

**BLACK HERITAGE SURVEY
OF
WASHINGTON STATE**

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OCTOBER 15, 1984 - SEPTEMBER 30, 1985

**RECEIVED
OCT 28 1985
ARCHEOLOGY AND
HISTORIC PRESERVATION**

CONTENTS

| | <u>Page</u> |
|---|-------------|
| PREFACE | ii |
| I. MIGRATION AND SETTLEMENT | 1 |
| Introduction | 1 |
| Patterns of Growth | 5 |
| Involuntary Migration | |
| Slavery | 13 |
| Military | 15 |
| Labor Recruitment | 19 |
| Gold Rushes | 21 |
| Homesteading | 23 |
| II. MANUFACTURING AND INDUSTRY | 25 |
| General Employment | 25 |
| Shipping | 28 |
| Extractive Industry | 33 |
| Forestry | 33 |
| Fishing | 36 |
| III. BUSINESS | 37 |
| IV. SCIENCE AND ENGINEERING | 40 |
| Engineers | 40 |
| Inventions | 42 |
| V. ARCHITECTS | 44 |
| VI. COMMUNICATIONS: Newspapers and Books | 47 |
| VII. HEALTH AND MEDICINE | 53 |

CONTENTS

| | <u>Page</u> |
|--|-------------|
| VIII. RELIGION: Churches | 56 |
| IX. EDUCATION | 59 |
| Learning | 59 |
| Teaching | 64 |
| Establishment of Schools | 66 |
| X. PERFORMING ARTS: Theatre | 69 |
| XI. ENTERTAINMENT AND RECREATION | 72 |
| XII. PREDICTIVE ASSUMPTIONS | 74 |
| XIII. EVALUATION ISSUES | 78 |
| XIV. BIBLIOGRAPHY | 80 |

PREFACE

The intent of this study unit is to present documented information on the history of Washington's African-American population between the years of 1845 and 1935 for use in the identification and evaluation of historic sites. The beginning date is that of the year that George Bush and his family moved north of the Columbia River to what eventually became Washington after spending the previous winter in Oregon Territory, where a self-appointed provisional government had made it unlawful for persons of African descent to reside. The ending date marks fifty years prior to the year of this writing, the minimum age, fifty years, being required of a property nominated to the National Register of Historic Places. It also marks the middle of the decade when Washington's entire Black population numbered less than 10,000, a number which was increased several times over with the migration of Blacks to the state during World War II. The scope of this study includes the entire geographical area of the state, with emphasis on places central to the themes under discussion.

The investigation of the role of African-Americans in Washington and the resulting survey of historic resources will fill gaps in the history of the state. The result of this effort will be the presentation of information for which there is no precedent.

Since there is no single comprehensive source of data, the first ten-and-a-half months of the study were devoted primarily to locating and reviewing existing literature and conducting oral history interviews to fill gaps in the existing literature. "Windshield surveys" in Seattle, Tacoma, and Spokane were also conducted during the period. Tours were made of the sites of the Franklin and Newcastle mining towns a few months prior to the beginning of the study. To date, only one study including the Black population of Washington exists, and this, A History of Blacks in the Pacific Northwest, 1788-1970, Quintard Taylor's doctoral thesis was not available until the end of the research period. Its treatment of Blacks in Washington is included in the general context of Blacks in the region, but earlier availability would have been immensely helpful.

The best resources for information were the publications of Horace Roscoe Cayton, who published the Seattle Republican from 1894 until 1915, followed by the Cayton's Weekly which he began publishing later in 1915 and continued until 1921, when he began publication of Cayton's Monthly, of which but few editions exist. His special editions, featuring photographs and biographical sketches of Black Washingtonians, provided much information on the work and activities of the subjects. Copies of the Spokane Citizen are known to exist, but are presently not available to researchers. Contemporary daily or weekly newspapers of various cities were useful in establishing information about the 19th century population, beginning in the late 1850's. First identification of most of the early population was derived from census records. All of the federal censuses of territorial Washington were examined, as were the 1900 and 1910 schedules for the five counties with the greatest number of Black residents.

The Black population in Washington never exceeded one percent of the total

population anywhere in the state during the study period. Many of the early settlers were illiterate, and so did not leave a lot of recorded information regarding their thoughts. Nevertheless, it is possible to know what they did. Official records held by cities, towns and counties bear witness to their activities, as do the Cayton newspapers and others of the period. The recollections of people who lived in Washington during the period was an invaluable resource.

A one-year research period imposes some constraints on the amount of data gathered on a subject on which there are few published sources. Some gaps in the data do exist; some themes are treated in a more limited fashion than originally planned. Nevertheless this report provides a basis for future studies while laying the ground work for a field survey of historic properties associated with the Black heritage of the state.

Further, the data can be reworked to answer questions that are raised beyond this report. Parts of it can be incorporated into other study units, and provide a basis for comparison with existing information. It is the beginning of the effort to identify and quantify the remaining historic properties in order to conserve these limited and fast disappearing resources of the Black Heritage of the State of Washington.

MIGRATION AND SETTLEMENT

INTRODUCTION

DEFINITION:

Temporal Boundaries: 1845-1935

Spatial Boundaries: All of Washington settled during these years, with concentration in areas described below.

Justification: People of African ancestry accompanied Spanish and American explorers to the Pacific Northwest as early as 1787.¹ Actual settlement of African-Americans in what became Washington dates from 1845. That year George Bush, a leader of the Bush-Simmons party from Missouri, travelled north of the Columbia from Oregon's Willamette Valley after learning of that territory's provisional government's prohibition against Black settlers. Bush's assistance to newly-arriving settlers helped to establish an American predominance over British claims to the territory. His large, well-kept farm enabled him to share with his neighbors in times of drought and other difficulties.

Unlike Oregon, from which Washington separated in 1853, there were no formal prohibitions against the settlement of Blacks. Occasional rumors of the migration of groups of Black people elicited opposition in various parts of the state, but the protests inevitably died down when the migrants did not appear and, except for a few instances, there were no threats or violence against those already present.²

During the 1850's a few more Blacks arrived in the territory. In the following years a very small number of Blacks moved to Washington, numbering about 30 in 1860. From then onward, they are reported in various counties throughout Washington, although their numbers were very small and they increased slowly. In 1880, Blacks numbered 425, increasing to 1,601 in 1890. In 1900, they numbered 2,484. The population in 1930 was 6,840.³

A noticeable increase in population followed the Civil War and Emancipation. The increase of a few hundred to more than 1,600 in the decade between 1880 and 1890 is attributable to the migration of hundreds of Black miners to the Roslyn coal mines in 1888 and 1889. A second group of hundreds of Black men, some with families, came to the King County mines in 1891.

Less dramatic increases followed in the wake of the gold rushes to the far north, the Alaska-Yukon-Pacific Exposition, and World War I, which brought

MIGRATION AND SETTLEMENT INTRODUCTION

troops as well as migrants in search of work. In the 1890's, several Black families, principally from mining towns, moved to Eastern Washington and took up homesteads. Most moved to Yakima County.

Black people came from many places, attracted by the opportunity to be their own boss, and take advantage of opportunities to own free land. They also came in search of employment, bringing their culture with them and contributing to the rich diversity of their new home.

Throughout the study period, the population was very unevenly distributed, with a heavy urban concentration. For most of the study period, the largest number of African-Americans lived in King County. The pattern of settlement in Eastern Washington was similar to that of Western Washington. The discrepancy in numbers between town dwellers and rural residents was almost as great, and persons leaving the farms seem to have done so in comparable numbers at approximately the same time in both parts of the state.

People came to the area in connection with their work or in quest of the same. They also sought freedom from oppression, and in the quest of the instant riches thought to have been offered by the neighboring mining districts of Idaho. A small number of these miners settled in Washington and were sometimes followed by relatives who moved to the state. With the exception of Roslyn, Franklin, Newcastle and the more transient increases caused by the stationing of soldiers at Forts Walla Walla, George Wright and Lawton, the slight increase in numbers attracted very little attention. Some Washington residents trace their migration to the state from the stationing of a relative at one of the military bases in the early part of the century. The 30 years between 1880 and 1910 were years of the most rapid growth to occur before the phenomenal increase of the boom years of World War II.

Obvious tension was aroused with large-scale migrations to the mining areas of Kittitas, and later, King County. Garrisoning of Black troops was also opposed in some quarters. Far less tension seems to have existed in the cities and countryside, but enough incidents with racial overtones occurred to indicate that animosity was not entirely lacking in any area of the state.

In Eastern Washington, Black people were scattered throughout various counties but concentrated most heavily in Spokane, Roslyn and North Yakima during the study period.

MIGRATION AND SETTLEMENT INTRODUCTION

Blacks moved to Washington as part of a nationwide migration. At no time until World War II did the tide of movement, involving thousands, resemble that in other areas. In Washington, the movement was a slow steady migration which was periodically accelerated by gold rushes, wars and labor unrest. The Black population declined slightly between 1920 and 1930.

Except for the mines, those who came did not have jobs awaiting them, but were compelled to find employment in a job market that was already restricted for Blacks.

In the late 1880's and early 1890's, people who had been involved with politics in Reconstruction governments in the South came to Washington. With the overthrow of those governments, they found themselves out of office, impoverished and, in many instances, under threat of assassination. Several of the southerners were offspring of property holders, but most appear not to have, themselves, been well-established economically. The largest number of migrants to Washington were of the laboring class, with fewer than ten percent possessing marketable skills. Even this number had difficulty applying their skills or experience, and often ended up in menial labor.

Relocation in Washington generally meant more personal freedom and even an increased standard of living from that experienced prior to coming to Washington, although most Blacks were confined to low paying, sometimes dangerous jobs. But for those who came with some savings or who were of unusual thrift, small family size and hearty physical stamina, it was possible to enter business or, in exceptional circumstances, train for a profession.

World War I had the most positive impact on the economic lives of Blacks during the study period, although it was of short duration. In response to expanded economic opportunities, migration to the Puget Sound and to other cities around the state was spurred by workers seeking jobs left vacant by men serving in the army, or those newly-created by an expanded economy.

African-Americans came to Washington and stayed in spite of limited job opportunities, hostility to their presence in some places, and even occasional public outcry. They became town founders, homeowners, farmers, homesteaders, ranchers, storekeepers, hosts to the territory's travellers, and donors of schools and cemeteries. They cooked for others, dug coal, shined shoes, were sometimes the conscience of the society, and established institutions of their own, some of which are as old as the state itself.

MIGRATION AND SETTLEMENT
INTRODUCTION

1. Elizabeth McLagan, A Peculiar Paradise/A History of Blacks in Oregon, 1788-1940, p. 1
2. Esther Mumford, Seattle's Black Victorians, 1852-1901, pp. 20-21.
3. U.S. Census Abstract, 1930.

MIGRATION AND SETTLEMENT

PATTERNS OF GROWTH

DEFINITION:

Temporal Boundaries: 1845-1935

Spatial Boundaries: All of Washington settled during these years, with concentration in areas described below.

Justification: Observable throughout the study period was the movement of residents of smaller towns to larger towns, from smaller cities to large cities, and from the countryside and mines to homesteads, towns and cities.

In 1910, the chief population centers ranked in order of number of Black people were: Seattle, Tacoma, Spokane, Everett and North Yakima. The ranking for 1900 reflects some changes over the decade between 1900 and 1910. In declining order of numbers, they were: Seattle, Spokane, Tacoma, Roslyn and Everett.¹ (Roslyn, the mining town, decreased by more than 200 Black persons during the period.)

Urban Blacks lived near the town centers in the early years of their presence in Washington. As the general population moved outward, so did the Black population. They remained in or near the downtown areas of Seattle, Tacoma and Spokane until well after the turn of the century. Their remaining church and club buildings attest to their former location.

William Grose bought property at Fifth and Jefferson in 1870 when that area was still surrounded by timber. The property he bought in the East Madison district in 1882 was in the countryside, a long ways from town. The Black concentration in East Madison began in the late 1880's. Seaborn J. Collins' building of his house in the block on 28th just north of Madison stimulated the building of homes in the area by Blacks. In 1889, following the destruction of his hotel in the Seattle downtown area, William Grose began construction of his house which still stands at 24th and Howell.² Although the area was referred to as a "colored colony" by some journalists of the 1890's, many Black people continued to live much closer to the downtown or lived in other parts of the growing city. Over the next thirty years, the area remained one of the most integrated in the city. By 1919, the 1800 block of 24th Avenue, with one exception was occupied by Black homeowners. Cayton described it by saying, "barring some millionaire's row, a more handsome block is not to be found in the whole of the city."³ Much pride was evidenced by these new owners, many of whom also had new automobiles parked at the curb, or an ever greater symbol of affluence -- a garage.

PATTERNS OF GROWTH

Two apartment buildings were located in the 1800 block. Zechariah and Irene Francis Woodson built their two-story apartment building there in 1908, furnishing the baths shared by two adjoining apartments with copper bathtubs.⁴ The Douglass Apartments, originally tenanted by White occupants began a policy of renting to Blacks in the early years of World War I, although it continued its White ownership until 1918. In 1919 the Culture Club, now expanded into a branch of the YWCA, moved to its new home on this block.

The era of well-maintained properties in the 1800 block came to an end during the Great Depression. Many of the owners, mostly on the bottom rung of the economic ladder, lost their homes. Ownership, mostly absentee, passed out of the hands of the occupants. The houses went unpainted, lawns were poorly maintained and the block became one of the most neglected and forlorn in the city. Presently, owner occupancy seems to be on the increase, and more care and restoration is visible than it was as recently as five years ago. The 1700 block seems to be undergoing the same process. A recent condominium building has intruded into what was always a block of single family dwellings. However, some attempt was made to keep the architecture sympathetic to the neighborhood.

Several other apartment houses were purchased by Blacks between 1919 and 1923 in what has come to be called Seattle's "Central Area." On Madison, just south of Ed Johnson's fuel business, and near 23rd Avenue, William Chandler's apartment building stood. The Adelphi at 23rd and Thomas was purchased by a group of Black businessmen in 1923.⁵ It is still standing, virtually unchanged from its original appearance.

In the twenties and thirties, Blacks operated small businesses such as a movie theatre, a restaurant and a hotel in what is still the commercial district of the neighborhood.

By 1919, enough Black businesses were operating near 12th and Jackson to prompt Cayton's description that the area had much the appearance of State Street in Chicago, Beale Street of Memphis and Harlem in New York. Located within two blocks of the intersection were a cleaning and pressing business, two hotels, a grocery store, a restaurant and a barber shop.⁶ The district continued to attract businesses through the 1920's.

In Tacoma, in the 1880's and 1890's, most Black people lived along Opera Alley in the second and third wards and the upper hill streets of those wards.⁷ Some lived in other places and were farther removed from today's downtown. Never equalling one percent of the total city population, some Blacks dispersed well beyond the 1930's city limits. By the end of the study period however, the largest number lived within several blocks of the African Methodist Episcopal Church, from 14th to 25th and "H" to "K" Streets.

PATTERNS OF GROWTH

In Spokane, the Black population also settled in the downtown area. In the late 1880's, Barbara Scrutchin, Charles Brooks and Hattie Oglesby, among others, began purchasing property along Pine Avenue between Second and Third Streets.⁸ In earlier years they had resided on disputed land which was ultimately determined to be the property of the Northern Pacific Railway Company. Others bought in areas distant from the commercial center and took up farming, stock raising or homesteading. By the 1920's, John D. Hemphill owned 160 acres at Chattaroy which he farmed. He also sold milk from his dairy herd to Hazelwood Dairy, Spokane's largest milk distributor.⁹ Pete and Ann Carter lost their quarter section of land after a fruitless effort to log it about 1918.¹⁰ Very few Black people were able to move into upperclass neighborhoods, although Rudolph Scott and John Byron Parker moved to Cannon's Addition, adjoining Browne's Addition, in 1888, and their families continued living there into the 1930's.¹¹

After World War I, the area along Third Street became increasingly commercial so that by the end of the period, fewer Blacks were concentrated there. By 1935, Blacks were discernible along Division Street and neighboring blocks in either direction. Edna Potter has seen the numbers increase several times over since 1935 when she moved into her house three blocks from Division, but in no way could the area be described as a Black neighborhood.¹²

The Snohomish County census of 1880 lists but two families of African extraction, and one of these was headed by a White male. The Richardson and Udell families were joined in 1889 by the Stewarts whose son, Vay, was enumerator of the 1900 census for Shorts, Woods Lake, Granite Falls, and Mountain Park districts.¹³

A virtual explosion of population took place between 1890 and 1900 mostly in the young town of Everett, and its older neighbor, Snohomis.¹⁴ Blacks were also residing in Granite Falls and Monroe in visible numbers, and individuals lived in Index, Silverton, Stanwood and various other country districts. In 1900, there were 120 Black people living in Everett. Near Grand and Hewitt were shoemaker Louis Ellis's shop, Isaac Turner's barber shop, and Joseph Anderson's tamale shop. A second shoemaker, Alfred Bell, operated a shop in the 3200 block of Hewitt. In the 3600 block of Everett Street, widower Louise Donaldson operated her confectionery and tobacco store until the early years of World War I.¹⁵ Everett, like Seattle, had its first Black mail clerk in 1900. Other persons worked as laborers, bootblacks, hostlers, cooks, coachmen, nurses, dressmakers and servants; they lived in various neighborhoods rather than forming an enclave of African-Americans. In 1920, the population numbered 150, which declined to 119 by 1930.¹⁶

PATTERNS OF GROWTH

Development of particular towns, neighborhoods and districts as they relate to Washington's Black population are considered in the context of the general development of those places. Ronald, two and one-half miles from Roslyn, was, however, the site of a newly opened mine and its early development was closely linked to the Black miners. Blacks first came to Ronald in 1888. In 1889, it was practically an all Black settlement with organized life taking place by then. By November of that year, a group of Baptists secured land on which to erect a church. Construction began the first week of April, 1890.¹⁷ A school was formed by local residents in 1890 and it met in the Baptist Church for several years with Black and White children attending.¹⁸ In late July, the recently organized Masonic Lodge purchased a lot and lumber for their hall.¹⁹ The only Black postmaster in the state, John Bedell, was appointed to serve at Ronald in 1890.²⁰

The 1890 census listed 409 persons at Ronald and 1,481, the majority of them Black, at Roslyn. The Black population of Roslyn reached its peak in the early 1890's. Only 68 are recorded in the 1930 census.

