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## Native Seattle

Thrush, Coll, Cronon, William

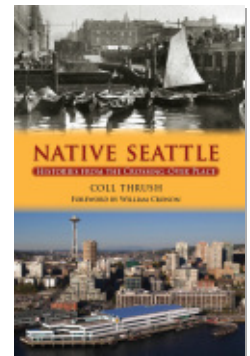
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# NOTES

## 1 / The Haunted City

1. Only a handful of North American places use Native imagery to market themselves as explicitly as Seattle does. The American Southwest, and especially Santa Fe, have a long history of using local (and other) Indian motifs. Vancouver, Victoria, and many other British Columbian places have used Northwest Coast imagery for a long time. For studies of these two regions and their employment of Native iconography, see Leah Dilworth, *Imagining Indians in the Southwest: Persistent Visions of a Primitive Past* (Washington: Smithsonian Institution, 1996); and Michael Dawson, *Selling British Columbia: Tourism and Consumer Culture, 1890–1970* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 2004).

2. William Kittredge, *The Nature of Generosity* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2000), 8. While the term “place-stories” is mine, the concept is inspired by the work of others. E.g., see Keith H. Basso, *Wisdom Sits in Places: Landscape and Language among the Western Apache* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1996); Crisca Bierwert, *Brushed by Cedar, Living by the River: Coast Salish Figures of Power* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1999), esp. 36–71; and Dolores Hayden, *The Power of Place: Urban Landscapes as Public History* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1995).

3. Carol Lind, *Western Gothic* (Seattle: Lind, 1983), 2; Babs Babylon, “In the Dark: Casper Central,” *Seattle Weekly*, 26 October 1994, 59; Jessica Amanda Salmonson, *The Mysterious Doom and Other Ghostly Tales of the Pacific Northwest* (Seattle: Sasquatch Books, 1992), 3–12, 91–102, 137–42; and personal communications with Jay Miller and with Dana Cox, Seattle Underground Tours.

4. For the original printing of the speech attributed to Seeathl, see the 29 October 1887 edition of the *Seattle Star*. For reprintings and embellishments of the speech in local histories, see Frederick James Grant, *History of Seattle, Washington* (New York: American, 1891); Clarence B. Bagley, *History of King County, Washington* (Chicago: S. J. Clarke, 1929); and Roberta Frye Watt, *Four Wagons West: The Story of Seattle* (Portland, OR: Metropolitan Press, 1931). See also Eric

Scigliano, "Shaping the City: A New Book Looks Over a Changing Urban Space," *Seattle Times Pacific Northwest Magazine*, 10 November 2002.

5. For discussion of the Chief Seattle Speech and its various interpretations and uses, see Rudolf Kaiser, "Chief Seattle's Speech(es): American Origins and European Reception," in *Recovering the Word: Essays on Native American Literature*, ed. Brian Swann and Arnold Krupat (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1987), 497–536; Vi Hilbert, "When Chief Seattle Spoke," in *A Time of Gathering: Native Heritage in Washington State*, ed. Robin K. Wright (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1991), 259–66; Denise Low, "Contemporary Reinventions of Chief Seattle: Variant Texts of Chief Seattle's 1854 Speech," *American Indian Quarterly* 19, no. 3 (1995): 407–22; Albert Furtwangler, *Answering Chief Seattle* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1997); and Crisca Bierwert, "Remembering Chief Seattle: Reversing Cultural Studies of a Vanishing American," *American Indian Quarterly* 22, no. 3 (1998): 280–307.

6. Jean-Claude Schmitt, *Ghosts in the Middle Ages: The Living and the Dead in Medieval Society*, trans. Teresa Lavender Fagan (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1998), 1; Judith Richardson, *Possessions: The History and Uses of Haunting in the Hudson Valley* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2003), 3–6; Renée Bergland, *The National Uncanny: Indian Ghosts and American Subjects* (Hanover, NH: University Press of New England, 2000), 3; and Marian W. Smith, *The Puyallup-Nisqually* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1940), 97.

7. Timothy Egan, *The Good Rain: Across Time and Terrain in the Pacific Northwest* (New York: Vintage Books, 1990), 90.

8. Jack Cady, *Street: A Novel* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1994), 13, 25; Tom Robbins, *Still Life with Woodpecker* (New York: Bantam Books, 1980), 69, 132; Jonathan Raban, *Hunting Mr. Heartbreak: A Discovery of America* (New York: Edward Burlingame Books, 1991), 261–62.

