembles a washboard whose parallel ridges align west of north to southeast. Called **drumlins**, these mark the direction ice, about 3000 feet thick above Kirkland, flowed. These drumlins have steep northern prows, formed where ground irregularities slowed the ice, causing it to drop sediments that made ridges that slope gradually southward. As the ice melted, large boulders carried by the

ice were left scattered over the landscape as erratics. Drumlin aquifers watering intervening valleys created linear wetlands. Separated masses of ice eventually melted, leaving basins, kettle lakes, filled with ground water such as Forbes Lake, Lake Bellevue (Sturtevant), Larson Lake and Phantom Lake.

During the retreat, Lake Washington and Lake Sammamish formed a single lake, but water draining from higher to lower levels cut west across several drumlins to reach Lake Washington, leaving the river's southern part to meander across a flat portion of the lakebed. Juanita Creek also cut through drumlins to reach Juanita Bay, its headward erosion promising stream capture of the upper Sammamish.

Water World

Lakes Washington and Sammamish occupy two parallel troughs, a larger iteration of the drumlin / wetland pattern, and their drainage encloses a rolling, elongate plateau of forested hills and linear wetlands. As fish colonized the lakes, waterfowl visited the marshes and mammals grazed and predated, ancient people adapted to this water world and made it their home.

Early Inhabitants

As remarkable as Rose Hill's mastodon site are the ancient human camps at the Bear Creek and Marymoor Park sites excavated at Redmond, Kirkland's eastern urban neighbor. Excavations at Marymoor Park in the 1960s revealed human occupation levels 3000 and 6000 years old. 2015 construction near Redmond Town Center revealed tools at least 10,000 years old. Indeed, the type of projectile points found there resemble those from other regional sites that are 13,500 years old. These occupations revealed a

native settlement that lasted to the 1860s. The bounty of salmon caught at this site, called ***Tloq***, "crowded in," gave the settler community its first name: Salmonberg.[1]

Longhouses

About 5000 years ago climate change fostered the growth of coniferous forests in the Puget Sound region dominated by Douglas fir, *Pseudotsuga menziesii*, western hemlock, *Tsuga heterophylla* and, most importantly, the western red cedar, *Thuja plicata.* The wood of the red cedar, light, strong, easily worked and resistant to rot, gave native people what they needed to construct large wooden houses called ***ʔa'lʔal*** **(AHL ahl).**

Theses consisted of an internal frame of heavy upright slabs or posts holding rafters that bore roof planks lipped and placed so that they repelled rain in the manner of Spanish tiles. Houses were generally single-pitched sheds with roofs tilting away from the approaching direction of the rain. Roof planks were large, split from wide trunks and worked with adzes into smoother shapes. Set in place, knotholes were sealed with a large horse clam shells filled with sticky, blue glacial clay and fitted over the gap. Exterior walls were placed vertically--Duwamish style--and secured by withes to soffit poles. Houses generally had no windows and only one door, although sometimes an opening at the rear of the house served as an escape during a raid. The highest side fronted the house, and its planks would be removed during warmer months to air the interior and provide easy access.[2]

A line of hearths paralleled the long walls. Each hearth belonged to a separate family. A wide bench about three feet high lining the house interior served as a

sleeping platform, the space below used for storage. Suspended from poles hung above hearths hung racks of fish, mollusks and meats kept dry by heat and smoke. Roof planks pushed aside with a pole allowed smoke to escape.

Interior walls were lined and insulated with tule reed or cattail mats decorated with woven, colored designs. These also partitioned family units, along with stacked, bent-bent wood boxes, woven baskets of clothing, nets, tools and dried foods, with blankets, weapons, rolled mats, looms and weaving material piled thereon. Douglas fir bark fuel was stacked beside hearths, and nets were hung indoors or in net sheds.

Houses generally 60 to 120 feet long and 30 to 60 feet wide sheltered several closely related families numbering around 25 or 30 people. This was also the size of the earliest human hunter-gatherer group and shows up today in extended families, the military platoon and the standard classroom size.

The longhouse group was autonomous--organized to be self-sufficient--and within it, food and skills were shared. Each house needed a carpenter, canoe builder, weavers, tool makers, storytellers, teachers, medical specialists (mostly women skilled in plant medicines and massages), thaumaturgists, a speaker and, perhaps, a war leader. Men hunted, did heavy work and, if necessary, fought. Women took care of children, domestic needs and the skills of weaving, basket making, cooking and health care. Grandparents took care of children in-house and when parents were away. Parent siblings often taught the children. Personal hygiene included daily bathing (summer and winter), brushing one's teeth, applying oils, make-up and combing and braiding one's hair. Cleanliness and fitness were necessary, and hospitality was a given.[3]

House groups were generally exogamous: that is, members married outside the longhouse group to obtain skilled individuals and broaden the group's economic base. People married in or out based on group needs, although individual choice figured in the match. Families generally stayed indoors during inclement winter months, from November to late February, but the rest of the year travelled widely to collect and preserve foodstuffs, enough to last them through the winter.

Winter Villages

If the environment could sustain it, several house groups might build their houses close together, making a winter village for safety, convenience and sociability. On the northern end of Lake Washington, which includes the Kirkland area, many winter villages had only one longhouse, and the people on this part of the lake were said to have been poor, which meant their longhouse groups did not have surpluses to host ceremonies. But they appear to have worked together for this purpose.[4]

Food gathering for feasts required cooperation. Nobles aggressively maintained or improved their status by hosting large celebrations, most notably the ***sgwe'gwe*** **(SGWEY gwey)**, "Come! Come!" the Puget Sound version of the Potlatch. In these a host amassed property that was distributed to guests during an elaborate feast. These were held in very large houses, the largest in the Duwamish watershed measuring 360 feet by 60 feet in West Seattle. The largest on the Sound, measuring nearly 600 feet in length, was the ***Oleman***—Old Man House--across the Sound at Suquamish. One used

by several groups may have been located on the west shore of Lake Washington. Guests came largely from related families in other winter villages.[5]

Houses making up winter villages were rebuilt every few years to escape vermin infesting earthen floors. But the location of a village site was chosen for the availability of fresh water (river or lake water was not considered fresh enough), convenient access to resources, defensibility, and comfort. If houses moved, villages stayed put for decades, centuries, even millennia. The extraordinary longevity of the Redmond site makes it one of the oldest in North America, occupied even longer than Jericho in the Middle East, said to be the oldest continuously inhabited settlement in the world, but appearing a thousand years ***AFTER*** people were living at Bear Creek.

Similarly ancient remains may be found in Kirkland, but there is a good reason why they may not. Kirkland abuts Lake Washington whose level fluctuates annually. 12,500 years ago, the water of the ancestral Cedar River, a swift Cascade stream, entered the saltwater inlet at what is now the City of Renton. As its current slowed, it dropped its sediment load to form a delta. When this reached the western drumlin--Skyway Hill--it blocked the inlet, making a lake to the north. As the delta grew, the lake's level rose, and its outflow joined the Cedar, giving rise to the Black River that flowed west two miles until it reached White Rived at today's City of Tukwila. From their combined waters flowed the Duwamish River that emptied into Puget Sound at Elliott Bay.

Modern Changes

In 1910, the White River was directed into Tacoma's Commencement Bay to

control flooding, leaving the Green River, a White River tributary, to occupy its channel, giving rise to historical confusion. The construction of the Lake Washington Ship Canal in 1916 lowered the lake and eliminated the Black River. As a result, the Cedar River now flows into Lake Washington which drains into Puget Sound via the ship canal, its level determined by the spillway of the Hiram M. Chittenden locks dam at Salmon Bay.

But the lowering exposed an older shoreline with ancient habitation sites. Remains of a fishing weir surfaced in Union Bay near the University of Washington campus, and along the lake's southeastern quadrant, at the Mouth of May Creek, stone hearth circles surfaced. Unfortunately, no archaeological work was published about these sites, but the hearth circles predated native settlement on the present shore. Bathymetric maps also show a significant wave terrace about 40 feet below today's surface, indicating an even older shoreline. Thus, Kirkland's earliest settlements probably lie below Lake Washington's present surface.[6]

An unfortunate result of this is that shore-side native winter villages left high and dry in 1916 were obliterated by residential and commercial construction, destroying what archaeological information their excavation might have provided. Nevertheless, enough ethnographic information survives for us to locate villages and campsites on the pre-1916 shore. In this we are helped by native informants who, at the beginning of the 20th century, provided ethnographers with information about the rich and ancient world that had been taken from them. Two such were John Peabody Harrington (1886-1961) and Thomas Talbot Waterman (1885-1936).

Harrington / Waterman

Born in Massachusetts, Harrington's family moved to Santa Barbara, California. Graduating from local schools and Stanford University at the head of his class, he developed interest in California's disappearing native languages. A brilliant anthropologist and linguist, he made language studies his life work, eschewing the comforts of civilization for a rugged life living with remote native people to understand and record them. Teaching summer school at the University of Washington in 1910, he gathered information from local native informants and over a hundred place names in the Seattle area, including Lake Washington. One of his more remarkable compilations was a map showing the named native groups on the lake.

Thomas Talbot Waterman was born in Missouri, and his family moved to Fresno, California. Graduating from the University of California, field work in native languages captured his interest, and he did graduate work at Columbia University under Franz Boas, receiving his PhD in anthropology in 1913. As a museum assistant back in California from 1907-9, he aided Dr. Alfred Kroeber in his work with Ishi, one of the last survivors of the Yahi Indian genocide in northern California. As Assistant Professor at the University of Washington from 1918 to 1920, he collected ethnographic data from Puget Sound informants and collected more than 700 placenames.

Other anthropologists documenting the Lake people were Arthur Ballard (1876-1962), Marian Wesley Smith (1907-1961), and William W. Elmendorf (1912-1997). From these and others, we can learn about Kirkland's native past. But this could not have

been done without informants who generous patience made sure the information survived.

Native Language

The language the informants spoke was ***dx^{w} ləšuúcid*** **(Dkhw lush OO tseed),** today called Lushootseed, "All chopped up," a Hood Canal Twana term for the language of their Puget Sound neighbors. Both Twana and Lushootseed belong to the Puget Sound Salish group of Coast Salish languages, part of the larger family of Salish Languages. This was spoken by the ***Saleesh***, or Flathead people around Flathead Lake in western Montana and recorded in the early 1840s by Italian missionary, Fr. Gregorio Mengarini, S.J. As traders and philologists like Mangarini moved further west, they discovered languages similar to Saleesh and laid the groundwork for the linguistic description of the great Salish language family and others in western North America.

Popular misconceptions attended notice of this language from the beginning. The Flathead Indians were so named because their heads were NOT flattened. Groups farther west bound their infants' heads so that the line of the forehead matched that of the nose, giving the skull a pointed, wedge shape regarded as a mark of nobility and beauty. Since the Saleesh did not do this, western traders called them as Flatheads.

The same confusion attends use of the word Salish. Saleesh lived around Flathead Lake, the original 'Salish Sea." Unfortunately, the linguistic term 'Salish,' has been popularly associated with groups speaking Salish languages so that non-natives typically refer to them as Salish people even though they have their own names for

themselves. The Lushootseed word ***ʔa'ciɬtalbixʷ*** **(ah tseelh tah beekhw)** identifies Native Americans, particularly those created by the mythic Changer ***do'kʷebał*** **(DOH kweh bahlh)** in the Puget Sound region. Beyond this general name, specific groups had their own names for themselves. For example, ***dxwdəwʔahš*** **(dkhw duw ahbsh),** is the name of the Duwamish people; ***Xačua'bš*** **(khah chu AHBSH)**, Xachua'bsh, the "Lake people," on Lake Washington.[7]

Another effort to consciously ignore native terminology is the recent marketing ploy to call Puget Sound, the Strait of Juan de Fuca and the Georgia Strait the "Salish Sea". Part of the effort was a gimmick to sell native dogfood (chum salmon, *Oncorhynchus keta*, a.k.a, "Dog salmon," applied to fish that only dogs, not self-respecting people, would eat) to gullible restaurant goers as gourmet Copper River Salmon, taken from a pristine "Salish Sea". The misnamed bodies of water had their own native name, known collectively as ***Xwəj*** **(Hwulj)**, "Salt Water".[8]

Geographic Identities

Waterman and Smith provide a better understanding of how the Kirkland people fit into the larger social and cultural world of the Puget Sound region. They identified four groups in the Kirkland area. Historically the Lake people were associated most closely with The Duwamish living on their river, whose name was applied generally to other groups living in the same watershed. East of the Lake people lived the ***Stsapa'š*** **(S tsahp AHBSH),** "Black Cottonwood People," a reference the tall cottonwoods, *Populus trichocarpa*, ***s tsap*** **(s TSAHP)** that grew on the meandering levees of the

Sammamish River. The name has been Anglicized to Sammamish. They were the ones who lived at Tloq. In the Snoqualmie River valley east of the Sammamish lived the ***S.duk^{w}a'lbix^{w}*** **(Sdu KWAHL beekhw)**, the Snoqualmie. They intermarried with their neighbors including the Lake people with some residing at Mercer Slough south of Kirkland.[9]

Ethnic and Class Identity

Xachua'bsh and Sammamish are geographic identities identifying where people lived. By adapting over a long time to lake and river environments groups also developed unique ethnic identities. Waterman and Smith recorded the native names for these.[10]

Saltwater people

People living along Puget Sound and marine estuaries were ***Swalja'bš*** **(Swahl JAHBSH)**, "Saltwater people". They traveled in large, high-prowed, sea-going canoes called ***ao'tks*** **(ah OT ks).** Many were wealthy and lived in large longhouses. Waterman observed that about a third of native people on Puget Sound were identified as ***Si^{ə}a'b*** **(See AHB)**, "noble," based on family lineages possessing important ancestral names and who had connections with powerful supernatural spirits. They often had many wives and owned slaves as household servants. They set the tone for much of Puget Sound society and were an important source of social authority. The rest of society was made up of commoners, referred to dismissively by Sia'b as ***Qə'qəl*** **(Quh**

qul), "low, worthless people". Below them were slaves, ***Sto'dəq*** **(Stoh duk)**, that, among the Saltwater Suquamish people, numbered more than 16% of the population.[11]

Saltwater people married other Saltwater people on other estuaries so that their marital and kin connections spread in a radial pattern around Puget Sound. They hunted seal, small whales, and large fish with harpoons and fished with spears and nets. They hoisted huge aerial nets up tall poles to catch waterfowl and cultivated large gardens, some of 1000 acres in extant, raising plants like camas (an important source of carbohydrate), and stinging nettles whose fibers made strong lines and nets. Because the Suquamish had no large river in their homeland, they married into River families on the Duwamish and elsewhere to access the rivers' salmon runs.[12]

River People

People living on major rivers and their tributaries were ***Stolg^{w}a'bš*** **(stol GWAHBSH)**, River people, and their winter villages were located near tributary confluences. They generally traveled in shallow double-ended canoes called ***tɬ'ai*** **(TLH ai)** that could navigate log jams, rapids, and bars. Nobles headed longhouse groups possessing a remarkable technology enabling them to effectively manage abundant river fisheries. River people hunted and cultivated smaller gardens several acres in size. The Duwamish of the Cedar, Black and Duwamish Rivers and the Sammamish River were River people.[13]

River weirs resembled long fences supported by heavy log tripods connected by walkways. These extended across major parts of rivers and spanned tributaries. They

blocked salmon from migrating upstream enabling them to be caught from the tripods with dipnets. Gutted, cleaned, and split, fish dried on racks in the sun or over smokey fires. These tripod weirs could catch every fish, but because, knowing the spawning habits of anadromous fish, this would have made no sense, protocols were established among River winter villages to insure equitable catches for those upstream and survival of the fish. Weir screens were lifted at intervals to permit fish passage, and the distance between screen stakes were calibrated to catch only fish of a certain size. These were the outcome of agreements maintained over time through intermarriage that gave rise to close-knit linear kinship systems among River people epitomized by the phrase "every river has its people". The runs were managed successfully over centuries, and when settlers arrived, rivers appeared packed with fish during spawning season, a phenomenon lasting barely two generations more until the newcomers' thoughtless greed destroyed them.[14]

Lake People

The ethnic term for people living on lakes was also **Xachua'bsh**, which included the groups on Lakes Union, Washington and Sammamish. These plus tiny Ross Creek connecting Salmon Bay to Lake Union and the Sammamish River made up a concatenated water route unique in the Puget Sound region. Only a narrow divide near the University of Washington separated Lake Union from Lake Washington, and Lake Union's eastern arm, Portage Bay, identified a short trail over which canoes were portaged to and from Lake Washington's Union Bay.

The lakes were named in order of size. Lake Washington, ***Xa'ču***, **(HAH chu}**, was "The big Lake". Lake Sammamish, ***Xa'txaču*** **(HAHT hah chu)**, was "second" or "Lesser lake," its diminutive status indicated by the repeated first syllables. Lake Union, ***Xa'ʔaču*** **(HAH chu)**, "Littlest Lake,"spoken with a full glottal stop between the first and second syllable, identified the smallest.[15]

Entering from Puget Sound, travelers passing up Salmon Bay and Ross Creek to Lake Union could portage to Lake Washington, travel up Sammamish River and Lake to Issaquah creek and transfer on foot to trails crossing the Cascades through several passes. All groups along this route, even the Saltwater Salmon Bay people and the River Sammamish were referred to Lake People because they lived along this unique passage. There were at least 14 winter villages around Lake Washington, two of which were within the present boundaries of Kirkland. Lake people used lissome, sharp-nosed trolling and hunting canoes called ***sdə'xwil*** **(SDUH khweel)** to penetrate marshes, collect plants and catch ducks. A smaller, lighter version of this that could be carried by a single person was the ***di'twil*** **(DEE tweel)**, the diminutive of sdə'xwil. ***Spe'qʷots*** **(SPEY qwots)**, 'wapato,' *Sagittaria latifolia,* resembling water chestnuts, cultivated in marsh gardens, would have been collected using these canoes.[16]

The marshes attracted vast numbers of waterfowl during vernal and autumnal migrations. Because aerial nets were impractical on lakes, hunters set fires on earthen beds in the bows of shovelnose or hunting canoes. A screen between fire and hunter prevented night blindness, and when curious birds approached the light, they were

caught by an underhand toss of a multi-pronged spear that snagged in the bird's feathers and was pulled back by an attached line. Fires shimmering on night-time lakes had to have been magical.[17]

Lake people built single weirs on tributaries where, with exception of those on Ross Creek and the Sammamish River, affected no upstream group. As a result, intermarriage between Lake winter villages followed a radial pattern around the lakes like that of Saltwater people.

Lake resources included landlocked Sockeye Salmon *Oncorhynchus nerak* (the popular name derived from the Lushootseed ***Scəqi*** **(s tsuh qee)**, also called ***Kokanee***, its name in the Interior Salish Okanogan language. These preserved well and were considered a delicacy throughout the region. Huge runs of smelt came up the Duwamish, Black Rivers and Cedar River and into the lake in winter. When those who had as a guardian power the "Father of Smelt," heard its spirit song, they performed ceremonies to "call" it up-river where people caught it with dipnets on the river bank at night by torch light.[18]

Inland People

The people on the upper White, Green, and Snoqualmie Rivers and possibly those on Issaquah Creek were ***Ła'lebiux*** **(HLAHL eh byookh)**, "Inland People who lived higher up on steams heading in the Cascades. Their longhouses were often double walled--the space between packed with moss to provide insulation during cold weather. Cultivating prairie gardens and hunting as much as they fished, they were

among the first to use horses introduced from the Columbia Basin in the 1740s, and they intermarried with interior groups. Americans called them "Horse Indians," in contrast to "Canoe Indians" lower down, and their resistance to American efforts to seize pastureland helped ignite the Yakima Indian war of 1855-'58.[19]

The above will inform our examination of documents detailing where and how native people lived in the Kirkland area. Most important are Harrington's map, his and Waterman's place names, and documents submitted as evidence in ***Duwamish et. al., vs. U. S. A, tribes of Indians***, brought before the U. S. Court of Claims in 1926. These are combined in a list of placenames and villages names located on a map that are included with this report. General group names end with the suffix ***abš***, **AHBSH**, "People of," as in **Duwʔabš,** "Duw [river] people," or Xachua'bsh, "Lake people".

Harrington's Map

Harrington's map shows a cluster of names in the lake's northeast quadrant, south of the Sammamish River mouth. The eleventh placename on the combined list, ***Tabtabi'ukh*** **(Tahb tahb EE ukh),** "Loamy soils," **11**, described shallows and wetlands at the mouth of Juanita Creek where Lake People cultivated wapato. It appears in the names

Tabtabe'ụ̈, the name of Juanita Creek, and ***Tabtabe'ụ̈abʃ*** **(Tahb tah BEE yookh ahbsh),** the name of the **Tabtabi'ukh** people.[20]

Village List Y-2

Exhibit Y-2, offered as evidence in ***Duwamish et. al. versus U. S. A.,*** "Villages of the Duwamish at Lak [sic] Washington," identifies 14 winter villages on the lake, numbering the longhouses in each and giving their sizes in fathoms, six feet, that is, a stretch of the arms. Duwamish witnesses who testified in Renton on March 28, and May 7, 9, 1927 were Sam Tecumseh, age c72, Alex Kittle, 60, Jennie Joe, c80, Major Hamilton, 71, Charles Wilbur, Jennie Davis, 60, Peter James, 58, Fred Kelly, 48. Those who drew up List Y-2 were Sam Tecumseh, Major Hamilton, Jennie Davis and Peter James who wrote out the list from information he knew and was given by the others.[21]

Two winter village groups bracketed the villages in the Kirkland area. To the north, the village of ***ƛahwa'dis*** **(Tlah WAH dees**, "Something growing or sprouting (describing Sammamish River widening approach to the lake)," **2**, does not appear in List Y-2, indicating that it was not a Lake village. To the south, Harrington writes that the people of the winter village of ***Sa'tsakaL*** **(SAH tsah kahlh)**, also ***Sa'cakał*** **(SAH tsah kahl)**, hereafter **Sa'tsakalh**, **31**, identified in List Y-2 as ***Saza-kalugh***, "3 medium [houses] 9 X 16 fathoms,"on Mercer Slough were Snoqualmie. This will be treated below.[22]

On his map Harrington lists other named Lake groups. Beginning with the Tab tabi'ukh people, and moving clockwise, the next were the ***Sa'cakałabš*** **(SAH tsah kah lhahbsh)**, of Meydenbauer Bay, Mercer Slough and Coal Creek, The ***Šuba'ltuabš***

(**Shub AHL tu ahbsh**), of May Creek, the ***Skate'lbšabš*** (**Skah TELB shahbsh**), of the southern lake and lake outlet, the ***Tławetłabš*** (**Tlhah weh tlhahbsh**), of Lake Union and central western Lake Washington shore, the ***Słu'wilabš*** (**SLHU weel ahbsh**), of Union Bay and the lake portage, the ***Tuobedabš*** (**Tu oh beh dahbsh**), of the Thornton Creek drainage. Not on his map but two other longhouse sites were at the mouths of McAleer and Lyon Creeks. All the above were Lake People.[23]

How can we best characterize the relationships between these groups? The Suquamish, Tulalip, Muckleshoot and Snoqualmie, all recognize tribes, claimed their people lived on the lakes and they are right. However, the tribes named Suquamish, Tulalip, Muckleshoot and Snoqualmie are not the same as the Duwamish or the Lake People. The homeland of the Suquamish is on the west side of Puget Sound; that of the Tulalip Tribes is on southern Whidbey Island and the Snohomish River. The Muckleshoot homeland encompassed the White, Green and Stuck Rivers; the Snoqualmie, the Snoqualmie River.

