“First Home on Alki Point. Built in 1851.”

A.A. Denny,
Pioneer Days on Puget Sound,
Plate III
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Credits:
Written by Sharon Boswell
Lorelea Hudson, Project Manager;
Johonna Shea, graphics, production, and design.

SWCA Environmental Consultants, Seattle, Washington.
The following historic context on settlement in King County is Volume 1 of the *King County Historic Preservation Program’s Cultural Resources Protection Project, Phase 3*. This volume is intended to be used with Volume 2, the Project Report, which presents discussions about the regulatory context, historical archaeological resources, and property types in King County.
You folks observe the changers who come here to this land.

siʔał, who was also known historically as Chief Seattle, was among the first Native people to have substantial interactions with early newcomers to the portion of the Puget Sound region that became King County. Of both Suquamish and Duwamish descent, siʔał not only befriended some of these settlers and offered assistance in their initial commercial enterprises, but was also said to have warned them about potential threats from more hostile Native groups. In a short speech he gave in January 1855 at the Point Elliott Treaty conference, when government representatives encouraged Puget Sound tribal leaders to sign a document that ceded most of their traditional lands and established reservations for their people, siʔał encouraged attendees to pay attention to the changers, whose actions would alter their lives.

Magic words and magic letters from a magic land.

Louisa Denny, age five, sat by the fire in her family’s Cherry Grove, Illinois, home and listened as her father read aloud letters from friends who had made the journey to the Pacific Northwest. The writers described the region’s healthful climate, rich soils, towering trees, and soaring mountains and urged the Denny family to follow them west. To the child, they were “Magic words and magic letters from a magic land,” and there was also enough magic to convince her parents, Arthur and Mary Ann Denny, to make the journey and settle on Puget Sound (Watt 1959:1).

Lots of trees... and healthy for children.

John Hale scooped up the last of the hot gravy with a piece of bread, while his wife, Fannie, washed the rest of the dinner dishes. Two men had visited his Tennessee coal mining town and signed up workers for jobs in a new mine out in Washington State. They promised higher wages, lodging, and train tickets to the site for the whole family. John and a few others had decided to accept the offer and settle in the coal town of Franklin. “Things will be better up north for the kids too,” John told Fannie. “How do you know that John?” He defended himself with a description of what he knew about the State of Washington: “Lots of trees there, and the man said it was healthy for children.” (Moore 1982:5).

Large land... Vast sky.

Kenji Abe was recruited by a labor contractor to leave Japan and cross the ocean to work on the Great Northern Railroad in Western Washington. He began as a section hand in 1906 and advanced over the years to the position of foreman. As he left his homeland and made the long sea journey, he reflected on what the recruiter had told him and his hopes for what settlement in a new land could mean for him.

Over the horizon of the wide 
Pacific  
Entertaining high ambitions,  
I looked for eternal happiness.  
Great love...  
Huge efforts...  
Large land...  
Vast sky...  
I survey my future path.  
On my two shoulders I bear a mission;  
In my heart hope swells.  
Goodbye, my home country.  
Farewell!

– Kenji Abe (Ito 1973:34–35)
Settlement brought change to the empire that was King County. For its Native inhabitants, who had made this area their home for nearly 12,000 years before Louisa Denny, John Hale, and Kenji Abe arrived, these outsiders were changers and, according to siʔał, must be observed carefully to understand their ways. A far-away government imposed treaties on local Native peoples that reduced their traditional lands and promised goods and services to make them more like the outsiders, but among the signatories, there was little understanding of the numbers or impact of those who would be coming. For those who refused to accept the changes, resistance was often violent, but generally short-lived.

In turn, the newcomers, seeking a better place to settle and fulfill their hopes and ambitions, had little idea of what they would find—or who—when they made their way to the area. As one historian has aptly described it, “...the West was a land of hearsay” (Goetzmann 1988:1). Whether or not the Northwest was ultimately a “magic land” or a place that fulfilled the dreams of those who came to King County, early settlers were drawn by accounts and descriptions of the place that were often richly descriptive, sometimes exaggerated, and occasionally downright untrue. Whether they were enticed by the letters of friends and fellow land-seekers urging them to follow, the promises of labor contractors filling their quotas for immigrant railroad laborers, or the offers of mining company recruiters for better jobs that were, in reality, strike-breaking tactics, these individuals and families were convinced that in King County they could find a place to settle, support themselves, and ultimately experience a better life.

The goal for those who continued to repeat the litany of praise for the region was primarily to promote settlement and encourage growth and the use of the land. This context deals with the nature of that settlement, the patterns that emerged, and the impact of changes on the land. It also attempts to show the impact of settlement on many of those people who were involved, Native and non-Native.

For the purposes of this context, settlement is considered the process of finding and establishing a place to live. As part of that process, settlement is also about drawing boundaries, claiming land, and defining how it will be used. Settlement begins and remains an individual effort but requires community development to sustain it. Settlement is also about place—the physical expression of the process on the land. Some settlements evolve over time, while others are “instant” towns, whether ephemeral or long-lasting.

A large percentage of recorded historical archaeological sites in King County relate to settlement in various ways and can provide information about the place as well as the process. The theme of settlement overlaps with most other themes in Western history: transportation, agriculture, industry, commerce, and social and governmental development. This context is not meant to be comprehensive but rather to provide an initial framework for examining the process of settlement in King County and the underlying themes that are associated with the experience of individual settlers as well as the settlement communities that evolved. This context is meant to be the first of many that will help to refine our understanding of the complex
Figure 1-1. Map of King County, Washington Territory, 1888.
Figure 1-2. Modern map of King County, Washington.
Typically, property types are generated by historic contexts and provide a means to group individual properties or groups of properties by physical or associative characteristics. In the case of King County settlement during the period covered by this context, a wide array of themes dictated the location and nature of sites with the potential for historical archaeological remains. Readers are directed to Volume II of this report for development of these potential property types as well as review of properties identified in King County. The discussion of property types in that volume may be used as guidance for the evaluation of historical archaeological sites associated with settlement as well as other significant historic contexts.

In this volume, settlement is broadly defined as both temporary and permanent habitation, but more narrowly focused on the themes that particularly affected the evolution of settlement in King County during its formative decades of development, 1850-1920. How land was claimed was determined by various laws and practices that were the product of American governmental policies and ideals as well as some of the capitalistic principles of its economy. In King County the development of transportation helped to define both when, where, and how land was used. Once transportation systems were in place, the rise of agriculture, mining, logging, milling, and other industries determined new patterns of settlement and sometimes the growth of towns and more lasting communities.

The time span of 1850 to 1920 represents the major period of development of some of the main themes associated with settlement in King County. This era begins with the arrival of outsiders who planned to claim land and develop its resources and ends as the region reached a real turning point in how future settlement would evolve. Many of the trends that shaped early settlement were in the process of changing or reaching an end by 1920. Railroad construction was slowing noticeably, and roads and highways became the focus of transportation growth. King County’s extractive industries like coal mining and timber harvesting were reaching the end of their economic dominance, and agriculture, too, was changing as larger holdings were broken up and new crops sustained small farmers. Different types of immigration and economic issues were emerging as the country moved into the post-World War I world, and in King County, changing patterns of settlement were shaped by an ever-emerging city at its core.

Throughout this period, Seattle was central to settlement and growth in King County. The city grew from within but was also supported by the development of the surrounding county. Seattle was the hub of the county’s evolving transportation networks but reliant on the resources produced by settlers around the county for the trade and services that created further growth. The history of Seattle is a story that has been told in numerous places, and certainly there is more to be learned about the interplay of the city and the county during this era. The primary focus of this context, however, is the development of King County outside of Seattle, and the various people and forces that created the county’s unique settlement history.
CHAPTER 2. NATIVE AMERICANS AND SETTLEMENT

Any discussion of historical settlement in King County should begin with Native peoples, whose association with this land likely predated European American contact by at least 10,000 to 12,000 years. The context that accompanied Phase 2 of the King County Cultural Resource Protection Project (Kopperl et al. 2016) provides a comprehensive overview of both the pre-contact and early ethnohistoric periods. That report also includes an extensive discussion of the physical environment of King County and the evolution of its landforms, climate, vegetation, and animal life, all of which influenced the settlement and cultural patterns of its earliest population. This volume focuses more narrowly on the complex relationships between Native peoples and newcomers related to settlement in King County throughout the period from 1850 to 1920. During this era, federal and state governments played a significant role in institutionalizing relationships as new boundaries were drawn and land use changed. These interactions are discussed broadly here and with more specific examples in chapters discussing various patterns of settlement.

The Duwamish and other Native groups whose traditional territory included land bordering Puget Sound, had a name for that inland sea: XWulcH simply meaning salt water (Figure 2-1) (Thrush 2007:22, 220). With a long tradition of fishing and hunting following an established seasonal round, Native peoples of this area found their lifestyle radically changed with the coming of outsiders, including those who chose to make their own settlement at Djidjila’letch or Little Crossing-Over Place, a former village site they renamed Seattle. The transformation that occurred with the advent of non-Native peoples to the region has fittingly been described by the term sp’aláč’ or “capsizing,” a metaphor originally used in Twana mythology for the present natural world replacing the ancient world (Elmendorf 1993:115 as cited in Harmon 1998:14, 256–257).

During the early contact period, the world was upended as Native peoples of the Puget Sound area faced numerous challenges. Interactions with outsiders led to disease, altered environments, and resulting changes to patterns of culture. The earliest European explorers, who arrived by boat in the late eighteenth century, depicted Northwest coastal people as thriving and vigorous, yet within a century of contact, higher mortality rates were evident. The pre-contact population was reduced by more than 80 percent during that period, with current research suggesting that the spread of disease and a number of major epidemics were the primary contributors (Boyd 1999:4–5, 262–263).

Initially, changes in socioeconomic patterns were not as catastrophic, since early trade interactions with the Hudson’s Bay Company and other commercial firms allowed a large measure of autonomy. With the influx of missionaries, who wanted to alter Indian belief systems and lifestyle, and European American settlers, who usurped land but also imposed new governmental authority, a period of extremely rapid cultural transformation occurred. The pace and intensity of these changes varied throughout the region (Cole and Darling 1990:128–133).

EARLY INTERACTIONS

Attempts at defining how Native peoples and newcomers would interact began with early explorers who visited the Northwest coast. Among them were Captain George Vancouver and his men, who, when meeting a group of Puget Sound Natives on a beach in 1792, drew a line in the sand, “to divide the two Parties, the Intent of which the Indians perfectly understood” (Harmon 1998:4). The process of marking boundaries and establishing orderly relationships continued as other outsiders arrived, and its ultimate expression was the establishment of reservations for Native peoples on their own lands only a little over 60 years later.
Chapter 2: Native Americans and Settlement

Figure 2-1. Map from 1857 showing the names of Native American groups in the general vicinity of King County (above), and accompanying table showing populations and reservations (right).
Yet from the beginning, those lines of demarcation were blurred or even erased by relationships that brought Native peoples and newcomers together for mutual benefit. The prospect of trade, in particular, provided both sides with an incentive for coexistence, and the maritime explorers as well as commercial fur traders and more permanent settlers quickly recognized the benefits that Indian labor, insider knowledge, and even personal relationships could provide. Prestige and power motivated the head men of Native groups to act as intermediaries and messengers, bridging the distance between the different cultures. And despite governmental and social pressure against the practice, a number of single non-Native men in early American settlements also found partners and wives from among their Indian neighbors. As historian Alexandra Harmon has noted, “Children born of these liaisons became new strands in the tangled skein of ties between the different peoples” (Harmon 1998:66).

**TRAVEL TO TRADE**

Native peoples were integral to the development of early King County. Local Native populations had interacted with Spanish, British, and American seamen and traders for several decades before more permanent non-Native settlement and community development began. The exchange of goods with these outsiders likely influenced traditional cultural patterns, including settlement sites, for Native peoples throughout the Puget Sound region. In particular, the establishment of fur trading outposts, including Fort Nisqually, which was first built in the South Puget Sound area by the Hudson’s Bay Company in 1833, encouraged some families to make extended visits or move from traditional village sites to locations near the fort to take advantage of increased trade and agricultural opportunities. New goods were introduced into the Native economy, and the availability of additional foodstuffs as well as the demand by fort personnel for salmon and game as well as pelts may also have changed Native hunting, gathering, and fishing practices (Carpenter 1986:45–47, 57–59, 65–66; Collins 1974:83–89).

Accounts vary significantly, but when the first permanent non-Native settlers arrived in what became King County in 1851, there was thought to be a population of at least 500 Native peoples around Elliott Bay as well as many more living between present-day Renton and Salmon Bay to the north. To the newcomers, the numbers of Natives seemed much larger, and their help was essential to supply important trade
goods, including salmon, berries, and other food items. In addition, these Native residents provided most local transportation services as paddlers of freight and passenger canoes (Andrews 2005:12; Gibbs 1855–1860:433–436; 1877:178–180; Thrush 2007:42; Waterman 2001:46, 61).

Native workers also comprised much of the labor force at Seattle’s first major industrial enterprise, the Yesler sawmill. Henry Yesler was said to resemble most mill owners in his hiring policies. He first employed any white men who wanted a job, and at one time or another almost all of the early Seattle settlers worked in the mill or supplied logs. But Yesler had no problem with a diverse work force as long as the mill kept running, so he hired a large number of Indian laborers and was reputed to treat them fairly (Figure 2-2). Camps of Native workers grew up on either side of the tiny town center of Seattle, and Yesler served for a short period as local Indian agent because of his rapport with the Native American population (Figure 2-3) (Beaton 1914:24; Finger 1968:25–26, 37; Lewis Publishing Company 1903:26–27).

As the county’s non-Native population grew, the trade and interaction with local Native peoples also expanded. Native men helped with clearing as farmers along the Duwamish River tried to make way for crops, and some settlers hired Native women to help with household chores or to wash laundry. Native women also rendered dogfish oil for use in the timber industry as grease to lubricate the skid road, which provided a means to transport logs to waterfront landings. In addition, a thriving trade developed for needed food and household items. As one of the early settlers remembered, the Indians also brought “bundles of ‘peetch woot’ tied with strips of red flannel or calico,” which was the fire starter used by settlers to fuel their stoves. They had olallies (berries), clams, or salmon to sell, or to trade for “icktas” or apples, fabric, or even items of clothing (Andrews 2005:21; Bass 1973:79–80; Gedosch 1968:100–102; Tweddell 1974:47).

These early interactions were generally based on accommodation and mutual benefit, although there were also exceptions. Tensions arose as the choicest home sites claimed by settlers were often the location of Native camping and village sites that had been in use for centuries, and traditional grounds for annual gathering of roots and berries were fenced by farmers for grazing pigs and cattle. As more new settlers
arrived, these boundaries were solidified, and a governmental framework was soon imposed, with its own rules and restrictions.

The American government’s initial attempt to define relationships with Native peoples of the area and alter their settlement patterns began when Oregon Territory was created, but intensified when Washington Territory was carved out of the northern portion of Oregon in March of 1853. At that time Isaac Ingalls Stevens was appointed as the first territorial governor of Washington and also named ex officio Superintendent of Indian Affairs. Stevens had a mandate to make treaties with the Native peoples of Washington and extinguish their title to lands that American settlers had claimed. A new government policy

Figure 2-3. Native American encampments in early Seattle shown on a version of the map drawn by Lieut. Thomas Stowell Phelps in 1881 to accompany the article in United Service Magazine, “Reminiscences of Seattle, Washington Territory” (Volume 5:6).
attempted to use treaties as a means of setting aside a number of smaller “Indian territories” or reservations carved out of the original holdings of a particular group (Prucha 1984:235; Richards 1993:194–195).

**Treaty Negotiations with the People of Puget Sound**

Isaac Ingalls Stevens, the man who was selected by President Franklin Pierce to serve as the primary agent of federal Indian policy in Washington Territory, had very little experience with Native peoples prior to 1853. Born in Maine, Stevens was a West Point graduate who had designed fortifications as a member of the Army Corps of Engineers before becoming the assistant head of the Coast Survey Office in Washington, D.C. At the Capitol, Stevens had the opportunity to cultivate friendships among administration leaders, and at the age of 34, applied for appointment as Washington’s territorial governor. He received confirmation of his selection in March 1853 and was also named head of the Pacific Railroad Survey, with authorization to study the feasibility of a northern route for the nation’s first transcontinental line when he traveled to his new post (Richards 1993:13, 27–30, 96–98).

As the railroad party made its way west, Stevens met with Native peoples along the route and gained confidence in his own abilities to handle Indian negotiations. Commissioner of Indian Affairs George C. Manypenny had delivered a clear mandate to move Northwest Native groups as far away as possible from white settlement: “With many of the tribes in Oregon and Washington territories, it appears to be absolutely necessary to speedily conclude treaties for the extinguishment of their claims to the lands now or recently occupied by them.” The Indian Office also ordered Stevens to begin his negotiations with groups who had the greatest contact with whites or who might present the most problems (Richards 1993:196).

Stevens agreed to this plan, but argued that the new reservations should have room to accommodate agriculture, individual land ownership, and the particular needs of each Tribal group. He was convinced that the reservation model represented the best alternative for Native peoples of Washington Territory, even though Congress had turned down treaties authorizing reservations in California and Oregon just prior to his arrival in the Northwest in November 1853. One of his first acts was to appoint Indian agents for area Tribes, and after a trip back to Washington, D.C., to make a personal plea for funding, he set in motion the treaty-making process. Stevens organized a commission to develop treaty plans and then in late December 1854 began a series of formal negotiations with Indian groups around the territory (Harmon 1998:78–80; Marino 1990:169–170; Richards 1993:202–204; Ruby and Brown 1986:244).

The commission held its initial treaty conference with Native peoples of southern Puget Sound on the Nisqually Flats near the mouth of Medicine Creek in Pierce County. Stevens arrived at Medicine Creek on December 24, 1854, and on the following day explained the schedule and read a draft of the proposed treaty. There were evidently protests from Native leaders about the size and location of lands offered, but no concessions were made. On December 26, the council held discussions on the treaty provisions, and the signing quickly took place. Stevens was pleased with the outcome of the Treaty of Medicine Creek, which gave the United States title to 2,500,000 acres in return for three widely separated reservations consisting of a total of 3,840 acres. Native peoples were not pleased. Discontent quickly arose over the poor land quality and limited extent of the proposed reservations as well as other treaty terms, with the opposition led by a Nisqually leader, Leschi (Kluger 2011:98–99, 119–121; Marino 1990:169, 171; Richards 1993:210).

Governor Stevens and his party then prepared for the next treaty-making session, held to the north at Point Elliott near present-day Mukilteo on January 22 and 23, 1855. Stevens and his aides met with over 2,000 Native peoples of the northeast Puget Sound region, including representatives of the Duwamish, Snohomish, Snoqualmie, Stillaguamish, Kikiallus, Skagit, Lummi, Suquamish, Sauk-Suiattle, and other tribes (Appendix A). This treaty promised payment to the Tribes, retention of hunting, fishing, and shellfish-gathering rights, and some specific services in exchange for aboriginal lands. The treaty also proposed several reservations. The Snoqualmie were to join the Snohomish, Stillaguamish, and Skykomish on the new Tulalip Reservation, while the Sammamish were to move either to the Port Madison Reservation or the Tulalip Reservation. Smaller reservations were established for the Swinomish and Lummi on the Skagit and Nooksack Rivers respectively.


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At the time of the treaty-signing, most Native people who attended the Point Elliott council realized that they also needed access to traditional resources to survive. The Tribes were most concerned about the promises the government made to protect their means of subsistence. According to Bill Kanim, his uncle, Pat Kanim (Figure 2-4), a leader of the Snoqualmie people, made a strong plea that Governor Stevens pledged to support:

In the Treaty my uncle Pat Kanim reserved the salmon, he reserved the deer, he reserved the elk, he reserved the bear, he reserved the beaver, he reserved the clams, he reserved the dry tree, and he reserved the cedar. That is what he claimed and said would be his and that Governor Stevens agree to let him have all he asked. Governor Stevens said what you will be given today your children will be all right and your son will have land, and your grandchildren will have land and all those will be all right. Washington will give them money. So you must not steal from the white men that come; you must not kill the white men that will come; be just the same as you are, shake hands with the white men that come...

Governor Stevens said that if you are good you can go outside and the white man will not drive you away. Pat Kanim's old home was out there by Tolt. Salmon used to be good up there. The Indians have houses up there. That is the place where they drive salmons. Pat Kanim claimed that place. He didn't want to let it go. Said his home was right there and it was the house of all those people. Governor Stevens said to him, 'all right, and when you get through driving your salmon you can come home to Tulalip, that Washington shall have a writing, a strong letter on the door of your house that nobody can tear it down.' That is all I know, just what my father told me.

(Deposition of Bill Kanim, February 22, 1923, in RG 75, Tulalip Agency, Correspondence with Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Box 96, Folder 60:4-5, National Archives and Records Administration [NARA], Seattle)

Figure 2-4. Pat Kanim, ca. 1855. Photograph by George Moore. Museum of History and Industry, Seattle Historical Society Collection, Image shs1679.

(Bureau of Indian Affairs, Records Relating to Treaties, Dec. 7, 1854 to June 9, 1863, Microfilm Roll 26, University of Washington Library, Seattle; Lane 1975:3–4).

To complete this round of negotiations, Stevens then signed two more treaties with Puget Sound and coastal peoples before heading over the mountains to begin the process with the interior Tribes. Joel Palmer, Oregon’s Superintendent of Indian Affairs, joined Stevens for treaty talks in the Walla Walla Valley. There the Nez Perce, Walla Walla, Cayuse, Yakama, Umatilla, and other tribes of the Columbia Basin met for a contentious negotiating session (Richards 1993:211–212, 215–222).

**Treaty Wars**

Congress ratified the Medicine Creek Treaty, the first of Isaac Stevens’s agreements with the Puget Sound Tribes, within two months of the negotiations, but the Point Elliott Treaty and those that followed were not signed into law for four more years. Throughout the territory, the treaty-making process had angered many Native peoples who had already lost land to the growing number of settlers. Disillusionment also
grew among the Tribes over the failure of the government to acknowledge the treaty and fulfill its promises. Many believed that Governor Stevens did not recognize the significance of subsistence sites to Native peoples or understand tensions among various groups who were placed on the same reservation. These misunderstandings were, in part, responsible for troubles that followed (Miles 2003:18; White 1972:62–63).

One of Seattle’s early founders, Arthur Denny, later said that he was warned by Pat Kanim of the Snoqualmie about troubles brewing among Native peoples of the eastern part of the territory as early as the fall of 1854 and winter of 1855. Discontent with the terms of the treaties and continuing incursions on reservation lands by miners searching for gold led to warfare between the Yakama and the United States military in the fall of 1855. Hostilities escalated as other Tribes joined the uprisings in what became known collectively as the Treaty Wars (Bancroft 1890:108–113; Denny 1979:68; Eckrom 1989:90–95).

Initially, most settlers living along Puget Sound generally dismissed the idea that local Tribes would become involved in the conflict, although a few of those who had taken claims along inland waterways noted discontent among Native peoples of the area. Alan Porter, who had settled on a donation claim in the far southeastern section of King County, warned his neighbors of impending trouble in the summer of 1855, but most evidently laughed at his apprehensions. Porter slept in his barn for the next few months, but in late September was chased from his property by the first of what later became several deadly attacks on settlers in the White River Valley (Eckrom 1989:90–95; Ficken 2002:48; Flewelling 1999a; Thomas 1892).

Ultimately nine settlers were killed, all early land claimants who had remained on or returned to their property despite the escalating violence of the war across the mountains. Several families were among those who died, although three children were rescued by Tom Wiletchtid and his sister, sympathetic local Natives who took them by canoe to Seattle for protection. A party of local militia, led by Lieutenant William Slaughter from Fort Steilacoom, tried to round up the perpetrators in November of 1855, but Slaughter and three of his men were also killed in an ambush (Flewelling 1999b; Kluger 2011:134–135, 140–141).

The naval sloop-of-war Decatur, which had been sent to protect American interests in the Northwest, spent nearly nine months during this period in and around Elliott Bay. Indian agent Michael Simmons, fearing more trouble, issued an order to move Native peoples to the west side of Puget Sound. Many local settlers objected, including some like Henry Yesler, who depended heavily on Native labor. Even the then-commander of the Decatur, Guert Gansevoort, was hesitant to encourage the move, as he was using some Native labor to help repair his ship. Tensions increased, however, and residents of most Puget Sound communities fled to blockhouses. At least 12 of these fortifications were erected for protection in King County alone (Bancroft 1890:118–123; Eckrom 1989:90–95; Finger 1968:30–33).

In late January 1856, the Seattle settlement briefly came under assault in an incident that later was referred to as the Battle of Seattle. Most of the settlers who were sleeping outside of the stockade that had been built in Seattle escaped to one of the city’s two blockhouses without injury (Figure 2.5). The Decatur, anchored offshore, exchanged fire with the Native assailants for most of the day, and two settlers were killed during the skirmishes. Several houses were also burned or ransacked, but before evening, the attackers retreated (Meeker 1905:352).

Tensions continued, although there was no more open warfare. Later in 1856, Henry Yesler traveled around the area talking to Native peoples, and he persuaded 150 to move to the Port Madison Reservation on Bainbridge Island. According to one source, by the end of the year only about 50 Indians remained in Seattle, living in small houses made of excess lumber Yesler had given them. Yesler believed in punishing those who had engaged in unlawful acts, but generally was convinced that troubles with Indians usually were the fault of “some worthless white man.” Many fellow settlers did not agree and, still fearful, left the area, never to return. Among the claimants in the White River Valley, only a few came back to their homes, while several others sold or simply vacated their land. The Thomas family lived in the Seattle stockade and then in logging camps around Puget Sound until they felt it safe to return, while David Neeley remained near the Luther Collins blockhouse until 1857 before moving back to his White River farm. The government allowed the
descendants of those who had been killed to receive title to their claims (Evans and Mosher 1889; Finger 1968:37–39; Thomas 1892).

**Reservations**

As the fighting slowed, Governor Stevens called a meeting in the summer of 1856 to discuss new reservation lands for the Medicine Creek Tribes. The council was held on Fox Island, where more than 500 Puyallup, Nisqually, and other non-combatants were still held after being rounded up and interned by the military when hostilities began. Couching the meeting as a gesture of reconciliation, Stevens addressed his promise to provide more sustainable reservations for both the Nisqually and Puyallup people (Kluger 2011:148, 180–181).

Also on the agenda of the Fox Island council was the issue of a reservation for Skopamish, Stkamish, and Smulkamish bands as well as the upper Puyallup, most of whom lived in the White and Green River Valleys. These bands were identified in the preamble of the Point Elliott Treaty but had no representatives who signed the document. Whether an inadvertent error or possibly a misunderstanding by Stevens as to the appropriate leaders to represent these groups, the Tribes had been assigned to the Port Madison Reservation across Puget Sound, vastly different than their traditional forested inland home. Stevens had agreed to provide them with a reservation in an area between the White and Green Rivers, which was within their traditional fishing and hunting area. Since only the Medicine Creek Treaty had actually been ratified, lands for a reservation were granted under its provisions, and the order was ratified and signed by the President on January 7, 1857 (Lane ca. 1975:36–40; Ruby and Brown 1986:141).

The term Muckleshoot was initially the place name for the prairie that lay between the White and Green Rivers, and the name was also applied to a military outpost (also called Fort Slaughter) that had been built there during the Treaty Wars period. The post, which was said to contain as many as 15 buildings, housed militia troops, two blockhouses, as well as corrals and other structures. It was abandoned in 1857 and became part of the reservation, which also took on the name Muckleshoot. Those people who lived on the reservation also came to be known as the Muckleshoot, a name that was first applied to them in the mid-1860s. Problems arose as the executive order for the reservation only included the military reservation and not the other territory promised. A corrective measure was submitted but apparently mislaid, and it was not until 1874 that the full extent of the Reservation’s boundaries were established. By that time railroad land grants had been made and so those alternate sections were excluded from the final reservation land base of approximately 3,500 acres (Figure 2-6) (Lane ca. 1975:5–6, 8; Muckleshoot Indian Tribe 2017; Whiting 1951:87).
Figure 2-6. General Land Office plat showing the original (upper right) and expanded boundary of the Muckleshoot Reservation.
Compliance Decisions

By the terms of the Medicine Creek and Point Elliott Treaties, Native peoples of King County were initially required to be split among three different reservations. The process moved slowly, primarily because of the failure of Congress to ratify the Point Elliott Treaty as well as the other treaties negotiated by Governor Stevens. Civil War politics, tensions between Stevens and then-Secretary of War Jefferson Davis, and the violence that had followed the treaty signings all likely contributed to the congressional delays. The treaties were finally ratified in March 1859 after Stevens was elected as the territorial representative to Congress and, according to his son, made a personal appeal for their passage (Garretson 1962:87–89; Stevens 1900:469).

During this long waiting period, the Indian Agency had limited ability to take care of Native peoples who came to the reservations. There was no budget and also likely some malfeasance, as one historian described the office as “a treasure trove of patronage and economic rewards.” When Stevens left the job to become a territorial representative to Congress, the position of Washington Superintendent was combined into the Oregon Superintendency and two supporters of Oregon territorial delegate Joseph Lane received the appointments. A separate Washington Superintendency was eventually reinstated, but remained a highly partisan department. After Stevens resigned his post in 1857, 10 different men filled the position over a 17-year period until the office was abolished (Lang 1996:116–117).

For those Native peoples who moved to reservations, the situation was dire, and many suffered as “reservation economics” were not viable. Even when federal funds did become available, lands often were not sufficiently productive to allow Indians to feed themselves through agriculture. Logging provided a living for some on reservations like the Tulalip, but reserved tracts were not enough for the support of whole communities. Money was also not forthcoming to improve the schools or provide for the education of all Indian children. Father Chirouse, the teacher at the Tulalip School, reported in 1866 that during the winter he had sent some pupils home because the school had neither food nor clothing to provide for them. Rations were often insufficient or sometimes rotten or bug-infested (Asher 1999:46; Marino 1990:172).

Three years after signing the Point Elliott Treaty, siʔał, also known historically as Chief Seattle (Figure 2-7), expressed his impatience at the government’s lack of faith in fulfilling the terms of the agreement. At an 1858 meeting with Michael Simmons, who remained the Indian agent for the Puget Sound tribes, siʔał, was said to have complained:

Why don’t our papers come back to us? You always say they will come back, but they do not come. I fear that we are forgotten or that we are to be cheated out of our land. I have been very poor and hungry all winter and am very sick now. In a little while I will die. I should like to be paid for my lands before I die. Many of my people died during the cold winter without getting their pay. When I die my people will be very poor. They will have no property, no chief, and no one to talk for them.

You must not forget them, Mr. Simmons, when I am gone. We have been very friendly to the whites and when we get our pay we want it in money. The Indians are not bad. It is the mean White men that are bad to them. Mr. Simmons, I want you to write quickly to the Great Chief at Washington what I say (Alexis 1924:49).

Figure 2-7. Chief Seattle, 1864. Photograph by E. Sammis. Museum of History & Industry Photograph Collection, Image shs67.
In the meantime, given these circumstances, many Native peoples of King County refused to move to the assigned reservations and with the distractions of the Civil War and the lack of funds, there was little incentive for the agents to force them to do so. Some estimates suggest that by 1862 only about 435 of an estimated 1,357 eligible Indians had settled on the Tulalip Reservation, for example, and that number might be high. Even 15 years later, half of the Native population was still not living on the reservation (Asher 1999:43).

For those Native peoples who did not move to the reservations during the late 1850s and early 1860s, jobs were available and their skills in acquiring traditional resources remained important and marketable. Whether it was supplying fish, deer, ducks, or berries to settlers; clearing land; working in sawmills, mines, or logging camps; or transporting people throughout the Puget Sound and its tributaries, Native people continued to be an essential cog in the working world of the Puget Sound area. The failures of reservation policy, intensified by the problems of the Civil War, led to increased interaction in the European American world rather than a separation from it as the treaties envisioned. Also, to a large degree, Native peoples had a great deal of success in adapting (Harmon 1998:980).

During this period there was a particularly desperate need for skilled workers since the general population was quite low. There were only 122 non-Native men living in King County based on the territorial census of 1856 and that number had only risen to 220 when the 1860 federal census was taken. Likely attrition resulting from the Treaty Wars and limitations on immigration and mobility in the midst of the ongoing Civil War were contributing factors to this slow growth. A significant number of single men also went to the Fraser River gold fields during this period rather than settling and claiming land. There were not enough workers to sustain the industries that would help to encourage further development in King County or the region. As a result, Native workers formed an important segment of the labor force at the Yesler sawmill in Seattle, for example, and also on farms and in logging and milling operations around the county (Bureau of the Census 1860; Washington Territory 1856).

A few of those who remained off the reservations still lived in their customary villages, while others had moved closer to active farming communities or the small towns that had grown up around particular industries. Despite their more urban surroundings, these Native people continued their traditional cultural practices, sometimes enhanced or exaggerated by the new types of wealth and prestige brought by the changing economy. One early settler, for example, recalled a potlatch he attended on a beach to the south of Seattle, where he was hosted by a particularly successful Native trader who transported his guests to the event in canoes with eight paddlers and gave away blankets and other costly items to all who attended (Harmon 1998:980; Jacobs 1908:162).

At the Point Elliott Treaty council, Chief Seattle had encouraged his people to watch and observe the newcomers:

> You folks observe the changers who come here to this land
> And our progeny will watch and learn from them now, those who will come after us, our children.
> And they will become like/just the same
> as the changers who have come here to us on this land.
> You folks observe them well (Wright 1991:262)

The ability of the non-reservation Indians to observe and adapt to the changers during the Civil War era may have been too successful. As Seattle and King County began a steady and rapid rise in population growth from the mid-1860s forward, Native peoples were soon seen as competitors for jobs, rather than indispensable purveyors of goods and services. Where they lived suddenly mattered. Seattle residents in 1865 enacted an ordinance that essentially prevented Indians from camping within the city limits, and employers were required to provide lodging for any Native workers they employed. In the following year, over 150 settlers signed a petition sent to their territorial delegate in Congress, objecting to a proposal by the Superintendent of Indian Affairs to locate a separate reservation for the Duwamish people just to the south of Seattle (Figure 2-8) (Thrush 2007:54–55; Trafzer et al. 2006:11–15).
Figure 2-8. The petition opposing the establishment of a reservation for the Duwamish Tribe, 1866, and a map showing the Duwamish village on the Black River, 1877.

To the Honorable Arthur A. Denny, Delegate to Congress from Washington Territory:

The undersigned citizens of King County, respectfully suggest that we have heard with surprise and much dissatisfaction that some person has made a representation to W. H. Waterman, Superintendant of Indian Affairs, which has caused him to ask of the House Department that an Indian Reservation be established on Black River, in this county.

We know your familiarity with this section of country, and that you are aware that such a Reservation would do great injury to this section of country, and is sought for, and of little value to the Indians. We, therefore, respectfully request that you, at your earliest convenience, call the attention of the Indian Department to the facts as you know them to exist, and hope that this will be sufficient to prevent this proposed unjust and unnecessary action of the Government in making a Reservation for the removal of a band which numbers but sixteen families, and whose interests and wants have always been justly and kindly protected by the settlers of the Black River country. We therefore, most respectfully, but earnestly protest against the injury a Reservation of these Indians would be to the quiet and flourishing settlements upon the Black and Duwamish rivers,—as being necessary to the aborigines and their constituents of King County.

Most respectfully, your obedient servants,

[Signatures]

National Archives Roll 909, “Letters Received by the Office of Indian Affairs, 1824-81.”

King County Road Book No. 4, page 21. King County Archives.
As stated in the petition, these citizens protested “against the injury a Reservation of these Indians would be to the quiet and flourishing settlements upon the Black and Duwamish rivers, -- as being unnecessary to the aborigines and injurious to your constituents of King County.” The reservation was never established (Petition: To the Honorable Arthur A. Denny, Delegate to Congress from Washington Territory, National Archives Roll 909, Letters Received by the Office of Indian Affairs, 1824–1881).

The federal government also once again focused on Indian policy after the war, and President Ulysses S. Grant, as part of what was called his Peace Policy, issued a mandate for the forcible removal of all treaty Tribes to reservations. He also called for a greater governmental role in Indian education. Over subsequent decades, the Bureau of Indian Affairs established agencies under its supervision to oversee the new reservation system. The Muckleshoot Reservation, for example, was initially under the administration of the Tulalip Indian Agency from 1899 to 1911, but then was transferred to the jurisdiction of the Puyallup Indian Agency from 1912 to 1920. In addition to a superintendent, who was often a religious leader, there was also a system of farmers, teachers, and other personnel to provide support on the reservations (Larson 1986:14).

**INDIAN HOMESTEAD ACT**

Once the reservations were in place, however, the process of acculturation proved slow and to many people who wanted the work of civilization to move forward, the so-called “Indian problem” continued. Christian reformers, in particular, feared that the reservations would only perpetuate tribalism and communal habits that would impede further progress. They believed that the Indians should be taught the advantages of individual ownership of property and that reservation land should be allotted in severalty to Indian owners as soon as practicable. The idea of dissolving communal land through allotments was not new, but it garnered a widening base of support, especially among the nation’s religious community, in the decades after the Civil War (Prucha 1984:659-670).

Advocates of allotment wanted comprehensive legislation that would allow or even require allotments in severalty for all Indians who resided on reservations. As momentum for this type of bill grew, reformers willingly supported other measures that brought them closer to their goal.

One such piece of legislation was the Indian Homestead Act of 1872, which extended the provisions of the Homestead Act of 1862 to Native people, but required that they declare their citizenship and essentially abandon their Tribal affiliation. Because reformers wanted to ensure that participants had protection from unscrupulous European American settlers and speculators, Congress added a provision that the lands were inalienable for five years after an Indian received a patent. Later supplements to the law eliminated fees and commissions for filing Indian homesteads, but required that they be held in trust by the government for a period of at least 20 years or longer (Prucha 1976:233–234).

In King County some Native peoples filed for land under the Homestead Act of 1862, but only a few took advantage of the Indian Homestead Act, quite possibly because of the lengthy trust requirements. Among those who filed for homesteads under the 1862 act were several Snoqualmie families who claimed land along Lake Sammamish. Bill Sbedzue and Louis Tahalthkut and his wife Mary Louie (Figure 2-9), for example, lived on neighboring parcels in Section 32, Township (T) 25 North (N), Range (R) 6 East (E). The Tahalthkuts originally filed their homestead claim for 75 acres in 1877 and received final certification in 1886. When their patent was issued, however, it was subject to later laws that required a 20-year trust period. Since her husband had died, Mary Louie and her

![Figure 2-9. Mary Louie, ca. 1900.](image)
son, as his heirs, hired an attorney to oppose the restrictions, arguing that Louis Tahalthkut had declared his citizenship and “adopted the habits and pursuits of civilized life” under the 1862 act. Their petition to the Bureau of Indian Affairs was ultimately successful in claiming their rights under the original homestead laws (Appendix B) (Samuel Herrick to F. E. Leupp, March 29, 1902, in Homestead Application 2195, Final Certification 2029, RG 75, Bureau of Indian Affairs, NARA, Washington, D.C.).

The Indian Homestead fee and trust patents that were filed in King County were primarily issued to Native peoples who were living on or near the Muckleshoot Reservation. Several of those Indian Homestead claims were sold once the trust periods were fulfilled, while in other cases, the land was transferred to allotments. Bob James of the Muckleshoot, for example, relinquished his title to 60 acres in Section 12, T21N, R5E that he had patented in 1905 so that the land could be treated as an allotment and willed to his heirs (Serial Patent 251423, June 215, 1910, Bureau of Land Management [BLM], General Land Office [GLO] database).

**General Allotment Act**

The movement to develop an allotment bill gained momentum in the 1880s, and in February of 1887 Congress passed the General Allotment Act, more commonly known as the Dawes Act, which shifted communal ownership of Tribal lands to individual ownership as part of a general goal of acculturation. The act contained a provision that once allotment had taken place, the federal government could dispose of surplus lands “adapted to agriculture” to settlers in tracts not exceeding 160 acres per person. The Dawes Act proved to be both politically and economically expedient, as it allowed Congress to obtain land for European American settlement, reduce the costs of treaty obligations to Tribes, but also respond to the social reformers who wanted Native peoples to be integrated into American society. Critics called it greed in the guise of Indian welfare, but the opposition was not strong enough to stop the tide of reform (Carlson 1981:36–37; McLaughlin 1996:64; O’Brien 1989:78; Reynolds 1905:368).

Once the Dawes Act was in effect, individuals registered on a Tribal roll could apply for land on the Muckleshoot Reservation and after a survey, much of the property was divided and distributed in 1903 and thereafter. Those who received allotments also received full citizenship. Duwamish and Upper Puyallup people as well as those who identified themselves as Muckleshoot were among those who made claims. Settlement patterns on the reservation changed dramatically as individuals moved to separate parcels and tried to maintain a livelihood. Land ownership became complicated as many were forced to sell their allotment land to outsiders when faced with difficulties in providing food and other necessities for their families. Heirship issues also caused the land to be divided into parcels too small for agricultural uses (Larson 1986:14–16; Muckleshoot Indian Tribe 2017).
**NEW ECONOMIC PATTERNS**

Despite the pressure to move to reservations and the establishment of allotments, many Native peoples in King County continued to follow traditional cultural practices and land use. Miners in the town of Franklin remembered yearly visits by Native families with their ponies and wagons heading to berry-picking grounds. Fishing also remained an important subsistence practice for many, and some of the Muckleshoot also sold salmon to the residents of the mining camp at Black Diamond as well as city dwellers in Seattle (Olson and Olson 1988:227; Thorndale 1965:118).

**HOPS WORK**

Seasonal hop picking was among the most important outside sources of income for Native peoples of King County. The cultivation of hops, which first developed in the Puyallup Valley in Pierce County, became a mainstay of King County agriculture during the 1870s and 1880s. Hops were used as both a flavoring and preservative in the beer-making industry and were a labor-intensive crop, particularly during harvest. When ripe, they had to be picked quickly and sent to the hop kilns before mildew or rot affected them. Growers preferred Native pickers, who traveled in large numbers from British Columbia and Alaska as well as Washington to reach the hop fields in King and Pierce Counties. During the heyday of hop growing, as many as 3,000 to 4,000 workers were needed in the fields of the Snoqualmie Valley and a similar number worked for farmers in the White River area (Raibmon 2005:76, 85–87).

**Ballast Island**

Temporary settlements for Native hop pickers became important on a seasonal basis as most of the outside workers first arrived in Seattle and then headed to the hop fields. The main focus of this transient traffic was initially a place in the city known as Ballast Island. This pile of gravel dumped into Elliott Bay by incoming ships eventually reached nearly 400 feet from the shoreline near the bottom of Main and Washington Streets. The large island of ballast was not sufficiently stable for building but was easily reached by canoe. It became a popular camping spot for the large numbers of Native workers who converged on the hop fields in King County as well as in the Puyallup valley during the harvest season (Figure 2-10) (Dorpat 2006:56–57; Hershman et al. 1981:22).
Many of the Native people who camped at this spot, which one historian termed a “coastal urban Indian village,” came from British Columbia and returned year after year (Raibmon 2005:94). Kinship ties were important among the pickers, and labor contractors often recruited extended families who could bring large numbers to a particular grower. These groups often included women and children, as women were considered by some to be the best pickers, and children could also contribute since hops were lightweight and easily reached when the vines were laid down on the ground. Many of these families would remain for a week or more at Ballast Island as they traveled to and from the fields, and often local spectators were potential buyers of handmade baskets and other wares (Raibmon 2005:94–96; Shaw et al. 2009:14–15).

Hop Fields

Once at the hop fields, living conditions were often a determinant of whether pickers would return on a regular basis. On many of the smaller farms, growers would provide camping facilities and sometimes tents, or pickers would pitch their own. Fresh produce was also frequently offered as an added incentive, although many of the Native workers brought their own food and cooked on campfires around the facility (Figure 2-11). On other farms, the owner might also build small wooden houses or A-frame cabins for workers and offer a nearby general store for the purchase of supplies. Because workers were in such demand at the height of the harvest, pickers could be selective about their choices, forcing farmers to provide better accommodation (Raibmon 2005:80–81; Shaw et al. 2009:14–15).

