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**"IT'S GOING TO BE A PLACE OF COMMERCIAL IMPORTANCE":
FRONTIER BOOSTERISM IN JEFFERSON COUNTY, WASHINGTON, 1850-1890**

ELAINE NAYLOR

**A thesis submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies
in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the degree of**

Doctor of Philosophy

**Graduate Programme in History
York University
North York, Ontario**

September 1999

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Commercial Importance":
Boosterism in Jefferson County,
Washington, 1850-1890**

by **Elaine Naylor**

a dissertation submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies of York
University in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

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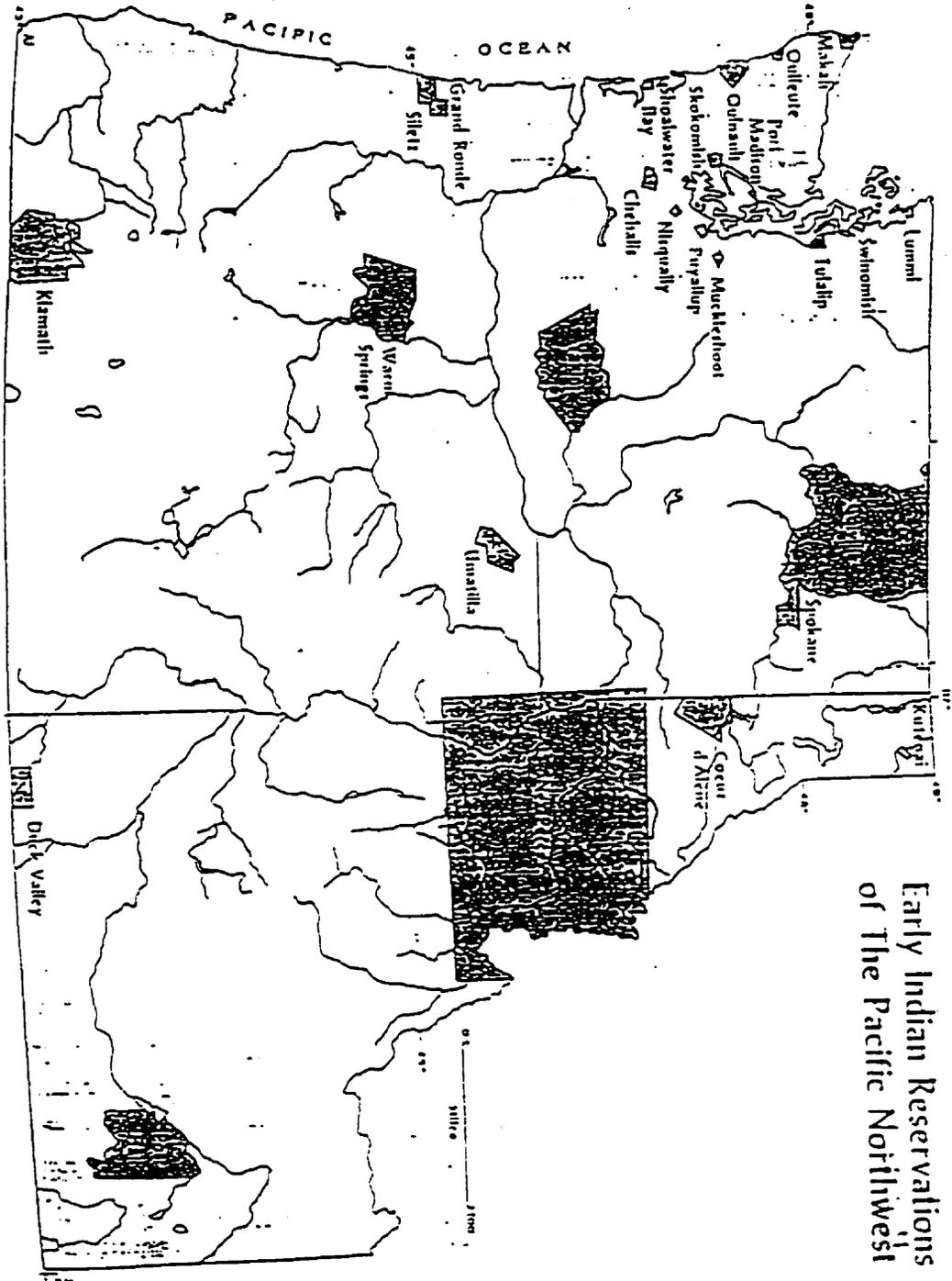
ABSTRACT

"It's Going To Be A Place of Commercial Importance:" Frontier Boosterism in Jefferson County, Washington, 1850-1893

This thesis examines frontier boosterism in Jefferson County, Washington, from Euramerican settlement in the 1850s into the 1890s. It emphasizes that boosterism was important, not only to land speculators and townbuilders, but to other county residents. Because settlers believed that county economic development influenced their own individual economic prosperity and social mobility, boosterist thinking resonated beyond groups of activists to spread into the larger population.

An essential aspect of Jefferson County boosterism was the belief that in order to attract immigrants and investors, it was necessary for the county to have a reputation as an orderly, respectable community. However, early in its history, Jefferson County acquired a reputation for being a 'rough,' disreputable place. Thus, as boosters worked to rehabilitate that reputation, their boosterism became a combination of economic goals and concern about the county's reputation.

Because it was perceived to be important to many residents, boosterism provided structure to public discourse on many issues. As such, it was an important force in community affairs. Settlers found that their boosterism sometimes clashed with other closely held ideas. Yet, when forced to reconcile boosterism with other ideologies, they often altered their behaviour; and at times their ideas about Native Americans, notions of morality, and schemes for Chinese exclusion were modified by the mandates of boosterism.



Early Indian Reservations
of The Pacific Northwest

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**INTRODUCTION: "It's Going to be a Place of Commercial Importance":
Frontier Boosterism in Jefferson County, Washington, 1850-1890**

On the morning of March 4, 1891, broadsides appeared throughout Port Townsend, Washington, a frontier seaport on Puget Sound and the largest town in Jefferson County.

Let everybody who has the interest of Port Townsend at heart attend . . . a public meeting [to] repudiate false reports . . . now being circulated . . . of the immorality of this place.

By 8:00 in the evening Port Townsend's Red Men's Hall was crowded to overflowing with "all classes of society." They met to "express" their "great . . . indignation [at] a stigma . . . placed on the fair fame of [their] city," and to refute the "notorious libel" that gambling was a "fashionable and honorable passtime (sic)" in their community.¹ This meeting was Jefferson County's response to a political crisis, one perceived by many residents to be a threat to county economic growth because it could damage the community's reputation.

In February 1891 Morris B. Sachs, a Port Townsend attorney recently elected District Court Judge, was charged by the state Legislature with "misbehavior, malfeasance and delinquency in office;" or, more specifically, for gambling in public

¹The Port Townsend Leader (Port Townsend, Washington), title varies, hereafter cited as Leader, March 5, 1891.

at "sundry places."² Judge Sachs did not deny that he frequently gambled in public; his defense was to claim that such pursuit was a "fashionable and honorable passtime (sic) in Port Townsend [and that] some of the 'leading business men' . . . of the city frequently gamble[d]."

In the end Sachs retained his office, acquitted by a narrow margin in the State Senate, because a majority of senators thought removal was too high a price to pay for the crime.³ However, it was not Sachs' gambling *per se*, but rather his assertion that gambling was an acceptable, popular recreation in Port Townsend which caused the most concern in Jefferson County. Such an assertion was thought to threaten the county's reputation which in turn endangered its economic future. The county's newspaper, the Leader, said that "unless some steps are at once taken. . . a feeling of prejudice against Port Townsend in the minds of all respectable people throughout the United States" would arise. Already the town was "jestingly spoken of as a place where one of the requisites of admission to society is skill at playing faro." The Leader called upon Port Townsendites to unite in "some expression of popular sentiment . . . without delay" in order to protect the reputation of Port Townsend and Jefferson County.⁴

²Leader, February 19, 1891.

³Leader, March 5, 1891, March 12, 1891.

⁴Leader, March 5, 1891.

Residents of Port Townsend and the surrounding countryside responded to the crisis by crowding into the Red Men's Hall where they passed a series of resolutions condemning Judge Sachs. Declaring that the "community has been falsely stigmatized as a gambling community," they decried the "impression create[d] abroad" that the community's "citizens are devoid of moral character." Although it was unpleasant for individuals to be so characterized, what was even worse was that this impression should "degrade the name of our city in the eyes of the world." They asked "fellow citizens abroad to judge us not by the opinions of [those who would] further their own ends by casting a black cloud of universal immorality over . . . our fair commonwealth."⁵

Why was it so important to refute the "reports" about gambling in Port Townsend that large numbers of residents would crowd themselves into a public meeting hall to issue a lengthy public rebuttal? It was not the existence of gambling in Port Townsend that the March 4 resolutions denied, but the idea that the community was so generally "devoid of moral character" that gambling was acceptable to supposedly "respectable" residents such as leading businessmen. The residents--or boosters, as it were--were worried that a 'bad' reputation would frighten immigrants and investors away from Jefferson County. For them, economic development and an

⁵Leader March 5, 1891.

orderly community went hand-in-hand. A reputation as a respectable, law-abiding community was important to economic development. Thus, it was their boosterism which motivated residents to protest Judge Sachs' "notorious libel." They believed that the county's "interest," or its future as a prosperous, growing community, was threatened by this assault on its reputation.

Jefferson County is located on the Olympic Peninsula which is the most northwesterly area of the United States excepting Alaska (see map, iv). Designated a county on December 12, 1852, and including the northern two-thirds of the Peninsula, it was divided in 1853, the northwestern portion becoming Clallan County. The subsequent remainder occupies an 1,805 square-mile strip of territory between the Pacific Ocean on the west and Puget Sound on the east with the most eastern portion jutting north to include the land which divides Admiralty Inlet from the Straits of Juan de Fuca and Discovery Bay.⁶

Between the western and eastern portions lies the Olympic Mountain Range. These mountains--the center of which is impassable by all but the most hardy of mountaineers--take up most of the county and effectively separate west and east Jefferson County. Nineteenth- and early twentieth-century Euramerican settlement in

⁶William J. Daly, "The Legal Creation," With Pride in Heritage: A History of Jefferson County ed. by a Symposium of the Jefferson County Historical Society (Portland, Oregon, 1966), 4-10.

west Jefferson County was sparse and often of short duration.⁷ However, east Jefferson County was settled by Euramericans in the 1850s; and it is this part of the county with which this thesis is concerned.

The shoreline of east Jefferson County borders Puget Sound⁸ and includes several protected, deep-water harbors. Until the late-nineteenth century dense evergreen forests grew to the water's edge, and early settlement was concentrated near the water. Port Townsend, the largest town, was founded in 1851. The other centers of population were the mill ports, small villages which developed around sawmills. Port Ludlow was established in 1853, Port Discovery in 1859.⁹ There was little farming because dense forest covered most of the land. This region was described in 1874 as remote, "almost out of the world," and today is a bit of a backwater.¹⁰ Its population approaches 25,000 at most, there is only one incorporated town and several

⁷The climate and terrain of west Jefferson County are not friendly to farming, and any other significant economic development--logging and tourism--was impossible until the internal improvements of the 1930s (Lena Fletcher, "Valley of the Hoh," With Pride in Heritage, 216-238).

⁸Officially, Puget Sound is the innermost body of water of what maritime writer Gordon Newell calls "the Inland Sea" which stretches from the falls of Tumwater at Olympia to Cape Flattery on the Pacific Ocean and includes the Strait of Juan de Fuca, Admiralty Inlet and Hood Canal. In common usage the term Puget Sound designates either the whole inland sea or the Sound itself, and in this thesis it is used appropriate to context. The term Puget Sound region refers to the lands bordering the inland sea (Gordon R. Newell, Ships of the Inland Sea: The Story of the Puget Sound Steamboats (Portland, Oregon 1951), 1).

⁹Port Hadlock developed later. It was founded in 1870, but did not really grow until a sawmill was built there in the 1880s.

¹⁰Alta California (San Francisco, California) qtd. in Pacific Tribune (Olympia, Washington) August 26, 1874.

smaller communities or villages. A single paper mill, logging, tourism, and commuter and retirement communities sustain the local economy.

However, during the latter half of the nineteenth century, things were different. Then, Port Townsend, the county's largest town, was touted as the future "New York of the West,"¹¹ for it was central to the region's shipping. As well, the forests and sawmills of the county were integral to the Puget Sound lumber industry which drove early settlement and economic development in the region.

The first Americans came to the county to exploit its potential in shipping and lumber, and they dreamt that the area would achieve great commercial prominence and provide them with economic prosperity. They believed that Port Townsend could become a great shipping center--even the major metropolis of the Northwest coast--connecting the riches of Asia and the Pacific Rim with the rest of the United States and Europe through a county rail connection to the eastern United States. They hoped that industries besides lumber would flourish, that agriculture would prosper and that the population would rapidly multiply. As settlers strove to extend and maximize what they perceived as the economic potential of the county, they embraced an outlook dominated by their desires for commercial success. Boosters they were, and throughout the nineteenth century their boosterism was a dominant characteristic of the

¹¹Peter Simpson et al., City of Dreams: A Guide to Port Townsend, ed. Peter Simpson (Port Townsend, Washington, 1986), 100.

area, which was devoted to 'getting ahead' and convincing potential residents and investors that in Jefferson County, "no branch of business vigorously pushed along [could] fail to pay."¹²

Boosterism in Jefferson County

This thesis recounts the history of the rise and fall of boosterism in Jefferson County, Washington. It emphasizes that the ideology of boosterism was embraced not only by booster activists, but by other community members as well. Further, because it was integral to the community's economic development and hence important to many residents, boosterism provided structure to public discourse on many issues, and as such it was an essential force in community affairs.

This is a story full of contradictions. Drawn to Jefferson County by a progressive belief in the county's commercial potential and hopes for their own economic success, settlers found that their boosterism often clashed with other closely held ideas. Nevertheless, when forced to reconcile boosterism with other ideologies settlers often altered their behaviour. At times, their ideas about Native Americans, notions of morality and respectability, and schemes for Chinese exclusion were modified by the mandates of boosterism.

¹²Wilson to Wilson, 24 Apr. 1853, Bushrod W. Wilson Papers, University of Oregon Library, Eugene, qtd. in Thomas R. Cox, Mills and Markets: A History of the Pacific Coast Lumber Industry to 1900 (Seattle, Washington, 1974), 60.

Boosters have been defined as individuals who actively engaged in land speculation or in promoting the economic development of a specific area. Some nineteenth-century boosters also theorized and wrote about western economic development.¹³ However, this thesis argues that not all boosters were active promoters, land speculators or theorists of frontier development; the ideology of boosterism resonated beyond such groups of activists. Because community economic development was perceived by many settlers to influence their own individual economic prosperity and social mobility, boosterist thinking spread throughout the larger population. Thus, boosterism was important to many Jefferson County residents whether or not they actively promoted economic development. Further, because the primary focus of Jefferson County development was directed towards building a commercial and manufacturing economy, the term boosterism is sometimes replaced in this thesis by the word commercialism.

It is impossible to discuss boosterism, or commercialism, in Jefferson County without addressing residents' concerns about the county's reputation. Early in its history Port Townsend became notorious as a rough town, and county boosters took great pains to rehabilitate its reputation as such. Indeed, at times the county's boosterism was masked by what seems to be simply a concern about the county's

¹³Richard White, "It's Your Misfortune and None of My Own": A History of the American West (Norman, Oklahoma, 1991), 417; William Cronon, Nature's Metropolis: Chicago and the Great West (New York, 1991), 31-41.

reputation. However, close examination reveals that residents believed that a 'respectable' reputation was *sine qua non* to attracting immigrants and capital investment. A good reputation was thus perceived to be essential to economic development; and the county's commercialism was therefore a combination of economic goals and a jealous concern for the county's reputation.

The Oxford Encyclopedic English Dictionary defines reputation as "the state of being well thought of."¹⁴ Thus, what is meant by the word reputation is based on perception and is difficult to define. However, in their promotional literature boosters emphasized certain aspects of county life which they believed would create a favorable impression with outsiders. Such emphases suggest how they defined a good reputation. For instance, county residents were favorably described as sober, industrious and law-abiding. The presence of settled families in the community was considered worthy of mention. The establishment of social institutions such as churches, schools, fraternal orders, temperance groups, lyceums and debating societies was also stressed. The orderly celebration of any public gathering was cause for self-congratulation, since this indicated that residents were law-abiding and sober, even when on holiday, and that public drinking and violence were under control. By way of contrast, shiftlessness, excessive drinking, especially in public, gambling,

¹⁴The Oxford Encyclopedic English Dictionary (1991), s.v. "reputation."

prostitution, and violent or lawless behaviour were deplored. Thus, boosters believed the county was more likely to be "well thought of" if it was known to be a community in which residents were hard-working, law-abiding and preferably married, where respectable social institutions flourished and public order was maintained.

Tensions surrounded the issue of county reputation throughout the frontier era. In this period Port Townsend was an important Puget Sound shipping center, a fact considered to be an essential aspect of county economic development. However, its position as a shipping center almost guaranteed that it would continue to be rough and disreputable. Shipping brought a large, transient male population to the town, one which demanded 'disreputable' institutions such as saloons, gambling halls, brothels and cheap lodgings. Economic growth and prosperity required that boosters find some way to live with the disreputable aspects of life in Port Townsend, and yet have a good reputation as well.

Nineteenth-Century Boosterism:

The story of boosterism--or commercialism--in frontier Jefferson County, while unique in some local particulars, is a common one. Boosterism was very much a phenomenon of the nineteenth century,¹⁵ when the acquisition of immense reaches of continental land by the United States encouraged the movement of increasingly larger

¹⁵David Hammer, New Towns in the New World: Images and Perceptions of the Nineteenth-Century Urban Frontier (New York, 1990), 7.

numbers of people westward.¹⁶ This movement was accompanied, among other things, by town-building and boosterism.

Despite their importance to western expansion, frontier towns and their boosters often have fallen outside the confines of Western history. This has been due, in part, to the ubiquity of Turner's frontier thesis which argues that solitary frontiersmen preceded community builders and that agriculture was the forerunner to commerce and industry.¹⁷ Moreover, especially in popular culture but also in the academy, persistent images of cattle ranches, prairie farms and transitory mining camps have often obscured the importance of urban centers to western settlement.¹⁸

¹⁶There was earlier frontier promotion, but not to the extent of the nineteenth century. See Richard A. Bartlett, The New County: A Social History of the American Frontier, 1776-1890 (New York, 1974), 401-405; John W. Reys, The Making of Urban America: A History of City Planning in the United States (Princeton, New Jersey, 1965), 349-360; Alan Taylor, William Cooper's Town: Power and Persuasion on the Frontier of the Early American Republic (New York, 1995).

¹⁷Frederick Jackson Turner, The Frontier in American History (1920, 1947; reprint New York, 1962), 11-22, 30-32. See John M. Findlay, "Closing the Frontier in Washington: Edmond S. Meany and Frederick Jackson Turner," Pacific Northwest Quarterly 82 (April 1991): 59-69 and Cronon, 46-54 for discussions of how Turner's rural frontier differed from urban and industrial frontiers. For discussion of the differences between new Western History and Turner see: William Deverell, "Fighting Words: The Significance of the American West in the History of the United States," Western Historical Quarterly (Summer 1994): 185-205; Patricia Nelson Limerick, Clyde A. Milner, and Charles E. Rankin, ed., Trails: Toward a New Western History (Lawrence, Kansas, 1991); Michael Steiner, "From Frontier to Region: Frederick Jackson Turner and the New Western History," Pacific Historical Review (1995): 470-501; John R. Wunder, "What's Old about the New Western History: Race and Gender, Part 1," Pacific Northwest Quarterly (April 1994): 50-59 and "What's Old about the New Western History: Environment and Economy, Part 2," Pacific Northwest Quarterly (Spring 1998): 84-94.

¹⁸William Robbins, Colony and Empire: The Capitalist Transformation of the American West (Lawrence, Kansas, 1994), 167, 182.

Further, as William Cronon has written, the "unabashed optimism [of boosters] about progress and civilization has long since gone out of fashion."¹⁹ We fail to take boosters seriously, except as land speculators who "wanted to make lots of money."²⁰

However, this is not to say that boosters have not been entirely neglected by scholars. In the 1950s and 1960s scholars—challenging Turner's idea that democracy grew out of 'individual' frontier experience—argued that American democracy evolved from the 'necessary' cooperative mechanics of frontier community development. Writing about frontier towns and cities, these scholars gave boosterism an important place in urban development.²¹ They were joined in the 1960s and 1970s by urban historians, especially Charles N. Glaab, who addressed issues of urban development through studies of frontier communities where "urban promoters and urban visionaries [were to be] found most everywhere."²²

¹⁹Cronon 46.

²⁰White, "It's Your Misfortune, 417.

²¹Stanley Elkins and Eric McKittrick, in "A Meaning for Turner's Frontier," Political Science Quarterly LXIX (1954): 321-53, 565-602; Daniel Boorstin, The Americans: The National Experience (New York, 1965), 51-62, 65-72, 113-123; Robert R. Dykstra, The Cattle Towns (New York, 1968).

²²See Charles N. Glaab, Kansas City and the Railroads: Community Policy in the Growth (1962; reprint, Lawrence, Kansas, 1993), preface to 2d edition, xi-xxi for a discussion of frontier urban history; qtn. xvi; also, Hamer 2-4; Charles N. Glaab and Theodore Brown, A History of Urban America (New York, 1967), 25-51; Bartlett 401-440; Don Harrison Doyle, The Social Order of a Frontier Community: Jacksonville, Illinois, 1825-70 (Urbana, Illinois, 1978).

More recently new Western historians have pointed out that "the nineteenth-century American West was often on the forefront of . . . urbanization."²³ Interest in boosterism as part of that urbanization has had a resurgence. William Cronon, for instance writes about the influence of boosters upon western development in Nature's Metropolis: Chicago and the Great West.²⁴ However, less emphasis has been placed upon the influence of boosterism in frontier communities ambitious for economic development; this work seeks to enlarge understanding of that aspect of boosterism.

If much of late-nineteenth-and twentieth-century writing about the West has obscured their importance, boosters' influence was common currency throughout most of the nineteenth century. During the 1840s through the 1890s, there arose "a whole body of promotional material" written by boosters which was "widely read in its time;"²⁵ and their theories of urban frontier development "dominated nineteenth-

²³Patricia Nelson Limerick, Clyde A. Milner II and Charles E. Rankin, ed., Trails: Toward a New Western History (Lawrence, Kansas, 1991), qtn. commentary for photograph 18, following 144.

²⁴See Cronon 24-93; David Hammer, New Towns in the New World; Katherine G. Morrissey, Mental Territories: Mapping the Inland Empire (Ithaca, New York, 1997). See also: Carlos A. Schwantes, The Pacific Northwest: An Interpretive History, rev. and enl. ed. (Lincoln, Nebraska, 1996), 225-244; White, It's Your Misfortune and None of My Own, 416-18.

²⁵Charles N. Glaab, "Jesup W. Scott and a West of Cities," Ohio History 73 (1964) qtn., 3, 6. According to William Cronon, "although Jesup W. Scott and William Gilpin were better known than most who wrote about urban growth in the West, no one person could claim authorship of the booster theories themselves, which quickly became the common intellectual property of speculators, newspaper editors, merchants, and chambers of commerce throughout the West" (Nature's Metropolis, 34). Ideas about urban frontier development have been promulgated on many frontiers. See Hamer, New Towns in the New World, for a comparative treatment of urban frontier development and boosting in Australia, New Zealand, Canada and the United States; also, Doug Owsram, Promise of Eden: The Canadian Expansionist Movement and the Idea of the West, 1856-1900 (Toronto, 1980; reprint 1992).

century thinking about frontier development."²⁶ Boosters expressed "what many Americans believed--or wanted to believe--about expansion and progress of the United States and its Great West."²⁷

Some of the earliest American thinking about westward commercial expansion centered upon finding an American 'passage to India' which would connect the United States and Europe to the wealth of Asia.²⁸ Thomas Hart Benton, whose career in writing about expansionism stretched from 1818 into the 1850s, hoped that a combination of some far-west river system and portages, or a roadway might serve to connect the Pacific and Asia with mid-western and eastern waterways and markets.

However, such thinking was eventually replaced by more practical plans. Asa Whitney first promoted a transcontinental railroad, asking Congress in 1844 for financial support to build one. Congress rejected Whitney's proposal, although by the early 1850s there would be serious federal interest in transcontinental railroads.²⁹

²⁶Cronon 34. See also Hamer 1-2.

²⁷Cronon 46.

²⁸Although Thomas Jefferson's private instructions to Merriwether Lewis only told him "to explore . . . the most direct & practicable communication across this continent, for the purposes of commerce," Henry Nash Smith argues "that Jefferson fully grasped the relation of the Pacific Northwest to Asia" (Virgin Land: The American West as Symbol and Myth {Cambridge, Mass. 1950; reprint, New York, 1957}, 22, 21).

²⁹Smith 36; Kent D. Richards, Isaac I. Stevens: Young Man in a Hurry (Provo, Utah, 1979), 47; Carlos A. Schwantes, The Pacific Northwest, 171, 173. See Smith 15-51 for further discussion of the significance of a passage to India in expansionist thinking.

Other expansionists placed a high priority on obtaining American ports on the Pacific Coast. For instance, one of the primary goals of the 1841 voyage of Charles Wilkes' United States Exploring Expedition was to establish the location of safe Pacific Coast harbors. Wilkes found only three consistently navigable bays or inland waterways along the West Coast: San Diego, San Francisco and Puget Sound.³⁰ Thus, during the 1846 Oregon Country negotiations with Great Britain, President James Polk was determined to acquire "the Straits of Fuca, Admiralty Inlet, and Puget's Sound, with their fine harbors" for the United States.³¹

The notion of a 'passage to India' would continue to have a significant place in boosterist thinking, especially on the Pacific Coast. Beginning in the second quarter of the nineteenth century however, ideas about Western development placed increasing emphasis on the creation of what were called 'great cities' as commercial centers for the exploitation of resources from within the West.³² Such views initially focused on the interior, or mid-western, United States, but ideas about great cities influenced boosterism in the Far West as well.

³⁰William H. Goetzmann, New Lands, New Men: American and the Second Great Age of Discovery (New York, 1986), 169, 285.

³¹For a discussion of the importance of Pacific ports to nineteenth-century expansionism see Norman A. Graebner, Empire on the Pacific: A Study in American Continental Expansion (New York, 1955), v-vii, 2-9, 22-42, 123-149, qtn. 105.

³²Cronon 398-99, n. 79.

Such visions were necessarily projected onto the future; the important task for booster activists was to predict where a metropolis might develop and then encourage immigration and capital investment. Boosters argued that the successful location of cities, especially great cities, was dependent upon 'natural advantages.' They theorized that cities would develop on sites favored by natural transportation routes: rivers and lakes, safe harbors--fresh and saltwater--potential canals, and later, railroads. Such sites would also be centrally situated near resources such as rich agricultural land, grasslands, timber or mineral wealth.³³

Such thinkers--"passionate[ly] commit[ed] to doctrines of American material progress"--believed that cities were the ultimate expression of American progress and 'civilization,' that in cities "great minds and great wealth . . . the arts that adorn life . . . and knowledge . . . naturally concentrate[d]." ³⁴ However, understanding that cities developed in part from the resources of surrounding rural areas, boosters recognized the symbiotic relationship between city and country;³⁵ thus, rural development--agriculture, ranching, mining and lumbering--was perceived as necessary to urban development.

³³Cronon 36-41.

³⁴Glaab, "Jesup W. Scott and a West of Cities," 12; Jesup W. Scott, "Our Cities--Atlantic and Interior," Hunt's Merchants' Magazine XIX (1848), 383, qtd. in Glaab, 7.

³⁵Cronon 34; Morrissey 62-63.

Of course, almost all active boosters, even those who wrote about western urban development, were interested in promoting a specific location, one in which they had an economic interest. Regardless of the natural advantages of any given site, growth was dependent upon attracting immigrants and capital investment. Although there was little need to convince Americans that the West could provide a better way of life--this idea was a given for many people throughout the nineteenth-century³⁶--it was necessary to convince the public of the desirability of a specific townsite or region. Thus, it was necessary that boosters be promoters.

Interest in moving westward created an immense market for guidebooks, travel books and magazine articles written by people who had toured the West; and boosters sought to create a favorable public image of 'their' town or townsite through such visitors.³⁷ There were attempts to make the approaches to towns as prosperous looking as possible, and visiting writers were subjected to local boosters' lecturing about their town's great prospects.³⁸

³⁶White, *It's Your Misfortune*, 209; see 181-211 for a discussion of nineteenth-century migration to the West.

³⁷David Hamer discusses the importance of image to boosters, (40-64). Image and reputation are similar, but Jefferson County boosters were more concerned with issues of morality and respectability as related to the community's reputation than with physical appearance.

³⁸Hamer 40-41, 52-53.

However, visitor's reports were not always satisfactory, and boosters came to depend upon local promotional material in the form of newspapers, pamphlets and even letters home³⁹ which might be published to attract the interest of immigrants and capitalists.⁴⁰ Indeed, much of the content of boosterist material about Jefferson County was defined by the town's response to the impressions of one visitor, J. Ross Browne, a popular writer who visited Port Townsend in 1857 and published several satirical pieces about how disreputable the town and its residents were.

Outsiders were often sceptical about the future so enthusiastically projected by boosters; and they sometimes "laughed . . . at the absurd aspirations of small western hamlets to become [great cities]".⁴¹ Their mockery often found its way into print. David Hamer suggests that such writings helped formulate the modern idea that boosters were often a "predatory breed" interested primarily in accumulating wealth, and willing to deceive not only others, but themselves as well.⁴²

However, boosters and boosterism should be taken seriously, for as William Cronon suggests, in their "search for the great western cities of the future [booster

³⁹Hamer 41.

⁴⁰Carlos Schwantes writes that in the Pacific Northwest, "state and territorial governments seemed content to let" local and private institutions "advertis[e] the region's resources" (The Pacific Northwest 227).

⁴¹Hamer 57.

⁴²Hamer 57; Bartlett, qtn. 419.

activists] drove nearly all nineteenth-century townsite speculation,"⁴³ and they were instrumental in the development of western cities, working to attract capital investors and immigrants, railroad and steamship connections and government institutions to their towns.⁴⁴

Further, this thesis argues that boosterism should be taken seriously because the extent of its influence went beyond boosterist development. The economic future of Jefferson County could be seen to function as a medium for individuals' prosperity and social mobility. Thus, boosterism was important to many residents besides booster activists. Because it was important to many county residents, boosterism helped shape public discourse on issues which do not immediately seem to be related to boosterism. Boosterism was thus a significant factor in many community concerns, such as relations between Euramerican settlers and Native Americans or the Chinese community, or moral issues such as temperance and vice.

What follows is the history of boosterism in Jefferson County from Euramerican settlement in the early 1850s to the boom years of the late 1880s and early 1890s. Chapter I examines county settlement from 1851-1870, establishes its commercial focus and explores concurrent boosterist thinking. It discusses the development of Port Townsend as a shipping center, and the lumber and shipbuilding

⁴³Cronon 34.

⁴⁴Hamer 11.

industries which sustained the smaller towns and countryside. Also examined are economic opportunities which connected individual ambition to county economic development.

Chapter II examines "the Great Port Townsend Controversy" of 1858 which arose when writer J. Ross Browne characterized Port Townsend as a "resort for 'beachcombers' and outlaws." This significant event established the importance of reputation to economic development. The "controversy" also exemplifies connections between commercialism and Native American/Euramerican relations in the county.

Chapter III looks at booster activism from 1859 into the 1880s. It examines county promotional efforts in local newspapers, boosters' attempts to both maintain and develop the county as a transportation and shipping center, and efforts to attract capital investment and immigration to the county. It reiterates local involvement with boosterist issues as well as the connection between economic development and county reputation.

Chapter IV examines issues of image and reputation as they relate to county boosterism, and explores the ways in which some Port Townsend residents sought to resolve conflicts between boosterism, economic development and reputation. Chapter V argues that boosterist concerns about reputation acted as a mediating force upon anti-Chinese violence during the 1885-86 Pacific Northwest anti-Chinese movement. Chapter Six describes the boom and bust of the late 1880s and early 1890s which

concludes the story of frontier boosterism in Jefferson County.

CHAPTER I: Euramerican Settlement and Economic Development, 1850-1870

Significant Euramerican settlement in Washington's Puget Sound region originated with the San Francisco Gold Rush. Legend has it that ships from San Francisco first entered Puget Sound in 1850 looking for ice to cool champagne for thirsty Gold Rush millionaires.

[The ship's] masters were disappointed because they found a sunny inland sea at least as warm as San Francisco Bay and innocent of ice summer or winter. . . the northern waters were bordered with grand forests instead of frozen tundra. Then they saw that the forests might cover the failure of their mission. San Francisco . . . was as voracious for building materials as for iced drinks.¹

While this story may be apocryphal, Gold Rush Californians did have a tremendous appetite for lumber. However, there was not enough accessible timber near San Francisco to fill its need for wood products; and early in 1850 ship captains began sailing to Puget Sound, a region with seemingly endless supplies of easy-to-harvest timber.

This timber boom brought a sudden influx of settlers to Puget Sound, settlers who were intent on building their own futures through commercial development of the region. As lumbermen, merchants, entrepreneurs and townbuilders, they perceived

¹ Archie Binns, *The Roaring Land* (New York, 1942), 51, qm; Thomas Cox, *Mills and Markets: A History of the Pacific Coast Lumber Industry to 1900* (Seattle, Washington, 1974), 59.

frontier development to be the exploitation of resources, establishment of markets and trade, and the creation of towns and cities. Some were aware of ideas about a passage to India and the development of 'great cities.' Implicit in such ideas of frontier development was the necessity for promotion; and the seeds of boosterism lay dormant in those first ships sailing north from San Francisco to open the Puget Sound region to economic development and settlement.

Early Settlement on Puget Sound: "The Resources for Wealth and . . . the Best Geographical Position on the Pacific"²

During the late eighteenth century, four nations--Spain, Russia, Great Britain and the United States--laid claim to the Pacific Northwest. The Spanish ceded some of their interest to the British in the Nootka Sound Agreements of 1790 and 1795; and by the Adams-Onis Treaty of 1819 they relinquished further claims north of the 42nd parallel--the northern boundary of California--to the United States. Russia abandoned its claims south of the southernmost tip of Alaska to the United States in 1824 and to Great Britain in 1825 after which the British and Americans agreed to a joint occupancy of what was then called the Oregon Country. Primarily interested in exploiting the fur trade, through the Hudson's Bay Company, the British exercised a virtual monopoly over the region into the 1840s.

²Port Townsend Register (Port Townsend, Washington), hereafter cited as Register, March 7, 1860.

However, in the 1830s through the 1840s a small number of American missionaries bent upon 'civilizing' and Christianizing Native Americans settled in Oregon. And, starting around 1840, significant numbers of Americans began migrating there. Almost all of them were farmers who settled in the fertile Willamette Valley of present-day Oregon.

Increasing pressure from Americans to settle British and American claims to Oregon brought the two countries to the negotiating table. In June 1846 Great Britain and the United States agreed to a division of the Oregon Country along the 49th parallel.³ The new American possession--which included the present-day states of Oregon, Washington, Idaho, Montana and much of Wyoming--became a United States Territory in August 1848.

When Oregon Territory was created, there were a only few American farmers living in the Puget Sound region, mostly near present-day Olympia. However, in 1850 migration to the region increased dramatically when the need for timber products in Gold-Rush San Francisco prompted a Puget Sound lumber boom. By 1851 the settlers living in Oregon north of the Columbia River began to clamour for separate territorial status. In March 1853 Congress approved Oregon Territory's division into Oregon, in its present-day configuration, and Washington which then included the rest

³The agreed boundary actually runs along the 49th Parallel from the crest of the Rocky Mountains to the middle of the Strait of Georgia, then dips south to the middle of the Strait of Juan de Fuca in order to include Vancouver Island in what was then British territory.

of the territory. Present-day Washington is the result of further territorial division in March 1863.⁴

The new territory's first governor, Isaac I. Stevens, was an important booster for the Puget Sound region. Stevens was a former army officer and engineer who gave prominent support to Franklin Pierce during the 1852 presidential election. His thinking about Puget Sound development was similar to the expansionism of both Thomas Hart Benson and Asa Whitney,⁵ in that he saw Puget Sound as an essential link in a passage to India.

According to his biographer Kent Richards, Stevens wanted to promote the "development of the Northwest," but he also believed that his political career would be well served if he became "spokesman for [a frontier region] as . . . Thomas Hart Benton had been representative of [an] earlier frontier." As his political payback for

⁴For further discussion of the early Pacific Northwest, see Carlos Schwantes, The Pacific Northwest: An Interpretive History, rev. and enl. ed. (Lincoln, Nebraska, 1989, 1996), 19-24, 41-79, 91-100, 110-125 133-134 and Robert E. Ficken and Charles P. LeWarne, Washington: A Centennial History (Seattle, 1988), 3-22 for a discussion of the early Pacific Northwest. For discussion of the United States' acquisition of the trans-Mississippi west, see Richard White, "It's Your Misfortune and None of My Own": A History of the American West (Norman, Oklahoma, 1991), 61-84.

⁵See Henry Nash Smith's discussion of Benson in his Virgin Land: The American West as Symbol and Myth (Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1950; reprint, New York, 1957), 19-34.

supporting Pierce, Stevens asked to be appointed Washington's first territorial governor, and he was so designated by Congress on March 17, 1853.⁶

Stevens hoped to see the rapid movement of settlers to Washington as well as development of the territory's lumber, mining and agricultural potential. To facilitate such matters, he was committed to expediting treaties with the territory's Native Americans. Appointed territorial Superintendent of Indian Affairs at the same time he became governor, Stevens began efforts to extinguish Indian title to the land as soon as he arrived in Olympia, signing several treaties with groups of Washington tribes during the winter of 1854-55.

However, Stevens was also interested in developing Puget Sound's position in the American 'passage to India' if and when a transcontinental railroad was built. He favored a northern route for the first transcontinental railroad and argued that it should terminate on Puget Sound. In light of this thinking, he included a request for leadership of the federal northern-route railroad survey team along with his appointment as territorial governor. He was appointed commander of the team on March 25, 1853, and in early April Stevens and the survey party started a slow

⁶Kent D. Richards, *Isaac J. Stevens: Young Man In A Hurry* (Provo, Utah, 1979), qtn. 96. After serving as Territorial Governor, Stevens had one term as Territorial Delegate to Congress—1859-1861. He lost the nomination for delegate in 1860; whether he could have rebuilt his Democratic Party political base in Washington is unknown. As Major General Stevens of the Union army, he was killed while rallying his command at the Battle of Chantilly, Virginia, on September 1, 1862 (384-387).

progress to Washington. Stevens arrived in Olympia, the territorial capital, in November, although the survey was not completed until Spring 1854.⁷

In the railroad survey report, his "greatest propaganda effort" for Puget Sound,⁸ Stevens tapped into boosterist ideas about a passage to India, arguing for a northern-route transcontinental railroad. He wrote that such a railroad would "secur[e] control of the Asiatic trade" for the United States, a trade which was "the great commercial prize [from] ancient and modern times." It would establish a commercial American world empire. All the great empires, "Persia, Assyria, Carthage and Rome . . . controlled the commerce of the East. Venice, Genoa, Lisbon, Amsterdam and London attained commercial supremacy as it (sic) became the dispenser of eastern luxuries to the western world."

According to Stevens, a northern-route railroad would place the United States "midway between the great centers of Asiatic and European population," to become the "pathway" for all trade between Europe, the United States and Asia. Other advantages were "the comparative nearness of our Pacific possessions to the city of Shanghai," which was only 5000 miles from Puget Sound, and "favorably situated to become the future emporium of China, and the outlet of trade for over three hundred millions of people"--and to Japan, "with its fifty millions of inhabitants."

⁷Richards 103, 109.

⁸Richards 326.

Stevens argued further that such a railroad would lessen the distance for travellers between the eastern United States and Asia, and between Europe and Asia. "From New York to Shanghai by way of Cape Horn . . . is 21,000 miles[;] by . . . the Cape of Good Hope . . . about 15,000 miles. By . . . the proposed railroad and Puget Sound, the distance will be 7,800 to 8,000 miles."⁹ Further, Stevens pointed out, sailing "from Liverpool to Shanghai is 14,400 miles. By [rail] and Puget Sound the distance will be 10,800 miles." Predicting that once "an uninterrupted line of steam communication" by rail and steamship was "established, a portion of the European trade, and nearly all the travel to Asia, must take its course across our continent, and on the northern road as the shortest route."¹⁰

Stevens' report was probably influential in persuading Congress to charter a northern transcontinental line, which it did in 1864, two years after the central-route railroad was approved. However, it was nearly thirty years before the Stevens' dream of a northern-route transcontinental railroad would come true; a line finally reached Puget Sound in 1883. By the time the five railroad surveys were completed in the late 1850s, Congress was too embroiled in the sectional turmoil which led to the Civil War

⁹Isaac I. Stevens, "Reports of the Explorations and Surveys to Ascertain the Most Practicable and Economical Route for a Railroad from the Mississippi to the Pacific Ocean," Vol. 1 (Washington, D.C., 1855) (33rd Congress, 2nd Session, Senate Ex. Doc. No. 78), W. Storrs Lee, ed., in Washington State: A Literary Chronicle (New York, 1969), 276-7.

¹⁰Stevens, "Reports of the Explorations and Surveys," 278.

to act upon their recommendations.¹¹ Although it would be only a dream for many years, the idea of a transcontinental railroad was potent, as was thinking about a passage to India. Both would continue to be important concepts which joined with theories about 'great cities' to capture the imagination of settlers such as Travers Daniel, an early Port Townsend booster.

Daniel was an early territorial official, a member of the Territorial Legislature, and in 1859 he became founding editor of Port Townsend's first newspaper, the Port Townsend Register. He shared Stevens' visions about the international importance of Puget Sound, lauding its "position, commercially [as] the best geographical position on the Pacific."¹² Puget Sound would connect "ships from the Indian Ocean, from Canton and Calcutta [which will] cross the Pacific and deposit their rich freight at the terminus of the great highway of the nations of the civilized world on Puget Sound."¹³ Daniel and others would promote the idea of a great city on Puget Sound, one which would be terminus for the transcontinental railroad, port of entry to the United States for the wealth of Asia, and distribution point for the resources of the

¹¹Richards 362. For a general discussion of the Northern Pacific Railroad in the Pacific Northwest, see Dorothy O.Johansen and Charles M. Gates, Empire of the Columbia: A History of the Pacific Northwest, 2d ed. (New York, 1967), 305-315.

¹²Register, March 7, 1860.

¹³Register, January 25, 1860.

surrounding region to the rest of the world. In the meantime, the lumber boom provided an immediate, less visionary basis for economic growth and boosterism.

Puget Sound Lumber Boom: 1850-1854

In 1850 there were barely one hundred American citizens living in the Puget Sound region. Yet, by November 1853, when Stevens arrived in Olympia to take up his gubernatorial duties, he found bustling settlements dotting the shores of the Sound at Port Townsend, Port Ludlow, Steilacoom, Seattle and Olympia (see map, v). By 1860 there were almost 5000 Euramericans living in the region.¹⁴

Most of the Americans who migrated to the Oregon Country during the 1840s were farmers,¹⁵ but farming was a negligible factor in early Puget Sound settlement. Rather, it was lumber which opened up Puget Sound. The settlers eager to exploit the region's abundant stands of timber were also accompanied by town builders and entrepreneurs who believed the lumber boom would provide other economic opportunities as well. By 1860 lumbering was firmly established, "a great industry [which] made possible the economic advancement of the Sound, providing

¹⁴Cox 57; Ficken and LeWarne 21-23; Eighth Census of the United States, Washington Territory, qtd. in Robert Edward Wynne, "Reaction to the Chinese in the Pacific Northwest and British Columbia, 1850-1910" (Ph.D. diss., University of Washington, 1964), Appendix II, 493.

¹⁵Ficken and LeWarne 20.

employment, markets for the produce of farmers, and trade for urban merchants.”

Lumber sustained the region's early economy.¹⁶

Commercial timber had been taken from the Northwest as early as 1787 by Briton John Meares, who led a venture to sell northwest ship spars and furs in China.¹⁷ Forced by weather to jettison his cargo in the middle of the Pacific, this first speculation ended in failure. Then, starting in 1827, the Hudson's Bay Company at Fort Vancouver developed a limited trade, exporting northwest lumber to the Hawaiian Islands, California, South America and perhaps China; and Hudson's Bay at Fort Nisqually sold the first cargoes from Puget Sound to the Islands and Victoria in 1848. However, Gold Rush California spurred the development of a lumber industry on Puget Sound.¹⁸ Gold was discovered in California in Spring 1848. By late 1849, San Francisco was the "greatest of all boom towns," but there was little accessible timber to meet its building needs.¹⁹ In 1849 ships from San Francisco began sailing

¹⁶Robert E. Ficken, The Forested Land: A History of Lumbering in Western Washington (Seattle, Washington, 1988), 34 qtn., 39.

¹⁷My understanding of the Puget Sound lumber industry has been influenced by Thomas R. Cox, Mills and Markets, and Robert E. Ficken, The Forested Land: A History of Lumbering in Western Washington (Seattle, Washington, 1989). Cox argues that the California Gold Rush was "the Golden Catalyst" to the West Coast lumber industry (Cox 46-70). Ficken describes the lumber industry as the impetus to settlement and economic development of Puget Sound and Western Washington as well (Ficken xiii-xiv, 19-26).

¹⁸Cox 6, 9-11, 25. For a discussion of the pre-Gold Rush West Coast lumber industry, see 3-35.

¹⁹Ficken 21, qtn; Cox 46-48, 51.

to Oregon, seeking lumber from settlements on the Columbia River. The 1850 Census enumerators counted thirty-seven Oregon sawmills with an annual production of 21,932,000 board feet, valued at over one million dollars--most of the lumber deriving from the area near present-day Portland, Oregon.²⁰

The quest for timber soon shifted to Puget Sound, however. Entering the Columbia River was dangerous: the sand bars between the river and the ocean were so "hazardous that passengers and crews alike often fortified themselves with prayer or drink" before making the attempt. Vessels could be destroyed, and many more either went aground and were disabled, or waited days or weeks to cross the bar. Once in the river the trip upstream was slow and sometimes dangerous because of shifting shoals, and it was costly in terms of pilot and towing fees.²¹

In contrast, rumors of the quiet water and deepwater harbors of Puget Sound beckoned; and sailing a little further north, ship captains found vast inland waterways with forests of easily harvested timber growing to the water's edge. Puget Sound was the answer to California's lumber needs and raised expectations of another 'gold mine'

²⁰Cox 55.

²¹There were other smaller bays and harbors between San Francisco and Puget Sound--Humboldt Bay, Willapa Bay, Grays Harbor, etc.--but they presented navigational difficulties, being either blocked by sandbars or low-water mudflats. Eventually steam tugs would be used to maneuver ships around sandbars and mud would be dredged from shallow bottoms, but this was still in the future (Cox 63, Ficken and LeWarne 30, 31, qm; Iva L. Buchanan, "Lumbering and Logging in the Puget Sound Region in Territorial Days," Pacific Northwest Quarterly 2 (1936): 35.

for those enterprising enough to go north for lumber. By the end of 1851 some dozen vessels were sailing regularly between the Sound and San Francisco, carrying cargoes of pilings and squared timbers--which cost eight cents a foot at shipside and sold for one dollar a foot in San Francisco--as well as ship's knees,²² shingles and cordwood.²³

Lafayette Balch, master of the GEORGE EMERY, was one of the first sea captains to carry such cargoes. In 1850 Balch began making regular trips between San Francisco and the Sound carrying timber products, some of which he contracted for with area settlers. Although less of a visionary than Stevens, Balch was an important booster for the Puget Sound region. In 1850 he filed a claim under the Donation Land Claim Act of 1850 through which adult male citizens could claim up to 320 acres of land each if they were willing to cultivate it and live there for four years.²⁴ Balch established a townsite on his claim, building a trading post and hiring

²²Ship's knees were "pieces of naturally crooked timber of such shape that they could be used in strengthening joints and fastening together different parts of the hull [of a ship] and structures at angles such as those formed by deck beams with the ribs" ("Early Days in Quilcene: As Told to Gilbert Pilcher by Samuel H. Cottle," TMs, 1936, Washington Pioneer Project, Jefferson County, Washington State Library, Olympia, Washington, 1-2).

²³Cox 57-60; Buchanan 34-35; Edwin T. Coman, Jr. and Helen M. Gibbs, Time, Tide and Timber: A Century of Pope & Talbot (Stanford, California, 1949), 34. There was but one sawmill on the Sound at this time so lumber was not readily available for shipping (Ficken and LeWarne 21).

²⁴In 1843, before British and American claims to Oregon had been settled, American residents of Oregon formed a provisional government which in 1844 authorized land claims of 640 acres to males over eighteen on condition that the claimant occupy and improve the land--the acres could be two noncontiguous parcels of 600 acres of prairie and 40 of timber. Through the 1850 Donation Land

laborers to prepare his timber cargoes. By 1855 Steilacoom was an incorporated town of one hundred people with seventy homes, six stores, three hotels, some shops and a wharf, three sawmills and a flour mill nearby.²⁵ Aware of the importance a local newspaper would have for promoting the growth of 'his' town, Balch also brought San Francisco newspaperman Charles Prosch to Steilacoom. Prosch established and edited the Puget Sound Herald, the second newspaper published in Washington Territory.²⁶

Captain Balch was an enthusiastic promoter, not only for Steilacoom, but of the region as a whole. It was Balch who brought the potential of Puget Sound timber to the notice of lumbermen Andrew Pope and William Talbot, who founded one of the largest and most successful of the region's lumber mills in 1853. He also encouraged

Claim Act Congress acknowledged these claims and established generous encouragement to new claimants. Any white—or half Indian—male settler who was a citizen—or who declared his intention to become a citizen by December 1, 1851—over 18 years of age, and residing in Oregon Territory on or before December 1, 1850, and would cultivate and live upon it for four years would receive 320 acres of land. If married he would receive another 320 acres. (The provision allowing half Native-half Euramericans and prospective citizens to claim land was meant to encourage employees of the Hudson's Bay Company to stay in the Territory, and many did.) Second, any white male citizen over twenty-one years of age settling in Oregon Territory between December 1, 1850, and December 1, 1853—later amended to December 1, 1855—would receive 160 acres of land. If already married or married within one year of arriving in the territory, he would receive another 160 acres. During the five years this Act was in effect some 8,000 people claimed approximately three million acres of land, most of it in the Willamette Valley (Frederick Jay Yonce, "Public Land Disposal in Washington" (Ph.D. diss., University of Washington, 1969), 102-129; Schwantes, The Pacific Northwest, 121).

²⁵Cox 57-60; Ficken and LeWarne 22; Coman and Gibbs 6-7, 33-35, 64.

²⁶ Charles Prosch, Reminiscences of Washington Territory (Seattle, Washington, 1904; reprint, Fairfield, Washington, 1969), 7, 11.

two of the founders of Port Townsend, Alfred Plummer and Charles Batchelder, to settle there--pointing out to them how promising the site was for a shipping center.²⁷ Thus, lumber was the 'green catalyst' to economic development and settlement on Puget Sound, drawing lumbermen and entrepreneurs ready to seize the opportunities created by the lumber boom.

**"No Branch of Business Vigorously Pushed Along Can Fail to Pay"²⁸:
Commercial Settlement of Jefferson County, 1850-1853**

James McCurdy, a native son of an early Port Townsend family, collected many of the stories of the early settlers in his book, By Juan de Fuca's Strait: Pioneering Along The Northwestern Edge Of The Continent. He lends a sort of 'yeoman farmer' glow to the stories of the early settlers.²⁹ For instance, according to legend, Plummer, one of the founders of Port Townsend, came West because of "the soil hunger within him [rather than any] desire for sudden wealth." On the trip north with Balch, he supposedly carried a waterproof packet which "he guarded with jealous care," and when asked if the packet contained gold nuggets, he replied that it held "seeds." His companion replied: "By thunder, Plummer, you're right. . . Gold

²⁷Coman and Gibbs 34; James G. McCurdy, By Juan de Fuca's Strait: Pioneering Along The Northwestern Edge Of The Continent (Portland, Oregon, 1937), 12-13.

²⁸H. Wilson to J. Wilson, 24 Apr. 1853, Bushrod W. Wilson Papers, University of Oregon Library, Eugene, qtd. in Cox 60.

²⁹McCurdy 11-18, 21-35; Simpson 96-100.

won't fill your stomach when you're hungry, nor keep scurvy away when your system is crying out for fresh vegetables. I've a hunch that where we're going, them seeds will bring more than their weight in gold".³⁰

Plummer did indeed plant his seeds. However, his activities were more commercial than yeoman farmer-like in nature, since besides his partnership with the other founders, he was a saddle and harnessmaker.³¹ Jefferson County's early settlers, including Plummer, were townbuilders, merchants, entrepreneurs, lumbermen and jacks-of-all-trade. They were alert to the Puget Sound region's commercial promise. Between 1850 and 1852 thirteen settlers filed claims in Jefferson County under the 1850 Donation Land Act, receiving between 320 and 640 acres each. At least five of the claimants--H.C. Wilson, Alfred A. Plummer, Charles Batchelder, Francis W. Pettygrove and Loren B. Hastings--believed that Port Townsend Bay, with its deepwater harbor and commanding location at the junction of Juan de Fuca Strait and Admiralty Inlet, was ideally situated for a shipping center. Wilson became a customs officer, working to have Customs headquarters placed in Port Townsend. Plummer, Batchelder, Pettygrove and Hastings platted the townsite of Port Townsend on their claims and opened a trading post. John L. Tukey chose land at Port Discovery suitable for logging, and John R. Thorndyke filed on a site at Port Ludlow

³⁰McCurdy 12-13.

³¹McCurdy 17-18; The Weekly Message, October 24, 1867, March 3, 1868.

ideally situated for a lumber mill. Thomas M. Hammond, J. G. Clinger and Albert Briggs filed for claims near Port Townsend Bay.

Although almost all did some farming for their own needs,³² most of the settlers were oriented to commerce. Thomas M. Hammond, was among other things, a merchant and hotelkeeper; J.G. Clinger, a "carpenter and joiner, contractor and builder, coffin maker and undertaker;"³³ Albert Briggs, a carpenter. Only four pursued farming as their primary occupation: Rueben Robinson of Chimacum and Ruel W. Ross, John Harris and Benjamin Ross of Port Townsend.³⁴ A closer look at these first settlers further underscores their commercial interests.

³²Briggs, Pettygrove and Hastings each had farms located outside of Port Townsend, and in 1860 Pettygrove had eighty-one acres in hay, wheat, potatoes, vegetables and fruit (James G. Swan, Almost Out of This World: Scenes From Washington Territory. The Strait of Juan de Fuca 1859-1861 (Tacoma, Washington, 1971), 12; The North-West (Port Townsend, Washington), October 25, 1860). See Chapter III below for a discussion of Puget Sound agriculture.

³³Register, June 27, 1860.

³⁴The original Jefferson County claimants were: John L. Tukey at Port Discovery, 1850, 1852; Alfred A. Plummer and Charles Batchelder—who did not perfect his title—at Port Townsend and Rueben Robinson at Chimacum, 1851; John R. Thorndyke at Port Ludlow, 1852; and H.C. Wilson, Francis W. Pettygrove, Loren B. Hastings, J.C. Clinger, Albert Briggs and Ruel W. Ross, Thomas M. Hammond, John Harris, and Benjamin Ross at Port Townsend, 1852 (McCurdy 28-32; W.J. Daly and V.J. Gregory, "Port Townsend," in With Pride in Heritage: History of Jefferson County, ed. Symposium of Jefferson County Historical Society (Port Townsend, Washington, 1966), 64; Arthur Swanson, "High Tide at Ludlow," in With Pride in Heritage, 180; Peter Simpson et al., City of Dreams: A Guide to Port Townsend (Port Townsend, Washington, 1986), 48-49; United States Census, Federal Population Census Schedules, Jefferson County, Washington Territory, 1860, 1870; The Register, February 20, 1861; Weekly Message (Port Townsend, Washington), May 21, 1868, July 23, 1868, September 1, 1869, February 18, 1870; "Map of the Quimper Peninsula, Jefferson County, Washington, 1997," Office of the Assessor, Jefferson County, Port Townsend, Washington.

Many of the first settlers wanted to develop Port Townsend's potential as a shipping center. H.C. Wilson was the first claimant to so envision Port Townsend. Wilson had clerked for Lafayette Balch in San Francisco, before coming north in 1850 to work at Steilacoom. He saw Port Townsend Bay on the voyage into Puget Sound and recognized its commercial potential, determining to file a claim there. He became a customs inspector in 1851 and was instrumental in accomplishing the 1854 removal of the Puget Sound Customs Port of Entry from Nisqually to Port Townsend--an important step to establishing Port Townsend as a shipping center, since all shipping would thereafter make a stopover in the settlement. Although Wilson was an influential booster, he disappears from the record early on.³⁵

Alfred Plummer, in his late twenties, had come to California from Maine seeking his fortune. While operating a hotel in San Francisco, he met Balch, who hired him to work in Steilacoom. In December 1850 Plummer and his friend Charles Batchelder went north with Balch. Sailing by Port Townsend Bay, Balch repeated Wilson's assessment of the bay, telling them, "That's one of the finest harbors on this Coast and is sure to become a prominent seaport . . . I don't know of a better place for you to locate." Inspired by the site's promise, Plummer and Batchelder decided to settle at Port Townsend, and they contracted to supply Balch with cut pilings and

³⁵McCurdy 13, 28; V.J. Gregory, "Profiles of Pioneers, 1850-1892," in With Pride in Heritage, 125-126; Edmond S. Meany, History of the State of Washington (New York, 1909), 227. Wilson is not listed in the 1860 or any subsequent census for Jefferson County.

squared timbers as soon as they were established. After working in Steilacoom for the winter they relocated at Port Townsend Bay in April 1851.³⁶

In October, the two men were joined by Francis Pettygrove and Loren Hastings. Both men were merchants and entrepreneurs, and Pettygrove was already a townbuilder, having founded Portland, Oregon in 1844. Pettygrove had been a successful merchant in Oregon--the "principal commercial man in the [Oregon] country." Arriving in Oregon City in 1843, he quickly became the Hudson's Bay Company's principal competitor on the Columbia River, trading in furs, but also grain. He built a separate grain operation at Champoege and opened another store in 1845 at what would become Portland. When salted salmon became a valued commodity, Pettygrove seized control of the market by refusing to sell his large supply of salt to competitors. Although Pettygrove first represented a New York mercantile firm, he eventually established his own, F. W. Pettygrove and Company, which ran two sailing vessels between Oregon and the Hawaiian Islands, trading grain and lumber. In 1849 he closed his Oregon businesses and went to California to reap the benefits of the Gold Rush close at hand.³⁷

³⁶McCurdy 12-14, 13, qm; Cox 59-60.

³⁷Arthur L. Throckmorton, Oregon Argonauts: Merchant Adventurers on the Western Frontier (Portland, Oregon, 1961), 34, 36, 40, 58-59, 61, 90, 58, qm; Cox 21, 30-33, 60; Gregory, "Profiles of Pioneers," in With Pride in Heritage, 400-402.

