Kirkland Native History Document

City of Kirkland, Washington

An Enterprise of Resolution R-5434 and the Community Safety Initiative (2020-21)

Affirmation

In sharing and celebrating local native history, the City of Kirkland strives to include the perspectives and history of local Native people, in consultation with local tribal leaders and Native experts.

Local Land Acknowledgement

We acknowledge that the Southern Salish Sea region lies on the unceded and ancestral land of the Coast Salish peoples, the Duwamish, Muckleshoot, Puyallup, Skykomish, Snoqualmie, Snohomish, Suquamish and Tulalip tribes and other tribes of the Puget Sound Salish people, and that present-day City of Kirkland is in the traditional heartland of the Lake People and the River People. We honor with gratitude the land itself, the First People – who have reserved treaty rights and continue to live here since time immemorial – and their ancestral heritage.

Document Purpose and Sourcing

This document of record, intended to serve as a living document, is a compilation of information and images excerpted from numerous sources—conversations with Duwamish, Muckleshoot, Snoqualmie and Suquamish tribal leaders, Lushootseed language speakers and academic experts, websites, books, articles, maps, interviews—comprising the City's best understanding at this time. Sourcing format utilized: Excerpts are followed by the corresponding source citation(s), in superscript type.

Document sources are available for reading, listed and weblinked (see pages 15-16), with exception of published books. This includes a contracted work researched by historian David M. Buerge detailing the local precontact natural world and First Peoples' society, daily and seasonal life, villages and dwellings, place names and food sourcing.

The City of Kirkland continues to seek out and locate oral histories, historical documents and photographs relevant to the present-day Kirkland area. If you are at liberty to share additional resources, please contact the City Manager's Office: 425-587-3007. The City will hold resources for future updating.

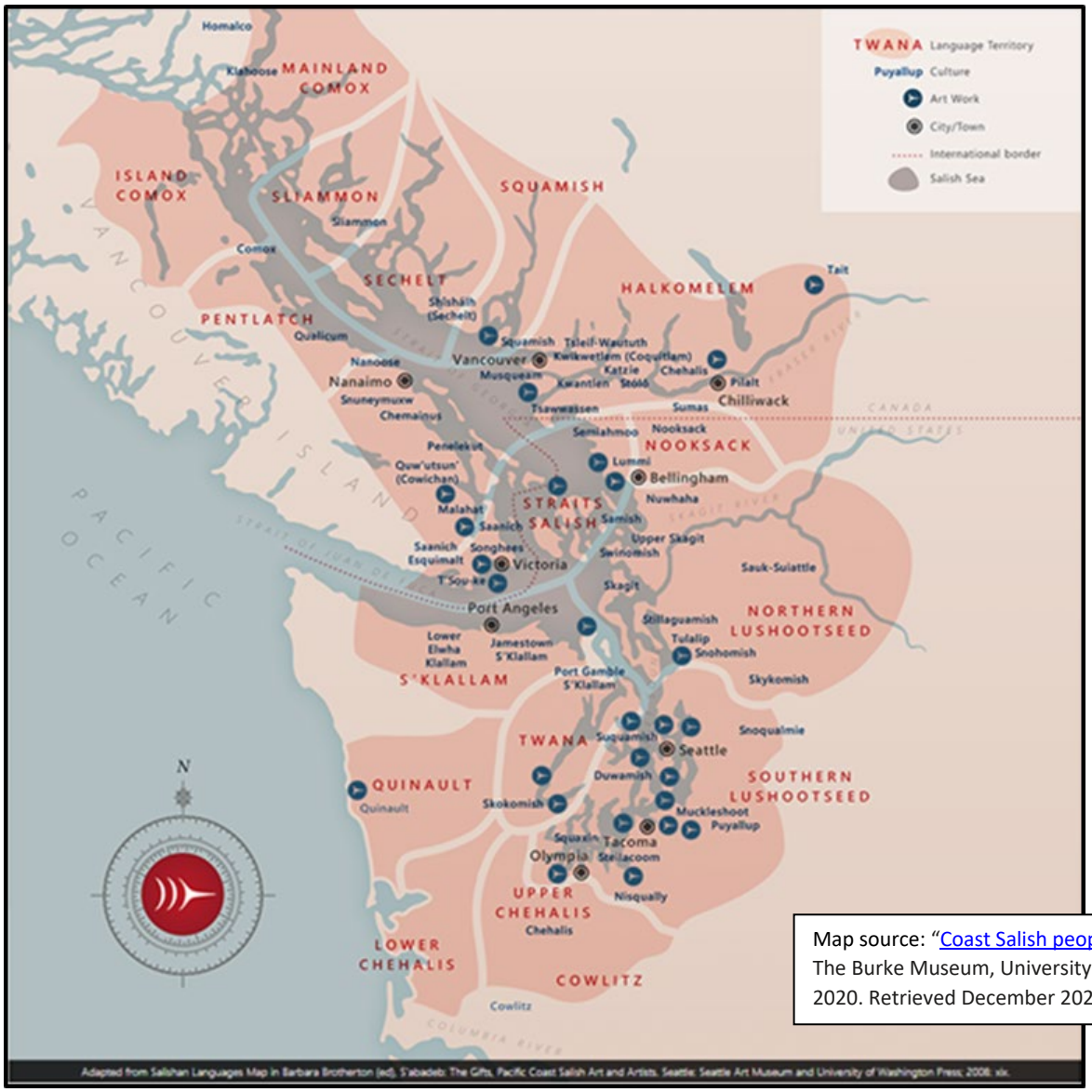
The Lushootseed (dxʷləšucid) Language

The ancestral language Lushootseed (dxʷləšucid), also known as Southern Puget Sound Salish, is spoken through-out the Puget Sound (Southern Salish Sea) region and is one of several languages of the Salish language family. The First People utilized oral story tradition to communicate and to pass along their history to generations for thousands of years, generally having no written form.[1,4,5,5b,6b,7,14,15]

