

United States Department of the Interior  
National Park Service

# National Register of Historic Places Registration Form

This form is for use in nominating or requesting determinations for individual properties and districts. See instructions in National Register Bulletin, *How to Complete the National Register of Historic Places Registration Form*. If any item does not apply to the property being documented, enter "N/A" for "not applicable." For functions, architectural classification, materials, and areas of significance, enter only categories and subcategories from the instructions. Place additional certification comments, entries, and narrative items on continuation sheets if needed (NPS Form 10-900a).

## 1. Name of Property:

historic name Ballast Island

other names/site number 45KI1189

## 2. Location

street & number At the foot of S. Washington and S. Main streets, along the waterfront.

☐ not for publication

city or town Seattle

☐ vicinity

state Washington code WA county King code 33 zip code 98104

## 3. State/Federal Agency Certification

As the designated authority under the National Historic Preservation Act, as amended,

I hereby certify that this X nomination    request for determination of eligibility meets the documentation standards for registering properties in the National Register of Historic Places and meets the procedural and professional requirements set forth in 36 CFR Part 60.

In my opinion, the property X meets    does not meet the National Register Criteria. I recommend that this property be considered significant at the following level(s) of significance:

   national    statewide X local

Applicable National Register Criteria

X A    B    C X D

*Allyson Brooks*

December 14, 2020

Signature of certifying official/Title

Date

WASHINGTON SHPO

State or Federal agency/bureau or Tribal Government

In my opinion, the property    meets    does not meet the National Register criteria.

Signature of commenting official

Date

Title

State or Federal agency/bureau or Tribal Government

## 4. National Park Service Certification

I hereby certify that this property is:

X entered in the National Register

   determined eligible for the National Register

   determined not eligible for the National Register

   removed from the National Register

   other (explain:)

*Janet H. Sartin*  
Signature of the Keeper

1/27/2021  
Date of Action

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## 5. Classification

### Ownership of Property

(Check as many boxes as apply.)

<input type="checkbox"/>	private
<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	public - Local
<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	public - State
<input type="checkbox"/>	public - Federal

### Category of Property

(Check only **one** box.)

<input type="checkbox"/>	building(s)
<input type="checkbox"/>	district
<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	site
<input type="checkbox"/>	structure
<input type="checkbox"/>	object

### Number of Resources within Property

(Do not include previously listed resources in the count.)

Contributing	Noncontributing	
		buildings
		district
1		site
	1	structure
		object
1	1	<b>Total</b>

### Name of related multiple property listing

(Enter "N/A" if property is not part of a multiple property listing)

N/A

### Number of contributing resources previously listed in the National Register

None

## 6. Function or Use

### Historic Functions

(Enter categories from instructions.)

DOMESTIC/Multiple dwelling

DOMESTIC/Camp

TRANSPORTATION/Water-related

COMMERCE/TRADE

AGRICULTURE/SUBSISTENCE/Fishing site

INDUSTRY/PROCESSING/EXTRACTION/

Processing site

OTHER

### Current Functions

(Enter categories from instructions.)

LANDSCAPE/Parking lot

TRANSPORTATION/Road and pedestrian-related

EDUCATION/OTHER

OTHER

## 7. Description

### Architectural Classification

(Enter categories from instructions.)

N/A

### Materials

(Enter categories from instructions.)

foundation: N/A

walls: N/A

roof: N/A

other: N/A

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### Narrative Description

(Describe the historic and current physical appearance of the property. Explain contributing and noncontributing resources if necessary. Begin with a **summary paragraph** that briefly describes the general characteristics of the property, such as its location, setting, size, and significant features.)

### Summary Paragraph

The Ballast Island sits along the waterfront of the City of Seattle, King County, Washington, at the foot of South Washington and South Main streets. The site began to form in the late 1870s as a result of ship ballast being dumped adjacent to and between docks built by settlers and shipping companies along the waterfront. A combination of archaeological surveys, historic photos, and historic records note that Ballast Island is largely comprised of large sandstone cobbles and other types of non-native rock from distant ports, as well as sand, brick, and other detritus. Local Native American Tribes, displaced from other places of traditional and cultural importance along the Indigenous Seattle waterfront by prejudice and exclusionary laws, used this human-made landform as a place of refuge to maintain ties to the area and to adapt to new ways of living post-contact. By the end of the 1890s the site was buried and incorporated into a larger footprint of a former beach and tideflats "reclaimed" by regrading and filling activities occurring across Seattle. Today, the site remains buried along the waterfront in an urban environment, but the historical and cultural importance of both the site and the wider locale to descendant Tribal communities continues, perhaps most intensively in relation to its role in a painful period of their history.

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### Narrative Description

The Ballast Island is situated at the eastern end of Puget Sound, near the mouth of the Duwamish River and within the Indigenous Elliott Bay land/seascape. More specifically, it is located at the foot of South Washington and South Main streets, along the waterfront of the City of Seattle, King County, Washington. This location and setting of Ballast Island are themselves significant features that contribute to the importance of the ballast landmass as a historic property for Coast Salish peoples. The geographical formation that hugs the western end of Ballast Island and is today known in English as Puget Sound is called  $\chi^w\text{'l}\acute{c}$  in the local (Coast Salish) Lushootseed language, a word which simultaneously refers to saltwater, sea, or the Sound itself (Snyder 1968:192). To properly describe and consider the appearance, location, and setting of Ballast Island requires the recognition that the Puget Sound drainage system is and has long been *the* material nexus of action, direction, and identity for Native peoples of the region (see Smith 1940:2-3). Lending description and meaning to this nexus and its various elements and places of ongoing traditional cultural and historical importance are Coast Salish cultural stories, particularly those of *du'kwibəł*, or Changer(s)/Transformer(s), which exemplify tribal worldviews about change. These Coast Salish narratives emerge from and are directly tied to the Puget Sound environment and provide conceptual consistency and context to historical and geographical events of continuity and change throughout the Puget Sound land/seascape, including colonial events and social and spatial trajectories that lead to the development of the Ballast Island landmass (see Curti et al. 2018).

The ballast landmass began to form in the late 1870s adjacent to, and later between, docks built by Euro-American settlers and shipping companies. This formation began to intensify beginning ca. 1880, when the Oregon Improvement Company (OIC) developed a mile-long section of the Seattle waterfront. Ballast offloaded at the OIC Ocean dock built quickly, forming rough land that soon became a place of Indigenous refuge, resistance, and resilience following passage of Ordinance No. 5 in 1865. For approximately two decades, Ballast Island stood as the only place in Seattle where Natives were allowed to congregate, conduct business, engage in social interaction, and live after 1865. Destroyed by the Great Fire of Seattle in 1889, the OIC dock was rebuilt with two massive semicircular truss-roofed structures in place of the original docks by 1890. That same year, concrete sheds built for cable railway construction were erected on Ballast Island and local authorities obtained an order from OIC to evict Indigenous campers. Over the next decade, despite repeated, albeit temporary, evictions, Native migrants, traders, and fishers continued to reoccupy and reclaim Ballast Island and the capacities and opportunities it afforded; but, the 1895 bankruptcy of OIC and reorganization as the Pacific Coast Company in 1897 signaled the end of this historical character and use of Ballast Island. That same year, the company announced plans to build new wharves on its waterfront property, with a fireproof brick warehouse to be built on the ballast landmass. Portions of Ballast Island were soon dredged away. The following year, the company began the overhaul of Ocean Dock with an addition to the north-side warehouse and extension of the dock. Hundreds of creosoted piles extended the dock by one hundred feet, doubling its capacity. Loads of dirt were hauled in to cover the area from Ballast Island east to Railroad Avenue (Alaskan Way). As a result, Ballast Island completely disappeared from public view, paved over and covered by rail lines, parking lots, roadways and greenspace. But the former Indigenous gathering place remains a vivid historical and cultural landmark for Native peoples of Puget Sound.

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The surface of Ballast Island is today found under a mix of paved road, parking lot, and green space located at Pier 48. The modern horizontal extents of the pier go beyond the footprint of the historic docks that constrained Ballast Island as more modern sheet pile walls now retain the fill that surrounds and overlays the ballast landmass. As such, the pier and modern extensions are not contributing elements to the site. Contributing elements include the subsurface Ballast Island landmass that is represented by archaeological site 45K11189, the boundary of which was largely drawn based on estimates from historic maps. A combination of archaeological surveys, historic photos, and historic records describe the ballast material as a composition of large sandstone cobbles and other types of non-native rock from distant ports, as well as sand, brick, and other detritus. Historic photos also suggest some areas of the ballast surface were overlaid with sawdust, soil, and/or sand and sections of the landmass sloped upward from the waterline several feet when occupied by Native campers. Recent archaeological surveys have focused on delineating the extent of the physical remains of Ballast Island along the eastern boundary, beneath current day Alaskan Way. The western extent of the site is presumed to be intact based on the presence of ballast observed during archaeological monitoring of vector holes and geotechnical borings, but large scale testing across the site to document stratigraphic integrity has not been possible due to the depth of fill and complex overlying utilities. What is known is that intact ballast deposits have been observed ranging from five to twenty five feet below the modern ground surface and in some locations artifacts are present. Historical accounts describe multiple occasions where Euro-American settlers cleared Native occupants from the anthropogenic landform over the two decades when it was occupied and, based on historical accounts and urban development in the area over the past 120 years, it is unclear whether intact archaeological deposits from Native occupation beyond the landform itself remain on the eastern half of the site. Given its location outside of a modern roadway and utility network, it is possible that the western portion of the site has simply been capped with fill leaving intact deposits and potential for future archaeological study.

Despite the unknown status of this archaeological content and geographical extent, the location of Ballast Island and its Seattle waterfront locale continue to materially convey historical and geographical significance for descendant Native American Tribes as well as an integrity of setting, feeling, and association that has permitted the continuity and endurance of intimately related Native cultural practices, beliefs, and identities.

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## 8. Statement of Significance

### Applicable National Register Criteria

(Mark "x" in one or more boxes for the criteria qualifying the property for National Register listing.)

- ☒ A Property is associated with events that have made a significant contribution to the broad patterns of our history.
- ☐ B Property is associated with the lives of persons significant in our past.
- ☐ C Property embodies the distinctive characteristics of a type, period, or method of construction or represents the work of a master, or possesses high artistic values, or represents a significant and distinguishable entity whose components lack individual distinction.
- ☒ D Property has yielded, or is likely to yield, information important in prehistory or history.

### Criteria Considerations

(Mark "x" in all the boxes that apply.)

Property is:

- ☐ A Owned by a religious institution or used for religious purposes.
- ☐ B removed from its original location.
- ☐ C a birthplace or grave.
- ☐ D a cemetery.
- ☐ E a reconstructed building, object, or structure.
- ☐ F a commemorative property.
- ☐ G less than 50 years old or achieving significance within the past 50 years.

### Areas of Significance

(Enter categories from instructions.)

ETHNIC HERITAGE-NATIVE AMERICAN

SOCIAL HISTORY

EDUCATION

COMMERCE

ARCHAEOLOGY/HISTORIC-ABORIGINAL

### Period of Significance

c. 1880–1898

### Significant Dates

N/A

### Significant Person

(Complete only if Criterion B is marked above.)

N/A

### Cultural Affiliation

COAST SALISH TRIBES (Including but not limited to):

Muckleshoot Indian Tribe,

Snoqualmie Indian Tribe,

Stillaguamish Tribe of Indians,

Suquamish Tribe,

Tulalip Tribes of Washington

### Architect/Builder

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**Statement of Significance Summary Paragraph** (Provide a summary paragraph that includes level of significance and applicable criteria.)

For approximately two decades in the late nineteenth century, Ballast Island served as a gathering place, camp, and economic center for various Native American Tribes and as a place of refuge, resistance, resilience. Analysis and synthesis of the available documents, archival resources, and literature coupled with insights gathered during oral history and Rapid Ethnographic Assessment Procedure (REAP) interviews and a site visit with Tribal representatives highlight that Ballast Island is a site with traditional cultural property (TCP) significance and is important to the continuity of the living beliefs, identities, cultural practices, and sacred geographies of different Coast Salish Tribes. Coast Salish worldviews around change, which can be understood through *du'kwibet*—Changer(s)/Transformer(s)—narratives, continue to provide social and cultural context for the historical trajectories and geographical events that resulted in the development of Ballast Island, which continues to contribute to the significance of the sacred Puget Sound land/seascape. Though its condition as determined through archaeological perspectives is not completely known at this time, the continued existence of the buried Ballast Island landform retains integrity of association, location, and feeling that permit Tribal relationships to the place to endure. While the urban surroundings have changed since the site was occupied, the site retains integrity of setting as it is still located on a waterfront subject to constant development and change, much as it was in the 1800s, and the spatial relationship with other important locations in the Puget Sound land/seascape remain intact.

To participating Tribes, the current state of the property does not diminish the ongoing importance of the location and the role the location plays in the ability to teach future generations about important but painful Tribal histories. As a tangible site with ongoing cultural importance, integrity, and relationships to historic events that have made significant contributions to the broad patterns of the histories of Native American Tribes, Ballast Island retains a high level of historical significance and is recommended eligible for nomination to the NRHP as a site with TCP significance under Criterion A. Ballast Island has yielded and, through additional ethnographic work and teaching using oral traditions, may be likely to yield important tribal history under Criterion D. As an intensive zone of cultural importance within the Puget Sound land/seascape that supports the perseverance and development of intergenerational education and teaching of cultural memory and that helps sustain the identity of Tribes as a place where continuity was and is negotiated through imposed change, Ballast Island retains a high level of historical significance.

While the shore along the waterfront in Seattle served from time immemorial as a transitional point between land and sea for indigenous peoples, the site specific Period of Significance for Ballast Island begins around 1880 after ballast was offloaded at the Oregon Improvement Company (OIC), forming rough land behind quickly expanding dock construction. As Ballast Island formed, the landmass was largely the only area along the waterfront that was directly accessible by canoe. Over time, added fill increased the elevation and extended the site boundaries. The Period of Significance ends in 1898, the date the OIC warehouse and docks were demolished and new docks were created. This destroyed Ballast Island as a direct point of contact for indigenous tribes to downtown Seattle.

**Narrative Statement of Significance**

(Provide at least **one** paragraph for each area of significance.)

This narrative statement of significance provides background information and the cultural context necessary for identifying the historical significance, describing the ongoing traditional cultural importance, and evaluating the National Register of Historic Places (NRHP) eligibility of Ballast Island using relevant traditional cultural property (TCP) guidance from *National Register Bulletin 38: Guidelines for Evaluating and Documenting Traditional Cultural Properties* (Bulletin 38) and associated guidance from the National Park Service (NPS) and Advisory Council on Historic Preservation (ACHP).

The first section establishes that Ballast Island has integrity of location, feeling, setting, and, most importantly, association when viewed from Tribal perspectives. The second section provides a brief overview of Coast Salish worldviews and the roles of cultural stories followed by an ethno historical account of the relationships different Native American Tribes have to Ballast Island as evidenced by the historical record. Utilizing these different expressions of and relations to the past, how they inform the present, and how they define trajectories of and relate to the future illustrate enduring historical associations and connections to the Ballast Island locale for different Coast Salish Tribes and present appropriate context for evaluating the historical significance and ongoing cultural importance of Ballast Island.

**Accounting for Tribal Perspectives on TCP Integrity and Significance**

*National Register Bulletin 15: How to Apply the National Register Criteria for Evaluation* (Bulletin 15) states that information and guidance on traditional cultural values and their associations to historic properties should be sought from

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*National Register Bulletin 38: Guidelines for Evaluating and Documenting Traditional Cultural Properties* (Bulletin 38) (NPS 1997:13 n.5). Bulletin 38 explains that:

A traditional cultural property [or place] ... can be defined generally as one that is eligible for inclusion in the National Register because of its association with cultural practices or beliefs of a living community that (a) are rooted in that community's history, and (b) are important in maintaining the continuing cultural identity of the community [Parker and King 1998:1].

Bulletin 15 notes that “[t]he retention of specific aspects of integrity is paramount for a property to convey its significance. Determining which of these aspects are most important to a particular property *requires knowing why, where, and when the property is significant*” (*Emphasis ours*; NPS 1997:44). Bulletin 38 elaborates on the different aspects of integrity outlined in Bulletin 15 (i.e., Location, Design, Setting, Materials, Workmanship, Feeling, and Association) under the collective heading of “**Integrity of Condition**”, and clarifies that when considering these seven aspects, “the integrity of a possible traditional cultural property must be considered with reference to the views of traditional practitioners; if its integrity has not been lost in their eyes, it probably has sufficient integrity to justify further evaluation” (Parker and King 1998:12). Vital to accounting for this Bulletin 38 guidance in good faith is the understanding that *where* events happened often retain much more depth and intensity of meaning and significance for local Tribes than *when* they happened. This is underscored by Native American theologian, historian, and author, Vine Deloria, Jr. (1994), who examines at length the relations between cultural stories, religious systems of belief, history, and their collective geographical implications for various Native peoples throughout North America. As part of this examination, he observes that:

When domestic [American] ideology is divided according to American Indian and Western European immigrant [societies] ... the fundamental difference is one of great philosophical importance. American Indians hold their lands—places—as having the highest possible meaning, and all their statements are made with this reference point in mind. Immigrants review the movement of their ancestors across the continent as a steady progression of basically good events and experiences, thereby placing history—time—in the best possible light. When one group is concerned with the philosophical problem of space and the other with the philosophical problem of time, then the statements of either group do not make much sense when transferred from one context to the other without proper consideration of what is taking place [Deloria 1994:62-63].

Deloria demonstrates how a privileging of history/time over geography/space cannot adequately capture or do conceptual justice to understanding and respecting the different elements and meanings that make places and landscapes significant for Native peoples. Instead of approaching such places and landscapes through the context of history and time, they must first and foremost be understood and approached through *spatially oriented* systems of perspective and relation. Deloria highlights that this spatial context is vital, because as practitioners of “spatial religions”:

Indian tribes combine history and geography so that they have a “sacred geography,” that is to say, every location within their original homeland has a multitude of stories that recount the migrations, revelations, and particular historical incidents that cumulatively produced the tribe in its current condition.... The most notable characteristic of tribal traditions is the precision and specificity of the traditions when linked to the landscape [Deloria 1994:122].

It is within this spatially-oriented context that the following discussion of integrity is based on the views of the consulting Tribes that participated in the development of this historic property nomination document for Ballast Island.

#### Location

Ballast Island retains integrity of location. Historic maps and photos show Ballast Island developing over a number of years between the docks of the Oregon Improvement Company. While the landform had additional fill piled on top of and around it, the overall landmass is still situated in the same place as it was during the period of occupation.

#### Setting

As the ethnohistory provided below outlines, Ballast Island's origins are rooted in the development of the Seattle waterfront to support the shipping industry and other trades and the site continued to be shaped by waterfront development throughout the period of significance. The site continues to be located along an ever changing waterfront in an area that is central to a larger Elliott Bay land/seascape that allowed and continues to allow for Coast Salish tribes to connect to other culturally important places. Despite the changes that have occurred at Ballast Island throughout the

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historic period, it remains a place that has made significant contributions to broad patterns of Tribal histories and identities in a space and time of increasing contact with Anglo-American settler society in the Pacific Northwest.

**Feeling**

Bulletin 38 emphasizes that fundamental to the eligibility identification and evaluation of historic properties with TCP significance is an understanding that tangible properties, or places, require an accounting for and appreciation of the *intangible* (i.e. emotional, spiritual, historical, perspectival) qualities that make them culturally significant. "It is vital to evaluate properties thought to have traditional cultural significance from the standpoint of those who may ascribe such significance to them, whatever one's own perception of them, based on one's own cultural values, may be" (Parker and King 1998:4). As this suggests, TCPs are as much about places that can be felt as they are feelings about places. As stated in Bulletin 38:

The National Register lists, and [Section] 106 requires review of effects on, tangible cultural resources—that is, historic properties. However, the attributes that give such properties significance, such as their association with historical events, often are intangible in nature. Such attributes cannot be ignored in evaluating and managing historic properties; properties and their intangible attributes of significance must be considered together [Parker and King 1998:3].

