

Living Into a Land Acknowledgement

Stories of the lands where we work, live, and play



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The chapters in this book were originally published on Solid Ground’s Groundviews Blog. To read the posts and more, visit solid-ground.org/land-acknowledgement.

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Introduction

Solid Ground operates on land that has always belonged to the Coast Salish peoples, including the Duwamish (Dkhw Duw'Absh). As a modern nonprofit, we are part of a colonialist system that stole their land, attempted genocide, and continues to oppress Indigenous peoples.

We know we can't achieve our mission to end poverty without changing our relationship to the Indigenous peoples of this land. We pledge to build deeper relationships with the Duwamish, Coast Salish, and other Indigenous stewards of this land and to work to repair colonial impacts. We encourage our partners, donors, and other stakeholders to join us in this work.

The above text is Solid Ground's Land Acknowledgement, and its creation set us on a journey to better understand our role as a nonprofit in colonialist systems that continue to oppress Indigenous peoples today. We also seek to build authentic partnerships with Indigenous communities to reduce the harm we cause as an organization, help undo the erasure of Indigenous histories, and celebrate the resilience of the first peoples of Seattle and King County.

At the recommendation of our Community Accountability Council, we published a series of blog posts to amplify Indigenous histories of the lands we occupy as an organization, including our housing campus in Sand Point's Magnuson Park, our Giving Garden at Marra Farm and Solid Ground Transportation depot and offices in South Park, our Wallingford offices, and the site of a program we once ran on the North Seattle College campus. This booklet consolidates our learnings.

Following these histories, we take an in-depth look at why Solid Ground is deeply committed to this work.

As an anti-poverty agency, we know that racism – including racism directed toward Indigenous peoples – is a root cause of poverty

and homelessness. The 2019 U.S. Census estimates that 18.6% of Indigenous people in King County lived in poverty, compared to only 5.6% of white people. The 2024 Point-In-Time Count of people living homeless in King County shows that while Indigenous people make up only 1% of King County’s population, they represent 7% of those living homeless.

Solid Ground’s multilevel response starts with an effort to educate our staff, program participants, and the broader community about our role in a larger system that continues to oppress and harm Indigenous peoples. The histories of our specific sites fit into that goal. Before we get to those stories, there are actions we’ve taken as an agency that we recommend everyone take on their own. As of this writing, they’re perhaps the most impactful ways that readers can support the Duwamish Tribe, Seattle’s original residents, who continue to fight for justice and sovereignty.

How you can join Solid Ground in this work

1) Sign the petition for Federal Recognition for the Duwamish Tribe (change.org/p/federal-recognition-for-the-duwamish-tribe):

The Duwamish are the “People of the Inside.” They’re rooted to this place and these waters. They demand accountability for their People today and for all generations to come.

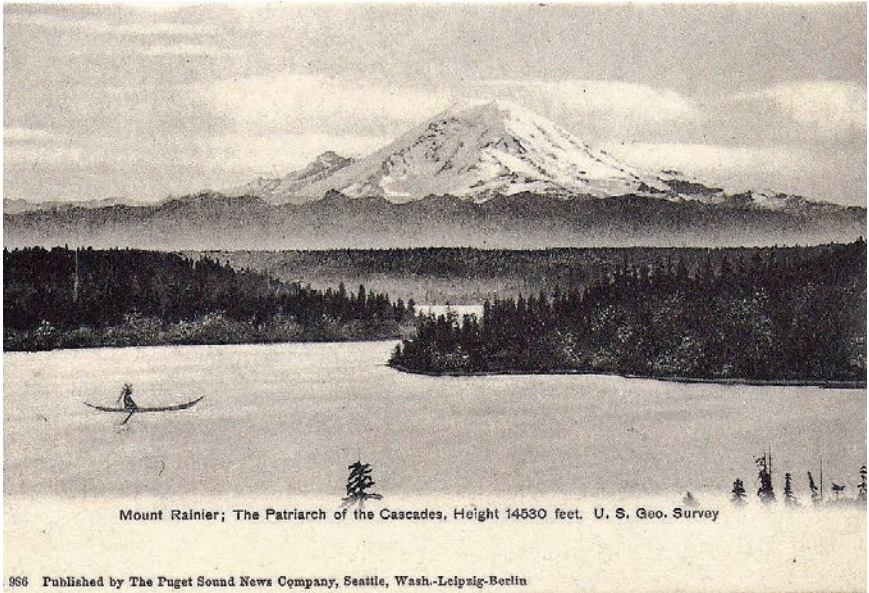
2) Contribute to Real Rent Duwamish (realrentduwamish.org):

Stand in solidarity with First Peoples of this land. All funds go directly to Duwamish Tribal Services (DTS) to support the revival of Duwamish culture and the vitality of the Duwamish Tribe. Solid Ground contributes the symbolically significant amount of \$540/month, which is \$.01 for each of the 54,000 acres taken from the tribe when they were forced to sign the Point Elliott Treaty of 1855.

3) Keep learning. The Real Rent website (realrentduwamish.org) and Solid Ground’s Land Acknowledgement webpage (solid-ground.org/land-acknowledgement) offer more ideas on how you and your organization can get involved and educate yourselves about the Duwamish fight for recognition and social justice. ◀

Sq^wsəb (Sand Point)

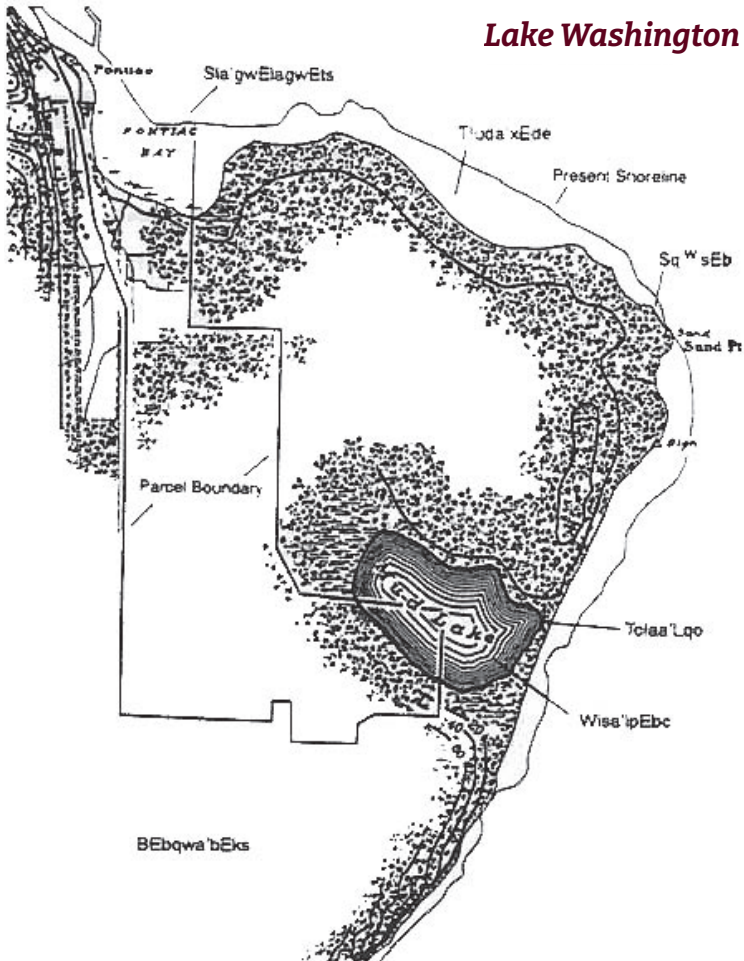
Sq^wsəb and the people of the big lake



Before white colonizers chopped down the alder, ash, and towering Douglas fir to make way for farmland, before the military paved over the earth to build airstrips and hangars, and before Solid Ground converted some of those naval buildings into homes for people finding stability after homelessness, the land we now know as Sand Point was called Sq^wsəb, meaning “fog,” by the people who inhabited this land since time immemorial.

