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# History at Hand: An Analysis of Self-Guided Historic Walking Tours in Whatcom County, Washington

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# History at Hand: An Analysis of Self-Guided Historic Walking Tours in Whatcom County, Washington

**By**  
Laura Stone

Accepted in Partial Completion  
Of the Requirements for the Degree  
Master of Arts

Kathleen L. Kitto, Dean of the Graduate School

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## MASTER'S THESIS

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Laura M. Stone  
November 13, 2016

# History at Hand: An Analysis of Historic Walking Tours in Whatcom County, Washington

A Thesis  
Presented to  
The Faculty of  
Western Washington University

In Partial Fulfillment  
Of the Requirements for the Degree  
Master of Arts

By  
Laura Stone  
November, 2016

## Abstract

This study explores and analyzes self-guided historic walking tours in Whatcom County, Washington, as part of Whatcom County's heritage tourism offerings. Heritage Tourism a specialized field of tourism that has seen growth over the last several decades and has become the most successful specialized tourism market. Twelve self-guided historic walking tours were analyzed from an anthropological framework, exploring themes in multi-vocality, authenticity, sense of place, and audience engagement in interpretation. The narrative text from each tour booklet or pamphlet was analyzed using criteria developed by the author to examine the presence or absence of diversity, authenticity, audience engagement in the interpretation, and how the piece contributed to developing a sense of place for the location selected. Suggestions were made for the self-guided historic walking tours that did not meet the criteria for multi-vocality, authenticity, sense of place and audience engagement to improve the tours to include these themes in future presentations. Improvement to the presentations were informed using historic background information researched for this study using public history and ethnohistory approaches. The criteria developed by this study can be used by future historians to develop more inclusive and engaging presentations to attract a larger audience to popular tourist districts, helping to increase revenue and support local businesses.

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## Chapter One: Introduction

Located in the northwest corner of Washington State and bordered on one side by the Salish Sea and the other by the North Cascades, Whatcom County offers many attractions and events for its tourists and residents. Bellingham Whatcom County Tourism, a local non-profit association dedicated to serving visitors to the area, lists activities and locales including biking, golfing, fishing, local casinos, trails, and museums as tourist draws to the region (Bellingham Whatcom County Tourism 2013). Access to Bellingham Bay, Mount Baker, and Puget Sound make Whatcom County a popular destination for those wishing to engage in water sports, boat tours, and fishing. Within the cities of Whatcom County, there are a variety of attractions and activities for tourists such as museums, restaurants, shopping destinations, trails and parks. Self-guided historic walking tours are growing in popularity to utilize and promote the natural environment while engaging audiences in the heritage and history of the region that can serve to highlight the unique local flavor of Whatcom County. Self-guided historic walking tours are versatile and able to draw a broad audience, as people from many ages and physical ability categories can partake in them, learning about the local history while engaging in light physical activity.

Self-guided historic walking tours are typical of a growing trend in heritage tourism and local promotion. Consumers seek out heritage attractions to learn more about local communities and are most often engaged in attractions when they can understand the history presented in relation to their own understanding and experiences. By making heritage offerings such as self-guided historic walking tours inclusive to a diverse audience, the promoters and presenters of historic self-guided walking tours, can draw a larger audience and make more

capital gains on their product by drawing in more visitors, who then may visit local retail establishments, restaurants, and purchase products and services aimed at tourists.

Heritage tourism is not just of interest to those with a stake in tourism economies; it has also been a growing interest to anthropology and history scholars. A growing body of work examines tourism, its effects on tourists and the communities they visit, and the inter-relationship between cultural heritage and tourism. Some current topics relating to heritage tourism focus on multi-vocality, sense of place, and authenticity. This thesis combines applied public history and ethnohistory methods to investigate eight self-guided historical walking tours in Whatcom County, Washington. It analyzes the historic content of these walking tours from an anthropological theoretical frame and suggests ways in which they could be made more inclusive while maintaining authenticity and accuracy, and contributing to the overall narrative of the community.

Chapter Two provides background information on the history of tourism and the emergence of the anthropology of tourism, focusing in depth on heritage tourism as a more recent form of alternative tourism. Chapter Three puts forth the theoretical and applied frameworks in heritage tourism applied to this study. The topics of authenticity, sense of place, and multi-vocality are explored to inform the criteria for this study in later chapters. Chapter Four explores heritage management and heritage tourism as it currently exists in Whatcom County. Chapter Five explores the methods and approaches which are used extensively in this study: public history and ethnohistory, and how these are applied to the criteria used later in this thesis to analyze the walking tours included in this study. Chapter Six delves into the historical background of Whatcom County, Washington, to provide a basis of historic

understanding for the later analyses of the history presented in the walking tours that are a part of this study. By understanding the diverse historical background of Whatcom County, the reader can better understand when the walking tours examined in this study utilize an authentic, multi-vocal approach that contributes to a sense of place, and when they lack such an approach. Chapter Seven presents the results of the analysis of the walking tours considered for this thesis, based on the framework laid out in the previous four chapters. Finally, Chapter Seven draws upon the criteria set forth in Chapter Five to determine how well the walking tours in this study met the goals of multi-vocality, authenticity, and sense of place while engaging their potential audience in the interpretation provided.