By far the largest of the hop farms was the Snoqualmie Hop Ranch, which was run by a consortium, the Hop Growers Association. The group purchased part of the agricultural property originally owned by early Snoqualmie valley settler Jeremiah Borst and then added more land until they had amassed more than 1,000 acres. Several hundred acres were planted in hops, and at the peak of harvest, the ranch needed as many as 2,500 to 4,000 workers (Figure 2-12). The complex included a rooming house and wooden cabins for families who lived there year round as well as a cookhouse, store, and post office. There were also kilns, storage buildings, and other processing facilities. In addition, the ranch developed a thriving tourist business from those traveling to observe the harvest, and its owners built the three-story Meadowbrook Hotel to house visitors (Prater 1981:66; Raibmon 2005:81, 85, 89).
An aphid infestation and difficult economic conditions in the 1890s brought a significant decline in hops production, although the spectacle of Native workers in the fields continued in some areas as a tourist attraction into the early 1900s. The end of the hops era represented a significant loss of income for many Native workers, although a number were able to transition into new agricultural work on area farms, where berry picking and harvesting of a number of other crops continued the tradition of seasonal labor in King County. Jobs in the canning, logging, and milling industries also drew many Native workers as the economy of the region evolved (Raibmon 2005:98–101; Shaw et al. 2009:19–20).

**CHANGING ROLES AND CHANGING PLACES**

The tourists’ interest in the hop fields may have been part of a wider idealization of Native peoples as “exotica” that developed locally as well as nationally during this period. As historian Alexandra Harmon has argued, the Puget Sound region experienced a tremendous surge in growth between 1880 and 1910, and most of these newcomers had little experience with Indians. King County’s population, for example, climbed from 6,900 in 1880 to nearly 285,000 three decades later. The so-called pioneer generation was fading away and the era of western frontier settlement was coming to an end, so recent immigrants viewed Native peoples with a similar nostalgia. They were part of an adventurous and sometimes dangerous past that had made the new, civilized world possible. The concept of the vanishing Indian was also linked to these perceptions, providing an idealized yet basically false view of the presence and role of Native peoples in the local community (Harmon 1998:144–146, 148–149; Robinson 1952:16).

During this period, settlers claimed most of the remaining lands available under federal land laws and a large amount of acreage in King County was also removed from settlement for forest reserves. As a result, there was a renewed interest in the remaining reservation lands and how they might serve the needs of those who were looking for new areas for potential development. Many outsiders tried to claim a relationship that would allow them to apply for allotments, and the local Indian agencies were tested as they struggled to develop a means to determine who was eligible or could be defined as Indian. At the same time that the allotment system was supposed to encourage the incorporation of Native peoples into the larger society, increasing federal control over their remaining lands as well the expansion of government-run boarding schools and other educational programs increased the numbers who were still considered wards of the government (Harmon 1998:132, 134, 160–161, 164–166).

Many Native peoples in King County still remained off the reservations on lands they had homesteaded or purchased or in settlements linked to the industries in which they worked. A significant portion were
wage workers and self-sufficient. An investigator for the federal Board of Indian Commissioners visited the area in 1921 and reported back his findings, writing that Indians were “of considerable importance in the manufacturing, commercial, and transportation industries of western Washington.” His report told of finding Native peoples in logging camps, railroad yards, sawmills, and canneries, and serving on steamers in all position from deckhands to engineers. He also noted a trend for the future: “In every city and town, I saw Indians at work and talked to a number who told me that Indians, like white men, are leaving rural districts in increasing numbers for the cities” (Harmon 1998:170).
Mount Rainier from Steilacoom, Washington Territory, July 16, 1855
by William Birch McMurtrie

Robert B. Honeyman, Jr. Collection of
Early Californian and Western American
Pictorial Material
Courtesy of UC Berkeley, Bancroft Library
http://content.cdlib.org/ark:/13030/tf1q2nb4gv/?order=1
CHAPTER 3. CLAIMING THE LAND

Since America’s colonial days, the ability to purchase land and own it outright, in fee simple, was a major attraction that drew many immigrants to this country. According to one historian of land policy, a “commitment to freehold as the core of personal independence was deeply embedded in Western ideas of natural rights” (Opie 1987:20–21). Thomas Jefferson consistently maintained that “the small land holders are the most precious part of a state,” but of equal, if not greater, importance to most early Americans was the capitalist principle of the unrestricted use of private property for personal profit. As the American republic developed, Congress attempted to transfer public land to private ownership as quickly as possible. Initially, the goal was to raise funds through land sales to help the struggling young government establish itself on a firm financial footing, although some leaders, like Jefferson, argued that the land should be free to hardworking yeoman farmers (Opie 1987:10).

The Land Survey Ordinance of 1785 first instituted a system of surveying to facilitate land transfer, while a subsequent law, the Northwest Ordinance of 1787, guaranteed Congress the primary right to dispose of this land. The land was so vast that the survey process moved slowly, however, and settlement often preceded the surveyors’ lines as enthusiasm for property ownership drove increasing numbers of people westward. The government passed a series of laws to provide for an orderly and fair system of land transfer and in 1811 also established a new agency, the General Land Office (GLO), to conduct the surveys and hold public auctions for newly available lands (Opie 1987:25–26, 48).

OREGON TERRITORIAL ORGANIZATION AND EARLY LAND POLICY

Continuing waves of immigration to the far West ultimately led to the establishment of new territories and the need for the government to expand land laws and federal surveys in those areas. The dream of instant riches sparked by the California gold rush as well as the possibilities of obtaining fertile agricultural lands spurred many settlers and adventurers to leave their Eastern and Midwestern homes for new opportunities. Of the more than 300,000 individuals who followed the major overland routes to the Pacific coast between 1840 and 1860, approximately 53,000 of them initially went to Oregon. Most of those Northwest-bound travelers used the Oregon Trail, which stretched from Missouri along the Platte River to South Pass in the Rocky Mountains, where it then headed into Idaho and followed the Snake and Columbia Rivers to the coast (Figure 3-1) (White 1991:189, 199).

These newcomers added to a population that already consisted of a large number of Native peoples as well as a few fur trade employees and their families. Most of the new onrush of settlement took place on the rich agricultural land of the Willamette Valley, south of present-day Portland. The existing settlers along the river had secured large holdings and feared that when the area did become part of the United States, the government might develop a new land policy contrary to their interests. A substantial number were also former Hudson’s Bay Company employees who had no idea how the American government would treat their claims (Johansen and Gates 1967:218–220, 228–229).

BACKGROUND OF OREGON TERRITORY LAND CLAIMS

Until the government came to an agreement with Great Britain on the international boundary issue and established American control over the Northwest, the early settlers of Oregon had no real protection for their land claims. Public discussion on the merits of developing some form of government had taken place for many months, but divisions between the interests of American, French-Canadian, and British settlers
in the region hindered any formal arrangement. Finally, in a series of meetings held at Champoeg, a small settlement near the Willamette River, in the spring and summer of 1843, a committee drew up a code of laws. These laws were modeled on Iowa’s first territorial government and were approved by a slim majority of the settlers. The code included provisions for voting, raising a militia, and supporting the government, but most important to Oregon’s current residents were the articles on property ownership. Each settler had the
right to 640 acres of land as long as they followed the legal procedures established by the provisional government. As new parties of immigrants arrived, the provisional government made necessary revisions to the code (Johansen and Gates 1967:188–194).

Great Britain and the United States finally signed the boundary treaty in 1846, but when a bill to organize the territory of Oregon was introduced in Congress, debates on whether the new territory should allow slavery held up ratification. In Oregon, settlers waited uncomfortably for the outcome, suffering through what one historian has called “the winter of discontent.” The bill finally passed, and on August 14, 1848, President Polk signed it into law, establishing Oregon Territory (Johansen and Gates 1967:218–220, 228–229).

A large portion of Oregon was at a great distance from the Willamette Valley, stretching northward all the way to the new international border at the 49th parallel (Figure 3-2). In 1845 the provisional legislature had divided this huge land mass into six districts, with all of the land north of the Columbia River included in what was then called the Vancouver District. When the United States and Great Britain finally came to an agreement over the boundaries of their claims in the Northwest in 1846, opportunities to settle in this vast portion of the territory had already begun to draw American settlers as far north as Puget Sound. In that year a small group led by Michael Simmons selected land at the head of Budd Inlet near the southern tip of Puget Sound and formed the nucleus of what later became the town of Olympia. Simmons and his party opened a road wide enough for oxen from the Cowlitz River to the settlement, and others slowly followed them, claiming land in the vicinity (see Figure 3-1). Some of these early land-seekers also came north in 1850 on the brig *Orbit*, the first American merchant vessel to sail to Puget Sound, and soon there were additional settlements established at Steilacoom, Port Townsend, and on Whidbey Island (Bagley 1929:14; Bancroft 1890:2–3; 5–6, 15, 18–21; Pohl 1970:41).

One of the owners of the *Orbit*, Colonel Isaac Ebey, had emigrated from Missouri to Oregon Territory in 1848. He established his own claim on Whidbey Island in 1850, but was also one of the earliest settlers to explore what became King County. In an 1850 letter to early Olympia pioneer Michael Simmons, Ebey described his journeys through the territory to the east of Admiralty Inlet and his evaluation of its suitability for agriculture and grazing. Like most of his fellow land-seekers during this time period, Ebey focused particularly on the various river systems and other waterways north of the Nisqually (Nesqually) River, including the Puyallup
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(Powalp), Duwamish (Dewams), Snohomish (Snohomes) and Snoqualmie (Snoqualamy). Ebey also explored Elliott Bay, calling it a “beautiful little harbor” (Bagley 1929:26–28).

An increasing numbers of settlers were attracted to the “beautiful little harbor” for its commercial potential while others sought out suitable agricultural lands along nearby rivers and streams. As more parties of would-be land claimants arrived in this vast northern area, the provisional government created new counties. Lewis County was the first established north of the Columbia River in December 1845, and once Oregon became a territory, others followed, including Thurston County in January of 1852. Colonel Ebey, who was the representative from Thurston County to the fourth session of the Legislative Assembly of Oregon Territory, evidently pushed hard to carve several additional counties out of the huge land mass that was Thurston County. By special acts confirmed on December 22, 1852, the assembly created Pierce, King, and Jefferson Counties and introduced the bill to establish Island County, which was later approved by the House of Representatives in January of 1853 (Figure 3-3) (Bagley 1929:14; Legislative Assembly of Territory of Oregon 1853:41–47).

Isaac Ebey, who was a member of the Democratic Party at that time, also evidently proposed the names for the new counties. Ebey chose Jefferson to honor former president Thomas Jefferson, Pierce for the newly elected Democratic president, Franklin Pierce, and King for Pierce’s new vice-president, William R. D. King. King was born in North Carolina and served several terms as a member of the House of Representatives from that state. Later he had moved to Alabama, where he was elected to the U.S. Senate. King was ill with tuberculosis and never reached Washington, D.C., to assume the office of vice-president. He died only a few months after the new Oregon county was named for him (Legislative Assembly of Territory of Oregon 1853:41–47; Saum 2001:181–183).

**Early King County**

The original boundaries of King County, defined in 1852 by Oregon territorial legislation, were as follows:

> Commencing at the northeast corner of Pierce County; thence along [the] summit of the Cascade Mountains to a parallel of latitude passing through the middle of Pilot Cove; then from the point last aforesaid west along the said parallel of latitude to the Pacific Ocean; thence south along the coast to a point due west of the head of Case’s Inlet; thence from the point last aforesaid east to the head of Case’s Inlet; thence east along the northern boundary line of Pierce county to the place of beginning...

(Legislative Assembly of Territory of Oregon 1853:41)

King County, although much smaller than its predecessor, Thurston County, was still unmanageably large, stretching from the Pacific Ocean to the crest of the Cascade Mountains. Several more boundary changes followed over the next few years (Figure 3-3). The northern border of the county was finalized by 1857, but it was not until 1901 that the Washington State Legislature established the southernmost boundary with Pierce County in its final form (Payton 2006:7; Reinartz ca. 2002:3).

The King County seat of government was originally located on the land claim of Dr. David S. Maynard in what was later platted as the town site of Seattle. David S. “Doc” Maynard had arrived in Washington Territory in late March of 1850 to look for coal deposits or other business opportunities. Maynard initially used Olympia as his base, but various accounts suggest that he met Chief Seattle who suggested he move north to start a salting and packing enterprise. Maynard followed his advice and settled on a point of land that jutted into Elliott Bay, originally called Piner’s Point by the Wilkes expedition, but known locally as simply the Point or Denny’s Island. Maynard’s first home was located on this small peninsula, and the front rooms of his cabin initially served as the official seat of county government as well as the new community’s first store (Bagley 1929:35, 56; Watt 1959:66, 68–69).
During the years leading up to the creation of King County, settlers north of the Columbia River had begun a campaign to create a new territory since they were at such great distance from the Oregon capitol. In good weather, the trip to Salem from Puget Sound required at least seven days, and there was little the territorial government could do to protect and serve its far-flung citizens. Great distances did not seemingly affect the new boundaries that the disgruntled northerners proposed, however, as the potential new territory extended from the Columbia River north to the Canadian boundary and west to the summit of the Rocky Mountains, incorporating all of present-day Washington and Idaho as well as a small portion of Montana (Bagley 1929:i-32).
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The dissidents filed their first memorial to Congress for a separate territory in 1851, but their efforts failed. Proponents met again a year later at Monticello, a site on the Cowlitz River near present-day Longview, where they once again voted for separation from Oregon. Their request for a Territory of Columbia was also supported by a majority of Oregon legislators, who recognized that Oregon statehood would never be achieved with the current unmanageable size of its political boundaries. The memorial was once again presented, and the bill to create the new territory passed through Congress, this time with little opposition. The only exception was its name, which was changed to Washington during the process (Bagley 1929:32; Johansen and Gates 1967:247–248).

President Millard Fillmore signed the Organic Act establishing Washington Territory (10 U.S. Statutes at Large, c 90 p 172) on March 2, 1853, but it was his successor, Franklin Pierce, who filled most of the initial territorial positions. Pierce named Isaac Ingalls Stevens as Washington’s first territorial governor and also made him ex officio Superintendent of Indian Affairs. Stevens had a mandate to make treaties with the indigenous inhabitants of Washington and extinguish their title to lands that American settlers had already claimed. Political patronage was the basis for nearly 500 additional federal appointments that were made for positions in Washington Territory that ranged from local postmasters to Secretary of State. Almost all of these jobs were filled by individuals from other parts of the country who had showed loyalty to the President and his party but often had little expertise for their particular roles (Ficken 2002:24–25).

Surveying the Land

One of the first tasks that came with territorial status was an official survey of the lands within its new boundaries. The United States government generally did not initiate a federal land survey until Indian title was extinguished, but deviated from this policy in Oregon and later Washington Territory. Surveying began in Oregon in 1851 and by the time government officials negotiated the first treaty with Tribes north of the Columbia River in late 1854, nearly 330,000 acres had already been surveyed. All of these earliest surveys were in what became Clark, Cowlitz, Lewis, and Thurston Counties and comprised about 25 townships (Bureau of Land Management, General Land Office [GLO] database; Yonce 1969:49, 52).

After Washington officially became a territory in March of 1853, it was nearly a year before President Franklin Pierce named James Tilton as surveyor general to oversee the survey and sale of public lands. Tilton, an Indiana Republican who had supported Pierce during the presidential campaign, was a trained surveyor, and at least brought some experience to his new post. Tilton did not arrive in Washington Territory until the spring of 1855, but months before he had sent a team of clerks and draftsmen to begin the process of copying all of the plats, field notes, and other documentation for survey work already conducted north of the Columbia River by the Oregon Surveyor General’s Office (Commissioner of the GLO 1856:156–157).

According to Tilton in his first yearly report to the Commissioner of the GLO, the transfer process proceeded smoothly, but the actual work in the field proved much more difficult. Surveys in Washington Territory generally moved more slowly than in other parts of the country because of the difficulty of hiring contract surveyors who were willing to work on steep terrain or in dense vegetation. Men rather than animals were necessary to pack in equipment because of the thick forest understory, which included firs lying on the ground that were “fifteen feet in diameter and two hundred feet in length” (Commissioner of the GLO 1856:157). Tilton also complained that even his best surveyors lost money because of the need to pay high salaries to field personnel who would otherwise be lured away by prospecting opportunities. The huge costs of supplies, most of which were imported from California, also added to the burden (Commissioner of the GLO 1856:157; Yonce 1969:58–59).

Tilton advised the land office that he planned to focus initial surveying efforts on the area between the Cascades and the Pacific Ocean and particularly on the eastern side of Puget Sound along the fertile valleys of the Duwamish and Snoqualmie Rivers. “In this region lie some of the few prairies west of the Cascade range, not claimed by the Hudson Bay or the Puget Sound Agricultural Companies,” he wrote. Tilton also urged that the land office quickly settle disputes with the British trading firms since large numbers of
Americans had already settled on company-claimed property, particularly in the South Puget Sound area (Commissioner of the GLO 1856:157–158).

The first contract for surveys within King County began in May of 1855, and additional survey work that incorporated most of T25N, R3E and R4E continued from July through October of that year. This area included the small settlement of Seattle, the land along Elliott Bay and the inlet later known as Salmon Bay, as well as additional territory along the shores of Lake Washington. The survey work was then curtailed by the conflicts with Native peoples that became known as the Treaty Wars. During this period of unrest, Tilton left his post to serve as the Adjutant General for the territorial militia, while many of his deputy surveyors also joined these volunteer forces (Frost 1855:54–59; Kluger 2011:140; Phillips and Strickler 1856:606–629).

The number of land claimants also dropped considerably during the Treaty Wars, and once the conflict ended, the pace of settlement remained slow for a few years. By the early 1860s, however, as fears of Indian troubles faded and new land laws were passed, there was a strong revival of interest in the area. At the same time, insufficient federal appropriations hampered efforts to fulfill basic survey needs. The Surveyor General’s Office could not survey new claims fast enough to keep pace with filings, particularly in the western part of the territory. The lack of a government survey was also a hindrance to formal land claims in more remote areas, including the mountainous sections of eastern King County. Eventually the land office allowed claimants to pay for their own surveys or file a notification based on natural descriptions of the property when federal surveys were not yet completed in a locale. Despite these measures, by the time statehood was achieved in 1889, nearly half of all Washington land was still unsurveyed and remained in government hands (Commissioner of the GLO 1856:21, 1864:6–7, 98; Yonce 1969:53–54, 58–59, 68–71).

**Donation Land Claims Act**

The promise of laws that would allow settlers to obtain free land from the government served as an impetus for much of the early migration to the Northwest across the Oregon Trail and other overland and overseas routes. The provisional government of Oregon recognized the goals of land ownership and had set up an initial mechanism for newcomers to claim land. The Organic Act that created Oregon Territory nullified all these provisional land laws, but in 1850 Congress passed a measure that provided similarly generous land grants to current residents of the territory. The Donation Land Claim Act (Ch. 76-9 Stat. 496) was also unique in that it allowed married women to claim land with their husbands. Under provisions of the law, every male settler over the age of 18 who had occupied land for four years before 1850 could claim 320 acres, and the wives of these men had the right to obtain an equal amount. Those individuals who had settled after December 1849, but before December 1853, could each claim 160 acres. Congress later extended the provisions of the Donation Land Claim Act to settlers arriving as late as 1855 (Johansen and Gates 1967:231; Yonce 1969:104–105).

When Congress created Washington Territory out of the northern portion of Oregon in 1853, it also applied the provisions of the Donation Land Claim Act to the new territory. Claimants had to show at least four years’ residence on their land as well as some improvements before the government issued formal title to the property. Many of these settlers had laid out their parcels before the formal survey of the area had begun, so their boundaries were often irregular, following drainages or taking advantage of other natural features. Regulations later mandated that claims had to follow the federal survey lines (Hibbard 1924:353–354; Johansen and Gates 1967:249; Shackleford 1940:405).

People who were classified as foreigners, including those who were of mixed Indian blood, could file for a donation claim if they applied for United States citizenship. This provision was originally intended to encourage Hudson’s Bay Company employees to leave the company and establish themselves as full American citizens, thus weakening the company’s position in the region. Applicants were also asked to sign an affidavit assuring the land office that they were acting solely for their own benefit. Technically, company claims had to be officially extinguished before the lands could be claimed by individuals, but the Surveyor
General’s office gradually began to allow settlers to file their “unofficial claims” before the government surveyed disputed land (Yonce 1969:106-108).

Despite the generous terms of the Donation Act, as it was sometimes called, Washington Territory’s Surveyor General, James Tilton, argued that most residents did not support the extension of the measure beyond its expiration in December of 1855. According to a report to the GLO, Tilton claimed that the “onerous” provisions of “continuous residence and cultivation,” and other terms of the law “more than counterbalance the value of the gift.” Unless some of these conditions changed, Tilton argued, “in my opinion, the settlers on public lands in Washington Territory will be better satisfied with the privilege of purchasing lands at the minimum price of one dollar and a quarter per acre, than to be subjected to the annoyances incident to an extension of the donation laws” (Commissioner of the GLO 1856:159).

The documentation required to file a donation land claim included information on place of birth, date of arrival, date of settlement on the claim, as well as duration of residency and marital status. Three witnesses were required to vouch that the applicant had truly resided on the land during the stated period and that the stipulated improvements were made. When the Donation Act expired, the government had granted about 1,018 patents in Washington Territory that encompassed approximately 300,000 acres of land. Nearly all were west of the Cascade Range. In King County, settlers had filed a total of 59 donation claims, which were concentrated on the shores of Puget Sound and along area rivers, particularly to the south of Seattle (Figure 3-4) (GLO, Washington Donation Claims, Microfilm Roll 103, NARA, Seattle; Johansen and Gates 1967:234; Yonce 1969:2).

From an historical perspective, some of the founders of Seattle, including Arthur Denny, Carson Boren, David Maynard, Henry Yesler, and others, became the most widely known of the original donation claimants. Despite the provisions of the law, the vision of most of these men was to build an urban settlement—a town—rather than an agricultural settlement. In contrast, most of the earliest settlers who officially filed claims in King County settled along the Duwamish and White Rivers to the south of Elliott Bay and were would-be farmers. Luther Collins and his wife Diana were likely the first to establish their claim based on their filing, having listed October 5, 1851, as the day they began to reside on their property. Newspapers of the period also cited them as the first donation claimants in King County (Appendix C) (Daily Intelligencer, July 7, 1876:3; GLO, WA Donation Claims, NARA; Rhodes 1992:59).

Collins, who was originally from Oneida County, New York, had evidently crossed the Oregon Trail in 1847 with his wife Diane Borst, whom he had met and married in Illinois before heading west. Accounts vary, but while in Oregon, Collins eventually joined up with several other land-seekers, including Henry Van Asselt, a recent immigrant from Holland, as well Ohio farmer Samuel Mapels (also referred to as Maples). The party arrived at Puget Sound in 1851 and all successfully filed donation claims in the Duwamish River Valley. Collins and his wife obtained 644 acres, which they successfully farmed, growing crops which, according to a local newspaper, earned them nearly $5,000 in revenue in 1853. Collins became a member of the first Board of Commissioners when King County was formed and also served as a territorial legislator. After Collins died by drowning in 1862, there was a protracted battle over ownership of his donation claim property, which later became the site of the Georgetown community (Bagley 1929:32; Bureau of the Census 1850, 1860; Columbian, Nov. 19, 1853:2; Grant 1891:398; Lange 2003; Rhodes 1992:59; Washington Territory 1856).

Like Collins, a number of the donation claimants came across the Oregon Trail to Portland and then headed northward, while others tested their fortunes in the California gold fields before deciding to stake a claim in Washington Territory. In south King County, a few of the early settlers had followed another route to the coast that brought them west through the mountains along what became known as the Naches Trail. This route began as an Indian trail, as did many of the other pathways to settlement in the Puget Sound region (Longmire 1917:25–28; Magnusson 1934:175–176; Shiach 1906:151).

The Longmire-Biles party was the first settler group to cross over the Naches Pass in 1853 and during the following year, government troops made some improvements so that trail could be used as a military road.
Figure 3-4. Donation Claims in King County (see also Appendix D).
from Fort Steilacoom to Walla Walla. The increased traffic led to new settlement in south King County, particularly along the White River Valley. The availability of land and proximity to Fort Steilacoom with access to supplies and military protection may have led to heightened interest in this area. Among the new arrivals on the Naches Trail were Harvey and Eliza Jones and Mrs. Jones’s three children by a previous marriage as well as Enos Cooper, who became their handyman. They were joined by George and Mary King and their son, as well as David and Irene Neeley. Mrs. Neeley was pregnant and their child was born soon after they arrived in Washington Territory. In addition to families, a few single men also joined these overland parties and established donation claims in the valley (Freeman et al. 1980:108, 119, 133; Rhodes 1992:100, 105, 138).

Many of these White River Valley settlers arrived in October of 1854 and chose land along the river, built small homes, barns or other structures, and tried to prepare themselves for their first winter. Some brought livestock with them, while others like the Jones and Neeley families carried seeds to plant orchards and crops on their new property. Those with dairy cows often erected small log outbuildings to store milk and butter and then made trips by canoe or small scows to Seattle to sell their products and purchase supplies. For many, salmon was an early mainstay of their diet, and according to Nancy Russell Thomas, local Indians had built a fish weir on the river bordering her family’s donation claim and shared their catch. Other settlers hunted wild game and birds, while some subsisted on potatoes when the first crops were harvested. Many who had come from parts of the Midwest where disease was rampant found the climate mild and healthful, although most described their feelings of isolation because of the large distances between claims and lack of roads (Evans and Mosher 1889; Flewelling 1999a; Meeker 1905:290–291; Tacoma Ledger, April 19, 1892).

**Cash Sales and Preemption Claims**

Once the Donation Land Act expired on December 1, 1855, the only other method individuals in the Northwest could use over the next few years to claim land legally from the government was through a cash sale or what generally came to be known as a preemption claim. In many areas of the country, squatters outnumbered property owners, and the government had tried to clarify title through the passage of special land ordinances. The Land Act of 1820 (3 Stat. 566) provided for purchase of public land at $1.25 per acre but required full payment at time of purchase rather than the previous installment system. The Preemption Act passed in 1841 (5 Stat. 453) essentially accepted the rights of squatters on the public lands. The law provided that any heads of families or single people over 21 who were citizens or had declared their intention to become citizens, and who did not already own 320 acres, could have the preferred right to purchase 160 acres of surveyed land. The only real requirements for ownership were that claimants had to occupy and improve the property during a period of at least 14 months, erect a dwelling, and pay the minimum price of $1.25 per acre (Opie 1987:55–56; Shannon 1945:56).

The Preemption Act essentially legalized settlement that previously had been considered trespass, allowed settlers to purchase land before it was offered for sale at public auction, and gave them a year of credit before they had to pay for their claim. Originally, preemption rights applied only to surveyed lands, but in 1853 the government extended preemption to unsurveyed lands in Oregon, Washington, and a few other territories because the survey process in these areas was so slow (10 Stat. 244). Settlers still could not prove up on these claims or even file a declaration to settle until the surveys were completed, but their occupancy of unsurveyed lands could no longer be considered trespass. They could also claim legal priority of right and could fulfill later residence requirements based on their original date of settlement. Even after the surveyors had finished their work, settlers often had a long wait ahead to patent their claims, as often a year or more elapsed before the field survey personnel filed the plats in the district land offices (Opie 1987:56; Yonce 1969:136–139).

In contrast, cash sales allowed immediate possession as soon as the land was surveyed. GLO records indicate that more property in King County was dispersed to settlers through cash sales than any other type of claim. Between the expiration of the Donation Claim Act in 1855 and the passage of the Homestead Act in May of 1862, there were few alternatives. Later, when other laws were available to obtain public land, many potential settlers continued to choose cash entry as the primary means to avoid residency requirements and
Family letters from Harvey Jones provide a detailed description of early experiences on a White River donation claim. Jones, his wife, Eliza, and their children as well as John King, Eliza’s son by a previous marriage, came West from Wisconsin and claimed 320 acres on a portion of the White River where it divided into two channels around a small island.

October 24, 1854: I am in my own house on my own land this day of our Lord, writing this letter. My farm is good enough for me. . . . The morning sun strikes it beautifully. My farm is as rich & handsome as . . . anybody else’s. I have never seen a stone on its surface yet. Part of it is prairie, part brush land & part timber. There are about 20 or 30 acres of heavy fir timber at the northern end of my farm. I can cut plenty of hewing sticks one hundred feet long and I presume that some trees would rise one hundred and fifty—they are very straight. The bulk of my small timber is maple. I have a few large cedars which are very valuable for shingles & posts. The river affords abundance of fine salmon. Deer, bear & partridges are plenty. We have no stove yet but I am in hopes to get one soon. We are all very fat & heavy. I weigh more now than I ever did before in my life. . . . There is but little or no stagnant water in the country that I have seen or heard of. I think it is a healthy country (Flewelling 1999b).

The Joneses were fortunate to find a small house on the property, possibly built by an early fur trader. They fixed it up and moved in, only to learn during the following spring that they needed to be on higher ground to avoid flood waters.

The family proceeded to build a new frame house. Harvey described it in some detail to his parents as “17 X 22 ft. with three rooms, a bed room & buttery & a large room to live in. I shall build it in a tolerable decent style & it will have to do us for several years.” They bought their processed lumber for the project at Henry Yesler’s sawmill in Seattle, paying for it mostly in butter. The lumber cost them an average of less than 1 ½ cents per board foot. But they were credited between 35 and 50 cents a pound wholesale for their butter—a very precious commodity in these parts at that time. The family dairy operation was serving them well, and they had a growing number of cows to tend. “I milk eight cows now & Eliza makes about 5 lbs. of butter a day from the milk besides what I feed the calves,” said Harvey in April. In July it was 10 cows and 50 pounds a month, providing a comfortable income. By then the nursery was planted and growing (Figure 3-5) (Flewelling 1999a, 1999b).
Port Gamble mill was able to amass huge holdings, making the company the largest owner of timber in the state by 1878 (Figure 3-6). Within another decade, the Puget Mill Company controlled over 182,000 acres of land in at least eight Western Washington counties (Coman and Gibbs 1949:11-1; Cox 1974:61–62; Ficken 1987:41, 43, 49, 51; Stein 2003:232).

Pope and Talbot claims in King County included a large amount of land on Vashon Island as well as hundreds of timbered acres in the northwest corner of the county between Puget Sound and the western shores of Lake Washington. The Puget Mill Company founders were in competition for some of this forested property with other lumbermen, including Marshall Blinn, who was one of the initial owners of the Washington Mill Company, located at Seabeck on Hood Canal. Blinn later sold his interest to start a new mill in West Seattle, and his claims were primarily in T26N, R4E along the upper reaches of Lake Washington. Other major purchasers included Portland banker and entrepreneur William S. Ladd, who made cash entries on numerous parcels along Puget Sound and around the Seattle area. Ladd was also heavily involved in railroad construction, and both he and J. W Sprague, another large land claimant who was the general manager of the Northern Pacific Railroad, likely made purchases in anticipation of the development of rail lines through these areas (Ficken 1987:41, 45–47; Perry et al. 1993:42–43).

The territory’s first land office opened in Olympia in 1854. One in the city of Vancouver followed, and then several sites east of the Cascade Mountains, including Walla Walla (1871), Colfax (1878), Yakima (1880), and Spokane Falls (1883). It was not until 1887 that an office was established in Seattle to serve the counties to the north. As a result, the difficulties and expense of traveling to file claims during the early period of settlement, especially from the north Puget Sound area, may have deterred individuals, while larger companies with money and personnel were able to dominate the land claim system (Yonce 1969:135–136).

**The Homestead Act**

An additional land entry option, the Homestead Act, soon provided King County residents with another method of acquiring title to property for settlement. In 1862 Congress instituted several new measures with the goal of establishing a society of independent landowners in the West. The Pacific Railroad Act
encouraged the development of a new transportation system to bring settlers westward, and the Morrill Act provided states with land grants to fund higher education. A third measure, the Homestead Act, established the ideal of the 160-acre self-sufficient farm. Many reformers in the United States wanted to end the land speculation that had accompanied previous acts and reserve the rest of public domain lands for small farmers, wage laborers, and other landless segments of American society. The government hoped to use the concept of homesteading to establish a utopian community in the West that would foster an independent and classless society and promote national progress and growth (Shannon 1945:52).

The Homestead Act (12 Stat. 392) offered 160 acres free to any settler who resided on and improved a tract of land for five consecutive years. A settler could also purchase the land for $1.25 an acre after six months of residency, an alternative that was appealing to those who had some cash or wanted more rapid development. Over time, the Homestead Act came to symbolize the nation’s commitment to providing a land base for the independent farmer, but critics of the legislation found that this idealistic vision did not actually meet expectations. Much of the public domain made available for homestead entry was land remaining after auction sales, grants to railroads and states, and preemption claims removed property of higher value. The long residency requirements for the Homestead Act were difficult for many to fulfill, especially on dry or less productive lands throughout much of the West. Speculation and cash sales continued, and railroad grants alone encompassed three times more land than the 84 million acres set aside nationwide for homesteaders (Opie 1987:65–67; White 1991:142–143; Yonce 1969:144–145).

A relatively large percentage of land claims in King County were made under the provisions of the Homestead Act, although many took advantage of a later amendment to the law that allowed settlers to make payments for the land after six months of residency. Ultimately more than 1,330 claimants proved up on homestead entries in the county, although it took nearly 30 years before it became a popular means of land acquisition. The large majority of homesteads were filed when Washington became a state in 1889 and over subsequent decades when transcontinental railroad links to Puget Sound were completed. After 1903, the numbers of these claims dropped off substantially, although a few were filed as late as the 1930s (Figure 3-7).

![Figure 3-7. Number of homestead proofs by year for King County (BLM General Land Office Records).](image)
Chapter 3: Claiming the Land

The progress of land surveys dictated the earliest dates of homestead filings because under the original act, rights to a piece of property began with entry rather than original settlement. No claims could be made until surveyors had completed their work and filed township plats in the district land office. Homesteaders who had lived on a piece of property and made improvements prior to the survey initially were at a disadvantage because they could not claim that time toward the residence requirements nor could they be assured that another claimant might not beat them to the land office and apply for the same parcel when the township opened for entries. Because of the slow pace of the surveys, however, Congress changed the requirements in 1880 so that homestead rights were extended to unsurveyed lands on the same basis as preemption (Yonce 1969:147–148).

Homestead Provisions

Homestead applicants filed an affidavit that they were over 21 years of age and citizens of the United States, had lived on their property for five years, and had made the requisite improvements. They also supplied a homestead proof document that more specifically addressed a number of questions including the first date of residence, a description of the house and other buildings that were part of the improvements made on the property, as well as the acreage cultivated and types of crops raised. The application also required the testimony of at least three other individuals, and neighbors usually served as witnesses for each other. The questions the witnesses were required to address generally mirrored those asked of the claimant (Appendix D).

Among the early homesteaders was Charles Benson, a native of Yorkshire, England, who arrived in San Francisco and then came north to Washington in 1858. Benson proved up on his homestead claim on September 1, 1869, at the same time as six other settlers in the vicinity. According to the King County agricultural census of 1870, Benson had improved 40 acres of his claim while 110 acres remained in woodland. He grew spring wheat and oats and pastured livestock, including two horses, five milk cows, two working oxen, and six head of cattle (Bureau of the Census 1870, 1880; Bureau of the Census, Nonpopulation Census Schedule, Agriculture, King County 1870:9; Washington Standard Nov. 1, 1889:1).

In the same year Benson finalized his claim, he married Lucy Barry, who was born in Maine and arrived in Seattle in 1866 with Asa Mercer (Figure 3-8). Mercer, then-president of the Territorial University, first traveled to the East Coast in 1864 and convinced 11 young women to sail back with him to the Northwest, where they could become teachers or consider marriage to one of the community’s many bachelors. The success of this venture convinced him to repeat the idea on a larger scale. For his second trip, he contracted with a number of local men, who each paid him $300 to subsidize the travel costs of a potential bride. Lucy Barry was part of this second group, sometimes known as Mercer’s Belles or Mercer Girls, and she arrived in Puget Sound in 1866. Mercer had promised her a husband, but evidently failed, and Lucy Barry did not meet and marry Charles Benson until three years after her arrival. The couple was together for 12 years before they divorced (Conant 1960:4–5, 30, 116–117; Seattle Post-Intelligencer, June 9, 1900:5).

Figure 3-8. Mercer Girls (Harper’s Weekly, 1866, Vol 10).
Just as early settlers had found the length-of-occupancy requirement onerous under the Donation Claim Act, so, too, did many have difficulty fulfilling the five-year residency requirement for homesteads. The land office generally permitted some absences from claims for seasonal employment, but many settlers needed a supplementary income to support their farming efforts. By the 1880s most of the more fertile prairies and river bottoms were already settled, and much of the remaining land available for homesteading in the county was only marginally suitable for agriculture. To the east, much of the property was steep and often heavily forested, and in many areas that were already logged, the dense underbrush, discarded timber and branches, as well as other debris required removal. The clearing process was typically quite slow and labor-intensive. Estimates were that clearing only five acres per year or less could be reasonably expected, and hiring help for the work was costly, averaging as much as $40 to $70 per acre (Yonce 1969:144–145).

**EARLY HOMESTEAD CLAIMS**

In King County the first homesteads, like many of the original donation claims, were located to the south of Seattle in the Duwamish and White River Valleys. Over time, as these lowland areas with the richest farming potential were settled, newcomers chose property farther to the north and west. Not surprisingly, lands along waterways and in river valleys were claimed first and then settlement moved into increasingly hilly or timbered terrain. In the later years of homesteading in the county, much of the land was either full of stumps or needed to be cleared before any crops were planted.

Other later homesteaders filed claims on available land to the west of Lake Washington, around Lake Sammamish, and along the Snoqualmie and Tolt Rivers in the central part of King County. Although prone to flooding, this area was relatively flat and once the timber was removed, it provided land for grazing and growing crops. Locating available land that was suitable for agriculture was sometimes difficult, and a cottage industry grew up to help people make their claims. For a fee, locators would find claimants the best piece of property and outfitters would prepare settlers for spending the required five years on their land.

Settlers filed 61 homestead claims, the largest number in the county, in T25N, R5E, which included the area surrounding what later became portions of the cities of Bellevue, Kirkland, and Redmond. The first land claimed in this area was in 1872, but the numbers grew steadily in the 1880s, and in 1890 alone, 20 claims were patented in this township (Figure 3-9).

One reason for this rapid rise in claims was better accessibility. The lack of an easy means of transportation to the area east of Lake Washington initially slowed growth. A series of north-south trails crossed through the area, and some individuals used small boats to cross the lake from Seattle. Tows helped to float rafts of logs across to mills on the west side. It was not until steamboat service began in the late 1880s that passengers could count on regularly scheduled trips to the east side of Lake Washington. The rise in steamer traffic helped to avoid the long overland trip around the north or south ends of the lake, and access became even easier when construction of the Seattle, Lakeshore and Eastern (SLS&E) rail line reached the area in 1888, providing communities on the eastern side of the county a means to obtain goods and also market products in Seattle (Bagley 1929:849; McDonald 1984:25–26, 38).

As the pace of settlement quickened, homesteaders took advantage of the new transportation access to claim lands that would also place them near mining, logging, and milling opportunities, which were flourishing in this part of the county. News that Peter Kirk was planning to build a steel mill along the eastern side of Lake Washington was also likely an impetus for increased interest. Others who filed homestead claims along Lake Sammamish were Native farmers like Bill Sbedzue and Louis Tahalthkut, whose ancestors had long lived in the vicinity (Appendix B).

Some of the newcomers were also familiar with the area for other reasons. William Shiach, for example, who proved up on his claim in August of 1892, was an early surveyor, and likely located his property as part of his job. He claimed the entire southwest quarter of Section 24, T25N, R5E which is now part of the Ardmore section of Bellevue. Shiach was later was one of the surveyors for the King County timber cruises in 1907 and...
Since much of the land along the lakeshores and the Squak Valley remained heavily forested, a few of the claimants were also likely speculators who were acting for timber companies or planned to sell the property once they received final proof (Bagley 1929:838–839; BLM GLO database).

**Additional Land Laws**

Congress had long been faced with a variety of political pressures to distribute its lands more widely and quickly, and by 1880 had enacted a dizzying 3,500 different land laws to this purpose. In large areas of Washington much of the land was heavily timbered, too dry, or too rocky for farming, but the Homestead Act made no provision for lands that were better for grazing, mining, or logging than for agriculture. Homesteaders could sell a portion of the timber on their claims to fund improvements, but in later years Congress passed laws that encouraged the acquisition of lands considered “unfit for cultivation.” The intent of the new legislation was to offer alternatives that addressed some of the inequities, abuses, and even fraud under previous methods of land acquisition. Among these laws were the Timber Culture Act (17 Stat. 605), the Timber and Stone Act of 1878 (20 Stat. 89), and later the Forest Homestead Act of 1906 (34 Stat. 233) (Shannon 1945:61; Szucs and Luebking 1997:248).

The Timber and Stone Act initially contained a provision that allowed residents of Washington, Oregon, California, and Nevada to purchase up to 160 acres of timber or mineral land for $2.50 per acre. Later, the law was expanded to allow claims in all states. Theoretically, the law limited purchases to individuals, but by the mid-1880s the act had become an easy way for timber companies to amass huge holdings. Thus, they hired individuals—often employees—to file claims on valuable timber lands and then sign them over to the company. So many illegal claims were filed that the GLO actually suspended these types of claims in Washington during both 1883 and 1885. Lumbermen were not the only violators, but as railroad builder...
James J. Hill later explained, “an acre of timber was worth forty acres of farmland – and the depredations of loggers were more visible than those of grazers and miners” (Ficken 1987:48–50, 52).

Surprisingly, Bureau of Land Management GLO databases indicate that although land entries were frequently made under the Timber Culture, Timber and Stone, and Forest Homestead Acts in other parts of the state, no claims under these laws were completed in King County. There were several potential reasons for the lack of Timber and Stone claims. The Secretary of Interior had defined “unfit for cultivation” to mean both before

Among the early homesteaders in King County east of Lake Washington were Luke McRedmond (Figure 3-10) and Warren Perrigo, whose adjacent 80-acre claims along the Sammamish River encompassed portions of what later became the city of Redmond. McRedmond, an Irish immigrant who came to the Northwest via California, worked at Port Madison before ultimately homesteading in the Sammamish area. He brought his family and household goods by scow to his chosen piece of property, and began living there by 1872, according to his homestead proof document (Appendix D). He evidently did not receive final title until 1881. Settlement claims in the area were a family affair, as his son John filed for a 160-acre homestead nearby and stepson James Morse (who also used the name McRedmond), took a 40-acre cash entry parcel adjacent to Luke McRedmond. At various times, Luke, and his son, John, and later his daughter, Emily, served as postmasters of the town, which was originally called Salmonberg and Melrose before the McRedmonds petitioned to have it changed to Redmond in 1882 (Bureau of the Census 1870, 1880; Hardy 2006:5, 30; Ramsey ca. 1966:579–580; U.S. Postal Service, Postmaster Files, NARA, Seattle, WA; Way 1989:1–2).

Warren Perrigo was Canadian by birth, but served in the American Civil War, and in 1864 married Laura MacDuff in Maine. Eager to own land, he and his wife made the journey to the Pacific Northwest on a ship hired by Seattle booster Asa Mercer when he brought a group of young women, often referred to as the Mercer Girls, to Washington Territory as teachers and potential brides for local bachelors. Perrigo taught school in Kitsap County, worked in the Yesler sawmill in Seattle, and then finally achieved his land ownership goals by homesteading next to the McRedmonds. The Perrigos filed their claim on June 14, 1871, and began to clear and plant an orchard in addition to crops. They soon established an inn, the Melrose House, which served travelers who were crossing the Cascade Range along the Snoqualmie Pass route. After the death of his wife in 1887, Warren Perrigo eventually gave up the Melrose House and moved to Seattle. His younger brother William (Figure 3-11) and his wife also homesteaded in Redmond, operated the first local trading company (Figure 3-12), and remained in the area with their large family (Bureau of the Census 1870, 1880; Way 1989:7–10).

Figure 3-10. Luke McRedmond, no date (Redmond Historical Society, Catalog Number 2008.485.034).

Figure 3-11. William Perrigo and family, June 1903 (Redmond Historical Society, Accession number 2008.485.034).

Figure 3-12. The Perrigo Trading Company ca.1880 (Redmond Historical Society, Accession number 2008.485.033).
and after clearing, so much of King County’s timbered land did not in the strictest terms meet this criteria. Also during this period, the Northern Pacific had secured extensive land grants in the state, and this land remained reserved even though the railroad had as yet to construct most of its promised lines. Since it was also a time when the government was setting aside large amounts of timbered land for Forest Reserves, the availability of forested land was diminished. In addition, the migration of the timber industry from the Great Lakes region to the Northwest, and particularly Frederick Weyerhaeuser’s purchase of huge tracts from the Northern Pacific Railroad, may have dramatically limited the amount of remaining timber lands available under the act in King County (Ficken 1987:48–53; Yonce 1969:250–251).