9. Cady, *Street*, 34–36; Sherman Alexie, *Indian Killer* (New York: Atlantic Monthly Press, 1996), 195, 409.

10. Grant Cogswell and Rick Levin, "Screw the Space Needle: Seattle's True Landmarks," *Seattle Stranger*, 21 September 2000, 38–39; Emily Baillargeon, "Seattle Now: A Letter," *New England Review* 20, no. 2 (1999): 148; and Brian Goedde, "Visions of the Ave: Despite Fears of Failure, the U-District's Heart Is Still Beating," *Seattle Real Change*, 20 September 2001, 8–9.

11. For examples of urban pictorials, see John W. Reys, *Panoramas of Promise: Pacific Northwest Towns and Cities in Nineteenth-Century Lithographs* (Pullman: Washington State University Press, 1984). For images of Indians in the American imagination, the classic work remains Robert F. Berkhofer Jr., *The White Man's Indian: Images of the American Indian from Columbus to the Present* (New York: Knopf, 1978). Images of Gast's *American Progress* can be found easily on the Internet; one example is the Central Pacific Railroad Museum website, at [cprrr](http://cprrr)

.org/Museum/Ephemera/American\_Progress.html. For the 1906 real-estate brochure, see C. B. Bussell, *Tide Lands: Their Story* (Seattle: n.p., 1906).

12. For discussion of Western cities and their hinterlands, see Richard C. Wade, *The Urban Frontier: The Rise of Western Cities, 1790–1830* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1959); William Cronon, *Nature's Metropolis: Chicago and the Great West* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1991); and Gray Brechin, *Imperial San Francisco: Urban Power, Earthly Ruin* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1999). For three of the handful of works linking indigenous history to urbanization in the American West, see Lisbeth Haas, *Conquests and Historical Identities in California, 1769–1936* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1995); Kate Brown, "Gridded Lives: Why Kazakhstan and Montana Are Nearly the Same Place," *American Historical Review* 106, no. 1 (2001): 17–48; and Eugene P. Moehring, *Urbanism and Empire in the Far West, 1840–1890* (Reno: University of Nevada Press, 2004). For the frontier's place in American thinking about the West, see John Mack Faragher, ed., *Rereading Frederick Jackson Turner: The Significance of the Frontier in American History and Other Essays* (New York: H. Holt, 1994); Henry Nash Smith, *Virgin Land: The American West as Symbol and Myth* (New York: Vintage Books, 1957); and Kerwin Lee Klein, *Frontiers of Historical Imagination: Narrating the European Conquest of Native America, 1890–1990* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1997).

13. A complete list of works on Native history in the West would be too long to include here. For a beginning overview of the literature, see Clyde A. Milner II, Carol A. O'Connor, and Martha Sandweiss, eds., *The Oxford History of the American West* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1996).

14. General studies of urban Indians include W. T. Stanbury, *Success and Failure: Indians in Urban Society* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1975); Alan L. Sorkin, *The Urban American Indian* (Lexington, MA: Lexington Books, 1978); Russell Thornton, Gary D. Sandefur, and Harold G. Grasmick, *The Urbanization of American Indians: A Critical Bibliography* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1982); and Donald L. Fixico, *The Urban Indian Experience in America* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2000). For published studies of postwar urban Indian institutions and identities, see S. A. Krouse, "Kinship and Identity: Mixed Bloods in Urban Indian Communities," *American Indian Culture and Research Journal* 23, no. 2 (1999): 73–89; Edmund Danziger, *Survival and Regeneration: Detroit's American Indian Community* (Detroit: Wayne State University, 1991); Joan Weibel-Orlando, *Indian Country, L.A.: Maintaining Ethnic Community in Complex Society* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1991); Deborah Davis Jackson, *Our Elders Lived It: American Indian Identity in the City* (DeKalb: Northern Illinois University Press, 2002); Nicholas Rosenthal, "Repositioning Indianness: Native American Organizations in Portland, Oregon, 1959–1975," *Pacific Historical Review* 71, no. 3 (2002): 415–38; Nancy Shoemaker, "Urban Indi-