## Chapter Two: The History of Tourism and the Anthropology of Tourism

Tourism in the Global West has a long legacy of travelling to and paying homage to the sites important to the construction of heritage. 'Modern' Western tourism as it is understood today emerged during the 17<sup>th</sup> century, exemplified by the Grand Tour. The Grand Tour was a circular tour taken by men (and occasionally women) between the 17<sup>th</sup> to 19<sup>th</sup> centuries. The tour, which meandered from Paris to the lower Rhone Valley into Northern Italy, towards Rome, Florence, and Naples, before ending in the Rhineland and Low Countries, was meant to complete the visitor's formal education. Along this tour, participants visited cultural sites important to the development of Western Civilization (Wyllie 2000). It was generally carried out by students and their tutors, the majority of whom were British. In the 17<sup>th</sup> century, the tour took roughly 40 months; by the 19<sup>th</sup> century innovations in travel shortened the length of the Grand Tour dramatically to roughly four months (Wyllie 2000). The goal of this tour was to see the cities, works of art produced over the ages, and the archaeological monuments important to European cultural development, especially those of the classical era (Johnson 2011). Men of the gentry class, who were financially unable to participate in the Grand Tour, toured local antiquities such as burial mounds, medieval churches, Roman sites, monuments, and earthworks in lieu of the continental tour (Johnson 2011). This tradition was carried into the United States by European immigrants who largely shaped the face of American tourism (Johnson 2011).

Thomas Cook, a Baptist preacher and printer, is often credited with having created the first modern travel agency to serve those participating in the Grand Tour, and thus, starting the modern tourism industry (Wyllie 2000, Chambers 2010). A staunch Temperance Movement



supporter, Cook saw tourism as a healthier form of leisure than visiting public houses and horse tracks and sought to provide the supporting infrastructure that was lacking (Wyllie 2000). While pilgrims had been travelling in Europe for centuries, visiting cathedrals and religious relics, they were responsible for their own travel plans, including food and lodging. Cook could build tourism on the backs of the burgeoning railway and steamship networks as well as the emerging middle class resulting from the Industrial Revolution, providing a much-valued service to tourists that included travel, lodging and accommodation packages (Wyllie 2000, Chambers 2010). Cook began operating tours and printing travel newspapers, and in 1873 invented travelers' checks, which made travel safer by eliminating the need to carry large amounts of money (Wyllie 2000). By the end of the 18th century, other entrepreneurs had begun to offer similar services and modern tourism began to take a foothold in Western society (Chambers 2010).

In North America, travel has often been perceived as a way to acquire culture and was important for the New Money families during the Industrial Revolution (Ballengee-Morris 2002). The Industrial Revolution helped kick-start the tourism industry via the introduction of various technological advancements that increased the ability to travel and improved the comfort of travelers (Ballengee-Morris 2002). While nineteenth century tourists focused more on natural landmarks, beginning in the 20<sup>th</sup> century, tourists began to focus more on historic sites (Mooney-Melvin 1991). In the Post-World War II era, a variety of innovations allowed for grand scale tourism. These innovations included improved road systems, an increased accessibility to motor vehicles, and an increasing working class with vacation allowances, a better educated population, and a national preoccupation with historic origins coinciding with a

growing number of historic exhibition areas (Mooney-Melvin 1991:40, Brown 2009). This trend has continued into the 21<sup>st</sup> century, as tourism has become a multi-billion-dollar industry in the United States (Ballengee-Morris 2002:234).

In the Pacific Northwest, tourism was initially inhibited by a lack of transportation to and from the area. At the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, the area was largely underdeveloped and there were few amenities available to travelers. Over time, the wilderness of the Pacific Northwest became less of an obstacle, and more of an attraction to tourists seeking refuge from urban life during the Industrial Revolution (Brown 2009). Railroads, steamships and roadways were all developed in the American West by the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, allowing an ever-increasing number of travelers to come into the area (Brown 2009). Natural features such as Mount Rainier, the Olympic Rainforest, and Crater Lake were of interest to early travelers to the region (Brown 2009).

As production increased following industrialization, people were granted the surplus necessary to engage in leisure activities (Nash 1996). By the 1950s, the expansion of automobile and airplane travel, coupled with the completion of the interstate highway system, made domestic travel viable for many, if not most, Americans (Mooney-Melvin 1991). The advent of modern tourism and its increased intensity had drawbacks that led to problems, including pollution, site degradation, and social issues. In more recent decades, alternative forms of tourism have been developed to help offset these adverse effects.

These alternative forms of tourism were in part influenced by anthropological studies of tourism, environmental conservationists, indigenous rights activists, and social scientists in the 1970s and 1980s. Alternative forms of tourism include ecotourism, community-based tourism,

cultural tourism and heritage tourism. While alternative tourism practices have the potential to empower hosts, it is important to consider the possible negative outcomes, such as the exploitation and denigration of peoples and their culture. It is essential to make sure the benefits of alternative tourism, such as preservation of the natural habitat, also extend to the people within that habitat (Burns 2004). Alternative tourism, when done well, can help ensure that tourism is invited and not imposed on local communities. In developing heritage tourism, it is important to 'foster the productive involvement' of stakeholders and descendent communities in the development and implementation of interpretive programs (Russell 2010:17).