The numbers were reduced at the turn of the century with the gold rush attracting some men, and World War I caused a still larger drain. In between those years, some people moved to cities and homesteads or left the state. But some Blacks remained in Roslyn, spending their entire lives there. Ed Smith joined his half-sister, Mattie Colman Olds, and her family in Roslyn in 1907. Mr. Smith began working as a machinist in the mines shortly after his arrival and continued until 1928. Then, at age 53, he retired from the mines and began operation of a plumbing store where Gwyn Davies' electrical supply and secondhand store was located, until he retired and sold the business in 1949.²¹

Some of the miners moved to Ellensburg, joining Blacks from other places in the country. By 1920, there were enough people to maintain two churches among them.

About 650 Black people came to Franklin and Newcastle in 1891 in the midst of labor strife. They did not remain in the mines in large numbers for more than a few years. In the mid-90's, some of the King County miners moved to the Yakima Valley to homestead, or moved to other places such as as Seattle, Tacoma or closer settlements. Some Franklin residents went north to look for gold, and others went to other mining states. Some important accomplishments were made in Franklin. In the fall of 1891, two Black people were elected to the school board. One of the two Black Justices of the Peace in Washington was appointed in Franklin in 1894.²² Franklin was disincorporated in the 1920's.

From the mines Blacks moved to the Yakima Valley homesteads or into North

PATTERNS OF GROWTH

Yakima. Census records bearing birthplaces reveal a large percent of persons born in Virginia and Tennessee, both mentioned in oral histories as states of origin for miners of Kittitas and King Counties.²³ The miners were joined in town by persons who had given up homesteading and moved into town, as well as persons who moved to Yakima from other states. A visible number interspersed among White residents developed around First Street South. Here, also were located most of the businesses operated by Blacks, although most often the Black residents performed work which is generally classified as "laborer." George and Myrtle May operated a saloon; Henry Wilson operated a barbershop while his wife Minerva worked at home as a dressmaker. In the 300 block, Thomas Fitzgerald operated a secondhand store. John and Pearl Moore took in roomers. There were also a seamstress, a dressmaker, a bartender and a fireman. James Jefferson numbered among his rooming house tenants one man who worked as a bartender and another who worked as a clerk. In 1917, J.H. Bell opened a shoe repairing business and retail store. He owned the building at 105 1/2 South First Street, which in 1927, was reported to be valued at \$20,000²⁴

By 1910 Blacks lived in most of the settlements in the county, but they were most numerous in North Yakima where they built many homes. The A.M.E. and Baptist Churches were formed in the first decade of the twentieth century.

The 15 farms in Yakima County, reported in the 1910 census abstract, were more than double the number in any other county. The occupancy of homestead land was relatively short. By 1930, the entire rural population of African-Americans was only 14.9 percent of the total Black population.²⁵

The urban-rural disparity was not as great in 1890 as it was to become in succeeding years. Although the number of farm owners or managers increased by 22 in the first decade of this century, the number of acres held by farmers decreased during the years between 1880 and 1900.²⁶ Blacks were present in smaller communities from the turn of the century to the end of the period.

Black people settled in Kitsap in the 1850's. Mostly male, they remained single or married Native American women. Nathaniel Sargent homesteaded in Crosby, once known as Beaver Valley, in 1882. He was well-liked. In 1894, he was elected Justice of the Peace for Seabeck.²⁷

Around the turn of the century, two or three Black men worked at the Navy yard. A few Navy men retired in Bremerton prior to World War I. In 1912, the small community formed an A.M.E. Church and bought a building which is still used for worship.²⁸ During the war, several people who had come for work bought property and built homes there.²⁹ Some of them remained at war's end. Bremerton was one of the towns where the Black population declined between 1920 and 1930.

PATTERNS OF GROWTH

A small community of Black people developed around Kennydale near the turn of the century. From the King County mines, several families moved to small farms which ranged from five to twenty acres which they rented or owned outright. Andrew Braggs was one of the first to settle in the area when he moved there about 1898. In some cases the men continued to work in the mines after moving from them.³⁰ Here, as elsewhere, a small church was the center of the social life.

Some of the families were nearly self-sufficient, although most of the men held other jobs. Samuel A. Franklin owned about ten acres on which he kept a large number of fowl and horses while he continued work as an electrician at the Newcastle mine. He sold produce to the miners and their families. Monroe Fields and Thomas Key were Newcastle miners who lived in the countryside. Andrew Mar Shall and his family rented a four acre tract while he worked in Seattle.³¹ The Kennydale community existed through the end of the study period. A few children of the settlers live there today.

George and Mary Jane Washington founded the town of Centralia in 1875. Besides them and their family, fewer than a dozen Black families lived there during the whole study period.

In other places, Blacks contributed to the towns' development and growth by their businesses, farms and homes. In several instances, numbers had little to do with contributions towards development.

The development of Thurston County and the rest of the territory north of the Columbia is, in some measures, attributable to the location of the Bush homestead in an area crossed by the wagon road from Cowlitz Landing to Tumwater which passed through the Bush farm. His contribution is far out of proportion to the number of people in his family. It is difficult, if not impossible, to calculate the value of a man of integrity refusing to sell seed grain to speculators in a time of famine, reserving it for neighbors who could not pay for it, as did George Bush. How are gifts of food, lodging, water and seed to perfect strangers in a new land to be calculated; or operation of a one person food donation station during an economic panic, as did Centralia's founder George Washington during much of the Panic of the 1890's; or William Grose's faith in the trustworthiness of a young man, new to the town and limited in funds, to repay the restaurateur after he had established himself as a shipbuilder in the new and growing town of Seattle.

PATTERNS OF GROWTH

1. U.S. Bureau of the Census, Negro Population, 1790-1915.
2. Esther Mumford, Seattle's Black Victorians, 1852-1901, pp. 180, 112-113.
3. Cayton's Weekly, September 6, 1919; July 5, 1919.
4. Fred P. Woodson, Oral History Transcript, p. 6.
5. Calvin Schmid, Social Trends in Seattle, p. 140.
6. Cayton's Weekly, April 26, 1919; June 15, 1918.
7. Tacoma City Directory, 1889, 1890, 1891, 1895, 1897.
8. Deeds, Spokane County, Book O, p. 516; Mortgages, Book 25, p.125.
9. Albert Hilbert, Oral History Transcripts, p. 3.
10. Martha Rice Duckworth, Oral History Transcript, p. 1.
11. Deeds, Spokane County, Book T, p. 7.
12. Edna Potter, Oral History Transcript, p. 5.
13. Snohomish County, Territorial Auditor's Census, p. 5.
14. Bureau of the Census, Negro Population, 1790-1915.
15. Ibid, 1900, 1910; Everett City Directory, 1914.
16. U.S. Bureau of the Census, Negroes in the United States: 1920-1932.
17. Ellensburg Capital, April 3, 1890.
18. Operation Uplift, Community Development Program, Spawn of Coal Dust: A History of Roslyn, 1886-1955, p. 278.
19. Ellensburg Capital, April 3, 1890.
20. Spokane, falls Review, March 18, 1890, p.2.
21. Operation Uplift, Spawn of Coal Dust, p. 344.
22. Esther Mumford, Seattle's Black Victorians, 1852-1901, p. 60.
23. U.S. Census, 1900.

PATTERNS OF GROWTH

24. Samuel H. DeBow and Edward Patter, Who's Who? In the State of Washington, p. 85.
25. Fifteen Census of the United States, Vol. III, Population, 1932.
26. Ibid.
27. Diane Robinson, Bremerton Celebrates Over 100 Years, p. 10.
28. Ibid.
29. Cayton's Weekly, June 20, 1918.
30. Ibid, August 2, 1919; June 1, 1918.
31. Ibid.

MIGRATION AND SETTLEMENT

INVOLUNTARY MIGRATION - SLAVERY

DEFINITION:

Temporal Boundaries: 1845-1935

Spatial Boundaries: All of Washington settled during these years, with concentration in areas described below.

Justification: Most Black people who came to Washington did so on their own. However, during the early part of the period there were several recorded instances of involuntary movement to the territory. In Washington, as in Oregon, slavery was undesirable to the settlers, and very few slaves were brought to the territory. Most of the persons in servitude were born in the United States or its territories, but a few are reported to have been brought to Kitsap County directly from Africa.¹

In a few cases some persons were kept in virtual slavery well after Emancipation and passage of the 13th Amendment. In 1896, the Black community in Tacoma was shaken upon learning that a fourteen year old girl who had been brought from Mississippi by a white family several months before, was being held against her will. The girl ran away after being beaten by the male head of the household. She found a home with a family in the Black community, and was assisted by other community members.²

The consternation caused by the discovery of an eight-year old girl held captive by a white family which had brought her from North Carolina resulted in a suit against the family by the Dorcas Charity Club, an Afro-American women's group in 1908. Not only was the child denied all contact with Black people but she was also kept out of school on permission granted by the Seattle School District officials. The Dorcas Charity Club lost the suit and the child remained in bondage.³

The most notorious instance of a person held in bondage concerned a fourteen year old boy held captive in Olympia in 1860 by the James Tilton family, which caused an international furor involving Washington and Canada.⁴ The matter soon died down with the liberation of the boy on Canadian soil. Vague references have been made to other persons who were manumitted on Washington soil.

MIGRATION AND SETTLEMENT
INVOLUNTARY MIGRATION - SLAVERY

1. Author's conversation with Diane Robinson, August 9, 1985.
2. Tacoma Daily Ledger, February 16, 1896.
3. Seattle Star, December 8, 1908, p. 1.
4. Olympia Pioneer and Democrat, November 9, 1860; Crawford Killian, Go Do Some Great Thing, pp. 80-82.

MIGRATION AND SETTLEMENT

INVOLUNTARY MIGRATION - MILITARY

DEFINITION:

Temporal Boundaries: 1845-1935

Spatial Boundaries: All of Washington settled during these years, with concentration in areas described below.

Justification: Military service brought hundreds of people to the state who probably would not have come, otherwise. The garrisoning of the new Fort George Wright with Black men, and a few dependents in 1899 was the first instance of Black soldiers stationed in Washington. In company with the white officers' families were Black women who served as cooks, nurses and laundresses. In a few instances civilians, serving in such capacities as tailor, accompanied the troops. While the vast majority of the servicemen remained no longer than their term of duty, a few remained behind in the nearby towns or countryside after retirement from the service. Such settlers were generally property owners who became part of the settled communities. Spokane and Seattle received the bulk of this group. Some families came to Washington as the result of relocation by a brother or uncle who served in the Army.²

In the years between the end of the War of 1812 and the Civil War, Blacks were excluded from the Army, but they were permitted to serve in the Navy as cooks and stewards, as well as common seamen. At the beginning of the Civil War they were a substantial part of the Navy, but the Army was hesitant about the recruitment of Blacks as soldiers. Nevertheless, some men ultimately served in the Army after two cavalry and four infantry units were authorized by Congress. After the War, the Army later reorganized the four infantry units into two - the Twenty-fourth and the Twenty-fifth.³

From 1860 to 1891 Black soldiers were garrisoned at forts along the frontier to build roads, hang telegraph lines, escort trains and stage coaches, keep the western Native Americans on reservations, or fight those who resisted confinement, and chase Mexican revolutionaries.

The Black soldiers had the lowest alcoholism and desertion rates of all the frontier regiments in the Army, and went on to achieve an outstanding record in the Spanish-American War. In spite of much debate the government tolerated Black servicemen, but citizens of communities near the installations where Blacks were stationed often did not share the government's attitude and harassed them at every opportunity. When the soldiers fought back, they never received backing from the government,

INVOLUNTARY MIGRATION - MILITARY

although they were in its employ. In a society that was increasingly aggressive in its expression of hatred for Black people, Black soldiers were more easily remembered for their parts in racial conflict than for their service on the frontier or in Cuba or in the Phillipines.

Contributions to the local communities were also submerged in the ever-increasing tide of racism. Black soldiers at Ft. Lawton and Ft. George Wright fought several fires in national parks and national forests between 1909 and 1913.⁴ The action of the 25th Infantry at Ft. George Wright was lauded by the Spokane City Council after its members helped quell mob violence connected with labor union strife.⁵ The regimental band played at patriotic and civic events in the town and entertained the public with regular Sunday concerts. But nothing they did could stem the tide of hatred engulfing the United States. The daily press in Seattle fueled the flames by greatly exaggerating any incidents of misbehavior or lawbreaking by Black soldiers.

The stationing of Black troops any place in America generally caused a negative reaction by both white military personnel serving at the site, and the local population as well. The Seattle Argus went so far as to headline a 1910 editorial "The Colored Soldiers Must Go!"⁶

White residents of properties in the area of the post had written to the War Department to oppose the garrisoning of Black soldiers at Ft. Lawton prior to their arrival, stating among other reasons the belief that their property values would decline as a result of the presence of Black soldiers.⁷

In contrast, Blacks viewed their coming with far more optimism. Shortly after their arrival, an elaborate reception and ball to welcome the soldiers was given at Leschi Pavilion.⁸ No known report of the event exists, but hundreds of people were expected to attend, including a large number of Whites.

John E. Oliver, hopeful of attracting customers from the post, erected a house about a mile from the post on 31st Avenue West where his daughter, Sara Oliver Jackson, was born and lives today. The house was to serve as a residence while Mr. Oliver operated a store in the old two-story house then moved to the rear, that formerly occupied the site where the present house now stands. Unfortunately, Mr. Oliver caught pneumonia while digging a cesspool for the new house and died.⁹

Some present day Seattleites lived at Fort Lawton as children. Andrew Jenkins' family resided in the first house in the row of non-commissioned officers' houses upon their return from the Phillipines in 1909, where the two older children were born.¹⁰ The head of the family, Frank Jenkins,

INVOLUNTARY MIGRATION - MILITARY

Sr., had "gone up the hill with Teddy Roosevelt" while serving in Cuba, his son Andrew says. Mr. Jenkins, Sr., who died in 1933, is buried at Ft. Lawton.

The late Joseph Staton was born at the Fort Lawton hospital in 1910. His mother, a Seattle resident met and married his father shortly after the soldiers' arrival.

Black soldiers were stationed for a brief period at Fort Walla Walla around the turn of the century.

In 1917, Camp Lewis in Pierce County became the first and largest of sixteen army cantonments to train soldiers for World War I.¹² By 1918, hundreds of Black soldiers from all over the country had arrived at the camp. The units remained for a few months before shipments to other parts of the country, and ultimately to France. Some of the men who saw the Puget Sound area for the first time returned to Washington, and took up residence in Seattle and Tacoma. Others moved to Tacoma or Seattle after being mustered out at Camp Lewis.¹³ Conscription also contributed to internal migration, as men from the farms and mines saw Washington's cities for the first time and settled in urban areas after the War.

From the turn of the century, Bremerton was a Navy town. A few Black Navy men retired there after their duty was completed. Master diver and inventor John Henry (Dick) Turpin lived there until his death in 1962.¹⁴ Robert Webb has lived in Bremerton since his retirement from the Navy in 1918.

INVOLUNTARY MIGRATION - MILITARY

1. U.S. Bureau of the Cnesus, 1900.
2. Myrtle Pitts, Oral History Transcript, p. 1.
3. T.G. Steward, The Colored Regulars in the United States Army, p. 87
4. Ibid.
5. Arnold Schwanberg, "The Cultural Contributions of Fort Lawton," Portage, pp. 9-14.
6. Ibid.
7. Seattle Republican, 1910.
8. Seattle Post Intelligencer, July 22, 1901, p. 1.
9. Seattle Star, October 14, 1909, p. 5.
10. Author's telephone conversation with Sara Oliver Jackson, September 3, 1985; See also Oral History Transcript. Sara O. Jackson, Washington State Archives.
11. Authur Jenkin's conversation with author, April 25, 1975; Frank Jenkins papers, Manuscript Division, University of Washington Library, Seattle.
12. James L. Warren, King County and Its Queen City Seattle, p. 116.
13. Earl George, Oral History Transcript, p. 2.
14. Diane Rob.inson, Bremerton Celebrates Over 100 Years, p. 12.