This was the land of the “people of the big lake,” the Xacuabš in their native Lushootseed. This collection of interrelated peoples lived in communities ringing the shores of ǂačʔu, now called Lake Washington, before the arrival of European-American settlers. The Xacuabš had longhouses to the north and south of Sq^wsəb, and they often came to the peninsula to gather fish, wapato (potato-like tubers), berries, and bark for basket weaving from its forests and marshes. They told mythical stories about a stream that flowed through it.

The **Xacuabš** longhouses disappeared from around Lake Washington more than a century ago, but the Indigenous people of this land have not. Today, **Sq^wsəb** continues to be a place where Native American descendants from tribes across the continent live, work, and build community together on the shores of **Ḷačʔu**, the big lake. Some live on Solid Ground’s Sand Point Housing campus, while others are case managers and residential advocates there.



The Sand Point peninsula as it looked in pre-colonial times, before Lake Washington was lowered by nine feet in 1916. Also shown is Mud Lake, a small lake later filled in by the U.S. Navy. (Source: “Puget Sound Naval Station – Environmental Impact Statement,” 1997)



Lake Washington's Foster Island in 1905, before the Montlake Cut was completed, lowering the lake. The island served as a burial ground for the Xacuabš. (Source: City of Seattle Municipal Archives, 30539)

The first stories of the land

Through millennia, the Indigenous histories of this land were passed down as stories told by one generation to the next, going back so far that some tell of the melting of the glaciers that carved the earth and formed what we know now as Puget Sound. But the intergenerational story sharing was disrupted abruptly by the mid-19th century arrival of white colonialists, who first brought diseases that decimated Indigenous populations and later forced the survivors off their ancestral land and sought to erase their language and culture.

For these reasons, most of the **Sq^wsəb** stories and histories have been lost. Much of what survives was recorded and interpreted by white anthropologists and historians, whose retelling of Indigenous history is inevitably colored by their own bias and cultural references. However flawed, these are the stories they've left us.

For one, the **Sq^wsəb** peninsula known to the **Xacuabš** would have been much smaller in the times before Lake Washington was lowered nine feet by engineers seeking a more convenient water route between

lake and sound. The **Xacuabš** called the north shore of the peninsula **Sal^wlag^wac**, or “much inner cedar bark,” because it was a good place to gather the bark used in everything from baskets to diapers.

The peninsula was also home to stands of enormous Douglas fir – some more than six feet in diameter – as well as marshland and a small lake called **Wistalbabš**. The **Xacuabš** came here often to catch steelhead and cutthroat trout in the lake, gather camas bulbs and wapato tubers, and pick medicinal snowberries.

A Note About Place Names

Lushootseed has been interpreted and anglicized in many ways over the decades, resulting in a variety of names and spellings for the same places, people, and even the language itself (also spelled Whulshootseed). The place names used in this chapter are taken from *An Atlas of Indigenous Seattle*, as published in *Native Seattle: Histories from the Crossing-Over Place* by Coll Thrush, 2nd edition (2017).

Lushootseed Terms & Pronunciation Key

- ▶ **Čaʔalqu** • **\chah-ATHL-qoo** • A small stream at Sand Point, meaning “hidden water.”
- ▶ **Sal^wlag^wac** • **\s-lahgw-lahgw-ahts** • The north shore of Sand Point, meaning “much inner cedar bark.”
- ▶ **Sq^wsəb** • **\s-qw-sub** • Native name of the Sand Point peninsula.
- ▶ **Wistalbabš** • **\wee-stahl-babbhs** • A small lake later called Mud Lake.
- ▶ **ǂáčʔu** • **\hahtch-oo** • Lake Washington
- ▶ **Xacuabš** • **\hah-choo-AHBSH** • The Indigenous people who lived around Lake Washington, meaning “the people of the big lake.”

The people of the big lake spent their winters in longhouses grouped around the mouths of various streams, where they set up weirs to catch salmon. These included a group that wintered in longhouses just to the north of **Sq^wsəb**, at the mouth of Thorton Creek in what's now Matthews Beach, and another group to the south at Wolf Bay, near a prairie at today's Windermere neighborhood. These three longhouses at Wolf Bay were likely home to the **Sk-tahl-mish**, a prominent group of **Xacuabš** and one of the signatories to the 1855 Treaty of Point Elliott.

Flowing out of **Wistalbabsš** was a stream known as **Čaʔalqu**, or “hidden water,” about which the **Xacuabš** told mythical stories, according to historian David Buerge. The people of the lake saw sites like this as openings to the underworld and the land of the dead. But whatever they were, the mythical stories of **Čaʔalqu** have been lost, like the lake and stream themselves.

Sq^wsəb after the Xacuabš

The **Xacuabš** did not disappear overnight. Instead, their numbers dwindled over the decades with the arrival of European diseases followed by white settlers seeking to push Native communities off their resource-rich ancestral lands.

Some **Xacuabš** left the lake to live with other tribes on newly formed reservations. Others did their best to survive by adapting to urban life in the area's new and rapidly growing cities, and a small number persisted in living along the lake as they always had.

But few remained by 1916, when civil engineers completed the Montlake Cut, lowering **Āčʔu** and draining the salmon spawning beds and wapato marshes that once nourished the people of the big lake. Over the decades, the U.S. Navy flattened the gently rolling land on Sand Point and filled in its small lake, **Wistalbabsš**. Much of the earth was paved over for landing strips, parking lots, and various military structures.

But there was a moment when it looked like Sand Point could become a center for Indigenous culture in Seattle. This came in the 1990s, when



David Olivera, Sand Point Housing Children's Group Facilitator (photo by Michael B. Maine)

the Navy decided it was done with Sand Point and declared it surplus property.

The Muckleshoot Tribe, which includes descendants of the **Xacuabš**, laid claim to the land through the Bureau of Indian Affairs, saying it had treaty rights to the property as traditional fishing grounds. The tribe had a grand vision for the land: a marina with 30 fishing boats, businesses employing Native Americans, and a vocational school and community college for 3,500

students from tribes across the continent, with 500 of them living on the campus. In all, it would encompass 80 acres.

But the City of Seattle had its own Community Preferred Reuse Plan for Sand Point, which included an extension of Magnuson Park as well as a housing zone of up to 200 housing units for formerly homeless people, which later became Solid Ground's Housing campus. In the end, the tribe agreed to drop its claim at Sand Point in exchange for the city's help securing land near its reservation in Auburn.

The modern-day Indigenous people of Sq^wsəb

Though the Muckleshoot's vision for Sand Point wasn't realized, it remains a place where Indigenous people of many tribes live and work, just like the rest of Seattle. As of 2022, around 20 residents of Solid Ground's Sand Point Housing community identified as Native American or Alaska Native, and several staff members did as well.

They include David Olivera, a Sand Point Housing staff member who's worked with children there for more than two decades. David is descended from the Tarahumara people of modern-day Mexico, and his

children share the heritage of the Iñupiat people of what is now Alaska. In 2022, he attended the Alaska Conference of Native Americans with his children and was in the room for a historic speech from Congresswoman Mary Sattler Peltola, who recently became the first Alaska Native to represent Alaska in Congress since it became a state in 1959.