### The Anthropology of Tourism

Prior to the 1960s, few anthropological studies explored tourism. The lack of interest in tourism in anthropological work, despite its widespread global influence and ever-expanding nature, has been examined in several publications (see Burns 2004, Crick 1995, Duke 2007). Georgette Leah Burns posits this lack of interest stemmed from perceived similarities host communities would make between tourists and anthropologists, in which studying tourism would have been too like studying oneself, a self-reflexivity that anthropology has traditionally shied away from (2004). This belief was echoed by Malcolm Crick who stated that anthropology's ambivalent response to tourism likely stems from the fact that anthropologists cannot be unambiguously distinguished from tourists, and that the identities of both may overlap (1995). It is also possible that earlier anthropologists lacked an awareness of the sociocultural significance of tourism, since tourism was typically lumped into economic, geographic or sociological studies (Burns 2004).

The first anthropological study of tourism was Therón Nuñez's 1963 article, "Tourism, Tradition, and Acculturation: Weekendismo in a Mexican Village" which discussed and explored issues relating to tourism as producing acculturation and development. Following the publication of this work, tourism studies by anthropologists became more prolific, leading to critical development of the field in the late 1970s. In 1974, the first national symposium about tourism was held at American Anthropological Association held their annual meeting in Mexico City (Smith 1977). This symposium would go on to influence the publication of Valene Smith's *Hosts and Guests* in 1977, one of the first volumes to be published on the anthropology of tourism. Edited by Smith, with contributions from 16 anthropologists including prolific scholars Nelson Graburn and Dennison Nash, *Hosts and Guests* influenced a whole generation of anthropologists to consider tourism as a legitimate field of study.

The relationship between cultural heritage and tourism have been explored by many anthropologists. Other important works examining the symbiosis of cultural heritage and tourism include *The Tourist*, in which Dean MacCannell argues tourism is a ritual, drawing analogies to other rituals studied by anthropologists (MacCannell 1976; See also Cohen 1972, Graburn 1983, Turner 1982) and John Urry's *The Tourist Gaze*, which explored ways in which the tourist experience is separate from everyday experiences (1990). An example is the use of narratives that demonstrate the uniqueness of the history, culture, and heritage of the places being visited (Urry 1990). According to Amanda Stronza, it is places 'off the beaten path' that are of interest for cultural anthropologists to study. Increasingly, tourists are also interested in these places as the international economy globalizes, transnational transportation increases, and modes of communication are made more reliable (Stronza 2001). Other anthropologists

have investigated the cross-cultural meanings of leisure as applied to tourism (Nash 1981, 1996), and how culture is presented and received for tourists (Adams 1984, 1995; Bruner 1987). Since tourism is responsible for roughly one third of the world trade in services, tourism can be a strong vehicle for economic and socio-political changes and development (UNWTO 2016, Stronza 2001). Anthropologists have also questioned how cultural and ethnic traditions have been changed to match the demands of tourism (Bendix 1989; Cohen 1979, 1988; Desmond 1999; Gamper 1981; Leong 1989; MacCannell 1984; Mansperger 1995; Orams 1999), and how a community's relationship with nature changes as a result of engaging in the tourism industry (Davis, 1997, Eadington and Smith 1992, Groom et al 1991, Honey 2008, Lindberg 1991).

## Heritage Tourism

Cultural heritage has been succinctly defined as “a group of resources inherited from the past which people identify independently of ownership, as a reflection and expression of their constantly evolving values, beliefs, knowledge, and tradition” (Russell 2010:15). Through the transmission of shared identifications with stories, objects, symbols, performances and other aspects of heritage, one generation can instill values of identity to the next (Russell 2010:33). According to Cornelius Holtorf, heritage is appreciated for three reasons. The first is the evocation of stories about the visitors to heritage sites, followed by the way heritage is used to tell stories that reaffirm collective identities. Finally, it is simply enjoyable to imagine travelling to the past (2010:44). Heritage is most notably encountered and recognized when travelling because of encountering the ‘Other’. One reason people travel to heritage sites is to confirm their own social milieu and lifestyle (Holtorf 2010).

Since heritage is defined from an individual's perspective in the present, heritage can represent countless histories for limitless numbers of people (Hawke 2012). Promoting the heritage of a site or location adds monetary value to existing assets and ensures the survivability of the past for assets that have ceased to be otherwise viable in the present, such as subsistence lifestyles, obsolete technologies, past disasters, and abandoned economic patterns (Kirshenblatt-Gimblett 1995). According to Barbara Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, the heritage industry markets its product through tourism, in which people are attracted as visitors to consume local goods and services; to attract tourists, a community needs destinations, and heritage destinations are one way to accomplish this goal (1995). Tourism and heritage are collaborative industries, 'converting locations into destinations' and making them economically viable attractions (Kirshenblatt-Gimblett 1995:371). Critiques of heritage tourism focus on these issues as relating to topics such as multi-vocality, sense of place, and authenticity.