**Railroad Land Grants**

The purchase of property that was originally part of railroad land grants was another important avenue of land acquisition for settlement in King County. The Northern Pacific Railroad obtained the largest of these grants, representing more than 9.6 million acres or about 22 percent of Washington’s land area, under the 1864 legislation passed by Congress to assist with railroad construction costs. In the territories, the Northern Pacific was granted odd-numbered sections for 40 miles on either side of the proposed track as indemnity or repayment for their huge investments in building the lines. Lands already occupied by settlers were exempted from this grant, but the railroad was given the opportunity to select lieu lands or replacements parcels in other adjacent areas (Schwantes 1989:161; Yonce 1969:201–202).

The land grants were based on a specific timeline for completion of construction. The Northern Pacific repeatedly failed to meet the deadlines required by the legislation, and these delays essentially immobilized huge areas of public land for many years, causing resentment among Washington settlers (Figures 3-13 and 3-14). In addition, tensions arose over the railroad’s land sale policies. The original expectation was
Figure 3-14. Map of railroad, government, and school lands in King County, including Northern Pacific RR land sold into private ownership, 1892.
that the railroad would sell most of its land to individual settlers, but instead, a substantial portion went to corporations. Frederick Weyerhaeuser, for example, purchased 900,000 acres for his timber empire, much of it in Washington, for $6 per acre. Average land prices for settlers often began at $2.50 per acre but reached as much as $20 per acre in some areas. If the notion of the public land policy was to support the egalitarian ideal of an agrarian society of small-scale producers, then, according to critics, the railroad grants had failed to achieve that goal (Ficken 1987:94–95; Scott and DeLorme 1988:161; White 1991:30, 2000:19).

Congress tried to reduce some of the ill-will by reopening to public settlement some of the sections of lands reserved for the railroad that had never been returned after routes had changed. The amount of land given back to the government from the original land grants, also known as indemnity withdrawals, totaled about 1.5 million acres in Washington. Ultimately, a law was also approved that forced the railroad to forfeit lands they had received for other segments of the line that were never constructed. In Washington an additional two million acres of the railroad land grant were returned to public ownership as a result (Yonce 1969:201, 204-206, 215–218).

**Federal Lands**

The early role of the federal government was to disburse land to settlers, but gradually the value of preserving some of these lands for publicly owned forests, parks, and other uses changed the government’s focus to stewardship of remaining resources. Conservation efforts on the national level began in earnest during the 1870s when the science of forestry became more widely recognized and the rapid depletion of forest resources became a topic of concern. Protection particularly focused on the West’s huge undeveloped timber stands, which famous national figures like Theodore Roosevelt and John Bird Grinnell touted for their beauty and recreational potential (Atwood et al. 2005:5–6).

The establishment of the Division of Forestry within the U.S. Department of Agriculture (USDA) was an initial step to increase the federal focus on forest resources. New national land regulations like the Timber Culture Act of 1873 and the Timber and Stone Act of 1878 were also part of the strategy to encourage cultivation of trees and curtail illegal cutting of timber on federal lands, but these measures generally proved ineffective in conserving forests. In many areas, the laws were used fraudulently by lumber companies and others to increase the amount of timber removed from federal hands (Ficken 1987:48–50).

Of particular importance in the conservation effort was a subsequent law, the Forest Reserve Act of 1891 (26 Stat. 1095), which provided a more direct means for protection by giving the President of the United States the power to set aside forested lands that would remain under federal control, with the stated purpose not only of protecting dwindling timber resources but also of preserving watersheds. No funds were initially appropriated to oversee the reserves, so subsequent acts in 1897 and 1898 provided financial support for protection, management, and staffing of the reserve system (Atwood et al. 2005:7–8; Davis 1983:35).

In Washington State, President Benjamin Harrison established one of the earliest forest set-asides, the Pacific Reserve, which encompassed Mount Rainier and surrounding land (Figure 3-15). His successor, Grover Cleveland, in 1897

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Figure 3-15. Souvenir book from the Pacific Forest Reserve and Mt. Rainier, 1895.
enlarged and renamed the Pacific Reserve the Mt. Rainier Reserve, which included more than 2.2 million acres. He also created the Washington Forest Reserve, which contained approximately 1.5 million acres in the North Cascades. Mt. Rainier National Park was created from some of these lands in 1899. In 1905, as a result of the Forest Transfer Act, the various Washington reserves came under the jurisdiction of the USDA and the newly created U.S. Forest Service (Figure 3-16) (Atwood et al. 2005:8, 12–13).

Under the U.S. Forest Service, management goals changed dramatically. Whereas initially the reserves were literally set aside from development, the goal for these lands under the USDA was “long-term managed use.” As stated by the agency’s director:

In the management of each reserve local questions will be decided upon local grounds ... and where conflicting interests must be reconciled, the question will always be decided from the standpoint of the greatest good for the greatest number in the long run (Feb. 1, 1905) (Atwood et al. 2005:12).

This policy also provided income that enabled the U.S. Forest Service to support the agency without sole reliance on congressional appropriations. Within two years, Congress changed the term “reserves” to national forests.

Much of the public, particularly within Washington State, opposed the creation of the reserves, and the Washington legislature as well as the Seattle Chamber of Commerce and other organizations petitioned the government to end the reserve system. For some, the reserves were an obstacle to development and industry, while to others they represented a means to conserve and preserve an important natural legacy. Under Gifford Pinchot, first chief of the U.S. Forest Service, federal forest policy did not preclude use of the national forest land for grazing, mining, and even timber cutting as long as the primary focus was on local needs. Because of public outcry, land within the reserves could even be opened for settlement. Under the
Joseph Greiner, Sr.

Joseph Greiner, Sr., applied for a homestead in Section 18, T21N, R9E and claimed to have settled on the land in 1901 (Figure 3-17). The property was within what soon became the Snoqualmie National Forest. Greiner worked with a locator he called “old man Lamb,” who helped to find the property and build his 12-by 14-foot log cabin near a 6,000-square-foot area that was cleared and grubbed (Figure 3-18). He and his wife and eight children lived in Buckley and because of his wife’s illness, Greiner claimed he could only live and work on his property three or four months per year.

Forest Service personnel inspected the claim and found that Greiner had made efforts to develop the land and that his residence contained a homemade bed and table, a small box stove, and some cooking utensils as well as tools, including a shovel, a peavey, a mattock, two axes, and a crosscut saw (Figure 3-19). Initially, the inspector was unsure how to handle this case because of Greiner’s apparent lack of understanding of the homestead laws, but in 1910, the GLO held that his claim was invalid and that he was considered a squatter.

Greiner retained an attorney and appealed the decision, offering testimony from a number of witnesses. The commissioner found that Greiner had failed to fulfill the terms of the Homestead Act since his wife had never been to the property and the family maintained another home in Buckley, violating residency requirements. In addition, Greiner had never adequately cultivated the land, which was heavily timbered (RG 95, Mt. Baker Snoqualmie National Forest, Claims, Joseph Greiner, Sr., 4-14-1912, No. 520, NARA, Seattle).

Figure 3-17. Location of the Greiner claim.

Figure 3-18. The exterior of the Greiner cabin, 1910.

Figure 3-19. The interior of the Greiner cabin, 1910.
Forest Homestead Act of 1906, for example, settlers could claim land within the forests as long as it was suitable for agriculture and used for that purpose (Atwood et al. 2005:13–14).

In King County, a number of individuals and families tried to claim land within the reserves, primarily under the Homestead Act. In many of the townships where homestead claims were filed, would-be settlers built a residence and tried to clear the trees to plant crops. In general, the terrain was not particularly suitable for agriculture, and the rate of abandonment was high. Inspectors periodically reviewed these claims and denied many for failure to fulfill the terms of the act, particularly its residency requirements. In many instances, claimants held jobs elsewhere, and in U.S. Forest Service records, these individuals were generally considered squatters.
View of a boat encampment, Puget Sound, Straits de Fuca, ca. 1793
by John Sykes

Robert B. Honeyman, Jr. Collection of Early Californian and Western American Pictorial Material,
Courtesy of UC Berkeley, Bancroft Library,
http://content.cdlib.org/ark:/13030/tf4n39p2aq/?order=1
CHAPTER 4. TRANSPORTATION AND SETTLEMENT

In the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, the development of new transportation systems was the major determinant of expansion throughout the Puget Sound area. Improved maritime access, new road construction, and the advent of railroads significantly affected settlement patterns and changing land use in the region and also led to the growth of industries and commercial endeavors that encouraged new immigration.

Most Native peoples as well as outsiders who came into the region initially relied on marine travel, and as a result, proximity to water, whether along Puget Sound or local rivers and streams, was an early determinant of settlement. A system of trails established by the Native peoples of the region often linked these waterways and also became important travel routes for early traders and prospectors as well as the settlers who followed them. Additionally, as easily accessible farming lands were settled and cultivated, later land-seekers looked for new routes to push further inland and stake their claims in more remote areas. Ultimately, improved roads and the advent of rail links also helped to accelerate the pace of settlement. The following overview of transportation developments in King County provides a framework for understanding these changing land use and settlement patterns.

MARITIME ACCESS

The earliest explorers, traders, and military personnel along the Northwest Coast arrived on sailing vessels. Among the first known Europeans to visit the northern portions of what we now call the Salish Sea were Spanish expeditions that sailed into the Strait of Juan de Fuca and the southern Strait of Georgia in 1790 and 1791 and also established a small naval station at Neah Bay. In 1792 the British joined Northwest maritime exploration when Captain George Vancouver led an expedition that further surveyed the region, mapping and assigning English names to a number of its land and water features. On May 19 of that year, Vancouver anchored his vessel, the Discovery, off the southeastern tip of present-day Bainbridge Island, while a smaller launch piloted by Lieutenant Peter Puget explored various inlets of the waterway that was eventually named for him (Scott and DeLorme 1988:15; Whitebrook 1959:65–67, 76–78).

Vancouver and his men noted the presence of Native settlements throughout the region, but chose to add a new layer of names and meaning reflecting their colonial power. As suggested by historian Coll Thrush, “underneath this refashioned landscape lay another geography” and for every new site noted, “there was an indigenous counterpart, even if Vancouver and his men could not, or would not, see it” (Thrush 2007:22). Yet the physical presence of the Native peoples was very real. Vancouver’s men and later explorers traded for food and other necessities, and Suquamish tradition suggests that Chief Seattle as a young man watched Vancouver sail into the bay and may have boarded his ship with other representatives of his people.

These seamen who first sailed throughout Puget Sound were part of a broader worldwide competition to claim new territories that could enhance the influence of major European nations. Sea traders soon followed the explorers as worldwide attention began to focus on the Northwest’s vast natural resources, which offered great economic potential on the world market. Initially, the valuable pelts of the sea otter were the most sought-after commodity, and British merchantmen vied with American seamen, known as Boston men, to trade with coastal Tribes. In the early nineteenth century the high prices paid for other fur-bearing animals like the beaver also drew overland explorers, who were generally representatives of large trading companies in both Canada and the United States. These trappers and traders primarily traveled on rivers and streams as they made their way west, although when necessary, they followed Native trails or blazed
their own way through mountains or other terrain where there was no navigable water access (Johansen and Gates 1967:47–49, 63–65).

Most dominant along the Northwest coast was the Hudson’s Bay Company, which established forts at strategic locations and set up far-reaching networks of exchange with Native peoples throughout the region. Company traders began to explore areas along the Northwest coast in the early 1820s, and Fort Vancouver, built near the confluence of the Columbia and Willamette Rivers in 1824, became the centerpiece of Hudson’s Bay operations in the Northwest. Fort Langley, located to the north at the mouth of the Fraser River, was constructed 3 years later to anchor the coastal trade (Carpenter 1986:25–26).

The primary contact between the two Northwest posts was by sea, but traders eventually developed a rough overland route along the coast that, at its halfway point, passed through the delta of the Nisqually River. This part of south Puget Sound offered a good location to gather furs from the interior and also had potential for agriculture and grazing. In 1833 the company built a new post, Fort Nisqually, on a bluff near a village of the Nisqually people, and the fort soon became an active hub for both overland and maritime traffic associated with Hudson’s Bay Company trade with Tribes throughout the area. Both traders and Native suppliers frequently traveled through the Puget Sound region and visited villages. A few individuals may have built rough cabins or caches in the area that became King County (Carpenter 1986:30, 35–38, 64–66; Crooks 2001:12).

American interest in the Northwest had also grown since the discoveries of the Lewis and Clark expedition in the early years of the nineteenth century. Congress had first authorized the President to send naval vessels to explore the Pacific in 1828, but it took another decade before the United States Exploring Expedition, under the command of Lieutenant Charles Wilkes, set sail for what became a four-year venture. The expedition, which visited the South Pacific, the Antarctic, and then the North Pacific coast, fulfilled a number of commercial, scientific, and diplomatic objectives, but also further established American interest in the settlement of the Far Northwest. Like the Vancouver expedition nearly 50 years earlier, Wilkes and his men sailed throughout Puget Sound, naming land and water features for crew members and noted naval figures (Haskett 1974:1–3).

Lieutenant George Sinclair was in charge of the small expedition party that in May of 1841 explored coastal areas of what later became Seattle and King County. Originally part of XWulcH, the saltwater inlet was renamed Elliott Bay, likely for Samuel Elliott, a midshipman on the expedition (there were two other Elliotts in the crew). The sandspit that projected into the bay, site of a winter village at Djidjila’letch, the “little crossing-over place,” was renamed Piner’s Point after the ship’s quartermaster, Thomas Piner. Other Wilkes-inspired place names included West Point, the northern cape of Elliott Bay, and Maury Island, just to the southeast of Vashon Island, which was earlier named by Vancouver (Figure 4-1) (Dorpat 2006:13–14; Haskett 1974:1–3; Viola and Margolis 1985:9–11).

Lieutenant Charles Wilkes and his men of the United States Exploring Expedition were not overly impressed by Elliott Bay’s potential as a port when they sailed into this Puget Sound inlet in 1841:

> The anchorage is of comparatively small extent, owing to the great depths of water, as well as the extensive mud flats; these are bare at low water. Three small streams enter at the head of the Bay, where good water may be obtained. I do not consider the bay a desirable anchorage; from the west it is exposed to the prevailing winds, and during their strength there is much sea (Benoit 1979:1; Hanson 1954:28–32).

Yet only a little more than a decade later, a group of early settlers who moved to this site on the bay did so because they believed it offered a deeper and more protected harbor for the ships that they hoped would make their settlement a thriving port. The families who first arrived by the ship Exact were later known as the Denny party, led by David and Arthur Denny (Figure 4-2). The group initially settled on a point known by the Native peoples as SbEkwabEqs, but which settlers called Squaquamox and eventually Alki (Figure 4-3). These settlers’ goals were primarily commercial, as several members of the party planned to start a
Figure 4-1. Map of Elliott Bay drawn by the United States Exploring Expedition, 1841.
new town that they hoped would become a trading center for the northern reaches of Puget Sound. Very quickly, however, a few of their number realized that the eastern shore of Elliott Bay was a better location to fulfill the goals of their settlement, and so moved to the new site and staked their claims in February 1852 (Chasen 1981:3).

Americans like the Denny party had begun to challenge the Hudson’s Bay Company’s monopoly of commerce in the region in the years after the 1849 Gold Rush, when sea captains from California realized the potential profit in trade for Northwest wood products. Many of the early settlers who came across the trails to Oregon were forced to abandon overland travel and book passage on sailing vessels heading up the coast to the Puget Sound. These ships could make money by delivering land-seekers and supplies to struggling settlements along the Northwest coast and by returning fully loaded with timbers, poles, and shakes, eagerly awaited by builders in the booming mining supply town of San Francisco. California seamen were soon joined by other maritime adventurers who began to build vessels for the coastal trade in growing Northwest towns like Portland and Olympia (Ficken 1987:22–23; Gibbs and Williamson 1987:28).

By 1853, another recent arrival on Elliott Bay, Henry Yesler, built the region’s first steam sawmill along the waterfront, and quickly made the small settlement, now known as Seattle, into a busy port. Both passenger and freight service expanded as more sloops, larger sailing vessels, and a variety of other boats visited Elliott Bay. Clippers began
regular transport of cargo and travelers to destinations outside Puget Sound. In 1854 at least 12 lumber ships carried Yesler’s products to San Francisco and a few made trips to markets as far away as Hawaii and Australia, forging the beginnings of global trade networks. In that year Yesler also began construction of his wharf, which grew over the years to provide moorage for many of the early ships that visited Elliott Bay and to serve as the centerpiece for trade and the growth of settlement in King County (Figure 4-4) (Chasen 1981:5; Ficken 1987:24).

**CANOE CULTURE**

Despite the continuing presence of sailing vessels bringing outsiders to the region and transporting the region’s resources to distant markets, for many years canoes remained the preferred method of everyday transportation on Puget Sound as well as most of the navigable rivers and streams throughout King County. The canoe culture of Native peoples who lived along the saltwater as well as area rivers was rooted deeply in traditions of trade, travel, subsistence, and prestige. Primarily crafted from the region’s plentiful cedar logs, the ocean-going canoes were long and stable, designed for cargo transport, while lighter weight and more streamlined versions were used on fishing, hunting, and other food-gathering journeys. On the Snoqualmie, Skykomish, and Green Rivers and other navigable streams, shovel-nosed dugout cedar canoes were suited to navigating both rapids and shallows. These canoes became important items of trade as well as symbols of wealth and prestige. Sometimes decorated with images of personal or spiritual meaning, canoes also became part of burial rituals practiced by some Northwest coastal groups (Figure 4-5) (Artifacts Consulting 2011:155–156; Neal and Janus 2001:20–21).

As newcomers arrived in the region, canoes continued to serve as the primary means of local transportation. Hudson’s Bay Company traders primarily traveled by canoe, but also relied on Native paddlers to carry messages and ferry passengers as needed. Most early settlers reached their new homes in Native canoes and for trips of any distance on local rivers and streams, they often hired Native men to paddle for them. Pioneers of the day believed that “one was perfectly safe anywhere on the water in the hands of an Indian,” and those who didn’t follow the advice of experienced Native paddlers about setting out in bad weather or rough seas jeopardized their lives (Bass 1973:15). Canoes were also used for transport of goods, whether it was to carry butter and other agricultural products from White River donation claims for sale in Seattle, or to deliver the mail weekly from Olympia to other early King County settlements. Over time, despite the development of other types of transportation options, settlers continued to build and utilize their own canoes for everyday travel as well as commercial and recreational needs (Figure 4-6) (Denny 1979:60–61, 65; Neal and Janus 2001:23, 26).
Early Steamboats

Canoes could only carry a limited amount of cargo and the era’s sailing vessels were notoriously slow and at the mercy of winds and tides, so the need soon developed for faster forms of transportation around the Puget Sound. In earlier years when the Hudson’s Bay Company wanted to transport a greater supply of goods more quickly between its Northwest outposts, the company shipped the side-wheel steamer, the Beaver, from England. The steamboat began its service from Puget Sound to Fort Simpson, on Vancouver Island, in 1836 and was soon joined by the Otter, which operated between Fort Vancouver and other company facilities along the Northwest Coast (Carey 1962:1–2; Denny 1979:63; Newell 1960:6–10).

It was a few more decades before steamer traffic carrying American settlers and goods became common on the Puget Sound as well as inland lakes and rivers. The first American steamboat that operated near Seattle was the Fairy, a small side-wheeler that replaced the canoe express in delivering mail. Once the Fairy began its regular route, however, the tiny ship broke down frequently and her service ended in 1857 when her boiler exploded. Other steamers began to operate locally during this period, including the Major Tompkins, the Traveler, the Water Lily and the Constitution. The Eliza Anderson, a side-wheeler that was the first ocean-going vessel built in Portland, was one of the most profitable steamers on the Puget Sound and one of the longest running. It arrived in Seattle in 1859 and operated until the Klondike Gold Rush era of the 1890s (Figure 4-7) (Carey 1962:4–5; Denny 1979:63; Neal and Janus 2001:27–28, 31; Newell 1960:10, 22; Wright 1967:45).

Small steamers also operated along navigable rivers, where they joined canoes and homemade flat-bottom scows built by settlers for transport. The Traveler was likely the first steamer on the White River, carrying supplies to military blockhouses in the valley during the Treaty Wars in 1855 and 1856. Within a decade, more regular steamer service encouraged the growth of the agricultural settlements in south King County. Local pioneer Thomas Alvord, who had purchased his farm on the river from early donation claimant Moses Kirkland, built a landing dock on the river for a sailing scow he operated to distribute his farm products and those of his neighbors as well as to bring back supplies. Alvord’s Landing, just south of Kent, soon became the usual terminus for regular steamer service run by Captain Simon Randolph and others, whose boats like the Black Diamond stopped at other settlers’ docks, shortening the trip to Seattle from several days to 12 to 14 hours. In addition to carrying passengers and supplies,
these early steamers also dredged the river for easier passage (Bagley 1929:69; Flewelling 1990:56; Vine 1990:24).

To the north, the steamer *Mud Hen* began to run up Squak Slough from Lake Washington by 1876 to bring settlers and goods to new communities along the Sammamish River. Like their White River counterparts, settlers like Ira Woodin had docks on the waterway, and small communities like Bothell and Derby grew up along the river. The trip to and from Seattle remained a difficult one, especially for freight transport. The Luke McRedmond family’s journey to their homestead at the future site of Redmond followed a route from the Seattle waterfront up the Duwamish River to the Black River, and then north across Lake Washington before heading through the slough and up the Sammamish River (Freeman et al. 1993:15; Way 1989:2–3).

**Military Vessels**

At the time of the Treaty Wars with Northwest Tribes, a number of American military vessels also arrived in Puget Sound in an attempt to keep the peace and protect the tiny American settlements in the area. A sloop-of-war, the *Decatur*, was anchored for many months along the Seattle harbor during this period, and other vessels in the U.S. fleet, including the revenue cutter *Jeff Davis* and the steamers *Active*, *John Hancock*, and *Massachusetts* also spent time in the Sound. Other private steamers and sailing ships were pressed into service carrying troops and supplies. The bark *Brontes*, which was loading pilings in the Seattle harbor when the Native attacks began, also sheltered some fleeing residents during the conflict (McConaghy 2009:11, 113; Wright 1967:61).

**Mosquito Fleet**

Once the conflicts with Native peoples ended and Puget Sound again became a destination for new settlement, a continual traffic of smaller craft began to ply its waters. As the lumber industry was established in the region, with as many as 19 sawmills operating around Puget Sound by 1860, Seattle soon served as a commercial center for the small outlying mill communities. Coal from the mines of eastern King County was also shipped by a combination of roads, rails, and cargo vessels on area lakes and rivers to the wharves of Seattle, where it was stored in bunkers before being shipped to smelters in Tacoma, Everett, and beyond. Not only were these raw materials first shipped to Seattle, but the city fairly quickly became the source of a variety of household goods, machinery, and foodstuffs that were transported by boat to farmers, mill and mining camp residents, as well as business owners at these isolated outposts (Ficken 1987:39; Magden 1991:6–7).

As settlement increased, resourceful sea captains used any imaginable type of vessel to haul animals, hay, lumber and shingles, lime, clothing, and most other necessities of life back and forth over Puget Sound, across area lakes, and along navigable rivers. So many of these boats literally swarmed Elliott Bay and King County’s other marine highways, they soon became known collectively as the “mosquito fleet” (Figure 4-8). The definition of what types of vessels could be considered part of the mosquito fleet varies, but small, wooden-hulled steamers made up the bulk of this Northwest armada. Larger, steel-hulled ships were also included under this moniker as long as they were primarily

![Photograph by Theodore Peiser. University of Washington Libraries. Special Collections Division, Negative No: PEISER 42.](image)

**Figure 4-8. Mosquito Fleet steamers docked at Yesler’s Wharf, 1882.**
used for short-haul day trips. Many of the earliest of these steamers were side- or sternwheelers, but later the fleet also included propeller-driven ships (Chasen 1981:5; Faber 1985:128–129; Neal and Janus 2001:35–36; Newell 1960:2–3).

Most of these “miniature mail order houses” could serve any waterfront community that had a dock or moorage of some kind, and thus were integrally involved in the settlement-building process not only in King County but throughout the Puget Sound region (Bagley 1929:688). The fleet offered, as one maritime historian has written, “a farm to market highway,” (Faber 1985:30), but also a means to ferry passengers and freight, deliver the mail, and ultimately establish reliable access routes for residential, industrial, and commercial development in previously inaccessible areas of the county (Faber 1985:28–30; Neal and Janus 2001:35–36).

Many of these vessels were privately owned and could develop routes to any one of hundreds of potential stops. Steamer service to communities around Puget Sound included Vashon and Maury Islands by the early 1880s, when the Swan offered service twice a week from a dock at Burton to Tacoma. By 1890 there was also twice-daily service to Quartermaster Harbor on Vashon Island (Figure 4-9). Although schooners had earlier brought loggers and a few homesteaders to both of the islands, the advent of steamer connections accelerated settlement and encouraged the expansion of agriculture as well as the development of several new industries, including a brick plant, sawmill, shingle mill, and shipyard (Haulman 2016:64–66, 71; Van Olinda 1974:5, 9–10).

Competing steamers also began to offer more frequent service to a number of stops on Lake Washington, Lake Sammamish, and their tributary rivers. Small tugs had operated on the lake even earlier to carry coal and haul logs, but by the 1880s regular runs to growing lakeside communities had begun. Early passenger services were often by demand, as one rider remembered: “They run regularly but stop generally where some settler waves a blanket or apron as a signal” (McDonald 1984:38). The Squak, which was originally launched from Houghton in 1884, was among the first to offer passenger service from the north end of Lake Washington to Lake Sammamish. Beginning at Seattle’s McGilvra’s Landing, near today’s Madison Park, the steamer then proceeded to Sandpoint, Bothell, and as far as Issaquah. Its shallow draft made it possible to navigate through the windy, snag-filled slough between the two lakes, and its square bow and stern allowed it to pull ashore without a dock (Figure 4-10). Other small boats stopped at Leschi, East Seattle (on what became Mercer Island), and Meydenbauer Bay, and a side-wheeler began daily service to Houghton, Kirkland, and Juanita by 1889 (Droge 2003:34–35; McDonald 1984:38; Stickney and McDonald 1977:35–36).

During these early years, many of the steamboat landings, or whistle stops, were known by the name of the property owners along the shore: Bothell, Meydenbauer, Bargquist, Woodin, and Nielsen, among others (Figure 4-11). Gradually, however, some of these landings were marked by more elaborate piers to serve
larger settlements, often dependent on access to land-based travel routes, nearby logging or mining potential, or the eagerness of owners to plat new town sites. By the turn of the century, King County–owned ferries joined the already-crowded fleet of boats on the lake, while Captain John Anderson consolidated many of the private vessels under the Lake Washington Steamboat Company (Figure 4-12). Anderson’s company made more than 50 stops around the lake, and the additional routes not only encouraged additional homes and settlements along the shoreline, but also the development of recreational and social facilities, including dance pavilions, parks, resorts as well as other tourist destinations. Connections by roads or cable car from Seattle to communities like Leschi, Madison Park, and Madrona made these ferry stops appealing weekend destinations (Figure 4-13) (Faber 1985:221–222; Stickney and McDonald 1977:39).

The Alaska-Yukon-Pacific Exposition in 1909 brought large numbers of tourists to the area, and the promise of a ship canal from Puget Sound to Lake Washington also raised hopes of the increasing importance of boat traffic on the lake. The opening of the canal in 1916 lowered the level of Lake Washington by 9 feet, ending navigation on Squak Slough and water access to much of the east side of the county. Also, the growing popularity of the automobile and the construction of new roads began to undermine the utility and appeal of the ferries. Some of the lake steamers were converted to car ferries, but competition from county- and Port of Seattle–owned vessels affected the profits of private ferry operators. A handful of sightseeing boats remained on
Lake Washington for a few more decades, but most regular routes were abandoned and the mosquito fleet boats began to disappear (Droge 2003:35; Faber 1985:222; Neal and Janus 2001:61–62).

**WRECKS AND LIGHT STATIONS**

King County boosters often trumpeted the fact that the county had nearly 40 miles of coast line along Puget Sound, and that within these limits, “no shoals, sunken reefs or other dangerous obstacles to navigation and vessels of any size can enter safely at all times” (Hutchinson 1916:45). Despite these advantages, protection of shipping remained a concern, and over time a significant number of vessels sank due to wrecks, storms, and onboard calamities. The Pacific coastline from southern Oregon to Vancouver Island was commonly called the “graveyard of the Pacific” because of the large number of shipwrecks that had occurred, but even within the protected environment of Puget Sound, a number of boats were lost. The first lighthouse in the region was built on Tatoosh Island near Cape Flattery in 1857. A number of other lighthouses followed through the years, including a station at Alki Point that guarded the southern entrance to Elliott Bay and the West Point Lighthouse, constructed in 1881, that marked its north side (Williamson 1977).

Lightships were also used along treacherous parts of the coastline to protect areas where there were no lighthouses. The steel-hulled vessels usually included decks designed for water to run off, two huge masts that held powerful lights and thick cables, and large, heavy anchors for mooring. Several served along the Pacific Northwest coast including No. 83, also known as the *Relief*, which was built in 1904 and was first deployed in the San Francisco area. It came to Seattle as a relief lightship in 1951, marking the entrance to Puget Sound before it was retired in 1960 and later preserved on the Kirkland waterfront (Delgado 1988: 8-2–8-5; Parametrix and Birk Associates 2010:32).

**TRAILS AND EARLY ROADS**

On land, the region’s numerous waterways were originally connected by trails used by Native peoples for centuries as part of their subsistence patterns and trading networks. As discussed in more detail in the context statement for Native American archaeological resources in King County (Kopperl et al. 2016), trade between local and distant groups took place along two primary routes. North-south trails from the Columbia River passed through major valleys along the Cowlitz, Chehalis, and Black Rivers to reach the Puget Sound region. Native peoples also established several other trails that used the most accessible mountain passes to cross the Cascade Range and link the coast with inland destinations. Most of these well-used travel networks connected to an array of local trails and canoe routes between villages or important resource acquisition sites (Kopperl et al. 2016:76, 77, 80).

Early traders, travelers, and ultimately settlers generally chose these same routes to reach the Puget Sound region. When not traveling by water, Hudson’s Bay Company personnel used the north-south trail that ultimately connected Fort Vancouver with Fort Langley and included additional posts at Cowlitz and Nisqually. The first wave of settlers who came west on the Oregon Trail and then made the decision to head north from the Columbia River also followed these major trail systems. Attempts to find shorter or more direct routes ultimately led them to mountain passes with the lowest elevations, generally traveling from the east along the Yakima or Wenatchee Rivers to their headwaters in the Cascade Range before heading down river valleys on the western slope of the mountains (Christianson et al. 2009:11).

**INITIAL ROAD CONSTRUCTION**

As an increasing number of permanent settlers penetrated north of the Columbia River in the 1850s, serious agitation for road building began. Counties took responsibility for most road construction, and Washington Territory initially played only a minimal role. In Thurston and Pierce Counties where there were large stretches of prairie, road construction was relatively easy, but in King County the terrain was generally steep and more difficult, and water transportation remained important for several decades longer than in the South Sound area (King County Road Engineer 1939:75).
In order to improve north-south traffic by land, one of the Washington Territory’s earliest road-building proposals was to link Seattle to the then-thriving community of Steilacoom in Pierce County, where it could then join a military route that extended to Fort Walla Walla. The first King County road commissioners, appointed in 1853, petitioned to complete the road from Seattle to Steilacoom, passing “from Seattle to the Collins on the Duwampsh [Duwamish] river; thence on the dividing ridge most of the way. Striking the Puyallup river one mile above Adam Benson’s claim; thence to crossing of Steilacoom creek, thence to Steilacoom, the terminus” (Watt 1959:153). Most of the work on these and other road projects was carried out by volunteers, and fines were levied against those who did not participate (Figures 4-14 and 4-15) (Denny 1979:57; Watt 1959:149–150, 153).

**Naches Pass Route**

In south King County, a number of the early settlers followed a route from the east to the coast along what became known as the Naches Trail. The Yakama, Walla Walla, and other inland Tribes had traditionally used this crossing through the Cascade Range to reach Puget Sound, and Hudson’s Bay Company traders as well as a scout from the 1841 U.S. Exploring Expedition visiting the area also followed the same route. The Naches Pass was a difficult but much more direct way to the Puget Sound country from the overland trail along the Columbia River. Congress in January of 1853 made appropriations for improvement of the route as a military road under the direction of General George McClellan, but when no funds appeared, private interests supported an initial road improvement project in mid-summer (Carter and McDonald 1990; Magnusson 1934:173).

Members of the Longmire-Biles party of 36 wagons traveling from Indiana to the Northwest in fall of 1853 were the first overland settlers to use the route. After crossing the Columbia River at Wallula, they traveled northward along the eastern side of the Yakima River to the Naches River and then ascended the Cascade Range, heading through Naches Pass and with great difficulty down the range’s western side. Most of the members of this party settled around Olympia and in parts of Pierce County (Longmire 1917:25–28; Magnusson 1934:173, 175–176; Shiach 1906:151).

During the following year the military made a few more improvements to the Naches Pass route, but it remained a very rough and difficult passage. A second large immigrant train of 17 people, seven wagons, and 50 head of cattle chose to come to Puget Sound from Fort Walla Walla via this route in the fall of 1854. Pioneer Puyallup Valley settler Ezra Meeker led the party over the final portion of the crossing and once they

Figure 4-14. Letter outlining the route of the territorial road from Seattle to Steilacoom, 1857 (King County Roads Services Map Vault, Map No: RDNO4).
Figure 4-15. Map showing the route of the Steilacoom Wagon Road from the Puyallup River to the confluence of the Green and White Rivers, 1856.
had descended the western slope, many decided to settle to the north along the White River Valley in King County (Carter and McDonald 1990).

The Treaty Wars of the following year curtailed use of the trail by settlers, although it continued to be the route that Native combatants as well as the territorial militia followed to cross the Cascades to and from the Yakima Valley. Several members of the 1854 immigrant party who had settled in the area were killed during the conflict, while the homes of others were burned after they fled to nearby blockhouses for protection. Once the hostilities ended, the old patterns of settlement began to change, as only a few of the original land claimants chose to return to their property, while others sold their claims. The Naches Pass Trail became an important route for cattle drives from 1860 to 1886, and then fell into disrepair. Much of the land that once encompassed the trail is now part of U.S. Forest Service property (Carter and McDonald 1990; Magnusson 1934: 180-182).

**Snoqualmie Pass Route**

To the north of Naches Pass, a route through the Cascade Range extended from the headwaters of the Yakima River and then down the Snoqualmie River to the west. This crossing brought settlers and travelers closer to Seattle, and early residents of the city believed that better transportation access through Snoqualmie Pass was a necessity for the future economic prosperity of the region. The federal government, which supported the idea of a military road connecting the coast to the inland Northwest, had initially preferred an easier course along the Columbia River rather than through the steep mountainous terrain in Washington Territory. Portland thus became the beneficiary of early traffic on this east-west route, and construction of a permanent road through Snoqualmie Pass was initially left to the initiative of a few individuals, private companies, and local governments.

As early as 1855 the first Seattle-area survey party, which included prominent local citizens such as Dexter Horton and Charles Boren, attempted to locate a potential wagon road through the mountains. One of two potential routes followed a Hudson’s Bay Company pack trail that stretched from Nisqually across the Cedar River through a pass variously called the Green River or Cedar River Pass. The party also explored another route used by the Natives and known as the “foot trail,” which extended from “the [Rattlesnake] Prairie up the south fork of the Snoqualmie to a point within about five miles of the pass, and then crossed over the divide to the west side of the lake [Lake Keechelus] through the mountains” (Denny 1979:59–60). This trail was the one followed by Lieutenant Abiel Tinkham a year earlier when Isaac Ingalls Stevens, Washington’s first territorial governor, commissioned him to explore the feasibility of a transcontinental line through Snoqualmie Pass as part of the northern railroad survey (Richards 1993:138; Snoqualmie National Forest 1971).

The difficulty of the terrain and the armed conflict between settlers and Native peoples of the region during the Treaty Wars stalled any attempts to construct a permanent transportation route through the area, but the trail that was eventually established through this part of the Cascades in the late 1850s was used heavily by miners and outfitters headed to the gold fields of northeastern Washington and Canada. In 1865 another group of surveyors explored Snoqualmie Pass with plans to develop an easily passable road and with a sum of money raised among Seattle supporters began construction of a wagon route from North Bend (then called Ranger’s Prairie) over the summit. A force of 20 men under the direction of William Perkins built 25 miles of road, but travelers trying to get their wagons through the pass also helped to improve other sections. With additional funds from the state legislature and King County, the wagon route was completed from Seattle through Snoqualmie Pass to Ellensburg in 1867 (Figure 4-16) (King County Road Engineer 1939:79; Prater 1981:29–31).

The Snoqualmie Wagon Road changed the entire economic landscape of the Northwest. Portland had previously been the commercial center of the region because of its location along the Columbia River and at the head of a major overland trail, but with the completion of a road through Snoqualmie Pass, both settlers and tradesmen had more direct access to Puget Sound. Cattlemen, in particular, found that it was much
less expensive to drive their herds through Snoqualmie Pass on this route than to ship them by steamer to Portland and pay exorbitant freight rates. The first cattle drives on the Snoqualmie Wagon Road began in 1869 and ultimately helped to encourage the development of a meat-packing industry in Seattle. New settlement along the route offered pastures for livestock as well as businesses that catered to travelers. In addition, the wagon road provided a means for shipment of flour and other grain products from the agricultural areas east of the mountains to Puget Sound. Stage lines were also quickly established to provide regular access for increasing numbers of both residents and travelers who used the route (Prater 1981:30–32).

The discovery of promising coal fields in areas surrounding Seattle, including Issaquah, Newcastle and Renton, helped to restart road construction inland from Seattle during the 1860s. Railroads quickly became the preferred means of bringing the coal from these mines to Elliott Bay for shipping to distant ports, but lack of sufficient capital initially forced backers to consider construction of improved roads (Figure 4-17). One of the first efforts was known as Casto’s Wagon Road, which probably followed the route of present-day Yesler Way from Yesler’s mill to a point on the shore of Lake Washington known as Fleaburg, near Leschi. Investors in the road-building effort, including William Casto, Henry Yesler and other prominent early pioneers, initially hoped to fund the venture with tolls. Evidently another group, the Lake Washington Coal Company, developed a road from its mine on the hillside above Coal Creek to a nearby landing on the eastern side of Lake Washington. By 1867 the company was using the road to bring coal down to the lake, where it was barged to Fleaburg and then hauled on Casto’s Road to a Seattle wharf. Livery stable owner R. Abrams also initiated a stage service on the Fleaburg–Seattle Road in June 1871. In that same year two men, Goldmeyer and Morrell, built another private road, linking Seattle with the northern portion of Lake Washington via a portage (Bagley 1929:284–286, 370; Finger 1968:117–118, 121, 124).
Among the earliest attempts to blaze a new trail across the North Cascades in the Skykomish River drainage was the expedition by E. F. Cady and E. C. Ferguson in 1860. These two men had initially staked claims along the Snohomish River in order to run a ferry and other enterprises at the crossing point for a planned military road from Fort Steilacoom to Bellingham. When construction of that section of the road was abandoned, Cady and Ferguson decided to develop a trail through the Cascade Mountains, hoping their route would be a means to find rich mineral resources. The trail followed the valley of the Skykomish River through the mountains at Cady Pass, reaching the Columbia via the Wenatchee River. The rough terrain and severe winter weather made the Cascades such a formidable barrier that few others made use of the route (Beckey 2003:99; Whitfield 1926:I-216).

**Railroads**

Seattle pioneer Arthur Denny claimed that one of the reasons he came to the Northwest in 1853 was his expectation that one day the region would be linked by rail to the rest of the country. Decades later in a biographical sketch he wrote: “I came to the Coast impressed with the belief that a railroad would be built across the continent to some point on the northern coast within the next fifteen or twenty years, and...
located on the Sound with that expectation” (Denny 1979:15). He, like many other settlers, recognized that long-term growth required quicker and easier transportation access to markets across the country.

The idea that a transcontinental railroad was actually a feasible transportation alternative had developed in the United States during the 1840s, and in 1853 railroad proponents had finally persuaded Congress to appropriate funds for surveys of practical transcontinental routes. The timing of the surveys coincided with the designation of Washington as a territory, and the newly appointed territorial governor, Isaac Ingalls Stevens, headed the exploring party that surveyed a potential northern route to the Pacific. Politics rather than natural features determined that the first transcontinental line would cross through the center of the country, but in 1864 a second cross-country railroad, the Northern Pacific, was chartered. Backers promised to build across the northern tier from Lake Superior to Puget Sound, and the government provided generous land grants of alternate sections of land on both sides of the track to assist in financing the venture (Goetzmann 1959:274; Moody 1911:141–142; Schwantes 1989:142–144; White 1991:125).

While the region waited for this monumental construction project to begin, local efforts began to establish rail connections on a much smaller scale. The discovery of coal near Issaquah (then known as Squak) and Renton had led entrepreneurs to envision a railroad to connect the mines to the Seattle harbor. A few dozen local residents received a charter from the Territorial Legislature to develop the Seattle and Squak Railroad Company in 1864, but no large investors were found to get the project off the ground, and it was never built (Armbruster 1999:50).

Closer to Seattle, the founders of the Lake Washington Coal Company began mining in the late 1860s above Coal Creek in the area that became known as Newcastle. Like other early industrial efforts in the region, the venture lacked capital, and in 1870 the assets were sold to the Seattle Coal Company. Three of the new backers also invested in a subsidiary, the Seattle Coal and Transportation Company, which developed a means to carry coal to a shipping point on Elliott Bay. This first system was quite primitive and included teams of mules and horses pulling the coal cars back and forth on wooden tramways to landing docks, where they were put on scows and towed across Lake Washington and then Lake Union (Figure 4-17). When a San Francisco firm bought the company late in 1871, they replaced the Seattle portion of the “mule tram” with a narrow-gauge steam railroad, which eventually ran from Lake Union to Pike Street in Seattle’s downtown area. The little engine, the Ant, was shipped by boat from San Francisco and pulled eight coal cars, allowing the export of about 3,000 tons of coal per month (Armbruster 1999:50–51; Bagley 1929:288-289; Finger 1968:115–116).

**FIRST TRANSCONTINENTAL CONNECTIONS – NORTHERN PACIFIC**

Access for coal shipments was important, but King County residents had greater expectations with the completion of a transcontinental link. Relationships with the Northern Pacific Railroad were often contentious, however, and led community leaders to continue pursuing efforts to build their own transcontinental connections. These different rail projects ultimately helped to link outlying portions of King County to Seattle and other marketing centers until such time as the great railroad giants recognized the importance of this area to a network of markets across the country and also across the Pacific.

Northern Pacific surveyors came to the Cascades in 1867, but the railroad’s ongoing financial difficulties slowed initiation of the project, and actual construction did not begin until 1870. Seattle envisioned itself as the terminus of this northern transcontinental rail line, but so did a number of other communities around Puget Sound. When a committee of the railroad’s directors made a visit to the Northwest in the summer of 1872, many cities submitted bids, offering land, cash, and other incentives to encourage their selection as the terminus site. The decision took another year, but despite heavy lobbying by Seattle representatives, the railroad named Tacoma as its western terminus in 1873 (Beaton 1914:37; Grant 1891:147–148; Moody 1911:141–142; Reiff 1981:36, 47; Schwantes 1989:142–144).
**Seattle and Walla Walla Railroad**

The news that the Northern Pacific had chosen a rival was met with both surprise and dismay in Seattle, but three days after the telegram announcing the decision was received, residents gathered at a town meeting and pledged that the funding the city had promised to the Northern Pacific—more than $700,000 including both money and land—would be used to build their own railroad. The proposed line, the Seattle and Walla Walla, would cross Snoqualmie Pass and link Seattle with the mineral resources of the Cascades and the wheat lands of the interior (Figure 4-18). The city council granted all the tideflats south of King Street to the new venture as long as 15 miles of line were completed within three years (Armbruster 1999:51).