The Duwamish people lived on the Duwamish, Black and Cedar Rivers, and the Lake People lived on the lakes. The Lake people were more closely associated with the Duwamish than with any other group because the lake outlet joined the Cedar River at the site of the most important Duwamish winter village. All the above groups intermarried: all had kin living in other groups' homelands. After the treaties, the Duwamish and Lake people were required by the Treaty of Point Elliott to move to reservations where many descendants live today. Not all did: many Duwamish and

Lake people stayed in their homelands. The Duwamish never received a reservation and those remaining in their homeland seek recognition from the federal government. Modern native politics clouds present understanding, but probably the best way of thinking of earlier relationships is to think geographically in terms of nested hierarchies.

Nested Hierarchies

The complex Duwamish watershed was home to many groups. For the sake of bureaucratic efficiency, American officials placed them all under the authority of Chief Seattle. However, in 1857, amidst the Yakima Indian War of 1855 to 58, the people of the Green, upper White and Stuck Rivers who Americans identified as Horse Indians received their own reservation. It became known as the Muckleshoot Reservation and the people residing on it, the Muckleshoot. Absent the Muckleshoot, American officials viewed the remaining Duwamish in terms of separate bands: the Duwamish of the Duwamish, Black and Cedar Rivers--River people, the Lake People, the Sammamish and the lower White River People. These were subsequently divided into still smaller groups. For example, the Lake people were made up of the Salmon Bay people (Saltwater), the Lake Union, Lake Washington and Lake Sammamish people (Lake) and the Sammamish River people (River). The Issaquah Creek people may have been Inland people. Harrington further subdivided the Xacua'bsh on Lake Washington into the named groups on his map. We could subdivide these further into longhouse groups, family lineages, and biological families. All represent a hierarchy of more-or-less autonomous groups living in a single watershed. If asked who they were, individuals

could respond with many answers; all correct, exclusive, and mutually referential. Depending on the question asked, we respond similarly today.

Tub-Tub-loon

The order in which winter village names are listed in Y-2 identifies **Tub-Tub-loon** as Tabtabi'ukh, located by Harrington at Juanita Bay. In Waterman's 1920 manuscript, ***Puget Sound Geography,*** the section titled "Indian Names for Places About Seattle, Map A" that includes his list of Lake Washington placenames, he lists Tə'btubiu as the name of Juanita Creek, but mentions only three villages on the lake, none of which are at Juanita Creek. **Tub-Tub-loon** had "1 [house] medium [sized] 8 X15 fathoms" or 48 by 90 feet. That medium and large longhouses were given the same measurements suggests that their dimensions represented averages.[24]

In an interview with Snoqualmie elder ***Sulz-ached*** **(sulz ah ched)**, a.k.a. Ed Davis, in 1980, he said that the Sammamish were dominant among the people at Tabtabi'ukh just as the Snoqualmie were among the people at Sa'tsakalhabsh.[25]

Kirkland Village/Encampment

Longhouses stood near what is now the Kirkland waterfront. Information about this comes not from Harrington or Waterman but Village List Y-2, that identified an unnamed village at Kirkland having "3 [houses]medium 8 X 16 fathoms". Harrington collected his Lake Washington place names beginning in 1910. Waterman collected his in 1918-1920. None of their informants mentioned a village at Kirkland, but Duwamish witnesses testified under oath to its existence in 1927. What could this mean?

It is unlikely that Harrington or Waterman's informants would not have known about a traditional winter village at this site. What court witnesses likely described was not a traditional village but a historic community that appeared after white families began locating homes and farms in the Houghton area in the 1860s. At virtually every other place where early settlers gathered, native people quickly relocated houses there to trade food, supplies and labor. This happened at Olympia in 1850, at Alki Point near Seattle in 1851, where pioneer Arthur Denny wrote that as many as 1000 native people gathered beside settler cabins to trade and seek protection. It also happened at Renton in the 1850s and later at "**Fleaburg**," when the Yesler cable car line reached the Lake shore, and Americans began congregating there. This also appears to have happened at Kirkland where Lake people greeted incoming settlers in peace and offered them food.[26]

The court witnesses did not provide a native name for this community because it was not a traditional village like the ones they named. Nonetheless, three houses made it one of the larger native communities on the lake if people from nearby traditional villages relocated to it to vie for trade.[27]

Waterman identified the Kirkland site as ***Sta' LaL*** **(STAH hlahlh), 15.** The root ***taɬ*** **(tahlh)**, "spread of the arms," is a unit of measurement--a fathom. Harington identified the site as ***Kaletsi'i*** **(kah leh** tsee ee), **16**. The latter is a variant of ***Kɬetsai*** **(Khleh tsai),** licorice fern, *Polypodium glycyrrhizia.* The ethnographers also identified a seep north of the site: Waterman, ***Tse'hob*** **(TSEH hob)**, "dripping," **14,** and

Harrington, ***Tsehub*** **(Tseh hub)**, "drops down, just one or two drops of water," a possible communal water source. Waterman's informant also recalled a beach north of Kirkland, ***Wicqo'b-alt^{u}*** **(Wish QOB ahl tu), 13**. The suffix ***alt^{xu}*** means "house," but the word can also refer to the "house" of a resource, **Wish QOB (?)**, collected there. But a beach would have been a good place to drag canoes ashore.[28]

A medium sized longhouse may have had four to eight hearths and as many families. Some may have belonged to older kin, but families commonly had as many as four children, so a house that size may have sheltered 20 to 25 people. That would seem a rather tight fit for a medium house, but native people were hygienic, and much of life was spent outdoors, even in winter.

Daily Schedule

At dawn, a tutor rap walls with a switch to rouse children to go out and bathe. Meals were served in the morning and late afternoon, generally steamed (prepared in earth ovens) or as stews cooked in watertight baskets heated with hot stones dropped in with wooden prongs and stirred to prevent scorching. Each meal had several courses. Each family member used fingers to eat or a carved spoon of mountain sheep horn or wood to dip in the stew and supp from the tip. Hands were washed in baskets or boxes of water. To relieve oneself, one left the house for a selected area where drainage would not contaminate the seep or stream (not a river or lake) that supplied fresh water. Water was stored inside in hardwood boxes, daily renewed. With darkness there would be conversation around hearth fires until people retired.[29]

Sleeping platforms were covered with durable mats sewn together from the round fruiting stems of cattails, *Typha latifolia*. Piled atop one another they made comfortable, springy mattresses, and individuals slept under woven wool or cotton blankets (the cotton being fireweed, cat tail or cottonwood down), or under luxurious feather blankets made of yarn covered with coiled strips of down-coved bird skin. Hearths were the center of household life. Virtually all house-members were related, and children visited among relatives freely.

The Seasonal Round of Activity

Throughout the Puget Sound region, the year began with the first signs of spring brought on by warming temperatures: the singing of frogs and the gathering of fern fronds greens that complemented last season's dried or cured foods. Time was marked by moons and tides. Lake people followed a lunar calendar, and the period of one lunation, when the moon passed through all phases from full to full or new to new, counted as one moon.[30]

The February lunation, ***waq'waq'u*s, wahq wahq us,** "Frog's face," referenced the lunar image of Grandmother Frog, sister to the mythic figure of Mink, a lascivious, bumbling but effective hero who renewed the world by inciting its fertility. During this festive season, people adorned with rouge and red dress exchanged greetings: "Mink is coming ashore!" and sang songs about him and his amours. Pioneer writer Catherine Leighton wrote, "The frogs have begun to sing in the marsh and the Indians in their camps. How well their voices chime together!"

In the winter we were told that, when the spring came fully on, the Indians would have their

> "Red Tamahnous," which means "love." ...I looked out and saw that no Indian had on anything but red.... I like the Indians painting themselves, for in them it is quite a different thing from what it is among fashionable ladies. They do it to show how they feel, not commonly expressing their emotions in words.[31]

For rouge, Lake people collected reddish pigment at ***Leqa'bt*** **(leq AHBT)**, "colored," from seeps near a promontory at Juanita Bay **12**, now Nelson Point. This was ferric oxide that, baked in fires, turned dark red and was mixed with tallow or oil for application. Black paint made from charcoal or, in the case of baskets, imbricating in black plant fibers like those from horsetail roots. White was produced from kaolin clay and blue, green or yellow vegetable dyes were used to color basket fibers, wool or plant fibers, or mixed with a fixative like fish egg oil, to paint dramatic figures on house posts, planks, canoes, assorted implements and ceremonial items.[32]

Food Gathering Strategies

As spring progressed family members departed for stays at traditional collecting sites. Named sites were where camps were set up for extended periods. Families worked the sites, building or maintaining blinds from which to hunt game. Temporary mat lodges were set up, along with earth ovens and racks to dry root crops and berries. Digging sticks were used to cultivate, weed, and propagate useful plants. After harvest, unwanted vegetation was burned.

During the fishing season, great skill and labor were required to erect and operate fishing weirs on rivers and creeks. Foods dried and cured were regularly brought back to the longhouse for storage, and it was said that if one knew the family, one knew where they would be at any time of year.[33]

Every few years fires were set in forests to eliminate deadwood and space trees to allow sunlight to nourish the herbaceous flora grazing animals required. This was a widespread process, and foresters estimate that 60% of the forest cover between the Olympic and Cascade Mountains were regularly burnt. Around Lake Washington this appears to have been done ever 3-5 years.[34]

The spectacular yellow spathes of skunk cabbage, *Simplocarpus foetidus,* whose leaves grew as much as five feet long, lit up the wetlands. This heat producing plant is able to thaw ice and push up through frozen soil. Famished elk crashed through swamps feeding on it, and hunters kept watch.

The names of several moons described springtime weather changes. The moon of ***Po'poʔi'gʷad*** **(PO EE gwahd)**, "everything tips over," was when March came in like a lion, the reduplicated syllable, "Po," imitating puffs of wind. ***Skʔa'gʷalab*** **(Sk AH gwah lahb)**, "the wind dies down," was when March went out as a lamb. ***Skʔa'gwalab*** **(Sk AHG wah lahb)** was the moon when ducks flew north and, "out on the bay, on beds of kelp, porpoise gives birth to her young." ***Sxdze'zdehi*** **(Skhd ZEH sdeh hee)**, "pregnant, plant life in leaf and bud;" ***uɬɛ'p*** **(oo HELP}**, "branches are ready to bud;" ***wᵃxwəxe't*** **(Wakh wuh HKHET)**, "plants in flower, leaves budding out," described spring's transition into summer

A series of moons identified times when plants ripened and were gathered. The Moon of yellow salmonberries, *Rubus spectabilis,* in June, was followed successively by moons of red elderberries, *Sambucus racemona*, creeping blackberries, *Rubus ursinus*, and

salal berries, *Gaultheria shallon*. Among saltwater people, where the connection between the moon and the tides was understood, moons became tides, as in the Tide of yellow salmonberries.[35]

Longhouse families loaded necessary gear into canoes for camp sites where they reassembled shelters and structures to prepare resources. This was an exciting time, especially for children, escaping a cramped longhouse to live large in rustic comfort, initially a short distance away then farther afield following natural signals. When dogwood bloomed it was time to dig clams; when a bee buzzed about a woman's face, it was time for her to weave baskets. The lake and streams sheltered mollusks and crustaceans (we know virtually nothing about native use of this significant resource), but greater returns came from saltwater beaches where families visited Saltwater kin and set up camps occupied for days at a time.[36]

Bird Hunting

The arrival of birds migrating north signaled a major food gathering event. On Lake Washington waterfowl arrived in their millions: great rivers of avian life stopping to feed or breed in greening marshes. Families set up camps from which canoes deployed for the hunt and where large birds were laboriously cleaned, plucked, roasted or dried for storage. One practice involved tipping arrows with flat, wooden plugs that knocked brilliantly colored birds out of brush and trees so their skins could be dried, cut in spirals with down attached and wrapped around yarn to weave into feather blankets. Only a few examples of these extraordinary creations survive.[37]

Fishing

From November to May, Lake fishers netted winter-run Steelhead Salmon, *Oncorhynchus mykiss*, migrating upstream to spawn. In April and May, several varieties of spawning freshwater fish: longfin smelt, *Spirinchus theleichthys*, pea mouth chub, *Mylocheilus caurinus*, and bridgelip suckers, *Catostnomus columbianus*. Smelt and pea mouth were herded into pens made of wooden stakes along the shore and caught with dip nets. Herding was done by people thrashing the water with fir boughs driving fish into tube-shaped basket weirs placed midstream in tributaries with logs laid to help funnel them in. Suckers, called ***tłai*, tlhai,** small, bony fishes with a stripe on their sides, schooled in large numbers at the mouth of Meydenbauer Creek, at ***dułaisi* (du hlai see)**, "where there are tłai". **26.** Another popular fishing site was Peterson's Point, **4,** near the Sammamish River

mouth. less than a mile east of **5**, where fish were "scanty," probably from sand and silt constantly sliding from the bluff at **6**.[38]

Lake Sockeye

In June sockeye salmon, *O. nerka*, ***Scəqiˀ* (Stsuh qee)**, came into the lakes, and resident kokanee spawned in tributaries, the run peaking in earl August. Males turned bright red during spawning season, giving them the name "red salmon," and "red fish". So valued was this tasty resident that Suquamish from across the Sound, Snohomish from up north and other groups followed the fish upriver into the lakes. [39]

The remains of the weir found at Union Bay was likely erected to catch them heading up Ravenna Creek to Green Lake. Those spawning on beaches and in streambeds could be skewered with 'Y' shaped spears fitted with inward sloping barbs or snared with gill nets and seines. Notched or holed cobblestone sinkers kept nets vertical, and small cedar buoys kept them afloat. The placename ***Tlutsa'lus*** **(Tlhoot SAHL us),** "tying a mesh", **26**, at the mouth of Mercer Slough or between Mercer Island's Barnable Point and the mainland suggests that nets tied together were used.[40]

Welcoming Ceremonies

Little is known about the cultural life of the Lake people who disappeared as an identifiable group in the 1870s before those interested enough could describe them in detail. Waterman and Ballard collected place names; Arthur Ballard noted them in the 1920s, recorded some of their myths and local historians have written mention of them. Living descendants may still preserve memories of their ways, but a century and a half has passed since their demise. We can assume that they celebrated events and rites like those of their Saltwater, River and Inland kin.

They would have offered ritual thanks for the first appearance of foods. Locally, arriving salmon prompted an important ceremony when the first fish was welcomed to the village, captured and cooked. Every resident ate a piece in a sacramental meal, and afterwards, the remains were carefully collected and returned to the water in thanks to their ancestors for promising humanity their of robes of flesh if they were treated respectfully. Migrating fish faced difficult challenges making their way from ocean to

spawning beds. In a seismically active area, volcanism and avalanches could wipe out runs for years, and predators and disease took their toll. Because their arrival was never a sure thing, people anxiously awaited it. Respect for the fish meant holding off fishing until the run grew in strength, and to take only what one needed. Today, the environment ravaged and fouled, many fish no longer return.

Duck Potatoes

Similar attitudes likely attended the harvest of ***spay q^{w}ots***, Wapato, also called "duck potatoes," the greatest source of carbohydrate on the Lake, as important to the native diet as fish. There are several types of this plant, but those with arrow-shaped leaves were most valued. Lake shallows were ideal for growth, and some of the most prolific gardens were cultivated on the loamy shores of Juanita Bay. In summer its thick stems and nutritious, un-scrolling leaves were gathered and boiled. When boiled, its delicate flowers were sweet with a hint of mint. Its starchy seeds, new roots or rhizomes could be boiled, roasted, or dried and ground into bread flour. In late fall the plant's scaley corms, sometimes called duck potatoes, were harvested by women wading three to four feet of water into patches and wiggling their toes among the roots to free them from the mud. At the surface they were scooped up and loaded in canoes. Fall was also the time people gathered ripening cranberries in bogs such as Forbes Lake. In canoes or wading they used toothed scoops made of wood or mountain sheep horn to comb for berries. This also had the effect of culling top growth, improved the harvest.[41]

This was hard work especially in cold weather and women would defrost themselves around fires. Wapato patches were regularly weeded by hand and with digging sticks to remove unwanted plants like tules and cattails. As at berry harvests, offerings were made prior to gathering, and great care was taken not to take more than needed.[42]

The quality of sockeye and wapato and their plentitude made the lakes magnets for gatherers. Although only one longhouse stood at Juanita Creek, neighboring, even distant kin came every year to camp and participate in the harvest. Because these foods preserved well, they were dried and traded. Fish and wapato were also harvested south of Kirkland at the heads of bays in a place called ***Sƛi^{u}ƛi'uks*** **(slhee oo LHI ooks)**, "Three Points".

Three Points

Three long promontories (drumlins) are, from east to west, Yarrow Point, Hunts Point and Evergreen Point. The narrow bays between are Yarrow Bay, Cozy Cove (ne Anderson Bay) and Fairweather Bay. In Lushootseed, the points are, respectively, ***Stakhtos*** **(Stahkh tos)**, **23**, ***Tšahg^{w}os*** **(Tshah gwos)**, **24**, and ***Tsaqos*** **(Tsahq os)**, 26, the suffix ***os*** meaning "face". The intriguing interface of water and land made this a rich environment endowed with beautiful colors, qualities of light, and splendid views.

Several streams debouched into the marsh at the head of Yarrow Bay, the main

being ***Tc!utsid*** **(TSHOO tseed), 18,** "Mouth of Tc!u," belonging to ***Tcu*** **(Tshu), 19,** Northup Creek. Angling more than a mile inland, the stream drained a marsh, ***Txwa'bats*** **(TKHWAH bahts), 20,** "Pulling something towards one". This described the practice of putting the sharp nose of a hunting canoe into a marsh, grabbing hold of vegetation on both sides and pulling the craft forward. Repeating this, one could go where one wanted. Women gatherers were masters of the technique, following pathways invisible to the unfamiliar.[43]

Meydenbauer Bay

A creek marsh at the head of Cozy Cove was ***Tca'bqwəsəbəts*** **(TSAH qwus suh buts), 22,** and another at the end of Fairweather Cove was ***Də'qtus*** **(DUK tus).** Here a trail passed between drumlins to Groat Point and reached Meydenbauer Bay at ***Ctcə'gʷus*** **(SHTSHUH gwus),** "place where a trail comes down to the water," **31**. At the bay's eastern end, the stream, ***Tłhai'si*** **(Tlh HAI see), 28,** saw large runs of this fish during its migrations. The wetlands around the bay were home to muskrat, ***Qʔə'łqʔəł*** **(QUHLH quhlh),** mink, ***bə'ščəb*** **(BUHSH chub),** river otter, ***Sqʔa'λʔ*** **(Sq AH tl),**and beaver, ***Stəqa'xʷ*** **(stuh QAKHW).** Muskrats made their homes on wetland banks, and like native people, gathered wapato corms and stored them in their burrows or brush lodges. During the winter harvest, people often plundered their stores.[44]

Winter Village Boundaries

The trail passed from one homeland, that of the Tabtabi'ukh people of Juanita Bay, Kirkland and Three Points, to that of the ***Sa'tsakahlhabsh*** **(SAH tsah kah lhahbsh)**, the people of Sa'tsakalh, "water at the head of the bay" [long, narrow Mercer slough], Meydenbauer Bay and Coal Creek. Village List Y-2 describes ***Saza-kalugh***, as having "3 [houses] medium 8 X 26 fathoms". These winter village groups intermarried. Harrinton notes that the people of the village were Snoqualmie. I interpret this as meaning that residents of Sa'tsah kalh, who had been born in the Snoqualmie River basin and married into the Lake People had the right to hunt and fish with their house groups and perhaps invite their Snoqualmie kin to take part. It was one of the few winter villages on the lake that had a myth associated with it, which will be treated below.[45]

Come! Come!

Summer drought, that stretch of dry weather lasting generally from mid-June to mid-August was marked by food gathering with frequent trips with supplies from camps to longhouses where they were stored, and also socializing with kin at festivities. In high summer, families, particularly noble families, held ***Sg^{w}e'g^{w}e*** ***SGWEY gwey)**, "Come! Come!", the Puget Sound version of the Potlatches held further north. To prepare for these, a host, male or female, would spend a year or more gathering foodstuffs and gifts needed to host a large gathering that lasted many days. These could be carried out to celebrate a birth, an adolescent's assumption of an

ancestral name, a marriage, a victory in war or some other significant accomplishment in the host's life. As an expression of religion, it celebrated the favorable bonds between the host and supernatural guardian powers. Socially and economically, it was a display of wealth vividly demonstrated by the host's ability to distribute gifts to all his guests according to their rank.[46]

This was not a 'Kumbaya' moment but power-politics, a serious declaration of status with the potential for considerable discord if not done well. It was often accompanied by athletic contests, gambling matches, horse races and initiations into secret societies to maintain good feeling. If successful it was a road to leadership and a means to redistribute wealth in communities where its acquisition was associated with high status. It was also a smart investment since hosts could assume guests would try to best them with gifts at their own events. The institution had evolved as a successful social response to irregularly appearing resources.