MIGRATION AND SETTLEMENT

LABOR RECRUITMENT

DEFINITION:

Temporal Boundaries: 1888-1935

Spatial Boundaries: Kittitas County to Puget Sound

Justification: Labor recruitment was responsible for the largest group migrations of Blacks during the study period. This was primarily the work of corporations such as the Northern Pacific Railway Company which operated the Northwest Improvement Company coal mines at Roslyn in Kittitas County, and the Oregon Improvement Company which operated the Franklin and Newcastle mines in King County. Both imported Black miners after a series of labor stoppages resulting from a number of long-standing differences between the management and the laboring force which, in the Roslyn case, was led by the Knights of Labor Union. Although the economic incentive was the most important reason for Blacks to move to Washington mines, in the case of recruitment for the King County mines, other important inducements were offered as well. During recruitment in Illinois and Missouri, Blacks were told of the opportunity to prove up on free land for eventual ownership. They were also assured that they would not be taking the place of strikers.¹

Blacks were also recruited to work on the Seattle waterfront during the strikes taking place in 1916, and at other industries, such as the Frye Meat Packing plant in Seattle.²

The recruitments during labor strife had two important results. First of all, they provided immediate employment for a group that has been chronically underemployed through its post-Reconstruction history, and, secondly, it opened doors to job opportunities that had been firmly bolted against Blacks by White labor unions.

Two individuals stand out in the history of Black labor recruitment in Washington. The first, James Shepperson, is almost always linked with the coming of Black miners to Roslyn. Whether he was actually involved in the first recruitment of Blacks for Roslyn mines, or the later one taking place in 1894, at the outbreak of strikes and company opposition to the attempt of miners, both Black and White, to form a branch of the United Mine Workers' Union, is difficult to ascertain at this time. There is a report of labor agents from the Northern Pacific Coal Company hiring Rendville, Ohio Blacks for the Roslyn mines in 1894.³ Perhaps one of these was Shepperson. Cayton also mentions that he was dispatched to recruit laborers after the Blacks were unionized in the mines, but he credits him with earlier recruitment as well.⁴ Shepperson, a Virginia coal miner, came to Roslyn in 1888 and worked at various jobs in and around the mines. He was considered to be a leader among the Black miners in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. He began operation of a recreation hall shortly after the turn of the century and remained in Roslyn, for the most part, the rest of his life.⁵

LABOR RECRUITMENT

James E. Roston was the primary recruiter of Black workers for industries opened by labor strife in the 20th Century, and by the demand for labor created by World War I. He came to Seattle in 1914 and is reported to have been responsible for the placement of 500 Black men in cook and steward positions aboard ships during the 1921 strike of the White Marine Cooks and Stewards organization.⁶ At other times, Roston recruited men from the southern and eastern states, as well as local persons, to alleviate the acute labor shortages resulting from the loss of manpower and an expanded economy during the years of World War I and the 1920's.⁷

By their recruitment into Washington industries, Blacks became the agents of change; opening opportunities that had previously been closed to them when approached through regular channels. Once they entered the industries for which they had been recruited, they became active in the fight for decent working conditions and earnings. In Roslyn, in 1894, and on the Seattle waterfront in 1934, the former strikebreakers became strikers and witnessed other Blacks being used against them to further company policy. They remained active on the waterfront throughout the study period and made significant gains in the following years. In the mines, Blacks remained in large numbers but a few years.

1. Tacoma Daily Ledger, May 16, 1891, p. 1.
2. Cayton's Weekly, Dec. 22, 1917.
3. Herbert G. Gutman, "The Negro and the United Mine Workers of America," The Negro and the American Labor Movement, p. 95.
4. Special Edition, Seattle Republican, January 4, 1896; Ernest Moore, The Coal Miner Who Came West, p. 5.
5. Cayton's Weekly, March 29, 1919, p. 3.
6. Robert Bedford Pitts, "organized labor and the Negro in Seattle," unpublished Master's Thesis.
7. Cayton's Weekly, Sept. 8, 1917, p. 3.

VOLUNTARY MIGRATION

GOLD RUSHES

DEFINITION:

Temporal Boundaries: 1845-1935

Spatial Boundaries: All of Washington.

Justification: The gold rushes in the Northwest prior to the Yukon and Alaska rushes attracted a few Black people. Although their names are not recorded, or are forgotten, such designations as "Nigger Creek," and "Nigger Hill" in gold-mining areas of Washington indicate that Afro-Americans participated in prospecting for gold in the state.

Settlement of the Williams family in Snohomish has been attributed to an uncle, William Shaffroth, who came for gold and settled down there. Mr. Shaffroth later sent for relatives who moved to the town and operated an auto repair business there in the first quarter of the twentieth century.¹

In the train of gold seekers passing through Washington enroute to the Yukon and Alaska were Black men and a few women. The women were generally looking for work either in Seattle or Tacoma, which were enjoying revitalized economies after the depression of the '90's because of the rush. Some travelled to the Far North in search of employment. Of these persons, a small number returned and settled in Western Washington. Limited movement between Alaska and Washington continued into the 1920's.

Among the thousands of men who entered the Nez Perce country of Idaho in search of gold during the early 1860's was Richard Bogle. He first saw Walla Walla enroute to prospect in Orofino, Florence and Elk City where he had limited success. In later years, after he settled in the town, he provided shelter to others headed east to the gold fields by making available the back room of his barber shop to those who were regularly denied accommodations in Walla Walla because of their race.²

On the coast, Black people caught the spirit of enterprise that was so evident. Rooming houses were opened in Tacoma and Seattle, as were restaurants, barber shops and small grocery stores, some of which sold dried foods.³

In Eastern Washinton and in the mining areas, Black men joined the throng headed for the Far North. This, to a small degree, accounts for the diminished number of Black miners by the turn of the century.

VOLUNTARY MIGRATION
GOLD RUSHES

1. Corinne Williams, Oral History Transcript, p. 2
2. Walla Walla Union - Bulletin, March 16, 1980, p. 10.; W.D. Lyman, An Illustrated History of Walla Walla County, p. 345.
3. Esther Mumford, Seattle's Black Victorians, 1852-1901, p. 245.

DEFINITION:

Temporal Boundaries: 1845-1935

Spatial Boundaries: All of Washington settled during these years, with concentration in areas described below.

Justification: Washington's first African-American settlers were farmers. One of the major reasons for their migration to Washington was the opportunity to own and farm land free of the harassment they had experienced elsewhere. Many of the settlers in the 19th century appear to have been field workers or owners of small farms prior to coming to Washington.

A sizeable number of land allotments in Washington took place when claims were not open to people of African ancestry. Only George Bush of Thurston County was able to assume claim of a homestead prior to Emancipation, and this, only after a petition by his neighbors who served in the first territorial legislature requested Congress to make an exception to the Donation Land Act of 1850 and grant Bush the land that he had settled upon in 1845.¹ George Washington, a highly successful Lewis County farmer, was unable to claim the homestead upon which he had diligently labored. He, instead, had his White foster parents buy the land he had improved and later sell it back to him, which was not prohibited by law.²

Following the Civil War and Emancipation, the Homestead Act was revised, making it possible to trade years of military service for required years of residency on a land claim. The passage of the 14th Amendment bestowed citizenship upon the freedmen. Homestead lands were open to citizens of the United States and its territories. Some Black residents of Washington availed themselves of this opportunity and took up homesteads. Patrick Jerome Addison was granted a patent for his land on the Coppei in Walla Walla in 1876.³ Nathaniel Sargent, who came to Oregon with his White adopted family, moved to Washington Territory and homesteaded in Crosby, Kitsap County in 1832.⁴ Civil War veteran John Conna settled on a 120 acre homestead near Auburn in King County in 1834.⁵ By 1880, farmers, some of whom were probably homesteaders, are listed in Pierce, Skamania, Snohomish, Spokane and Yakima Counties, in addition to those discussed.⁶

A discernible expansion in the number of homesteaders took place beginning in the 1890's, principally in the Yakima Valley. This increase was largely attributable to a number of families moving from the Roslyn, Franklin, and Newcastle mines to the valley. Some settled in the Kittitas Valley and

HOMESTEADING

Klickitat County as well. By early 1892, irrigation was creating a vast change in the arid lands in Eastern Washington, particularly in the Yakima Valley.

An opportunity to settle on free land was one of the inducements offered by labor recruiters for the Pierce County mines in 1891.⁷ They began their exodus from the mines as early as 1894. The most prosperous of these, Oley Washington, donated land for a school about 1900 in the Sunnyside area, an area which was residence to the largest number of Black homesteaders.⁸ Augustus Hawkins was a successful hop farmer in the district.⁹ Their numbers were increased by additional persons leaving the mines, coming from towns and migrating to the state from various places.

The settlement on homesteads lasted a relatively short time and involved a comparatively small number of people. Fifteen Black families are reported in the 1910 census abstract for Yakima County, more than double the number of Black farm families in any other county. Although the number of farmers was greater in 1910 than in 1900, the amount of acreage declined during that decade. From 1910 onward, the number of farmers of rural residents decreased continuously, contracting from 39 percent of the Black population in 1890 to 22.4 percent of the population by 1910. By 1930, the entire rural population of African-Americans was only 14.9 percent of the total Black population.¹⁰

FOOTNOTES

1. Washington Territory, Journal of the Council of the Territory of Washington, p. 20.
2. Herndon Smith, compiler, Centralia, The First Fifty Years, 1845-1900, pp. 199, 201.
3. Walla Walla Union, August 26, 1876, p. 3.
4. Diane Robinson, Bremerton Celebrate Over 100 Years: A Story Untold, p. 100.
5. King County, Vol. 2 Patents, p. 150.
6. U.S. Bureau of the Census, Tenth Census of the United States, Statistics of the Population.
7. Tacoma Daily Ledger, May 16, 1891, p. 1.

AGRICULTURE

HOMESTEADING

FOOTNOTES (con't)

8. Charles Taylor, Oral History Transcript, p. 5.
9. The Seattle Republican Greater Northwest Prosperity Number, 1909, p. 34.
10. U.S. Bureau of the Census, Negroes in the United States: 1920-1932.

MANUFACTURING AND INDUSTRY

GENERAL EMPLOYMENT

DEFINITION:

Temporal Boundaries: 1845-1935

Spatial Boundaries: All of Washington settled during these years, with concentration in areas described below.

Justification: Black employment was generally the same throughout the state. Excluding military servicemen, the five largest categories of Black male workers in Washington in 1910 were farm laborers who numbered 210, closely followed by 196 men identified as servants; 195 general laborers, janitors and sextons; and 114 coal miners.¹ Underemployment was a chronic problem among a large number of service workers who were most vulnerable to variations in the economy. All-Black crews were sometimes used by hotels to replace White workers. On these occasions, Blacks were often paid less to perform the same amount of work as a larger group of White workers had performed.

Women's work reflected the preference for, or conditions of, working in the home. Women were least represented in areas requiring training and skills. Among women, 295 were classed as servants; 105 as laundresses who worked outside of laundries; 55 dressmakers and seamstresses who were not in factories; 45 keepers of boarding and lodging houses; 42 housekeepers and stewardesses.²

The rest of the workers held a variety of jobs, some of which reflected various skills and abilities. There was an inverse proportion of skills to workers.

Not until the last twenty years of the study period did the types of work available to Blacks vary. Men who came to Washington in 1910 were just as likely to be barred from skilled trades as they were in 1880. In the urban centers prior to World War I, the major areas of production were those related to construction and food production. Up to half the work force was employed in lumber mills, slaughter houses, foundries, canneries, flour mills, carpentry and masonry work.³

Very few Blacks were employed in manufacturing jobs. White labor unions, except the stone cutters whose national policy was open membership, regardless of race, barred Black men from such work. This practice earned the unions the enmity of Black workers, and increased their disposition to work as strikebreakers. Most industrial jobs in Washington were entered by Blacks being first admitted as strikebreakers.

GENERAL EMPLOYMENT

In each part of the state, a few Blacks were able to work at their trades by becoming independent contractors. But work in manufacturing and shipping awaited the strikes of World War I before Blacks were admitted to jobs in the maritime or meat packing industries, for example.

The restricted job market gave rise to a small entrepreneurial class which operated rooming houses, restaurants, barber shops, beauty parlors, grocery stores, drayage, hauling and transfer companies, cobbler shops, saloons and recreation halls.

Blacks were appointed, and sometimes elected, to public service positions beginning in the 1880's. Festus Campbell, a federal appointee, served as Warden at McNeil Island Federal Prison in 1880. He later moved to Olympia. Beginning in 1890, two men served as deputy sheriff in Roslyn. A Black man also served as deputy in Franklin in the early 1890's. Job tenure for office depended upon the strength of the opposition of their fellow officers, and the length of the incumbent's term of service. Richard Taylor, whose grandfather Horace P. Lawhorn was a Tacoma policeman in the 1890's, said:

He was a policemen for eight years. This fella he campaigned for got in [and] put him on the police force driving the paddy wagon. Then the fella lost...and then my grandfather went into the real estate business.⁴

By 1891, there were, or had been Black policemen in Seattle, Tacoma and Spokane. They served in that capacity intermittently throughout the study period in Washington.

Will Turner of Tacoma was the exception to the practice of appointing party loyalists. So exceptional were his abilities as deputy county assessor that he served for more than twenty years under Democrats as well as Republicans. A few months after he passed the bar in 1891, Jesse Williams was nominated for City Attorney on the Populist ticket in Spokane. He declined to run, announcing at the time that he was a loyal Republican.⁵

Blacks served in the postal service from 1900 when Walter Merguson began as a clerk in Seattle. By 1910, there were mail carriers in King, Snohomish and Yakima Counties.⁶

Rudolph Scott, Jr., the third non-Indian boy to be born in Spokane, was employed as a Spokane City engineer beginning about 1910.⁷ His father, Rudolph Scott, served as Collector of Customs from 1891 until 1906, during Republican administrations.⁸

Horace Cayton, a loyal Republican, constantly urged his party to appoint and nominate men for office. They rarely did. Even Cayton became

GENERAL EMPLOYMENT

impatient with the lack of recognition Black men received in return for their unswerving loyalty.⁹

In 1917, Emmett Holmes became an Identification Officer at Walla Walla.¹⁰ This appointment by Democratic incumbents was the first real appointment of a Black person to a position, other than those distributed during legislative sessions for such jobs as messenger and cloak room attendant.

John N. Conna of Tacoma was appointed Assistant Sergeant-at-Arms of the 1889 legislative session and Sergeant-at-Arms of the 1890 special and regular sessions. Cayton attributes Conna's work, while holding the position, to Conna's framing and lobbying the state's first public accommodations act.¹¹

The number of political appointments was low throughout the period. They sufficed to keep alive the hope among Black people that they were considered by the political parties, but they did little for the improvement of the employment situation.

The real changes came with World War I when all available hands were needed and employed. Most of those gains were wiped out by the Great Depression.

FOOTNOTES

1. U.S. Bureau of the Census, Negro Population: 1790-1915.
2. Ibid.
3. Dorothy Johansen and Charles M. Gates, Empire of the Columbia, pp. 330-331.
4. Richard Taylor, Oral History transcript, p. 4.
5. Spokane Spokesman-Review, September 26, 1891, p. 3.
6. Ibid, U.S. Bureau of the Census.
7. Spokane City directory, 1910; An Illustrated History of Spokane County, p. 374.
8. Ibid.

GENERAL EMPLOYMENT

FOOTNOTES (con't)

9. Cayton's Weekly, July 27, 1918; Seattle Post-Intelligencer, quote from the Seattle Republican, August, 1894.
10. Cayton's Weekly, November 3, 1917.
11. Seattle Republican, Special Edition, January 4, 1896.

MANUFACTURING AND INDUSTRY
SHIPPING

DEFINITION:

Temporal Boundaries: 1845-1935

Spatial Boundaries: All of Washington settled during these years, with concentration in areas described below.

Justification: By the end of the period, more Blacks were hired in the shipping industry than in any other. Maritime commerce was very important to the economic life of Seattle, with that city ranking third after San Francisco and Los Angeles in volume of trade on the Pacific Coast. From their earnings as cooks and stewards, Blacks bought modest homes and maintained a reasonable standard of living.