Loren Hastings was a dyer and wool carder by trade. He was born in Vermont, but in 1838 he migrated to Illinois where he married and started a family. When he settled in Portland in 1847 he engaged in merchandising. It was there he became friends with Pettygrove. In 1851, after a six-month trading venture in Gold-Rush California provided him with a \$10,000 nest egg, Hastings joined with Pettygrove to travel to Puget Sound, on the lookout to establish a new commercial venture. Pettygrove was thirty-nine and Hastings, thirty-seven. Exploring the bays and inlets of Puget Sound, they found Port Townsend Bay a promising location, and meeting Plummer and Batchelder on the beach, they entered into a partnership with them to establish a townsite, build a trading post and log.³⁸

Other early claimants also looked to the opportunities offered by the region's timber. John L. Tukey, a native of Maine, had been a crew member on one of the first California timber ships. While helping to cut a cargo of ship's knees and squared timbers at Port Discovery, he decided to go into the business for himself, and he filed a claim at Port Discovery, hiring all available men to ready timber for shipping to

³⁸Gregory, "Profiles," in With Pride in Heritage, 351, 373-374; McCurdy 11-14, 21-28; Simpson 96-98. Charles Batchelder had drinking problems and after a time was asked to leave the partnership. He sold his interests to Pettygrove for \$300 and moved to Port Ludlow where he died soon thereafter (Simpson 98; Gregory, "Profiles," 351). Pettygrove left the partnership on February 28, 1854, but continued to develop his property. (Pioneer and Democrat [Olympia, Washington], February 17, 1855; "Map of Quimper Peninsula, Jefferson County, Washington, 1997.")

California. Later, Tukey sold or let that claim go, but staked another 500-acre claim nearby from which he continued to log.³⁹

John Thorndyke filed a claim at Port Ludlow in 1852 and was joined in March 1853 by William T. Sayward.⁴⁰ Sayward was a forty-niner who made and lost one fortune as a merchant at Placerville where a flood destroyed his property in 1851. Recouping his losses practising law, he acquired enough capital to set up as a banker in 1852. With a nest egg of \$15,000, he turned in 1853 to the timber business, buying three sailing vessels, the MERCHANTMAN, the SARAH PARKER and the WILLIMANTIC, which he put to work hauling timber from Puget Sound to San Francisco. In the meantime, he built a sawmill at Port Ludlow and began selling lumber to local and California markets.⁴¹ He also established "Sayward's Line of

³⁹Tukey eventually sold part of this acreage and then ran a summer resort and model farm on the remainder (McCurdy 31; Donald Hathoway Clark, "An Analysis of Forest Utilization as a Factor in Colonizing the Pacific Northwest and in Subsequent Population Transitions" (Ph.D. diss., University of Washington, 1952), 35-36; Cox 60; Simpson 46).

⁴⁰Information on Thorndyke and the fate of the partnership is scant. Lucile McDonald says Thorndyke also filed a claim at Whidby Island, Washington, on September 1853. However, Thorndyke is listed in the Port Ludlow 1860 census as a lumberman, with real property valued at \$20,000 and personal property valued at \$1000. Sayward appears on the same census, living in the same household as Thorndyke, with \$15,000 in real property, but neither appears on any subsequent county census. It is not clear what position, if any, Thorndyke had in Sayward's milling and shipping enterprises. (Lucile McDonald, "A Seafaring Visit to Puget Sound in 1853," The Seattle Sunday Times Magazine, hereafter cited as Sunday Times, March 23, 1958, 5; United States Census, Federal Population Census Schedules, Jefferson County, Washington Territory, 1860).

⁴¹Lucile McDonald, "A Woman's Views of Puget Sound in 1850s," Sunday Times, March 9, 1958, 2 and "Life in Puget Sound Ports 105 Years Ago," Sunday Times, March 30, 1958, 11; Cox 62; Ficken 28.

Packets" which ran "regularly between Puget Sound and San Francisco." Beginning on July 30, 1853, Sayward advertised that he had "established himself at Port Ludlow where he . . . will keep constantly on hand the largest assortment of Provisions, Groceries and Dry Goods in Washington Territory . . . sell[ing] at wholesale or retail at the lowest price possible. And having a very large Launch, Clipper built, will forward them to any port on Puget Sound."⁴²

Although survival in the early years of settlement required that the early residents be able to provide for themselves, especially in the matter of food production, it would be a mistake to allow that early, necessary self-sufficiency to obscure the settlers' intentions to build upon the commercial potential of Jefferson County. As we have seen, most of the founding settlers were "commercial men" who came to the county because they believed it offered commercial opportunities in merchandising, shipping, lumbering and land speculation. The founders were followed by like-minded people.

⁴²Pioneer and Democrat, February 17, 1855. In 1858 Sayward leased the Port Ludlow mill for \$500 a month, and planning to capitalize on the Fraser River Gold Rush, he built the first sawmill on Burrard Inlet, British Columbia. According to Cox, Sayward made money from his Fraser River venture (135). The 1860 census shows him, at least temporarily, back in Port Ludlow. Sayward then built a mill in Victoria, B.C., later selling the Port Ludlow mill in 1874. He purchased the Port Madison sawmill in 1880 and operated it through the 1880s. He eventually retired to California where he grew oranges until his death in 1905 (Cox 117, 135, 109; United States Census, Federal Population Census Schedules, Jefferson County, Washington Territory, 1860; Democratic Press [Port Townsend, Washington], February 19, 1880; McDonald, "A Woman's Views," Sunday Times, March 9, 1958, 2.

Port Townsend, 1850-1870: "One of the Finest Harbors on This Coast"⁴³

Port Townsend development continued to center on shipping and commerce. The mill ports produced lumber, the region's primary export, and "naval architects" established a small shipbuilding industry in Port Ludlow and Port Townsend. There were a few farms close to Port Townsend or in the Chimacum Valley, but the rural areas were primarily forested, furnishing necessary timber to the lumber industry and shipbuilders.

In 1854 Port Townsend was designated Port of Entry for the Puget Sound Customs District, acknowledgement that its deepwater harbor and proximity to the developing lumber industry made it central to Puget Sound shipping.⁴⁴ As Port of Entry, Port Townsend became a necessary stopover for the Sound's increasing commercial shipping since international vessels passed through Customs on their way in and out of the Sound, and coastal shipping⁴⁵ stopped on its way out.⁴⁶ The United States Marine Hospital was located there in 1855.

⁴³McCurdy 13.

⁴⁴David M. Goodman, A Western Panorama, 1849-1875: The Travels, Writings, and Influence of L. Ross Browne on the Pacific Coast, and in Texas, Nevada, Arizona and Baja California, as the First Mining Commissioner, and Minister to China (Glendale, California 1966), 58-59; McCurdy 51-53, 98-101; Ficken and LeWarne 23.

⁴⁵This term refers to ships which sailed only along the American Pacific Coast.

⁴⁶Weekly Message, May 28, 1868.

In 1858 there were approximately twenty Puget Sound sailing vessels, each of which averaged six trips a year in and out of the Sound. This meant a minimum of at least 120 vessel stopovers in Port Townsend in that year. By 1868 some ninety sailing vessels carried cargoes from Puget Sound, making 360 stopovers or more in Port Townsend. Lumber was the usual cargo, although coal was also shipped from Bellingham Bay. In 1857 the dollar value of Puget Sound shipping was \$543,574; by 1868 it was approximately \$2,000,000.⁴⁷

This developing shipping industry provided commercial opportunities for residents of Port Townsend, and it became the "chief outfitting point for the shipping [in and out] of Puget Sound."⁴⁸ In 1859 some 300 Euramericans lived in Port Townsend,⁴⁹ in the midst of a growing collection of warehouses, wharves and mercantile establishments catering to shipping: ship's chandlers who carried merchandise of all sorts, butchers who sold salted meat to ships, bakeries which

⁴⁷Lewis and Dryden's Marine History of the Pacific Northwest, ed. E. W. Wright (reprint New York, 1961), 77-8, 89, 142, 165-67; Weekly Message, May 28, 1868.

⁴⁸James Francis Tulloch, The James Francis Tulloch Diary, ed. Gordon Keith (Portland, Oregon, 1977), 21.

⁴⁹The above figure derives from an estimate made by James Swan in 1859. He also records that there were some 200 Native Americans living in a village at Port Townsend. See Chapter II for a discussion of Jefferson County Native American residents. According to the 1860 Census there were 338 Euramericans living in Port Townsend, a figure which includes the county's principal farming area in nearby Chimacum Valley (Swan, Almost Out of the World, 12-13; United States Census, Federal Population Census Schedules, Jefferson County, Washington Territory, 1860). Until the 1870 Port Townsend's population was larger or kept pace with Seattle, Tacoma and other Puget Sound ports (Wynne, Appendix II, 493; Tulloch 5).

advertised ship's bread, etc. There were three hotels, one--The Pioneer House--"not surpassed by any public house in the Territory," and the American Chop House which not only served meals, but was a public bathhouse and barber shop.⁵⁰

The United States Shipping Commissioner, pilots, tugboat captains and crew,⁵¹ and shipping agents headquartered in Port Townsend. William Newton was the first of many shipping agents. Settled in Port Townsend by at least 1860, he provided "crews and officers to any ships," arranged to unload vessels and facilitated the movement of merchandise throughout the Sound region with his sloop, the SARAH NEWTON.⁵²

Newton was typical of many early settlers in that he made his profits from a variety of entrepreneurial activities, all connected to the shipping industry. Because all Puget Sound shipping stopped in Port Townsend, it was a convenient place for ships

⁵⁰There were businesses which serviced local residents: a stationary and book store, a pharmacy and the chandlers who carried merchandise for local customers also. There were two physicians--one operated the Marine Hospital--two attorneys, a building contractor and a land agent (Swan, Almost Out of The World 11-15, qtn. 13; The Register January 18, 1860, January 25, 1860, February 13, 1861, February 20, 1861; "An Outline of the History of Jefferson County, Washington," TMs, 1936, Washington Pioneer Project, Jefferson County, Washington State Library, Olympia, Washington, 5-6).

⁵¹"Old Pilot Notes," TMs, MSS 54, McCurdy Historical Research Library, Jefferson County Historical Society, Port Townsend, Washington; "Randall Dalgarno, Port Townsend," MSS 8, Washington Pioneer Project, TMs, 1936, Washington Pioneer Project, Washington State Library, Olympia, Washington, 1-2; Simpson 35; James Griffiths, Shipping Reminiscences of 62 Years. 1874-1936 (Reprint, Seattle, Washington, 1965), 10-11; Ida Plum, Diary of Ida Plum Wife of Captain John Plum. From the Log (Nov. 3, 1886-Sept. 6 1888), TMs, MSS 54, McCurdy Historical Research Library.

⁵²Register, January 18, 1860.

to dismiss and rehire crews, and Newton turned a profit from the sailors, as well as the ships. In the early 1860s he operated a hotel, the Whalemens Arms; in 1868 he advertised a boarding house for sailors with "boarding and lodging on the most reasonable terms." Newton also kept a saloon in Port Townsend for many years, and one in Port Discovery for a time.⁵³ He was joined in this profitable pursuit by others; six liquor licenses were issued to Port Townsend liquor dealers and three to mill port dealers in 1861.⁵⁴ By the 1870s, the saloons and other seedier establishments proliferated, so that Port Townsend fairly "teemed with liquor . . . gambling [and] prostitution."⁵⁵

Because almost all of the early Puget Sound settlements perched between the dense forests and the Sound, water was the primary means for transporting mail, passengers and consumer goods between towns and villages--or the outside world, and Port Townsend residents also took advantage of this commercial opportunity.⁵⁶ At first, local travel was accomplished in Native American canoes, but not always⁵⁷--small sloops such as Newton's, or lumber vessels such as Sayward's; but eventually

⁵³Register, January 18, 1860, August 21, 1861; Weekly Message, May 21, 1868, September 1, 1869.

⁵⁴North-West, May 9, 1861.

⁵⁵Ficken and LeWarne 23.

⁵⁶Clark 48; Weekly Message, January 14, 1870.

⁵⁷Swan, Almost Out Of The World, 22.

steamers of ever increasing size replaced the canoes and sailing vessels. By 1864 three steamships also made regular runs between the Sound and San Francisco; a regular daily route linked Sound ports with Victoria beginning in 1869;⁵⁸ and Alaska was added to coastal steamship itineraries after 1867.⁵⁹

The passenger vessels, some owned or managed by Port Townsendites, stopped regularly at Port Townsend which enabled the town's merchants and shipping agents to draw advantage from shipping on the Sound as well as on the coast and across the oceanic. Through local shipping they sold supplies to smaller Sound communities, and one Port Townsend firm, D.C.H. Rothschild, became "chief supply [house] for the extensive lumber and logging interests of the Sound." Agricultural goods grown in the Sound region--especially the lower Sound--were re-distributed from Port Townsend throughout the Sound, as well.⁶⁰ Thus, the business of Port Townsend was commerce and shipping, and most employment in Port Townsend--excluding

⁵⁸The first local steamer, the small sidewheeler FAIRY, was brought from San Francisco in 1853 to run between Seattle and Olympia. Although its exact dimensions are not known, she was small enough to be carried to the Sound on board a bark, the SARAH WARREN. By 1890 the CITY OF KINGSTON, 246 feet long, with "three decks and . . . elegantly fitted up with stateroom accommodations for over three hundred passengers", was running between Sound points and Victoria (Lewis and Dryden 45, 374, qtn; The H. W. McCurdy Marine History of the Pacific Northwest, ed. Gordon R. Newell (Seattle, Washington, 1966), 14, 47).

⁵⁹Lewis and Dryden 129-30, 155-7. The lumber schooners also continued to carry some passengers and consumer goods (Madeleine Rowse Gleason, The Voyages of the Ship REVERE: 1849-1883 (Palo Alto, California, 1994), 85-94).

⁶⁰Tulloch 21.

women who kept house for their own families--was dependent upon the shipping industry and commercial ventures.⁶¹

Mill Ports and Logging Camps: The Lumber Industry, 1850-1870

Sawmilling was the economic mainstay of the mill ports, Port Ludlow and Port Discovery. Both were small villages which included a wharf for loading the lumber onto sailing vessels, sawmill buildings, housing for employees, a general store--run by the mill company--a hotel and a saloon. Shipbuilding--a smaller industry related to both the lumber and shipping industries--was also followed in the mill ports, especially Port Ludlow. There were logging camps throughout the countryside, some of which became permanent settlements (see discussion of Quilcene below).

In 1860 and 1870 Jefferson County was second only to Kitsap County in territorial production of lumber.⁶² Port Ludlow's William Sayward had moved on by 1858 to build the first sawmill at Burrard Inlet, B.C. The mill continued to operate, however, under lease for \$500 a month to Amos, Phinney & Co. with Arthur Phinney as manager of the mill and Zachariah Amos and W. Hooke handling marketing from

⁶¹See Appendix I, Table 1.

⁶²In 1860 the cut was worth \$154,000--108 employees; in 1870 \$326,050--120 employees. Kitsap County's 1860 production totalled \$694,000--348 employees; in 1870 \$1,108,000--125 employees. King County's in 1860 was \$36,000; in 1870 \$169,000. There were three cargo mills in Kitsap County: Puget Mill Company--the largest--Port Madison Mill Company and the Washington Mill Company. The three King County mills were smaller and little involved in the cargo industry (Eighth Census of the United States: Manufactures [Washington, D.C. 1864], 671; Ninth Census of the United States: Manufactures [Washington, D.C., 1872], 741).

San Francisco.⁶³ Phinney increased the mill's capacity considerably,⁶⁴ and in 1859 it produced and shipped 8,398,432 feet of lumber, flooring and lath, 52,615 pickets and 50,000 shingles to coastal and foreign ports during 1859, making fifty-six trips.⁶⁵ In 1866 poor management in San Francisco forced bankruptcy proceedings upon the company, but the business continued under the operation of Phinney, who bought the mill from Sayward in 1874.⁶⁶

Logging continued at Port Discovery throughout the 1850s, and a sawmill was built there in spring of 1859 by Charles E. P. Wood, Seabury Mastick and Levi B. Mastick of S. L. Mastick & Co., of San Francisco. Between July 1859 and January 1860 the mill shipped 2,420,716 feet of lumber and 7,000 feet of piles.⁶⁷ The mills at Port Ludlow and Port Discovery were "cargo mills," sawmills built by San Francisco lumber merchants, with San Francisco capital, to mill lumber for Gold Rush

⁶³The firm would appear to have also had interests in California milling since they advertised redwood lumber (North-West, November 22, 1860; Puget Sound Argus [Port Townsend, Washington], title varies, hereafter cited as Argus, December 31, 1885).

⁶⁴Cox 117.

⁶⁵For comparison's sake, the Puget Mill Company at Port Gamble whose production far outpaced all other mills on the Sound at this time, shipped altogether 13,091,845 feet of lumber as well as: numbers of feet in laths 2,517,000; pickets 200,000; shingles 800,000; approximate number of feet in piles 80,000; in large masts 22,000; in spars 91,000 (The Register, January 18, 1860).

⁶⁶Washington Standard (Olympia, Washington), February 17, 1866; Lucile McDonald, "A Woman's Views of Puget Sound in 1850s," Sunday Times, March 9, 1958, 2.

⁶⁷Lucile McDonald, "Events of 1853 at Port Discovery," Sunday Times, April 6, 1958, 7; Swan, Almost Out of the World, 22; Gleason 81; The Northwest, November 22, 1860; Register, February 15, 1860.

California. Each firm had lumberyards in San Francisco and often other California locations as well, and general management was usually conducted from the head office in San Francisco, with one partner in residence at the mill.⁶⁸ These mills dominated Washington lumber for forty years or more, until transcontinental railroads changed the industry in the late 1880s and early 1890s, direct railroad transportation to the east making possible the eventual development of eastern markets (see Chapter VI below).⁶⁹

As we have seen, the industry began with the California Gold Rush. At the outset of San Francisco's building boom, merchants sold whatever lumber they could get their hands on, and for a time even cargoes of lumber brought around the Horn turned a profit. When enterprising sea captains such as Captain Balch found their way

⁶⁸Cox ix, 125-126; Fredi Perry, Seabeck: Tide's Out. Table's Set, (Bremerton, Washington, 1993), 51. There were also smaller mills, some of which produced for the local market--for instance, L.R. Hoff's small sawmill at Chimacum Creek near Port Townsend and the Port Townsend Mill Company built by Port Townsend investors in 1881 (Swan, Almost Out of the World, 15; McCurdy 80). There were also some which tried to sell to markets outside Puget Sound, but through poor management or bad luck failed. For a discussion of the trials of Henry Yesler of Seattle who owned the first steam sawmill on the Sound but was unable to compete successfully as a "cargo mill," see Cox 101-105.

⁶⁹The first transcontinental line reached the Pacific Northwest in 1883, terminating in Portland. A spur line linked Portland to Tacoma. A direct link to the Puget Sound Region was made in 1886 when the Northern Pacific Railway crossed the Cascades to Tacoma. Seattle acquired its own transcontinental link in 1893 with the construction of the Great Northern Railway (Ficken and LeWarne 33-37; Ficken 56; Cox 25).

to Puget Sound, they returned with pilings, squared timbers, shingles and cordwood, and their cargoes were snapped up.⁷⁰

Soon, San Francisco lumber merchants wanted a more reliable source of supply, and several decided to build sawmills on the Sound (see map, vi). Sayward began construction at Port Ludlow in March 1853. J.J. Felt built a sawmill at Apple Tree Cove sawmill about the same time. He moved the mill to a better site at Port Madison, and sold it to one George Meigs at the end of the year.⁷¹ In June 1853 William Talbot of the newly formed Puget Mill Company⁷² arrived to look for a suitable site for a mill. He preferred Sayward's Port Ludlow location but made do with nearby Port Gamble. That mill was in operation by September.⁷³ During the same summer, Captain William Renton constructed his first mill at Alki Point in Seattle, although eventually he would concentrate his prosperous lumbering activities at Port Blakely.⁷⁴

⁷⁰Coman and Gibbs 14, 33-34.

⁷¹Cox 62.

⁷²Talbot was partnered by Andrew J. Pope, Josiah P. Keller and Charles Foster (Coman and Gibbs 46).

⁷³The Puget Mill Company purchased the Port Ludlow mill in 1878 following Arthur Phinney's death. At the same time they acquired a small mill at Port Utsalady on Whidby Island, and for some years they ran those two mills as well as two at the Port Gamble mill (Cox 117). The Puget Mill Company was the most successful of the cargo mills, the Port Gamble mill continuing in operation until 1995.

⁷⁴Cox 62.

By the end of the decade, several other San Francisco lumbermen moved to establish control of their lumber supplies. Adams, Blinn and Company built the Washington Mill Company at Seabeck on Hood Canal in 1857; Amos, Phinney & Co. leased the Port Ludlow mill, and S.B. Mastick and Company of San Francisco constructed the Port Discovery Mill Company in 1859.⁷⁵ The last important cargo mill, the Tacoma Mill Company, was built in the late 1860s by Charles Hanson; it made its first shipment in December 1869.⁷⁶ All but the Tacoma Mill Company were located in Kitsap and Jefferson counties on the west side of Puget Sound.

When the first mills were built, it was expected that California would absorb their production. However, in late 1853 the nascent industry experienced a downturn, and falling prices and glutted markets settled into depression during 1854 and 1855. Unwilling to abandon their Puget Sound investments and believing that ultimately there was great potential for the industry, the lumbermen turned to foreign markets to take their unsold cut.⁷⁷ California remained the most important market for Puget Sound cargo mills, but by 1860 the Pacific Rim--the Hawaiian Islands, China, Australia, New Zealand and the west coast of South America--provided a necessary

⁷⁵Ficken and LeWarne 29-38; Cox 108,110; Ficken 28; McCurdy 76-77.

⁷⁶Cox 123-125.

⁷⁷In its first full year of operation, the Puget Mill Company, which had been built to supply the San Francisco trade, sent one-third of its 3.6 million board feet of lumber to foreign markets (Cox 75).

cushion against the ups and downs of the California trade. This drew the Puget Sound economy into the international sphere and gave cause for optimism about the region's economic prospects.⁷⁸

Stabilized by foreign trade, the industry expanded. In 1858 Puget Sound cargo mills were able to produce 174,000 feet of lumber per day; by 1865 their daily capacity was 460,000 feet.⁷⁹ By 1870 \$1.3 million of the \$1.9 million invested in Washington manufacturing was invested in the lumber industry, and two-thirds of manufacturing wages were paid to sawmill workers.⁸⁰ Jefferson County's mill ports reflected these regional statistics in that in them most men were employed in sawmilling. A few worked in shipbuilding.⁸¹

The sawmilling and logging are inextricably linked one to the other. However, for much of the nineteenth century, logging on Puget Sound was done by independent "loggers," a term which in the nineteenth century meant the owner of the logging

⁷⁸Cox 71-100. According to Cox, the Puget Mill took the lion's share of Pacific Rim markets (120), although the Washington Mill Company at Seabeck and later Port Hadlock consistently looked beyond San Francisco markets (88). For neither the Port Ludlow Mill--under Sayward and Phinney--nor the Port Discovery Mill are there surviving company records, although there are indications that both mills participated to some extent in Pacific Rim markets. Port Ludlow sent at least one cargo to China (*Weekly Message*, March 3, 1868), and the Port Discovery Mill sent cargoes to Southern California and Hawaii (Cox 119-120).

⁷⁹*Lewis and Dryden* 77-8, 89, 142.

⁸⁰Ficken 39, 34; James N. Tattersall, "The Economic Development of the Pacific Northwest to 1920" (Ph.D. diss., University of Washington, 1960), 43, 67.

⁸¹See Appendix I, Table 2.

operation (the men who worked for him were called variously lumbermen or laborers). Loggers were contracted by the mills to supply them with logs. In Jefferson County such logging outfits worked not only for the Port Ludlow and Port Discovery mills, but for Kitsap County mills--the Washington Mill Company at Seabeck and the Puget Mill Company at Port Gamble--which were located across Hood Canal from Jefferson County.⁸²

Logging was initially done by 'handloggers.' Using axes and crosscut saws to fall trees onto the beach, they quickly shaped the trees into squared timbers and pilings or gathered logs into 'booms.' Timbers and pilings, as well as shakes and cordwood, were loaded directly onto ships, and shiploads of such timber products continued to be taken from the Sound into the late 1850s. The log booms were towed to a sawmill.⁸³ Logging became more complicated as the forest receded from the beach. In order to move logs out of the woods, a path had to be cut and trees cut down and laid across it. Delimbed, the trees would sink into the soft ground, making a roadbed or 'skid road,' along which logs were pulled by teams of oxen--twelve to

⁸²Thomas F. Geodosch, "Seabeck, 1857-1886: The History of a Company Town" (M.A. thesis, University of Washington, 1967), 139-140.

⁸³Buchanan 34-35; Cox 228-229; Geodosch 143; Richard A. Rajala, "The Forest as Factory: Technological Change and Worker Control in the West Coast Logging Industry, 1880-1930," *Labour/Le Travail*, 32 (Fall 1993): 77; *Puget Sound Herald* (Steilacoom, Washington), April 23, 1858.

twenty strong--to a point where they could be rolled into the water and put in booms.⁸⁴

Such logging was done by small crews of five to sixteen men,⁸⁵ and it did not require a large investment of capital: cost and care of oxen or horses, some sort of housing for the laborers and a cookhouse, axes and saws, etc. If the logger did not have sufficient capital, the mills were willing to advance start-up funds--usually a few hundred dollars--to keep a camp going until the first boom was in the water. In return the logger usually agreed to sell his logs exclusively to the mill, and he often put up equipment, land and logs as security.

Financial transactions, such as payments for logs⁸⁶ and wages,⁸⁷ were paid through the mill's books. The logger typically had a standing account with the mill--for supplies of food and equipment, rental of boom chains and towing fees--as did the

⁸⁴Stewart H. Holbrook, Holy Old Mackinaw: A Natural History of the American Lumberjack (New York 1948), 101,163-165; Buchanan 34-35; Cox 228-229; Geodosch 142.

⁸⁵United States Census, Federal Population Census Schedules, Jefferson County, 1870, 1880.

⁸⁶More often than not in the early years, logs were simply taken from public lands. See Ficken, 40-51, and Younce, 225-268, for a discussion of the legal and illegal ways the cargo mills acquired logs and eventually timber lands.

⁸⁷Logging workers received wages, but often the 'logger' was paid wages throughout the duration of the contract. Once the contract was completed, outstanding debts were settled.

laborers. Often very little cash changed hands, since both the logger and the men might spend most of their money at the mill store.⁸⁸

It is arguable that such loggers were "independent," or their operations profitable. Thomas Geodosch, who has studied the Seabeck Washington Mill, suggests that the loggers who contracted with the mill stayed in business only through remaining in debt to the mill.⁸⁹ Kept going by the \$75 monthly wage he was paid, the logger "had an income despite the fiscal condition of his company."⁹⁰

⁸⁸Geodosch 139-141; Richard C. Berner, "The Port Blakely Mill Company, 1876-89," *Pacific Northwest Quarterly* 57 (October 1966): 159-160; Coman and Gibbs 68-69; Ficken 32.

⁸⁹Geodosch 143-144. According to Geodosch, mills kept an intermittent downward pressure upon log prices which remained \$4 to \$4.50 per thousand board feet between 1857 and 1870. It cost logging firms as much as \$6.03 for wages, food, equipment, repairs and transportation per thousand board feet. Throughout the 1870s and up to 1886—the last year of Geodosch's study—log prices increased to as high as \$6.50 in 1883, then dipped to \$5.00 per thousand in 1885. "With this pressure on prices, profits for logging companies were either slim or nonexistent" (147). Further, wages for laborers working in the woods remained at a fairly steady level regardless of the price for logs. Further, those companies which contracted with the Washington Mill Company found that the mill often charged unusually high prices for the supplies—necessary equipment and food for the laborers—it furnished to the logger. One logger wrote the mill, "I shall be compelled to deal with . . . the Puget Mill Company . . . unless different arrangements can be made . . . I have been doing my best to keep up your trade in logs [but] come out the loser in so doing." He eventually went to work for the Port Blakely Mill (Geodosch 143-151, qtn., John McReavy to Richard Holyoke, April 4, 1876, Washington Mill Company Papers, Manuscripts and University Archives, Suzzallo & Allen Library, University of Washington, Seattle, Washington, 147-148). The mills carried large debts for their loggers; in 1890 the Puget Mill Company found that their loggers owed the mill \$535,000 (Coman and Gibbs 159). In 1887 Blackman Brothers, a logging outfit, owed so much to the Port Blakely Mill that Blackman agreed to "settle up" by turning over 1800 acres of land with about 100 million feet of timber to the mill. However, not all loggers were able to "settle up;" in 1884 the owner of the Port Blakely Mill instructed its bank to make no more advances to loggers since they had "lost so much in past years" through such practices (Berner 159).

⁹⁰Geodosch 151.

Although running a logging company may ultimately have been an unstable investment for loggers, logging nevertheless drew settlers to rural areas of the county. Quilcene, for instance, was settled by men who logged--and sometimes farmed as well. For example, Hampton Cottle--in 1860, the first settler in Quilcene--and his nephew, Samuel, cut ship's knees⁹¹ for the Washington Mill Company, and Stephen Berry of Maine--another early settler--logged for the Washington Mill Company.⁹² In 1870 there were eight logging camps in the Quilcene area, and the population was a mixture of lumbermen, farmers and their families.⁹³

For some settlers, working in the woods as laborers may have only provided an income to subsidize their farming, but for others it held out promise of 'getting ahead.'⁹⁴ Seven "loggers" running camps in the Quilcene area in 1870 owned real estate and personal property valued between \$1100 and \$4100, while the farmers listed their value between \$520 and \$2600. Further, four of the men working as

⁹¹"Early Days in Quilcene," Washington Pioneer Project, 1-2.

⁹²"Early Days in Quilcene" 1; "History of Quilcene," TMs, MSS 120, McCurdy Historical Research Library; Eva Cook Taylor, "Quilcene," in With Pride in Heritage, 162-169; Simpson 211.

⁹³See Table 3, Appendix I.

⁹⁴See Chapter III below for discussion of farmers who worked in mills or 'in the woods.'

laborers in Quilcene logging camps in 1870 had become "loggers" working under contract for the Washington Mill Company during 1873-74.⁹⁵

Shipbuilding was a small industry,⁹⁶ closely connected to the sawmills since shipbuilders depended upon the mills for lumber, and the mills sometimes commissioned lumber vessels and tugboats from independent shipyards. Some mills also established their own yards.⁹⁷

County shipbuilding began in response to the need for small vessels--such as William Newton's SARAH NEWTON--for transporting mail, passengers and consumer goods throughout the Sound. Franklin Sherman launched the first known county-built vessel in 1855 from Port Ludlow, a two-masted schooner of eleven tons

⁹⁵United States Census, Federal Population Census Schedules, Jefferson County, 1870; Geodosh 149.

⁹⁶The county shipyards were never large. William Hammond employed perhaps ten men, both craftsmen and laborers, in 1860. Hall Bros. employed approximately thirty men when they operated in Port Ludlow during the 1870s and 1880s (United States Census, Federal Population Census Schedules, Jefferson County, 1860, 1880).

⁹⁷Initially, it was thought that Douglas fir, the most abundant timber on Puget Sound was unsuitable for shipbuilding, especially large ocean-going craft--Native Americans made their canoes from cedar logs. However, experimentation with firwood at the Mare Island Navy Yard established Puget Sound fir to be of superior strength for shipbuilding (Democratic Press, September 25, 1879; Cox 244-245), and West Coast shipbuilders found that it was durable "if cut in winter, seasoned, and salted." An inquiry into the reliability of fir by the Board of Marine Underwriters of San Francisco in 1867 further sanctioned its use (Coman and Gibbs 150); and in 1875 the Board published specifications for vessels built of fir which "won first-class ratings and lowest insurance rates" (Cox 245). In the late 1870s Puget Sound shipyards began producing large vessels such as the 694-ton KITSAP launched from Port Ludlow in 1881 (Cox 149).

which was followed by many such small sloops and schooners for use on Puget Sound.⁹⁸

Markets for larger vessels--up to seven hundred odd tons in size--developed in the 1870s. During the 1850s and 1860s, the cargo mills, which usually owned their vessels,⁹⁹ used vessels which had come around the Horn.¹⁰⁰ However, as these eastern-made vessels began to wear out, lumbermen either contracted vessels from Puget Sound shipbuilders¹⁰¹ or established their own shipyards. The Washington

⁹⁸From 1856 until 1861 William F. Thompson launched several small vessels from Port Ludlow (Register, February 15, 1860, June 13, 1861; Gary Greene, "Early shipbuilding on the Kitsap Peninsula and Bainbridge Island," TMs, 1994, given by Greene to author, 12). Franklin Sherman's "Shipyard and Boat Builder's Shop," launched a sloop and a schooner from Ludlow in 1855 and 1856, but relocated at Port Townsend in the early 1860s (Register, January 18, 1860; Greene 11). Thomas J. Smallfield advertised from Port Townsend, and Charles Brown launched small schooners from Port Ludlow, later moving his operations closer to Port Townsend (Register, January 18, 1860, February 13, 1861; Greene 12). William Hammond employed several ship's carpenters, a joiner, a caulker and a laborer at Port Ludlow in 1860 (Register, January 18, 1860; United States Census, Federal Population Census Schedules, Jefferson County, Washington, 1860). Calhoun Bros. at Chimacum and George Middlemas of Port Ludlow were county shipbuilders in the late 1860s (Weekly Message, November 14, 1867, August 6, 1868). Hall Bros. which employed approximately thirty men operated from Port Ludlow between 1874 and 1880, and other builders continued to launch ships from there until at least 1890 (Greene 5-6, 11-12).

⁹⁹Cox 68-69, 109, 113, 116. This was not uniformly true. The REVERE which carried lumber for the Port Discovery mill for many years was owned by Levi Mastick, one of the mill partners, and the John Kentfield Company--San Francisco lumber dealers who also owned a lumber mill in California (Gleason 85).

¹⁰⁰Coman and Gibbs 117-126. Some lumber companies had vessels constructed for their use in the east also.

¹⁰¹As early as 1861 Amos and Phinney Company commissioned an 185-ton schooner from William Thompson of Port Ludlow (North-West, June 13, 1861).

Mill Company maintained a shipyard at Seabeck from 1876 to 1883, and the Puget Mill Company both purchased and commissioned Puget Sound-built vessels.¹⁰²

Thus, commercial ventures sustained the economy of early Jefferson County: shipping and commerce in Port Townsend; lumber milling and shipbuilding in the mill ports and logging in the rural areas of the county.¹⁰³ In the minds of early settlers, the potential of the county's commercially focused economy offered an array of opportunities for "getting ahead," hence, commercial development was an issue of importance to county residents.

"It's Going to be a Situation of Commercial Importance"¹⁰⁴

On February 14, 1859, James G. Swan, Jefferson County's most outstanding booster, arrived in Port Townsend.¹⁰⁵ Swan had been a Boston ship chandler when

¹⁰²The Washington Mill Company's shipbuilder was Hiram Doncaster who had been employed by William Hammond at Port Ludlow in 1860 (Register, January 18, 1860; Greene 16-17; Geodosch 22; Cox 115; Coman and Gibbs 149-152, 163, 179-80).

¹⁰³See Appendix I, Table 4.

¹⁰⁴Swan, Almost Out of the World, 14-15.

¹⁰⁵My understanding of James G. Swan has been influenced by: James G. Swan, Diaries, Manuscripts and University Archives Division, Suzzallo & Allen Library, University of Washington, Seattle, Washington; James G. Swan Papers, Special Collections, University of British Columbia, Vancouver, B.C., Canada; James G. Swan, The Northwest Coast: Or, Three Years' Residence In Washington Territory (New York, 1857; reprint, Seattle, Washington, 1972); James G. Swan, Almost Out Of This World; Lucile McDonald, Swan Among the Indians: Life of James G. Swan, 1818-1900 (Portland, Oregon, 1972); Ivan Doig, Winter Brothers: A Season at the Edge of America (New York, 1980); Jane Turner, "Inventory of James G. Swan Papers, 1852-1907," Special Collections, University of British Columbia, Vancouver, B.C.

he decided to follow the forty-niners to San Francisco. He arrived in August 1850 at 32 years of age. Ostensibly an entrepreneur in search of his fortune, Swan worked in San Francisco for two years variously as a ship purser, ship fitter and clerk. Perhaps more importantly, he also became a published writer, selling two articles about a November-1850 trip to the Sandwich (Hawaiian) Islands to the San Francisco California Courier.

After a time, however, Swan became dissatisfied with San Francisco. As a child he had been fascinated by the stories his uncle told of an 1807 fur-trading expedition on the Boston trader GUATIMOZIN to the Northwest coast. Swan's uncle had been attracted by Northwest coast Native American culture, and he passed his interest on to Swan. In 1852, just as San Francisco was losing its allure, Swan was offered an opportunity to travel there with a friend--to Shoalwater Bay, now called Willapa Bay, just north of the Columbia River in Oregon Territory.

Here, Swan filed a Donation Land Claim for some 315 acres, harvested oysters for the San Francisco market, and sketched. He also travelled amongst and visited with area Native Americans, beginning a study of Northwest Native American cultures which would continue throughout his life. He compiled a dictionary of Northwest Indian dialects, and started writing The Northwest Coast, a memoir of his years at Shoalwater Bay replete with frontier burlesques, as well as serious reflections about Indians and their relations with Euramericans.

By 1855, Swan's rapport with resident Native Americans had earned him a reputation for expertise in matters relating to them, and he was invited by Governor Isaac Stevens to attend treaty negotiations between the southwestern Washington tribes and the federal government. Following this trip, Swan returned to Shoalwater Bay; and coming to terms with the fact that he was making too little money to stay there, he left his claim. He went first to San Francisco, but by the end of 1856 Swan was in Washington, D.C., gathering some background information for The North-West Coast and working with J. Patton Anderson, Washington's territorial delegate to Congress. In December 1857 he was employed as secretary by the new delegate, former Governor Stevens.

Swan stayed in Washington, D.C. for only a short time. He left in the fall of 1858 because Congress in recess, and Stevens no longer needed a secretary. The sojourn was a momentous one for him, however, for he made the acquaintance of Spencer F. Baird, who was in charge of the new museum at the Smithsonian Institution. Baird had been impressed by Swan's acute observations of Southwest Washington Native Americans in The Northwest Coast, and he encouraged Swan to continue his study of coastal Indians.¹⁰⁶ Between 1857 and 1887 Swan wrote two books and several articles about Northwest Coast Indians, conducted two extensive

¹⁰⁶William A. Katz, introduction to Almost Out of the World: Scenes From Washington Territory, the Strait of Juan de Fuca 1859-1861, by James G. Swan (Tacoma, Washington, 1971), x.

expeditions to acquire items of Northwest Coast Indian manufacture for the Smithsonian, and accumulated his own large collection of artifacts. For the rest of his life--he lived until 1900--Swan attempted both to ameliorate the lives of the Indians he knew personally and mediate relations between the settlers and Indians. It is this interest in Native Americans for which Swan is most remembered.

Swan's stay in Washington, D.C., was also important because of the influence Stevens appears to have had not only on Swan's immediate plans for the future, but also his ideas about frontier development and boosterism. When the two men parted company, Stevens' advice to Swan was, "go to Port Townsend."¹⁰⁷ Stevens believed the town would be an excellent terminus for the projected northern-route transcontinental railroad, and he prophesied to Swan that "from its geographical position Port Townsend would become a place of commercial importance."¹⁰⁸ Swan acted upon Stevens' recommendation, arriving in Port Townsend in February 1859.

Before his friendship and employment with Stevens, Swan's thinking about frontier development was fairly simple. In The Northwest Coast, he promoted the potential of Shoalwater Bay which he thought "as a harbor, will be of great importance to Washington Territory," once the territory was settled. He also

¹⁰⁷McDonald 33.

¹⁰⁸James G. Swan to Thomas H. Canfield, Esq, General Agent Northern Pacific Rail Road Co, No 54 Broadway, NY, LS, February 27, 1869, James G. Swan Papers, Special Collections, University of British Columbia, Vancouver, B.C., Canada; Katz, Almost Out of the World, xix, qm.

mentioned the area's bountiful resources of seafood, fish and game which he thought would help settlers sustain themselves. Although he noted that some timber had been taken from the Bay, he failed to grasp that there was any potential for the lumber industry there. He saw more promise in the development of a fishing station and trading post for the support of a fleet of whaling ships and halibut and cod fishermen.¹⁰⁹

However, Swan's opinions about frontier expansion became more sophisticated as he absorbed Stevens' ideas about a passage to India through a northern-route transcontinental railroad, as well as his belief in Port Townsend's possible future as the metropolis of the Northwest Coast. When Swan came to Port Townsend, he had plans to establish a whaling station there, and a commission from the San Francisco Bulletin for articles about Puget Sound "if Swan could make them of sufficient interest to San Francisco readers."¹¹⁰ Further armed with newly acquired ideas about frontier promotion, Swan was eager to identify himself with the the future of Jefferson County.

Swan was encouraged by what he found in Port Townsend. The earliest, commercially minded settlers had been followed by like-minded men and women, and the continuing development of commerce, shipping and lumber augured well, he

¹⁰⁹Swan, The Northwest Coast, 25-33, 30, qm.

¹¹⁰McDonald 34.

thought, for the county's commercial future. Writing for the Bulletin, Swan described its "facilities for business accomodation [which are] equal to any . . . in the Territory. It is a very desirable place for a permanent residence. The beauty of the location, its excellent harbor, its geographical position, and the fact of its being the port of entry for the whole Puget Sound district, combine to make it attractive to the merchant, ship-owner, and farmer. . . It is safe to predict that it is destined to become a place of commercial importance."¹¹¹

Although Swan's whaling station never materialized--his own commercial ventures were seldom successful, Swan stayed in Port Townsend, save for a few years spent at Neah Bay--for the remainder of his life. He died there in May 1900. Like other settlers whose survival required that they turn their hands to a variety of occupations and tasks, Swan was a jack-of-all-trades. He worked in various capacities as a volunteer and paid employee of the Office of Indian Affairs; he collected both Indian artifacts and marine specimens for the Smithsonian. He became an attorney, was a notary public and probate judge. His specialty was admiralty law and he served both as secretary to the Pilots Commission and as a commissioner.

He also became one of the Jefferson County's most committed and persistent booster activists. His most significant efforts were through writing, lobbying for a

¹¹¹Swan, Almost Out of the World, 14-15.

county transcontinental railroad connection, and working to develop commercial Puget Sound fisheries. In 1859 he helped prepare the first edition of Port Townsend's first newspaper, the Port Townsend Register, "a commercial sheet" dedicated "heart and soul to the . . . interest of Washington Territory."¹¹² Swan continued to write articles about area development for the Register and other local and regional newspapers for his remaining forty-one years.

In 1868 he initiated correspondence with the general manager of Northern Pacific Railroad, arguing for Port Townsend's suitability as that railroad's Puget Sound terminus. Offering his services, he was hired in 1869 to assess and write a report about possible sites for the terminus. Of course, he recommended Port Townsend as the best, although his efforts failed. Tacoma was chosen, not Port Townsend, but Swan continued trying to bring a transcontinental railroad to Jefferson County. He also made extensive studies of Northwest fisheries for the United States Commission of Fish and Fisheries, hoping to see the establishment of viable commercial fishing on Puget Sound.

These were the most substantial of Swan's booster projects, but by no means all. Swan was able to envision and work for a transcontinental railroad connection or the development of a regional resource such as fishing. He was also interested in

¹¹²Register, July 26, 1860, November 14, 1860.

smaller aspects of development, as when he planted lobsters in Puget Sound, or advised area farmers through an article in the Register about how to cultivate cranberries.

Swan stood out as a booster, but other residents shared his interest in commercial development and its promotion. Merchants, shipping agents and bartenders in Port Townsend; mill owners, ship carpenters and millworkers in Port Ludlow and Port Discovery; loggers in Quilcene and farmers in the Chimacum Valley, all believed that they stood to gain from the development of Jefferson County. Commercialism was at the heart of the county's settlement and development, and as such it had a relevance which reached beyond activists such as Swan to other residents as well. Boosterism was a county-wide interest.

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CHAPTER II: Port Townsend: "A Resort for 'Beachcombers' and Outlaws"¹

Jefferson County's economic development received a blow in 1858 when J. Ross Browne, special agent of the United States Treasury Department and a popular travel writer, described Port Townsend as a haven for rogues. In a highly publicized report to the Indian Commissioner on "Conditions of Indian Reservations in Oregon and Washington," Browne wrote:

With very few exceptions, it would be difficult to find a worse class of population in any part of the world [than in Port Townsend]. It is notorious as a resort for 'beachcombers' and outlaws of every description.

Included in Browne's condemnation of Port Townsendites were members of the Klallam tribe who lived in and around Port Townsend; singled out for mention was the tribal leader Chet-ze-moka. "Once a powerful and intelligent chief," he now was, according to Browne, "much debased by the use of intoxicating liquors," and at the time of their meeting with Browne, his wives were "exceedingly drunk."

The supposed drinking of Chet-ze-moka and other Indians formed the basis of Browne's denunciation of Port Townsend, since he blamed its settlers for Chet-ze-moka's degeneration. "The white population of Port Townsend" sold Chet-ze-moka

¹"Letter of J. Ross Browne on the Conditions of the Indian Reservations in Oregon and Washington," qtd. in David Michael Goodman, A Western Panorama, 1849-1875: The Travels, Writings and Influence of J. Ross Browne on the Pacific Coast, and in Texas, Nevada, Arizona and Baja California, as the First Mining Commissioner, and Minister to China (Glendale, California, 1966), 123.

his liquor: on each side of his "shanty" there was "a whisky shop from which he receive[d] continual supplies."²

When the report was published, Port Townsendites raised an outcry which made the territorial and California newspapers zing. Despite their protests about Browne's "abusive remarks" about Port Townsend, the town's 'notoriety' remained before the public eye since Browne continued to write in his mocking, sardonic way about the town in an article for Harper's Magazine in 1862 and in his popular 1864 western travel memoir, Crusoe's Island.³ Another travel writer, Theodore Winthrop, whose Canoe and Saddle was published in 1863, added to Port Townsend's questionable fame by writing about the town and Chet-ze-moka in much the same vein as Browne. Winthrop characterized Chet-ze-moka, or the Duke of York as he was known, as "duccally drunk," a theme he expounded relentlessly throughout his book.⁴

²"Letter of J. Ross Browne on the Conditions of the Indian Reservations in Oregon and Washington." This report was dated November 17, 1857, but was not released until January 25, 1858.

³J. Ross Browne, "The Coast Rangers," Harper's New Monthly Magazine, February 1862, 289-301; Crusoe's Island: A Ramble in the Footsteps of Alexander Selkirk With Sketches of Adventure in California and Washoe (New York, 1864), 170-183.

⁴Winthrop had visited Port Townsend in 1853 where he hired Chet-ze-moka as his guide on a canoe journey from Port Townsend to Nisqually, Washington Territory. Between his 1853 travels in the West and his death while serving in the Civil War,--June 1861--Winthrop wrote two travel books and five novels, all published posthumously, but Canoe and Saddle was the most popular. Since its first publication it has been issued in many editions, sold thousands of copies and rarely been out of print (Theodore Winthrop, Canoe and Saddle, Nisqually ed. (1862; reprint, Portland, Oregon, n.d.), v-xii, qm. 2; Peter Simpson, "We Give Our Hearts to You: A View of Chet-ze-moka," in Shadows of Our Ancestors: Readings in the History of Klallam-White Relations, ed. Jerry Gorsline (Port Townsend, Washington, 1992), 147). National recognition of Chet-ze-moka may have remained common. In his well-read 1875 travel book, Northern California, Oregon and the Sandwich Islands--which has a section

While the initial furor over the controversy subsided, the incident continued to rankle for many more years in the minds of Port Townsend residents, since a reputation as a "haven for 'beachcombers' and outlaws" was perceived to be injurious to Jefferson County's economic future. David Hamer, an historian of boosterism, has pointed out how important public image was to nineteenth-century boosters.⁵ They depended to a certain extent upon making a favorable impression upon visitors, especially those such as Browne who commanded a national audience. However, when Browne attacked Port Townsend, ideas about image became focused on the county's reputation; and in the wake of the "Controversy," concern about the county's reputation became integral to its commercialism. The "controversy" thus served to reveal the importance of reputation to Jefferson County boosters. It also wedded Port Townsend's reputation to that of Chet-ze-moka and the Klallam, and some boosters found it expedient to defend the Klallam as well as the town.

Economic concerns shaped relations between settlers and the Klallam, also. Although prevailing federal policy argued for their removal from Euramerican society

on the Puget Sound region—Charles Nordhoff included pencil sketches of Chet-ze-moka and one of his wives, See-him-itza. These are the only Native Americans pictured in the book who are identified by name and title. I suspect that Nordhoff assumed that they would be familiar to his audience (Charles Nordhoff, Nordhoff's West Coast: California, Oregon and Hawaii, Pacific Basin Books, ed. Kaori O'Connor (1874, Part I, and 1875, Part II; reprint, London, 1987), 219).

⁵See discussion in Introduction above; and David Hamer, New Towns in the New World: Images and Perceptions of the Nineteenth-Century Urban Frontier (New York, 1990), 40-64.

to reservations, in actuality, coexistence between Indians and settlers was an established practice in Jefferson County--and in the Puget Sound region as well--during the settlement period. This coexistence was based in part upon the economic imperatives of commercialism in that Native Americans were important and willing participants in the regional economy. At least some boosters would have understood the advantages of continued coexistence to the county's economy, and hence its importance to commercialism. Many Klallam also found at least some degree of coexistence acceptable. Thus, relations between settlers and Indians were influenced by boosters' concerns about the town's reputation and economy.

"The Great Port Townsend Controversy"⁶

J. Ross Browne was an inveterate traveller better known for the humorous and irreverent published accounts of his adventures in 'exotic' lands than for his government employment. He worked for the Treasury Department from 1849 to 1860; from 1854, he was headquartered in San Francisco where as Special Agent he oversaw the developing West Coast Customs Service. He was also Inspector of Indian Agencies for California, Oregon and Washington.⁷

⁶J. Ross Browne, Crusoe's Island, 270.

⁷Lina Fergusson Browne, ed., L. Ross Browne: His Letters, Journals and Writings (Albuquerque, New Mexico, 1969), 181-182, xiii, 159-160; Goodman 12, 51.

Browne visited Washington and Oregon in the late summer of 1857, on assignment to investigate the "conditions of Indian[s]" in the two territories and inquire into the origins of the Indian War of 1855-56. He travelled over two thousand miles and visited six reservations and four agencies, where he examined the accounts of Indian agents, met with Native American leaders--one of whom was Chet-ze-moka--and listened to testimony from Euramerican settlers about the recent War.⁸

In his role as a representative of the Indian Commissioner, Browne acknowledged that Native Americans had been dispossessed of their lands as a consequence of Euramerican settlement. However, he considered this an unavoidable aspect of the "progress of civilization."⁹ While he argued for humane treatment, he nevertheless believed that federal policies, especially the idea that Indians should be removed to remote reservations, best served Native American interests. He believed that on reservations Indians would be protected from the venality and cruelty of Euramericans and taught to be 'civilized.' Browne harboured a romanticized belief that the California Spanish mission system--a system through which Native Americans learned to do farm labor while being destroyed as a people--could provide a blueprint for instructing "this [Native American] race in the acquisition of civilized habits . . .

⁸Goodman 121-22.

⁹"Letter of J. Ross Browne to the Commissioner of Indians Affairs, Reviewing the Origin of the Indian War of 1855-57, in . . . Washington and Oregon," 35 Cong., 1 sess., Hse. Exec. Doc. 38, qtd. in Lina Browne 183.

by this humane system of teaching many hostile tribes ha[ve] been subdued, and enabled not only to support themselves, but to render the Missions highly profitable establishments."¹⁰

Browne found much to disapprove in the "conditions" of Indians on Puget Sound. By treaty Native Americans were supposed to move to reservations and learn farming. However, in the Puget Sound region, more Indians than not continued to move freely about, fishing, hunting and gathering food as the season demanded. They also often lived for at least part of each year in close proximity to Euramerican settlements where they were members of the work force, traded with the settlers or provided services. For Browne, such coexistence was "a condition worse than pure barbarism [in which] large bands of Indians [are] permitted to roam at large, committing petty depredations wherever they can, lounging idly about the farms,

¹⁰J. Ross Browne, *Crusoe's Island* 288-89, qtn.; Goodman 105-08. See Douglas Monroy, *Thrown Among Strangers: The Making of Mexican Culture in Frontier California* (Berkeley, California, 1990), 3-161, for a more realistic treatment of the Spanish missions. Monroy argues that the Spanish mission system was an essential element in the near annihilation Southern California Indians. Browne also thought that the younger generation of Native Americans were the most apt pupils, and he proposed that Indian children be sent to school from the age of five. When they turned fourteen, he suggested that they be separated from their parents, boys to be apprenticed to farmers and girls to learn to do domestic work (J. Ross Browne, "The Conditions of the California Indian Reservations, 1856-57," NAC [35], 940-65 [Letters Received by Office of Indian Affairs, 1824-1881, National Archives], qtd. in Goodman 118-119.

consuming the substance of the settlers, affording a profitable trade [in whisky] to the worst possible class of whites that can infest any country."¹¹

As far as Browne was concerned, Port Townsend and Chet-ze-moka were outstanding examples of this moral degeneracy. In describing his visit to Port Townsend on August 25, 1857, he maintained that Chet-ze-moka and his wives were degraded by their association with Euramericans. He also emphasized the perceived moral depravity of Port Townsend's settlers. Chet-ze-moka¹²--or the Duke of York, as he was called by the settlers-- was "once a powerful and intelligent chief"¹³, but

¹¹"Letter of J. Ross Browne on the Conditions of the Indian Reservations in Oregon and Washington," qtd. in Goodman 123.

¹²Chet-ze-moka was called the Duke of York by most Euramericans. Hudson's Bay Company employees began the practice of giving Native American elites the names of British royalty and other public figures, and Americans followed their lead. See comment about an upper-class woman called "Princess Charlotte" by Hudson's Bay Company traders on the Columbia River (Alexandra Harmon, "A Different Kind of Indians: Negotiating the Meanings of 'Indian' and 'Tribe' in the Puget Sound Region, 1820s-1970s," [Ph.D. diss., University of Washington, 1995], 70; see also, Alexandra Harmon, Indians in the Making: Ethnic Relations and Indian Identities around Puget [Berkeley, California, 1999] which was published after this dissertation was written)

. The custom was surely meant to mock the Indians, although it also erased the difficulty many settlers had in pronouncing Native American names. Chet-ze-moka's two wives, See-him-itza and Chill'll, were called Queen Victoria and Jenny Lind. Chet-ze-moka's eldest son, Lach-ka-min, was called the Prince of Wales, his older brother, at one time tribal leader, was called King George. Other substitute names were General Washington and Lady Washington, General and Mrs. Gaines, General and Mrs. Scott, James K. and Mrs. Polk, Patrick Henry and General Walker (Port Townsend Register [Port Townsend, Washington], hereafter cited as Register, April 4, 1860).

¹³Tribal leadership was advisory rather than absolute and dependent upon tribal acquiescence. Governor Stevens had appointed "chiefs"--in the political sense--because he wanted political leaders with whom to negotiate treaties, but the position was not a traditional one (George Gibbs, "Tribes of Western Washington and Northwestern Oregon," Contributions to North American Ethnology I [1877], 184-85; Peter Simpson, "We Give Our Hearts to You: A View of Chet-ze-moka," in Shadows of Our Ancestors, 125-126).

[was] of late much debased by the use of intoxicating liquors." He lived "in a large shanty built of slabs and boards, within the limits of the town." There was a whisky shop placed on each side of his home, "from which he derives continual supplies. Within the past year he has scarcely ever been sober."

Browne also noted that at the time of their meeting, Chet-ze-moka was accompanied by his two wives who were "exceedingly drunk." Further, according to Browne, Chet-ze-moka had "knocked a few teeth out of . . . Queen Victoria's . . . mouth [and] a few days before he had given Jenny a black eye." Browne wrote:

We took our departure, very much impressed with the scene. It was a sad commentary upon the morals of the white population of Port Townsend. . . During my stay there, I formed the opinion that the Duke of York and his amiable family were not below the average of the white citizens residing at that benighted place. With very few exceptions, it would be difficult to find a worse class of population in any part of the world . . . It is notorious as a resort for 'beachcombers' and outlaws of every description.¹⁴

Browne submitted his report Indian Affairs in January 1858 where it was read by James Swan in his capacity as secretary to Isaac Stevens. Swan reported the

¹⁴"Letter of J. Ross Browne on the Conditions of the Indian Reservations in Oregon and Washington." Browne made no comment on Chet-ze-moka having more than one wife.

contents to Stevens who, once the report was made public, sent copies to Port Townsend.¹⁵

The report met with disapproval in Washington Territory, and the Steilacoom Puget Sound Herald defended the co-existence which Browne decried. Indians "worked and are employed at almost everything that is done on the Sound." Further, the Herald argued that lumber mills, logging camps, farming and shipping could not get along without the labor of Indians; this was a far cry from Browne's description of "bands of Indians. . . permitted to roam at large. . . lounging idly . . . affording a profitable trade to the worst possible class of whites [whisky-merchants]."¹⁶

It was in Port Townsend, however, that opposition to the report was strongest. Upon receipt of the report, the town's settlers leaped into the fray, writing to Washington Territory and San Francisco newspapers. A letter signed by town founders Loren Hastings, Alfred Plummer, Francis Pettygrove and several others demanded that Browne "be kind enough to inform us when or where you saw any of

¹⁵Stevens had been anxiously awaiting the report on Indians and reservations, but more especially the companion report "Origin of the Indian War of 1855-57." General Wool, commander of the U.S. Army Department of the Pacific, had been very critical of the conduct of both Stevens and the Territorial Volunteer forces during the war, suggesting that the civilian authorities had made war "for the sake of plundering the national treasure." The Interior Department had appointed Browne to look into the causes of the war, one of two investigations required by Congress before it would appropriate the funds necessary to pay the territorial debts encountered during the War. Browne's report exonerated Steven, and Congress eventually made restitution for the territorial debts (Lucile McDonald, Swan Among the Indians: Life of James G. Swan, 1818-1900 [Portland, Oregon, 1972], 31); Kent D. Richards, Isaac I. Stevens: Young Man in a Hurry [Provo, Utah, 1979], 238, 333-342.

¹⁶Puget Sound Herald (Steilacoom, Washington), April 23, 1858.

us pursuing any other than an honorable calling for a livelihood." The letter asserted that Browne had "wholly and most wrongfully misrepresent[ed] a community of as peaceable, industrious and law-abiding citizens as can be found anywhere . . . We, in self defense, say you have done us great injustice."¹⁷ In another letter, Port Townsendites "indignantly den[ied] that the Duke had ever knocked a tooth out of the Queen's mouth . . . [and] Jenny enjoyed entire exemption from a black eye."¹⁸

Browne replied to this public criticism with characteristic irony, wondering that "respectable" citizens would confuse themselves with "beachcombers," since he had not. Further, he insisted that although he would "submit to your report and take the [Queen's] teeth back," he would not take back "Jenny's eye." He wrote that her eye "was certainly black; darkly, beautifully black. It was not only black, but the vicinity was blue, green and yellow, with a touch of neutral tint in the background. I hold on to the eye, gentlemen, and will never give it up."