Congresswoman Peltola wasn't the only history-making Indigenous leader at the conference. Also on the stage that day was Secretary of the Interior Deb Haaland, who in 2021 became the first Native American to serve as a cabinet secretary in the U.S.

“Oh my God, it was amazing,” says David. “I mean, it took 63 years to get an Alaska Native in Congress.”

David says these history-making leaders are signs of progress for Native Americans after centuries of displacement, marginalization, and discrimination. But he says far too many non-Natives still see American Indians as a page from history, rather than the vibrant part of modern American culture and politics that they are.

“If you look up American Indians, Alaska Natives, they show you old, historic photos. If you look up other groups, they show you newer, modern photos,” he says. “It’s a stereotype.” ◀

South Park

Seattle's first people and the river that shares their name



From a thicket of trees behind Solid Ground's Giving Garden at Marra Farm, the waters of the nearly hidden Hamm Creek bubble down through ravines, ditches, and culverts, until finally spilling out into the Duwamish River.

For millennia, these waters sustained the life of a verdant valley, from the bountiful salmon that plied its course from sea to mountain, to the people – **dx^wdəwʔabš**, the Duwamish themselves – who lived in harmony with the river that shares their name.

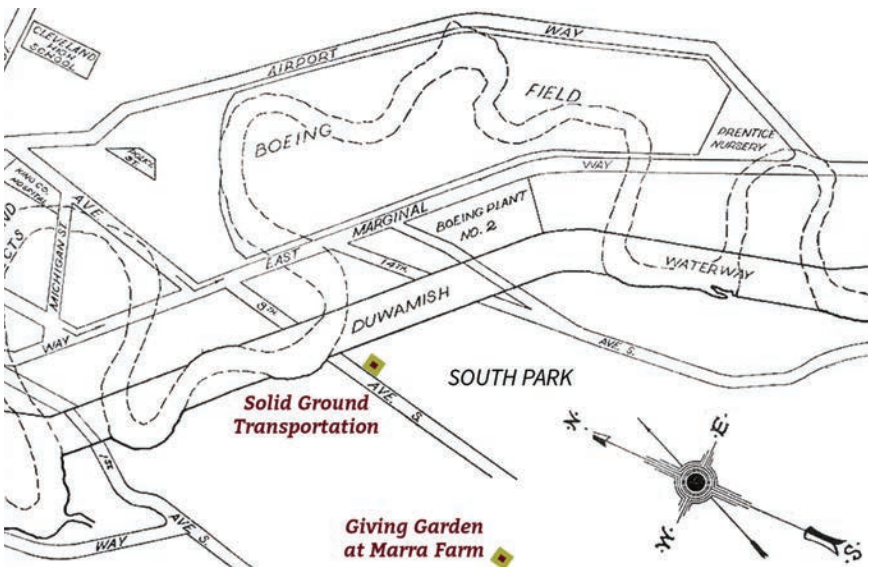
But that was before the waters of the Duwamish were poisoned with chemical waste dumped by factories built along its shore over the last century. Before its meandering course – which once nourished the fertile valley around it – was sliced into ramrod-straight channels and lined with barges and shipping cranes. And before it was severed from the great lake that fed it, known to the Duwamish people as **řačuʔ**.

But the Duwamish people are still here, and the story of their river isn't over.

“My people are the historical stewards of this land, and we have never left our post,” writes James Rasmussen, a member of the Duwamish Tribal Council who’s advocated for the restoration of the river for more than 30 years, in *Honoring My Ancestors Through Environmental Advocacy* on Seattle’s Front Porch blog. “The Duwamish Tribe, like the River that carries our name, is not lost to history.”

What remains

While much has changed about the Duwamish River over the last century and half, you can still get a glimpse of what it looked like before the arrival of European-American colonizers – if you know where to look. Start by heading north on West Marginal Way, past the warehouses and stacks of shipping containers, until you find a small park wedged between railroad tracks and what we now call the Duwamish Waterway. Walk through the trees to the water’s edge and you’ll find there’s a second river here – shallow and curving instead of straight and deep – and a small island beyond it.



The original meandering course of the Duwamish River compared with the straightened channels of the modern-day waterway. (Map drawn by R. Foisy, Duwamish Diary.)

This is Seattle’s last remaining bend of a river that once looped and meandered across this valley from the neighborhood of South Park to the far side of what’s now Boeing Field. Its estuary, where fresh water from as far away as Mount Rainier mixed with the salt water of Elliott Bay, spanned more than 5,200 acres of tidal mudflats, marshes, swamps, and rivers – all teeming with fish and wildlife.

For millennia, this has been the land of the Duwamish – known as the “people of the inside” in their native Lushootseed. Modern day archeologists have found evidence along the river of villages dating back to 600 AD, but traditional Salish stories describe geological events going much further back, including the melting of glaciers at the end of the last ice age, which ended over 11,000 years ago.

Through the centuries, the Duwamish River connected the Coast Salish peoples with each other and with the resources of land and water on which they relied. When the first European-American colonizers arrived here in the mid-1800s, several hundred Duwamish families were living in villages along a stretch of the river winding through what is now South Park, Georgetown, and the industrial district of South Seattle.

Villages of the Duwamish River Valley

Among the most important of those communities was **túʔulʔaltx^w** (TOO-ool-ahlt-hw), meaning “Herring House,” which stood at the foot of a bluff on the west bank of the river, near where it empties into the bay. It may have had as many as seven longhouses, as well as a massive potlatch house measuring more than 300 feet long that was used for celebrations and gatherings.

Over on the north end of what’s now Boeing Field, on a bend of the river that no longer exists, lived a Duwamish community known in Lushootseed as the “proud people.” This group lived in a pair of longhouses in a village called **dx^wqi^wíł’əd** (duhw-QWEE-tluhd), “place of the fishing spear.” The village was known for cultivating several acres of wapato on a particularly fertile plain. There was also a village called **həʔapus** (ha-AH-poos) that had its own healer, several longhouses, and

hundreds of villagers. It was near the site of an even more ancient village, **yəlíqʷad** (yull-EE-qwahd) or “Basket Cap,” which may have dated back as far as the 1st century AD. Additional Duwamish villages were clustered to the south where the Duwamish River met the Black River, and to the north in what’s now Pioneer Square in downtown Seattle.

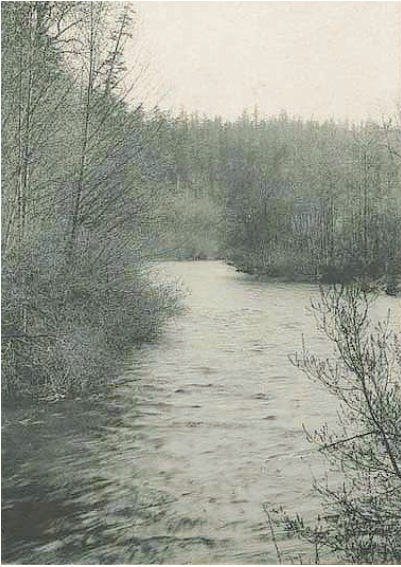
These villages were among the 17 communities, totaling more than 90 longhouses, occupied by Coast Salish peoples in the greater Seattle area when white colonizers began to claim the land as their own in the mid-17th century. In less than 50 years, every one of these villages was destroyed – some burned to the ground by colonizers, and others abandoned by the Duwamish as white settlers claimed their land and threatened them with violence.