Blacks had worked on ships sailing from Seattle since the 1880's when they worked in a variety of jobs aboard. As the century ended, they were increasingly relegated to service work.¹ Just how early they worked on the docks is not known, but by 1910 four were listed in the census records as stevedores and longshoremen. This number was increased about a hundred times over in 1916 when three to four hundred Black men were recruited from St. Louis, Kansas City, New Orleans and other places to break the longshoremen's strike.² They were joined by local Black men who had been barred from work on the docks by White labor unions. The Black men were housed in warehouses on the dock, and constituted all-Black gangs, which they continued to work in after the strike was broken in 1917. When the strike was over, many of those men from other places left Seattle; others remained. Most of the men joined the International Longshoreman's Association, but were often the target of discrimination of the union's members and officials, as well as White employers. Only the Industrial Workers of the World, preaching their tenants of racial and industrial equality, were friendly to them. Earl George, who moved to Seattle after leaving the Army at Camp Lewis at 1918, and later served as President of his ILA local,³ recalled a shortlived affiliate of the I.W.W. organized among the Black dock workers. James Kirk recalled, however:

I started work on the waterfront during the '16 strike. They didn't have any Negroes working down there before then, or very few. The few that were there didn't belong to the union. I was one of the first to join the union after the strike was settled. It was kind of rough down there. You were taking your life in your hands if you worked down

SHIPPING

there. They called us "scabs" but we were lucky to get a job then. They called it strikebreaking, but it was a break for me.⁴

The work was hard and dirty but the men, in their segregated gangs, fared well until the post-war period when layoffs became common.

In the early 20's, work again increased and Blacks continued to buy homes. Work in segregated gangs became increasingly less desirable as employers pitted the races against each other, while exploiting both, in such matters as "speeding up" the work. The Black men began to think of the hazards on the docks as being increased by the hostility of the Whites. At least one death was attributed by Black Seattleites to direct intention of a White worker during that time, when Black men increasingly feared an "accident" on the docks.⁵

The 1934 West Coast maritime strike brought the Black and White workers together on an equal footing for the first time. Again management brought in non-resident Blacks and also used University of Washington students as strikebreakers. The Black longshoremen joined the picket lines, sat on committees and supported the strike wholeheartedly. When the strike ended, the non-resident Blacks were discharged. The Black union men's participation helped to change some White workers' opinions of them. Harry Bridges, head of the San Francisco-based ILA declared non-discriminatory hiring and working conditions as union policy. In 1937, most Pacific coast locals, including the Seattle local, left the ILA and joined the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union.⁶

A second strike in 1936 had even more participation from Blacks who were now a meaningful part of the union. The first Black executive board sub-district and council members were elected. Frank Jenkins served on the council ILWU Labor Relations Committee.⁷ Blacks were admitted to the Warehousemen and Scalers Union, and to the Ship Scalers, Dry Dock and Miscellaneous Boat Yard Workers Union which had been organized in 1935. The membership of this union, probably because of the nature of the unskilled work, soon became about half-Black in its membership.⁸

Prior to admission in White unions, Blacks had been members of an association which served some of the purposes of a union. Its members were mostly from Seattle, but men moved from as far away as Yakima and Spokane in order to work on the ships.⁹ A few Californians were members as well.

The Seattle-based Colored Marine Employees Benevolent Association of the Pacific evolved from the work of James A. Roston, who moved to Spokane from Brooklyn, New York in 1913, and to Seattle in 1914. He was one of the few Black men to be promoted through the ranks to officer status in the Army.

SHIPPING

After serving eight years in Cuba and the Phillipines, he was appointed United States Consul to Sierra Leone. When he returned to the United States, he worked as a real estate agent and was active in an emigration plan to settle Black people in the Phillipines. He is reported to have organized a Black longshoreman's union after his arrival in Seattle. By 1917, he was best known around Puget Sound Black communities for recruiting Blacks for Puget Sound industries. Whether or not Roston was involved in the recruitment of Black strikebreakers in 1916 is uncertain at this writing, but he did speak highly of the men working on the waterfront in 1917, stating that he could place 200 additional men at wages of three to five dollars a day, were they available. By September of that year, he was sending to various parts of the South for Blacks workers, promising women's wages of thirty to fifty dollars a month, and men's at four to six dollars a day. He had placed more than a dozen at Campbell's sawmill in Ballard at \$3.50 to \$4.50 a day, and was seeking men for Stimson's mill at Ballard. When he failed to supply a sufficient numbers of Blacks, Filipinos were employed.¹⁰

When the National Marine Cooks and Stewards Association, a White union, struck the Admiral Lines, Roston recruited Black men to take their places. He advertised in Black newspapers in the east and enlisted local men as well. The late Eugene Coleman remembered the day in 1921 when Roston began his recruitment of Seattle men. He says:

... I was waiting for some of the boys in a pool room that used to be on James Street between Second and Third Avenues, and a man came in there and said, "I want a hundred niggers, I want a hundred niggers, I want a hundred niggers. We're gonna take on the Admiral Line." And I becme one of the hundred niggers.¹¹

Black men on ships worked about 17 hours a day at low wages making beds, sweeping floors, cleaning toilets, washing dishes and scrubbing pots and pans. They could only work in segregated crews on the Alaska Steamship Company and Pacific Steamship Company vessels. By the time the 1934 strike occurred, members of the Benevolent Association had decided that they would like equal shipping rights and decent working conditions. In spite of the opposition of some of their leaders (Roston had died ten years earlier), and in spite of their fears that affiliation with the Marine Cooks and Stewards Association would negate their job preference agreements with the two shipping companies, the majority of the Black stewards joined the strike. One of the Associations' officers, Dean Hart, former Secretary of the Urban League, favored cooperation and later joined the Marine Cooks and Stewards Association. By the time the strike ended, more than 300 Black

SHIPPING

men had joined the MCSA.¹² The remaining members of the Benevolent Association sought work elsewhere and the Benevolent Association ceased to exist.

FOOTNOTES

1. Esther Mumford, Seattle's Black Victorians, 1852-1901, pp. 40-41.
2. Robert Pitts, "Organized Labor and the Negro in Seattle," Unpublished M.A. dissertation.
3. Earl George, Oral History Transcript, p. 37.
4. James Kirk, Oral History Transcript, p. 15.
5. Author's conversation with Archie Smith, March 3, 1976; Mr. Smith, in an oral history transcript, connects the death of James Roston to the tensions related to this situation, Oral History, Washington State Archives, Olympia, pp. 51-53.
6. Ibid., Pitts.
7. Frank Jenkins Papers, Manuscripts Division, University of Washington.
8. Ibid.
9. Isaac Mitchell, Oral History Transcript, p. 27.
10. Cayton's Weekly, August 11, 1917; September 29, 1917.
11. Eugene Coleman, Oral History Transcript, p. 35.
12. Ibid., Pitts.

INDUSTRY

EXTRACTIVE INDUSTRY-FORESTRY

DEFINITION:

Temporal Boundaries: 1845-1935

Spatial Boundaries: All of Washington settled during these years, with concentration in areas described below.

Justification: While they were never numerous, far more Blacks worked in the lumber industry than in fishing. Practically all of the earliest settlers could wield an ax, but only a small number of Blacks earned their livelihood in this manner. Those who did, appear to have done so singly, rather than in crews such as could be seen in other states.

As early as 1857, John Garrison of Kitsap County worked in the woods. He is identified in the county assessor's and federal censuses as a logger from 1857 to 1880. At least twelve loggers, including Garrison's teenage sons, worked at logging in Kitsap County in the 1870's.¹

Farmers joined logging crews from time to time. Dorothy Johansen estimates that farmers constituted as much as 75 percent of logging crews around Centralia in the early part of the century.² Thirty-seven year old Walter Johnson is identified as a woodchopper in the Skamania County census of 1871. In 1880, he is identified as a farmer, a switch which is less dramatic than it sounds, since he probably alternated working at both occupations.

Forty-two Black persons, including 36 lumbermen and raftsmen are listed in the 1910 census. The rest were working as woodchoppers and tie cutters. One person is listed as an owner of a lumber camp and one as manager of a camp.

Timberman, who selected and cut timber for support beams in the coal mines sometimes, entered the industry after leaving the mines. Tall, bearded "Cap" Richards of Franklin is remembered as being an excellent logger and timberman, and the only Black miner who worked at specific tasks for a limited time, at the Black Diamond mines without molestation. He is reported to have continued work as a woodsman rather than a miner.³

Julius Johnson left the Roslyn mines about 1906 and rented a ranch near Cle Elum. He began what grew from a modest operation of cutting and hauling logs to one that included a contract to deliver timbers to the Roslyn mines. He was assisted by his son. By a stroke of fortune, he purchased two blocks in a subdivision of Cle Elum where the Milwaukee Road railroad roundhouse was soon located. A 1909 report states that he was offered twenty times his original purchase cost by the railroad.⁴

During the part of the 1880's, William O. Bush carried on extensive logging with his son-in-law, George Gaston, beyond his father, George Bush's

EXTRACTIVE INDUSTRY-FORESTRY

homestead, near the Tenino road.⁵ The logs were transported by train to the tidewater.

Seattle barber, William A. Scott, moved to his Kent farm in 1889 and operated a truck garden. He sold timber and leased roadway for lumbering companies to cross his land.⁶

Some of the loggers stayed close to one area, logging in the general vicinity of their homes. Others followed a more migratory pattern which was well-known to many men who followed that work. A big man described only as "Nigger Jim" or "Big Jim" followed the logging along the Cowlitz from Toledo to Monticello, where his skill with an ax was legendary. He is reported to have been able to fell a Douglass fir of six feet in diameter by himself, a feat which was a two-man job even in pioneer days when almost every man was a skilled tree-faller. Not only was he an excellent woodsman, but he was well-known as a fiddler and often played for country dances. While the dancers rested, he told tall tales with great eloquence.⁷ This intriguing figure deserves more research. He is better known than most men who followed this work in part because of his towering six-foot-four frame, but mainly because of his prowess with an ax, a fiddle and his great ability for spinning a yarn.

A few Blacks worked in the woods through the end of the study period. While still a student, Ora Avis Dennis was assigned work as part of a WPA crew in the mid-1930's. His chilling recollection of overhearing one of the crew say to the axe-man, "Why don't you drop a tree on that Black son-of-a-bitch," and the response, "I tried to, but he's too fast for me," may offer a partial explanation for the slight presence of Black men in the industry. Mr. Dennis points out, also, the strong aversion of White men to Black men sharing sleeping quarters.⁸

EXTRACTIVE INDUSTRY-FORESTRY

1. Diane Robinson, Bremerton Celebrates Over 100 Years...A Story Untold, p. 2
2. Dorothy Johanson and Charles Gates, Empire of the Columbia, p. 405.
3. Ralph Minnissee, Oral History Transcript, p: 39
4. Seattle Republican, "Greater Northwest Prosperity Number," 1909.
5. J.C. Rathbun, History of Thurston; Marriage License Record, Thurston County.
6. Esther Mumford, Seattle's Black Victorians, 1852-1901, p. 82.
7. The Daily Chronicle, Columbian Centennial Edition, Section Five. August 19, 1953
8. Ora Avis Dennis, Oral History Transcript, p.35

INDUSTRY

EXTRACTIVE INDUSTRY-FISHING

DEFINITION:

Temporal Boundaries: 1845-1935

Spatial Boundaries: All of Washington settled during these years, with concentration in areas described below.

Justification: A few Black people earned part of their living in seasonal work as fishermen during the study. African-born John Garrison of Kitsap County, who worked primarily as a logger, also worked as a fisherman. In 1872, he and his wife, Jane, paid Dexter Horton \$50.00 for an oyster farm which they operated until 1887.¹

Most Black people appear to have been workers or crewmen rather than owners of gear, oyster beds or boats. The 1880 census lists one Black fisherman in Pacific County and one in Wakhiakum County. One oysterman is tabulated in the 1900 census of Washington. At the turn of the century, William Ferguson of Seattle owned a tugboat on which he, his brother and another Black man worked. They are all listed as fishermen. Two other Black men in Seattle are listed as members of racially-mixed fishing crews, as are two in Blaine.²

While the total number employed during a season in any one year may exceed those given here, fishing appears to have attracted very few Black people. The official total for 1910 is two, and four for 1930.³ One of the four is Walter Allen, now retired, who lives in Ocean City.

1. Diane Robinson, Bremerton Celebrates Over 100 Years, p. 1.
2. U.S. Census, King and Whatcom Counties, 1900.
3. U.S. Census, 1910 and 1930.

DEFINITION:

Temporal Boundaries: 1845-1935

Spatial Boundaries: All of Washington settled during these years, with concentration in areas described below.

Justification: From the early days of the territory, Blacks have had a part in the commercial life of Washington. Most entered the services industry, often after working in the domestic and personal services occupations. From their meager pay, they saved enough capital to move from employee to owner status, operating hotels, restaurants, barber shops and shoeshine stands. In spite of the denial of chances of getting experience, and the resulting inefficiency due to lack of experience and the difficulty of securing capital and building credit, Blacks throughout Washington operated small businesses.

In the 19th Century, businesses were generally operated in commercial districts. After the turn of the century, the bulk of the businesses in larger cities were located in what were identified increasingly as Black neighborhoods. Blacks encountered difficulties in renting space in choice locations and the refusal of most White people to patronize Blacks in many lines of trade limited their income as well. Businesses dependent upon patronage of economically marginal clients were often as vulnerable as their patrons, so most of them were short-lived. Nevertheless, a few individuals continued their small enterprises for decades.

Most Black businesses were small, individually operated and required small capital investments. A few were partnerships, usually consisting of just two people.

Black newspapers, especially those of the 20th Century, contain advertisements and references to businesses run by Blacks. The newspapers themselves represent a substantial undertaking. Generally they sought to supplement their income by job-printing and constantly advertised for subscribers. Other periodicals such as church bulletins carried business advertisements.

The period between 1910 and 1920 was one of considerable growth in both the number and variety of enterprises. The growth continued during the 1920's, but during the Depression, the number fell to almost what it had been in the 1890's when the Black population was much smaller. The boom period occurred during the latter part of World War I which continued at a somewhat slower pace during the post-war decade.

The importance of business other than as a profit-making enterprise was discussed by Sinclair Drake and Horace Cayton, Jr., in Black Metropolis, A Study of Black Chicagoans, in the 1940's. The description is just as true for Washingtonians of the study period. For members of the Black population business was a symbol of pride and progress for the race.

BUSINESS

Blacks, living in the greater society as well as the smaller Black Society, participated in and were subjected to the ideas of both. In the general society, high value was placed upon operating businesses and participating in white collar work. Washington Blacks sat in the same classrooms as Whites, read the same papers, watched the same movies and incorporated the same ideals as were taught in a variety of ways. Therefore, their aspirations were the same as the other members of the greater society.

The earliest business operators in Washington catered to the general public. In no place in the state were there sufficient numbers of Blacks to offer goods or services exclusively to Blacks until the Roslyn migration of 1888 and 1889. Had they chosen otherwise, there would have been no Blacks in business since they did not number 150 people in the whole territory in 1870, although the population experienced growth in the years following the Civil War.¹

By World War I, a discernible market, consisting of Afro-American consumers with increasing purchasing power and sufficient numbers to support some enterprises, emerged. In Seattle, the area of 12th and Jackson Streets, long identified with Blacks, became the newest commercial district. Harry Legg's Alhambra Cash Grocery, which catered to the palate of Southern-born Afro-Americans, furnished among other goods, southern yams and watermelons. New shops, stores and restaurants in Seattle and a rooming house in Tacoma were opened in 1918.² A few years earlier, the Norris brothers had begun the Southern Express Company. The Peoples brothers placed touring cars into service for hire. Former Tacoma policeman, Horace P. Lawhorn, operated a successful real estate business.³

Throughout the 20's, the number of black-owned businesses increased. In Spokane, five families operated large restaurants including one called Brown's Place, which is reputed to have had the largest neon sign in Washington State.⁴ Most of them were legitimate businesses, some of which had begun early in the century or before. Others were less legitimate, sometimes offering gambling and liquor, which were illegal commodities during the period. For such enterprises, the income was nothing short of fabulous. One Spokane bootlegger was reported to have made \$350 per night for supplying the Spokane City Club and other gentlemen's resorts with liquor during Prohibition.⁵

The Depression caused the eclipse of many businesses. A few smaller ones survived. Undertakers and night clubs remained in business as did fuel dealers.

Throughout the study period, the most successful businesses were those which Whites did not choose to operate, mainly in the laboring and domestic services. The number of Blacks operating business in the years after 1865 did not greatly exceed the number in business enterprises prior to the Civil War.

In 1900, Booker T. Washington established the National Negro Business League. While many Washingtonians rejected his approach to race relations, an enthusiastic group in Seattle organized a local chapter of the League in

BUSINESS

1915.⁶ Spokane organized a chapter in 1914.⁷ Included among their officers were most of the top-ranking professionals and businessmen of each community. The League's activities mainly dealt with attempts to make themselves known to the Black consumers and to interest Blacks in the operation of business.

Cayton's Weekly preached the undertaking of businesses and buying homes. Ministers also exhorted listeners to patronize "race" businesses.

Nearly all of the proprietors and promoters migrated to Washington from less progressive communities where the chances of getting experience in a well-established business before they attempted to start an enterprise for themselves was denied Black people. Despite a lack of formal business education or "on-the-job" training, some of them were able to remain in business for long periods of time, earning enough to buy a house and, in some cases, put their children through college.