About drunkenness in Port Townsend, Browne said that he "admitted" that he had never seen "any of you drunk" and he certified that the inhabitants of Port Townsend did not "habitually use whiskey as a beverage." Or, at least, not whiskey

¹⁷Ltr. to San Francisco Bulletin, (San Francisco, California), rptd. in Pioneer and Democrat, (Olympia, Washington), May 7, 1858. The other signatories were Washburn & Wheel, J.G. Clinger, Thomas S Russell, A. McLean, Fowler & Co., A. Hibbard, J.J.H. VanBokkelin, G. H. Gerrish and John Price.

¹⁸Ltr. to San Francisco Globe rptd. in Pioneer and Democrat, May 7, 1858.

made in Port Townsend, "which is said to be made of alcohol, tobacco, cayenne pepper, mustard, vinegar, strychnine and salt water. I blame no man for refraining from the use of that sort of whiskey." He closed his letter to the San Francisco Globe by wishing Port Townsend success and "exemption from all . . . misrepresentations in life hereafter."¹⁹

Writing in 1864, Browne even went so far as to claim that the "controversy" was the making of Port Townsend. When the Fraser River gold rush began in spring of 1858, Port Townsend had such a familiar name that "thousands who had no particular business there went to take a look at this wonderful town, which had given rise to so much controversy." Because some visitors thought Port Townsend "would soon be the great center of commerce for all shipping that would be drawn thither [to Puget Sound] by the mineral wealth of Fraser River" there was a brisk trade in city lots on speculation, and Port Townsend began to look like a city." Indeed, when "the Fraser River bubble burst, nobody was killed at Port Townsend," for which, Browne contended, he was responsible. Thanks to himself, Browne wrote,

[Port Townsend] had a strong reputation, and could still persuade people that it was bound to be a great city at some future period. . . . I was the means of building up the fortunes of Port Townsend. . . it has been clearly demonstrated . . . that "whisky built a great city."²⁰

¹⁹Ltr. to San Francisco Globe rptd. in Pioneer and Democrat, May 7, 1858.

²⁰J. Ross Browne, Crusoe's Island, 282-83.

Needless to say, Browne's sarcastic 'apologies' were deemed unsatisfactory and insulting by Port Townsend's boosters. In their view, Port Townsend needed a 'good' reputation, not a "strong" one. It was Port Townsend's geographical position, the county's resources, and its residents' virtues which would make Port Townsend "a great city," not whisky! It was important that the disreputable image of Port Townsend which Browne presented to the outside world be refuted. References in letters to regional newspapers debunking the "controversy" continued for some time, and for many more years the local editors made teeth-gnashing comments in the local papers about Browne and his "abusive" descriptions of Port Townsend and its residents, both Euramerican and Native American (see discussion of booster journalism in Chapter III below). For example, in February 1860 the Port Townsend correspondent to the San Francisco Bulletin exclaimed that, "A community that can support a paper like the Register must be composed of different people than are represented to be here by the Ross Brownes . . . of the press."²¹ The North-West deplored in August 1860 that "In times past . . . our community has been . . . outraged by a sort of literary trash purporting to be a detailed account of everything Indian, in which the material and embellishment alike found source in unhealthy and

²¹San Francisco Bulletin, rptd. in Register February 22, 1860.

vain imaginings."²² And, using a touch of irony themselves, some Port Townsendites referred to bad whisky as the "Ross Brown" (sic) compound.²³

A November 1867 Weekly Message wrote about the audience at a Sunday school concert: "We would have been glad had Ross Browne and other traducers of this town been present and seen how many among the audience were composed of old beachcombers, as the sarcastic Browne called them." Their presence at a Sunday School function was "evidence" that these "men from the logging camps and farms have souls capable of appreciating the harmonies of the children's choir, and hearts big enough to contribute to the support of the Sabbath School."²⁴ In 1868 Browne's writings were compared "for truth [to] the famous tales of Sinbad the Sailor," and in 1869, the "Report of J. Ross Browne, on the Mineral resources of the State and Territories west of the Rocky Mountains," was described as:

Consisting of a good deal of error. His information in many instances being derived from parties who furnish it to him at second hand. [It is] about as reliable as the reports [to] the Commissioners of Indians Affairs [a reference to the report which instigated the "Controversy"] and will be about as much read.²⁵

²²The North-West (Port Townsend, Washington), hereafter cited as North-West, August 30, 1860.

²³Register, May 22, 1861.

²⁴Weekly Message (Port Townsend, Washington), November 21, 1867. The writer is probably also referring to Winthrop's Canoe and Saddle.

²⁵The Weekly Message, July 9, 1868, October 6, 1869. See also: Alta California (San Francisco, California), March 26, 1858; Weekly Message, October 3, 1868, February 24, 1869, April 21, 1869.

Later, James Swan would comment to his diary, "Old settlers do not feel happy whenever allusions are made to the [Browne] incident," and in 1878 he dismissed Browne as "a writer more witty than reliable."²⁶ James Swan was the most articulate and perhaps most effective defender of both Port Townsend and Chetze-moka for his status as an outside observer and respected writer rivalled that of Browne (see Chapter I above). Swan arrived in Port Townsend in 1859.²⁷ Writing for the San Francisco Evening Bulletin, Swan asserted that "those persons who have formed an opinion of Port Townsend. . . from the report of J. Ross Browne" would find that far from being a "God-forsaken place where a traveller might think himself fortunate if he escaped with his life," Port Townsend was an up-and-coming place, destined for great things. "The facilities for business accommodation are equal to any . . . in the Territory [and the] 'beachcombers' and 'outlaws' . . . have left the place." Of late there had been "no rioting nor drunkenness among either the whites or Indians . . . The whole conduct of citizens and strangers was such as reflected well on their characters as law-abiding and order-loving persons."²⁸

²⁶McDonald 60; James G. Swan, "Washington Sketches," 8, Bancroft Library, University of California at Berkeley, qtd. in Richards 334.

²⁷William A. Katz, introduction to Almost Out of the World: Scenes From Washington Territory, the Strait of Juan de Fuca 1859-1861, by James G. Swan (Tacoma, Washington, 1971), x.

²⁸Swan, Almost Out of the World, 12-14.

When Swan discussed Chet-ze-moka, he spoke with the knowledge of a prior acquaintance made even before he moved to Port Townsend. In 1852 Chet-ze-moka had been sent on a visit to San Francisco by the town's founders. The settlers wanted to impress Chet-ze-moka and, through him, his tribespeople with the power they represented as Americans so that the Klallam would more readily acquiesce to Euramerican settlement. Swan, a friend of the ship captain who transported Chet-ze-moka, played host.²⁹

According to Swan, however badly Chet-ze-moka may have behaved when he met Browne, the Klallam leader was "a very intelligent and very reliable Indian." Further, he was now "very sober," and the rest of the Klallam resident in Port Townsend were sober as well. "In fact, during a residence at Port Townsend of nearly six weeks, I have not seen a single drunken Indian." Swan gave credit for this last to the local Indian Agent, Captain R.C. Fay, for "rooting out and driving off the few low scoundrels who made an infamous living by selling liquor to the Indians."³⁰

²⁹Jonathan J. Bishop, "Why the 'Duke of York' Was Friendly to the Whites," TMs, 1936, Washington Pioneer Project, Jefferson County, Washington State Library, Olympia, Washington, 1-2; Swan, Almost Out of The World, 15; James G. McCurdy, By Juan de Fuca's Strait: Pioneering Along the Northwestern Edge of the Continent (Portland, Oregon, 1937), 38. The idea that exposure to a display of American would successfully impress and cow Indian leaders was not unique to Port Townsend's founders. In 1856 Michael Simmons tried to get Governor Stevens to send "six of the principal and 'most intelligent' Puget Sound chiefs to Washington, D.C. for just this purpose. Simmon's plan fell through, but in 1859 several defeated chiefs from Eastern Washington and Oregon were taken to Portland (Robert H. Ruby and John A. Brown, Indians of the Pacific Northwest: A History [Oklahoma, 1981], 165). See also, Harmon "A Different," 199, 254, n 4.

³⁰Swan, Almost Out of The World, 13.

All in all, Swan depicted a town of commercial promise with an established and growing business community and sober residents, both Euramerican and Native American. Further, instead of corrupting the Klallam, and thereby sinking to a level even more depraved than the supposed depths of Klallam existence, the settlers, in the person of the local Indian Agent, had helped the Native Americans become sober, too.

There is a ludicrous aspect to the "Great Port Townsend Controversy," and at least one historian, Murray Morgan, has presented the controversy in a jocular way.³¹ However, the episode was influential in the development of Jefferson County's boosterism. The settlers had variously invested their time, energies, money and dreams in the town's future. Being made a national laughing stock put that future in jeopardy, and they were eager to counter Browne's depiction of them as disreputable, to establish that the town consisted of "peaceable, industrious and law-abiding citizens" who did not drink too much; that, by implication, Port Townsend was a promising town for investors and immigrants.³²

³¹See Murray Morgan, The Last Wilderness (New York, 1955), 39-43. Writers David Goodman and Richard Dillon accept Browne's story as a simple recording of the events. See Goodman, 130-31, and Richard H. Dillon, L. Ross Browne: Confidential Agent in Old California (Norman, Oklahoma, 1965), 73-84, 175. James McCurdy relates that Browne "gave considerable offense" to townspeople; but missing the irony in Browne's apology, he suggests that townspeople forgave Browne after he claimed that the controversy actually promoted settlement by making Port Townsend "one of the best known towns on the Coast" (McCurdy 218).

³²San Francisco Bulletin qtd. in Pioneer and Democrat May 7, 1858.

It is easy to understand why the settlers defended their own reputation and that of other whites, but it may be less clear why they defended that of Chet-ze-moka and the other Klallams--why they made haste to deny See-hem-itza's missing teeth and Chill'il's black eye, or why Swan characterized the whole town--Euramerican and Native American--as orderly and sober. There are two reasons. One is that Browne blamed the degeneration of the Klallam upon Port Townsend Euramericans. They, he claimed, provided the whisky responsible for Chet-ze-moka's degradation. By denying that Chet-ze-moka was violent towards his wives, the settlers denied his drunken behaviour, and through establishing Chet-ze-moka's respectability, they established their own. When Swan assured his readers that the Klallam were no longer drunks because Fay--Indian Agent and a local resident--had swept away the "few low scoundrels" who sold whisky to the Indians, he not only established the sobriety of the Klallam, but promoted the reputability of Port Townsend's settlers as well.

Second, coexistence between Euramericans and Native Americans produced sufficient economic rewards for each group to make co-existence generally acceptable (see discussion below). Removal of the Klallam to their reservation seventy-five miles away would have destroyed such coexistence. It was therefore important to project a more favorable image of coexistence than that given by Browne. The settlers' defense

of the Klallam was thus in part a defense of a coexistence which had commercial value.

"The great Port Townsend controversy" established reputation as an important issue for Jefferson County's commercially minded settlers, and its rehabilitation was imperative. Because Browne had identified relations between the settlers and the Klallam as the crux of Port Townsend's disreputableness, boosters also defended that relationship, characterizing both groups as "law-abiding and order-loving."

Coexistence: "Employed At Almost Everything That is Done on the Sound"³³

Coexistence between Indians and settlers was not unique to Jefferson County.³⁴ Indeed, it was common in the Puget Sound region during the nineteenth century, growing out of economic circumstances, as well as certain characteristics of

³³Puget Sound Herald, April 12, 1858.

³⁴My understanding of coexistence in Jefferson County and the Klallam is based, in part, on primary material cited in the text. I have also been influenced by the following primary and secondary sources: Rev. Myron Eells, The Twana, Chemakum and Klallam Indians of Washington Territory (Washington, D.C., 1889; reprint Fairfield, Washington, 1996); Gibbs 157-242; Archibald Menzies, Rainshadow: Archibald Menzies and the Botanical Exploration of the Olympic Peninsula, ed. Jerry Gorsline (Port Townsend, Washington, 1992); James G. Swan, Almost Out of the World; James G. Swan, Diaries, Manuscripts and University Archives, Suzzallo & Allen Library, University of Washington, Seattle, Washington, hereafter cited as James G. Swan, Diaries with date; Brad Asher, "'Their Own Domestic Difficulties': Intra-Indian Crime and White Law in Western Washington Territory, 1873-1889," Western Historical Quarterly 27 (Summer 1996): 189-209; Jerry Gorsline, ed., Shadows of Our Ancestors: Readings in the History of Klallam-White Relations (Port Townsend, Washington, 1992); Alexandra Harmon, "A Different Kind of Indians"; Ruby and Brown, Indians of the Pacific Northwest; Coll-Peter Thrush and Robert H. Keller, Jr., "'I See What I Have Done': The Life and Murder Trial of Xwelas, A S'Klallam Woman," Western Historical Quarterly (Summer 1995): 168-183.

Puget Sound Native American culture. It is important to this study because of its connection to county residents' commercialism. However, because coexistence arose from several factors, it is necessary to examine some aspects of Puget Sound Native culture in detail in order to understand coexistence.

The most numerous Native American group in Jefferson County was the Klallam, a Salish-speaking tribe whose ancestors had migrated after 1300 from Vancouver Island to the southeast shores of the Strait of Juan de Fuca, their territory stretching from Clallam Bay to Point Wilson.³⁵ It is thought that they displaced Chemakuan-speaking peoples, of whom there were two remnants by the 1850s. One was the Pacific Coast Quileute; the other was the second Jefferson County Indian group, the Chimacum, a small tribe who lived on Port Townsend Bay.³⁶ The third

³⁵At the time of first contact in the late eighteenth century the Klallam numbered from 1500 to 2000 people in 13 villages. (Ruby and Brown 3-4; Gibbs, "Tribes of Western Washington," 167-177; Jerry Gorsline, "Prelude," in Shadows of Our Ancestors, xv).

³⁶Ruby and Brown 3-4; Morris Swadesh, "The Linguistic Approach to Salish Prehistory," in Indians of the Urban Northwest, ed. Marian W. Smith (New York 1949; reprint New York, 1969), 165; June M. Collins, "Distribution of the Chemakum Language," Indians of the Urban Northwest, 149-50 (147-160). According to a tribal tradition related to James Swan, the Chimakum were the remnants of a Quileute band which had fled the coast following destruction of their village by a disastrous high tide (Swan, Almost out of the World, 40). By the 1850s the Chimakum had been much weakened, probably by smallpox and warfare with other tribes—according to local tradition they were almost totally destroyed in a battle with another tribe around 1857. Their traditional territory had been between Point Wilson and Port Gamble, their main village near modern Port Hadlock. In the 1850s they had a small village site on the beach at Port Townsend near the Klallam. The Chimakum often spoke Klallam Salish rather than their own Chemakuam (Ruby and Brown 77).

county group was the Quilcene--Colceans or Kol-ceed-o-bish--a band of the Salish Twana, who lived along Hood Canal.³⁷

The Quilcene seldom appear in Jefferson County sources, and except for their probable presence at the 1855 treaty negotiations, they do not figure in the events discussed herein. By the end of the nineteenth century, the Chimakum as a tribe were extinct, and even in the settlement period they were largely intermingled with the Klallam and are rarely mentioned as a separate group.³⁸ Therefore, for the purposes of this thesis, county Native Americans are defined as the Klallam.³⁹

There are two reasons that Klallam and other Puget Sound Indian culture gave rise to coexistence. First is that Native American lifestyle did not seriously threaten

³⁷The Quilcene were eventually incorporated into the peoples living on the Skokomish reservation, although during the nineteenth century many returned to Quilcene Bay to fish, and some worked in the mill at Seabeck (Gibbs, "Tribes of Western Washington" 177-78, 191; Eells, The Twana, Chemakum, and Klallam Indians, 12-13; Simpson, et al., 211-12; Ruby and Brown 64). Klallam oral historian Mary Ann Lambert, Dungeness Massacre and Other Regional Tales (1961; reprint, Sequim, Washington, 1991), 20, writes that the Quilcene are extinct. Myron Eells, missionary for the Skokomish, Klallam and Chimakum from 1874 to 1907, mentions their late nineteenth-century presence on the Skokomish Reservation and integration with the other bands who lived on that reservation (Eells, The Twana, 12). A local Jefferson County tradition relates that the Quilcene were destroyed in a fight over a gambling game which broke out between visiting Quinault and the Quilcene who were hosting a potlatch ("History of Quilcene," n.d., TMs, MSS 120, McCurdy Historical Reference Library, Jefferson County Historical Society, Port Townsend, Washington, hereafter cited as JCHS).

³⁸Gibbs, "Tribes of Western Washington" 178.

³⁹Neither county coexistence nor Klallam lifestyle were unique, and many or even most of the tribe's cultural characteristics were shared with other Puget Sound Indians. Wherever possible, the Native Americans discussed will be Klallam, but characteristics and events generally shared with other Puget Sound Native Americans are also used, as is general information relating to Puget Sound coexistence.

the early Euramerican economy. Second, Puget Sound Indians were willing to trade and otherwise interact with Euramericans because of the perceived benefits of such interactions to their own individual status and worth. Indeed, their willing participation in and value to the Euramerican economy was the basis of coexistence.

The Klallam were fishers and gatherers who looked seaward for their sustenance, being "almost exclusively maritime, depending mainly for support upon fish or the commodities which they get in exchange."⁴⁰ Salmon, their most valued food, was eaten fresh; when smoked and dried, it was a year-long staple. Other fish--rockfish, cod, halibut, dogfish--shellfish, seal, roots, plants and berries, waterfowl and game were also eaten.⁴¹ Important plants were 'managed.' Nettle patches were weeded, and the leftover stocks burned in the fall; camas bulbs were divided and transplanted. It was also customary to fire prairie ground to encourage the

⁴⁰Gibbs, "Tribes of Western Washington," 167. The Klallam, like most Puget Sound Native Americans, were "canoe Indians," either salt-water or river. However, some tribes lived inland, utilized prairie land to graze their horses and hunted. Where their villages were near the Cascade Mountains, they intermarried with tribes from eastern Washington (Richard White, "The Treaty At Medicine Creek: Indian-White Relations on Upper Puget Sound, 1830-1880, [Master's thesis, University of Washington, 1972], 31.

⁴¹Gibbs, "Tribes of Western Washington," 193-197; "The Prince of Wales: Present Chief of the Clallams," 1936, TMs, Washington Pioneer Project, Jefferson County, Washington State Library, Olympia, Washington, 2. Vegetables traditionally made up about ten percent of Juan de Fuca Strait Native American diet. See also: Cary C. Collins, "Subsistence and Survival: The Makah Indian Reservation, 1855-1933," *Pacific Northwest Quarterly* 87 (Fall 1996), 191, n.7; Trinita Rivera, "Diet of a Food-Gathering People, with Chemical Analysis of Salmon and Saskatoons," in *Indians of the Urban Northwest*, ed. Marian W. Smith (New York, 1949; reprint New York, 1969), 22, 19-36.

proliferation of bracken fern, and to burn forest land so that fireweed and berries would spread.⁴²

The winter months were spent in permanent settlements--occasionally fortified by stockades⁴³--of large dwellings, or lodges, constructed of split cedar planks and shingles, which sheltered from four to six families. During the food-gathering months, however, the Indians moved about to seasonal camps fishing and gathering food. Extremely mobile by water, they travelled easily around the Sound, setting out in their cedar canoes to fish, gather foods, trade or visit with kinsfolk and the settlers, but making less direct use of land away from the shoreline.⁴⁴ Thus, the commercial interests of settlers, whether lumbermen, merchants or even farmers were less threatened by the maritime focus of Klallam lifestyle than was the case with Indians and settlers on other frontiers; and the interests of Native Americans were less threatened by the settlers' lifestyles, also.

By the time the first settlers arrived in Jefferson County, the Klallam had had long experience with Euramericans. Initial meetings had followed in quick succession

⁴²Some of these techniques would eventually clash with the interests of settlers and the lumber industry (Menziess 14-15, 20-21; Richard White, Land Use, Environment, and Social Change: The Shaping of Island County, Washington [Seattle, Washington, 1980; reprint, Seattle, Washington, 1992], 14-34).

⁴³Gibbs, "Tribes of Western Washington," 192.

⁴⁴Gibbs, "Tribes of Western Washington," 197.

between 1788 and 1792. Crew members of the John Meares expedition to Vancouver Island visited Discovery Bay in 1788; two Spanish expeditions in 1790 and 1791 also landed in Discovery Bay; and in 1792 the Vancouver expedition spent two months exploring and charting the Strait of Juan de Fuca, Admiralty Inlet, Hood Canal and Puget's Sound.⁴⁵

The Vancouver expedition found the Klallam eager traders, offering venison and fish for "Copper & Brass Trinkets for their Ears; they also took Iron with which Metal many of their arrows were barbed." Indeed, the Klallam had long been linked to other Native Americans in a vast Pacific-to-Plateau and Pacific coastal trade network which moved Native and Euramerican goods throughout the West.⁴⁶

Interaction between Euramericans and the region's Native Americans continued, occasioned by the developing maritime fur trade, and later, the continental fur trade.⁴⁷ The Klallam traded with visiting British and American ships, may have

⁴⁵Gorsline, "Prelude," in Shadows of Our Ancestors, xv-xvi; Ruby and Brown 4. Vancouver named prominent mountain peaks and the bodies of water and points of land he visited, commemorating his ship, the DISCOVERY, as well as friends and patrons from home, his officers and important British historical events. Most of the names have remained in common usage, so that the Puget Sound Region abounds with both British and anglicized versions of Native American words for place names.

⁴⁶Jerry Gorsline, introduction to Menzies, Rainshadow, 25; Menzies, qtn. 39; Ruby and Brown 9; White, "Treaty at Medicine Creek," 6.

⁴⁷The Northwest maritime fur trade was inaugurated by Russians in the mid-eighteenth century, the British and Americans becoming involved after 1778. It continued into the first decade of the nineteenth century when overhunting shifted focus to development of the continental fur trade in the Northwest which lasted into the 1840s (Carlos A. Schwantes, The Pacific Northwest: An Interpretive

made expeditions to Fort Vancouver, are known to have traded with the Hudson's Bay Company at Fort Nisqually--near present-day Olympia--beginning in 1833, and to have crossed the Straits to nearby Fort Victoria after it was built in 1843. They also worked for Euramericans serving as guides and interpreters, and may have joined other Native Americans as farm laborers once the Hudson's Bay Company established an agricultural station at Fort Nisqually. In the resulting transactions, Native Americans and Euramericans exchanged many goods: furs, marine oil, salmon, venison, baskets and canoes for blankets, guns, tobacco, metal tools and implements, cloth and trinkets and whiskey.⁴⁸ Thus, by 1850 economic interaction between the two groups was commonplace.

It is convenient to categorize the Klallam and other regional groups into tribes, but in doing so it is possible to lose sight of important cultural realities which facilitated commercial relations between settlers and Indians. While members of a village or groups of villages did identify themselves as belonging to the same unit, group members were also linked to other groups throughout the Sound by language, culture or by kinship since it was common, especially among the elite, to marry outside the village. Thus, tribal members had kinsfolk living throughout the region,

History, rev. and enl. ed. [Lincoln, Nebraska, 1996] 19-24, 41-79, 114-119).

⁴⁸Harmon, "A Different Kind of Indians," 51-53, 124-25, 131; Ruby and Brown 27-66; L.L. Langness, "A Case of Post Contact Reform Among the Klallam," in Shadows of Our Ancestors, 167-171.

and they maintained "an extensive, well-ordered network of inter-community relations."⁴⁹ On the other hand, not all Puget Sound Indians spoke the same language or shared exactly the same lifestyle, so that while many groups were linked to one another, they were disconnected from others. Further, at times even groups with strong ties to one another were at odds, or at war. Therefore, if Puget Sound Native Americans shared so many similarities that they have been classified as a "single culture" group by anthropologists, they were also "exceptionally fragmented and diverse."⁵⁰

The prevalence of inter-group connections, but also the diversity of Puget Sound Indian groups created an inclusiveness which favored acceptance of Euramericans as trading partners and, later, as settlers. Further, according to historian Alexandra Harmon, trading had a multi-faceted importance to Puget Sound Native Americans. For one thing, because of their diversity, the Klallam and other tribes were adept at negotiating connections with people different from themselves, even in the face of opposition from such people.⁵¹ More importantly, success at negotiating such interactions was considered evidence of an individual's power, and

⁴⁹Alexandra Harmon, "Lines in Sand: Shifting Boundaries Between Indians and Non-Indians in the Puget Sound Region," Western Historical Quarterly 26 (Winter 1995): 443-450, qtn. 444-445.

⁵⁰Harmon, "A Different," 6-10, qtn. 9; White, Land Use, Environment and Social Change, 14.

⁵¹Harmon, "A Different Kind of Indians," 10.

such successes greatly heightened personal prestige. Trading also enhanced the individual's position or status in the community. Indeed, "although acquiring valued items was one object of trade, the items acquired were proof of and the means to personal relationships, and relationships were the true indications of a person's worth."⁵²

Thus, Klallam traders saw Euramerican fur traders and, later, settlers, as providing opportunities that although challenging and sometimes dangerous, were potentially advantageous.⁵³ Trading for merchandise, working for trade goods or money, establishing kinship through marriage or cohabitation between Native American women and Euramerican men, or just socializing with Euramericans had a significance for Native Americans which transcended the material value of tools, clothing or trinkets, and was an essential aspect of coexistence.

The shared culture and the diversity of Puget Sound Indians, in combination with the status to be acquired by successful individual interaction with outsiders furthered an economically symbiotic relationship between Euramericans and Native Americans. It was advantageous to fur traders; and when settlers sought to trade or pay for the use of Native American skills and labor, the Indians' often willing

⁵²Harmon, "A Different," 47-50, qtn. 61.

⁵³Harmon, "A Different," 23, 36.

association with them served the settlers well and established the economic importance of Native Americans.

Treaties and Reservations: "I Could Look for Food Where I Pleased, And Not In One Place Only"⁵⁴

During the winter of 1854-55 most Puget Sound tribes signed treaties by which they agreed to transfer ownership of their lands to the United States in exchange for small reservations, specified government services, and annuities. One intent of the treaties was to remove Native Americans to reservations;⁵⁵ if such removal had been completely achieved in Puget Sound, coexistence would have been impossible to maintain. However, certain factors combined to mitigate against total removal. One was the right-to-fish clause in the 1854-55 treaties negotiated between territorial Governor Isaac Stevens and Puget Sound treaties. The other was the Native American perceptions of what the clause promised.

George Gibbs, one of Governor Stevens' advisors, recognized the necessity for Native Americans to continue their seasonal migrations for food until such time as they--he hoped--would successfully establish themselves as reservation-based farmers.

⁵⁴Gibbs, "Treaty at Hahd-Skus or Point No Point," *In the Shadows of Our Ancestors*, 43.

⁵⁵Isaac I. Stevens, "The Point No Point Treaty," in *Shadows of Our Ancestors*, 46; Ruby and Brown 134. The treaties were also to provide annuities of useful goods; furnish teachers, doctors, farmers, blacksmiths and carpenters to aid in the 'civilizing' process; prohibit war between tribes; end slavery and halt the liquor trade (Richards 195, 198-199, 201 qtn; Harmon, "A Different," 215). See Appendix II for further discussion of treaties.

Another advisor to Stevens, Michael Simmons, believed continued Native American mobility would benefit the Euramerican economy.⁵⁶ Therefore, a clause was included in the treaties which promised:

The right of taking fish at usual and accustomed grounds in common with all citizens of the United States, and of erecting temporary houses for the purpose of curing; together with the privilege of hunting and gathering roots and berries on unclaimed lands.

Native American interpreted this as a promise that the traditional mobile lifestyle would endure--indeed, they were assured of this by the negotiators.⁵⁷ This understanding furthered coexistence in the years following treaty negotiations.

Until the beginning of the lumber boom in 1850, Klallam contact with Euramericans had been with those who sought to profit from their trade or hire their services.

However, the Euramericans who first settled in Jefferson County--John Tukey, Alfred Plummer, Francis Pettygrove or William Sayward--were different. They wanted to own and control the land and its resources rather than to simply trade.⁵⁸ Similarly, Washington's first governor Isaac Stevens, who hoped to see the territory quickly fill up with settlers, placed a high priority on negotiating treaties which would extinguish

⁵⁶Richards 202; Harmon, "A Different," 210.

⁵⁷Richards 201; Harmon, "A Different," 245; Langness, in Shadows of Our Ancestors, 199; White, "Treaty at Medicine Creek," 53-54.

⁵⁸Harmon, "A Different," 114, 145.

Native Americans' title to the land. He also wished to remove them from the path of settlement. Meeting with Western Washington tribes at five different locations, Stevens effected four treaties--each almost identical to the other--which he believed would accomplish his goals.⁵⁹ On January 25, 1855 he met with some 1200 men and women of the Klallam, Chimakum, Skokomish and Twana⁶⁰ at Point No Point on the northernmost tip of the Kitsap Peninsula. After a day and half of deliberation, the assembled tribespeople agreed to the treaty proposed by Stevens.

The negotiations were conducted in Chinook, a trade jargon.⁶¹ Chinook was more ideally suited to simple transactions, and there may have been misunderstandings on the part of the Native Americans. Nevertheless, there are indications that they understood a great deal. Certainly, some of the Indians at Point No Point made clear

⁵⁹Only one treaty--the Medicine Creek Treaty--was immediately ratified, the others not until late in 1859 (Robert E. Ficken and Charles P. LeWarne, Washington: A Centennial History (Seattle, Washington, 1988), 26; Richards 191-92).

⁶⁰The Klallam and the Chimakum occupied the southwest shore of the Strait of Juan to Port Gamble. The Twana and Skokomish lived along Hood Canal.

⁶¹Chinook was a mixture of three to four hundred Indian, English and French words; one word might convey several meanings depending upon emphasis, pronunciation and the use of hand signs. Describing Chinook, William Sayward used as an example, the word "Siyah" which means distance. According to Sayward, if a place was close by, it was described simply as "'Siyah; if it is farther off, "Siyah" prolonging the last syllable and giving a little more emphasis; if it is farther still, "Siyah," more prolonged and more emphatic, and if it is a great distance "Siyah," greatly prolonged, and very emphatically spoken, the [speaker] rising on his toes and swinging his arms to give greater expression to the language (Ficken and LeWarne 26; Ruby and Brown 30; William T. Sayward, "Additional Statement of Capt. Wm. T. Sayward," Bancroft Library, University of California at Berkeley, Berkeley, California, 4).

their reluctance to sign the treaty, and they voiced several concerns.⁶² Che-lan-teh-tat, a Twana, said he did not want either to sell his land or go to live where the "Great Father" wished. Deprived of his traditional mobile lifestyle, he was afraid that he would "become destitute and perish for want of food." Another man, Shau-at-seha-uk, spoke of his emotional attachment to his traditional lands. "I do not want to leave my old home, and my burying ground. I am afraid I shall die if I do." Nah-whil-uk shrewdly said that he did not want to sell his land: "It is valuable. The Whites pay a great deal for a small piece and they get money by selling the sticks [timber]." Hool-hol-tan stated that he did not "like to go on a reserve with the Klallam . . . in case of trouble there are more of them than of us . . . Let us keep half [of the land, you] take the rest."⁶³

⁶²Certainly, many of the Native Americans had had years' experience in communicating with Euramericans, and two of the advisors who accompanied Stevens at the Point No Point negotiations were also experienced at talking with Puget Sound Native Americans. Benjamin Shaw, the interpreter, was adept at using jargon, and Michael Simmons, one of the first Americans to settle on Puget Sound, had been in the region since 1844. Further, George Gibbs was a student of Northwest Indian language and customs, eventually writing extensively about their culture (Richards 197-98), although this "did not temper in the slightest his desire to remove the Indian and open the territory for white settlement" (White, "Treaty at Medicine Creek," 52-53). It was Gibbs who wanted the right to fish at "usual and accustomed places" included (Richards 202; Harmon, "A Different," 210). According to White, Simmons had contempt for Indians, but saw the value of Indian labor to the Sound economy ("Treaty at Medicine Creek," 53-54).

⁶³George Gibbs, "Treaty of Hahd-Skus, or Point No Point," in Shadows of Our Ancestors, 42-43; Jerry Gorsline, "Pioneer Existence," in Shadows of Our Ancestors, 37; Harmon, "A Different," 263, n50).

However, when Chet-ze-moka spoke he made what may have been a compelling argument for Native American capitulation to the treaty: the promise of continued mobility.

My heart is good . . . since I have heard the paper read, and since I have understood Gov. Stevens, particularly since I have been told that I could look for food where I please, and not in one place only. . . We are willing to go up the Canal [where the reservation was to be] since we know we can fish elsewhere.⁶⁴

Chet-ze-moka was cheered by the assembly, and although there was still sufficient opposition to the treaty for the meeting to be adjourned without resolution, by the next morning the Indians had decided to accept the treaty. Chet-ze-moka presented a white flag to Stevens; and Chimakum leader Hul-kah-had told him, "We give our hearts to you . . . in return for what you do for us." Then, the treaty was signed, gifts were distributed and everyone dispersed.⁶⁵

Stevens expected the treaties to facilitate further Euramerican settlement in the Puget Sound region by concentrating Native Americans as much as possible on

⁶⁴Gibbs, "Treaty at Hahd-Skus," 43.

⁶⁵Gibbs, "Treaty of Hahd-Skus," 45. Stevens was pleased with the rapid execution of the treaties, but up-river Puget Sound Indians--those who were dissatisfied with the lack of grazing land for their horses on their reservations--and tribes in Eastern Washington were not. Arguably, the treaties provoked a war (Harmon "A Different," 222). The Klallam were not hostiles, and--although there was a volunteer battalion under Major J.J. VanBokkelin in Port Townsend--the settlers were more afraid of the periodic raids by "northern Indians" from Vancouver Island than they were worried that the War would reach Jefferson County (Richards 262-63, 268). For discussion of the war see Richards 211-312; Harmon, "A Different," 222-240; White, "Treaty at Medicine Creek," 89-136; Schwantes, Pacific Northwest, 147-48.

reservations (see map, vii). Thus contained, they were to be taught farming and encouraged in the acquisition of 'civilized' habits by Euramerican personnel.⁶⁶

However, the "right-to-fish" clause in the treaties expressed the intention that the Indians would provide for themselves through fishing, gathering foods, hunting and taking part in the "labor of the Sound" until the process of "reform" was complete.

Stevens and his advisors may have meant the right-to-fish clause to be applied temporarily, but in the immediate post-treaty years funding to develop the reservations was lacking. There was no money to make them attractive to Native Americans or to provide sufficient staff to manage them. Native Americans lived on or off reservations as they pleased and continued to move about the region fishing, hunting, gathering food and working for or trading with Euramericans. This was the situation when Browne visited Port Townsend.

In the post-Civil War years several trends united to produce a more vigorous application of federal Indian policies on Puget Sound. On the one hand, immigration to Washington Territory increased--the Euramerican population went from 5,000 in 1860 to 25,000 in 1880--and expectations of an economic boom upon completion of the transcontinental railroad in the mid-1880s created a more competitive environment over land and other resources. There was less tolerance of off-reservation Native

⁶⁶Richards 195, 198-199; Harmon, "A Different," 215.

American activities, especially on the part of new settlers.⁶⁷ At the same time, the federal government, influenced by religious reformers and reiterating reformist ideas of the past, determined to accomplish the isolation of Native Americans upon reservations where they would be protected from "corrupt" influences and taught by agents, missionaries and teachers to be Christian, sober, sedentary farmers.⁶⁸

However, it proved impossible to force Puget Sound Indians to live on the reservations. Some chose to do so, either because the reservation was on their traditional lands, or because they wanted protection from Euramerican harassment. However, many refused to remove to reservations, or as Alexandra Harmon explains, they "devised ways to take advantage of opportunities afforded by the reservation system without conforming wholly to administrators' expectations of them."⁶⁹

Even when individuals did move to a reservation, there was nothing to prevent them from leaving if they so desired. As pronounced by Chet-ze-moka at Point No Point: "I have been told that I could look for food where I pleased, and not in one place only." Puget Sound Indians had been assured by "American treaty negotiators . . . that they would be allowed to work or gather goods off reservation; and they

⁶⁷Harmon, "A Different," 284-86.

⁶⁸Harmon, "A Different," 291-293.

⁶⁹Harmon, "A Different," 299, 283, qm.

remembered and unhesitatingly acted on this assurance."⁷⁰ As for the Klallam, their assigned reservation was seventy-five to one hundred eighty miles away from their villages and "usual and accustomed places;" few were willing to relocate to the Skokomish Reservation. Instead, they worked by various means to establish secure homes in their traditional region (see discussion below).

During the post-treaty years, the Klallam and other tribes continued to fish, hunt and gather foodstuffs. They also participated in the Euramerican economy where they were accepted as supplying needed labor, services and even markets, especially for whiskey. They raised and sold potatoes, venison and berries to settlers. They continued to harvest salmon and other fish and shellfish for personal use and commercial sale. They hunted for seal off the Northwest coast and fished for dogfish, rendering the oil to be used in the logging industry to grease the skids that logs were hauled along. They worked as agricultural laborers and domestic servants. They carried freight and passengers in their canoes. Men were loggers and mill hands--the Klallam worked in the mills at Port Ludlow, Port Discovery, Port Gamble and Seabeck. Women worked in canneries, sold "mats, baskets and other curiosities," and

⁷⁰Gibbs, "Treaty at Hahd-Skus," 43, qtn; Harmon, "A Different," 197, 241-45, 300, qtn.

during the harvest season whole families travelled to the hop fields near Seattle to work.⁷¹

Some Native American women married or lived with Euramerican men, and some sold sexual services to Euramericans. For instance, the 1870 Jefferson County census listed fifty-one Indian women as "keeping house," a term which designated a conjugal relationship with the male head of household, rather than one as a servant. There were three Native American housemaids living in Euramerican homes, and twenty-eight women from British Columbia living in beach settlements at Port Townsend and Port Ludlow whose occupation was listed as "housework." Twenty male "laborers" lived in the beach settlements as well. There were eighty-one children with Native American mothers and Euramerican fathers.⁷² Thus, Native

⁷¹Rev. M. Eells, "Ten Years of Missionary Work Among the Indians at Skokomish, Washington Territory, 1874-1884," in Shadows of Our Ancestors, 82-83; Eells, The Twana, Chemakum and Klallam, 13-14; Harmon, "A Different," 147-48, 245, 287-88, 474-77; Puget Sound Herald April 23, 1858; The Puget Sound Argus (Port Townsend, Washington), hereafter cited as Argus, October 15, 1875, June 2, 1876, September 15, 1876, qtn. October 20, 1876; Democratic Press (Port Townsend, Washington), July 4, 1878; Port Townsend Leader (Port Townsend, Washington), title varies, hereafter cited as Leader, August 27, 1891; Swan, Diaries, September 25, 1872, October 5, 1872, June 12, 1873, February 14, 1875, January 9, 1876, March 14, 1883, March 17, 1883, April 12, 1884, August 14, 1884, September 27, 1885, January 22, 1886, January 8, 1889, July 13, 1889, October 6, 1889, March 19, 1994, September 2, 1895. See John Lutz, "After The Fur Trade: The Aboriginal Labouring Class of British Columbia 1849-1890," Journal of the Canadian Historical Association, Vol. 3 (1992), 69-94, for a discussion of the important economic role played by aboriginal laborers in nineteenth-century British Columbia.

⁷²The census does not list any Native Americans other than the women living with Euramerican men, the children of these relationships, and the British Columbia men and women living in the beach settlements, except for an eighteen-year old Native American man in Port Discovery listed as a mariner, and apparently a crew member. The total 1870 county population was 1268 (United States Census, Federal Population Census Schedules, Jefferson County, 1870).

Americans maintained themselves and continued, at least in part, to follow a traditional mobility, refusing to be finally 'removed' to reservations; and many settlers acquiesced in this coexistence.⁷³

Recorded memories of the settlement period in Jefferson County reflect this coexistence. According to James McCurdy's pioneer informants, when the Hastings-Pettygrove party landed, they were greeted by a large number of Klallam who gave friendly assistance in the landing. A parley in the tribal council-house followed.

The pow-wow ended amicably, and it is a gratifying fact that the truce thus established between the settlers and their dusky friends on the beach at Port Townsend in '52 was never broken, but has endured unto this day.⁷⁴

Lach-ka-nim, the elder son of Chet-ze-moka, shared a similar memory in 1936 with a Washington Pioneer Project interviewer. Then in his seventies, Lach-ka-nim looked back and lamented that "the boasted benefits of civilization brought no welfare or happiness to my people, and perhaps we would have been more in number today if we could have lived as our ancestors lived before us." Nevertheless, he also made reference to peaceful relations between the Klallam and the settlers.

My father was always a warm friend of the white people; he liked them and they liked and trusted him . . . I have

⁷³See Harmon, "A Different," 153-55, 162-163, 246, 287, 317-323. Harmon asserts that, especially in the early years of settlement, there was a "web of ties" (162) between Native Americans and Euramericans.

⁷⁴McCurdy 26.

always tried to do as he would have done, and I have many friends among the white people who have known me all my life. We have never quarrelled and never will.⁷⁵

Coexistence and Tension

Any discussion of coexistence in Jefferson County would be incomplete without an examination of the tensions inherent in that coexistence. For one thing, not all boosters agreed on the necessity for defending Klallam reputation or coexistence. In Jefferson County, as elsewhere, settlers made intermittent demands that restraints be placed on Native American mobility and other behaviours, or that the Indians be confined to their reservation. Often such demands were voiced as concern that the Klallam threatened the happy fulfilment of the county's commercial ambitions. There were also periodic official attempts to enforce removal. Further, although Euramerican settlement provided Puget Sound Indians with opportunities for trade and status enhancement, nevertheless it irrevocably changed Native American society, and there was resentment and episodes of intimidation and violence between settlers and Indians. Hence, coexistence was a relationship fraught with tension and ambivalence.

⁷⁵"The Prince Of Wales: Present Chief of the Clallams, Jefferson County," TMs, 1936, Washington Pioneer Project, Jefferson County, Washington State Library, Olympia, Washington, 1-2; V.J. Gregory, "The Duke of York," in *With Pride in Heritage*, 131. See Harmon, "A Different," 153-55, for a discussion of Native American willingness to accept settlers as fellow residents.

Even before contact, the Puget Sound Indian population had suffered from European disease;⁷⁶ members of the Vancouver expedition observed that some of the Klallam they met had pockmarks. Smallpox must have played an important role in the demise of the Chimakum as well as depleting the Klallam population. Klallam oral tradition relates that whole villages were destroyed by illnesses; and smallpox continued to periodically visit Native Americans into the settlement period. There were at least two epidemics, one during 1853 which spread throughout the Northwest, and the other in 1862 within county Chimakum and British Columbia Indian encampments. As late as 1875 a group of British Columbia Haida was forcibly removed from Port Ludlow and their lodgings burned when smallpox broke out amongst them.⁷⁷

⁷⁶In 1859, James Swan numbered the Klallam at one thousand, and the Chimakum at around one hundred (Swan, Almost Out Of The World, 15). In 1880 Skokomish Reservation missionary Myron Eells found that there were 485 Klallam living from Seabeck on Hood Canal to Clallam Bay on the Strait of Juan de Fuca: Ten at Seabeck, ninety-six at Port Gamble, six at Port Ludlow, twenty-two at Port Discovery, twelve at Port Townsend, eighteen at Sequim, eighty-six at Jamestown, thirty-six at Dungeness--those at Sequim and Dungeness were within six miles of Jamestown--fifty-seven at Port Angeles--some of whom were actually across the Straits in British Columbia--sixty-seven at Elwha, twenty-four at Pyscht, and forty-nine at or near Clallam Bay. Two hundred and ninety were full-blooded Klallam, the rest intermingled with eighteen tribes, fifteen were part Euramerican. However, Eells made no attempt to record Klallam men or women living away from the tribal community, nor do his figures indicate the numbers of Indians from other tribes living or passing through Klallam territory (Reverend Myron Eells, "Ten Years," in Shadows of Our Ancestors, 92-93).

⁷⁷Other European diseases plagued the Indians as well: measles, influenza, syphilis and gonorrhoea (Jerry Gorsline, introduction to Menzies, Rainshadow, 13; Menzies 49; Lambert 25; Ruby and Brown 127-128, 171; The Northwest, [Port Townsend, Washington] March 29, 1862, May 24, 1862; White, "Treaty at Medicine Creek," 1-3).

Over time, traditional eating habits and crafts altered. As early as 1841 the Klallam were reported to have been growing potatoes at Port Discovery⁷⁸, their cultivation to eventually replace the gathering of native bulbs and roots. It became more common to preserve salmon by salting it rather than by drying it. Traditional cloaks and skirts made from shredded cedar bark or cloth--woven of mountain goat hair, duck down, fireweed plant cotton and shearing from small white dogs specially raised for their wool--were gradually replaced by European clothing. Euramerican tools and weapons replaced traditional ones--although traditional fishing gear continued to be used.⁷⁹ As well, kinship relations and conflict resolution were seriously affected by Euramerican society.⁸⁰

There were episodes of resentment, anger, intimidation, and violence between Native Americans and Euramericans. For example, although Chet-ze-moka was apparently receptive to the settlers, his brother Klows-ton, also called King George, reportedly disliked the settlers a great deal. He believed that he had been cheated by Plummer, one of Port Townsend's founders, who had promised that the federal government would pay the Klallam for the land taken by settlers. Although some

⁷⁸Gorsline, "Appendix A," in *Shadows of Our Ancestors* 235. Gibbs mentions potato grounds as a defining characteristic of the winter villages (Gibbs, "Tribes of Western Washington," 197).

⁷⁹The dogs became so mongrelized that their wool was no longer suitable for weaving (Simpson, "We Give Our Hearts To You," in *Shadows of Our Ancestors*, 133-34).

⁸⁰For discussion, see Asher 189-209.

small annuities were eventually paid after 1859 when the treaties were ratified, nothing was forthcoming throughout the 1850s. Klows-ton is said to have often gone into the founders' trading post, making to purchase an item from the store but then insisting that the purchase price be considered as an advance on his land payment. He came to so resent the settlers that he eventually left Port Townsend and did not return.⁸¹

In 1852 violence threatened when the Port Townsend Klallam told settlers that they must not plant any crops. The settlers were so frightened that they called for the USS ACTIVE to come from San Francisco and make a display of force. According to McCurdy, the ACTIVE anchored in the Bay and fired a few shots, after which "the Indians were much more peaceably inclined."⁸² Violence broke out in 1854 when United States soldiers and Port Townsend town officials searched for the murderers of two men. In the resulting skirmish several Klallam were arrested, but four men, two Klallam and two soldiers, were killed, and twenty-eight canoes were destroyed. Later, after three men were convicted of the murder and held at Fort Steilacoom, they--along with some other prisoners--escaped to a Klallam camp on Hood Canal.

⁸¹The evidence as to where Klows-ton went when he left Port Townsend is inconclusive. McCurdy 13-14, 38-39; "Washington State, Believe It or Not, Has Its Own 'Royal Family' of the Olympics," TMs, 1936, Washington Pioneer Project, Jefferson County, Washington State Library, Olympia, Washington, 1-2.

⁸²McCurdy, qtn. 38; Harmon, "A Different," 156-57.

Soldiers followed and demanded the escapees' surrender. When they refused, the soldiers destroyed the camp and a winter's supply of salmon, reportedly killing five Klallam. Then, taking Chet-ze-moka hostage, they held him until the escapees were returned to the army to be hanged.⁸³

In 1861 the Klallam wife of John Allen, a Dungeness settler, was murdered, and Allen blamed the Klallam for her death. When in retaliation he shot and killed a Klallam man, violence threatened to break out as Klallam and settlers confronted one another across the Dungeness River. Further bloodshed was prevented, however, when Allen paid "the relative of the dead Indian a sum of money."⁸⁴ Thus, if relations between the Klallam and settlers were marked by coexistence, there were incidents of violence and intimidation also.

Boosters added to the tension, and while some settlers defended coexistence and Klallam reputability, there were others who believed that the county's commercial interests would best be served by either establishing more control of the Klallam or

⁸³Pioneer and Democrat March 11, 1854, March 25, 1854, December 9, 1854; Simmons, "We Give our Hearts to You," in Shadows of Our Ancestors, 133; Harmon, "A Different," 203, 256 n15; White, "Treaty at Medicine Creek," 47-49.

⁸⁴Allen Weir, "Roughing It on Puget Sound In The Early Sixties," The Washington Historian Vol.I (January 1900), 75. In this case the opposing parties settled the matter in a traditional way through "the principle of kin-group responsibility" which meant that damage or death visited upon an individual required compensation be paid to his or her kin-group by the perpetrator or his kinsfolk. Negotiation might settle the matter, but if it did not, retaliatory violence which often led to long-standing feuds could follow (Asher 193).

removing them from Port Townsend. There were also attempts to remove them to the Skokomish Reservation. In 1860 a letter-writer who identified her/or himself as M.V.B. complained in a letter to the Register that Port Townsend was "obnoxious" because its buildings were "interspersed with rude constructed Indian huts from which a vast amount of filth does emanate." The Indians themselves had "the most meretricious characters extant" and were of "feral and profligate habits." Their presence in the town "will deter emigration, and expel that part of the community which is inclined towards morality."⁸⁵

The issue of the Register which contained M.V.B's letter reported that removal of the resident Native Americans from the Port Townsend was soon to be addressed by the City trustees. The newspaper opined that this was "a movement very much needed" since the homes of the Indians took up "much valuable property that is needed for building purposes." Also, "the unsightly appearance of the smoky, filthy huts of the savages, [and] the appearance of the . . . occupants, who wander about our streets, exhibiting themselves in a manner offensive in the eyes of decency [in other words, scantily clothed] is a matter that the city government will do well to attend to."⁸⁶

⁸⁵Register March 28, 1860.

⁸⁶Register March 28, 1860.

In June 1860 the city Board of Trustees passed an ordinance which made any permanent Indian residence illegal within the city limits, as well forbidding temporary "mat lodges or tents" or the building of fires except on the beach at the edges of the town.⁸⁷ What immediate effect this ordinance had is not known. There was still a permanent village on Port Townsend Bay in 1871, and Klallam and other Native Americans continued to camp on the beach into the twentieth century.⁸⁸

Ideas about control or removal continued to resurface over the years. In 1862 a smallpox outbreak was the impetus for another plea--this time from The North-West--for the removal of Native Americans from Port Townsend, both because of perceived health hazards and negative effect on the town's future. (The editor had no apparent sympathy for the plight of the Indians.) "Aside from the important consideration of present safety from the ravages of a loathsome disease, the growth and prosperity of the towns on the Sound, morally and socially, depends upon the exclusion of the Indians . . . from their municipal bounds." He argued that "a hundred Indians" living within a town would "not so much enhance the value of real estate as the advent of one family of civilized, honest and industrious whites." Further, he said that if the

⁸⁷Register June 27, 1860. Another ordinance was passed which prohibited drunk and disorderly behavior, "shouting, singing, quarrelling, discharging of firearms, or . . . any other rude and boisterous manner," within the city limits by any residents whether Native American or Euramerican.

⁸⁸"A Portfolio of Klallam Photos," in Shadows of Our Ancestors, 101-120. The photographers were Joe McKissick (1869-1939) and William Wilcox (?-1940) (101).

Indians were removed to their reservation, "the unenviable reputation our community has gained would be less deserved, our natural resources would rapidly develop, society would improve and strengthen."⁸⁹

In 1879, Port Townsend residents petitioned the city council to remove Native American encampments from within the city "as we deem that the presence of Squaw Brothels has hitherto been a nuisance." And, in the same year the Democratic Press called for the removal of those Native Americans living "on the beach north of this city [who] lead a life of debauchery that is a disgrace to any community and should [be stopped]. They should be kept on their reservations and only allowed to leave for a few days at a time."⁹⁰ In 1890, the Leader campaigned for the removal of "Siwash Brothels," or dancehouses, which were "a menace to the future good name of [Port Townsend]." The "depraved Indians" who worked in the dancehouses were "a class that do much injury to a city like Port Townsend."⁹¹

⁸⁹North-West May 24, 1862. See also March 1 and March 29, 1862.

⁹⁰"Petition to Honorable Mayor and Common Council of the City of Port Townsend," January 3, 1879, MSS 3A, McCurdy Historical Research Library, Jefferson County Historical Society, Port Townsend, Washington; Democratic Press, May 20, 1879.

⁹¹Dancehouse saloons were bars with music of some sort, from a single fiddler to a small band. Customers were expected to dance with the women who, when the music stopped—which it did frequently—would ask for a "treat" or a drink. The customer was expected to buy one for himself as well. The idea was for the customers to spend as much money as possible on drinks, rather than to dance very much. The dancers lived on the premises of the saloon which made it convenient for them to retire to their room with customers (Leader May 11, 1890; H.M. Delanty, Along The Waterfront: Covering a Period of Fifty Years on Grays Harbor and the Pacific Northwest (Private Distribution 1943):102-105).

However, the Klallam successfully resisted control and removal, seeking to establish a secure base for themselves in their traditional homeland. As early as the fall of 1860, Chet-ze-moka enlisted the aid of Swan in writing to the Superintendent of Indian Affairs to request that a reservation be set aside for the Klallam near Port Townsend on Marrowstone Island.⁹² In June 1870, Che-ze-moka met in Swan's rooms with Congressional Representative Garfielde to discuss a similar request.⁹³ However, nothing came of Chet-ze-moka's efforts. Indeed, quite the reverse.

In 1867 an official of Indian Affairs visited Port Townsend and tried to persuade Chet-ze-moka to "return to the Reservation on Hood's Canal"--which suggests that he had been there for a time. However, he refused.⁹⁴ Then, in 1871, Edwin Eells, the agent for the Skokomish Reservation directed Port Townsend city officials to burn the Klallam's Port Townsend shoreline village.⁹⁵ He instructed the Klallam to pack all their belongings into some twenty canoes to be towed to the

⁹²Ltr. from James Swan to Hon. Edward R. Geary, Superintendent Indian Affairs, Portland, Oregon, dtd. October 26, 1860, James G. Swan Papers, 1852-1907, Special Collections, University of British Columbia, Vancouver, B.C. This would seem to have been a response to the fear of removal, pursuant to ratification of the Point No Point treaty in 1859.

⁹³Swan, Diaries, June 14, 1870.

⁹⁴Weekly Message November 14, 1867.

⁹⁵On the way from Port Townsend to the Skokomish Reservation, Eells also stopped "at Seabeck [where he found] some drunken Indians whom I punished severely and ordered them to move to the Reservation immediately on pain of being burnt out ("Harmon, "A Different," 300). Whether or not these people obeyed Eells, it is known that some Native Americans living along Hood Canal were forced from their homes onto the Skokomish Reservation (346-347, n46).

Skokomish Reservation by the side-wheeler NORTH PACIFIC. In an account derived from Klallam oral tradition, Klallam historian Mary Ann Lambert relates that as the canoes were pulled away from the beach the Indians, "looking back at their ancestral homes, could see their village in flames, burning rapidly to the ground." When they arrived at the Skokomish Reservation "the canoes were cut loose . . . Sadly the Clallams (sic) paddled to shore and sat dejectedly in their canoes, staring unhappily at the shore." In a very few days, however, the Klallam returned "by cover of night . . . to the heap of ashes which was their Port Townsend village." Following the return, Chet-ze-moka tried unsuccessfully to arrange compensation for the loss of Klallam homes. Perhaps discouraged by his failure to help his own people, Chet-ze-moka relocated on land across the bay from Port Townsend where he lived until his death in 1888.⁹⁶

Other attempts by the Klallam to secure a refuge were more successful, however. In 1874 a group of the Dungeness Klallam under leadership of Jim Balch secured 210 acres for \$500 and established the village of Jamestown; the original 200 men and women were joined by Klallam from bands in Elwah, Port Discovery and Port Townsend. Other Klallam purchased land at Port Discovery, Elwah, Clallam Bay and Port Angeles. As well, a sizable settlement developed on Port Gamble Bay

⁹⁶His son Lach-ka-nim--the Prince of Wales--lived there as well, dying in the 1930s (Lambert 20); his grandson David Prince moved to Jamestown ("Washington State, Believe It Or Not, Has Its Own 'Royal Family' Of The Olympics," 2).

near the Puget Mill Company where many Klallam men worked. According to Myron Eells, "only a little of [the land acquired was] first class land [but] they . . . used it for gardens and as a place for a permanent home so that they should not be driven from one place to another, more than for farming."⁹⁷

Jamestown was--in part--a response to Dungeness settlers' petitions calling for removal of the band to the Skokomish reservation. However, the efforts of the Klallam to establish villages or individual homes of their own met with approval from other Euramericans,⁹⁸ as when the Port Angeles correspondent to the Argus wrote that "the Clallam (sic) Indians in this vicinity are building good houses and are clearing and fencing in considerable ground for farming purposes without government aid or the benign influences of those martyrs known as Indian agents."⁹⁹

During the 1870s and 1880s, the growing Euramerican population and investment in the region created increasing pressure on land and other resources, and the appeal of coexistence lessened for many Euramericans. Nevertheless, the Klallam continued to fend for themselves, through fishing and participation in the Puget Sound economy. They successfully resisted removal to the Skokomish Reservation and

⁹⁷Eells, "Ten Years," qtn. 82; Jerry Gorsline, "Jamestown," in Shadows of Our Ancestors, 164-166; Harmon, "A Different," 315-16, 358, 427 n22; Langness, 166-200.

⁹⁸Argus September 14, 1876; Democratic Press May 17, 1878.

⁹⁹Argus June 2, 1876.

established several villages, three of which would attain federal recognition as reservations for three newly designated tribes: the Port Gamble Klallam in 1939; the Lower Elwha Klallam in 1968; the Jamestown Klallam in 1981.¹⁰⁰ One of the intentions of the treaties negotiated by Stevens with Puget Sound Native Americans was to erase their identity and replace fishing with farming. The treaties failed in this purpose.¹⁰¹

"A Writer More Witty Than Wise": Browne, Port Townsend and Reputation

The "great Port Townsend controversy" illustrates the degree to which J. Ross Browne's understanding of relations between Puget Sound Native Americans and the settlers was misguided. Browne saw "large bands of Indians permitted to roam at large. . . in a condition worse than barbarism, [prey to] the worst possible class of

¹⁰⁰Eells, "Ten Years," in Shadows of Our Ancestors, 76; Gorsline, "Jamestown," 164-166.

¹⁰¹The right-to-fish clause of the 1854-55 treaties has been used to the present day by Washington tribes to protect their rights to fishing--both for individual and commercial purposes--from State attempts to prohibit or limit Indian fishing. In a series of cases stretching from 1904 to 1979 the United States Supreme Court: ruled that Washington Indians could not be barred from their usual and accustomed sites for fishing and could access those sites through either public or private lands (1904); ruled that the state could not regulate off-reservation Indian fishing (1942); reaffirmed the right of Indians to fish from accustomed sites and declared that since nets had been used and since there had been commercial aspects to Indian fishing at the time of the treaty, such aspects of modern Indian fishing were legal (1968); ruled that tribes could fish steelhead with nets but must follow state conservation measures (1973); reaffirmed rights of Indians to fish at "all usual and accustomed grounds and stations," subject to conservation regulation by state (1977); ruled that Indians had right to fair share of fish, to be calculated as 50 percent of the catch (1979, 1974 Boldt Decision in U.S. District Court) (Francis Paul Prucha, American Indian Treaties: The History of a Political Anomaly, [Berkeley, California, 1994], 402-406); Jerry Gorsline, "The New Federalism," in Shadows of Our Ancestors, 230.

whites than can infest any county."¹⁰² In reality, the Indians were at work surviving Euramerican settlement with better wisdom than that of Browne or any other federal officials. Coexistence was far more complicated than the symbiotic association between whiskey peddlers and whiskey consumers perceived by Browne.