Efforts to develop a written Lushootseed orthography and standardized spelling began early in the 20th Century. Later work to revitalize the language by numerous linguists, scholars, Lushootseed speakers and conservationists—including but not limited to the late Vi Hilbert (Indian name: taqʷšəblu), Upper Skagit; Ken Workman, Duwamish; Zeke Zahir and the late Snoqualmie Chief Earnie Barr—built upon earlier efforts by local elders and ethnographers.[1,2,5b,6b,7,16]

Additionally, Chinuk Wawa (Chinook Jargon), which originated as a pidgin trade language and partly descended from the Chinook language, as well as French and English, was used prior to European contact as a means for disparate tribes to communicate and trade. It was widely spoken across the Pacific Northwest and subsequently used for communication with European traders. In its later form, French and English words were added.[5b,17]

Please note that Anglicized spellings of Lushootseed words and names may differ from source to source, and as referenced in this document. See Table 1. Example: Hah-choo, Hah-chu and Khah chu are all variations of **x̌aču**, Lake Washington. This is due to the differences in work by ethnographers of different background with different first languages.



Map source: "Coast Salish people and languages" The Burke Museum, University of Washington, 2020. Retrieved December 2020.

First People, Local Lands

Heartlands and Shared Lands. Native peoples are still here and are flourishing. For at least 12,500 years—since the last major "ice age"—First Peoples have inhabited, navigated and transected the southern Puget Sound (Southern Salish Sea) area. Self-identified groups (tribes) traditionally held a heartland where they lived, fished, gathered and wintered. Beyond these heartlands, people interacted in shared lands while trading and resource collecting.[3] Traditionally, members of different tribes practiced intermarriage with other tribes as a cultural exchange and a way to share access in areas distant from own. Marriage connected families on different watersheds and was a means of expanding one's economic base and cultural network.[6b,12]

Archeological data from the Bear Creek site in Redmond indicate human presence in the area 12,500 years ago—a charred salmon bone indicates the catching and cooking of salmon.[5b,12]

The tribes are known today as the **Duwamish** (dxʷdəwʔabš, **'**People of the Inside'[4]), the **Muckleshoot** (bəqəlšułucid, 'High Point from which You Can See'[14])**,** the **Suquamish** (suq̓ʷabš, 'People of the Clear Salt Water'[5,5b]), the **Snoqualmie** (sdukʷalbixʷ, 'the Transformer's People'[6b]), the **Snohomish** (Sdoh-doh-hohbsh), the **Tulalip (**dxʷlilap), the **Puyallup** (spuyaləpabš) and the **Skykomish** (sqʼíxʷəbš).[4,5,6,7]

Kirkland Area Native History Narrative

First People. The First People have existed in the greater Seattle-King County area at least 12,500 years.[36] 'Duwamish' is the Anglicized pronunciation, which means 'people of the inside' or dxʷdəwʔabš. This references where the Duwamish lived, in the interior on the Duwamish, Black and Cedar rivers. At one time, the Duwamish and former White River Valley and Lake Washington were arms of the sea. Although people shared a single language, the Lushootseed language, other aspects of their cultures were different, such as particular foods and canoe styles.[4,5b,6b,12,22,37]

The First People lived in relatively smaller, autonomous villages of a larger tribe, unlike the larger tribes of British Columbia, Alaska, the Plains and the Southwest. Many Coast Salish tribes were affiliated through intermarriage, political agreement, trade, material culture and language. The abundance of natural resources and efficient technology for harvesting and preserving food enabled them to develop a rich cultural and spiritual life. The yearly cycle of activities was divided between the harvesting of food from temporary camps in warm months and communal life in substantial winter houses for social and religious observances and protection against cold weather.[5,6b]

Longhouses making up winter villages—so named because they were occupied primarily during the winter months—were rebuilt every few years to escape vermin that had accumulated on earthen floors. The locations of villages were carefully selected in relation to the waterways and surrounding lands according to ancient traditions passed down from generation to generation. While families and houses moved, some villages stayed in the same general area for decades, centuries, even millenia.[12,5b,6b]

Lake Washington: x̌aču (Hahchoo). Duwamish people lived on the Duwamish, Black and Cedar Rivers, and the Lake People lived on Lake Washington and Lake Union. The Lake People were more closely associated with the Duwamish than any other group, since Lake Washington drained south, joined the Cedar River and formed the Black River at the site of the most important Duwamish winter village.[3,3B,12] People living in villages along the shores of Hahchoo, or present-day Lake Washington, were collectively known as Hahchoo-AHBSH, or x̌ačuabš that is, Lake People.[4,21,22,23] Hahchoo was a substantial body of water at the center of a roughly radial pattern of many stream drainages, with each drainage the home of an autonomous tribe.[5,12c]