FOOTNOTES

1. U.S. Bureau of the Census, Ninth Census of the United States, Statistics of the Population, 1872.
2. Cayton's Weekly, November 23, 1918.
3. Ibid., September 15, 1917; June 15, 1918.
4. Albert Hilbert, Oral History Transcript, p. 16.
5. Ibid., p. 18.
6. Cayton's Weekly, November 23, 1918.
7. Inland Northwest Black History Collection, Lillian Stokes File.

SCIENCE AND ENGINEERING

ENGINEERS

DEFINITION:

Temporal Boundaries: 1845-1938

Spatial Boundaries: All of Washington settled during these years, with concentration in areas described below.

Justification: A few men are described in various sources as engineers. It was impossible to ascertain whether the title referred to "stationary engineers" or professionally-trained engineers. John Spindle of Roslyn, was described in an 1895 newspaper report as a "civil engineer."¹ Carter Nicholas, who came to Roslyn in 1888, is usually described as an "engineer" or "mining engineer." His daughter-in-law, Elva Nicholas of Seattle, says he was a self-taught "engineer" who studied on his own and passed certain tests for certification prior to his move to Washington.² About half a dozen other men in coal-mining areas are described as "engineers." One of these, Gordon Carter, worked as stationary engineer at the Georgetown Steam Plant after moving from Franklin to Seattle.³

A few men in the twentieth century took the modern approach of university study to earn degrees in the field. University of Washington graduate Ora Dennis recalled a professor telling him that a set of Black twins graduated in civil engineering at the University about 1913. Finding employment closed to them in the United States because of their race, they moved to Mexico to work but were killed a few years later in a revolution.⁴

At this writing, only one bridge designer from the period is known. Ora Avis Dennis graduated as a civil engineer in 1937. His struggle and perseverance is a study in the cruelty and discouragement encountered by those Black people in Washington who sought to break out of service and menial roles. He is included here because he began his studies within the temporal boundaries, although his work history in Washington State comes after the limits set for the study as a whole. Briefly, Mr. Dennis opposed the design of the Duwamish River Bridge which eventually collapsed. He headed the design team for the Evergreen Point Floating Bridge, designed the welded steel girders on the approaches of the Hood Canal Bridge, and designed the Biggs Rapids Bridge.⁵

SCIENCE AND ENGINEERING
ENGINEERS

FOOTNOTES

1. Tacoma Daily Ledger, May 19, 1895, p. 3.
2. Elva Moore Nicholas, Oral History Transcript, p. 3
3. Cayton's Weekly, September 15, 1917.
4. Ora Avis Dennis, Oral History Transcript, p. 30.
5. Ibid., p. 107

SCIENCE AND ENGINEERING

INVENTIONS

DEFINITION:

Temporal Boundaries: 1845-1935

Spatial Boundaries: All of Washington settled during these years, with concentration in areas described below.

Justification: Blacks have been as likely as other races to invent useful products which benefitted the rest of society. Some of the inventions have been quite extraordinary, others have been less so. Although the history of invention in our country has been written so that we usually hear of only the great White men of science and engineering, the creative capacity is universal. Many slaves were inventors, but few of them have been credited with their discoveries. They were unable to secure patents, and their owners generally took the credit for the fruit of their slaves' ingenuity.

Most Blacks made little or no money from their inventions. Hampered by the traditional lack of capital and connections with persons who could promote their products, most Black inventors realized little financial gain from their work. Many of them died broke. There are numerous instances of Black inventors selling their work to white men without ever receiving credit for their inventions.

In various parts of the country, Blacks made notable contributions in many fields. Garrett Morgan's gas mask was used on World War I battlefields. He later invented the first three-way traffic light. In 1848, Lewis Temple invented a type of harpoon that locked in the flesh of whales which led to a great increase in catches. Lewis Latimer, a member of the Edison Pioneers invented carbon filaments for light bulbs. Overall the list is extensive.¹

In Washington, practically no documentation exists on the work of Black inventors. A few people are discussed here, but doubtlessly, there are others who have escaped the record.

Charles V. Watkins of Spokane is the only Afro-American listed as an inventor in the 1900 federal census. He was born in Ohio in December of 1865 of Kentucky-born parents, and was a roomer in a house on Front Avenue at the turn of the century. Nothing is known of his inventions or his whereabouts after 1900.²

John Henry (Dick) Turpin retired from the Navy in Bremerton in 1916, but soon re-entered the Navy on active reserve duty and served on a ship during World War I. When the war ended he returned to Bremerton for retirement, subject to call when the Puget Sound Navy Yard required his services as a diver. Before his retirement as a master diver, he invented an acetylene torch for use under water which was used by the Navy for many years.³

INVENTIONS

New Orleans-born Martin Van Buren came to Spokane in 1903 following thirteen years of service in the 25th Infantry. In 1905 he moved to Dayton and opened a shoe-repairing business which he operated through the rest of the study period. He was reported to have invented an inkwell which was "quite a novelty," and the "Van Buren Carpet Beating Machine," plus several other devices which, in 1927, he planned to put on the market upon completion.⁴

A few realized sufficient money to enhance their lives. Claude Henry Polk and his wife Sophia moved to Tacoma in 1922 with their two small daughters after he sold his invention for an improved ore car to the Anaconda Copper Mining Company. The money paid for the invention was sufficient for purchase of a home which the family occupied in the 1100 block of East 53rd Street until it burned. One of the daughters, Majorie Polk Sotero, stated in a telephone conversation that the children of the person involved in the transaction think that he, rather than her father, was the inventor.⁵

FOOTNOTES

1. Aaron E. Klein, The Hidden Contributors: Black Scientists and Inventors in America, pp. 99-121.
2. U.S. Bureau of the Census, Twelfth Census of The United States, Occupations, 1904.
3. "This Vet Remembers the Maine" unidentified clipping, Leonard Gayton scrapbook.
4. Samuel DeBow and Edward Pitter, Who's Who? in the State of Washington, p. 205.
5. Telephone conversation with Marjorie Polk Sotero, September 22, 1985.

ARCHITECTURE

ARCHITECTS AND BUILDERS

DEFINITION:

Temporal Boundaries: 1845-1935

Spatial Boundaries: All of Washinton settled during these years, with concentration in areas described below.

Most of the designers and builders of Black owned structures remain anonymous. The majority was probably Black. They are generally mentioned, in passing, as carpenters, which most of them were. Except for the very early settlers, George Bush and his family, and later George Washington, who built their first homes in the early stage of non-Indian presence, most of the 19th Century and a large number of the early 20th century builders remain in obscurity. The earliest builder identified with a public building is Seaborn J. Collins of Seattle. An oral history interview elicited a description of the conversion of Seattle's First A.M.E. Church from a house to a small one-and-a-half story church building, and identified Mr. Collins as the person performing the work.¹

Blacks, faced with no demand for their skills or training did not often enter into formal architectural studies. Occasionally, persons with training came to the state, but few remained for long periods of time.

The building trades in Washington were practically closed to Black men throughout the period of study. All of the skilled workers or contractors in this field had learned the trade in other places prior to coming to Washington. Some highly skilled men were able to surmount the obstacles posed by organized labor, limited capital and lack of credit, and made comfortable livings at their work.

Persons with relatives in the trade were able to learn from them, and some became quite proficient. Some without relatives in the field took other avenues for acquiring the necessary knowlidge. In 1917, W.D. Slater, a Kittitas County rancher, mentioned his intention to study architecture and building at Broadway High School in Seattle in order to construct buildings on his property.²

Charles Harvey was well known in and around Seattle as a contractor and builder. He had come to the city in 1886, and engaged in the wallpapering and painting trade before an allergy to oil paints forced him to look for another line of work.³ He was said by Cayton to have built many beautiful homes for residents of the city.⁴ In 1909, he was reported to be working

ARCHITECTURE

ARCHITECTS AND BUILDERS

on several houses in various stages of construction. Of his son and assistant, George Robert, it was said to be hinted about town that he was more skilled at housebuilding than his father.⁵

Robert W. Butler was a contractor and builder who came to Seattle about the same time that Charles Harvey came. In 1909, he was reported by Cayton to have built more houses in Seattle than any other Black man. He was further reported to have given "absolute satisfaction in every contract" that he had taken. Unlike most Black businessmen, Mr. Butler was said to have unlimited credit with the various dealers of building materials. His brother, J.M. Butler, was his business associate.⁶ In 1906, they built the apartment building still standing at 12th and Pike on Seattle's Capitol Hill.⁷

In Yakima, Amos Spearman built houses for the growing Black population of that town. The house he built on South 6th Street for his large family still stands today.

After J.J. Baskins moved to Walla Walla in 1912, he added to an impressive list of structures he had erected elsewhere prior to coming to Washington. Included in the list by 1927 were fifteen churches, a shirt factory and remodelling of a company store in Omaha, Nebraska. In Washington, he supervised construction of two buildings in Pullman costing \$20,000 and \$25,000, and was assistant supervisor of a \$72,000 Walla Walla school building. He also built two bungalows, one of which was occupied by him and his family at 814 Poplar Street in Walla Walla.⁸

Robert Manley came to Aberdeen about 1919. He was foreman of the construction work of the St. Joseph's Hospital in that town.⁹

Few, if any, architects lived in Washington during the study period. E.R. James moved to Seattle from Auckland, New Zealand in 1917.¹⁰ His son, reputed to be a trained architect, designed the Mt. Zion Baptist Church which was erected in Seattle in 1920. The lack of work and the racial climate caused him to move to Brazil sometime during that decade.

An unsubstantiated report attributes the design of the house at 1032 "A" Street in Spokane to a Black Boston architect who designed the house for his sister in the early years of the century.¹¹

At age nine, Elbert Barnes began a life-long study of carpentry with his father in Mississippi. Since coming to Tacoma in 1934, he has built

ARCHITECTURE

ARCHITECTS AND BUILDERS

several residences, constructed a church, renovated other church properties, and worked as a building inspector of approximately 1800 houses at Fort Lewis.¹²

FOOTNOTES

1. Souvenir Program of the Fiftieth Anniversary Service of the First A.M.E. Church Edifice, 1912-1962, p. 1.
2. Cayton's Weekly, October 6, 1917, p. 2.
3. Gertrude Wright, Oral History Transcript, p. 6.
4. Cayton, Greater Northwest Prosperity Number, 1909.
5. Ibid.
6. Ibid.
7. Fred Woodson, Oral History Transcript, p. 6.
8. Samuel H. DeBow and Edward Pitter, Who's Who? In the State of Washington, p. 82.
9. Ibid. p. 163.
10. Cayton's Weekly, December 15, 1917; Priscilla Kirk, Oral History transcript, p. 8
11. Letter from Doug Olson to Esther Mumford, August 31, 1985.
12. Elbert Barnes, Oral History Transcript, p. 5.

COMMUNICATIONS
NEWSPAPERS AND BOOKS

DEFINITION

Temporal Boundaries: 1845-1935

Spatial Boundaries: All of Washington settled during these years, with concentration in areas described below.

Justification: Prior to the establishment of Black newspapers, news from other places was derived from the local White press, or from letters or newspapers from other places. Occasionally a visiting minister would come through the larger towns and meet with the local Black population. At these meetings a sermon would be preached and discussions of issues of interest to Blacks would be held in which the visitor would report information about the subjects under inquiry.

The Black press was the most important means of communication during the period of study. The first such paper was a short-lived weekly published in the fall of 1889 by James Ross, a Black resident of Tacoma, who later moved to Seattle.¹

Newspapers served the important psychological function of confirming the dignity of Blacks during a time when attacks on their dignity were very common. They provided an outlet for protest and satisfied a need for Blacks to speak for themselves. Newspapers articulated the desire to improve conditions for the race in the political, economic and social spheres and were also an expression of pride.

Rarely could one read about contributions of Blacks to the country's development outside of Black newspapers. Most newspapers in Washington during the period, when they wrote about Blacks at all, generally published articles on the accepted mythology of the time regarding Blacks' supposed mental, physical and moral inferiority, dishonesty, and lack of ambition. Black newspapers revised history that was largely written in "the glorious white race" genre, and exposed the hypocrisy of the system built on laws which were often unfairly applied to Black people. Without exception, Washington newspapers never failed to point up the contradictions inherent in such an approach.

On many occasions the White press was not only insensitive, but insulting as well. The Seattle Post Intelligencer trampled the feelings of its Black readers when it placed on the sports page a report of a White mob throwing a Black baby into a burning structure during the St. Louis riot of 1917.² Oftentimes Black victims were blamed for their lynchings by the daily press. Such practices led many people to believe that Black needs were not being met by the White press.

The Black press also reported on events that White papers ignored. The Spokane daily press often presented news of Black conventions and

NEWSPAPERS AND BOOKS

conferences held in that city, but the practice was far from common. Horace Cayton remarked in the Cayton's Weekly of July 6, 1918 on the silence accorded the Second Annual Meeting of the Colored Women's Federation by the Seattle daily press when the organization met in that city. His remark that "had the chief of police thrown half as many colored women in jail, or driven them out of town...the four daily papers would have filled half of their front pages with the account," indicates what, by that time, had become a common practice of selectivity regarding news about Blacks in the daily papers.

Most Black newspapers of the time were partisan, most often Republican-oriented. The Spokane Forum, however, was of Democratic orientation. Not until the 1920's did the Seattle papers eschew party identification. Throughout the life of Cayton's newspapers, which he began in 1894, he identified with the Republican Party, although he never surrendered his principles, or interest in Afro-American progress, to strict partisan politics. He was as likely to chastise those of his party as he was likely to chastise those of his race whom he thought to be in error. He, and others like him, was never able to reconcile the desire to remain in the party's fold and within the capitalistic form of government, to the despicable manner in which Blacks were treated.

Some of the Black papers carried reports of activities of Blacks in other communities, but columns devoted to such news were generally irregular until the 1930's, even though regular correspondents from other cities were announced.

These publications were universally staunch advocates of self-help. They also published economic advice. Cayton's Weekly recommended that householders shop the public market and abandon the expensive practice of phoning the grocer for delivery of items.³ Cayton was unrelenting in the exhortation of readers to buy homes, buy land in the suburbs and countryside. The newspapers carried job announcements, and encouraged migration of southerners and easterners to the Northwest.

Protest was an important function of Black newspapers whose editors often took the lead in political lobbying and the testing of public accommodations practices. The Tacoma Forum's founder, John Ryan, while speaking in Seattle, declared his community's intention to sue the Pantages Theatre for discrimination against Blacks in 1918.⁴ The Forum also protested Jefferson Davis Day in that city.⁵ The newspapers called for militant action by Blacks against job discrimination, murder and intimidation elsewhere, and called for federal intervention when Black resistance failed. In Washington, they protested labor union discrimination and that of employers, and made no effort to conceal their expectations of patronage, or at least recognition, by elected officials who were supported in elections by sizeable numbers of the local Black population.

Instances of Blacks resisting discrimination and unfair treatment were applauded. Prior to the Brownsville Inquiry, the Seattle Republican applauded the soldiers' retaliatory actions against the Texans who had

NEWSPAPERS AND BOOKS

baited the soldiers mercilessly since their arrival.⁶ Similarly, the Black women who resigned from Frye's Packing House because they were paid two to three dollars less than white women employees were applauded. Black men left Frye's rather than be segregated in the dining room, and they, too were commended on their stand. Cayton's Weekly reported triumphantly that both actions resulted in a reversal of the company's policy, and the workers were asked to return, which they did.⁷

From time to time certain pressures were brought to bear against Black newspapers. The most prevalent one was that of vociferous complaints against content, such as detailed descriptions of lynchings in the South. The other, and sometimes highly effective measure, was cancellation of subscriptions. In the case of the Seattle Republican this tactic was successful. Following testimony in a 1915 restaurant discrimination case brought by Cayton, that he had served time in a Kansas prison for perjury growing out of a political dispute there, subscriptions and advertisement were curtailed so severely that Cayton lost the paper.⁸ Another instance of pressure was the announcement in the daily papers of Tacoma that the lame duck mayor would refuse endorsement of any candidate for mayor that was supported by the Forum in 1918.⁹

In the 19th century in Seattle there were seven newspapers beginning with the publication of the Seattle Standard by Brittain Oxendine.¹⁰ He was backed by Seattleite George Grose and Gideon Baily of Franklin. Horace Cayton assumed the ailing weekly in 1892. After disagreements with the former owner and some community leaders regarding what they felt was Cayton's strident attack on White officials, the Standard was shut down. In 1894, Cayton began publication of the Seattle Republican, which lasted for 21 years. After 1900, he was assisted by his wife, Susie Revels Cayton, whom he married in 1896. He began publication of Cayton's Weekly, which was a much more easily identifiable "Black" newspaper, in 1915. Occasionally he issued "Special Editions" in booklet form, which included biographical sketches of prominent Black persons of the state and leading White Republicans.