The railroad had the backing of many of the city’s most prominent citizens, and after a survey, construction on the narrow-gauge line began in 1874, primarily using volunteer labor. The initial enthusiasm quickly waned when outside capital proved difficult to raise. Construction slowed to a halt, but finally in 1876 James Colman, a prominent local milling engineer, took over management of the railroad, putting in his own money and attracting enough additional backing to restart construction. Colman hired a labor contractor to provide

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![Figure 4-18. Map showing the route of the Seattle and Walla Walla Railroad, 1877.](image)
a crew of Chinese laborers to assist in building the line. By February 1877, the railroad was completed to Renton and early in 1878 was extended to Newcastle, making these coal mining areas much more accessible and increasing the ease with which these resources as well as other products could be shipped to the Seattle waterfront (Figure 4-18). A large wharf and coal bunkers were also built at the foot of S King Street in conjunction with railroad construction, and soon regular shipments of coal and other products to San Francisco were initiated. Rail service also made shipping of agricultural products easier and increased settlement along the route. New sawmills profited by supplying lumber for the lines and other industries grew up to provide supplies for both mining and transportation companies (Armbruster 1999:51, 55–56, 84–85; Hanford 1923:85).

Despite the successful completion of this section of the railroad, connections eastward did not immediately materialize. In 1880 Henry Villard, owner of the Oregon Railroad and Navigation Company, which virtually monopolized transportation along the Columbia River, bought the Seattle line. He reorganized it as the Columbia and Puget Sound Railroad and also gained control of the Seattle Coal and Transportation Company, which owned the Newcastle coal mines (Armbruster 1999:66–67; Crowley and MacIntosh 1999:7).

Villard's purchase of Seattle's home-grown line was part of a strategy to establish a foothold in Puget Sound and thwart the rival Northern Pacific Railroad, and local residents expected him to complete the connections to the eastern side of the Cascades. Villard had not specifically promised Seattle a direct transcontinental connection, however, and his delays caused an increasingly contentious relationship with local residents. Villard eventually agreed to extend the line to Stuck Junction (now Auburn) and connect with a Northern Pacific spur line. In order to provide access to the Seattle waterfront, Villard asked for a right-of-way along the waterfront, and the City Council agreed as long as the connection to the Northern Pacific mainline was made within two years (Armbruster 1999:67–71).

Puget Sound Shore Railroad

In 1882, Villard famously assumed control of the Northern Pacific through use of a blind trust. To protect the secrecy of his negotiations with the railroad, he solicited money from investors without revealing any details of his plan. The strategy worked, and he raised enough money to purchase a majority of the Northern Pacific stock and ultimately to consolidate and then expand the company's presence in the region. The railroad's charter did not allow construction of subsidiary lines, so Villard formed a separate holding company and organized the Puget Sound Shore Railroad (PSSR), a standard-gauge line that would connect Seattle to Stuck Junction. At the same time the Northern Pacific planned to construct a spur that added an additional 7 miles to its existing line from the Wilkeson coal field near Puyallup to Stuck Junction. Construction began to move forward as did the completion of the Northern Pacific mainline, which was celebrated with the ceremonial driving of the final spike at Gold Creek, Montana, on September 8, 1883 (Armbruster 1999:72–73, 76; Smalley 1883:263–269; Wood 1968:30).

Contractors on the section from Puyallup to Stuck Junction hired a crew that included approximately 50 European Americans who cleared the right of way, Native Americans who chopped up the downfall and brush, and an additional 200 Chinese workers who graded the line. The area was constantly marshy, and flooding of both the White and Stuck Rivers forced the railroad to install extensive pilings. As many as six crews worked their way up the White River Valley as part of the PSSR grading effort throughout 1883. The line shared the final 9 miles to Seattle with the Columbia and Puget Sound Railroad, which allowed the PSSR to widen the right of way and add a third rail on the outside of its narrow-gauge track. In addition, Villard had received a substantial subsidy from Seattle citizens to extend the Columbia and Puget Sound Railroad along the Cedar River drainage east of Renton and ensure that coal from newly developed fields in that area would come to Seattle. Another crew of 200 mostly Chinese workers also built that line (Armbruster 1999:73–77).

A final piece of the standard-gauge PSSR line to Seattle diverged from the narrow-gauge track near Seattle and in 1884 reached King Street on a trestle that crossed the southern tidelands. In the meantime, Villard's methods of financing began crashing down around him, and he was forced from his position at the Northern
Pacific early in that year. The company then virtually abandoned the Tacoma spur, which became known as the “Orphan Road,” and Seattle essentially lost its “transcontinental” connection. Continued lobbying efforts and threats that the railroad might lose its federal land grants brought some satisfaction, and the Northern Pacific revived its use of the line in the following year, although service remained poor (Figure 4-19) (Armbruster 1999:80–82; Bagley 1916:247–248; Dorpat 2006:12).

The opening of the Northern Pacific’s Cascade Division in July 1887 and the completion of a tunnel through Stampede Pass in 1888 provided more direct service to the region, as the line no longer forced users to come north via Portland. Villard had already regained control of the Northern Pacific when it announced in October 1889 that it would also take over the Orphan Road, improving service into Seattle (Andrews 2005:75; Armbruster 1999:108–110, 146; Crowley and MacIntosh 1999:15–16; Grant 1891:376-377).

Despite the ups and downs of the Northern Pacific’s introduction to the area, work on the company’s lines had a significant impact on settlement throughout the White River Valley and south King County. Railroad crews dug an extensive network of ditches to drain the marshy lands along the river for track laying, but their work produced the added benefit of opening up vast new acreage for agricultural use. Railroad access also caused a surge in land values as well as in market prices for livestock, produce, and grains. Experimentation with new crops like hops also became economically viable. According to some accounts, as many as 200 settlers per day were arriving in the region, drawn by the new opportunities opened up by the railroad (Armbruster 1999:73; Olympia Transcript, Aug 23, 1883; Seattle Post-Intelligencer, Dec. 2, 1882).

SEATTLE, LAKE SHORE AND EASTERN

Frustrations with the failed promises of the Northern Pacific encouraged area residents to respond by developing new plans for their own cross-country link that would provide transportation opportunities for northern and eastern King County. In 1885 the Seattle, Lakeshore and Eastern (SLS&E), which was incorporated by Judge Thomas Burke, Daniel Gilman, and a number of other prominent local businessmen, planned a route that headed around the north sides of Lake Union and Lake Washington, along the eastern shores of Lake Sammamish and through the Squak Valley to Snoqualmie Pass, where it would then continue on to the eastern part of the state. A northern division was also planned to provide transcontinental linkages with Canadian lines. Gilman and Burke were able to raise enough interest among East Coast capitalists to finance the survey work for the SLS&E in late 1886 and to begin actual construction in 1887 (Armbruster 1999:51, 100–101, 122–123; Bagley 1929:310–311).

The railroad line started at the foot of Columbia Street in Seattle and proceeded on a trestle across the waterfront. By April 15, 1888, the company had laid rails from the downtown area to Ballard, around Lake Union and Lake Washington and on to Issaquah, then known as Squak. Work had also begun on the eastern division of the line, heading west from Spokane (Figure 4-20). Proceeds from lumber and other shipments on completed portions of the line helped to finance the effort, but costs per mile of track exceeded original estimates. Financial difficulties had prompted the ownership group in November 1887 to form another “insider” corporation, the Seattle and Eastern Construction Company, to continue the construction efforts, but with higher capitalization and better terms from the railroad (Armbruster 1999:128; Dorpat 2006:12; Nesbit 1961:129).
Figure 4-20. Map showing the route of the Seattle, Lakeshore and Eastern Railroad, 1888.
During this period, railroad construction provided an important economic boost to the entire region and opened up vast new areas of settlement. The SLS&E hired local contractors to build segments of the line and spawned a number of businesses to supply materials and provide needed services for workers and eventually passengers and shippers. In particular, the SLS&E assured easier access to inland King County forests as the line looped from Seattle around the northern end of Lake Washington and then headed toward Snoqualmie Pass. A connecting spur for logging was added within two years, and camps as well as small milling and shingle operations began to dot the surrounding area (Figure 4-21) (Armbruster 1999:126–129; Bagley 1916:251; Beaton 1914:46; Hanford 1923:96).

A new round of financing helped construction of some SLS&E segments, but troubles continued to plague the line. The railroad could not afford to complete a spur to the integrated steel mill and town that entrepreneur Peter Kirk proposed for the east side of Lake Washington. Kirk planned to use local coal and iron from mines in the Cascades to supply the huge manufacturing plant and had dithered about a potential site, ultimately settling on the lakeside location that eventually became known as Kirkland. Despite repeated pronouncements by SLS&E backers that the line was solvent, even thriving, unofficially they began to look for larger railroad interests that would purchase the company’s assets (Armbruster 1999; Bagley 1929; Bivins 1987:19).

Both the Great Northern and the Union Pacific were approached, but despite the efforts of Thomas Burke and others who had long viewed the Northern Pacific as Seattle’s nemesis, it was the newly reinstalled chairman of the line, Henry Villard, who spearheaded the decision to take over the SLS&E. Back on its feet financially, the Northern Pacific purchased a majority interest, assumed bond payments, and made plans to complete the local SLS&E line. Part of the reason for the acquisition was the pending arrival in the Northwest of the “Empire Builder,” James J. Hill. Hill was not intimidated by the strong Northern Pacific presence in the region and was preparing to push west from the Great Lakes to the Pacific with his privately financed Great Northern Railroad (Andrews 2005:64–65; Armbruster 1999:136–237, 174).

**NORTHERN PACIFIC TAKEOVER AND THE BELTLINE**

As part of the Northern Pacific’s overall strategy, the railroad’s president, Thomas Oakes, had also made a visit to Puget Sound just a few months before the purchase and proposed joining with the SLS&E to build
a beltline around Lake Washington. In May of 1890 the railroad agreed to a partnership with a local group incorporated as the Lake Washington Beltline Company, which announced plans to promote industrial development around the lake with rail connections and a ship canal to connect with Puget Sound. The Northern Pacific agreed to build the spur to Kirkland, but forced Peter Kirk to locate his steel plant a mile inland where it was easier to lay the track (Armbruster 1999:147–148).

Within a few months, the Northern Pacific announced its purchase of majority interest in the SLS&E and initiated a massive construction effort to complete its route. Work continued to the north and by April 1891, the line to the border at Sumas was completed and connections with the Canadian Pacific were soon made. Beltline construction also got underway from Renton to the Mercer Slough, while additional development began along another segment that extended to Woodinville from the north (Armbruster 1999:137, 147–149, 159).

A nationwide financial crisis that forced the Northern Pacific into receivership and precipitated the economic panic of 1893 halted efforts to complete these ambitious projects. An additional victim was the SLS&E, which also went into receivership. The railroad instituted “hard time” rates but could not stop the precipitous decline in revenue from both freight and passenger service, and its majority shareholder, the Northern Pacific, had no means to help. Legal battles between shareholders and the railroad continued for several years, but finally in 1896 foreclosure proceedings brought an end to the SLS&E. Work to finish the beltline up the east side of Lake Washington was also halted and ultimately in 1896, the Lake Washington Belt Line Company declared bankruptcy. During this same period, Kirk’s steel mill project also failed (Armbruster 1999:137–138).

Some of the bondholders purchased what remained of the SLS&E and reorganized the company as the Seattle and International Railroad. As financial conditions improved and the Klondike Gold Rush brought new prosperity to the Puget Sound region, ridership and shipping increased. For large portions of King County, the Seattle and International Railroad continued to encourage settlement and provide a means of accessing and marketing valuable timber, mineral, and agricultural resources (Figure 4-22). In 1901, its independent existence also ended as it became part of the Seattle Division of the Northern Pacific Railway (Armbruster 1999:139–140).

The prosperity of the Klondike era also revived the beltline project. The competition for Seattle’s railroad business had grown increasingly fierce as the Great Northern and ultimately the Union Pacific also vied for access to the city’s trade. The congestion along Railroad Avenue, which carried rail traffic across the Seattle waterfront, was so great that the Northern Pacific believed that routing north-south freight on an alternative line up the east side of Lake Washington would save a day or more in shipping time. The railroad began grading the new line between Mercer Slough and Woodinville in April 1903 and completed the project in late October of the following year. The Northern Pacific Railroad right of way included a huge wood-pile trestle bridge measuring 977 feet in length, known as the Wilburton Trestle, which crossed Mercer Slough. The route then extended north, passing to the west of Lake Sturtevant (later Lake Bellevue), before heading east to Woodinville (Allen and O’Brien 2007:2; Armbruster 1999:159; McDonald 1984:37).
**Great Northern Railroad**

While the Northern Pacific Railroad maneuvered to solidify its presence in Puget Sound, railroad entrepreneur James J. Hill set out to build his own more direct route from St. Paul, Minnesota, to the Pacific Coast. To compete with Northern Pacific and to tap the rich economic potential of the northwestern portion of the state, Hill moved forward with a very different construction strategy. He hired Seattle judge and former SLS&E owner Thomas Burke to be his agent, and through his work was able to secure very favorable concessions to make Seattle his line’s terminus. Burke not only obtained valuable property along Smith Cove to the north and in the yet-to-be-filled tidelands south of the urban core, but also negotiated for additional downtown land for feeder lines and railroad outbuildings (Andrews 2005:64–65; Armbruster 1999:136–237, 174).

Hill did not have the benefit of huge government subsidies, but through a variety of means, including the combination of a number of railroad short lines, he was able to move westward into Montana. From there the discovery of a relatively low pass through the Rocky Mountains by John F. Stevens, an engineer hired by Hill, confirmed the possibility of a direct route to the coast (Armbruster 1999:166; Shiach 1906:283).

Stevens, a surveyor noted for locating portions of the Canadian Pacific line, arrived in the Northwest in 1890 along with another engineer, Elbridge H. Beckler. After sending several exploratory parties throughout the Northern Cascades, following earlier trails, including one through Cady Pass, Stevens noticed that Nason Creek, which flowed into Lake Wenatchee, seemed to emerge from a “favorable looking gap” in the mountains. A preliminary survey indicated that the gap was a viable rail route, and in 1891 the railroad began locating the line through what had become known as Stevens Pass (Beckey 2003:266–268).

In the fall of 1891, the Great Northern announced that its route from the mountains to Puget Sound would cross Stevens Pass, follow the South Fork Skykomish River to the Snohomish River, and proceed to Everett (Figure 4-23). At this point it would connect with other Great Northern lines running north-south to the railroad’s designated terminus in Seattle. The company awarded contracts late in 1891, and soon brought in

![Figure 4-23. The Great Northern Railroad route through Stevens Pass, 1894.](image-url)
thousands of workers, including many recent immigrants from Europe, Greece, and Japan. The railroad hired local contractors to build segments of the line and spawned a number of businesses to supply construction materials and provide needed services for workers and eventually passengers and shippers (Shiach 1906:283–285).

Many of the supplies were offloaded from barges at the town of Snohomish and then hauled up the river with pack mules. By March 1892, according to a local newspaper, “a good wagon road has been completed from Sultan to Gunn’s [Index], sixteen miles above.” This puncheon “tote road,” as it was sometimes called, eventually extended along the line on both sides of the pass. Logging camps, pole yards, and shingle and tie mills proliferated along this route, some owned or leased by the railroad construction company and others operated privately (Armbruster 1999:148; Lentz 1996:9; Whitfield 1926:I-734–I-736).

As work progressed eastward from Everett, the railroad also continued construction westward from Havre, Montana, and reached Spokane by June 1892. Economic viability meant that the line had to be completed as quickly as possible, but the difficult mountain terrain and often troublesome weather conditions slowed progress. Speed also dictated construction of eight switchbacks over a 12-mile segment at four percent grade rather than a tunnel preferred by the engineers (Figure 4-24). The joining of the Pacific extension to the eastern portion of the line took place on January 6, 1893, at the construction town of Scenic, just a little over two years after construction of this portion of the line began (Beckey 2003:268).

The Great Northern was eventually forced to build a lengthy tunnel to allow speedier passage over the Cascades. Weather conditions often dictated how quickly trains could traverse the pass, but crossings could take from an hour and a half to as much as a day and a half. Work on the first Cascade Tunnel project began in 1897, employing between 600 and 800 men continuously for nearly three years to build the 2.63 miles of tunnel. Two tunnel camps, one at Wellington and the other on the east side at Cascade, provided lodging and free-wheeling entertainment for the workers (see Figure 4-24) (Beckey 2003:268; Hidy et al. 1963:77; Schwantes 1993:76–78).

Figure 4-24. The town of Wellington and the Great Northern switchbacks, ca. 1895.
NEW RAILROAD ARRIVALS: UNION PACIFIC AND THE MILWAUKEE ROAD

By the early 1900s, several other major railroads also made plans to enter King County, and competition for space on Seattle’s waterfront became a battle of the giants. Edward H. Harriman, who was the head of the Union Pacific Railroad, incorporated the Oregon-Washington Railroad in Washington in 1906, with the intent of building a new line from Kelso on the Columbia River northward to Everett. The Oregon-Washington did complete a segment in King County from Black River Junction to Argo, south of Seattle, but then signed a long-term agreement with the Chicago, Milwaukee, and Puget Sound (a subsidiary of the Chicago, Milwaukee and St. Paul) for use of its tracks to Tacoma. After much additional maneuvering with James J. Hill, who had taken control of both the Great Northern and Northern Pacific, Harriman also negotiated joint trackage rights on the Northern Pacific line from Portland to Tacoma. In the meantime, Harriman had begun construction on a large new depot in Seattle, and the first Oregon-Washington trains entered the city in 1910 (Armbruster 1999:233–236; Cheever 1948:201–202).

The Chicago, Milwaukee and St. Paul Railway Company had also set its sights on a Pacific Coast terminus in 1905 when its officers authorized the formation of a Washington subsidiary called the Pacific Railroad Company. The railroad found that the glut of traffic on rival lines slowed transfer business, so the plan was to survey potential routes for its own cross-country extension to the Northwest. The Chicago, Milwaukee and St. Paul, known familiarly as the Milwaukee Road, chose to use a route through Snoqualmie Pass, and construction proceeded quickly. The line from the east reached Snoqualmie Summit by December 1908, and trains were able to proceed to the coast in the following spring (Figure 4-25). The company negotiated joint trackage on the Columbia and Puget Sound line from Renton into Seattle and shared with the Union Pacific its grand new depot. The Milwaukee Road also completed a tunnel in 1914 to make the Snoqualmie Pass crossing safer and developed or absorbed a number of branch lines to locations around Puget Sound, including Mount Rainier, Bellingham Bay, and the Olympic Peninsula (Armbruster 1999:240–241, 243–248; Cheever 1948:132–137).

PEOPLE AND THE RAILROAD

Newly arrived immigrants from throughout Europe and Asia were used to fill labor demands in railroad construction across the American West during the last decades of the nineteenth century. The Chinese were the first of this Asian workforce to have a significant presence in Washington, and their numbers continued to grow substantially between 1860 and 1890. Exclusionary laws and other discriminatory practices against the Chinese led to new immigration by other Asian groups to fill the labor gap after 1890. The Japanese had the biggest gains by the beginning of the twentieth century, although Filipino immigration also became important on the West Coast after 1920 (Schmid et al. 1968:11–14).
As the demand for railroad workers grew, several labor contractors opened offices in Seattle, including Chin Gee Hee, who arrived in 1875 to work with Chun Ching Hock, whose Wah Chong Company had been in business since 1868 selling cigars and imported goods (Figure 4-26). These two men brought laborers from China for jobs in a variety of local industries, including logging camps, sawmills, and canneries. The greatest number worked during the early years of railroad construction in King County. Chinese workers completed much of the early work grading the roadbed and laying track in the Seattle area for the Seattle and Walla Walla and the Seattle, Lakeshore and Eastern Railroads as well as segments of the Northern Pacific (Andrews 2005:31–32; Chin 1977:51).

As a result of the influx of workers, an area in which Chinese businesses and housing predominated developed in Seattle between Mill and Main Streets from Commercial Street to 4th Avenue S. In 1876, a city business directory estimated that Seattle’s Chinese population had reached 250, with as many as 300 additional transient laborers who had migrated from work camps to purchase supplies or find new jobs. During this period three additional Chinese merchants started labor contracting businesses, and some of the more established immigrants began to open their own commercial enterprises or farm outside the city (Andrews 2005:31–32; Schmid and McVey 1964:18; Ward 1876:42).

Henry Villard, head of the Northern Pacific Railway, estimated that the railroad hired as many as 15,000 Chinese workers to build its lines (Figure 4-27). When construction was completed for the Northern Pacific as well as the Canadian Pacific Railroad in the mid-1880s, most of these workers were left without jobs. The status of these workers throughout the country was significantly affected by the Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882, which ended immigration of Chinese laborers for ten years and denied naturalization to those already in the United States. This act, as well as racial prejudice and increasing tensions over an 1884 economic downturn that cost many European American workers their jobs, led to acts of violence against the Chinese in Washington Territory. In Seattle, members of the Knights of Labor particularly helped to escalate anti-Chinese sentiment. Demonstrations and acts of violence were some of the tactics used in attempts to force Chinese residents to leave the city (Figure 4-28) (Chin 1977:58–59; Schwantes 1989:22–24).

By the time the Great Northern Railroad began initial construction of its line through
Figure 4-28. Anti-Chinese riots in Seattle, February 7, 1886.
Washington, a majority of the laborers were American-born, with a large number originally from other states in the East and Midwest. Many recent immigrants, who were primarily from Western European countries, also came to the area for work in railroad construction. According to at least one railroad historian, Italians and Chinese laborers were not welcome on this segment of the Great Northern, although they formed most of the labor force on other railroad construction efforts (Armbruster 1999:172).

In later years, during Great Northern maintenance and tunnel construction efforts, there was more ethnic and racial diversity within the labor crews. Significant numbers of Japanese section workers stayed in temporary boxcar housing along the line when they were on the job. In the 1900 census, for example, 29 workers of Japanese origin were listed in Skykomish, which was a railroad division point, while in 1910 there were 32 Japanese trackmen and laborers. By the 1920s, first-generation immigrants from Hungary, Poland, and Germany also joined the ranks of rail workers, and in the 1930s there were also Filipino crews. With a few exceptions, most did not come to the area with their families, but rather traveled wherever the work took them (Bureau of the Census 1900, 1910, 1930, 1940; Lentz 1996:20; Polk 1925–1926).

**RAILROAD SETTLEMENT**

The impact of the railroad construction began even before a single rail was laid. Farmers claimed agricultural land in anticipation of the railroad and promoters tried to guess where a potential settlement might be located. Once construction began, the thousands of workers who built the line, and the merchants, madams, and saloonkeepers who supplied their needs, established their own new economy and the basis for future development. Towns were born as railroad depots were built, and a new line provided residents with a means to market local resources as well as purchase desirable commodities from around the world.

**Railroad Camps**

Railroad building throughout King County required not only huge amounts of labor but also camps, cars, or other types of accommodations for the various laborers, from sawyers and swampers to tracklayers, who built the line. On many of the large-scale projects, workers would be housed in virtual tent cities, which would be moved as construction proceeded. These camps were much like small towns, with their own stores and taverns as well as makeshift dwellings for several hundred men. The purveyors of food, drink, and other services for the crew would often pick up their stakes and follow along to each new camp. Along the Great Northern construction route for example, some of these camps, like Baring, Berlin, and Scenic, later became whistlestops on the line, but then lost their usefulness and disappeared (Figure 4-29). Only a few like Skykomish, Sultan, and Gold Bar remained as identifiable communities after tunnels were built and rail traffic slowed. Those that remained often were the supply points for other industries that relied on the railroad for shipping their products (Lentz 1996:11; Roe 1995:67, 69, 72–73).

A massive logistical operation was also needed to ensure that the materials, provisions and equipment required by the work force were readily available at these far-flung outposts as construction progressed. Most of the
railroads hired local contractors to build segments of the line and spawned a number of businesses to supply construction materials and provide needed services for workers and eventually passengers and shippers. On the Great Northern, for example, many of the supplies were offloaded from barges at the town of Snohomish and then hauled up the Skykomish River with pack mules. They built a puncheon “tote road,” as it was sometimes called, which extended along the line on both sides of the track. Logging camps, pole yards, and shingle and tie mills proliferated along this route, some owned or leased by the railroad construction company and others operated privately (Armbruster 1999:148; Lentz 1996:9; Shiach 1906:283–284; Whitfield 1926:I-734–I-736).

Tunnel construction required even more labor and a much longer period of residence. When the Northern Pacific built the Stampede Tunnel as part of its Cascade Division, the work to drill a 9,850-foot tunnel was initially expected to take 2 years. Contractors tried to meet the deadlines by hiring over 1,000 Chinese laborers, but met resistance from other workers as well as businesses along the line (Figure 4-30). The company was forced to employ a detective service to protect the Chinese, whose housing was widely separated from the camps of other workers (Renz 1973:54–55).

In other areas, steep grades and many river crossings required additional engineering facilities. On sections of the Northern Pacific that followed the Green River through heavily forested and mountainous country, a warehouse as well as a small dwelling for the resident engineer was built at Eagle Gorge. This facility later became a section house on the line (Renz 1973:55). Skykomish was initially the site of a construction camp for the Great Northern. Once the rail line was completed in 1893 the town then became the Cascade Division Point and was the location for a variety of facilities for storage, maintenance, and repair of engines and track. The types of facilities needed at the division point changed as railroad technologies evolved and improvements were made to the line.

Railroad Towns

Many towns in King County essentially arrived in the wilderness with the railroad. The major lines established stations at regular intervals and these stops became the center of new communities as settlers who arrived by rail fanned out into the countryside, and miners and loggers used these stops as supply and shipping points to get their products to market. Speculators often purchased land where major construction camps were located or where they thought a railroad stop might be likely. The land for some railroad stops, like Skykomish, was claimed and then platted by a surveyor or someone who worked for the railroad.

Railroad Promotion

The stops along the line initially experienced the greatest benefits from rail connections, but the railroad’s impact quickly spread as new lands were settled and natural resources exploited throughout the region. Residents in the farthest reaches of King County now had easier access to a variety of goods as well as a means to ship local products to distant markets. Logging, milling, and mining were the first industries that benefited, but small settlements also grew around each depot with a range of services for travelers as well as the local population. From hotels, restaurants, and saloons to post offices, town halls, and ultimately schools and churches, new communities were built because of the railroad.
The development of the town of Skykomish was shaped by the railroad, regional resource-based industries, and the commercial needs of residents. John Maloney (Figure 4-31) claimed the land on which the town was later built sometime in 1891 when he learned of the route chosen for the Great Northern Railroad. After years of prospecting around the West, Maloney had come to Seattle in 1889 and met the Great Northern surveyor and locator John F. Stevens, who hired him to join his survey party. Maloney served as “his faithful co-packer” according to later accounts by Stevens, and was involved in the early scouting of the Nason Creek drainage and the eventual development of the Stevens Pass railroad route (Beckey 2003:268; Lentz 1996:15).

During these explorations Maloney became familiar with the area’s natural resources and its economic potential. With his knowledge of the future location of the line, he decided to take a claim on the south fork of the Skykomish River approximately 15 miles west of the pass. The initial government survey of the Skykomish River Valley did not take place until the spring of 1894 and was finally approved in late December 1895. On April 20, 1896, John Maloney formally claimed 140 acres in Section 26 of T26N, R11E under the Homestead Act, and received final patent on January 30, 1899 (Figure 4-32) (Tract Book, GLO, RG 49, NARA, Seattle).

Several years before he gained clear title to the land, Maloney evidently had begun to develop a town site and allowed others to build along the rail line. Some sources suggest that during Great Northern construction, he may have used a railroad siding built on his land to park a boxcar that housed his first commercial venture—a business selling a variety of goods to railroad workers. By 1893, when the line was officially dedicated, Maloney had built a general merchandise store and possibly a hotel along the tracks (Figure 4-33). Maloney also petitioned the government and was named the community’s first postmaster in July of 1893. He, like many others, capitalized on the new railroad’s potential.

Figure 4-31. John Maloney, 1893 (Skykomish Historical Society).

Figure 4-32. GLO Plat for T. 26 N., R. 11 E., 1896, showing Maloney’s claim and the beginnings of the town of Skykomish.
other early applicants, located the post office in his store. By the time of the public land survey in 1894, plat maps show what appears to be significant development north of the railroad tracks and possibly initial efforts by Maloney to lay out a town site (Manning 1922:23; Plat Map, GLO, RG 49, NARA, Seattle).

Soon after Maloney received final title to his claim, he and his wife, Louisa Fleming Maloney, filed a plat with King County for the town of Skykomish. The original plat was recorded August 11, 1899, and included lots on First through Sixth Streets laid out in a standard grid pattern between the river and the Great Northern tracks. There were larger lots for the hotel and mill site, which were both already in place before the land was platted (Figure 4-34). In the early years, the railroad supplied most jobs, bringing large numbers of workers into the area to build the lines and providing ongoing employment in new construction, maintenance, operations, and services. Opportunities in the lumber industry also attracted new residents, including both loggers and mill workers. After 1900, the Skykomish Lumber Company was a major employer in Skykomish, adding 150 men to their payroll by 1905. Mining also provided some local jobs, with city directories listing as many as ten different companies operating in the vicinity between 1900 and 1915. Commercial enterprises often catered to local workers as well as travelers using the Great Northern lines (King County Recorder, Seattle; Polk 1901–1902, 1903–1904, 1905–1906, 1910–1911, 1913–1915).

Figure 4-33. John Maloney’s store, exterior (above) and interior (below), ca. 1910 (Skykomish Historical Society).

Figure 4-34. Plat of the town of Skykomish, 1899 (King County Recorders Office, Instrument Number: 18990811179209).
The major transcontinental lines were the primary promoters of railroad travel as traffic on the line was essential to making a profit. Each one offered special colonist fares to help potential settlers come to the Puget Sound country at bargain rates. The Northern Pacific, in particular, with its huge government land grants arrayed in a checkerboard pattern along the length of the line, had plenty of land to sell and an incentive to encourage development as quickly as possible. The railroad initiated marketing campaigns to lure immigrants from throughout the world to the Northwest: The Land of Opportunity (Figure 4-35). The landless could own a piece of real estate for agriculture as well as a home. Small-business owners could make their fortunes in new and up-and-coming towns, while big business operators like Weyerhaeuser and other timber companies could make even bigger fortunes on millions of forested acres purchased from the Northern Pacific. And, of course, tourists could come by rail to enjoy the rugged beauty of the mountains, lakes, and streams as well as endless recreational opportunities (Schwantes 1989:181–184).

With glowing prose, the marketing department invited people to enjoy the Land of Plenty, the American Wonderland (Figure 4-36). The railroad published pamphlets, brochures, and timetables to encourage people to come west by rail and reap all the benefits of the Northwest.

The Northern Pacific Railroad is now an accomplished fact. The region it traverses, once decried as a cold, barren, useless zone, now possesses the largest farms in the world, the greatest mines in the world, the noblest forests in the world, and the bravest people in the world. (Wheeler 1894)
Chapter 5. Settlement Patterns

Despite railroad promotional literature that depicted the Northwest as a “cold, barren and useless zone” prior to settlement, the expectation of finding and exploiting potentially rich agricultural, mining, and timber resources undoubtedly drew many of the newcomers who traveled to the region by rail or other means. While a few who settled along King County’s coastal areas anticipated the development of a thriving commercial center for marketing goods and services, this urban future was reliant on the growth of agriculture and industry in the surrounding areas. Most of the county’s early residents had a vision of making their livelihoods on the land, whether it was by farming, mining, or cutting and processing the trees that grew so prolifically throughout the region. The availability of these different types of resources and the means developed to utilize and market them drew a variety of people and shaped the patterns of settlement that emerged in King County over the decades.

Agricultural Settlement

Many of the laws under which settlers claimed land required not only residency, but also cultivation of the soil. As a result, agriculture was an essential component of early settlement in King County. One historian has likened the major agricultural regions of the Northwest to “islands separated from one another by forests, mountains and vast prairies of sagebrush and native grasses” (Schwantes 1989:167). One of these “islands” of agriculture was located immediately east of Puget Sound, where plentiful rainfall and rich soils along the river valleys encouraged dairying and truck farming. This flat bottomland, interspersed with small prairies, was bounded by the forests and more mountainous terrain of eastern and northern King County. Even these less desirable farming areas later became targets of agricultural development, when stump ranch pioneers tried to convert cut-over lands into fields for crops and grazing.

Early Agricultural Production

The donation claimants and other early settlers in King County initially chose lowlands and open grasslands, primarily along waterways, to establish their agricultural enterprises. King County did not have as many large prairies as Pierce and Thurston Counties to the south, but the first claimants found fertile lands with good agricultural potential along the Duwamish, White, Green, Cedar, Snoqualmie, and Black River Valleys. At least five named prairies were located around the county, including Porter’s, Muckleshoot, Jenkins’, Squak, and Ranger’s Prairies, and all provided suitable grazing land and the potential for more extensive farming. (Figure 5-1) Native peoples had maintained these prairies by burning to increase plant resources, enhance berry production, and also attract game long before the arrival of outsiders (Kopperl et al. 2016:64–65; Payton 2006:8).

Other settlers who chose lands along Puget Sound and inlets like Salmon Bay to the north of Seattle, engaged in some agriculture, but likely saw greater long-term potential in lumbering and commercial enterprises. A number of the rest were speculators who anticipated the economic benefit of selling their property or town builders planning to plat and divide their claims into lots. The majority of King County’s original land claimants, however, were subsistence farmers who raised enough basic foodstuffs for themselves or their families and sold additional products to others in the region. Their livelihood was characterized by much more than traditional farming and livestock raising, however, as hunting, trapping, logging, and other pursuits were often among the supplemental occupations of these rural entrepreneurs. Essentially generalists whose primary goal was survival, most eventually hoped to become what one historian called
Figure 5-1. Prairies shown on early GLO plats for King County; names given where applicable.
“commercial farmers,” with the idea of raising more specialized cash crops and participating in a farm market economy (Smith 1994:100).

The range of crops grown varied with the topography and climate. In lowlands sometimes draining and diking was necessary to prevent flooding, while in other areas of King County cultivation began with clearing. Many parts of the county were heavily forested, and slashing and removing enough of the timber to plant crops or graze livestock was often a primary goal of early land claimants. (Figure 5-2) In addition to growing basic food needs, some later settlers also focused on planting orchards, which they assumed would thrive on land that grew such big trees.

The federal government conducted a census of King County agriculture in 1860, 1870, and 1880, and the figures provide an overview of agricultural production during these initial decades of settlement (Table 5-1). The 1860 agricultural census of King County enumerated 73 farmers who were growing a variety of crops. This census included all farms that reported livestock and agricultural products worth $100 or more in value. By 1870, the number of farmers had reached 272, more than triple the previous count. The amount of crop production and the numbers of various types of livestock grazed had also grown significantly.

### Table 5-1. King County Agricultural Census Data.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Improved (acres)</th>
<th>Cows</th>
<th>Pigs</th>
<th>Cattle</th>
<th>Butter (lbs)</th>
<th>Wheat (bushels)</th>
<th>Oats (bushels)</th>
<th>Potatoes (bushels)</th>
<th>Hay (tons)</th>
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<tr>
<td>1860</td>
<td>2,132</td>
<td>280</td>
<td>225</td>
<td>341</td>
<td>2,305</td>
<td>850</td>
<td>920</td>
<td>14,332</td>
<td>99</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1870</td>
<td>5,234</td>
<td>628</td>
<td>891</td>
<td>776</td>
<td>34,755</td>
<td>14,135</td>
<td>42,981</td>
<td>1,884</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Wheat, oats, and hay were grown where there was open prairie land, but the importance of potatoes as a crop was particularly striking. Native peoples of the area had already begun to cultivate potatoes, probably with seeds given to them by early Hudson’s Bay Company traders in the area, and they became a staple food source and were also sold by settlers. Cattle, pigs, and other livestock were also an essential component of early farmsteads, and dairy cows not only provided milk and cheese, but also butter, which was seen as one of the primary marketable products that early agriculturalists could produce. Charles Ballard, for example, whose parents were founders of Auburn, remembered that his mother “saved and made what butter she could, which brought fifty cents in a pound in goods to clothe the children. This led to the making of butter for many years” (Bagley 1929:696).

By 1880, identifiable agricultural areas had developed around the county, but the number of farmers had only risen by about 50 from the previous decade, as some consolidation of farmland occurred. The 1880 census divided the county into a number of separate agricultural districts that were centered around a particular town or natural feature where a farming community had grown. These districts included the following:

- Cedar River
- Duvall
- Duwamish
- Juanita
- Lake Union
- Lake Washington
- Milton
- Porter’s Prairie
- Renton
- Suwamish
- Sammamish
- Slaughter
- Snoqualmie
- Squak
- Tolt
- Vashon
- White River
Farmers continued to grow their own food, but found an ever-increasing market fueled by the urban growth of the nearby ports of Seattle and Tacoma. Better means of transportation, by boat and early roads, led to more agriculture settlement to the east of Lake Washington. Farmers in the Squak Valley, near what later became known as Issaquah, for example, grew much of their own food but also increased agricultural production for sale (Figure 5-3). The settlers marketed oats, potatoes, eggs, and milk in Seattle and also sold poultry, dairy cows, and hogs, evidently fattening them with homegrown turnips and rutabagas. Early on, the shortest route from Issaquah to Seattle was a footpath that followed Coal Creek and then headed around the lake, but by the 1870s and early 1880s, settlers were shipping their products by boat from a landing on the south shores of Lake Sammamish and Lake Washington, where they were offloaded near present-day Leschi.

Jeremiah Borst, his niece Lucinda Fares, as well as other settlers in the upper Snoqualmie Valley provided temporary pasture for cattle and other livestock when the Snoqualmie Wagon Road opened (Figure 5-4). Ranchers on the east side of the mountains drove their stock over the pass to Seattle, where a competitive meatpacking industry had begun. And on Vashon Island, where logging had predominated in earlier years, an agricultural base of settlement also became established (Figure 5-5). Despite the sometimes overwhelming task of clearing the dense forests, the number of farms grew in step with increasing availability of regular ferry access to

Figure 5-3. Stumps were cleared to begin planting hay and other crops on the Stidl Farm near Issaquah ca.1900.

Figure 5-4. Lucinda Fares, who was among the early settlers in the Snoqualmie Valley, was said to call in her cows by name. Shown here at Tollgate Farm, ca. 1880.

Figure 5-5. The John T. Blackburn family planted crops and a few fruit trees on their Vashon Island farm, ca. 1886.
Catharine Blaine, a teacher and the wife of the Reverend David Blaine, wrote a memoir of her time in Seattle that was sometimes scathing in its depiction of the cultural deficiencies of the small frontier community. In the course of her husband’s ministries, the couple also visited many of the settlers along the Duwamish and White Rivers (Figure 5-7 and 5-8). Her detailed descriptions of an 1855 trip to many of the donation claims in the valleys to the south of Seattle provided a view into the early agricultural lifestyle of these settlers:

The houses of those settlers were of logs and seldom had a window. The door, open summer and winter, furnished light in addition to that which came in between the logs. They were little houses, well filled, mostly had only one room 16 by 18 feet, and in this room would be from one to three large beds besides the trundle beds, and whatever other things were necessary, laying a good deal of emphasis on the word necessary, as there was not much room for the superfluous and most had but little more than they brought across the plains in their own wagons, except what furniture their own hands had fashioned. Few had stoves; the fire place was a large off-set built of logs on the outside of the house, and plastered with mud (Flewelling 1990:17).

Deserted Bachelor Cabin:

The cabin was almost empty. In one corner was a bedstead. I’ll tell you how it was made. About six feet from the end and three feet from the side of the cabin a forked stick was driven into the ground. One end of a pole was laid on this stick and the other end between the logs at the end of the house. Pieces of boards were laid across from this pole to the logs on the side of the house, and the bedstead was made. There were two pieces of Indian matting about the size of the bedstead laying on it. In another corner on the ground lay a pile of potatoes that had probably lain there all winter. There was a pail, a knife a frying pan, a little salt, and a very few other things, a bench and a table of the same style as the bedstead...They would hang a large kettle over the fire, and into it put pork, potatoes, beets, cabbage, carrots, beans, onions, and whatever other vegetables they wished, dried apples, wheat and I don’t know what else, boil it up all together and have enough to eat for as long as it lasted (Flewelling 1990:18).
Chapter 5: Settlement Patterns

It is difficult to describe a typical farmstead in early King County, as the types of residences, outbuildings, and crops varied considerably based on the locale and the intent of the claimant. Generally the houses were of log or frame construction, and homesteaders also frequently built a barn, chicken house, root cellar, or wood storage shed on their property to fulfill the requirements of their residency (Figure 5-8). Milled lumber was in demand and often later buildings or additions were made from boards when the community was large enough for a small sawmill, or agricultural products could be traded for lumber from a tidewater mill like Henry Yesler’s in Seattle. In river valley areas, the house and likely the major outbuildings may have been raised up on posts or pilings to protect against dampness or even flooding. Homestead documents rarely mention an outhouse, but most were located as close to the house as possible (Pence 1946:58–59).

**HOP GROWING**

The first specialized crop that brought real prosperity to the expanding agricultural community in King County was hops. Hop farming got its start in the Puyallup Valley just to the south in Pierce County, where Jacob Meeker planted the first crop in 1866 at the urging of an Olympia brewer. Hops had long been used in Europe as a beer additive, not only to enhance flavor but also to act as a preservative so it could be shipped without spoilage. The success of Meeker’s planting and the high prices paid for his hops—reportedly 85 cents per pound for his first 185 pounds—provided him with a huge windfall (Meeker 1883:8; Shaw et al. 2009:7–8).

![Figure 5-8. Daniel and Sarah Jane Whitney built a log house and then several milled-lumber outbuildings on their farm near Bellevue, ca.1887.](image_url)
Jacob's son, Ezra Meeker, quickly followed his father's lead and began his own planting two years later, establishing a crop that was adopted within 15 years by as many as 100 farmers in the Puyallup Valley alone. The market was initially local brewers, but Meeker realized the worldwide potential. As transportation access improved, he negotiated sales to England and other countries, thus bolstering prices received for the crop. The market fluctuated wildly at times, with prices ranging from 18 cents to $1.08 per pound, but generally even a small amount of acreage with hops was more lucrative than the same area with most other agricultural crops of the period. Growing conditions were similar in some of the river valleys to the north, and so hops also became an agricultural boon to King County (Bagley 1929:408; Flewelling 1990:46; The West Shore 10 (11) 1884:345, 348).

Hops had their first introduction in King County around 1869 when several members of the Wold family bought seedlings from Puyallup grower Ezra Meeker. The three brothers, Lars, Engebright, and Peter Wold had immigrated from Norway and worked in San Francisco before coming to Seattle and opening a shoe store. In 1868 they had purchased a 160-acre parcel in the Squak Valley, probably land previously owned by pioneer settler Ned Welch, and then cleared it to plant their hops. Accounts suggest that they gradually planted more than 50 acres of the crop, employing at least 100 Native people and also a few European American families to assist in the production (Bryant 2000:21–23; Kolin 1997:8).

With its proximity to the industry's center in Puyallup, the White River valley in south King County also became a similarly prolific hop production area by the early 1880s. According to an article in the West Shore, a magazine of the period, P.C. Hayes, who planted nine acres in 1875, and C.M. Van Doren, who followed with 20 acres the next year, were the pioneer growers who started the trend. Van Doren's operation ultimately included three kilns, a receiving and cooling room, as well as a large storehouse and baling room. By 1883 nearly 50 farmers had begun to produce hops along the White River and around the small community of Slaughter (Figure 5-9) (The West Shore 10 (11) 1884:348–349).

One of the successful White River growers, Richard Jeffs, also helped to establish hops in other parts of King County. Jeffs, who was originally a New Yorker, worked in the gold fields of California as well as the Fraser River valley before purchasing 160 acres in the White River valley in 1861. He continued to build his land base until he owned 1,000 acres, which included cropland, pasture, and orchards. In 1882, he also headed the Hop Growers' Association, a consortium that purchased some of the Snoqualmie Valley property of Jeremiah Borst to establish the Snoqualmie Valley Hop Ranch. Jeffs and his family moved to Snoqualmie for a few years to run the ranch, which was expanded to include well over 1,000 acres, with a several hundred acres planted in hops (Figure 5-10) (Flewelling 1990:45–47; Nelson 2003; Prater 1981:66).

The complex, which was centered in the part of the valley known as Meadowbrook, also contained barns and kilns as well as a variety of other outbuildings, including a boarding house, cookhouse, and store. The huge hop picking crews, primarily composed of Native peoples who traveled annually from around Puget

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The West Shore 10 (11) 1884:348
Figure 5-10. The Snoqualmie Valley Hop Ranch, begun in 1882 and shown here in 1889, eventually expanded to include several hundred acres planted to hops.
Sound, British Columbia, and even Alaska, were also a tourist attraction. Developers built the Meadowbrook Inn at the site to cater to those who came to watch the spectacle, but also to entice a railroad to build a line to the area (Prater 1981:66; Raibmon 2005:88–89).