ans and Ethnic Choices: American Indian Organizations in Minneapolis, 1920–1950,” *Western Historical Quarterly* 19, no. 4 (1988): 431–47; and especially *American Indian Culture and Research Journal* 22, no. 4 (1998), a special issue devoted to urban Indian identity and literature. For Seattle-based studies, see Howard M. Bahr, Bruce A. Chadwick, and Joseph H. Stauss, “Discrimination against Urban Indians in Seattle,” *Indian Historian* 5, no. 4 (1972): 4–11; Bruce A. Chadwick and Joseph H. Stauss, “The Assimilation of American Indians into Urban Society: The Seattle Case,” *Human Organization* 34, no. 4 (1975): 359–69; Bruce A. Chadwick, Joseph Stauss, Howard M. Bahr, and Lowell K. Halverson, “Confrontation with the Law: The Case of the American Indians in Seattle,” *Phylon* 37, no. 2 (1976): 163–71; Larry E. Williams, Bruce A. Chadwick, and Howard M. Bahr, “Antecedents of Self-Reported Arrest for Indian Americans in Seattle,” *Phylon* 40, no. 3 (1979): 243–52; Jonathan R. Sugarman and David C. Grossman, “Trauma among American Indians in an Urban Community,” *Public Health Reports* 111, no. 4 (1996): 321–28; Maria Aurora Holloway, “Illness Perception and Knowledge among Seattle Urban Indians” (M.Nur. thesis, University of Washington, 1974); and John Zoltan Bolyai, “The Seattle Diphtheria Epidemic of 1972–1973 and Its Relationship to Diphtheria among North American Native Americans” (M.P.H. thesis, University of Washington, 1974).

15. James P. Ronda, “Cowboy’s Tale: A Story of Power and Places along the Columbia,” in *Power and Place in the North American West*, ed. John M. Findlay and Richard White (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1999), 3.

16. R. Cole Harris, “How Did Colonialism Dispossess? Comments from an Edge of Empire,” *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 94, no. 1 (2004): 165–82.

17. Edwin G. Burrows and Mike Wallace, *Gotham: A History of New York City to 1898* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999), xiv–xvi.

18. Greg Dening, *Islands and Beaches: Discourse on a Silent Land, Marquesas, 1774–1880* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1980), 3; Colleen J. McElroy, “To the Crow Perched on Chief Sealth’s Fingertips,” in *Traveling Music: Poems* (Ashland, OR: Story Line Press, 1998), 56.

## 2 / Terra Miscognita

1. Sophie Frye Bass, *Pigtail Days in Old Seattle* (Portland, OR: Metropolitan Press, 1937), 13; Murray Morgan, *Skid Road: An Informal Portrait of Seattle* (New York: Viking Press, 1951), 24.

2. Stephen Jay Gould, “The Creation Myths of Cooperstown,” in *Bully for*

*Brontosaurus: Reflections in Natural History*, by Stephen Jay Gould (New York: W. W. Norton, 1991), 48.

3. For further analysis of the diorama, see Coll-Peter Thrush, “Creation Stories: Rethinking the Founding of Seattle,” in *More Voices, New Stories: King County, Washington’s First 150 Years*, ed. Mary C. Wright (Seattle: Pacific Northwest Historians Guild, 2002), 34–49.

4. Welford Beaton, *The City That Made Itself: A Literary and Pictorial Record of the Building of Seattle* (Seattle: Terminal Publishing Co., 1914), 19; George F. Cotterill, *Climax of a World Quest: The Story of Puget Sound, the Modern Mediterranean of the Pacific* (Seattle: Olympic Publishing Co., 1928). For one of the best examinations of the “vanishing Indian” narrative in American culture and history (and for its role in shaping federal Indian policy), see Brian W. Dippie, *The Vanishing American: White Attitudes and U.S. Indian Policy* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1982).

5. Jacob Wahalchoo’s story is recounted in Jay Miller, *Lushootseed Culture and the Shamanic Odyssey: An Anchored Radiance* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1999), 11–12.

6. Paul Carter, *The Road to Botany Bay: An Exploration of Landscape and History* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1987), xxiv. Carter draws upon the formulation crafted by geographer Yi-Fu Tuan in *Space and Place: The Perspective of Experience* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1977), in which Tuan distinguishes space—undifferentiated, abstract, untrammelled by experience—from place, which is specific, local, and shaped by lived experience. See also Daniel W. Clayton, *Islands of Truth: The Imperial Fashioning of Vancouver Island* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 2000).

7. For information on Clear Water, see Clarence B. Bagley, “Chief Seattle and Angeline,” *Washington Historical Quarterly* 22, no. 4 (1931): 243–75. For discussions of indigenous towns in Puget Sound, see Jay Miller, *Lushootseed Culture*, 10.