Autumnal Migrations

Hunters stalked elk, ***Kwa'gwičəd*** **(KWAH gwee chud)**, deer, ***Sqwi'gwəč*** **(SQWEE gwuch)**, and bear, ***Sčətxʷəd*** **(SCHWUT khwud)** for meat and hides, and river otter, ***Sq'aƛ*** **(Ska ahtl)**, fox, ***SXuʔx*** **(SKHU KH)**, raccoon, ***Xwa'ɂalus*** **(KHWAH ah lus)**, martin, ***Spʔikʔ*** **(SPEEK)**, marmot, ***Swa'xʷəs*** **(SWAH khwus)**, weasel, ***Ləč'əb*** **(LUH chub)**and mountain beaver, ***Cawʔɬ*** **(Cahw lh)**, for their luxurious pelts.[47]

Migrating fish entered the lake and streamed to their home waters. They were speared in open water, caught with lure and line, netted nearshore and caught in lake

shore pens, in fence weirs on tributaries or basket weirs on smaller creeks. Bigger tripod weirs were erected at the lake outlet and on the Sammamish River, and possibly on larger tributaries like Thorton, Mercer. Coal and May Creeks.

Just as winter-run steelhead gasped out its life on river bars, the summer run appeared and lasted until October. In June sea-run Cutthroat trout, *O. clarkii,* arrived, the run peaking in August. They were followed every other year by pink or humpbacked salmon, *O. gorbuscha,* ***Ha'do*** **(HAH doh)**, at **Padha'do (Pahd HAH doh)**, "time of humpbacked salmon". Salmon that came back early from the open ocean were smaller: ***yo'qu*****, YOH qu,** "Jack salmon". But if they arrived en masse, this was celebrated as ***Padiyo'qu*****, Pahd ee YO qu** ,"Moon of jack salmon". Late-summer, ***Padtulo's*** **(Pahd tu LOS,)**, "...when salmon begin to run"--lasted into early fall when the great runs of chum salmon arrived: *O. keta,* ***Padtˀɬwa'yˀ*** **(pahdt LHWAY)**, coho or silver salmon, *O. kisutch,* ***Padqʷaˀχʷits*** **(Pahd QWAU xweets)**, and finally, the big Chinooks, *O. tshawytscha,* ***Yᵘbač*** **(Yu bahch)**, through October. Weirs were scenes of vital activity: thrashing fish netted out of rushing rivers by torchlight. Imagine seeing this through the eyes of a child. The pungent smoke of drying fires joined that of burns set in forests that so filled the air later settlers said it was often impossible to navigate the sound without a compass. The burns kept the forests healthy, ridding it of insect infestations in blowdowns and deadwood. The open burns were part of a rich, open matrix supporting large herds of grazers.[48]

In September vast flocks of swans, geese, ducks, and other waterfowl fed in lake marshes on their return trip to warmer climes. Once again, the lakes glimmered with moving fires at night. As ice crystals forming in the upper atmosphere gave aching autumn skies their brilliance, hunters stalked mountain goat, ***Sxwi'ƛəy'*** **(SKHWEE tluy)**, at high elevations. But by late August, snows fell on high peaks and rainstorms were on the way. Their arrival marked ***Sxci'ʾtsɛlwa's*** **(SKHSHSEE tsel WAS), time** to "put your paddles away," when families returned to their well-stocked homes, bringing their guardian powers with them.

Guardian Powers

When children grew into adolescence, they were expected to find a guardian power. Of these there were two categories: ***skla'litut*** **(SKLAH lee toot)**,or ***Xuda'b*** **(Kku DAHB)**. The first is associated with prestige and personal skills, the latter with aggressive and sometimes deadly powers. Girls' powers were associated with menarchy and birth experienced in sequestered circumstances. Boys were expected to go to distant, isolated places, fast, clean oneself and dive into deep water where many powers were believed to live. If a supplicant was deemed acceptable, the power granted a special gift and a song. Gifts could be skills. Although the power to bring forth life was the supreme and dangerous female power (child and birth mortality were high), girls would also seek skills in weaving, basketmaking, cooking, healing, singing, story-telling and leadership. Boys' skills involved fishing, hunting, carpentry, speaking, diplomacy and fighting. Both sought powers that promised wealth. A vivid example

of a khuda'b power was revealed when an attacking fleet of war canoes off Vancouver Island, led by the Suquamish war leader Kitsap, surprised a flotilla of Cowichan raiders and he began chanting his warrior song as he slit the throat of a captive. Skla'letut songs, on the other hand, were sung during when people returned to the longhouses.[49]

Winter Dances

People had spent exhilarating months travelling, collecting, and visiting with relatives, and their guardian powers, who had been wandering the periphery of the world, returned with them. When they returned to the longhouse, their adoptive hosts fell "ill," a malady that required curing by the singing of power songs. This gave rise to a celebration among winter villages on a river or on a lake called ***co'cotub*** (**TSO tso tub**) or, ***Spi'gpigʷəd*** (**SPEEG pee gwud**), the time of "power singing."[50]

The psychology underlying this celebration is rich. A lot had happened in those moths of travelling: children had been born and grown almost a year older; some people had died but life moved forward. Returning home brought tensions as people resumed or changed the rhythms of the house group. A harmony was restored by inviting kin and neighbors to winter village gatherings. The invited offered gifts, a house-group's food was shared, and evenings spent joining individuals singing extraordinary songs accompanied by sometimes miraculous displays of power. Lost object might be found, new skills revealed, new dances danced, prophecies made. A person might self-inflict wounds that healed miraculously. Others might handle fire

without being burnt. A few might demonstrate the power to animate inanimate objects that dragged their holders around the house.[51]

This was accompanied by powerful singing as audience members beat time by striking roof planks in unison with poles, a pounding road heard for miles. Traveling from village to village, families celebrated for days, even weeks in a season that combined Christmas, Thanksgiving and Easter.

Creation Myths

This was also the time when ancient creation myths were told. These were serious occasions since the recitation of myths were believed to have the power to bring about in the world the very events they described. A skilled storyteller would recite these while kneeling and with tears streaming. Audience listened in rapt attention because the telling affected their future. Many myths recounted the restoration of life in a wintry world, how the tragedies and splendors of human life were given shape, and what duties individuals had to the group, the living, and the dead. Other stories were ribald, hilarious or full of adventures that a good storyteller made real. Examples of these will be treated anon.

The Transformer

The most important story was how ***Do'k^{w}ebał*** **(DOH kwe bahl)**, the Transformer, finished the work Old Creator had begun by making rivers flow in one direction, seeing that the sun, moon, stars and seasons followed their prescribed cycles, all making the world habitable. He gave the world its present shape, changed titans into animals or predictable forces of nature and convinced the salmon and elk people to

offer their flesh for the benefit of people. In the recitation of myths animals talked, stars were sentient, travelling beings, and Sun and Moon governed the changing world.

Solstice

As winter grew colder, the very old and very young became vulnerable. Deaths became more frequent. Why? Were ghosts traveling the world seeking familiar human company? During the coldest, darkest time- solstice—it was believed that the road to the land of the dead opened, and lonely ghosts visited the living world. If a ghost kidnapped a person's soul--a symptom being loss of property from damage or gambling—the afflicted could hire a team of ceremonialists to carry out a journey to the land of the dead to find and return the kidnapped soul. Among the Duwamish the dramatized journey was called ***Spətətda'q*** **(Spuh tut DAHQ)**, and it might last five to seven consecutive nights.

Rescuing Kidnapped Souls

The Duwamish people developed the most elaborate Spuh tut DAHQ. When it was night here, it was day in the land of the dead, and a team of ceremonialists created elaborate paraphernalia for it: large painted boards to consume daylight should nighttime travel extend to dawn. Smaller figures imaged the guardian powers that enabled ceremonialists to make the journey, and shaped poles performed multiple roles. These pieces represent the greatest expression of artistry on Puget Sound, but few sets survive.[52]

The rite took place in a longhouse cleared for the journey. Family and kin perching on sleeping platforms witnessed the action by firelight, keeping time to the

songs by pounding their own power poles against roof planks. The road to the land of the dead was known to the audience because each group had its own path.[53]

Incidents along the journey could affect the coming year. For example, if berries were picked in a spectral meadow, the coming berry harvest could be good. It could take several nights to reach ghost land, and speakers kept the audience informed about the team's progress.

On arrival, the ghost village was surveilled to find the kidnapped soul. If found it would be seized, but ghosts typically resisted, and a spectacular battle took place as young boys with bows sent blazing splints ricocheting off roof planks in showers of sparks. If one struck one of the team, he was out of the journey for the night.

With great drama the leader of a successful journey brought the rescued soul back to the household amid a crescendo of impassioned singing and thunderous accompaniment. The soul was offered to its host during a terrific, gasping pause, when excitement was so intense, and people crying, that a young observer later recalled that he was "frightened out of his wits...".[54]

Afterwards the ritual objects were hidden away so their power would not harm the uninitiated. A few sets collected by Waterman and other ethnologists are our only physical record of this extraordinary rite, the last occurrence of which took please among Lake people at the turn of the 19th and 20th centuries.

As winter tightened its grip, ducks falling asleep in frigid water might wake to find themselves frozen fast and easy prey for hunters. Those who heard Smelt's song went down to the rivers with dipnets and torches. Everyone awaited the return of

warmth and life, and rituals were carried out to hurry spring rains. Down on the Duwamish River, women washed the face of a great stone monolith, the grandmother of rain, hoping to activate her power. Boys swung bull roarers painted dark on one side, left clear on the other that when spun made the sound of approaching Storm Wind the hero who annually drove winter from the area. On the lake, people touched certain rocks or splashed water with their paddles, calling rain. Men caught ***Specx*** **(Spetskh)**, Rusty song Sparrows, *Menopiza melodia morpha*. He was a man who refused to wash his face, to purify himself in order to exercise his power to bring rain. Men captured song sparrows and rubbed charcoal on their faces. When they released the birds, they would fly to a rive to wash it off in rivers, and in so doing call the spring rains.[55]

Who would anyone want more rain in a damp and dismal Puget Sound winter? Without rain, there would be no spring floods. Without floods, rivers could not send out their chemical signatures telling salmon to return to their rivers and spawn. The earlier the floods, the earlier the runs, and the year rolled on.

History

We have examined a year in the life of the Tabtabi'ukh, the Lake People of the Kirkland area. Their ancestors had had lived here for more than 600 generations. Can we know anything about them during that long, long time?

They had arrived before the lake appeared. They watched it rise and slowly drown features in its basin. The memory may underly a belief that Mercer Island submerged beneath the lake every night, which is why there were no villages on it. The people lived through several terrific earthquakes, and about 6000 years ago, an eruption

that sent Mt. Rainier's summit tumbling down the White River Valley. The tumbling mass, called the Osceola lahar, reached Puget Sound, connected islands to the mainland and killed anyone unfortunate enough to live in its path. The rubble from this and subsequent lahars filled the channel now occupied by the Green River, reaching all the way to Elliott Bay, and probably up Black River channel to the lake. The debris may have blocked its outlet further and raised its level, drowning earlier shorelines. A thousand years later, increasing rainfall of a changing climate favored the growth of trees, and the broad, oak savanna that characterized the landscape was replaced by dense, coniferous forests. People adapted to these changes, enhancing their ethnic identities.

c900 BCE

1100 years ago, a catastrophic earthquake on the Seattle Fault passing through the center of Lake Washington sent huge blocks of forested lakeside plunging beneath the surface. The lake is deep enough (more than 200 feet below sea level) to prevent rot, and we can see underwater photos of the standing giants, limbs intact and draped with filamentous algae. Three slides have been mapped: on the southwest end of Mercer Island, on its west side across from Seward Park, and on the Lake's eastern shore near St. Edwards State Park. Each displaced a flood of water generating immense seilch waves, oscillating standing waves, that, reflected from the narrow lake's sides, pummeled shores causing terrific destruction. Most living in the vicinity were probably killed. Over time, survivor memory of the cataclysm focused on certain spots.[56]

Most places on the lake associated with malevolent beings were where people were sucked underwater. A malevolent being in Mud Lake on Sand Point, directly across from the Kirkland slide was said to drag people down and send their bodies through a mysterious underground passage to Puget Sound. A great ***Aya'hos*** (**Ai YAH hos**), a horn-headed serpent associated with avalanches inhabited a bluff across from Mercer Island. At the Island's southern end, snags from the drowned forest, rising above the water into historic times, were believed inhabited by a race of supernatural dwarfs, ***Swa'watiᵘtĭd*** (**SWAH wah tyu tid**), "earth beings". When people came to strip bark for fuel, the dwarves believed they themselves were being stripped and drove the gatherers crazy. These somber themes, the residue of catastrophe, find expression in mythology. [57]

Mythology

In the early decades of the 20th century, Hermann Haeberlin, considered one of the most brilliant of Franz Boas' students, worked with native people on Puget Sound and collected several myths. ***Origin Of The Pheasant Trap*** describes the invention at Sa'tsakalh of a snare used to catch large birds on the lake.[58]

"Pheasant," in this case is the Ruffled grouse, *Bonasa umbellus*, ***Sqʷə'lob*** (**SQWUH lob**), one of four sisters to four steelhead brothers. She was married to Old Log and bore him many children. Wildcat wanted to marry her, but she refused him and went off to sing in a tree. Wildcat shot her and wounded her with an arrow. Then he made a very clever snare that he buried under moss. When weak pheasant rested it,

she tripped the hidden trigger and was snapped aloft by the snare attached to a bent sapling. Having caught her, he ate her. Fearing the wrath of her brothers, he fled, but the steelhead brothers set up a trap that threw him into a river where he downed. The story is about family violence, revenge and the inevitability of death.

Ruffled grouse appears in other myths having to do with the land of the dead. Her father was Spetks, the man who would not wash his face; another version of the myth says he was the Changer himself. When his daughter died, he went to the land of the dead with her. Then people could visit between the two worlds, but the actions of her father harmed the dead so that he had to go back to the living world. In the process he kills many of his children who go to the land of the dead. The boundary between the land of the living and the dead became a barrier preventing visits. In the living world, death cannot be reconciled.[59]

Arthur Ballard collected three more general myths from Lake Washington informants. ***The Brothers Killed by a Monster*** narrated by ***X^{w}ai'k^{w}olitzə*** **(KHWAI kwo Lit zuh),** b. c1850, known as Suzie, was a Lake woman with a Snoqualmie father and Duwamish mother. ***The Sucking Monster*** was narrated by Suzie and ***Ackanipa'm*** **(Ahsh kah nee PAHM)**, b. 1878, a Snoqualmie man also known as Jack Stillman. Dan, a Lake man whose native name was ***Sile'luc*** **(Sih LEH lush)**, b. c1845, narrated ***The Five Brothers And The Beaver***. His father came from Dzidzila'letsh (Dzii dzee LAH letsh), "Little crossing place," at what is now Pioneer Place in Seattle, and his mother was Snoqualmie, a step-daughter of the war Snoqualmie leader Patkanim.[60]

The Brothers Killed by a Monster tells about the here ***Siso'bšid*** **(See SOHB sheed.** Siso'bshid), and his four older wolf brothers. A terrible shadow monster called ***Xwiye'ldz*** **(Khwee YELDZ)**, hid in cedar trees during rains and cajoled passers-by to sleep in the dry space beneath. It made them drowsy by asking repeatedly if they were asleep. When they drifted off and no longer answered, it slid down the branches and devoured their hearts. All four of Siso'bshid's brothers died in this way.

Sensing great danger, the youngest brother taught his quiver how to speak. At the end of a long journey, he finds his dead brothers in the place of shadow. Kindling a fire beneath the cedar, he leaves his quiver and camps a distance away with his bow and arrows. As the shadow monster asked its questions the quiver answered then fell quiet. As the monster slid down Siso'bshid killed it. Lining up his brothers' bodies a pace apart, he cut the monster open, took out their hearts and placed them in their chest cavities. He managed to raise three, but not the oldest. Dead too long, his heart had rotted, and so death entered the world, killing the older first.

Siso'bshid and his surviving brothers cut up the monster and threw its pieces to the four directions, identifying this story as a creation myth. "There will be no shadow monster," he proclaimed. "Where there is shade, it will be a good place to camp, now that people are coming into existence".

The Sucking Monster continues the story with Siso'bshid and his three remaining brothers out hunting. They find an old man. ***Ba'tks*** (BAHT ks), Bat ks, "High-up nose," who proves to be ***So'totsid*** **(SOH toh tseed)**, a monster that inhales and

swallows everything. Having eaten, he tells them he will dine on them in the morning, but before he goes to sleep he tells them to pick lice from its head. Sisoi'shid told his brothers to flee, and making a little dog, taught it how to pick lice. He shot arrows in five directions and told the dog that when Bat ks awoke and asked where the brothers had gone, to point to an arrow and bark. The monster awoke, questioned the dog and sucked in everything in that direction including the arrow. The fifth time it inhaled what remained and the dog. The last instruction Siso'shid gave the dog was that once inside the monster, it should eat its heart.[61]

As the brothers were being swept in, they called on their supernatural powers: snow, sand, dry brush and cottonwood down. By the time Baht ks had inhaled all these, the dog had eaten its heart, killing it. The brothers cut it open, rescued the dog and cut up and broadcast the monster's parts. "The generation of people is coming, and there shall be no monsters;" they said. "The people will kill them".

In *The Five Brothers And The Beaver*, four five brothers battle a monster beaver living in a great stone house without success. The youngest brother had slept through all the action, incurring his brothers' ire, but he had been dreaming of Thunder power. Approaching his battered brothers, he tells them to watch as lighting strikes Beaver's house in a thunderous blast, splitting it and driving the monster away. Dreamers often have the solution.

While the foci of the several versions of these myths are generally places other than the Lake, their message and heroic endings resonated with survivors of the catastrophe. Most places on the lake associated with malevolent beings are where

people were sucked underwater. Mud Lake on Sand Point, directly across from the Kirkland slide, was where a monster dragged people down and sent their bodies underground to Puget Sound. A huge ***Aya'hos*** **(Ai YAH hos)**, a horn-headed serpent associated with avalanches, inhabited the bluff across from Mercer Island. The Island itself was believed to submerge itself at night, which is why, some people said, there were no villages on it. At the Island's south end, snags from the drowned forest stood above the surface into historic times. A race of supernatural dwarfs, ***Swa'wati^{u}tĭd*** **(SWAH wah tyu tid)**, "earth beings," were believed to inhabit them. When people came to strip bark for fuel, the dwarves, believing they themselves were being stripped, drove them crazy.[62]

Prophecies

An ever rising and devouring lake threatened, and violent earthquakes, avalanches, floods, and volcanic eruptions forecast apocalypse. Migrations of people speaking Na Dene and Athapaskan languages moving through the Pacific Northwest a thousand or more years ago led to legendary encounters with unfamiliar 'Stick' people living in remote forested areas. The unnerving arrival of unfamiliar people took on new meaning as 16th century reports of new peoples appearing in the east gained attention. Mortality and violence weighting these reports embellishing apocalyptic fears. In a Penobscot myth from Maine, a speaker tells listeners a white man would come from the east and "...put an end to our happiness...our destiny will be at the mercy of events".

Brought west, such stories informed the thinking of native people in the Pacific Northwest.[63]

A watershed even occurred in the early 18th century when interior people began crossing the passes on strange, antler-less elk—descendants of horses introduced into North America by Spanish Conquistadors. By the late 1700s, ancient prophecies of the end of worlds gained currency from actual encounters of Euro-Americans arriving in huge vessels spitting fire and death. The Lushootseed word ***Gwul*** "capsizing," describing the turning over of an old world--literally, a cataclysm, took on new meaning. In the mid- 1700s, the prophecy of a Spokane shaman gained shocking relevance when missionaries preaching from the bible appeared. "Soon a different kind man will come from the rising sun who will bring with them a book and teach you everything, and after that the world will fall to pieces." [64]

Disease

By the 1780s western traders on the coast inadvertently introduced smallpox, measles, and malaria to Vancouver Island. Native people had no immunities, and mortality in the first virgin land epidemic approached 50%. It spread to the mainland, and Puget Sound with catastrophic results. As societies crashed groups responded differently. In the north war leaders sought to rebuild their societies by raiding neighbors, killing the men to prevent reprisal and enslaving women and children for their labor. Others responded with religious fervor, introducing new rituals, dances or practices like the sweat lodges in a desperate effort to cure the malady. Some believing they had died and returned from the land of the dead preached fervent new beliefs.[65]

Slave raiders descended on Puget Sound before British explorer Captain George Vancouver arrived in 1792, and in the 1820s the Suquamish war leader ***Ktsa'p*** (**kh TSAHP**), Kitsap, organized a confederation stretching from Whidbey Island to the Columbia River to attack raiders in their home waters. Lake people were among those who, with a young Seattle, took an active part. Kitsap led 200 canoes north where they suffered a tactical defeat but strategic victory when the Cowichans of Vancouver Island agreed to stop raiding and intermarry.[66]

Lake people participated in raid and counter-raid. The ***t'saba'bc*** (**T sah BAHBSH**), the Sammamish, planning to murder people on Whidbey Island, sent warriors in shallow river canoes to Lake Washington and the Sound where they paddled to Penn Cove. But before giving battle their craft swamped, and they had to raft to the mainland and walk home.[67]

Contact

Epic stories of whales escaping lakes in the Duwamish watershed and growing trees on their heads recall the first appearances of western ships of exploration and trade. The foundation of Fort Astoria at the Columbia River mouth in 1811 heralded rapid transformation of local technology and society later realized on Puget Sound in the 1830s by the Hudson's Bay Company. The first westerner to meet the Lake People may have been Company engage Jean Baptiste Ouvrie who traveled up the Duwamish and Black River drumming up the fur trade. For a brief time, it was known as Ouvrie's River.[68]

American settlers arrived on Puget Sound in 1845 and a decade later gained military and political dominance throughout the region. Hoping to create a hybrid racial community to promote peace and prosperity, as had been done with the Cowichans, Chief Seattle invited Americans to settle among the Saltwater, River and Lake Duwamish and intermarry. But Americans coveted land, and the Treaty of Point Elliott, signed in 1855, gave it to them while consigning native people to small, poor and distant reservations. Seattle's visionary hopes died during the Yakima War, yet the hybrid community white settlers named after him succeeded.[69]

David S. Maynard

The terms 'Lake Band' and 'Lake people' began to show up in historic records. On November 7, 1855, Seattle pioneer, David Maynard was appointed Special Indian Agent ..."to take charge of the friendly Indians within King County," then reaching into the Olympic Peninsula. This gave him authority over the Suquamish, Duwamish, Sammamish and a people called ***Scach-wamish***, which is how he heard the name Xacua'bsh.