Historian David Buerge chronicles that the area provided early inhabitants with an amazingly rich variety of resources. For example, the rivers were valued as a source of migratory fish, and the lakes had their own large resident populations of species like the kokanee, sucken, chubb, and peamouth. Although not popular today, these species are entirely edible and were valued when the salmon were not running. There were also waterfowl and large populations of muskrats, beaver, otters, and other animals that were hunted and trapped, and there were edible plants including the wapato—or 'Indian potato.' This potato-like tuber was important to the local diet, as well as the water lily, whose seeds were ground to paste, and the cattail, whose root was edible and whose pithy stalk was used to make mats.[12c,21]

Successful navigation of rivers and open water was as much due to the skills of the people as to the quality of the vessels themselves. Knowledge of tides, major river currents, snags and logjams, and canoe repair were fundamental elements of a traditional education for uncounted generations of Duwamish people in their ancestral homeland. A portage from Lake Washington to Lake Union, called Skhwacugwit (meaning 'portage'), was a vital passage from the coast into the lakes and river system all the way up to Issaquah and beyond.[4] The Duwamish of the Cedar, Black and Duwamish Rivers and the Sammamish were "River People."[12]

The division of the lake people into separate winter village groups reflected the unique character of the lake fishery. For those living alongside a river, a weir (a fence or enclosure set in a waterway for taking fish) built across the channel could keep fish from moving upstream, and agreements were worked out between upstream and downstream groups over the placement of weirs and the times a group could keep its screens in the water. However, a weir built on one tributary of the Lake would have no effect on the catch at any other, so there was not the need to cooperate in the same way as there was among river groups. Precisely how this affected social relations among the lake people cannot now be determined, but the presence of so many separate winter village groups in one relatively small area suggests that it enhanced their autonomy. This complex arrangement seems to have lasted a long time. The lake people remembered when their aquatic world had been an arm of the sea.[12c] Lake Washington changed from a marine embayment to a freshwater lake about 14,800 years ago.[5b]

A variety of sources identify 18 house sites along Lake Washington. From one source, a remarkable village list submitted as evidence in a court case, we know how many houses stood at many of the sites and even how big they were. According to the list, they were all "medium sized, 8 by 16 fathoms," or about 50 by 100 feet. Houses of this size probably sheltered four or five families, or 20 to 25 individuals.[12c]

The ancestral heartland of the Suquamish People encompasses the north end of Hood Canal and Olympic Peninsula to Indian Island, the Kitsap Peninsula, and both sides of Admiralty Inlet, from Point Partridge on Whidbey Island south to the Tacoma Narrows. Early explorers, Hudson's Bay Company traders, and Catholic priests documented Suquamish throughout the region (Blanchet 1878; Bolduc 1979; Case 200; Dickey 2002; Haeberlin and Gunther 1930; Laframboise 1930; Lane 1974; Miller and Snyder 1999; Shaw 1904; Spier 1936; Tolmie 1963). Unique among Southern Salish Sea tribes, the Suquamish did not have villages on large glacier-fed rivers, but traveled throughout the region to fish, collect shellfish, hunt, and gather plant resources (Lane 1974). Suquamish fished primarily in Hood Canal, Admiralty Inlet, Elliott Bay, and Port Gardner Bay, including the estuaries and mouths of the Duwamish, Snohomish, and Skagit Rivers, but also traveled afar, to the San Juan Islands, the Fraser River, and the Strait of Juan de Fuca, and fished while traveling along the way (Dickey 2002; Lane 1974; MacLachlan 1999; Webster 1982a, 1982b). Suquamish accessed Lake Washington by traveling from Salmon Bay through Lake Union and Portage Bay, as well as canoeing up the Duwamish and Black Rivers (George 1952, 1983; Webster 1982a, 1982b, 1985). Suquamish families had kinship ties with groups living on Lake Washington and the greater Seattle area through marriage alliances.[5b]

Settlers and Smallpox. In *The Coming of the Spirit of Pestilence,* anthropologist Robert Boyd documents the cataclysmic impact of diseases introduced on the Northwest Coast. He dates the initial appearance at around 1775, when Westerners appeared off the coast and disease spread inland, erasing as much as a third of the population.[12d] On March 12, 1862, smallpox (*variola major)* arrived at Victoria, British Columbia, carried from San Francisco on the steamship *Brother Jonathan*. The catastrophic 1862 smallpox epidemic among Northwest Coast tribes was allowed to spread through the vaccination policy of white officials. They vaccinated as many whites as possible and very few Native people. When the Native people camped near Victoria began dying of smallpox, Vancouver Island authorities forced them to leave. The Native people, returning by compulsory pilgrimage to their homelands, caused the disease to spread north from Vancouver Island to southern Alaska, and south into the Puget Sound region.[24] The impacts brought about by disease were to be experienced by First Peoples for generations.