This integrity of feeling for the Ballast Island site for several Coast Salish Tribes is demonstrated in the ethnographic material below.

**Association**

Bulletin 38 describes integrity as (1) sustained continuity between cultural practices, values, or beliefs and a place and (2) largely intact place conditions that allow for significant cultural relationships and associations to endure (Parker and King 1998:11-12). Bulletin 38 further explains that integrity of association "of a property with significant events, and its existence at the time the events took place, must be documented through accepted means of historical research. *The means of research normally employed with respect to traditional cultural properties include ethnographic, ethnohistorical, and folklore studies*, as well as historical and archeological research" (*Emphasis ours*; Parker and King 1998:13). Ethnographic research has highlighted the integrity of Ballast Island for Coast Salish Tribes. Warren King George of the Muckleshoot speaks to both the past and ongoing integrity and significance of Ballast Island for Coast Salish.

The importance of place—we oftentimes overlook the value of places. Ballast Island's covered up. It's under fill, it's under dirt. No one cares, no one cared about it. The engineers didn't care. City of Seattle didn't care. You know, it's underground, and metaphorically and physically, it's been swept and covered up. You know, it hides something; something lives there, a memory lives there.... It was a place of refuge, but it was also a last stand. It was our stronghold... [E]ven though our ancestors weren't allowed in the City of Seattle, they found a way, much like they do today.... And I think what they discovered was that, you know, you may have laws in the City of Seattle, but your legal arm doesn't reach here. And Ballast Island was that place. Because it has this meaning, this message, of what happened; it reflects the attitude of the City of Seattle and it reflects the attitude of some people here today, still. That Native Americans don't belong here, so we'll just cover it up and get rid of it. That's not the case, that's why it's important to me, what the project that you folks are working on. What it represents. You can see this wall building up ... Ballast Island was the wall [Warren King George, Muckleshoot, interviewed December 12, 2017].

As further supported in the ethnohistory and demonstrated by the ethnographical accounts below, Ballast Island retains integrity of association with the history of exclusion, refuge, and resilience for local Coast Salish Tribes, who continue to ascribe importance to this site due to its association with this history, which is part of a larger trend of post-contact change that continues to influence Tribal culture today. This association is important when viewed in the context of teaching future generations about the site and through oral traditions and intergenerational learning about its place in the larger Elliott Bay land/seascape.

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**Cultural Context: Ballast Island Ethnohistory**

The worldviews, values, beliefs, lessons, and relations specifically expressed in and by *du'k'wibəł* narratives can be used to understand tribal concepts of change and that change does not necessarily diminish importance or significance. This is both methodologically helpful for evaluating historical and cultural significance of Ballast Island and is an ethical imperative necessary for inclusively and adequately conveying various aspects of living historical and cultural importance (see Curti et al. 2018). Indeed, the information and lessons of cultural stories have long been elemental to how Native



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peoples of the Puget Sound area understand and express their relationships to and roles with and in the world (see Bierwert 1999; Curti et al. 2018; Clark 1953; Carlson 2007a, 2007b; Deloria 1994; Lane 1977; Miller 2007, 2001; Miller 1999; Smith 1952, 1940; Suttles 1987).

At the dawn of Coast Salish Creation, the Pacific Northwest was in a constant, roiling state of change. The earth was restless and unsettled, and the people teetered on the edge of existence. This turmoil would be gentled by *du'k'w'ibəł*, Transformer—the Changer who brought order to this world, who chose which beings would be human and which would be animals, rocks, plants, or mountains—who calmed the land (Suttles and Lane 1990:496; Thrush 2017:24). Change is the constant of Coast Salish worldview, a thread that weaves experience, philosophy, time, space, and memory together into a robust and meaning-filled fabric. Each change, even if it threatens a way of life, is met with a measured, traditional response that makes sense when framed within Lushootseed ways of being/becoming with and in the Puget Sound environment (see Curti et al. 2018). As this suggests, various lines of Ballast Island's ongoing historical and cultural importance must be considered through Coast Salish understandings of and responses to change and continuity and the ability to convey tribal history to future generations.

**Contact and Development of the City of Seattle**

Indigenous Puget Sound on the cusp of colonization was a vital and bountiful region supporting over fifty “named groups or ‘tribes’” of Southern Coast Salish peoples (Suttles and Lane 1990:485). For the most part, Indigenous populations were identified with particular river systems where they hunted, gathered, and fished in the uplands and utilized the rich littoral resources where those rivers emptied into the Sound. The Suquamish, however, had no territorial rivers but were oriented toward the open saltwater, with villages and resource utilization areas located throughout the Sound.

Located near the mouth of the Duwamish River, the area that would become Seattle was inhabited by the Duwamish and frequented by their kin from other local tribes. An untold number of winter and summer villages, seasonal camps, resource areas, and sacred sites were “linked into a broader geographic community through webs of kinship, trade, and diplomacy” (Thrush 2017:23), creating a vast cultural landscape in which each place had meaning, function, and purpose for Coast Salish peoples. The land facing Elliott Bay drew not only local Indigenous people, but also travelers from great distances away who utilized resources, exchanged goods and ideas, participated in ceremonial activities, made alliances, and found spouses. Some from the north came to raid for goods and take slaves, but sometimes visited simply to gamble and trade.

The site of future Seattle was already a long-tenured space of interaction, exchange, and significance when Europeans, and later Americans, entered Elliott Bay. Archaeological sites like West Point (Larson and Lewarch 1995) and Duwamish #1 (Campbell 1981) attest to an occupancy from many hundreds to thousands of years. Europeans and Americans would encounter Suquamish and Duwamish living in villages along the shores of Elliott Bay near where Ballast Island later formed, among them: *sd'ídeł'alič*, Little Crossing Over Place; *qəl'xáqabix<sup>w</sup>*, Grounds of the Leader's Camp<sup>ii</sup>; and *túʔulʔaltx<sup>w</sup>*, Where Herrings Lived, or Herring(s) House (Ernest B. Bertelson Papers, ca. 1940-1951, Special Collections, University of Washington, Seattle, WA [hereinafter cited as Bertelson Papers]; Thrush 2017:228-230; T. T. Waterman, Puget Sound Geography, ms. 1864, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C. [hereinafter cited as Waterman m. 1864]).

If you're standing on Ballast Island you look to the left and over there, that's where the house of *túʔulʔaltx<sup>w</sup>*, Herring House was there. We have ties—there are families that have ties to Herring house. They have blood ties that come from there.... If you look straight across, south of Ballast Island, over there, the Janes family did a naming for one of their relatives that lived here and that name is now no longer active. The person who took that name, he passed away. Since displacement and since assimilation, they now carry their modern-day names. And that Native name, this family really went through a great expense to build a house, build this place, and to conduct this ceremony. Now it is gone, completely forgotten about [Warren King George, Muckleshoot, interviewed December 2, 2017].

Shortly after the Oregon Territory was established in 1848, and following the Donation Land Claim Act of 1850, Americans began to pour into the Pacific Northwest, soon extending into southern Puget Sound. Waves of settlers and entrepreneurs ranged out from Steilacoom and Olympia to claim places with agricultural or commercial potential, at first with the permission—and sometimes with the assistance—of the Indigenous occupants. Seeking advantage for himself and his people, Chief Seattle began to solicit interest in American settlement of the land surrounding Elliott Bay. On his annual return to seasonal villages in the South Sound, Seattle set up camp close to the Custom House in Olympia where he touted the bounties of Elliott Bay and brokered laborers, goods, and other services to Americans entering the region (Bagley 1929:24, 36; Newell and Warren 1950:13; Prosch 1906:27).

<sup>ii</sup> The settlement of Seattle's half-brother, *cʔaq<sup>w</sup>at*, Curley.

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Searching for coal deposits in 1849, Samuel Hancock stopped at *sbaqwábaqs*, Prairie Point (Alki Point) on Elliott Bay, where unlike earlier American explorers, he discovered an “excellent harbor” as well as a “great many Indians” living in houses facing the beach. A short time later the Denny party built their first cabin at Prairie Point (Bagley 1931:245; Hancock 1927:95; Field notes, John P. Harrington Papers, Reel 15, Smithsonian Institution, Washington D.C. [hereinafter cited as Harrington field notes]; Newell and Warren 1950:13; Prosch 1906:28; Shaw 1904; Thrush 2017:14-15; 27-30).

Alki Point, we had a big house out there back in 1840 or along in there. When the Denny party came ashore, it was a nasty cold day. Our people went out there and welcomed them ashore and put them up in the big house there, you know. And that was the start of the City of Seattle really. And then it turned out to be that those people they started burning our big houses down to get us off the land there [Ed Carriere, Suquamish, interviewed December 5, 2017].

When he met Dr. David Maynard, who was operating a small store in Olympia, Chief Seattle sold his new friend on the advantages to be had in Elliott Bay.

At this place was a harbor that would permit ships to enter at any time and get close to shore. There was a river, and near by a lake, while not far off was a road over the mountains. The soil was good, there was great hunting, and the fishing was the very best. More Indians were in that neighborhood than anywhere else, and they would work for him, trade with him and make him rich [Prosch 1906:27].

In 1852, Dr. Maynard joined with the Dennys at Elliott Bay to move their new settlement to the area that would come to be known first as Denny Island when high tide cut the small peninsula off from the mainland, and later, Pioneer Square, adjacent to the future site of Ballast Island. This was *sdʷidʷelʔalič*, “little crossing of the back” or “little crossing over place,” a place of enduring importance to Indigenous people. The name refers to a small portage on a small promontory with a lagoon behind it and a village on either side. A path led from the beach to the lagoon, connecting to the trail that went on to Lake Washington and upper Cedar River, eventually joining the Yakama Road. A second trail led from the Sound to the area of present Renton. Eight longhouses once stood here; and until at least the Second World War, Wulshootseed<sup>iii</sup> speakers used this name to refer to the City of Seattle (Bagley 1916, 1931; Thrush 2017:229-230).

Even before the city began to form, this central location attracted Indigenous visitors who came to trade, gamble, and engage in social and ceremonial activities..

Long before Henry Yesler set up his sawmill, this was a tidal lagoon tucked behind a small island. It was home to great cedar longhouses, whose residents fished for flounders in the lagoon, gathered berries and bulbs in nearby prairies, drank clear water from springs in the hillside, and buried their dead on a bluff overlooking Elliott Bay.... [It would later become], for a while at least, the heart of an urban Indian community whose members eked out a living in the district of flophouses and taverns.... Different places with the same set of coordinates, Little Crossing-Over Place, Skid Road, and Pioneer Place Park are three layers in ... a gathering-place of stories [Thrush 2017:14].

Chief Seattle helped Dr. Maynard launch the commercial fishing industry in Seattle, which would send countless barrels of salted fish and oil to markets in San Francisco and beyond. At any one time, between fifty and one hundred Indigenous fishers worked for Dr. Maynard harvesting fish from both Elliott Bay and the Duwamish River. In return, Dr. Maynard provided Western medical care to Native people, bringing some relief from the introduced and devastating diseases for which Indigenous healers could offer no cures (Bagley 1929:654; Prosch 1906:28-30).

Less than three years after the Denny Party established their settlement and Dr. Maynard build his commercial fishing industry, Governor Isaac Stevens stepped upon the shores of Elliott Bay for the first time, signaling another epoch of change. Tulalip elder, Ruth Sehome Shelton, was born two years after the signing of the Treaty of Point Elliott but learned from her family that for Indigenous people of Puget Sound, Stevens embodied Changer, the Transformer of Coast Salish tradition whose arrival signaled the end of the age of the immortals (Shelton 1995:55). To some Coast Salish, on this day in 1855, Changer would signal an end of the age of Indigenous dominion over Puget Sound, launching trajectories that would reconfigure territories and reshape traditional ways of life for generations to come. Treaties implemented in Washington Territory in 1854 and 1855 included the Treaty of Point Elliott (concluded January 22, 1855), which ceded Indigenous lands surrounding Puget Sound to the Americans. Thus began both the reservation era and the historical developments and geographical transformations that would lead to the formation of Ballast Island. After the treaty was signed, Chief Seattle spoke to his people about the transformations that would remodel their world: “You folks observe the

<sup>iii</sup> The southern dialect of Lushootseed language.

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changers who have come to this land.... [O]ur progeny will watch and learn from them.... And they will become ... just the same as the changers who have come here to us on this land" (as told by Amelia Sneatlam, recorded by Warren Snyder in 1955, transcribed in Wright 1991:262).

**Indigenous Seattle: Displacement and Marginalization**

By 1856, vast change had come: rivers and shorelines that previously supported ancient villages and traditional practices on Puget Sound had been given over to the United States, while Indigenous inhabitants had either relocated or were under increasing pressure to remove to the newly established reservations. Despite promises written into the treaties, including "the right of taking fish at usual and accustomed grounds and stations ... together with the privilege of hunting and gathering" (Treaty of Point Elliott 1855), tensions began to fester between self-entitled American settlers and Indigenous people chafing under the weight and worry of their new-found status and circumstances.

The Puget Sound or treaty war erupted in the fall of 1855 after an Indian agent and a number of settlers were killed or captured by Indigenous people opposed to the treaties. Puget Sound tribes were involved as both the combatants and as resistance groups that helped to warn the settlers (Bagley 1916:53-60; Harmon 1998:88-89; Marino 1990:171-172). Late that year, Dr. Maynard was appointed the first Indian Agent for the Port Madison reservation and set about trying to gather in the Suquamish, Duwamish, Sammamish, Skopamish, Stkamish, Smulkamish and other groups from the lakes and branches of the Duwamish River basin. While he was eventually able to assemble about 250 people in Seattle, less than half that number initially crossed the Sound to start life on the reservation (Memorandum, Dr. David Maynard to Col. M. T. Simmons, September 19, 1856, Washington Superintendency, University of Washington, Seattle [hereinafter cited as Superintendency Letters]).

The move to shift Native people out of Seattle was highly unpopular, not only with the Indigenous population but also among many of the town's citizens, with push-back coming on both fronts. Many tribal peoples still occupied traditional villages and camp sites near Seattle, some employed at Henry Yesler's Mill or in other capacities for the growing American population. Yesler joined with other citizens voiced strong opposition to the potential loss of his workforce and lobbied to keep Native laborers nearby (Henry Yesler, David Phillips, C. C. Lewis, S. Samson Grow, and Thomas Mercer, November 24, 1865, Western Washington Indian Agency, Bureau of Indian Affairs, National Archives and Records Administration, Seattle).

Most Indigenous people gathered at Seattle were eventually transported to Port Madison. However, Seattle's half-brother, Curley, and "all his adopted people" were allowed to remain and work for the naval commander and Yesler. As close as Dr. Maynard could figure, this left most of the lower or downriver Duwamish on the east side of the Sound (Maynard to Simmons, September 19, 1856, Superintendency Letters). So many Indigenous people remained in Seattle that George Paige, who succeeded Dr. Maynard as agent, was forced to establish a sub-agency at Alki Point (Paige to Governor Stevens, November 29, 1856, Washington Superintendency Letters).

Given the complicated relationship between tribes and settlers, the presence of so many Indigenous people remaining in Seattle troubled some non-Native residents, especially those newly arrived in the area. As the American population of the Territory grew, citizens not dependent on Native labor and not friendly with individuals like Chief Seattle grew to fear and distrust their Native neighbors. Increasingly they clamored for permanent removal of all Native people to the reservations and called for their eviction from population centers like Seattle. The situation was exacerbated by unruly bands of Northern travelers from Canada, accustomed to gathering annually in Puget Sound and Elliott Bay to trade and gamble and, even on occasion, still raid for slaves. These unwanted visitors entered the territory at will, ignoring orders to leave and committing "depredations" against its citizens (The Northern Indians, November 26, 1855, p. 2, *Puget Sound Courier*, Steilacoom, WA).

To impose order within the limits of Seattle, the Trustees of the newly incorporated town issued a series of ordinances in 1865. Tucked among the acts to control swine and curtail drunk and disorderly behavior was Ordinance No. 5, designed to restrict Native peoples from residing freely within the corporate limits of the town.

[N]o Indian or Indians shall be permitted to reside, or locate their residences on any street, highway, lane, or alley or any vacant lot in the town of Seattle.... All persons having in their employ any Indian or Indians within the corporate limits of said town shall provide lodgments or suitable residences for the said Indians during the time of said employment, on, or immediately attached to their own places of residence [Ordinance No. 5, Ordinances of the Town of Seattle, March 4, 1865, *Seattle Weekly Gazette*, Seattle, WA.].

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Despite these imposed restrictions, Indigenous people resisted further displacement and marginalization. They continued to frequent the markets and other gathering places where they were largely tolerated by locals as long as they did not congregate in large numbers or cause trouble (real or perceived) for non-Natives. They also maintained a strong presence within and around Seattle.

**Ballast Island: A Place of Gathering, Resistance, and Stories**

As Seattle increased in size, the protected deepwater harbor on Elliott Bay saw increasing traffic. Ships coming into port off-loaded people and supplies, replacing their cargo with shipments of fish and lumber. Beginning in the 1860s, shipments of coal from near Issaquah and Lake Washington joined timber as the most significant export items. Along with people and supplies, incoming ships carried ballast for stabilization; but outgoing ships, weighted down with heavy cargo, dumped their ballast in the Bay before the return voyage.

Businesses along the waterfront soon found a way to utilize the discarded ballast to extend their own holdings as well as the city's footprint. Although Elliott Bay had an excellent harbor, the steep slopes surrounding the bay influenced and often restricted the construction and size of docks. Waterfront companies began to purposely layer ballast dumps near their wharves and build warehouses on top and alongside the newly claimed land. Yesler added ballast to the sawdust and other detritus produced at his mill to extend the area around his wharf, a practice seized upon by others (Klingbe 2007:51). A dock at the foot of Washington Street, ca. 1880, where the Oregon Improvement Company would soon be located, is shown collapsing under the weight of material including offloaded ballast, which had already started to accumulate around the wharf and which may have formed the core of what would become Ballast Island.

In 1880, the Oregon Improvement Company (OIC) established by Henry Villard purchased the Seattle & Walla Walla Railroad Company and Seattle Coal & Transportation Company in an attempt to control railroad transportation and the exportation of coal from Washington Territory. After Villard promised to connect Tacoma and Seattle by rail, the City of Seattle gave OIC the right to develop a mile-long section of the waterfront and link the area by rail (Caldbrick 2014). Ballast offloaded at the OIC dock built quickly, forming rough land behind that was quickly surrounded by dock expansion. As Ballast Island formed, the landmass was largely accessible only by canoe paddled between the dock pilings. Over time, added fill increased the elevation and extended the site boundaries.

Despite laws that attempted to exclude Indigenous presence in the city, Native migrant workers and others could be found camping along the Seattle waterfront by the 1870s. After 1880, Ballast Island became a central place where Indigenous people had tacit approval to camp, conduct business, and interact socially in spite of the 1865 ordinance (Raibmon 2005:94). The first known public mention of Ballast Island by name was a passing comment in an 1883 newspaper account (Seattle Daily Post-Intelligencer, November 21, 1883, p. 2). An uncredited photograph, ca. 1880, may be the first to show Native occupancy of Ballast Island. Whether OIC granted permission for Native people to camp there or simply ignored their presence is not known as company records make no mention of the camp; but Ballast Island had become a named place on the Seattle waterfront and Indigenous Puget Sound had reclaimed a small, tangible foothold within their changed cultural landscape.