8. Marian Smith, *Puyallup-Nisqually*, 17; and Wayne M. Suttles, “Persistence of Intervillage Ties among the Coast Salish,” in *Coast Salish Essays*, by Wayne M. Suttles (Seattle: University of Washington Press; Vancouver: Talonbooks, 1987), 209–30.

9. Edmond S. Meany, ed., *Vancouver’s Discovery of Puget Sound* (New York: Macmillan, 1907), 105, 108, 124. For analysis of the notion of “people without history,” see Eric R. Wolf, *Europe and People without History* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1982). For the most comprehensive study of epidemics on the Northwest Coast, see Robert Boyd, *The Coming of the Spirit of Pestilence: Introduced Infectious Diseases and Population Decline among Northwest Coast Indians, 1774–1874* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1999).

10. For a summary of archaeological information for the region, including material drawn from at least one site in Seattle, see Charles M. Nelson, “Prehis-

tory of the Puget Sound Region," in *Handbook of North American Indians*, ed. William C. Sturtevant, vol. 7, *Northwest Coast*, ed. Wayne Suttles (Washington: Smithsonian Institution, 1990), 481–84. For linguistic evidence, see Wayne M. Suttles, "Northwest Coast Linguistic History—a View from the Coast," in *Coast Salish Essays*, 265–81. For stories of the Changer, see Arthur C. Ballard's collections *Some Tales of the Southern Puget Sound Salish* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1927) and *Mythology of Southern Puget Sound* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1929). For prehistoric natural disasters, see Arthur Kruckeberg, *A Natural History of Puget Sound Country* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1991); and Lynn L. Larson and Dennis E. Lewarch, eds., *The Archaeology of West Point, Seattle, Washington: 4,000 Years of Hunter-Fisher-Gatherer Land Use in Southern Puget Sound* (Seattle: Larson Anthropological/Archaeological Services, 1995). For the words arising from *dookw*, see Dawn Bates, Thom Hess, and Vi Hilbert, *Lushootseed Dictionary* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1994), 84–85.

11. Charles Wilkes, *Narrative of the United States Exploring Expedition during the Years 1838, 1839, 1840, 1841, and 1842* (New York: G. P. Putnam, 1844), vol. 4, 483; and Edmond S. Meany, ed., "Diary of Wilkes in the Northwest," *Washington Historical Quarterly* 17 (1926): 139.

12. Meany, "Diary of Wilkes in the Northwest," 137–40. For accounts of epidemics in the 1830s and 1840s, see Boyd, *Coming of the Spirit of Pestilence*, 155, 267. For discussion of the Ex. Ex., see Nathaniel Philbrick, *Sea of Glory: America's Voyage of Discovery, the U.S. Exploring Expedition, 1838–1842* (New York: Viking, 2003). For Fort Nisqually, see Cecelia Svinth Carpenter, *Fort Nisqually: A Documented History of Indian and British Interaction* (Tacoma, WA: Tahoma Research Services, 1986), and William Fraser Tolmie, *The Journals of William Fraser Tolmie: Physician and Fur Trader* (Vancouver: Mitchell Press, 1963), 216.

13. Samuel Hancock, *The Narrative of Samuel Hancock, 1845–1860* (New York: R. M. McBride and Co., 1927), 94–95.

14. Arthur Armstrong Denny, *Pioneer Days on Puget Sound* (Seattle: C. B. Bagley, Printer, 1888), 9–10; and undated George Brock obituary, Scrapbook 21, p. 7, Oregon Historical Society, Portland.

15. Arthur Denny, *Pioneer Days on Puget Sound*, 10–12; Andrew Jackson Chambers, *Recollections* (n.p., 1947), 28–29; Thomas W. Prosch, *Chronological History of Seattle from 1850 to 1897* (Seattle: n.p., 1900), 24; Watt, *Four Wagons West*, 28–29; Frank Carlson, "Chief Sealth" (M.A. thesis, University of Washington, 1903), 26; and Emily Inez Denny, *Blazing the Way; or, True Stories, Songs, and Sketches of Puget Sound and Other Pioneers* (Seattle: Rainier Printing Co., 1909), 43.