Currently, tribal and 'Indian' health organizations are leading local efforts to combat the COVID-19 virus by providing vaccine clinics, testing, educational outreach, wellness videos, counseling, meals, homeless services and emergency assistance.[3,4,5,6,6b,7,9,10,11]

Settler Land Claims. Precise land holdings were not part of traditional culture, although proprietary rights to resources were. Native people understood that crops and cattle required settlers to fence off land, but the idea of land as a commodity to be bought and sold was unfamiliar. The practice would eventually dispossess them.[25] The United States government accelerated the transfer of traditional lands into settler ownership with the Homestead Act (1862) by granting adult heads of families 160 acres of surveyed public land for minimal filing fee and 5 years of continuous residence on that land. This meant that Native people had to be driven out and displaced.[12]

In the late 1870s, along the shores of Lake Washington, settler families began staking claims—and more importantly, moving to them—banking on an eventual canal connecting the lake with Puget Sound.[25] Scant attention was paid to the magnificent lake's ancient caretakers, except when their activities

inhibited white progress. Many of the house sites on the lake appear to have been occupied up to the 1860s. Gradually the old village and house structures broke up and families drifted away, many going or being removed to the federal land reservations: Lummi, Swinomish, Tulalip, Port Madison and Muckleshoot (see *Treaty of Point Elliott* below). When they could, family heads took up claims at places near their old house sites, and a few did so on Lake Washington.[12c]

By the 1890s, most of the Hahchoo-AHBSH population had disappeared. However, a trace of Native activity continued on the lake, as settlers on the lakeshore could still see people in canoes fishing or at camps harvesting wapato. This seems to have continued until 1916, when Lake Washington was lowered by nine or more feet to create the Montlake Cut and Ballard Chittenden Locks.[12c,21,26] Until 1916, Lake Union and Lake Washington were separated by the Montlake divide, and the waters of Lake Washington and Lake Sammamish exited via the Black and Duwamish rivers into Elliott Bay.[12c] Subsequently, the Lake Washington watershed was reoriented entirely; instead of flowing south out of the Black river, it now moved north and west through the new locks.[25] Construction of the ship canal, along with construction of the Northern Pacific Railroad, dried up the wetlands near Native villages or demolished them outright; in time, the rest were set ablaze by settlers.[12b,27] Throughout Puget Sound (Southern Salish Sea region), between 1855 and 1904, 95 longhouses in 28 villages were destroyed by outright arson, dismantled or abandoned during settlement and relocation.[4,27,28]

Lowering Lake Washington brought about immense ecological impacts for the lake and its Native people. The marshes that had sheltered vast populations of waterfowl were left to dry out and became overgrown with willow and cottonwood. Even though the marshes eventually restored themselves at a lower level, the birds never returned in anything like their former numbers. Nor did the muskrats, the sockeye, and any of the other fish whose gravel spawning beds were exposed to the air. The water lilies and cattails took years to reestablish themselves, but the wapato seems to have disappeared altogether.[12c]

After the lake lowering, Native peoples could have reestablished themselves if settlers had not, by then, been flooding into the area. Waterfront property then, as now, was much in demand. And so, the lakeshore was settled, eventually to the point where the First People—who had willingly provided the struggling newcomers with fish and other survival basics—could no longer sustain a traditional life along the lake. So, unable to live in traditional ways, they moved elsewhere.[12d,28]

Villages within Kirkland: Tə'btubi and staɬaɬ. Ethnographers John Peabody Harrington (1886-1961) and Thomas Talbot Waterman (1885-1936) identified three groups in the Kirkland area. Most important were a group known in Lushootseed as the Hah-chu-AHBSH, “Lake People” who lived in about 14 winter villages around the lake, at least two of which were in Kirkland. East of them lived the sdukʷalbixʷ, the Snoqualmie, some of whom lived at Mercer Slough south of Kirkland.[5b,6b,12]

Hah-chu-AHBSH and S-tsah-PAHBSH are geographic identities identifying where people lived—tied to traditional place names in Lushootseed. But by adapting to lake and river environment these groups developed separate identities. Generally, names of people end with the suffix *abš* or *AHBSH*, “People of,” as in dxʷdəwʔabš or Xačua’bš, “Lake People” Another suffix, *biu* or *biux,* byoo / byookh, meaning “a

homogenous group or cluster [lexical suffix]" shows up in sdukʷalbixʷ Snoqualmie and Ta'btabiuxabš, the name of the Juanita Creek people.[6b,12]

Lake People had a significant presence in the present-day Kirkland area because there is evidence of several longhouses between Juanita Creek and Yarrow Bay.[16,23] Three longhouses located near Forbes Creek, a short distance south of Juanita Beach (where Juanita Bay Park is now located) served as a winter village.[21] The TAHB-tah-byook (or TAB tah biu) 'people of the loamy place,' had houses, possibly seven in all, were located at the mouth of Juanita Creek, at Kirkland, and at Yarrow Bay.

A village stood near the present central Kirkland waterfront…an unnamed village at Kirkland having three medium longhouses…but identified by Waterman as **sta~~ł~~a~~ł~~** or Sta' LaL. Neither ethnographer nor their informants mentioned a village at Kirkland, but Duwamish witnesses testified under oath to its existence in 1927. It is unlikely that informants would not have known about a traditional winter village at the site. But what court witnesses likely described was an historic village that appeared after white families began locating homes and farms in the Houghton area in the 1860s. As at virtually every other place where settlers gathered in number, native people relocated house to participate in trade and earn money selling food, supplies and labor. Multiple sources identified "a water channel on the hillside north of Kirkland" with traditional place name of **Tsə'xub** or TSEH khoob, meaning "dripping water."[12]