According to the United Nations World Trade Organization (UNWTO) a visitor can be defined as any person visiting a region other than their normal place of residence for a period less than twelve months and whose main purpose of visit is other than the exercise of an activity remunerated from within the region visited. Following this vein, the UNWTO defines a tourist as a visitor staying at least one night in a collective or private accommodation in the region visited (Wyllie 2000). In 2016, international tourism receipts surpassed \$191.3 billion in the United States and represent 7% of the world's exports in goods and services, ranking third after fuels and chemicals as a worldwide export category (UNWTO 2016:1). The United States hosts roughly 75 million international visitors annually, second only to France in international tourist arrivals, illustrating the importance of tourism to the American economic system

(UNWTO 2016). Tourists often engage in a variety of activities, which for many include visiting cultural heritage sites. Activities relating to cultural heritage include visiting museums, participating in guided tours, visiting historical landmarks, and attending festivals or events. Over the last six decades, tourism has expanded and diversified to become one of the largest economic sectors globally, and it has grown uninterrupted despite periods of economic instability, showing its strength and resilience (UNWTO 2016:1). Roughly one-fourth of all adults in the United States visit an historic place or museum each year, while one third attend cultural events or festivals, demonstrating the importance of cultural heritage to domestic tourists (Brink 1998:60). Of all the 'emerging tourism niches', cultural heritage tourism has been described as the most successful specialized tourism market (Francis-Lindsay 2009:151). According to the Travel Industry Association of America, heritage tourists, on average, stay at their destinations longer, thus spending more money, than other types of tourists; heritage tourists spend an average of \$722 per trip versus \$603 per trip by other tourists, staying 4.7 nights versus 3.4 nights, with 44% of tourist reporting shopping in the local community they visit as opposed to 33% of non-heritage travelers (Czark 2004). Second only to shopping destinations, historic and cultural sites were identified by vacationers as important to the sites they visit with one-third of international visitors reporting touring historic and cultural attractions (Czark 2004).

Tourism has the potential to lead to positive benefits for the communities that host tourists. Economic benefits arise from the tendency of heritage tourists to spend more money, visit twice as many sites, stay longer and in more hotels, and be more likely to fly to their destinations and shop in local businesses while visiting (Farrisee 1999:102, Brink 1998:60).

Promoting heritage tourism is also a promising way to infuse new money into the preservation of heritage sites by generating the revenue necessary for site maintenance (Mooney-Melvin 1991:41).

Many scholars have explored why tourists visit the sites they do (see MacCannell 1976, Cohen 1988, Harkin 1995, Redfoot 1984, Graburn 1989, Turner and Turner 2011). Like Holtorf, these scholars largely agree that tourists tend to visit sites that reaffirm their collective identity and to hear stories that affirm their own lifestyle or create a connection with the history of the site and the tourist visiting it. The scholarship of tourism often involves the concepts of sustainability, authenticity, and the importance of creating a connection between the tourist and the sites they visit; also discussed is the importance in presenting a multi-vocal past. Scholars also explore of concepts relating to heritage tourism that discourage the negative ecological and social impacts of tourism and promote the aspects of heritage that attract tourists and help generate funds for the preservation of heritage resources. These concepts will be elaborated on in the following chapter.

### Self-Guided Historic Walking Tours

Scholarship specifically on self-guided historic walking tours is sparse. The literature that exists has the tendency to come out of public history and to focus on logistics. Literature about historic walking tours stresses the importance of visual guides, such as maps, signage and photographs, to assist its intended audience with wayfinding (Moga 2008, Mooney-Melvin 2011, Simpson 2012, and Stanley 2012). Also stressed is the importance of the introductory text, which should be used to explain why districts or buildings were selected, to give a brief overall historic narrative, and to tell its audience what they may expect to see, such as evidence



of urban renewal, gentrification, or remnants of past industries (Moga 2008, Stanley 2012). Successful walking tours included these elements, and discussed the methodologies used for discovering and interpreting evidence that helps explain early history, such as archaeological findings or historic documents (Sebold 2011). A tour should be specific in its aims, although if the topic is too narrow, interpretation may become difficult. Including the histories of transportation technology, economic history, street patterns, social ecology, invasion and succession, and gentrification can create a more interesting experience for audiences (Holton 1990, Simpson 2012). The literature suggests keeping in mind the intended audience of the tour, and writing narrative text that speaks to them; if the goal is to reach a broad audience (public, tourists, school field trips) or to entertain or foster preservation, then the author of self-guided historic walking tours need to impart interpretation rather than information to its audience (Thomson 1996).

Scholars believe that while many tours combine both elements of architecture and history to make compelling tours appealing to larger audiences, it is important to ensure that the terminology used is understandable to laypeople as well as experts in these fields; tours that are perceived as boring by their audience results from the inclusion of uninteresting sights that result in a lack of an emotional connection towards sites they are visiting (Holton 1990, Stanley 2012). Presenting buildings without historic context can prove frustrating to history buffs, while relying on an audience with a deep understanding of architectural knowledge is isolating; structures do not make a tour, they must be tied to a larger historical narrative (Stanley 2012, Simpson 2012). Contextualization, including personal and immigrant stories, and describing the landscape and architecture of a place, help to create what Matthew Stanley

refers to as a “portrait of a neighborhood and the people that lived there”, as opposed to a mundane list of buildings (2012). Ron Thomson proposes the following guidelines for the authors of self-guided historic walking tours to make them vibrant and appealing to a wide audience while still maintaining historic accuracy:

1. Think about the meaning behind facts. Rather than just presenting information, explain why the information presented is unique or exciting.
2. Find ways to make the tour relevant. Establish links with the likely experiences of individuals taking the tour.
3. Include social history. Illustrate how times have changed, and write about history that may no longer be evident.
4. Draw analogies that increase understanding or that help the audience understand the interpretation.
5. Encourage self-discovery and imagination. For example, “Find three things that you believe would show that the owner of this home was wealthy.”
6. Use descriptive language that engages the senses. Bring to mind the sights, sounds, and smells of the past.
7. Personalize the tour. Discuss the human implications of events. Tell stories that visitors will remember after the tour, and use quotes to breathe life into inanimate structures.
8. Have a theme. Find the threads that stitch the pieces of histories in the tour stops together.
9. Write the script, then add the illustrations. Begin research, locate possible stops, search for themes, and then dig deeper for details, such as photographs, that bring various pieces together.
10. Be creative in titles and opening lines.
11. Look at format. Brochures are flexible, can be designed in many sizes and shapes, but other media may also be used, such as audio tours or signage. (1996)

Incorporating these elements and themes into self-guided historic walking tours will create more dynamic and interesting presentations. Coupled with the criteria for developing the narrative text explored in Chapter Five, authors of self-guided historic walking tours can attract a larger audience while maintaining historic accuracy.

## Chapter Three: Theoretical and Applied Frameworks in Heritage Tourism

There are many types of heritage presentations for tourists and many ways to evaluate them. This study focuses on self-guided historic walking tours and how they engage the public in heritage tourism. Self-guided tours take many forms, including written text such as brochures, pamphlets, and booklets, and as audio tours that can be found online or through apps for mobile devices. As these tours are self-guided, audiences can engage in them at any time, allowing tourists the flexibility of choosing how and when they partake in them. Self-guided tours also allow their audiences an opportunity to engage in the interpretation of a site or place—without a guide, the interpretation of history can be a collaborative experience between the text or audio and its audience.

The study focuses on three aspects of storytelling that help to create inclusive histories that may in turn draw a broader audience while maintaining historical accuracy. The aspects that have been identified for this study include authenticity, sense of place, and multi-vocality. Tourists who visit the Bellingham Bay area often seek it out for its cultural experiences and natural authenticity, including the landscape, historic neighborhoods, and shopping and dining in destinations architecturally interesting historic areas (City of Bellingham 2014b:31). It is therefore important the historic self-guided walking tours maintain a sense of authentic representations in their historic presentations to continue to draw tourists to the region.

### Authenticity

Determining what is or is not authentic can be problematic. Who or what is defining it? Is it the tourist, the community the tourist visits, professionals involved in the tourism industry,

or the bodies that control tourism (i.e., government agencies or corporations with a stake in tourism)? Is it all these groups working in tandem? While tourists seek authentic experiences, how do they determine what is authentic? Most tourists are given little information about the objects they buy or the places they visit that might help them construe a sense of authenticity (Ballengee-Morris 2002).

More than other forms of tourism, heritage tourism is concerned with authenticity because it attempts to educate tourists (Farrisee 1999). Museums, tour guides, pamphlets and other forms of education teach tourists what is authentic. The challenge to heritage tourism is to create presentations that draw visitors while maintaining a high level of historical accuracy (Mooney-Melvin 1991). This depends heavily on the presentation of visual culture to tourists. Visual culture is the ways in which images and artifacts interact with history, heritage, tradition, cultures, and politics across various formats such as television, movies, magazines, books, advertisements, performance art, housing, apparel, attraction design, and all other forms of visual production and communication (Ballengee-Morris 2002).

Through visual culture, it is important to teach people to question research and to make presentations relevant to tourists' lives, so that tourists may better understand their role as a tourist and consumer (Ballengee-Morris 2002). By making presentations relevant, they become relatable to the tourist and help them view people and places in a context that promotes respect and allows them the opportunity to explore heritage through a "personal experiential perspective" (Ballengee-Morris 2002:244). Authenticity is achieved less through painstaking historical accuracy than with honesty, integrity, accessibility, and cross-cultural communication(s) (McIntosh et al. 2002). However, local history can be compromised for

touristic market demands, so it is important to involve residents in heritage tourism to ensure authenticity is maintained (Shackel 2005).

### Sense of Place

According to McIntosh et al., sense of place “refers to those dimensions of the self that define the individual’s personal identity in relation to the physical environment” (2002:41). There are three components they identify as important in creating cultural identity: static physical setting, activities, and meanings. Sense of place is a means for articulating cultural identity in an authentic fashion. Cultural identity, on the other hand, can be reproduced and commodified as an attraction for tourists. Tourists will then seek to understand the significance of sense of place and cultural values which in turn help to foster their sustainability (McIntosh et al. 2002).

Artifacts help set the scene where visitors experience the past (Karki et al. 2006). Visiting museums, one of the most popular activities among tourists, is perhaps one of the most obvious ways in which tourists experience the past through artifacts. The museum is not only a place where memories are re-lived, but instead a space for creating experiences of belonging (Karki et al. 2006). Historic walking tours can be seen as a contemporary to museums, in which the artifacts are the authentic natural and built landscape, and in which the local sense of place has been interpreted for the tourist’s consumption.