The Yakima Indian War broke out in Washington Territory in October 1855. Violence west of the Cascades commenced on the 28th with the murder of settlers on the White River while Territorial Governor, Isaac Stevens, negotiated more treaties east of the mountains. In his absence officials cobbled together a plan to concentrate "friendly" Indians" east of Puget Sound in camps on islands and the western shore. By the time of Maynard's appointment, 312 Duwamish under ***Gualsh-Canam*** (named Tecumseh by

Americans), and 64 Sammamish under ***Sa-wich-ol-gad***, had been removed to a temporary holding area in the town of Seattle, but only 16 Sceach-wamish, under ***Chats-Canam*** had been brought in.[70]

On the 9th Maynard traveled upriver and "along the east coast of Lake Washington "among the settlements of the Sceach-wamish + the Tsab-ab-bish" asking them to come in." Sa-wich-ol-gad had assumed a position of leadership among the two groups, that is, he had been asked to speak for them, and he promised Maynard that they would do so once ***Elk-kla-cum*** returned from a visit with the ***Clicketats*** who owed him blankets for a horse.[71]

Elk-kla-cum

The Klickitats were a specific group living along the Klickitat River in southern Washington, but Americans applied it generally to hostile mounted Indians from east of the mountains. Elk-kla-cum, half-Yakama considered a Klickitat, married into the main Duwamish village at the confluence of the lake outlet and Cedar River. He helped lead the attack on Seattle in January 1856.[72]

Maynard returned to Seattle with a few native families on the 13th, but those in town told him that pioneer headman Arthur Denny, and business Tyee Henry Yesler, owner of Seattle's steam-powered sawmill, wanted to keep Indian labor close and told Lake Indians they were fools if they listened to Maynard and territorial officials. Maynard was also told that Elk kla cum had been hiding among the Lake Indians during his visit. When Maynard returned to the lake, Lake people repeated what they

had said, but exhibited uneasiness about Elk kla cum. Ultimately, they stayed in their winter villages and largely out of the fight.

Sa'tsakalh

This was not the case with the winter village of Sa'tsakalh on the eastern middle shore of Mercer Slough. Two nearby longhouse sites: Papadi'l (Pah pah DEEL), "padel--a place where things that can't move are drifted ashore," at the mouth of the slough, and ***Paluo⌡ed*** **(Pahl u oh shed),** appear to have been outlying house sites. Harrington's note for the latter, "looks like feet," suggests his informant located the site on a map where the drawing of the confluence of stream and slough looked like a bird-foot, a site adjacent to SE 24th.[73]

That winter, 100 warriors led by Yakama war leader ***Owhi*** snow-shoed across the Cascades to Sa'tsakalh. Meanwhile, occupying a look-out position at the confluence of the Black and White Rivers, American militiamen nearing the end of their enlistment, heedlessly headed down river to Seattle on January 24, followed swiftly by Gualch-canam and some 125 River Duwamish who knew what was coming.

Seeing a chance to cross the lake unobserved, native fighters were paddled to the west shore where they prepared muskets, revolvers, ammunition, and incendiary devices. On the evening of the 25th, they moved west over the hills to the edge of the forest a few yards from town. At 7 AM the next morning a cannon roared from U.S. Sloop of War, ***Decatur***, followed by volleys of musketry and Indian war cries, and the battled continued until nightfall, during which time two settlers and an unknown

number of Indians had been killed. The attackers could not overrun the town, nor could its defenders drive Indians from what they resolutely occupied for weeks. During that time, virtually every outlying settler house and farm in King County was burned, so crippling the economy that it took a decade to recover. Native fighters assumed a defensive position on the lake, and when territorial volunteers finally made their way there in April, they found the longhouses where the attackers had roasted and eaten settler livestock.[74]

The Lake people remained on the Lake despite the double onslaught. Subsequent years provided a breathing space for continued cooperation. After Congress ratified the Treaty of Point Elliott in 1859, native people had one year to remove themselves to reservations, but the need for native labor allowed most to remain in their homelands, following traditional lifeways while adapting to new conditions. Marching militiamen impressed by the country began moving up rivers to settle. Byk the 1850s, they were on the Lake's southeastern shore looking for coal.

Houghton

Discovery and development of coal mines at Renton and Newcastle encouraged settlement. In 1871 the first claims at Pleasant Bay (Moss Bay) were filed by Mrs. Popham-McGregor and her two sons, followed a year later by Samuel and Harry French's 80-acre claims. Others settled nearby and at Juanita Bay, but the forested land was difficult to clear and native people satisfied settler need by trading fish, game and wapato. Canoe travel dominated since the few native paths along the beach could accommodate wagons, and there was little pasturage for horses. By 1875 loggers like

Wlliam Houghton had settled at the bay. Another cluster of claims at Ta'btabiukh on Juanita Bay was named after a logger, Martin Hubbard, who paddled mails across the lake. By 1880 increased trade spurred construction of a wagon road to Woodinville and Salmonberg and a store at the new lakeside community of Houghton.[75]

Native Responses

Notably, the pioneers identified native people as merchants, selling fish, wapato and clams dug on Puget Sound beaches, evidence that seasonal patterns of food gathering continued among Lake People. We can envision longhouse groups relocating to Houghton at this time as the people sought to maintain their traditional presence and complete for a place in the local economy. Frank and Wayne Kirtley recalled memories of early Houghton when Indians visited their house on the lake.

> 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, after which Forbes Lake was named, recalled that Mrs. Forbes was also scared when Indian women visited her on Juanita Bay.

> 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.[76]

Our understanding of the wapato seasonal cycle allows us to place these accounts in context. Native visit accompanied the summer harvest of the plant's greens. The corms were harvested in winter. The Kirley's thought native people primitive

because they wore long robes, but that was during winter visits when they dressed to keep warm. But when the women visited, the comfortable longhouse at Ta'btabiu no longer stood, and a pioneer woman's fireplace beckoned.

The fears pioneers voiced at natives' abrupt or attempted entry into homes reflected differing customs of hospitality. Among whites, visitors were expected to hail a house or knock before entry, but among native people, visitors could enter longhouses unannounced and expect welcome and a meal. The difference caused misunderstanding and anger on both sides. When William Maydenbauer settled at the east end of the bay named after him in 1869, he reported having troubles with native people who stole his cabin window glass and broke into his stores when he was away.[77]

Cooperation

But human connections are inexorable. I have found one example of intermarriage between native and white on the lake. In the 1880s, Gardiner Proctor settled on Mercer Island with his native wife, Ellen. He died in 1889, after which Ellen returned to her family on Black River. She might be the Ellen author B. J. Cummings wrote about, the sister of the Quio-Litza who married Renton Pioneer Dr. R. H. Bigelow and a birthed a family whose descendants live in Seattle today. Such marriages were not rare. Early historian Elwood Evans noted that a high percentage of single white males entering the territory married native women and raised families. It was part of Seattle's vision, and Proctor cannot have been alone. It remains for us to locate them.[78]

Retreat

This period of commingling did not last long. Logging, shipbuilding, and the dream of an iron industry at Moss Bay increased settlement on prime shoreland, rendering traditional use of the land increasingly difficult. An 1871 letter from the Indian agent at the Fort Kitsap Reservation on the west side of the sound document mentions the **Rho-choabish** having been removed to the Suquamish Reservation. The Rhochoabish are the Xa'chuabsh. The Americans never did learn how to pronounce their name correctly. When Congress passed the Dawes Act of 1887, breaking up reservations into individual allotments to force native assimilation, members of Duwamish groups moved to several reservations to obtain claims on often poor land. Because there was not nearly enough land for the number of claimants, many remained landless. Landed and landless tried to maintain their connection with the lake.[79]

The efforts of Lake people and the Duwamish in general to maintain traditional lifeways in a dynamic, expanding and environmentally destructive extractive economy had mixed results. Many found employ in lumber camps, and, as orchards and berry fields flourished on the east shore, native women proved to be exceptional pickers. The hop boom of the 1880s led to cultivation at Issaquah and the largest hop farm in the world in the Snoqualmie valley, where Lake People joined come 1000 native pickers to earn good money paid out, at their request, in gold and silver coin. But the pressure of expanding farmland likely caused Lake people to relocate from Houghton to the northern shore of Meydenbauer Bay where three "large Indian log cabins" are

remembered to have stood near the intersections of NE 92nd and 8th Avenue N.E. A native burial found near the northern shore adds substance to the memory.[80]

Commemoration

Duwamish River people, Lake people and other groups intermarried, and in the first decade of the 20th century, Harrington's informants remembered Snoqualmie living at Sa'tsakał. The vitality of native society found expression in early February, 1896, after the smelt run, when ***Sdabałd*** **(Sdah bahlhd)**, a Cedar River shaman, a.k.a. Doctor Jack, representing the Black and Cedar River Duwamish, hosted a ***Sləha'l*** **(Sluh HAHL)**, "sing-gamble," at his longhouse near Renton challenging the Puyallups to wager everything they owned. The game involved guessing which hand holding gambling chips held the black gaming piece among white pieces after being passed between hands swiftly beneath a pile of cedar bark. No like event of that size had occurred since the HBC traded at Fort Nisqually, and 300 people attended from near and farm, all fed and sheltered for the event. After four days of intense singing, drumming and displays of gambling skill the exhausted players quit after a referee declared a draw. Since ancient times, individuals gained favor and renown through these dramatic activities and wealth was redistributed. Such gatherings strengthened relations between families, provided breathes excitement and vivid memories of signal importance. But this proved to be the last one.[81]

Requiem

To provide more space for Renton's industrial expansion and supply water for the future ship canal, engineers diverted Cedar River into Lake Washington in 1910.

Between July and October 1916, the level of the lake began to fluctuate as its outflow shifted northward to the newly opened Ship Canal. By October it had dropped nine feet, stopping the Black River's flow.

> That was quite a day for the white people at least. The waters just went down, down, until our landing and canoes stood dry and there was not 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.[82]

The life source of the Duwamish People died. On the lake, wapato withered in drying mud. No more harvesters came after 1916. The eggs of kokanee and other fish died as a willow tangle covered newly exposed bottom land. Fish were reintroduced, but development and pollution kept numbers small. Longhouses that had survived hidden behind marshes at McCleer Creek and Lyon Creek disappeared. The lake's ravaged resources were no longer sufficient to sustain traditional life.

Harrington and Waterman wrote down what informants remembered. Native people made increasingly rare appearances. The poet Gary Snyder recalled that when his family lived in Lake City during the Great Depression, an Indian would sometimes come by their farm and sell fresh salmon from the back of a pickup truck.[83]

Epilog

Three years later, in 1919, the Bureau of Indian Affairs still recognized 141 people as members of the Duwamish Tribe. Most lived off reservations. On February 6, 1925, James Moses, Maurice Sackman, Major Hamilton and George James wrote a Tribal Constitution on behalf of the group and enacted By-Laws. Two years later, Duwamish witnesses wrote down the names of the Lake peoples' winter villages for Court of Claims testimony.[84]

In 1945 the Duwamish and other unrecognized tribes took steps to organize the Intertribal Council of Western Washington Indians, which became the Small Tribes of Western Washington (STOWW) in 1969. Duwamish fought in the "Fish Wars" of the 70s and joined in the suit against Washington State for its denial of treaty fishing rights. In 1974 Federal Judge George Boldt decided in favor of the plaintiffs in his watershed decision declaring that tribes had treaty right to 50% of the catch, a decision affirmed by the Supreme Court in 1979. But Boldt also judged that treaty rights extended only to landed tribes, those with reservations. As a result, the Duwamish Tribe, the first signatory of the Treaty of Point Elliott, deemed unrecognized, was not qualified to enjoy these rights.

This issue has since dominated relations between recognized tribes and state and local governments. These appear to prefer to ignore injustice in their midst, injustice city residents encouraged from the beginning and profit from handsomely. But more and more citizens and elected officials recognize the need for justice. The City of Kirkland is taking steps to honor its native past. Hopefully, this will lead to meaningful action.

In doing so, chances are good that the city will make acquaintance with the descendants of the Tabtahbi'ukh, the Lake people who still call the neighborhood home. Their stories will provide far more depth to Kirkland's history than this report can. One step at a time we reapproach a people who wait to greet us with open arms.

David M. Buerge, 9/26/21

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[18] Grant, Francis James. ***History of Seattle, Washington*** (New York: American Publishing and Engraving Co., Publishers, 1891), p. 56.
[19] Smith, Ibid. Haines, Francis. "The Northwest Spread Of Horses On The Great Plaines," ***American Anthropologist***, N.S. 40, 1938, pp. 429-437..
[20] In this spelling of Ta'btabiukabš, I use Harrington's orthography which includes letters from different alphabets for sounds not common in English. For example, ʃ, the voiceless, postalveolar fricative, (š,

roughly, 'sh') comes from 18th century English. The letter ə, schwa, comes originally, via Cyrillic letters, from Hebrew. Harrington, John Peabody. ***The Papers of John Peabody Harrington In the Smithsonian Institution, 1907-1957***. Part 1, Alaska Northwest Coast, 30 Reels (Millwood, New York: Kraus International Publications, 1981), Reel 15, frame 420.

[21] ***Duwamish et all***, (Seattle: Argus Press), Ibid., pp. 682-717

[22] Waterman supplied an earlier translation for ƛahwa'dis: "something planted erect by a house fire," and indicates that it was associated with the Sammamish slough suggesting it was a Sammamish winter village. Waterman, Ibid., ***Geography***, 1920, p. 137, #A 90. Harrington, Ibid.

[23] Harrington, Ibid. Waterman, ***Geography***, 1920, ibid. "Geographic Names, 1922, Ibid. Buerge, David. ***The Maps Of The Early Shoreline Area Ethnographic Contest***, (Seattle: TS, Shoreline Historical Museum, 1996). ***Shoreline Ethnography***, TS (Seattle, Shoreline Historical Museum, 2020).

[24] Harrington, Ibid.

[25] Interview with Ed Davis, April 29, 1980.

[26] Buerge. "Migration of Stechas Village, Olympia". Ms. Denny, Arthur. MS. Bass, Sophie Frye.

[27] Denny, Arthur. ***Pioneer Days On Puget Sound*** (Seattle, W. T,: C. B. Bagley, Printer, 1888, Seattle: The Shorey Bookstore, Third Printing of Facsimile reprint, 1975), p. 13.

[28] Gunther, Ibid. p. 13. Waterman, Ibid., 1922. "Names Of Place On Lake Union And Lake Washington," pp.189-193, p. 192, # 111.

[29] Smith, 1940, Ibid., pp. 179-204, 228-252. Elmendorf, William W. The Structure of Twana Culture. ***Washington State University Research Studies*** (28)3, ***Monographic Supplement*** 2. Pullman (Reprinted in: Coast Salish and Western Washington Indians, IV, Garland, New York, 1974), pp.311-315. Haeberlin, Hermann, Gunther, Erna. ***The Indians of Puget Sound*** (Seattle and London: University of Washington Press, 1973), pp. 15-19. Waterman,

[30] Ballard, Arthur C. "Calendric Terms Of The Southern Puget Sound Salish," ***Southwestern Journal of Archaeology***, 6(1): 79-99. All following calendric terms come from Ballard.

[31] Leighton, Catherine C. ***West Coast Journeys 1865-1879 The Travelogue Of A Remarkable Woman*** (Seattle: Sasquatch Book, 1995), pp. 27-28.

[32] Lobb, Alan. ***Indian Baskets Of The Northwest Coast*** (Portland, Oregon: Graphic Arts Center Publishing Company, 1978), pp. 10-12. The placename is a version of Licton, as in Licton Springs in north Seattle, one of the very few native names to identify an actual place in Seattle.

[33] Smith, Ibid.,

[34] Schroeder, Tom. Bio Rxiv ***Pre-settlement Forests Around Puget Sound: Eyewitness Evidence***, July 18, 2019. CHS Cold Spring Harbor Laboratory. Duwamish testimony in ***Duwamish et. al. v. U.S.A.***, Ibid., p. 693, 696, 707-8.

[35] Ballard, 1950, Ibid., Pp.79-99. Pp. 81-85.

[36] This worked even at a distance. For example envronmentall changes happening around Hood Canal signaled that it was time to pick berries on Mt. Rainer. Personal communication with Nile Thompson, 8/21. Turner, Harriett. ***Ethnology Of The Snoqualmie***, 2nd. Ed. (Ms., Ts., 1976), p. 70.

[37] Highman, H. W., Larrison, E. J. ***union bay The Life of a City Marsh*** (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1951), pp. Gunther, Erna. ***Indian Life On the Northwest Coast Of North America As Seen by the Early Explorers and Fur Traders during the Last Decades of the Eighteenth Century*** (Chicago and London; University of Chicago Press, 1972), pp. Gustafson, Paula. ***Salish Weaving*** (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1980), pp. Waterman, 1973, Ibid., p. 36.

[38] Snyder, Warren. "Suquamish Traditions," ***Northwest Archaeology and Research*** Notes / Spring, 1999 / Vol. 33 No. 1 Harrington, ibid., fr. 699, 703.

[39] Harrington, Ibid., fr. 441.

[40] Harrington, Ibid., fr. 681.

[41] McDonald, Lucille. "Lake Washington Past And Present," ***Seattle Sunday Times***, Oct. 9, 1955—Feb. 26, 1956. "Juanita Once Was Named Hubbard," Oct. 16j, 1955, p. 8, c. 1, 2.

[42] Smith, 1940, Ibid., pp. 132-3.

[43] Waterman, 1922, Ibid., p. 189, #38.
[44] McDonald, 1955, Ibid., October 30, p. 4, c. 3,4. The three consonants at the beginning of the word have a sound similar to the Russian letter Ж, **shtsha**, the same sound joining the words "fre**sh** **ch**eese".
[45] Harrington, Ibid., fr. 420.
[46] Haeberlin and Gunther, 1973, pp. 59-61. Smith, 1940, Ibid., pp. 146-150.
[47] Tulaliplushootseed.com/animals. Bates, Dawn, Thom Hess, Hilbert, Vi. ***Lushootseed Dictionary*** (Seattle and London: University of Washington Press, 1994). Ballard, 1929, Ibid., p. 56.
[48] Berger, Knute. "Wildfires are burned into Washington's history—and headlines." ***Crosscut***, September 10, 2019.
[49] Haeberlin and Gunther, 1972, Ibid., p. 67. 1
[50] Also called , ***Spi'gpigʷəd*** (**SPEEG pee gwud**), Smith, 1940, Ibid., pp. 100-107. Haeberlin and Gunther, 1973, Ibid., p. 67.
[51] Bruseth, Nells. **Indian Stories & Legends of the Stillaguamish and Allied Tribes** (Arlington: 1926,), pp. 19-21.
[52] Miller, Jay. ***Shamanic Journey: The Lushootseed Salish Journey to the Land of the Dead*** (Menlo Park, California: Ballena Press, 1988. Miller's book provides a broad account of the rite and its paraphernalia.
[53] Dorsey, George. "The Duwamish Spirit Canoe and Its Use," ***Bullitin Free University of Science and Art*** , 3 (4) (Philadelphia: Unniversity of Pennsylvania, 1902), pp. 227- 238. Haeberlin, Hermann. "SbEtEtda'q A Shamanic Performance of the Coast Salish," ***American Anthropologist*** 20 (3), (1918), pp. 249-257. Waterman, T. T.. "The Paraphernalia of the Duwamish 'Spirit Canoe' Ceremony," ***Indian Notes and Monagraphs***, Miscellaneous Series 59 (New York: Museum Of The American Indian Heye Foundation, 1930), pp. 1-145.
[54] Waterman, 1930, Ibid., p. 144.
[55] Ballard, Arthur C., "North Wind and Storm Wind," the Mythology of Southern Puget Sound. The ***University of Washington Publications in Anthropology*** Vol. 3, No. 2 (Seattle: 1929), pp. 31-150, pp. 55-64. "The Man Who Would Not Wash His Face, pp. 49-50. Turner, Harriett. ***Ethnology Of The Snoqualmie***, 2nd. Ed. (Ms., Ts., 1976), p. 70.
[56]. Allan, Brian. Moore, Allen. "A Tsunami about 1000 years ago in Puget Sound (***Science***, December, 1992, 4; 258 (5088): 1614-17.
[57] Waterman, T. T. 1922, Ibid., p. 190, #45. The myth is in Bass, Sophie Frye. ***When Seattle Was A Village*** (Seattle, Wash. Lowman & Hanford Co., 1947), p. 48.
[58] Haeberlin, Hermann. "Mythology of Puget Sound," ***Journal Of American Folklore*** 37 (145-146): 371-438, pp. 413-414, pp. 413-414.
[59] Ballard, 1929, Ibid., pp. 128-133.
[60] Ballard, Ibid. "The Brothers Killed by a Monster," pp. 115-7; "The Sucking Monster, " p. 117; "The Five Brothers And The Beaver," p. 122. The personal names are written in Ballard's orthography, Ibid., pp. 38-40.
[61] Ballard, Ibid., pp. 117-9.
[62] Waterman, 1922, Ibid., p. 192, #105. Buerge, David. ***Naming The Land***, Ms, Ts, 1994, p. 463. Gellatly, Judy. ***Mercer Island the First Hundred Years*** (Mercer Island: Mercer Island Bicentennial Committee, 1977), p. 7.
[63] De Sagahun, Fray Bernardino. ***Hestoria general de las cosas de Nueva*** España (Mesico City:1585). Vol 1 reprinted as ***Conquest Of New Spain*** (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1989), trans. Cline, Howard F., Ed. Cline, S. L. pp. 34-47. Nicobar, Jospeh. ***The Life and Traditions of the Red Man*** (Maine: Old Town, 1893), p.98.
[64] Haines, 1938, Op Cit., pp. 429-437. Ruby, Robert H. Brown, John A. ***The Spokane Indians Children of the Sun*** (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1970), pp. 31-2.
[65] Ruby, Robert H. Brown, John. ***Dreamer-Prophets of the Columbia Plateau Smohalla and Skolaskin*** (Norman and London: University of Oklahoma Press, 1989).