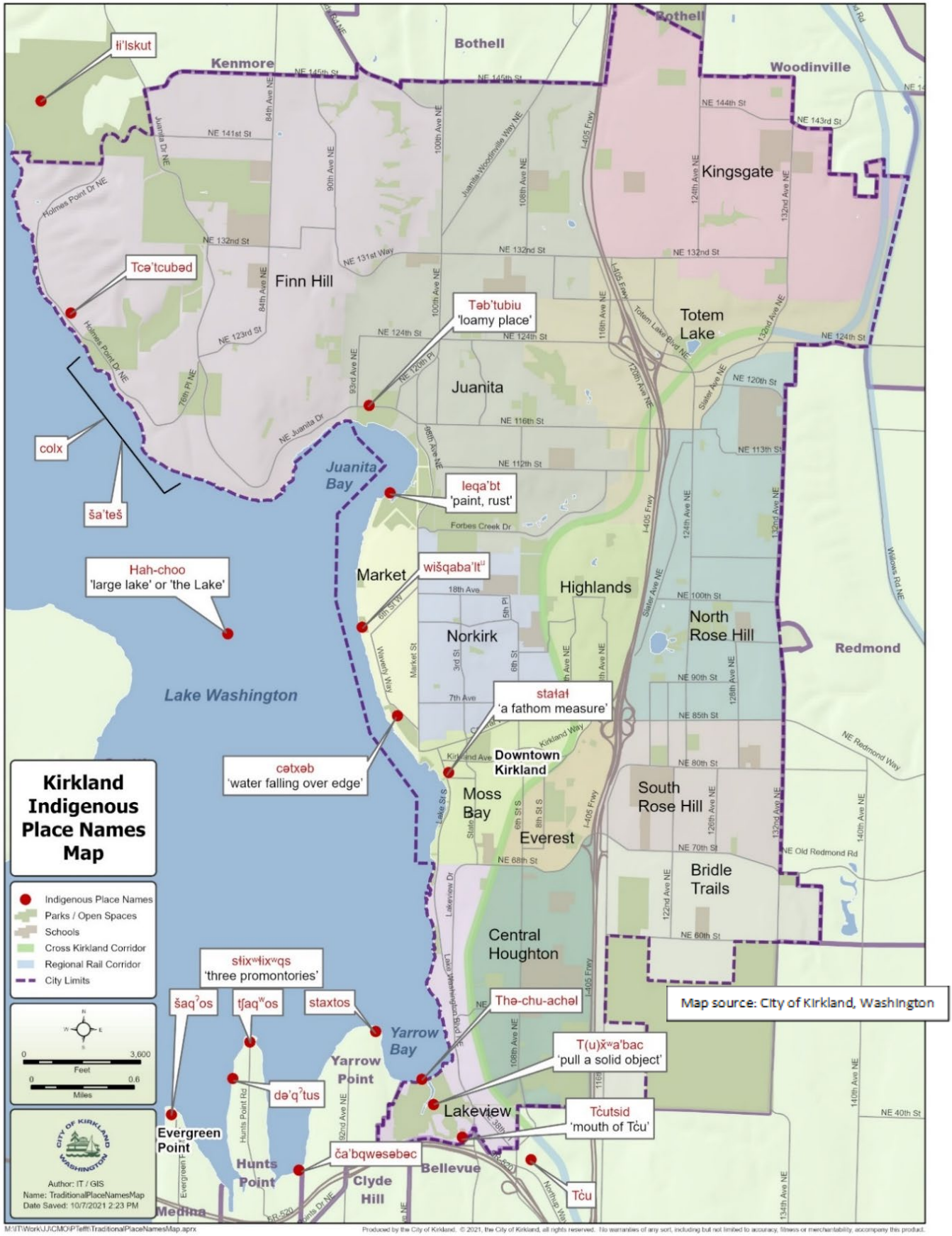
Within Kirkland, the first European-American homesteads were established near what is now downtown Kirkland.[23] The Lake People, the Hah-chu-AHBSH traded salmon, venison, furs, and even potatoes with the new arrivals.[4] Eventually, in 1888, the original inhabitant and homesteader farms gave way to a small town to support British businessman Peter Kirk's vision for a steel mill. Completed in 1891, the mill was located on Rose Hill, two miles from the lake's shore. Due to the 1891 repeal of the 1888 approved ship canal, and a financial crisis, the steel mill closed in 1891 prior to producing any rail. After its municipality incorporation in 1905, Kirkland's homes, businesses and streets grew steadily, leaving native forest remnants behind, both intentionally and unintentionally, to become part of the urban forest that exists today.[5b,29]

The First People enjoyed a rich and complex environment. Among their more famous resources were the wapato that grew in the margins of Juanita and Yarrow bays, considered to be some of the finest anywhere in the Puget Sound (Southern Salish Sea) region and remained a popular location for seasonal harvesting, a practice evidently continued until the lake lowering.[12c,21,26] The burial ground of this group appears to have been located on Yarrow Point, where older residents recall seeing grave mounds and finding beads and bones.[12c]

Jim, Amelia and Lalota Zackuse, along Lake Sammamish, after they were burned out of their homes along Lake Union.[6b]

Source: Museum of History and Industry (Seattle)

<u>Map 1</u>. Kirkland area indigenous place names (Lushootseed is in red text) with known meaning[2,4,12,12c,13,16 21]



See **Table 1** (p. 14) for place name reference sourcing.