Except for the odd mention in popular journals and photographs, the firsthand history of Indigenous Ballast Island was recorded almost exclusively through newspaper accounts. The notices began with colorful descriptions calling attention to the confluence of Native peoples and the spectacle of exotic customs and powerful canoes on the Seattle waterfront. By the end of the century, however, as the push to evict the occupants and claim every available inch of terrain gained momentum, accounts often took on a darker tone, pointing to lawlessness, filth, and disease to justify evicting the Indigenous inhabitants from Ballast Island. Even on this human formed spit of piled rocks, "urban development and Indian displacement went hand and hand" (Thrush 2017:85).

**Indian Work**

From first interactions with Anglo-Europeans, Coast Salish people in Puget Sound displayed a willingness to engage in non-Native economies as traders, producers, entrepreneurs, and brokers, and later, as wage workers. Among the most often traded items at Hudson Bay Company's Fort Nisqually were a wide variety of baskets, mats, and blankets, prized both for their utility and their artistic quality. By the latter part of the nineteenth century, Indigenous traders and wage workers residing in or passing through Seattle sold crafted items primarily to tourists who regarded these finely crafted items as curiosities, "curios" produced by "primitive" and "fading" peoples; but, the production and sale of handcrafted items reinforced Native economies and identities. Seasonal and part-time wage work along with sale of products of artistic and subsistence labor provided a measure of flexibility, independence, and control, allowing Indigenous people to balance wage work with traditional pursuits. Indigenous people moved on and off reservation and across national boundaries in pursuit of wage work, bringing together people from various locales and cultures to form, however briefly, intercultural and multi-national settlements. These migrations were vexing for Indian agents and local citizens alike, but took the workers

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back to areas where they had historically gathered, hunted, fished, gambled, and participated in social and ceremonial activities (Harmon 1998; Lutz 2002; Parham 2014; Raibmon 2006).

For Native people entering the American workforce, the mills—and later the hop fields—were composed mostly of Indigenous workers, and these arenas of labor were in many ways in keeping with traditional economic practices like communal hunting and gathering.

[A]s far as making a living is concerned, ... a lot of the Indians weren't trained ... and so many of them were hesitant about going out into the market, open market of labor, logging camps, longshoring or, anything of that—because they didn't want to be alone amongst a bunch of non-Indians.... [T]hey'd pick through the day, but every evening there was a bone game and songs going on [Lawrence Webster, Suquamish, interviewed July 29, 1982, (OH) W.1.20, Suquamish Museum, Suquamish, WA].

Indigenous workers in the mills and hop fields began and ended each day in pan-tribal camps, much like those that would later develop on Ballast Island, where they felt accepted and were able to participate in shared social and cultural activities. Conversely, these and other social and cultural activities performed during gatherings at pan-tribal camps and especially Ballast Island contributed to the formation and negotiation of both Native and colonial settler identities occurring in the Pacific Northwest and North America throughout the mid- to late-nineteenth century.

[w]hites imagined what the authentic Indian was, and the Aboriginal people engaged and shaped those imaginings in return. They were collaborators—albeit unequally—in authenticity. Non-Aboriginal people employed definitions of Indian culture that limited Aboriginal claims to resources, land, and sovereignty, at the same time as Aboriginal people utilized those same definitions to access the social, political, and economic means necessary for survival under colonialism [Raibmon 2005:3].

Northern migrants had long included Puget Sound in their seasonal rounds, historically raiding the Coast Salish for slaves and goods as part of their prestige economy. Beginning in the middle nineteenth century, they began to incorporate wage work within their economic migrations to Puget Sound, soon eliminating the raiding that once supported the potlatch complex to which their prestige economy was anchored. Whereas before only wealthy elites could afford to host a potlatch, Northern workers of any ilk could now devote new-found wealth towards hosting the gift-giving feast, staging the elaborate giveaways that enhanced their own prestige and perhaps would advance their own social status and rank (Lutz 2002:85-87).

The Northerners were likely drawn to the Seattle waterfront by the presence of Puget Sound people gathered there.

If I put myself into their moccasins, what you see. Well, why are the canoes, why are they tied up here?.... I don't know how many jobs were available to Native people—but what I see here are canoes probably loaded with seafood, shellfish, ducks, salmon, cod, and here's the market right here. These guys on these ships, how long they been sailing? They want something fresh. I see ... the market, and whatever else market was up the street. And trade. That's what I see. Now unless there are home sites, why else would the canoes be moored out here? ... It's the market; they are just trying to respond to the market demands in order to survive [Gilbert King George, Muckleshoot, interviewed December 2, 2017].

Local Natives who fished Elliott Bay, the west side of the Sound, and the river drainages brought copious amounts of fish to sell in Seattle markets on a daily basis. Beginning in the 1860s, hop agriculture would also bring thousands of Indigenous workers through Seattle. From 1880 to the end of the century, many of these migrants made camp on Ballast Island.

The years of occupancy on Ballast Island, c.1880-1898, can largely be tied to the increasing importance of hop agriculture. Late summer would signal the arrival of Indigenous seasonal workers from throughout Puget Sound and the north. They arrived in Seattle where many caught trains to take them to the hop fields. Along the way and upon their return to Seattle, most pickers camped on Ballast Island for days at a time to trade and take on supplies. The Seattle market remained a crucial source of income for the migrants as well as those Puget Sound Natives who did not work in the hop fields, but who may have camped for a day or more while in town to sell fish, clams, and handmade items.

For a time there developed a discrete, multicultural community, people sleeping in canoes or pitched tents on the flinty outgrowth where they exchanged stories, traded, gambled, and perhaps arranged marriage and family alliances. Hop picking was the most important form of migratory wage work for Indigenous people in the Pacific Northwest, where a good season of picking could support a family for almost a year. Like mill work, the hop harvest allowed Native pickers to

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participate in the wage market without sacrificing traditional ways of life. To Steven Mullen Moses, Director of Archaeology and Historic Preservation at the Snoqualmie Tribe, wages were just one attraction of the hop fields, which provided workers the opportunity to maintain important traditional practices.

One of the things that's not even taught or even known about the hop industry or the hop trade, or hop farming in the area, it's beyond just the economic need or the economics of hops growing and picking, a lot of tribal people have a history of traveling to and from different areas within the region for tribal gatherings, to meet relatives, to meet friends, to conduct ceremonies, to sing and dance, and to play traditional games. The hop industry was a means that people could continue those traditions at a time when Natives were not allowed to gather socially, they were not allowed to speak their language, they weren't allowed to sing and dance, much less practice ceremonies. So by being part of the hop trade, in the circle of traveling hop camps, [Natives] were able to continue doing those [activities] in their traditional lands, in their traditional areas where they had a tie to the land, to the spirits, to the ancestors of a particular location. Sure, they were getting paid to pick the hops, but the money was not the primary driver. In the late 1800s, the Natives still largely lived through a lot of sustenance gathering, through fishing, through hunting, through gathering, with limited government assistance. But there wasn't a pressing need to get the minimal pay that they were getting [Steven Mullen Moses, Snoqualmie, interviewed May 30, 2018].

The appearance of the hop pickers on Ballast Island attracted tourists, locals, photographers, and journalists whose objectification of Indigenous campers on Ballast Island ranged from highly romanticized descriptions of a noble race whose presumed eminent extinction was cause for deep regret, to a band of drunken and disease-ridden squatters whose presence created a disgraceful "eye-sore" that reflected poorly on the city (e.g., Costello 1895:162-165; Lindsay 1899; *Seattle Post-Intelligencer*, January 22, 1890, p. 2; *op. cit.*, p. 5, September 16, 1891). Despite divergent local opinion, tourists especially were drawn to the Seattle waterfront by the presence of Indigenous campers (Raibmon 2003:76; 2006:37).

Those who chronicled the residents of Ballast Island seemed more drawn to the exotic Northerners from far-off lands who crossed the permeable international boundary at will. As they had done in the lumber mills, Northerners came to the Puget Sound hop fields to accumulate wealth and return home.

Native people of Puget Sound—most by now living on reservation lands and restricted by the presence of settlers from utilizing many of their traditional hunting, gathering, and fishing areas—also engaged in seasonal wage work like hop picking to support family economies. Whether they took to the hop fields or not, however, Puget Sound Natives were resident in or frequent visitors to Seattle. People came from throughout the region to trade or sell goods in the markets and take advantage of the tourists who blanketed the city. Men brought fish and clams to Seattle and the women brought a wide variety of basketry, mats, and blankets, parking themselves in front of stores and in markets to sell their arts.

On one such marketing excursion to Seattle, *wahalču* (Jacob Wahalchu) stopped on Ballast Island nearby where, as a young man, he found power for hunting and fishing. Jacob Wahalchu was well known to the sailors who docked on the waterfront and who he supplied with dried clams, fish, and other goods. This day on Ballast Island, the place of gathering, cultural interaction, and exchange, *wahalču* would encounter a Portuguese sailor with an infant whose mother had died. The last hereditary Suquamish chief and his wife, *wisidult* (Mary Jacobs), would adopt that child of presumed African-Portuguese descent and rear her as their own daughter. With the assistance of Julia Jacobs, Mary recounted the adoption to anthropologist John P. Harrington in 1910 (Harrington field notes, Reel 30); and Julia's story remains a vivid reminder of Ballast Island in contemporary communities.

Julia Jacobs, my great-grandma that raised me, this sailing ship was in there from Portugal to load lumber from the big sawmills that were there in the area and little Julia Jacobs was born on that ship that was docked at Ballast Island there. The mother died, probably from childbirth, we don't know for sure; so these ships that came in were very familiar with the Suquamish people. So they knew that Chief Wahelchu's wife, Mary Jacobs or *wisidult*, they knew she was always nursing because all her babies had died right away, seven or eight of them she had. So they brought little Julia over to Old Man House where they were living and gave her this tiny baby. And so, of course, *wisidult* took her and nursed her and raised Julia in Old Man House there while they were there, the first few years of Julia's life [Ed Carriere, Suquamish, interviewed December 5, 2017].

Julia Jacobs was reared in a traditional household where she spoke fluent Lushootseed and participated in Suquamish traditional life. Although not Suquamish by birth, Julia was a knowledgeable culture bearer and a master weaver. Her

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son, Lawrence Webster, served as Tribal Chair of the Suquamish Tribe from 1979 through 1985, and her grandson, Ed Carriere, is a renowned Suquamish weaver and authority on Coast Salish textiles.

A survey of contemporaneous news and other publications reveals an absence of notice concerning Ballast Island and its residents between 1883 and 1889. Only one mention of the location was found in 1884 when the site housed a temporary lunch counter set up to accommodate workers loading circus animals and trappings onto a steamship bound for the next show (*Seattle Daily Post-Intelligencer*, July 16, 1884).

The Great Seattle Fire of 1889 would prove a watershed moment in the city's development, signaling a downturn in public opinion regarding the Indigenous presence in the city. The business district and waterfront were effectively flattened, destroying the heart of the city within eighteen hours. With donations pouring in for recovery and construction efforts and new business dollars being invested, Seattle was largely rebuilt within a year (Bagley 1916: 419-428). Rebuilding of the OIC property was completed quickly with Ocean Dock and City Dock replaced by two large semicircular truss-roofed structures bearing the company name and identified as "A" and "B". The city grew rampantly after the fire, bursting its boundaries to envelop Indigenous settlements, fishing grounds, and gathering areas. Over the next decade, Seattle's non-Native population would increase by over ninety percent, bringing added pressures to Indigenous Seattle residents, both permanent and transient (Bagley 1916: 419-428; Moffatt 1996). Three months following the fire, the *Seattle Post-Intelligencer* signaled the return of the Native camp on Ballast Island (*Seattle Post-Intelligencer*, September 2, 1889, p. 2).

With the advent of migratory hop pickers camping on Ballast Island, Seattle's non-Native population began to connect their presence with seasonality—to see their city “as a place that Indians moved through rather than as a place where they lived” (Raibmon 2006:37), making the process of disenfranchisement easier. The local government viewed Indigenous Ballast Island as a temporary, singular phenomenon, an intrusion to be tolerated only briefly; but, approximately ten years after Native people began to populate the ballast landmass, it had emerged as a small, semi-permanent settlement. Whereas before, townspeople might be amused or fascinated by the living history being played out on their shoreline, by 1890 they clamored for removal of the “squatters.” After lobbying OIC unsuccessfully for some time, the Seattle police chief was finally able to secure an order from the company to evict the residents (*Seattle Post-Intelligencer*, January 22, 1890, p. 2). Indigenous residents of Ballast Island were given less than a week to remove themselves and their property. Where they came to rest was not the city's concern, just so long as they were out of sight.

The same day Indigenous residents were removed from Ballast Island, the paper advertised “Fine Lots for Homes” on Salmon Bay where years before Shilshole people established *səšúł* (Tucked Away Inside) village with its two massive longhouses and great potlatch house built to avoid the attention of Northern raiders (*Seattle Post-Intelligencer*, January 31, 1890, p. 5; Thrush 2017:222-223). In March, authorities discovered two tents on Ballast Island and the tenants and their “habitations” were quickly removed (*Seattle Post-Intelligencer*, March 29, 1890, p. 8). By summer, concrete sheds built for cable railway construction had been erected on Ballast Island (*Seattle Post-Intelligencer*, August 23, 1890, p. 8). Despite repeated evictions, as soon as officials turned their attention away from Ballast Island, the Native migrants, traders, and fishers reclaimed Ballast Island and what it represented. Dennis Anderson of the Muckleshoot describes the spirit and power of resistance and resilience that continues to impel such return to the Elliot Bay land/seascape today.

I guess it was in my blood, you done it all your life. Even when they said it was illegal, ... you'd sneak all over the place. We snuck all over;... if there was fish there, we went and got it.... It used to be, if you really loved your tradition, you'd fight for it. You were ready to fight a long time ago, you didn't care [Dennis Anderson, Muckleshoot, interviewed December 12, 2017].

Every year Seattle pushed its boundaries ever farther from the waterfront, displacing more Indigenous residents from their homes. Less than a year after their initial eviction, forty “huts” were noted on Ballast Island. The paper reported they had been there at least since the late fall of 1890, many possibly returning from harvesting hops. Regardless of the fact that few housing options were available to them in their customary use and occupation areas, Indigenous campers were deemed “not desirable tenants even of a ballast pile” (*Seattle Post-Intelligencer*, January 10, 1891, p. 12). Public opinion, at least among Seattleites, had turned against their Native neighbors who clearly had more right to camp on the artificial island than the city's dwellers had to build houses on top of Native villages.

Despite repeated attempts to permanently evict them, Native people continued to utilize Ballast Island and made a living selling clams, fish, trade goods, and artistic productions—both in the form of “curios” and as Indigenous labor for tourists and in the markets social interactions and practices and representations (see Harmon 1998 and Raibmon 2005). Ballast Island also remained a gathering place for migrant workers traveling to and from the hop farms. But with few legal protections, this population unwanted by settlers and governmental interests attracted those who would take advantage of the continued marginalization of these Native peoples.

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The 1892 Native arrival and presence was still an occasion for tourists and citizens hoping to see the “vanishing Indians” before they faded into oblivion, as was expected. The gawkers showed up in droves, invading workspaces and domestic areas, even peering into tents in a gross invasion of privacy (Raibmon 2003:78). *Harper’s Weekly* singled out Ballast Island during annual migration as the place to experience the exotic migrants.

While it is difficult to ascertain whether Ballast Island was occupied year-round in 1892, according to historic records and statements offered by Tribal representatives it was frequently inhabited by Native People from around the Puget Sound, Neah Bay, Kitsap Peninsula, S’Klallam, British Columbia, and Alaska, and likely other areas not recorded in history. In January 1892, Tyee Peter, a grandson of Chief Seattle identified as “chief of the Neah bay and Tulalip Indians,”<sup>iv</sup> sought and was granted permission from the police to camp on Ballast Island with his six wives and twelve children, “having come down to do his season’s trading.” They came back to a place they knew well, but Peter promised to depart Ballast Island upon the arrival of his son with the family schooner (*Seattle Post-Intelligencer*, January 24, 1892, p. 15).

That summer, a smallpox scare prompted authorities to evict all residents and quarantine Ballast Island, prompting the police to immediately clear the campers from Ballast Island until after the quarantine was lifted (*Seattle Post-Intelligencer*, July 23, 1892, p. 2). The Indigenous campers perhaps saw things differently, with Ballast Island as a place of refuge to separate themselves from the non-Native population who had introduced smallpox into their communities.

[O]ne thing there was this fear, and it wasn’t so much a fear of the white people, I think at first ...—they feared smallpox. I have a feeling that there was something about Ballast Island that the Indians knew, but didn’t tell the whites or historians, that “We don’t mind staying here, because we don’t want to get your sickness” [Bardow Lewis, Suquamish, interviewed February 2, 2018].

On March 7, 1893, the *Seattle Times* reported the arrival on Ballast Island of ten large canoes and several smaller canoes weighted down with Native people and all their possessions—furniture, tools, and trunks that held their clothing and other goods. The sight of so many Native people so obviously in distress attracted not only tourists and other gawkers, but also brought a representative of the Seattle press corps dispatched by his paper’s editors. He discovered the refugees had been residents of Herring House, the ancient village at the mouth of the Duwamish River. Eight houses were destroyed, burned to the ground by a man named Watson and a group of supporters with designs on taking over their land. The burgeoning development of West Seattle, now connected by a short ferry ride to Seattle, offered the prospect of substantial profits; and unscrupulous men like Watson were more than willing to steal land from those without legal representation. Even the reporter seemed taken aback by the brazen act that displaced mostly elders without a thought for their welfare. Having no other place to go and no means to successfully overcome these men and their avarice, Native refugees were forced to take “the matter without resistance” and sought refuge on Ballast Island (*Seattle Times*, March 7, 1893, quoted in Thrush 2017:83).

Ballast Island, to me, is an icon to a smaller effect of the treachery and degradation of the land around Seattle, of the water around Seattle, and the tribal people around Seattle—who were basically dogged in any way they could to get a hold of the property [Bardow Lewis, Suquamish, interviewed February 2, 2018].

Sam Tecumseh, a descendant of Chief Seattle’s cousin, *kwéyaxtad*, gave testimony about the burning of Herring House which he recalled had a massive potlatch house and two smaller longhouses. “When the white settlers came, then they took possession of their cleared lands and also destroyed the house, some of the houses, they set fire to it” (in Duwamish et al. vs. the United States, Consolidated Petition No. 275).

Gilbert King George of the Muckleshoot shared his mother’s memories of the burning of Herring House. “[S]he was so puzzled by what happened to her friends’ home. She got up the next day, there was a pile of ashes there. Whole families were removed. Relocated. So you have to wonder, you know, what are the mental impacts on a mother and a father, grandparents, who have to literally pick up their family and have to move” (quoted in Thrush 2017:84).

The burning of Herring House was not an isolated event as noted in Native testimony before the 1920s Indian Claims Commission (see Thrush 2017:84-85). “The lesson was clear: Indians could use places that whites did not yet want—like unoccupied tidelands—to provide things whites wanted, including shellfish, fish, and labor, so long as they did not stay”

<sup>iv</sup> Although identified as such, Tyee Peter was not actually a chief of the Neah Bay but was a chief of the Snohomish Tribe (Richard Young, Cultural Resource Manager, Tulalip Tribes, personal communication, May 9, 2018)



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(Klinge 2007:80-81). Ed Carriere of the Suquamish Tribe recounts these events and their consequences for Native people.