### Multi-Vocality

According to Stacey Lynn Camp, the development of tourism in the late 19th and early 20th centuries helped “create a notion of racial otherness” (2011:281). Conversely, some

modern tourist attractions have overcompensated for this racialized past by romanticizing ethnic heritage or depicting other peoples as static and unchanging (Camp 2011). It is this history that contemporary heritage interpreters find themselves navigating, and helps illustrate the importance of multi-vocal histories. It is the responsibility of heritage interpreters to unearth hidden and suppressed histories by creating more multi-vocal approaches to history.

Many scholars studying heritage tourism have focused on the concept of diversity and multi-vocality (Camp 2011, Shackel 2005, Farrisee 1999, Brink 1998, Mooney-Melvin 1991). In recent decades, heritage tourism has been moving beyond telling the history of “famous dead white men” and has begun focusing on telling the story of the “Other” (Farrisee 1999:102). There is an increased interest in the lives of average people, women, people of color, and immigrants (Brink 1998). Part of the reason historic sites rate high as a tourist destinations is they provide a visitor with the ability to experience a way of life that may be both similar and different from their own (Mooney-Melvin 1991). This is true for visitors to heritage sites, who are often in search of a connection with their own identity, with places whose history shares their core values, or emphasizes where they came from (Pope et al. 2011). It is important to interpret history knowing many peripheral groups were excluded from popular histories and that “racism, ethnocentrism, religious-ism, linguistic-ism, age-ism, able-ism, class-ism, sex-ism and heterosexual-ism” were a part of the past (Shackel 2005:24). By remembering this, it is possible to create a history presentation that is more inclusive and can therefore draw a broader audience.

Since every site is a collection of pasts, it is important to represent this collection to the public (Mooney-Melvin 1991:46). By acknowledging the plurality of pasts defined by socio-

economic status, ethnicity, nationality and gender, the built environment can be utilized to engage visitors in a “conversation with the past” (Mooney-Melvin 1991:46). Heritage sites then can be what Mooney-Melvin coined as a “catalyst for reflection”, in which people can reflect not only on the lives of those in the past, but on their relation to those that lived in the past (1991). Paul Shackel compiled criteria for archaeological heritage tourist sites, listing avenues to promote multi-vocality. I posit that Shackel’s list can be extrapolated to include heritage tourism sites of a non-archaeological nature as well. Shackel lists the following as essential to the development of multi-vocal presentations:

1. Critically analyzing and exposing racism in the past and present.
2. Exploring diversity in the past and promoting it in the present.
3. Building a multi-cultural organization.
4. Creating a color-conscious past rather than a color-blind past (2005:24).

The benefits of disseminating multi-vocal pasts are numerous. First, when people encounter new cultures, they experience and become less intimidated by the practices, artifacts and values that are different from and may conflict with their own (Leung and Chiu 2010). Secondly, multi-vocal experiences can create opportunities to develop higher cognitive complexities and to recognize and integrate alternative viewpoints from other cultures (Leung and Chiu 2010). Finally, heritage tourist travelers are more likely to visit cultural sites that represent part of their own heritage and identity, and by creating more inclusive presentations, increasing the probability of drawing more tourists, and increasing tourism revenue.





Economic Development initiative, demonstrating the importance of heritage tourism to the city's economic viability (City of Bellingham 2015a).

Historic self-guided walking tours are one way to engage the public in historic demonstrations as well as the public with the local environment. In a 2014 survey, the City of Bellingham asked residents to identify their favorite things about Bellingham. High on the list were outdoor natural and cultural resources, such as trails, parks, mountains, the waterfront, and the local community (City of Bellingham 2014b). The City of Bellingham has improved pedestrian conditions in destination neighborhoods such as Fairhaven and Downtown, and access to local trails makes walking tours an accessible way to teach tourists about the collective pasts of Bellingham Bay.

In defining Bellingham's sense of place, the City of Bellingham held a series of community engagement events, the results of which were presented in a series of reports in preparation for its 2014 Downtown Bellingham Plan. These events were held in 2012 and lend insight into the values and sense of place of the region. Of those who participated in a survey about Downtown Bellingham, 96% of respondents agreed that historic buildings add to the character of Downtown, and over 40% of Downtown business owners indicated the character of Downtown was a factor in choosing where to locate their business (City of Bellingham 2012a:5; 9). The City of Bellingham has also invested into creating a unique sense of place for the Downtown sector by fostering a "Streets as Places" model in which landscaping, pedestrian improvements, food vendors, and public spaces are improved to aid in revitalization of Downtown as the Central Business District (City of Bellingham 2012b:8).