Three Points: sɬixʷɬixʷqs. These long promontories (drumlins) are, from east to west, Yarrow Point, Hunts Point and Evergreen Point. The narrow bays between them are Yarrow Bay, Cozy Cove (once Anderson Bay) and Fairweather Bay. Their points' native names are, respectively, Stakhtos, Stahkh tos Tšahgʷos, Tshah gwos and Tsaqos, Tsahq os, the suffix *-os* meaning "face". This was a very beautiful part of the people's world. The interposition of water and land made it an exceedingly rich environment, and later visitors commented on its beautiful colors, qualities of light, mists and splendid views. Several streams drained a marsh at the head of Yarrow Bay, the main mouth being Tc!utsid, 'TSHOO tseed "Mouth of Tc!u," belonging to the stream, Tcu, Tshoo, Northup Creek. The creek angled more than a mile inland where it drained a marsh called Txwa'bats, TKHWAH bahts, "Pulling something towards one". This referred to the practice of putting the sharp nose of a hunting canoe into the vegetation, grabbing hold of it on each side and pulling the canoe forward. Repeating this, one could go where one wanted. Women gatherers were masters of this technique, following pathways invisible to others. As at Juanita Bay, distant groups often arrived to share the harvest.[12]

Localized Discrimination: Restrictive Covenants.[31,32,33,38,39] Both federal and Washington State law prohibit racial discrimination in real estate transactions, but for much of our nation's history, discriminatory practices were commonplace. In particular, the practice of "redlining" in Seattle and in other cities—combined with the pervasive use of discriminatory restrictive covenants—led to segregated neighborhoods.

Undoing the effects of these discriminatory practices has been an exceedingly slow and arduous process. Although the U.S. Supreme Court held that racially discriminatory restrictive covenants are unconstitutional and unenforceable in *Shelley v. Kraemer*, 334 U.S. 1, 9 (1948), the use of such covenants persisted in the decades that followed. It was not until the adoption of federal and state fair housing laws beginning in the late 1960s that discriminatory real estate practices were curbed. But such laws do not address the segregation that had already taken place and been memorialized in property records.[39]

During the Twentieth Century, there were at least three **Kirkland-area housing subdivisions** (developer-platted micro neighborhoods) known to have been racially restricted through property deed provisions or restrictive covenants: Kirkland Heights (1930), Juanitacrest (1947), and Gov. Lot 3, Sec. 17, Township 25, Range 5 (1939). As was stated in these legal documents and proclamations, this meant that the right of ownership, occupancy, conveyance and/or rental was restricted for "only those of the Caucasian race."[31] A 1948 U.S. Supreme Court decision ruled that "although racial restrictive covenants are private….they are none the less legally unenforceable, as they are in violation of the Equal Protection Clause of the Fourteenth Amendment." [334 US 1 (1948)] In 1968, Congress passed the Fair Housing Act, which "made the use of racial restrictive covenants in housing illegal." [US Statute 82 Stat 73][32] Additionally, the Washington State Legislature passed these laws enabling homeowner associations and property owners to remove unlawful restrictions from property documents:

- Homeowner's Associations (HOA) Discriminatory Provisions, 2006 [Engrossed Senate Bill 6169, Chapter 58, Laws of 2006]
- Restrictive Covenant Modification, 2018 [RCW 49.60.224][33]

As of April 15, 2021, both the Washington State House and Senate have adopted E2SHB 1335, providing a process by which discriminatory covenants may be removed from a property's chain of title. On May 12, 2021, the governor signed E2SHB 1335 into law.[39]

Treaties and Sovereign Nations. The United States government, its representatives and the majority of local settlers set about instituting policy and practice of separation by using treaties, state laws and local ordinances, such as those that prohibited interracial marriage and intergenerational inheritance and that outlawed in-city Native residency.[12b,25] The treaties established title to land in order to free it for white settlement.[5] It is important to note that treaties **reserve**—not grant—land, hunting and fishing rights for Native peoples. The treaties are legal contracts negotiated between so-called 'equals': the **sovereign** Native governments on the one hand and the United States government on the other. In the treaties, tribes relinquished claims to most of the land they occupied, and at the same time, reserved a number of small 'reservations' near their village sites. Native peoples also reserved the right to continue to hunt, gather and fish without interference in traditional areas adjacent to their reservations. In exchange for the ceded Native lands, the U.S. federal government agreed to provide limited supplies, educational services, medical care and modest monetary compensation. The government also agreed to protect access rights and lands that were reserved to the tribes.[5,19,20]

Negotiated treaties between tribes and the U.S. required ratification by the Senate before taking effect. Treaties that were not ratified by the Senate were not put into force, leaving unresolved issues.[30] In 1831, the United States Supreme Court decided that First Nations had the full legal right to manage their affairs, govern themselves internally and engage in legal and political relationships with the federal government and its subdivisions.[8]

The entire Duwamish-Green Rivers watershed was home to several tribes. As directed by the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Governor Isaac Stevens combined groups so as to create as few reservations as possible. George Gibbs, Isaac Stevens, Michael Simmons and other members of the Treaty Commission appointed Chief Seattle (siʔał) as the paramount chief of the assembled groups at the Treaty of Point Elliott. Signatory tribes appointed their leaders to attend and negotiate with the U.S. government. Several bands of people living in the Duwamish River drainage later stated that Chief siʔał did not have the authority to sign for them.[5b,6b,12]