[66] This is how I interpret Coombs' account which appears to be several episodes telescoped into one account. Coombs, Samuel. "Good Chief Seattle," ***The Seattle Post Intelligencer***, March 26, 1893, p. 9, c. 1-5, c. 2.
[67] Collins, June M. "John Fornsby: The Personal Document Of A Coast Salish Indian," in ***Indians Of The Urban Northwest***, Ed., Marian W. Smith (New York: Columbia University Press, 1949), p. 299.
[68] Ballard, 1929, Ibid., "How The Whales Reached the Sea," third version, p. 88. Tolmie, William Fraser. ***The Journals of William Fraser Physician and Fur Trader*** (Vancouver, Canada: Mitchel Press Limited, 1963). Ed. Large, R. C., p.221.
[69] Buerge, David M. 2017, Ibid., pp. 188-214.
[70] The old Duwamish head chief ***Qwa'sčin*** (**QWAHWS cheen**), visited the Denny/Boren/Bell party when they landed at Alki Point in 1851 bringing his three sons so at Arthru 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.
[71] Maynard's words are interesting since they suggest that the Sammamish headman Saw wich ol gad had authority among more lake people than Ed Davis suggested: that he was dominant among the Tabtabi'yukh people, but not the people of Sa'tsakalh where the Snoqualmie dominated. My guess is that his authority extended from the northeast shore down to the Skte'lhmish on the southeastern shore.
[72] Buerge, David M. Ibid., pp. 157-158, 167.
[73] Harrington, 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).
[74] Edwin Lander to James Tilton, April 21, 1856. Company A, Territorial Volunteers.
[75] 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.
[76] McConaghy, Lorraine. Interview with Frank and Wayne Kirtley, February 23, 1986. P. 16. McDonald, Ibid. "Juanita Once Was Named Hubbard," p. 8, c. 3.
[77] Buerge, Ibid., 2017, pp. 111-2. McDonald, 1955, Ibid., "Pioneer Times In the 'Point Country', October 30, 1855, p. 4, c. 3-4.
[78] Evams. Elwood. ***History Of The Pacific Northwest: Oregon And Washington: Embracing An Account Of The Original Discoveries On The Pacific Coast Of North America, And A Map Of The Original Territory Of Oregon*** (Portland, Oregon: The North Pacific History Company, 1889).
Cummings, B. J. ***The River That Made Seattle*** (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2020), pp. 25-26, 38, 55-56.
[79] Mallet, Edmund, letter to J. J. Critchlow, Tulalip, August 18, 1877. United States. Office of Indian Affairs / ***Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, for the year 1877*** ([1877]). Reports of Agents in Washington Territory, Tulalip Special Agency, pp. 186-202, p. 198.
[80] Tsushima, Asaichi. Pre-WWII History Of Japanese Pioneers In The Clearing And Development Of Land In Bellevue, Ms, Ts (King County Landmarks Commission, 1115 Smith Tower, 500 Second Avenue, Seattle, WA 98104, 1952), p. 2. ;
[81] Bagley, Clarence B. 1929, Ibid., pp. 137-144.
[82] Quote from Joseph Moses, son of Henry Moses. Buerge, David. ***Renton: Where The Water Took*** Wing (Chatsworth, California: Windsor Publications, Inc. 1989), p. 42.
[83] Conversation with John Suiter, Snyder biographer, 2001.
[84] Lane, Barbara. ***Identity and Treaty Status of the Duwamish Tribe of Indians.*** Prepared for the U. S. Department of the Interior and the Duwamish Tribe of Indians, 1975. Duwamish Tribal Office.

KIRKLAND AREA PLACENAMES

The sources for this list are:

WATERMAN: Waterman, T. T. "The Geographic Names Used By The Indians Of The Pacific Coast," ***The Geographical Review***, Vol. 12, pt. 2 (New York: Taylor & Francis, Apr. 1922), pp. 175-194.

HARRINGTON: ***John Peabody Harrington Papers, Alaska/Northwest Coast***, Microfilm reel 15 (Washington D. C., National Anthropological Archives, Smithsonian Institution, 1940-42), in frames.

VILLAGE LIST Y-2: ***The Duwamish et al., Tribes of Indians, Claimants F-275, v. The United States Of America, Defendant.*** Claims Exhibit Y-2, "Villages of the Duwamish at Lac [sic] Washington" In The Court Of Claims Of The United States Earl E. Richards, Commissioner Filed Oct. 3 1927 Court Of Claims.

Sources are cited by page number or frame. To the degree possible, the orthography used by Waterman and Harrington is printed in dark italics. My simplified phonetic transliterations are in dark vertical as an aid to the reader.

Symbols used by Waterman and Harrington

L is a barred L, **ɬ**, pronounced lh.

The **TL** sound is the barred lambda, **ƛ**, as in the word A**tl**antic.

X is the sound ending the Scottish word Loch, but somewhat harsher, written in this report as kh.

ʃ, **c**, pronounced sh.

Letters above or below word letters represent overtones and undertones. When it is on the same line as in Harrington, No. 14, it is slight.

! represents a full glottal stop, a momentary silence as between syllables in the cautionary expression, "uh-oh".

ʾ represents a glottalization; the sound is expressed more forcefully.

‿ indicates that the letters beneath are combined into one sound, as in the case of a rounded consonant, i.e., **qw, kw, gw**. These are often written **q^{w}**, **k^{w}** and **g^{w}**.

ˈ marks a stressed syllable.

But some of Harrington's orthography is, frankly, mysterious, i.e., the ***SH*** beginning ***SHa'tèʃ*** in number 10.

In my orthography, syllables printed in capital letters represent a stressed

syllable

Waterman locates placenames on a detailed map (included). Harrington plots his placenames along simple curved lines representing the lake shore. His name order largely follows that of Waterman with a few additions.

1. **WATERMAN**, p. 189: ***Xa'tcu*, KHAHT chu**

   HARRINGTON, fr.420: **Ha'tʃo, Haht sho**

2. **WATERMAN,** p. 190, #64: ***TL!ahwa'dĭs*, Tlah HWAH dis** "An old village site on the northern shore of the lake, "something growing or sprouting," also: "something planted erect by a house fire).

   HARRINGTON, fr. #667: ***Tłahwo'dis*, Tlha HWO dees.**

3. **WATERMAN,** #66: ***sts!ap*, S TSAHP,** Sammamish River, "Crooked".
   HARRINGTON, fr. 420: ***Stsab*, STSAHB.**

4. **WATERMAN** #67: ***Qwai'tĕd*, QWAI ted, "Across"** [across the mouth of the slough]. Petersen's Point.

5. **WATERMAN**, p. 191, #68: ***Xwi'alad^{xu}*, KHWEE ah lahd hu,** "scanty…difficult to catch fish at this place".

6. **WATERMAN,** #68: ***U' a's*, Oo AHS,** North Point, "gravel rattling down".
   HARRINGTON, fr, 704: ***O'as*, Oh ahs.**

7. **WATERMAN,** #69: ***Li'lskut*, HLEEL skoot.**

HARRINGTON, fr. 704: ***Tłetłsk^{w}ot,* Tlhetlh skwot,**

8. **HARRINGTON,** fr. 704: ***Tsolkh,* tsolkh**

9. **WATERMAN,** #71: ***TcětcubEd,* Tshet choo bud**

10. **HARRINGTON,** fr. 704: ***SHa'tèʃ,* SHAH tesh,** 2-3 miles above Kirkland.

11. **WATERMAN, #72:** ***TE'btubŭ^{u},* TUB tub ee yu,** "Loamy place," Junita Creek.

H

HARRINGTON, fr. 704: ***Tabta-be´u,* Tahb tah BEY yooh.**

o

VILLAGE LIST Y-2, ***Tub-Tub-loon,*** "one medium 8 X 16 fathoms".

12. **WATERMAN,** #73: ***Leqa'bt,* Le QAHBT,** "paint". Nelson Point.
HARRINGTON, fr. 704: ***leKHabts,* Le Khahbts.**

13. **WATERMAN,** #74: ***Wicqab-a'lt^{u},* Wish qahb AHL tu,** "beach north of the town of Kirkland."

14. **WATERMAN,** #75: ***Tse'xub,* TSEH khoob,** "a water channel on the hillside north of Kirkland".

HARRINGTON, fr. 704: ***Tseɬub,* Tseh hub,**"looks like drop down, just one or two drops on water".

15. **WATERMAN,** #76: **Sta'LaL, STAH-hlahlh,** "The site of the town of Kirkland".

16. **HARRINGTON,** fr. 699: ***Kale'tsi*** **, kah LEH tsee ee.** "Kirkland". **VILLAGE LIST Y-2.** ***Kirkland,*** "3 medium 8X16 fathoms".

17. **WATERMAN,** #77: ***Ts!u'tsid,*** **TSOO tseed,** "Mouth of T!u...The mouth of Northup Creek".

18. **WATERMAN,** #78: ***Ts!u,*** **TSOO,** Northup Creek.

19. **WATERMAN,** #79: ***Txwa'bats,*** **TKHWAH bats,** "A swamp at the head of Northup Creek ...pulling something toward one".

20. **WATERMAN,** #80: ***SLiᵘLi'uks,*** **Slhee oo HLEE ooks,** "three promontories": Fairweather Point, Hunts Point [and Yarrow Point].

HARRINGTON, fr. 699: ***Ɬeuɬekᵃs,*** **hley oo ley kahs.**

~

21. **HARRINGTON,** fr. 701: ***Stakhtos,*** **Stahkh tos,** "Furthest up or ashore." [Yarrow Point]...point projecting north--west of Anderson Bay" **[?].**

22. **HARRINGTON,** Fr. 703: ***tʃaqʷos,*** **Tsah qʷos,** "furthest out [extending farther on a line between the other points], Hunts Point.

23. **HARRINGTON,** fr. 702: ***tʃaq'os,*** **TSAHQ os,** "Point projecting west of Hunt's Point". "Furthest out [Fairweather Point]". Fairweather Point.

24. **WATERMAN,** #81: ***Tca'bqwEsEbEts,*** TSHAHB qwuh suh buts, "A small creek at the head of Anderson Bay".

25. **WATERMAN,** #82: ***DE'q!tus,*** **DUQ tus,** "A small marsh at the head of the inlet west of [Hunts Point].

26. **WATERMAN,** #34: ***CtcE'gwus,*** **SHTSHEH gwus,** "Groat Point, near Peterson's Landing...place where a trail descends to the water".

27. **WATERMAN,** #84: ***TLhai'si,*** **tlh HAI see,**"A little creek at the head Of Meydenbauer Inlet. Named for a certain species of fish. This fish, called ***thais,*** has a stripe on the side and is very bony. They "ran" in great numbers at this point,"

~

HARRINGTON, fr. 699: **tɬhaise, Tlhai seh.** "Petersons Landing." Fr. 703: ***dułaise,*** **du hlai she,** "little fish looks like silversides has little mouth."

28. **WATERMAN,**# 85: ***Lcwild,*** **HLSH weeld,** Meydenbauer Point.
HARRINGTON, fr. 699: ***loweld,*** **low eld**

29. **WATERMAN** (#86). ***TL!utsa'lus,*** **Tlh oo TSAHL us,** "tying a mesh". A promontory west of Mercer Slough.

~

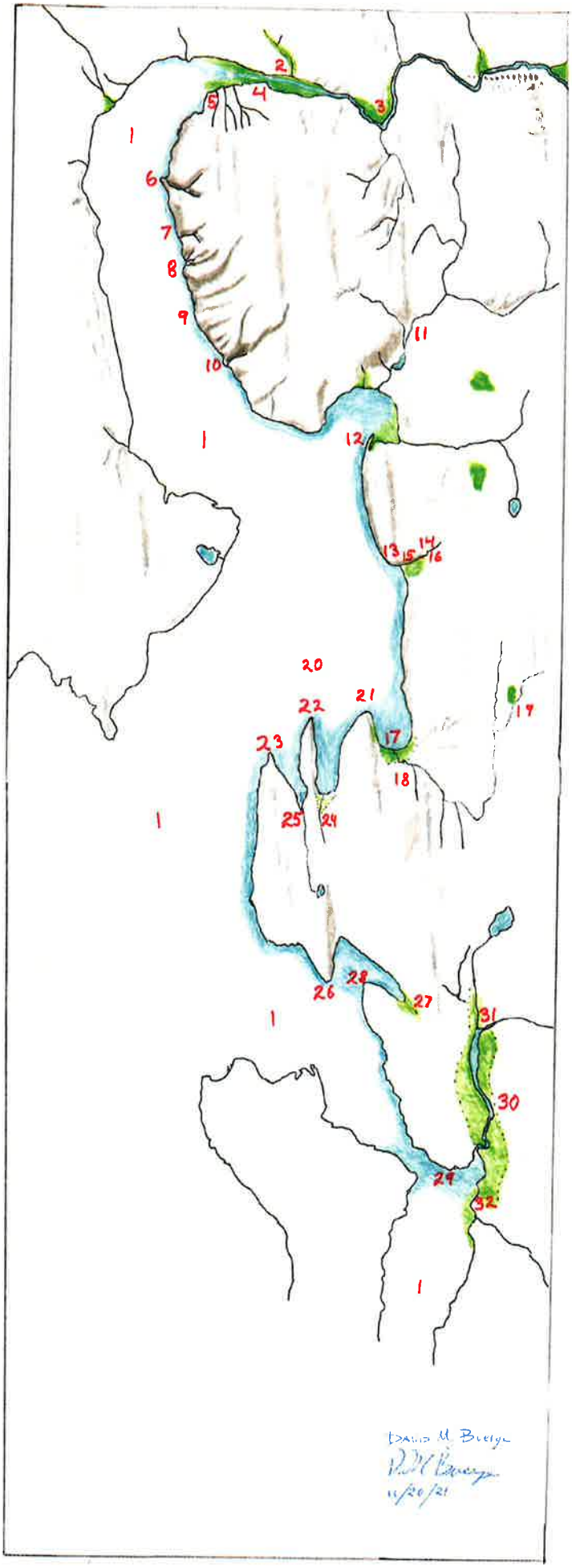
HARRINGTON (fr. 695). ***Stɬutse'low^{o}s,*** **Stloo TSEL o wos.**

30. **WATERMAN**. #88: ***Sa'tsakaɬ,*** **SAH tsah kahl,** Mercer Slough. "water at the head of a bay. An old village site."
HARRINGTON, fr. 695: ***Sa'tsakal,*** **SAH tsah kahl,**

VILLAGE LIST Y-2. Saza-Kalough, "3 medium 8 X 16 fathom".

31. **HARRINGTON,** fr, 69: ***paluoʃed*, pah loo oh shed**, "Clarks lake fork, looks like feet".

32. **HARRINGTON,** fr 695: ***papadi'l*, pah pah DEEL,** "Little settlement right at mouth of Sa'tsakal, fr. 686: padel – place that things that can't move are drifted ashore. redupl – all the time."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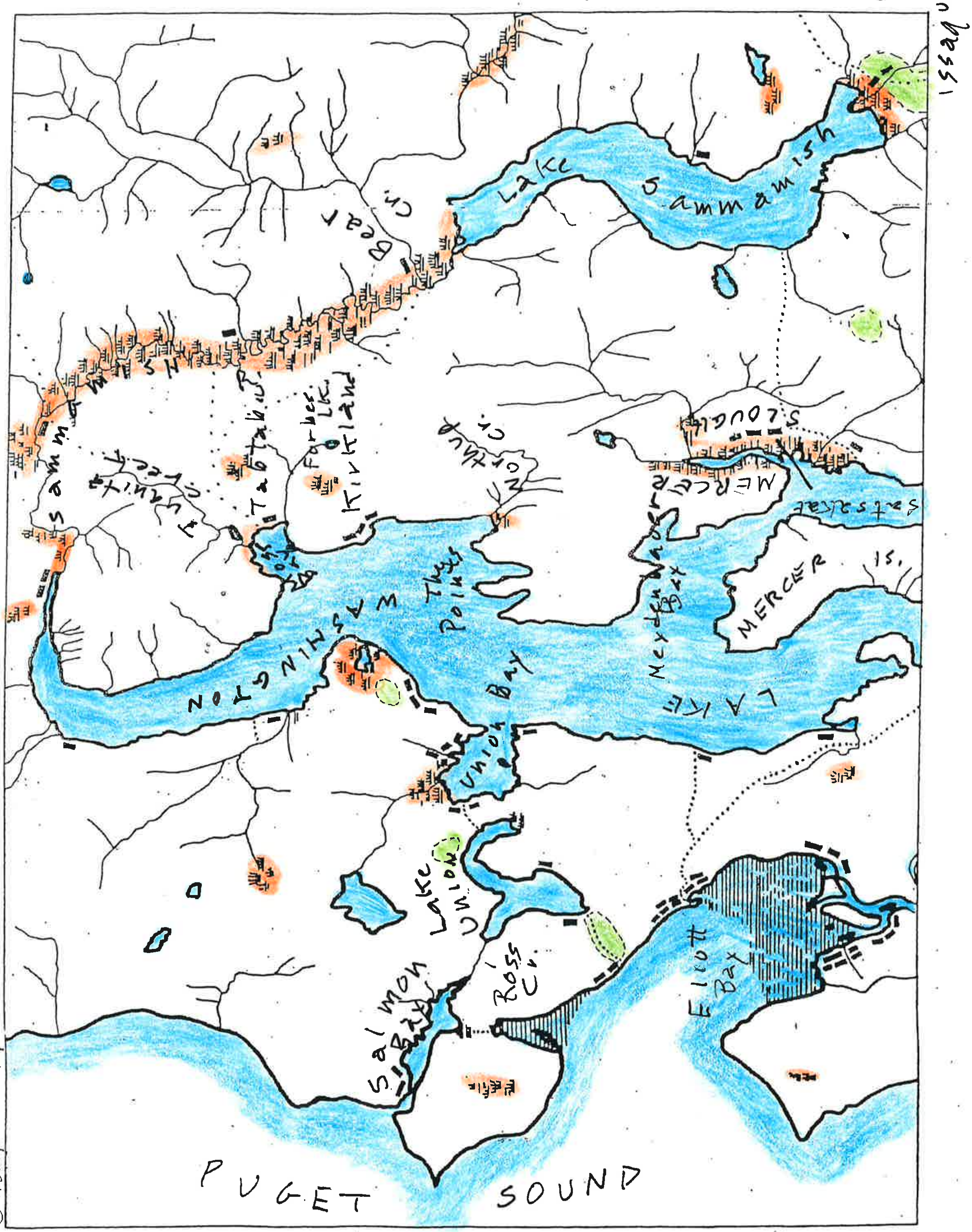

Issaquah Cr.
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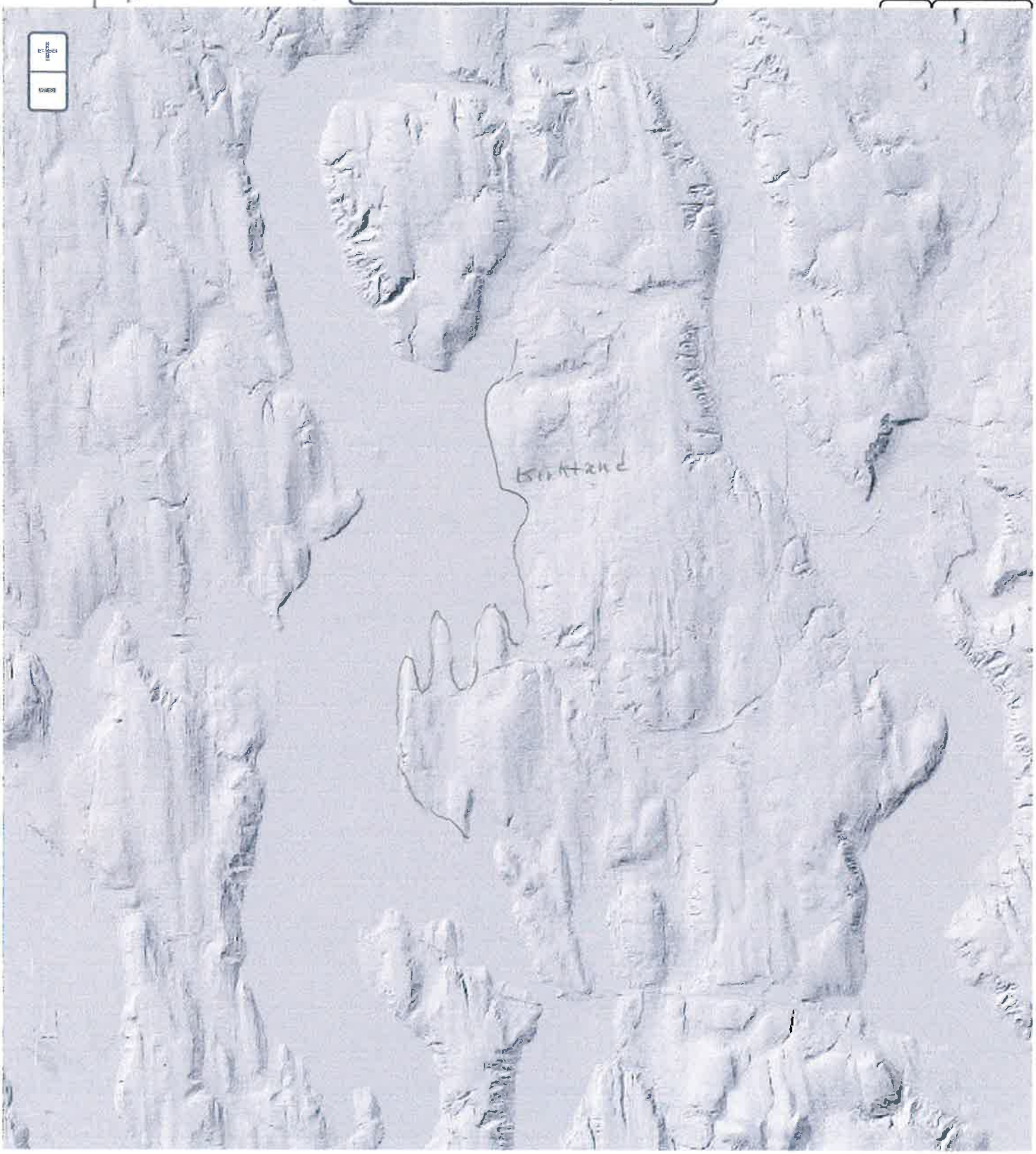
Bear Cr.
Sammamish
Tolt Creek
Tabtabiu
Forbes Lk.
Kirkland
Northup Cr.
Mercer Slough
Mercer
Satsakal
Mercer Is.
Washington
Lake Washington
Yesler Bay
Meydenbauer Bay
Union Bay
Lake Union
Ross Cr.
Salmon Bay
Elliott Bay
PUGET SOUND