In 1903, the Seattle Searchlight was begun by the Rev. S.S. Freeman, who was then pastor of the A.M.E. Church. The Searchlight continued with Samuel Peter DeBow as editor into the early 1920's. Mrs. Gladys Presto also served as city editor of the Searchlight during the 1920's. Mr. DeBow joined Edward Pitter in publication of a subscription history "Who's Who in the State of Washington?", in 1927.

The Seattle-based Northwest Enterprise was the main newspaper published in the state from 1920 through the mid-1940's. Carrying regular columns of Black activities in other cities around the state, and reports from as far away as Montana, it was the most important means of communication for Washington's population during the Depression era.

In the mid-nineties, Adolphus D. Griffin who had migrated from New Orleans to Spokane, began publication of the Spokane Northwest Echo.¹¹ In 1896, Mr. Griffin moved to Portland and began publication of a newspaper there. Between 1908 and 1913, the Spokane Citizen was published by Charles Barrow

NEWSPAPERS AND BOOKS

and Charles C. Parker. Barrow had started a printing company which he operated until his death in 1950, after working as a printer's devil for the Spokesman Review for seven years. ¹²

The Rev. J. Gordon McPherson, Pastor of Calvary Baptist Church, began publication of the Spokane Forum in 1909.¹³ Emmett Holmes edited the Forum after 1910 until its demise in 1912.¹⁴ Mr. McPherson was also on the editorial board of the monthly Voice of the West in 1910.¹⁵ A passing reference was made to the Everett Rising Sun which was published sometime during the period.¹⁶

John and Ella Ryan moved to Seattle from Spokane in late summer of 1900 and published a few issues of the Democratic-leaning Washington Exponent. By September 1900, they had moved to Tacoma and began publishing there. Mr. Ryan returned to Seattle in 1901 and worked for the Seattle Republican. By 1903, he had returned to Tacoma and begun publishing the Tacoma Forum.¹⁷

During the first decade of the paper's existence, local news concerning Blacks was published on the second page. The paper generally covered news and opinions concerning state and local politics. By the latter years of the first world war, the entire content of the paper was political matters and not representative of Black interests. Occasional articles or editorials, mostly reprints from other publications deploring violence or injustice against Blacks, were reprinted in the Forum, but original articles on the subject or features on Black people were rare. The paper was supported almost entirely by White subscribers and White advertisers. Mrs. Ryan, the editor of the paper in the late 1910's was, however, a forceful writer, as her articulate editorial "Lynching Must Stop," in the December 28, 1918 edition demonstrates. In addition to the newspaper, Mr. Ryan published special editions and legislative manuals.

Prior to World War I Tacoma attorney Gustav Aldrich published the Sunday Echo, a newspaper concerned with news of the Catholic church and its adherents.

The Bertillion Eye is mentioned in Cayton's 1909 Special Edition but no other information is given concerning the paper.

Eleane Dixon graduated from Seattle's Broadway High School with honors. Shortly after entering the University of Washington to study journalism about 1910, she organized and became editor of a magazine called The Progressive Westerner. This effort was curtailed by her death in 1915.¹⁸

Books published by or about Blacks in other parts of the country were advertised in the state's Black press. Seattle's Benjamin Tutt stocked "race" magazines and sold books by Black authors in his barber shop.¹⁹ Individual agents sold books in various communities throughout the period. Church periodicals also published news concerning their parishoners, and occasionally noted national events concerning Blacks. The most regular of these was the monthly Grace (Presbyterian) Herald magazine of the late teens and twenties, and the A.M.E. bulletin, both of Seattle. The Baptists and Methodists wherever they were represented in Washington, were members

NEWSPAPERS AND BOOKS

of national associations that had their own publishing houses which issued periodicals on a regular basis. These journals contained articles on religious doctrine, as well as issues of national concern, such as migrations, lynchings and other forms of injustice and highlighted Black achievements nationally.

In several instances during the period, Washington residents wrote and published books. Dr. Samuel Burdette, a Seattle veterinarian who later homesteaded in Benton County, wrote and published a book in 1900 chronicling lynchings of Black people in America. He was a founding member of the International Council of the World, a Washington State group dedicated to bringing lynch mob participants to trial. The Rev. J.M. Webb, an evangelist for the Church of God in 1909, later published his lectures on the African origins of Jesus, Solomon and the Queen of Sheba.²⁰ Mrs. Emma Ray and her husband, Lloyd, came to Seattle in 1889. After her conversion, she was one of the most ardent practitioners of Methodism. In 1926, she wrote her autobiography, Twice Sold, Twice Ransomed which contained a descriptive history of activities at the A.M.E. Church in the early 1890's. There are indications that S.T. McCants of Seattle wrote Negro History and Contributions, although only a card introducing this information was available to this researcher. Joyce Cooper Arkhurst, who was a winner in the children's contest held during National Poetry Week in Seattle about 1935, later retold, in published form, the Ananse stories after residing in West Africa for some years. Shirley Lola Graham, who was once married to S.T. McCant, became a published writer after she left Seattle, as did her brother, Lorenz. In 1923, Mrs. Alice Henrietta Howard, who moved to Spokane about 1918, published an A B C Book for Negro Children in 1923. Her second book, Onion to Orchid was published in 1945.

Generally the books were self-published, Mrs. Ray's and Mrs. Howard's books being the exception. In later years, persons who were from the state wrote and published books.

FOOTNOTES

1. Seattle Post Intelligencer, September 12, 1889.
2. Reported in Cayton's Weekly, October 27, 1917.
3. Ibid., July 20, 1918.
4. Ibid., June 15, 1918.
5. Ibid.

FOOTNOTES (con't)

6. Seattle Republican, October 9, 1906.
7. Cayton's Weekly, March 2, 1918.
8. Unidentified clipping, Letcher Yarbrough scrapbook.
9. Cayton's Weekly, February 16, 1918.
10. Esther Mumford, Seattle's Black Victorians, 1852-1901, p. 85.
11. Elizabeth McLagan, A Peculiar Paradise/A History of Blacks in Oregon, 1788-1940, p. 109.
12. Spokane Branch, NAACP, A Brief History of Blacks in Spokane County, 1878-1978, a slide program.
13. Spokane City Directory, 1909.
14. Spokane Branch, NAACP, A Brief History of Blacks in Spokane County, 1878-1978, a slide program.
15. Spokane City Directory, 1910.
16. A. Abijan, Blacks in the American West, p. 258.
17. Seattle Republican Greater Northwest Prosperity Number, 1909.
18. Samuel P. DeBow and Edward A. Pitter, Who's Who? in the State of Washington, p. 156.
19. Cayton's Weekly, December 7, 1918.
20. Ibid., Greater Northwest Prosperity Number, 1909.

HEALTH AND MEDICINE

DEFINITION:

Temporal Boundaries: 1845-1935

Spatial Boundaries: All of Washington settled during these years, with concentration in areas described below.

Justification: Not much is documented about early medical practices of Washington's Blacks. In the 1721 smallpox epidemic in Boston, members of the African community nursed the English settlers. The Africans had been vaccinated in the practice of traditional medicine in their own countries prior to their enslavement in America.¹ Since there were a few Africans in the Black population in the early days of settlement, perhaps some of their traditional medical practices were brought to Washington State and practiced. Some of the practices of southerners who moved to Washington were, in fact, of African origin and it is likely that they continued to use those methods in their families after moving here.

The first "doctor" to come to the writer's attention was Joshua Highwarden, a fraudulent practitioner who, in the early 1880's, charged women outrageous sums for his special treatment, and patent medicine which was available for a fraction of the cost in local pharmacies. "Dr." Highwarden was a barber well known to the Black community, who changed his racial identity to "Portugese" about the time he decided to go into medical practice. Before the truth was discovered by the White community, he had bilked Seattle women out of a small fortune and married a comfortably well off widow in Coupeville who spent much of her fortune building a new house to please her groom.² By 1890, he had moved back to Seattle and resumed his trade as a barber.³

Dr. Charles Shadd, a trained physician, came to Seattle with his wife, Flora, in 1890, and practiced medicine during the early part of that decade. Dr. E.E. Makiell, an ordained minister in the A.M.E. Church, who spent a brief time in Seattle during the 1890's and was well known in A.M.E. circles around the state, was also a medical doctor. The Rev. J.B. Prince, who worked with the Baptist Church in Seattle and Roslyn at the turn of the century, was also a physician.⁴ Dr. David Cardwell came to Seattle in 1903 and was in practice for more than twenty years. During World War I, he moved his office to the Mutual Life Building in Pioneer Square. He was joined in Seattle by Dr. Charles Maxwell in 1907.⁵ Dr. Maxwell, a Western Reserve graduate, is remembered today for his brilliance in many subjects. He practiced in a house in the Judkins neighborhood among Italian immigrants.

The long illness preceding the recent death of Dr. Walter Scott Brown

HEALTH AND MEDICINE

brought to an end the career of the first Black person in Washington to practice plastic surgery. In 1932, Dr. Brown of Alabama established his practice in Seattle after completion of his internship at Providence Hospital. After serving as a flight surgeon with the Army Air Corps for four years during World War II, he completed plastic surgery training. In 1946, he re-established his practice in Seattle; two years later he opened the first outpatient clinic for plastic and reconstructive surgery in the United States.⁶

Dr. Felix Cooper was licensed to practice dentistry in Washington State in 1912 while he was living in Spokane.⁷ He moved to Seattle about 1914 and began a career that spanned about forty years.

Trained nurses lived and worked in Washington as early as the 1880's when their profession was not as highly respected as it is today. They worked in the homes of patients. Practice in hospitals by Black nurses was, except in very rare circumstances, unknown in Washington State prior to World War II. (The Sunnyside Hospital was an exception in this regard. In the 1920's Amy Bedel, who had grown up in Grandview, was asked to practice there, which she did for several years.)⁸ Martha Rice Duckworth was born in Tacoma in 1900. After finishing nursing school in Chicago, she returned to Tacoma in 1930 looking for work. She applied to all the hospitals but was not hired until 1951, becoming Tacoma's first Black nurse.⁹

Chiropodists practiced in the state's urban areas. The earliest person encountered in the research was Dr. William Williams, who practiced in Spokane from 1890 until the turn of the century.¹⁰ By 1917, there were practitioners in Seattle, Tacoma and Everett.¹¹

Women's organizations had supported hospital work as early as 1908 in Seattle when the Dorcas Charity Club entered an alliance with Children's Orthopedic Hospital to share the expenses of a Black girl suffering from tuberculosis of the knee.¹² Specific hospital guilds, usually named after prominent community women, were organized in Seattle in the forties.

HEALTH AND MEDICINE

1. Cotton Mather, An Account of the Method and Success of Inoculating the Small Pox in Boston in New England, London, 1721.
2. Walla Walla Statesman, Dec. 10, 1881.
3. Seattle City Directory, 1891.
4. Esther Mumford, Seattle's Black Victorians, 1852-1901, p. 99.
5. Muriel Maxwell Pollard, Oral history Transcript, p. 1.
6. Seattle Times, Obituary, June 1985 (undated clipping).
7. Uncatalogued slide of Certificate, Author's collection.
8. Carrie Minnissee Weber, Oral History Interview, p. 23.
9. Martha Rice Duckworth, Oral History Interview, p. 24.
10. Spokane City Directory, 1890, 1891, 1895, 1900, 1901.
11. Giles Graves, Oral History Transcript; Cayton's Weekly, May 18, 1918.
12. Emilie Schwabacher, A Place for the Children, p. 7.

DEFINITION:

Temporal Boundaries: 1845-1935

Spatial Boundaries: All of Washington settled during these years, with concentration in areas described below.

Justification: Churches are the oldest and most prominent institutions in Washington's Black communities. Special holidays were celebrated at the churches; musical and literary programs were held there. Attendance at church was the easiest way for newcomers to meet residents of their new home. Until World War I, churches represented the largest financial investment of any organization in the community.

Wherever there were two churches, they cooperated by mutual support of programs and entertainments. Such cooperation assured success for congregations that were too small to carry off an event alone. Such cooperation continued throughout the study period.

The temperance movement of the 1890's had widespread support in the Black churches. At Spokane, St. Paul's pastor, the Rev. George White, preached many sermons on the subject and lectured at various churches and halls in the city.¹ The Woman's Christian Temperance Union was organized at the Seattle church in the early 1890's. Mrs. Emma Ray was a leader in its organization and the group's first president.²

Formation of the churches was led by a missionary who was directed by a national or regional church body to establish congregations in Washington. The Rev. C. Augustus, a missionary of the African Methodist Episcopal Church for Oregon and Washington, organized churches in Portland, Tacoma, Seattle, Roslyn and Spokane between 1889 and 1890.³ Missionaries met with local people who were often transplanted adherents of the denomination. The organizing minister would remain with the newly established congregations for a few weeks before moving to the next area to repeat the work.

In October, 1889, the Allen African Methodist Episcopal Church was organized in Tacoma, becoming the first church organized among Black people in Washington.⁴ The Seattle congregation, organized early in 1890, marks its beginning from 1886, the year Seaborn J. Collins organized a Sunday School for Black children.⁵ In Roslyn, the A.M.E. Church was organized in the spring of 1890. From Roslyn, Missionary Augustus travelled to Spokane and organized the St. Paul A.M.E. congregation.⁶ The Puget Sound

CHURCHES

Conference of the A.M.E. Churches, which included all the churches in Oregon and Washington then organized, and those of a later period in other states, was founded in 1891.⁷ Ebenezer A.M.E. at Bremerton was established in 1912 and still occupies its original building.

The Rev. J.P. Brown is closely identified with Spokane's Calvary Baptist Church, which he helped to found. He was the pastor during its first few years of existence, and at Roslyn where he lived and ministered from the mid-1890's until the early 1920's.⁸

Peter and Julia Barrow, founding members of Calvary, staunchly supported the church all their lives. Mr. Barrow also served as interim pastor in the late nineties and at the turn of the century.⁹

Seattle's Mt. Zion Baptist congregation dates its founding to 1890. Formal organization took place in 1894. After renting several worship places, the church purchased property at 11th and Spring on which a church building was erected in 1906. The population outgrew the space and in 1919, purchased the property at 19th and Madison, on which their new building stands.

Tacoma's Olivet Baptist Church was organized in 1890. By 1913, it had merged with another congregation, which is now called Bethlehem.¹⁰ They have moved several times and are presently anticipating a move to a new church.¹¹

Churches were organized in Newcastle and Franklin in 1894. In Everett, the Mount Moriah Church was organized in 1901, but ceased existence after a few years struggle.¹² The Second Baptist Church was begun in 1906. Baptist Churches in Ellensburg and Yakima were begun after the turn of the century, as was the church at Kenndale.

The Washington State Association of Baptists was organized at Newcastle in 1900 and included churches throughout the state.

The St. Thomas Episcopal Mission was established in Spokane in 1906. It was disbanded after the National Church urged abolition of all-Black missions and parishes in the 1950's.¹³ A similar fate befell the Church of the Advent in Seattle which grew out of the St. Phillips Mission which was established prior to the 1920's.

In Seattle, a small group of people with ties to the Presbyterian Church organized a congregation about 1913. In 1923, they purchased a building which had been used by an older White congregation.¹⁴ Grace Chapel was merged with Madrona Presbyterian in the 1950's.¹⁵

By 1907, mention was made of the Church of God congregation in Seattle and

CHURCHES

the Seattle City Directory of 1907 lists an African Methodist Episcopal Zion Church.¹⁶ A Church of God in Tacoma was organized in the twenties and has met near 25th and Yakima since the 1930's.

FOOTNOTES

1. Spokane Falls Review, March 12, 1891.
2. Emma Ray, Twice Sold, Twice Ransomed, p. 15.
3. Spokane Falls Review, March 16, 1890, p. 6.
4. Tacoma Daily Ledger, October 11, 1889.
5. Souvenir Program of the Fiftieth Anniversary Service of the First A.M.E. Church Edifice, 1912/1962.
6. Spokane Falls Review, March 16, 1890, p. 6.
7. Esther Mumford, Seattle's Black Victorians, 1852-1901, p. 155.
8. Cayton's Weekly, August 23, 1919.
9. Spokane Branch, N.A.A.C.P., A Brief History of Blacks in Spokane County, 1878-1978, slide series.
10. Tacoma City Directory, 1913.
11. Elbert Barnes, Oral History Transcript, p. 36.
12. Cayton's Weekly, April 13, 1918.
13. Telephone conversation with Ruth Farnham, Historiographer, Spokane Diocese, September 10, 1985.
14. Evelyn Johnson Lewis, Oral History Transcript; LeEtta King, Oral History Transcript, p. 39.
15. Seattle City Directory, 1907.
16. Elbert Barnes, Oral History Transcript, p. 20.

EDUCATION

LEARNING

DEFINITION:

Temporal Boundaries: 1845-1938

Spatial Boundaries: All of Washington settled during these years, with concentration in areas described below.