[T]his one guy ... went and they couldn't get the Indians out of there, so he went and burned the big houses down there. And then the big fire in Seattle, that burned a lot of stuff too. So they drove our people out by burning their big houses down. And then they finally got us out of Seattle and moved us over here to Suquamish. They just took over Seattle, but that was our land. One Indian family stayed out there and wouldn't move. They were on the shores of the river, near Ballast Island, and wouldn't move and the ... families that came to Seattle, let that couple starve to death out there. These rich Seattle people just let them starve to death out there rather than going out there trying to help them [Ed Carriere, Suquamish, interviewed December 5, 2017].

Ballast Island continued to draw Native migrants, traders, and the dispossessed of Puget Sound. Officials and OIC continued to more or less ignore the Native presence on Ballast Island unless a problem was reported. In July 1895, "war canoes" from Tulalip, Lummi, and Port Madison anchored at Ballast Island in anticipation of canoe races permitted by the city. The arrival of participants from British Columbia was expected that day, and all would be camped on Ballast Island while practicing and participating in the race (*Seattle Post-Intelligencer*, July 3, 1895, p. 8). A few months after the races, OIC announced plans to build new wharves on their waterfront property, with a fireproof brick warehouse to be built on Ballast Island (*Seattle Times*, May 30, 1896, p. 6). Nevertheless, the following summer Indigenous people still resided on Ballast Island (*Seattle Post-Intelligencer*, June 10, 1897, p. 8).

The annual arrival of the hop pickers in the fall of 1897 brought the expected bevy of artists, tourists, and reporters to gather at the OIC docks alongside tourists and locals. The *Post-Intelligencer* (August 25, 1897, p. 8) included a "striking and life-like illustration of a group of these aborigines just landed with their canoes" and the reporter noted the "old settlers" looked forward every year to their arrival.

Perhaps the "old settlers" looked forward to their arrival, but theirs was not a widely shared opinion among most Seattleites. Nevertheless, their presence made good copy for journalists who chronicled the festive atmosphere and social interaction that took place on Ballast Island. Hidden within the report was a reflection of Indigenous Puget Sound before 1850, of intercultural gatherings on the shores of Elliott Bay where people laughed, told stories, bartered, engaged in artistic labor, and introduced their children to new experiences.

This was the last fall the pickers would gather on Ballast Island. The following year, *Seattle Daily Times* trumpeted the state's filling in of tidelands "within five minutes' walk of the center of the City." The rich tidal flats where Indigenous fishers took prodigious amounts of shellfish, particularly *g'wídeq*, geoduck, had become land claimed for shipyards where, as of that date, at least fifteen ships were under construction. The same day, the Pacific Coast Steamship Company announced plans to overhaul Ocean Dock, with an addition to the north-side warehouse and extension of the dock between one and two hundred feet (*Seattle Daily Times*, January 14, 1898, p. 8). In addition, a "fine brick and stone warehouse" was to be built on Ballast Island, with construction scheduled to begin within weeks and be completed within 45 days (*Seattle Post-Intelligencer*, January 14, 1898).

That fall, Indigenous pickers would return to find that, like many places within the Puget land/seascape, Ballast Island had been transformed, creating geographical alienation and functional and emotional loss.

During the past three days hundreds of them have arrived in their canoes from the reservations on the Sound.... Yesterday a fleet of fifteen or twenty canoes was towed into the harbor by one of the smaller down-Sound stern-wheelers.... When opposite Yesler Wharf, the Indians cast off and paddled into Ocean Dock. They were looking for Ballast Island, but Ballast Island is no more [*Seattle Daily Times*, September 1, 1898].

For a short but important period of increasingly intensive contact, Ballast Island allowed Indigenous people to reclaim and reconstitute a traditional gathering place on the shores of Elliott Bay. In the years after it was buried below landfill, rail lines, roads, and buildings, Ballast Island—like Herring House and Little Crossing Over Place—remains a place of significance still vivid in the cultural memories and Indigenous geographies of Puget Sound. Muckleshoot elder Florence "Dossie" Starr Wynn shares how intergenerational knowledge and continuity of place survives in an ever-changing landscape (quoted in Thrush 2017:102).

We went to the waterfront, and we went up to the public market.... [W]e'd go through that road through Duwamish, that way. And she named all the rocks. The hills—well, they're gone now, because of blasting

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and new homes going in, and businesses. But they had names for every one of them rocks down there....  
Stories about the hills. All along that valley there.

Despite the physical changes it has endured, Ballast Island remains a place of great significance for Indigenous Puget Sound.

Ballast Island was a physical [location] and ... a place, an island in more than one sense, it wasn't just a physical place, but a cultural place, that people could go to and were drawn to. Obviously that whole area along the waterfront was a traditional gathering area, a traditional resource use area for the Natives. And this [Ballast Island] was an extension of that through the modern constraints of the time. And even to some extent, if you look down, what's on the waterfront now, it's still a gathering area of people. There's a football stadium, there's a baseball stadium, there's potentially going to be a waterfront park, where the [Alaska Way] viaduct is, so it still has that connection to its historic use. From tide flats and mud, to ship box, to ballast rocks thrown together, to stadiums, it's a location that continues to tie the past together with the present and the future.... It's important, especially from our traditional view point, places are important for many reasons, once a place is used, for gathering, for hunting, for berry picking, for spiritual ceremonies, that significance stays with that location forever. And what I find interesting is, as time moves forward and as groups come and go out of the area, the Natives are the constant, and those areas that were used for thousands of years often become the modern present-day use of the location.... Ballast Island is a good indication of that continuation of place, that continuation of, you know, this location is meant for this activity. The means of activities change, the activities themselves may change, but overall it is still an area where people gather. It's still an area where on some level, the people, when they are in the location, have a feeling that something happened there, and it is still happening from a tribal perspective. [Our] idea of time isn't as linear as in most American society ... the past, present, and the future can exist in the same moment. Whether or not you are in tune with it is the difference [Steven Mullen Moses, Snoqualmie Tribe, interviewed May 30, 2018].

Like the hills, the rocks, and the valleys, Ballast Island has not lost significance for descendant populations, but remains a place of ongoing cultural importance—a place of gathering, memory, resistance, resilience, learning, and sharing—within and part of the Puget Sound land/seascape.

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**Statement on the Ongoing Historical and Cultural Significance of Ballast Island**

The ongoing significance of Ballast Island includes the historical and geographical processes of change that ultimately resulted in its nineteenth century formation and occupation. Cultural stories and concepts of change and transformation predate the ballast landmass but provide ongoing cultural context for the importance of Ballast Island to Coast Salish peoples.

As practitioners of spatial religions who recognize and live the indelible links between history and geography, and because “[a]rguably more than any other group, Indians depend on representations of history for their identifications as Indians” (Harmon 1998:3), direct experiences of and access to specific places, locales, landmarks, and land/seascapes such as Ballast Island are vital for the maintenance, perseverance, and flourishing of cultural practices and Native identities. Ballast Island is a place within the Puget Sound land/seascape of both positive and negative historical and cultural significance for local Native American Tribes; it tells their stories both as the first people—before the coming of Anglo-Americans—and as fundamental contributors to and parts of the American story. Ballast Island is a site with ongoing cultural significance, integrity of location, feeling, setting, and—most importantly for its TCP significance (see Parker and King 1998)—association. Of the four eligibility Criteria outlined by the NHPA (36 CFR [Code of Federal Regulations] 60.4), the ethnohistorical and ethnographic research supports the NRHP eligibility of Ballast Island as a site with TCP significance under both Criteria A and D.

At 36 CFR 60.4, the NHPA states that to be eligible for listing in the NRHP under Criterion A, Ballast Island must “be associated with historic events that have made a significant contribution to the broad patterns of our history.” Bulletin 38 elaborates on this, explaining that “[t]he word “our” in this criterion may be taken to refer to the group to which the property may have traditional cultural significance, and the word “history” may be taken to include traditional oral history as well as recorded history.... “Events” can include specific moments in history of a series of events reflecting a broad pattern or theme” (Parker and King 1998:12). The ethnohistoric accounts above and the ethnographic and oral history documentation below demonstrates how Ballast Island has made significant contributions to local Tribal histories that reflect broad patterns and themes of refuge, resilience, and resistance to colonial-settlers; social and cultural continuity in

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the face of historical change; and the formation of new cultural memories and identities embodied by and concentrated in the location, setting, feeling, and association to the Ballast Island site.

The NHPA also states at 36CFR 60.4 that a historic property may be eligible for listing in the NRHP under Criterion D if it has “yielded or may be likely to yield information important in history and/or prehistory.” In the context of historic properties with TCP significance, Bulletin 38 clarifies that “[p]roperties that have traditional cultural significance often have already yielded, or have the potential to yield, important information through ethnographic, archeological, sociological, folkloric, or *other studies (Emphasis ours; Parker and King 1998:14)*. While the ethnographic study for Ballast Island yielded many ways that the site remains a vital place from which to learn and teach, several layers of important information potential under Criterion D are Tribally defined. Thus, developing and presenting (research) questions or formulating hypothesis according to Western-defined standards and notions of valid knowledge production would be culturally inappropriate to outline here. Ballast Island’s NRHP eligibility under Criterion D is demonstrated below using contemporary perspectives and voices of Coast Salish historians, cultural and religious practitioners, and holders of traditional knowledge.

***The Significance of Ballast Island as Told by the Coast Salish Peoples for Whom it is Historically and Traditionally Important***

Ballast Island is rooted in Native American Tribal histories, identities, and sacred geographies. It is a place and landmark within and a component of the Indigenous Seattle waterfront, a part of the wider Puget Sound land/seascape, as well as a geographical zone that serves as a site of intergenerational learning and exchange about Tribal experiences, stories, and histories—both positive and negative—of ancestral refuge, resistance, and resilience. Ballast Island functions as teaching place or teaching station for local Tribes and is becoming incorporated into the traditional educational frameworks and oral histories. The importance and integrity of this place thus is not simply as a nostalgic reminder of the past, but as a necessary if painful place of learning for the present and for the future for local Coast Salish peoples. In these ways, Ballast Island functions as a fundamentally important and unique place for maintaining the continuing cultural identity of Coast Salish Tribes. Tribal occupation of and return to the ballast landmass for an approximately two-decade period followed the destruction of traditional dwelling areas and structures in and around Seattle by Anglo-American colonial settlers, the 1865 ordinance that banned Natives from residing within city limits, and the social, economic, and environmental changes imposed by Euro-American colonial society. Its ongoing historical and cultural significance and integrity of association for Native American Tribes is in part illustrated by how Ballast Island served and still serves as a tangible locale of Native refuge, resistance, and resilience in the face of colonially imposed transformation and change throughout the City of Seattle and the broader Puget Sound land/seascape.

Bardow Lewis speaks to how the resistance and resilience of Native people on Ballast Island endures and serves as a source of inspiration today.

Ballast Island is just one small piece, but one heck of a statement of racism, degradation, poisoning, assimilation, that you can come up with. And there’s uglier words to say it. “But [we, the settlers] can go out there and shoot stuff out from the bilges of our ships and poison your water, but you [Native people] can’t come in the city”.... It almost seems like ... hatred.... I think a lot of the people back then were like that.... It all kind of goes back to that racism....

[T]hat was the highway out there [Puget Sound]. And people think of canoes, but some of these canoes had sails on them, too. I mean, they moved and went and people stopped and had camping place. I would almost think, you know, that prideful people would be doing that [camping and trading at Ballast Island], because the people are there. But this [disenfranchisement] was all coming really fast. And they traded other places. But I have a feeling that [Ballast Island] could have been a [place of] protest, or retaliation, where: *we are not going to leave* [Bardow Lewis, Suquamish, interviewed February 2, 2018].

Repeated assaults of Western disease, disenfranchisement, and oppression may have driven Coast Salish people to Ballast Island, but there they were able to reclaim a traditional gathering place of stories and memory.

Good or bad, right or wrong, Ballast Island, represents one of those places [of struggle and resistance].... You need to understand what they [our ancestors] went through; you need to put yourselves in their shoes. Don’t feel bad for them, don’t pity them. These people were strong people and they did what they had to do to survive. Whether they starved to death or whether they found love there or whether they paddled five hundred miles or downstream two miles. This place was what they had. They utilized what they had at the moment, at that time. And Ballast Island just happened to be that place, where no law governed, and where no European neighbor was willing to go there because it was worthless to them. But to Native Americans, to our ancestors of this area, to Elliott Bay people, to Duwamish River people, to

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Lake Washington people, that was a place we found a little niche [Warren King George, Muckleshoot, interviewed December 12, 2017].

One of the most powerful messages that we can get out of Ballast Island is how the ancestors of Puget Sound were able to turn ... nothing into something. It's incredibly ironic that this representation of the world, of commerce, of the ocean, and all these places, all these points around the world, and how they would come here [Elliott Bay/Seattle] and get rid of all of their ballast, and create this land mass that would appear to be nothing, yet, the Native Americans, the displaced Native Americans, the oppressed people, the oppressed first people of this area, found it and said, "Well, let's do something here, let's camp here, let's picnic here, let's eat here, let's rest here, let's live here, let's stop by here for a couple of days," and utilized that [Ballast Island landmass] and managed to own the area, own this place, even if for a couple of days, or a couple of months, or a couple of years [Warren King George, Muckleshoot, interviewed December 13, 2017].

Steven Mullen Moses similarly underscores the vital importance of sharing the history, stories, and experiences of Ballast Island with the wider Native and non-Native public.

When our ancestors gathered in the area [of Ballast Island], whether by choice or not, you know gathering in that area, you know, they lived their lives; ... that's practicing their culture. They were just living their lives. For us, particularly as Natives, our culture and everyday lives are so intertwined. Our spiritual beliefs, our connections to the environment, it's a part of everything we do, we don't compartmentalize that. That's part of what engrains locations [like Ballast Island] with these actions. Obviously as an area gets very developed, like Ballast Island is, it's incredibly developed, it's in a very busy part of downtown Seattle, it's just going to get busier. It's probably one of the few areas [along the waterfront in Seattle] where it can actually get busier. Now I think, the importance of making sure that that story is told, is just highlighted that much more. Because it is very, very, very unique to the history of the city. There's a lot of unique areas in the city that have a lot of history, but this one is unique because it highlights a time in Seattle's history that is not talked about. Natives were forced out of that area. But practically speaking you can't just kick people out of an area, especially when you rely on those people, going back to the hops. The economic component wasn't as important to the Natives, but for the [Non-Native] hop farmers, economics was the primary driver. Realizing that the Native population in the region was the most accessible workers, you needed a place for the Natives to feel somewhat safe. And that is one of the many factors [associated with] the location that makes it unique in the downtown area of Seattle, that has a story that is very ugly, very painful, but very unique ... and bright in the sense, that it has a story to tell, which has not been told. I've gone to public school here in Washington state, and taken history, and I know how lacking it is on Native history, especially the more negative aspects. They'll mention the Chinese and Natives were kicked out of Seattle and there were a bunch of wars where white people died. And that is pretty much the extent of it. There is a lot more to it than that. And not talking about it, is not just a disservice to history, it's a disservice to everyone who lives here currently, regardless of your race or ethnicity or where you are originally from. It's a part of the history in the area that we should all know [Steven Mullen Moses, Snoqualmie, interviewed May 30, 2018].

Warren King George echoes Steven Mullen Moses' identification of the importance of Ballast Island as a place of historical, geographical, and cultural instruction and learning. He explains that, even within the painful histories and memories of change associated with Ballast Island, memories of use and return to the location by Native people in the face of struggle with colonial and racist impositions and marginalizations serve as both inspiration and offer opportunities to reinvigorate and strengthen Native connections to the Seattle waterfront today. He sees Ballast Island as a place where education can help support and perpetuate Native identities and their indigenous relations to the changed and changing Puget Sound land/seascape into tomorrow.

It's difficult now to even think about establishing new routes and new rhizomes in this day and age, as complicated as life is here now in Puget Sound. But, to think about what they [Native ancestors associated with Ballast Island] accomplished in that era is just amazing. You know the tenacity that these people had to want to live there, even though the treatment that they received from their European neighbors, the challenges they had of raising a family in that area, it must have been incredible. The odds were against them; but yet, they were able to fulfill their obligation to "walk a good trail." That's one thing that I think that's missing today in our educational system, encouraging the children to maintain a good trail and choose a good trail.... If I was going to create a curriculum for Ballast Island, that would be at the top of the list, a place to express to the young people, put yourself in the shoes of these elders, and

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they're canoeing for days, for weeks, [from various places in the Puget Sound], to this one particular place, where they're having an opportunity to extend their good trail just a little bit longer. Even if it's for just a few weeks to go pick hops or to help load and unload a ship—you know, labor, farm labor, even if it's just for the summer. It's just an incredible journey [to Ballast Island] that had to take place for those people. And it amazes me, to this day, every time I think about Ballast Island. And I think if you were to ask me what it, what Ballast Island, means to me, that would be probably the most powerful meaning, message, that it invokes in me, because of the connection [Ballast Island establishes] to that era and the challenges that our ancestors had. You know, life was certainly different then than it is now [Warren King George, Muckleshoot, interviewed December 13, 2017].

Those of us who have exposure or who have retained that information and knowledge, we have an obligation [to teach our youth], we don't want to keep that information to ourselves. We want to, what my elders, what my grandmother, my uncles [taught me], we want that reflection to continue. We want that echo to continue. We want our younger children to echo what we've been taught. We want our grandchildren to echo that sentiment. To understand that. So when we have [the capacity] to create more opportunities to actually go to a place [like Ballast Island], in 3D, instead of on Google maps, or instead of looking it up on the internet, or looking it up on their iPhone's, I would love to get them in a car or a bus and take them down there to Ballast Island and say "hey, you know why this place is important, does anyone know where we are at?" And I would love it for one of our youth to say, "we are in *sc'id'el?alič*" [Warren King George, Muckleshoot, interviewed December 13, 2017].

The Ballast Island property must be understood in its context as being one historically, geographically, and culturally significant manifestation of patterns and themes of the Puget Sound land/seascape. The trajectories of historical and geographical events that led to the creation and occupation of Ballast Island are viewed by some in relation to tribal worldview about change originating with Native stories of *du'k'wibəł*, perhaps most notably with some Coast Salish identifying Governor Isaac Stevens with Changer/Transformer (see Curti et al. 2018). Colonial events and trajectories set into motion by Stevens manifested in large scale and intensive change, but did not sever the vital importance of the Puget Sound land/seascape and its various important elements for Native peoples. Willard Pratt identifies how some of these most vital resources have imbued the wider Puget Sound land/seascape with significance and meaning since time immemorial.

It goes back so many years, it goes back thousands of years, that's the way it's been. Suquamish use salmon to keep alive, some to make some money, too. My grandparents, they had to deliver three to four hundred pounds of smelt every Friday. Drive it up to the highway and a truck would come and pick it up and take it to Seattle. Way back, it's always been, my family, we gained a living fishing. So, it's instilled in you, since you were a little kid. I mean, that is what you were going to do, you were going to get your food from Salmon, plants, geoduck, clams, hunting a little bit [Willard Pratt, Suquamish, interviewed February 2, 2018].

Warren King George explains that this association has endured even in the face of the topographical changes that have occurred to the Puget Sound land/seascape.