The appearance of a hop aphid that damaged crops beginning in 1889 accelerated the end of what came to be known as “the Golden Age of Hops.” Growers learned to use pesticides to control the infestation fairly quickly, and the State Labor Bureau was optimistic that hop farming would rebound. Unfortunately, the cost of the treatments for these aphids as well as the decline in prices resulting from the economic panic of 1893 and a glut of hops in the European market undermined any potential profitability. Ultimately the drier climate of Eastern Washington proved a better environment for hops, and farmers later grew them commercially in the Yakima Valley. Hop growing was at a virtual end in King County when a White River newspaper in the winter of 1908 reported the demolition of the last large kiln remaining in the valley (Adams 1899:116; Bagley 1929: 421–422; Flewelling 1990:47; Pence 1946:64; Raibmon 2005:76–77).

**FLOOD CONTROL**

The financial downturn of 1893 not only affected hop farming but also depressed land prices and caused an overall decline in the region’s agricultural production. In addition to these difficult economic conditions, the farmers who lived along the White River Valley were also affected by frequent flooding, when heavy winter rains and snow melt caused the river to swell and pick up logs, gravel, and other debris. These materials would often form large blockages that would force the river into new channels, and landowners, particularly in the lowlands around Kent, Auburn, and Renton, could do little to stop the diverted water from flooding their fields and causing damage to crops as well as undermining roads and bridges (Dorpat and McCoy 1998:257).

The flood conditions also precipitated a long-running battle between the farmers of the White River valley and their counterparts to the south along the Puyallup River in Pierce County. The main channel of the White River generally flowed north toward Elliott Bay, but there was one segment that meandered to the south around Lake Tapps (Figure 5-11). In this section the river ran almost parallel with the Stuck River, which was a tributary of the Puyallup River. The King County farmers found that in times of potential flooding, they could create their own jam with logs and rocks across the White River and force its flow into the Stuck River, thus sending floodwaters southward into the Puyallup River. Naturally this interference incensed Pierce County farmers, and they responded by creating their own barriers and diverting waters back into the White River (Dorpat and McCoy 1998:257; Vine 1990:39–40).

The exchanges became so bitter that the Pierce County contingent eventually brought in dynamite. They planted it on a cliff that they imagined would collapse into the Stuck and force its waters into the White more permanently. Instead, the dirt from the blast blocked the White River, causing even greater flooding on the Stuck. Eventually the two counties went to court, each producing evidence that the other side had been responsible for altering the natural course of the river. King County ultimately prevailed (Dorpat and McCoy 1998:258; Vine 1990:42).

The victory was short-lived. In 1906, a huge flood inundated the entire area, raising the water level in some places by nearly 20 feet and flooding downtown Kent, Auburn, and a number of other smaller settlements (Figure 5-12). A huge debris pile blocked the main channel of the White River, and once again, the flood waters formed a new channel. The swollen river poured down the Stuck River valley, carving out a new course, swamping rail lines, and destroying roads, bridges, and even buildings in its path. By the next day, the waters receded quickly, leaving the White River’s northern channel dry all the way to its confluence with the Green River (Figure 5-11). The two counties formed a commission to study the problem, led by noted engineer Hiram Chittenden. After reviewing the situation, he recommended that “Nature has transferred the course [of the White River] and it will be simpler to perpetuate it than to change it again” (Dorpat and McCoy 1998:258).
Since Pierce County would bear a greater burden if further flooding occurred, the two counties agreed to work together on a cooperative flood control program, with King County bearing a larger percentage of the improvement and maintenance costs. Part of the solution was to construct a 1,600-foot diversion dam at the point where the White River previously flowed north (Figure 5-13). The dam permanently blocked the White River, and its southerly course became the Stuck River. To the north the Green River occupied portions of the old White River channel. Other flood control measures included installation of a drift barrier and revetments as well as diking, dredging, and straightening the Stuck River channel. Flood waters once again destroyed these improvements in 1917 and in subsequent years so that the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers was forced to build additional dams that stemmed the flooding (Dorpat and McCoy 1998:258–259; Vine 1990:44–45).
Figure 5-12. Residents could canoe on the streets of Kent and other towns during the flood of 1906.

Figure 5-13. Map showing Auburn Dam (see also photo inset), the now-dry channel of the White River through Auburn, and the Drift Barrier.

Changes in Agricultural Practice

The broader economic downturn that had affected the area ended relatively quickly. By 1897 the Klondike Gold Rush and Seattle’s pivotal role in supplying the miners caused a rapid upswing in area population and increased demand for both agricultural land and products. Railroad construction also made Seattle a growing transcontinental hub and increased the marketability of local crops throughout the region as well as internationally (Pence 1946:65).

In many parts of the county, dairy farming had already become an increasingly important segment of the agricultural economy, offering an alternative to the loss of hops. Puget Sound’s wet, mild climate produced nutritious grass, and its milk production per cow was much higher than most of the drier areas around the state. The ability to access major urban markets, especially as rail connections improved, was also an impetus for expansion of dairying. The number of milk cows in King County increased by 116 percent between 1890 and 1900, and by the turn of the century, King County was the state’s largest milk producer, accounting for more than 20 percent of all production (Figure 5-14) (Bahnsen 1967:69–71, 95).

The role of farmers in dairying had also begun to change during this period. No longer primarily self-sufficient, producing milk, cheese, and butter for their own families or possibly for a small outside market, King County dairymen had become part of a much larger agricultural industry. Their milk production was increasingly sent directly to commercial creameries, which grew to as many as 60 in the state by 1899 (Bahnsen 1967:72–73).

Some county residents started their own creameries that grew into larger operations. Swedish-born farmer Alfred Kristoferson and his wife bought 10 acres on Mercer Island in 1896 for a small dairying operation, and each day Kristoferson rowed across Lake Washington to deliver his products to customers. Within a few years, he moved his expanding dairy into Seattle where he pasteurized and bottled milk for delivery throughout the city (Figure 5-15). Much later the business merged with another local dairy, Meadowbrook, which had gotten its start making condensed milk in Issaquah in 1911. There were also several associations, including the Enumclaw Cooperative Creamery, founded in 1899, which were efforts by farmers to take more control of the processing and distribution of their own products during this period (Kristoferson and Artifacts Consulting 2011:8–5; Poppleton 1995:32–33).

Among the most widely known of the dairy operations in the county was the Carnation Milk Products Company, which first established a dairy near Tolt in 1909. E.A. Stuart, a former grocer, had started an earlier venture, the Pacific Coast Condensed Milk Company in Kent in 1899, and with the success of his business decided to add his own dairy farms (Figure 5-16). He initially purchased a 360-acre ranch near Tolt on the
Snoqualmie River and soon expanded his holdings to develop a model dairy with pure-bred Holstein cows. By 1929 Carnation land included nearly 1,800 acres in the Snoqualmie Valley as well as a 200-acre hay ranch near Yakima (Bagley 1929:810–812; Boswell et al. 2006:7–8; Weaver 1974:35–37).

**FRUIT, TRUCK FARMING, AND OTHER CROPS**

In other parts of the county, smaller hop fields were also replaced by a variety of berries, which thrived in a mild, moist, and overcast climate. There was a relatively low cost for farmers to enter this market, with the promise of strong cash returns, although intensive seasonal labor to pick the fruit was necessary. Cannery operations that could process any surplus berries were also soon established in the county, which eliminated some of the risk of market glut during harvest (Pence 1946:72).

The White River valley became a center for berry production as did Bellevue, where strawberries were first planted on its stump ranches in areas like Clyde Hill and around Lake Sturtevant soon after logging had taken place. Vashon Island and Richmond Beach in north King County also had extensive strawberry fields, often on lands that once had been heavily timbered (Figure 5-17). Landowners throughout the county also expanded their truck farming operations, as the rapidly growing urban area of Seattle provided a ready market for most of the vegetables that could be produced. Celery, cabbage, carrots, beans, and peas were among the successful crops, and others were added if processing plants, like a Kent pickling facility, created a demand. Rail access also contributed to increased production of more perishable crops like lettuce, which became a major agricultural focus once refrigeration was more widely available (Pence 1946:72–73; McDonald 1984:10, 81; Neiwert 2005:32–33).

**PEOPLE IN AGRICULTURE**

Most of the original donation claimants as well as the other settlers who followed them into the river valleys to the south of the county were primarily from the East Coast and the Midwest. Because of the requirements of the Donation Land Act, most claimed that they were farmers, although a large number had come from
other occupations such as carpentry and blacksmithing. In many cases they were assisted in their farming efforts by Native laborers, who helped them to clear their fields and tend their crops. This same trend continued into the 1870s and 1880s as river valleys and timbered areas in other parts of the country were cleared when railroads made access easier.

After settlers logged the lowland areas, they created more farmland in the floodplain of the Snoqualmie and Tolt Rivers. These areas were cleared, and then diking and draining began as wetlands succumbed to cultivation. Many of the prairies, which had long been burned by Native women to enhance berry production and grass for small game, soon were planted to crops. Some of these lands were later converted to hops and then returned to grass for dairy cattle (LeTourneau et al. 2006:26–27).

Hop raising changed the whole nature of agriculture in the county and also brought huge numbers of Native workers as well as other ethnic groups into farming and harvesting crops. Although Native pickers appeared to be widely accepted, tensions arose when Chinese workers went into the fields. Some of the earliest anti-Chinese violence in King County took place in 1885 on the Wold Brothers hop farm in Issaquah. A mob threatened a group of Chinese workers who had set up tents on the Wold property to prepare for hop picking, but they were left unharmed. When a new group of Chinese arrived, however, they were met by a party of men with guns who turned them back. That evening local farmers, accompanied by some Indians, fired on the tents of the sleeping Chinese, killing at least three people and wounding more. The violence continued as Chinese workers were driven out of nearby mining camps as well (Bagley 1929:343).

Native workers, in contrast, were the mainstay of the hop industry, arriving each season from Alaska, British Columbia, and around Puget Sound for an intensive season of hop picking. Estimates suggest that as many as 2,000 to 3,000 workers were used at the height of the hops era in the Snoqualmie Valley, and several thousand also picked on farms throughout south King County (Prater 1981:66; Raibmon 2005:88–89).

Japanese farmers also began to play an increasingly important role in King County agriculture by 1900 (Figure 5-18). A large number of Japanese farmers had already settled in the White River Valley area to the south of Bellevue in the 1890s, but as land became scarce, agricultural families had also moved into the Bellevue
area. The huge stumps that remained after the area had been logged were difficult to remove and by this period, some landowners were hiring Japanese logging crews to clear their property. Others completed the stump removal under what was called a “clear and farm” agreement in which Japanese workers contracted to clear the land in return for the right to farm for a specified time, with five years being typical (Neiwert 2005:30–31).

**Industrial Settlement**

King County and the Puget Sound region offered an array of natural resources that could be exploited once transportation systems were in place. After the immediate needs of nearby communities were met, much of the agricultural and industrial production was for the export market since the region’s initial population was relatively small. These industries provided a focus for new settlement as workers generally made their homes near their jobs. In some cases these settlements were ephemeral and consisted of camps or crude shacks and cabins that were in use only until an area was logged or a prospect played out. Other settlements were built for permanence, sometimes as company towns to ensure workers remained near the job, but sometimes at a crossroads or transportation center. A variety of community institutions—schools, churches, stores and social organizations—brought an element of stability, but without a nearby industry or market for products, even some of these more organized communities also eventually disappeared.

**Timber Industry**

*Washington’s trees are her treasure, her jewels and green gold.*  
(Freeman 1954:54)

For most of the early decades of King County’s growth, the timber industry dominated the economy. In particular, the county’s huge stands of Douglas-fir attracted the interest of lumbermen and with the advent of better transportation systems, exploitation of this species continued to lead the expansion of the industry. Most of the timber initially exported from Puget Sound was in the form of logs, poles, spars and other unprocessed timber, although some hand-drawn shakes and shingles were also marketed. Sawmills were introduced very quickly, and milled lumber became an important export. Over time, the industry grew and made the county one of the largest producers in the state. Issaquah historian Eric Erickson documented nearly 1,500 timber-related businesses that operated in King County between 1853 and 2001, and likely there were many more that were short-lived or subsumed under other corporate names. In many cases, these businesses were associated with settlements or provided jobs that attracted a wide array of newcomers from across the United States and the world (Erickson 2002:1).

**Early Logging**

The first industry along Puget Sound was logging, which sustained the earliest settlers during their initial years in King County. Since dense forests grew right to the shoreline, cutting and hauling logs was made easier. With relatively little equipment early settlers were able to fell trees and then saw them into manageable lengths that could be pushed over the bluffs and down to the water. Some logs were floated directly to waiting ships, often pulled by skiffs, while others were squared, using broadaxes, or were split into cedar shakes. The first shingle makers in the community shaved the shingles by hand, usually sitting in a clearing and using a drawknife (Beaton 1914:24; Ficken 1987).

In these early years, timber became a primary medium of exchange and ultimately another “cash crop.” Would-be farmers often needed to clear a portion of their land, and merchantable logs, poles, and spars provided a source of income in addition to the sale of crops and livestock. Those early farmers who claimed land along the Duwamish and other area rivers logged their property to sustain themselves and sold basic timber products for the California trade. As one of these settlers, Eli Mapel, later wrote about his own experience:
My father and I took a contract for getting out 7,000 telegraph poles and 5,000 boat poles. These we packed out of the woods to the water on our shoulders. We rafted them by hand alongside of the ship as there was no steamers here to do our towing (Watt 1959:115).

Early sailing ships like the *Leonesa* also loaded Douglas-fir spars cut by settlers on Alki Point but found supplies in other parts of King County, including the area around Quartermaster Harbor on Vashon Island. The captains of the ships and their crew also frequently came ashore to load these timber products or, when steamboat traffic grew, to cut or purchase firewood from settlers. These seamen also brought some of the first draft animals to the new communities. Oxen transported to the area by boat were sold to settlers to assist in hauling some of the larger logs to the waterfront. According to Arthur Denny, one of Seattle’s first residents, the ship captains usually traded for wood with supplies needed by the settlers, including sugar from China, pork and butter from around the Horn, and flour from Chile. During these early years, most of the King County timber was sent back to San Francisco (Faber 1985:79; Haulman 2016:65; Watt 1959:70–71).

**EARLY SAWMILLING**

Processing the plentiful timber in the Puget Sound region added value and provided additional livelihoods for other newcomers to the settlement. Not only were milled lumber and other timber products needed for local development, but the export market continued to grow.

The Hudson’s Bay Company operated the region’s first sawmill at Fort Vancouver, but as more Americans arrived in Oregon Territory, small water-powered mills sprang up in many settlements to process lumber for construction. The first steam sawmill on Puget Sound began operations in Seattle during the spring of 1853, after Henry Yesler visited Elliott Bay and found it a potentially good location for his planned milling enterprise. The waterfront land around the bay had already been claimed, but two of the settlers, Carson Boren and David Maynard, both saw the necessity of an industrial base to establish a thriving community. They each donated a strip of their land so that Yesler could site his mill on Elliott Bay, showing what one commentator has called the “first exhibition of civic enterprise given by the new community” (Beaton 1914:6). Their instincts were sound, as Yesler’s sawmill ultimately provided jobs for residents during Seattle’s precarious early years and became an essential economic mainstay (Figure 5-19) (Andrews 2005:15–16; Watt 1959:73–74).
Residents also helped Yesler to construct the buildings needed to house the new enterprise. The *Columbian*, an Olympia newspaper, heard about the endeavor and recognized its value to a fledgling community:

Huzza for Seattle! It would be folly to suppose that the mill will not prove as good as a gold mine to Mr. Yesler, besides tending greatly to improve the fine town-site of Seattle, and the fertile country around it, by attracting thither the farmer, the laborer, and the capitalist. On with improvements! We hope to hear of scores of others 'ere long (*Columbian*, October 30, 1852).

As predicted, Yesler was very quickly followed by a number of other entrepreneurs, who were drawn by the area’s well-timbered lands, which offered so much potential for milling and exporting lumber products. On the Alki peninsula, Charles Terry of the original Denny party ran a store in which he sold merchandise to settlers but also purchased their pilings, squared timbers, and shingles and then shipped them to California. He joined with a partner, William Renton, who had come to the area from Canada, to build a sawmill at Alki Point. The pair soon found the winds and tides too difficult for easy cargo loading, so in early 1854 Renton moved the mill to Port Orchard and later to Port Blakely on Bainbridge Island (Denny 1979:53; Eals 1987:19–20).

Other early mills in King County also experienced difficulties because of the need for a better means to transport their products. In south King County, for example, by early 1854, Henry Tobin, in partnership with O. M. Eaton and Joseph Fanjoy, built a small water-powered sawmill on the Black River just below its confluence with the Cedar River. Tobin, who was originally from Maine, and his wife Diana had taken a donation claim of nearly 320 acres along the river and began living there by November of 1853 (Figure 5-20). At about that time, Tobin had also joined with several men to form the county’s first coal mining enterprise, the Duwamish Coal Company, which was located on a nearby claim. The sawmilling venture on Tobin’s land began a few months later, when he and his partners built a 6-foot dam to channel the water to run the mill’s two circular saws and produce mining timbers as well as milled lumber. They quickly found that the difficulties of getting their products to Puget Sound limited their profitability, and the mill was eventually abandoned and then burned during the Treaty War period (Bagley 1929:246-247; *Pioneer and Democrat*, Feb. 11, 1954:2; Rhodes 1992:183).

Additional small logging and lumbering ventures were likely started in other parts of King County, but more established settlements grew up around larger mills on Puget Sound, where plentiful trees and easy water access encouraged experienced lumbermen to start their own enterprises. At Port Gamble, former Maine lumbermen Andrew Pope and William Talbot started the Puget Mill Company in 1853, and other milling ventures included the Washington Mill Company at Seabeck, headed by John Williamson and Marshall Blinn, as well as the George Meigs sawmill at Port Madison. These logging and milling communities were only part of King County for a few years, but continued to contribute to its economy for decades (Cox 1974:61–62; Newell 1977:54–55; Warren 1981:54).
Early logging methods of the period generally relied on sources of timber along the shoreline. As loggers were forced to range farther inland for access to logs, some of the larger mill owners began to buy up timber land to supply their operations. Several of these millmen were among the largest purchasers of King County land, and their crews logged large swaths of its heavily forested sections, particularly along Puget Sound and the northern shores of Lake Washington. Both Pope and Talbot and Marshall Blinn, who had sold out his interest in the Seabeck mill and then invested in a West Seattle sawmilling venture, had purchased large parcels of north King County’s forested lands (Bagley 1929:238, 240; Ficken 1987:41, 45–47).

Beginning in the 1870s and 1880s, company loggers as well as independent operators also began to cut timber on Vashon Island, around Lake Sammamish and Lake Washington, and to the south near Renton. At the head of Lake Washington, for example, near what later became Kenmore, loggers like James Houghton, the Verd brothers, and Nels Peterson used chutes and even tramways to get their logs from the heavily forested hillsides to the lake, where they could be floated to waterside mills (Figure 5-21) (Droge 2003:32; Haulman 2016:65; Perry et al. 1993:42–43).

A few other small sawmills continued to serve the agricultural communities that grew along some of the other rivers and lakes of King County. In 1873 Watson Allen began a sawmill venture on Tokul Creek, in the Snoqualmie River Valley near the settlement that became Fall City. Allen put in a dam and channeled the water through a flume and millrace to power his mill. He produced squared timbers and other products, evidently helped by local Native workers, who manned various parts of the sawmilling operation. Some sources suggest that on the west side of Lake Sammamish, a homesteader, Simon Donnelly, may have been another early settler in that vicinity who built a water-powered sawmill that supplied local needs (Bagley 1929:787; Erickson 2001:1, 11, 20).

Lumber and Mining and Railroad Expansion

The logging and milling industries expanded in conjunction with better transportation facilities and the growing importance of mining in King County. Sawmills were often associated with the development of mines and mining settlements, since the mine sites first had to be cleared and lumber was needed not only for worker housing and other buildings, but also for structural support within the tunnels and shafts underground. Soon after the Renton Coal Company and the Talbot mines were incorporated in 1873 and 1874, a local lumberman, Dave Parker, and his sons constructed a sawmill in what would later become the town of Renton. The men used oxen and also flumes to transport the logs from the steep hillsides above the Cedar River, where they were then rafted to the Renton mill. Parker also ran a boarding house adjacent to his mill for his workers (Buerge 1989:30–32).

The construction of the Seattle and Walla Walla Railroad also expanded the need for logging and the development of sawmills as the line was extended to Renton by 1877 and then to the Newcastle mines by 1878. During the 1880s the work on the Northern Pacific’s Cascade Division through Stampede Pass and then the development of its home-grown competitor, the SLS&E, also brought a period of high demand for forest products. The construction of both local and transcontinental rail lines increased need for ties, bridge timbers, and other lumber products. New mills were constructed along proposed rail routes, and old mills
raced to increase capacity. In addition, Eastern capitalists had begun to look for new frontiers to log, as the rapid exploitation of the rich timberlands around the Great Lakes had sapped that region’s resources. The vast Puget Sound forests offered apparently unlimited opportunities, and the railroad provided easier and quicker means of access, particularly to the untapped timberlands inland from the waterfront (Armbruster 1999: 51, 55–56; Cox 1974:200–201).

The SLS&E, in particular, had a huge impact on the progression of logging in the areas north of Seattle and also around Lake Sammamish and up the Snoqualmie River Valley. Sources suggest that much of the logging in northern King County between Lake Washington and Puget Sound primarily took place during the 1890s and early twentieth century once these rail lines were in place. Small lumber and shake mills processed many of the logs at locations throughout the area, including Bitter Lake, Lake Ballinger, as well as Echo and Silver Lakes. The railroad had a similar impact on the Redmond area, where a large Scandinavian community of logging families was established, with the Peterson mill near Avondale among the first to saw local logs. Once the timber was removed, the cut-over lands could then be cleared and used for agriculture or residential development (Bender 1983:18–20; Bivins 1987:70–71; Way 1889:49).

The SLS&E also built some of its own milling facilities at crucial locations, and then once construction was completed, often moved these mills or sold them to individuals. An example was an early Issaquah mill that produced lumber for railroad trestles and was then sold to Joe Donlan, son of homesteader Michael Donlan, possibly in 1891. Donlan initially milled logs cut on portions of the family property and then moved the mill to a site on the Lake Tradition plateau, where the company’s millpond became known as Round Lake. The Donlans later sold out and started several other new lumber and shingle milling ventures in and around Issaquah (Erickson 2002:9–12, 14, 18).

As a result of the availability of rail transport for marketing, the number of logging and milling operations throughout the county greatly expanded. By 1910, for example, there were three lumber mills and six shingle mills within 4 miles of Issaquah, and these plants were the focus of growing settlements at High Point, Preston, and Monohon. Several logging railroads also helped to move timber from the forests on both sides of Lake Sammamish, Tiger Mountain, and Grand Ridge to these mills for processing. The Monohon mill site, which was located on the land of an early homesteader, Martin Monohon, was said to have 50 homes for millworkers as well as a 20-room hotel (Figure 5-22). The Preston Mill employed as many as 200 men, many of whom were recent immigrants from Sweden (Bagley 1929:770–771; Erickson 2002:29–31, 34).

![Figure 5-22. Sawmill at the town of Monohon, ca. 1910.](Museum of History & Industry Postcard Collection, Image No.: 1998.40.3.)
Shingle Mills

Along most of these rail lines, shingle mills were also built individually or in tandem with sawmill operations. A huge demand in the Midwest for shakes and shingles emerged after the transcontinental railroads arrived in the Puget Sound region. According to historian Robert Ficken, a "shingle craze" hit the Northwest and by the mid-1880s numerous mills had quickly sprung up along the railroad lines to supply cedar shingles to eager buyers in the nation’s central farm belt. Shingle-making plants required only a small capital outlay, and the industry grew so quickly that production soon began to tax the capacity of the railroads. By 1890, Washington produced one-third of the shingles manufactured in the entire country, although dramatic price fluctuations caused by overproduction, high freight rates, and occasional railroad car shortages made it a precarious business venture (Ficken 1987:60-61).

Likely the earliest shingle-making operation in King County was run by A.W. Hite, who by 1874 had started his water-powered mill in Springbrook, north of the settlement of Orillia. Originally known as Krumm’s Mill, so possibly of even earlier origins, Hite’s plant produced lumber as well as broom handles. Hite adapted his machinery to make sawed shingles when he received a request to provide them for an addition to a church located along the White River, and this type of shingle quickly became one of his steady products. Other shingle mills were established along lakes, rivers, and ultimately rail lines throughout the county (Figure 5-23). The Lake Sammamish Lumber and Shingle Mill, which later became the Campbell Mill in Adelaide, the Covington Lumber Company near Maple Valley, and the White River Lumber and Shingle Company of Enumclaw were just a few of many shingle-making operations associated with local lumber mills (Bagley 1929:255–256; Poppleton 1995:41–42).

New Logging and Milling Expansion

Despite this growth, the forest products industry as a whole did not initially experience the dramatic upturns that linkage to Eastern markets had promised, since the new transportation networks had also increased competition. The nationwide financial panic of 1893 further damaged Washington’s lumber business, causing a decline in demand as new settlement and economic growth subsided. Most of the largest mills in the Northwest tried repeatedly to form combinations to stabilize prices and stop bidding wars, but these efforts were often short-lived (Cox 1974:255, 259–260).

Prospects brightened again by 1897 as the rush to the Klondike gold fields revived a variety of local industries, including the timber trade. The Northwest Coast, and Seattle in particular, became the supply point for those heading to the Yukon and also Alaska, and explosive local growth led to renewed financial health. With its huge stands of trees and access to both rail and maritime shipping, Puget Sound experienced...
a wave of new mill construction and an influx of settlers who saw the job opportunities in the industry (Ficken 1987:105).

Vast tracts of merchantable timber became available through the sale of railroad land grants, and by the early 1900s, several large lumber companies also moved into the region, looking for new opportunities as Midwestern reserves dwindled. Frederick Weyerhaeuser’s purchase of 90,000 acres of Northern Pacific land in 1900 dwarfed subsequent transactions, and the Weyerhaeuser syndicate purchased existing mills or built new ones in King County as well as a number of other Washington locales. More small companies also became active in the industry after the turn of the century. Independent logging ventures snapped up as many of the railroad holdings as they could, and also sought to log homestead and timber claims owned by individuals or to purchase government timber sales. By 1910 Washington had become the country’s top lumber producer, with nearly 63 percent of the state’s workers dependent on the forest industry for jobs (Cox 1974:285–287; Schwantes 1989:175, 179).

Among the mills that were established during this period was the White River Lumber and Shingle Company, which was first incorporated in 1893. The company’s original Enumclaw planing mill was destroyed by fire in 1896, and the owners sold the property to Charles Hanson, his sons, and a partner, Louis Olson. Hanson had operated a small sawmill to supplement his farming income before he left Sweden in the 1880s, and had worked in a Minnesota mill before eventually reaching King County. In the early 1890s he had started his own small milling operation at Eddyville and then another at Lake Wilderness near Maple Valley to supply local coal mines. After the White River Lumber Company purchase, the Hansons rebuilt the planing mill and began a period of expansion that included construction of a larger sawmill outside of Enumclaw at Camp Ellenson, and ultimately a network of more than 10 miles of logging railroads along Boise Creek and into the higher slopes of the White River Valley (Figure 5-24). The mill purchased much of its own acreage, including large tracts from the Northern Pacific Railroad, and in 1929 the company’s operations were merged with the Weyerhaeuser interests to form a new jointly owned corporation, the White River Lumber Company (The Coast XVII (6) June 1909:380; Hidy et al. 1963:410–411; Poppleton 1995:41–47).

Earlier, the Weyerhaeuser Timber Company had also built its own new King County mill on the Snoqualmie River. In partnership with the Grandin Coast Lumber Company, which owned extensive timber lands in the eastern part of the county, Weyerhaeuser formed the Snoqualmie Falls Lumber Company. In 1916 they began construction of two mills, one for fir and another for cedar production, as well as a large company town. The residential settlement on a hillside above the mills initially included a hotel-boarding house, a store, and housing for employees, with lumber supplied by Weyerhaeuser’s Everett sawmill. The company also began to build an extensive logging railroad network, providing sleeping compartments for its crew in rail cars that could be moved to different locations (Figure 5-25). With the advent of World War I and resulting labor shortages, the mill hired contractors to provide Japanese as well as a few women workers so that the mill could open in 1917 (Hidy et al. 1963:276–277, 280).
Worker protests, walkouts, and the rise of unionism, which included the increasing role of the Industrial Workers of the World (IWW) in the timber industry, culminated in the 1917 strikes that closed most of the area’s camps and mills. Living and working conditions as well as wages and hours were among the grievances, and after federal mediation, employers begrudgingly agreed to the eight-hour day. Pressure was also applied to standardize wage scales and improve living and sanitary conditions in camps (Jensen 1945:129).

Lumber producers briefly enjoyed a post-war rally, but then experienced a sharp decline in sales with the onset of the Great Depression. Diminishing supplies and new technological efficiencies began to change the nature of the industry, and according to one King County lumberman, consolidation was the vision of the future. In the eyes of many, the Northwest was “the last Great Stand...inasmuch as half of the remaining stand of virgin timber in the United States lies on the Pacific slope,” but even these huge timber stands could...
not withstand the pressure of continually increasing production (Vinnedge 1923:23–25). Replanting and higher utilization as well as the expansion of pulp and paper production were just a few of the new directions being explored, but there was also a growing realization that the industry would be very different for the next generation of lumbermen (Boswell et al. 1990:51–53; Ficken 1987:172–174; Hutchison 1938).

As more and more of the county’s forests were logged, another avenue of profit for some companies was to sell the cut-over lands for settlement. In earlier decades, the so-called stump-ranch pioneers had often logged their own lands to make way for agriculture, but as new transportation systems and technologies led to the rapid growth of the timber industry, huge expanses of logged lands became available. Chambers of Commerce, booster publications, and land development companies touted the low prices and high potential of this type of property and encouraged a new wave of settlers to reap the benefits of individual ownership. Many of the new “suburban” communities around King County grew up on these cut-over lands (Figure 5-26). At the same time, the rise of scientific forestry and conservation movements strongly influenced a trend toward collaboration among large timber companies, the states, and the federal government to focus on reforestation, fire protection, and a variety of other related issues (The Coast April 1909:285; Ficken 1987:165–167; Hidy et al. 1963:381–384).

**People in the Timber Industry**

The King County timber industry had its beginnings as the earliest settlers cleared their land, often to make way for agriculture, new transportation routes, or even industrial pursuits like mining. Many found that they were initially able to use their timber as a “cash crop,” particularly when their property was located along Puget Sound or one of its waterways, providing them access to potential markets. In these circumstances, the ability to sell their timber provided a vital means of support during their first years of settlement, even though most of these settlers were inexperienced in the industry. In inland areas, away from the waterfront, newcomers often just burned the wood so that they could move forward with other uses of their land. Many also worked in early sawmills to earn wages that would also allow them to supplement agricultural incomes (Ficken 1987:24–25).

A unique timber culture began to emerge as logging became more widespread, the number of sawmills grew, and better transportation facilities provided a means to access and ultimately to market logs or lumber.
Native populations around Puget Sound were an important segment of the early labor force in both the woods as well as early mills. Some of the donation claimants and other early agricultural settlers hired local Native workers to assist in the difficult work of clearing and stump removal, and they were often the primary workers in the small water-powered sawmills along the Snoqualmie, Tolt, and Sammamish Rivers as well as nearby lakes. In larger sawmills, the trend began with Henry Yesler, whose early sawmill work force included local Native peoples as well as European immigrants: “a number of people of different shapes and forms [who] speak all sorts of languages,” as he wrote to his wife, Sarah (Finger 1968:25–26, 37).

**Worker Diversity**

Descriptions of early logging and milling operations generally emphasize the diversity of workers, and, in particular, the strong ethnic identity that existed in some of these timber industry communities. As might be expected, a substantial number of the workers who populated area logging camps and sawmills had some previous work experience in the industry. Foreign-born immigrants from the timber-rich Scandinavian countries and other parts of northern Europe, in particular, were drawn to these jobs, as were newcomers from New England and the Great Lakes region, where a once-thriving timber industry had begun to decline. Swedish settlements associated with the timber industry developed around Redmond and Preston, for example, and the White River Lumber Company in Enumclaw was also known as a “Swede company,” since its owners had emigrated from Sweden and willingly hired men from the old country (Bagley 1929:771; Poppleton 1995:46).

Following national trends, much of the immigration to Washington during the latter part of the nineteenth century was from Western and Northern Europe, but by the early 1900s, there were increasing numbers from Central and Eastern Europe. Seattle’s role as a major supply point for the Klondike Gold Rush undoubtedly had an influence, as census figures for the city’s waterfront population in 1900 showed nearly 26 different nationalities represented. Many of these newcomers, rather than heading to the gold fields, also found jobs in other area industries to provide supplies for the miners (Bureau of the Census 1900; Valentino et al. 2009:23–24).

These new trends were particularly noticeable in the larger sawmills around the county, as the numbers and diversity of workers increased. An example was the work force of the Skykomish Lumber Company. The 1910 census lists a Greek crew working at the sawmill as well as a group of eight Hindi workers from India who were also mill workers. In addition, the mill employed more than 15 Japanese laborers. These workers did not apparently remain in the community for any length of time, and over the next few decades, larger numbers of mill workers and their families were born in Washington or Canada. First-generation immigrants also continued to arrive from Sweden, Denmark, and Holland (Bureau of the Census 1920, 1930, 1940; Hudson et al. 2015:20).

**Asian Labor Force**

Throughout this period, Asian laborers also began to play a role in the industry. The Chinese were among the first to immigrate, particularly as part of railroad construction crews, but once these projects were completed, also looked for work in other industries. Their role was greater in regional canneries and mines than in the timber industry, but labor contracting firms in Seattle did provide Chinese workers for logging and milling operations. Competition for jobs, particularly in less prosperous economic times, was part of the reason for the passage of the Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882, which barred the entry of Chinese workers for 10 years, and on the local level, resulted in the resurgence of nativism and some violence in logging and milling communities. The Knights of Labor fought for the expulsion of the Chinese from the mills as well as the mines, and the virulent anti-Chinese sentiment that prompted mobs to force the physical removal of Chinese workers from Seattle and other Puget Sound cities affected their role in the industry (Ficken 1987:72–74).
Within a decade, Japanese immigrants began to fill the void and were particularly prevalent in the King County timber industry. The Japanese government officially began to allow emigration to North America in 1885, and wars as well as economic conditions in Japan prompted many to seek new opportunities in the United States. Labor contractors recruited Japanese workers with glowing ads on the prosperity available, and Seattle became a major port of entry, with steamships full of immigrants docking primarily at Smith’s Cove on the north end of the Seattle waterfront (Figure 5-27). A number of mills throughout King County began to hire Japanese workers, and by 1907, government reports documented that more than 2,685 men, or nearly 20 percent of all of Washington’s Japanese population, were employed in the timber industry (Figure 5-28). Most were single men, whose wages were often from 50 to 75 percent lower than what other groups earned, and they were also prevented from becoming union members (Olson 1924:5; Takami 1998:17–19).

In the early 1900s mills throughout the region had an increasing Japanese presence, and Barneston, Enumclaw, Selleck, Skykomish, and Snoqualmie Falls were among the many emerging mill settlements with substantial Japanese populations. At the sawmill owned by the Pacific States Lumber Company in Selleck, for example, Japanese workers likely began to provide support for the operations when the facility opened in 1908. The census of 1910 counted only 27 people of Japanese descent living at Selleck, but by 1920 the population had grown to at least 147, which included women and children. That number increased to a total population of between 200 and 300 between 1920 and 1930, when the mill flourished before the advent of the Great Depression. Most of those workers and their families were housed in a separate Japanese camp or section of the mill grounds in boarding houses or small houses for families (Figure 5-29) (Bowden and Larson 1997:5–8; Ito 1973:395).
Workers in larger sawmills were generally housed by their employers, and these accommodations ranged from temporary camps to more permanent company towns, which, in addition to boarding houses, family residences, and a company store, sometimes offered other community services that could include schools, churches, saloons, and other commercial establishments. The location, size, and available capital of the mill often determined the extent of the settlement and the amenities that it offered.

Settlements associated with the timber industry generally can be classified in three major categories:

- **Logging camps**, which were usually ephemeral and focused on the rapid exploitation of the nearby forests. These work camps were often isolated geographically and dependent on a logging company or sawmill owner to provide food, lodging, and other necessities. As technology changed, many of these camps became associated with logging railroads.

- **Sawmill settlements**, which were often more formal and long-lasting than camps, but still reliant on the availability of resources and market conditions to survive. Some of these settlements were company towns, with housing and some commercial enterprises that were owned by the sawmill or larger corporations.

- **Related settlements**, which grew up in conjunction with other industries, particularly mining. Clearing the surrounding forests provided the initial timber, and large supplies of milled lumber were needed for ongoing building construction, housing, and mine infrastructure. Railroad construction also required related milling settlements and often easy access to transportation added longevity to these communities.

The owners of early timber processing enterprises like the Fanjoy and Eaton sawmill on the Black River or Watson Allen’s mill on Tokul Creek in the Snoqualmie River Valley sometimes cut their own timber, but nearby agricultural settlers were often their major suppliers and also their primary customers. Most of these small mills began operations where there was already a core of settlers, but they were also heavily reliant on locations which had the appropriate stream conditions to develop power for their mills. Most small mill owners found it difficult to access a broader market without better means of transportation, and generally their mills survived only if there were other commercial or industrial opportunities in the settlement (Bagley 1929:787; Bancroft 1890:66).
Logging Camps

The larger tidewater mills, whose owners had the resources to purchase land in King County, were able to develop their own timber supplies as they rapidly cut over lands around their facilities. These huge mills ran 24 hours a day and could not always rely on independent suppliers. The first substantial logging camps in King County were likely associated with outside companies like the Puget Mill Company in Port Gamble, which bought large blocks of land, particularly to the north of Seattle along Puget Sound. The company had the resources to hire large crews that harvested its timber and shipped the logs to their mills across Puget Sound. Company policy dictated that most of these lands were within a mile of the shoreline or along lakes so that the costs of hauling with oxen to loading sites or landings for shipment were kept to a minimum (Coman and Gibbs 1949:112–114).

Once better transportation systems were in place and the timber industry began its period of rapid expansion, logging camps became an important type of short-term settlement throughout King County forests. Independent logging contractors or company-run crews would locate on contracted or company land to be logged. Initially these camp sites were along area waterways where oxen were used on skid roads, and where chutes and later tramways helped to move the logs from greater distances.

As railroads like the Seattle and Walla and the SLS&E as well as the major transcontinental lines were built, new logging areas were opened up by this access. Fairly quickly, with the advent of the steam donkey and then the logging railroad, timber located in the interior of the county and its more mountainous areas to the east could also be more easily harvested (Ficken 1989:69–71).

Small outfits generally could not afford to build dedicated logging railroads, but many mills ultimately found them indispensable if they were to survive in the industry’s increasing climate of consolidation and dominance by larger corporate interests. Logging railroads ultimately climbed hillsides and crisscrossed the county, and usually were associated with small camps where workers stayed for the duration of a job. Many of these camps were temporary and rough, sometimes consisting only of tents or small shacks and possibly a cookhouse, while others were more permanent, located at the head of the line and sometimes associated with a mill complex. As more sophisticated logging networks evolved, rolling camps came into use. Workers were often housed in rail cars, and at some camps like those used after World War I by the Weyerhaeuser

Typical 1898 Logging Crew

35 men (Figure 5-30):
1 foreman
1 engineer
1 fireman
2 fellers (chooses place where tree falls and fells it, sometimes from springboard)
2 sawyers (cuts trees into lengths)
1 expert skid maker
10 laborers
2 under cutters
2 barkers (removes bark from underside of log for easier transport)
2 swampers (clears away brush for removal)
2 buckers
3 hook tenders (accompanies skidders and fastens tackle to logs)
2 cable and signal men
2 teamsters
1 skid greaser
1 cook
1 cook’s helper

(Adams 1899:100)
operation at Snoqualmie Falls, living conditions were improved with heat and even electricity (Hidy et al. 1963:280).

*The Coast Magazine*, in a 1909 edition focused on King County, included an article on lumbering, which was the county’s largest industry at that time. The article provided a sampling of the local timber companies, which its editors believed would provide an idea of “the size and capacity of the general run” (*The Coast* XVII (6):380). The chart below provides an overview of these operations, which ranged from 15 to 350 workers. Most had camps for their workers, while a smaller number operated their own logging railroads (Table 5-2).

Table 5-2. Sample of King County Logging Companies, 1909.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Company</th>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Number of Workers</th>
<th>Capacity (board ft)</th>
<th>Logging Railways</th>
<th>Camps</th>
<th>Additional Information</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Campbell Brothers</td>
<td>Adelaide</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>10 mi</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>Had own town site, hotel, store.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Auburn Lumber Co.</td>
<td>Auburn</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>40,000/day</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Had planer and dry kiln.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kent Lumber Co.</td>
<td>Barneston</td>
<td>200</td>
<td>100,000/day</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Built electric plant for mill, town; had water and power from Taylor Creek; town owned by mill; 20 families in cottages.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Co-Operative Shingle Co.</td>
<td>Bothell</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>200,000 shingles</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Flumes bolts 7 miles from Silver Lake; owns 580 acres timber land.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oakville Shingle Co.</td>
<td>Bothell</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>180,000 shingles</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bothell Manufacturing Co.</td>
<td>Bothell</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>Makes sash, doors, moldings.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>W.P. Stickney</td>
<td>Bothell</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>5,000/day</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Beaver Mill Co.</td>
<td>Bothell</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>60,000 shingles</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Woodin &amp; Sanders Logging Co.</td>
<td>Bothell</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>4 mi</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Uses 5 teams to log for poles</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>H&amp;Y Timber Co.</td>
<td>Bothell</td>
<td>15 to 20</td>
<td>Poles</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>Established 1901; 6 mills; used launches to tow logs down Swan Lake; general store at mill.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Covington Lumber Co.</td>
<td>Covington (near Kent)</td>
<td>180</td>
<td>100,000/day</td>
<td>10 mi</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Established 1896; 4 miles of flume in addition to rail lines.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>White River Lumber Co.</td>
<td>Enumclaw</td>
<td>350</td>
<td>100,000/day</td>
<td>10 mi</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Had 3 donkey engines; milled fir and cedar.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Calhous-Kraus Mill</td>
<td>Kent</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>30,000/day</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Had 20-room hotel, 50 homes, store, and electricity.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Allen &amp; Nelsen Mill</td>
<td>Monohon</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>Railroad logging camp on west shore of lake; logs floated down river and towed across Lake Washington.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bennett Logging Co.</td>
<td>Monohon</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>Railroad logging camp on west shore of lake; logs floated down river and towed across Lake Washington.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>North Bend Lumber Co.</td>
<td>North Bend</td>
<td>170</td>
<td>75,000/day</td>
<td>8 mi</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Produced stave stock, long timbers; staves used for Seattle’s Cedar River water lines.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South Fork Lumber Co.</td>
<td>North Bend</td>
<td>125</td>
<td>75,000/day</td>
<td>3 mi</td>
<td>--</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lovegren Mill</td>
<td>Preston</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>Used flume; town and timber owned by company.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ohio Mill Co.</td>
<td>Redmond</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>25,000/ day; 30,000 shingles</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Planed heavy timber.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Summit Lake Cedar Co.</td>
<td>Woodinville</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>60,000 shingles</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Sawmill Settlements

Throughout King County, most of the larger timber companies built not only mills and transportation networks, but also employee housing and occasionally a few other amenities. In some remote areas, there were no alternatives: “workers lived in company homes, shopped in company stores, sent their children to company schools and depended on the fortunes of the company as their own” (Schwantes et al. 1988:112). The motivations of company officials were varied. Obviously settlements close to the mill ensured that employees’ lives were oriented toward their work, and housing for families sometimes ensured more stability in an industry that was notoriously transient. Some owners professed a paternalistic view of bettering the lives of the laboring class and immigrants, while, with the rise of unions, substantial, if modest, homes might also provide a means to convince these same workers to maintain their independence and support the company (Carlson 2003:10–11).