It was Herring House, near Elliott Bay, that survived the longest. But on March 7, 1893, it too was burned down by a small group of West Seattle settlers. The residents of the village, many of them elders, escaped across Elliott Bay in a caravan of canoes packed with their remaining belongings. Soon, many of them would leave Seattle as well.

The making of a waterway

Like the Duwamish before them, European-American settlers saw the Duwamish River as a valuable resource – though not as a habitat for fish and other wildlife. By the time Herring House was burned, industrial pioneers had already started filling in the mudflats of the river’s estuary with soil from what is now Beacon Hill. In 1913, dredgers began slicing the river’s winding path into straight, deep channels so that ships could more easily reach the docks and factories springing up on the newly leveled earth on its banks.

Most of the valley’s trees were cleared to make way for farmland, including plots farmed by the Marra and Desimone families. Most of that land was eventually paved over to make way for factories and warehouses, but one piece, known as the Marra-Desimone Park, is still farmed today. It’s stewarded by many local organizations and includes Solid Ground’s 3/4-acre Giving Garden, where we teach children and



*The Duwamish River circa 1906
(Source: Seattle Public Library)*

community members about food production and grow produce for the South Park neighborhood. Another of our facilities, the Solid Ground Transportation depot, was later built nearby along the banks of the channelized Duwamish waterway.

During this period of rapid industrialization, all but 2% of the Duwamish River's original estuary was lost, leading to the rapid decimation of the fish and wildlife that once relied on it. And as more and more factories and industries set up shop in Seattle's burgeoning

port, they found that the newly renamed Duwamish Waterway was also a useful place to dump their waste, much of it toxic. The practice continued, in ways both legal and illegal, for decade after decade as the industries that took over the Duwamish Valley fueled the growth of the booming city around it.

The Duwamish River became dangerously polluted in this period, with more than 40 chemicals eventually reaching levels now known to be harmful to human and environmental health. These include cancer-causing chemicals like arsenic, polychlorinated biphenyls (PCBs), and polycyclic aromatic hydrocarbons (PAHs).

Rebirth of a river

But the Duwamish people did not abandon the river. For generations after their last villages were destroyed, the descendants of the Duwamish continued to return to the river to fish as their ancestors had, sometimes sneaking onto the water under the cover of darkness to avoid running afoul of laws against fishing. And they continued to fight for the river despite all that had been done to it.

In the 1970s, after archeologists uncovered remains of an ancient village along the river, the Duwamish Tribe successfully fought to preserve the last remaining bend of the original river's path in Seattle. The tribe also joined others, including Solid Ground, working to daylight various branches of Hamm Creek in South Park in the 1980s and '90s. And it continued to call attention to the damage done to the river by the industries that grew up beside it.

That attention came in 2001, when the federal Environmental Protection Agency (EPA) declared the Duwamish River a Superfund site, marking it as one of the most polluted places in the country. The designation kicked off a decades-long effort, costing millions of dollars, to prevent future pollution and remove or secure the toxic chemicals left there over the decades. The EPA approved a clean-up plan in 2014, but the tribe and its partners continue to push the government and polluting businesses to fully restore the health of the river.

In the meantime, there are already signs that the Duwamish River is changing again. Several riverside sites slated for industrial development have been preserved instead as parks, including two recently renamed after the Duwamish villages of **həʔapus** and **tuʔəlaltxʷ**. Creeks that were routed through pipes and ditches clogged with garbage have been unburied, cleaned, and repopulated with native plants. And young chum and Chinook salmon have returned to recently restored habitat along the river in South Park.

“Today, we are seeing signs of life,” James Rasmussen writes. “And while the River may never be what it once was, I believe it will once again nourish our communities.”

And 156 years after their last village was burned to the ground, the Duwamish once again have a longhouse in Seattle where their people can gather. You'll find it on West Marginal Way, just across the street from the park named after **həʔapus**, where the last bend of the Duwamish River in Seattle still flows. ◀

ᖃᖅᖅᖅ (Lake Union)

Cheshiahud: Not the last lake Indian in Seattle



Head about a mile south from Solid Ground’s office on North 45th Street in Wallingford and you’ll find a shoreline path called the Cheshiahud Loop that rings a body of water we now know as Lake Union.

The name for this 6-mile trail comes from an Indigenous canoe carver and guide who was famous for persisting. He persisted through European diseases that decimated the Native peoples of Puget Sound. He persisted in the face of white colonialists who pushed those who survived onto reservations far from their homes. And he persisted in defiance of the newly founded City of Seattle that banned all Indigenous people from living in the city.

Despite it all, Cheshiahud – known as “Lake John” to his white neighbors – was determined to live with his wife on the banks of the lake he knew as ᖃᖅᖅᖅ (HA-huh-choo). It’s here that he spent his days carving canoes and growing wapato until a few years after the turn of the century, when he too moved to a reservation. History sometimes

remembers Cheshiahud as one of the city's last Indians – but that, of course, isn't true.

The Indigenous people of this land never really left Seattle, and they continue to live here today, shaping the culture and community of a place they've shepherded since time immemorial. More than 17

decades after they were legally banned from the City of Seattle, Native people still make up about 0.6% of its population. They also continue to live with the weight of those many decades of violence, racism, displacement, generational poverty, and cultural extermination.

Today, Indigenous children in the Seattle area are three times more likely to die in their first year of life than white children, and nearly four times more likely to live in poverty. One in five Indigenous adults in the Seattle area lack a high school diploma, compared to one in 30 white adults. And across Washington state, Indigenous people have the shortest life expectancy and highest rates of infant mortality, asthma, and colorectal cancer among all racial groups.

Yet they continue to persevere, even thrive, while shaping the communities that have grown up on their ancestral lands. In fact, more



A sign for the Cheshiahud Loop around Lake Union (photos this page by Neal Simpson)



A sign near the Museum of History & Industry marks the site of a former Native village.

than a century since Cheshiahud last plied the waters of ǰáǰǰǰ in one of his hand-carved canoes, a building dedicated to his craft will soon rise beside the metal-and-glass skyscrapers that have overtaken the landscape.

Called the Canoe Carving House and slated for completion in 2026, this structure on the south



A tugboat pushes a loaded barge on the same waters where Cheshiahud once paddled his canoes (photo by Neal Simpson).

shore of ǎ́áxəʔču will “give everyone in Seattle a chance to see, feel, hear, and be an active element of Native Culture that is largely unseen in our city,” as the United Indians of All Tribes puts it.

People of the littlest lake

For much of the last half century, Solid Ground has served the communities of Seattle and King County from offices in neighborhoods around ǎ́áxəʔču, primarily Fremont, Eastlake, and most recently, Wallingford. In doing so, we have occupied and benefited from the ancestral land of the **xacua’bs** (ha-huh-chu-AHBSH), or the “people of littlest lake.”

The **xacua’bs** were among the many Coast Salish peoples living in some 17 villages – totaling more than 90 longhouses – in the greater Seattle area when white colonizers began to claim the land as their own in the mid-17th century. In less than 50 years, every one of these villages was destroyed – some burned to the ground by colonizers and

others abandoned by the Indigenous families as white settlers claimed their land and threatened them with violence.

At that time, what we know today as Lake Union was not yet part of the industrial waterway that now links the salt water of Puget Sound with the fresh water of Lake Washington through a series of locks and manmade channels. Instead, native people moved from Puget Sound to Lake Washington by portaging (or carrying) their canoes between bodies of water. The **xacua'bs** lived in the middle of that route.