You hate to think of it as a cycle, but you can't think of it in terms of a wheel. This is just something that is going to continue. That is that echo, that's what we are talking about. Whether it be six months or six years before I go back to Seattle again. It will be nice to be able to go there and remember. To feed the spirit, what they call feeding the spirit. We have this term in our culture associated with our diets in modern times; ... my grandmother used to use this term called "feeding her Indian", feeding her spirit, feeding her historical, and feeding her traditionalness, her inside, her *s'c'áli?*, her heart, her soul. It would be a simple meal, some steamed clams, some salmon, some deer, or elk, or berries, huckleberries, salmon berries, salal berries. You do that not only for the nourishment of the body, but when we feed our spirit we do that to, in a sense, that's another form of echo. The fisherman today they go out [to Elliott Bay], they are not just fishing for the bounty of the commercialism, but they also, just through the activity of fishing, are feeding the spirit of fishing. Feeding that activity that we have done there for thousands of years, although albeit it's a modern boat with a four-stroke engine, and we have to, our moorage is thirty to forty miles away, we still go there to feed the spirit. We go there to nourish that Indianness. So, through all that hustle and bustle, through all the big jets that fly over and the big ships that come from Asia, and Hyundai, and all these, Port of Seattle's booming business, their commerce. We, as Native Americans, staked our claim [to this area] thousands and thousands of years ago. Generations and generations ago. We utilized that area and I am proud and very happy to say that's it's my ancestors who have been using

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this area for as long as we can remember. And we'll continue to use that area and continue to call that place home [Warren King George, Muckleshoot, interviewed December 13, 2017].

Warren King George also underscores that the abundance of these resources around the Seattle waterfront were indelibly connected to *skláletot*—power—of the Guardian-Spirit complex, and for ancestors migrating through and making camp on Ballast Island the availability of traditional food resources would have been central factors in Native decisions to make use of and return to the ballast landmass.

The elders that made the effort, the ancestors that made the effort to claim that island, to claim that place, wouldn't have done so if they didn't have help [from the powers offered by Guardian-Spirits]. They were [in Elliott Bay and on Ballast Island] because the food was real good there. The resources were obviously really good there, the geoduck, the butter clams, and the salmon and the herring. All those resources were there, the seaweed was still edible. It must have been incredible. But add to that, the ingredient of the spirituality of the place. That knowing that just across the water, or just over that hill, if I need help, I know where to go to get it. Think of it as a spiritual gymnasium, or think of it as almost like the antidote if you get sick. If you need some help and you've got something in your back pocket that doesn't cast a shadow... It is big and is willing to help you if you call it and are ready. This little man-made island, wasn't that big, you can't be very comfortable there. Knowing that you've got all these people a stone's throw away that want to get rid of you. You don't have any weapons, your bow and arrow and spear aren't going to do anything to those muskets that are over there, those cannons on the ships. You got to have some pretty *big cojones* to be at Ballast Island, to make your stand there [Warren King George, Muckleshoot, interviewed December 13, 2017].

Related to this element of locational and associative integrity and significance, Warren King George also notes that the use and occupation of Ballast Island was not simply in reaction to colonial settler violence, such as the burning of Herring House, or attempts at marginalization through legal geographies such as the 1865 ordinance that forbade Natives to occupy or reside within the city limits of Seattle. Rather, it was the proximity of the ballast landmass to traditional places of power acquisition, maintenance, and dwelling; continuity of cultural practice; and continual use of place along and near the Seattle waterfront.

One of the things that I truly believe in my heart, one of the things I value the most about our history and culture is, that no matter how much impervious surface is created [in Seattle], no matter how big of a skyscraper is built, it doesn't erase, it doesn't take away any of the culture, any of the history, any of our ties [to Elliott Bay/Seattle Waterfront/Ballast Island]; ... it doesn't impede any of our cultural rhizomes, they still grow there. They're there. There is nothing that modern society can do to cover that up, sweep it, or burn. Our ties to that [area], what we call *sd'id'el'alič* [Little Crossing Over Place], it's the name of the village in Seattle, that's what it was called before it became Seattle. Our ties there are true and strong. There's nothing that's going to extinguish that memory, that connection, it's never going to be severed. Now we've been displaced all the way thirty miles up, as the crows fly, thirty miles from *sd'id'el'alič*, and I still feel that I belong there. There is a presence there ... it provides me an opportunity for continuity, it gives me that sense of belonging, like a refreshment. Like when you get thirsty, you have a glass of water. Well, if I need to add a growth ring, I need to go to Seattle. I need to go, just to be. There's lots of things to do in Seattle. One of the things is to be able to experience that area, the same way my ancestors did....

Everything was substituted and that includes the land. The displacement of our people from *sd'id'el'alič*, from *tú'ul'altx'* [Herring House], those villages all around Elliott Bay and WestPoint, Shilshole Bay, they were displaced and replaced, their replacement and substitute was Ballast Island. Their substitute was alcohol. Their substitute was bread, flour, and sugar. These basic ingredients were introduced, they flourished here. They found a place here. They found a market here. We are still trying, like I said, it's interesting to see the evolution of the traditional, not just the food, not just the menu items, but also the cultural values of our people have been impacted deeply by that Ballast Island era. Yet it's really significant, it really does represent, "here comes another ship, here's comes another ship, we are just going to keep feeding you, we are just going to keep pounding you, we are just going to keep bringing this stuff, we are going to keep coming, we are going to keep coming." And they did, these ships, these ships, and ships, and more ships. And more people, more people, more people. Next thing you know there is this island there, there is this big pile of rocks. Now, [our ancestors] were overwhelmed; what are you going to do? We are clearly outnumbered. The importance of the place, it's going to a new chapter, a new page. But it is still our place. It is still home. It still has significance. Some people have a hard time

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understanding that. [We are going home] to *sd'idze/alič*, every once in a while, we need to go back home. And we have not been able to do that in a very long time. And there is some people on the reservation that won't leave the boundaries of the reservation. Because they are so uncomfortable, they are intimidated, and they always say they feel something inside that prevents them. They don't want to experience bad feelings. They don't want to experience shamefulness. They don't want to experience judgment. So to avoid those negative experiences, they stay home, they stay in this new home, this new village that was created by the federal government....

I can't tell you where [places of power were]; ... we consider that privileged information. So there was a place right over the hill, on the Lake Washington side to the east [of Elliott Bay and Ballast Island]; there was a very special place. To the north, in Lake Union, there was another very special place. To the south, around Alki Point, was another special place. So this whole area was utilized as what we call *k'wi?át*, sacred. And that is the best way you can say it without divulging too much information. There was a network of these sacred places [within close proximity to Elliott Bay and Ballast Island] that were utilized to receive the blessing of a Guardian-Spirit [Warren King George, Muckleshoot, interviewed December 13, 2017].

Just as his ancestors did, Warren King George highlights how the integrity of location, setting, and feeling of and Tribal associations to Ballast Island endure by and through its existence as one significant manifestation of continuity and change within the wider sacred geographies of the Puget Sound land/seascape.

Several non-Native anthropologists and historians have attempted to identify and describe different significant and sacred Native places and sites of the Puget Sound land/seascape over the last several decades perhaps most notably T. T. Waterman. While these efforts assist with highlighting how Puget Sound is imbued with different intensive zones and elements of religious and cultural significance, Warren King George cautions that non-Native descriptions or translations of these locations do not account for the breadth and intensities of their full traditional religious and cultural importance for different Coast Salish groups.

Waterman, he has the names in there. You got to be able to read between the lines, to understand the importance of some of those places. Just like most of those ethnographers, most of those anthropologists and archaeologists. They put it in terms of data. It doesn't mean anything to us, in terms of data. If you ask a Native, I will tell you something completely different.... You got to be critical of the information they provide; it's not black and white. Our culture is pretty complicated, especially if you are not familiar with it. Be careful about what you repeat.... We didn't allow a lot of people to tell our story, and if we did, we let people scribe their version. It was just a peek, a little snippet [that we provided them]. In 2017, when questions come up about Muckleshoot and who we are and where we come from, we literally have to respond. When you look it up, you'll find bits of pieces. We still like to tell our own story. We know our version is the truth [Warren King George, Muckleshoot, interviewed December 13, 2017].

As Warren King George explains, it is not possible for non-Native researchers and commentators to be able to identify and express the full breadth and intensities of relations to and the significance of Ballast Island and its connections to the wider Puget Sound and Elliott Bay environmental setting and sacred geographies.

A layer of more contemporary historical significance relates to the mid- to late-nineteenth century in the Pacific Northwest as an influential time and space of increasing contact and negotiated identity formation among and between Native Americans and other cultural groups, such as Anglo-Americans and Chinese immigrants. For approximately two decades, Ballast Island served as a vital migration and commerce link and nexus of contact, interaction, and negotiation among and between these different cultures. By and through this history, it has become a landmark of both enduring positive and negative interactions, memories, and relations for various Coast Salish Tribes.

Dennis Anderson and Gilbert King George respectively highlight how the Ballast Island locale was long connected through different networks of movement, interaction, and Tribal affiliation, and how economic and cultural practices persevered at Ballast Island during a period of increasing change to the Seattle waterfront and broader Puget Sound land/seascape.

All I've seen is the old pictures around there, pictures of all the canoes and trading that went on there... They had all those campsites down there, Seattle was full of them. I read up on all that stuff over there, how the trails went over from Lake Washington and cross over there. Down there by West Point and how all the trails used to cut across over there. There used to be a lot of travel and crossing over from Lake

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Washington... Black River down to the opening down there [at the Lower Duwamish River and the mouth of Elliott Bay].... [Dennis Anderson, Muckleshoot, interviewed December 12, 2017].

There are a number of tribes involved here. And if you take a look at the map. Suquamish is across the way [west of Elliott Bay/Ballast Island] ... Tulalip, that maybe be through Lake Sammamish and Lake Washington, because of Snohomish and Snoqualmie... If I am a Suquamish and I have a ton of butter clams, I've got to find a market. And there's a market right there [on Ballast Island].... [Gilbert King George, Muckleshoot, interviewed December 12, 2017].

Steven Mullen Moses provides additional depth and insights into how relationships geographically formed and endured among different Native groups through trade and kinship networks and protocols, and how these relationships are still vital to consider in relation to historic and cultural places and their ongoing significance today.

The Snoqualmie have always had a close connection to the Duwamish and the Yakama.... We had an established relationship for trade into Puget Sound, the historic Seattle area, and all up and down Puget Sound.... We created those relationships through the Tribes out there, primarily the Duwamish. Our connection to Ballast Island, is really through our Duwamish cousins [Steven Mullen Moses, Snoqualmie, interviewed May 30, 2018].

The Indigenous Seattle waterfront locale brought together Native peoples since the time *du'k'wibəł* set order to the world through different networks of movement and relation, and the development of the Ballast Island landmass continued to bring together these and other diverse groups, including Native migratory workers from Canada and Alaska as well as workers and traders from throughout Puget Sound. As discussed above, Chinese workers were concentrated nearby and probably competed for the same jobs in the city as well as the hop fields, "Of all the people who had a hand in building Seattle, the Chinese were integral. They were willing to do the jobs that were passed over. They weren't probably the cleanest and the healthiest jobs, but they did it for pennies" (Warren King George, interviewed December 12, 2017). The Chinese experience in many ways mirrored that of Indigenous people in Seattle, and Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882 and subsequent removal from Seattle in 1886 echoed the 1865 Ordinance that restricted Native settlement in the city.<sup>v</sup>

In the days and weeks leading up to and just after the hops harvest, Ballast Island became a lively multicultural camp and trade fair where Coast Salish from the river valleys and across the Sound interacted with a multitude of Northern visitors. The trails and paths taken by various Native groups connected Ballast Island to other intensive religious and cultural zones of the Puget Sound land/seascape and its sacred geographies. For example, Steven Mullen Moses explains how the Ballast Island locale and components of the contemporary Seattle landscape connect to and overlay Indigenous networks of movement and travel and how elements of religious and cultural significance can still be found to this day in the landscape by holders and practitioners of traditional knowledge.

For better or worse, a lot of our trails are now paved, because they were good trail locations so they built a road, go figure ... There are definitely parts of these trails that are in residential areas. The huge boulders are still there... but it's getting harder and harder to protect the trees, unless you know what you are looking for in a modified tree [Steven Mullen Moses, Snoqualmie, interviewed May 30, 2018].

Two modern-day federally recognized tribes have members with ancestral ties to the aboriginal Snoqualmie tribe- the Snoqualmie tribe and the Tulalip Tribes. The Tulalip Tribes also include the Snohomish and Skykomish Tribes, as well as several other Tribes and bands. The Snohomish, Skykomish, and Snoqualmie have a long tradition of weaving blankets and clothing from mountain goat wool, dog hair and other materials that may have been used and traded at Ballast Island. These three tribes shared the use of woven blankets of mountain goat wool and other materials with other tribes and throughout the region (also see Turner 1976).

The Snohomish, Skykomish and Snoqualmie shared with the Klallam and the Cowichans the use of woven blankets of mountain goat wool, dog hair, or a combination of feathers and fireweed [Haeberlein and Gunther 1930:30-31].

Mrs. Elizabeth Shelton said that the Snohomish sold quantities of wool to the Vancouver Island Indians. This was mountain goat wool, which the Snohomish killed in the Cascades, sheared and shipped

<sup>v</sup> Though Ballast Island was not mentioned by name, an illustration accompanying a report of the expulsion showed Chinese evacuees being loaded onto ships anchored at OIC's Ocean Dock (*Harper's Weekly*, March 1886, vol. 30 [1854]:155, 157). Further research may discover additional interactions and parallels that directly connect Seattle's Chinese population to Ballast Island.



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by canoe... The whole picture is that of the woolly dog and the mixed dog and mountain goat wool weaving, being centered on the Snohomish. The usages and techniques are shared with other groups in the wider area, i.e. as far as to Vancouver Island [Tweddell 1953:51-52].

In *Ethnozoology of the Snoqualmie*, Harriet Turner (1976:96-97) discussed supernatural beliefs and mythology surrounding Mountain Goat. "Chief Pat Kanim was a great leader because he had a 'good' power, according to his nephew, Chief Jerry Kanim" (Turner 1976:96).

My Uncle, Pat Kanim, received Mountain Goat for a Spirit. He became a brave man. When he was a boy, he went to a mountain and heard the Marmot, *sqwéq'wəd*, who spoke to him: "I am not the one you are looking for. You are searching for someone higher up. He sang a song, telling him to go to the Mountain Goat.

The Mountain Goat said, "Look at me, boy. I am watching the people. I am higher than all the others. You will be like me. You will be a high man." That is why Pat Kanim became Chief.

"The creation of this animal is explained in Transformer, told by Chief Kanim in 1955" (Turner 1976:97).

Transformer went on, high into rocky mountains. He came upon some people high up in the rocks. He asked them: "How do you like these rocky mountains where you are?"

The people said: "We like the place where we are." Transformer said: "What would you like to have me make you?" The people said: "Make us what you wish."

Transformer said: "I'm changing everything. I'll make you Mountain goats. You will be here on the high rock mountains. You'll be meat for the people who are coming soon. Your skin will be used for their clothes. Your fur will make good blankets for the future people."

The Stillaguamish Tribe has shared that tribal members made camp on the ballast landmass and likely took part in the documented manufacture and trade/sale of blankets at Ballast Island. Stillaguamish traditionally gathered wool at *s'xədelwaʔs* (Mt. Higgins), a sacred mountain of the Puget Sound land/seascape strongly associated with mountain goats, and the identity of Stillaguamish people was and is strongly correlated with the hunting of these hoofed mammals and the working and trading of their wool (Tracey Boser, Stillaguamish, and Kerry Lyste, Stillaguamish Tribe Tribal Historic Preservation Officer [THPO], personal communication, April 6, 2018).

The appearance of Native people and their occupation of Ballast Island brought to the waterfront photographers, reporters, gawkers, and more importantly, tourists with money to spend. Dried and fresh meats, fish, clams, fruits, and other flora were bartered or sold along with "curios" such as baskets, blankets, carvings, and other handcrafted items, providing critical support for family incomes.

Northern people joined with Coast Salish in social and cultural activities and exchanges, eating, gambling, and forming intimate relations. Increasing interactions and negotiations with Natives and non-Natives alike through these social and economic activities made Ballast Island a place that anticipated and contributed to what would eventually emerge and galvanize in 1893 into a "North American craze for Indian curios that play[ed] a crucial role in subsequent episodes [of modern Indian wage labor and political expression and protest]" (Raibmon 2005:4). Ballast Island is also a place where Native peoples transformed traditional subsistence fishing and trading practices and began to engage in different markets that in some ways can be understood as a significant precursor to the creation of commercial fisheries and associated economic exchanges that occur today as part of the Puget Sound and Seattle waterfront economy. These various economic opportunities afforded by Ballast Island affirmatively served "an array of indigenous priorities" (Raibmon 2005:4) by perpetuating Native religious and cultural customs and practices (see Harmon 1998). Ballast Island also served as perhaps the most visible place in the Pacific Northwest during a time of increasing contact and identity formation, where "people continually defin[ed] and redefin[ed] themselves in contradistinction to each other" (Harmon 1998:4).

The historical and cultural significance of Ballast Island are in part related to its status as a place that served an important role in the continuity of traditional social and economic practices and as a place that facilitated exchanges and interactions between different cultural groups during the nineteenth century Pacific Northwest contact period. Such affirmative and productive uses of Ballast Island, however, must be contextualized within the painful and negative histories of American colonialism and the violence it wrought on Native peoples and the Puget Sound land/seascape.

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Part of the historical and cultural significance of Ballast Island is directly connected to its occupational history of Native peoples during the mid- to late-nineteenth century who were experiencing tremendous social, economic, and cultural marginalization and geographical dispossession and displacement as a result of Euro-American colonial violence and impositions, such as the burning and destruction of Herring House and the 1865 ordinance forbidding Indians from the city limits of Seattle, respectively. Warren King George and Steven Mullen Moses respectively recount some of the painful and traumatic histories and memories that occurred and are still associated with Ballast Island.

When you see some of the pictures, you say wow. There is a word in our language we use called *sʷʷʷəbábdxʷ* ... it means poor and pitiful. When I see an image like this of these two ladies on Ballast Island, along the shore there, they look poor and pitiful [to outsiders]. But, knowing what I know about this island and about that era, these people must have been pretty strong-willed people in order to endure this, to [be able to] maintain a good trail for their children and grandchildren.... And they are going right to the front ... [Ballast Island] is the front line of ignorance. This is the front line of hatred. This is the front line of oppression. This is the front line of assimilation. These people were there and there was probably some bloodshed [at Ballast Island]. There were some disagreements. And this is the front line. This is where some of our ancestors were learning some of the European ways. It's when our cultural values were being watered down, [when they] were being diluted with alcohol, with greed, with another religion, with another language.... [Ballast Island] is where some of that happened to our Puget Sound people [Warren King George, Muckleshoot, interviewed December 13, 2017].

It's something that is not talked about very often, it's a great example of historical trauma still reverberating through time. There's not a lot of discussion in the Native communities, much less conversations outside the Native community about the treatment of Natives that worked on the hop farms. I've been told stories of where women and children were abused physically and sexually in the hop sheds used to store the hops, of young [Native men] being whipped in these sheds, and still having to work on the farms and still having to go in these structures. There's at least one structure in Snoqualmie valley, still traumatizes our elders when they see it. Not that they experienced these things themselves, but because their parents did, their aunts, their grandparents did. Some of their cousins did. These events have a way of affecting multi-generations of people, indirectly and directly. When you see something, a structure, and you know you have relatives who were abused, that affects you. It's not an easy thing to talk about in any [Native] community, but it is something that shaped the hop experience in the region that at the very least should be acknowledged. No redressing the situation, no really focusing on it, but just acknowledging that this happened. That's what I've been told people wish, within my community, to just have acknowledgement that these sorts of things happened [to Natives who worked in the hop economy] and that it's part of the larger narrative of Ballast Island for sure... Part of the hop farming economy and community to help push people through [Steven Mullen Moses, Snoqualmie, interviewed May 30, 2018].