Browne believed that Native Americans should be isolated and protected. However, if Browne's mockery of Chet-ze-moka and Port Townsend was a satirical argument for reservations, Port Townsend boosters--even those who favored removal--saw his writings as an assault on the town's future as a great city. Given their commercialism it is little wonder they thought his writings were 'fighting words.' Browne's biting description of Port Townsend suggested that it might be the last place on earth where anyone would want to settle. According to Browne, it was "indeed a remarkable place. . . surrounded by a jungle of pine and matted brush, through which neither man nor beast can penetrate." Its houses were few in number and crudely built from "pine boards, thatched with shingles, canvas, and wooden slabs." The streets are "curiously ornamented with dead horses and the bones of many dead cows [which] enables strangers to know when they arrive in the city, by reason of the peculiar odour, so that even admitting the absence of lamps, no person can fail to recognize Port Townsend in the darkest night."¹⁰³

¹⁰²Ltr. of J. Ross Browne on the Conditions of the Indian Reservations," qtd. in Goodman 123.

¹⁰³J. Ross Browne, Crusoe's Island, 270-71.

From describing the location, Browne went on to decry the businesses of the town claiming that: "the principal articles of commerce . . . [are] whisky, cotton handkerchiefs, tobacco, and cigars, and the principal shops [are] devoted to billiards and the sale of grog." When he mischievously discussed the drinking habits of Euramerican Port Townsendites he attacked their character.

I do not believe you habitually drink whisky as a beverage--certainly not Port Townsend whisky, [anyway] for that would kill the strongest man that ever lived in less than six months, if he drank nothing else. Many of you, no doubt, use tea or coffee at breakfast, and it is quite possible that some of you occasionally venture upon water.¹⁰⁴

Browne's description of Chet-ze-moka created the image of a foolish drunkard, one who, moreover, routinely beat his wives. The Duke looked "very amiable and jolly [but] stupefied by . . . whisky." When it transpired that his visitor had brought no whisky, he said "'Oh, dam!' . . . turning over on his bed and contemptuously waving his hand in termination of the interview--'dis Tyee no`count!' According to Browne, "the Duke" [was also] in the habit of beating [his wives] and when unusually drunk . . . not particular about either the force or directions of his blows."

¹⁰⁴J. Ross Browne, Crusoe's Island, 273, 280.

This description of Chet-ze-moka laid siege to the integrity of Euramerican Port Townsendites since Browne connected "the degraded condition of [Chet-ze-moka] and his tribe . . . to the illegal practice on the part of the citizens of selling whisky to the Indians."¹⁰⁵ Thus, Browne squarely placed responsibility for the condition of Chet-ze-moka, "once an intelligent and powerful chief," upon that "very benighted place," Port Townsend, and the "beachcombers and outlaws" who lived there. Given the national forum which Browne commanded, this attack upon Port Townsend and its future required counterattack. If Browne's scurrilous description of the town and its residents--both Euramerican and Native American--was assumed to define Port Townsend, then Jefferson County's commercial prospects were at risk. Neither industrious settlers nor investors would care to come to such a disreputable place. It was thus important to replace the reputation of Port Townsend as established by Browne with a better one.

The letters which the Euramerican settlers sent to the regional newspapers and the partisanship of James Swan were only the beginning. Immediate concern over "the Port Townsend Controversy" faded. However, concern about reputation and its connection to boosterism remained high as county boosters--both those who denied Browne's charges and those who urged removal of the Klallam alike--promoted the

¹⁰⁵J. Ross Browne, Crusoe's Island, 273, 275.

town and surrounding county as a promising area for investment and settlement.

Anxiety about the town's reputation would be linked to a variety of issues over the years.¹⁰⁶ The good reputation of Port Townsend was prominently touted for as long as residents were ambitious for the county's future, as if J. Ross Browne still skulked in the background, waiting to malign Port Townsend, "that remarkable place."

¹⁰⁶Richards 435, n35; McDonald 172, 205-06.

CHAPTER III: Booster Activism: Jefferson County, 1860-1880

In 1853, H.C. Wilson wrote to a family member that in Port Townsend "no branch of business vigorously pushed along [could] fail to pay whether it be Agriculture, Fishing, Lumbering, or Mining."¹ In 1859, James Swan echoed Wilson's optimism that Port Townsend was "destined to become a place of commercial importance."² Nevertheless, such hopefulness seemed unwarranted in the intervening years. While Port Townsend had captured the Puget Sound District Port of Entry, so important to the town's development as a shipping center, a depression in the lumber industry during the mid-to-late 1850s had a negative effect on Puget Sound shipping, and hence Port Townsend's economy. The 1855-56 Puget Sound Indian War and raids by "Northern" Indians from Alaska and British Columbia discouraged new immigrants and frightened many resident settlers into blockhouses or flight.³

¹H. Wilson to J. Wilson, 24 Apr. 1853, Bushrod W. Wilson Papers, University of Oregon library, Eugene, qtd. in Thomas Cox, Mills and Markets: A History of the Pacific Coast Lumber Industry to 1900 (Seattle, Washington, 1974), 60.

²James G. Swan, Almost Out of the World: Scenes from Washington Territory. The Strait of Juan de Fuca 1859-61 (Tacoma, Washington, 1971), 15.

³James G. McCurdy, By Juan de Fuca's Strait: Pioneering Along the Northwestern Edge of the Continent (Portland, Oregon, 1937), 102-110, 113, 119; Alexandra Harmon, "A Different Kind of Indians: Negotiating the Meanings of 'Indian' and 'Tribe' in the Puget Sound Region, 1820s-1970s," (Ph.D. diss., University of Washington, 1995), 238-240. During his 1857 visit, Ross Browne observed deserted farmsteads and met settlers fleeing the region because they feared continuing hostilities with Indians, such as the incident on August 11, 1857 when "Northern Indians" beheaded Isaac Ebey, a resident of Whidby Island--a retaliatory raid prompted by an action off Port Gamble

When Browne's attack on the settlement came in 1858, it must have seemed to mark a nadir of the boosters' ambitions. However, as the 1850s drew to a close, the lumber industry recovered momentum, and fears of Indian attack receded; hopefulness about the county's prospects for the future experienced a resurgence. Further stimulated by the necessity to defend Port Townsend's reputation from Browne's acid-dipped pen, boosters embarked upon efforts to promote county development.

In 1860 lumber was all in Puget Sound and firmly established as Washington's leading industry. By 1870 \$1.3 million of the \$1.9 million invested in Washington manufacturing was invested in the lumber industry; two-thirds of manufacturing wages were paid to sawmill workers, and thirty-one of the thirty-eight steam engines operating in the territory powered sawmills. Most lumber production derived from the Puget Sound region, with Kitsap County's production the largest amount--one/half--⁴ and Jefferson County's the second largest.⁵

between a Tlingit raiding party from Alaska and the USS Massachusetts in which twenty-seven Indians were killed (Harmon 239-40; McCurdy 119; Peter Simpson, ed., City of Dreams: A Guide to Port Townsend [Port Townsend, Washington, 1986], 77-78.) Arguably the Indian War of 1855-56 placed far greater stress on the non-hostile Klallam than on area settlers. Confined to a small area, the Klallam were unable to fish or gather foods in quantity and prevented from buying the necessary ammunition to hunt game for sale to settlers, they suffered from lack of income and food (Harmon 274, n100).

⁴Robert E. Ficken, The Forested Land: A History of Lumbering in Western Washington (Seattle, Washington, 1988), 39, qtn. 34; James N. Tattersall, "The Economic Development of the Pacific Northwest to 1920," (Ph.D. diss., University of Washington, 1960), 43, 67.

⁵United States Census, Federal Population Census Schedules, Jefferson County, Washington Territory, 1860, 1870.

However, contrary to the expectations of early Puget Sound and Jefferson County promoters such as Lafayette Balch or H.E. Wilson, the lumber boom of the early 1850s did not have a 'gold rush' effect upon Puget Sound. Initially established to supply lumber to Gold-Rush San Francisco, the industry had also developed other Pacific Rim markets during the 1850s. Nevertheless, subsequent growth beyond the Pacific Rim was limited by transportation costs, and the industry tended to stagnate. Overall mill production grew little during the 1870s, increasing only slightly by 1880. In that year, despite the commercial potential of its myriad stands of timber, Washington ranked only thirty-first in national lumber production.⁶ The larger Pacific Northwest economy was more diverse: agriculture, mining and fishing, as well as lumber, were important facets of that economy; during the 1860s the most growth in the Pacific Northwest economy came from mining. However, only the brief 1858 Fraser River gold rush affected Puget Sound, which was an outfitting point for those traveling to the gold fields. The gold rush also brought some numbers of people through the Puget Sound region--some of whom stayed--which briefly stimulated real estate speculation.⁷ Pacific Northwest canned salmon, wheat and livestock joined

⁶Thomas Frederick Geodosch, "Seabeck 1857-1886: The History of a Company Town," (M.A. thesis, University of Washington, 1966), 14,18; Cox x, 96, 114; Robert E. Ficken and Charles P. LeWarne, Washington: A Centennial History (Seattle, Washington, 1988), 33.

⁷Tattersall 44, 76; McCurdy 128.

lumber and metals in the world market during the 1870s. They would not be either produced or shipped from Puget Sound until the 1880s however.⁸

Lumber was the mainstay of the Sound economy, but its growth was limited. Population growth was slower than hoped---from approximately 5,000 in 1860 to 25,000 in 1880⁹--and shipping was limited by the region's dependence on a single important industry. Portland, rather than Puget Sound, was the commercial center of the Pacific Northwest.¹⁰ Large-scale development on Puget Sound awaited a transcontinental railroad connection. The completion of the railroad, however, was dependent upon a time-table determined by what historian William Robbins calls "the expanding sphere of [world] market capitalism."¹¹ Indeed, Puget Sound boosters were aware of the importance of a transcontinental railroad to the region's

⁸The first canned salmon was from Columbia River stocks. Puget Sound canneries did not begin operation until 1877, although Puget Sound and Alaska canneries soon were outproducing Columbia River. Wheat was first shipped from Puget Sound in 1876, but it was not until the Northern Pacific's Cascade line was finished in 1887 that wheat grown in Eastern Washington became a major export from Puget Sound (Tattersall 45, 68, 44).

⁹Harmon, "A Different Kind of Indians," 284.

¹⁰Located where the Willamette River enters the Columbia, Portland has been described as the "city that gravity built." The agricultural production of the Willamette Valley made its way to Portland down the Willamette River; immigrants arriving overland followed the Columbia River to Portland, as did the mining riches of Idaho and wheat harvests from the interior. As well, goods for the Willamette Valley and the interior were shipped to Portland from whence they were distributed to the rest of the region. (Dorothy O. Johansen and Charles M. Gates, Empire of the Columbia: A History of the Pacific Northwest, 2d ed. (New York, 1967), 279).

¹¹William G. Robbins, Colony and Empire: The Capitalist Transformation of the American West (Lawrence, Kansas, 1994), xi, 61-82, qtn. 66.

development, and the dependency of railroad construction upon outside capital investment (see below for discussion of railroad). However, boosters also saw themselves as protagonists at a local level in the region's growth.¹²

In Jefferson County, boosters were conversant with development theories about the 'passage to India' and 'great cities.' If much of their hope for the future was pinned upon completion of the transcontinental railroad—completion of which was beyond their control—county boosters also pursued locally based promotional projects, one of which was the attempt by James Swan and others to influence Northern Pacific's choice of where to place their Puget Sound railroad terminus. Boosters did not always agree about how to bring about development, especially as to whether capital development should precede immigration or vice versa. However, there was consensus that the heart of county hopes was Port Townsend's situation as a shipping center and potential 'great city.' Further, in keeping with other nineteenth-century boosters, county boosters saw as essential the development of transportation routes, natural resources and a growing population. They also acknowledged the importance

¹²Historian Carlos Schwantes notes that in the late 1870s Washington and Oregon governments were content to let local groups promote the region; "every community with faith in its future seemed to have acquired a promoter." See Carlos Schwantes, Radical Heritage: Labor, Socialism, and Reform in Washington and British Columbia, 1885-1917 (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1979): 8 and The Pacific Northwest: An Interpretive History, rev. and enl. ed. (Lincoln, Nebraska, 1996), qtn. 227). However, boosterism was an apparent phenomenon earlier, an accompaniment to the initial commercial settlement of Puget Sound and endemic to western frontier development.

of the countryside to urban growth, and hoped to entice investors and immigrants to Jefferson County.

This chapter looks at Jefferson County booster activities. It begins with journalistic boosterism. It also examines the fierce struggle to keep the Customs Port of Entry in Port Townsend and local efforts to promote the town for the Northern Pacific terminus. Through the Immigration Aid Society, boosters promoted immigration, and they encouraged agricultural development among both settled residents and immigrants. They sought to attract capital investment to the county, hoping to develop not only timber, but other resources--such as county iron deposits.

Local Newspapers: Journalistic Boosters

Newspapers¹³ played an important role in promoting Jefferson County, beginning with articles published by James Swan from 1859-1861 in the San Francisco and Olympia papers and continuing with local newspapers. Such journals were enthusiastic boosters. The County's first publication, the Port Townsend Register,

¹³For further discussion of the booster press see: Daniel J. Boorstin, The Americans: The National Experience (New York, 1965), 124-134; Don Harrison Doyle, The Social Order of a Frontier Community: Jacksonville, Illinois 1825-1870 (Urbana, Illinois, 1978), 62-64; David Hamer, New Towns in the New World: Images and Perceptions of the Nineteenth-Century Urban Frontier, (New York, 1990), 52, 60; Robert R. Dykstra, The Cattle Towns, (New York, 1968), 149-150, 163-166. For further discussion of Jefferson County's early newspapers see McCurdy, 142-146; see Schwantes, The Pacific Northwest, 278-279 for a discussion of the Pacific Northwest pioneer press.

described itself as "a commercial . . . not a political sheet,"¹⁴ and dedicated "heart and soul to . . . the Agricultural and Commercial interest of Washington Territory."¹⁵ It was published intermittently between December 23, 1859 to September 13, 1861 with three editors: Travers Daniel, William Whitacre, and Henry L. Sutton. James Swan was its commercial reporter throughout most of this period, writing a column, "Commercial and Marine Matters." The North-West promised to be "a family and commercial newspaper" and to promote "the Commercial and Agricultural Interests of Washington Territory."¹⁶ It also had a short life--from July 1860 to late 1862. John Damon, and for a short time, Victor Smith, were its editors.

Al Pettygrove, son of Port Townsend founder Francis Pettygrove, started The Weekly Message in May 1867. He sold it to a prominent Port Townsend businessman, Enoch Fowler, and it folded in 1871. In 1870 Pettygrove established the Puget Sound Argus; its focus was "General Intelligence and Home Interests." Pettygrove sold the Argus, but it continued in publication under various owners and editors until its plant burned to the ground in 1890. Throughout, it was a vehicle for boosterism, and Allen Weir, its editor from approximately May 4, 1877, to 1889, was

¹⁴Port Townsend Register (Port Townsend, Washington) (hereafter cited as Register), July 26, 1860.

¹⁵Register, November 14, 1860.

¹⁶The North-West (Port Townsend, Washington), July 8, 1860.

an especially active booster. In his salutatory editorial he announced that he wanted to develop a "commercial newspaper" and promised that "whatever of the great natural and artificial resources of the Puget Sound country still remained undeveloped or unknown to the world, it will be the object of our earnest labor to unveil to an extent limited only by our ability."¹⁷ The Democratic Press, first published on August 31, 1877 claimed to "promote the external and internal prosperity of [the] Territory."¹⁸ Its editors, H.L. Blanchard and Frank Meyers conducted weekly battles with Allen Weir of the Argus, often over conflicting theories of economic development, although they wrangled over politics more often.¹⁹

While claiming devotion to territorial interests, the papers were in actuality fiercely parochial. The Port of Entry Times was more honest about this than some. It was "devoted to general news and the best interests of Port Townsend" and its future as a "business center and railway terminus."²⁰ The Port Townsend Call was published between 1885 and 1910. The Port Townsend Leader was first sold in 1889

¹⁷Puget Sound Argus (Port Townsend, Washington), hereafter cited as Argus, May 4, 1877.

¹⁸Democratic Press (Port Townsend, Washington), August 31, 1877.

¹⁹The Press consolidated with the Argus on January 21, 1881, turning over to the Argus its "business, good will and patronage" (Argus January 21, 1881).

²⁰Port of Entry Times (Port Townsend, Washington) January 12, 1884.

and is still published once a week.²¹ Both the Call and the Leader promoted the commercial interests of the County rather than those of the Puget Sound region.

These newspapers make for colorful reading today. As James McCurdy commented, although "small in size, [they] made up for the deficiency by the force and eloquence of their utterances [which were] personal . . . abusive and . . . contemptuous of libel statutes."²² However, they were more than amusing copy for their nineteenth-century readers (see discussion of newspapers in Note on Sources below). Newspapers reported national, regional and local news and provided space for advertisements. Because their editors exchanged papers with each other and reprinted articles from other papers, they also disseminated territorial news and attitudes throughout the Sound area. Newspapers often had political agendas as well, and declared themselves either Republican or Democratic.²³ However, local newspapers were perhaps most important as vehicles of boosterism and as a forum for discussion of booster-related issues. It was not unusual for a frontier newspaper to

²¹Its name was changed to the Jefferson County Leader several years ago.

²²McCurdy 143.

²³For instance, The North-West was owned by J.P. Keller, a wealthy Republican and partner in the Puget Mill Company, and its editor, John Damon, had edited a newspaper for the Republican party in Stockton, California, in 1856 (North-West, January 18, 1862.)

begin publication at the behest of a local property holder wanting "to boom his town."²⁴

Historian David Hamer argues that "one of the main functions of [the booster] press . . . was to suppress information about, or divert attention from, the darker, grimmer, less hopeful aspects of urban life."²⁵ However, Jefferson County newspapers often initiated or published discussion and debate about boosterist issues which did not pull punches about the negative aspects of life in Jefferson County. Part of the agenda of local newspaper editors and owners was to inform the outside world of the advantages and potential of their particular locale. Indeed, the North-West promised to be "a medium through which our hardy and adventurous pioneers [can] transmit to their friends at a distance . . . accounts of the resources [of the area] and that by means of a wide dissemination of facts . . . immigration might be induced."²⁶

²⁴Lafayette Balch was one such "town proprietor" who commissioned Charles Prosch to edit the Steilacoom Puget Sound Herald, second newspaper in Washington Territory (Charles Prosch, Reminiscences of Washington Territory (Seattle, Washington, 1904; reprint, Fairfield, Washington, 1969), qtn. 7, 11.) The Quilcene Queen was another 'boom' newspaper, founded in 1891 by Milton Satterlee who was paid to move from Wisconsin to Jefferson County by landholders in Quilcene (Brandon Satterlee, Dub of South Burlap (New York, 1952; reprint, Port Townsend, Washington, 1992), 7-10).

²⁵Hamer 60.

²⁶North-West, July 8, 1860.

Thus, when newspapers published long, descriptive articles extolling the virtues and glowing prospects of the county, the editors expected that copies would find their way to potential settlers. They were often sent to far-away friends and relatives by local residents who were eager for development--or just lonely for neighbors. More importantly, editors sent their newspapers to San Francisco, Victoria and other regional towns, as well as to the east coast to be marketed by newsdealers there.²⁷

According to Charles Prosch, such copies were read by individuals but were also "devoured . . . by assemblages, with the utmost avidity." Because interest in immigration to the west was high in more settled areas, whole neighborhoods would "collect . . . in one place and have somebody read aloud to them all that the paper contained, including sometimes even the advertisements." It would be "then borrowed and passed from hand to hand, perused and reperused until it was literally worn to shreds, and still the people continued reading as long as a shred remained." Prosch may exaggerate the fervor of his readers, but nevertheless frontier newspaper editors expected to reach beyond their local audience.²⁸

²⁷Register, July 26, 1860; Argus, July 26, 1877; Weekly Message, August 20, 1868.

²⁸Prosch 11, qtn. 36. See also: the Port Townsend Leader, January 12, 1892, for an article about a "wide-awake" newcomer buying "copies of the daily and weekly (Leader) to send to eastern farmer friends" (Port Townsend Leader (Port Townsend, Washington), hereafter cited as Leader, January 12, 1892). The Quilcene Queen (Quilcene, Washington), October 22, 1891, suggested, "Send a Copy to Your Friend--Extra copies of the Queen can be had at this office at 5c each. Send a copy . . . east, north or south. Let them . . . know what we have here."

Early newspaper editors also sent breaking news to the outside world as in March 1858 when Prosch of the Puget Sound Herald dispatched the first information of the Fraser River Gold Strike to San Francisco, shipping "column slips" to a newsdealer who sold them "like hotcakes".²⁹ And, once there was telegraph service, editors availed themselves of this method for publicizing the region, wiring news releases to newspapers in other regions.³⁰

In keeping with their promotional agenda, editorials and commentary often functioned as 'testimonials' to county growth--as when an 1860 Register reported with pride that there were "no less than seven buildings in the process of erection, some of them of large size[, a] bakery . . . hotel . . .livery stable . . .small store and office . . . dwelling houses . . . a blacksmith shop and forge," and further building activity was expected in the coming summer. Minor growth, perhaps, but to the Register it was "constant and permanent." Although "every one has the chronic cry of 'hard times' in this region, yet . . . we see no reason why the business prospects for this city are not fully equal to any place in the Territory."³¹

The local newspapers were a forum for local discussions of county development. As such they reveal the tensions between boosters as promoters and

²⁹Prosch 15.

³⁰Argus, July 3, 1979.

³¹Register, May 2, 1860.

boosters as analysts, as editors, reporters and individual letterwriters advised, criticized and prodded residents about developmental issues. The Weekly Message proposed that investment by local residents in a dry dock or marine railway--for hauling large ships out of the water for repairs--would be advantageous to the County. "We do not need [much] outlay." Thirty thousand dollars would fund the necessary railway for pulling steamers and large ships from the water, "suitable buildings for carpenter and blacksmith shops, sail and rigging lofts and a well-stocked chandlery store. . . . Let us have a marine railway or dry dock at once."³²

The North-West scolded county residents, maintaining in one article that true progress was slow because "we are too 'fast';" ready to give up "if we cannot make a fortune in a week." Solid growth required time and effort. At the same time the writer John Damon offered a critique of the local economy. He argued that "the man of capital" could and did profit by "importing certain marketable commodities for consumption in the settlement," but such business practices only provided quick profits for the entrepreneur and expensive commodities to customers. However, such a "man of capital . . . could more than double the profits which the first operation would secure," if he invested in the manufacture of goods locally or in agriculture or animal

³²Weekly Message, September 3, 1868. Or see Weekly Message, April 8, 1870, for an article lauding the establishment of a fisher whose boat supplied not only his own fish market, but also other communities throughout the Sound region; or the April 4, 1871, plea to the owners of a tug boat to add another tug to their fleet. "The two boats would find ample business, and it would not be long until nearly every vessel bound in or out would take a steamer to ensure dispatch."

husbandry. "Port Townsend alone, consumes on an average three beeves (sic) in two days, or five hundred and thirty-five head per year, beside mutton and pork. For this beef alone, the neat little sum of \$16,650 is sent to Oregon, every cent of which could be saved to our farmers." Investment in locally produced agricultural goods would provide profits for individuals, offer less expensive goods to consumers and keep capital in the Territory. "Let us have the farms and stock raisers. Let us keep our money at home."³³

Similar examples of such journalistic boosterism abound in the county's newspapers, but the newspapers were also actively involved in specific development issues. When turmoil over removal of the Customs House from Port Townsend erupted in 1861, two editors of The North-West played leading roles in the event.

The Battle for the Customs House

J. Ross Browne's attack on Port Townsend's reputation in 1858 was an implicit threat to its economic future. In 1862 Victor Smith, a Special Agent and Customs Collector for the Puget Sound Customs District, explicitly endangered that future when he instigated proceedings to move the Port of Entry from Port Townsend to Port Angeles--an almost uninhabited harbor forty-five miles west of Port Townsend.

³³North-West, October 25, 1860. In the same article, the writer proposed dairy farming and poultry raising as other examples of slow, but sure growth. "The Sound country produces about one-sixteenth of the butter she consumes, and pays for an imported, inferior article, prices which would yield a handsome profit for a better quality put up here. Of eggs the same remark is true."

The Puget Sound Customs District had been created in 1851 with Olympia the Port of Entry.³⁴ However, in 1854 the Port of Entry was moved to Port Townsend because of the town's deepwater harbor and the centrality of its location near the developing Lower Sound lumber industry (see Chapter I above). Customs was a valuable asset for Port Townsend, the basis for its status as a shipping center and integral to its economic prosperity. Further, without Customs, Port Townsend's ambitions to become a metropolis would have little chance of fruition. While the ensuing battle for the Customs House brought less national attention than the Browne controversy, it was of more serious concern. There was wide-spread county interest in the affair, as county landowners, Grand Jurymen, Marine Hospital patients and others protested Smith's agenda.

The incident also reinforced the importance of reputation. Smith argued that Port Angeles would be superior to Port Townsend as the headquarters of Customs by reason of its geography, but he also emphasized Port Townsend's notoriety, as established by Brown, stating that so disreputable a town was inappropriate for the Port of Entry.

³⁴My understanding of the customs house controversy is taken from local and territorial newspapers—especially The North-West September 1861 to October 1862. See also Marian Parks' biography of Smith, "A Man for His Season: Victor Smith, 1826-1865," (M.A. thesis, Claremont College, 1981); and McCurdy 54-59. Patricia Campbell, "The Victory Smith Saga," in With Pride in Heritage: History of Jefferson County, ed. Symposium of Jefferson County Historical Society (Port Townsend, Washington, 1966), 114-119 and Murray Morgan, Last Wilderness (New York, 1955), 45-54, give less reliable accounts.

Victor Smith was a federal official, but he was also a Port Angeles landowner and booster. He had been a newspaperman and real estate speculator in Ohio who was appointed Treasury Department Special Agent for the Pacific Coast and Customs Collector for Puget Sound in return for his work in the 1860 Republican presidential campaign. He arrived in Port Townsend on July 30, 1861.³⁵ Smith characterized himself as a reformist bent upon streamlining the Customs operations and reducing its maintenance costs. He claimed in his first semi-annual report of April 4, 1862, to have reduced the annual costs of collecting customs revenue, maintaining lighthouses and running the U.S. Marine Hospital for the Puget Sound District by approximately \$12,000.³⁶

His reforms were unpopular with Port Townsendites,³⁷ and the Marine Hospital patients complained that the savings made in supplies for the hospital were at their expense. Writing to The North-West, they said that the food served them was not "fit for the sick." "Fat salt pork and beef most of the time, and hard bread instead of soft [and] restricted as to the quantity of hard bread . . . This is not the

³⁵Parks 15-35.

³⁶ Smith reported that he had decreased the cost per patient in the hospital from \$2 per day to \$1.50; dismissed unnecessary inspectors from the Customs service; decreased remaining employees' salaries, and proposed changing purchasing procedures which would also lower expenditures. Smith even found a cheaper office for Customs, reducing the monthly rent from \$600 to \$180 "(with better accommodations)" (North-West, June 14, 1862, July 12, 1862).

³⁷North-West, September 26, 1861, October 3, 1861, February 1, 1862.

diet laid down in the Government Regulations"!³⁸ Smith was also criticized for employing his father as a lighthouse keeper and his younger brother as a customs inspector.³⁹

Then Smith announced his plan to relocate the Port of Entry. Addressing the issue in the local and territorial press, Smith said he had been directed by the Treasury Department to follow the advice of "former special agents and other parties to investigate the 'unfortunate temporary location [in Port Townsend] of the Port of Entry for Puget Sound,' and the natural fitness of Port Angelos [Angeles] for a permanent location." After due consideration, he had come to the conclusion that removal of Customs to Port Angeles would be in the best interests of the public.⁴⁰

Smith argued several points: that the Port of Entry should be a safe harbor closest to the ocean--it was forty-five miles nearer the ocean than Port Townsend;⁴¹ that Port Townsend was inconvenient for ships travelling to ports west and north of Port Townsend; and that if Customs was located in Port Angeles--which is directly across the Strait of Juan de Fuca from Victoria--it would draw trade to the American

³⁸The North-West, March 8, 1862.

³⁹Parks 60.

⁴⁰North-West, November 2, 1861.

⁴¹When the Customs House was moved from Port Townsend to Seattle in 1913, the purpose of the move was to bring Customs to the center of shipping activity, not to the first port in from the Pacific Ocean.

side of the Strait from British Columbia, trade which presently went to Victoria. Thus, claimed Smith, Port Angeles was geographically superior to Port Townsend, its location more convenient for shipping and likely to increase American commerce.⁴²

However, Smith's most important points were based on the perceived disreputability of Port Townsend as depicted by Ross Browne. Smith wrote the Overland Press that "a most respectable" number of Port Townsendites would be willing to "sacrifice all their investments [in Port Townsend] for the sake of a residence where . . . there was a good harbor, fresh water and provision for a school, a church and other improvements desirable in a place of residence."⁴³

Expanding his argument in The North-West, Smith argued that Port Townsend could prosper without "a pitiful little Customs House that don't (sic) collect so much in a year as a well-driven shoe shop should in six months." But first, residents would have to make drastic changes in the town before "the over-true pictures drawn of this village by Ross Browne," would cease to prejudice investors and settlers against Port Townsend. It would be necessary first to refashion the town into "a more desirable, not to say possible, place of residence for families." If the "town proprietors" wanted to attract families and men of substance they should "invest in schools, local

⁴²Letter from Overland Press (Olympia, Washington), quoted in North-West, January 25, 1862.

⁴³Overland Press quoted in North-West January 25, 1862, qms.; North-West November 16, 1861. Smith was editor of The Northwest for approximately six weeks, and he reiterated his point of view through that medium as well as through letters to the editors of other territorial newspapers.

newspapers and churches [rather] than in lending [their money] at three per cent per month. . . .to induce young men to open . . . 'rum mills.' [Thus we] "barb . . . the arrows of our up-Sound enemies, [Seattle and Olympia] by destroying our reputation."

Smith said ironically that he was not opposed to all drinking establishments. "The 'mills' aforesaid, are all well enough in their way and their keepers among the best men in the village." However, some balance was necessary. "If there were fewer saloons, or if some other kind of business was sandwiched thicker in between them," and if the town also had "a policeman or wharf-watchman [to] prevent those most disgraceful scenes that too frequently occur here when a passenger steamer ventures to the dock."⁴⁴ Other desirable improvements might be named--a water company, Blacksmith shop, liberal newspaper support, etc, etc,--tho' enough has been said to indicate the direction of village enterprise."⁴⁵ According to Smith, not only was the harbor at Port Angeles a more suitable geographic location for the Port of Entry, but Port Townsend was too disreputable.

Port Townsendites, of course, disagreed with Smith. As to geographic location, it was pointed out that the U.S. Coast Survey of 1858 had concluded that without a lighthouse the spit at Port Angeles was a navigation danger; that the harbor had a "sticky bottom" and that while there was fresh water close to shore, "extensive

⁴⁴Smith probably refers to prostitutes or drunks.

⁴⁵North-West, November 16, 1861.

flats render it hard to obtain." In contrast, Port Townsend's harbor was "favorably situated" for Puget Sound shipping with shelter from the weather, a "hard, sandy bottom," and with a wharf and mercantile establishments close at hand.⁴⁶ Further, when Smith was accused of being one of five partners in the township of Port Angeles--where he was building a home and farm--it was argued that he only wanted to move Customs to Port Angeles his own "pecuniary gain."⁴⁷

John Damon, editor of The North-West, led the protests against removal. Initially, Damon and Smith were friendly with one another. Soon after Smith arrived in Port Townsend, he arranged for Damon to become a Customs Inspector, and he took over as editor of The North-West. However, the two men fell out--why is not entirely clear--and six weeks later Damon returned to his editorship entirely at odds with Smith. He devoted whole issues of The North-West to the controversy in which Damon presented a detailed defense of the suitability of Port Townsend's location for the Port of Entry; raised the issue of Smith's proprietorial interests at Port Angeles and in general attacked Smith's integrity as a government official.⁴⁸

⁴⁶North-West, March 22, 1862.

⁴⁷Washington Standard (Olympia, Washington), January 25, 1862, February 8, 1862.

⁴⁸To list a few of Damon's accusations: Damon said that Smith had received financial gain from the sale of the U.S. Revenue Cutter JEFFERSON DAVIS (North-West, January 11, 1862); that Smith used appointments in the Customs Service to influence legislators to withdraw support of Joint Resolution No. 3 (January 18, 1862); that he used Revenue Service Cutter crewmen to work on his property in Port Angeles (February 8, 1862); that he found employment for family members in government service when they were not competent to do the work; that Smith received kickbacks from

However, concern over the removal reached beyond Damon. In the late winter of 1861, Joint Resolution No. 3, "Relative to the Collector at Port Townsend," was introduced in the Territorial Legislature; it was then referred it to a select committee. The Resolution accused Smith of "using his official as well as personal influence to procure the removal of the Port of Entry" from Port Townsend to Port Angeles, "in the property of which latter site the said official has a pecuniary and landed interest." Further, such a removal was not desired by "the people of any section of the Territory." It was contrary to the best "interests of that commerce which is so important to the well-being of all our communities, and can advantage none save such as would mar the general prosperity for their own personal aggrandizement. It requested that the resolution be forwarded to the Territorial Delegate in Congress "with the earnest request that he use his best endeavors to prevent the removal contemplated."

While the select committee recommended the resolution's passage, the larger Assembly requested more evidence about Smith's "pecuniary and landed interest"--an interest which Smith vehemently denied. Accordingly, three affidavits were sent to the Legislature in which Albert Briggs, F.W. Pettygrove and John Damon each swore that Victor Smith had talked in their presence about his partnership in the township of

Dr. Allyn, the newly appointed head of the Marine Hospital; as well as making improper use of government services and supplies for his family needs (June 14, 1862).

Port Angeles and about his plans to turn the town into a rival for Victoria, B.C. The affidavits failed to sway the Legislative Assembly, however, and the resolution failed.⁴⁹

Protest continued, however. One January morning, "a haggard looking effigy was seen suspended from the truck (sic) of the pole at the Custom House . . . it was labelled to represent Victor Smith, Esq., Collector." The North-West hastened to disavow such a disreputable form of protest, saying that "however disagreeable a man may succeed in making himself in a community, we think there are other channels of popular expression more in accordance with good taste than [this]; we are glad that our citizens not only deny complicity in, but severely deprecate and strongly denounce the transaction."⁵⁰

Damon was eager to maintain a certain distance between the majority of Port Townsendites and the 'rowdies' who hanged Smith in effigy. However, Smith capitalized on the disreputableness of the event, claiming in a letter to his patron, Treasury Secretary Salmon Chase, that "the ruined grog shops of Port Townsend,

⁴⁹North-West, December 28, 1861, January 18, 1862, February 1, 1862, February 8, 1862; Washington Standard, January 25, 1862. It will be recalled that Briggs and Pettygrove were Donation Land Act claimants and owned significant amounts of land in or near Port Townsend. Pettygrove was one of the men who established the townsite of Port Townsend.

⁵⁰North-West, January 11, 1862.

heretofore sustained by the drunken sailors . . . admitted to board in the Hospital, hung me in effigy."⁵¹

During a regular meeting of the U.S. District Court in February 1861, the Grand Jury tried to make a formal complaint to the Court about Smith. "Outraged and insulted by . . . certain remarks and assertions made by one Victor Smith. . . . that the Grand Jury was subject to the influence of E.S. Fowler [wharf owner, merchant and ship chandler]," the jury asked the Court to either exonerate them or to silence Smith "from further insulting the character and integrity of this body." The presiding judge believed their complaint was out of order to the proceedings of the Grand Jury, and he refused to consider their complaint. His decision aroused great resentment; and one juryman was so fervent in his response to the situation as to merit a \$20 fine and release from his duties as a juryman.⁵²

In May 1862 Smith left Port Townsend for Washington, D.C., to be present for Congressional consideration of the removal. Machinations against Smith continued, however. The Olympia Washington Standard recorded one such local incident in which Justice E.P. Dyer--knowing full well that Smith was absent--issued a summons for Smith to appear in court "to answer to a complaint of one Billy

⁵¹Ltr. from Victory Smith to Secretary of the Treasury Salmon P. Chase qtd. in Parks 41. When Smith had reorganized the operations of the Marine Hospital in the fall of 1861, he moved its quarters to Fort Townsend three miles from town.

⁵²North-West, March 22, 1862. The Grand Jury's complaint was dated February 17, 1862.

Armstrong, to recover the value of certain 'ictas' [Chinook for small things] sold and delivered, amounting to some \$40. Rather than serving notice on Smith's resident wife, Sheriff J.G. Clinger⁵³ served a copy on the Deputy Collector of Customs. The scheduled day in court arrived with no member of the Smith family present, and Dyer "rendered judgment by default [and] advertise[d] a horse [belonging to the Smiths] for sale under execution issued on said judgment" Mrs. Smith, in accordance with territorial law, "claimed the horse on behalf of herself and husband as exempt from execution, it being [their] only domestic animal.

Dyer summoned three townsmen to "determine the question of exemption," and after hearing the evidence, two of the men declared the horse exempt. The third disagreed however, and another panel was also unable to agree on the question. Dyer declared that "the horse will be sold."⁵⁴ The final outcome of this particular situation is not known. But that harassment continued is indicated by Mrs. Smith's letter to her husband saying that she had "been made to suffer in many ways and severely by the miserable rabble of Port Townsend."⁵⁵

⁵³Judge Dyer and Sheriff Clinger, one of the original Donation Land Act claimants, were both Port Townsend businessmen and landowners.

⁵⁴Washington Standard, July 19, 1862.

⁵⁵Qtd. in Parks 80.

Smith's opponents then carried their protests to Washington, D.C. Before leaving for the capitol, Smith appointed Lt. J.H. Merryman, an officer of the revenue cutter JOSEPH LANE to serve as Acting Collector.⁵⁶ During Smith's absence Merryman claimed to have become convinced that Smith had never posted bonds for his position as Collector, and further, that Smith had embezzled funds from the Treasury Department. Merryman both wired and wrote the Department about his findings.⁵⁷ Meanwhile, Congress had approved the removal of Customs to Port Angeles; and Smith, learning of Merryman's complaints against him, convinced Secretary Chase that what appeared to be withdrawals of funds from government accounts were merely monies shifted from one account to another. He thereby retained Chase's support.⁵⁸

Smith returned to Port Townsend August 1, 1862 onboard the U.S. Revenue cutter SHUBRICK. Disembarking, he approached the Customs House only to be refused entry by Merryman, who requested that he show "his authority or commission [which] "Smith answered . . . was in the safe." Merryman replied that Smith knew that his bonds had never been filed, and that he had never had authority to act as

⁵⁶North-West, May 24, 1862.

⁵⁷North-West, July 5, 1862; Parks 77-78.

⁵⁸Parks 78.

Collector. In light of these facts, Merryman said he refused to surrender his acting authority to Smith.

The two men wrangled for a time. Smith then returned to the SHUBRICK where he "caused her guns to be double shotted as it is said with shell." He had then aimed at "the property and persons of [Port Townsend]. He then caused a body of armed men to be marched on shore, and by force took possession of the Customs House," removing all official documents.⁵⁹ The SHUBRICK with Smith aboard steamed away to Port Angeles which was now the Port of Entry. Smith probably thought that this was end of the incident.⁶⁰

However, Smith had fallen afoul of territorial officials as well as Port Townsendites. According to Smith's biographer, territorial politics were particularly "vituperative" in this period. Washington, a Democratic party stronghold throughout its short history, was in shock as "the new Republican party's presidential coup of 1860 provid[ed] lucrative patronage appointments to strangers." In addition, divisions within each party were customary as party members jostled with one another for power. Smith, a supporter of Salmon Chase, was seen to represent different interests than several of the leading territorial Republicans, especially Territorial Governor

⁵⁹North-West, August 21, 1862, qms. from the petition, "To the President, Abraham Lincoln, and to the Senate and House of Representative of the United Sates, in Congress assembled," "numerously signed."

⁶⁰North-West, August 9, 1862.

William Pickering and Surveyor General Henry Anson who were both personal friends of President Lincoln. Acting Collector Merryman, who had personal ties to Pickering, Anson and Lincoln, was also a member of a different faction from Smith. The animosity between Smith and his fellow Republicans boiled over about the issue of the Customs removal.⁶¹

In the wake of the SHUBRICK incident, Governor Pickering, ex-Governor Henry McGill and other territorial notables visited Port Townsend to investigate complaints about Smith. Soon there was a warrant for the arrest of Smith and the commanding officer of the SHUBRICK, "on a charge of assault with intent to kill." Attempts were made to serve the warrant, but Smith evaded arrest.⁶²

Charges were brought against Smith during the fall session of the Third District Court. He requested a change of venue, and the session was moved to Olympia where the grand jury brought indictments against him for, among other things: embezzling upwards of \$20,000 in government funds (this was based on Merryman's findings); for receiving kickbacks from Dr. Allyn, whom he had placed in charge of the Marine Hospital; for "converting to his own use and embezzling a portion of the provision and apparel and furniture of the [federal government] vessel

⁶¹Parks vii, 43. See: Robert W. Johannsen, "The Secession Crisis and the Frontier: Washington Territory, 1860-61, *Journal of American History* XXXIX (December 1952): 415-440.

⁶²*Washington Standard*, August 16, 1862; *North-West*, August 31, 1862.

called the Jefferson Davis" when the vessel was sold; for "unlawfully engaging in the purchase of public lands." He was also charged with "unlawfully and in high misdemeanour be[ing] concerned or interested in carrying on the business of trade or commerce" in Port Angeles, where he was a landholder and hoped to become a townbuilder. The U.S. Prosecuting Attorney added a charge for assault with intent to kill--referring to the August 1, 1862 SHUBRICK incident.⁶³

However, Treasury Department Special Agent Thomas Brown absolved Smith in November 1862 from the charges brought against him; and the indictments were nullified in February 1863 by Solicitor of the Treasury, Edward Jordan, at the order of Secretary Chase.⁶⁴ Nevertheless, territorial political antagonism for Smith continued. In May 1863 Anson Henry convinced Lincoln that he should have Smith removed from his position as Customs Collector. He was then reappointed Treasury Department Special Agent for the Pacific Coast, a position he had resigned from in 1862. In 1865, Smith drowned in a shipwreck en route to Puget Sound from San Francisco.⁶⁵

With the death of Smith, the fortunes of Port Angeles declined. L.C. Gunn who had followed Smith as Collector was succeeded by Fred A. Wilson on March 7,

⁶³North-West, October 2, 1862; Parks 83.

⁶⁴Parks 83-89.

⁶⁵Parks 89-102.

1865. Wilson was a Port Townsend man, and he moved to return the Port of Entry to Port Townsend. Free of opposition from Smith, Wilson was successful, and on July 25, 1866, the Port of Entry for Puget Sound returned to Port Townsend after an absence of almost four years.

There was great rejoicing upon the re-establishment of the headquarters. The old cannon on Union Dock-- owned by Captain Tibbals-- was fired and Wilson was tendered the thanks of the community at a public ovation held in his honor.⁶⁶

Jefferson County had had a close call. The Customs House was crucial to Port Townsend's potential greatness, but also to its present prosperity which must have suffered with the removal of Customs. Indeed, when Port Angeles lost the Port of Entry in 1866, development and immigration there dwindled to little or nothing. Writing many years after the battle for the Customs House, newspaper editor Allen Weir described Port Angeles as "a small town [established] about twenty years ago when it was the port of entry . . . when the [Port] returned to Port Townsend a little later, a general decline in the growth of the place commenced. All that there is of it at present is a few houses, not all of which are occupied."⁶⁷

⁶⁶McCurdy 54-59, qm. 58-59

⁶⁷Immigration Aid Society of North-Western Washington, *North-Western Washington. Its Soil, Climate, Productions and General Resources: With Detailed Description of the Counties of Jefferson Clalam, Island, San Juan and Whatcom*, ed. Allen Weir (Port Townsend, Washington, 1880), 24.

Smith's biographer, Marian Parks, emphasizes the importance of politics in her analysis of this event, but she fails to understand the economic aspects of the event. Certainly, politics was an important component.⁶⁸ Political patronage gave Smith the power to set in motion the removal of Customs to Port Angeles; and political divisions within the Republican party contributed to his removal from the Collectorship.

Nevertheless, boosterism is at the core of the battle for the Customs House. Victor Smith came to Washington Territory with a background in frontier land speculation. By his own admission, he believed that if the Port of Entry was moved to Port Angeles, the town would become a commercial rival to Victoria, B.C. Further, not only was Smith a Port Angeles landowner, at least two of the people who had previously recommended the removal of Customs to Port Angeles owned land there--Lt. John W. White of the JEFFERSON DAVIS and former Customs Collector M.H. Frost. Smith used their recommendations in building his case for removal.⁶⁹ Although Smith denied throughout the controversy that moving the Customs House would make any difference to Port Townsend's future, he as well as Port Angeles landowners, White and Frost, certainly understood the importance of the 'Port' to Port Angeles' commercial development and community promotion. Shortly after Congress

⁶⁸Parks 38.

⁶⁹Parks 44, 58-59; Washington Standard, November 8, 1862.

approved removal of the Port of Entry to Port Angeles, Smith sent the following news release to several regional and national newspapers.

The port of Port Townsend in the now important Custom House district of Puget Sound, was abolished by Act of Congress 16 June last, and Angelos [Port Angeles] was established as the port of entry and delivery for said district.

Port Angeles is on the splendid harbor of that name. [It] is convenient to commerce, has the lands of the Elwha Valley on the west, and the equally rich farming district of Dungeness on the east. It has coal mines in the immediate vicinity, and the place is remarkable for the "water works" which nature has provided ready made for the future town; no less than four mountain streams of the purest water come into the bay within the town site, and with fall enough for any desirable [industrial] purpose.

In connection with the "classic" location of the now late [Smith's italics] Custom House on Puget sound, it may be asked whether our California traveller-ex-Special Agent Ross Browne--will be able, with the aid of Harper's wood cut, to "do justice" to the realization of his official dream--the removal of the port of entry for Puget Sound and the Straits of Fuca? West Coast readers will remember his humorously scathing Sketches of Port Townsend --"that brackish-watered beach on a storm-swept roadstead, whose people have respect unto Clotchmen [Chinook jargon for Native American woman] but do profitably devour the male Indian with strychnine whisky and each other with slander-sharpened teeth".⁷⁰

⁷⁰San Francisco Bulletin (San Francisco, California), quoted in North-West, August 21, 1862.

This wily piece of promotional prose attributes to Port Angeles all the necessary conditions for development current in boosterist thinking. It exemplifies not only Smith's own boosterism and the importance of reputation in the competition between these rival towns, but why the struggle over the Customs House was so hard-fought.

Courting the Railroad

With the return of the Port of Entry, county boosters shifted their attention to railroad concerns. The importance of railroads to economic development has been a frequent subject of discussion; indeed, the advent of transcontinental railroads drastically altered the Puget Sound region, allowing the development of new markets for the lumber industry, spurring other industries, and bringing thousands of immigrants to the area. Long before the event, Puget Sound boosters longed for the 'midas touch' of the railroad. Even before construction of the railroad began, Puget Sound residents were stricken with what one Portland newspaperman called "terminus disease." Newspaper editors sang the praises of their respective communities and denigrated those of rivals. Real estate speculators wooed potential investors and one company advertised lots in several towns and sites--one of which was Port Townsend. Ads suggested that buyers purchase something in each of Clark's Additions, since "the

probabilities are that the Northern Pacific Railroad will touch at two or more of the places named, which will insure the purchaser a large profit upon his investment."⁷¹

Jefferson County may have flirted with railroads longer and less successfully than any other Puget Sound community: residents sought at one time or another from the late 1860s into the twentieth century to establish a railroad connection to the outside world, although their efforts ultimately came to naught.⁷² However, at end of the Civil War Jefferson County residents were hopeful. The railroad was on its way.

The time [would] soon come when the whistle of the locomotive and rattle of the cars [would] wake the echoes of the Northern wilderness, which is destined soon to 'blossom as the rose.'⁷³

Railroads were still in their infancy when New York merchant Asa Whitney made the first serious proposal for a transcontinental railroad in 1844. At the time Congress was unwilling to take the project, but by the early 1850s there was serious interest in the undertaking; and on March 3, 1853, Congress authorized the Secretary

⁷¹G. Thomas Edwards, "'Terminus Disease:' The Clark P. Crandall Description of Puget Sound in 1871," Pacific Northwest Quarterly 70 (October 1979), 177; Argus, June 27, 1871, qtn. There were even two breweries named for the railroad: North Pacific Steam Brewery in Seattle, and North Pacific Railroad Brewery of Steilacoom (Argus, May 2, 1872).

⁷²Eventually, lines were built which connected some Jefferson County towns and other Olympic Peninsula towns to one another, but none of these tracks left the Peninsula.

⁷³Weekly Message, March 11, 1870. The Message was quoting Governor Marshall Moore--see below.

of War to arrange for five surveys of possible routes for a transcontinental railroad.⁷⁴ However, by the time the railroad surveys were made available to Congress, the question of a transcontinental railroad had been displaced by sectional politics.

It was not until the southern states had seceded that Congress was able to come to agreement upon the issue of transcontinental railroads. The Pacific Railway Bill of 1862 granted charters to the Union and Central Pacific Railroads to connect California and the East by rail: this line was completed on May 10, 1869. The Northern Pacific Railroad, chartered in 1864 to build a railroad between the Great Lakes and Puget Sound, began construction in 1871.

During the intervening period of 1864 to 1871, Puget Sounders had suffered pangs of anxiety and despair. Portland was the leading city of the Pacific Northwest, but Puget Sound residents believed that the Northern Pacific railroad would shift regional dominance to the Sound.⁷⁵ Echoing Isaac Stevens' earlier arguments, Washington Governor Marshall Moore told the 1869 Territorial Legislative Assembly that a railroad connection would put Puget Sound in the center of "the great highway of trade and travel, extending from Liverpool and Havre to Hong Kong and

⁷⁴Carlos A. Schwantes, The Pacific Northwest, 171,173; Kent D. Richards, Isaac I. Stevens: Young Man in a Hurry (Provo, Utah, 1979), 47.

⁷⁵See Johansen and Gates, 305-315, for a general discussion of the Northern Pacific Railroad in the Pacific Northwest. For a discussion of the intense interest displayed by Puget Sound communities in capturing the Northern Pacific terminus see Edwards 163-177.

Yokohama." Railroads are "the true alchemy of the age, which transmutes the otherwise worthless resources of a county into gold." Throughout the West, said Moore, "the broad prairies and boundless forests . . . teem with population and wealth Wherever the iron track has been laid, and the whistle heard, 'the wilderness has been made to bud and blossom as the rose.'"⁷⁶

In 1870, the federal government allowed Northern Pacific to change its western terminus from Puget Sound to the Columbia River. Puget Sound residents were outraged: "The Almighty . . . decreed that any great north continental railroad should terminate on Puget Sound."⁷⁷ Portland property values increased, while they languished in Puget Sound. However, it turned out that hope was not yet lost. According to the Weekly Message a railroad connection between the Columbia River and Puget Sound was to be built, and although "Puget Sound at present is but a cul-de-sac, . . . let a means of communication with the interior and with Oregon be opened, and it will be like tapping a pent up lake. The tide of commerce will flow through and make for itself a channel which will force all northern roads to come to Puget Sound as the best means of communication with the ocean."⁷⁸

⁷⁶Qtd. by Edwards, 164.

⁷⁷Washington Standard, June 11, 1870, qtd. by Edwards 164.

⁷⁸Weekly Message, February 25, 1870.

The Message was correct about the line between Puget Sound and the Columbia River; construction soon began on a track from Kalama, Washington--on the Columbia River, near Portland--to Puget Sound. Puget Sound residents again looked forward to the enlivened economy and growing population which they trusted would follow in the wake of the railroad; and communities resumed efforts to capture the Puget Sound terminus.

In Jefferson County, James Swan took up the task of promoting Port Townsend for the terminus.⁷⁹ Writing on December 3, 1868, he argued the benefits of Port Townsend to Thomas H. Canfield, general agent for the Northern Pacific. Referring to his long acquaintance with the late Governor Stevens, who, he said, had always been of the opinion that Port Townsend would be an ideal terminus, Swan enumerated several points in Port Townsend's favor. One was, "ease of approach [to Port Townsend] from the ocean." Prevailing winds which made it difficult for sailing vessels to maneuver once they sailed past Admiralty Inlet made it easy for vessels to sail up the Strait of Juan de Fuca as far as Port Townsend.

There are no good harbors [past the Inlet] that can be approached by sailing vessels without having to resort to towing very frequently during the year, but sail vessels as well as steamers can at all times reach Port Townsend . .

⁷⁹Jane Turner, "Inventory of James G. Swan Papers, 1852-1907," May 1990, Special Collections, University of British Columbia, Vancouver, B.C., Canada, 6; Lucile McDonald, Swan Among the Indians: Life of James G. Swan, 1818-1900 (Portland, Oregon, 1972), 139-152; Ivan Doig, Winter Brothers: A Season at the Edge of America (New York, 1980), 135-139.

. easier and with less loss of time than any other point on Puget Sound.

Swan continued, saying that the water at "Commencement City" (Tacoma) and Seattle was too deep for consistently safe anchorages, while at Port Townsend the water was a perfect six to seventeen fathoms. In order for the railroad to reach Port Townsend, it would come from the Columbia River to Olympia. Track would be laid from Olympia along the Hood Canal, a task facilitated by the stands of timber along the shores of the Canal which would provide necessary wood for bridges.⁸⁰ Further, "a ship could sail direct from New York with a cargo of Railroad iron, which could be landed at any desired point on Hoods [sic] Canal."

Assuring Canfield that Port Townsend was surrounded by the hinterland necessary to support a potential metropolis, he said, "the whole of the rich valley of the Chahalis . . . and the valley of the Willopah, the garden of the Territory . . . would be tributary to a city at Port Townsend, and could furnish supplies for a population larger than the dreams of the most sanguine enthusiast could ever hope to place on this peninsula."⁸¹

⁸⁰James G. Swan to Thomas H. Canfield, Esq., Gen Agent Norther Pacific RR, Burlington, Vermont, December 3, 1868, James G. Swan Papers, 1852-1907, Special Collections, University of British Columbia, Vancouver, B.C., Canada.

⁸¹James G. Swan to Thomas H. Canfield, Esq, General Agent Northern Pacific Rail Road Co, No 54 Broadway, NY, February 27, 1869, James G. Swan Papers, Special Collections, University of British Columbia. Both Swan and Al Pettygrove, son of founder Francis Pettygrove and editor for a time of both the Weekly Message and the Argus--and probably other county boosters--would appear to have been proponents of ideas about western development which centered on "the symbiotic

In early May 1869, Swan and an engineer made a reconnaissance of Hood Canal by canoe. All the more convinced of the practicality of a route along Hood Canal, he wrote again to Canfield, assuring him of the suitability of Port Townsend.⁸² Eventually, Canfield hired Swan to write reports detailing the advantages and disadvantages of several Puget Sound ports, and to act as host for various parties of visiting railroad officials and other dignitaries. In November 1870 Swan suggested that an important commercial link could be made between the Amur River in southern Siberia--then the boundary between Russia and China and a rendezvous point for whaling ships--and Puget Sound, an idea Isaac Stevens had propounded in 1859 when he was Territorial Delegate, and Swan had written about in 1860.⁸³

In January 1871, Swan met with eight of the county's leading landowners to gather signatures on agreements which would deed land to the railroad if it decided to locate its terminus in Port Townsend within a year. In March he made another trip down Hood Canal, this time accompanied by a Northern Pacific railroad engineer,

relationship between cities and their surrounding countrysides" (William Cronon, Nature's Metropolis: Chicago and the Great West [New York, 1991], 34). See Introduction above.

⁸²James G. Swan to Thomas H. Canfield Esq, General Agent Northern Pacific Rail Road Co, May 12, 1869, James G. Swan Papers, Special Collections, University of British Columbia.

⁸³Richards 326; Register, April 18, 1860. Swan later published the report he made to Canfield in a pamphlet (C.H. Hanford to Hon. J.G. Swan, Port Townsend, August 19, 1885, James G. Swan Papers, 1852-1907, Special Collections, University of British Columbia, Vancouver, B.C., Canada.

H.C. Hale. As reported by the Weekly Message, the trip "proved the fact of the practicability and facility with which a railroad can reach . . . Port Townsend. . . It now remains to be seen what action the committee of the directors will take."⁸⁴

However, Swan's work came to naught and all hopes were dashed in 1872 when Tacoma was chosen terminus.⁸⁵ There was a certain logic to Swan's argument about the suitability of Port Townsend for a terminus, as well as to Seattle's assumption that its superior population of 2000 people would ensure its winning the terminus. However, Northern Pacific preferred the sparsely settled village on Commencement Bay. Here the railroad and its affiliates, the Oregon Steam Navigation Company and the St. Paul and Tacoma Land Company were able to buy inexpensive waterfront and other land for speculation. Bringing the track to the water's edge, they built wharves and engaged in the sea trade ; no rail service was provided to other Puget Sound communities at this time.⁸⁶

In September 1873 financial difficulties brought construction of the westbound track between Kalama and Bismarck, North Dakota, to a standstill. Jay Cooke's bank, which had financed the Northern Pacific, failed, ushering in the depression of

⁸⁴Weekly Message, March 18, 1871.

⁸⁵Murray Morgan, Skid Road: An Informal Portrait of Seattle, revised ed.(New York, 1971; Sausalito, California, 1978), 67.

⁸⁶Johansen and Gates 308.

the 1870s. The region would have to wait a decade for the railroads. It was not until 1883, thirty years after Stevens' survey, that the entire line was finished, and Puget Sound finally received its transcontinental link.

Although disappointed by the failure of efforts to snare the terminus, at least one Jefferson County booster expressed confidence that the county would not fail to grow--with or without the Northern Pacific railroad. Even before it was known that Tacoma had won the Northern Pacific terminus, Al Pettygrove wrote that if Port Townsend lost that terminus, there was the possibility that the Pennsylvania Central and Union Pacific would establish a connection between Port Townsend or Port Discovery and Salt Lake City.⁸⁷ And regardless of where the railroad terminated, "the different places along the Sound will have advanced in importance, and it will matter little where the investment is made in real estate, an increased value is sure to accrue."⁸⁸

Further, according to Pettygrove, there were other opportunities for growth in the county. Recent developments in the fishing industry and commercial links with Alaska held promise. These were "causes of prosperity . . . which have come to us quietly, without flourish of trumpets, or influence of rail-roads or saw-mills. They will be the means of insuring a permanency to Port Townsend, and create a healthy

⁸⁷Weekly Message, February 25, 1870.

⁸⁸Argus, June 27, 1871.

business far better for us than the feverish rush of speculators in corner lots and water rights."