The Treaty of Point Elliott, 1855.[19,20] More than twenty tribes were parties to the Treaty of Point Elliott, signed near present-day Mukilteo, on north Puget Sound, on January 22, 1855. This document was the second of five treaties which Territorial Governor Isaac Stevens negotiated with groups on the east shore of Puget Sound. Chief siʔał was the first signatory on the Treaty of Point Elliott in 1855, chief of the Duwamish and Suquamish tribes, followed by leaders of other groups appointed by each of their respective peoples.[4,5,5b,6b,19,20] In exchange for guaranteed perpetual fishing and hunting rights on "usual and accustomed grounds", as well as the creation of land reservations promised in treaty by the United States government, more than twenty tribes exchanged tens of thousands of acres of their homeland—which includes all of Lake Washington and today's cities of Seattle, Bellevue, Renton and Kirkland, reaching to the Canadian border.[3,4,6,6b,12c,19,20,26,27] This treaty with the United States federal government set aside land for four reservations in the Puget Sound (South Salish Sea) region: Lummi, Swinomish, Tulalip, and Port Madison (Suquamish).[5b,7,12c]

The negotiations were conducted using Chinook Jargon, a limited trade jargon taken from French, English, and Native languages. Many Puget Sound people did not speak the concrete shorthand language of a few hundred words, which was adequate for trading goods but not for legal negotiations. Therefore, the treaty was first read in English, translated into Chinook Jargon, and then into two languages of the Coast Salish: Lushootseed and Straits Salish. Given the limitations of the jargon and the fact that the concept of land alienation was unknown to the First People, the language problem produced difficulties in translation. Also, the treaties were made in great haste because Governor Stevens was anxious to negotiate as soon as possible. Together, these circumstances created misunderstandings which persist to this day.[5,17]

Several tribes gathered in 1933 for a reenactment of the 1855 Treaty of Point Elliott, at Juanita Beach, once the location of a Duwamish village.[26]

The treaties were not ratified by Congress until four years following negotiations, during which time many of their provisions were being consciously violated. Disputes over land ownership, reservations rights and boundaries, and fishing rights have arisen frequently since then. The United States Supreme Court has addressed issues seven times involving the reserved right of Native tribes to fish in off-reservation waters. Each time the Court has substantially affirmed the tribes' treaty rights.[5] [see Footnote, page 15]

In the summer of 1856, before Congress ratified the treaties, Governor Stevens held a meeting at Fox Island with representatives of the Nisqually, Puyallup, White and Green River peoples. At the meeting, Stevens agreed to changes in the Puyallup and Nisqually Reservations and to the establishment of an additional reservation at Muckleshoot, where there was a military fort on the prairie of that same name.[7] The Muckleshoot Reservation was established in 1857 by Executive Order, primarily for upriver people on the White, Green, and Upper Puyallup Rivers.[5b,18]

United States' Violation of Treaties. The signatory tribes on the Treaty of Point Elliott of 1855 have reserved treaty rights and continue to live here since time immemorial. Nationally, thousands of tribal groups have successfully fought to retain their treaty rights, and hundreds of others successfully fought to regain treaty rights once denied. This includes local Washington State tribes, many of which are experiencing resurgence and prosperity.[6b]

The Treaty of Point Elliott was one of about 370 treaties entered by the United States and Native tribes nationwide between 1778 and 1871. Like others, this one was quickly violated by the United States. Among other indignities, tribes involved in Point Elliott and other Washington treaties were denied their hunting and fishing rights for more than a century—these rights are still debated to this day in Washington State through lawsuits.[6b,27] [see Footnote, page 15]

Washington state currently has 29 federally-acknowledged tribes, but the Duwamish is not currently among them[27], although this is under appeal.[4] The Duwamish were assigned to the Port Madison Indian Reservation in the Treaty of Point Elliott. Many Duwamish were compelled, if not forcibly removed, to relocate from their ancestral homeland to one of the U.S. designated land reservations. While some

Duwamish moved to nearby reservations, many others declined to relocate and asked that a separate reservation be set aside in their own homeland, located where the Black and Cedar Rivers joined, in present-day Renton, near the city of Seattle. A Duwamish land reservation along the Black River—the 'inside' place that gave the Duwamish their name—proposed through U.S. Indian Affairs in 1864 was thwarted by male settlers which meant that the proposed reservation was never established.[5b,12b,25] The Muckleshoot Reservation, established in 1857, was later enlarged in hopes that the Duwamish would move to that area.[5,12b] Many did so, but not all. Some Duwamish descendants have enrolled with the Suquamish, Snoqualmie, Tulalip and Lummi Tribes. Many Duwamish still live in Duwamish aboriginal territory, which includes portions of Seattle, Burien, Tukwila, Renton, Redmond and Kirkland.[4,5b]

Despite signing a treaty with the United States government, the Duwamish Tribe has been denied its federal acknowledgment. That acknowledgment was briefly reestablished in 2001 by the Clinton administration, then reversed the following year by the George W. Bush administration.[4,30] The Bureau of Indian Affairs has subsequently stated that the Duwamish Tribal Organization is not the successor to the Duwamish people who signed the Treaty of Point Elliott and therefore does not retain federal treaty status.[5b]

Urban Indians are tribal people currently living off federally defined tribal lands in urban areas. Today, seven out of ten American Indians/Alaska Natives live in urban settings.[11]

Urban Native Activism. The United States' Public Law 959 Indian Relocation Act of 1956, alongside Public Law 280, otherwise known as the Indian Termination Act, are attributed to causing almost seventy percent of Native Americans to leave their communal homelands and relocate to urban centers, many in hopes of finding economic sustainability. Many urban Natives became transnationals and were then able to form hubs of belonging in urban centers, leading to the 1968 grassroots formation of the American Indian Movement (AIM) in these urbanized contexts.[34]