As Warren King George and Steven Mullen Moses help illustrate, Ballast Island both represents and embodies how change/transformation, *du'kʷ*, from Coast Salish perspectives expresses the interrelated nature of time in the form of past ("yesterday") and future ("tomorrow") as well as associated experiences (Snyder 1968:146; Thrush 2017:24-25). While Native people affirmatively made use of the economic and social opportunities offered by Ballast Island, the feeling the location expresses as a manifestation of change and transformation is also historically linked to the uneven power relations of American colonialism and governmental violence and the marginalization that occurred in the past and continues to occur in the present. The historical and cultural significance of Ballast Island and its contribution to the patterns and processes of Indigenous and American stories thus must be understood through its location, feeling, association, and status as a place and landmark of enacting, promoting, remembering, and confronting the positive and negative experiences and histories for Coast Salish Tribes that still endure to this day. Cultural stories of *du'kʷibəl*, which express the animated, dynamic, and living Puget Sound environment of land, river, and sea in these ways provide helpful entry points for non-Native observers to identify and consider how Ballast Island has made significant contributions to the broad patterns of the histories of Coast Salish Tribes and how and why its integrity of location within Elliott Bay and ongoing Tribal associations to it have endured.

**Summary of Ballast Island's NRHP Eligibility under Criteria A and D**

Ethnohistoric research and ethnographic and oral history interviews demonstrate that Ballast Island is associated with historic and geographic events that have made significant contributions to the broad patterns of local Tribal histories, most notably from ca. 1880-1898. Part of the significance of these events are their reflections of broad patterns and themes of change and continuity through refuge, resilience, and resistance to colonial-settlers, the perseverance of social and cultural continuity in the face of imposed economic and geographical changes; and the formation of new cultural

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memories and identities embodied by and concentrated in the Ballast Island site. It is these different layers of significance and how they endure today for local Tribes that support the eligibility of Ballast Island as a site with TCP significance under Criterion A. It should be noted that Ballast Island was previously determined eligible for listing in the NRHP as an archaeological site under Criterion A through a Section 106 action (Elder and Hofkamp 2015). While this provides further evidence and support of Ballast Island's NRHP eligibility for its significant contributions to Native American, Pacific Northwest, and broader United States history, it does not fully capture the significance or integrity of the site from Tribal perspectives.

As practitioners of spatially-oriented perspectives, values, and beliefs, the Ballast Island site retains multiple layers of significance that have presented important insights into the past and present, and which hold potential for important information through ethnographic, sociological, folkloric, and Tribally-defined methodologies and research in the future (see Parker and King 1998). Important research and study topics may include or be approached through questions such as:

- How can additional ethnohistorical, ethnographic, and Tribally guided oral history research at Ballast Island yield additional information about local Tribal histories and the site's associated ongoing significance?
- How are historical and geographical relationships revealed between the historical occupation of Ballast Island and other places of traditional religious and cultural importance in the Elliot Bay and Puget Sound land/seascape through additional oral history interviews and site visits?
- How do the events at Ballast Island connect to broader patterns and themes of *du'kwibəł* narratives when shared at this place?
- What memories are indelibly tied to this place related to refuge, resilience, and resistance of local Tribal people?
- How can situated teaching and learning in this place with Tribal youth help recover, reactivate, and/or amplify connections to Tribal histories and sacred geographies?

As the results of this ethno historic and ethnographic study are disseminated among the contributing Tribes, more Tribal members will also likely come forward and provide information that advances our knowledge regarding the history and importance of the Ballast Island site and its TCP significance. It is important to note that Warren King George of Muckleshoot underscored during the Ballast Island ethnographic study that it is not possible for non-Native researchers and commentators to be able to identify and express the full breadth and intensities of relations or significance of the Ballast Island site, including its connections to wider Puget Sound and Elliott Bay sacred geographies. Even with these limitations, ethnographic study of Ballast Island demonstrates several important contributions to local Tribal histories and the potential for important future contributions. Ballast Island thus meets Criterion D of the NRHP and is eligible for listing under this Criteria as a site with TCP significance that has yielded and can still yield vitally important information for local Tribes.

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Wright, Robin K. 1991. *A Time of Gathering: Native Heritage in Washington State*, Monograph 7. Thomas Burke Memorial Washington State Museum, Seattle.

**Previous documentation on file (NPS):**

☐ preliminary determination of individual listing (36 CFR 67 has been requested)  
☐ previously listed in the National Register  
☐ previously determined eligible by the National Register  
☐ designated a National Historic Landmark  
☐ recorded by Historic American Buildings Survey # \_\_\_\_\_  
☐ recorded by Historic American Engineering Record # \_\_\_\_\_  
☐ recorded by Historic American Landscape Survey # \_\_\_\_\_

**Primary location of additional data:**

☒ State Historic Preservation Office  
☐ Other State agency  
☐ Federal agency  
☐ Local government  
☐ University  
☐ Other

Name of repository: \_\_\_\_\_

Historic Resources Survey Number (if assigned): \_\_\_\_\_

BALLAST ISLAND

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## 10. Geographical Data

**Acreage of Property** 2.91

(Do not include previously listed resource acreage.)

**UTM References**        NAD 1927 or        NAD 1983

(Place additional UTM references on a continuation sheet.)

1                       
Zone Easting Northing

3                       
Zone Easting Northing

2                       
Zone Easting Northing

4                       
Zone Easting Northing

### Or Latitude/Longitude Coordinates

(enter coordinates to 6 decimal places)

1 47° 36' 2.8404" N 122° 20' 15.0828" W  
Latitude Longitude

3 47° 36' 0.2052" N 122° 20' 8.3148" W  
Latitude Longitude

2 47° 36' 2.9268" N 122° 20' 8.3904" W  
Latitude Longitude

4 47° 36' 0.1188" N 122° 20' 15.0072" W  
Latitude Longitude

### Verbal Boundary Description (Describe the boundaries of the property.)

The Ballast Island TCP is located along the Seattle waterfront. The site boundary runs from the southern curb line of Washington Street to approximately 22 feet south of the north curb line at Main Street. The eastern boundary is approximately 100 feet west of the eastern curb line of Alaskan Way, and the western boundary extends approximately 160 feet off shore of Pier 48.

### Boundary Justification (Explain why the boundaries were selected.)

This boundary includes both the known extent of the archaeological site boundary, as determined through archaeological testing and documentary research, as well as the larger boundary delineated by the footprint of the former OIC docks. As Ballast Island developed and was inhabited, it was constrained on all sides by docks built adjacent to and on top of the man-made rocky substrate. The nominated boundary represents the maximum extent of where the site was located based on Sanborn Fire Insurance maps (Sanborn Insurance Map 1884, 1888, 1893).

## 11. Form Prepared By

name/title Dr. Giorgio H. Curti and Dr. Dayna Bowker Lee/Cassandra Manetas (Edited by DAHP Staff)

organization Cultural Geographics Consulting (CGC)/ Washington Feb10, 2020

State Department of Transportation

date       

street & number P.O. Box 4490, 10355 NE Valley RD

telephone 619.540.8701

city or town Rollingbay

state WA

zip code 98061

e-mail gcurti@culturalgeographics.com



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### Additional Documentation

Submit the following items with the completed form:

- **Maps:** A **USGS map** (7.5 or 15 minute series) indicating the property's location.  
A **Sketch map** for historic districts and properties having large acreage or numerous resources. Key all photographs to this map.
- **Continuation Sheets**
- **Additional items:** (Check with the SHPO or FPO for any additional items.)



### Google Earth Map

#### Ballast Island Boundary Map

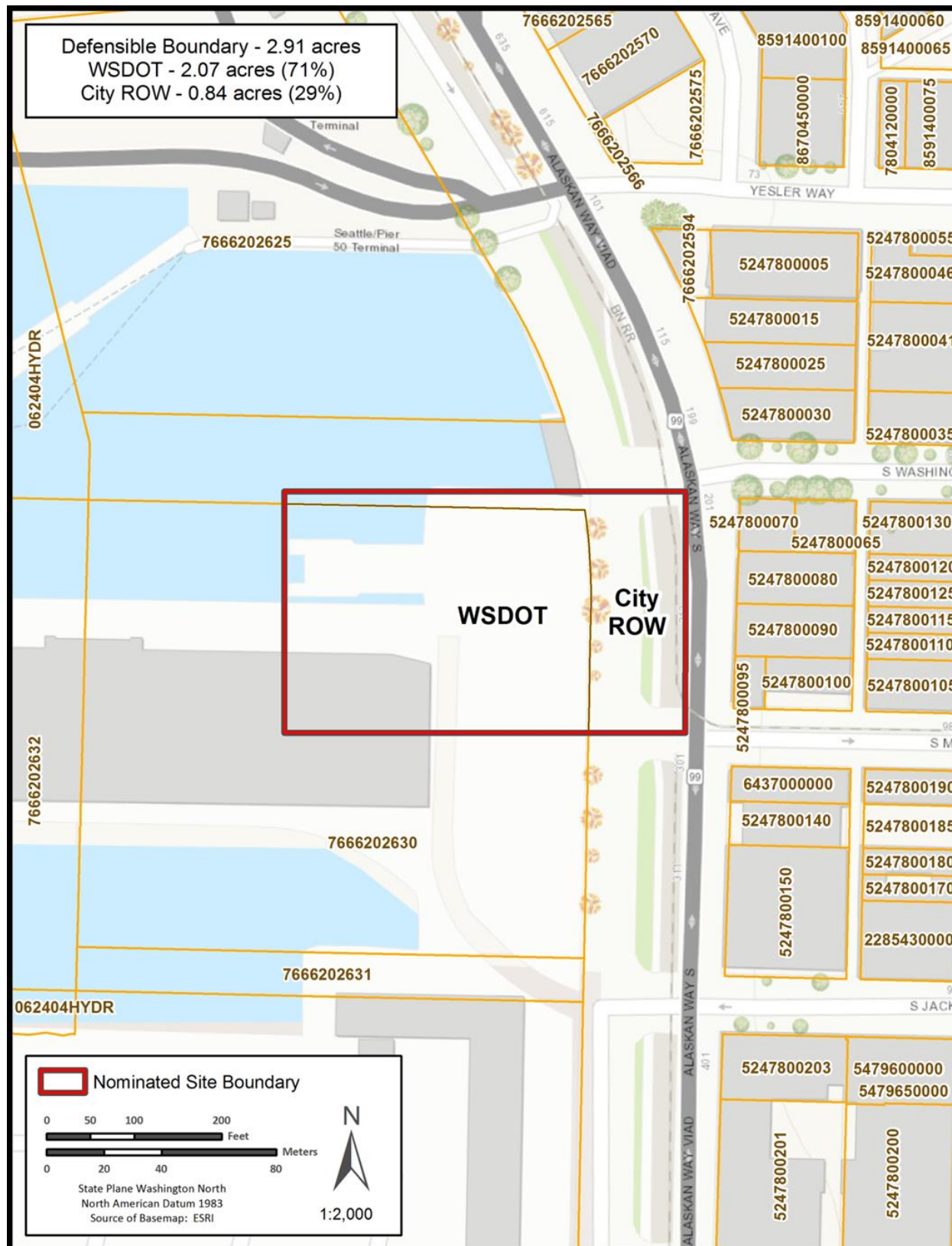
1	<u>47° 36' 2.8404" N</u>	<u>122° 20' 15.0828" W</u>	3	<u>47° 36' 0.2052" N</u>	<u>122° 20' 8.3148" W</u>
	Latitude	Longitude		Latitude	Longitude
2	<u>47° 36' 2.9268" N</u>	<u>122° 20' 8.3904" W</u>	4	<u>47° 36' 0.1188" N</u>	<u>122° 20' 15.0072" W</u>
	Latitude	Longitude		Latitude	Longitude

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## Parcel Map

Ballast Island

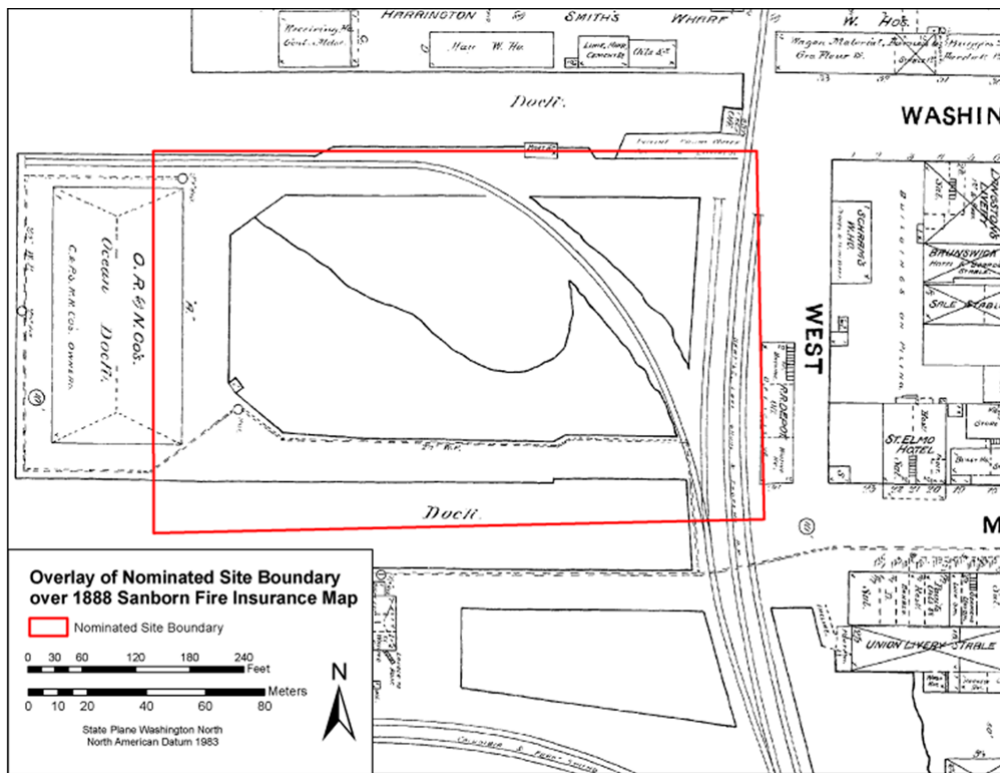
Site Boundary Map with parcel numbers.

**BALLAST ISLAND**

Name of Property

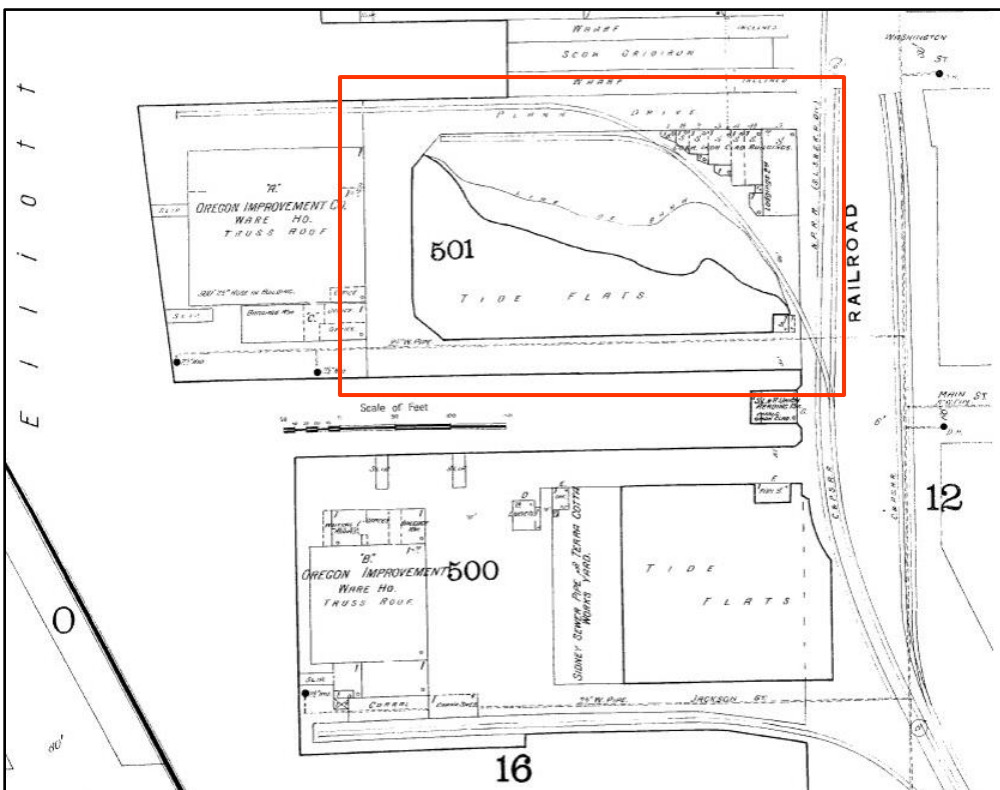
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**Sanborn Fire Insurance Map**

1888 (excerpt) with Ballast Island Nominated Site Boundary Overlay.



**Sanborn Fire Insurance Map**

1893 (excerpt) with Ballast Island Nominated Site Boundary Overlay.

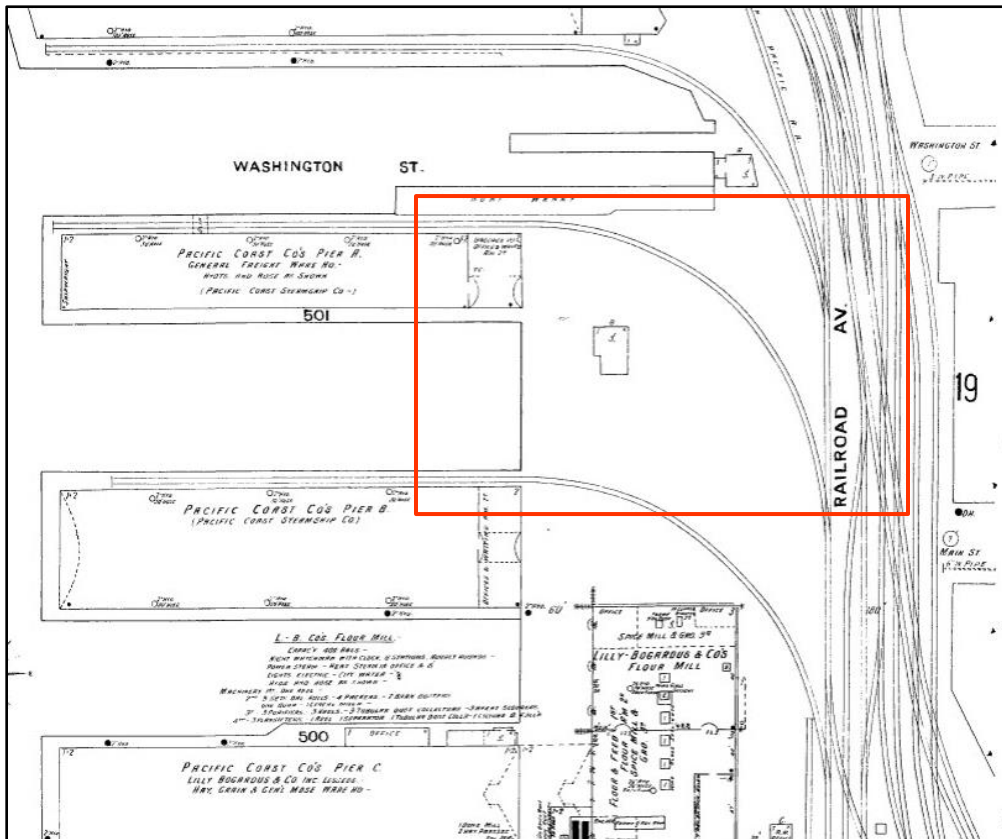


**BALLAST ISLAND**

Name of Property

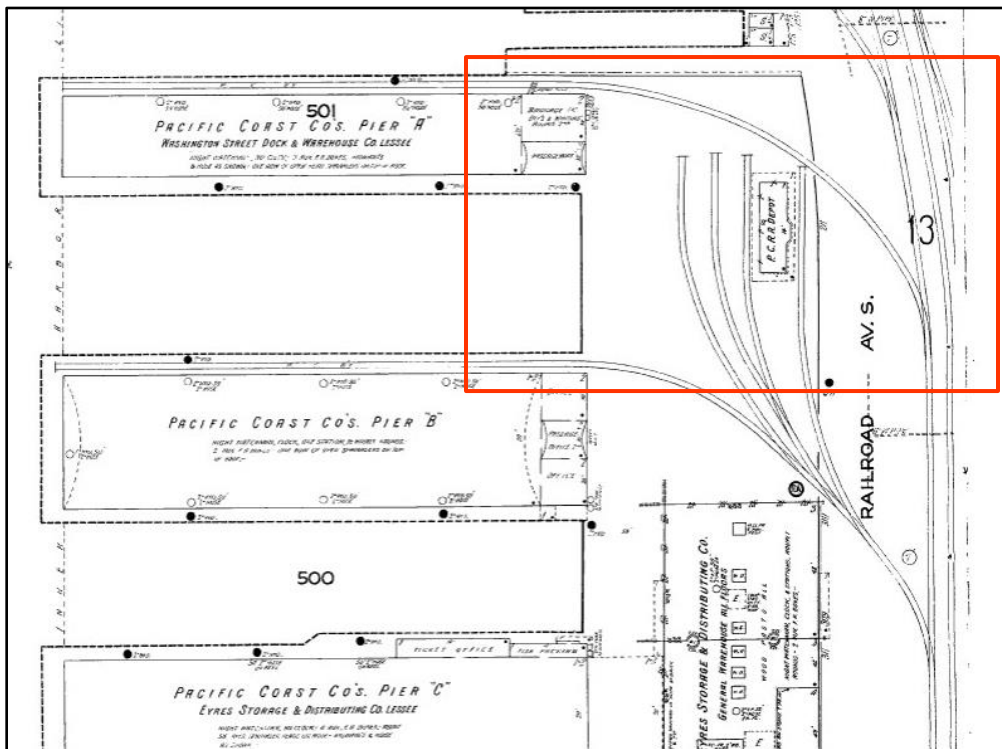
**KING, WA**

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**Sanborn Fire Insurance Map**

1904 (excerpt) with Ballast Island Nominated Site Boundary Overlay.