Returning to what was perceived to be Port Townsend's strongest point, Pettygrove reiterated that "Port Townsend is and will be the Port of entry for the Puget Sound district and always from its geographical position must be a point of commercial importance." It therefore did not matter where the railroad terminated since all shipping "bound for that terminus from the coast must pass by and stop at Port Townsend first, and thereby, be a direct benefit to our people." Resorting to a theme favored by those boosters who wanted to be encouraging in spite of disappointments, Pettygrove wrote, "our growth has been slow, but it has been sure, and we think the prospects for this place never were in so cheering condition as at the present day."⁸⁹

The Immigration Aid Society: Immigration, Capital Investment and Agriculture

Immigration was as important to the commercial vision held by county residents as the Port of Entry or transportation routes. Boosters understood that people were essential to frontier development, and many believed that, by itself, an increase in population would stimulate economic development.

⁸⁹Weekly Message, February 25, 1870.

The benefits which will accrue to . . . those who come among us . . . as well as to the Territory by their settlement can be neither few nor uncertain. The larger our populations, and the more our resources are worked, the greater will their extent appear and demand for labor augment.⁹⁰

Appeals to immigrants often took the form of agricultural promotion, although boosters hoped to see the area opened up to farming for many reasons. As early as 1860, John Damon of the North-West promoted agricultural development in the belief that until the Territory could produce as much of its own food as possible, it would be sending its capital needlessly out of the Territory.⁹¹ Later, H. L. Blanchard, county developer and editor of the Democratic Press argued that farming, in particular butter and cheesemaking, would contribute to the area's prosperity:

For in the successful working of . . . several industries, alone, hinges our posterity. The time has come when it is not safe to look to the mills alone for our advancement.⁹²

Those boosters who saw in Port Townsend a potential metropolis believed that such "a city [would need a] garden [to] be tributary . . . and . . . furnish supplies."⁹³

⁹⁰Argus, October 9, 1875.

⁹¹North-West, October 25, 1860.

⁹²Democratic Press, April 26, 1878.

⁹³James G. Swan to Thomas H. Canfield, Esq, General Agent Northern Pacific Rail Road Co, No 54 Broadway, NY, February 27, 1869, James G. Swan Papers, Special Collections, University of British Columbia.

For instance, Al Pettygrove of The Weekly Message noted that the Northern Pacific terminus would have to be surrounded by "good farming land," and in keeping with this idea, he urged the construction of a road from Port Townsend to Olympia which would allow the establishment of a hundred farms in a country "destined to make the very garden of the Sound . . . the soil being of the very richest description."⁹⁴

Understanding that a metropolis would require a "garden," Pettygrove argued that a well-populated hinterland would not only grow food for the city's inhabitants, but agricultural products to export as well. Further, rural inhabitants would provide a market for goods manufactured in the city.⁹⁵ Thus, boosters considered agricultural development essential to urban expansion and encouraged farmers to immigrate to the county. They also encouraged laborers--woodworkers, miners, seamen, masons, female domestic servants, etc., broadcasting that "the field for laborers is increasing with the opening up of new industries every year. No country in the world, of equal extent, holds . . . a brighter prospect for steady and remunerative employment than does Western Washington . . . Its prosperity [is] almost wholly within itself . . . it is

⁹⁴Weekly Message, August 20, 1868, September 3, 1868.

⁹⁵Weekly Message, August 20, 1868. Pettygrove added the fanciful rejoinder that a beautiful countryside was also necessary because "humanity was not created to inhabit the desert. Withdraw from it the verdure which clothes the valley and hill, and you deprive it of half its existence, of its pleasures Neither brain, capital, or labor have any inclination to coasts covered with sand."

so diversified in its resources that nothing necessary to the attainment of the highest condition of prosperity and civilization seems lacking."⁹⁶

Boosters wooed entrepreneurs of all sorts, from institutional administrators to craftsmen. A promotional booklet suggested that "Port Townsend, by reason of its enchanting scenery, clean surrounds, and eminently healthful location, presents one of the finest sites in the world upon which to establish some high institution of learning." Also, "there is a bed of potter's clay within one miles of the city, that is about 20 feet thick, easy of access and of good quality, and there can be no question but this industry could be established here and made to pay because there is nothing of the kind on the Sound."⁹⁷

However, not all boosters courted large-scale immigration, arguing that until sufficient industrial development took place, there would not be enough markets for immigrant farmers' produce or jobs for immigrant laborers. Said one, "Capital will not follow the people but people will follow capital."⁹⁸ However, by and large, county boosters saw immigrants as essential to commercial development.

⁹⁶Immigration Aid Society of North-Western Washington, North-Western Washington 40, 41, qm. However, the Immigration Aid Society pamphlet cautioned that "no smart young man . . . should fancy that, because this . . . Territory [is] so far away, it is just the place for him, and post off here with a sort of dime novel hallucination that he will somehow get suddenly rich . . . For the benefit of all such we would say that we have already on hand a large number of disappointed adventurers that sudden wealth has not yet overtaken and probably never will" (42).

⁹⁷North-Western Washington 16-17.

⁹⁸Democratic Press ,April 6, 1880.

In 1879 Allen Weir, editor of the Puget Sound Argus, joined with twenty or more Port Townsend and county residents to form an Immigration Aid Society. The idea for such an organization did not originate with Weir. Seattle had formed its own Society earlier in the year, and both Seattle and Jefferson County's efforts were in keeping with the growing formalized ventures of local boosters through chambers of commerce and immigration clubs.⁹⁹ Port Townsend's society apparently had its particular beginnings in Weir's concern that boosterism was flagging in the county.

Every breeze that comes from the East and South brings to our ears the sound of immigrant foot-falls . . . yet the business men of our city and vicinity raise not a voice to invite them here. . . . [We] mention these matters in no spirit of jealousy toward any other locality, but to inspire some of the good citizens of Jefferson, Island, Clalam, San Juan and Whatcom with a spirit of laudable emulation. We have virgin soil and undeveloped resources, enough to spare for thousands of husbandmen, mechanics and capitalists. Let persistent and systematic effort commence at once.¹⁰⁰

Members of the community took his idea to heart. By the end of June, the Argus reported the call by "a number of the citizens of Port Townsend" for a "mass meeting . . . to take preliminary steps toward disseminating useful and reliable information concerning the lower counties on Puget Sound."¹⁰¹ The meeting was

⁹⁹Schwantes, The Pacific Northwest, 227.

¹⁰⁰Argus, May 15, 1879.

¹⁰¹Argus, June 26, 1879.

held, "several pointed and stirring speeches were made," and the participants resolved to form an organization to disseminate "reliable information relative to the climate, resources and productions of the lower counties on Puget Sound." There were various tasks for members: to communicate with residents of nearby counties about joining forces; to arrange with the territorial Surveyor General for a survey of the Quillyhute valley--in the west end of the county to which boosters hoped to entice farmers; and to organize and publish a pamphlet for distribution to interested immigrants¹⁰²

On July 17, Weir reported that "the society is in a flourishing condition," the constitution and by-laws had been printed and the program for the next meeting already set. Judge Swan was invited to read a paper about the Port Townsend's "prominence as a probable railroad terminus," and one Capt. Stratton of Port Angeles to talk about Puget Sound fisheries.¹⁰³

In 1880, the Jefferson County society joined with other societies to form the Immigration Aid Society of North-western Washington; and in the same year Northwestern Washington: Its Soil, Climate, Productions and General Resources with Detail Description of the Counties of Jefferson, Clalam, Island, San Juan and Whatcom--a fifty page booklet written by members of the Society--was edited and published by Allen Weir to be distributed for twenty-five cents a copy.

¹⁰²Argus, July 3, 1879.

¹⁰³Argus, July 17, 1879.

The Immigration Aid Society occasioned a controversy in the county wherein the society was championed by one Port Townsend newspaper--Weir's Argus--and criticized by the other--The Democratic Press. Initially, the Press was favorably disposed towards promoting the area to immigrants and called for the Territory's immigration aid societies to quickly amass "a full and accurate statement of the agricultural, lumbering and mineral resources of our Territory, together with the cost of getting here." If this were done, "we might receive a large percentage of the immigration which would help materially to develop this Territory."¹⁰⁴ However, the Press seemed determined throughout its brief history to disagree with the Argus, and it was not long before the newspaper did an about-face, opposing the Immigration Aid Society.¹⁰⁵

In April 1880 the Press made a two-pronged attack on the Society arguing that industrial development should precede immigration. In one article, "San Francisco Capital and Puget Sound," Frank Myers, editor of the Press, looked back on the 'history' of the Puget Sound region, a region once "hardly known" but now developed with capital from San Francisco lumbermen and "other outside capital." It was

¹⁰⁴Democratic Press, November 6, 1879.

¹⁰⁵Much of the dissension between the editors of the Press and Allen Weir was political in origin. The Press was the voice of the local Democrats, while the Argus spoke for the local Republicans. However, both newspapers were boosters for country development.

"chiefly due to the efforts and undertakings made in these parts by [such] non-residents" that there was presently any population in the Puget Sound region.

Myers chastised those who complained about the greed of such capitalists whose "profits go to enrich" outsiders. Such critics, he wrote, forgot the wages earned by local people that stayed in the country, and they failed to realize that most local capitalists had too little money to fund either railroads or industries which would really change the area's economic circumstances. The true interests of the area "demand a cheerful submission" to San Francisco and other capital in "opening up and developing our great Territory."¹⁰⁶

Next to this editorial is "An Immigration Boom." Here Myers continued his theme about the importance of the lumber industry to the region, suggesting that since lumber, the principal employer, was currently in an economic slump, encouraging immigration to the area was lunacy. "Every town is crowded with mechanics and laboring men who barely earn enough to buy the necessaries of life; the cause of which is the depression in the lumbering business." The Press suggested that members of the Immigration Aid Society were trying to draw attention to themselves "for the purpose of making political capital," or for their "own selfish interests . . . None of our substantial business men have taken any stock in this immigration

¹⁰⁶Democratic Press, April 6, 1880.

business." He also argued that the laboring men of the area wondered why more men should be encouraged to come to the region when there was insufficient work for those already residing in the area and farmers pleaded that they could not find markets for their goods. Furthermore, members of the Immigration Aid Society were "poor men and can barely earn a living, notwithstanding the fact that most of them have been residents of this portion of our territory for a number of years," yet have "failed to embrace the opportunities to become wealthy." Myers then reiterated his main point: "Until there is more capital invested here [to encourage immigration is pointless] as capital will not follow the people but people will follow capital."¹⁰⁷

The complaints of the Press about the Immigration Aid Society struck a cord with some of the County's residents. "Citizen" agreed with Myers that members of the Society were "pot-house politicians." He did not believe that respectable citizens and business people supported the effort. "Cumtux" thought that businessmen should precede ordinary immigrants so that there would be employment for all, although he said he did not believe that many of the proposed pamphlets would find their way outside the Territory. They would be circulated at home "to make people believe that the originators of the Society take a deep interest in the prosperity of this section, and also that persons who display such interest would make excellent men to fill some

¹⁰⁷Democratic Press, April 6, 1880.

office." "Workingman" complained that there was little enough work for residents, and "Phelix" said farmers could not sell what they grew as it was. "Puget Sounder" suggested that the only people to get any good out of the Immigration Aid Society would be "men who own steamboats and hotels and stores. . . . What we need is money to develop our lumber and mineral wealth which will create a demand for farm produce and labor."¹⁰⁸

The Argus responded that the Press "has brought upon itself the merited contempt of all our right-minded, public spirited citizens, by its wilful misrepresentation of facts and its general course toward the immigrant aid society." Besides, argued Weir, the efforts of the society were encouraging an influx of capital to the region. "One man [with] capital of \$7000. . . another with \$1500" were on their way. There were also prospects of immigrants from foreign countries such as one group which was coming from "the Baltic provinces, a party of 600 men and women, with 300 children and \$75,000 in money." Said Weir, Meyer's behaviour is "a deliberate and traitorous attempt against the welfare of the community from whence he obtains his daily bread [and] he has already lost patronage."¹⁰⁹ The Press retorted that it was a "free and outspoken journal" which would "not change its course from

¹⁰⁸Democratic Press, April 15, 1880.

¹⁰⁹Argus, April 15, 1880.

the right through fear of losing a few subscribers or of incurring the ill-will of a few unscrupulous politicians.¹¹⁰

Myers was correct that large-scale economic growth and immigration in the territory would not occur without large-scale capital investment in the transcontinental railroads.¹¹¹ However, his criticism of the Immigration Aid Society, and that of Cumtux and Puget Sounder, did not imply a rejection of county boosterism through criticism of the Immigration Society. Frank Myers was as committed to developing Jefferson County as Allen Weir, but he disagreed with the way the Immigration Aid Society promoted development, believing that capital investment must come first.¹¹² Hence, county interests were better served by seeking investment than immigration.

Further, the former editor, H.L. Blanchard, for whom Myers had worked, and Dr. H.C. Willison, the owner¹¹³ of the Democratic Press, were deeply involved in county industrial development.¹¹⁴ Blanchard was one of the original trustees of the Puget Sound Iron Company of Washington Territory, incorporated July 28, 1879,

¹¹⁰Democratic Press, April 21, 1880.

¹¹¹Ficken and LeWarne, 33-34.

¹¹²Democratic Press, April 6, 1880.

¹¹³Argus, January 28, 1881.

¹¹⁴Myers became editor in August 1879 (Democratic Press, August 21, 1879).

with offices in Port Townsend and the mill located in near-by Irondale.¹¹⁵ When iron ore was discovered in Chimacum Valley farmland, the landowners¹¹⁶ were willing to lease the right to mine the ore for a royalty of twenty-five cents a ton as long as it was reduced to finished pig iron within the county. Blanchard, accompanied by D.W. Moor, an operating officer of the mill, traveled to San Francisco to find capital to develop the mill.¹¹⁷

Willison owned property in Irondale, and in 1883 he, Samuel Hadlock (one of Blanchard's partners) and Robert K. Latimer incorporated the Irondale Real Estate and Manufacturing Company for the purpose of developing the Irondale area. Willison also built and operated a hospital, although he lost it during the depression of the 1890s.¹¹⁸ Hadlock was also a partner--with San Francisco capitalists--in the Western

¹¹⁵Blanchard, James Jones, a Port Townsend merchant and insurance agent, E.L. Canby and Samuel Hadlock arranged incorporation of the company--see discussion below. Cyrus Walker of the Puget Sound Mill Company--located in Port Gamble, Kitsap County, but owned by the San Francisco Pope and Talbot Company--was one of the directors. The other trustees were San Francisco men (Diane F. Britton, The Iron and Steel Industry in the Far West: Irondale, Washington (Niwot, Colorado, 1991), 151).

¹¹⁶They were William Bishop, William Eldridge--both of whom had settled in Chimacum in 1858--Olaff Peterson and John Lindley.

¹¹⁷They were successful, although by 1882 controlling interest in the mill fell to San Francisco residents when it was reincorporated as the Puget Sound Mill Company of California. Many of the original stockholders retained stock in the new company. Blanchard and Moor both were mill superintendents for a time, although the mill closed in 1889. It reopened in 1901 under different ownership (Britton 17, 22) See Britton 9-22 for a discussion of the mill from 1879-1889.

¹¹⁸He was also appointed to offices by three territorial governors and was an elected delegate to the state constitutional convention (Mc Curdy 145; Britton 15; V.J. Gregory, "Profiles of Pioneers, 1850-1892," in With Pride in Heritage, 419-20).

Mill and Lumber Company. The company built a mill at Port Hadlock in 1884 which was purchased by the Washington Mill Company in 1886 when their Seabeck mill burned.¹¹⁹ When Myers claimed that outside capital was necessary for large-scale economic development, he wrote from a position of involvement with developers such as Blanchard and Hadlock who had had to seek outside capital in order to develop Jefferson County industry in ironmaking and lumbering.

When Myers argued that members of the Immigration Aid Society were primarily interested in furthering their political ambitions, he was wrong. Many of the founding members of the Society were politically active--a role which would have been useful for boosters--but they were committed to the county's economic development. Many were merchants and landowners or were involved in the shipping and lumber industries; several were local capitalists themselves. All had a stake in the county's commercial future.¹²⁰

¹¹⁹Cox 116, 240, n40; "Hadlock," in With Pride in Heritage, 210;

¹²⁰The Argus, April 15, 1880, listed the Society's eighteen charter members. Of the men I am able to identify, all qualify as men likely to be committed boosters. Thomas T. Minor was an important public figure in Port Townsend. A physician, in 1868 he became a partner in and then sole operator of the Marine Hospital; he organized the Puget Sound Telegraph Company in 1872 and was president of the Immigration Aid Society. Minor was also politically active in the Republican party serving as delegate to the 1876 and 1880 national conventions. He was twice mayor of Port Townsend; and after he moved to Seattle in 1882, he was mayor of that city and delegate to the constitutional convention (Gregory, "Profiles of Pioneers, 1850-1892," in With Pride in Heritage 396-97). H.H. Learned settled in Port Townsend in 1865, was postmaster for many years and a business partner of his uncle, Enoch Fowler. Fowler was a prominent political figure and Port Townsend merchant who built and operated one of the first wharves and a hotel as well as owning other properties (388, 390, 367-68). Allen Weir was the son of a pioneering family in nearby Clallam County. He bought the Puget Sound Argus

However much county boosters disagreed about how to promote development, they concurred with one another about the supposed viability of agriculture in Jefferson County.¹²¹ In Western Washington, unlike some portions of the mid-west where farmlands may stretch as far as the eye can see, good agricultural land is found in pockets surrounded by forests and mountains. For instance, alluvial land east of Puget Sound proved to be fertile and was eventually "famed for dairying and truck

in 1877, selling his interest in 1889 when he moved to Olympia (418-19). D.C.H. Rothschild, who came to Port Townsend in 1858, was a prosperous merchant, shipping agent and ship chandler. His two sons became active partners in his various enterprises in 1877 (403). Samuel Hadlock was a capitalist, lumberman, land speculator and landlord. He established a townsite, named Hadlock, near Chimacum Creek in 1870 and was one of the original incorporators of the Puget Sound Iron Company and its first superintendent. He and Willison were partners in real estate development in Irondale. In 1884 he and other investors built a lumber mill at Hadlock which they sold to the burned-out Washington Mill Company in 1885. (371). William Dodd was a lumberman associated with the Port Discovery mill, and later manager of the Port Townsend Mill Company (McCurdy 78). Frank Bartlett was the son of Charles Bartlett who settled in Port Townsend in 1864, operating a hotel and various successful stores. In 1880 the family built the Bartlett business block at a cost of \$50,000. Frank Bartlett invested in several Port Townsend industrial ventures and served as a director of the Port Townsend Mill Company, treasurer of the Puget Sound Telegraph Company and President of the Port Townsend Steel, Wire and Nail Company (Gregory 352,354). Granville O. Haller, a retired army officer, "engaged in farming and a number of business ventures at Port Townsend" (372). Nathaniel D. Hill was another Port Townsendite deeply involved in local commercial ventures. He was a pharmacist, merchant and helped organize the First National Bank, the Port Townsend Southern Railroad, Puget Sound Telegraph company. He also invested in the Port Townsend Mill Company, a foundry, water company, a wharf and the Port Townsend Steel, Wire and Nail Company; he was active in county politics (376). Joseph A. Kuhn, a commercial photographer and lawyer, was active in county and territorial politics and prominent in commercial enterprise. He was associated with three Port Townsend banks, helped organize the Port Townsend Southern Railroad and several other enterprises (384-85). Last but not least, James Swan was also a member of the Immigration Aid Society. W.H. Roberts, D.W. Smith--an attorney--Thomas Phillips, O.H. Holcomb, William Anderson and L. Smith are members whose profiles I am unable to put together.

¹²¹See Schwantes, *Radical Heritage*, 6-11 for a discussion of the effect travel literature and promotional efforts by local boosters--such as the Immigration Aid Society--as well as the railroads, had upon immigrants' expectations of the Northwest. Overall, the Northwest was portrayed as having endless resources and "get-rich-quick opportunities." It was also said to be "a veritable farmers' paradise" (8).

gardens."¹²² The Olympic Peninsula also had fertile areas, especially the prairies which dotted the landscape, and in East Jefferson County there was land which was successfully farmed: prairies and some reclaimed marshland near Port Townsend; the Chimacum Valley, not especially suitable for croplands but able to support dairy farms; Marrowstone Island with its poultry farms and berry fields; as well as Leland Valley and the Tarboo Creek Valley.¹²³

However, the best farming land, the prairies which were clear of timber, was taken by the earliest settlers.¹²⁴ Farmers who came later had to buy from the earlier landholders or rent to obtain timber-free land. Otherwise, they bought forested land, marshland or tide flats. Clearing forested land was very labor-intensive. The huge stumps of fir and cedar trees could take a lifetime to rot, and "even with dynamite, [it took] a man and a horse 400 hours of labor per acre" to clear forested land for farming. As mentioned above, there were farms in Jefferson County, but valuable farmland was less common than the boosters claimed, especially since forested land,

¹²²Schwantes, The Pacific Northwest 205-06.

¹²³The prairies may have been the remnants of more extensive prairies of 3000 to 4000 years ago. When climatic cooling fostered heavy forests--which covered much of Western Washington when Euramerican settlement began--Native Americans maintained some of the prairies by systematic burning (Jerry Gorsline, "The Cultural Transformation of Sequim Prairie," in Shadows of Our Ancestors: Readings in the History of Klallam-White Relations (Port Townsend, Washington, 1992), 218); Simpson 10-11, 48-49, 163.

¹²⁴North-Western Washington 9, 11.

once cleared, tended to be unsuitable for agriculture.¹²⁵ Although the number of Jefferson County farms increased over time, a sizable number were not full-time market or even subsistence farms. Rather they were "stump farms" where the men worked regular or part-time jobs in logging camps, sawmills or construction, etc. and farmed in their spare time. On such farms, wives and children did much more of the farm work than the 'farmer.'¹²⁶

Nevertheless, County boosters argued for the development of county agriculture. Boosters touted the desirability of opening up prairie lands in West Jefferson County or of fertile river bottom lands sparsely wooded by "alder, vine maple, crab apple, etc., which are quickly and easily cleared."¹²⁷ D.W. Smith of the Immigration Aid Society rhapsodized about freshwater marshland in the Chimacum valley which would be easy to drain, and about land with soil composed of "nothing but fine gravel and sand of a reddish tint, and apparently, as hard and impenetrable as

¹²⁵See Richard White, Land Use, Environment, and Social Change: The Shaping of Island County, Washington (Seattle, Washington, 1980; reprint, Seattle, Washington, 1992), 55-61, 113-116, qtn. 56., for a discussion of the fertility of forested and logged-off land:

¹²⁶North-Western Washington mentions that farmers worked in the sawmills and logging camps and touted such available work as an incentive for families wishing to establish farms (10-11, 18). For further discussion of this type of family farming, see Marilyn P. Watkins, Rural Democracy: Family Farmers and Politics in Western Washington, 1890-1925 (Ithaca, New York, 1995), 22-27. Richard White also discusses farming in nearby Island County. See especially the sections about farming on marginal lands (White, Land Use, 35-70, 113-141). Also, Archie Binns' memories of his boyhood on a Puget Sound "stump farm" are both perceptive and amusing; see "Stump Farm" in The Roaring Land (New York, 1942), 2-27.

¹²⁷Argus, April 3, 1875, December 15, 1876.

a rock" but which produced "the finest, most forward and luxuriant garden of potatoes, peas, onions, strawberries, &c. &c." Weir assured readers that "the good land" was not all taken, and as long as prospective farmers were "the kind of m[e]n . . . [who do] not expect to make a good home here without making an effort in earnest," then the county would develop.¹²⁸

However, in reality, Jefferson County land was good for little else than growing trees. Misled by the wealth of timber that the land produced, as well as the general "green-ness" of the countryside, boosters seemed to believe that all soil in the region was equally fertile, and praised the lumber companies for clearing timber land, thereby making it available for agriculture. "It is strange indeed if land that produces such a dense growth of timber will not produce grain, vegetables and fruit."¹²⁹

Perhaps the boosters' enthusiasm for land so unsuitable for farming can be excused. The technology for scientific testing of soil fertility did not exist at the time, and, according to historian Richard White, even "as late as 1931, the State Director of Agriculture for Washington advised prospective settlers to choose land with plenty of big stumps because such land was certain to be fertile."¹³⁰ Boosters and others lacked the information and technology to correctly assess the potential of agriculture in

¹²⁸Argus, July 16, 1880, July 23, 1880.

¹²⁹Democratic Press, April 26, 1878; North-Western Washington qm. 13.

¹³⁰White, Land Use, Environment and Social Change, 115-116.

Jefferson County. Nevertheless, because a surrounding "garden" was an essential part of 'great city' thinking, and because immigration--either before or after capital investment--was perceived to be necessary for growth, the development of county agriculture was an essential part of the county's promotional efforts.

By 1880 the Puget Sound region--and the Pacific Northwest as a whole--was poised at the beginning of a period of exponential growth spurred by the expected completion of the transcontinental railroad. Between 1860 and 1880 Puget Sound population had increased from 5,000 to 25,000. By 1890 there were as many as 100,000 people. Although most of the immigrants settled on the east side of the Sound--Seattle went from a population of 1107 to 42,837 during the 1880s--Jefferson County experienced growth as well. It went from an official population of 1712 in 1880 to 8368 in 1890.¹³¹

The 1880s saw a continuation of previous booster developmental efforts in Jefferson County. Boosters also continued to grapple with the issue of Port Townsend's reputation and its effects upon potential development. Constrained to at least appear reputable, boosters found that it was often difficult to reconcile the contradictions between what was reputable and what might be conducive to economic prosperity and development.

¹³¹Harmon, "A Different Kind," 284, 286; Tenth and Eleventh United States Census, 1880, 1890 qtd. in Robert Edward Wynne, "Reaction to the Chinese in the Pacific Northwest and British Columbia, 1850-1910," (Ph.D. diss., University of Washington, 1964), Appendix II, 493.

CHAPTER IV: "The Great Notoriety of That Place"¹: Reputation and Respectability in Jefferson County, 1858-1890

Travellers making their way to Jefferson County in the nineteenth century encountered a landscape of uncommon beauty. The approach from the Pacific Ocean² passes by "a dark sea-wall of mountains with misty ravines and silver peaks;" in its forests, which then often grew to the water's edge, "trees a hundred feet high [were] by comparison with the lofty peaks above them, made to appear as if . . . but grass." Upon arrival, travellers found Port Townsend situated on a "lovely bay" behind which were the " great mountains" of the Olympic Range, "standing guard."³

Looking from Port Townsend, a viewer close at hand saw a "sun-reflecting bay" and sailing ships riding at anchor; in the distance tree-covered peninsulas and islands floated against a "majestic panorama of [the Cascade] mountains in almost every direction." Dominating the Cascades' "lofty irregular peaks" was Mt. Baker, "towering, like Saul among the prophets, `head and shoulders taller than his

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²Before the completion of northern-route transcontinental railroads, most travellers would have arrived in Jefferson County by ship via the Straits of Juan de Fuca, and later the county continued to be accessible primarily by water via Puget Sound and Admiralty Inlet.

³Caroline C. Leighton, Life at Puget Sound with Sketches of Travel in Washington Territory, British Columbia, Oregon and California (Fairfield, Washington 1884; rpt.1980): 17, 81; James G. Swan, Almost Out of the World: Scenes From Washington Territory, the Strait of Juan de Fuca 1859-1861, ed. William A. Katz (Tacoma, Washington, 1971), 10.

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CHAPTER IV: "The Great Notoriety of That Place"¹: Reputation and Respectability in Jefferson County, 1858-1890

Travellers making their way to Jefferson County in the nineteenth century encountered a landscape of uncommon beauty. The approach from the Pacific Ocean² passes by "a dark sea-wall of mountains with misty ravines and silver peaks;" in its forests, which then often grew to the water's edge, "trees a hundred feet high [were] by comparison with the lofty peaks above them, made to appear as if . . . but grass." Upon arrival, travellers found Port Townsend situated on a "lovely bay" behind which were the "great mountains" of the Olympic Range, "standing guard."³

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brethren.'"⁴ The county's other ports and villages were set amongst equally magnificent scenery.

However, such impressive vistas were juxtaposed with the seedy appearance of county towns and villages. Port Townsend stood on a sand spit one-and-a-half miles long and one-third mile wide. On its western edge, a swampy lagoon cut into the town, described by one visitor as a "beautiful pond of stagnant water, [giving] the place a healthful appearance all the year round."⁵ At times, the fishing activities of residents and the ebbing tide added strong, unpleasant odors to the scene. The streets were unpaved and muddy or dusty as the season dictated; and an 1868 photograph reveals the town's architecture to be a collection of log cabins and rough wooden buildings, some of which were built on wharves and pilings hung precariously over the water.⁶ Behind the waterfront rose a bluff some seventy to ninety-five feet high which gave onto a pleasant plateau covered with prairie and trees. This plateau was difficult to reach, however, and ascending its cliff "would make a man, had he the patience of Job, 'wilt,' if he were compelled to travel up and down it more than a

⁴Weekly Message (Port Townsend, Washington), February 11, 1870; Swan, Almost Out of This World 12.

⁵Washington Standard November 22, 1862. The lagoon was eventually filled in.

⁶Photograph, E.M. Starrett Collection, Jefferson County Historical Society, Port Townsend, Washington.

dozen times a day."⁷ The mill ports, huddled around their respective sawmills, had great piles of sawdust and noisy machinery.

The towns barely kept the countryside at bay; even in Port Townsend, the largest town in the county, there was a rural atmosphere. A bull might run at large, chas[ing] the school children, [and] badly scar[ing the] ladies." Cows could be found "running around town, eating everything they come across and dipping their noses into everybody's water barrels," or resting in doorways. A pig pen, "directly on one of our main streets and principal thoroughfares [presented] its noxious odors" to passersby; and streetside stables with their attendant manure and mud made it impossible "after a heavy rain . . . for people to pass."⁸ A local newspaper editor railed against the "flagrant disregard of the ordinances prohibiting owners of horses and cattle (sic) from roaming at large over the city." In addition to the nuisance, "there is great danger therefrom as shown in the recent accident to a little boy . . . who was hooked by a cow."⁹

⁷"Earliest Settlers of Port Townsend: As Told to Gilbert Pilcher By James G. McCurdy, A Son of A Pioneer of 1857," TMs, 1936, Washington Pioneer Project, Jefferson County, Washington State Library, Olympia, Washington, 2; Washington Standard, November 22, 1862, qtn.

⁸Weekly Message, March 18, 1870, January 3, 1871; James G. Swan, Diaries, Manuscripts and University Archives, Suzzallo & Allen Library, University of Washington, Seattle, Washington, January 7, 1874; Democratic Press (Port Townsend, Washington), August 7, 1879; Puget Sound Argus (Port Townsend, Washington), title varies, hereafter cited as Argus, March 29, 1883.

⁹Port Townsend Daily Call, hereafter cited as the Call, (Port Townsend, Washington) May 14, 1895.

Excessive though his style might be, J. Ross Browne was not completely off the mark when he described Port Townsend as having "houses built chiefly of pine boards, thatched with shingles, canvas, and wooden slabs. . . The public squares curiously ornamented with dead horses and the bones of many dead cows [which] of course gives a very original appearance to the public pleasure-grounds." Visitors know when they have arrived in Port Townsend, he said, "by reason of the peculiar odour . . . Even admitting the absence of lamps, no person can fail to recognize Port Townsend in the darkest night."¹⁰

That this rough appearance existed with efforts to replace it with a more genteel, urban facade is evident in James Swan's 1859 appraisal of Port Townsend wherein he glorifies "the Custom House--a brick building of two stories high and 25 X 40 feet square--the Pioneer Hotel, the large workhouse of Fowler and Co., the Court House and a large building recently used as a theatre," etc.¹¹. Of themselves, paved streets, lovely homes, brick office blocks, churches, schools and fraternal-order meeting halls were valued goals for many county residents. However, boosters also understood the importance of projecting a favorable external "image" to outsiders so

¹⁰J. Ross Browne, Crusoe's Island: A Ramble in the Footsteps of Alexander Selkirk With Sketches of Adventure in California and Washoe (New York, 1864), 270-71.

¹¹Swan, Almost Out Of The World, 12. It was not until the middle 1880s, that the prevalent frame buildings in Port Townsend began to be replaced by brick ones ("Loren Bingham Hastings: Son of the First White Woman to Settle at Port Townsend," TMs, 1936, Washington Pioneer Project, Jefferson County, Washington State Library, Olympia, Washington, 3).

that Port Townsend not only compared favorably to other frontier communities, but to the eastern states as well. It was desirable that outsiders be convinced that Port Townsend was progressing toward urban status as conceptualized according to eastern standards.

This is not to say that Port Townsend was unique in its rough appearance or in its efforts to project a favorable image to outsiders. Indeed, such efforts were typical of ambitious frontier boosterism. David Hamer argues that travel writers and authors of emigrant guidebooks--who set the pace for "forming images and shaping perceptions of New World towns"--made comparisons between frontier towns, and with "the Old World," an essential aspect of frontier promotion.¹² Such assessments were often based upon a town's "external appearance."¹³

However, boosters' concerns about public perceptions of Jefferson County went beyond external images to more specific anxiety about the community's reputation. In the wake of "the Great Port Townsend Controversy," Swan and other county boosters tried to establish that "those persons who have formed an opinion of Port Townsend and its inhabitants from the report of J. Ross Browne ... will find

¹²David Hamer, *New Towns in the New World: Images and Perceptions of the Nineteenth-Century Urban Frontier*, (New York, 1990), 45-46, qtn. 40.

¹³Hamer 45-47, 58-59.

matters far different. The "beachcombers" and outlaws have left the place."¹⁴

Similar efforts were repeated throughout the years.

That Port Townsend warranted a good reputation was arguable. Port Townsend not only looked rough; it was, in the words of a one long-term resident, "something of a tough,"¹⁵ a description which could also be applied to the mill ports and logging camps. Browne was not the only person to find Port Townsend disreputable. As we have seen, attacking the town's notoriety was an important part of Victor Smith's strategy in his battle to remove the Customs House. Smith wrote in The North-West that until "Port Townsend [is made] a more desirable . . . place of residence for families . . . the overtrue pictures drawn of this village by Ross Browne" would continue to discourage investors and settlers against the community. Its surplus of "rum mills" and lack of schools and churches would continue to "barb the arrows of our up-Sound enemies, [Seattle and Olympia] by destroying our reputation."¹⁶

Others agreed. M.V.B, for instance, wrote to the Port Townsend Register about certain perceived disreputable features of Port Townsend life, such as drinking,

¹⁴James G. Swan, Almost Out of the World: Scenes From Washington Territory, the Strait of Juan de Fuca 1859-1861, ed. William A. Katz (Tacoma, Washington, 1971), 15, 12-14.

¹⁵Allen Weir, "Roughing It On Puget Sound In The Early Sixties: A Paper Read Before The Washington Pioneer Association in 1891," Washington Historian Vol. 2 (January 1900): 74.

¹⁶North-West, (Port Townsend, Washington), November 16, 1861.

gambling and prostitution, and argued that they endangered county development.

"Who is he," asked M.V.B, "that will expose his child to such ruinous examples" of disreputable behaviour as abound in Port Townsend? "Who is she that will sacrifice her modesty so much, as to dwell in the midst of dissipation and profligacy" such as exist in Port Townsend? M.V.B continued, certain "essential causes [will] "deter emigration, and expel that part of the community which is inclined towards morality . . . Grog Shops open the entire night [and] on the Sabbath day [and] Gambling . . . which is allowed without an effort to stop the prevalent evil [,and] Indian[s] of feral and profligate habits."¹⁷

M.V.B. raised issues that troubled county boosters throughout the nineteenth century. Port Townsend's situation as a shipping center was considered essential to the county's present and future prosperity. At the same time, it guaranteed that the waterfront district, as a gathering-point for travellers, seamen, itinerant loggers and mill workers, and soldiers from near-by Fort Townsend would be "tough," the scene of frequent, public displays of excessive drinking, gambling, and violence. As well, prostitutes openly practiced their trade in brothels and dance houses along the waterfront area or on scows anchored in Port Townsend Bay or near the mill ports.

¹⁷Port Townsend Register (Port Townsend, Washington), hereafter cited as Register, March 28, 1860. Editors and letter writers in the early settlement period were circumspect in their references to prostitution. However, M.V.B.'s comment about "profligate habits" may be a reference to prostitution.

As long as Port Townsend remained a shipping center, such supposedly disreputable activities would continue.¹⁸ Further, while 'plain for the eye to see,' such features were difficult to eradicate given the importance of shipping to the county. The town's reputation remained suspect; and the inherent tension surrounding this situation was an essential feature to daily living in the town. Reputation was therefore a powerful, yet equivocal issue for Jefferson County boosters. It was necessary to convince the public that Port Townsend was a reputable community, but doing so was problematic since some aspects of county life were disreputable and unlikely to change. What to do about drinking, gambling and prostitution were

¹⁸For mention of 'tough' areas in other frontier towns, see: Norman H. Clark, Mill Town: A social History of Everett, Washington, from Its Earliest Beginnings on the Shores of Puget Sound to the Tragic and Infamous Event Known as the Everett Massacre (Seattle, Washington, 1970), 101-102, and also his chapter, "The 'Hell-Soaked Institution,'" in The Dry Years, Prohibition and Social Change in Washington, 54-63; Robert R. Dykstra, The Cattle Towns (New York, 1968), 239-292; Michael P. Malone, The Battle for Butte: Mining and Politics on the Northern Frontier, 1864-1906 (Seattle, Washington, 1981), 57-79; Murray Morgan, Skid Road: An Informal Portrait of Seattle (New York, 1951; rev. ed. Sausalito, California, 1971), 6-7; Katherine G. Morrissey, Mental Territories: Mapping the Inland Empire (Ithaca, New York, 1997), 52-55, 182, n.80; Jef Rettmann, "Business, Government, and Prostitution in Spokane, Washington, 1889-1910," Pacific Northwest Quarterly, Spring 1998, Vol. 89, 77-83; Roger Sale, Seattle: Past to Present, (Seattle, Washington, 1976), 56-58. Violence, drinking and vice were common in many frontier towns, as was tension over moral reform. Robert Dykstra found that in most of the cattle towns, "reformers made important headway only when the cattle trade was on its way out" (263, qtn., 285). However, according to Morrissey, following the 1889 fire in Spokane, Washington, city authorities succeeded in forcing saloons, gambling halls and brothels out of the downtown business-area through harassment--the Law and Order League, a self-appointed citizens group, encouraged by ministers, "conduct[ed] nighttime raids of suspected vice houses,"--and making it difficult for saloonkeepers to obtain permits (52). The Chinese were also pressured to move from the area (54, 182, n. 80). Of the mining town of Butte, Montana, Malone writes, "mining-camp democracy meant . . . social commonality, wide-open tolerance of drinking, whoring, and gaming" (71).

questions which perplexed boosters and other residents for as long as Port Townsend continued a shipping center and contender for great city status.

Over time, Port Townsend's 'respectable' residents distanced themselves from the waterfront, or "downtown" area. Roads and a staircase were built from downtown to the overlooking plateau, or "uptown" as it was called by residents. Here 'respectable' people built homes, schools, churches and shops. The geographic division of Port Townsend became emblematic of the tension between disreputable and respectable features of town life. However, while living uptown protected 'respectable' residents from contact with the disreputable downtown area, it did little to rescue Port Townsend's reputation.

Boosters attacked public notions about Port Townsend's "great notoriety" in several ways. A common practice was for the newspapers to report respectable activities and events--the reader will remember that the newspapers were in part aimed at an outside audience. Boosters and other residents also tried to eliminate or contain perceived bases for county notoriety. For instance, some residents wanted to prohibit the sale and use of liquor in the county, while others sought merely to control its use, especially through the maintenance of "respectable saloons." Also, certain groups--prostitutes, gamblers, whiskey sellers, Native American and Chinese residents--were at times defined as disreputable and their control or removal were cited as beneficial to the county's reputation.

"Port Townsend in Those Days [Was] Something of a Tough"¹⁹

Looking back at Port Townsend's earlier years, Allen Weir, one-time editor of the town's Puget Sound Argus, characterized the town as "something of a tough." While saloons were among the earliest businesses in Jefferson County--several were in operation by 1859²⁰--schools and churches were established more slowly. It was not until 1867 that Port Townsend schoolchildren had a permanent schoolhouse.²¹ A small Catholic church was built in 1859, and an Episcopal one in 1865, but the parishes waited until 1864 and 1871 respectively for resident clergymen. Thus, the spiritual needs of county residents were met by itinerant ministers for many years.²² The Masons, their lodge established in 1859, were the only fraternal order until the late 1860s.²³

¹⁹Allen Weir, "Roughing It On Puget Sound," 74.

²⁰Swan, Almost Out of the World, 14.

²¹School districts were established in the more rural areas of the county by 1874 (McCurdy, 81-88; Ednis Dunbar, "In the Days of McGuffey's Reader," in With Pride in Heritage: History of Jefferson County, eds. Jefferson County Historical Society (Port Townsend, Washington 1966), 30-35.

²²A Presbyterian church was established in 1873 and a Baptist one in 1890 (Rev. Gary B. Schaub, et al., "Churches," in With Pride in Heritage 84-90; Ltr. to Chamber of Commerce from Mrs. Percy E. Davidson, LS, October 5, 1959, MSS 3D, McCurdy Historical Research Library, Jefferson County Historical Society, Port Townsend, Washington).

²³"Lodges and Clubs in Port Townsend," TMs, MSS 100, McCurdy Historical Research Library, Jefferson County Historical Society, Port Townsend, Washington. Formation of other fraternal orders was more gradual: International Order of Good Templars, 1867 (Argus, July 5, 1883); the Improved Order of Red Men, 1872; Independent Order of Odd Fellows, 1877; Brotherhood of the Protective Order of Elks, 1895; Fraternal Order of Eagles, 1901. The program for Port Townsend's Memorial Day parade on May 30, 1891 lists several extant social organizations: Grand Army of the Republic,

Port Townsend was one of the most important towns on Puget Sound; it was the county seat and location of the Customs House and Marine Hospital and district court. Nevertheless, the functioning of official institutions could be relatively unstructured and informal in the early years. For several years, customs affairs were conducted from a small rented office; and in 1862 the entire operation and all the patients of the Marine Hospital were bundled up and removed to a "diminutive" revenue cutter at the whim of a Customs Collector.²⁴

That the early application of the law could be carried out in a casual manner is suggested by a "burlesque" written by a convalescent patient of the Marine Hospital. It tells the story of an Englishman who fled from his residence in British Columbia to Port Townsend to escape his creditors. Upon receiving a writ for the man's arrest, the county sheriff who was also a "Doctor . . . surveyor, dentist, farmer, county commissioner, road surveyor, botanist, chemist and apothecary," went up to the "man in the street, [and] made a 'grab,' . . . to get the man's watch as part of the debt." For his part, the debtor "quickly [made] the claret fly from near the [sheriff's] eye" before being arrested. He came before the Court, "a place 20 feet by 16 into which

Women's Relief Corps, Knights of Pythias, Odd Fellows, Independent Order of Good Templars, Red Men, Ancient Order United Workmen and Sons of St. George ("Lodges and Clubs in Port Townsend"; "Memorial Day, Port Townsend, Washington, 1891, May Thirtieth," Program, MSS 1, McCurdy Historical Research Library, Jefferson County Historical Society, Port Townsend, Washington).

²⁴James G. McCurdy, By Juan de Fuca's Strait: Pioneering Along the Northwestern Edge of the Continent (Portland, Oregon, 1937), 67. See Chapter III below.

all the town [was] crowded . . . a sheet iron stove in the centre, some Indian mats . . . laid on the floor and two or three logs sawn off the end of a tree [to] make seats." Chatting away, "the prisoner sat beside the Judge," while courtroom spectators occasionally "went out to liquor." When this happened, "the Judge cocked his leg on the table, took out his pipe and cooly smoked away [sitting] like little Jack Horner . . . in a corner, which I suppose he imagined to be the bench of honor. He is a watch repairer, gun repairer, sailor shipping master, clerk of the District Court and squire of the common one, this room serves him for shop, parlor, kitchen and reception room" and is littered with his tools as well as law books.

When "a jury had to be impanelled, . . . a man on the street was called in and . . . sworn in [as] Deputy." He then went into "the different tap-rooms about town to collect the jurymen." As the prosecution and defense presented their cases, "the Court . . . puffed away at its pipe, and the spectators laughed and liquored, inside the Court and out of it. The Court was addressed, sometimes as Mister, then as Captain, as Major, worship, and Old Hoss This with a little variation is the way the scales of justice are balanced here.²⁵

²⁵Register January 18, 1860, also rptd. in Weekly Message March 4, 1870. For a similar description of a frontier courtroom scene, see James G. Swan, The Northwest Coast: Or, Three Years' Residence in Washington Territory (New York 1857, rpt. 1972): 292-303; also a collection of anecdotes by Swan, "James Swan," TMs, MSS 15a, McCurdy Historical Reference Library, Jefferson County Historical Society, Port Townsend, Washington.

One woman who lived in Port Townsend wrote that the early Puget Sound ports and villages, including Port Townsend and other Jefferson County settlements, had "an excellent class of people . . . and [that] the evidences of taste and culture, which are continually seen, are one of the pleasantest characteristics of this new and thinly settled part of the country." Certainly, there were lyceums, musical societies and dancing schools of varying longevity and success in Jefferson County.

There were also more persistent and less 'cultured' aspects: the easy and public availability of alcohol, gambling and prostitutes.²⁶ That it was easy to drink in Jefferson County was undeniable. Saloons, hotel bars and other outlets were plentiful, and the frequent displays of drunkenness were commented upon by residents and visitors alike. In the words of one resident, it was "a well-known fact that at no time since the settlement of this town" has there been a time but when "our streets have been disturbed, more or less, by drinking men and night made hideous by loud talk and broils of the inebriate." A visiting newspaperman commented on public drinking in Port Townsend--although his tone is humorous rather than outraged, "Every vessel that comes in or goes out . . . sends one, two or three men [or more] ashore, [and]

²⁶Leighton 84; Register, March 28, 1860.

the town is frequently enlivened and given a show of business quite exhilarating to see."²⁷

By the early 1860s there were several saloons in the county.²⁸ During the late 1860s and the 1870s, Port Townsend had around ten saloons, and the mill ports had at least one saloon each.²⁹ In 1887 there were at least twenty-three saloons, and by 1890, at the height of Port Townsend's boom period, approximately thirty-eight drinking establishments in Port Townsend, and one or more in each of the mill ports and other villages.³⁰ Of course, the above figures gleaned from license applications, newspapers advertisements and city directories refer only to legal establishments. Alcohol was available in brothels and for sale from "whiskey peddlers," as well.

²⁷Qtns. from a female correspondent to the Argus, January 1, 1876, and Clark Crandall, a Portland newsman who visited the Sound region in 1871 (G. Thomas Edwards, "'Terminus Disease:' the Clark P. Crandall Description of Puget Sound in 1871," Pacific Northwest Quarterly, Vol. 70 [1979]: 173.

²⁸Northwest, November 29, 1860; May 9, 1861.

²⁹Weekly Message, May 21, 1868; July 23, 1868 and September 1, 1869. Argus, June 27, 1871; May 2, 1872; June 2, 1875; October 6, 1876; April 4, 1877; May 18, 1877. County population in 1860 was 531; in 1870, 1268; in 1880, 1712; in 1890, 8368.

³⁰"R.L. Polk & Co's Puget Sound Directory," Vol. 1, (Seattle 1887), Typewritten copy, McCurdy Historical Research Library, Jefferson County Historical Society, Port Townsend, Washington; "R.L. Polk & Co's Port Townsend City Directory" (1890), McCurdy Historical Research Library; Marge Samuelson, "List compiled from incomplete collection of liquor license applications, issued between the years 1860 and 1903, for ninety different saloons for Bars and Bordellos Exhibit--February 1, 1997 to August 24, 1997," McCurdy Historical Research Library; Brandon Satterlee, Dub of South Burlap: The Story of a Newspaperman Who Made a Holler in the Wilderness of Washington State . . . Jefferson County . . . Quilcene (Port Townsend, Washington 1952, rpt 1992), 243.

Many saloons offered "a type of vaudeville entertainment nightly from nine until dawn." Cards, dice and other gambling activities were available either in the bars or in separate establishments; and some bars, called madhouses or dance houses, were brothels as well.³¹ It is less easy to pinpoint the existence of brothels than to establish that of saloons. Nevertheless, that prostitutes and brothels were common in Port Townsend is indicated from several sources. An 1888 fire map designates at least 15 small houses or shacks in the business section as female boarding houses, a euphemism for small brothels, and oral tradition also remembers that there were larger, more expensive establishments in that area. Brothels were sometimes located on scows in the harbor.³² Incomplete city arrest records also attest to the ubiquitous

³¹"Hill, Howard . . . Port Townsend," TMs, 1936, Washington Pioneer Project, Jefferson County, Washington State Library, Olympia, Washington, 2.

³²"Port Townsend, Washington," Sanborn fire map (New York, 1888), McCurdy Historical Research Library, Jefferson County Historical Society, Port Townsend, Washington. (Fire maps were for the use of the fire department, showing each street with its buildings clearly marked); "Robert Gow: Last of the Native Born Chinese," interviewed by Robert Boardman, Witness to the First Century (oral history series), no. 5, TMs, 1989, McCurdy Historical Research Library, 88-90; "Richard Francis McCurdy: The Early Years: 1910-1930," interviewed by Sue Sidle, Witness to the First Century (oral history series), no. 9, TMs, 1989, McCurdy Historical Research Library, 43-44; "Hill Family", TMs, MSS 3888, 2/25, Manuscripts and University Archives Division, Suzzallo & Allen Library, University of Washington, Seattle, Washington, 6. James Swan commented on the destruction of one dancehouse, writing on February 28, 1877 that "Judge Lewis ordered scow dance house to be torn down. Consequently, the Sheriff and a posse went this afternoon and commenced the work of destruction and this evening it was set on fire and burned finally." March 1, 1877: "Went to ruins of scow this morning. All burnt to ashes" (Diaries, 1877).

presence of prostitution within Port Townsend.³³ There were dancehouses and brothels near the mill ports as well.³⁴

Another indication of prostitution is that on at least four occasions, Port Townsend residents petitioned town officials to bring prostitution under control. In 1879 Port Townsendites asked the City for an "ordinance that shall prohibit Indians and others from encamping inside of the City Limits, as we deem that the presence of Squaw Brothels has hitherto been a nuisance and we desire it to be abated." Around 1885-1889, residents "desire[d]" to bring to the attention of the Council that "on either side of the most frequented thoroughfare in our city, from the low to the upper portion thereof, is a house of evil repute." Such sights, the petitioners said, were "exceedingly distasteful to the virtuous and law abiding portion of our community." They also "familiarize the minds of our children with vice and sin." Further, "such prominence of vicious places gives our city a bad name." Asking that the Council take steps to "suppress this great evil," they concluded that "if it must exist at all . . . let it be only in some retired or unfrequented place." In 1892 some five hundred people requested that the council "use its full powers for the enforcement of such laws

³³Marge Samuelson, "List compiled from incomplete collection of city arrest records, November 1879-June 1913, for Bars and Bordellos Exhibit, February 1, 1997-August 24, 1997," McCurdy Historical Research Library.

³⁴"Old Pilot Notes," TMs, MSS 54, McCurdy Historical Research Library; Fredi Perry, Seabeck: Tide's Out, Table's Set (Bremerton, Washington 1993), 104, 108.

. . . as pertain to Sabbath desecration, gambling, prostitution or other criminal conduct." A fourth petition, circa 1889-1900, "earnestly request[ed] to have removed at least from our principal streets all houses of ill fame."³⁵

In 1886 petitioners asked the March-Term District Court Grand Jury to take action against the dance-houses, but the jury reported to the Court that even after "careful examination" there was insufficient evidence to make any indictments. "We are satisfied in our own minds that the evils referred to do exist and 'flourish as a green bay tree,' and that in the very heart of this city, thereby throwing their baleful influence over our homes and hearthstones and contaminating, like a blighting curse, the morality of our youth of both sexes." The jurors regretted that they could do nothing about such "evils," and believed "that it is something which should be taken

³⁵"Petition to Honorable Mayor and Common Council of the City of Port Townsend," D, January 3, 1879, MSS 3A, McCurdy Historical Research Library, Jefferson County Historical Society, Port Townsend, Washington; "Petition to the Hon. Mayor and Common Council of Port Townsend, Wash. Terr.," D, undtd, MSS 3A; "Petition to the Honorable Mayor and Common Council of the City of Port Townsend," D, August 1892, MSS 3A; "Petition To the Honorable the Mayor and City Council of Port Townsend, Wash.," D, undtd, MSS 3A. I would date the second petition between 1885 and 1889, since at least one of the signatators (George Starrett) did not move to Port Townsend until 1885, and Washington ceased to be a Territory in 1889. The fourth petition is addressed to Port Townsend, Washington rather than Washington Territory, and it is signed by James Swan who died in 1900; it dates from between 1889 and 1900 (V.J. Gregory, "Profiles of the Pioneers," in With Pride in Heritage, 409).

in hand by the city authorities;" they asked "the Court to so instruct the municipal officers."³⁶

Thus, drinking and vice flourished. Violence--usually in combination with drinking--thrived as well. There were at least thirty-four murders in Jefferson County during the territorial period of 1853-1889. According the historian Brad Asher, "during the territorial period, there were 34 killings of whites by other whites in Jefferson County . . . Fourteen of these defendants were found guilty; one pleaded guilty." In thirty-two cases involving intra-Indian murder heard in Western Washington after 1873, there were eleven convictions and an additional defendant pleading guilty, five of which were for a lesser offense than charged. One Indian was hanged, but the longest jail sentence was three years. Asher uses these figures in a discussion of the low rates of conviction for "violent felonies" throughout Washington's territorial period. During that time "over half of all defendants charged with violent felonies--of either race--went free."³⁷

³⁶Argus, March 22, 1886; April 1, 1886. In May 1890, the Leader also conducted a campaign to force the city police to close the "Siwash Brothels" which it said flourished on Water Street (Port Townsend Leader (Port Townsend, Washington), title varies, hereafter cited as Leader, May 11, 1890, May 13, 1890, May 14, 1890, May 17, 1890).

³⁷Brad Asher, "'Their Own Domestic Difficulties': Intra-Indian Crime and White Law in Western Washington Territory, 1873-1889," Western Historical Quarterly 27, (Summer 1996), n. 82, 208. In citing Asher, I make no claim for Jefferson County as more or less violent than other Washington towns and seaports, although it would seem to have had a reputation as such. What I do wish to convey is that violence was common in Jefferson County.

Murder was only the worst of the violence. In 1877 District Court Judge Lewis reminded the Grand Jury that two years earlier he had issued a warning that "'Crime has become fearfully prevalent in our midst . . . action on the parts of Courts and Juries are (sic) necessary to arrest it. The pistol and bowie-knife, and all other instruments of crime are too freely used, and . . . until a rigid public sentiment shall demand a strict enforcement of the criminal law, this epidemic of murder and other crime will continue.' This prediction has been in all respects fulfilled."³⁸

While by no means a comprehensive collection of data, a random selection of incidents gleaned from the county newspapers supports the Judge's contention, attesting to the fact of "fearfully prevalent . . . crime" in Jefferson County.³⁹ For example, in May 1861 three men died in a "drunken frolic" on the beach at Port Townsend.⁴⁰ In July 1868 in Port Ludlow a young man was stabbed. The trouble "started in a chivari, at which liquor figures pretty extensively."⁴¹ In December, "A genius who had been running with John Barleycorn . . . made a batter-ram of a

³⁸Democratic Press, September 28, 1877.

³⁹County newspaper coverage was limited until 1868 when the Weekly Message began publication, after which events in Jefferson County were routinely covered by at least one and often two newspapers.

⁴⁰North-West, May 23, 1861.

⁴¹Weekly Message, July 16, 1868.

cordwood stick and broke in a door, about 2 o'clock this morning."⁴² In August 1869 a logging camp near Quilcene was the scene of the murder of one Thomas Allen by John Young. According to witnesses, Allen "drew a knife out of his boot leg and said to Young that he would kill him." Allen had accused Young of stealing his whiskey.⁴³ In October of the same year one Jerry Boston was murdered having been stabbed fifteen times in the back, "the second . . . murder [of a Native American] which has taken place within a few weeks."⁴⁴

In April 1871, "two soldiers having enjoyed themselves all night on the beach"--in other words, they were drunk--attacked a man who was fishing near a wharf, "throwing down cordwood and coal . . . inflicting a severe and painful wound on his back."⁴⁵ In May, at the nearby mill town of Port Gamble, two Chinese men who had been accused of burglarizing houses (although no evidence was found) were taken into custody by the Kitsap County Sheriff who "brought them down to the Saloon of the Teekalet Hotel, where they were confronted [by saloon customers] with threats and accusations in order to force them . . . to a confession of guilt . . . One

⁴²Weekly Message, December 3, 1868.

⁴³Weekly Message, August 11, 1869; Young was convicted of second degree murder and sentenced to ten years' imprisonment (Message, September 15, 1869).

⁴⁴Weekly Message, October 6, 1869.

⁴⁵Weekly Message, April 4, 1871.

man said . . . he 'would fix them,' or make them confess. The officer readily consented and turned them over to the crowd." Eventually, accompanied by the Sheriff, the crowd hanged the two men until they ceased to breathe. At this point, the Sheriff intervened, and "at last account they were still alive."⁴⁶

In September 1877, "a row [erupted] between Andrew Mathews and one Sullivan, in which the later was cut very severely in the face . . . No arrests were made," however.⁴⁷ In one week in early April 1878, two incidents were reported in the Democratic Press. One was an altercation between the mate of the ship MATILDA and a drunken sailor. The sailor pulled a knife, and the city watchman, arriving upon the scene, did the same. The watchman cut the sailor "slightly about the face and in the side." The other was the death of a tugboat crewman named White who "drowned off Union Wharf." Found wandering "about the streets in a drunken condition," the night watchman had led him to where his boat was moored, but "he slipped, fell overboard and was seen no more."⁴⁸ In September "a sailor . . . full of enough tangle-leg to be ugly" refused to go back on his ship. "He was put into a boat by force and pulled off to the ship, swearing vengeance on everyone who

⁴⁶Weekly Message, May 23, 1871.

⁴⁷Democratic Press, September 7, 1877.

⁴⁸Democratic Press, April 5, 1878.

had assisted in getting him away."⁴⁹ Thus, drinking, gambling, prostitution and violence were not uncommon features of life in Jefferson County; and Port Townsend was, indeed, "something of a tough."⁵⁰

"It Wasn't Considered Safe For A Decent Woman:" Escape From Downtown⁵¹

Some Port Townsend residents dealt with its disreputable features by physically separating themselves from the downtown area. Port Townsend's commercial life was centered along the waterfront, and the first Euramerican residents' homes were there. However, as early as James Swan's visit to the area in 1859, there were a few homes, as well as the Marine Hospital, on the overlooking bluff.⁵² By 1868 there was a division between the two sections--called 'downtown' and 'uptown' by residents--that went beyond the geographical one. A visitor noted in 1868 that:

Port Townsend is a city of two parts. One . . . on the sands and the other on the bluffs that overlook them. We may regard these as Port Townsend the Ancient and Port

⁴⁹Democratic Press, September 23, 1878. See also Weekly Message, July 9, 1868, September 15, 1869, May 9, 1871; Democratic Press, September 21, 1877, September 23, 1878, December 19, 1879, August 26, 1880 for other incidents involving violence. Swan also noted many incidents of violence. See Swan, Diaries, November 6, 1872, August 30, 1873, February 21, 1874, March 4, 1874, January 15, 1875, March 11, 1877, April 26, 1886.