Beginning in the late 1960s, Native people became increasingly defiant about the state-sponsored repression of treaty fishing rights. Criminalization of indigenous subsistence practices—hunting, fishing and gathering—had begun decades earlier. In response, they staged 'fish-ins' throughout Puget Sound, bringing salmon conservation and human rights to center stage in local, national and international media.[25]

As author Coll Thrush relates, "by 1970, the place-story told by Native activists in Seattle was a new one. *This city and land are ours*, they shouted—and for the first time, Seattle and the world seemed to be watching."[25] United Indians of All Tribes Foundation (UIATF), a non-profit organization which provides services to and promotes the well-being of Native people in the Seattle metropolitan area, was established in 1970 during the struggle by Northwest Native people to gain ownership or control of a portion of Fort Lawton, as the United States Army had shrunk its base there. Bernie Whitebear emerged as the group's CEO, a position he held until shortly before his death in 2000. After winning the concession of a renewable 99-year lease on twenty acres in what was to become Discovery Park. Whitebear led the fundraising for Daybreak Star Indian Cultural Center, which opened in 1977, serves as UIATF's headquarters and houses Native art collections.[10,35]

Also in 1970, local leaders including Ben Stiffarm and Reverend Raymond Talbott formed and opened Chief Seattle Club and Seattle Indian Health Board, working together to provide direct services to local Native people. In 50 years, UIATF, Chief Seattle Club and SIHB have greatly expanded their membership, outreach and services which include but are not limited to meals and food, healthcare and wellness, housing, vocational rehabilitation, art, traditional and cultural practices and spaces.[9,11]

The 36,000 or so people with Native ancestry who currently live in the Seattle-metro area hail from tribes near and far.[27]

Land Justice. Noteworthy are the many iterations of current grassroots efforts throughout North America by Native leaders and community allies to return traditional lands to Native peoples and fight for climate justice on these lands. At the behest of tribal leaders, trusted local partners and allies work alongside to achieve tribal goals—some of which take the form of awareness campaigns, sustainable fundraising, restored treaty rights, land ownership transfer and/or land acquisition.

Present Day. These local tribes are still here today and feature information on additional historical detail and current enterprises:

- The Duwamish Tribe
- The Muckleshoot Tribe
- The Snoqualmie Tribe
- The Suquamish Tribe

[see Footnote, page 15]

Table 1. Kirkland area Indigenous place names, known meaning (in quotes)

Listed geographically from ***north to south***

Present-day name, or location (English Language)	**Traditional Place Name & Meaning** Lushootseed (dxʷləšucid) Language **by Reference Source**			
	Hilbert, Waterman[2,4,13]	**Buerge**[12,12c]**: [Harrington**[12jph]**]**	**Waterlines Project (UW)**[16]	**King County Historic Preservation**[16]
Lake Washington	**Hah-chu / Hah-choo** 'large lake' or 'the Lake'	**HAH-choo** 'the Lake'		
Saint Edward State Park Grotto	**ɬi'lskut / Li'lskut**	**Tɬetɬskʷot / ƛeƛ skʷot**		
Holmes Point / Manitou (near town of Juanita)	**Tcə'tcubəd / čebčubəd**			
Two places "2-3 miles above Kirkland"		• **Tsolkh / colx** • **Sha'tèʃ / ša'teš**		
Juanita Bay / Juanita Creek	**Təb'tubiu** 'loamy place'	**TUB-tub-yu / Tabta-be'u**		**TE'btubiu**
Nelson Point	**leqa'bt** 'paint, rust'	**leKHabts / lexabc**		
Waverly Beach (beach north of the town of Kirkland)	**ẇcqabc-aƛ̓t̓u / wišqaba'ltᵘ**			
Hillside water channel, north of downtown Kirkland	**Tsə'xub /cətx̌əb** 'dripping water'	**Tseh hub** 'looks like drops down'	**cətxəb** 'water falling over edge'	
Kirkland	**stałaɬ / Sta'Lal** 'a fathom measure'	**Kale'tsi** 'Kirkland'		
Yarrow Bay		**Thə-chu-achəl**		
Yarrow Bay Wetlands (swamp)	**T(u)x̌ʷa'bac / Txwa'bats** 'pulling something toward one' or 'pull a solid object'			
Northup Creek	**Tc̓u / Ts!u**			
Mouth of Northup Creek	**Tc̓utsid / Ts!u'tsid** 'mouth of Tc̓u'			
Three Points: Yarrow Point, Hunts Point, Evergreen Point	**sɬixʷɬixʷqs / SLiᵘLi'uks** 'three promontories'	**Łeułekᵃs**		
Yarrow Point		**Stakhtos / staxtos**		
Small creek at the head of Cozy Cove (formerly Anderson Bay)	**Tca'bqwEsEbEts / ča'bqwəsəbəc**			
Hunts Point		**tʃaqʷos / Tsah qʷos**		
Small marsh west of Hunts Point (at head of inlet)	**DE'q!tus / də'qʔtus**			
Evergreen Point (formerly Fairweather Point)		**tʃaq'os / šaqʔos**		

Footnote

It is not the intention of the City of Kirkland to take a position on the status of federal recognition for any tribe.

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