16. Marian W. Smith, "Petroglyph Complexes in the History of the Columbia-Fraser Region," *Southwest Journal of Anthropology* 2, no. 3 (1946): 315; Roger Sale, *Seattle, Past to Present* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1976), 12; Arthur

Denny, *Pioneer Days on Puget Sound*, 10–12; and Thomas Talbot Waterman, *Puget Sound Geography*, ed. Vi Hilbert, Jay Miller, and Zalmay Zahir (Seattle: Lushootseed Press, 2001), 119–27.

17. Thomas Prosch, *Chronological History*, 22–24; Watt, *Four Wagons West*, 30–32; and Emily Denny, *Blazing the Way*, 47–48.

18. Arthur Denny, *Pioneer Days on Puget Sound*, 10–12; Emily Denny, *Blazing the Way*, 49; and Archie Binns, *Northwest Gateway: The Story of the Port of Seattle* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, Doran, and Co., 1941), 32–41.

19. Stuart M. Blumin, “Explaining the New Metropolis: Perception, Depiction, and Analysis in Mid-Nineteenth Century New York,” *Journal of Urban History* 11, no. 1 (1984): 9–38; Burrows and Wallace, *Gotham*, 649–841.

20. For accounts of Knox County during this time, see Albert J. Perry, *History of Knox County, Illinois: Its Cities, Towns, and People* (Chicago: S. J. Clarke Publishing Co., 1912), 419–23, 447–49; and James E. Davis, *Frontier Illinois* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1998), 331–33. For the Denny family’s history in the area, see Arthur Armstrong Denny, “Reminiscences,” Bancroft Collection, 5–8; and Sale, *Seattle, Past to Present*, 8–9, 17.

21. Albert Perry, *History of Knox County*, 5, 44; Richard White, *The Middle Ground: Indians, Empires, and Republics in the Great Lakes Region, 1650–1815* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1991); J. Joseph Bauxar, “History of the Illinois Area,” and Charles Callender, “Illinois,” in *Handbook of North American Indians*, ed. William C. Sturtevant, vol. 15, *Northeast*, ed. Bruce G. Trigger (Washington: Smithsonian Institution, 1978), 594–601, 673–80.

22. Albert Perry, *History of Knox County*, 43–44, 447; Charles C. Chapman, *History of Knox County, Illinois* (Chicago: Blakely, Brown, and Marsh, Printers, 1878), 185–87; Rodney O. Davis, “The Frontier State, 1818–48,” in *A Guide to the History of Illinois*, ed. John Hoffman (New York: Greenwood Press, 1991), 54; and Clarence B. Bagley, *History of Seattle from the Earliest Settlement to the Present Time*, vol. 2 (Chicago: S. J. Clarke, 1916), 824, 875.

23. Arthur Denny, *Pioneer Days on Puget Sound*, 13–14.

24. *Ibid.*, 4–6, 8–9; Eugene E. Snyder, *Early Portland: Stump-Town Triumphant* (Portland, OR: Binfords and Mort, 1970), 70; and Emily Denny, *Blazing the Way*, 42.

25. Watt, *Four Wagons West*, 49–51, 60.

26. Eva Greenslit Anderson, *Chief Seattle* (Caldwell: Caxton Printers, 1943), 161; Emily Denny, *Blazing the Way*, 56; Carlson, “Chief Sealath,” 26; Thomas Talbot Waterman, “The Geographical Names Used by the Indians of the Pacific Coast,” *Geographical Review* 12 (1922): 192; personal communication with Thomas Speer, Duwamish Tribal Services.

27. Emily Denny, *Blazing the Way*, 57–58; interview with Walter Graham, February 1914, MOHAI MS Collection, folder 348; Arthur Denny, *Pioneer Days on Puget Sound*, 14; and Thomas Prosch, *Chronological History*, 26.