⁵⁰Weir, "Roughing it on Puget Sound in the Early Sixties," 74.

⁵¹"Oral history of Mrs. Florence Pittman," TMs, MSS 121, McCurdy Historical Research Library, 5. (1-7)

⁵²Swan, Almost Out of the World, 11.

Townsend the Modern. Port Townsend the Ancient . . . contains the "rancheree" of the Duke of York and his vassals [and] the customs house, the Good Templars hall, the Masonic hall. . . several whisky saloons and other places of business. In Port Townsend the Modern are the Marine hospital, the schoolhouse, the church, and neat residences.⁵³

Downtown Port Townsend was considered too 'tough' for respectable women and children. Resident Florence Pittman described it as "a sailor's town:" a warren of "Chinese laundry houses, chop houses, gambling houses and houses of prostitution, and a Seamen's Bethel. Saloons were numerous, and it was not considered safe for a decent woman to venture downtown."⁵⁴ Visitor Annie Satterlee found the downtown area unsafe for herself and her children. On their way to Quilcene, she and her family arrived in Port Townsend at night by sea. They went to a close-by hotel or "lodging house." The landlady was "a frowsy woman dressed in a ragged bathrobe . . . surprised to find a respectable family applying for rooms." Once it was daylight, Mrs. Satterlee was "aghast" to observe "that more than half the business places on the main street were saloons . . . Afraid to let [her] children run loose in this wicked

⁵³Gilbert Pilcher, "The Port Townsend of 1868: (Being an Excerpt From Harper's Magazine Published in 1869)," TMs, 1936, Washington Pioneer Project, Jefferson County, 2-3.

⁵⁴"Mrs. Pittman," 4-5. Mrs. Pittman came to Port Townsend from England in 1882. She was probably an adolescent when she arrived since her aunt and uncle immediately put her to work as a domestic laborer in their boarding house. She lived the rest of her life in Jefferson County.

town [she] herded [them] back to the lodging house," there to hide until it was time to leave Port Townsend.⁵⁵

It was considered remarkable when a 'respectable' family lived downtown, as illustrated by a comment in the Argus when the James Dalgardno family moved uptown in 1879. "A significant fact concerning this matter is that while Capt. Dalgardno's family came here first some 21 years ago, they never took a residence on the hill until last week."⁵⁶

Thus, while many people did live downtown, 'respectable' people retreated from the flats to make their homes uptown in "Port Townsend the Modern." Schools and churches were uptown, so girls were protected from downtown influences. Boys, lured by the dangerous mystique of downtown, did venture there. The women who lived on the bluff disliked even shopping in the business area since "the nature of downtown, saloons, ships outfitters, meat markets, boarding houses, Chinese community, bowling alley, stables, blacksmith, etc. offended many." Port Townsend merchants made deliveries to homes on the hill and eventually many opened shops there. In 1871, there was one store in the upper part of Port Townsend, but in time it had a "Dry Goods Store, houseware and grocery store, bakery and grocery, a 10-cent store, three millinery shops and the 'Toggery' (women's wear)," and the uptown area

⁵⁵Satterlee 19.

⁵⁶Argus, April 20, 1879.

became "the shopping center of choice."⁵⁷ Uptown, respectable women and their children were 'safe' from contact with the disreputable denizens of downtown life since only rarely did the "rough elements" escape the "diligence and never failing watchfulness [of] our police authorities . . . and gain a footing in the upper part of town."⁵⁸ Geography split Port Townsend into waterfront and plateau, but nature's division also had a social significance.

An examination of residential patterns in Port Townsend during the late 1880s illustrates the social aspects of this geographical division of Port Townsend, a division which was determined by respectability. Many people lived downtown. The 1887 "Puget Sound Directory" lists 86 people who can roughly be grouped as businessmen, professionals and white collar workers--merchants and other businessmen, mostly saloonkeepers and hotel owners, and retail clerks and bookkeepers. The businessmen who lived downtown were those who lived on the premises or above their businesses, while the clerks and bookkeepers were mostly single men who either lived where they worked or in hotels or boarding houses. Sixty-three skilled workers such as

⁵⁷Dorothy McLarney to author, LS, October 23, 1995, in possession of author. Mrs. McLarney, who was born in Port Townsend in 1906, has been a student of Port Townsend's history throughout her life. I am indebted to her for the time and trouble she took to correspond with me about many aspects of Port Townsend's history, but especially about the divisions between downtown and uptown. See also: "Richard Frances McCurdy: The Early Years, 1910-1930," 15, 44, 83-84; "Horace Winslow McCurdy: Boyhood in Port Townsend," interviewed by Sue Sidle, *Witness to the First Century*, no. 3, TMs, 1989, McCurdy Historical Research Library, 93.

⁵⁸Argus, December 30, 1885.

carpenters or tailors lived downtown either above their shops, or if they were single, in boarding houses or hotels. Most Chinese residents lived downtown⁵⁹, confined to a two-or-three block area, and after 1871 Native Americans often made semi-permanent camps on the beach.⁶⁰ The bulk of downtown residents were laborers and considered more or less disreputable. There were 17 bartenders, 26 restaurant workers, 58 sailors, 27 'laborers' and 9 probable prostitutes.⁶¹

There was also a floating population of sailors--sometimes numbering upwards of four hundred (400) men--which would have swelled the population of the downtown area. One hundred eighty-two downtown (182) residents listed themselves as boarders. Thus, downtown residents either lived near or where they worked, or they were less established (single men who boarded) or they were 'disreputable.' There were few families, and the majority of downtown residents would have been categorized as laborers.

Not all working people lived downtown, however. Thirty-two craftsmen or skilled workers and 23 unskilled workers with respectable occupations lived uptown.

⁵⁹Officially, Jefferson County Chinese numbered 209 in 1887 (Robert Edward Wynne, "Reaction to the Chinese in the Pacific Northwest and British Columbia, 1850 to 1910," [Ph.D. diss., University of Washington, 1964], Appendix II, 493).

⁶⁰Their permanent village in Port Townsend was burned to the ground in 1871--see above, Chapter II.

⁶¹I have assumed that the nine (9) single women with no listed occupation, whose address was the beach or Water Street were prostitutes. The actual figure would have been higher.

Skilled occupations included--dressmakers, milliners, a shoemaker, ships' mates and carpenters, printers, a blacksmith, sawyers and a machinist, men in the building trades, a brewer and a barber. Unskilled workers included--teamsters, woodmen, domestic servants, a watchman, a janitor and men whose occupation was listed as laborer.

A larger number of Port Townsend's business people, professionals and white collar workers lived uptown than downtown: 119--school teachers, businessmen, ships' captains, pilots, clerks, government officials and other professionals. More families lived uptown, and only 38 uptown residents were boarders.⁶²

Since the city directory only listed widows and unmarried women, who listed an occupation or were not living with their families, it is more difficult to identify how many women lived uptown or downtown. However, what numbers there are indicate that fewer women lived downtown than uptown--23 downtown and 37 uptown.⁶³ These figures suggest that 'respectable' people, were more likely to live

⁶²I was able to match 220 names from the 1887 city directory with names in the 1889 Territorial Census (817). I could identify only 20 as living in families--either a married couple or couple with children--who lived downtown. Ninety-nine of those living in families lived uptown. Twenty singles lived uptown, while 39 lived downtown.

⁶³"Port Townsend, Washington," Sanborn fire map (New York, 1888); "R.L. Polk & Co's Puget Sound Directory," Vol. 1, (Seattle, Washington 1887); "Territorial Census, 1889," booklet prepared from manuscript censuses by the Jefferson County Genealogical Society as a Washington State 1989 Centennial Project, 1989, McCurdy Historical Research Library. The 1887 city directory lists addresses by cross streets rather than street numbers which makes it easy to locate where people lived, especially on the long streets which pass through both the downtown and uptown areas. The city directory also lists people's occupations and whether or not they boarded or lived with family members.

uptown: families with children, married couples and women who lived in single-family dwellings, men and women with 'respectable' occupations. Thus, Port Townsend's natural division reinforced a social division in which 'respectable' residents--those who lived uptown--disassociated themselves from the disreputable, but indispensable, aspects of downtown life. This division remained effective into the 1920s, by which time the decline of the town's importance as a shipping center had emptied Port Townsend's downtown of all but a few residents and stores, prohibition had driven the remaining liquor trade underground, and the few brothels were discreet operations.⁶⁴

At War With "Notoriety"

Although some Port Townsend residents escaped the downtown area, this did not solve the problem its notoriety posed to the county's development. As demonstrated by their reaction to the Browne controversy or the scandal attending the impeachment of the gambling judge Morris Sachs, county residents were protective of

The directory only lists heads of families and single men and women, but by cross-checking with the 1889 territorial population census, I was able to identify where some families lived. Of course, since city directories only targeted and recorded heads of families and single people, almost all women and children are excluded. Also, since entries were voluntary, some residents are excluded. County population in 1887 was 3393 and Washington Territory's population was 140,014 (Wynne, Appendix II, 493).

⁶⁴"Louis Herman Hansen: Port Townsend Man on the Street," interviewed by James Hermanson, *Witness to the First Century* (oral history series), no. 4, TMs, 1989, McCurdy Historical Research Library, 118.

the community's reputation when under attack. Indeed, in the case of the Browne controversy, measures were long-lasting; and Browne continued to elicit slurs from county residents and in the county press for many years.⁶⁵ However, residents were more than defensive. They actively promoted a positive public image of the county, and an important function of the boosterist newspapers was to report the activities of respectable county residents and institutions such as churches, lyceums, temperance organizations. In this way, the county's reputation might be salvaged and respectable endeavours encouraged.

In 1860, when the formation of a Lyceum and Debating Club was announced, the boosterist paper, The North-West, noted "that there are few objects better calculated to wield a lasting beneficial influence in a community composed principally of young and single men, than such an organization."⁶⁶ Editor John Damon also praised the Port Townsend Musical Association, the last meeting of which had been well attended by "some half dozen ladies and a large number of gentlemen." He judged such an organization to be of particular importance in a community such as Port Townsend, since it would "serve to attract young men from the society of the profligate and by the observance of decorum, compel the growth of that self-respect and gentlemanly deportment so essential to future social position and advancement.

⁶⁵See Chapter II above for examples of the long-term reaction to the Browne controversy.

⁶⁶North-west, July 26, 1860.

May it increase in numbers and prosperity until the ribald jest and wicked oath shall give place to the refinement of thought and expression."⁶⁷

Newspapers made a point of drawing attention to church-related activities. The "attentive and large" Port Townsend audiences at the several services held throughout the week-long visit of Bishop Scott of the Diocese of Oregon and Washington, and Rev. D. Ellis Willes of Olympia were commended for their attendance by the local press. "Not withstanding the rain, we counted nineteen ladies present . . . last evening."⁶⁸ The North-West praised the "rough garbed men from the logging camps and farms, [their] souls capable of appreciating the harmonies of the children's choir, and hearts big enough to contribute to the support of the Sabbath School."⁶⁹

In response to a dig in a letter to the editor that Port Townsend was largely composed of 'free-thinking, liberal' non-church goers, the Weekly Message retorted that "no town on Puget Sound . . . has given more than Port Townsend to religious institutions, [or] been more humbugged by them. Port Townsend has given sites for three or four, and built two churches, and it has no resident minister. [However,] one

⁶⁷North-West, July 26, 1860.

⁶⁸North-West, November 1, 1860.

⁶⁹Weekly Message, November 21, 1867. See also Weekly Message, October 3, 1868, February 24, 1869 and April 21, 1869 for similar entries.

of our citizens . . . holds Divine service every Sabbath in St. Paul's Church, in this city. . . . Give us some one capable of [preaching], and plenty are here who will be [churchgoers].⁷⁰

When the Democratic Press claimed that had the citizens of Port Townsend had cause to feel "encouraged" because church attendance was at an all-time high, it also noted that "the percentage of church-going people and stability in a community is a fair index to the prosperity of that community." Thus, according to the Press, "it is to the interest of business men and all who feel an interest in the general prosperity and good reputation of their town or neighborhood to encourage church work."⁷¹

Other 'respectable' institutions were subjects of comment as well. The opening of "Mrs. G.S. Nunn's Dancing School" was enthusiastically reported as "very largely attended . . . everyone . . . very highly pleased."⁷² The homelike qualities of the Union Hotel, "a 'Haven of rest'. . . a genial landlord, good quarters and rich and wholesome food, received praise."⁷³ And, when "a project [was] on foot to establish a Young Ladies' Select School in Port Townsend," the editor of the Weekly Message opined that it was "just the kind of school . . . needed here, and if properly

⁷⁰Weekly Message, December 18, 1868.

⁷¹Democratic Press, October 5, 1877.

⁷²Weekly Message, October 27, 1869.

⁷³Weekly Message, May 18, 1871.

conducted will attract attention all along the Sound. . . There is nothing that will give more tone and character to a place than well conducted educational and benevolent enterprises.⁷⁴ The formation of a Natural History Society to be headquartered in Port Townsend was announced with hope. It would be similar to one in California which had "commenced on quite as small a scale, and is now one of the acknowledged scientific institutes of the land We hope this enterprise will be pushed forward with vigor, for it will add much to the development of useful and interesting information to our citizens."⁷⁵

A sober Election Day and the orderly celebration of holidays usually associated with rowdiness were called to readers' attention. Port Townsend's 1868 Fourth-of-July celebration was considered noteworthy because "there was but one arrest for drunkenness--though there were more than two thousand people present in the city." The reporter continued gleefully, "our neighboring town, Seattle, we understand, was not quite so fortunate. We are told the jail was filled before the day was done, and then set on fire by some one outside, and, had it not been for the Olympia Fire Company, it would have been destroyed, and half the town with it. Reform! reform is needed. Have 'em follow our example."⁷⁶

⁷⁴Weekly Message, March 23, 1871.

⁷⁵Argus, September 21, 1876.

⁷⁶Weekly Message, July 9, 1868.

Also reported was a St. Patrick's Day in Port Ludlow which passed without "one drop of blood drawn; not even a single knock-down the whole day." The writer reminisced about the "pleasure and hope . . . with which the Lawyers and Coroner would look forward to a Patricks day or a Fourth of July in Port Ludlow," but times had changed. Now, Port Ludlow could claim to be a respectable town.⁷⁷ Election Day, February 1878, was reported with pride, having "passed off quietly and in a manner reflecting much credit upon Port Townsend as a law-abiding community" since the law forbidding the sale of alcohol on voting day was "universally complied with."⁷⁸

While boosterist editors praised positive features of county life, they and others worked to alter features perceived to be negative. Drinking, especially excessive public drinking which led to unruly or violent behaviour, was a concern for many county residents. In 1855 when the Territorial Legislature produced a referendum for prohibiting the manufacture and sale of liquor in Washington⁷⁹, the measure passed

⁷⁷Weekly Message, March 25, 1870.

⁷⁸Democratic Press, February 15, 1878.

⁷⁹Norman H. Clark, The Dry Years: Prohibition and Social Change in Washington (Seattle, Washington 1965, rev. 1988), 26. Washington residents--following trends established throughout the United States--made several attempts to control or eliminate the use of alcohol which culminated in the 1914 law prohibiting the sale and manufacture of liquor in Washington, a measure which was rejected in Jefferson County by fifty-six percent (116). Local option was attempted several times--see below. Other legislation directed towards controlling the consumption of liquor: 1878 laws which forbade the sale of liquor to minors and established a two-mile-wide Prohibition strip to accompany the construction of the Northern Pacific Railroad (32); an 1880 law which required that saloons be closed

in Jefferson County 46-5, although it lost territory-wide 650 to 546. However, this early vote in favor of prohibition--which would not be repeated in Jefferson County--was probably more reflective of a desire to control the sale of liquor to Native Americans residing in or near Port Townsend and Port Ludlow, than it was indicative of a temperance movement at this time directed towards Euramerican drinking.⁸⁰

Nevertheless, there were concerns about Euramerican drinking, as reflected by early temperance groups. The Port Townsend Dashaway Club was an early Alcoholics Anonymous-type organization joined by James Swan in 1859.⁸¹ There was also the Port Townsend Independent Reform Club, formed in 1860 and described

on Sunday, and another which held saloon keepers and owners of saloon property liable for any injuries caused by liquor sold on their respective properties (34); the Alcohol Education Act of 1885 which made education about the perils of drinking and smoking compulsory in the public schools (35); and in 1909 laws which raised the penalties for violating Sunday closure and for allowing women and minors in saloons and one which made it a felony to sell liquor to anyone who was one-eighth Native American and others (81-94).

⁸⁰Of the first thirty-three cases heard by the First Judicial Circuit Court held in Port Townsend in 1854 and 1855, twenty-one were brought against either people accused of selling liquor to Native Americans, or Native Americans involved in incidents of violence (Alexandra Harmon, "Different Kind of Indians: Negotiating the Meanings of 'Indian' and 'Tribe' in the Puget Sound Region, 1820s-1970s." [Ph.D. diss., University of Washington, 1995], 256, n. 12. According to Harmon, the new territorial government (established in 1854) was determined to establish the supremacy of American law not only over Native Americans, but also over settlers who had been accustomed to managing without the law, especially where relations between Native Americans and themselves were concerned, meting out punishment for supposed wrongs and selling them liquor. The prohibition law may have been connected to this effort (199-205). In his analysis of the voting for this referendum, Norman Clark found that those counties with significant numbers of Native Americans living in close proximity with settlers, as in Jefferson County, voted "yes," which is in keeping with the current rhetoric of the time: to rid the territory of "the mean-spirited and filthy-minded white scoundrels who cowardly deal out liquid damnation to the poor 'Siwashes'" (Clark, *The Dry Years*, 21-27, qtn. 24).

⁸¹Lucile McDonald, *Swan Among the Indians: Life of James G. Swan, 1818-1900* (Portland, Oregon, 1972), 77.

by a reporter as "a bright star . . . which [it is hoped] will be the means of reclaiming many inveterate dram drinkers, men too, of genius and learning who for years have been whirling with delirious apathy, in the frightful vortex of intemperance. May they continue steadfast, and become the principal pillars of society."⁸²

Interest in temperance continued. The Independent Order of Good Templars, one of the foremost American vehicles of temperance reform, was active in Washington by the late 1860s, with lodges in many towns and mill ports. Its professional lecturers--sent by the national organization--frequently spoke to large audiences.⁸³ Port Townsend's order was formed in 1867, and in the late 1870s the Argus maintained a weekly "Good Templar" page which included listings of territorial meetings and lectures, as well as a "Talks on Temperance" section compiled by Editor Weir. Port Ludlow and Quilcene also had Good Templars' lodges, and the Templars in Port Townsend and Port Ludlow maintained their own meeting halls. The Women's Christian Temperance Union and a Blue Ribbon Club for temperance were extant in the mid-1880s in Port Townsend, and there was a Blue Ribbon Band of

⁸²Register, March 28, 1860. The Moral Reform Club of Port Townsend (which may have been the same organization) held a meeting in April (Register, April 11, 1860). The longevity of these clubs is unknown.

⁸³Clark, The Dry Years, 28.

Hope formed to introduce children to ideas about abstention from liquor, tobacco and profane language.⁸⁴

Temperance lecturers visited Port Townsend--and occasionally other county towns.⁸⁵ During "Temperance Week" in July 1883, the "well-filled" Port Townsend Good Templars Hall was the scene of a reception for Frances Willard of the WCTU by "an intelligent and thoughtful audience." Allen Weir, speaking for the Press and the local Templars lodge, welcomed Willard, "with earnest heart [and] admiration for your noble service to the cause of Christianity, Temperance and Intelligence." Mrs. A.H. Todd spoke for the Port Townsend WCTU, a newly formed organization which was "pledge[d to] a life-long devotion to our holy cause . . . encouraged and strengthened by your presence among us, an impetus . . . to the temperance cause, . . . hastening the day of emancipation for all . . . in bondage to this giant evil."⁸⁶

⁸⁴Argus, July 5, 1883, March 13, 1879, May 31, 1883; Democratic Press, January 4, 1878; Satterlee, 243; Argus, February 4, 1886. Washington chapters of the WCTU were organized beginning in 1874, and in the same year the Washington Territorial Temperance Alliance was established to organize a drive for a law prohibiting the manufacture and sale of liquor in Washington. The Blue Ribbon Club may have been an off-shoot of the Territorial Alliance (Clark, The Dry Years, 28; Satterlee 243).

⁸⁵Weekly Message, December 10, 1869; Argus, June 2, 1875, March 13, 1879, June 26, 1879, July 3, 1879, May 31, 1883, July 5, 1883, February 4, 1886.

⁸⁶Argus, July 5, 1883. "Temperance Week" was organized by the Washington Territorial Temperance Alliance and included a territorial-wide program through which the WCTU and churches to championed prohibition (Clark, The Dry Years 34. See also, Argus, February 4, 1886 for an account of the 1886 visit to Port Townsend of one Narcissa White, also of the WCTA. Expecting "this far western country" to be "inhabited by wild animals and still more savage people," she was surprised to discover Westerners so "intelligent and advanced as a people" and she "rejoiced to find such effective work done by the W.C.T.U., especially in Port Townsend."

During the winter of 1892 many Jefferson County residents were swept away by the "Gospel temperance" lecturer, Thomas Murphy, whose scheduled visit of one week in Port Townsend was extended to three weeks. Upwards of 1000 people in Port Townsend and Quilcene signed a pledge to abstain from drinking liquor, "don[ning] the blue ribbon" as a signal to one and all of their support for temperance. A Gospel Temperance Union was formed in Port Townsend under the auspices of the town's ministers. "There is no denying . . . that Murphy's advent here has done a great deal of good," (although long-lasting effects on some converts were judged to be unlikely).

The admission is made at almost all the saloons in town that the blue-ribbon crusade has been responsible for a falling off of over 20 per cent in the receipts of the various bars Among those whom Mr. Murphy has converted are Charley Hawkins, the well-known sporting man, whose skill at mixing a cocktail has become a matter of local pride.⁸⁷

Clearly there was support throughout the years for the temperance movement in Jefferson County. However, some Port Townsendites' concern about temperance as a moral issue was influenced by commercialism. In 1877 "W.L." wrote from Massachusetts to his son William in Port Townsend, lamenting that "Alphonso" (another son) was in "that kind of business [a store which retailed liquor], but he

⁸⁷Leader, January 24, 1892, January 30, 1892, February 2, 1892, February 5, 1892, February 17, 1892, qms. January 30, February 2, 1892; Satterlee, 243.

[Alphonso] says everybody sells Liquor out there."⁸⁸ Perhaps Alphonso Learned exaggerated, but the sale of liquor was an important business in Jefferson County, one integral to Port Townsend's present and future position as a shipping center.

Concerns about drinking could be overridden by an understanding of the inevitability of drinking in a seaport town with 'great city' ambitions. An example is Allen Weir, an officer of the Good Templars' territorial organization, but also editor of the Argus and an extremely active county booster. While the Argus printed a Templars' page, it also carried advertisements for the local peddlers of alcohol; and in 1879 Weir was criticized by the Democratic Press and some members of the Templars for working "in the interest of Temperance [but] also aid[ing] the dealers in liquors by . . . bring[ing] a good word in behalf of several brands of liquid poison."⁸⁹ Weir excused himself by reminding readers that both the Templars and the "liquor dealers" paid him for space in his paper; and that because both were business arrangements, they had nothing to do with his own beliefs about temperance.⁹⁰

⁸⁸Letter from "W.L." LS, June 18, 1877, MSS 38, McCurdy Historical Research Library. "W.L." was probably William Learned, writing to his son William Henry Harrison Learned. Alphonso was William's elder son and a partner with Enoch Fowler in a merchandising and shipping business which sold liquor in Port Townsend (V. J. Gregory, "Profiles of Pioneers," in With Pride in Heritage 387-88).

⁸⁹Democratic Press, February 23, 1879, June 19, 1879, June 26, 1879, July 3, 1879 (qtn.).

⁹⁰Argus, December 18, 1879.

In 1886, when controversy over a territorial local option law⁹¹ was raging, Weir offered a more complete explanation of his position on temperance in Port Townsend, one which demonstrates with clarity how a 'respectable' booster and temperance activist could come to terms with the sale of liquor in Jefferson County.

Weir made a common argument that "the war of Temperance against Rum" would in the end be won by moral suasion rather than by prohibition laws. Although the "traffic" in Port Townsend was great, when "compared with our population," enforcing prohibition would be impossible. "Not because the town is below others in degree of depravity, but because no town as large as Port Townsend and similarly situated would rigidly respect a prohibition law." Weir wrote that "to refuse to grant licenses here, and then try to punish illicit selling of liquor would simply bring the law into contempt, reduce our municipal and school revenues, and fail to reduce crime or immorality." He pointed out that "in other towns and smaller communities--especially inland--it is far different . . . Where the temperance sentiment largely

⁹¹In 1878 a local option law attached to the state constitution--written during an aborted move towards statehood--failed, although the constitution itself was approved (Clark, The Dry Years, 28-30). Nevertheless, local option continued to be a popular idea. The 1886 local option law allowed towns and voting precincts outside towns to petition their County Commissioners--with as few as fifteen signatures--to schedule an election to decide whether or not the community would allow the sale of liquor or not--elections to be held every two years (35-36). This law was declared unconstitutional by the territorial supreme court in 1888. However, the 1888 legislature passed a licensing law which reinforced county commissioners' discretionary powers over the sale of liquor. License fees were set from \$300 to \$1000 as seen fit by the commissioners (38-40). Another local option law was passed in 1909, but its varied success prompted prohibitionists to work for a state law prohibiting the sale and manufacture of liquor (81-107).

predominates, and where the people desire to, and can, enforce prohibition, we believe in allowing them to do so. That is why we favor local option."⁹²

However, Weir contended that the liquor trade was inevitable in Port Townsend. Thus, it was more expedient to have some control over those who sold liquor through licensing fees than to unsuccessfully attempt to eradicate the liquor trade. If fees were "high enough to weed out disreputable saloons," but not so high as to "result in a monopoly of the business for a few rich dealers," or to encourage "adulteration of liquors, gambling dead falls and other thieving devices in order to make enough money to cover license and other requirements," the liquor trade would be more respectable, than if prohibition became the law.⁹³

Weir assumed that local option would fail in Jefferson County. However, he supported an election because he believed a vote would make clear to the city's saloonkeepers that there were respectable forces who supported prohibition. It was therefore in the interests of the more 'reputable' saloonkeepers that they "put down doggeries and places of ill repute, in order that a wave of popular indignation may not strike the whole traffic and wipe it out of existence." Thus, a vote on local option would encourage saloonkeepers to remain "respectable."⁹⁴ According to Weir, such

⁹²Argus, January 28, 1886.

⁹³Argus, February 4, 1886.

⁹⁴Argus, April 29, 1886; see also March 18, 1886.

respectable saloons would be the community's protection against those "doggeries and places of ill repute" which would flourish without local influence and control.

The notion that some saloons and their keepers were respectable while others were not was a persistent theme in Jefferson County. The County Commissioners granted licenses to sell liquor only to merchants and saloonkeepers who had "proved to the satisfaction of the board that they were men of good moral character."⁹⁵ Such a system of licensing, it was said, acknowledged that saloons were "evil," but provided 'respectable' people with control over possible disreputableness.

According to the Argus, saloons in Port Townsend were "a necessary evil [which] none know . . . so well as the very men who keep them, every one of whom will admit that if he could make money so easily and so fast in any other way, he would give up his present occupation." However, this necessary evil could be controlled through the licensing of saloons which ensured that "those who carry on the business [will] regard the law more, and be more careful not to violate it in any respect." Those keepers who are "refused licenses know well that they have in many particulars violated the law . . . they have no reason to complain of the action of the

⁹⁵"Proceedings of the County Commissioners of Jefferson County, W.T., Regular Meeting Monday, May 7, 1877," rpt. in Argus, May 18, 1877.

Commissioners. That this action was for the best interests of society, every one will admit."⁹⁶

That some saloons were described positively by the local press suggests the acceptance of "respectable saloons." One saloon was "thoroughly painted and replenished with a fine stock of liquors; also a splendid three-quarter Carrom Billiard Table, just received from San Francisco."⁹⁷ Others were "fitted up very tastefully," had a "neat and attractive appearance," had been "overhauled and renovated throughout," or were "resplendent in new paint, paper, &c."⁹⁸ A hotel described as "first-class in every respect" had a bar "attached in the new addition at the side of the main building."⁹⁹ The Bank Exchange Saloon was "the place where they go who want a high-toned drink, straight or compounded in the highest style of mixology; who want a first class cigar and a game of billiards."¹⁰⁰

The newspapers praised saloon keepers who were law-abiding. "Mr. Whiting, proprietor of the saloon on Union wharf, deserves to be complimented for generously

⁹⁶Argus, May 18, 1877. When two members of the City Council presented an ordinance to reduce local retail liquor licenses from \$500 to \$300, the mayor vetoed it because the reduction favored "men in one class of business," men who would not care that the loss of revenue to the city (\$4000) would mean a curtailment in the protection offered them by "an efficient police force" (Leader, May 4, 1892).

⁹⁷Weekly Message, October 27, 1869.

⁹⁸Democratic Press, June 7, 1878, December 12, 1878; Argus August 30, 1883, September 6, 1883.

⁹⁹Argus, August 39, 1883.

¹⁰⁰Weekly Message, May 18, 1871.

closing his place of business on Monday last, during the city election. According to the old municipal boundaries he lives outside the city limits, and hence could not be forced by the local authorities to close his saloon during the election."¹⁰¹ Others were commended by the press for their hospitality:" "Messrs Wood and Sterming . . . are well known in the business and will be glad to extend to their numerous friends, and to parched and weary travellers generally, the hospitalities of the Union."¹⁰² David Sires "wishes his old friends to give him a call."¹⁰³ Another saloonkeeper was public-spirited. "Mr. C. Louis Schur . . . keeps on hand, for the accommodation of those who are too late to obtain from the stores at night a small stock of assorted groceries, tobacco, etc. Don't fail to call and see Louis."¹⁰⁴ A new hotel, the "Tucker House would be a success since "Mr. and Mrs. Tucker [who] contemplate putting in a bar in connection with their new hotel the "Tucker House," . . . have a great many years' experience in the hotel business."¹⁰⁵

Even the Democratic Press which had castigated Weir for advertising liquor, praised the character of certain liquor merchants and highlighted the importance of the

¹⁰¹ Argus, July 16, 1880.

¹⁰² Weekly Message, July 23, 1868.

¹⁰³ Weekly Message, October 27, 1869.

¹⁰⁴ Democratic Press, December 12, 1878.

¹⁰⁵ Argus, August 2, 1883.

trade to the community. The liquor trade "is to a certain extent the business life of our city as those who deal in [it] spend their money here at home, and are ever first and foremost in all enterprises, whether it is for the benefit of our city and the country at large or for charitable purposes. Imagine what would happen if "every house that keeps liquor for sale" were removed from Port Townsend. Without "the money the business puts in circulation . . . business would be stagnated and the universal cry of hard times would fill the air."¹⁰⁶

Thus, while many Port Townsendites considered temperance and even abstinence eminently respectable personal goals, prohibition of the sale of liquor was an unlikely proposition because Port Townsend's position as a shipping center made the liquor trade inevitable. Essential to the town's prosperity, it was better to control the trade than to force it to become illegal and disreputable.

Community members railed against vice as well drinking. As with the sale of liquor, there were residents who wanted to do away with prostitution and gambling completely, but there were more pragmatic people who wished vice was less public. In 1890 the Leader was eager to close down certain brothels "because it believed that decency and morality are two attributes in which no city of any pretensions should be lacking."¹⁰⁷ However, two of the four late nineteenth-century petitions concerning

¹⁰⁶Democratic Press, December 11, 1879.

¹⁰⁷Leader, May 13, 1890.

prostitution in Port Townsend were reluctant, but nevertheless willing, to accept discreet prostitution. "Let it be only in some retired or unfrequented place." Or, have "removed at least from our principal streets all houses of ill fame."¹⁰⁸

Gambling also roused similar equivocal responses from residents. As early as 1860, "M.V.B" deplored the presence of gambling--"practiced only by cheats and knaves"--in Port Townsend. Thirty years later, in 1890, the Leader rejoiced when several "tin-horn . . . opium-soaked gamblers" were run out of town; men who not only followed a disreputable calling, but stood "on the street corners and in front of public places ogling respectable ladies and children."¹⁰⁹ And yet, in 1892 the Leader reported several complaints about gambling houses which focused on the fact that gamblers "are allowed to ply their demoralizing vocation [on the] ground floor [where] temptations to the young and inexperienced" were within easy reach. The reporter said that "if gambling is to be longer tolerated in Port Townsend a city ordinance should compel the games to be moved upstairs, down in the cellars or somewhere not so easy of access." Later, when a large gambling house was raided and temporarily closed, it was again the openness of the operation which seemed to

¹⁰⁸"Petition to the Hon. Mayor and Common Council of Port Townsend, Wash. Terr.," D, MSS 3A, McCurdy Historical Research Library; "Petition To the Honorable the Mayor and City Council of Port Townsend, Wash.," D, MSS 3A, McCurdy Historical Research Library.

¹⁰⁹Register, March 28, 1860; Leader, May 7, 1890.

rouse the reporter's dismay, rather than the fact of gambling. "If we must tolerate [gambling] let it be regulated and placed where it will do the least harm."¹¹⁰

As can be seen from the above, drinking, prostitution and gambling were activities deplored as immoral and potentially harmful not only to the county's inhabitants but to the county's reputation as well. Removal of such activities was a valued goal for some community residents. However, many residents were ambivalent because such disreputable activities were inevitable in a shipping center. Ultimately, control--as in the case of licensing "respectable" saloons--or camouflage--hiding prostitution and gambling so that it did not offend the eyes of respectable visitors or residents--were expedient courses chosen by most commercially minded Port Townsendites.

Often, groups of people were designated as detrimental to the county's reputation, and there would be calls in letters to the editor or petitions to the city council to control and/or remove them from Port Townsend. Obviously rowdy drinkers, prostitutes and gamblers fell into this category. At least two groups of people, identifiable by race, were targeted in this way as well. Chinese residents were

¹¹⁰Leader, January 10, 1892, February 10, 1892. One gambler, John Quayle, but known as "Poker Jack," became part of pioneer mythology, eulogized by McCurdy as "of generous disposition and considered a 'square shooter' by his associates and even the better class of citizens regarded him with considerable affection" (McCurdy 203-204). When Poker Jack was murdered in 1874, Swan considered him sufficiently important to record the details of his murder, as well as information about his estate and heirs (Swan, Diaries, March 3, 1874, March 4, 1874).

one such group, discussed in Chapter V below, as were Native Americans, discussed in Chapter II. Euramericans "who, in spite of all efforts to prevent it, get a precarious living by peddling villainous whisky" to Native Americans were often included in attacks upon resident Native Americans. "These social lepers are far worse than small pox."¹¹¹

In 1890 the Leader campaigned for the removal of "Siwash Brothels," or dancehouses, calling them "a menace to the future good name of the Key City." The reporter not only railed against the prostitutes, but also characterized the men who controlled the Indian women as "vile creatures." The "depraved Indians [did] much injury to a city like Port Townsend."¹¹² However, "the poor kloochmen (women) [were] slaves of those low creatures." The men compounded their crime by providing Native Americans with liquor. "There is no punishment too severe for a being who will debauch poor creatures who have no mind or will of their own."¹¹³

Corrupting Indians, and therefore corrupting themselves, "these scoundrels [the] whisky sellers," lost all semblance of being respectable.¹¹⁴ They were "a set

¹¹¹North-West, May 24, 1862. See also March 1 and March 29, 1862.

¹¹²Leader, May 11, 1890.

¹¹³Leader, May 13, 1890.

¹¹⁴Register, April 11, 1860.

of graceless white vagabonds."¹¹⁵ Similar judgments were passed upon Euramerican men who sold liquor to Native Americans over the years. While "it is a crime that Indians arrive in town and five minutes later are 'disgracefully' drunk" some action should be directed against "this certain class of men, who in the face of the law will persist in selling liquor to Indians." Such men were "fit subject[s] for tar and feathers or a halter," and "the sooner this community gets rid of this class of men the better it will be for it."¹¹⁶

It was important to ambitious nineteenth-century frontier communities that they projected a favorable image to potential settlers and investors. However, in Jefferson County boosters were more concerned with reputation than with an external, visual image the county presented to outsiders. Subjected early on to derisive comments about its reputability, boosters were defensive about the county's reputation. Like many frontier towns, Port Townsend was open to charges of disreputability. While Port Townsend's situation as a shipping center was an asset to the county's economy and great-city ambitions, it meant that drinking, vice and violence flourished. Boosters and other residents confronted this threat to the town's future in various ways. Some distanced themselves from the disreputable downtown area and built

¹¹⁵North-West, May 24, 1862.

¹¹⁶North-West, March 1, 1862, October 16, 1862; Weekly Message, July 25, 1867, March 12, 1868; Democratic Press, May 15, 1879.

homes, schools, churches and shops on the bluff overlooking the waterfront. The booster newspapers emphasized respectable aspects of county life. Residents also attempted to eradicate or control disreputable features such as drinking, gambling and prostitution. As well, control or removal of groups deemed dangerous to the county's reputation was pursued. However, the removal of at least one group failed because the means of removal could be perceived as injurious to the county's reputation--for instance, see Chinese residents discussed below. In the case of drinking and vice, it was recognized that while control or camouflage might be possible, elimination was unlikely. Hence, Port Townsend's reputation remained problematic since certain features of county life were indefensibly disreputable. Control and camouflage were more practical responses, since a cure would have threatened to destroy the patient.

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CHAPTER V: "The Chinese Must Go," But In A Reputable Way: Jefferson County and Anti-Chinese Activism, 1870-1890

Anti-Chinese thinking was endemic to the West Coast beginning in the Gold Rush era; and the Exclusion Act of 1882¹ was the culmination of efforts by Western anti-Chinese activists to stop the immigration of Chinese laborers to the United States.² However, the passage of the Exclusion Act did little to abate anti-Chinese attitudes in the Pacific Northwest, and the mid-1880s saw the rise of a Pacific Northwest anti-Chinese movement which fused racism, cultural tensions and workers' distrust of immigrant labor.

Although Chinese laborers not previously residents of the United States were denied legal entry by the Exclusion Act, immigration continued illegally, especially in Washington which shared its northern border with Canada where entry was relatively easy for Chinese. Conveniently situated across the Strait of Juan de Fuca from

¹The 1882 Exclusion Act and its amendments and successors of 1884, 1888, 1892, 1893, 1894 and 1902, denied entry in the United States to Chinese laborers who could not prove previous American residence. Between 1888 and 1894 the Scott Act denied re-entry even to previous resident labourers. Only merchants, their dependent families, American-born Chinese and their children, various professionals, students and government officials and their dependents were allowed to enter and establish residence in the United States. The Immigration Act of 1924 prohibited the immigration of any persons ineligible for citizenship which meant the Chinese who had been forbidden naturalization by the 1882 Exclusion Act. However, after 1930 the wives of resident Chinese were allowed to immigrate. For a comprehensive discussion of the various acts see Ronald Takaki, Strangers from a Different Shore: A History of Asian Americans (Boston 1989), 235; Shih-Shan Henry Tsai, The Chinese Experience in America (Bloomington, Indiana 1984), 62-67, 72-76.

²See Alexander Saxton, The Indispensable Enemy: Labor and the Anti-Chinese Movement (Berkeley, California, 1971).

Vancouver Island, Jefferson County was a destination point for many illegal Chinese immigrants, and during 1883 and 1884 Puget Sound Argus editor Allen Weir led a call for stringent enforcement of the Exclusion Act. (See discussion below.)

However, by 1885, anti-Chinese thinking in the Pacific Northwest had shifted its focus from combating illegal entries to plotting schemes by which to drive all the Chinese from the region. During the fall and winter of 1885-1886, Chinese residents throughout the Northwest were subjected to expulsion from mining camps and towns, violence and murder. The initial incident was in Rock Springs, Wyoming, where twenty-eight Chinese were murdered and 500 others were driven from their homes on September 4, 1885. The violence moved to Washington Territory three days later when two Chinese hop pickers were shot and killed and others injured in Squak Valley (Issaquah), Washington. On September 11, at the Coal Creek Mine near Newcastle, thirty-seven Chinese "were driven from their houses by a number of masked persons, who then set fire to and destroyed the shanties from which the Chinese had fled."³ A week later, nine men were hurt when Chinese workers at the Black Diamond Mine, also near Seattle, were forced to leave the mine. On September 29, Chinese miners were expelled from the nearby Franklin Mine; similar occurrences followed elsewhere

³Some sources—the Washington Standard is one—say that three were killed at Squak Valley (Washington Standard (Olympia, Washington) September 25, 1885. John McGraw, the sheriff in charge of investigating the incident, when writing after the event, remembered that two men were killed (John H. McGraw, "The Anti-Chinese Riots of 1885 by Gov. John H. McGraw," Washington State Historical Society Publications II [Olympia, Washington, 1915], 388-389, qm. 389).

in Washington, Oregon, Idaho and Montana. In tandem with such spontaneous incidents, organized efforts by anti-Chinese activists led to the expulsion of hundreds of Chinese residents from Tacoma during November 1-6, 1885, and Seattle during February 7-14, 1886.

Jefferson County had approximately 300 Chinese residents in 1886.⁴

Although anti-Chinese feelings ran high, there was little physical violence against the Chinese and no forced expulsion.⁵ Rather, there was a short-lived boycott of Chinese labor and services in the spring of 1886, which fizzled out through lack of support.

Scholarly analysis of this Northwest anti-Chinese movement has focused on job

⁴An 1885 territorial census lists ninety-five Chinese residents for Jefferson County. However, according to the Argus the population--at the end of December--was about three hundred which may be more accurate. Port Townsend's Chinese population may have been larger than the official figures because of refugees fleeing the violence and expulsions in Tacoma and other territorial towns. Also, illegal immigrants would have avoided an official census taker, but their numbers may have been apparent to residents (Census figures qtd. in Robert Edward Wynne, "Reaction to the Chinese in the Pacific Northwest and British Columbia, 1850-1910," [Ph.D. diss., University of Washington, 1964], Appendix II, 493; Puget Sound Argus [Port Townsend, Washington], title varies, hereafter cited as Argus, December 24, 1885).

⁵Port Townsend's Chinese community has long been an object of study. See: Margaret R. Forwood, "Port Townsend and the Mysterious East," Parts I-V, Port Townsend Leader (Port Townsend, Washington), hereafter cited as Leader, February 13, 1969, February 20, 1969, February 27, 1969, March 6, 1969, March 13, 1969, hereafter cited as Forwood with part number; "Robert Gow: Last of the Native Born Chinese," interviewed by Robert Boardman, Witness to the First Century (oral history series), no. 5, TMs, 1989, McCurdy Historical Research Library, Jefferson County Historical Society, Port Townsend, Washington; Daniel Liestman, "The Various Celestials among Our Town': Euro-American Response to Port Townsend's Chinese Colony," Pacific Northwest Quarterly 85 (Summer 1994): 93-104; James G. McCurdy, By Juan de Fuca's Strait: Pioneering Along the Northwestern Edge of the Continent (Portland, Oregon, 1937), 207-215; Peter Simpson, et al., City of Dreams: A Guide to Port Townsend, ed. Peter Simpson (Port Townsend, Washington, 1986), 51-53; Margaret Willson and Jeffery L. MacDonald, "Port Townsend's Pioneer Chinese Merchants," Landmarks, 2 (Winter 1983): 20-24, and "Racial Tension at Port Townsend and Bellingham Bay: 1870-1886," Annals of the Chinese Historical Society of the Pacific Northwest (1983): 1-15.

competition as a causative force. Few writers contemporary to the events acknowledged the influence of racism in the movement,⁶ although twentieth-century historians, while continuing to emphasize the influence of working-class concerns, and especially the leadership of the Knights of Labor, have included "race prejudice" as part of their analysis of the events.⁷ Some modern historians have also noted that anti-Chinese feelings were prevalent throughout all levels of society, and that there was important support for the expulsions from middle-class as well as working-class people.⁸

⁶Emma H. Adams, To and Fro. Up and Down in Southern California, Oregon and Washington Territory with Sketches in Arizona, New Mexico, and British Columbia (Chicago, 1888), 431-432; Elwood Evans, History of the Pacific North West Vol.II (Portland, Oregon, 1889), 51; Hubert Howe Bancroft, History of Washington, Idaho and Montana (San Francisco, California, 1890), 294; Frederick James Grant, History of Seattle (New York, 1891), 187; Julian Hawthorne, History of Washington: The Evergreen State from Early Dawn to Daylight (New York, 1893), 310; George Kinnear, Anti-Chinese Riots at Seattle, Wn., February 8, 1886 (Seattle, Washington, 1911), 3; McGraw 389-390. Grant suggests that the expulsions were "prompted by race antagonisms, by irritation at poor enforcement of the Exclusion Act, and by distress attendant upon a long business depression" (187). Hawthorne also includes "lack of enforcement of the Exclusion Act" and "race antagonism" as well as employment concerns to his list of causes for the expulsions (310).

⁷See: James A Halseth and Bruce A. Glasrud, "Anti-Chinese Movements in Washington, 1885-86: A Reconsideration," The Northwest Mosaic: Minority Conflicts in Pacific Northwest History, eds. Halseth and Glasrud (Boulder, Colorado, 1977), 116-139; Jules Alexander Karlin, "The Anti-Chinese Outbreaks in Seattle, 1885-1886," Pacific Northwest Quarterly 39 (1948): 103-30 and "The Anti-Chinese Outbreak in Tacoma, 1885," Pacific Historical Review 23 (1954): 271-83; Murray Morgan, Puget's Sound: A Narrative of Early Tacoma and the Southern Sound (Seattle, Washington, 1979), 212-252; Carlos A. Schwantes, "From Anti-Chinese Agitation to Reform Politics: The Legacy of the Knights of Labor in Washington and the Pacific Northwest," Pacific Northwest Quarterly 88 (1997): 174-184; W.P. Wilcox, "Anti-Chinese Riots in Washington," Washington Historical Quarterly XX (1929): 204-212, qtn. 204.

⁸Halseth and Glasrud 117-18; Wynne, 275, 283; Howard Henry Shuman, "The Role of Seattle's Newspapers in the Anti-Chinese Agitation of 1885-1886," (M.A. thesis, University of Washington, 1968), 51; Barbara Cloud, "Laura Hall Peters: Pursuing the Myth of Equality," Pacific Northwest

Scholars have also been interested in the absence of violence in Port Townsend. Two have concluded that a lack of job competition between local Chinese and Euramerican laborers and the importance of Chinese merchants to Port Townsend's economy explain the failure of expulsion in Port Townsend.⁹ Similarly, another scholar argues that the Chinese were too well integrated into the local economy for expulsion to appeal to sufficient numbers of Euramerican residents.¹⁰

However, while such explanations of events in Port Townsend may explicate the failure of the economic boycott, they do not account for the decision by Port Townsend's anti-Chinese activists to expel the Chinese through a non-violent boycott rather than by force. Port Townsend was similar to other Pacific Northwest communities in the virulence of its anti-Chinese thinking. Economic competition between "white labor" and Chinese workers was an issue, and the town's Chinese residents were castigated for characteristics stemming from perceived ethnic flaws. Interestingly, much of the invective flung at the Chinese cast them as a serious block to the county's commercial prospects because of supposedly 'disreputable' features of Chinese culture in the United States: the sojourning nature of Chinese immigration; their perceived willingness to work for small return and live in crowded conditions,

Quarterly 74 (January 1983): 28-36.

⁹Willson and MacDonald, "Pioneer Chinese Merchants," 20; "Racial Tension," 1, 6-11.

¹⁰Liestman 99.

and the popularity of opium and gambling within the Chinese community.

However, anti-Chinese violence in Port Townsend was blunted by boosters' concerns that violent expulsion would damage the county's reputation, so the town's anti-Chinese movement thus culminated in the more 'reputable,' non-violent boycott. Thus, Euramerican residents were inflamed against their Chinese neighbors by racism, ideas about job competition and by concerns that the Chinese could damage the county's reputation. Yet their efforts to resolve such tensions were mitigated by boosterist anxiety about reputation. Euramericans sought "to rid" the community of its Chinese, but they tried to accomplish expulsion through a boycott of Chinese labor and services, non-violent expulsion which they hoped would protect the county's reputation.

While boosterism and concerns about Port Townsend's reputation had a significant effect upon relations between the town's Euramerican and Chinese residents, the character of Port Townsend's Chinese community also effected such relations. Port Townsend's Chinese enclave, well-established by the mid-1880s, functioned as the center for the Lower Puget Sound Chinese; and its merchants, labor contractors and other businessmen were powerful leaders within that fairly populous community.¹¹ There is some evidence to suggest that Port Townsend's Chinese

¹¹A conservative estimate of the 1885 Lower Sound community—Clallam, Island, Jefferson, Kitsap, San Juan, Skagit, Snohomish and Whatcom counties—in 1885 based upon official figures is 373 (Wynne, Appendix II, 493-94). As mentioned above—see n. 8—official 1885 figures for the Port

leaders responded from a position of some strength to the crisis of 1885-86 and made a strong determined stand against efforts to expell their community. An examination of anti-Chinese thinking and activism in Jefferson County provides further clarification of the importance of boosterist ideas about reputation, and the effects of such ideas upon community relations. However, such an examinaztion would be incomplete without providing some illumination of the Chinese community, since its character had an impact of such relations as well.

The Port Townsend Chinese Community

During the late nineteenth and early twentieth-centuries Jefferson County was home to a sizable Chinese population which peaked at approximately 450 in 1890. The majority of Chinese residents lived in Port Townsend--approximately 340 in 1890--although there were smaller enclaves in the mill ports.¹² Officially, Chinese immigration to the area began in the 1860s; the 1860 census records only one Washington Territory Chinese resident.¹³ However, it is likely that Chinese laborers and businessmen made their way to Jefferson County in the years after the Gold Rush,

Townsend Chinese probably fall short of the real number, and this may be true for other areas as well, considering the numbers of illegal immigrants.

¹²Wynne, Appendix II, 493; Leader, February 9, 1890.

¹³ There were 234 in 1870, 3186 in 1880, 3260 in 1890, 3629 in 1900 and 2790 in 1910 (Wynne, Appendix II, 493). The census is not particularly reliable as to exact figures for Chinese residents, although it does give some idea of population trends.

since there was frequent traffic by sea between the county and San Francisco. Other sources than the census suggest this. The Port Townsend Register refers to a Chinese labor contractor and laundryman resident in Port Townsend in 1860. Several Chinese are known to have contracted to work at the Puget Mill Company in nearby Port Gamble in 1857, and the Amos, Phinney and Company mill at Port Ludlow employed at least one Chinese cook on its lumber vessels as early as 1862.¹⁴

In the early years Chinese residents in Jefferson County were dispersed throughout the county, living in approximately even numbers in Port Townsend, Port Discovery and Port Ludlow. Most were cooks on ships, in private homes or in lumber mill cookhouses and logging camps, or they operated or worked in laundries in Port Ludlow and Port Townsend.¹⁵ By the 1870s however the Chinese had

¹⁴Port Townsend Register (Port Townsend), hereafter cited as the Register, March 7, 1860; Iva Luella Buchanan, "The Economic History of Kitsap County to 1889," Ph.D. thesis, University of Washington, 1930, 95-96; Northwest (Port Townsend, Washington), March 8, 1862. That Amos, Phinney and Company employed a Chinese cook is known from newspaper accounts about the loss of one of their ships in a storm in March, 1862. The cook drowned along with four other crewmen and four passengers. Another early reference: "John Chinaman" was fined \$40 for attacking a fellow employee in Port Townsend home in 1868 (Weekly Message (Port Townsend, Washington), May 6, 1868). In addition, a dozen or more Chinese are also known to have worked in a coal mine near Bellingham in 1862 (Northwest, October 30, 1862). Chin Chun Hock, Seattle's first Chinese immigrant arrived in 1860, founding the city's first Chinese mercantile establishment in 1868--a business which remained active until the 1950s (Lucile McDonald, "Seattle's First Chinese Resident," The Seattle Times Magazine Section (Seattle, Washington), September 11, 1955). For further discussion of Chinese work in Western Washington, see Art Chin, Golden Tassels: A History of the Chinese in Washington, 1857-1977 (1977), 35-41, 44-46; and Wynne, 79-84.

¹⁵United States Census, Federal Population Census Schedules, Jefferson County, 1870. Nineteen Chinese residents are listed in the 1870 federal census for Jefferson County; for 1880, 96; for 1887, 209 and in 1889, 331 (Wynne, Appendix II, 493).

created a foothold in Port Townsend's downtown area. There were three laundries, including a long-established one owned by Sam Sing.¹⁶ In 1878 a Chinese merchandising family--Ng Soon and his brothers Ng Jay and Ng June--started the Zee Tai Co.,¹⁷ and by 1880 some numbers of county Chinese were working as contract laborers.¹⁸

The Chinese who settled in Jefferson County were part of a large-scale migration to North America from Guangdong Province which began following the discovery of gold in California and continuing into the twentieth century.¹⁹ While scholars used to see this migration as a desperate response to wide-spread

¹⁶Sam Sing is listed in the 1870 census as a laundryman, and he apparently came to Port Townsend even earlier since he was known to have been a "house servant" first. He remained in business until 1890 (United States Manuscript Census, Jefferson County, 1870; James G. Swan, *Diaries, Manuscripts and University Archives*, Suzzallo & Allen Library, University of Washington, Seattle, Washington, January 30, 1883, March 7, 1884; Leader, February 15, 1890; Democratic Press (Port Townsend, Washington), October 9, 1879).

¹⁷The Zee Tai Co., continued under ownership of the Ng family until 1930 when the property was sold (Willison and MacDonald, "Pioneer Merchants," 20).

¹⁸In 1880 there were twenty-one woodchoppers at work near Chimacum employed by Sheriff Ben Miller, perhaps clearing land for the Puget Sound Ironmaking Co. (United States, Federal Population Census Schedules, Jefferson County, 1880; Democratic Press, October 26, 1880, November 4 1880).

¹⁹See: Gunther Barth, Bitter Strength: A History of the Chinese in the United States, 1850-1870 (Cambridge 1974): 9-31; Roger Daniels, "Majority Images-Minority Realities: A Perspective on Anti-Orientalism in the United States," in Nativism, Discrimination, and Images of Immigrants, ed. George E. Pozzetta (New York 1991): 74-79; Stanford Morris Lyman, Chinatown and Little Tokyo: Power, Conflict and Community Among Chinese and Japanese Immigrants in America (Millwood, N.Y. 1986): 37-68; June Mei, "Socioeconomic Origins of Emigration: Guangdong to California, 1850-1882," in Labor Immigration Under Capitalism: Asian Workers in the United States Before World War II, ed. Lucie Cheng and Edna Bonacich (Berkeley 1984): 219-45; Takaki, Strangers from a Different Shore, 21-42; Tsai, 12, 1-10.

socioeconomic disturbances, recent scholarship suggests that many immigrants "were not totally impoverished" and may have been motivated by a desire for upward mobility.²⁰ The Ng brothers, Sam Sing and other Port Townsend Chinese businessmen may have fallen into this category. Impoverished or not, tens of thousands of Chinese immigrated to North America, and some made their way to Puget Sound.²¹ Few immigrants planned to settle permanently in the United States.²² Immigration by male family members was a traditional response to economic necessity or ambition, but wives and children ordinarily remained with the patriarchal family.²³ By intent they were "sojourners" rather than settlers, and although many Chinese did remain in the United States, they did not consider it 'home.' Ties to China remained strong.²⁴

²⁰See Yong Chen, "The Internal Origins of Chinese Emigration to California Reconsidered," Western Historical Quarterly 28 (Winter 1997): 521-546, qtn. 544, for a re-appraisal of the reasons for nineteenth-century Chinese emigration to the United States. See also Edna Bonacich and Lucie Cheng, "Introduction: A Theoretical Orientation to International Labor Migration," in Labor Immigration Under Capitalism: Asian Workers in the United States Before World War II, ed. Lucie Cheng and Edna Bonacich (Berkeley 1984): 1-59, for a discussion of the influence of expansionist Western capitalism upon Asian emigration.

²¹Barth 55-68; Mei, "Guangdong to California," 232-33, 235-38; Takaki, Strangers, 119; Tsai 8.

²²"Emigrant" means "sojourner" in Chinese (Daniels, 78).

²³Takaki Strangers 10-11; Lucie Cheng Hirata, "Free, Indentured, Enslaved: Chinese Prostitutes in Nineteenth-Century America" Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society 5 (1979): 5. (3-29)

²⁴Estimates vary, but it is likely that more than 50 percent of nineteenth-century Chinese emigrants to the United States never returned to China, usually because they could not afford to do so (Lyman, Chinatown, 42; June Mei, "Guangdong to California," 238-39; Takaki, Strangers, 116). Whatever the return figure—large or small—it does not diminish the sojourner ideal, and there was obvious movement

Some immigrants were businessmen--merchants, laundrymen, restaurateurs or truck farmers. Many more were laborers, often contracted to Euramerican employers by a "Boss Chinaman," or labor contractor such as Ng June of the Zee Tai Company.²⁵ Chinese immigrants pursued many avenues of employment, especially mining and railroad construction,²⁶ often, although not always, working for minimal wages.²⁷ In Jefferson County all the lumber mills²⁸ employed Chinese laborers at

back and forth between China and the United States although accurate numbers are difficult to estimate for the period following the 1882 Exclusion Act.

²⁵Leader, November 27, 1890; Zee Tai to Washington Mill Company, LS December, 17, 1887, Washington Mill Company Papers, hereafter cited as WMC Papers, MSS 43, McCurdy Historical Research Library, Jefferson County Historical Society, Port Townsend, Washington. I have identified the following Jefferson County labor contractors: Zee Tai Company, established in 1878; Yee Sing Wo Kee Company, established by at least 1887 and probably earlier; Hong Kee Company, in operation from at least 1890 through 1903; Zee Sing and Company in operation in at least 1884. The Hong Yung Company combined a restaurant with labor contracting at least throughout 1887-1890. There may have been others, and the dates are not conclusive. Many concerns may have been in operation earlier than available sources indicate ("R.L. Polk & Co's Puget Sound Directory," Vol. 1, [Seattle, Washington, 1887], typewritten copy, McCurdy Historical Research Library; "R.L. Polk & Co's Port Townsend City Directory," (Seattle, 1890), McCurdy Historical Research Library; "Port Townsend, Washington," Sanborn fire map, 1888, McCurdy Historical Research Library; Fong Chong of Hong Kee to Washington Mill Company, LS, November 9, 1900, February 20, 1902, April 25, 1902, June 9, 1902, August 2, 1902, September 9, 1903, WMC Papers; Argus, March 20, 1884; Willison and MacDonald, "Pioneer Merchants," 21.)

²⁶Daniels, 79-86; Mei, "Socioeconomic Development," 381-82, 392-97; Takaki, Strangers, 82-92; Tsai 10-15; Wynne 12-105.