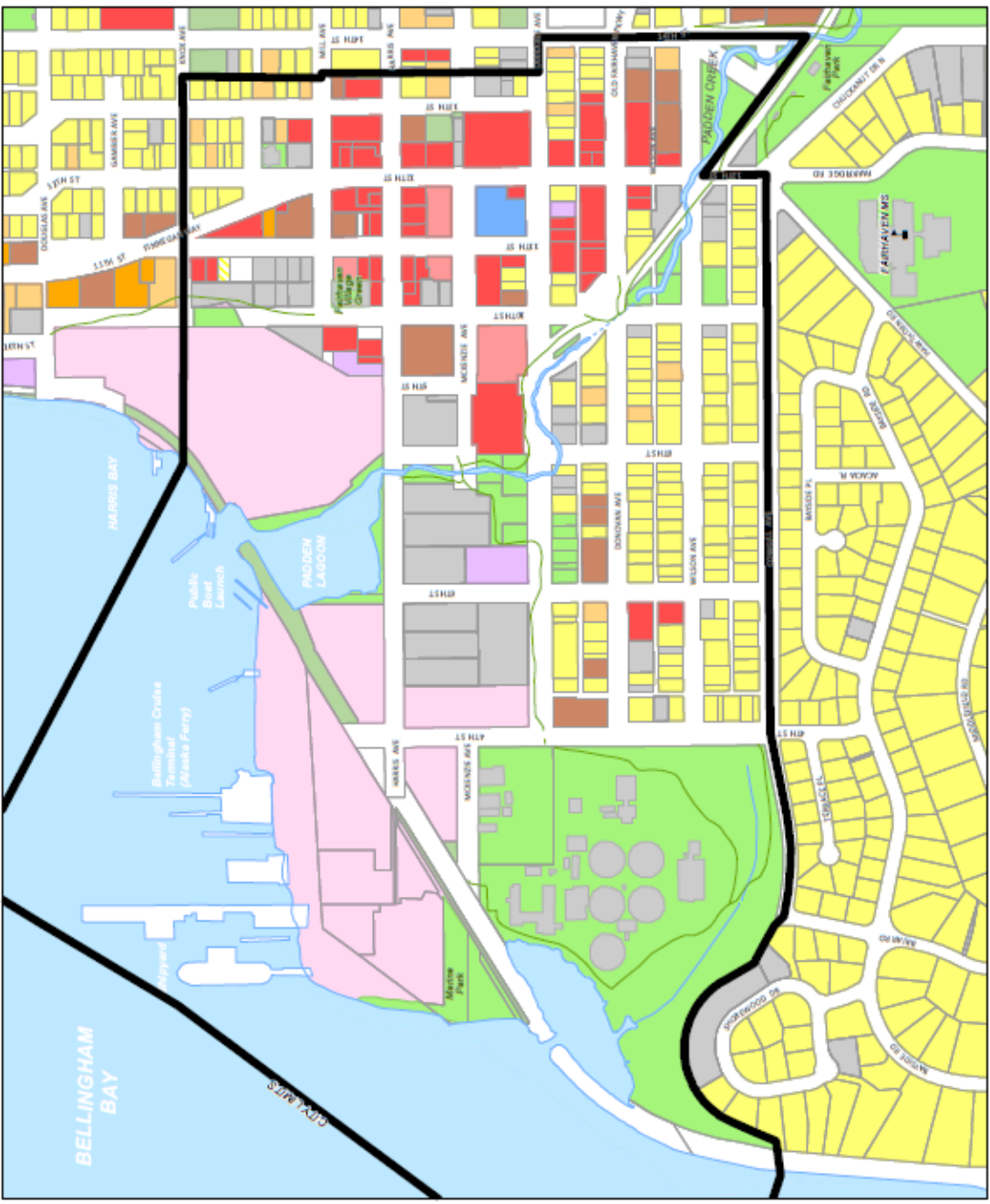
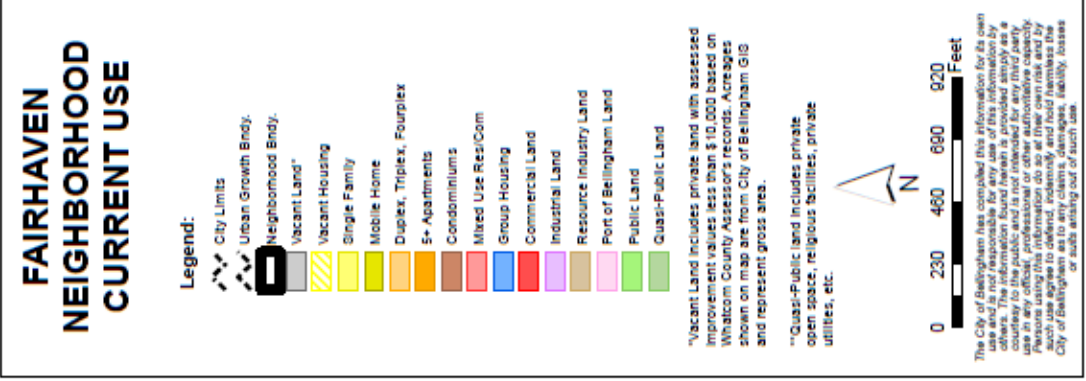


Figure 4: Current land use in the Fairhaven District highlighting the cluster of historic buildings at its core. Courtesy of the City of Bellingham (City of Bellingham 2015c).

Figure 5: Lummi Fish Dance on Lummi Island. Used with permission from the Whatcom Museum Photo Archives. Figure 6: Current land use in the Fairhaven District highlighting the cluster of historic buildings at its core. Courtesy of the City of Bellingham (City of Bellingham 2015c).