Justification: For the most part, Black children attended school in their local communities. There are a few unsubstantiated reports of local resistance to the presence of Black children in some districts. One Columbia County District was reported to have closed its school when children of a newly-arrived Black family began attending in 1877.¹ But such reactions were rare. Even the slave boy in Olympia was sent to school without objection.² Persons attending school at or prior to the turn of the century recall differences made by the teacher between them and their White schoolmates, but others interviewed who attended school later remembered their school days mostly as happy times.³

Education was particularly important to the people living in the territory in the early part of the study period. The illiteracy rate declined from 17.7 percent of the total Black population in 1890 to 4.3 percent in 1910. By 1930 the rate had fallen to 2.9 percent of the population.⁴

Even those who were literate were anxious to see more Black people receive an education. Tacoma-born George Wright recalled that his grandfather, George P. Riley, who was himself fairly well-educated for the times, used to stand across the street from Beutel Business College about 1903 just to see his grandson exit from the school, so proud was he of the boy.⁵ In Mr. Wright's case, this training provided secure employment at decent pay throughout his working life.

Others who remained in school, or received training were not so fortunate. For most Black people during the study period, an education did not secure the future. The complaint Cayton's Weekly made so often that Black children were not attending high school was directly related to the poor job market and the poor hiring policy of businesses and corporations. While a small percentage remained through high school graduation, most did not proceed to university. Of those who did, few remained to graduate. Ora Dennis, who graduated from the University of Washington in 1938, with a degree in civil engineering, found it impossible to find employment in that or any other field outside of menial labor.⁶ He became the community example of the futility of a college education. "Look at Ora Dennis," people would say, by way of explaining why they did not seek higher education.

Nevertheless, some people have always studied to enter a new profession or to be aware of what was going on around them. From the earliest days of statehood, men such as Seattle's Edward Hawkins studied law while working

LEARNING

six days a week as a barber.⁷ In Spokane, Charles Scrutchin studied the law with Attorney General Jones while working at odd jobs.⁸ Jesse Williams studied law with two lawyers in Spokane prior to beginning his practice in 1891.⁹ So assiduous was Lawrence Sledge about his studies of the law that he was written about in the Tacoma City Library Report of 1894. Regular patrons of the Bernice Building in Tacoma were accustomed to seeing the studious Sledge bent over a tome during lulls in his work as elevator boy. He was admitted to the Washington State Bar in 1896.

C.C. Crawley moved his barbering practice from Seattle to Everett sometime during the first decade of the twentieth century. He began the study of law, but later switched to the study of podiatry for which he was certified by the state in 1917.¹⁰ Dr. Giles Graves began the study of podiatry in Chicago in the 1920's following a stay in Alaska at which time he practiced the podiatric skills he had learned in the establishment of his parents, James and Letitia Graves. Both were certified as podiatrists prior to their arrival in Seattle in 1906.¹¹

Other people pursued university educations in spite of the odds of not finding employment. Tacoma-born Clarence Anderson left Spokane, where he had moved as a child with his family, and came to the University of Washington in 1911. In 1916, he received his law degree from the University and began practice a year later.¹² Loti Biggs moved to Seattle with her family in 1909. She graduated from Queen Anne High School with honors. She received a degree in pharmacy in 1918 and returned for a second degree in 1922. She worked on the staff of the Physicians' Clinical Laboratory before opening a laboratory of her own in 1925.¹³ John Prim entered the University of Washington in the fall of 1919. For the first time that year there were enough Black students on campus to form a club.

Some persons went further distances than nearby institutions to pursue additional education. Arline Yarbrough entered Washington State College in 1931. She was the only freshman girl to have her own private room, so determined was the house mother that she should not share a room with White girls at a time when three or four girls shared a room.¹⁴ Estella Slater Jackson studied at the New England Conservatory of Music after graduating high school in Seattle in the 1910's.

Amy Bedel grew up on her parents' Yakima Valley homestead at Grandview. After high school, she went to the eastern United States to train as a nurse. Upon her return, she was offered a job at Sunnyside Hospital where she worked for several years.¹⁵

Sometimes the effort of acquiring additional education and training resulted in monumental disappointments for the students before they ever left school. Elizabeth Wells and Mildred McIver studied nursing at the University of Washington. They were told during the course that they would have to arrange independently with private hospitals for their required floor practice, although the University arranged that of White students. Every hospital the two Black students contacted refused them admission. Neither woman became a nurse.¹⁶

LEARNING

While most Black students appear not to have taken part in extra-curricular activities, some of them played in sports at the University of Washington. Honor student Al Hall played football for Broadway High School prior to his graduation in 1913.¹⁷ Ed Johnson played in the band at Broadway and as a freshman at the University of Washington.¹⁸ John Prim, the star of Franklin High School's football team, went on to play on the University of Washington team. He graduated from the University Law School and practiced law the rest of his life in Seattle.¹⁹

Some of the children entering school from other places had superior educations to local children. Stacey Cooness, stepson of George Washington, came to Centralia and entered school in 1872 after attending boarding schools in Victoria, B.C. He was famous among his fellow students for his excellent memory and wit and appears to have been a good student.²⁰ Others who entered Washington schools from other places were behind their peer group in educational achievement. The level of education often depended upon the place or origin of the student. Generally, those from southern states, particularly rural areas, tended to be behind their classmates. Some, out of frustration, dropped out of school as soon as legally possible.

Throughout the years of World War I, Cayton, through his newspaper, urged students to remain in school, underscoring the dismal future awaiting those Black children with very little education and no access to skilled training in a society with rigid proscriptions against Black people in all but menial work.

Of those people finishing high school, many of them won scholastic honors. Madge Cayton maintained an "A" average throughout her high school years.²¹ She attended the University of Washington after her graduation in 1917.

Much pride was felt in the accomplishments of the students. In all the towns and country communities, public celebrations were held in churches and club rooms to celebrate the graduation from high school of local young people. Some groups raised funds to assist students with schooling. The funds raised by the sale of a cookbook authored by Mrs. W.A. Holman to benefit the State Federation of Colored Women's Clubs, were designated for "educational purposes."²² The congregations of the National A.M.E. Church held educational endowment days for the purpose of raising funds for church-supported colleges and scholarships. Washington churches joined in the effort.

FOOTNOTES

1. Walla Walla Union, June 16, 1877, p. 3.
2. Olympia Pioneer and Democrat, November 9, 1860.
3. Theresa Dixon, Oral History Transcript; Mattie Vinyerd Harris, Oral History Transcript, p.14.
4. Bureau of the Census, Negro Population, 1790-1915.
5. George Wright, Oral History Transcript, p. 11.
6. Ora Avis Dennis, Oral History Transcript, p. 31.
7. Esther Hall Mumford, Seattle's Black Victorians, 1852-1901, p. 97.
8. Spokane Falls Review, October 23, 1890.
9. Spokane City Directory, 1890.
10. Cayton's Weekly, May 18, 1918.
11. Giles Graves, Oral History Transcript, pp. 4, 11.
12. Samuel DeBow and Edward Pitter, Who's Who? in the State of Washington, p. 70.
13. Ibid., p. 97.
14. Arline Stewart Yarbrough, Oral History Transcript; Samuel DeBow & Edward Pitter, p. 70.
15. Carrie Minnissee Weber, Oral History Transcript, p. 23.
16. Elizabeth Wells, Oral History transcript, p. 9; Mildred McIver, Oral History Transcript, p.19.
17. Samuel DeBow and Edward Pitter, Who's Who? in the State of Washington, p. 139.
18. Edward Johnson, Oral History Transcript, p.7.

FOOTNOTES (con't)

19. Carrie Minnissee Weber, Oral History Transcript, p.21.
20. Herndon Smith, compiler, Centralia, The First Fifty Years, 1845-1900, p.54.
21. Cayton's Weekly, December 22, 1917.
22. Samuel DeBow and Edward Pitter, Who's Who? in the State of Washington, p. 150.

EDUCATION

TEACHING

DEFINITION:

Temporal Boundaries: 1845-1935

Spatial Boundaries: All of Washington settled during these years, with concentration in areas described below.

Justification: Persons who had taught school in other places settled in Washington throughout the study period. With rare exceptions, they were not permitted to pursue their profession here. In a few places, White residents were not averse to a Black person teaching White children. Mary Victorine Hickling married Stacey Coones of Centralia following her graduation as salutatorian from Portland (Oregon) High School in 1890. She began to teach in Lewis County schools a short time after that. During her career, she taught at Cinnabar and at Salzer Valley for six years. She also taught at Null's Crossing and substituted at Centralia High School.¹

In Kitsap County, Jane Ruley is reported to have held school in a barn on the Sleepy Hollow Ranch which was owned by her and her husband, Paul. The Ruleys helped establish the first Sheridan School #22 in Bremerton, which was built on a one-acre tract donated by a Mr. Sheldon.² Mrs. Ruley, an 1875 Hampton (Virginia) Institute graduate, became the school's first teacher in 1897. She also taught the first Sunday School for the Manette Church and served as church organist. The Bremerton one room school was located at a site just north of, and across the street from, the Kona Village Apartments on Sheridan Road and Schley Bouvelard.³

Several persons, male and female, who had taught in various places moved to Seattle, Tacoma and Spokane during the study period. Twenty-three year old Antoinette Stewart of Everett is listed in the 1900 census as a school teacher. She lived with her sister who was married to a White Canadian-born butcher. Miss Stewart was born in Wisconsin.⁴

Charles Taylor, who was born on a homestead about five miles from Sunnyside, recalls several families living in the Squaw Creek area who hired a Black teacher. While he was unable to recall the teacher's name, he stated that she moved to Seattle after a few years of teaching there.⁵

BIBLIOGRAPHY:

1. Herndon Smith, Compiler, Centralia/The First Fifty Years, 1845-1900, Centralia. The Daily Chronicle and F.H. Cole Printing Co., 1942.
2. Kitsap County Retired Teachers, The Way It Was in Kitsap Schools/Mem-oirs of School Days in Kitsap County, Bicentennial Committee , n.d.
3. Telephone conversation with Charles Taylor, September 23, 1985.
4. Diane Robinson, Bremerton Celebrates Over a Hundred Years..., "A Story Untold". Kitsap County Black History Committee, 1985, p. 7.
5. Federal Census, 1910. Washington: Government Printing Office.

EDUCATION

ESTABLISHMENT OF SCHOOLS

DEFINITION:

Temporal Boundaries: 1845-1935

Spatial Boundaries: All of Washington settled during these years, with concentration in areas described below.

Justification: Black people donated space, land and money for some of the state's schools. Most of the sites are now used for other purposes.

Centralia's first school met in George Washington's first home, a log cabin he built in the fall of 1852. He constructed his second home in 1868. Children from neighboring families began school in his log cabin in 1869. The South School, now called Lincoln, in Centralia was built in 1889 on land donated by George Washington.¹

In May of 1890, John Bedell, Tom Brennen and John H. Lee began the collection of funds to establish a school at Ronald, two miles from Roslyn.² The school was held in the new Baptist Church that the Black miners and their families had built. Classes were held at the church for several years before a school was built on a site near the present Ronald School.³

At least one school was established in the Yakima Valley by Black people. Living a long distance from the nearest town and, in many cases, miles from the nearest neighbors, it was necessary to establish schools at central locations where they would be accessible to children in certain areas. In the Sunnyside area, homesteader Oley Washington donated land for a school. His wife, Lucy, served as clerk of the school board around 1910.⁴

Mrs. Jane Bryant was said to be the wealthiest Black woman in the state at the time of her death in 1907. She is reputed to have donated the land on which the old Grace Seminary stood at Centralia.⁵ In Seattle, community people joined a group of hotel waiters in petitioning the Superintendent of Schools for establishment of a night school. This initial effort was embraced by White hotel workers who also submitted a petition, which resulted in the night school program's establishment in 1890.⁶ Brief mention is made in Cayton's Weekly of the "new school of colored women" in September of 1917.

From the late 1890's through the early 1900's, there were two strong leaders in the struggle to cope with the highly unfavorable racial climate.

ESTABLISHMENT OF SCHOOLS

Booker T. Washington founder of Tuskegee Institute, a vocational school offering agriculture, mechanical and domestic education, was an acknowledged spokesman who emphasized economic self-help as the best suitable means of combatting prejudice and discrimination. Among his critics was W.E.B. DuBois, a brilliant scholar and intellectual, who advocated militant, non-violent opposition to racism.

Washingtonians were aware of the events in the South and other parts of the nation, and sought to arrive at solutions to their own problems. Most spokesmen of the period shared some of the philosophy of both Washington and DuBois. One group sought to put the Booker T. Washington philosophy into effect.

The most ambitious plan to establish a school was proposed about 1910 by ⁷ members of the Liberian Land Company. The school, to be located seven miles from Irondale in Jefferson County, was part of a larger plan to colonize a 4700 acre tract for the advancement of Black people. The company, headed by I.F. Norris and John F. Cragwell, both of Seattle, originated the plan. F.T. Walker, the land agent for the company, was reported at the time of the report, to be travelling through the South in an attempt to interest developers of the site. An offer of fifty acres to be used as a school site was made to a Baptist Conference. An additional acre would be given with each acre purchased by the Conference for educational purposes. The report stated that the President of the Conference expected to establish an industrial school on 250 acres of land. A spokesman for the land company stated the company's desire to cultivate sufficient interest to compete with the results produced by Booker T. Washington. The agent also observed that industrial training for Black young people "should work wonders." Apparently this endeavor was never fulfilled as no other mention is made of it in the local or community press.⁸

FOOTNOTES

1. Herndon Smith, compiler, Centralia/The First Fifty Years, 1845-1900, p.39
2. Ellensburg Capital, May 15, 1890.
3. Operation Uplift, Community Development Program, Spawn of Coal Dust/A History of Roslyn, 1886-1955, p. 278.
4. Telephone conversation with Charles Taylor, September 4, 1985, United States Bureau of the Census, Negro Population: 1790-1915.

ESTABLISHMENT OF SCHOOLS

FOOTNOTES (con't)

5. Seattle Republican, May 3, 1907.
6. Seattle Post-Intelligencer, October 9, 1891, p. 8.
7. Unidentified clipping, J.F. Cragwell Scrapbook, courtesy of Letcher Yarbrough.
8. A search of the daily newspapers of the period was not made. Cayton does not report on this plan during 1910.

ARTS

PERFORMING ARTS - THEATRE

DEFINITION:

Temporal Boundaries: 1845-1939

Spatial Boundaries: All of Washington settled during these years, with concentration in areas described below.

Justification: Theatre among Washington's early Black population was an expression of culture, an art and a form of entertainment. It was presented in churches and performance halls. Dramatic readings or excerpts of plays were part of every program offered by religious groups. Sara Oliver Jackson, who was trained in the Seattle Federal Theatre Unit, recalled that during her growing years the A.M.E. Church presented numerous pageants depicting the achievements of Black people, or highlighting Black heroines or heroes.¹ Outside the churches, political expression was rarely addressed before a mass audience. The fare was generally palatable to a broad, mostly White, audience in the 19th century.

From the late 1880's there were living in Washington, persons with theatre experience, mostly minstrels. Song and dance men and other variety artists lived in Spokane, Tacoma and Seattle eeking out a marginal existence working in variety club halls.² In Franklin in the 1890's, children of the Wright family who had earned theatre credits before coming to the state, performed in the mining towns and occasionally in Seattle.³

After the turn of the century, persons with professional training elsewhere settled in Washington, but were not able to make a living on the stage.

Interest in the theatre persisted. In 1918, E.W. Mitchell formed the Mitchell Dramatic Company in Seattle which presented plays to an audience composed chiefly of the Afro-American community of Seattle.⁴ Little is known of this group and no mention of it is made after 1919. They presented plays around the community, usually held at Washington Hall, which were lauded by the community press.

Frederick Darby arrived in Seattle from Portland in 1917. He studied acting in Portland and in Seattle. In the 1920's he was featured on Seattle radio programs in dramatic readings from "Hamlet", "Emperor Jones" and "The Ride to the Lady."⁵ In Spokane Minnie Brown, who had written Spokane news for the Seattle Republican, joined Williams' and Walker's touring company in 1909.⁶ Young Theresa Dixon of Seattle also toured with that company prior to entering nursing school at Howard University in 1919.⁷

The newspapers report good audience support for Black Theatre presentations, but companies were short-lived. They, like other Black

THEATRE

businesses, suffered from under-capitalization, lack of managerial experience and the chronic identification of theatre as a "luxury" item.

The most important theatre experience during the study period was that of the Federal Theatre Project, which included a Seattle unit. The Seattle Negro Theatre Unit was one of about twenty-two such units nation wide during the years from 1935 to 1939. The project provided training and experimentation, writing and directing experience, and employed in addition to actors, dancers, singers and musicians. The Theatre Project was the first opportunity blacks here and elsewhere had for steady employment in their profession. Cornish School graduate Syvilla Fort, who, world-renown avant garde composer and pianist John Cage, credits with the impetus for his "prepared piano", was choreographer for the project.⁸ She later joined Katherine Dunham's troupe and traveled world-wide before she settled down to teach dance to such persons as Alvin Ailey and Marlon Brando.