4b Lidar Swipe DRUMLINS spyglass split screen



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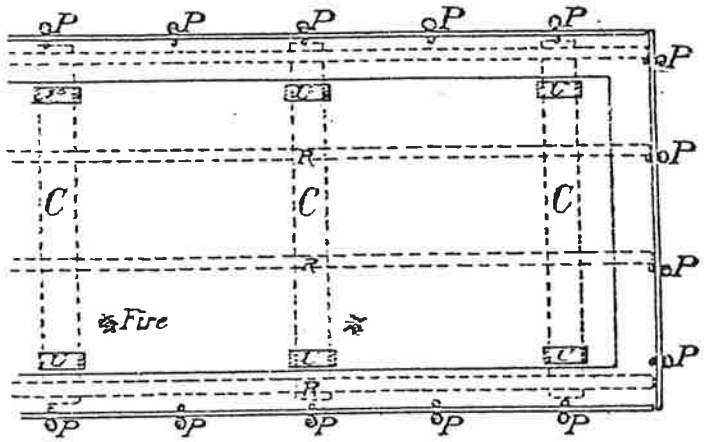

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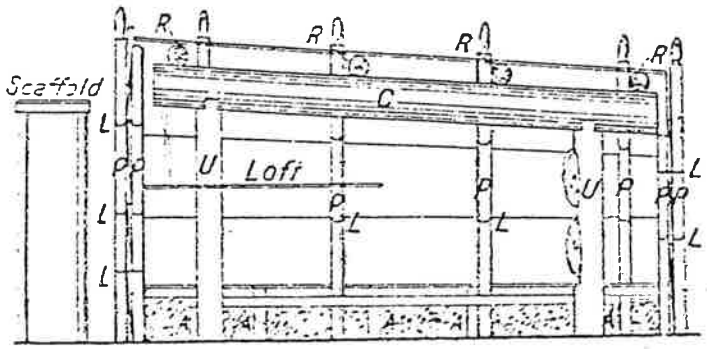

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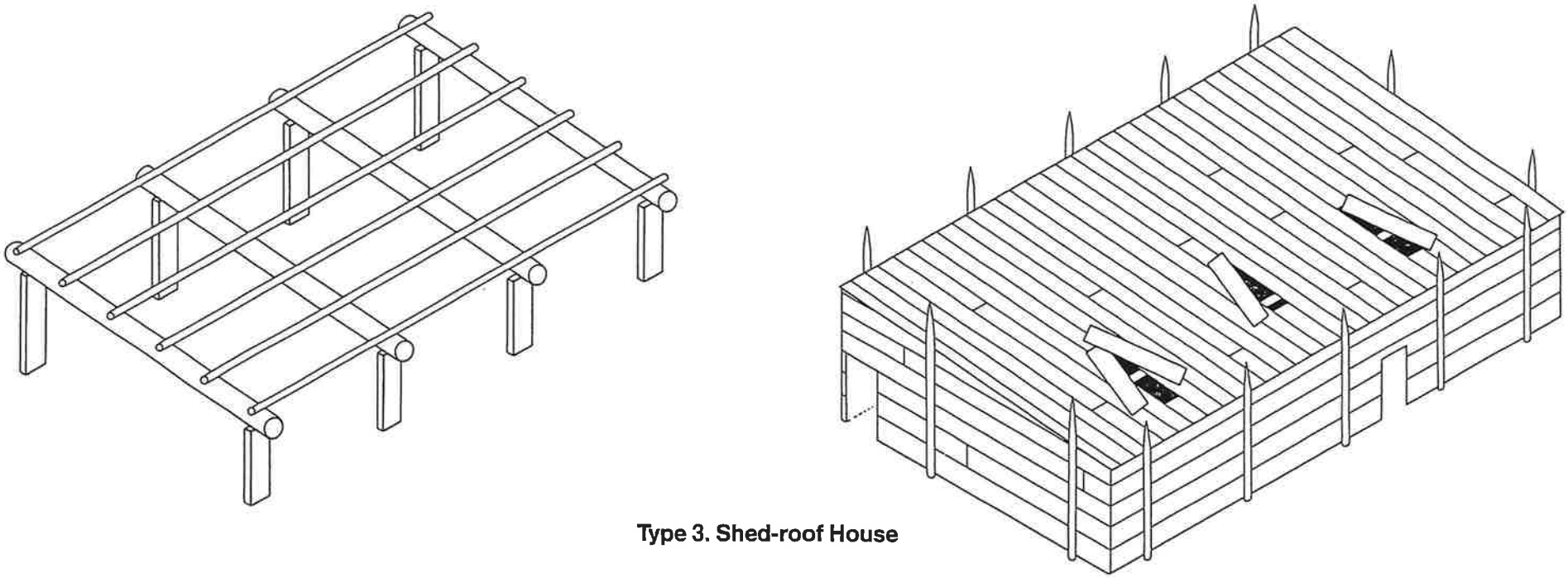
FIG. 1.—(*a*) Diagram showing the construction of a "shed" house. (*b*) Section of house. After Boas. (C, cross-beams; U, uprights; R, rafters; P, poles; L, ropes of cedar-branches which pass through holes in the boards and are tied around the poles).



Type 3. Shed-roof House

On Puget Sound, wall planks were placed vertically

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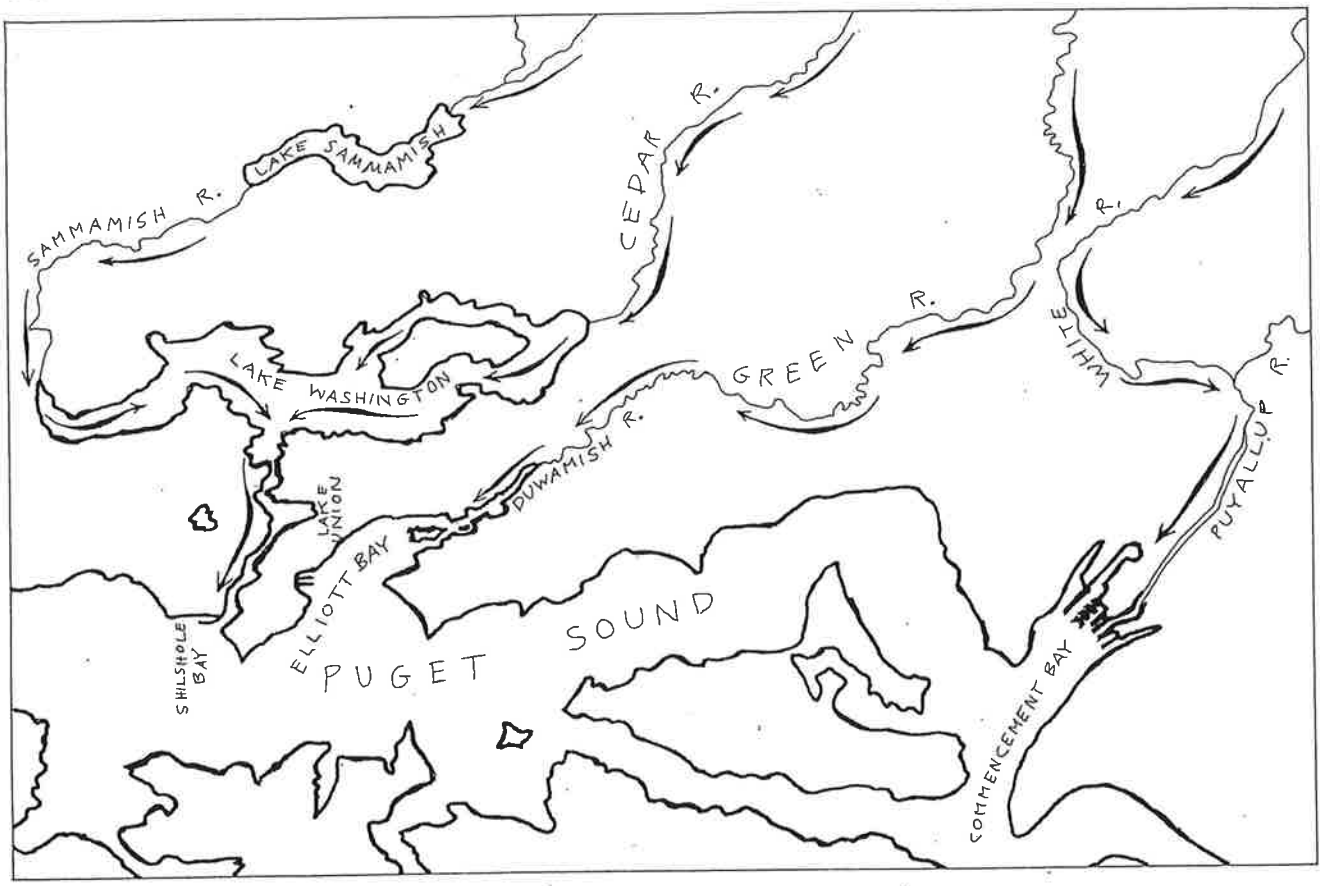
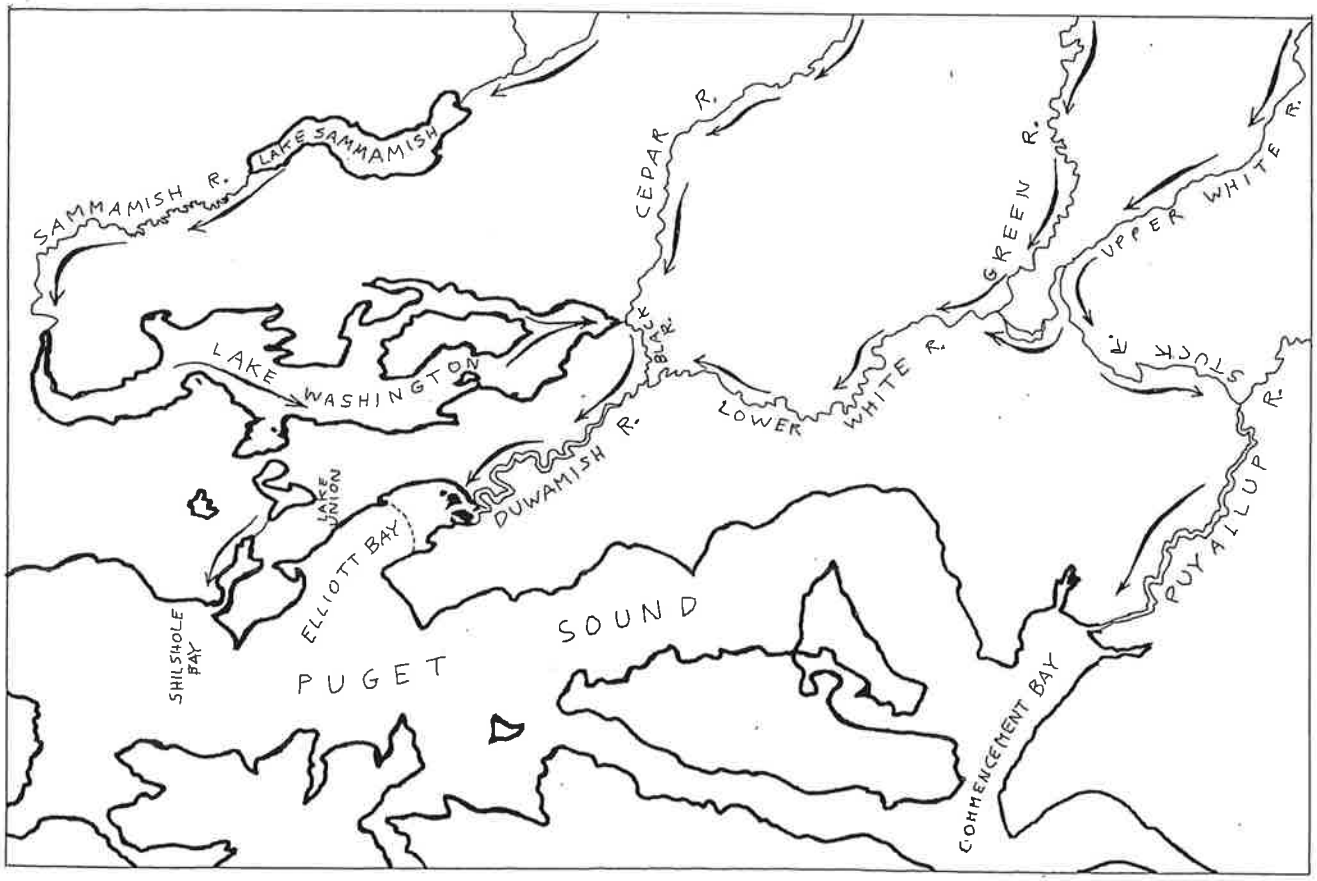
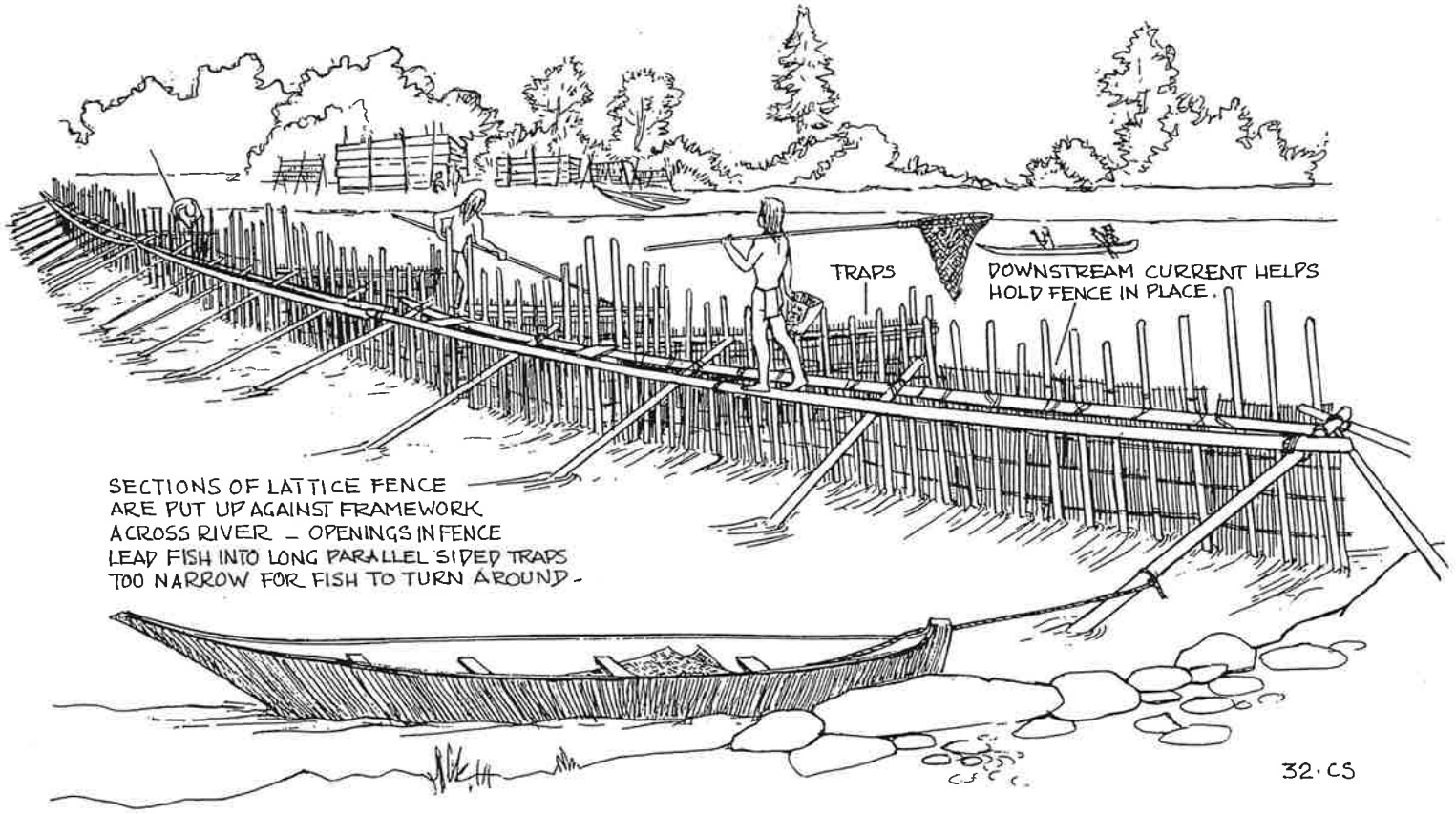

SAMMAMISH R.
LAKE SAMMAMISH
CEDAR R.
WHITE R.
LAKE WASHINGTON
GREEN R.
DUWAMISH R.
PUYALLUP R.
LAKE UNION
ELLIOTT BAY
PUGET SOUND
SHILSHOLE BAY
COMMENCEMENT BAY


SAMMAMISH R.
LAKE SAMMAMISH
CEDAR R.
GREEN R.
UPPER WHITE R.
BLACK R.
LAKE WASHINGTON
LOWER WHITE R.
STUCK R.
DUWAMISH R.
PUYALLUP R.
LAKE UNION
ELLIOTT BAY
PUGET SOUND
SHILSHOLE BAY
COMMENCEMENT BAY

FENCE WEIR FOR SALMON



ADAPTED FROM OLD PHOTO OF COWICHAN RIVER 11·CS

9a

Lake Washington's New Beach Line

By M. J. Carter

FOR nearly a quarter of a century the Lake Washington Canal has furnished a topic of considerable interest to the people of Seattle. A dream, born of the sanguine expectations of our early pioneers, it is now nearing completion, but just how much it will add to the commercial advantage of this community is yet to be demonstrated. That it has gone far toward the disfigurement of the once beautiful shores of the lake, many of us now fully realize. A recession of its waters to some eight or nine feet below its former level has disclosed many unsightly mud flats and long stretches of ugly beach line, which are strewn with the water-worn litter of countless years.

It has done more than that, however. It has revealed a secret locked in its silent embrace for centuries, which furnishes incontestable proof that Lake Washington today, after sluicing off some nine feet of its surface, is no lower, in fact not as low, as it has been at some time in the past.

If you desire proof of this statement take the Renton and Southern Railway at Seattle, to Norfolk Street. There connect with the launch "Valdez" to May Creek, where you will notice a long arm of delta land jutting out into the lake. Follow this point (and beware of quagmires), clear out to the present water level, which you will find covered with stumps to the water's edge, remnants of some kind of a forest growth. These are worn smooth to the present level of the ground, but the bowls of every decayed tree are supported by roots, in place, spreading downward into the slimy soil of what was, only a few short months ago, the bottom of the lake, and at some still remoter period dry land, covered with trees and creeping vines. If you are but a casual observer you will see little piles of rock here and there along an ancient beach line. They attract your attention first, because of the scarcity of such material in this vicinity, and a sort of vague wonderment as to how they were assembled in this manner takes possession of you. On closer examination you find that they have been cracked and broken by fire. In their midst you will detect charcoal in a perfect state of preservation, and you suddenly realize that here lie the remnants of campfires which glowed and flickered long before the white man's foot had trod the forest solitudes of Puget Sound. Mute evidences, these, of many things, things to stir the blood of the historian, the ethnologist, or the geologist, things to start a train of thought ranging back through periods of time not measured by the memory of the oldest inhabitant.

How far these campfire relics antedate the present race of aborigines is mere conjecture. What process of nature, slow or swift, glacial or cataclysmic, covered this ancient camping ground nine feet deep beneath the waters of Lake Washington, is purely a matter of speculation. We could build fancies about these conditions as we have seen them, fancies peopled with a dusky race of primitive men, smoking salmon for their winter food, or of a war party from across the mountains, lurking in ambush for the more peaceful denizens along the Sound. These were a rude people, hunters and fishers no doubt, but with some spark of human intelligence alight, such as the knowledge of fire and its uses, and stirred by the same love and hates that have troubled the breasts of men since the days of our primordial ancestors.

It took time to bury these records of another day, perhaps of another race. Little by little, grain by grain, river silt and detritus have been deposited by Cedar River at the southern outlet of the lake, damming up its contents and blocking its outward flow. Nature moves slowly on many feet, but man, harnessing the pent forces of the earth to his needs, strikes with irreverent hand, and the entombed secrets of the past stand revealed.