Like most Coast Salish peoples, the **xacua'bs** were deeply linked to the waters that sustained them, both as a means to travel and through the food it provided. They were related to, yet distinct from, the “people of the large lake” (Lake Washington) and the “people of the small lake” (Lake Sammamish). One of the largest communities was at the south end of the lake, where several families lived in a house made of cedar slabs and bark.

Bits of life on the ǰáxəʔču are captured in the names the xacua'bs had for places on the lake:

- ▶ **Gʷáǰʷap** \GWAH-hwahp\ • Meaning “leak at the bottom end,” this was the mouth of a creek that emptied Lake Union into Salmon Bay and would later be replaced by the Fremont Cut.
- ▶ **Sčʷaxʷǰáɫqu** \s-tchahw-AHL-qoo\ • Meaning “thrashed water,” this creek in what is now Fremont was a good place to trap fish by thrashing the water with sticks.
- ▶ **Báqʷab** \BAH-quahb\ • A prairie near what is now the Aurora Bridge.
- ▶ **Stáčíč** \STAH-Cheech\ • The point on Lake Union that’s now home to Gas Works Park.
- ▶ **Waǰíqab** \wah-KAY-qahb\ • Meaning “doing like a frog,” this was a small creek on the north side of Portage Bay.
- ▶ **Dxʷǰəš** \duhw-tluhsh\ • What’s now known as Green Lake.



Cheshiahud and his wife, Madeline, around 1904 (Denny, Orion O. General Indian Collection)

Another was located in the northwest corner, near the mouth of what would later become the Fremont Cut. Plying the waters of **ḡáxəʔčú** in hand-carved canoes, the people of these villages were known to whip the water with sticks to drive fish toward a narrow stream in what is now Fremont, where they could more easily be caught. Away from the lake, the Indigenous people of the area would catch salmon in a weir built upstream at Ravenna Creek, and suckers and perch on the shores of Green Lake.

The perseverance of ‘Lake John’

Cheshiahud was born around 1820 and grew up about a mile away from Lake Union, on the shores of the big lake. He eventually became the leader of a village called **bask^wík^wiʔt** (bah-SKWEE-kwee-thl), near what is now Madison Park, that was home to a longhouse and a people known as **hloo-weelh-AHBS**.

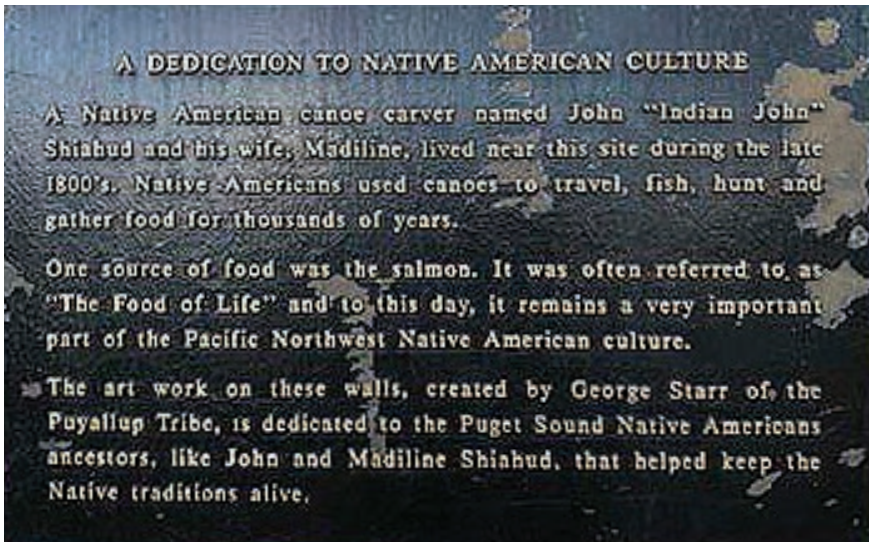
As a child, Cheshiahud would have had little interaction with the occasional white traders and explorers who passed through the region. But by the 1850s, white colonizers were rapidly settling in the area, and Cheshiahud soon learned of their potential for brutality.

In 1853, when a white man was reported missing and later found buried on Lake Washington, the sheriff arrested three Indigenous men, including Cheshiahud, for murder. But before they could face trial, a white lynch mob grabbed two of the men and hanged them. The sheriff stopped the mob before they could kill Cheshiahud, who was later found not guilty of murder.

Seattle was incorporated as a city a little over a decade later, and one of its first acts was to prohibit Indigenous people from being in the city after dark. The people who had called this land their home for millennia began to leave – many moving onto reservations with other groups – but Cheshiahud did not. Instead, he moved across the lake and made a home on a swamp near Bellevue, where he lived with his wife and at least two children.

Despite his earlier violent encounter with them, Cheshiahud remained friendly with his new white neighbors across the lake, particularly David Denny, one of Seattle’s founding fathers. When Cheshiahud decided he wanted to move back to his childhood home, Denny gave him a plot on Lake Union near where Denny was building a new canal to Lake Washington.

With little access to the resources the land once provided, Cheshiahud provided for his family by carving wooden canoes and guiding tours of white people through the lakes he knew so well. As more of his Indigenous neighbors moved away – including his own daughter – Cheshiahud and his wife Madeline became well known in Seattle as some of the last Indigenous people living in the city.



A plaque at the end of Seattle’s Shelby Street (photo by Neal Simpson)

Cheshiahud finally left Seattle in 1906 after Madeline's death and was living on a reservation with his daughter when he died just four years later. He was buried in Evergreen-Washelli Cemetery in North Seattle, where his tombstone still stands.

Cheshiahud's legacy today

It's been more than a century since Cheshiahud paddled the waters of **ǎ́áxəʔču** or carved canoes by hand on its banks, but his name, craft, and legacy live on.

At the bottom of Shelby Street, near the water's edge, a plaque still marks the spot where Cheshiahud and his wife lived out their final years. In 2008, Seattle Parks and Recreation opened a new six-mile paved path around Lake Union named after Cheshiahud.

And now, at the south end of the lake, a new effort to preserve and celebrate the Native culture of this land is underway. Construction on the 1,200-square-foot Canoe Carving House was scheduled to begin in 2025. It will be operated by United Indians of All Tribes and provide a place for Native carvers to practice their craft and share it with the rest of the Seattle community.

On its website, United Indians emphasizes the deep significance of the Canoe Carving House: "On the shores of South Lake Union, where people of surrounding tribes can still trace their ancestors, we are building a space where practices that are thousands of years old can be witnessed again." ◀

Líq'təd (Licton) Springs

A sacred spring and the ever-flowing resilience of Indigenous peoples



In a stand of trees a few blocks west of North Seattle College, a pool of water trickles out of a stone ring and onto mud stained a bright copper red. This is red ochre, known as líq'təd in the Lushootseed language of the Duwamish and Coast Salish peoples who've gathered at this sacred site since time immemorial for prayer, healing, and celebration.

The ever-flowing mineral water of líq'təd is an enduring reminder that the land we live on and cherish here in Seattle was taken from peoples who faced genocide and forced relocation at the hands of our government. It's also a reminder that the descendants of those peoples are still among us, and that they continue to face oppression and marginalization and have never been compensated for what was taken from them.

In our journey to amplify the Indigenous history of the lands we occupy as an organization, we include North Seattle College, where prior to

the pandemic Solid Ground ran a Regional Access Point (RAP) to help people experiencing homelessness access resources through King County's Coordinated Entry for All. (RAP services are now offered from our Wallingford office.)