From the beginning and throughout its existence, Blacks were involved in the national planning for the Federal Theatre Project. Shirley Lola Graham, a former Seattle resident whose father had pastored the African Methodist Episcopal Church during World War I, was one of several Afro-Americans invited to attend a project workshop at Vassar College in 1937.⁹

Never before had Blacks in the U.S. had the opportunity to demonstrate their abilities as directors, playwrights, or serious actors. Throughout the project's history the practice of utilizing directors who had apprenticed in the Federal Theatre Project's training program was followed. Theodore Browne was the assistant director for the Seattle Negro unit. He also served as the group's resident dramatist and they performed his "Natural Man" in 1937.¹⁰

A firm commitment of the national director Hallie Flanagan to equal opportunity for Blacks permeated the operation of the project. Blacks, including those in the Seattle unit, received wide coverage in the Federal Theatre Magazine, a national publication. Racial segregation of audiences was not tolerated. The project's social consciousness was reflected in the plays presented, such as "Stevedore", "Henri Christophe", "Natural Man" and "Lysistrata." The Seattle unit had a large popular following among the general public. Joseph Staton remembers that "sometimes... people would get excited and come up onstage and start throwing bricks."¹¹ The plays were presented at the Seattle Repertory Theatre (now the Glenn Hughes Theatre), the now-razed Metropolitan Theatre and the Moore Theatre. In the latter part of the project, children's theatre was presented in the Atlantic Street Theatre, which is no longer in existence. The presentation of such plays introduced audiences to subjects which had not been explored in theatre settings before in Washington. The unit joined white professional actors in the latter days of the project. They also performed for audiences who would not have otherwise seen them, by travelling to Retsel, the disabled veterans home, for instance.¹²

The Afro-American contribution to America has greatly enhanced the arts.

THEATRE

They have rarely received just compensation. In Washington, as elsewhere, Blacks were seldom given the opportunity to perform outside of their community, never allowed to write or direct a play that was performed before a general audience. In theatre houses, such as the Pantages Theatres in Seattle and Tacoma, they were restricted to certain seating even when Black entertainers were featured. The subsidy provided by the short-lived Federal Theatre Project gave Black and White theatre personnel the opportunity (in the case of Blacks, for the first time), to practice their profession full-time without worrying about their livelihood. Sarah Jackson, who received her training with the Project, and later acted in productions of the Blacks Arts West Theatre in the 1960's, recalled: "It was really the best time that I think we could have had as young people. You think of all the talent that would have been wasted if it hadn't been for the Federal Theatre... ."13

FOOTNOTES:

1. Sarah Oliver Jackson, Oral History Transcript.
2. Snohomish Daily News, September 14, 1889.
3. Seattle Post Intelligencer, September 16, 1894, p. 5.
4. Cayton's Weekly, March 2, 1918.
5. Samuel DeBow and Edward Pitter, Who's Who? in the State of Washington, p. 113
6. Ibid.
7. Author's telephone conversation with Theresa Dixon, July, 1980.
8. John Cage, Oral History interview, p. 1.
9. Erroll Hill, editor, The Theatre of Black Americans: The Pre-senters/The Participators, A Collection of Critical Essays,
10. Performance Program, 1937.
11. Joseph Staton, Oral History Interview, p. 36.
12. Sara Oliver Jackson, Oral history Transcript, p. 26.
13. Ibid., p. 38.

ENTERTAINMENT AND RECREATION

DEFINITION:

Temporal Boundaries: 1845-1935

Spatial Boundaries: All of Washington settled during these years, with concentration in areas described below.

Justification: The social life of the Black communities from the 1890's to the 1930's was centered around the churches where socials, musicals and literary programs were held. It was also where newcomers met persons in the established communities. The annual Sunday School picnic begun by the A.M.E. Church in Seattle became ecumenical about 1920, and is fondly recalled by pre-1940's residents. Lodges and social clubs also provided entertainment for the population.

Excursions by rail and boat were enjoyed by persons living in Seattle, Tacoma and Spokane. Church conferences provided an opportunity for people from all communities to visit other towns, or outlying districts. Picnics or annual celebrations of the West Indian and United States Emancipations, in Franklin and Newcastle, in King County, particularly the former, were favored places for such celebrations during the late 1890's and early 1900's. Increased employment at higher wages during World War I made possible the purchase of automobiles. Pleasant days were spent motoring to the lakes, mountains, and neighboring towns.

From the late 1880's, baseball became a favorite sport and teams were organized among Blacks in Washington from 1890 wherever there were enough Black men to form a team. In smaller towns they sometimes played on mostly White teams. Elva Nicholas recalls that her father, Emanuel Moore, was the only Black soccer player on the Ravensdale team in the early part of the century.¹ Black teams played each other as well as White teams in and around their localities. A few Black persons joined White shell-racing crews or sports teams.² James Jones of Tacoma was an avid and successful bicyclist who won several prizes. He competed in races all over Washington until the League of American Wheelmen limited such participation to White men in the mid-1890's.³

From territorial days until quite recent times a few men are reported to have been cowboys who worked for economic reasons, as well as the sport of rodeo competitions. Former Yakima resident Doris Stewart Frye recalls that her brother rode the rodeo circuit all over the United States for years. His trade name was "Buck" Chuana.⁴

ENTERTAINMENT AND RECREATION

Balls took place in Tacoma and Spokane as early as the latter part of 1889, and possibly in Seattle about the same time. They were presented by the professionals and well paid service employees, as well as sleeping car porters. Women outdid themselves in creating ball gowns for which prizes were sometimes given.

The Historical and Scientific Club of Spokane Falls was organized in 1890.⁵ The group spent many evenings engaged in spirited debate on topics ranging from current events to woman's suffrage. Similar evenings were spent in Seattle and Tacoma, and after the turn of the century, in Everett.

Home entertainment was a popular pastime which ranged from evenings at cards to evenings playing music together. Parties were given for birthdays, graduations and to introduce guests.

Concerts and lectures by visiting artists and speakers were held around the state. They were held in churches, often in the G.A.R. Hall in Spokane or Washington Hall in Seattle. Richard Taylor recalled spending many pleasant hours during the 1930's in the Knights of Pythian Hall in Tacoma after the adults of the community secured it for the use of Black youth.⁶

FOOTNOTES

1. Telephone conversation with Elva Moore Nicholas, March 17, 1985.
2. Esther Mumford, Seattle's Black Victorians, 1852-1901.
3. Tacoma Morning Union, July 16, 1891, p. 1.
4. Doris Stewart Frye, Oral History Transcript, p. 23.
5. Spokane Falls Review, May 14, 1890, p. 3.
6. Richard Taylor, Oral History Transcript, p. 26

SITE PREDICTIONS

From the study unit the following inferences are drawn regarding the types of historic and historic archaeological sites associated with this study, and where they are likely to exist:

1. Types of Historic Sites

The historic properties included in the study unit are residential districts, homes, agricultural districts, farms, commercial districts, businesses, churches, structures by master builders, multi-use building, military posts, and sites of former mining towns.

2. Location and Distribution of Historic Sites

- a. Such properties are distributed throughout the state, but the largest number is found in urban areas. Historic archaeological sites are located on the townsites of Franklin and Newcastle. Former homesteads may be more appropriately approached as archaeological sites as well. In the cities themselves, resources are found most often in locations that have, or have had, a high percentage of African-American residents. In the early days of the cities' existence, most African-Americans lived in areas presently included in the downtown sections. As the cities expanded, Blacks and other residents moved farther away from commercial areas, although some of their churches and clubs remained in their old neighborhoods. (On Spokane's East Third Street the Calvary Baptist Church is the last visible reminder of the presence of a group of Black property owners in the neighborhood where they began settling in the late 1880's.) Older neighborhoods of other cities contain resources associated with the study unit. Some sites in the cities are no longer occupied; the use of the land has changed, or the buildings, after long vacancies, have succumbed to natural processes. Some of these would warrant archaeological research.
- b. There are places in the state where only a few Blacks lived and made significant contributions out of proportion to their numbers. Centralia, founded by George and Mary Jane Washington, for example, had fewer than a dozen Black families throughout the study period. The Washingtons donated land and material for two churches and land for a cemetery and school, in addition to platting the original townsite. In Thurston County, George Bush was widely known for his farming ability, and his son, William, grew grains that garnered most of the first place grain honors at the Philadelphia Centennial Exposition, but the federal census lists only eighteen Black people in the county in 1880.

Even in cities with large Black populations, it was not unusual

SITE PREDICTIONS

for some Black people to live in neighborhoods in which they and their families were the only persons of African descent. Therefore, in various towns and cities, some resources, such as homes and small businesses, will be located in what are generally thought of as "White neighborhoods."

- c. The size of the town bears little importance to the size of the resource pool. The small mining towns of Roslyn, Franklin and Newcastle were places where Blacks achieved some of the objectives prompting immigration to Washington although most of the town residents had been recruited during labor strife. By 19th century standards, Roslyn's Black population was quite progressive. Near Roslyn, at Ronald, Blacks were in the forefront of the effort to build a school which first met in their Baptist church building. In the King County mining towns Black people also established organizations and churches while contributing to the economy of the region by their labor. In addition to the properties associated with the Black Heritage study, the historic properties relating to the coal-mining industry in Washington which included Blacks, are represented at those sites.
- d. Former coal miners, city residents, and turn-of-the-century migrants moved to the Yakima Valley where they created additional historic resources. This group constituted the largest number of Black farmers in Washington during the study period. Farms once owned by Black people in the Kenneydale district represent a similar type of resource.
- e. Military posts where large numbers of Black soldiers were stationed represent a set of historic properties. The two most important locations are Fort George Wright and Fort Lawton.
- f. Although Washington has never had large or numerous segregated residential districts, neighborhoods or districts with a fairly substantial Black presence emerged in Seattle and Tacoma by the end of the study period. The East Madison district of Seattle is the most notable example. Homes, apartment buildings, churches, halls and small businesses constitute resource types in such a district. In the early 20th century, South First Street in Yakima was similarly representative.
- g. One person each in western, central, and eastern Washington was identified as the leading builder of Seattle, Yakima, and Walla Walla. It should be possible to locate examples of their work in or near those places.

3. Existence of Historic Sites

- a. The number of historic resource types today is drastically reduced from that of the latter part of the study period. For example, in 1930 there were 21 church buildings with 11

SITE PREDICTIONS

parsonages. Today there are less than half that number. Some are in different locations, or newer or remodelled buildings. The Calvary Baptist Church in Spokane and the A.M.E. Churches in Tacoma, Seattle and Bremerton are in sound condition and are virtually unchanged in appearance from fifty years ago. Calvary, now in a commercial district, may be threatened with demolition or removal within five to ten years, possibly sooner, depending on the pace of the growth of Spokane's downtown. The A.M.E. churches appear to be in stable areas, although the Seattle church has plans for enlarging its 1912 building in the near future.

Of the 18 stores in operation in 1930, fewer than five are in operation today. The death of Ed Johnson in July of this year brought to a close the business which he had operated continuously since 1918. While they are not as rare as some other resources, commercial buildings are increasingly scarce in cities and small towns, as are residences around the state. A greater number exist in the larger cities, particularly in older neighborhoods or districts such as the East Madison district in Seattle, or the area within a few blocks of North Yakima Avenue in Tacoma. Except for the East Madison District, the areas with several Black-run commercial operations during the study period have been razed or seriously altered. Even in that district, very few of the original buildings exist, although its use as a commercial zone continues.

- b. The Black presence in the former agricultural districts of Sunnyside and Kenneydale has been so thoroughly removed from the landscape that they are all but forgotten. Except for two homes remaining on much smaller plots in the Kenneydale district, one in the Yakima Valley, one at Deer Park in Spokane County, one in south Tacoma, no descendants of homesteaders live on farms. The farm house built by the Deer Lake Orchard Company is reported to be still standing in Stevens County. Former homesteads have been encroached on from all sides by developers.
- c. Military posts and structures have not been immune to the changes that have influenced the status of other resources. They, too, have changed use and suffered from deterioration over time. Fort George Wright, with fewer buildings, has served as a college campus and one of the buildings is now reused for bed and breakfast accommodations. Some of the oldest buildings standing were used by Black troops, as were several of those built prior to 1912. A survey of properties should include structures now outside the present campus of the College of the Holy Names.

In 1970, the Department of Defense transferred 396 acres at Fort Lawton to the city of Seattle for park and recreation purposes. The property was renamed Discovery Park. In 1978 about fifty acres, on part of which stands 25 buildings, comprising the Fort Lawton Historic District, were added to the National Register of

SITE PREDICTIONS

Historic Places. The city's Park Department goal is to develop Discovery Park into an open space park by removing fifteen of the designated buildings. The realization of this plan would result in further destruction of an already seriously reduced number of historic properties.

4. Quality and Bias of Past Surveys

- a. A limited survey of Seattle's East Madison district was made by this writer in 1980. An inventory conducted by the city of Seattle in 1979 includes a few historic properties associated with the study unit. The 1979 city of Spokane's inventory report includes Calvary Baptist Church and Fort George Wright structures, which are also associated with the study unit. The survey of real property conducted in various cities by the Works Progress Administration between 1935 and 1941 includes relevant properties, but many of the structures are no longer standing.
- b. Structures in the second and third survey were generally appraised on the basis of architectural characteristics rather than historical or cultural associations. For the most part the dates of previous surveys limit their usefulness. The bias in all cases is towards the cities, and except for the Newcastle cemetery and the town of Roslyn, very few, if any, other related resources are included in additional surveys. Although more current, the former survey is also short on statistical data.

5. Data Gaps in Study Unit

Data gaps on agriculture, social movements and organizations, performing arts other than theatre, fine arts, political involvement, and professions are to be found in this study unit, although each theme is mentioned or discussed in association with other topics, to some degree.

6. Types of Surveys Required

Due to the limited amount of information available on the existence of resources or the condition of existing resources, a state-wide field survey of historic and historic archaeological properties is the best method for gathering such data.

EVALUATION ISSUES

The historic resources related to Washington's African-American population should be evaluated on the basis of their significance to themes in the study unit. They do not appear to vary greatly from other resources of the period bearing few, if any, distinctive features which set them apart as "uniquely African-American." For the most part the buildings are modest structures, but since properties do not need to be unique to be significant, those which possess traits representative of the study unit should be evaluated using that criteria.

Historic resources in the study unit which are considered important are residential structures which were the homes of leading persons during the active period of their lives or during the time a significant event took place; multi-purpose facilities such as churches, commercial buildings, fraternal and union halls where a variety of community activities took place; structures on military and farm buildings and schools which highlight the presence of a small but predominantly urban population in a rural setting.

The "Patterns of Growth," "Employment," "Business," and "Religion" topics are of paramount importance in increasing knowledge about the study unit. In order to address these topics, historic resources should serve as a source of information relative to some aspect of the history of Black Washingtonians. The property or site must relate to its occupancy or use by Blacks within the temporal boundaries of the study unit. It may be a structure or object still in existence, or a site devoid of physical materials above ground. For example, a site such as Franklin or the old Newcastle townsite may yield rich historic archaeological information related to the period when Blacks were a substantial presence in those towns.

Properties should possess integrity of design and location that help to determine their historic significance. This is of crucial importance to farm buildings in districts which are under increasing encroachment of developers.

The resource may be associated with an individual, such as James Roston, widely known in the Puget Sound area for his role in securing employment for hundreds of Black people, or a series of events such as the Roslyn migration which led to the state's settlement by hundreds of Blacks in the late 1880's.

Property may also be significant because of distinctive characteristics of period, architecture or construction, or because it is representative of the work of a master builder or architect.

EVALUATION ISSUES

In other cases, districts or neighborhoods may constitute identifiable historic resources, as may properties whose primary significance is not specifically related to the history of Black people but which are somehow related to persons, events or developments significant to that history.

Several of the historic resources are in good to excellent condition; others may be quite dilapidated. Even a dilapidated structure which is not beyond the point of reclamation within reasonable bounds, particularly when it is the only one of its type, should be considered important within the context of the most important research topics.

While the historic properties meet the National Register of Historic Places age criterion of fifty years or more, the small number remaining and the continuing diminution of these resources indicate the necessity of modifying or waiving the application of some of the criteria if these irreplaceable and limited remnants of Black heritage in Washington are to be conserved. Resources that do not normally qualify for eligibility such as religious structures, cemeteries,* and properties that have been moved should be evaluated on the basis of their significance to the study unit. Similarly, some of the remaining structures have been unoccupied for a long time and allowed to deteriorate. Rehabilitation is preferable to razing, even if it requires changes in the original appearance. Exterior modification which would not render a structure unrecognizable to persons who were familiar with it during the study period should be acceptable.

For a long time, grand homes and mansions, as well as impressive commercial and religious edifices, have received most of the attention and protection. Inclusion of more modest structures is necessary if an accurate picture of the history of all the people of the state is to be preserved.

*Except for Bush Prairie, the site of his homestead, the grave of George Bush, one of Washington's first settlers and its first African-American pioneer, is the only historic resource with which he is identified.

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