Benefit for Day Nursery

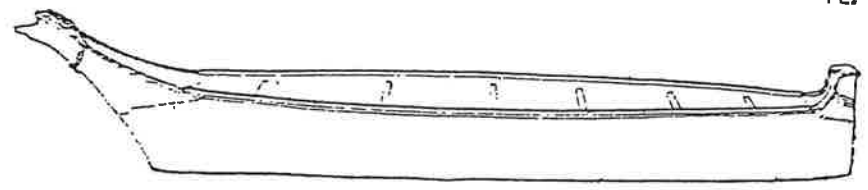
AN entertainment for the benefit of the Seattle Day Nursery will be given in the Pantages Theatre, the use of which has been generously donated by Mrs. Pantages, at 11 o'clock Saturday morning, April 21. The benefit is one that will appeal particularly to children, but it is for grown-ups as well. The time has been set for 11 o'clock in the morning, so the children of Seattle and their mothers can attend.

The entertainment is to be given by Mr. Charles Hutchins and Miss Adelaide Pollock. Miss Pollock, who is an authority on the subject, will talk about Washington birds and show from fifty to sixty interesting slides picturing their habits and life, and as she tells of the birds, Mr. Hutchins, who has charmed many children with his bird imitations, will give the song peculiar to each.

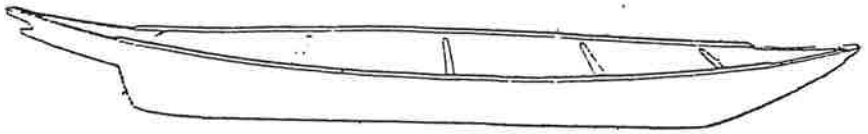
Mrs. N. H. Latimer, Mrs. A. Pantages and Mrs. L. M. Backus, chairman of the ways and means committee of the Seattle Day Nursery, have charge of the entertainment, the proceeds of which are to go to the Day Nursery Association.

The Day Nursery is an institution that is doing a splendid and practical service in the community and its work may become even more useful and necessary as mothers are compelled to seek employment while their husbands are fighting for their country. While the demands of other organizations created to meet the exigencies of war are receiving generous r... triotic, it should not... is more impor... field than the Day...

132



a



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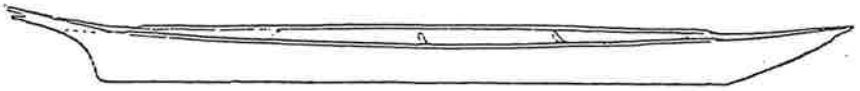

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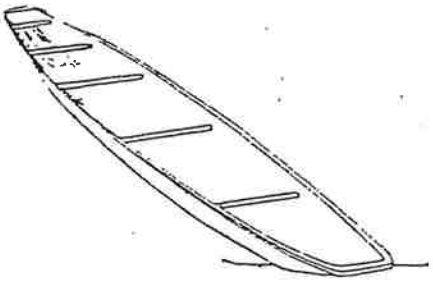

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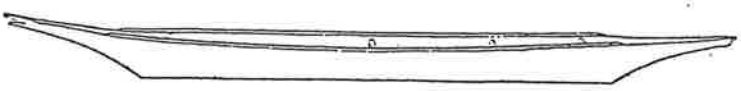


e

f

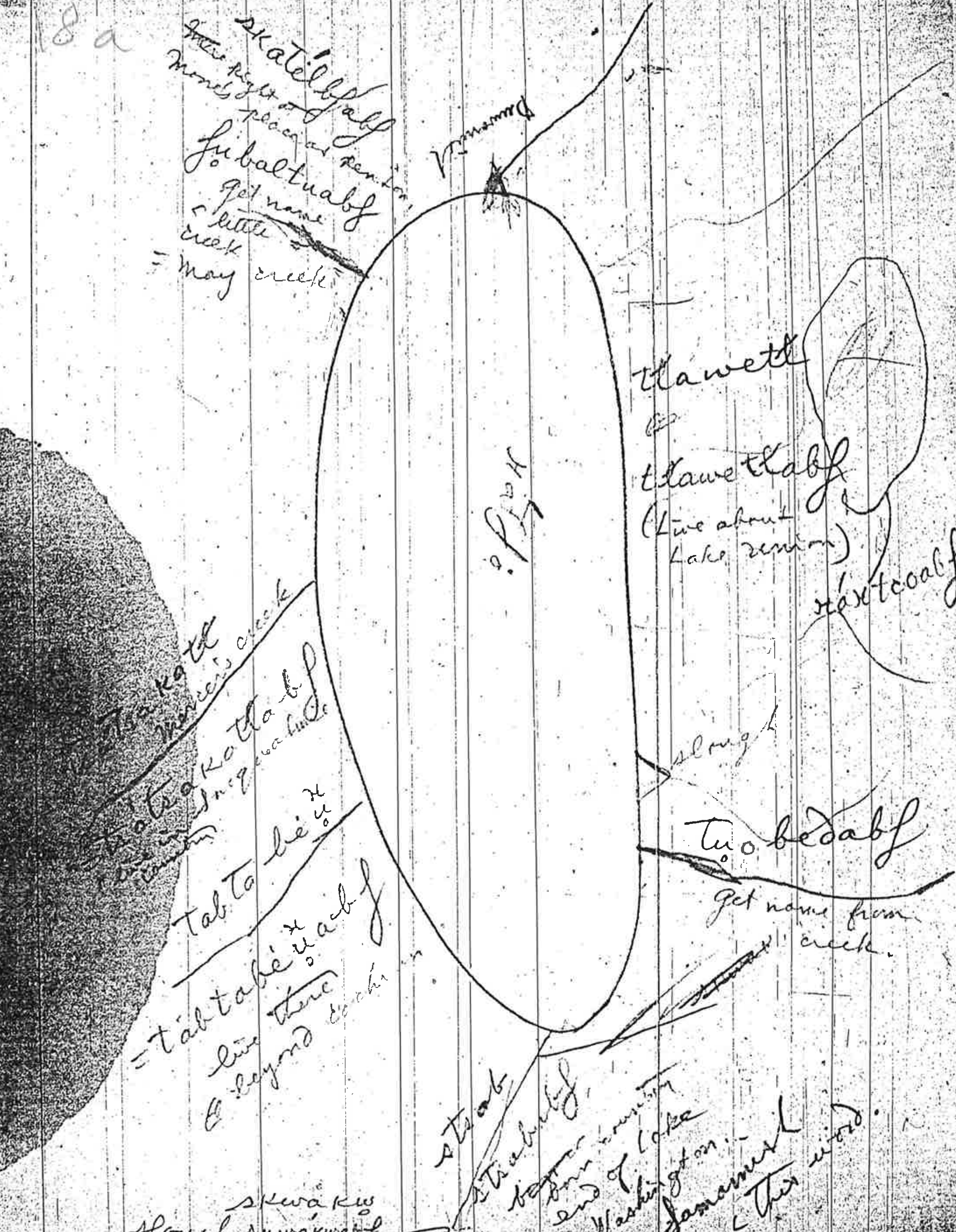
DIAGRAM REPRESENTING THE SIX TYPES OF CANOES ON PUGET SOUND

(*a*, the "war canoe"; *b*, the "freight canoe;" *c*, the "trolling canoe"; *d*, the "shovel-nose canoe"; *e*, the "one-man canoe"; *f*, the "children's canoe," used by children and as a knockabout.)

16a

INDIAN FISH TRAP

18a


skatelbabʃ
jubaltuabʃ
get name
little creek
= May creek
tlawetl
tlawetlabʃ
(Live about
Lake Renton)
slough
tuobedabʃ
Get name from creek.
Mercer's creek
tabtabéx
stsab
stsababʃ
end of lake
Washington
this word
skwakw
slough skwakwabʃ

/ 186

Villages of the Duwamish & Lak Washington

Su-la-chu-man	3	medium	8 X 16 Fathom.
Se-Kal-ouch	2	Hom medium	8 X 16 "
Kla-Hichus	4	"	" " "
Shub-alugh	2	—	" " " "
Laga-Kalugh	3	"	" " " "
Sal-Kul-Kuks	2		" " "
Kirkland	3		" " "
Jub-Jub-wor	1		" " "
Qui-Qui-alugh	1		" "
Tho-Chu-achel	3		" " "
Lajo-chaghin	1		" " " "
Dua-hoabus	1		" " "
Jal-Eliso	3		" " "
Thu-walh.	6		" " "

34 Houses in 14 Villages

IN THE COURT OF CLAIMS OF THE UNITED STATES

THE DUWAMISH, et. al. Tribes of Indians

Claimants,

vs. No. F-275

THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA,

Defendant,

CLAIMANTS' EXHIBIT Y-2.

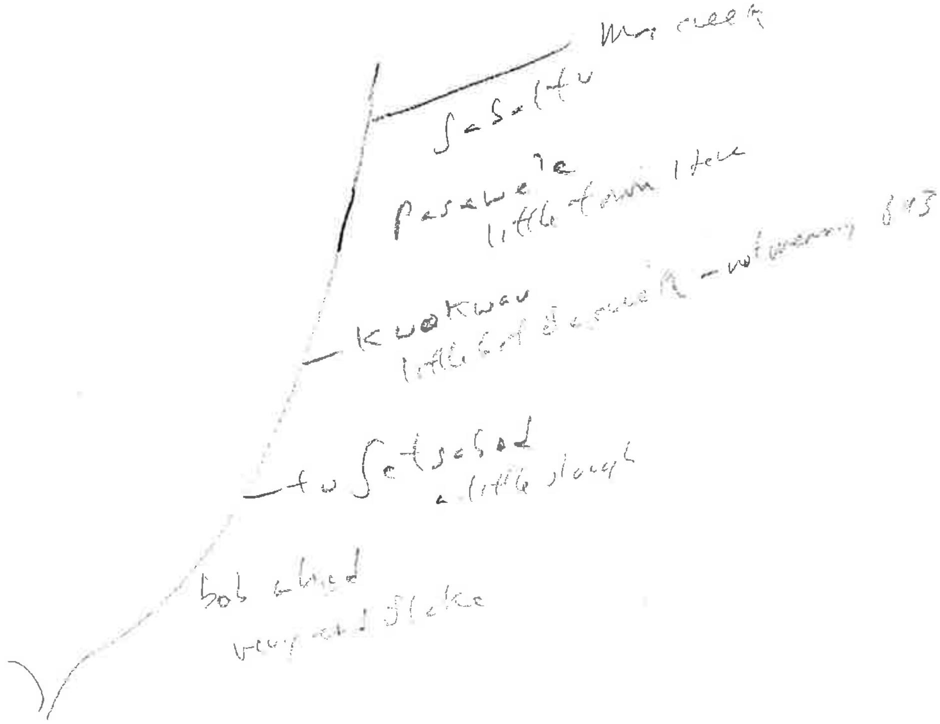
Earl E. Richards.

Commissioner.

FILED
OCT 3 1927
COURT OF CLAIMS

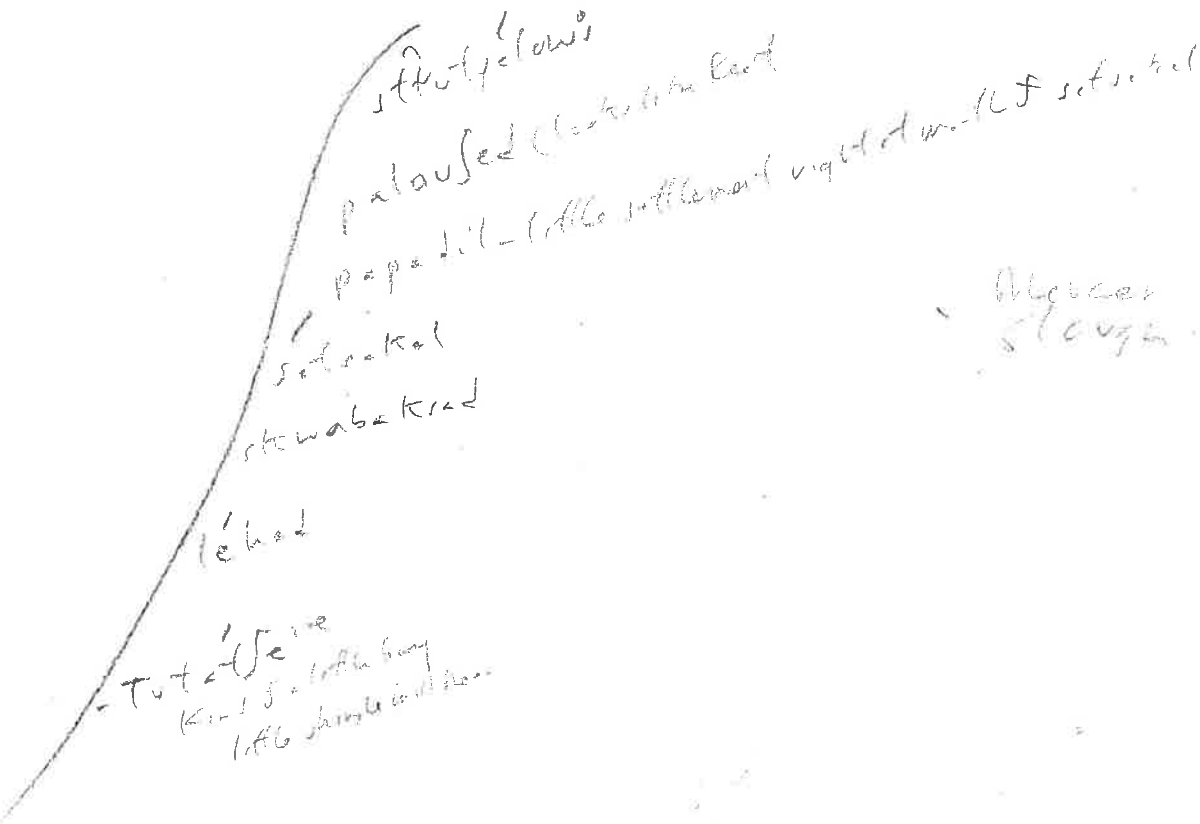
Get correct matter

23a



690

692 Pésawe – hard stick in there
694 bobuž̌d – short grass grows here



695

696 Papadil – place where things that can't move on water / shore – all the time

23 b

kalé'tsili (Kirkland)

stak̂Htos – point west of ... on ... bay

teʉHtauk̂s

699 tʃaqos point projecting ... of Hunt's point

t̂Haise – Peterson landing

lowell

701 stak̂Htos – furthest up or ashore

702 tʃeqwos – furthest out

703 dutaise – little fish, looks like silversides, ... little ...

stsab

o'as – looks like sliding down sands

THa...tsk̂wot

Tsolk̂h

SHá'tatʃ – 2-3 mi ... Kirkland

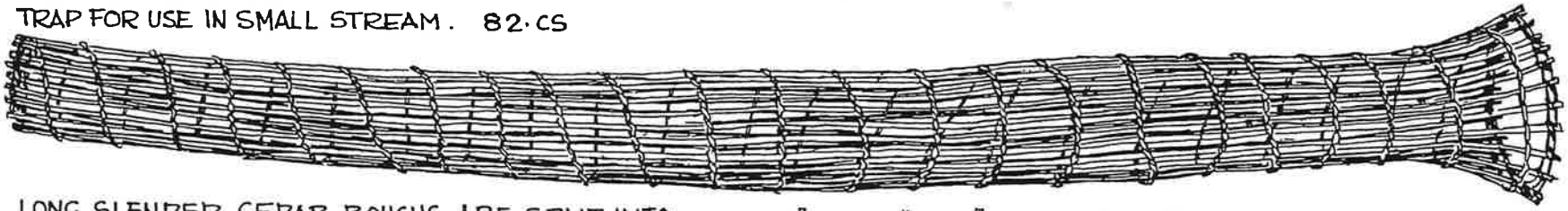
704 Tabtabsen...

lek̂Habts

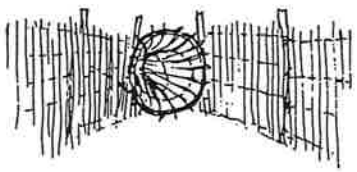
TseHob ... looks like drop down, ... over two drops ... water

713 Bellard Hwd Wd – small walled ...

TRAP FOR USE IN SMALL STREAM. 82·CS

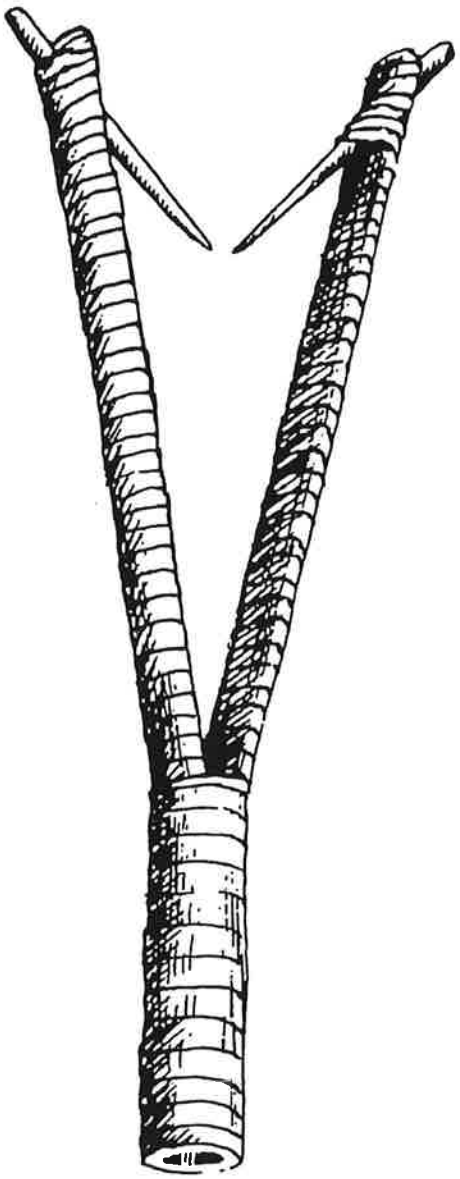


LONG SLENDER CEDAR BOUGHS ARE SPLIT INTO LENGTHS; SAME MATERIAL, MORE FINELY SPLIT, IS TWINED SPIRALLY TO FORM CYLINDER_FLARED MOUTH IS BOUND ON TO CEDAR BOUGH HOOP, END IS CLOSED IN.



TRAP IS USED WITH SIDE WEIRS – PEOPLE DOWNSTREAM BEAT WATER TO FRIGHTEN FISH UPSTREAM INTO TRAP_WHEN FULL, IT IS LIFTED OUT AND EMPTIED.