**Sanborn Fire Insurance Map**

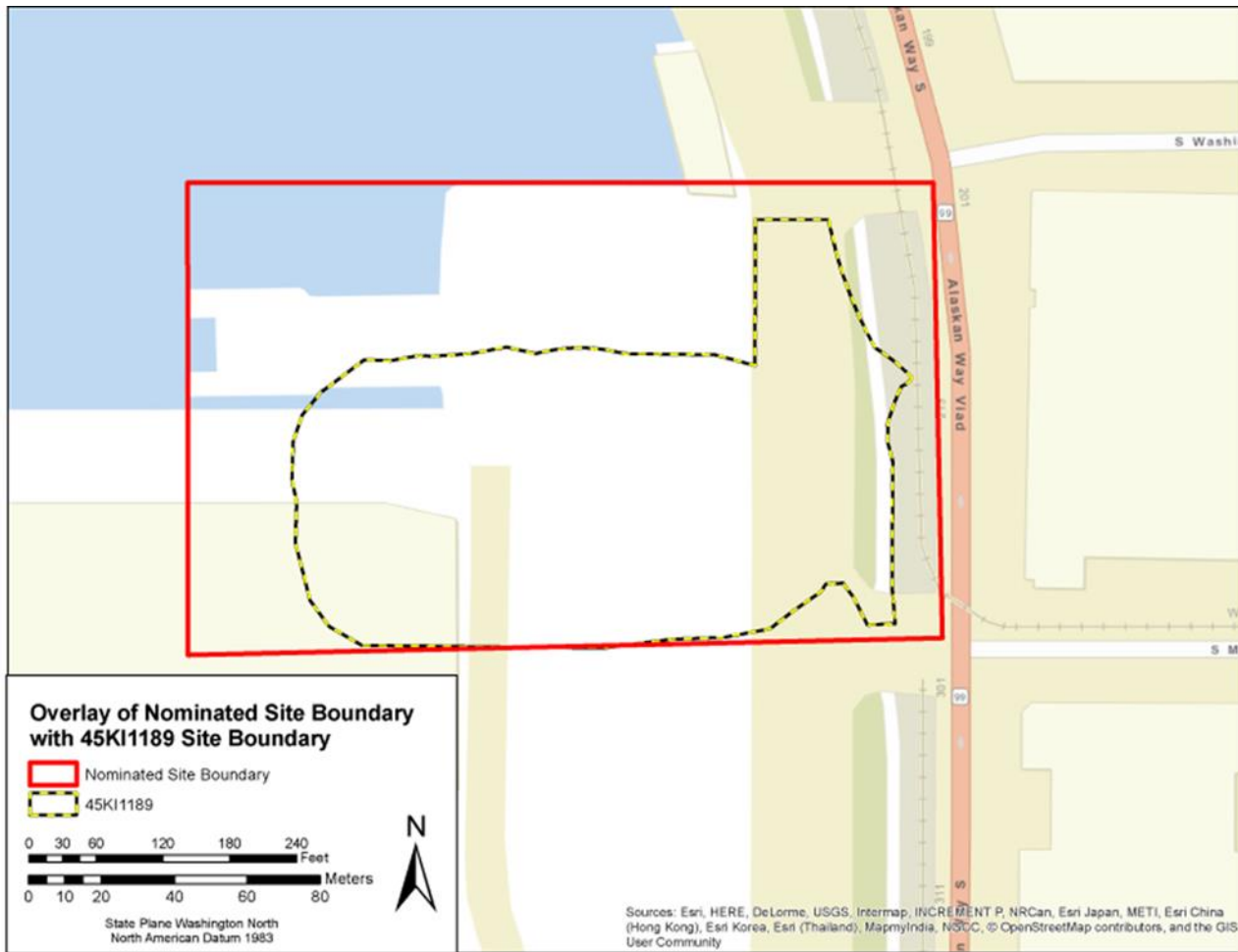
1916 (excerpt) with Ballast Island Nominated Site Boundary Overlay.

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**Overlay of Nominated Site Boundary**  
**Showing site 45KI1189 Boundary**

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**Panoramic view of the Seattle Waterfront looking north; a dock at the foot of Washington Street, ca. 1880, where the Oregon Improvement Company would soon be located collapsing under the weight of material including offloaded ballast, which had already started to accumulate around the wharf and which may have formed the core of what would become Ballast Island.**

Photographer - Wilhelm Hester, ca. 1880

University of WA, Special Collections, 318.10058



**"Indian camp on ballast dump at foot of Washington Street", ca. 1880**

Seattle Public Library, spl\_shp\_12026



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**Native American camp on Ballast Island at foot of S. Washington St.,**

Photographer - Asahel Curtis, ca. 1895

Seattle Public Library, spl\_shp\_13910



**Indigenous camp on Ballast Island, c. 1895.**

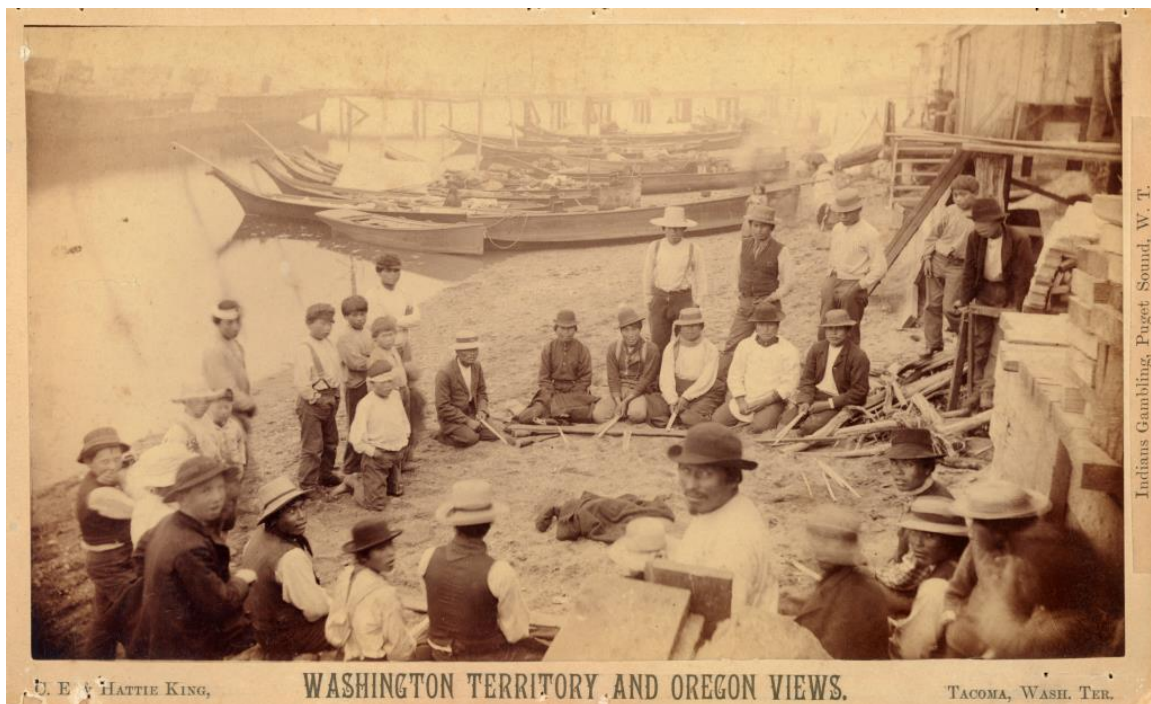
Seattle Public Library, shp\_shp\_23102.

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**"Indians gambling on Puget Sound beach, ca. 1884"; it is not known if the photograph was taken on Ballast Island, but it is included to show one of the important inter-tribal social interactions that took place on Ballast Island**

Photographer - C. E. & Hattie King Studio, c.1884

Museum of History and Industry, shs3488



**"Native woman on Seattle waterfront, 1898"; this woman is native to British Columbia or Alaska, one of the many Northern visitors who annually camped on Ballast Island. Oliver P. Anderson, 1898**

Museum of History and Industry, shs321



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**Suquamish marketers awaiting payment at Colman Dock (Doctor Peter, Charlie Yukton, Mary Jacob, Jacob Wahalchu, Unknown, Mary Adams), ca. 1904-1905**

Suquamish Museum, Suquamish Tribe, 0032, SOC.032.



**Julia Jacobs displaying her basketry on the Wahalchu allotment at Indianola. Jacobs was adopted from Ballast Island.**

Suquamish Museum, Suquamish Tribe, 0177, W.1.041

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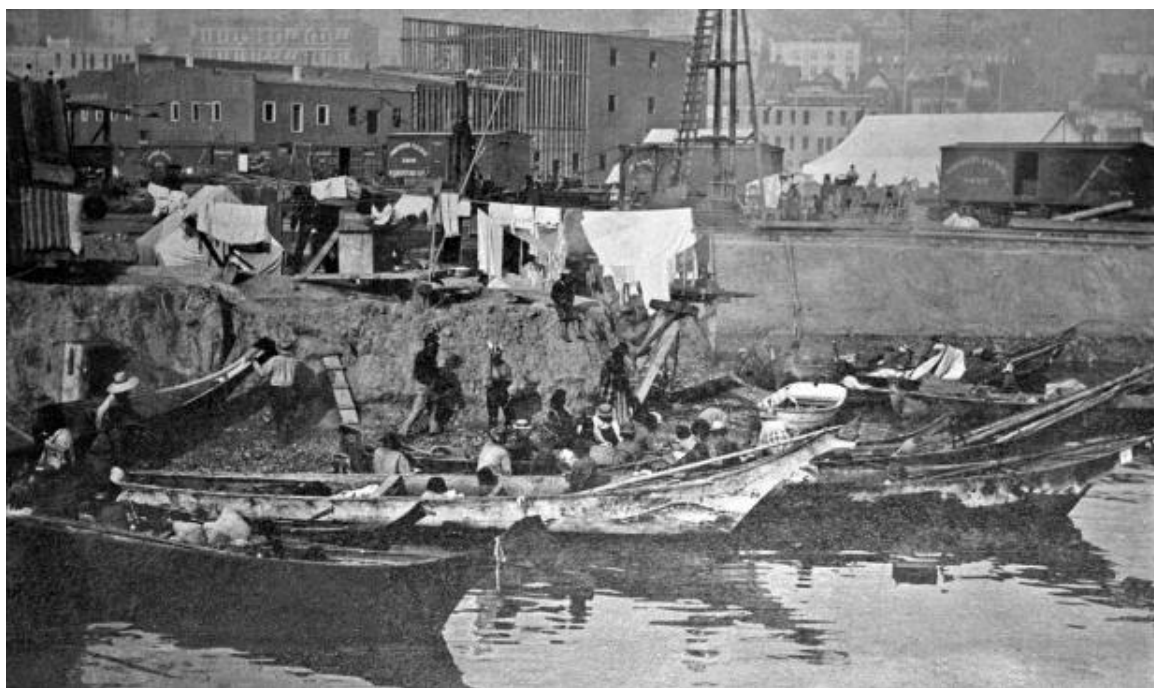
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**Overview of Ballast Island, ca. 1888**

MOHI – Sherrard 2012a.



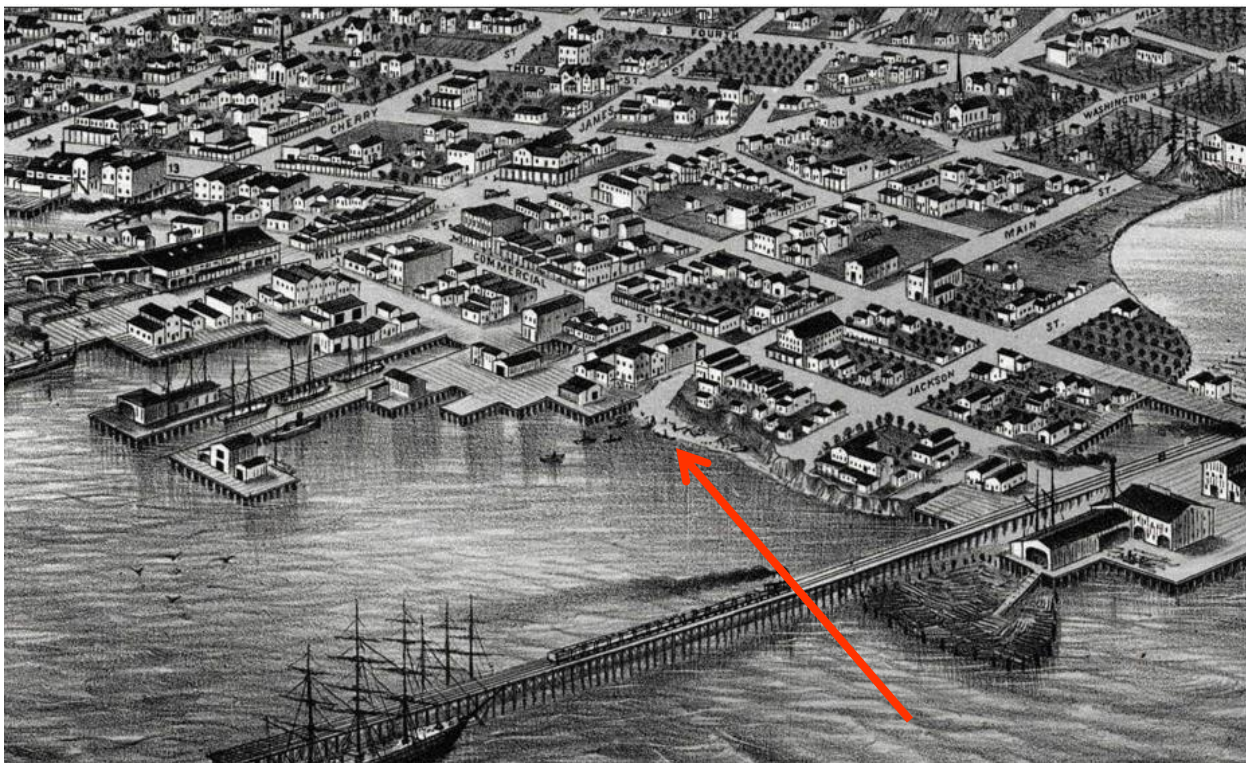
**Overview of Ballast Island, ca. 1888**

MOHI – Sherrard 2012b.

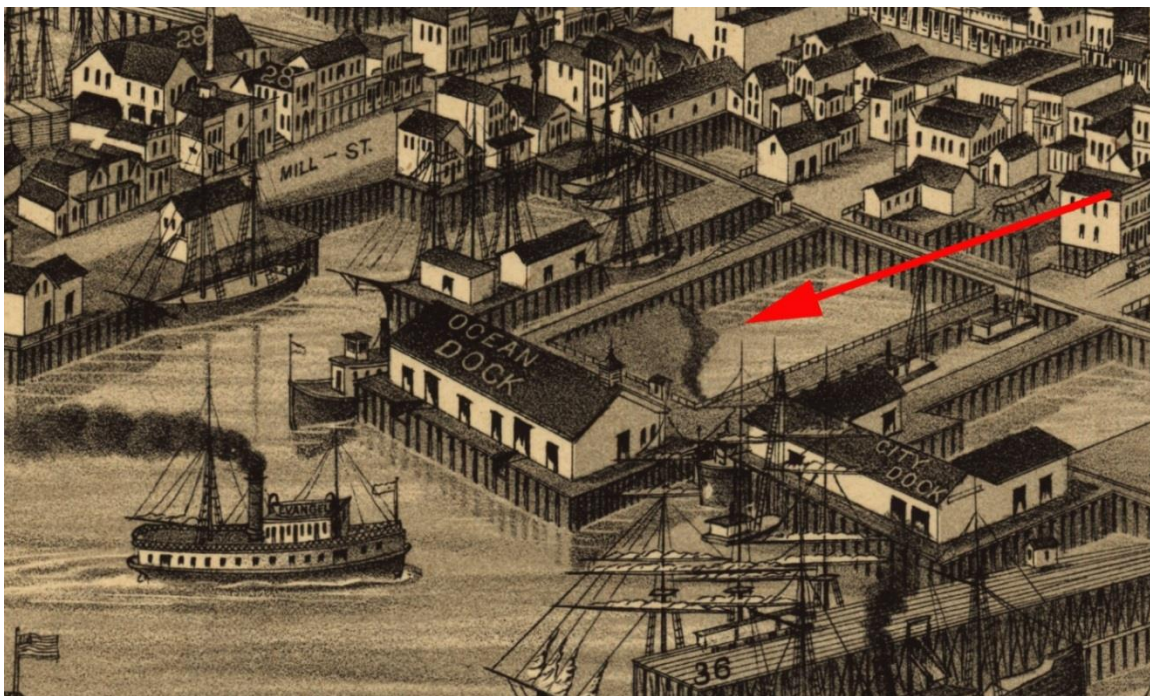


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<http://www.historicmapworks.com/Browse/Maps/>