These sawmill settlements ranged in size from a few dozen to several hundred housing units. In some cases, they evolved haphazardly, as a few small cabins were initially built around the periphery of the mill, and then as the operation grew, were concentrated in other nearby areas. The Kent Lumber Company Mill at Barneston, founded around 1892 in the upper Cedar River drainage, started small but added about 10 houses and a bunkhouse by 1902 as well as separate Japanese camps (Figure 5-31). Wood & Iverson initially built a three-story bunkhouse, but then slowly added company houses until there were as many as 36 along the access road to their Hobart mill. Rather than building its own company store, Wood & Iverson purchased a local grocery business and expanded its line of goods. Workers were also issued “tin money,” which could be spent at the store, but also at taverns and pool halls in neighboring communities (Getz 1987:42–43; Schmelzer 2001:39).

Other company towns were planned but never built. The Huron Lumber Company, for example, acquired 15 acres near what became Bothell in 1887, and began logging and erected a mill. In 1890 two new nearby town sites, Huron and Winsor, were platted to accompany expected growth, but the mill soon went into receivership. The mill buildings were later purchased, destroyed by fire, and eventually rebuilt, but little,
if any, development ever took place at the proposed towns (Evans 1988:6; Getz 1987:42–43; King County Recorder, Plats, Huron, Winsor 1890).

Independently owned North Bend Timber Company was a more long-lasting operation. A 1906 booster publication noted that the partners in the venture initially built a large mill, three camps, and 8 miles of logging railroads, and its facilities grew considerably in subsequent years. A new town of Edgewick, outside of the already established community of North Bend, was constructed around the sawmills and was described as “numerous identical houses set in rows for the families” with “a commissary store, where most needs were provided, also a bunkhouse for the single workers” as well as the “most popular building,” the cook house and dining hall. A good portion of the town was destroyed in late 1918 when the Boxley Canyon Dam, owned by the City of Seattle, gave way upstream on the Cedar River. The breach in the dam sent a wall of water and debris over the sawmill facilities and many of the town’s homes (Figure 5-32) (Boswell et al. 1990:26, 38; Hill 1970:321–322).

Consolidation in the industry also led to the development of more standardized plans for worker living facilities. In 1917, for example, the Bloedel Donovan Company, which had several other mills in Washington, also acquired the remaining interests in the Skykomish Lumber Company and renamed it the Columbia Valley Lumber Company. The mill was operated as a Bloedel Donovan subsidiary and expanded its logging railroad spurs in this part of the Cascade Range. Improvements to the main facility in Skykomish included a new and enlarged sawmill, locomotive repair shop, and bunkhouses. Mill Town, which developed across the Cascade Highway from the complex, included a number of homes as well as a store and pool hall (Ficken 1987:102; Lentz 1996:26).

Probably the largest of the company towns built in association with King County sawmills was the community built on a hillside above Weyerhaeuser’s Snoqualmie Falls plant (Figure 5-33). The complex included more than 250 houses, schools, a general store, and a 40-bed hospital as well as a community center with a library and 370-seat auditorium. Like many other timber-industry towns in the area, the company owned the land and the houses, which were leased to workers. When the town was razed in the 1950s, the company gave residents the opportunity to buy individual houses and move them to the nearby town of Snoqualmie (Bagley 1929:788; Carlson 2003:80, 91, 236).
Japanese in Milling

With the large number of Japanese workers in the timber industry, there were also many mills with separate Japanese settlements. Racial segregation was seemingly a standard throughout the industry, and most mills of any size often either had separate boarding houses or sometimes camps or town sites for their Japanese workers. These residential facilities were usually in different areas from other worker housing, often separated by physical barriers, including streams and rail lines, from the main mill settlement. Initially, most of these Japanese workers were single men, but over time many also brought families to the camps.

Several of the logging camps and mills in the Green River Valley had their own Japanese camps, including Nagrom, Page Mill, and Garibaldi. The Page Mill and Logging Company, which was later purchased by the Buffelen Lumber Manufacturing Company, was located on the North Fork of the Green River. Its so-called Japanese Village was well to the southeast of the mill complex, separated by the railroad, a mill pond overflow stream, and the Green River. The Morgan Lumber Company developed its mill and logging operation at Nagrom with 200 workers, and about 40 were Japanese workers who lived in a separate boarding house (Hollenbeck 1987:280; Lewarch et al. 1996:21–24).

The Japanese Camp at the Selleck mill, owned by the Pacific States Lumber Company, was one of the larger Japanese settlements in the county (Figure 5-34). The mill town was probably started as early as 1910, but by the 1920s, 200 to 300 Japanese millworkers and their families lived there. A series of three boarding houses, including the large 200-room Selleck Hotel, catered primarily to bachelors, who ate in a separate cookhouse that was also combined with a bathhouse. The family homes for Japanese workers each had their own separate bathhouses, but were generally smaller than comparable residences for European American workers. The Japanese were allowed to own their homes, but the company continued to control the land. Japanese residents built a schoolhouse, primarily for language training and some grew their own vegetables, although Seattle companies like Furuyu Foods and Asia Shokai made weekly deliveries to the camp (Bowden and Larson 1997:5, 8, 11).
Figure 5-34. The sawmill community of Selleck included a living area for Japanese workers widely separated from other housing.
Figure 5-34 continued.
MINING SETTLEMENT

After the excitement of the California Gold Rush, which had its start in 1849, prospectors began to fan out to other mountainous areas of the West. In many cases, these early gold seekers passed through Washington on their way north to the Fraser River, the Cariboo District, and other early gold rush sites in the inland Northwest. Later, many joined what historian Clarence Bagley called the “reflex wave” of single men who, once they had tried their hand at mining in these remote areas, returned to explore and sometimes settle in the more populated Puget Sound area (Bagley 1929:107).

PROSPECTING

The first gold discovery in the Cascade Range was likely made on the Yakima River by George McClellan’s men during the Pacific Railroad survey in the early 1850s. Within the next decade, a growing number of prospectors, many filtering back from the Canadian diggings or northward from California and Oregon, more thoroughly explored the mountain valleys and streams on both sides of the Cascades. These miners were initially looking for placer deposits, and then, as these sites were played out, began searching for veins of ore in bedrock. Place names throughout the Cascade region, from Money Creek to Gold Bar and Prospectors Ridge, testify to the interest of early miners in the area (Beckey 2003:323–324; Hodges 1897:6–7; Mayo 1992:2, 4; Northwest Underground Explorations [NUE] 1997:xiv).

In King County, a prospecting party led by Seattle pioneer Arthur Denny pushed up into the mountains near the upper reaches of the Cedar River drainage around 1865, looking for the source of lead shown to them by some of the Snoqualmie people. The Cady Trail also provided early access to the upper reaches of the Skykomish River valley, and evidently some placer gold was discovered there as well as to the north on the Sultan River by the late 1860s. Most of these mineral finds were in steep, rough terrain and could not be fully exploited until better transportation had reached the area (Bagley 1916:212; Mayo 1992:5).

The majority of the early prospectors initially followed winding stream beds on foot or scaled steep slopes to locate their claims, and needed essential survival skills as well as luck to endure the difficult conditions they faced. Most lived a solitary life, although some prospected in small groups, constructing rough trails and building makeshift camps or small cabins for shelter as they worked their claims. In these high altitudes, the prospecting season was short and snow slides or spring floods could wipe away these small settlements or quickly ruin a year’s worth of work by filling hand-dug shafts and tunnels with rock (Beckey 2003:323–324; Mayo 1992:5).

One historian has called these prospectors “the most persistent and least documented explorers of the northern Cascade Range” who developed a “particular intimacy” with this wilderness area (Beckey 2003:323). While many of the first-time gold seekers quickly moved on to other potential opportunities, the more experienced and dedicated often traced “colors” upstream or recognized other potentially lucrative types of minerals and metals, from silver, copper, lead, and iron, to limestone and granite, occasionally finding the bonanza they were seeking.

Just to the north in Snohomish County, a small rush in the 1870s resulted from some silver discoveries and led to the development of the Silver Creek District, which included a number of claims filed by Chinese prospectors. It was not until the late 1880s when gold-seekers moved further upriver that one of the region’s
most notable finds, the Monte Cristo, increased interest in this part of the Cascades as a mining destination (Beckey 2003:323–324, 328; Hitchman 1985:107; Whitfield 1926:720–722).

In addition to these profitable mines, the advent of the railroad was the primary impetus for increased mining development as well as a means to reach the more remote mining areas. The transcontinental rail lines that eventually pushed through the major mountain passes were the main avenues of access to a broader regional, if not global, market. But even reaching these rail connections was often an additional challenge. Early prospectors and even small mining camps faced difficulties transporting any ore they found in remote areas and primarily relied on pack animals during most of the early years of mining in King County. Especially for larger finds, improved trails, tramways, and even narrow gauge rail lines eventually provided better access to bring in men, supplies, and equipment and to remove the ore (Beckey 2003:323).

**LODE MINING**

Despite their remote location, some of these mining settlements grew to accommodate larger numbers of miners. The major mineral-producing and coal-producing areas of King County were primarily located in the far eastern part of the county and included the Miller River, Money Creek, Buena Vista, Snoqualmie, and Cedar River Districts (Figure 5-35). Small groups of claimants initiated these early efforts, but over time a few larger mining companies, often with Eastern investors, came to dominate the industry.

**Miller River and Money Creek Districts**

The Miller River District was first developed in 1892 during the construction of the Great Northern Railroad. Two prospectors, W.L. Sanders and Archie Williamson, located a claim along the Miller River and soon outside capital began to invest in the area (Figure 5-36). The Baltimore and Seattle Mining and Reduction Company, for example, developed the Coney Basin mines beginning in 1894 on Coney Creek, which was a tributary of the Miller River. The mining works were about 6 miles from the Great Northern tracks, and
the company installed a hydroelectric plant at a series of falls on the creek, and used power drills run by an electric air compressor to tunnel, recovering ore containing gold as well as silver, copper, zinc and lead. The company employed 20 men, working in two shifts at the site, who lived at a lower and upper camp along Coney Creek. Evidently a tramway was installed to connect the mine portals to the access trail below. An explosion in 1897 caused several deaths and subsequent lawsuits against the company led to its closure. The Cleopatra Mine, which was originally located by surveyors who were scouting a route for the Great Northern, was also in this district but did not begin production until 1897 (Hodges 1897:36; NUE 1997:153-155).

Figure 5-36. Map of mining claims on the Miller River showing the Coney Creek mines and the Sander’s camp, 1897.
As more miners scoured the mountains, an independent prospector, Alex McCartney, uncovered a ledge of galena and copper at the head of Money Creek, which flowed into the South Fork Skykomish River. His claim, known as the Apex Mine, became one of the largest producers in the region (Figure 5-37). McCartney removed nearly 400 tons of ore by pack mule before selling his interest to John F. Stevens, the Great Northern Railroad engineer, and Skykomish founder and storekeeper, John Maloney. Accounts vary, but when Stevens became the new superintendent of the operation, the mine was said to have yielded as much as $80,000 worth of ore between 1892 and 1901 (Johnson 2003: 2–16, 3–16; NUE 1997:161–162).

The property was then sold to Abner Griffin and his partners, who made additional investments in the development of the mine, the construction of a camp for the miners, as well as the installation of a more elaborate transportation system. The only means to carry out the ore was initially by pack trains 6 miles by trail and another mile by road to the small railroad town of Berlin. An aerial tramway to transport the ore eventually connected the upper mine entrance to the head of an improved road, which was extended to Berlin. Mine owners later added a narrow-gauge rail line to provide access to the site, which operated until the mid-1940s (Hodges 1897:39; NUE 1997:161–162; Taubeneck 1997).

The town of Skykomish on the South Fork Snoqualmie River was another rail access point and ore shipment center for mining operations like the Coney that were part of the Miller River Mining District. In addition to precious metals, the Miller and Money Creek areas were also touted in advertisements and gazetteers as the center for iron, coal, and lead. Skykomish founder John Maloney and many family members and friends

Figure 5-37. Map showing the Apex Mine and McCartney's Camp, ca. 1897.
located mining claims, and Maloney also became involved as an investor in a granite quarry near Baring, which supplied material for buildings, tombstones, and curbs (Beckey 2003:328; Lentz 1996:27; Maloney Interview, Aug. 9, 1973, University of Washington Special Collections, Acc. No. 124; Polk 1902–1903, 1905–1906).

Snoqualmie and Buena Vista Districts

The Snoqualmie District, like others throughout the Cascades, was dependent on the advent of transportation for the sustained development of mining. The Snoqualmie Wagon Road was the first point of access for many of the early claims, and later a portion of the Seattle, Lakeshore and Eastern promised connections to smelters or coastal shipping facilities. Arthur Denny is credited with the first exploratory venture in this district, following information provided by some of the Snoqualmie people in the late 1860s. Denny located some iron ore in the vicinity of a peak later named Denny Mountain, but did not improve his claims at that time. He returned in the early 1880s with other Seattleites to further explore three iron ledges and to file at least nine additional claims that led to the establishment of the Denny Iron Mines Company in 1882 (Figure 5-38). The mines were considered promising enough to supply a new smelter and steel mill under construction by Peter Kirk on Lake Washington in 1891 and 1892, but work on the claims stopped quickly when Kirk’s venture collapsed during the economic panic of 1893 (Hodges 1897:40–41).

Figure 5-38. Plat of the Denny Load Iron Mine, 1883.
Francis M. Guye and other members of his family made several other promising iron ore claims. A mile-long trail split off from the Snoqualmie Wagon Road at Snoqualmie Pass to the Guye Iron Mine, located near what became known as Guye Mountain (Figure 5-39). Guye, an Indiana native who had crossed the Great Plains and then prospected at Placerville in California before following the Fraser River Gold Rush, came to Puget Sound in 1859. After several failed business attempts, Guye returned to mining, and filed at least seven prospecting claims around the Snoqualmie Valley in the 1890s. The Green Mountain Group of iron ore claims were about 6 miles from Sallal Prairie between the North and Middle Forks of the Snoqualmie River (BLM, GLO Land Claim Database; Hodges 1897:41–42; Lewis Publishing Company 1903:126).

The Buena Vista District was located up the north fork of the Snoqualmie River, and at the time was considered an extension of the Money Creek and Miller River. The district developed more slowly because of its difficult access: 25 miles from the nearest railroad on 19 miles of road and then a long series of trails. Small outside investors developed many of these mining properties, including the Mastodon group funded by British Columbia residents and the Arizona and Washington claims, filed by the Arizona Gold Mining Company. Seattle brewer Andrew Hemrich also was a partner in a series of claims in the district called the Fletcher Webster group (Hodges 1897:43).

Cedar River District

The Cedar River District included at least 29 mining claims, and unlike some of the other districts, was primarily developed by Seattle prospectors and investors (Figure 5-40). To reach the area, miners could ride the SLS&E (then the Seattle and International) to North Bend, where they then followed a wagon road to the confluence of the Cedar River and Bear Creek. At this point, trails along each of these waterways led to the mineral claims. Most were small operations, but the Robinson Mining Company, which had patented the Mary Earhart mine, made a more substantial development. Despite the networks of tunnels and shafts throughout the area, most of these mining operations were never commercially successful (Hodges 1897:46; Lewarch 1979:21).

COAL MINING SETTLEMENT

Of all the mining opportunities in the area, coal was probably the most important resource in the early development of King County (Figure 5-41). Much of the first production was exported to California and other destinations, but some of it was used locally for both residential and industrial purposes. Steam generation, particularly for both maritime and railroad transportation, ultimately became its primary use and prompted the outright purchase of several mines by railroad and transportation interests. Like other mining settlements, most of the coal mining communities were ultimately ephemeral, but a few persisted, despite exhaustion of resources and major changes in their original industrial base.

Early Coal Discoveries

In 1833, Dr. William Tolmie, who was in charge of the Hudson’s Bay Company’s operations at Fort Nisqually, reported the first known coal deposit in Washington near the confluence of the Cowlitz and Toutle rivers. King County’s first recorded coal discoveries were not made until two decades later. An early settler, Dr. R. H. Bigelow, found a bed of coal on his property, located along the Black River about 10 miles from Seattle, in

Figure 5-39. The Guye Iron Mine, ca. 1900.
Figure 5-40. Map showing the Cedar River District, 1894.

1853. He made plans to develop the vein with two partners, Joseph Fanjoy and O. M. Eaton. The mining venture was known as the Duwamish Coal Company, and Fanjoy and Eaton also built one of the county’s earliest sawmills to produce timbers for shoring up the mine shafts and tunnels. The enterprise ended when the partners found no cost-effective means to transport the coal to the coast for marketing, and both Fanjoy and Eaton disappeared and were likely killed on their way through the Yakima Valley during the unrest of the Treaty War period (Bagley 1916:122; Bancroft 1890:66; Browne 1869:572; Melder 1938:151, 153).

Lack of transportation also limited the development of another early coal mining enterprise in the Squak Valley area, which ultimately became known as Issaquah. The earliest European American settlement in that vicinity began in the 1860s, soon after Lieutenant B. Andrews, a government surveyor, had discovered coal at Squak Mountain, 2 or 3 miles from the head of Lake Sammamish. In 1862 Andrews first filed claims in Section 33 of T24N, R6E after he had taken a flour sack full of coal samples into Seattle for assessment and found them to be of good quality. He and a partner, W.W. Perkins, removed several loads of coal, but the transport by boat through Lake Sammamish and Lake Washington and then via the Black and Duwamish Rivers to Puget Sound took nearly 10 days. Transportation difficulties hindered rapid development of these coal resources, and Andrews soon left his claim and moved back into Seattle (Craine 1983:3–4; Fish 1987:1; General Land Office Tract Book, NARA, Seattle).

**Coal Creek and Newcastle**

Despite his failure to continue improvements on his claim, Andrews’ discoveries prompted further exploration throughout eastern King County and led to the development of several other coal prospects, including deposits along Coal Creek on the western slope of Cougar Mountain. A surveyor, Edwin Richardson, found the Coal Creek beds in 1863, and he and several other Seattleites filed a number of preemption claims in the vicinity. The main claim holders initially formed the Lake Washington Coal Company, but when they failed to get backing from California investors to develop the coal, they reorganized as the Seattle Coal Company in 1870. The Seattle Coal and Transportation Company was formed at the same time, and the owners devised a complex system that included a mixture of rail and barge transport to move the coal.
from the mines to the Seattle waterfront (Figure 4-17) (Armbruster 1999:50; Bagley 1929:284–286; Melder 1938:154–155).

San Francisco promoters quickly stepped in and purchased the mines and transportation system, then improved shipping time by building a tramway to a loading dock on Lake Washington and another rail system in downtown Seattle to reach the waterfront coal bunkers. The most productive early mining activity was near what became the town of Newcastle (Figure 5-42). Sixty men were employed mining the coal as well as an additional 15 who were involved in transport, and the company built worker housing near the mine site (Figure 5-43). In 1877 mine backers assisted with funding to complete a branch line of the Seattle and Walla Walla Railroad to Newcastle, which prompted the company to abandon the complicated barging system and use the railroad to move the coal directly to Seattle (Fish 1990:75–76; McDonald and McDonald 1987:14–15, 24–25; Melder 1938:155–156).

Henry Villard’s Oregon Improvement Company (OIC) took a controlling interest in the Newcastle coal works in late 1880 at the same time it purchased the Seattle and Walla Walla Railroad. The company continued to run the mines, but experienced several fires and other mine disasters as well as growing labor dissatisfaction at both Newcastle and the nearby Franklin Mines, which the company had also purchased. Both mines were the scene of a series of strikes by workers represented by the labor organization, the Knights of Labor. The mine operators brought in Black strikebreakers after union members rejected an 1891 contract offer. In the meantime, the OIC had gone into receivership in 1890. When it emerged from bankruptcy and began making plans to convert Columbia and Puget Sound Railroad lines to standard gauge, the company then felt the effects of the economic panic of 1893 as well as more labor unrest. Within two years, the OIC failed once again, and it was ultimately reorganized as the Pacific Coast Company. Its King County railroad and mining assets came under the control of a subsidiary, the Pacific Coast Coal Company, which subsequently purchased many of the other major mining properties in the region (Armbruster 1999:67, 191–192; Campbell 1982:148–149).

New mines were opened near Newcastle in 1895 and evidently produced nearly 600,000 tons of coal. By 1901, their output diminished significantly and primary operations were moved to the New Coal Creek Mine, which was located about 1.5 miles upstream. Operations at Coal Creek continued until the 1920s despite
the serious competition that coal faced from the oil and gas industry (Armbruster 1999: 66–67; Landes 1902:268–269).

Renton-Cedar River

Other mining operations that benefited from the Seattle and Walla Railroad connections were the Renton Coal Company and the Talbot Mine, both located near Renton. The investors in the Renton Coal Company, which was founded in 1873, initially built a horse-drawn tramway system that extended nearly 2 miles from the mines to a loading dock on the Black River. The company then barged the coal to bunkers on the Seattle waterfront. The Pope and Talbot Company, which owned the Port Gamble sawmill as well as extensive property throughout King County, soon purchased a partial interest in the venture. In conjunction with the nearby Talbot Mine, which was incorporated by its group of investors in 1874, the companies initiated a system to load some of their coal directly from barges to their ships and then sell the full cargo in San Francisco. The two mines also utilized company-owned bunkers on the Seattle waterfront (Bagley 1929:291, 292, 294; Melder 1938:156).

These mines were under commercial production for only a limited amount of time. It was not until 1895, that the Renton Co-operative Coal Company developed another mining prospect that lay between the two old mines. The Seattle Electric Company then purchased this property and worked several veins in the vicinity just at the beginning of the twentieth century (Landes 1902:270).

In the upper Cedar River drainage, approximately 8 or 9 miles from Renton, several other coal claims were also under development. The first openings in this vicinity were made in the early 1880s and then some sources indicate that the vein was reworked when the Cedar Mountain Coal Company purchased

Seattle Coal Mine

June 15th, 1876

My Dear Ellen,

I take this opportunity of writing to you again. I stopped three days at Renton, and could not get anything to do, so I came up here Monday night, and I got a job yesterday morning working on the new bunkers. I am started at $2.00 per day. I could get $3.00 per day if I had had my tools with me. We work 1 ¼ day in one day. We start in at 7 and work to 12, commence at one and work to 9 so I make $3.12 ½ each day, but I think I will have $3.00 per day of 10 hours before long.

There are over 300 men in this camp and all of them at work; tonight is pay night for the month of May and there is a great crowd round the paymaster. He is paying off since 6 o'clock p.m., and he will not get through until 11 or 12. I think we will get along very well here after a while Ellen. I have not got an answer to my last letter to you. I guess it is at Renton, but I have no chance to send for it just now. This place is 16 miles from Seattle.

I will send for you Ellen just as soon as I can. Next time I travel I mean to have Willie and you along with me, as I miss you and him very much. Tell me how you are fixed there, and if you don’t like to stop much longer there, I will try and send for you very soon, but I could not get any house to live in here. Every house is filled; lots of families here; two or three families boarding and sleeping in the company cookhouse. The cook house is a large building, and the upstairs part of it is filled with beds and rooms-single rooms. They charge only $8.00 per week for a man and his wife, board and lodging so Jim McDonnell told me.

Tell me about Willie and yourself and Susan when you write. I must go to bed. It is after 10. Goodnight—my darling Ellen, and kiss Willie for me.

John McKnight
Seattle Coal Mine
Seattle, W.T.

Figure 5-44. The Seattle Coal Mine was at Newcastle, shown here with the New Castle Mine in 1909 (Photograph by Asahel Curtis. University of Washington Libraries, Special Collections, Order No.: CUR622).
the property in 1898 (Landes 1902:270; Lewarch 1979:20).

**Issaquah**

Over the ridge to the east, the further extension of railroads into the Squak Valley had a huge impact on the expansion of the coal industry in that part of King County. Mine production increased significantly beginning in 1888 when the SLS&E initiated regular service to the area. The Seattle Coal and Iron Company, headed by Daniel Gilman of the SLS&E, developed the coal seam first claimed by Lieutenant B. Andrews almost 25 years earlier (Figure 5-45). Serious labor disputes brought violence to the mines in 1889 and again in 1891, when Troop B of the Washington State Militia was called in to quell the unrest. Soldiers camped along the SLS&E lines for about two weeks, but despite the disruptions, the industry’s profits remained substantial (Bagley 1929:295; Fish 1990:77–79; Issaquah Historical Society 2002:22–23).

An average yearly output of nearly 100,000 metric tons of coal came from this area’s mines between 1892 and 1904, encouraging substantial expansion of the town of Gilman, which changed its name to Issaquah in 1899. The coal industry also brought a diverse ethnic mix to its population, as miners immigrated to the area from Italy as well as Wales, Scotland, England, and Ireland, sometimes with previous stops in other mining areas around the United States (Evans 1912:200; Issaquah Historical Society 2002:9; McDonald and McDonald 1987:35; Scheuerman 1989:61).

The mines closed in 1904, but resumed operations as the Issaquah and Superior Mining Company in 1912, purchased by Count Alvo Von Albenslaben with backing from German investors. Employment soared as Von Albenslaben prepared to build a plant with the capability of producing 2,000 tons of coal a day as well as a company town for workers (Figure 5-46). This surge of growth was short-lived, as the advent of World War I caused suspicions about the German ownership, and the company eventually went into receivership. The Pacific Coast Coal Company purchased the assets from the bank, and also gained control of other local coal properties, including the Grand Ridge Mine. Most corporate operations ceased in the early 1920s, and company property was sold for housing and other developments (Bagley 1929:771–773; Fish 1990:80–83).
An expansive coal-mining area was also developed in the Green River drainage and became known as the Black Diamond–Franklin District. Coal discoveries were made in this part of King County as early as 1873 when the Green River Coal Company was incorporated. Evidently most of these early claims were initially purchased by a San Francisco speculator but not developed. In 1880 the Black Diamond Coal Company, which had operated mines since 1860 around Nortonville, California, in the Diablo Range east of San Francisco, began to look for a new source for higher-grade coal deposits. A geologist identified the Green River area as a potentially profitable high-grade source, and after a visit by the corporate president as well as the chief engineer, the company made a decision to relocate the entire operation, including all of the personnel and miners, to south King County (Krafft 1998:9; Olson and Olson 1988:2; Thorndale 1965:11–14).

As the Black Diamond Company was in the process of making its decision to move, another group, the Northern Transcontinental Survey, was scouting coal mining locations in the same area for several railroad clients. The surveyors located what became known as the McKay seam of very high quality coal in 1881. Henry Villard, the head of the OIC, decided to buy the claim as part of his growing transportation and resource empire. Villard had already added the Newcastle mines and some Pierce County coal properties in Wilkeson to his holdings since he had purchased the Seattle and Walla Walla Railroad. The line, which was originally built by disgruntled Seattle residents when the Northern Pacific chose Tacoma as its terminus, already served the coal mines in the Renton and Coal Creek areas. OIC renamed the line the Columbia and Puget Sound Railroad and made plans to add a narrow-gauge extension that would provide access to its new mining property, the Franklin Mine, which was about two miles east of the Black Diamond mine sites (Hedlund and Vernon 1994:7; Schwantes 1993:63).

Behind the scenes there was high-stakes maneuvering among the various parties who would profit from the expansion of the line. Villard’s takeover of the Northern Pacific Railroad in 1881 provided the opportunity to link these King County lines to the Northern Pacific’s main transcontinental service in Tacoma. Seattle had a strong interest in ensuring that these spurs connected to its port facilities, and the Black Diamond Mine officials wanted assurances that Villard would extend his line to their coal mines before they made their move to south King County. Ultimately, after Villard delayed, Black Diamond and the City of Seattle provided loan guarantees to OIC for the project to move forward, and construction began in 1882. As a cost-saving measure, a large crew of Chinese laborers was employed to undertake the work through the rough, heavily timbered terrain that led to the mines (Bagley 1929: 96–297; Hedlund and Vernon 1994:7, 9; Olson and Olson 1988:3, 6; Thorndale 1965:30–36).

The initial Black Diamond settlement was a tent camp that was erected around an early prospector’s cabin, said to be located near the site where the railroad depot was later built. The first crew, which arrived in 1882, included men from Nortonville, California, whose task was to clear the area and then build homes, likely for company officials and managers. Since the round-trip journey by pack train to the mine from Renton took three days, it was difficult to bring in supplies. Preparatory work began to open what became the first of the diggings, Mine 14 (which was located in Section 14, T21N, R6E), but the large machinery and mining equipment did not arrive until the rail line to the site was completed in December of 1884. Additional miners and their families also began to arrive once rail access was in place. By June of 1885, the first coal shipment from Black Diamond left the mine for Seattle (Figure 5-47) (Thorndale 1965:36–38).
Figure 5-47. Drawings of the Black Diamond Coal Co. works at Black Diamond, 1887.

http://www.blackdiamondnow.net/black-diamond-now/history/page/17/
A group of 200 to 300 miners, many of whom had worked for Black Diamond in California, formed the initial workforce, but as the company opened up new sites, the number of miners grew and additional residences were needed. In addition to several hotels and boarding houses that provided accommodations for single miners, a town emerged among the stumps, with houses for families and a main commercial street that provided a few stores, a saloon, and service businesses for the community (Figure 5-47). The company platted town lots and leased them to workers, who could then build their own houses (Thorndale 1965:115-117).

By 1900, Black Diamond’s population was the largest in King County outside of Seattle, and total employment reached more than 1,000 people. That level was maintained until 1920. It was also an ethnically diverse community, with substantial groups of workers from Italy and Wales, first-generation immigrants from numerous other European countries as well as miners from the eastern United States (Figure 5-48) (Krafft 1999:11–13; Thorndale 1965:111).

The Black Diamond Company faced its share of difficult issues, including a strike by the Knights of Labor and accidents that caused the deaths of several miners. Its successor, the Pacific Coast Coal Company (PCCC), which was a subsidiary of the Pacific Coast Company, purchased the Black Diamond operation in 1904 and took a much harder line in its negotiations with miners (Thorndale 1965:85-86).

The rich coal deposits of the area also attracted other mining efforts, and a number of additional mines were established around Black Diamond. Franklin, which was approximately two miles to the east, was one of the largest (Figure 5-49). The OIC initially owned the mine and shipped its first marketable coal in June of 1885. The bituminous coal found at Franklin had wider uses than some of the coal from other local sites, and the demand for workers grew quickly. Franklin had a post office by 1886 and a town was established in the following year that ultimately served as many as 688 residents, according the census figures. The area around the mines was cleared of its dense timber, and the company shipped prefabricated housing to the site by rail. The commercial core that developed included a company store, combination butcher and barbershop, as well as boardinghouses, a saloon, and a schoolhouse (Hedlund and Vernon 1994:7, 9, 11; Moffat 1996:285).
Figure 5-49. Bird’s-eye view of the town of Franklin, ca. 1887.

https://blackdiamondhistory.files.wordpress.com/2012/02/franklin_blog.jpg
Franklin experienced the same labor disputes as the Newcastle mine and to break a strike in 1891, the company brought in a large number of Black miners, who were primarily from the Midwest and South. The experiment resulted in violence and the governor called in the National Guard to police the mining camp. Despite the ultimate return of many of the striking workers, some of the Black miners and their families remained at Franklin and added to its diverse work force. Franklin continued to have troubled times, as a fire in 1894 killed 37 miners and more were killed in another accident later that year. In 1896, the OIC declared bankruptcy, and the mine came under control of the Pacific Coast Coal Company, as did the Newcastle Mines (Hedlund and Vernon 1994:11–13, 15-17).

The mines in Franklin continued to operate, but stopped production temporarily in 1913, likely because of a drop in coal prices. Many of the miners and their families left, and soon after, a fire destroyed many of the town’s buildings. Mining resumed and continued sporadically until 1919, when the PCCC ceased its operations, disbanded the town of Franklin, and began dismantling or selling most of its remaining buildings (Campbell 1982:150–153; Hedlund and Vernon 1994:17–18).

Another mine eventually purchased by the Pacific Coast Coal Company was the Leary Coal Company, which opened the Ravensdale Mine to the north of the Black Diamond mines in 1890. The town of Ravensdale, which was formerly known as Leary, grew when the construction of the Palmer cutoff from the Northern Pacific line provided access (Figure 5-50). Prior to 1901 the mine shipped 48,000 tons of coal, but by that year the total output was up to more than 63,500 tons per year. Like many of the other mining operations in the area, it was soon under the control of a large national company—in this case, the Northwestern Improvement Company, which was a subsidiary of the Northern Pacific Railway. Ravensdale was a successful producer until 1915, when a huge explosion rocked the mine and killed 31 miners. Operations then ceased (Landes 1902:272; Thorndale 1965:87–89).

The Columbia and Puget Sound Railroad connected Black Diamond, Franklin, and surrounding mining operations to Maple Valley and ultimately Seattle. A number of other mines of varying productivity also were located along the Northern Pacific line that extended to Palmer and then northward. Bayne, Cumberland, Durham, Kangley, and Selleck were among the small operations that had more limited success in their coal mining operations. In addition, the Lawson Mine, which was initially located by a local prospector, Eugene Lawson, in 1895, was purchased by the PCCC in 1898 (Figure 5-51) (Olson and Olson 1988:41; Thorndale 1965:83–84).

Figure 5-50. The town of Ravensdale, ca. 1905.
Figure 5-51. Bird's-eye view of land owned by the Pacific Coast Coal Company, 1921.
Chapter 6. Settlement to Town: A Final Summary

The patterns of settlement that developed in King County were based on the availability of transportation, access to resources, and the opportunities available to claim and utilize land. The location, type, and length of settlement depended on a variety of factors that ranged from the goals, skills, and sometimes even the race or ethnicity of individual settlers, to the nature and extent of existing resources, and the ability of larger corporate entities or even governments to exploit, protect, or master those resources.

As part of our original definition, settlement can begin and remain an individual effort but often leads to building a community. Many of the types of settlements that characterized the early development of King County and could leave behind an archaeological record were individual efforts that remained so—prospectors’ camps, squatters’ cabins, or small farmsteads, for example. Other early settlements were more organized and involved larger numbers of people but were often no less ephemeral. Among these types of settlements were railroad stops, logging camps, and mining and milling operations that included places to live. Some of these settlements evolved with the use of resources, but in many cases, companies dictated the character and physical layout of the settlement and also sometimes its permanence. If not, changes in transportation patterns, market forces, available technology, and nature itself shaped the fate of these settlements.

Many of King County’s early settlements were, in essence, instant towns, and drew individuals to them through the availability of jobs and a place to live. These company towns and work camps supplied a basic infrastructure—although often meager—that allowed people to live and work together. Food, water, and shelter as well as access to a few needed commodities were often all that these types of settlements offered. Occasionally a few additional amenities, including health and protective services, a school, and religious and social facilities, were also provided.

Within the other types of settlements in King County, the growth of towns was more evolutionary. Beyond their initial focus on subsistence, individuals recognized a need for services and opportunities for social and cultural interaction that only connections to a larger group of people could provide. Where those activities eventually took place was often shaped by access to transport and trade networks, like the junction of major trails and roads, boat landings, and railroad stops. In many cases, entrepreneurs, land companies, or commercial developers established and shaped the way towns evolved. In others, individuals chose to live and work around a particular small industry, store, or resource area, and others were drawn there for similar reasons.

Role of Post Office

The process of town building is beyond the scope of this context, but often one of the initial steps that tied settlement to the development of towns was the establishment of a post office. Post offices not only provided a connection to the outside world, but also signified government recognition that some kind of community existed and had the makings of a more permanent town. Post offices in no way guaranteed that a settlement would survive, but they ultimately became a centerpiece around which towns could grow.

The locations of post offices, from the early 1850s until 1920, in many ways exemplified the growth of settlement during that period. Like the settlers themselves, post offices initially followed roads, waterways, and transportation networks, and were then connected to resource and land use (Figures 6-1 and 6-2, see
also Appendix E). They often began as the product of individual enterprise, but become the locus for groups who wanted to build a community.

The application process for a post office required an individual to submit paperwork that showed the proposed location, available transportation, and distance to the nearest post office in the area. Beyond those requirements, little other information was required. Some of the first post offices were located in people’s homes, but many during the early settlement period were linked to general stores and were less a money-making venture than a way to attract customers who needed to pick up their mail. As a result, these establishments often became both social and commercial centers and the foundation that could lead to other town growth (Buller 2008:137-139, 141; Good et al 2001:228-230).

**Social and Governmental Growth**

Once this type of communication link was established, communities could then address other issues related to quality of life as well as governmental and social interactions among individuals. In many cases, a range of other community institutions arrived in tandem with settlement. Single men predominated in early migrations, and in some areas saloons were the first social establishments, sometimes followed by Masonic Lodges or other fraternal organizations. As more women and children arrived, a primary emphasis was placed on schools. Territorial legislation in Washington initiated tax-supported public education and reserved two sections of land in each township to support the construction of schools (Garfield and Griffith 1986:E-2-E-4).

Town government was shaped not only by community initiative but also both state and county regulations. Once a governmental framework was in place,

![Figure 6-1. Locations of post offices in King County by year established, 1850-1920 (derived from data presented in Appendix E).](image)
other social institutions evolved with the growth of community. Civic groups provided an opportunity for residents to come together outside of their homes or places of work. Churches frequently became community centers, while public meeting halls were often privately built or incorporated into the same space as organizations like the grange or local unions. Entertainment options varied from traveling chautauquas and circuses to county fairs, while civic organizations, and particularly women’s clubs, sponsored musical and cultural events and raised money to support libraries, gardens, and other civic improvements (Bagley 1916: II-580-II-589).

Generally it was not until the early 1900s that towns or other government entities began to play a role in establishing public amenities like parks, playgrounds, and other recreational and social facilities. This mix of private and public responsibility for social needs also extended to health care, where physicians developed practices and even small infirmaries in their homes until public facilities, including hospitals, sanitariums, and orphanages, were established. These and other institutions assured the transition from a settlement to an established town and, in King County, led to new patterns of growth.

![Figure 6-2. Number of post offices in King County by year established, 1850-1920 (derived from data presented in Appendix E).](image-url)
The town of Enumclaw, ca. 1900.

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APPENDIX A: TREATIES
Treaty of Medicine Creek, 1854

Articles of agreement and convention made and concluded on the She-nah-nam, or Medicine Creek, in the Territory of Washington, this twenty-sixth day of December, in the year one thousand eight hundred and fifty-four, by Isaac I. Stevens, governor and superintendent of Indian affairs of the said Territory, on the part of the United States, and the undersigned chiefs, head-men, and delegates of the Nisqually, Puyallup, Steilacoom, Squawskin, S’Homamish, Stechass, T’Peeksin, Squi-aitl, and Sa-heh-wamish tribes and bands of Indians, occupying the lands lying round the head of Puget’s Sound and the adjacent inlets, who, for the purpose of this treaty, are to be regarded as one nation, on behalf of said tribes and bands, and duly authorized by them.

ARTICLE 1.

The said tribes and bands of Indians hereby cede, relinquish, and convey to the United States, all their right, title, and interest in and to the lands and country occupied by them, bounded and described as follows, to wit: Commencing at the point on the eastern side of Admiralty Inlet, known as Point Pully, about midway between Commencement and Elliott Bays; thence running in a southeasterly direction, following the divide between the waters of the Puyallup and Dwamish, or White Rivers, to the summit of the Cascade Mountains; thence southerly, along the summit of said range, to a point opposite the main source of the Skookum Chuck Creek; thence to and down said creek, to the coal mine; thence northerly, to the summit of the Black Hills; thence northerly, to the upper forks of the Satsop River; thence northeasterly, through the portage known as Wilkes’s Portage, to Point Southworth, to the western side of Admiralty Inlet; thence around the foot of Vashon’s Island, easterly and southeasterly, to the place of beginning.

ARTICLE 2.

There is, however, reserved for the present use and occupation of the said tribes and bands, the following tracts of land, viz: The small island called Klah-che-min, situated opposite the mouths of Hammerslev’s and Totten’s Inlets, and separated from Hartstene Island by Peale’s Passage, containing about two sections of land by estimation; a square tract containing two sections, or twelve hundred and eighty acres, on Puget’s Sound, near the mouth of the She-nah-nam Creek, one mile west of the meridian line of the United States land survey, and a square tract containing two sections, or twelve hundred and eighty acres, lying on the south side of Commencement Bay; all which tracts shall be set apart, and, so far as necessary, surveyed and marked out for their exclusive use; nor shall any white man be permitted to reside upon the same without permission of the tribe and the superintendent or agent. And the said tribes and bands agree to remove to and settle upon the same within one year after the ratification of this treaty, or sooner if the means are furnished them. In the mean time, it shall be lawful for them to reside upon any ground not in the actual claim and occupation of citizens of the United States, and upon any ground claimed or occupied, if with the permission of the owner or claimant. If necessary for the public convenience, roads may be run through their reserves, and, on the other hand, the right of way with free access from the same to the nearest public highway is secured to them.

ARTICLE 3.

The right of taking fish, at all usual and accustomed grounds and stations, is further secured to said Indians in common with all citizens of the Territory, and of erecting temporary houses for the purpose of curing, together with the privilege of hunting, gathering roots and berries, and pasturing their horses on open and unclaimed lands: Provided, however, That they shall not take shellfish from any beds staked or cultivated by citizens, and that they shall alter all stallions not intended for breeding-horses, and shall keep up and confine the latter.

ARTICLE 4.

In consideration of the above session, the United States agree to pay to the said tribes and bands the sum of thirty-two thousand five hundred dollars, in the following manner, that is to say: For the first year after the ratification hereof, three thousand two hundred and fifty dollars; for the next two years, three thousand dollars each year; for the next three years, two thousand dollars each year; for the next four years fifteen hundred dollars each year; for the next five years twelve hundred dollars each year; and for the next five years one thousand dollars each year; all which said sums of money shall be applied to the use and benefit of the said Indians, under the direction of the President of the United States, who may from time to time determine, at his discretion, upon what beneficial objects to expend the
same. And the superintendent of Indian affairs, or other proper officer, shall each year inform the President of the
wishes of said Indians in respect thereto.

ARTICLE 5.

To enable the said Indians to remove to and settle upon their aforesaid reservations, and to clear, fence, and break
up a sufficient quantity of land for cultivation, the United States further agree to pay the sum of three thousand two
hundred and fifty dollars, to be laid out and expended under the direction of the President, and in such manner as he
shall approve.

ARTICLE 6.

The President may hereafter, when in his opinion the interests of the Territory may require, and the welfare of the said
Indians be promoted, remove them from either or all of said reservations to such other suitable place or places within
said Territory as he may deem fit, on remunerating them for their improvements and the expenses of their removal, or
may consolidate them with other friendly tribes or bands. And he may further, at his discretion, cause the whole or any
portion of the lands hereby reserved, or of such other land as may be selected in lieu thereof, to be surveyed into lots,
and assign the same to such individuals or families as are willing to avail themselves of the privilege, and will locate
on the same as a permanent home, on the same terms and subject to the same regulations as are provided in the sixth
article of the treaty with the Omahas, so far as the same may be applicable. Any substantial improvements heretofore
made by any Indian, and which he shall be compelled to abandon in consequence of this treaty, shall be valued under
the direction of the President, and payment to be made accordingly thereof.

ARTICLE 7.

The annuities of the aforesaid tribes and bands shall not be taken to pay the debts of individuals.

ARTICLE 8.

The aforesaid tribes and bands acknowledge their dependence on the Government of the United States, and promise
to be friendly with all citizens thereof, and pledge themselves to commit no depredations on the property of such cit-
izens. And should any one or more of them violate this pledge, and the fact be satisfactorily proved before the agent,
the property taken shall be returned, or in default thereof, or if injured or destroyed, compensation may be made by
the Government out of their annuities. Nor will they make war on any other tribe except in self-defence, but will
submit all matters of difference between them and other Indians to the Government of the United States, or its agent,
for decision, and abide thereby. And if any of the said Indians commit any depredations on any other Indians within
the Territory, the same rule shall prevail as that prescribed in this article, in cases of depredations against citizens. And
the said tribes agree not to shelter or conceal offenders against the laws of the United States, but to deliver them up to
the authorities for trial.

ARTICLE 9.

The above tribes and bands are desirous to exclude from their reservations the use of ardent spirits, and to prevent
their people from drinking the same; and therefore it is provided, that any Indian belonging to said tribes, who is
guilty of bringing liquor into said reservations, or who drinks liquor, may have his or her proportion of the annuities
withheld from him or her for such time as the President may determine.

ARTICLE 10.