29a

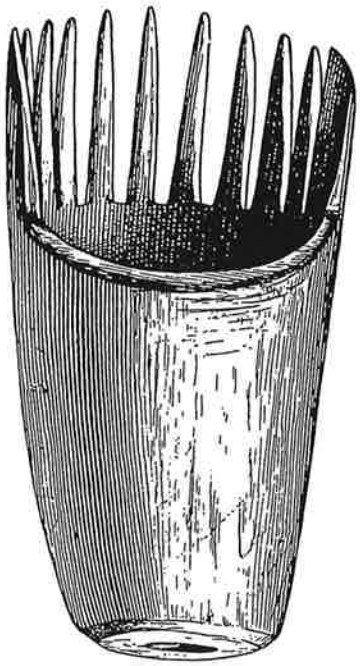


ENTIRE HEAD BOUND WITH CHERRY BARK, SOCKETED TO RECEIVE SHAFT. 45.0 cm 17.MK

31a

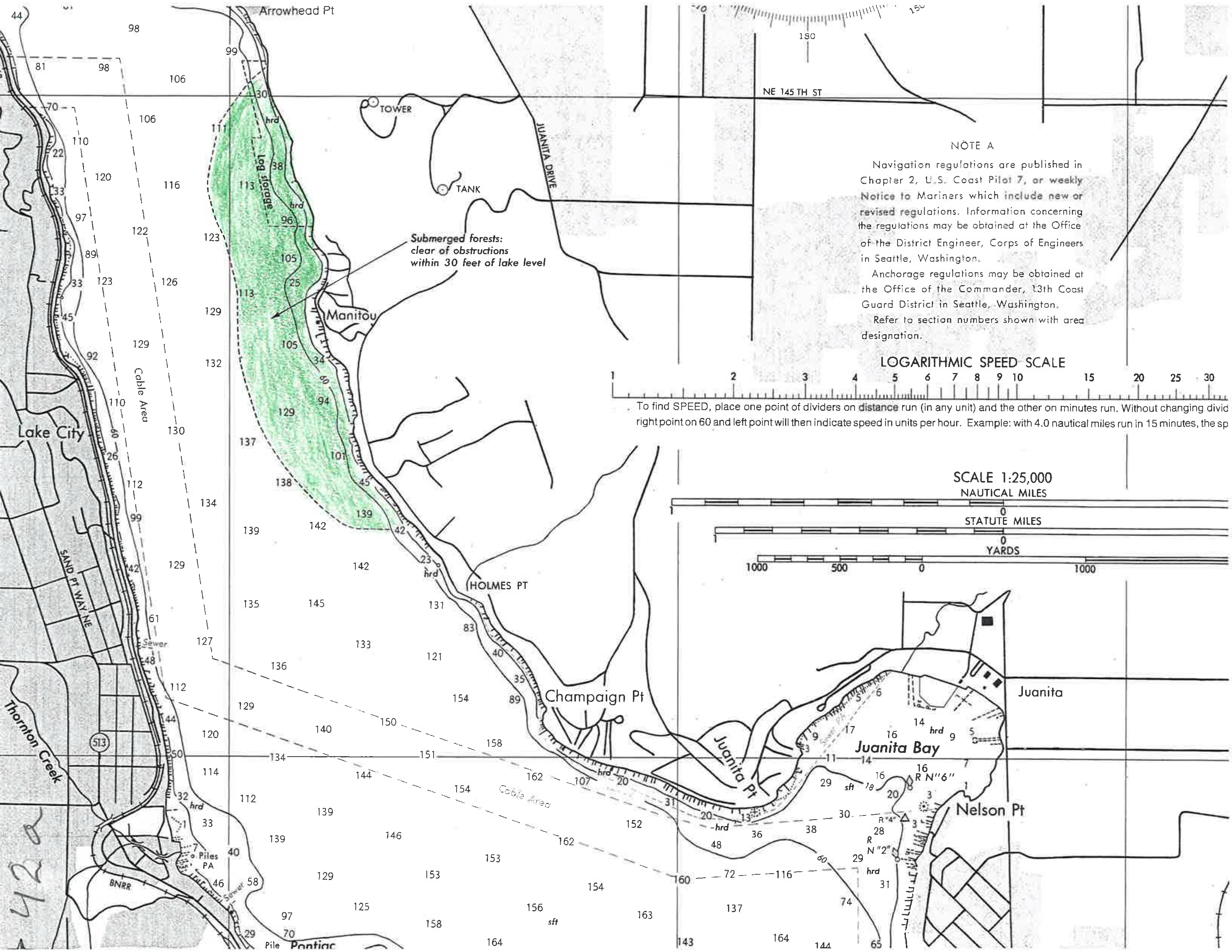
9/7295

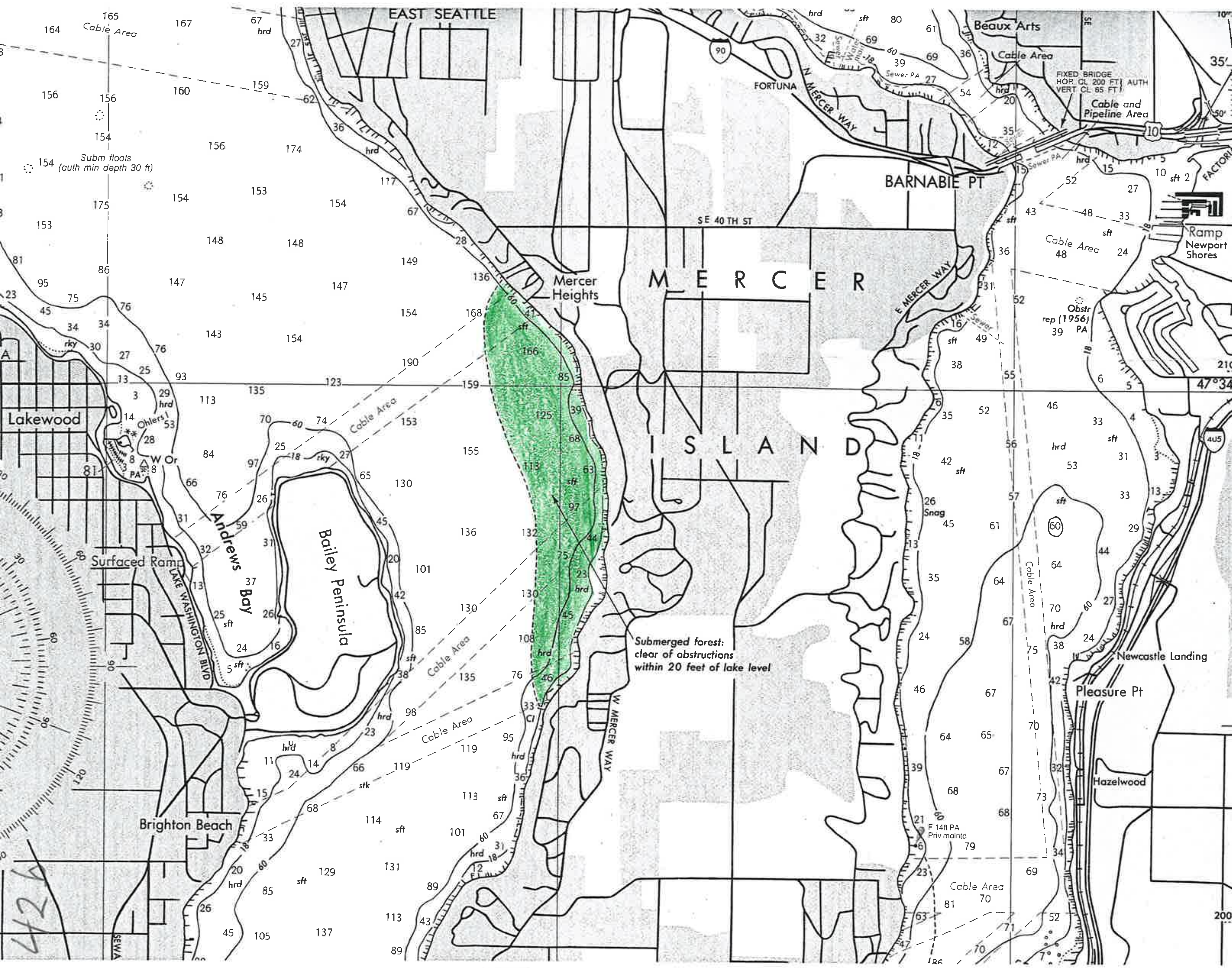
a. CEDAR WOOD BERRY PICKER.

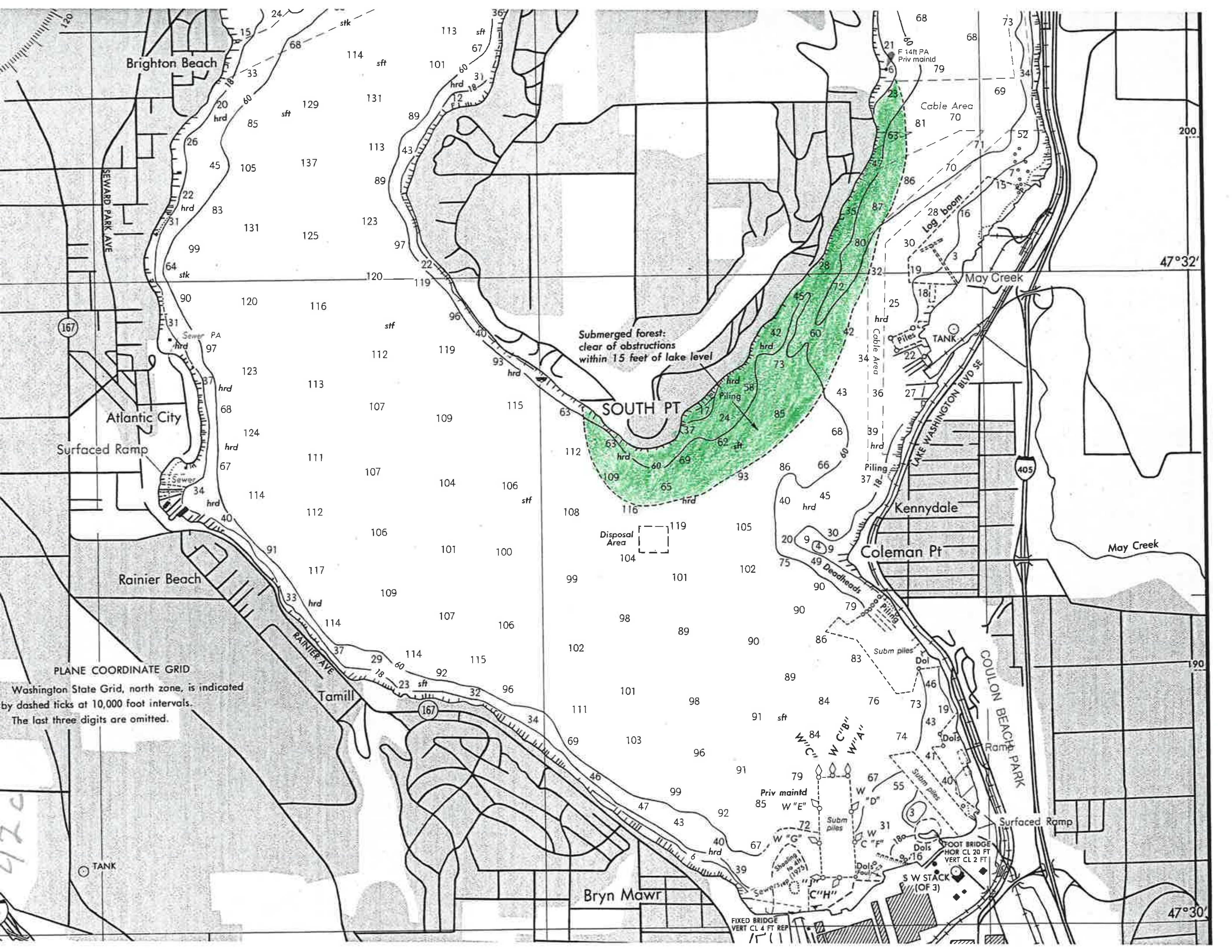


9/7672

b. BLUEBERRY PICKER.

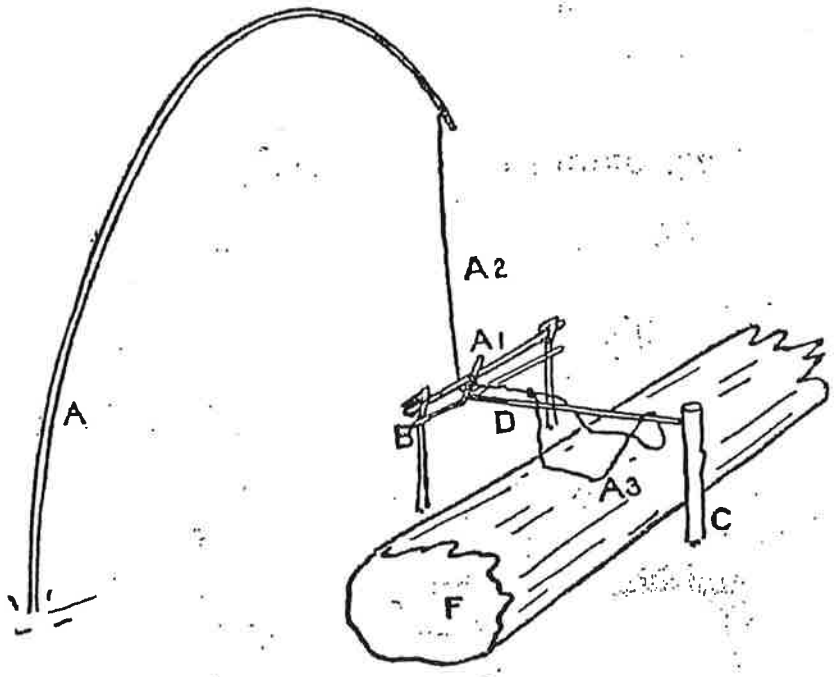

42a
Arrowhead Pt
NE 145 TH ST
TOWER
TANK
JUANITA DRIVE
Log storage
Submerged forests:
clear of obstructions
within 30 feet of lake level
Manitou
Lake City
Cable Area
SAND PT WAY NE
HOLMES PT
Champaign Pt
Juanita Pt
Juanita Bay
Juanita
Nelson Pt
Thornton Creek
513
BNRR
Piles
PA
Sewer
Pile
Pontiac
NOTE A
Navigation regulations are published in Chapter 2, U.S. Coast Pilot 7, or weekly Notice to Mariners which include new or revised regulations. Information concerning the regulations may be obtained at the Office of the District Engineer, Corps of Engineers in Seattle, Washington.
Anchorage regulations may be obtained at the Office of the Commander, 13th Coast Guard District in Seattle, Washington.
Refer to section numbers shown with area designation.
LOGARITHMIC SPEED SCALE
To find SPEED, place one point of dividers on distance run (in any unit) and the other on minutes run. Without changing divid
right point on 60 and left point will then indicate speed in units per hour. Example: with 4.0 nautical miles run in 15 minutes, the sp
SCALE 1:25,000
NAUTICAL MILES
STATUTE MILES
YARDS
R N "6"
R N "2"
R "4"


EAST SEATTLE
Beaux Arts
Cable Area
FIXED BRIDGE HOR CL 200 FT AUTH VERT CL 65 FT
Cable and Pipeline Area
FORTUNA
N MERCER WAY
Sewer PA
BARNABIE PT
SE 40TH ST
FACTORIA
Ramp
Newport Shores
Subm floats (auth min depth 30 ft)
Mercer Heights
MERCER
ISLAND
E MERCER WAY
Obstr rep (1956) PA
47°34'
Lakewood
Ohlers I
Surfaced Ramp
LAKE WASHINGTON BLVD
Andrews Bay
Bailey Peninsula
Submerged forest: clear of obstructions within 20 feet of lake level
W MERCER WAY
Snag
Newcastle Landing
Pleasure Pt
Hazelwood
F 14ft PA Priv maintd
Brighton Beach
426



Brighton Beach
SEWARD PARK AVE
Atlantic City
Surfaced Ramp
Rainier Beach
RAINIER AVE
Tamill
Bryn Mawr
PLANE COORDINATE GRID
Washington State Grid, north zone, is indicated by dashed ticks at 10,000 foot intervals.
The last three digits are omitted.
TANK
Submerged forest: clear of obstructions within 15 feet of lake level
SOUTH PT
Disposal Area
Piling
Cable Area
Log boom
May Creek
LAKE WASHINGTON BLVD SE
Kennydale
Coleman Pt
Deadheads
Subm piles
COULON BEACH PARK
Ramp
Surfaced Ramp
FOOT BRIDGE HOR CL 20 FT VERT CL 2 FT
S W STACK (OF 3)
FIXED BRIDGE VERT CL 4 FT REP
Priv maintd
F 14ft PA Priv maintd
47°32′
47°30′

44 a



1. *Explanation* : *A* is a pliable stick with a string *A*2 and loop *A*3 of cherry bark. *A* was held down to the crosspiece *B* by means of the little stick *A*1 attached to the string. The little stick was again held in place by means of the stick *D* which was set against *C*. *F* is a rotten log covered with moss. The noose was made to lie over this log and the stick *D*. The pheasant laid its eggs on moss like that on the log *F*. When the pheasant flew down upon the log the stick *D* would come out of place and cause *A* to snap up and this in turn would close the noose, catching the pheasant.

This type of trap was not used by the Snohomish but was always employed by the Snuqualmi. Besides pheasants, loons and ducks were caught in it. When loons were caught salmon was put on the log. When it was set for ducks rotten salmon was the bait. When pheasants were caught two sticks wrapped in moss were stuck into the rotten log, one at each end. These were the " wives " of the log and without these it was impossible to catch pheasants. These sticks were not used for loons or ducks. This usage is explained in this story.

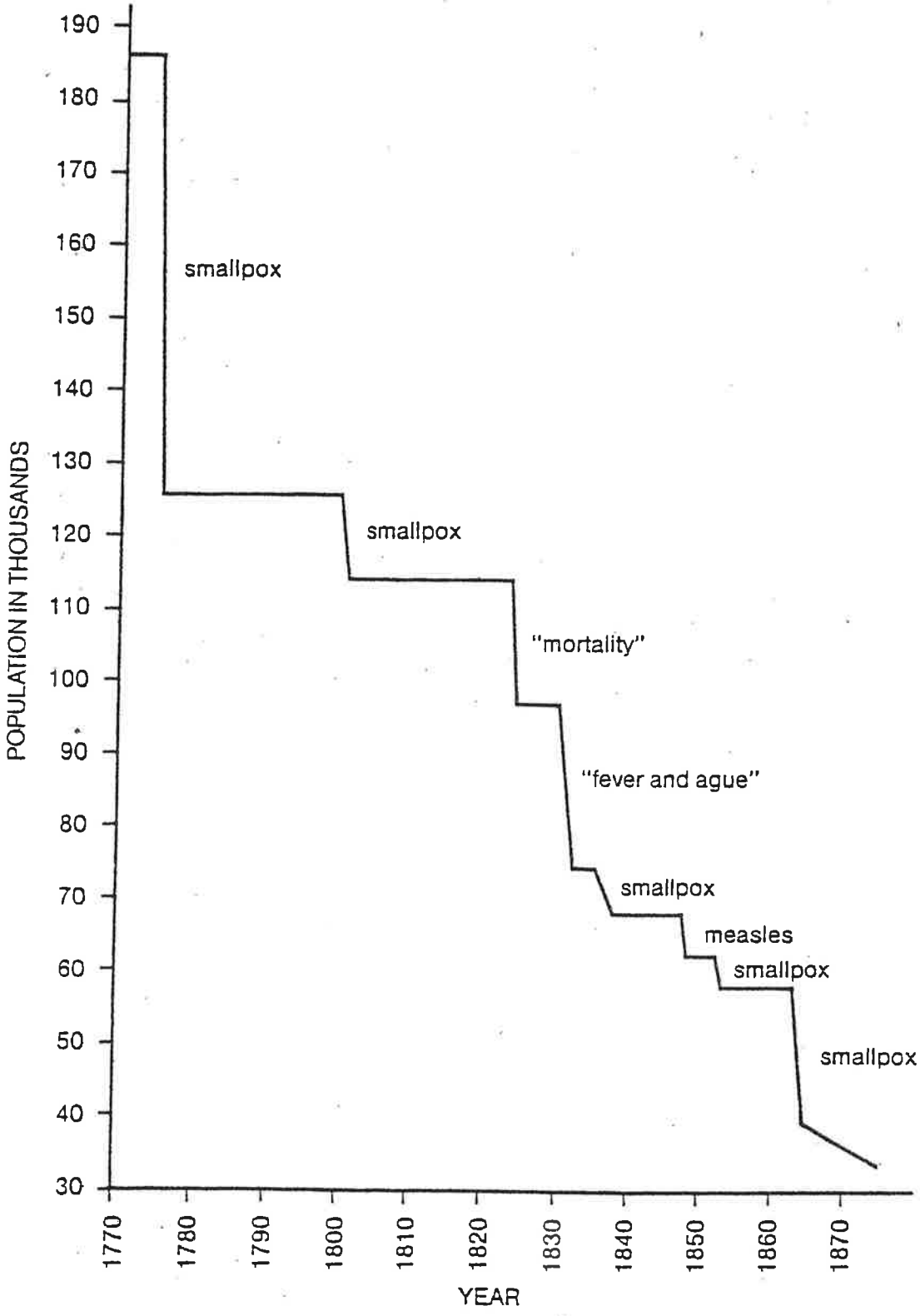
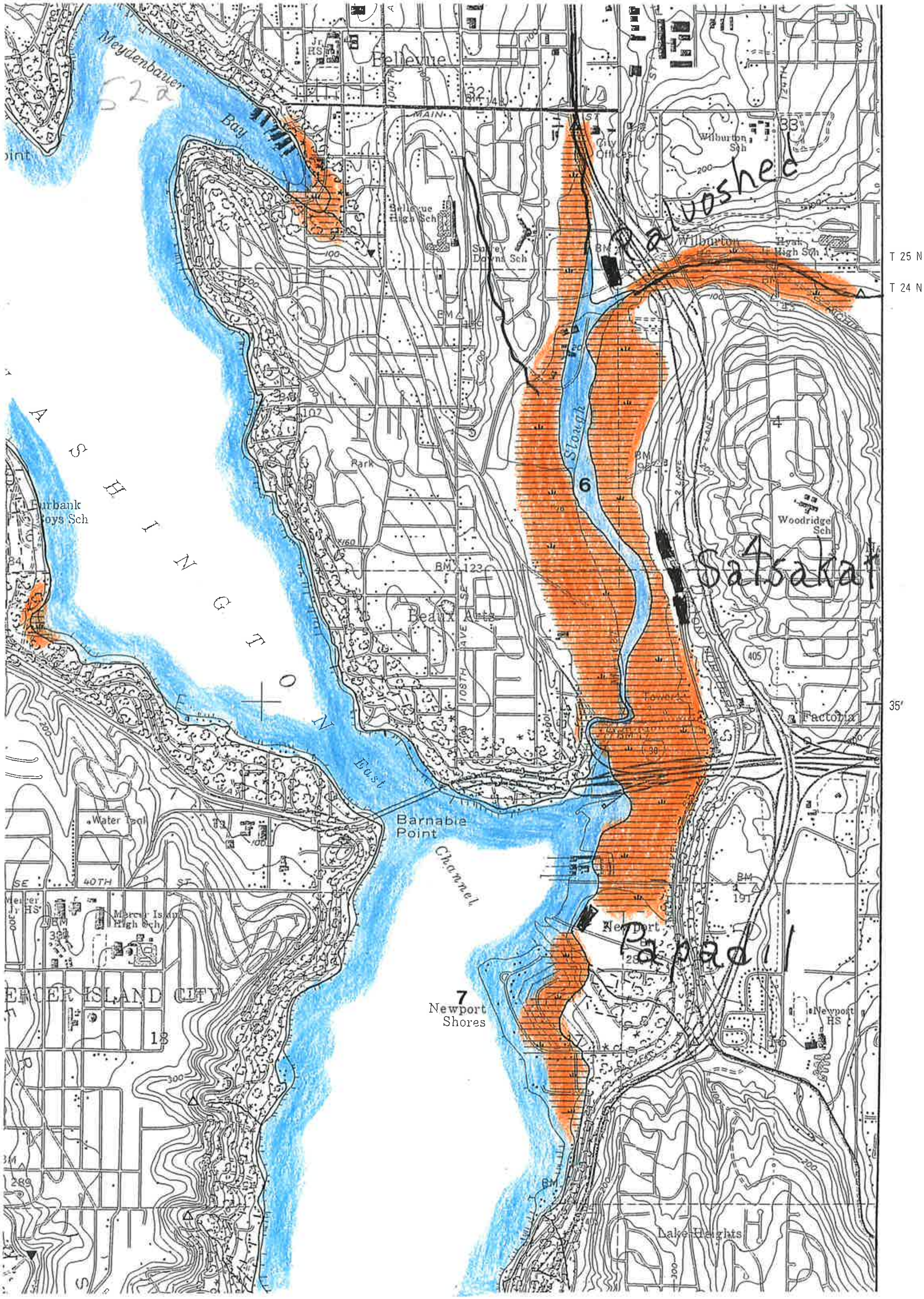


Fig. 5. Northwest Coast population history, 1774–1874.


Meydenbauer Bay
Bellevue
52a
City Offices
Wilburton Sch
Bellevue High Sch
Surrey Downs Sch
Wilburton
Hyak Jr High Sch
T 25 N
T 24 N
Paiuwoshed
Slough
6
Woodridge Sch
Satsakat
WASHINGTON
Burbank Boys Sch
Beaux Arts
Park
Factoria
35′
East Channel
Barnabie Point
Water Tank
SE 40TH ST
Mercer Jr HS
Mercer Island High Sch
MERCER ISLAND CITY
Newport
Papad'l
7
Newport Shores
Newport HS
Lake Heights