28. Wayne Suttles, "The Early Diffusion of the Potato among the Coast Salish," in *Coast Salish Essays*, 137–51; Thomas Prosch, *Chronological History*, 25–26; Arthur Denny, *Pioneer Days on Puget Sound*, 13; and Watt, *Four Wagons West*, 55.
29. Arthur Denny, *Pioneer Days on Puget Sound*, 17; Watt, *Four Wagons West*, 53, 64–65, 67; and Ruth Sehome Shelton, *Gram Ruth Sehome Shelton: The Wisdom of a Tulalip Elder* (Seattle: Lushootseed Press, 1995), 25–27.
30. Thomas Prosch, *Chronological History*, 28–29, 31, 41–42; Beaton, *City That Made Itself*, 21; and Watt, *Four Wagons West*, 70.
31. For examples of the various speculations, see Carlson, "Chief Sealth," 27; Thomas Prosch, *Chronological History*, 29; Bagley, *History of Seattle*, vol. 2, 27; and Watt, *Four Wagons West*, 70. Some modern-day Duwamish people see the naming of the city as a theft of indigenous cultural property, especially cutting in light of the dispossession they would later face. In personal communications with the author, anthropologist Jay Miller has suggested that Seeathl may have seen the naming as analogous to offering his name to a young descendant, thus ensuring that the name would live on. Meanwhile, present-day Duwamish tribal activist James Rasmussen has argued that Seeathl would in fact be proud of the city named after him; for that claim, see B. J. Bullert's documentary *Alki: Birthplace of Seattle* (Seattle: Southwest Seattle Historical Society and KCTS Television, 1997).
32. Bierwert, *Brushed by Cedar*, 43–44; Watt, *Four Wagons West*, 58–59.
33. Arthur Denny, *Pioneer Days on Puget Sound*, 19.

### 3 / Seattle Illahee

1. Philip J. Thomas, *Songs of the Pacific Northwest* (Saanichton, BC: Hancock House, 1979), 60–61. For accounts of the Fraser River gold rush, see R. Cole Harris, *The Resettlement of British Columbia: Essays on Colonialism and Geographical Change* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1997), esp. 103–36; Andrea Laforet and Annie York, *Spuzzum: Fraser Canyon Histories, 1808–1939* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1999); Daniel P. Marshall, "No Parallel: American Miner-Soldiers at War with the Nlaka'pamux of the Canadian West," in *Parallel Destinies: Canadian-American Relations West of the Rockies*, ed. John M. Findlay and Ken S. Coates (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2002), 31–79; and Robert E. Ficken, *Unsettled Boundaries: Fraser Gold and the British-American Northwest* (Pullman: Washington State University Press, 2003).
2. David Kellogg to Vivian Carkeek, 20 May 1912, MOHAI MS Collection, folder 116.
3. "Story of Alonzo Russell," n.d. (1910s), MOHAI MS Collection, folder 526;

Caroline Leighton, *Life at Puget Sound, with Sketches of Travel in Washington Territory, British Columbia, Oregon, and California, 1865–1881* (Boston: Lee and Shepard, 1884), 39–40; and Dillis B. Ward, “From Salem, Oregon, to Seattle, Washington, in 1859,” *Washington Historical Quarterly* 6 (1915): 100.

4. “The Christmas Times,” *Seattle Times*, 14 December 1901; and Leighton, *Life at Puget Sound*, 41–42.

5. Cornelius H. Hanford, ed., *Seattle and Environs: 1852–1924* (Chicago: Pioneer Historical Publishing Co., 1924), 49.

6. David Kellogg to Vivian Carkeek, 20 May 1912; Jay Miller, *Lushootseed Culture*, 100–103. This was not an isolated event—Cornelius Hanford describes a similar initiation, of an indigenous man named Sampson, taking place in 1858 (*Seattle and Environs*, 142).

7. Seattle Historical Society interview with Louisa Boren Denny, n.d., MOHAI MS Collection, folder 258; Abbie Denny-Lindsley, “When Seattle Was an Indian Camp Forty-Five Years Ago,” *Seattle P-I*, 15 April 1906; and Phoebe Goodell Judson, *A Pioneer’s Search for an Ideal Home: A Book of Personal Memoirs* (Bellingham, WA: Union Printing, Binding, and Publishing Co., 1925), 188.

8. Bass, *Pigtail Days in Old Seattle*, 31; Arthur Denny, *Pioneer Days on Puget Sound*, 73; and Yvonne Prater, *Snoqualmie Pass: From Indian Trail to Interstate* (Seattle: The Mountaineers, 1981), 7–29.

9. For accounts of the “Puget Sound Indian War” (or the “Treaty War,” as many Indian people call it), see J. A. Eckrom, *Remembered Drums: The Puget Sound Indian War* (Walla Walla, WA: Pioneer Press Books, 1989); and John Lutz, “Inventing an Indian War: Canadian Indians and American Settlers in the Pacific West, 1854–1864,” *Journal of the West* 38, no. 3 (1998): 7–13.

10. Patricia Nelson Limerick, *The Legacy of Conquest: The Unbroken Past of the American West* (New York: Norton, 1987), 35–54.