Library of Congress, <http://hdl.loc.gov/loc.gmd/g4284s.pm009740>

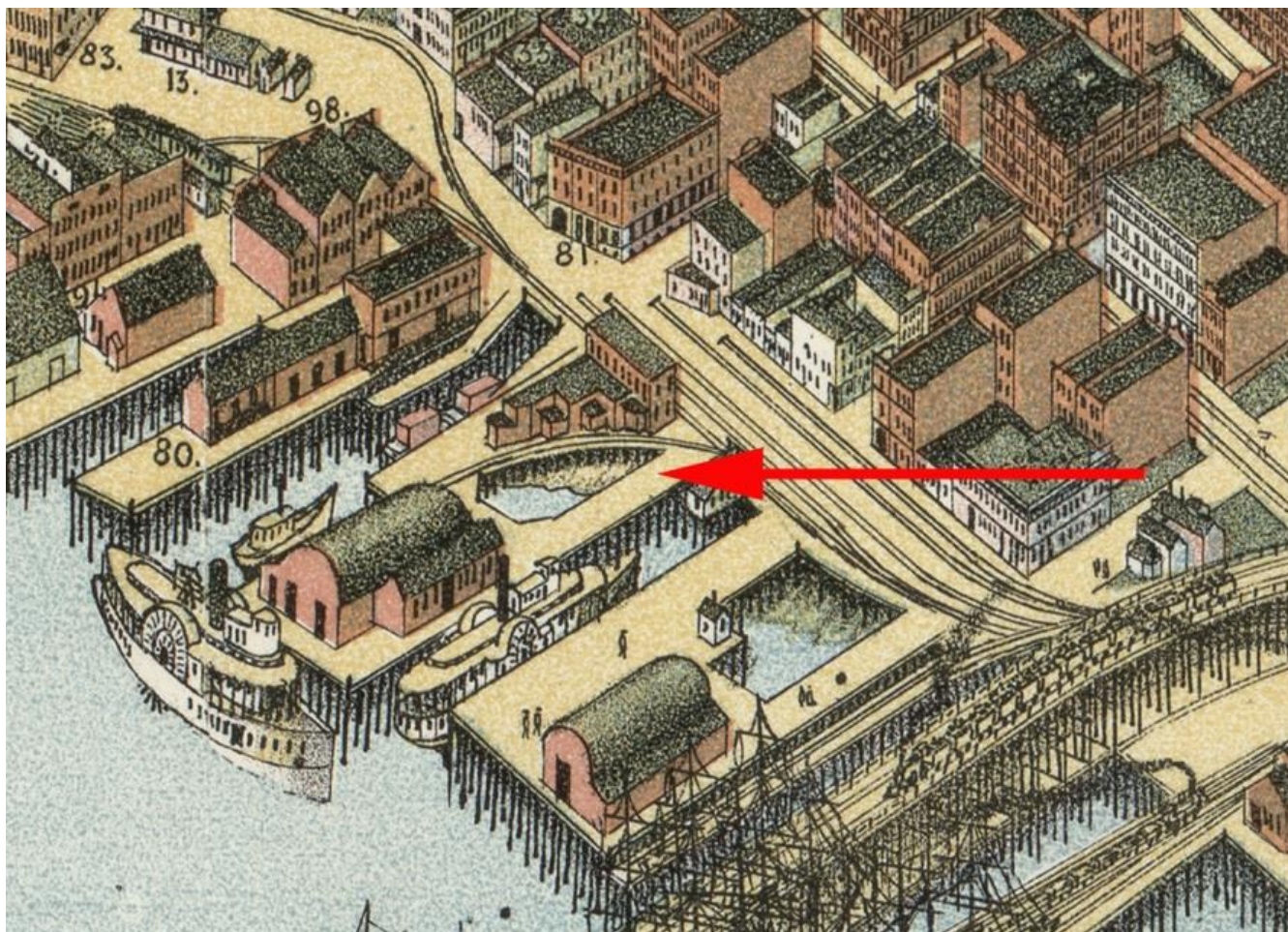


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*Bird's eye view of Seattle and Environs, King County, Washington, excerpt; arrow indicates the location of Ballast Island. Augustus Koch, 1891*

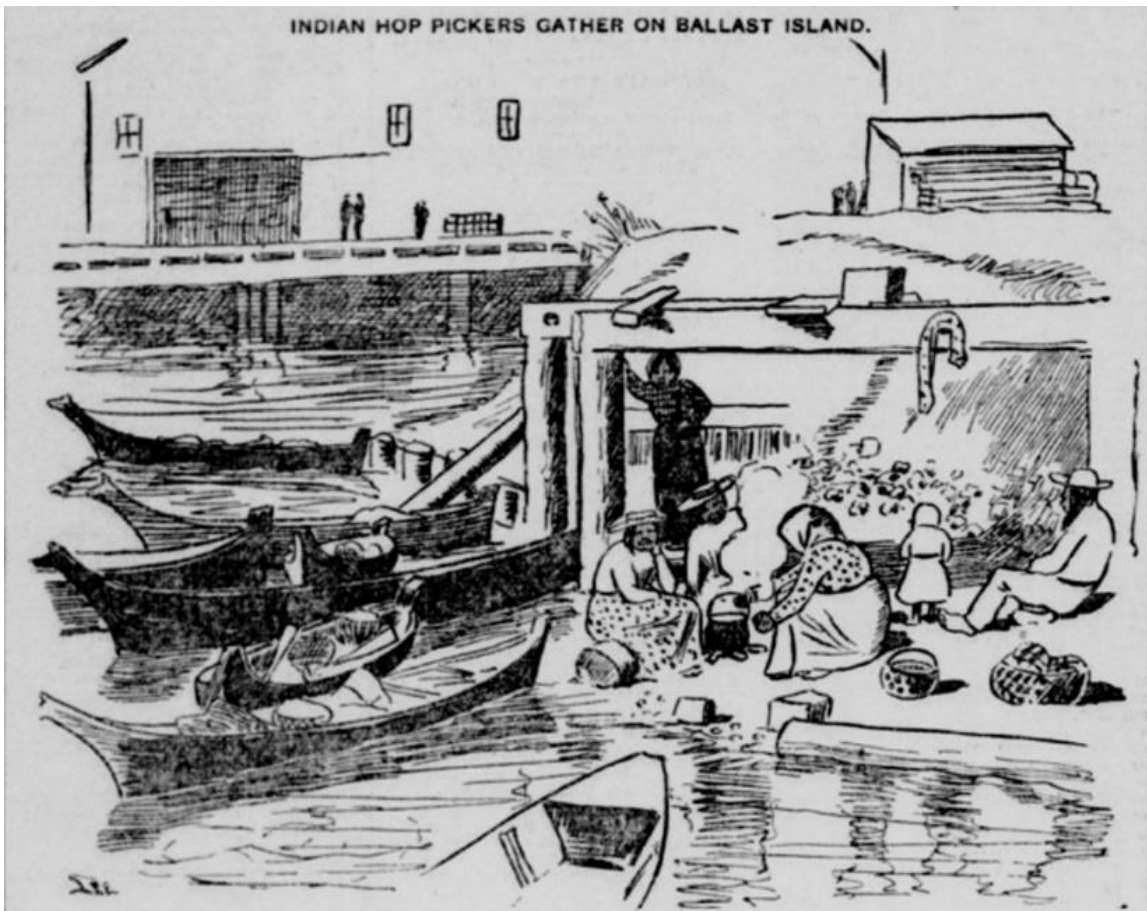
Library of Congress, <https://www.loc.gov/item/75696663/>

**BALLAST ISLAND**

Name of Property

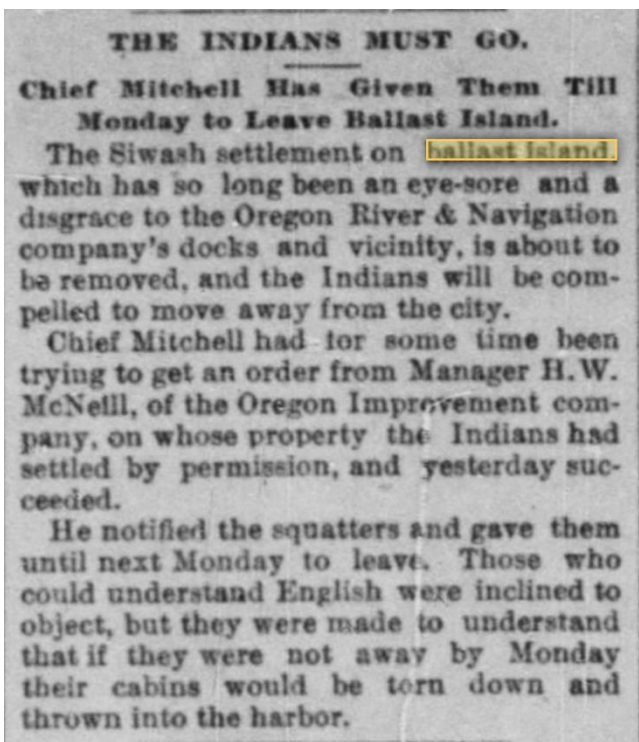
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**Last known portrayal (sketch) of Indigenous hop pickers on Ballast Island.**

Seattle Post-Intelligencer - August 25, 1897



**"Indians Must Go." Article regarding the removal of tribes from Ballast Island.**

Seattle Post Intelligencer – Jan 22, 1890

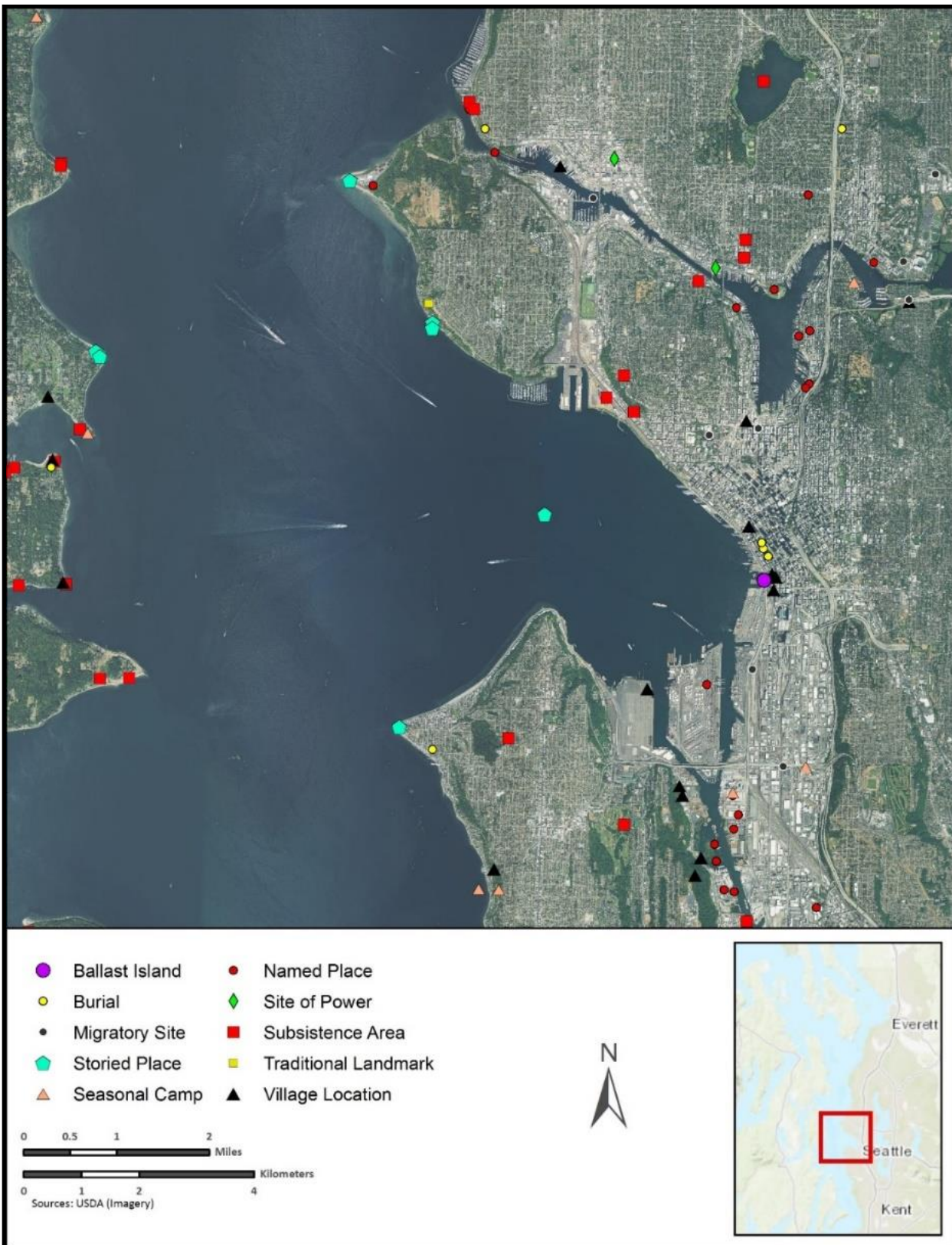


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## Place Name Map

Showing Ballast Island in relation to other significant locations within the Puget Sound land/seascape.

Information from Waterman, 1922

**BALLAST ISLAND**

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**Photographs:**

Submit clear and descriptive photographs. The size of each image must be 1600x1200 pixels at 300 ppi (pixels per inch) or larger. Key all photographs to the sketch map.

**Name of Property:** Ballast Island

**City or Vicinity:** Seattle

**County:** King **State:** Washington

**Photographer:** Cassandra Manetas

**Date Photographed:** 2019



1 of 3: Ballast Island Overview View from Main to west with Pier 48.



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**2 of 3: Ballast Island Overview w Alaskan Way view from Main St looking N.**



**3 of 3: Ballast Island Overview from Main View to NW.**



BALLAST ISLAND

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**Property Owner:** (Complete this item at the request of the SHPO or FPO.)

name Washington State Department of Transportation

street & number 310 Maple Park Avenue SE

telephone 360-705-7000

city or town Olympia

state WA

zip code 98504

and

name City of Seattle – Department of Transportation CO: Sam Zimbabwe, Director

street & number PO Box 34996

telephone 206-684-7623

city or town Seattle

state WA

zip code 98124-4996

**Paperwork Reduction Act Statement:** This information is being collected for applications to the National Register of Historic Places to nominate properties for listing or determine eligibility for listing, to list properties, and to amend existing listings. Response to this request is required to obtain a benefit in accordance with the National Historic Preservation Act, as amended (16 U.S.C.460 et seq.).

**Estimated Burden Statement:** Public reporting burden for this form is estimated to average 18 hours per response including time for reviewing instructions, gathering and maintaining data, and completing and reviewing the form. Direct comments regarding this burden estimate or any aspect of this form to the Office of Planning and Performance Management, U.S. Dept. of the Interior, 1849 C. Street, NW, Washington, DC.











UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR  
NATIONAL PARK SERVICE  
  
NATIONAL REGISTER OF HISTORIC PLACES  
EVALUATION/RETURN SHEET

Requested Action:	<input type="text" value="Nomination"/>	<input type="text"/>
Property Name:	<input type="text" value="Ballast Island"/>	
Multiple Name:	<input type="text"/>	
State & County:	<input type="text" value="WASHINGTON, King"/>	

Date Received: 12/15/2020      Date of Pending List: 1/5/2021      Date of 16th Day: 1/20/2021      Date of 45th Day: 1/29/2021      Date of Weekly List:

Reference number:	<input type="text" value="SG100006067"/>
Nominator:	<input type="text"/>

Reason For Review:

<input type="checkbox"/> Appeal	<input type="checkbox"/> PDIL	<input type="checkbox"/> Text/Data Issue
<input type="checkbox"/> SHPO Request	<input type="checkbox"/> Landscape	<input type="checkbox"/> Photo
<input type="checkbox"/> Waiver	<input type="checkbox"/> National	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Map/Boundary
<input type="checkbox"/> Resubmission	<input type="checkbox"/> Mobile Resource	<input type="checkbox"/> Period
<input type="checkbox"/> Other	<input type="checkbox"/> TCP	<input type="checkbox"/> Less than 50 years
	<input type="checkbox"/> CLG	

☒ Accept      ☐ Return      ☐ Reject      1/27/2021 Date

Abstract/Summary Comments:	<p>Ballast Island (site 45 KI 1189) is eligible for listing in the National Register under Criterion A in the areas of Commerce, Education, Ethnic Heritage (Native American), and Social History and Criterion D in the area of Archeology/Historical-Aboriginal. Beginning ca. 1880 migrant indigenous laborers working in seasonal hop agriculture as well as fisher persons and other indigenous people in town to sell fish, clams, and handmade items, established camps atop the sandstone cobbles, non-native stone, and debris accumulating along a roughly mile-long section of waterfront owned by the Oregon Improvement Company (OIC) and today an infilled, 2.91-acre parcel at the foot of South Washington and South Main Streets on the Seattle waterfront. After 1880, Ballast Island became a central place where indigenous people had tacit approval from the OIC to camp, conduct business, and interact socially in spite of Ordinance No.5, passed in 1865, which aimed to restrict Native people from residing freely within the corporate limits of the growing town. Tourists, photographers, journalists, and local residents alike were drawn to the island to observe the indigenous campers. Following attacks on traditional villages such as the 1893 burning of Herring House at the mouth of the Duwamish River, dislocated residents and other indigenous people sought refuge on Ballast Island, where it came to embody cultural stories and concepts of change and transformation.</p> <p>The site is locally significant, with a period of significance of ca. 1880-1898, initiated by the prolific accumulation of the deposits upon which indigenous people camped and terminated when the OIC property was overhauled with the addition of new wharves, a substantial warehouse, and other structures, effectively terminating the indigenous camp that occupied</p>
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the island for at least two decades. Despite having been subsequently infilled, Ballast Island retains integrity of location—as demonstrated via a combination of archeological investigation in concert with historic photographs and maps with which to map its horizontal extent. The site also retains integrity of setting, in a dynamic waterfront in an area central to what Coast Salish tribes identify as a larger Elliott Bay land/seascape affording them a continued ability to connect to other culturally important places. Ballast Island retains integrity of feeling and memory as a place of refuge, resistance, and as a stronghold. Finally, the site retains integrity of association with a history of exclusion, refuge, and resilience for local Coast Salish Tribes, who continue to ascribe importance to the site due to its association with this history. As noted in the nomination, “Cultural stories and concepts of change and transformation predate the ballast landmass but provide ongoing cultural context for the importance of Ballast Island to Coast Salish people” (p. 18).

The site is significant in each of the areas of significance identified above and possesses significance to Coast Salish Tribes—including but not limited to the Muckleshoot Indian Tribe, Snoqualmie Indian Tribe, Stillaguamish Tribe of Indians, Suquamish Tribe, and Tulalip Tribes of Washington—as a traditional cultural property. As such, the nomination presents tribally defined research questions on p. 27.

Recommendation/  
Criteria

Ballast Island is eligible for listing in the Register under Criterion A in the areas of Commerce, Education, Ethnic Heritage (Native American), and Social History and Criterion D in the area of Archeology/Historical-Aboriginal. Locally significant, with a period of significance of ca. 1880-1898, it has integrity of location, setting, feeling, and association. It possesses significance to Coast Salish Tribes as a traditional cultural property.

Reviewer Julie Earnstein

Discipline Archeologist

Telephone (202)354-2217

Date 1/27/2021

DOCUMENTATION:    see attached comments : No    see attached SLR : No

If a nomination is returned to the nomination authority, the nomination is no longer under consideration by the National Park Service.



Allyson Brooks Ph.D., Director  
State Historic Preservation Officer

December 14, 2020

Paul Lusignan  
Keeper of the National Register  
National Register of Historic Places  
1849 "C" Street NW, MS 7228  
Washington, D.C. 20240

RE: **Washington State NR Nomination**

Dear Paul:

Please find enclosed a new NR nomination for:

- **Ballast Island – King County, WA**

*Note that images are embed at the end of the NR form.*

Should you have any questions regarding this nomination please contact me anytime at (360) 890-2634. I look forward to hearing your final determination on this property.

Sincerely,

**Michael Houser**

State Architectural Historian, DAHP  
360-586-3076

E-Mail: [michael.houser@dahp.wa.gov](mailto:michael.houser@dahp.wa.gov)