Long before white settlers arrived, this area was home to a network of red ochre springs, of which only one remains. It was a deeply sacred site for the Duwamish and Coast Salish peoples, who regularly gathered here for ceremony, spiritual renewal, and to harvest wild cranberries from nearby marshland. A sweat lodge was built nearby, and the red pigment of the springs was used for healing and to decorate longhouses and other objects.

“This is a recognized sacred site and holy ground for Coast Salish peoples. It is not manufactured or manmade,” says Sarah Sense-Wilson (Oglala), co-founder of the Seattle-based Urban Native Education Alliance (UNEA). “Through oral tradition, Licton Springs has been identified as a place of gathering, healing, and ceremony.”

A youth-powered movement

But the history and spiritual significance of **líq'təd**, pronounced LEE'kteed, was nearly erased after the displacement of the Duwamish more than 160 years ago, even though its name was anglicized and appropriated by the residential neighborhood developed around it, Licton Springs.

One after another, all but one of the springs were paved over, and eventually few people knew about the significance of the remaining spring outside of the Indigenous communities of North Seattle.

That began to change around 2015 when Indigenous activist and author Matt Remle (Hunkpapa Lakota) learned about the spring from Ken Workman (Duwamish), a descendant of Chief Si'ahl, the tribal leader for whom Seattle was named. Remle's children had attended school nearby, and he'd been to Licton Springs Park several times, but he told the South Seattle Emerald he had no idea that a sacred Indigenous site was hidden just beyond the park's playground.



Members of Clear Sky Native Youth Council (photo by Che Sehyun)

Remle got to work trying to preserve what was left of the springs, as he'd done for other Indigenous sites elsewhere in the U.S. He sought to get the city to designate the spring as a historic landmark, but the work required proved daunting, and he eventually enlisted the help of students in the Clear Sky Native Youth Council, an Urban Native Education Alliance (UNEA) program.

Over a year and half, the students learned to write resolutions, trained in public speaking, created online petitions, built partnerships with community groups, and created a full marketing campaign to try to persuade the city to designate **liq'təd** as a historic landmark. Their research eventually extended well beyond the traditions of the Duwamish.

“The students also explored and learned about what is sacred within their own tribes, so it wasn’t just about Licton Springs,” Sarah says. “The project was about bringing the relevance beyond the Licton Springs neighborhood to exploring what’s sacred in their own homeland.”

The effort eventually grew to include members of the Duwamish, Muckleshoot, Snoqualmie, Suquamish, and Tulalip tribes. Finally, in 2019, the city approved the historical landmark designation for the spring, helping to protect the sacred site from future development. A carved stone marking the site was finally installed in early 2021.

For Sarah, the preservation of **líq'təd** shows resilience in Indigenous communities that transcends tribal affiliations. Many of the students who poured their energy into the effort do not have Duwamish ancestry.

“To me, this project reflected our tribal and cultural values and beliefs. It is within our cultural belief system that we take care of the earth, we take care of one another, and we take care of what we are committed to,” she says.

“Our students really embraced those multiple layers of teaching and understanding. Even though it wasn't their property, their lineage, they recognized how valuable it is nonetheless. They don't have to have an ancestral link to the land to recognize its value and the importance of protecting it.”

Modern-day displacement

But the story of **líq'təd** is not just about an Indigenous spiritual site earning long-overdue recognition and protection. It's also about the ongoing displacement, marginalization, and disenfranchisement of Indigenous communities today. That part of the story begins with the Clear Sky Native Youth Council, which was founded 14 years ago after several young people came together and gave voice to a need.

“The students and families had a deep desire to have something that they could connect with within our urban community,” Sarah says.

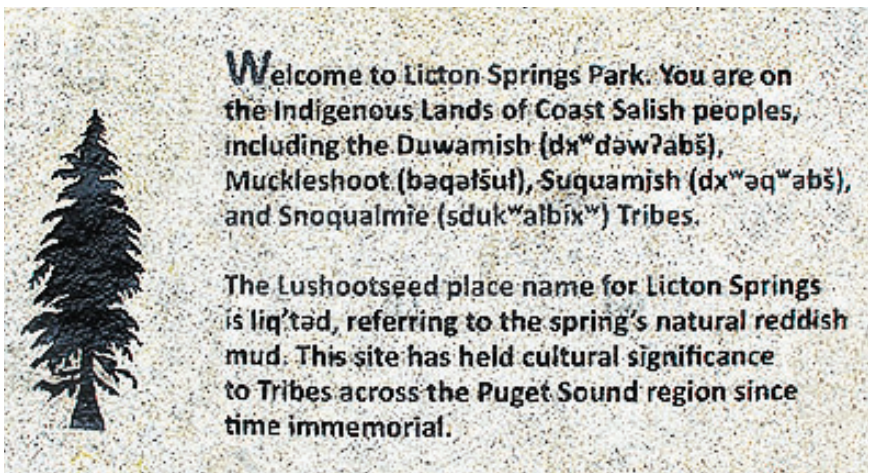
“Some of these students came forward and requested that we start some kind of group, a club, something that was consistent and spoke to what their cultural interests were and their desire to connect with community and also have opportunities for safe spaces within a highly racist, oppressive education system.”

The students created Clear Sky, which began offering homework help, college readiness, job training, health, basketball, and other programs out of Seattle’s Indian Heritage School, a public school where Native traditions and history were incorporated into middle and high school curricula.

The school, which happened to be located in Licton Springs, was also a center of Indigenous culture and community in North Seattle, and it provided an inclusive, holistic learning environment for Native youth. Started in the 1970s, it grew and flourished under the leadership of beloved Principal Robert Eaglestaff (Lakota), but the Seattle Public Schools began withdrawing support for the school after Eaglestaff’s death in the 1990s, and enrollment dwindled.

In the meantime, Clear Sky and UNEA gained momentum and evolved to serve as advocates and advisors to address systemic racism in public education and empower Indigenous students to find pathways of learning to access their own cultural teachings, values, and practices.

And in that, it’s had great success: For the last 10 years, 100% of students who regularly participate in Clear Sky programs graduated high school. “It’s about providing the necessary support needed for our



Inscription on a large stone placed near liqʷtəd following its official designation as a historic landmark in 2021 (photo by Neal Simpson)

kids to be successful,” Sarah says. “We know our kids can be successful – there is no question about that – it’s just a matter of resources and support.”

But Clear Sky’s success has not shielded it from the displacement and marginalization Indigenous people have experienced for more than a century. First, it lost its home at Indian Heritage after the district closed and demolished the building despite the resistance of the Indigenous community, which sought to have it designated as a historic landmark. Clear Sky moved temporarily to Nathan Hale High School and was promised space in a new school built on the site of Indian Heritage – which UNEA and other Indigenous groups successfully lobbied to have named Robert Eagle Staff Middle School – but within a year the district violated its contract and evicted UNEA from the building it helped name.

“The eviction and wrongful termination of the contract was highly traumatizing, and a continuation of the historic trauma inflicted by Seattle Public Schools,” Sarah says. “Some of our kids talked about how retraumatizing it was because of their own experiences of being evicted and losing housing. The organization and the youth program were homeless for eight months.”

Sarah says that being homeless came at a high cost on an organizational and community level, financially, emotionally, and spiritually. Clear Sky has since established a partnership and memorandum of understanding with North Seattle College, where the organization found a permanent home and an opportunity to begin to rebuild and regain its visibility.