²⁷Few immigrants had the luxury of being picky about what sort of work they did or what wages they earned. By the time an immigrant started working in the United States he may have incurred approximately \$200 or more in debt for entry papers and passage money. In addition, the average immigrant sent from \$30-40 a year to his family in China,; and many immigrants saved money for their return to China. Such pressures would have necessitated immediate employment, so it is hardly any wonder that the Chinese were willing to work for "cheap wages." The average Chinese railroad worker might earn \$30 a month (Mei, "Guangdong to California," 239-41). In 1883, Chinese laborers working for the Washington Mill Co. earned \$30 per month; in 1890, \$35 (Geodosh 121; Leader, November 27, 1890). However, not all Chinese were paid the same. Port Ludlow's Admiralty Hotel

one time or another where they performed unskilled tasks in the sawmill, worked the lath mill, were cooks and cooks' helpers or built roads for logging operations.²⁹ The Puget Sound Iron Company also employed Chinese labor.³⁰ Laborers were also employed as cooks, servants, laundrymen, gardeners and casual labourers by the military at Fort Townsend, 1856-1895. They were favored as cooks and stewards on shipping vessels and tugboats, working also in many of the county's private homes,

paid some of its Chinese employees \$60 a month and others \$15 (Liestman 98).

²⁸The mills were the Port Townsend Mill, the Washington Mill Company at Seabeck and Port Hadlock, the Port Discovery Mill, and the Puget Mill Company at Port Ludlow.

²⁹Sources used to construct this profile of Jefferson County Chinese labor: Washington Standard (Olympia, Washington), September 25, 1885; W. J. Adams, to Washington Mill Co., LS, November 7, 1888, WMC Papers, McCurdy Historical Research Library; Wa Chong to WMC, LS, September 6, 1894, March 28, 1895, December 30, 1896, April 25, 1897, WMC Papers; Fong Chong of Hong Kee to WMC, LS, November 9, 1900, February 20, 1902, April 25, 1902, June 9, 1902 and August 2, 1902, September 9, 1903, WMC Papers; 1880 and 1889 Territorial Census booklets prepared by the Jefferson County Genealogical Society as a Washington State 1989 Centennial Project, 1989, McCurdy Historical Research Library; United States Census, Federal Population Census Schedules, Jefferson County, 1870, 1880, 1900, 1910, 1920; Chin, Golden Tassels, 39; Geodosh 121-22; Gow 9, 12, 56, 88; Liestman 96; McCurdy 212; Simpson 131. The Port Townsend Mill Company replaced its Chinese millworkers with Euramericans at the height of the 1885-86 anti-Chinese agitation. The Washington Mill Company first contracted for Chinese laborers in 1883 and continued to do so into the first decade of the new century. Approximately sixty men worked for the mill in 1889, although by 1900 there were only eight. The Port Discovery Mill also employed Chinese laborers, approximately twenty-one laborers in 1889 and several cooks. Chinese do not appear to have worked in the logging camps except as cooks. The Puget Sound Iron Company appears to have employed Chinese workers as well—thirteen laborers listed in 1889 for Irondale where the foundry was the only large-scale employer (W.J. Adams to Washington Mill Company, LS, November 17, 1888, WMC Papers; Gow 9, 12).

³⁰Wages were usually minimal. The average Chinese railroad worker might earn \$30 a month. In 1883, Chinese employees of the Washington Mill Company earned \$30 per month; in 1890, \$35 (Mei, "Guangdong to California," 239-41; Geodosh 121; Leader, November 27, 1890).

restaurants, hotels and brothels.³¹

Chinese laborers were also employed within the Chinese community which included several successful businesses. The most prominent were the merchants' stores (see discussion below), but Chinese businessmen also operated truck gardens, laundries and restaurants. There were two Chinese-run truck gardens located outside Port Townsend which monopolized the local market for fresh vegetables from at least the late nineteenth century and shipped produce to Seattle and other Puget Sound points.³² There were several Chinese-operated laundries in the county. Port Townsend, which had a Chinese laundry as early as 1860, had eight or more in the early 1890s, and there was usually one laundry in each of the mill ports. Several laundries remained in business for many years: Sam Sing, Wah Chung, Lee Hop, Wa

³¹During the twentieth century Chinese were also employed by the military at Fort Worden, 1902-1953, and by several Port Townsend fish canneries: the Puget Sound Sardine Co, 1902-03, and the Hillside Packing Company and Key City Packing Company, 1906-1916, which were salmon canneries. The Zee Tai Company also contracted Chinese labor to salmon canneries in Washington and Alaska, and after the Port Townsend canneries closed some Chinese residents continued such work far afield, returning to Port Townsend in the off-season (Leader, September 9, 1903, June 9 and August 11, 1906, March 28 and August 13, 1908; Gow, 9, 102-03).

³²One garden of approximately eight acres was located near Port Townsend on North Beach; the other of sixty acres was at Station Prairie, near Fort Townsend. This farm employed approximately twenty Chinese in the 1890s, although the 1900 census lists only nine Chinese farmers in that area. From 1905-1920 one Charlie Tuey farmed at Station Prairie. The North Beach "Chinese Gardens" were well-established by at least 1892 and probably much earlier; According to Robert Gow's recollections, between 1910 and 1917 approximately twenty Chinese were employed in the operation. This farm dominated the fresh vegetable market until at least World War II and continued to be worked into the 1960s. (United States Census, Federal Population Census Schedules, Jefferson County, 1900; H.C. Willison, Health Officer, to Mayor and Council, Port Townsend, Washington, LS, April 3, 1892, MSS 3a, McCurdy Historical Research Library; Gow 12; McCurdy 205; Leader, September 29, 1914, Forwood Part II and IV; Simpson 10-11; Liestman 96).

Hong, Yee Chung and Wing Sing.³³ Thus, the county's Chinese businessmen and laborers fulfilled a necessary economic function within the county.³⁴

Chinese immigrants established close-knit communities throughout the West. While such enclaves varied in size and location--from "Chinatown" in San Francisco to a single merchant's store in a mining camp--they provided leadership, institutional structure and were a substitute for home.³⁵ The Port Townsend community functioned as such for Chinese living throughout the Lower Puget Sound.³⁶ In Port Townsend there were fellow immigrants with whom to socialize; the stores carried familiar and necessary Chinese merchandise, and restaurants served traditional food. Chinese New Year was celebrated with strings of firecrackers and burning sandalwood, while the merchants distributed free cigars, wine, candy and lychee nuts

³³Laundries might employ as many as ten laborers at a time. United States, Federal Population Census Schedules, Jefferson County, 1870, 1880, 1890, 1900, 1910, 1920; Territorial Census, 1880, 1889, Jefferson County Genealogical Society; *Register*, March 7, 1860; T. R. Delaney, Chief of Police and D.H. Hill, Chief of Fire Department to Mayor and City Council, Port Townsend Washington, LS, February 16, 1892, MSS-3a, McCurdy Historical Research Library; "R.L. Polk & Co's Puget Sound Directory," 1887, R.L. Polk & Co's Port Townsend City Directory, 1890, 1897, and 1907, McCurdy Historical Research Library; Swan, Diaries, January 30, 1883, March 7, 1884 and July 5, 1884; Forwood, Part I and III; Liestman 96. In 1892 eight Chinese laundries in a City Council fire safety and sewage drainage report (Delaney and Hill to Mayor and City Council). The city directories variously mention from two to five laundries between 1887 and 1907, although neither the city directories nor the census necessarily provide exhaustive information about the country's Chinese residents.

³⁴For further discussion, see Liestman 98-99.

³⁵For further discussion of Chinatowns, see: Barth, 109-128; Daniels 85-86; Takaki, *Strangers*, 117-131; Tsai, 33-42.

³⁶Art Chin, *Golden Tassels*, 41.

to their customers.³⁷

Opium and gambling were available in the merchants' stores.³⁸ Merchants who sold opium had backrooms with bunks where "there were always at least one or two men in there [in] sessions [which] lasted from four to five hours or all night."³⁹ Some merchants' stores--Zee Tai and the Wing Sing Company--were also gambling establishments. Men "gambled three or four times a day. At night was (sic) their big games. Every three or four hours, they had a game going. At night, when everybody was off work, they had big games. They played all night."⁴⁰

While gambling and the use of opium excited negative reactions amongst boosters and other Euramerican residents,⁴¹ another Chinese pastime, kite flying, did

³⁷R.L. Polk & Co's Directories, 1887, 1890, 1897, 1907, 1912; Leader, September 9, 1903; Forwood Part I; Leader, January 21, 1890, January 25, 1895, January 28, 1911.

³⁸Numerous beer, wine and ale bottles were found during an excavation of what were Chinese quarters during the nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries (Bud Kannenberg, "Chinese in Port Townsend," TMs, February 17, 1990, McCurdy Historical Research Library, 9-10.

³⁹Gow 9-11; Forwood Parts II, III (qtn). Opium was legal until the passage of the 1914 Harrison Narcotic Act. Subject to expensive duties and taxes, it was smuggled into the United States, often from Victoria, B.C. to Jefferson County, by both Euramericans and Chinese Americans. Customs officials were responsible for policing this illegal trade which they did with little success (Liestman 99-101; Roland L. DeLorme, "The United States Bureau of Customs and Smuggling on Puget Sound, 1851-1913," Prologue: The Journal of the National Archives, 5 [1973], 81). 77-88).

⁴⁰Forwood Part II; Peninsula Daily News (Bremerton, Washington), September 12, 1993; Gow 16-17, qtn.

⁴¹One attempt to root out opium smoking was a city ordinance which prohibited the use of opium within city limits. It was declared unconstitutional on February 3, 1895, by Justice of the Peace Wood. At the same time he ordered the release of 10 Chinese men who had been arrested for smoking opium. Another incident, which falls without the time period of this study, was a 1909 closure of the

not. Kite flying was an adult activity which often included gambling large stakes on which kites could stay in the air the longest. Rivalry was intense, and often ground glass was glued to the cord, ten-to-twelve feet below the kite to the ground, flyers attempting to cut the others' kites loose.⁴²

Some nineteenth and early twentieth-century North American Chinese communities included brothels,⁴³ but it is impossible to verify their existence in Port Townsend. There are no specific references to prostitutes in local sources, and the census is inconclusive. The very few resident Chinese women are listed as housewives except for one woman in the 1880 census, a "housekeeper" who lived alone with a female child. She may have been a prostitute. Another hint that may refer to Chinese prostitutes are memories recorded by Margaret Forwood of an

town's opium establishments (*Leader*, January 30 and February 3, 1895; Gow 9-11, 63-65; Forwood Parts II and III; Liestman 101). Gambling was also subject to such shortlived crackdowns. On November 5, 1909, three Japanese and six Chinese were arrested for gambling, although Police Judge Lockhart later dismissed the action since there was no way to prove that the paraphernalia which the arrestees had in their possession at the time of their arrest was actually gambling equipment. "Every Oriental in the city declared that he knew nothing whatever concerning the devices and scoffed at the idea of their having been used in a gambling game" (*Leader*, November 5, 1909, November 11, 1909 and November 12, 1909, qtn.)

⁴²From ten to forty feet long--memories differ--the kites were made of rice paper which was covered with designs and often shaped like caterpillars. Once in the air a bamboo reed attached to the tail hummed loudly. The kites were so heavy, it could take several men to pull one in (Forwood V; Gow 18; McCurdy 210; Chris Friday, *Organizing Asian American Labor: The Pacific Coast Canned-Salmon Industry, 1870-1942* [Philadelphia, 1994], 55.

⁴³See Hirata, "Free, Endentured, Enslaved": 3-29 and Pasco 139-156 for discussions of Chinese prostitution. See Friday, 54-55, for discussion of homosexual relationships among Chinese men working in the salmon canning industry, 54-55.

upstairs room at Zee Tai which housed unidentified women, although they may have been women detained by Customs who were being housed at Zee Tai. However, an electrician remembered that there was an urgent secrecy about the room when he isolated it as the source of some electrical problems, "Zee Tai . . . got very excited and said 'No, No, No!' . . . when I started to go in." The electrician thought that "Zee Tai's" wife was in the room, but perhaps it was a prostitute.⁴⁴

The 1990-excavation in Port Townsend of the site of nineteenth and early twentieth-century Chinese-occupied buildings yielded perfume bottles mixed with other predominately Chinese artifacts. Since one of the buildings was designated as a "female boarding house"--a euphemism for brothel--on a 1891 fire map, the bottles add to the conclusion that there was a brothel on the site. However, since the Chinese community was located in the 'disreputable' area of Port Townsend, the building may very well have been an Euramerican "dance house," rather than a Chinese brothel.⁴⁵ An incident which suggests that relations with non-Chinese prostitutes occurred in November 1889 when a Chinese man and an Euramerican woman, "the latter a

⁴⁴United States Census, Federal Population Census Schedules, Jefferson County, 1880; Forwood Part IV, qtn; Liestman 94.

⁴⁵Wing Sing Company, Wing Lee Company and Hong Chung Company, all merchant stores--first mentioned in city directories, respectively, in 1890, 1897, 1907--were also located on the site, as well as an unnamed laundry (Kannenbert 5, 9-10). In September 1886 Swan recorded that a fire in a Chinese laundry burned a dance house (Swan Diaries, September 24, 1886.).

member of the soiled dove fraternity" were arrested while smoking opium together.⁴⁶

Although most Chinese immigrants in Port Townsend were single, there were a small number of Chinese families, only two or three at any one time in Jefferson County. A few wives and concubines did emigrate to the United States from China, and some men married Chinese prostitutes after purchasing their freedom or helping them escape prostitution. Some married or formed alliances with Native American women.⁴⁷ Chinese men and women also fell in love with Euramericans, although such inter-relations were frowned upon.⁴⁸ Eng Ah Dock and a Miss Sherlock of Port Townsend were one such couple. In April 1895 Charles Sherlock, father of "Miss Sherlock", instigated legal action against Ah Dock charging that he was insane because he gave gifts to Miss Sherlock and wished to marry her. However, according to the testimony of Ah Dock's friend, Mon Yik, Miss Sherlock had given Ah Dock cake and talked of marriage with him. Mon Yik said that Ah Dock "acted very foolish [and] had a great deal of thought about matrimony." However, when Ah Dock wrote to Miss Sherlock formally proposing that they marry and flee to

⁴⁶Leader November 23, 1889.

⁴⁷Lucie Cheng Hirata, "Chinese Immigrant Women in Nineteenth-Century California," in Women of America: A History, ed. Carol Ruth Berkin and Mary Beth Norton, (Boston 1979): 236-38; Peggy Pascoe, "Gender Systems in Conflict: The Marriages of Mission-Educated Chinese American Women, 1874-1939," in Unequal Sisters: A Multicultural Reader in U.S. Women's History, 2nd Edition, eds. Vicki L. Ruiz and Ellen Carol Dubois (New York, 1994), 142, 144-46; The Weekly Message (Port Townsend), August 15, 1867; Wynne 79; Friday 51; Leader, February 5, 1992; Liestman 94.

⁴⁸Takaki, Strangers 123-26.

California, her father found out; a dramatic scene ensued and Ah Dock was arrested. Mr. Sherlock spoke for his daughter--who did not testify--insisting that she had never wanted anything to do with Ah Dock; and at the trial Ah Dock denied any interest in Miss Sherlock. In the end, two medical doctors testified that Ah Dock appeared to be mentally sound, and he was released on bonds of \$500 to keep the peace, with Eng Ting and Ng Soon of Zee Tai Company acting as sureties for him. It is difficult to know for certain what happened between Miss Sherlock and Ah Dock. However, Mon Yik's testimony does suggest a romance.⁴⁹

Chinese communities were also headquarters for traditional social organizations--the clans, kongsi and tongs--which accompanied immigrants to North America. An essential part of the social structure of the North American diaspora, they were controlled by the merchants. In Port Townsend, there were clan organizations and one chapter of the Chee Kung Tong--known to Euramericans as the Chinese Freemasons⁵⁰--was organized by at least 1883.⁵¹ For many years, the Chee

⁴⁹Leader, April 16, 1895). See Ruthanne Lum McCunn, Thousand Pieces of Gold (Boston, 1981).

⁵⁰Lyman, Chinatown 142-47. The Chee Kung Tong, or Patriotic Rising Society, really had nothing to do with the Masons. The perceived link arose through one of the Masons' countermoves against anti-Masonic feeling in the early nineteenth century. Trying to establish an ancient lineage, the Masons speculated that in the distant past an "ancient order" of religious and philosophical learning had split into eastern and western societies. The Masonic Order, of course, was the western society. Seeing similarities between Masonic and Triad Society symbols, some Masons argued that the Chinese Triad Society--of which the Chee Kung Tong was a connection--was the eastern result of the "mythic division." The Chee Kung Tong was not loath to use this connection to legitimate itself with Euramericans, and the society became known to Euramericans as the Chinese Freemasons. Any formal connection was denied by the Masons, however, although informal contact did occasionally occur

Kung Tong was Port Townsend's only social organization, excepting the clans.⁵²

While the Chee Kung Tong had connections to the anti-dynastic Triad Society in China,⁵³ in small frontier towns it probably functioned as an umbrella organization--much like the Chinese Consolidated Benevolent Society did later--serving the needs of the Chinese community but also helping to secure the power of merchants. In this early North American West incarnation, anti-dynastic ideology was less important than providing a social structure for its members and a power base for merchant leaders.⁵⁴

(Stanford Morris Lyman, "Chinese Secret Societies in the Occident: Notes for Research in the Sociology of Secrecy", The Canadian Review of Sociology and Anthropology, Vol. 1, No. 1, February 1964, 82-89).

⁵¹Swan, Diaries, April 21, 1883. A second chapter was organized in 1902 (Liestman 94).

⁵²Port Townsend's Chinese Consolidated Benevolent Society was not established until 1894 (Liestman 94).

⁵³For a discussion of the Chee Kung Tong's involvement in Chinese political and dynastic affairs, see Lyman, "Chinese Secret Societies" 92-97. Some North American members of the tong gave important support to Sun Yat-sen's revolutionary movement, 1894-1912 (93). Port Townsend's second Chee Kung Tong, established in 1902, may have had an express interest in Sun Yat-sen's revolutionary movement (Lyman, "Chinese Secret Societies" 93). This tong was sometimes also involved in vice operations (Lyman, Chinatown 145). For a discussion of the tong's bid to replace the Chung Wah Kongsu during the 1890s, see Douglas W. Lee, "Sacred Cows and Paper Tigers: Politics in Chinese America, 1880-1900," Annals of the Chinese Historical Society of the Pacific Northwest (1983), 90.

⁵⁴Lyman, Chinatown 146. Stanford Lyman suggests that the Chee Kung Tong functioned as the central authority within the small, early Chinese communities of British Columbia. The first was formed in 1862; thus, the tongs operated for many years before the Chinese Consolidated Benevolent Society was established in Victoria in 1884 (Lyman, "Chinese Secret Societies," 95; Lyman, Chinatown, 126). Jefferson County's first Chee Kung Tong predated its Chinese Consolidated Benevolent Society by at least eleven years. The second tong--1902--may have had an express interest in Sun Yat-sen's revolutionary movement. Seattle's Chinese Consolidated Benevolent Society was formed in the 1890s (Doug and Art Chin, Up Hill: The Settlement and Diffusion of the Chinese in Seattle, Washington (Seattle, Washington, 1973) 28-9.

Organizations such as the Chee Kung Tong, the clans, the Chung Wah Kongs--called the Six Companies by Euramericans--and the Chinese Consolidated Benevolent Society provided the institutional structure necessary for communities which were particularly isolated from American society by language and cultural barriers, racism and the sojourning ethos. In large communities such as San Francisco, there were numerous social organizations. However, in smaller communities the separate roles of such organizations might be united in one or more groups centred in local merchants' stores. Large or small, they were dominated by the merchants, and such organizations exercised great influence in the lives of Chinese residents in North America.⁵⁵

At one level, these organizations were mutual protective associations similar to those established by other ethnic immigrant groups, but the Chinese organizations were more complex. The leaders of such organizations represented the Chinese

⁵⁵Clans united people with the same surname. Kongs--regional organizations--included Chinese with territorial, language or ethnic ties to one another. All Chinese were automatically members of a clan and kongsi. Tongs--or secret societies--were a traditional recourse for grievances which reached beyond the scope of the clan or kongsi. Membership was sought by individuals; it was not automatic. Along with the kongsis, they were sometimes active in criminal activities. In the late 1850s violent feuding in California over control of vice operations, as well as increasing Euramerican anti-Chinese racism, led to the formation of the Chung Wah Kongs--known to Euramericans as the Six Companies--its purpose to maintain order within the Chinese community and to represent the Chinese in their relations with Euramericans. The organization further consolidated power and control into the hands of the merchant elite. It eventually became a national association, although the Chinese Consolidated Benevolent Association served the Chung Wah Kongs's purpose in smaller cities and towns (Takaki, Strangers, 118-119; Lyman, Chinatown, 131, 163-85). For further discussion of Chinese social organizations see: Barth 77-108; Daniels 86-89; Doug and Art Chin, Uphill, 23-4, 28-31; Lyman, Chinatown, 111-224; Lyman, "Chinese Secret Societies," 95-102; Takaki, Strangers From A Distant Shore, 118-19; Tsai, 45-55. See also: Lee 86-103, for a discussion of Chinese American social organizations and power elites during the last twenty years of the nineteenth century.

community before official and unofficial American groups, standing in the place of their largely uninterested consular and diplomatic officials. Representatives met incoming ships, arranged for housing, work and necessary medical treatment. They also shipped the bones of the dead back to China--a traditional practice for the Chinese diaspora--and settled arguments between members. Representatives attended the departure of any ships bound for China, making certain that members' paid their contribution to the welfare funds of the organization and collecting debts owed to the merchants. Because of the sojourning nature of the Chinese American community, this system was fairly effective in insuring that merchants collected their debts and clan and kongsì leaders did not have to fund welfare activities themselves.⁵⁶

In Port Townsend, as elsewhere, the merchants were the leaders of the Chinese community, a community which was perceived by Euramericans to be weak, but was in fact well-established. As heads of clans and the Chee Kung Tong, as labor contractors and as providers of necessary supplies, opium, gambling and perhaps prostitutes, the merchants were powerful figures within the community. Descriptions of the partners in the Zee Tai Company confirm their status. They wore distinctive Chinese-style clothing of expensive silk while the average Chinese, "the common scrubs . . . just wore anything, half Western and half Chinese." The merchants also

⁵⁶Daniels 87-89.

ate separately from the others and were the authorities within their clans. "When. . . talking business of any kind among their clan[, if] there were any arguments over anything, they had the most say." And, "Zee Tai" always walked in the front of the other men, who trailed single-file behind him.⁵⁷ Ng Soon's--or Zee Tai, as he was often called by Euramericans--prestige reached into the Euramerican community as well, for he was respected for his wealth and the trade he brought to Port Townsend.⁵⁸

Most of the Port Townsend Chinese were members of the Eng or Ng clan.⁵⁹ Chinese Americans usually patronized and worked for those merchants who represented their own clan and regional ties,⁶⁰ and the Zee Tai Company was the

⁵⁷Gow 25, qtn.; Forwood Part II, qtn. and IV. Euramericans usually used the name of the Zee Tai Company as if it were the name of the owner; this was a common Euramerican misunderstanding, and the Euramerican residents interviewed by Forwood made this mistake. The fact that some Chinese merchants signed their correspondence with the name of the company rather than a personal signature may be in part the source for this confusion. (Swan, Diaries, February 13, 1885; Leader, March 1, 1890, July 4, 1903; Zee Tai and Co. to Mr. Kendrick, Washington Mill Company, LS, December 17, 1887, WMC Papers, McCurdy Historical Library; Wa Chong Co. to Washington Mill Company, LS, September 6, 1894, March 28, 1895, December 30, 1896, April 25, 1897, WMC Papers).

⁵⁸According to the Leader, in 1890 the Zee Tai Company paid duties "equal to that of every other business house in the city" and had approximately \$100,000 worth of Chinese and Japanese goods in stock (October 12, 1890, October 15, 1890, qtn.).

⁵⁹Other surnames were Wong, Lee, Jong, Mar and Chung (Gow 25; Forwood, Part IV).

⁶⁰Art and Doug Chin, Up Hill, 23-24. The clan name of a merchant indicates the presence of that clan, as well as its organization centred in the store. See also Mei, "Guangdong," 237-38, for a discussion of pre-existing ties between immigrants and their clans or district associations in the United States.

headquarters for the Eng clan in Jefferson County and the Lower Puget Sound.⁶¹

Three other merchant's stores stand out as possible clan headquarters, although only the clan name of the partners in the Wing Sing Company--Mar--is known.⁶² The Yee Sing Wo Kee Company, owned by Jay Ah Kly and established by at least 1887, did labor contracting and was for many years the largest Chinese merchant's store in Port Townsend. The Wing Sing Company was well-established by 1892. A Customs inspector claimed that few goods were sold from Wing Sing, although there was a great deal of gambling, and one Mar Get was arrested for smuggling Chinese into the United States in 1899.⁶³ However, its longevity--into the second decade of the twentieth century--suggests that it was more than just a coverup for illegal activities. It would have been headquarters for the Mar Clan in the lower Sound.

The Hong Kee Company, established by at least 1890 was another merchants'

⁶¹1889 Territorial Census; Willson and MacDonald, "Pioneer Merchants," 20-21; Art and Doug Chin, Up Hill, 24-25.

⁶²There were smaller merchant stores as well, some of formed primarily so that the owners would be able to define themselves as merchants in order to get around the 1882 Exclusion Act and its subsequent refinements and extensions which excluded "labourers," but allowed the entry of merchants, their wives and dependent children. Thus, some Chinese pooled enough resources to give themselves at least the appearance of merchant status in order to enter or return to the United States. The Yet Wo Company and the Get Kee Company may have been this type of store, and as such would not have had the same place in the power structure of the community as did the Zee Tai, Wing Sing or Yee Sing Wo Kee Company (Tsai 66; McCurdy, 209).

⁶³In 1993 Jimmy Mar, son of one of the original Mars, said that his father's store shared premises with a gambling establishment, but was itself an export-import store (Peninsula Daily News, September 12, 1992).

store which contracted labor--Fung Chong supplied the Washington Mill Company with labourers between at least 1900 and 1903. Yip Fang, also connected to the store, was the founding president of the 1902 Chee Kung Tong chapter, and his leadership of the tong suggests that the Hong Kee was a clan headquarters.⁶⁴

Thus, Port Townsend's Chinese community not only provided area Chinese with goods, services and recreation. It was the locus for community social organizations and leadership, and its merchant leaders, whose influence reached throughout the Lower Puget Sound, held positions of power with their community. Its members were employed in the area's lumber mills, as cooks, stewards, servants and casual laborers by a variety of employers. Both the status of the merchants within their community, and the economic position of the Chinese within the larger county population had an effect on the 1885-86 crisis.

"The Chinese Invasion"⁶⁵: Exclusion Laws and Illegal Entry

The Exclusion Act of 1882 was the result of efforts by anti-Chinese activists to prevent the immigration of Chinese laborers. However, the act and its successors

⁶⁴R.L. Polk & Co's Directories, 1887, 1900, 1897 and 1907; Leader, May 12, 1914, March 3, 1892; Fung Chong to Washington Mill Company, LS, November 9, 1900, February 20, 1902, April 25, 1902, June 9, 1901 and August 2, 1902, September 30, 1903, WMC Papers, McCurdy Historical Research Library; Liestman 94; Willson and MacDonald, "Pioneer Merchants," 21-22. The Eng and Mar Clans were well-established clans in Seattle, also (Art and Doug Chin, Up Hill, 20).

⁶⁵Argus, August 23, 1883.

failed to stifle either immigrants' desires to seek work in the United States⁶⁶, or their creativity in achieving that end. The acts prevented the legal entry of Chinese laborers. However, unknown numbers of laborers continued to enter the United States illegally. Jefferson County became an important Puget Sound destination for illegal immigrants who were smuggled across the Canadian border or entered through the Puget Sound Port of Entry at Port Townsend with false entry papers.

Prior to the first exclusion act most Chinese immigrants entered the United States through San Francisco, although in the 1870s direct steamship routes between China and the Northwest increased entries through Puget Sound.⁶⁷ Overall Chinese immigration peaked in 1882 with 39,579 arrivals; thereafter, official figures decline sharply. 8031 arrivals were recorded for 1883, but only 279 for 1884 and during each of the years between 1884-1889 there were fewer than 50 official new arrivals as opposed to re-entries.⁶⁸ While these figures suggest that Chinese immigration had almost ceased, it had not. Rather, immigration continued through illegal means which

⁶⁶Daniels 84.

⁶⁷During the 1880s, Puget Sound Customs issued the second largest number of Chinese labor certificates. June Mei, "Socioeconomic Developments among the Chinese in San Francisco, 1848-1906," Labor Immigration Under Capitalism: Asian Workers in the United States Before World War II, ed. Lucie Cheng and Edna Bonacich (Berkeley 1984): 370; Mary Coolidge, Chinese Immigration (Ann Arbor, Michigan 1967) originally published in 1909, 498; Wynne 68; Doug and Art Chin, Up Hill, 8; DeLorme, 81.

⁶⁸U.S. Bureau of Census, Historical Statistics of the United States, 1789-1945 (Washington, D.C., 1949), qtd. in Tsai 194.

Customs was too poorly staffed and funded to effectively control.⁶⁹

Smuggling occurred along the West Coast or on the borders separating the United States and Canada or Mexico, at points wherever secret entry could be made and where there were accessible Chinese communities to aid and absorb the newcomers. Puget Sound, where there was an established tradition of smuggling wool, whiskey and opium from British Columbia,⁷⁰ became a major point for illegal entries. It is difficult to estimate, but government officials suggested that from 300 to 2000 Chinese per year illegally entered the Puget Sound Customs District during the remainder of the nineteenth century.⁷¹

⁶⁹De Lorme 80; Hyung-chan Kim and Richard W. Markov, "The Chinese Exclusion Laws and Smuggling Chinese Into Whatcom County, Washington, 1890-1900," Annals of the Chinese Historical Society of the Pacific Northwest (1983), 19.

⁷⁰De Lorme 77.

⁷¹Forward Part II; McCurdy 209-10; DeLorme 77, 79, 83-84; Argus, August 2, 1883; Leader, May 2, 1890, May 14, 1890, June 13, 1890; March 8, 1892, March 17, 1903, April 17, 1903. See also Hyung-chan Kim and Richard W. Markov, "The Chinese Exclusion Laws and Smuggling Chinese Into Whatcom County, Washington, 1890-1900," Annals of the Chinese Historical Society of the Pacific Northwest (1983): 16-30. According to Kim and Markov, a federal Special Agent reported in May 1893 that there were upwards of 1000 Chinese en route at that time between China and the United States, some making their second entry attempt (25). De Lorme also cites an 1891 Customs estimate that at Coupeville (Whidby Island in the Lower Sound) alone thirty or more Chinese were landed per week, and that ten were landed at Dungeness nightly—for how long is not stated (79). While none of these figures is conclusive as to numbers, they do indicate large-scale illegal entries. Until the Exclusion Act of 1923, restriction of Chinese immigration to Canada consisted primarily of "head taxes" of increasing amounts: 1886-\$50; 1901-\$100; 1903-\$500. See Patricia E. Roy, White Man's Province: British Columbia Politicians and Chinese and Japanese Immigrants, 1858-1914 (Vancouver, B.C. 1989) 61-62, 66-67, 100-02, 107, 118, 155-57, 232, 234-35, 266. After the institution of the \$500 head tax, illegal entries to Washington were greatly diminished and smuggling gradually became a thing of the past (Liestman 103).

Many illegal immigrants entered the United States through Port Discovery. Its sheltered bay provided safe landings in rough weather; the beaches were sparsely populated, and Chinese enclaves at Port Discovery and North Beach near Port Townsend, as well as the larger community in Port Townsend, were within walking distance. In the space of just one week in 1883 the *Argus* reported that twenty-five to forty Chinese landed at Port Discovery, disappearing into the Chinese community.⁷²

Several types of illegal entry papers were also used. Some were genuine certification of American residence but purchased from the previous owners.⁷³ Other papers were obtained through "doubling up." Portland Chinese would go to Victoria, B.C., sell their certification papers to newly arrived immigrants and then go to the United States consul in Victoria, claiming to have lost their papers. Since they were able to prove their American residency, the Consulate would issue them emergency

⁷²*Argus*, August 2, 1883; See also *Leader*, May 14, 1890, June 13, 1890 and May 7, 1892, July 16, 1914; Forwood Parts II and IV; McCurdy 209-210; DeLorme 77-88.

The waters between Victoria, B.C. and Jefferson County are often dangerous. In the space of just three months in 1892, the *Leader* reported the deaths of fourteen Chinese—twelve men and two women—who drowned during stormy crossings. Such danger may have increased the popularity over time of crossing the border by land—from Vancouver, B.C. (*Leader*, March 8, 1892; Kim and Mardov 20-21). See Liestman 102 for a discussion of legendary stories about smugglers who supposedly would push their Chinese customers—who were said to be chained together—overboard if approached by the authorities. There would seem to be no substantive evidence that such events occurred, although one smuggler claimed to have witnessed such an event (*Argus*, December 30, 1885).

⁷³According to Robert Gow and Mattie Gow Chong, the Chinese who entered illegally used the papers of someone who had died, or borrowed papers from someone of similar age and description (Forwood, Part II).

certification.⁷⁴

Similarly, certification might have been forged papers such as those provided by Port Townsend attorney John Trumbull who was arrested and brought to trial in 1891 for selling forged entry papers--70 between January 1 and April 20--to Chinese in Victoria, B.C. Investigation into the matter indicated an active operation which may have included Customs officials--at least one was released from his position.⁷⁵ Or, certification might have been obtained from Port of Entry officials if the entrant provided supposedly reliable witnesses to his or her previous residence in the United States.⁷⁶ Unknown numbers of Chinese also hid themselves on boats and ships travelling between Victoria and Vancouver, B.C., and Washington ports.⁷⁷

⁷⁴Liestman 101.

⁷⁵There does not seem to be any connection between the anti-Chinese movements and Trumbull's arrest. As Port of Entry Port Townsend was in the thick of things with regard to illegal entries; Trumbull's arrest is a window into the logistics of illegal entries. It makes sense that there would be residents ready to make a profit by assisting illegal immigrants into the United States. Customs, while too poorly staffed to effectively cope with preventative measures, nevertheless did attempt to control illegal entries as long as such entries continued (DeLorme 84, 86-87; *Leader*, May 6, 1891, May 12, 1891, May 14, 1891, June 7, 1891, June 30, 1891, July 1, 1891, July 17, 1891, July 22, 1891).

⁷⁶Chinese who had left the United States before the Exclusion Act of 1882 and therefore had no certification of their American residence often enlisted the help of Euramericans, who knew that they had been resident in the United States, to testify on their behalf. James Swan was often hired to aid Chinese in this process (Swan, *Diaries*, July 5, 24, 1884, March 23, 1885, January 23, 24, 26, 28, 30, February 17, March 23, April 29, May 5, 6, 1886, August 19, 20, 1887; *Leader*, March 8, 1892, November 6, 1898).

⁷⁷*Leader*, November 30, 1889, July 13, 1897, November 12, 1909; Lucile McDonald, "Revenue Cutter 'Oliver Wolcott,'" *The Sea Chest: The Journal of the Puget Sound Maritime Historical Society*, Vol. 9, (June 1976), 131. There were other ways of effecting illegal entry. The destruction of San Francisco municipal records during the 1906 earthquake allowed certain resident Chinese to claim--

Allen Weir, editor of the Argus, had championed exclusion, arguing that although it was useful to look at all sides of "the Chinese question" some method should be found that would "open the way for a mitigation of the evils of unlimited Chinese immigration to this country."⁷⁸ However, when the act was passed, he predicted that "the prohibited race would find ways of evading its provisions from our northern boundary."⁷⁹ Congratulating himself on his perspicuity, Weir led a regional campaign in 1883 against illegal immigration reporting that "every few days a fresh violation is brought to light." Weir further charged that "either those in charge of such matters . . . are sadly derelict in performing their duties or they should have sufficient reinforcement to accomplish the task in hand. Successful evasion of the law has made the heathens so bold that they now openly offer hire to be smuggled across from Victoria in lots of five or ten. Twenty-five dollars each is about the ordinary

without proof—that they had been born in San Francisco. As citizens they could bring their wives from China. Before the earthquake created this loophole, only small numbers of Chinese women came to the United States; but some 10,000 wives emigrated between 1907 and 1924, when the Immigration Act of 1924 essentially prohibited the emigration of any Chinese. Anyone born in the United States is an American citizen, and the children of American citizens are American citizens wherever they are born. Thus, Chinese-born children of Chinese Americans were eligible to emigrate to the United States. Many "real sons" did emigrate, but there were also "paper sons" who purchased or used the birth certificates of "real sons" in order to emigrate. Apparently few daughters emigrated (Takaki, Strangers, 234-39).

⁷⁸Argus, December 17, 1880.

⁷⁹Argus, August 2, 1883.

figure. Smugglers are not wanting at that price."⁸⁰

Notwithstanding the campaign for more effective enforcement of the exclusion act, by the fall of 1885 disappointed anti-Chinese activists were reaching for new solutions to the perceived "Chinese problem."⁸¹ In Jefferson County--as elsewhere throughout the Pacific Northwest-- "getting rid of the Chinese" became a topical issue.

"The Difficulties . . . in Getting Rid of the Chinese"⁸²: Anti-Chinese Ideology and Activism in Jefferson County

By the 1880s, Chinese residents had created a strong community in Port Townsend. However, the community--like all Pacific Northwest communities--was established and maintained amidst an atmosphere of racism and anti-Chinese biases. In 1880, Jefferson County's Immigration Aid Society published a booklet, North-Western Washington: Its Soil, Climate, Productions and General Resources. The booklet was prepared by members of the Immigration Aid Society and edited by Allen Weir, and its purpose was to attract immigrants and investors to the Lower Sound. Prepared with the support and input of community leaders, boosters and other residents, and intended to project a favorable public image of Jefferson County and

⁸⁰ Argus, August 2, 1883; see also August 16, 1883, August 23, 1883, August 30, 1883. Included are reprints from the Seattle Chronicle and the Tacoma Ledger praising Weir's efforts.

⁸¹ See Schwantes, "From Anti-Chinese Agitation to Reform Politics," 174-184, for a description of anti-Chinese activism at the territorial level.

⁸² Argus, March 11, 1886.

the Lower Sound, one may assume that the booklet is representative of county Euramerican anti-Chinese thinking. Believing that the area's Chinese community might deter Euramericanimmigrants, the authors attempt to explain why the county had Chinese residents and what could be done to get them to leave; its discussion of "Chinamen" runs the gamut of anti-Chinese stereotyping.

The booklet argued that "white laborers and the country have suffered" from Chinese immigration. It defined the Chinese and their culture as alien: "not of us, from us, or for us," and their living conditions as "filthy, disgusting" and crowded, "without furniture or other similar comforts." According to the booklet, not only did Chinese immigrants fail to contribute to the local economy--"importing most of what they eat from China while they hoard their earnings"--they would carry local wealth back to China "when they gather it up and return to heathendom forever."

The booklet went on to argue that no Euramerican laborer "can begin to compete with these leprous creatures because they cannot, will not, and OUGHT not live as they do." Thus, the Chinese "have for years been filling places which white men and women ought to have filled." The booklet referred to the perceived need for an exclusion act; "unless restrictive measures be taken they will yet not only monopolize all places of employment, but supersede the employers themselves and capture and control the whole coast." At the same time, it held immigration to be the real hope for destroying the influence of the Chinese. "There is a growing

determination to be rid of them, and the change will be effected as soon as acceptable white men and women can be had to take their places."⁸³

Port Townsend's newspapers also expressed virulent anti-Chinese thinking. The Chinese were "a vastly inferior race," recognized as such by even "the poor and untutored savage" Native Americans.⁸⁴ Chinese were deemed inherently "alien" to American culture and society, and they and their "children and their descendants to the remotest generation would be aliens."⁸⁵ Chinese religious ceremonies might be "interesting . . . to civilized spectators, but their communities or "Chinatowns" were described as "sickening scenes of filth, disease and misery."⁸⁶ Chinese laborers were castigated for "virtually starv[ing] out all other classes of laborers [by] liv[ing] on 7 cents a day."⁸⁷ When James Swan wanted to express his liking for a Chinese man, he could only say, "Charlie Hing was the nearest to a white man of any Chinaman I have seen."⁸⁸

⁸³Immigration Aid Society of North-Western Washington, *North-Western Washington: Its (sic) Soil, Climate, Productions and General Resources. With Detailed Description of the Counties of Jefferson, Clalam, Island, San Juan and Whatcom* (Port Townsend, Washington, 1880), 40.

⁸⁴Democratic Press, October 9, 1879, September 25, 1879.

⁸⁵Democratic Press, September 19, 1878.

⁸⁶North-West, November 15, 1860; Argus, September 29, 1876.

⁸⁷Democratic Press, October 9, 1879.

⁸⁸Swan, Diaries, April 27, 1886.

The Democratic Press conducted a vituperative campaign against the Chinese. Apparently in a panic because, in the wake of an anti-Chinese legislation in California, there were rumours that "the tide of Oriental emigration [had] turned its course toward Oregon and Washington Territory," the editor urged the formation of workingmen's anti-Chinese societies. He argued that unless something was done quickly "to prevent the flood of Chinese emigration into this Territory . . . the mills of Puget Sound will be run by Chinese labor. Our coal mines and . . . every branch of labor by which white men barely can earn a livelihood will be filled by Chinamen, and white men will be compelled to starve or work for a Chinaman's wage and live on Chinaman's fare--one rat and a pound of rice per week." Without immediate action "the more difficult it will be to overcome the evil."⁸⁹

In another instance, the Democratic Press expressed fear of competition between American steamships and the China Merchants' Steamship Company, "a corporation possessing great wealth and chiefly composed of Mandarins and Chinese merchants," which planned to establish a run between China and the United States. "If the line can be successfully operated then there is no branch of commerce and no manufacturing field that will not be blighted by competition capitalized in China."⁹⁰

The murder of a Chinese resident in Portland, reputedly an assassin for one of

⁸⁹Democratic Press, May 20, 1879.

⁹⁰Democratic Press, November 6, 1879.

"these Chinese Companies," roused Meyers' ire. Fulminating about this "class of people we permit to come to our shores and enter into competition with our white citizens," the Press argued that "the time is not far distant when [they] may deem it to their advantage to have some of our leading white citizens put out of the way. . . They are a dangerous element . . . and the sooner we get rid of them the better."⁹¹

Meyers urged voters to reject Ben Miller, who was running for county Sheriff, because Miller was the man "who furnishes employment to more Chinamen than any other one man in the county, in preference to giving the same employment to honest, hard working men who glory in the boasted title of 'I am an American citizen.'" The county's electorate was asked to "pronounce to the world that the 'Chinese Must Go,' by voting against the Great Mongolian Contractor, Ben S. Miller."⁹²

While Meyers ranted against Chinese immigrants in general, other Port Townsendites campaigned for a city tax to be levied on the town's Chinese laundries. Said one resident, the "almond-eyed residents" should be "brought down to a level

⁹¹Democratic Press, April 21, 1880.

⁹²Democratic Press, October 26, 1880. Miller won the election, but Meyers praised Port Townsend voters for electing Charles Eisenbeis--a local baker--as mayor. "Our citizens did the correct thing . . . Mr. Eisenbeis does not employ Chinamen nor does he import them . . . and thereby deprive needy white men and women of their daily bread" (Democratic Press, July 17, 1879). Both Meyers and H.L. Blanchard, the previous editor of the Press, applauded instances where Chinese were denied employment or replaced with Euramerican employees. They also criticized the reverse (Democratic Press, December 28, 1877, June 19, 1879, July 17, 1879, July 31, 1879). Meyers also reprinted material from other newspapers similar to his own anti-Chinese ravings. See Democratic Press, October 9, 1879, March 11, 1880.

with the white man, and required to pay taxes, instead of being permitted to go free."⁹³ However, when an ordinance, "taxing very moderately all wash-houses, Chinese or otherwise, within the city limits," was passed, it was declared unconstitutional in District Court. Townspeople lamented the decision, and Francis James, a city councilman, complained that the Chinese "reside and carry on their business here; they use our roads, receive the benefit of the city improvements, appeal to our laws, and drain this city and county of its gold which they remit regularly to China, yet they utterly refuse to pay a tax or work on public roads." James declared himself quiescent for the time being, but he said that "before many years have passed it will become an imperative necessity on the part of civilized nations to pass laws . . . discriminating against those people compared to which this city's simple ordinance would seem but a bagatelle."⁹⁴

The Chinese laundries attracted continuing censure. In his "Health Officer's Report" of July 30, 1879--addressed to the Board of Trustees of Port Townsend--Dr. Thomas Minor reported his "inspection of those localities [the laundries] in which I have reason to believe disease germs were liable to arise from noxious odors and

⁹³Democratic Press, October 3, 1878.

⁹⁴Democratic Press, October 2, 1879, August 28, 1879, September 18, 1879. Also see, Democratic Press, October 9, 1879, and October 16, 1879, for related letters to the editor. Although it is not stated in any of the articles, I would assume that because the laundrymen owned neither real property nor taxable personal property, they paid no property taxes.

prevalent filth." Minor cautioned the trustees that if Chinese laundries were to continue to operate within the city limits, then "the question of proper sewers and drains . . . must command the early attention of your body . . . The reputation this place now justly enjoys for health, can, in one season, be destroyed for years [by the laundries], if proper means are not provided to carry off pollutions that we permit in our midst."⁹⁵

Several months later, the Argus raised an outcry against laundries, opium parlors and "recent narrow escapes from fires on account of the China dens in our city." Although no such action was taken, the Argus reported that townspeople hoped "that the grand jury will pronounce the celestial abodes a nuisance--and thus authorize their removal to some place outside of the city limits."⁹⁶ The subject was raised again in 1883. The Argus mourned the absence of a "white labor laundry," which forced residents to pay "good American money for the miserable service . . . at the China wash houses."⁹⁷ A fire in one of the laundries--which was put out with little damage done--prompted the Argus to report that unless "the city fathers" take notice of a "timely warning," there would be complaints about the "nuisances to the next

⁹⁵Argus, August 7, 1879.

⁹⁶Argus, February 19, 1880.

⁹⁷Argus, July 5, 1883.

grand jury. . . . Let the wash-houses be segregated from the business part of town."⁹⁸

In a letter to the Argus, "X" complained about the laundries and clearly made the connection between anti-Chinese thinking and boosterism:

The whole of the back premises of such 'rookeries' should be visited by the City Fathers in their official capacity and such measures taken that strangers will not be disgusted with loathsome sights and foul stench, which . . . may . . . burst forth into typhoid and other deadly diseases. Citizens, your property is at stake, for capitalists will fight shy of you if these things be not righted. Inhabitants, your lives are in danger!⁹⁹

Thus, while the Ng brothers, Sam Sing, and others established a strong community in Port Townsend, they did so in the face of racism and cultural tensions.

However, Euramerican reaction to the Chinese was not always negative. Even the Press might praise "Two Chinamen for distinguishing themselves raising potatoes . . . 1200 bushels off of two acres and the other 270 from one acre."¹⁰⁰ Further, violence against Chinese residents was deplored in the local press. Such "law

⁹⁸Argus, August 2, 1883.

⁹⁹Argus, August 30, 1883. The writer of this letter, "X", mentioned that he or she had been told that "it is not a 'Heathen Chineese' who runs . . . one of the most filthy wash houses in the city . . . but an American citizen who is supposed to have some 'broughtings up.'" In their article, "Racial Tension at Port Townsend and Bellingham Bay: 1870-1886," Willson and MacDonald interpret this comment to mean that "X" thought the "white laundry" was the worst (4). Regardless, it is apparent that "X" thought all the laundries or "rookeries" were health hazards and detrimental to the town's economic potential.

¹⁰⁰Democratic Press, November 9, 1877.

breakers . . . if they do not mend their ways will soon find quarters in the county jail."¹⁰¹ An attack which resulted in a man's queue being "pulled out by the roots" was roundly denounced. "The perpetrators of the outrage ought to be punished to the full extent of the law. Such brutal maltreatment of poor heathens is cowardly, malicious and criminal in the extreme."¹⁰² The editor of the short-lived Port of Entry Times also opined that the Chinese were "an inoffensive race of people . . . and have as much right to the protection of the laws of the country as any other foreigner or indeed, native."¹⁰³

The Argus, under the editorship of the anti-Chinese Allen Weir, might defend the Chinese upon occasion, as in 1879 when the paper denounced the "roughs and hoodlums [who] hooted at and hunted down" the Chinese. The paper argued that rather than "idle, criminal, incapable of civilization, &c.," Chinese were frugal, dependable and hardworking; there were fewer Chinese than any other nationality in California prisons, hospitals and alms houses and "there are more Europeans engaged in selling liquors on the Pacific Coast than there are Chinese selling opium." Further, "white gamblers in San Francisco" gamble away more in a single day than do "all the Chinese in America." However, even while defending their character, the Argus

¹⁰¹Argus, February 9, 1877.

¹⁰²Argus, March 4, 1886.

¹⁰³Port of Entry Times (Port Townsend, Washington), February 23, 1884.

cautioned that it was not trying to "champion the Chinese, but to do them simple justice . . . those who are with us have a right to live and be protected."

Nevertheless, Americans should "check the influx . . . the Chinaman is a detriment to America."¹⁰⁴

Despite the Argus's cautious defense of Chinese residents in 1879, the paper and its editor, Allen Weir were usually stridently anti-Chinese. Weir's anti-Chinese thinking was closely connected to boosterist concerns as demonstrated by his call for the the city council to remove the Chinese laundries to the "isolated limits" of the town. According to Weir, the Chinese presence detracted from the advantages of Port Townsend. If protected, its "clean, healthy location" would encourage new, more desirable residents. However, the laundries, spewing "rank smelling soap suds" and opium fumes, with the constant "danger of fire [due to] their carelessness while stupefied with their pet drug," threatened Port Townsend's public image and safety.¹⁰⁵ Opium smoking implicitly affected the town's reputation through the danger it posed to "many young people belonging . . . to reputable families [and] parents needed to be on guard to keep them from forming disreputable associations

¹⁰⁴Argus, February 20, 1879. Weir's statistics were taken from a congressional joint committee report.

¹⁰⁵Argus, August 30, 1883.

and pernicious habits."¹⁰⁶

According to Weir, Port Townsend was "now emerging upon a more extended plane than that of a town." It was essential that "those acting for us look ahead with a view of providing for the necessities of the future city." The town was going to "need every available foot of its triangular sand-spit in the near future for its business houses and factories." Further, it was imperative, said the Argus, that the Chinese, "now gaining a foothold in the most desirable part of our town," be placed in an area "where they will not interfere with public health and public morals." According to Weir, the Chinese "race not only unfits property they inhabit for the occupancy or use of white people . . . they gradually drive out adjacent whites; a Chinatown . . . becomes a hotbed of vice." Let us must stop "this celestial colonialization" before it is too late. "The remedy is obvious; let it be applied while it can be carried into effect."¹⁰⁷ Soon, however, it was deemed that removal outside the city limits was insufficient. **"Our city is prosperous and we intend to keep it so"¹⁰⁸; Expulsion by Boycott, Port Townsend, 1885-86**

In the fall of 1885, Northwest anti-Chinese thinking coalesced into anti-Chinese activism. Euramericans met in anti-Chinese congresses to plan how to drive

¹⁰⁶Argus, August 16, 1883.

¹⁰⁷Argus, August 30, 1883.

¹⁰⁸Argus, February 11, 1886.

the Chinese from Washington. In episodes of spontaneous violence some Chinese were murdered, and many more were driven from mining camps. Activists, especially members of the Knights of Labor, organized expulsions, forcing the Chinese to leave Tacoma and Seattle, and in Tacoma burning their homes and businesses. For a time it seemed that Port Townsend would follow suit. In late September a Port Townsend Knights of Labor assembly--organized in the spring of 1884--pressured the Port Townsend Mill Company to replace its Chinese workers with Euramericans, and the mill complied.¹⁰⁹ By December "the question of organizing . . . against the Chinese" was a primary topic of conversation in the county, and the Argus was in favor of ridding the town of its Chinese community, which "if permitted to flourish here . . . [will] work untold injury." The Argus argued that "the laboring man cannot be expected to exist on what a Chinaman is willing to work for. One or the other must go, and it should not take intelligent American citizens long to decide which it must be."¹¹⁰

However, although Weir supported the idea of expulsion in Jefferson County, he worried about the form anti-Chinese activism would take. He considered it essential that "the better class of people take the matter in hand [before] hoodlums . .

¹⁰⁹ Argus, March 20, 1884; Washington Standard, September 25, 1885. These are the only two references to the Knights of Labor in Port Townsend that I have found.

¹¹⁰ Argus, February 11, 1886.

. get to working dynamite plots. Rather, argued Weir, it is better if a group "composed principally of those who own property and have permanent interests here" (Weir's emphasis) seize control of the situation, taking it out of the "hands of irresponsible persons who are always likely to adopt rash and impracticable measures, to the detriment of public welfare and the injury of the cause abroad." In other words, Weir feared that unless those whose were interested or concerned with Port Townsend's future prosperity controlled the anti-Chinese movement, "hoodlums" would try to expell the Chinese through violence. Such disreputable means would damage "the public welfare," but also injure "the cause abroad," by damaging Port Townsend's reputation. What the Argus hoped to see was a more reputable expulsion accomplished through a non-violent economic boycott. Thus, he promoted "a concerted effort to discourage the presence of Chinese among us--by refusing to employ or patronize them, by taking steps to get all employers of Chinese to adopt a different policy, and by securing white labor whenever possible to take places now occupied by Chinese."¹¹¹

This remained the position of the Argus throughout the crisis, and judging from events, it was shared by much of the Euramerican community. The "Chinese Evil" was a problem that "must be solved," but those "who apply the remedy of force

¹¹¹Argus, December 24, 1885.

and mob law [while] their intentions are in the main good . . . their methods are wrong."¹¹² However, a boycott of Chinese labor and services by individuals and corporations would "rid the county of the Asiatic pests, if energetically applied."¹¹³

The Argus lamented that the lawlessness prevalent throughout the territory jeopardized "our claims for admission to statehood," but it was even more concerned with the effect of such activity in Jefferson County. Territory-wide disorders put Washington "on a par with mining towns and cow boy ranges where vigilance committee and Judge Lynch proceedings hold sway," and the Argus worried that "political economists are apt to argue that when the present irritating cause--the Chinese--is removed, the same spirit of lawlessness will find other evils upon which to vent itself."¹¹⁴

Afraid that lawlessness in Port Townsend would have resulted in the immediate

¹¹²Argus, February 11, 1886.

¹¹³Argus, February 18, 1886.

¹¹⁴Argus, February 11, 1886. Also see the Argus, February 11, 1886, February 18, 1886, March 4, 1886, March 11, 1886, March 25, 1886, April 1, 1886, May 6, 1886, for articles deploring violence against Northwest Chinese. The Argus was also delighted when trouble visited perpetrators of anti-Chinese violence. When the News of Tacoma, "the leading organ of the anti-Chinese agitators," went bankrupt, the Argus moralized that "the class of people who take part mostly in [mob violence] are not in the habit of contributing largely to the support of newspapers. Had the News "made a gallant fight" against violence, it might have been a more profitable concern" (February 18, 1886). Again, during spring of 1886 Mayor Weisbach--one of the leaders of Tacoma's expulsion forces--was troubled with labor agitations in Tacoma. The paper crowed: "Mayor Weisbach is probably realizing by this time what it [is] to have chickens come home to roost. The dragon's teeth he sowed at the head of a mob . . . are springing up now in the shape of a crop of lawless laborers" (April 1, 1886).

suspension of "construction of the new government building," and ultimately "frighten capital away,"¹¹⁵ Weir praised what he hoped was Port Townsendites' determination to keep the peace. "Our city authorities are made of the right kind of pluck, and as citizens we can feel quite safe during the trying times of our sister city." The "few cranks" who would make trouble were "under the watchful eye of our officers . . . Our city is prosperous and we intend to keep it so."¹¹⁶

Port Townsendites, both Chinese and Euramerican, were alarmed when ninety-six refugees from anti-Chinese activism elsewhere arrived in Port Townsend on February 12, 1886, to wait for passage to San Francisco. Euramerican residents, fearing an incident, made reservations for the refugees and provided them a safe place to wait for the steamer. Apparently, Port Townsend Chinese were worried by the event as well, but "a few of leading citizens assured the Chinese living here that the newcomers . . . were on their way out of the country," and that presumably the local Chinese were safe from violence.¹¹⁷ When the ninety-six men sailed two days later on the GEORGE ELDER, James Swan commented with relief to his diary that "Everything passed off quietly and satisfactory."¹¹⁸ Pleased with the restraint shown

¹¹⁵Argus, March 11, 1886.

¹¹⁶Argus, February 11, 1886.

¹¹⁷Argus, February 18, 1886.

¹¹⁸Swan, Diaries, February 12, 1886, February 14, 1886.

by Port Townsendites--and even more pleased that martial law was necessary to control the mob in Seattle--he wrote to a friend, "there is a class in Seattle ready at any time for plunder . . . and until they are driven out stock and fluke . . . capital will be timid of investing in property there."¹¹⁹

Soon after this event, however, Chinese residents were warned by "citizens" that they would be wise to leave town. The Argus recommended that "our people unite in encouraging them to go [although] no violence or threats of violence will be tolerated."¹²⁰ However, the Chinese were "apparently disposed to remain;" and Euramerican residents believed that the town's Chinese population was actually swelling through an influx of refugees.¹²¹ Fearful of a violent outbreak, Euramerican Port Townsendites began to cast about for solutions to their own anti-Chinese crisis that would be non-violent and respectable. The Argus reported that some residents proposed forming a town militia since "there is abundant material here for a good strong company," and the Argus argued that the city should hire "a little extra help on the police force." Together, a militia and more lawmen "would be

¹¹⁹James Swan to Mrs. Willoughby, LS, February 13, 1886, MSS 8, McCurdy Historical Research Library.

¹²⁰Argus, February 18, 1886.

¹²¹Argus, March 4, 1886, qm., March 25, 1886.

amply sufficient to quell any disturbance that may occur."¹²² Further, the Argus continued to remind Port Townsend's residents that "our city has grand prospects" and that as long as "the infectious lawlessness that seems to be in the air all over the Pacific coast can be kept from any outbreak here it will not only be greatly to our credit as a law abiding community, but will result in great good to us in temporary as well as permanent prosperity."¹²³

A week later Weir reiterated that by joining in the violence against the Chinese, Euramerican Port Townsendites jeopardized the area's prosperity.

All industries are reviving [in the county], business is on a healthful basis, new blood and new capital are being added . . . to swell the forces that are impelling us toward a larger and more prosperous municipal growth . . . our own capital is fully employed, and we have yet other openings for industries that will bring both money and people here . . . While our neighbors are wasting their energies in fruitless domestic quarrels over the Chinese we are gathering our strength for onward strides.¹²⁴

As concerned as Weir was with preventing violence against the county's Chinese residents, he nevertheless continued promoting his idea of a boycott by both individuals and businesses which he hoped would effect a reputable expulsion. In

¹²²Argus, March 11, 1886.

¹²³Argus, March 11, 1886.