The United States further agree to establish at the general agency for the district of Puget’s Sound, within one year
from the ratification hereof, and to support, for a period of twenty years, an agricultural and industrial school, to be
free to children of the said tribes and bands, in common with those of the other tribes of said district, and to provide
the said school with a suitable instructor or instructors, and also to provide a smithy and carpenter’s shop, and furnish
them with the necessary tools, and employ a blacksmith, carpenter, and farmer, for the term of twenty years, to in-
struct the Indians in their respective occupations. And the United States further agree to employ a physician to reside
at the said central agency, who shall furnish medicine and advice to their sick, and shall vaccinate them; the expenses
of the said school, shops, employees, and medical attendance, to be defrayed by the United States, and not deducted
from the annuities.

**ARTICLE 11.**

The said tribes and bands agree to free all slaves now held by them, and not to purchase or acquire others hereafter.

**ARTICLE 12.**

The said tribes and bands finally agree not to trade at Vancouver’s Island, or elsewhere out of the dominions of the
United States; nor shall foreign Indians be permitted to reside in their reservations without consent of the superinten-
dent or agent.

**ARTICLE 13.**

This treaty shall be obligatory on the contracting parties as soon as the same shall be ratified by the President
and Senate of the United States.

In testimony whereof, the said Isaac I. Stevens, governor and superintendent of Indian Affairs, and the undersigned
chiefs, headmen, and delegates of the aforesaid tribes and bands, have hereunto set their hands and seals at the place
and on the day and year hereinbefore written.

Isaac I. Stevens, (L.S.)
Governor and Superintendent Territory of Washington.
Qui-ee-metl, his x mark. (L.S.)
Sno-ho-dumset, his x mark. (L.S.)
Lesh-high, his x mark. (L.S.)
Slip-o-elm, his x mark. (L.S.)
Kwi-ats, his x mark. (L.S.)
Stee-high, his x mark. (L.S.)
Di-a-keh, his x mark. (L.S.)
Hi-ten, his x mark. (L.S.)
Squa-ta-hun, his x mark. (L.S.)
Kahk-tse-min, his x mark. (L.S.)
Sonan-o-yutl, his x mark. (L.S.)
Kl-tehp, his x mark. (L.S.)
Sahl-ko-min, his x mark. (L.S.)
T’bet-ste-heh-bit, his x mark. (L.S.)
Tcha-hoos-tan, his x mark. (L.S.)
Ke-cha-hat, his x mark. (L.S.)
Spee-peh, his x mark. (L.S.)
Swe-yah-tum, his x mark. (L.S.)
Cha-achsh, his x mark. (L.S.)
Pich-kehd, his x mark. (L.S.)
S’Klah-o-sum, his x mark. (L.S.)
Sah-le-tatl, his x mark. (L.S.)
See-lup, his x mark. (L.S.)
E-la-kah-ka, his x mark. (L.S.)
Slug-yeh, his x mark. (L.S.)
Hi-nuk, his x mark. (L.S.)
Ma-mo-nish, his x mark. (L.S.)
Cheels, his x mark. (L.S.)
Knutcanu, his x mark. (L.S.)
Bats-ta-kobe, his x mark. (L.S.)
Win-ne-ya, his x mark. (L.S.)
Klo-out, his x mark. (L.S.)
Se-uch-ka-nam, his x mark. (L.S.)
Ske-mah-han, his x mark. (L.S.)
Wuts-un-a-pum, his x mark. (L.S.)
Quuts-a-tadm, his x mark. (L.S.)
Quut-a-heh-tnsn, his x mark. (L.S.)
Yah-leh-chn, his x mark. (L.S.)
To-lahl-kut, his x mark. (L.S.)
Yul-lout, his x mark. (L.S.)
See-ahs-oot-soot, his x mark. (L.S.)
Ye-takho, his x mark. (L.S.)
We-po-ii-ee, his x mark. (L.S.)
Kah-sld, his x mark. (L.S.)
La'h-hom-kan, his x mark. (L.S.)
Pah-how-at-ish, his x mark. (L.S.)
Swe-yehm, his x mark. (L.S.)
Sah-hwill, his x mark. (L.S.)
Se-kwaht, his x mark. (L.S.)
Kah-hum-klt, his x mark. (L.S.)
Yah-kwo-bah, his x mark. (L.S.)
Wut-sah-le-wun, his x mark. (L.S.)
Sah-ba-hat, his x mark. (L.S.)
Tel-e-kish, his x mark. (L.S.)
Swe-keh-nam, his x mark. (L.S.)
Sah-oo-ah, his x mark. (L.S.)
Ko-quel-a-cut, his x mark. (L.S.)
Jack, his x mark. (L.S.)
Keh-kise-bel-lo, his x mark. (L.S.)
Go-yeh-hn, his x mark. (L.S.)
Sah-putsh, his x mark. (L.S.)
William, his x mark. (L.S.)

Executed in the presence of us - -
M. T. Simmons, Indian agent.
James Doty, secretary of the commission.
C. H. Mason, secretary Washington Territory.
W. A. Slaughter, first lieutenant, Fourth Infantry.
James McAlister,
E. Giddings, jr.
George Shazer,
Henry D. Cock,
S. S. Ford, jr.,
John W. McAlister,
Clovington Cushman,
Peter Anderson,
Samuel Klady,
W. H. Pullen,
P. O. Hough,
E. R. Tyerall, George Gibbs,
Benj. F. Shaw, interpreter, Hazard Stevens.

Treaty of Point Elliott, 1855

Articles of agreement and convention made and concluded at Muckl-te-oh, or Point Elliott, in the territory of Washington, this twenty-second day of January, eighteen hundred and fifty-five, by Isaac I. Stevens, governor and superintendent of Indian affairs for the said Territory, on the part of the United States, and the undersigned chiefs, head-men and delegates of the Dwmish, Suquamish, Sk-kahl-mish, Sam-ahmish, Smalh-kamish, Skope-ahmish, St-kah-mish, Snoqual-moo, Skai-wha-mish, N’Quentl-ma-mish, Sk-tah-le-jum, Stoluck-wha-mish, Sno-ho-mish, Skagit, Kik-i-allus, Swin-a-mish, Squin-a-mish, Sah-ku-mehu, Noo-wha-ha, Nook-wa-chah-mish, Mee-see-qua-guilch, Cho-bah-ah-bish, and other allied and subordinate tribes and bands of Indians occupying certain lands situated in said Territory of Washington, on behalf of said tribes, and duly authorized by them.

ARTICLE 1.

The said tribes and bands of Indians hereby cede, relinquish, and convey to the United States all their right, title, and interest in and to the lands and country possessed by them, bounded and described as follows: Commencing at a point on the eastern side of Admiralty Inlet, known as Point Pully, about midway between Commencement and Elliott Bays; thence eastwardly, running along the north line of lands heretofore ceded to the United States by the Nisqually, Puyallup, and other Indians, to the summit of the Cascade range of mountains; thence northwardly, following the summit of said range to the 49th parallel of north latitude; thence west, along said parallel to the middle of the Gulf of Georgia; thence through the middle of said gulf and the main channel through the Canal de Arro to the Straits of Fuca, and crossing the same through the middle of Admiralty Inlet to Suquamish Head; thence southwesterly, through the peninsula, and following the divide between Hood’s Canal and Admiralty Inlet to the portage known as Wilkes’ Portage; thence north-easterly, and following the line of lands heretofore ceded as aforesaid to Point Southworth, on the western side of Admiralty Inlet, and thence around the foot of Vashon’s Island easterly and southeastwardly to the place of beginning, including all the islands comprised within said boundaries, and all the right, title, and interest of the said tribes and bands to any lands within the territory of the United States.

ARTICLE 2.

There is, however, reserved for the present use and occupation of the said tribes and bands the following tracts of land, viz: the amount of two sections, or twelve hundred and eighty acres, surrounding the small bight at the head of Port Madison, called by the Indians Noo-sohk-um; the amount of two sections, or twelve hundred and eighty acres, on the north side Hwhomish Bay and the creek emptying into the same called Kwilt-seh-da, the peninsula at the southeastern end of Perry’s Island, called Shais-quihl, and the island called Chah-choo-sen, situated in the Lummi River at the point of separation of the mouths emptying respectively into Bellingham Bay and the Gulf of Georgia. All which tracts shall be set apart, and so far as necessary surveyed and marked out for their exclusive use; nor shall any white man be permitted to reside upon the same without permission of the said tribes or bands, and of the superintendent or agent, but, if necessary for the public convenience, roads may be run through the said reserves, the Indians being compensated for any damage thereby done them.

ARTICLE 3.

There is also reserved from out the lands hereby ceded the amount of thirty-six sections, or one township of land, on the northeastern shore of Port Gardner, and north of the mouth of Snohomish River, including Tulalip Bay and the before-mentioned Kwilt-seh-da Creek, for the purpose of establishing thereon an agricultural and industrial school, as hereinafter mentioned and agreed, and with a view of ultimately drawing thereto and settling thereon all the Indians living west of the Cascade Mountains in said Territory. Provided, however, That the President may establish the central agency and general reservation at such other point as he may deem for the benefit of the Indians.

ARTICLE 4.

The said tribes and bands agree to remove to and settle upon the said first above-mentioned reservations within one year after the ratification of this treaty, or sooner, if the means are furnished them. In the mean time it shall be lawful for them to reside upon any land not in the actual claim and occupation of citizens of the United States, and upon any land claimed or occupied, if with the permission of the owner.
ARTICLE 5.

The right of taking fish at usual and accustomed grounds and stations is further secured to said Indians in common with all citizens of the Territory, and of erecting temporary houses for the purpose of curing, together with the privilege of hunting and gathering roots and berries on open and unclaimed lands. Provided, however, That they shall not take shell-fish from any beds staked or cultivated by citizens.

ARTICLE 6.

In consideration of the above cession, the United States agree to pay to the said tribes and bands the sum of one hundred and fifty thousand dollars, in the following manner - - that is to say: For the first year after the ratification hereof, fifteen thousand dollars; for the next two year, twelve thousand dollars each year; for the next three years, ten thousand dollars each year; for the next four years, seven thousand five hundred dollars each years; for the next five years, six thousand dollars each year; and for the last five years, four thousand two hundred and fifty dollars each year. All which said sums of money shall be applied to the use and benefit of the said Indians, under the direction of the President of the United States, who may, from time to time, determine at his discretion upon what beneficial objects to expend the same; and the superintendent of Indian affairs, or other proper officer, shall each year inform the President of the wishes of said Indians in respect thereto.

ARTICLE 7.

The President may hereafter, when in his opinion the interests of the Territory shall require and the welfare of the said Indians be promoted, remove them from either or all of the special reservations hereinbefore make to the said general reservation, or such other suitable place within said Territory as he may deem fit, on remunerating them for their improvements and the expenses of such removal, or may consolidate them with other friendly tribes or bands; and he may further at his discretion cause the whole or any portion of the lands hereby reserved, or of such other land as may be selected in lieu thereof, to be surveyed into lots, and assign the same to such individuals or families as are willing to avail themselves of the privilege, and will locate on the same as a permanent home on the same terms and subject to the same regulations as are provided in the sixth article of the treaty with the Omahas, so far as the same may be applicable. Any substantial improvements heretofore made by any Indian, and which he shall be compelled to abandon in consequence of this treaty, shall be valued under the direction of the President and payment made accordingly therefor.

ARTICLE 8.

The annuities of the aforesaid tribes and bands shall not be taken to pay the debts of individuals.

ARTICLE 9.

The said tribes and bands acknowledge their dependence on the Government of the United States, and promise to be friendly with all citizens thereof, and they pledge themselves to commit no depredations on the property of such citizens. Should any one or more of them violate this pledge, and the fact be satisfactorily proven before the agent, the property taken shall be returned, or in default thereof, of if injured or destroyed, compensation may be made by the Government out of their annuities. Nor will they make war on any other tribe except in self-defence, but will submit all matters of difference between them and the other Indians to the Government of the United States or its agent for decision, and abide thereby. And if any of the said Indians commit depredations on other Indians within the Territory the same rule shall prevail as that prescribed in this article in cases of depredations against citizens. And the said tribes agree not to shelter or conceal offenders against the laws of the United States, but to deliver them up to the authorities for trial.

ARTICLE 10.

The above tribes and bands are desirous to exclude from their reservations the use of ardent spirits, and to prevent their people from drinking the same, and therefore it is provided that any Indian belonging to said tribe who is guilty of bringing liquor into said reservations, or who drinks liquor, may have his or her proportion of the annuities withheld from him or her for such time as the President may determine.
ARTICLE 11.

The said tribes and bands agree to free all slaves now held by them and not to purchase or acquire others hereafter.

ARTICLE 12.

The said tribes and bands further agree not to trade at Vancouver’s Island or elsewhere out of the dominions of the United States, nor shall foreign Indians be permitted to reside in their reservations without consent of the superintendent or agent.

ARTICLE 13.

To enable the said Indians to remove to and settle upon their aforesaid reservations, and to clear, fence, and break up a sufficient quantity of land for cultivation, the United States further agree to pay the sum of fifteen thousand dollars to be laid out and expended under the direction of the President and in such manner as he shall approve.

ARTICLE 14.

The United States further agree to establish at the general agency for the district of Puget’s Sound, within one year from the ratification hereof, and to support for a period of twenty years, an agricultural and industrial school, to be free to children of the said tribes and bands in common with those of the other tribes of said district, and to provide the said school with a suitable instructor or instructors, and also to provide a smithy and carpenter’s shop, and furnish them with the necessary tools, and employ a blacksmith, carpenter, and farmer for the like term of twenty years to instruct the Indians in their respective occupations. And the United States finally agree to employ a physician to reside at the said central agency, who shall furnish medicine and advice to their sick, and shall vaccinate them; the expenses of said school, shops, persons employed, and medical attendance to be defrayed by the United States, and not deducted from the annuities.

ARTICLE 15.

This treaty shall be obligatory on the contracting parties as soon as the same shall be ratified by the President and Senate of the United States.

In testimony whereof, the said Isaac I. Stevens, governor and superintendent of Indian affairs, and the undersigned chiefs, headmen, and delegates of the aforesaid tribes and bands of Indians, have hereunto set their hands and seals, at the place and on the day and year hereinbefore written.

Issac I. Stevens, Governor and Superintendent. (L.S.)
Seattle, Chief of the Dwamish and Suquamish tribes, his x mark. (L. S.)
Pat-ka-nam, Chief of the Snoqualmoo, Snohomish and other tribes, his x mark. (L.S.)
Chow-its-hoot, Chief of the Lummi and other tribes, his x mark. (L. S.)
Goliah, Chief of the Skagits and other allied tribes, his x mark. (L.S.)
Kwallattum, or General Pierce, Sub-chief of the Skagit tribe, his x mark. (L.S.)
S’hootst-hoot, Sub-chief of Snohomish, his x mark. (L.S.)
Snah-tale, or Bonaparte, Sub-chief of Snohomish, his x mark. (L.S.)
Squush-um, or The Smoke, Sub-chief of the Snoqualmoo, his x mark. (L.S.)
See-alla-pa-han, or The Priest, Sub-chief of Sk-tah-le-jum, his x mark. (L.S.)
He-uch-ka-nam, or George Bonaparte, Sub-chief of Snohomish, his x mark. (L.S.)
Tse-nah-tale, or Joseph Bonaparte, Sub-chief of Snohomish, his x mark. (L.S.)
N’ski-oos, or Jackson, Sub-chief of Snohomish, his x mark. (L.S.)
Wats-ka-lah-tchie, or John Hobtsthoot, Sub-chief of Snohomish, his x mark. (L.S.)
Smeh-mai-hu, Sub-chief of Skai-wha-mish, his x mark. (L.S.)
Slat-eh-ka-nam, Sub-chief of Snoqualmoo, his x mark. (L.S.)
St’hau-ai, Sub-chief of Snoqualmoo, his x mark. (L.S.)
Lugs-ken, Sub-chief of Skai-wha-mish, his x mark. (L.S.)
S’heht-soolt, or Peter, Sub-chief of Snohomish, his x mark. (L.S.)
Do-queh-oo-satl, Snoqualmoo tribe, his x mark. (L.S.)
John Kanam, Snoqualmoo sub-chief, his x mark. (L.S.)
Klemsh-ka-nam, Snoqualmoo, his x mark. (L.S.)
Ts’huahntl, Dwa-mish sub-chief, his x mark. (L.S.)
Kwuss-ka-nam, or George Snatelum, Sen., Skagit tribe, his x mark. (L.S.)
Hel-mits, or George Snatelum, Skagit sub-chief, his x mark. (L.S.) S’kwai-kwi, Skagit tribe, sub-chief, his x mark. (L.S.)
Seh-lek-qu, Sub-chief Lummi tribe, his x mark. (L.S.)
S’h’-cheh-oo-os, or General Washington, Sub-chief of Lummi tribe, his x mark. (L.S.)
Whai-lan-hu, or Davy Crockett, Sub-chief of Lummi tribe, his x mark. (L.S.)
She-ah-deh-hu, Sub-chief of Lummi tribe, his x mark. (L.S.)
Kwult-seh, Sub-chief of Lummi tribe, his x mark. (L.S.)
Kwull-et-hu, Lummi tribe, his x mark. (L.S.)
Kleh-kent-soot, Skagit tribe, his x mark. (L.S.)
Sohn-heh-ovs, Skagit tribe, his x mark. (L.S.)
S’dheh-ap-kan, or General Warren, Skagit tribe, his x mark. (L.S.)
Chul-whil-tan, Sub-chief of Suquamish tribe, his x mark. (L.S.)
Ske-eh-tum, Skagit tribe, his x mark. (L.S.)
Patchkanam, or Dome, Skagit tribe, his x mark. (L.S.)
Sats-Kanam, Squin-ah-nush tribe, his x mark. (L.S.)
Sd’zo-mahltl, Kik-ial-lus band, his x mark. (L.S.)
Dahtl-de-min, Sub-chief of Sah-ku-meh-hu, his x mark. (L.S.)
S’d’zek-du-num, Me-sek-wi-guish sub-chief, his x mark. (L.S.)
Now-a-chais, Sub-chief of Dwaamish, his x mark. (L.S.)
Mis-lo-tche, or Wah-hehl-tchoo, Sub-chief of Suquamish, his x mark. (L.S.)
Sloo-noksh-tan, or Jim, Suquamish tribe, his x mark. (L.S.)
Moo-whah-lad-hu, or Jack, Suquamish tribe, his x mark. (L.S.)
Too-leh-plan, Suquamish tribe, his x mark. (L.S.)
Ha-seh-doo-an, or Keo-kuck, Dwaamish tribe, his x mark. (L.S.)
Hoovilt-meh-tum, Sub-chief of Suquamish, his x mark. (L.S.)
We-ai-pah, Skaiwhamish tribe, his x mark. (L.S.)
S’ah-an-hu, or Hallam, Snohomish tribe, his x mark. (L.S.)
She-hope, or General Pierce, Skagit tribe, his x mark. (L.S.)
Hwn-lah-lakq, or Thomas Jefferson, Lummi tribe, his x mark. (L.S.)
Cht-simpt, Lummi tribe, his x mark. (L.S.)
Tse-sum-ten, Lummi tribe, his x mark. (L.S.)
Klt-hahl-tten, Lummi tribe, his x mark. (L.S.)
Kut-ta-kanam, or John, Lummi tribe, his x mark. (L.S.)
Ch-lah-ben, Noo-qua-cha-mish band, his x mark. (L.S.)
Noo-heh-ovs, Snoqualmoo tribe, his x mark. (L.S.)
Hweh-uk, Snoqualmoo tribe, his x mark. (L.S.)
Peh-nus, Skai-whamish tribe, his x mark. (L.S.)
Yim-ka-dam, Snoqualmoo tribe, his x mark. (L.S.)
Twooi-as-kut, Skaiwhamish tribe, his x mark. (L.S.)
Luch-al-kanam, Snoqualmoo tribe, his x mark. (L.S.)
S’hoot-kanam, Snoqualmoo tribe, his x mark. (L.S.)
Sme-a-kanam, Snoqualmoo tribe, his x mark. (L.S.)
Sad-zis-keh, Snoqualmoo, his x mark. (L.S.)
Heh-mahl, Skaiwhamish tribe, his x mark. (L.S.)
Charley, Skagit tribe, his x mark. (L.S.)
John Taylor, Snohomish tribe, his x mark. (L.S.)
Hatch-kwentum, Skagit tribe, his x mark. (L.S.)
Yo-i-kum, Skagit tribe, his x mark. (L.S.)
T’kwa-ma-han, Skagit tribe, his x mark. (L.S.)
Sto-dum-kan, Swinamish band, his x mark. (L.S.)
Be-lole, Swinamish band, his x mark. (L.S.)
D’zo-lole-gwam-hu, Skagit tribe, his x mark. (L.S.)
Steh-shail, William, Skaiwhamish band, his x mark. (L.S.)
Kel-kahl-tsoot, Swinamish tribe, his x mark. (L.S.)
Pat-sen, Skagit tribe, his x mark. (L.S.)
Pat-teh-us, Noo-wha-ah sub-chief, his x mark. (L.S.)
S’hoolk-ka-nam, Lummi sub-chief, his x mark. (L.S.)
Ch-lok-suts, Lummi sub-chief, his x mark. (L.S.)

Executed in the presence of us - -
M. T. Simmons, Indian agent.
C. H. Mason, Secretary of Washington Territory.
Benj. F. Shaw, Interpreter.
Chas. M. Hitchcock.
H. A. Goldsborough.
George Gibbs.
John H. Scranton.
Henry D. Cock.
S. S. Ford, jr.
Orrington Cushman.
Ellis Barnes.
R. S. Bailey.
S. M. Collins.
Lafayette Balch.
E. S. Fowler.
J. H. Hall.
Rob’r Davis.
S. Doc. 319, 58-2, vol 2 43

Ratified Mar. 8, 1859. Proclaimed Apr. 11, 1859.
APPENDIX B: INDIAN HOMESTEAD
Final Certificate No. 2049

Homestead Application No. 797

LAND OFFICE
AT

Sect. 26, Town 24 N., Range 6 E.

July 27, 1885

Recommended for Patent and referred to the Board of Examiners.

Patented May 2, 1907

Recorded Deed Book 164, Page 484

Approval April 1907, Canalis

K. Temple, Clerk, Recorder

Patented 1885

Recorded, Vol. 164, Page

J. C. 578
It is hereby certified That, pursuant to the provisions of Section No. 2297, Revised Statutes of the United States, Louis J. Belkholm (Lessee) has made payment in full for Lot 3 of S1/2 of SW

of Section No. 3X, in Township No. 26 North, of Range No. 6 East, of the Massachusetts Principal Meridian, Muskegon Twp., containing 7.50 acres.

Now, therefore, be it known, That on presentation of Certificate to the COMMISSIONER OF THE

...
Dated: April 5, 1907


Received Del. April 10, 1907

R.R. April 19, 1907 to R & R Pat. canceled. Fully advised.

Referred to Div.
Samuel Verzick, 1907
Verzick, S. D.
Mar. 29, 1907
Filis petition of Mary
and Johnoo Fiealth.
And for remane of conrs for tenant for the
land
2c.

To Sec'y 4/5/07
962

[Signature]
[Signature]
March 29, 1907.

Hon. F. E. Leupp,
Commissioner of Indian Affairs,
Washington, D. C.

Sir:-

I have the honor to file herewith petition of Mary and Johnnie Tahalthkut for the issuance of a new and correct patent to them in lieu of that which was issued containing the twenty year restriction. The issuance of such a patent was clearly unwarranted, in view of the fact that the entry was made under the ordinary provisions of the homestead law and final certificate issued thereon. I also file herewith a certified copy of the patent and respectfully request that you will at an early date refer this matter to the General Land Office with your favorable report. I also ask to be advised of all action.

Very respectfully,

[Signature]

Attorney for Mary and Johnnie Tahalthkut.
was an act to secure homesteads to actual settlers on the public domain, and to be entitled to those benefits an applicant was required to show qualifications as a citizen of the United States. While the homestead entry of Tahalthkut was made under the Act of 1862, as a citizen of the United States, patent was issued under the Act of 1881; yet upon the showing made in the application and in his final proof in support of his entry, he possessed the qualifications prescribed by the Act of February 8, 1887 (24 Stat. L., 388), and he therefore was entitled as a citizen of the United States to exercise the rights carried by the Act under which his entry was made, and to the issuance of the homestead patent provided for in the Act.

By his voluntary act, his declaration of citizenship under oath, and his accepting the conditions imposed by homestead entry for the tract in question, he acknowledged that he laid no further claim to the guardianship of his person by the United States. That relationship ceasing, all other obligations on the part of the Government toward him as an Indian, except such as are enjoyed by citizens in common, are canceled. The protection afforded by Congress and the Department to the Indian while in a state of dependency ceases when the state of pupillage or wardship of the latter no longer exists. 27 L. D. 502.

The issuance of a patent to Tahalthkut containing a limitation on the right of alienation was an error, as there
DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR,
OFFICE OF INDIAN AFFAIRS,
WASHINGTON.

April 3, 1907.

The Honorable,
The Secretary of the Interior.

Sir:

I have the honor to transmit herewith for your consideration a letter from Samuel Herrick, as attorney for Mary and Johnnie Tahalthkut, enclosing a petition for the issuance of a new and correct patent to them in lieu of that which was issued containing the twenty year restriction clause, on the ground that the issuance of such a patent was clearly unwarranted in view of the fact that the entry was made under the ordinary provisions of the homestead law and final certificate issued thereon.

The records of this and the General Land Office show that Louis Tahalthkut made homestead entry No. 2795, Olympia, Washington, series, November 20, 1877, for Lot 4, the SW/4 of the SW/4, Sec. 32, T. 25 N., R. 6 W., W. M., containing 75.50 acres, under the Act of May 20, 1862 (12 Stat. L., 292). Final certificate No. 2029, issued July 1, 1885, and on June 8, 1888, patent was issued thereon under the Act of June 18, 1881, containing restrictions on alienation for a period of 20 years.

The Act of May 20, 1862, under which this entry was made,
was an act to secure homesteads to actual settlers on the public domain, and to be entitled to those benefits an applicant was required to show qualifications as a citizen of the United States. While the homestead entry of Tahalthkut was made under the Act of 1862, as a citizen of the United States, patent was issued under the Act of 1861; yet upon the showing made in the application and in his final proof in support of his entry, he possessed the qualifications prescribed by the Act of February 8, 1887 (24 Stat. L., 398), and he therefore was entitled as a citizen of the United States to exercise the rights carried by the Act under which his entry was made, and to the issuance of the homestead patent provided for in the Act.

By his voluntary act, his declaration of citizenship under oath, and his accepting the conditions imposed by homestead entry for the tract in question, he acknowledged that he laid no further claim to the guardianship of his person by the United States. That relationship ceasing, all other obligations on the part of the Government toward him as an Indian, except such as are enjoyed by citizens in common, are canceled. The protection afforded by Congress and the Department to the Indian while in a state of dependency ceases when the state of pupilage or wardship of the latter no longer exists. 27 L. D. 502.

The issuance of a patent to Tahalthkut containing a limitation on the right of alienation was an error, as there
was no authority of law for the issuance of such patent to a citizen of the United States. Only by bringing him within the purview of the Act of March 3, 1875 (13 Stat. L., 402-420) or the Act of July 4, 1884 (23 Stat. L., 76-96) was the issuance of patent under the provisions of the Act of 1881 justifiable. But his entry was not made under either of these Acts, which are Indian homestead acts, but under the Act of 1862, a public land Act.

It was held in the case of the United States vs. Saunders, 96 Fed. 266, that the insertion of such limitation in a paragraph separate from the granting clause, does not affect the validity of the patent to convey the land to the patentee, and he takes title in fee simple, without any restrictions upon his power of alienation.

The facts upon which this decision was rendered by Judge Hanford were not, in my opinion, as strong against the issuance of patent containing restrictions on alienation as the facts in the case under consideration, as in that case the entry was made under the Act of March 3, 1875, which extended the benefits of the homestead law of May 20, 1862, supra, "to any Indian born in the United States who is the head of a family, or who has arrived at the age of 21 years, and who has abandoned or may hereafter abandon his tribal relations." It is not believed that this Act could be considered retroactive so as to apply to entries previously made under the Act of 1862.
It appears from the petition that Louis Tahalthkut is deceased and leaves surviving him his wife, Mary Tahalthkut, and one child, Johnnie Tahalthkut, over 21 years of age, who are the petitioners.

While I am of the opinion that the patent issued has the effect of a patent in fee, to avoid the possibility of a cloud on the title, I recommend that the petition receive favorable consideration and that the Commissioner of the General Land Office be instructed to cancel the trust patent and issue the patent in fee to which the homestead entryman was and is entitled.

Very respectfully,

C. F. LARRABEE
Acting Commissioner.

AEE. Ph.
DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR,
OFFICE OF INDIAN AFFAIRS,
WASHINGTON.

April 8, 1907.

The Honorable,
The Secretary of the Interior.

Sir:

I have the honor to transmit herewith for your consideration a letter from Samuel Herrick, as attorney for Mary and Johnnie Tahalthkut, enclosing a petition for the issuance of a new and correct patent to them in lieu of that which was issued containing the twenty year restriction clause, on the ground that the issuance of such a patent was clearly unwarranted in view of the fact that the entry was made under the ordinary provisions of the homestead law and final certificate issued thereon.

The records of this and the General Land Office show that Louis Tahalthkut made homestead entry No. 2795, Olympia, Washington, series, November 20, 1877, for Lot 4, the SE/4 of the SW/4, Sec. 32, T. 25 N., R. 6 E., W. M., containing 75.50 acres, under the Act of May 20, 1862 (12 Stat. L., 332). Final certificate No. 2026, issued July 1, 1885, and on June 8, 1888, patent was issued thereon under the Act of June 18, 1881, containing restrictions on alienation for a period of 20 years.

The Act of May 20, 1862, under which this entry was made,
was an act to secure homesteads to actual settlers on the public domain, and to be entitled to those benefits an applicant was required to show qualifications as a citizen of the United States. While the homestead entry of Tahalthkut was made under the Act of 1862, as a citizen of the United States, patent was issued under the Act of 1861; yet upon the showing made in the application and in his final proof in support of his entry, he possessed the qualifications prescribed by the Act of February 2, 1867 (24 Stat. L. 386), and he therefore was entitled as a citizen of the United States to exercise the rights carried by the Act under which his entry was made, and to the issuance of the homestead patent provided for in the Act.

By his voluntary act, his declaration of citizenship under oath, and his accepting the conditions imposed by homestead entry for the tract in question, he acknowledged that he laid no further claim to the guardianship of his person by the United States. That relationship ceasing, all other obligations on the part of the Government toward him as an Indian, except such as are enjoyed by citizens in common, are canceled. The protection afforded by Congress and the Department to the Indian while in a state of dependency ceases when the state of pupillage or wardship of the latter no longer exists. 27 L. P. 502.

The issuance of a patent to Tahalthkut containing a limitation on the right of alienation was an error, as there
was no authority of law for the issuance of such patent to a citizen of the United States. Only by bringing him within the purview of the Act of March 3, 1875 (18 Stat. 1., 402-420) or the Act of July 4, 1884 (23 Stat. 7., 76-96) was the issuance of patent under the provisions of the Act of 1881 justifiable. But his entry was not made under either of these Acts, which are Indian homestead acts, but under the Act of 1862, a public land Act.

It was held in the case of United States vs. Saunders, 96 Fed. 266, that the insertion of such limitation in a paragraph separate from the granting clause, does not affect the validity of the patent to convey the land to the patentee, and he takes title in fee simple, without any restrictions upon his power of alienation.

The facts upon which this decision was rendered by Judge Hanford were not, in my opinion, as strong against the issuance of patent containing restrictions on alienation as the facts in the case under consideration, as in that case the entry was made under the Act of March 3, 1875, which extended the benefits of the homestead law of May 20, 1862, supra, "to any Indian born in the United States who is the head of a family, or who has arrived at the age of 21 years, and who has abandoned or may hereafter abandon his tribal relations." It is not believed that this Act could be considered retroactive so as to apply to entries previously made under the Act of 1862.
It appears from the petition that Louis Tahalhkut is deceased and leaves surviving him his wife, Mary Tahalhkut, and one child, Johanie Tahalhkut, over 21 years of age, who are the petitioners.

While I am of the opinion that the patent issued has the effect of a patent in fee, to avoid the possibility of a cloud on the title, I recommend that the petition receive favorable consideration and that the Commissioner of the General Land Office be instructed to cancel the trust patent and issue the patent in fee to which the homestead entryman was and is entitled.

Very respectfully,

C. F. LARRABEE
Acting Commissioner.
DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR
GENERAL LAND OFFICE.
WASHINGTON, D.C., April 7, 1907.

Register and Receiver,
Olympia, Wash.


Mary Tkalathkut and Johnnie Tkalathkut, through their attorney Mr. Samuel Herrick of this city, have filed an application for the cancellation of Olympia homestead patent No. 2039 issued to Louie Tkalathkut, an Indian, June 8, 1886, for lot 4 and SE 1/4 SW 1/4, Sec. 2, T 25 N, R 6 E, W.M., containing a 20-year trust clause (21 Stat. 315), and the issuance of one in fee simple. They have also filed a certified copy of the patent as recorded and evidence that they are the sole heirs of the deceased entryman as well as of the fact that all tribal relations were abandoned by the patentee many years prior to entry and the habits and pursuits of civilized life adopted by him.

The records of this office show that Louie Tkalathkut, a native born Indian who had severed tribal relations and adopted the pursuits and habits of civilized life, made original homestead entry No. 2795 November 20, 1877, at your office for said land under Act of March 3, 1875 (18 Stat. 420). July 1, 1885, upon the entryman having made the necessary homestead proof, final certificate No. 2039 issued for said land having the word Indian act March 3, 1875, written therein.
June 8, 1888, a patent issued upon the certificate containing the 20-year trust clause under the act of January 18, 1861 (21 Stat., 315), supra, being "An act for the relief of the Winnebago Indians in Wisconsin," instead of containing the covenants provided for by the act of March 3, 1872, supra.

The petition is based upon Sec. 6, act February 6, 1887 (24 Stat., 388), providing that an Indian who has abandoned tribal relations and adopted the habits and pursuits of civilized life is a citizen of the United States and as such is entitled to the privileges and immunities of other citizens. United States v. Saunders (98 Fed. Rep. 266). John A. G. et al. (35 S.D. 30).

This petition was filed in the Bureau of Indian Affairs, was forward to the Secretary of the Interior with a recommendation for the cancellation of the patent and the issuance of one in fee simple, and April 8, 1887, the office was directed by the Secretary to take the necessary steps to carry out the recommendation. Inasmuch as the record shows that the Indian had abandoned his tribal relations as stated he was entitled to a patent in fee simple. The application being sufficient the erroneous patent and its record have been canceled.

A fee simple patent will be issued and sent to Mr. Herick of this city in due course of business.

Respectfully,

[Signature]
Assistant Commissioner.
Mr. Samuel Merrick,
Washington, D.C.

Sir:

In answer to your letter of April 1, 1907, enclosing an application for the cancellation of Olympia homestead patent No. 2929 issued to Louis Tabihtahut June 8, 1883, containing the 20-year trust clause, and to have one issued in fee simple, you are advised, the application and evidence being sufficient, the patent and its record have been canceled. A new one will be issued and sent you in regular course of business.

Respectfully,

Assistant Commissioner.
Register and Receiver, Patent canceled.  
Olympia, Wash.  New one to issue.

Gentlemen:

Mary Tahalthikut and Johnnie Tahalthikut, widow and son of Louis Tahalthikut, through their attorney Mr. Samuel Herrick of this city, have filed an application for the cancellation of Olympia homestead patent No. 2029 issued to Louis Tahalthikut, an Indian, June 8, 1868, for lot 4 and Sec. 32, T 25 N, R 6 E, W.M., containing a 20-year trust clause (31 Stat., 315), and the issuance of one in fee simple. They have also filed a certified copy of the patent as recorded and evidence that they are the sole heirs of the deceased entryman as well as of the fact that all tribal relations were abandoned by the patentee many years prior to entry and the habits and pursuits of civilized life adopted by him.

The records of this office show that Louis Tahalthikut, a native born Indian who had severed tribal relations and adopted the pursuits and habits of civilized life, made original homestead entry No. 2795 November 20, 1877, at your office for said land under Sec. 15, act March 3, 1875 (18 Stat., 420). July 1, 1885, upon the entryman having made the necessary homestead proof, final certificate No. 2029 issued for said land having the word Indian, act March 3, 1875, written therein.
June 8, 1888, a patent issued upon the certificate containing the 20-year trust clause under the act of January 13, 1881 (21 Stat., 315), supra, being "An act for the relief of the Winnebago Indians in Wisconsin," instead of containing the 5-year clause provided for by the act of March 3, 1875, supra.

The petition is based upon Sec. 6, act February 8, 1887 (24 Stat., 388), providing that an Indian who has abandoned tribal relations and adopted the habits and pursuits of civilized life is a citizen of the United States and as such is entitled to the privileges and immunities of other citizens. United States vs. Saunders (96 Fed Rep. 256). Jennie Adass et al. (35 I.D. 80).

This petition was filed in the Bureau of Indian Affairs, was forwarded to the Secretary of the Interior with a recommendation for the cancellation of the patent and the issuance of one in fee simple and April 8, 1907, this office was directed by the Secretary to take the necessary steps to carry out the recommendation. Inasmuch as the record shows that the Indian had abandoned his tribal relations as stated he was entitled to a patent in fee simple. The application being sufficient the erroneous patent and its record have been canceled. A fee simple patent will be issued and sent to Mr. Herrick of this city in due course of business.

Respectfully,

KMS

Assistant Commissioner.
Department of the Interior,

April 1907.

Grants petition of Mary and Johnie Tahalhkut for the issuance of a new patent to the land allotted to Louis Tahalhkut, and directs the issuance of a new patent without restrictions.
DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR,  
WASHINGTON.  
April 8 1907.

The Commissioner  
of the General Land Office.  

Sir:

There is transmitted herewith a letter from the Acting  
Commissioner of Indian Affairs enclosing a petition from  
Samuel Herrick as attorney for Mary and Johnnie Tahalthkut  
for the issuance of a new and correct patent to them in lieu  
of that which was issued on homestead entry No. 2795, Olympia,  
Washington, series, to Louis Tahalthkut for Lot 4, and the  
SE/4 of the SW/4, Sec. 32, T. 25 N., R. 6 E., W.M., which  
contains a twenty year restriction clause.

I approve the recommendation and you are hereby directed  
to take the necessary steps to carry it into effect.

Very respectfully,

J. A. Garfield  
Secretary.
Whereas there has been deposited in the general land office of the United States a certificate of the register of the land office at Olympia Washington Territory whereby it appears that pursuant to the act of congress approved 20th May 1862 "to secure homesteads to actual settlers on the public domain" and the acts supplemental thereto the claim of Louie Tahalthkut has been established and duly consummated in conformity to law for the lot numbered four and the south-east quarter of the southwest quarter of section thirty-two in township twenty-five north of range six east of Willamette Meridian in Washington Territory containing seventy-five acres and fifty hundredths of an acre according to the official plat of the survey of the said land returned to the general land office by the surveyor general. Now know ye that there is therefore granted by the United States unto the said Louie Tahalthkut the tract of land above described. To have and to hold the said tract of land with the appurtenances thereof unto the said Louie Tahalthkut and to his heirs and assigns forever subject to any vested and accrued water rights for mining, agricultural manufacturing, or other purposes and rights to ditches and reservoirs used in connection with such water rights as may be recognized and acknowledged by the local customs, laws and decisions of courts and also subject to the right of the proprietor of a vein or lode to extract and remove his ore therefrom should
the same be found to penetrate or intersect the premises hereby granted as provided by law. This patent is issued upon the express condition that the title hereby conveyed shall not be subject to alienation or incumbrance either by voluntary conveyance or by judgment decree or order of any court or subject to taxation of any character but shall remain inalienable and not subject to taxation for the period of twenty years from the date hereof as provided by act of congress approved January 18-1881.

In testimony whereof I Grover Cleveland president of the United States of America have caused these letters to be made patent and the seal of the general land office to be hereunto affixed.

Given under my hand at the City of Washington the eighth day of June in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and eighty eight and of the independence of the United

State of Washington, 1st.
County of King.

I., Auditor of King County, State of Washington, and ex-officio Recorder of Deeds, in and for said County, do hereby certify the above and foregoing to be a true and correct copy of a


as recorded in this office in Vol. of books, page Records of

Wit ness my hand and official seal this day of


No. 5020

By. Deputy.
the same be found to penetrate or intersect the premises hereby granted as provided by law. This patent is issued upon the express condition that the title hereby conveyed shall not be subject to alienation or incumbrance either by voluntary conveyance or by judgment decree or order of any court or subject to taxation of any character, nor shall remain inalienable and not subject to taxation for the period of twenty years from the date hereof as provided by act of congress approved January 18-1881.

In testimony whereof I Grover Cleveland president of the United States of America have caused these letters to be made patent and the seal of the general land office to be hereunto affixed.

Given under my hand at the City of Washington the eighth day of June in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and eighty eight and of the independence of the United States the one hundred and twelfth

By the president Grover Cleveland
By M. McKean secretary

Robt W. Ross recorder of the general land office

Filed for record at request of D. T. Denny Jan 29-1894 at 45 min. past 11 A.M.

F. A. Twichell
County Auditor.
Samuel Herrick,
City:
April 9, 1907.

Files abstract of title in
support of F. C. No. 2029, Seattle, Washington.
April 19, 1907.

Olympia, Wash.
Att'y adviced.
J.C.C.
April 9, 1907.

"B"

Hon. R. A. Ballinger,
Commissioner General Land Office,
Washington, D. C.

Sir:—

In support of application filed by me for the issuance of a corrected patent to Louie Takalthkut on his Final certificate No. 2029, Seattle, Washington, I have the honor to file herewith an abstract of title. I trust that this completes the necessary proof. When patent is issued kindly forward same to

Yours very respectfully,

Samuel Herrick,
Attorney for Heirs of Louie Takalthkut.

SH/H.
No. 1.—Homestead.

Land Office at Olympia, W.T.

April 29, 1885.

To Lucie Tillotson of King Co. Wash. Terr.

who made Homestead Application No. 2705 for the
Lot 4 & SE ¼ of SW ¼ of Sec 32 T 25 N R 6 E

do hereby give notice of my intention to make final proof to establish my
claim to the land above described, and that I expect to prove my residence
and cultivation before the Judge of his circuit, in the District Court at
Seattle, Wash. Terr. on Thursday June 25, 1885,

by two of the following witnesses:

George W. Tillotson of Squan, King Co. Wash. Terr
Mr. Thomas Bush of
Peter J. Smith of
Mr. Andrew J. Berry of

Lucie Tillotson

Land Office at

May 13, 1885.

Olympia, W. T.

Notice of this application will be published in the Intelligencer
printed at Seattle, Wash. Terr., which I hereby designate as the
newspaper published nearest the land described in said application.

John F. Gowe

Register.

Notes to Claimant.—Give time and place of proving up and name and title of the officer before whom proof is to be made; also
give names and post-office address of four neighbors, two of whom must appear as your witnesses.
To The Honorable Secretary of the Interior,
Washington, D. C.

Sir:--

Your petitioners respectfully show;

That on the 20th day of November 1877, Louie Tahalhtkut, and Indian, made entry at Seattle, Washington, United States Land Office for Lot four (4), and the Southeast quarter (SE-1/4) of the Southwest quarter (SW-1/4) of Section thirty-two (32), Township twenty-five (25) north, Range six (6) east W.M. in Seattle, Washington, containing 75.50 acres.

That thereafter, to-wit: On the first day of July, 1885, the said Louie Tahalhtkut made final proof upon said land and homestead certificate No. 2029 was duly issued to him, and thereafter: on the 9th day of June 1886, a patent was duly issued to said Louie Tahalhtkut for the above described land, which patent is recorded in Volume 7, Page 329, in the General Land Office at Washington, D. C., and a certified copy of which patent is hereto attached, hereby referred to, and made a part of this petition.

That the said Louie Tahalhtkut is a native born Indian, and that at the time he entered upon said land and claimed the same as his homestead, he was and is now the head of a family, his wife's name being Mary Tahalhtkut. That prior to and at the time the said Louie Tahalhtkut settled upon and entered the above described land and claimed it as his homestead he had abandoned all tribal relations and lived separate and apart from any Indian tribe or Indians, and had adopted the pursuits and habits of civilized life; had exercised the rights of citizenship; had declared his intentions
to become such; had paid poll taxes like citizens generally and under Section six (6) of the Act of February 8th, 1867, (24 Stat. at L. 388-390) and prior enactments had become a citizen of the United States; and as such citizen was entitled to all the privileges and immunities of citizens generally; and that since said settlement upon said land lived separate and apart from any Indian tribe or Indians; and has exercised the rights of citizens generally as herein above set forth.