It also gave Clear Sky students a chance to focus on the work of preserving **líq’təd**. Sarah says, “The official designation of Licton Springs as a landmark was a start, and it provided our students with an incredible wealth of knowledge and opportunities for leadership, reclaiming of identity, and building pride in the community and in themselves.” ◀

Dkhw Duw'Absh (Duwamish)

Why Solid Ground supports the Duwamish in their long fight for federal recognition



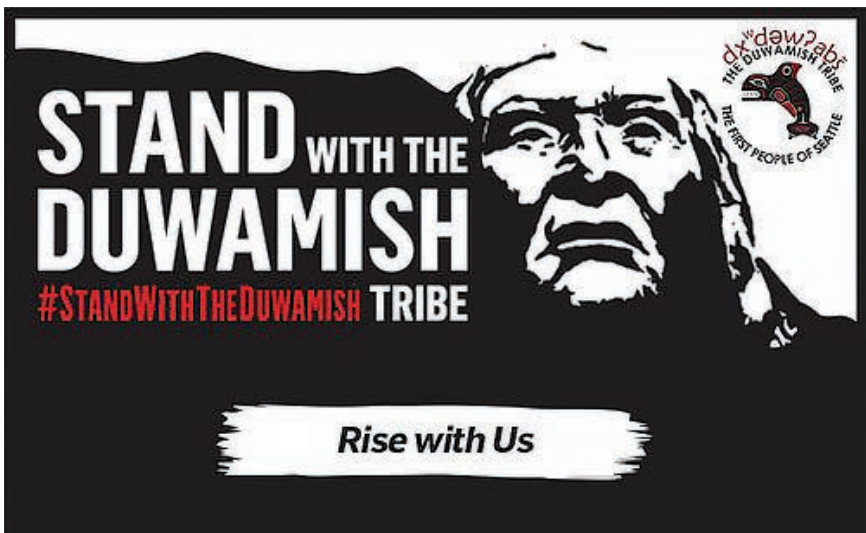
When white settlers arrived at Alki Point 170 years ago and began to build what would become a city called Seattle, they weren't working with a blank canvas. On the land we now know as King County, they found at least 17 villages – with nearly 100 buildings between them – that were home to a rich community of interconnected families known together as the “People of the Inside,” the Duwamish. They had already lived on this land for more than 12,000 years.

But just three years later, the Duwamish would be forced off their ancestral land by our federal government with the promise of a reservation that was never delivered. Their villages were attacked, and their longhouses burned. A law was passed banning them from being in the city of Seattle – a city named after their own chief – after sundown. Their ancestral rivers, once abundant with salmon, were rerouted, polluted, and drained dry. Their children were forced into

boarding schools that sought to smother their language and culture. Today, the U.S. government claims the Duwamish Tribe ceased to exist many years ago. But the truth is the Duwamish are still here, in this city that bears the name of their late chief, despite every attempt to eradicate their people and erase their culture over the last 17 decades. And they demand to be recognized.

The tribe, with 600 tribal members, is now waging a renewed fight to force the federal government to legally recognize it. With official recognition would come a variety of rights and benefits that would allow the tribe to do much more to look after the health, education, and wellbeing of its people. And it would allow them to practice their traditions and customs without restriction, and to reclaim ancestral artifacts taken from them.

This is a legal fight – one that hinges on decades of legislation, litigation, treaties, court decisions, and a predatory colonialist system for determining who is considered a “tribe” in the eyes of the U.S. government. But it will also require a movement, because the Duwamish have fought this fight before, successfully, only to have federal recognition snatched away from them again. Solid Ground is deeply committed to being a part of this movement.



Solid Ground stands with the Duwamish. Federal recognition is long overdue.

This chapter explores why recognition matters to the Duwamish Tribe – why they’ve fought for it for so long, why Solid Ground supports the movement, what we’re doing to help – and what you can do to get involved.

Let’s start with this fundamental truth: The Duwamish are the first people of Seattle. They never left.

When the United States began to expand its territories into the West in the 1800s, it encountered countless Indigenous peoples persevering despite the decimating diseases brought by earlier European explorers. But the U.S. wanted land for white settlers, so it employed violence, coercion, and harassment to force Indigenous peoples into tiny, remote reservations, far from the lands and waters that had sustained them for millennia.

That’s exactly what happened in 1855 with the signing of the Treaty of Point Elliott. The Indigenous families that had lived together in villages across Western Washington were grouped together into different legal tribes by U.S. government agents, and various leaders among them were assigned as their chiefs.

A leader named Si’ahl, known as “Seattle” to white settlers, was the designated chief of the Suquamish and Duwamish – and he was forced to sign a treaty giving the U.S. the more than 54,000 acres that had been their home for thousands of years. In exchange, the tribes were told they would be given land where they could live in peace, and that they would be free to fish and hunt as they always had.

But the Duwamish were never given a reservation. Instead, as white settlers cleared their forests and dammed their rivers, some Duwamish families seeking to escape violence and discrimination on their own ancestral land moved onto established reservations with other tribes, some of them former enemies.

Many of the descendants of those Duwamish still live there today, as members of the Muckleshoot, Tulalip, Suquamish, and other federally recognized tribes. But other Duwamish chose to stay on their ancestral land, in and around what was becoming the city of Seattle and elsewhere around Puget Sound, despite the harassment and discrimination they faced there. It's their descendants that make up today's Duwamish Tribe.

In 2022, Cecile Hansen, Tribal Council Chair and a descendant of Chief Seattle, said "We're demanding justice long overdue. The Department of the Interior seems to think that the Duwamish that signed the Point Elliott Treaty in 1855 somehow ceased to exist in the last 167 years. But we're still here."

What federal recognition would mean for the Duwamish

Through the Duwamish River Community Coalition, the tribe has also led the environmental cleanup of that river, which was poisoned by decades of industrial abuse. And it holds regular cultural programs, allowing a new generation of Duwamish children to learn the Lushootseed language, perform traditional songs and dances, and make hand drums, beads, and other crafts just as their ancestors did.

But Indigenous people in Seattle still struggle under the weight of 17 decades of violence, racism, displacement, generational poverty, and cultural extermination.

With federal recognition, the Duwamish Tribe could do so much more for its people. It would allow the tribe to take advantage of federal benefits for housing, health care, and education. Its members would be eligible for health coverage under the Indian Health Service, as well as a variety of other education and social services from the Bureau of Indian Affairs.

In recent years, Congress set aside \$43 billion in assistance for tribes through COVID-19 relief measures, but because it isn't federally recognized, the Duwamish didn't receive a penny. When COVID-19 vaccines were distributed to the tribes, the Duwamish didn't receive any.



Cecile Hansen, Tribal Council Chair for the Duwamish since 1975, speaks at a press conference announcing the tribe's lawsuit seeking federal recognition (photo by Jack Storms).

Some members died. “The government, when we signed that treaty, was supposed to take care of the health, welfare, and education of the Duwamish,” says James Rasmussen, a Tribal Councilmember. “Those are the reasons we are looking to be recognized. That’s it: the health, welfare, and education of our people. That’s what we will see change.”

Federal recognition would also allow the tribe to practice its customs and traditions without restriction, such as using eagle feathers in ceremonies, which is currently prohibited. And it would allow them to reclaim their ancestral artifacts from museums that receive federal funding. Currently, it’s illegal for the Duwamish Tribe to own their own artifacts.

“As an unrecognized tribe, we have limitations. We cannot fully practice our culture, traditions, history, and language,” says former Tribal Councilmember Desiree Fagan. “We have to ask permission to display our own artifacts and care for our ancestors’ bones. We have had to buy back the land that our longhouse stands on.”