11. Thomas Prosch, *Chronological History*, 32; Edith Sanderson Redfield, *Seattle Memories* (Boston: Lothrop, Lee, and Shepard Co., 1930), 31; John M. Swan narrative, 6–7, Bancroft Collection; “Adventures of William T. Ballou,” 3, Bancroft Collection; and Waterman, “Geographical Names,” 188; Thomas S. Phelps’s map of Seattle, 1856, MSCUA negative UW4101.

12. Major J. Thomas Turner, “Reminiscences, 7 September 1914,” MOHAI MS Collection, folder 106; Jane Fenton Kelly, “Trail of a Pioneer Family,” n.d. (1910s), MOHAI MS Collection, folder 347; Redfield, *Seattle Memories*, 39; and J. G. Parker, “Puget Sound,” 4, Bancroft Collection.

13. Thomas Prosch, *Chronological History*, 29; Thomas F. Gedosch, “A Note on the Dogfish Oil Industry of Washington Territory,” *Pacific Northwest Quarterly* 59, no. 2 (1968): 100–102; Abbie Denny-Lindsley, “When Seattle Was an Indian Camp Forty-Five Years Ago,” *Seattle P-I*, 15 April 1906; Catherine Blaine, “A Frontier Sketch” (n.p., n.d.), MSCUA; Sophie Frye Bass, *When Seattle Was a Village* (Seattle:

Lowman and Hanford, 1947), 44; and interview with Walter Graham, MOHAI MS Collection.

14. Thomas Prosch, *Chronological History*, 53; Brad Asher, *Beyond the Reservation: Indians, Settlers, and the Law in Washington Territory, 1853–1889* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1999), 107–53; David Blaine and Catherine Blaine, *Memoirs of Puget Sound: Early Seattle, 1853–1856*, ed. Richard A. Seiber (Fairfield, WA: Ye Galleon Press, 1978), 76–77.

15. Henry L. Yesler, “Henry Yesler and the Founding of Seattle,” *Pacific Northwest Quarterly* 42 (1951): 274.

16. For a summary of the treaty process in Puget Sound, see Alexandra Harmon, *Indians in the Making: Ethnic Relations and Indian Identities around Puget Sound* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1998). For the details of the process in Seattle and central Puget Sound, see Furtwangler, *Answering Chief Seattle*.

17. Shelton, *Gram Ruth Sehome Shelton*, 26; Emily Denny, *Blazing the Way*, 67–68.

18. Michael T. Simmons to Isaac Ingalls Stevens, 27 December 1855, and Henry Yesler, David Phillips, C. C. Lewis, S. Samson Grow, and Thomas Mercer to C. H. Mason, 24 November 1855, Records of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, Western Washington Agency, NARA.

19. Hanford, *Seattle and Environs*, 148; William N. Bell, “Settlement of Seattle,” Bancroft Collection; and Emily Denny, *Blazing the Way*, 374–75; “Historic Nisqually Chief Exonerated,” *Seattle Times*, 11 December 2004.

20. “The Indian War!!” *Pioneer and Democrat*, 1 February 1856; Henry L. Yesler to Michael T. Simmons, 26 July 1856, Records of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, Western Washington Agency, NARA; George A. Paige to Michael T. Simmons, 23 January 1857, Records of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, Western Washington Agency, NARA; Commander S. S. Swarthout to Stevens, 31 August 1856, Records of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, Western Washington Agency, NARA.

21. George A. Paige to Michael T. Simmons, 30 November 1856, Records of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, Western Washington Agency, NARA; David S. Maynard to Michael T. Simmons, 19 September 1856, Records of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, Western Washington Agency, NARA; and M. Maloney, Capt. 4th Infantry at Muckleshoot, to Lt. Col. S. Casey, 9th Infantry, Commander of Puget Sound District at Fort Steilacoom, 24 November 1856, Records of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, Western Washington Agency, NARA.

22. George A. Paige to Isaac Ingalls Stevens, 6 November 1856, Records of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, Western Washington Agency, NARA; George A. Paige to Isaac Ingalls Stevens, 30 June 1857, Records of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, Western Washington Agency, NARA.

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## 5 / City of the Changers

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## 6 / The Woven Coast

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## An Atlas of Indigenous Seattle

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20. Bass, *Pig-Tail Days in Old Seattle*, 37; Emily Denny, *Blazing the Way*, 9.
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