That as such citizen he was entitled to a patent for the above described land without any restrictions, except such as are and were imposed upon citizens generally; but that instead a Trust Patent was issued to him for said property, wherein it was and is stated and declared that the government of the United States held and holds the lands therein described in trust for him, the said Louis Tahalthkut for the period of twenty years; and that said patent so issued contains and imposes restrictions that are not contained in or imposed upon citizens generally.

That a short time ago said Louis Tahalthkut died, leaving surviving him his said wife, Mary Tahalthkut, and his only child named Johnnie Tahalthkut, who is past twenty-one years old, and who are the petitioners herein.

That it is the desire of your petitioners that said Trust Patent, which is herewith attached be cancelled, and it is hereby surrendered for that purpose, and that a patent in lieu there of be issued conveying said property in fee simple.

WHEREFORE, your petitioners respectfully pray that said so called Trust Patent so issued to the said Louis Tahalthkut
and hereunto attached and surrendered be cancelled, and that there
be issued in lieu thereof a patent conveying said land in fee sim-
ple, and this your petitioners will ever pray.

Signed, Sealed and Delivered
in presence of

[Signature]
[Signature]

STATE OF WASHINGTON )
County of King. )

MARY TAHALTHKUT, the only wife that Louis
Tahalthkut, who is mentioned in the foregoing petition, ever had,
and their only child, Johnnie Tahalthkut, being first duly sworn
upon their oath, each for himself and not for the other, according
to law, deposes and says:

That they are the parties who signed the foregoing
petition, and that same was fully explained to and understood by
them before they signed same, and that they know the facts thereof
and that the same is true.  

Subscribed and sworn to before me this /6 day of March A. D. 1907.

Notary Public in and for the State of Washington, residing at Seattle
Final Homestead Affidavit.

UNDER SECTION 2291, R. S.

Application No. 2291

Final Certificate No. 2297

Land Office at Olympia, W. A.

Signed at Olympia, W. A.

July 1st, 1885.
In the District Court of the Third Judicial District of Washington Territory, holding terms at Seattle, in King County, for the counties of King and Kitsap:

HOMESTEAD PROOF.

Final Affidavit Required of Homestead Claimants.

SECTION 2291 OF THE REVISED STATUTES OF THE UNITED STATES.

I, Sairax Takaltalakul, having made a Homestead entry of the
Lot 4 of 8 3/4 of 5 1/4 of Section No. 32
in Township N. of Range E., subject to entry at Olympia
under section No. 2289 of the Revised Statutes of
the United States, do now apply to perfect my claim thereto by virtue of section No. 2291 of the
Revised Statutes of the United States; and for that purpose do solemnly declare
that
I am a citizen of the United States; that I have made actual settlement upon and have cultivated said
land, having resided thereon since the day of December, 1879
the present time; that no part of said land has been alienated, except as provided in section 2288 of the
Revised Statutes, but that I am the sole bona fide owner as an actual settler; that I will bear true allegiance
to the Government of the United States; and further, that I have not heretofore perfected or abandoned
an entry made under the homestead laws of the United States.

[Signature]

(Seal)

I, Roger J. Greene, Judge of the Land Office of the Court, do hereby certify that the above affidavit was subscribed
and sworn to before me this day of January, 1882.

[Signature]

Judge of Land Court
Territory of Washington
County of King, Iss.

I, James Scooney,
Clerl of the aforesaid Court, hereby certify that Roger S. Greene before whom the foregoing and accompanying affidavit were taken, is the Judge of the said Court and his signature there to is genuine.

Witness my hand and the
Seal of said Court, this
25th day of June
U. S. 1886.

James Scooney, Clerk.

By James Ludlow, Deputy.
RECEIVERS RECEIPT,
Homestead.

Receiver's Office, Olympia Wash.,

November 20, 1877.

Received of Lourie Talbot, Jr. (Indian), the sum of $16.00, the amount of fee and compensation of Register and Receiver for the entry of Lot 45, Sec. 26, in Township 23 South, of Range 6 East, under the act of Congress approved May 20, 1862, entitled "An act to secure homesteads to actual settlers on the public domain.”  Act March 3, 1871.

\( \sqrt{7.5 \times 2.125} \)

Robert S. Smith

Receiver.

Note: It is required of the homestead settler that he shall reside upon and cultivate the land embraced in his homestead entry for a period of five years from the time of filing the affidavit, being also the date of entry. An abandonment of the land for more than six months works a forfeiture of the claim. Further, within two years from the expiration of the said five years, the settler must file proof of his actual settlement and cultivation, failing to do which, his entry will be canceled. If the settler does not wish to remain five years on his tract, he may, at any time after six months, pay for it with cash or land warrants, upon making proof of settlement and cultivation from date of filing affidavit to the time of payment.
In the District Court of the Third Judicial District of Washington Territory, in King County, for the counties of King and Kitsap:

P. J. Smith and Zoe J. Smith being duly sworn, deposes and says:

I am an American Citizen and resident of the State of Washington, as hereinbefore mentioned.

The above-named Sarah Schallert, deceased, was a native of the State of Iowa and was a member of the Sauk tribe of Indians, and died in the State of Washington, and I have known her above-referred-to for a period of 9 years, and I know the contents of the above affidavit, and am in all respects true to same.

Subscribed and sworn to before me, the 23 day of June, 1875.

[Signature]

In the District Court of the Third Judicial District of Washington Territory, in King County, for the counties of King and Kitsap:

I, Zoe J. Smith, do hereby certify that for the year 1875, the above-named Sarah Schallert, deceased, was a member of the Sauk tribe of Indians, and that she was a resident of this State, and that she died in the State of Washington.

Subscribed and sworn to before me, the 23 day of June, 1875.

[Signature]
In the District Court of the Third Judicial District of Washington Territory, holding terms at Seattle, in King County, for the counties of King and Kitsap: NON-MINERAL AFFIDAVIT.

COUNTY OF King
Territory of Washington}

Lairie Tahathlul — being duly sworn according to law, deposes and says that he is the identical Lairie Tahathlul who is an applicant for Government title to the Sar 4 X 66% of 86% of Sec 2

[Handwritten date: 1/28/35 A.D.]

that he is well acquainted with the character of said described land, and with each and every legal subdivision thereof, having frequently passed over the same; that his knowledge of said land is such as to enable him to testify understandingly with regard thereto; that there is not, to his knowledge, within the limits thereof, any vein or lode of quartz or other rock in place, bearing gold, silver, cinna bar, lead, tin, or copper, or any deposit of coal; that there is not within the limits of said land, to his knowledge, any placer, cement, gravel, or other valuable mineral deposit; that no portion of said land is claimed for mining purposes under the local customs or rules of miners or otherwise; that no portion of said land is worked for mineral during any part of the year by any person or persons; that said land is essentially non-mineral land, and that his application therefor is not made for the purpose of fraudulently obtaining title to mineral land, but with the object of securing said land for agricultural purposes.

Subscribed and sworn to before me this __ day of June, A.D. 1885

Lairie Tahathlul
Mark

and I hereby certify that the foregoing affidavit was read to the said Lairie Tahathlul previous to his name being subscribed thereto; and that deponent is a respectable person to whose affidavit full faith and credit should be given.

[Handwritten signature: Robert Greene]

Judge of said Court
May 13, 1885

Notice is hereby given that Louise J. Dash has filed notice of intention to make final proof before the Judge, or in his absence, the Clerk of the District Court, at his office, in Seattle, W.T., on Thursday the 25 day of June, A.D. 1885, on Homestead Application—Description S. E. No. 2793 for the Lot No. 14 and S. E. 1/4 of S. 24 T.

of Sec. 32

To 25th N. R. 6 East


John F. Govey
Register of the Land Office.

June 15, 1885

I, John F. Govey, Register of the said Land Office, certify that the above notice was by me duly posted in a conspicuous place in my office during a period of thirty (30) days and over, I having first posted the same on the 13th day of May, A.D. 1885.
AFFIDAVIT OF PUBLICATION.

Territory of Washington,

COUNTY OF WASHINGTON

Tho. W. Brosch, being duly sworn,
says that he is one of the printers and publishers of the WEEKLY POST-INTELLIGENCER,
printed and published in the County and Territory aforesaid, that it is a newspaper of general
circulation in said Territory, and that the answer

Final Proof

was published in said WEEKLY POST-INTELLIGENCER
newspaper day times, successively, commencing on the 21st day of May 1885
and ending on the 25th day of June 1885

Tho. W. Brosch

Subscribed and sworn to before me this 27th day of June 1885.
AFFIDAVIT OF PUBLICATION.

Territory of Washington,
COUNTY OF

Thos. M. Osbeck, being duly sworn,
says that he is one of the printers and publishers of the WEEKLY POST-INTELLIGENCER,
printed and published in the County and Territory aforesaid, that it is a newspaper of general
circulation in said Territory, and that the annexed
was published in said WEEKLY POST-INTELLIGENCER
newspaper six times, successively, commencing on the 21st day of May, 1885, and ending on the 28th day of June, 1885.

Thos. M. Osbeck

Subscribed and sworn to before me this 27th day of June, 1885.

Mas. Terrill Smith,
Notary Public, 1885.
F. C. 2029

District: 

No. of acres: 20.5

Errors in description:

Date of Settlement:

Entry (in Hds.): Nov. 20, 29

Residence: Nov. 20, 29

Proof, June 20, 29

Advertised: 

Certificate: 

Officer taking proof: 

advertised:

No. of weeks advertised:


Improvements: 

Value of:

Acres broken:

in crop:

No. of acres:

in crop:

Kind of crops:

Residence claimed:

No. of acres:

Military or Naval service claimed:

No. of abscences:

Total duration:

Causes:

Native-born: Naturalized

Claimant's family:

Supplemental proof: 

Papers missing:

Remarks:

Examine: 

[OVER]
April 26, 1907.

"R"

Hon. R. A. Ballinger,
Commissioner General Land Office,
Washington, D. C.

Sir:

Referring to your letter "B" of April 19th, I have the honor to file herewith the affidavit of Mary and Johnnie Talhalthkut showing that the original patent of Olympia Final Homestead No. 2029, Seattle District, Washington, was lost and has probably been destroyed, and that diligent search fails to discover same.

Very respectfully,

[Signature]

Attorney for M. and J. Talhalthkut.

SH/R.
No. 2795.

HOMESTEAD APPLICATION.

Louis J. Thalbitz
Olympia, W. T.
June 20, 1877.

Sec. 32, T. 26 S., R. 6 E.
Section 32

Canvassed 

Entry reinstated.
Sworn to April 10, 1878.

10 M. E.
215
November 20th, 1877

Sylvie Dahalstast, Judge of King County
Washington Territory, do hereby apply to enter, under the provisions
of the act of Congress approved May 20, 1862, entitled "An Act to secure
homesteads to actual settlers on the public domain," the SE\1/4
SW\1/4 of Section 32 —— in Township 25 North of
Range 6 East, containing —- 75 3/4 —— acres.

John Brown
Registrar

November 20th, 1877

REGISTER OF THE LAND OFFICE,
do hereby certify that the above application is for Surveyed Lands of the
class which the applicant is legally entitled to enter under the Homestead
act of May 20, 1862, and that there is no prior, valid, adverse right to the
same.

Register.
Land Office at Olympia, Wash.

November 20th, 1877

Louie Tahalthlunt, of King County, Wash.

having filed my application, No. 2296— for an entry under
the provisions of the Act of Congress of March 3, 1876,
Section No. 2296 Revised Statutes of the United States, do solemnly swear
that I am an Indian, formerly of the Sauk and Fox Nation, that I was born in the United States; that I have abandoned my
relations with that tribe, and adopted the pursuits and habits
of civilized life, and am the head of a family
that said application, No. 2296, is made for the purpose of actual
settlement and cultivation; that said entry is made for my own exclusive
benefit, and not directly or indirectly for the benefit or use of any other
person or persons whatsoever; and that I have not heretofore had the
benefit of the homestead laws.

Sworn to and subscribed this 20th day of November 1877 before

J. B. Brown
Registrar of the Land Office.
HOMESTEAD.

Receiver’s Office, Olympia, W.T.

July 1st. 1885.

Received of Louis Tsalalthkut (Ind.) the sum of $612.00 dollars, being the balance of payment required by law for the entry of Lot 1, Sec. 14.

__________________________

of Section 32, in Township 4 N. of Range 6 E., containing 70 1/2 acres, under Section 2291 of the Revised Statutes of the United States. Act March 3, 1875.

__________________________

J. A. Hayden
Receiver.
In the District Court of the Third Judicial District of Washington Territory, holding terms at Seattle, in King County, for the counties of King and Kitsap; Homestead Proof — Testimony of Witness.

P. J. Smith, being called as witness in support of the Homestead entry of Louis Tahalhikut, for Sec. 4, 1581.9.54% of 32 NW 5 NW 6 E, testifies as follows:

Ques. 1. — What is your occupation and where is your residence?
Ans. Farmer — Squax Valley, King & Clark Co.

Ques. 2. — Have you been well acquainted with Louis Tahalhikut, the claimant, in this case ever since he made his homestead entry No. 2795?
Ans. Yes.

Ques. 3. — Was claimant qualified to make said entry? (State whether the settler was a citizen of the United States, over the age of twenty-one years, or the head of a family, and whether he ever made a former homestead entry.)
Ans. Yes. He was the head of a family, a Chinaman, who had returned to tribal relations and never made a prior homestead entry.

Ques. 4. — When did claimant settle upon the homestead and at what date did he establish actual residence thereon?
(Describe the dwelling and other improvements, giving total value thereof.)
Ans. In the fall of 1877, as near as I can remember, he settled on the farm and began the residence at that time.

Ques. 5. — Have claimant and family resided continuously on the homestead since first establishing residence thereon?
(If settled in unattached, state the fact.)
Ans. Yes.

Ques. 6. — For what period or periods has the settler been absent from the land since making settlement, and for what purpose; and if temporarily absent, did claimant's family reside upon and cultivate the land during such absence?
Ans. 2 or 3 times a year for several years, the reason was sickness and help picking crops, so no living.

Ques. 7. — How much of the homestead has the settler cultivated and for how many seasons did he raise crops thereon?
Ans. Mostly in four years, as an annual garden — 6 or 7 acres.

Ques. 8. — Are there any indications of coal, salines, or minerals of any kind on the homestead? (If so, describe what they are, and state whether the land is more valuable for agricultural than for mineral purposes.)
Ans. None. Agriculture

Ques. 9. — Has the claimant mortgaged, sold, or contracted to sell, any portion of said homestead?
Ans. No.

Ques. 10. — Are you interested in this claim; and do you think the settler has acted in entire good faith in perfecting this entry?
Ans. No.

I hereby certify that the witness is a person of responsibility; that the foregoing testimony was read to him before being subscribed, and was sworn to before me this 25th day of June, 1885.

(See note on fourth page.)

[Signature]
In the District Court of the Third Judicial District of Washington Territory, holding terms at Seattle, in King County, for the counties of King and Kitsap:

HOMESTEAD PROOF.—TESTIMONY OF WITNESS.

Geo. W. Thibault, being called as witness in support of the Homestead entry of Louis Tchatchnett, for Sec. 32, T. 25 N. R. 6 Ead. tests as follows:

Ques. 1.—What is your occupation and where is your residence?
Ans. Farmer — Squak King and North Terry

Ques. 2.—Have you been well acquainted with Louis Tchatchnett, the claimant, in this case ever since he made his homestead entry No. 2775?

Ans. No

Ques. 3.—Was claimant qualified to make said entry? (State whether the settler was a citizen of the United States, over the age of twenty-one years, or the head of a family, and whether be ever made a former homestead entry.)
Ans. He was an alien who had resided here five years, and was the head of a family. A former homestead entry was never made.

Ques. 4.—When did claimant settle upon the homestead and at what date did he establish actual residence thereon?

(Describe the dwelling and other improvements, giving total value thereof.)
Ans. In the fall of 1877 — at that time log cabin

House with 12x16 loft, 2 rooms, 2 rooms 2 doors kitchen, 80 ft. long, about 100 ft. from the

Ques. 5.—Have claimant and family resided continuously on the homestead since first establishing residence thereon?

Ans. They have

Ques. 6.—For what period or periods has the settler been absent from the land since making settlement, and for what purpose; and if temporarily absent, did claimant's family reside upon and cultivate the land during such absence?
Ans. In the years 1878, 1879, and 1880, family lived upon and cultivated the land.

Ques. 7.—How much of the homestead has the settler cultivated and for how many seasons did he raise crops thereon?
Ans. Mostly about 2 acres. Nearly an acre fallow, with all the fallow.

Ques. 8.—Are there any indications of coal, salines, or minerals of any kinds on the homestead? (If so, describe what they are, and state whether the land is more valuable for agricultural than for mineral purposes.)
Ans. No

Ques. 9.—Has the claimant mortgaged, sold, or contracted to sell, any portion of said homestead?
Ans. No

Ques. 10.—Are you interested in this claim? and do you think the settler has acted in entire good faith in perfecting this entry?
Ans. Yes

I hereby certify that the witness is a person of respectability; that the foregoing testimony was read to him before being subscribed, and was sworn to before me this 25th day of June, 1885.

(Signature of Judge)

(See Note on Fourth Page.)

Judge of Said Court
In the District Court of the Third Judicial District of Washington Territory,
holding terms at Seattle, in King County, for the counties of King and Kitsap;

[4-369.]

HOEOSTEAD PROOF.—TESTIMONY OF CLAIMANT.

Sorue Takalitchkus being called as a witness in his own behalf in support of homestead entry No. 27195,... for Sect. 12 T. 35 S. R. 17 E., testifies as follows:

Ques. 1.—What is your name—written in full and correctly spelled—your age, and post-office address?
Ans. Sorue Takalitchkus, 40 years old.

Ogask King & Wash Terry

Ques. 2.—Are you a native of the United States, or have you been naturalized?
Ans. ... A Malim Inecheem I have received of tribal relation.

Ques. 3.—When was your house built on the land and when did you establish actual residence therein? (Describe said house and other improvements which you have placed on the land, giving total value thereof.)

Ques. 4.—Of whom does your family consist; and have you and your family resided continuously on the land since first establishing residence therein? (If unmarried, state the fact.)
Ans. Wife & 2 children. 1865.

Ques. 5.—For what period or periods have you been absent from the homestead since making settlement, and for what purpose; and if temporarily absent, did your family reside upon and cultivate the land during such absence?
Ans. 2 or 3 times each year, a few weeks at a time, with my wife & children, picking hops, picking for an living.

Ques. 6.—How much of the land have you cultivated and for how many seasons have you raised crops thereon?
Ans. 1/2 acre divided down 1 acre w. families. 4 seasons.

Ques. 7.—Are there any indications of coal, salines, or minerals of any kind on the land? (If so, describe what they are, and state whether the land is more valuable for agricultural than for mineral purposes.)
Ans. No, no.

Ques. 8.—Have you ever made any other homestead entry? (If so, describe the same.)
Ans. No.

Ques. 9.—Have you sold, conveyed, or mortgaged any portion of the land; and if so, to whom and for what purpose?
Ans. Signature.

I HEREBY CERTIFY that the foregoing testimony was read to the claimant before being subscribed, and was sworn to before me this 19th day of June, 1885.

Roger Green
Judge of Lewis Court

Note.—If naturalized, the claimant must file a certified copy of his certificate of naturalization. In a married homestead a foreign-born claimant, if not naturalized, must file a certified copy of his declaration of intention. In making proof, the party must surrender his original duplicate receipt, or the affidavit of its loss.

(See note on fourth page.)
HOMESTEAD PROOF.

LAND OFFICE AT

OLYMPIA, W.T.

Original Application No. 27,795
Final Certificate No. 22,229

Approved:

John J. Gerry, Register.

Jas. L. Healy, Receiver.

Lewis T. Tulathl Oil.
Squad No. 1.

Received by

[Signature]

[Date]
HOMESTEAD.

Receiver's Office, Olympia W.T.

November 20, 1877.

RECEIVED of Louis J. Halstedt (Claim), the sum of __75__ dollars ___10__ cents; being the amount of fee and compensation of Register and Receiver for the entry of Lot 4, Sec. 4 of SW 1/4 of Section 32 in Township 25 North of Range 6, East under the acts of Congress approved May 20, 1862, and March 3, 1863, entitled "An act to secure homesteads to actual settlers on the public domain."

(75 7/10)

Robert L. Stewart
Receiver.

$75-

Sent 5th Dec.
STATE OF WASHINGTON
County of King.

Mary Tahlathkat, the only wife that Louie Tahlathkat ever had, and their only child Johnnie Tahlathkat, being first duly sworn upon their oath, each for himself and not for the other, according to law, depose and say:

That they are the identical persons who are the petitioners named in that certain petition heretofore filed with the Honorable Secretary of the Interior, Washington D. C. wherein they pray that a so-called trust patent, which was issued to Louie Tahlathkat, be cancelled, and that a new one in fee simple be issued in lieu thereof, which patent covers Lot four, (4) and the South-east quarter of the South-west quarter of Section thirty-two (32), Township twenty-five (25) North of Range six (6) East W.I. in King County, Washington.

That after having said original patent duly recorded in the auditor's office of King County, Washington, they lost same and it undoubtedly has unintentionally been destroyed, as affiants after diligent search have been unable to find same for a great many years.

That this affidavit has been carefully read over to them, and that they understand same fully.

Swarmed to and subscribed before me this 12th day of March 1907.

Notary Public in and for the State of Washington residing at Seattle.
APPENDIX C: DONATION LAND CLAIMS
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>NAME 1</th>
<th>NAME 2</th>
<th>NAME 3</th>
<th>ACCESSION NO. (WAQAA-A)</th>
<th>DOCUMENT NO.</th>
<th>SETTLED CLAIM</th>
<th>PROVE DATE</th>
<th>GENERAL LOCATION</th>
<th>MAIN CLAIMANT INFORMATION</th>
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<tr>
<td>Adams, Henry</td>
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<td>071960</td>
<td>308</td>
<td>5/17/1855</td>
<td>3/6/1866</td>
<td>T23N, R04E</td>
<td>Connecticut 1825 10/5/1850 carpenter; joiner-now farmer</td>
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<td>Alvord, Thomas M,</td>
<td>Kirkland, Moses,</td>
<td>Kirkland, Nancy</td>
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<td>10/5/1854</td>
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<td>7/1/1854</td>
<td>5/14/1877</td>
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<td>Carroll Co., Ohio 1824 or 1827 5/20/1853-WA; 1851-OR</td>
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<td>6/25/1878</td>
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<td>3/6/1866</td>
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<td>333</td>
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<td>3/6/1866</td>
<td>T24N, R04E</td>
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<td>5/14/1877</td>
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<td>2/27/1875</td>
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<td>NAME 3</td>
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<td>ACCESSION NO.</td>
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<td>8/10/1852</td>
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<td>Denny, Arthur A</td>
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Donation Land Claimants in King County. Derived from General Land Office Records, Bureau of Land Management.

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King County Historic Settlement Context 1850-1920
C-7
APPENDIX D: HOMESTEAD CLAIM
No. 1997

HOMESTEAD APPLICATION.

Lula A. Redwood
Olympia W.P.
February 4, 1874.

Sect. 19, Township 25 N., Range 5 E.

$10.00 premium.

8/11/8
HOMESTEAD.

APPLICATION

I, Lulu McFarland, of King County, Wash. Territory, do hereby apply to enter, under the provisions of the act of Congress approved May 20, 1862, entitled "An act to secure homesteads to actual settlers on the public domain," the NE 1/4 of Section 19, in Township 23 North of Range 6 East, containing exactly (80) acres.

Lulu McFarland

Land Office of Olympia, Wash.

February 22, 1874

J. D. Browne,
Register of the Land Office,
do hereby certify that the above application is for Surveyed Lands of the class which the applicant is legally entitled to enter under the Homestead act of May 20, 1862, and that there is no prior, valid, adverse right to the same.

J. D. Browne
Register.
United States of America.

Territory of Washington,
Third Judicial District.

I, [Signature], do declare on oath that it is
true that I mean to become a citizen of the United States of America, and to renounce
forever all allegiance and fidelity to all and every Prince, Potentate, State, and Sovereignty what-
soever, and particularly to [Signature], whose subject I was. So help me God.

[Signature]

Subscribed and sworn to before me this
[Date] day of July, A.D., 1870

[Signature]
Clerk, U.S. Dist. Court

TERRITORY OF WASHINGTON,
Third Judicial District.

I, [Signature], Clerk of the District Court of the Third
Judicial District, Washington Territory, hereby certify that the above is a true copy of the decla-
ration of intention of [Signature] to become a citizen of the
United States, as the same appears on record in my office.

Witness my hand and the seal of said Court at
Seattle, this [Date] day of February
A.D., 1874

[Signature]
Clerk.
Horatio Ten.

Col. Office at Seattle, King County, Washington Territory.

I, Horatio Ten, resident of King County, Washington Territory, having filed my application in 1897 for an entry under the provisions of the Act of Congress approved May 24, 1862, entitled "An Act to secure homesteads to actual settlers on the public domain," do solemnly swear that I am a citizen of the United States of America over the age of twenty-one years, that I have never before acted against the government or given aid or comfort to its enemies, and that said application in 1897 is made for the purpose of actual settlement and cultivation that said entry is made for my own improvement, and not directly or indirectly for the benefit, or use of any other person or persons whomsoever, neither have I been before proscribed or absented, or being in said entry made under this act. And to further state that I have made valuable improvements on said land by clearing the same and erecting buildings thereon in which I now reside, with my family, said improvements are worth about $500 of six hundred and fifty dollars.
I do further state that owing to distance from the land office some 6 or 7 miles and also by reason of business engagement it is not possible for me to appear in person at the land office at Olympia. I subscribe to this affidavit.

Sworn to and subscribed, this 8th day of February A.D. 1874.

L. O. Anderson

L. O. Anderson, Clerk, First Court
RECEIVED of Luker W. Redman, the sum of Sixteen dollars and cents; being the amount of fees and compensation of Register and Receiver for the entry of 1/16 of N.W. 1/4 of Section 3/2 in Township 23 South, of Range 5 East under the acts of Congress approved May 30, 1862, and March 31, 1864, entitled "An act to secure homesteads to actual settlers on the public domain."

$16.00

Robert S. Stewart
Receiver.

NOTE: It is required of the homestead settler that he shall reside upon and cultivate the land embraced in his homestead entry for a period of five years from the date of filing the affidavit, being also the date of entry. An abandonment of the land for more than six months works a forfeiture of the claim. Further, within two years from the expiration of the said five years, he must file proof of his actual settlement and cultivation, failing to do which, his entry will be cancelled. If the settler does not and shall not reside five years on the land, he can, at any time after six months, pay for it with cash or land warrants, upon making proof of settlement and cultivation from date of filing affidavit to the time of payment.
Certificate of Naturalization.

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

TERRITORY OF WASHINGTON.  
COUNTY OF KING

Be it Remembered, That at a term of the District Court of the United States for the Third Judicial District of Washington Territory, begun and held at the City of Seattle, on the 16th day of August, A.D. 1878, Hon. J. R. Lewis, sole Judge presiding, among other, the following proceedings were had, to-wit:

In the matter of the Application of L. M. Redmond, a Native of Great Britain to Become a Citizen of the United States.

Now, on this 20th day of November, A.D. 1878, the said L. M. Redmond appears in open Court with his witnesses Henry L. Ofestor and E. L. Torkins and makes application to become a citizen of the United States.

And the Court being fully satisfied from the evidence of said witnesses, as well as other evidence produced in Court, that the said applicant hath fully complied with the Laws of the United States relative thereto:

That he hath resided in this Territory for one year, last past, and in the United States at least five years; that during said time he hath behaved as a man of good moral character, is attached to the principles of the Constitution of the United States, and is well disposed to the good order and happiness of the same, and having in open Court taken the oath as required by law;

It is therefore Ordered and Adjudged by the Court, that he, the said L. M. Redmond, be and is admitted to be a citizen of the United States.

J. R. Lewis, Judge.

TERRITORY OF WASHINGTON.  
COUNTY OF KING.

I, JAMES SEAVEY, Clerk of the District Court of the Third Judicial District of Washington Territory, do hereby certify that the above is a true, full and perfect transcript from the Record of admission of L. M. Redmond.
Seattle Nov 29, 1880.

I, Luke McRedmond of Seattle King Co Wash Ter., who made homestead application No. 1997, for the
W¼ of NE¼ of Sec 12, Tp 23 N, R 5E East
do hereby give notice of my intention to make final
proof to establish my claim to the land above described.
And that said proof will be made before the Judge or
in his absence, the Clerk of the District Court, at his of-
cice in Seattle W.T. on Saturday, the 8th day of January
A.D. 1881. And that I expect to prove my claim by
the following witnesses: John R. Steves, Ira Woodin,
John R. Blythe, and B. Greenleaf, all
of Seattle, King County Wash Ter., or any two of them.
Affidavit of Publication.

Territory of Washington.

KING COUNTY.

J. S. Crawford, being duly sworn, says that he is one of the printers and publishers of the Daily and Weekly Intelligence, printed and published in the County and Territory aforesaid; that it is a newspaper of general and the largest circulation in any in said Territory, and that the annexed Notice for Publication was published in said newspaper for the first time, successively, commencing on the 4th day of January, 1857, and ending on the 10th day of January, 1857.

J. S. Crawford

Subscribed and sworn to before me this 4th day of January, 1857.

Roswell Scott

Notary Public.
...the District Court of the Third Judicial District of Washington Territory, holding terms at Seattle, in King County, for the counties of King and Kitsap:

(This form will be used both in final homestead proof and commutation proof.)

HOMESTEAD PROOF.

TESTIMONY OF CLAIMANT.

Luke McRedmond being called as a witness in his own behalf in support for his homestead entry for Wife of 
Dec 12 50 N R 6 E.

, testifies as follows:

Ques. 1. What is your name? (Be careful to give it in full, correctly spelled, in order that it may be here written exactly as you wish it written in the patent which you desire to obtain.)
Ans. Luke McRedmond

Ques. 2. What is your age?
Ans. Sixty Two Years old

Ques. 3. Are you the head of a family, or a single person; and, if the head of a family, of whom does your family consist?
Ans. I am the head of a family consisting of a Wife & two 2 girls & one little boy

Ques. 4. Are you a native-born citizen of the United States? If not, have you declared your intention to become a citizen, and have you obtained a certificate of naturalization?
Ans. I am a Naturalized Citizen of the United States

Ques. 5. Are there any indications of coal, salines, or minerals of any kind on the land embraced in your homestead entry above described? (If so, state what they are, and whether the springs or mineral deposits are valuable.)
Ans. None whatever
Ques. 7. What is your post-office address?
Ans. 

Ques. 8. Have you ever made a homestead entry except for this land, No. 1997? If you have, give, as nearly as you can, the date thereof and description of the land, and state whether the entry still subsists, or, if it has been canceled, state the cause of its cancellation.
Ans. 

Ques. 9. Have you sold the land or conveyed it to any one your right and interest in the same; and, if so, to whom and for what purpose?
Ans. I have not

Ques. 10. Does any one except yourself claim the land under the homestead or pre-emption laws?
Ans. No one

Ques. 11. When did you first make settlement on the said land?
Ans. April 14, 1872

Ques. 12. When did you first establish a residence upon the land?
Ans. April 14, 1872

Ques. 13. At the date you have given as being the date that you first established your residence upon the land, did you move thereon in person?
Ans. The same day. Family only
Ques. 18. When was your house built?
Ans. April 14 1872

Ques. 19. What is the total value of said improvements?
Ans. Day $1,500. I have spent an hour in the place.

Ques. 20. For what purpose have you used the land?
Ans. General farming purposes.

Ques. 21. How much of the land have you broken and cultivated, and what crops, if any, have you raised?
Ans. About 30 acres—Hay, Wheat, Oats, Rice, Barley, Buckwheat, Potatoes, General Variety of Vegetables also of ample fruits and an orchard of 200 bearing trees.

I HEREBY CERTIFY that each question and answer in the foregoing testimony was read to the claimant before he signed his name thereto, and that the same was subscribed and sworn to before me this 8th day of January, 1881, and that no person has appeared to contest the claim.

[Signature]
Judge of a Federal Court

NOTE.—The officer before whom the testimony is taken should call the attention of the witness to the following section of the Revised Statutes, and state to him that it is the purpose of the Government, if it be ascertained that he testifies falsely, to prosecute him to the full extent of the law.

TITLE LXX.—CRIMES.—Ch. 4.

Sec. 5338. Every person who, having taken an oath before a competent tribunal, officer, or person, in any case in which a law of the United States authorizes an oath to be administered, that he will testify, declare, depose, or certify truly, or that any written testimony, declaration, deposition, or certificate by him subscribed is true, willfully and contrary to such oath, states or subscribes any material matter which he does not believe to be true, is guilty of perjury, and shall be punished by a fine of not more than two thousand dollars, and by imprisonment, at hard labor, not more than five years, and shall, moreover, thereafter be ineligible of giving testimony in any court of the United States until such time as the judgment against him is reversed. [See § 1750.]
In the District Court of the Third Judicial District of Washington Territory, holding terms at Seattle, in King County, for the counties of King and Kitsap.

(The testimony of two witnesses, in this form, taken separately, required in each case. This form will be used both in final homestead proof and confirmation proof.)

HOMESTEAD PROOF.

TESTIMONY OF WITNESS.

Dr. Hoodin, being called as a witness in support of the homestead entry of Luke W. Redmond for 20 acres of 1st Half Sec. 26 T. 20 N., R. 5 E.

Testimony as follows:

Ques. 1. What is your post-office address?
Ans. Seattle, King County, Wash. Terr.

Ques. 2. What is your occupation?
Ans. Farmer.

Ques. 3. Are you well acquainted with Luke W. Redmond, the claimant in this case, and how long have you known him?
Ans. Same, about 16 years.

Ques. 4. How old do you know or believe claimant to be?
Ans. About 65 years old.

Ques. 5. Is claimant the head of a family, or a single person; and, if the head of a family, of whom does the family consist?
Ans. The head of a family, a wife and children.

Ques. 6. Is claimant a native-born citizen of the United States? If not, what steps has he taken to become a citizen? (State your knowledge in this regard.)
Ans. No, he is a naturalized citizen of the United States.

Ques. 7. Has claimant been an inhabitant of the land above described?
Ans. Yes.

Ques. 8. Do you live in the vicinity of the land, and are you acquainted with the same?
Ans. Yes.
Ques. 9. Are there any indications of coal, salina, or minerals of any kind on this land? (If so, state what they are, and whether the springs or mineral deposits are valuable.)

Ans. None.

Ques. 10. Is the land more valuable for agricultural than mineral purposes?

Ans. Yes, it has some special value for its timber.

Ques. 11. When did claimant first make settlement on the land?

Ans. On April 1872.

Ques. 12. When did claimant establish a residence upon the land?

Ans. On April 1872.

Ques. 13. Up to what time has claimant resided upon the land?

Ans. The present time.

Ques. 14. Has said residence been continuous during the period named?

Ans. Yes, sir.

Ques. 15. If claimant had a family during said period of residence, did the family reside on the land?

Ans. They have.

Ques. 16. When was the claimant's house built upon the land?

Ans. On April 1872.

Ques. 17. What other improvements have been made on the land?

Ans. This house is 40 x 16 feet. a barn about 16 x 50 ft. Orchard, chicken house, cow shed, good well, 40 acres under good rail fence.

Ques. 18. What is the total value of the improvements?

Ans. At least $1000.00.

Ques. 19. For what purpose has the land been used by claimant?

Ans. For farming purposes.

Ques. 20. How much of the land has been broken and cultivated, and what crops, if any, have been raised?

Ans. Thirty acres. Wheat, oats, potatoes, flax, buckwheat, corn, general small vegetables, small fruits, many varieties - a fruit tree of at least 100 trees of various kinds.
Ques. 31. Has claimant made a homestead entry for other land than that above described? (State your knowledge in this regard.)

Ans. Not that I know of.

Ques. 32. Has claimant alienated any portion of the land—that is, conveyed it to some one else; and if so, to whom and for what purpose? (State your knowledge in this regard.)

Ans. No, sir, not to my knowledge.

Ques. 33. Is it your belief that the claimant has acted in good faith in the settlement and improvement of the said land as a homestead?

Ans. It is. I have not.

Ques. 34. Are you interested in this claim?

Ans. I am not.

I hereby certify that witness is a person of responsibility; that each question and answer in the foregoing testimony was read to him before he signed his name thereto; and that the same was subscribed and sworn to before me the 8th day of January, 1887, and that no person appeared to contest this claim.

[Signature]

Judge of said court.

---

P.S. The court before whom the testimony is taken should call the attention of the witness to the following section of the Revised Statutes, and state to him that it is the purpose of the Government, if it be ascertained that he has either in the prosecution of the claim, to the full extent of the law.

**Title 28—Crime—Ch. 4**

SEC. 391. Every person who, having taken an oath before a competent tribunal, officer, or person, to say or swear in any case in which a law of the United States authorizes an oath to be administered, that he will testify, declare, depose, or say truly, or that any writing, testimony, declaration, deposition, or certificate by him subscribed or signed under false pretenses or with any fraudulent intent or with cause with which he does not believe to be true, is guilty of perjury, and shall be punished by a fine of not more than one thousand dollars, and by imprisonment, at hard labor, not more than five years, and shall, moreover, thereafter be incapable of giving testimony in any suit of the United States until such time as the judgment against him is reversed. (See § 2761.)
In the District Court of the Third Judicial District of Washington Territory, holding terms at Seattle, in King County, for the counties of King and Kitsap.

[4—370.]

(The testimony of two witnesses, in this form, taken separately, required in each case.)

This form will be used both in final homestead proof and commutation proof.

**HOMESTEAD PROOF.**

---

**TESTIMONY OF WITNESS.**

 الدكتور [Signature]

being called as a witness in support of the homestead entry of 

Lyle McCord

for WIFE of WIFE of Dec 18 25 N W 5 E

Testifies as follows:

Ques. 1. What is your post-office address?

Ans. Othello, King County, Washington Territory

Ques. 2. What is your occupation?

Ans. A Farmer

Ques. 3. Are you well acquainted with Lyle McCord, the claimant in this case, and how long have you known him?

Ans. Three Years

Ques. 4. How old do you know or believe claimant to be?

Ans. About 20 years old

Ques. 5. Is claimant the head of a family, or a single person; and, if the head of a family, of whom does the family consist?

Ans. He is - a wife, 4 boys & 2 girls

Ques. 6. Is claimant a native-born citizen of the United States? If not, what steps has he taken to become a citizen? (State your knowledge in this regard.)

Ans. He is not. He is a naturalized citizen of the United States.
9. Are there any indications of coal, salines, or minerals of any kind on this land? (If so, state what they are, and whether the springs or mineral deposits are valuable.)
Answer:

10. Is the land more valuable for agricultural than mineral purposes?
Answer: It is __ ___ __ __ __ __ Round Valen __ __ __

11. When did claimant first make settlement on the land?
Answer: In April 1872

12. When did claimant establish a residence upon the land?
Answer: In April 1872

13. Up to what time has claimant resided upon the land?
Answer: To the present time

14. Has his residence been continuous during the period named?
Answer: It has

15. If claimant had a family during said period of residence, did the family reside on the land?
Answer: They have lived with me constantly

16. When was the claimant's house built upon the land?
Answer: In April 1872

17. What other improvements have been made on the land?
Answer: Since the homestead act of 1862, a barn about 10 feet by 10 feet, a fence about 40 acres of fencing, a well about 40 acres, and a fence.
Ques. 21. Has claimant made a homestead entry for other land than that above described? (State your knowledge in this regard.)
Ans. Not that I know of.

Ques. 22. Has claimant alienated any portion of the land—that is, conveyed it to some one else; and if so, to whom and for what purpose? (State your knowledge in this regard.)
Ans. I have no knowledge that he has.

Ques. 23. Is it your belief that Luke B. Richmond—the claimant—has acted in good faith in the settlement and improvement of the said land as a homestead? Have you any knowledge to the contrary?
Ans. It is I have not.

Ques. 24. Are you interested in this claim?
Ans. I am not.

I HEREBY CERTIFY that witness is a person of respectability; that each question and answer in the foregoing testimony was read to him before he signed his name thereto; and that the same was subscribed and sworn to before me this 8th day of January, 1881, and that no person appeared to contest this claim.

Rogers Greene
Judge of Kansas Court

NOTE.—The officer before whom the testimony is taken should call the attention of the witness to the following Section of the Revised Statutes, and state to him that it is the purpose of the Government, if it be ascertained that he testifies falsely, to prosecute him to the full extent of the law.
I, Luke McRedmond, having made a Homestead entry of the 3 1/2 of NW 1/4, section No. 12, in Township No. 23 N of range No. 6 E, subject to entry at Olympia, Wash. Territory, under section No. 2289 of the Revised Statutes of the United States, do now apply to perfect my claim thereto by virtue of section No. 2291 of the Revised Statutes of the United States; and for that purpose do solemnly swear that I am a citizen of the United States; that I have made actual settlement upon and have cultivated said land, having resided thereon since the 14th day of April, 1879, to the present time; that no part of said land has been alienated, except as provided in section 2288 of the Revised Statutes, but that I am the sole bona fide owner as an actual settler; that I will bear true allegiance to the Government of the United States; and further, that I have not heretofore perfected or abandoned an entry made under the homestead laws of the United States.

Luke McRedmond

I, Roger Greene, Judge of the Land Office at Olympia, do hereby certify that the above affidavit was subscribed and sworn to before me this 8th day of January, 1879.

Roger Greene
Judge Land Office
In the District Court of the Third Judicial District of Washington Territory, holding terms at Seattle, in King County, for the counties of King and Kitsap;
NON-MINERAL AFFIDAVIT.

COUNTY OF King.

Territory of Washington. 59.

Luke McRedmond, being duly sworn according to law, deposes and
says that he is the identical Luke McRedmond who is an applicant
for Government title to the
Wife of A Wife of Dec 12, 41 83.

or R 5th East

that he is well acquainted with the character of said described land, and with each and every legal subdivision thereof, having frequently passed over the same; that his knowledge of said land is such as to enable him to testify understandingly with regard thereto; that there is not, to his knowledge, within the limits thereof, any vein or lode of quartz or other rock in place, bearing gold, silver, cinnabar, lead, tin, or copper, or any deposit of coal; that there is not within the limits of said land, to his knowledge, any placer, cement, gravel, or other valuable mineral deposit; that no portion of said land is claimed for mining purposes under the local customs or rules of miners or otherwise; that no portion of said land is worked for mineral during any part of the year by any person or persons; that said land is essentially non-mineral land, and that his application therefor is not made for the purpose of fraudulently obtaining title to mineral land, but with the object of securing said land for agricultural purposes.

Luke McRedmond

Subscribed and sworn to before me this 5 day of January, A. D. 1887,
and I hereby certify that the foregoing affidavit was read to the said Luke McRedmond
previously to his name being subscribed thereto; and that deponent is a respectable person to whose affidavit full faith and credit should be given.

Rogers Greene

Judge of said Court

original text: Luke McRedmond, being duly sworn according to law, deposes and says that he is the identical Luke McRedmond who is an applicant for Government title to the Wife of A Wife of Dec 12, 41 83.

or R 5th East

that he is well acquainted with the character of said described land, and with each and every legal subdivision thereof, having frequently passed over the same; that his knowledge of said land is such as to enable him to testify understandingly with regard thereto; that there is not, to his knowledge, within the limits thereof, any vein or lode of quartz or other rock in place, bearing gold, silver, cinnabar, lead, tin, or copper, or any deposit of coal; that there is not within the limits of said land, to his knowledge, any placer, cement, gravel, or other valuable mineral deposit; that no portion of said land is claimed for mining purposes under the local customs or rules of miners or otherwise; that no portion of said land is worked for mineral during any part of the year by any person or persons; that said land is essentially non-mineral land, and that his application therefor is not made for the purpose of fraudulently obtaining title to mineral land, but with the object of securing said land for agricultural purposes.

Luke McRedmond

Subscribed and sworn to before me this 5 day of January, A. D. 1887, and I hereby certify that the foregoing affidavit was read to the said Luke McRedmond previously to his name being subscribed thereto; and that deponent is a respectable person to whose affidavit full faith and credit should be given.

Rogers Greene

Judge of said Court
APPENDIX E: POST OFFICE DATA

Compiled from:
Branches and stations of the Seattle Post Office are not included.
Locations of Post Offices Established 1852-1920
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<th>NAME</th>
<th>MAIN POST OFFICE</th>
<th>TOWNSHIP (T)</th>
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