Why we support the Duwamish fight for federal recognition

At Solid Ground, we're proud to stand with the Duwamish in this decades-long fight for federal recognition – seeking justice long overdue that would fulfill promises made to them 170 years ago. Federal recognition is also about dignity and a right to self-governance for the Duwamish people. It's about the federal government acknowledging that they didn't cease to be Duwamish whether their ancestors chose to stay or leave their ancestral land. It would be an acknowledgement that the Duwamish are still here, in the city that bears their chief's name.

Our government's broken promises left a devastating legacy.

But this isn't just about righting a historic wrong – it's about empowering the tribe to care for a people who have been devalued, displaced, persecuted, and marginalized again and again over the last 17 decades. When Chief Seattle signed that treaty, he was promised that the U.S. government would give the tribe a place to live in peace and provide for the health, education, and welfare of his people. None of that ever happened.

The injustice of this legacy is clear.

- ▶ **Today, Indigenous children in the Seattle area are three times more likely to die in their first year of life** than white children – and nearly four times more likely to live in poverty.
- ▶ **One in five Indigenous adults in the Seattle area do not have a high school diploma**, compared to one in 30 white adults.
- ▶ **Across Washington state, Indigenous people have the shortest life expectancy** and highest rates of infant mortality, asthma, and colorectal cancer among all racial groups.

As Seattle has flourished as a city, its first people have suffered. All of us who live on this land – who cherish its beauty and bounty – have benefited from their displacement. We owe it to the Duwamish to do better by them.

Federal recognition would provide the tribe with the resources its people need.

The Duwamish Tribe already provides a range of social services for its 600 members, but recognition would open the door to a host of federal resources and rights that would allow it to do so much more. This starts with health. Federal recognition could also play a role in turning back the flood of homelessness in our region.

- ▶ **In the U.S., all Native American and Alaska Natives are eligible for health care** from the Indian Health Service – but only if they’re a member of a federally recognized tribe.
- ▶ **In Seattle, 19% of Indigenous people don’t have health insurance**, compared to less than 5% of white people, according to the 2024 Point-In-Time Count of people of people experiencing homelessness in Seattle/King County.
- ▶ **Indigenous people make up only about 1% of the population** in the county, but they represent about 15% of those experiencing homelessness.

To sum it up, federal recognition would...

- ▶ **Be a meaningful acknowledgement that the Duwamish didn’t cease to exist** – as the U.S. Department of the Interior claims – and that they’re still here on their ancestral land.
- ▶ **Give the tribe access to a variety of federal resources and services** for education, job training, housing, social services, and more – all tools for ending generational cycles of poverty and homelessness that would allow the Duwamish to do more to look after its people.
- ▶ **Give the Duwamish people a chance to begin to address the vast inequities** that Indigenous families face in the Seattle area today.

But the Duwamish Tribe, which has fought this battle before, knows it can’t win alone. Cecile Hansen says that finally securing federal recognition for her tribe after all these years will require a movement – one that encompasses partners far beyond the Indigenous community.

Living into our Land Acknowledgement

At nonprofits and other organizations around the U.S., it's common practice to acknowledge that the land we all live on was stolen from the displaced and marginalized Indigenous peoples of this continent. In meetings and at events, we state that the descendants of those peoples are still among us, bearing the weight of decades of oppression.

But Solid Ground knows that land acknowledgements are meaningless if they're not coupled with action.

That's why we've joined the growing movement of individuals and organizations calling for the long-sought federal recognition of the Duwamish Tribe, the People of the Inside. We believe the work of ending poverty is about dismantling barriers. The denial of federal recognition for the Duwamish Tribe is an unjust barrier that has stood too long.



Duwamish Tribal Councilmembers gather in 2022 at the Longhouse on West Marginal Way, in front of a portrait of Kikisoblu, the daughter of Chief Si'ahl. From Left: Roger Boddy, James Rasmussen, Desiree Fagan, Council Chair Cecile Hansen, Paul Nelson, Ken Workman, and John Boddy (photo courtesy of the Duwamish Tribe).

What Solid Ground is doing to support the Duwamish fight for federal recognition

We're proud to partner with the Duwamish Tribe. Under their direction, we're taking these steps to advance their fight for justice long overdue.

- ▶ **We donate to Real Rent Duwamish in the symbolically significant amount of \$540 a month**, or 1 cent for each of the 54,000 acres stolen from the Duwamish in the Point Elliott Treaty.
- ▶ **We invite our community to donate to Real Rent Duwamish** as they're able.
- ▶ **We officially endorsed the Duwamish fight for federal recognition** in April 2022 and urge our partners and fellow nonprofits to join us.
- ▶ **We reach out to local and federal elected officials**, asking them to agree to meet with tribal representatives.
- ▶ **We educate the Solid Ground community** – including our staff, donors, and other stakeholders – about the Duwamish struggle for rights and self-determination.
- ▶ **We commit to ongoing learning and advocacy** to support the tribe.
- ▶ **We keep an open dialogue with the Duwamish Tribe** about other ways we can support and amplify their work – including the creation of this booklet.

The time for land acknowledgements alone is over.

It's now time for us all to act on our values and work to right this historic wrong on behalf of the First People of Seattle. Please join us in this movement. ◀

Join the fight for Seattle's only river!

The Duwamish River continues to face significant ecological threats even as government agencies and nonprofits work to undo the damage done to it over the last century and a half. Consider joining these organizations in the fight for a healthier Duwamish River.

- ▶ **The Duwamish Tribe:** duwamishtribe.org
- ▶ **Duwamish River Community Coalition:** drcc.org
- ▶ **Duwamish Alive! Coalition:** duwamishalive.org
- ▶ **Puget Sound Keeper:** pugetsoundkeeper.org

A GUIDE TO SUPPORTING THE DUWAMISH TRIBE



DONATE

Stand in solidarity with First People of this land by paying Real Rent. All Real Rent Duwamish funds go directly to the nonprofit Duwamish Tribal Services to operate the Duwamish Longhouse and Cultural Center and support the vitality of the Duwamish Tribe.



ENDORSE

Join over 100,000 supporters by signing the petition in support of federal recognition for the Duwamish Tribe, or join an ever-growing coalition of elected officials, faith groups, labor unions, businesses, and community organizations by endorsing the Tribe's acknowledgement efforts.



ADVOCATE

Contact your elected officials in Washington state and tell them to support federal recognition for the Duwamish Tribe. It's 167 years past time for the U.S. government to honor federal treaties and restore recognition.



LEARN

Discover more at the Duwamish Tribe and Real Rent Duwamish websites, attend events and exhibits at the Duwamish Longhouse and Cultural Center – a free museum, event space, and community center – or purchase educational materials at the gift shop.

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Acknowledgements & Credits

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Cover & chapter introduction image captions

- ▶ **Cover:** An 1897 topographical map of Seattle (Source: USGS Historical Topographic Map Explorer)
- ▶ **P. 5:** A 1903 postcard shows Lake Washington as it would have looked before the completion of the Montlake Cut, which lowered Lake Washington and permanently altered the flow of many of the rivers that Indigenous communities relied on for generations. (Source: University of Washington collection)
- ▶ **P. 12:** The Duwamish River today (photo by Neal Simpson)
- ▶ **P. 18:** Cheshiahud and other men in a canoe in Portage Bay around 1904 (Source: University of Washington collection)
- ▶ **P. 25:** The waters of líq'təd flowing in Licton Springs Park (photo by Neal Simpson)
- ▶ **P. 31:** Duwamish Tribe members in a longboat on Lake Union (photo from duwamishtribe.org)

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Building community to end poverty