¹²⁴Argus, March 18, 1886.

early March he prepared a formal petition for the boycott, the signatories of which would be published in the Argus.¹²⁵

There was some opposition to the idea of a boycott, although not because it might force the Chinese to leave town. Some Euramerican residents--characterized by the Blaine Journal, as "'I want the-Chinese-to-go-the-right-way,'"--thought even a boycott might be considered unlawful by some members of the public. Thus, even Weir was accused of "becoming an agitator and favoring lawlessness."¹²⁶ The Port Townsend Call also criticized the boycott as a possible threat to law and order, although it agreed that the Chinese should go and, in the end, also supported the boycott.¹²⁷

Whether lawless or not, the boycott was a failure. The Argus reported that employers had difficulties in replacing Chinese workers. For instance, one county landowner claimed to have refused an offer from a Chinese contractor to clear land for \$20 an acre and tools supplied. He preferred to hire "white men [and offered] "\$25 and tools found." However, the work "has been looked at by white laborers,

¹²⁵Argus, March 25, 1886.

¹²⁶Blaine Journal (Blaine, Washington), qtd. in Argus, March 25, 1886.

¹²⁷To my knowledge, issues of the Port Townsend Call for this period have not survived. However, some of its views on anti-Chinese activism are apparent from comments in the Argus. See the Argus, March 11, 1886, March 25, 1886.

'anxious to get work,' but they decline[d] it."¹²⁸ In another story, the Argus told about a Port Townsend brickmaker who said if he fired his reliable, skilled Chinese workers, he would have to charge considerably more for his bricks, and have to deal with "white men . . . often intemperate and unreliable."¹²⁹

Port Townsend's Chinese community remained intact and vital, although initially some hotels and families let their Chinese cooks and servants go, some Chinese laborers lost their jobs, and the laundries lost some custom. Such losses were of little duration because Chinese labor and services filled a need in the county.¹³⁰ In the end, the boycott demonstrated that non-violent expulsion was more complicated than anti-Chinese rhetoric would allow. Weir blamed the failure on "white labor" for refusing to work for lower wages: "There are altogether too many men hunting for work and praying they may not find it."¹³¹ Competition for jobs therefore may not have been as important an issue to Jefferson County workers as it was in other parts of the territory. The lumber mills--the Port Discovery Mill and the Puget Mill at

¹²⁸Argus, March 11, 1886.

¹²⁹Argus, February 25, 1886. One letterwriter commented to the Argus that "mills and factories that were running and paying employees fair wages, because of the employment of cheaper Chinese help in some of the ruder forms of labor, have been compelled to cease work entirely or to run on half time. As a consequence many persons are out of employment and without means of support" (Argus, April 29, 1886).

¹³⁰See Liestman 99 for further discussion of the failed boycott.

¹³¹Argus, March 11, 1886.

Port Ludlow were joined by the Washington Mill Company at Port Hadlock in Fall 1886--were busy throughout the 1880s, their prosperity maintained by Pacific Rim markets in Australia, Southern California and Chile.¹³² The Puget Sound Iron Company was in operation; and shipping was sustained by the lumber industry. As for the laundries, the cooks and other domestic workers, they replaced the female workforce missing in the predominantly male frontier society.¹³³ Chinese labor and services were needed by the community, and there were insufficient numbers of Euramerican residents willing to maintain a boycott.

Jefferson County's anti-Chinese activists chose a non-violent boycott as the means to expel Chinese residents. It failed through lack of support, apparently because the economic aspects of their anti-Chinese ideology had proven false--the Chinese did not in reality compete with Euramerican labor. The boycott may also have failed because of its non-violent nature. The expulsions in other towns succeeded because enough anti-Chinese activists were stirred to violent behavior by their racism. Some violent--or at least potentially violent--activists accomplished their goal of expulsion. However, in Port Townsend violence was stifled in part by concerns about the town's reputation.

¹³²Thomas R. Cox, Mills and Markets: A History of the Pacific Coast Lumber Industry to 1900 (Seattle 1974), 199-226. The Port Townsend Mill relied primarily on the local market, but it would have benefited from the building boom caused by increasing immigration to the area during the 1880s.

¹³³Liestman 98.

The character of the Chinese community may also have had an effect on Port Townsend's attempted expulsion. As stated above, there was a place in the country's economy for the Chinese, and it served both the interests of the Chinese and some Euramericans for the Chinese to remain in Jefferson County. It may also have been that, unlike Chinese residents in some other communities, the Port Townsend Chinese refused to leave in spite of threats.¹³⁴ However, the Port Townsend community was not a small, isolated group of relatively defenseless men. County Chinese not only had a viable economic role within the Euramerican community, leadership within the Chinese community was strong. The leadership and institutional structure of Chinese communities in North America had developed in a harsh and sometimes dangerous environment. It would not be surprising if Port Townsend's clan and Chee Kung Tong leaders, men with responsibilities throughout the Lower Sound area, were outspoken in their community's defense. Indeed, according to the Argus, the Chinese were told to leave Port Townsend in March 1886, but they were reported as disinclined to leave. Further, they did not leave or make any attempt to do so.

Although this is the only reporting which gives a clue as to what the Chinese did during the crisis of 1885-86, there were other incidents which indicate that community leaders and members would act in their own and others' defense. For

¹³⁴For instance, the Bellingham Chinese left the town in November 1885 after being harrassed and threatened by anti-Chinese activists (Willson and MacDonald, "Racial Tension," 3-4).

instance, Mon Yik was willing to defend his friend Ah Dock in court when he was charged as insane by Mr. Sherlock; and Ng Soon and Eng Ting of the Zee Tai Company were willing to stand surety for his good behavior. There are other examples which demonstrate the willingness of Port Townsend's Chinese to actively pursue their own goals and claims in the face of anti-Chinese thinking.

During congressional debate for the passage of the 1892 Exclusion Act--known as the Geary bill--a Leader reporter interviewed leading members of the Port Townsend Chinese. They did not mince words about what they thought about the Geary bill. "Zee Tai" said he thought the bill was unjust. "If the Chinese are excluded from the United States I think the Americans will be excluded from China. There is no doubt but that the bill, if it becomes a law, will make trouble between China and this country. I doubt if the Chinese government will be entirely able to protect the Americans who are now in that country." Ah Ge, another merchant agreed with "Zee Tai;" and "Wing Sing" claimed that nothing could stop the hundreds of Chinese smuggled into the country every day from coming.¹³⁵

¹³⁵Leader, April 10, 1892. An incident involving the laundries and a man suspected of having leprosy, demonstrates not only anti-Chinese thinking but the outspokenness of one Sam War. In March 1892 when a Chinese resident was discovered to have leprosy, it invoked a storm of rancor against Chinese laundries. Citing several supposedly verified cases in which Chinese laundries had spread leprosy, the Leader said that "the one way to prevent the spread of this disease is to keep clear of Chinese laundries, as you cannot tell but what your clothing may become infected with the germ of this disease while patronizing this class." In the face of a series of editorial comments such as the above Sam War, who had been accused of employing the leper in his laundry, nevertheless wrote to The Leader to complain against such maligning of his laundry. It was "not true" that he had employed the sick man (H.C. Willison, Health Officer, to Hon. Mayor and Council of the City of Port Townsend,

There were also numerous incidents in which Chinese men preferred to settle their differences with Euramericans assertively. Some preferred to use their fists, but Ah Ham, who had been shoved off the end of a wharf by a "young Napoleon of rowdyism," took his assailant to court. Judge Oliver Wood fined the rowdy \$25, and when he spoke rudely to the Judge, he was sentenced to 20 days in jail for contempt of Court.¹³⁶

Chinese merchants and laundrymen also made a practice of including Euramericans in their New Year's celebrations, especially through gift-giving. James Swan noted in his journals that he had received gifts from "Zee Tai" and his laundryman, Sam Sing: a white silk handkerchief and china bowl in 1883; a China teapot from "Zee Tai" in 1886. Sometimes laundrymen gave blossoming lilies to their female Euramerican customers at the New Year, or just before Christmas, they would give narcissus bulbs planted in gravel-filled shallow pottery bowls. Customers were told that if they put the bowls away in the dark, by Chinese New Year they would bloom and bring good luck to the recipient. The merchants also gave coconut candies, sugared ginger root and lychee nuts to Port Townsend's children during the

LS, April 3, 1892, MSS 3a, McCurdy Historical Library; Leader, March 29, 1892, qm., April 10, 1892, May 29, 1892, qm).

¹³⁶See also: Weekly Messenger, May 6, 1868, Leader, October 4, 1889, March 18, 1892.

Chinese new year.¹³⁷

Thus, if boosterist concerns tipped the balance against violent expulsion, the Chinese themselves also influenced the outcome of anti-Chinese activism in Port Townsend. Their community had a well-developed structure of leadership which, having been established in the county for many years, stood to lose a great deal if they left the area. As well, community members were well-entrenched in the county's economy. Thus, their own status and prosperity and the economic niche many laborers filled may have provided leaders and community members with the resolve to stay.

Throughout the rest of the 1880s and into the 1890s Port Townsend's Chinese community grew in numbers, peaking at 453 in 1890.¹³⁸ Its gradual demise in the early twentieth century resulted from economic changes which affected not only Chinese residents, but boosters and other Euramericans as well.

¹³⁷Swan, Diaries, January 30, 1883; February 7, 1883; February 13, 1886; Leader, January 19, 1890; Forwood, Part I.

¹³⁸Chinese population was 233 in 1900 and 102 in 1910 (Wyne, Appendix II, 493.)

CHAPTER VI: "Chicago Will Be Ashamed"?: The Boom and Bust of Frontier Boosterism in Jefferson County

Nearly thirty years elapsed between Isaac Stevens' railroad survey and the completion of Puget Sound's first transcontinental connection, celebrated when Henry Villard hammered the final spike for the Northern Pacific Railroad on September 8, 1883. The connection between Tacoma--via Portland--and St. Paul, Minnesota, was followed rapidly by other lines in what would be the greatest period of Pacific Northwest railroad building.¹ The Pacific Northwest's "era of isolation" came to an end as the journey between east and west--which had taken from three-to-five months to accomplish--shrank to a five-or six-day trip. The region boomed. The excitement and optimism which had begun in the late 1870s when plans were renewed to finish construction of the Northern Pacific continued, with some ups and downs, until the Panic of 1893. The national depression which followed was especially severe in the Pacific Northwest and was unrelieved until the 1897 Yukon gold rush ushered in another period of regional growth.²

¹Northern Pacific's Cascade line--from the Columbia River through the Yakima valley--to Tacoma began service in 1887. In the same year Southern Pacific completed a line between Portland and San Francisco which linked the Pacific Northwest with New Orleans. In 1891 the Canadian Pacific--completed between Montreal and Vancouver, B.C. in 1885--finished construction of a line to Seattle; and in 1892 the Great Northern Railroad provided Seattle with its own direct eastern connection to St. Paul (Dorothy O. Johansen and Charles M. Gates, Empire of the Columbia: A History of the Pacific Northwest, 2d ed. (New York, 1967), 311, 313; Carlos Schwantes, The Pacific Northwest: An Interpretive History, rev. and enl. ed. (Lincoln, Nebraska, 1989, 1996), 169, 188-39).

²Schwantes, The Pacific Northwest, qtn. 177; Johansen and Gates, 301-302.

During the 1880s Washington's population increased more than tenfold, from 25,000 to 300,000. 95,000 people immigrated to the territory between 1887 and 1889. Between 1880 and 1889 the value of real and personal property went from \$62,000,000 to \$760,000,000; and assessed valuation of property and value of manufacturing increased tenfold.³

The eastern shore of Puget Sound--especially Seattle and Tacoma--absorbed most of the new arrivals.⁴ However, Jefferson County's population went from 1712 in 1880 to 8368 in 1890.⁵ Boosters were still optimistic that Port Townsend might yet become a great city. Port Townsend continued as port of entry for the Puget Sound Customs District, and throughout the 1880s shipping increased, as did shipping-related commercial opportunities for Port Townsendites. In 1885, 582 cargoes of lumber, coal and wheat--totalling 456,134 tons--were exported from Puget Sound, more than ever before. Also exported was some canned salmon, large shipments of oats and other "products of the surrounding country."⁶ During the fiscal year ending June 1, 1888, the number of vessels entering Puget Sound through the

³Johansen and Gates 316.

⁴Seattle's population grew from 3533 in 1880 to 42, 837 in 1890 (Johansen and Gates 329).

⁵The population was 2641 in 1885, 3393 in 1887 and 5740 in 1889 (Robert Edward Wynne, "Reaction to the Chinese in the Pacific Northwest and British Columbia, 1850 to 1910," [Ph.D. diss., University of Washington, 1964], Appendix II, 493).

⁶Puget Sound Argus (Port Townsend, Washington), hereafter cited as Argus, December 30, 1885.

port of entry was 971, tonnage 834,104, and 954, tonnage 804,853, leaving.⁷ In 1890 there were 430 cargoes of lumber--120,000,000 million board feet--and during the fiscal year ending June 30, 1890, 2598 vessels entered Juan de Fuca Strait and Puget Sound.⁸

In general the 1880s were a prosperous decade for Puget Sound lumbering,⁹ and the county's lumber industry expanded. Amos Phinney, owner of the Port Ludlow mill, had died in 1877; however, the Puget Mill Company purchased the mill in November 1878, making improvements and increasing the mill's capacity. It reopened October 18, 1883.¹⁰ The Port Discovery mill had likewise changed hands due to the deaths of its first owners, S.L. and Levy Mastick. Here again, the new owners, Moore and Smith of San Francisco, made improvements and increased the mill's capacity.¹¹ By way of comparison, between June 1859 and January 1860, the

⁷Loren Bingham Hastings: *Son of the First White Woman to Settle at Port Townsend*, TMs, 1936, Washington Pioneer Project, Jefferson County, Washington State Library, Olympia, Washington, 3-4.

⁸Wright, E. W., ed., *Lewis and Dryden's Marine History of the Pacific Northwest* (New York, 1891; New York, 1961), 381. The reader will recall for comparison's sake that in 1858 there were approximately twenty sailing vessels which averaged six trips a year in and out of Puget Sound (77-78).

⁹Thomas Cox, *Mills and Markets: A History of the Pacific Coast Lumber Industry to 1900*, (Seattle, Washington, 1974), 199-226.

¹⁰Edwin T. Coman Jr. Helen M. Gibbs, *Time, Tide and Timber: A Century of Pope & Talbot* (Stanford, California, 1949), 110-111, 152.

¹¹*Argus*, December 31, 1885.

Port Discovery mill had shipped 2,420,716 feet of lumber and 7,000 feet of piles. In 1885, the mill shipped 28,000,000 feet of lumber, 10,000,000 laths, 215,000 feet of piles and 200,000 of pickets.¹²

Further, the Western Mill and Lumber Company began the construction of a new mill at Port Hadlock. It was completed in June 1886, and a party of 70 people which included James Swan, the mayor and the city council of Port Townsend travelled to Port Hadlock on the steamer RUSTLER to celebrate and watch the machinery first put into operation. On July 15 there was further celebrating. Swan dined with J. Kennedy, the mill superintendent, and then joined approximately 200 other county residents to see the first logs cut. This event featured band music, and was described by Swan as "a most memorable event for Port Townsend. Everybody was delighted and the day will be long remembered."¹³ The Washington Mill Company, whose Seabeck mill burned to the ground on August 12, 1886, purchased the Hadlock mill. Their operation began in October of that year.¹⁴

¹²Port Townsend Register (Port Townsend, Washington), hereafter cited as Register, February 15, 1860; Argus, December 31, 1885.

¹³James G. Swan, Diaries, Manuscripts and University Archives, Suzzallo & Allen Library, University of Washington, Seattle, Washington, July 31, 1885, November 22, 1885, February 7, 1886, May 10, 1886, June 25, 1886, June 26, 1886, July 15, 1886, July 23, 1886, qtn., July 15, 1886.

¹⁴Fredi Perry, Seabeck: Tide's Out. Table's Set (Bremerton, Washington, 1993), 58-59; James McCurdy, By Juan de Fuca's Strait: Pioneering Along The Northwestern Edge Of The Continent, (Portland, Oregon, 1937), 80; Peter Simpson et al., City of Dreams: A Guide To Port Townsend (Port Townsend, Washington, 1986), 160.

Over time, the county press had called for the establishment of a sawmill in Port Townsend,¹⁵ and in 1881, "the people of Port Townsend formed a stock company and raised about \$20,000" to establish the Port Townsend Mill Company. While it did not rival the larger cargo mills--it employed about 30 men in this period while the other county mills employed 100 or more each--it was a 'going' concern during Port Townsend's 1880s building boom.¹⁶

Boosters were encouraged not only by the new county sawmills and the iron mill at Irondale, but by other smaller manufacturing firms: a sash and door factory, a foundry, several machine shops, a brewery, a cigar factory and brick works which were located in Port Townsend. Port Townsend's first bank, the First National Bank of Port Townsend, was established in 1883. It initially capitalized with \$50,000 which increased to \$75,000 in 1885. By December 1889, during the real estate boom, its deposits on hand were \$403,617.22. Commented one observer: "its large and substantial stone building indicates a healthy and solid business basis."¹⁷

The face of Port Townsend had begun to change, as stone and brick buildings

¹⁵Argus, June 19, 1875, April 27, 1877, July 13, 1877.

¹⁶McCurdy 80, qm; "Port Townsend, Washington," Sanborn fire map, (New York, 1888), McCurdy Historical Research Library, Jefferson County Historical Society, Port Townsend, Washington.

¹⁷Argus, December 30, 1885, qm.; Port Townsend Call (Port Townsend, Washington), hereafter cited as Call, July 27, 1889; McCurdy 299.

replaced wood frame store fronts, and new homes were built uptown. Although Port Townsend's building boom did not peak until 1889-1891, nineteen new commercial buildings, several wharves and eleven homes were built in 1885, at a total cost of \$66,700. Repairs and improvements to existing buildings totalled \$75,000. There was also a new waterworks, a telephone exchange and a new school building "erected on the latest improved plans" run by a principal and four teachers, "for common school training our facilities are the best."¹⁸

County boosterism continued. The Argus printed portions of a promotional address given by territorial governor Watson Squires. He described Jefferson County as "one of the most important counties in the whole territory." Port Townsend, "one of the leading towns on Puget Sound," was also "one of the healthiest, prettiest and most prosperous towns in the Territory." Its spacious, "beautiful bay [was] neither too deep or too shallow [with] room for the entire navy and merchant marine of the United States to ride in safety at the same time . . . the immense maritime business transacted here . . . brings an excessive local trade with shipping." It was also a "natural center of trade and travel, having mail routes and lines of travel radiating in all directions." Port Townsend was "located just inside of the line of fortification

¹⁸Argus, December 30, 1885.

proposed for the defense of [Washington's] inland waters;"¹⁹ the area's increasing military importance would add to its commercial prosperity.

Squire pointed to the recent construction of "magnificent brick and stone buildings, indicating a solidity and stability seldom noticed among the young and growing towns of the west . . . fine public schools, her opera house, her four churches, all indicate intellectual culture and literary privileges." All of which, said Squire, "bespeak a city here in the near future, teeming with a hardy, industrious people and buzzing with manufacturing industries."²⁰

Rhetoric aside, the county's economy was expanding. In December 1888 the Seattle Post Intelligencer reported that there had been more business transactions, especially in real estate, in Jefferson County than "in any previous year, not excepting the railroad boom experienced in 1870-71." The influx of new settlers made it difficult to find a place to live, and rents were especially high in Port Townsend. "Outside capital and the investments thereof" were responsible for rising real estate prices, and soon outside investments in business "will be brought into prominence."

¹⁹Squires is referring to a triangular system of fortifications which had been recently recommended by the military for the protection of Puget Sound. Congress did not authorize funding until 1896 and the forts—Fort Casey on Whidbey Island across Admiralty Inlet from Port Townsend, Fort Flagler at the north end of Marrowstone Island across the bay from Port Townsend and Fort Worden at Point Wilson in Port Townsend—were not built until after the turn of the century (see below). See: V. J. Gregory, *Keepers at the Gate* (Port Townsend, Washington, 1976); McCurdy 306-08; Simpson, 90-96.

²⁰*Argus*, December 30, 1885.

According to the Post Intelligencer, "the old pioneers are regarding the [situation], especially in the port of entry as the dawn of a new era of prosperity for the commercial center of the lower Sound."²¹

Port Townsend boosters, however, were interested in becoming more than the "commercial center of the lower Sound." Still dreaming of 'great city' status, they wanted to acquire a railroad connection to one of the transcontinentals, either the Northern Pacific or the Union Pacific. On August 19, 1887, a group of county residents incorporated the Port Townsend Southern Railroad Company.²² Their purpose was to start construction of a railroad from Port Townsend south through Quilcene and along Hood Canal to Olympia, but more importantly, attract outside capital to the venture (see map, v).²³ Port Townsend had failed to win the Northern Pacific terminus in 1871. However, county boosters had never given up hoping for a transcontinental link, and it now seemed to be the right time to try again. The Northern Pacific was completed, and there was talk that the Union Pacific was going to establish a connection with Puget Sound. There was intense interest in building

²¹Seattle Post Intelligencer (Seattle, Washington), rptd. in Argus, December 8, 1887.

²²The trustees were A.D. Moore, Robert C. Hill, L.B. Hastings, Charles Eisenbeis, Henry Landes, S.W. Levy and J.A. Kuhn as President (McCurdy 289).

²³My understanding of the history of the Port Townsend Southern Railroad has been influenced in part by: McCurdy, 286-302; Henry L. Gray, "Historic Railroads of Washington," (Seattle Washington, 1971), MSS 29, McCurdy Historical Research Library, Jefferson County Historical Society, Port Townsend, Washington, 3-5, 12-18; L.P. Schrenk, "The Port Townsend Southern Railroad," TMs, MSS 29, McCurdy Historical Research Library.

small railroads which would connect Puget Sound towns to one or the other of the transcontinentals; and during the 1880s more railroads were constructed in Washington than in any other period.

Jefferson County boosters decided that this was the time to make their own determined bid for a railroad. They were perhaps inspired by Seattle investors who, frustrated by Tacoma's monopoly of the Northern Pacific, tried to establish a Seattle-based railroad. The Seattlites were unsuccessful in building a viable company, but Northern Pacific extended the Portland-to-Tacoma line from Tacoma to Seattle.²⁴ Local enthusiasm for the Port Townsend Southern Railroad was high, and considerable land for the right-of-way to Quilcene and along Hood Canal was acquired through subscriptions. The Argus prophesied that the world would soon "see a city here that will make Chicago ashamed of herself."²⁵ While the company sought funds locally to begin construction, they knew however that they would have to interest "outside capital" in the venture. James Swan, traveled to New England in 1888 to deliver a chart and detailed report to Charles Francis Adams, then president of Union Pacific. It listed the advantages of line running west of Puget Sound with Port Townsend as its terminus. Swan was encouraged by Adams' response to the report. He wrote on July

²⁴McCurdy 288-89; Dorothy O. Johansen and Charles M. Gates, Empire of the Columbia: A History of the Pacific Northwest, 2nd ed. (New York, 1967), 312-13; Schwantes, The Pacific Northwest, 238.

²⁵Argus, November 24, 1887.

25 to J.A. Kuhn, president of the Port Townsend Southern, that Adams said he was "much obliged . . . for the information . . . I shall go next month to Portland and Port Townsend and when I am there I will study up the whole question."²⁶

By the end of the year, however, nothing had come of the efforts of Swan and others to secure outside backing.²⁷ According to McCurdy, "a number of railroad men drifted into town from time to time, but no definite tie-up resulted."²⁸ The by-now desperate Port Townsend Southern trustees decided to seize the bull by the horns; on March 23, 1889, they called for bids to lay the first six miles of track. The bid accepted was from local builders who understood that as soon as funds became low, the work would stop. A ground-breaking ceremony was held two miles west of Port Townsend on property owned by Albert Briggs, one of the original donation land claimants. Briggs turned the first spadeful of dirt, and Ben Pettygrove and Ben Hammond--sons of town founders, Francis Pettygrove and T.M. Hammond--each

²⁶James Swan to Hon. J.A. Kuhn, President Port Townsend Southern RR, LS, July 25, 1888, James G. Swan Papers, Special Collections, University of British Columbia, Vancouver, B.C., Canada. Swan had earlier correspondence with Adams on the same subject, but had received a polite brush-off (Charles F. Adams, President, The Union Pacific Railway Company, to James G. Swan, Esq., LS, July 9, 1885, August 15, 1885, October 9, 1885, James G. Swan Papers, Special Collections, University of British Columbia).

²⁷D.W. Smith to Hon James G. Swan, LS, July 19, 1888, James G. Swan Papers; J.A. Kuhn to Hon. J.G. Swan, LS, June 30, 1888, James G. Swan Papers.

²⁸McCurdy 189-90.

plowed a few furrows.²⁹ Notwithstanding the great interest in the project--as demonstrated by a photograph taken of the groundbreaking event--the track was extended only a mile before funds gave out.

On July 31, 1889, an agent of the Union Pacific approached the Port Townsend Southern trustees. He proposed that the Oregon Improvement Company, a subsidiary of Union Pacific, would construct a railroad from Port Townsend, via Quilcene, along the west side of Hood Canal, from whence it would connect with a transcontinental line. The Port Townsend Southern was asked to assign all its rights-of-way to the Oregon Improvement Company, and in addition would raise and give \$100,000 to Oregon Improvement. At a public meeting on February 18, 1890 the Port Townsend Southern agreed to the proposal, and county residents raised \$100,000 in subscriptions ranging from \$6000 to \$50.³⁰ The transaction was finalized on March 15, 1890. The company retained its original name, Port Townsend Southern Railroad.

By May there was a large workforce engaged in construction, and by September about one-half of the 26.2 miles between Port Townsend and Quilcene was covered by track and in operation servicing the construction crews. In the meantime, the Oregon Improvement Company had purchased a fifteen-mile track which ran from

²⁹These men were sons of donation-land claimants Francis Pettygrove and Thomas M. Hammond.

³⁰McCurdy 294.

Olympia to Tenino on the Northern Pacific line. Its narrow gauge track was converted to standard gauge, and the new company operated it as the Southern Division of the Port Townsend Southern--the line from Port Townsend to Quilcene was the Northern Division.

Nevertheless, in September 1890 over 70 miles still separated the two divisions, and construction had stalled. The Oregon Improvement Company also owned a line near Anacortes, Washington which, according to McCurdy, was receiving the company's attention to the exclusion of the Port Townsend Southern's best interests. "The speculation bug had caught the officials . . . and they had become more intent upon selling land than in building railroads."

The county had been booming, but local growth began to slow down. The real estate boom had preceded the Port Townsend Southern venture, but it gathered momentum with the possibility of a transcontinental railroad connection. By summer 1889, the town's population was over 7000, and there was a record high of 2209 county real estate transfers for 1890, valued at \$4,594,695.93.³¹ However, when railroad construction came to a halt, real estate sales slowed down.

Still, residents continued to be hopeful; surely the Oregon Improvement Company, that "favored offspring of the great Union Pacific" could do no wrong.

³¹McCurdy 199.

Nevertheless, there were growing rumors that the Union Pacific and the Oregon Improvement Company were having financial troubles.³²

The rumors were true: on November 25, 1890 the Oregon Improvement Company went into receivership. Although the company did complete the Port Townsend Southern railroad line to Quilcene in February 1891, it never recovered its financial equilibrium.³³ However, for several months it was possible for boosters to maintain some optimism. C.J. Smith, general manager of the Oregon Improvement Company periodically issued encouraging statements. He promised that the track was completed to Quilcene, and that ferries would transport freight and passengers across Hood Canal to Union City where docks and further lines would be built.³⁴

On February 23, 1891 the line to Quilcene was completed, and residents' hopes there were revitalized. The Quilcene Queen wrote, "there is a time coming, and that within a very few months, when the value of property will double in Quilcene . . . there is no power we know of that can prevent this place from becoming a large and thrifty city of several thousand inhabitants." Also, aside from

³²McCurdy 297.

³³In the subsequent reorganization of Union Pacific's interests—which included the troubled Oregon Improvement Company—the Port Townsend Southern Railroad was sold. The Northern Division from Port Townsend to Quilcene continued in operation under several owners until 1925 when the line from Port Discovery to Quilcene was shut down. The line from Port Townsend to Port Discovery was connected to a track from Port Angeles and has continued to be sporadically used to connect Port Townsend and Port Angeles (Henry 15-18).

³⁴McCurdy, 299.

"superior advantages for manufacturing . . . the "vast farming territory . . . tributary to this place . . . will along build up a large town."³⁵

When nation-wide customs statistics were released for the first quarter of 1891, the Leader wrote that the report was "such as to rouse the drooping spirits of those whom dull times have tended to discourage." In this quarter, more vessels had entered and cleared from the Puget Sound port of entry than anywhere else, "not excepting New York, which so long headed the list." Three hundred forty nine vessels had cleared from Port Townsend, 232 cleared from New York; entering Port Townsend, 320; and 248 entering New York. The Leader prophesied that the next quarter's report would show Port Townsend still in the lead, since "there has been a large increase in the shipping since then."³⁶ Port Townsend was the 'New York of the West.'

Promotional efforts continued. In June 1891 Swan wrote a pamphlet for the Port Townsend Chamber of Commerce, 5000 copies of which were printed for distribution. It set out in meticulous detail hoped-for plans by which the Union Pacific and Northern Pacific railroads would develop and expand their operations to include Port Townsend. According to Swan, the Union Pacific was going to make

³⁵The Quilcene Queen (Quilcene, Washington), June 11, 1891.

³⁶Port Townsend Leader, (Port Townsend, Washington), title varies, hereafter cited as Leader, August 27, 1891.

Port Townsend "their great wheat shipping point." The company also intended to develop the fisheries of the North Pacific and Puget Sound, in order to ship fresh fish such as halibut, cod, salmon, etc. in refrigerator cars to the rest of the United States from Port Townsend. The North Pacific whaling fleet would then also be serviced from Port Townsend rather than San Francisco.

Swan wrote that the Pacific Mail Steamship Company of San Francisco would also headquarter steamers engaged in the "China and East India trade" at Port Townsend once the railroad connection was completed. Further, he said the Northern Pacific Railroad was known to have surveyed a route from Tacoma to Port Townsend whereby cars would travel by a combination of track by land, and ferry boats over the intervening bodies of water--Point Defiance Narrows and Hood Canal--to reach Irondale where it would connect with the Port Townsend Southern Railroad.

Swan also claimed that the Canadian Pacific Railroad was willing to establish a steamer route to Port Townsend once the transcontinental line was completed. In this way, immigrants who had come west on the Canadian Pacific would be able to settle "along Hood canal and to the Chehalis river district . . . Dungeness, Port Angeles, Quilleute and other places along Fuca strait and the interior" of the Olympic Peninsula.

Swan argued that because all railroads approaching Puget Sound came from the east, "it is but a logical conclusion that the cities on the eastern side of the Sound,

being first reached, would be the first to be developed and built." However, Swan reasoned that "when speculating employees of various railroad companies shall have unloaded the wild cat lands on the eastern shores of Puget sound which they are fast doing, they will be willing and zealous to tell the truth about Port Townsend and announce the fact, already well known here, that these very railroad companies will build [here] the largest city on the Pacific Coast."³⁷

Swan continued his efforts to interest the railroad companies in creating "the largest city on the Pacific Coast" on Port Townsend Bay. In August 1896 he wrote the Northern Pacific directors; and in June 1899 he wrote Charles Francis Adams, as well as James J. Hill of the Great Northern Railway trying to draw their attention to Jefferson County. He received polite refusals.³⁸ Swan's "long-cherished hope of being able to board a train in Port Townsend and ride to Boston to see his children" was not to be.³⁹

Swan's determined optimism was misplaced. By 1891 Jefferson County's

³⁷James G. Swan, "A Description of the City of Port Townsend, Jefferson County, State of Washington, U.S.A.," (Port Townsend, Washington, June 1891), rptd., *Leader*, June 25, 1891.

³⁸James G. Swan to President Winters and the Directors of the Northern Pacific Rail Road, LS, August 1896, James G. Swan Papers, Special Collections, University of British Columbia, Vancouver, B.C., Canada; James G. Swan to Hon Charles Francis Adams, LS, June 6, 1899, James G. Swan Papers; James G. Swan to President James J. Hill, Great Northern Railway Company, LS, June 22, 1899, James G. Swan Papers; James J. Hill to James G. Swan, Esq., LS, July 6, 1899, James G. Swan Papers.

³⁹Lucile McDonald, Swan Among The Indians: Life of James G. Swan, 1818-1900, (Portland, Oregon, 1972), 209.

'boom' was coming to a close. Once the Oregon Improvement Company went into receivership, the real estate boom in Port Townsend collapsed. The town's population dropped from 7000 to 2000, and most of the boom land sales were defaulted upon, the property returning to the original owner or going to the county for back taxes.⁴⁰ For example, James Swan, who owned acreage just outside Port Townsend, had sold it in the spring of 1890 to T.J. Pearce for \$100,000, payable in six months. However, in a common tale, the sale was never finalized; the property reverted to Swan who had difficulty paying the taxes. When Swan died in 1900, there was a claim of more than \$2000 against the property, and his executor was unable to sell it even for its appraised value of \$352.⁴¹ Many residents lost everything they possessed in the downturn.

The financial institutions of which county residents had been so proud suffered. In October 1889 there had been five banks in Port Townsend--First National Bank, Merchants Bank, Sisley and Bell, Jarvis-Conklin Mortgage and Trust Company and Puget Sound Loan and Investment Company.⁴² However, in the real estate crash,

⁴⁰McCurdy 199.

⁴¹McDonald 204, 213, 221. During Summer 1889 the Leader estimated the dollar value of that year's building boom as over \$400,000. Eleven two-or-three story business buildings or blocks were under construction, one college building, three shops in the uptown area, three churches, 20 rental cottages and tenements, and 30 private homes (Leader, October 2, 1889). See also: Simpson, 17-21.

⁴²Leader, October 2, 1889.

three of the banks "passed out of existence," and deposits in the First National Bank went from the December 1889 high of \$403,617.22 to \$48,000.⁴³

Other facets of the county's economy were also in trouble. The Puget Sound Iron Company at Irondale had closed down in 1889.⁴⁴ More importantly, by 1890 the lumber industry also faced hard times. The 1880s had been a period of prosperity such as the cargo mills "had not known since the days of the Gold Rush." A large part of this 1880s lumber boom had been the business generated by Pacific Rim markets in Southern California, Australia and Chile. However, these markets were down by 1890, as was the market provided by Pacific Northwest railroad construction. In Jefferson County, the Port Discovery mill closed for good in Spring 1891,⁴⁵ and the whole industry was retrenching when the depression of 1893-97 thrust it into "a desperate struggle for survival."⁴⁶ By the time the depression lifted in 1897, the lumber industry had changed in ways that undermined the cargo industry, not only in

⁴³McCurdy 299, 304, qtn.

⁴⁴Diane F. Britton, The Iron and Steel Industry In The Far West: Irondale, Washington, (Boulder, Colorado, 1991), 20-22.

⁴⁵Leader, July 30, 1891. Although they suffered through the 1890s, the county's other two cargo mills--Washington Mill Company at Hadlock and Puget Mill Company at Port Ludlow--did survive. The Port Townsend Mill--never a cargo mill--also continued to operate in a much-reduced capacity, supplying the small lumber needs of Port Townsend (McCurdy 80).

⁴⁶Cox 199-226, 226, qms.

Jefferson County but throughout Lower Puget Sound (see discussion below).⁴⁷

The troubles in the lumber industry affected shipping as well, and the depression brought it almost to a standstill. James Griffiths, a shipping agent in Port Townsend from 1885-1898, remembered that "the years 1893 and 1894 were the most trying in our business experience. The U.S. financial panic of 1893 caused endless failures, and Banks all over the country closed, also 80% of the mills on Puget Sound were shut down."⁴⁸

By the end of the depression, accumulated changes in shipping affected Jefferson County as well. During the 1890s steamships began to replace sailing vessels in Puget Sound shipping, and while abandonment of sailing vessels was gradual,⁴⁹ the advent of change lessened the importance of Port Townsend to the shipping industry. Prevailing winds made it difficult for sailing vessels to manoeuvre once they sailed into Admiralty Inlet, and there were few harbors past the Inlet that could "be approached by sailing vessels without having to resort to towing very frequently during the year."⁵⁰ This fact created an advantage for Port Townsend

⁴⁷See Cox, 284-296; Robert Ficken, The Forested Land: A History of Lumbering in Western Washington (Seattle, Washington, 1989), 78-117.

⁴⁸James Griffiths, Shipping Reminiscences of 62 Years, 1874 to 1936 (Rpt, Seattle, Washington, 1965), 40.

⁴⁹Cox 292-93.

⁵⁰James G. Swan to Thomas H. Canfield, Esq., Gen Agent Norther Pacific RR, Burlington, Vermont, LS, December 3, 1868, James G. Swan Papers.

when most shipping was carried on sailing vessels. However, steamships cruised past Port Townsend (see further discussion below).

Thus, twentieth-century Jefferson County settled into rural obscurity. It was no longer an essential participant in either the lumber or shipping industries, and its population of mill workers, loggers and farmers was small in number. How different from the dreams of those settlers who had been drawn to the county because of its commercial prospects in lumber and shipping. Optimistic and hopeful about western development, they attached their own desires for economic opportunity to the advancement of Jefferson County. They thought that Port Townsend could become a great city, one which would link the wealth of Asia by sea and rail to the eastern United States and Europe. Further, natural resources, manufactured goods and agricultural products would flow from county hinterlands, towns and mill ports through Port Townsend to the rest of the world. Their own security assured by the economic position of Jefferson County, they dreamed that they would lead prosperous, industrious lives. These were high stakes; hence economic development was a prominent community issue.

Many names stand out as boosters of Jefferson County: Isaac Stevens, first territorial governor; Lafayette Balch, sea captain; H.C. Wilson, Francis Pettygrove, Loren Hastings, Alfred Plummer, T.M. Hammond and Albert Briggs, donation land claimants; Travers Daniel, John Damon, Al Pettygrove, H.C. Blanchard, Frank

Meyers and Allen Weir, newspaper editors; D.W. Smith, president of the Immigration Aid Society and last but not least, James Swan. If not all county residents worked as hard at boosterism as these people, nevertheless many were boosters since they identified their own economic prospects with those of Jefferson County.

During the early settlement period, concerns about the county's 'wild' reputation became closely linked to county boosterism; and throughout the frontier period, reputation, because it was perceived to influence the boosterist agenda, remained an important community issue. Not only was it essential to promote county development, it was also necessary to establish in the public mind that Jefferson County was a community of law-abiding, orderly, industrious, sober men and women. Because they were important to many county residents, boosterism and reputation were key reference points in public discourse about a variety of matters.

For instance, during "the great Port Townsend controversy" the town's reputation became bound up with that of the Klallam, and the settlers defended the Klallam's reputation along with their own. Relations between settlers and Klallam were also influenced by the frequent dovetailing of the two groups' economic agendas. Similarly, the struggle over Victor Smith's campaign to remove the Port of Entry to Port Angeles was motivated by commercial imperatives. Further, because Victor Smith reiterated J. Ross Browne's interpretive view of Port Townsend as a battle tactic, reputation was an important element in that conflict.

Although both economic interests and reputation were integral to Jefferson County boosterism, there was tension between the two concerns. County residents sought to project a reputable image to the outside world. Nevertheless, many county features were perceived to be disreputable, especially excessive public drinking, gambling and prostitution. However, drinking and vice were inevitable accompaniments to Port Townsend's desired status as a shipping center. If over the years there were many calls to 'clean up' the county, boosters and other residents made compromises over these 'moral' issues. In the end, it was better to control drinking and vice through licensing "respectable" saloonkeepers and trying to camouflage other disreputable activities.

Some residents perceived that certain groups of people jeopardized the county's reputation. For instance, over the years there were demands to force the Klallam to move to their reservation, or at least outside the city limits. However, such ideas stumbled against the economic role played by the Klallam, their association with the county's reputation, and intransigence about removal. If some residents thought the Klallam pulled the county's reputation down, others were inclined to defend them.

Further, the act of removal itself could be seen as a potential danger to the county's reputation. This was true when anti-Chinese activists sought to remove the Chinese from Port Townsend during the winter of 1885-86. Some Port Townsendites thought the Chinese community threatened the county's economic development and

reputation, and in 1886 there was an organized effort to expel Chinese residents. However, this effort was mitigated by fears that a violent expulsion would damage Port Townsend's reputation. Thus, anti-Chinese activists tried to accomplish expulsion through an economic boycott. However, the Chinese served a valid economic function in the county, and the boycott failed.

Because the commercial or downtown area of Port Townsend was considered disreputable, many Port Townsendites created a respectable haven for themselves uptown, building homes, schools, churches and retail shops on the plateau which overlooked downtown. These terms--uptown and downtown--were potent symbols for the tension between the commercial aspects of boosterism and boosterist concerns about reputation. A good reputation was perceived to be essential to boosterist promotion. However, Port Townsend's status as a shipping center was even more important to boosterist ambitions. Because certain aspects of life in a seaport were inevitably 'disreputable,' compromise became a necessary component of Jefferson County boosterism.

Jefferson County boosterism did not survive the debacle of the Port Townsend Southern Railroad or the economic downturns and depression of the 1890s. However, it was unlikely that the county's ambitions would have come to fruition anyway. Ironically, the Northern Pacific railroad--which, beginning with Isaac Stevens and James Swan, had been perceived as essential to Port Townsend's development as a

great city--destroyed any possibility that the town would become a metropolis. During the early settlement period, most settlers arrived on the Sound by ship. Coming from the Pacific Ocean, many of the early lumbermen and others were drawn by the quiet harbors and extensive forests of the western Puget Sound shoreline. However, the transcontinental railroads brought thousands and thousands of settlers and investors to the eastern Puget Sound region, and that area's ever-increasing population and economic development soon overshadowed the western Sound.

Further, Jefferson County boosterism was a characteristic of the county's frontier culture. Only on the frontier, perceived by its Euramerican settlers to be undeveloped, could such boundless optimism exist. The future was an almost-empty canvas. Natural resources and transportation routes had been sketched in--presumably by the Creator--but it was up to the boosters to complete the picture, to paint the future. Once someone else--Seattlites and Tacomans, for instance--had filled in the canvas, frontier boosterism such as existed in Jefferson County could no longer exist.

Ironically, ideas about reputation shifted as boosterism declined. In 1937 when James McCurdy wrote By Juan de Fuca's Strait, he celebrated the settlers for their "big hearts and broad sympathies . . . rugged, fearless nature . . . achievements and successes . . . the culture and refinement found prevailing in the homes of the pioneers." But he also took delight in recounting that "it was a common saying that

the odor of whiskey permeated the soil along Water Street [the main street downtown] to a depth of ten feet." Of its struggles to appear respectable, McCurdy says nothing.

McCurdy's writing fits within a regional literature of pioneer reminiscences which is inclined to emphasize the challenge and danger of the settlement period.⁵¹ However, the tendency to find the disreputable elements of the county's past more interesting and worthy of note than its struggles with respectability has continued. Recently, Port Townsend tour guides have taken visitors on an evening round of once-disreputable sites in the old 'downtown.' The tour included visits to present-day night spots located in still-standing nineteenth-century buildings so that participants could vicariously experience how tough Port Townsend was. Another recent example of this proclivity to romanticize disreputableness was the Summer 1997 exhibition at the Jefferson County Historical Society museum. Entitled "Bars and Bordellos," it highlighted drinking, gambling, brawls and prostitution.⁵² The exhibit certainly would have displeased Swan, but Browne would have felt vindicated.

⁵¹Alexandra Harmon, "A Different Kind of Indians: Negotiating the Meanings of 'Indian' and 'Tribe' in the Puget Sound Region, 1820s-1970s," (Ph.D. diss., University of Washington, 1995), 437, n. 58. See 390-395 for a discussion of the role relations between Indians and settlers played in this literature.

⁵²McCurdy 310, 62, 216; "Bars and Bordellos--'Satisfaction Guaranteed'--February 1, 1997 to August 24, 1997," Jefferson County Historical Society, Port Townsend, Washington, Exhibit brochure in possession of author.

Epilogue: "Jilted at the Church Door Again and Again"⁵³

As the century turned, dreams faded. Port Townsend would never be the "New York of the West," or make Chicago feel "ashamed." Nevertheless, life went on in Jefferson County. Timber has remained an important resource in Jefferson County's economy, although the lumber industry changed in ways which would eventually preclude county participation in the lumbering aspect of the timber industry.

By 1905 Washington led the nation in the production of lumber.⁵⁴ However, the cargo industry that the lumber mills of the Lower Sound had pioneered was no longer viable. San Francisco had been the "heart" of the cargo industry, but by 1897 the lumber needs of the city and its hinterlands were much less than they had been earlier. Further, such needs were often met locally or by Southern Oregon lumber companies who were able to ship lumber to California on the Southern Pacific Railroad.⁵⁵ Foreign markets remained, and indeed, they kept the cargo industry alive in the late 1890s and early 1900s, including the Washington Mill Company and

⁵³Simpson 167.

⁵⁴Robert E. Ficken and Charles P. LeWarne, Washington: A Centennial History (Seattle, Washington, 1988), 46.

⁵⁵Cox 284.

the Puget Mill Company.⁵⁶

However, the development of eastern markets in the interior of the United States--serviced by the transcontinental railroads--accounted for most of the phenomenal growth in the Washington lumber industry. By 1906 the rail trade was taking as much lumber as the cargo trade. A few of the old cargo mills were situated to take advantage of the rail trade while continuing to participate in the cargo trade--the Tacoma Mill Company and the Perry mill at Cosmopolis on Grays Harbor. However, the Lower Sound cargo mills were unable to take part in the rail trade in any significant fashion because they had no ready access to the railroads (see map, v).⁵⁷ Also, technological changes in both milling and shipping lumber made competitive modernization very expensive for the older cargo mills; even as early as 1891, such costs were part of what drove the Port Discovery Mill out of business.⁵⁸

Thus, "the old cargo trade . . . d[ie]d."⁵⁹ In Jefferson County, which was once so central to the lumber industry, only one mill remained in operation after the

⁵⁶Cox 285-287.

⁵⁷Cox 287-291.

⁵⁸Cox 291-295; Leader, July 30, 1891.

⁵⁹Cox 296.

Washington Mill Company closed in 1908.⁶⁰ The Port Ludlow mill continued in operation off and on until 1938, and logging has continued in importance to this day. However, the demise of the cargo industry destroyed Jefferson County's industrial base for years to come.⁶¹ It was not until 1927, when the National Paper Products Company built a pulp and paper mill on the site of Albert Briggs' homestead, that Jefferson County could lay claim to any industry in the county beyond logging.⁶²

Port Townsend's position as a shipping center declined as well. Steamships could by-pass Port Townsend. Further, as Seattle and Tacoma grew into large manufacturing cities and shipping centers, they demanded sub-ports of entry.⁶³ In 1899, Puget Mill Company executive Edwin Ames wrote that "a great deal of shipping goes by Port Townsend, going direct to Seattle or Tacoma, the sub-ports of entry, and making a direct entry or clearance . . . at those ports. As a result, where

⁶⁰The Washington Mill Company's inability to weather economic troubles in the lumber industry during 1907 was exacerbated by the death of the owner, W.H. Adams, the same year.

⁶¹The iron and steel industry was revived in Jefferson County between 1901-1904 and 1907-1913, but operation was sporadic and ultimately unsuccessful, unable to compete with iron and steel products sent to western markets from the east (Britton 151-159; Simpson 131).

⁶²McCurdy 308-310; Simpson 167-171.

⁶³Seattle grew from 3533 in 1880 to 42,837 in 1890, Tacoma, from 1098 to 36,006 (Johansen and Gates, 329). Seattle had a dozen sawmills and nearly as many sash and door and furniture plants in 1890, as well as slaughterhouses, foundries, canneries and flour mills (330). Tacoma had more lumber-working plants than any city on the West Coast, and more wholesale drygoods, hardware and grocery sales than Seattle or Spokane. Also, the Northern Pacific Railroad shops, a smelter, grain elevators, a network of Sound and San Francisco steamship lines, towing companies, etc. were located there (331).

there used to be from ten to twenty ships at anchor [in Port Townsend,] there are seldom more than one or two, and oftentimes (sic) none at all."⁶⁴ Ames said that a Port Townsend shipping agent estimated that as little as one-fourth of Puget Sound shipping stopped at Port Townsend by 1899.⁶⁵

In 1899 Ames called Port Townsend, a "very dead town." As it declined, Seattle and Tacoma continued to grow. In 1910 when Jefferson County's entire population was 8337, Seattle's had grown to 237,194; Tacoma's was 83,743.⁶⁶ No longer key to Puget Sound shipping, Port Townsend lost the Customs Port of Entry in 1911 to Seattle.

The construction between 1898 and 1902 of Forts Worden, Fort Flagler and Fort Casey brought a fleeting prosperity to Port Townsend, and while in operation Forts Worden and Flagler provided some commercial benefit to the county.⁶⁷ Fish and vegetable and fruit canneries brought some employment also; and World War I

⁶⁴Edwin Ames to Mr. W.H. Talbot, San Francisco, LS, date-----, Edwin Ames Papers, July 1899-October 1899, Manuscripts and University Archives, Suzzallo & Allen Library, University of Washington, Seattle, Washington.

⁶⁵Edwin Ames to Messrs. Pope & Talbot, San Francisco, California, LS, date----- Edwin G. Ames Collection.

⁶⁶Wynne, Appendix II, 493; Appendix III, 495.

⁶⁷McCurdy 307.

was a period of prosperity.⁶⁸

However, the war was followed by a economic downturn which was "intensified" when the Port Townsend mill and the fruit and vegetable cannery failed. "The future looked the darkest," wrote McCurdy.⁶⁹ However, in the words of one local historian, "after being jilted at the church door again and again, Port Townsend finally made it to the altar in 1927." In that year the town celebrated the acquisition of the National Paper Products Company's pulp and paper mill. A paper mill was a far cry from great-city status, but it was better than nothing.⁷⁰

⁶⁸Leader, September 9, 1903, June 9 and August 11, 1906, March 28 and August 13, 1908; Gow 9, 102-03; McCurdy 308. There were three fish canneries: the Puget Sound Sardine Co, 1902-03, the Hillside Packing Company and Key City Packing Company, 1906-1916.

⁶⁹McCurdy 308.

⁷⁰Simpson 167-171, qtn. 167; McCurdy 308-310. The paper mill still employs several hundred people; and the mill, logging, tourism, and retirement and commuter communities provide the county's present economic base.

APPENDIX I: STATISTICAL INFORMATION

Table 1. Port Townsend: 1860 and 1870

	1860 ¹	1870 ²
Shipping related occupations ³	114	190
Farmers and farm laborers	36 ⁴	20 ⁵
Women	39	85
Children	85	160
Professionals	11	18
Laborers	--	19
Craftsmen	13	38
Construction	16	15
Miscellaneous	25	49 ⁶
Total	339	594

¹Total population: 336. All figures from United States Census, Federal Population Census Schedules, Jefferson County, Washington Territory, 1860.

²Total: 594. United States Census, Federal Population Census Schedules, Jefferson County, Washington Territory, 1870.

³Includes merchants and their clerks, bakers, butchers, hotel and saloonkeepers, stewards and cooks, boatbuilders, boatmen, sailors, sea captains.

⁴For the 1860 Census this figure includes the Chimacum Creek valley which was the principal farming area of the county.

⁵The 1870 Census does not include Chimacum, which in 1870 included 38 farmers and farm laborers.

⁶Includes 28 British Columbia Indians who were camped on the beach and 8 household servants.

Table 2. Port Ludlow and Port Discovery: 1860 and 1870

	1860	1870
Port Ludlow		
Lumber	86	79
Maritime	7	63 ⁷
Shipbuilding	14	-- ⁸
Native Americans (B.C.)	--	38 ⁹
Women	5	25
Children	5	35
Farmers	1	--
and Farm Laborers		
Misc.	6	14
	124	257
Port Discovery		
Lumber	51	72
Maritime	7	21
Shipbuilding	--	--
Native Americans (B.C.)	--	--
Women	1	14
Children	--	17
Farmers		
and Farm Laborers	10	3
Misc.	--	25 ¹⁰
Total	69	152

⁷This census included ships in port--there were six.

⁸It would appear that there was a lapse in shipbuilding at the time of the census. The ship carpenters in the census would appear to be mariners, and there are no ship joiners or ship wrights listed. However, this was a state which did not last. Hall Bros. began operating their shipyard there in 1874.

⁹There were 17 Haida men listed in this census for Port Ludlow. Some of them may have been millworkers.

¹⁰Includes 7 laborers.

Table 3. Quilcene: 1870

Lumbermen ¹¹	70
Farmers ¹²	9
Women	14
Children	30
Other ¹³	6
Total ¹⁴	129

¹¹This figure includes resident lumbermen: 12, camp cooks: 8, and men working in the logging camps: 50.

¹²Farmers often worked in the woods as well.

¹³Fishermen: 4, Shoemaker: 1, Merchant: 1.

¹⁴1870 Manuscript Census for Quilcene.

Table 4. Jefferson County: 1860 and 1870

	1860	1870
Lumber ¹⁵	143	227
Shipping	131 ¹⁶	324
Farmers and farm laborers	47	73
Women	45 ¹⁷	179 ¹⁸
Children	90	281
Craftsmen ¹⁹	29	62
Professionals and misc.	46	26
Service	--	21 ²⁰
Laborers		62
Total	531	1268 ²¹

¹⁵Federal census

¹⁶This figure includes merchants, bakers, butchers, hotel and saloonkeepers, mariners--almost all located in Port Townsend--and shipbuilders. I include merchants, bakers, butchers, hotel and saloonkeepers in this category because, if not all of their custom derived from the shipping industry, most of it did. I also include shipbuilders--ship carpenders, etc.--because ship carpenders were also employed on ships, and it is impossible to make the distinction between those working on land or on shipboard. Shipbuilding itself could be included as part of the lumber industry.

¹⁷Total women in 1860 census.

¹⁸Women listed as keeping house.

¹⁹Includes construction.

²⁰One half of the total figure has been put in the shipping-related category since so many such personnel worked in hotels and restaurants.

²¹Native Americans are inconsistently listed in the census. In 1870 Native American women who live with Euramerican men are included, as are two groups of men and women listed as Haida from British Columbia. They are listed as living at Port Ludlow and Port Townsend, the men employed as laborers, and the women doing "housework."

APPENDIX II: Federal Indian Policy and Puget Sound Treaties

Throughout much of the nineteenth-century the United States engaged in a "systematic process of treaty negotiation" to 'legally' extinguish Native American title to their land.¹ Federal Indian policy dictated that once treaties were signed, Native Americans would be removed to Indian territory or large reservations where they were to be taught to live in an Euramerican manner.² Indian policy for the Northwest in the 1850s encompassed such ideas of treaty negotiation, removal and reform, although there was a shift on the part of some policymakers away from the idea of an Indian territory or single large reservation to the possibility of smaller ones.³

When Isaac Stevens was appointed governor of Washington Territory he was instructed to remove all Washington Native Americans to one large reservation. However, two of his advisors--George Gibbs and Michael Simmons--argued for several smaller reservations (see map, vi).⁴ As a result of their efforts, Stevens increased the number of Puget Sound reservations.

Treaties with Western Washington Native Americans were signed at Medicine

¹Kent D. Richards, *Isaac I. Stevens: Young Man in a Hurry* (Provo, Utah, 1979), 191-92.

²Anthony F.C. Wallace, *The Long Bitter Trail: Andrew Jackson and the Indians* (New York, 1993), 33-38; Richards 191-92.

³Richards 19, 197; Harmon, "A Different," 210.

⁴Richards 202; Harmon, "A Different," 210.

Creek with the Nisqually, Puyallup and some Twana bands; at Point Elliot with the Duwamish, Snoqualmie, Skagit, Lummi and Snohomish; at Point No Point with the Klallam, Chimakum Skokomish and some Twana bands; at Neah Bay with the Makah and Ozette. However, Stevens failed to convince the southwestern tribes who met with him at the Chehalis River in early 1855. In July 1855 and January 1856, Michael Simmons concluded a treaties with the Quinault and Quillayute, but the Chehalis and the Chinook tribes never signed treaties.⁵ Only one treaty--the Medicine Creek Treaty--was immediately ratified, the others were not ratified until late in 1859.⁶

The Puget Sound treaties required that the Indians cede their claims to the "lands and country occupied by them"; that they withdraw to land reserved for their use, (the President reserved the right to remove Indians from the reservation for 'their own good'). The treaties also stated that the Indians would retain "the right of taking fish at usual and accustomed grounds in common with all citizens of the United States, and of erecting temporary houses for the purpose of curing; together with the privilege of hunting and gathering roots and berries on unclaimed lands; provided however that they shall not take shell fish . . . cultivated by citizens." The treaties also promised

⁵Richards 197-209; Isaac I. Stevens, "The Point No Point Treaty," in Shadows of Our Ancestors, 46; Ruby and Brown 134.

⁶Robert E. Ficken and Charles P. LeWarne, Washington: A Centennial History (Seattle, Washington, 1988), 26; Richards 191-92.

that the United States would pay a sum of money to them over a period of 20 years, and arrange for certain services, an agricultural and industrial school, smith and carpenter's shop, medical care. The Indians would also "promise to be friendly with all citizens, and "commit no depredations on the property of such citizens ", to make no war with other Indians except in self-defence, and to submit differences to the authority of the government, to not shelter offenders against the United States; exclude liquor from their reservations; free all slaves and cease purchasing others; agree to cease trading outside the United States; agree that foreign Indians will not be allowed residence without consent of agent of government.⁷

⁷Stevens, "The Point No Point Treaty," 46-50.

Note on Sources and Bibliography

This thesis draws on a variety of sources. Jefferson County newspapers have been one of the most useful. From 1867 into the twentieth century, there were often two local newspapers which sometimes were published in both daily and weekly editions (See n.13, Chapter III above). Given the county's small population, which peaked around 8000 in 1890, the popularity of the papers indicates their centrality in county life, even though, as Carlos Schwantes writes, "it is difficult [today] to understand the importance of newspapers . . . as social . . . vehicles in pioneer societies."¹

Although the papers reported international, national and regional events, their focus was local, and they are a wealth of direct and indirect information about the county. The newspapers provide essential data for constructing the narrative of this thesis. Even more important, the editorials, debates between rival editors, readers' letters, regular contributions from mill port correspondents, articles reprinted from other Puget Sound newspapers, and advertisements indicate what issues were of local importance. Further, when used in combination with other sources, they indicate local thinking about important issues.

The newspapers, directed in part to an outside audience, also indicate how boosters wanted potential investors and immigrants to envision the county. Because the newspapers attempt to project an ideal image, they suggest the ways in which

¹Carlos Schwantes, The Pacific Northwest: An Interpretive History, rev. and enl. ed. (Lincoln, Nebraska, 1989, 1996), 278.

boosters wanted the county to develop.

Oral histories and histories written by residents of Jefferson County have also been important sources. The memory of those who contributed to the Washington Pioneer Project of the 1930s reached back into the early settlement period. James McCurdy, himself the son of a pioneering family, based his By Juan de Fuca's Strait: Pioneering Along the Northwestern Edge of the Continent upon interviews with settlers and the children of settlers. He also read extensively in collections of local newspapers, especially the Port Townsend Leader. The family histories included in With Pride in Heritage: History of Jefferson County also provide information about the early settlers. The Witness to the First Century series and other miscellaneous oral histories, such as those of Florence Pittman and Margaret Forwood, provide invaluable insight into the division between 'downtown' and 'uptown,' as well as information about the Chinese community.

None of these sources can stand alone. I have also used diaries and autobiographical writings--especially those of James Swan--travel memoirs, census information, city directories, mill company papers, city records and the writings of historians of the Pacific Northwest. The combination of material in these sources has made it possible to construct an history of Jefferson County boosterism.

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