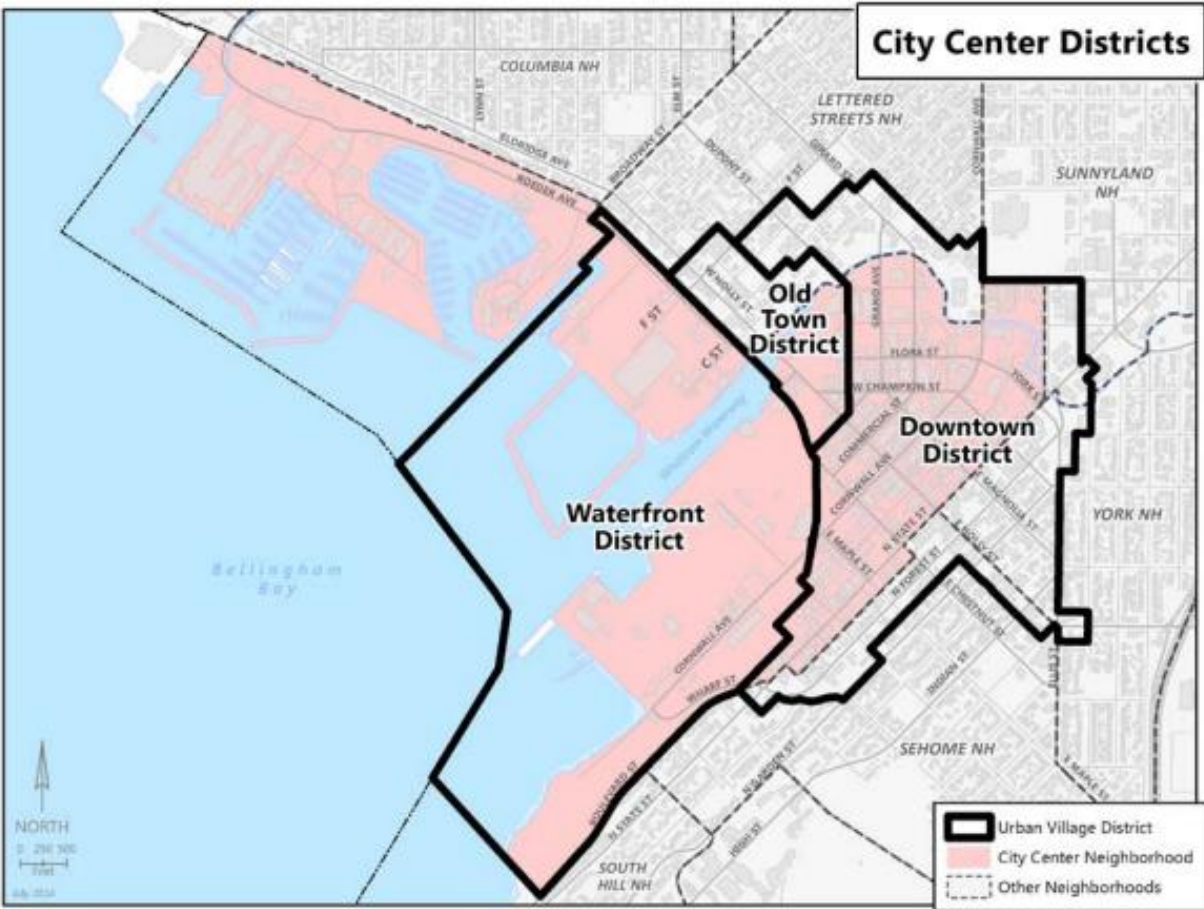


Figure 7: Map showing the current boundaries of Downtown and Old Town. Courtesy of the City of Bellingham (City of Bellingham 2014a).

Downtown and other city sectors, such as Old Town and Fairhaven, have distinct identities, and the City of Bellingham hopes to increase the distinction between these districts and their surroundings through improvements such as wayfinding signage, banners, street furniture, art, and lighting (City of Bellingham 2014b). Improvements to the pedestrian environment have made walking to destinations in these sectors easier, and the implementation of bike lanes and public parking racks have made it easier for locals and tourists to meander through the streets of these areas while ensuring they are not dependent on automobile transportation (City of Bellingham 2014b). This not only contributes to the sense

of place of the area, but also contributes to the ease of events such as self-guided historic walking tours. Historic buildings make up a large part of Downtown, Fairhaven, and Old Town's sense of place. Not only do they harken back to the past, they attract tourists, shoppers, businesses, and residents (City of Bellingham 2014b:14). The buildings support heritage tourism strategies, and one of the easiest and most cost-effective ways to promote them is through walking tours, which can be either self-guided or with a tour guide through a local agency, such as a museum. Since 2002, new construction Downtown has been subject to 'City Center Design Standards', which provide policies for new development (City of Bellingham 2014b). This demonstrates the desire for a distinctive sense of place, and helps protect the existing sense of place for future generations. Investments by the City of Bellingham in support of the arts have created a cluster of cultural venues Downtown, such as the Pickford Theater, the Spark Museum, the Whatcom Museum buildings, and the Mt. Baker Theater (City of Bellingham 2014b:5).

A small core dominated by thirteen primary historic buildings is the foundation for the sense of place of Fairhaven Historic District, which was placed on the National Register of Historic Places in 1977 (Fig. 2). Due to the efforts of private developers who acquired and renovated much of Fairhaven in the 1970 and 1980s, many buildings still survive that date back to the time from 1890 to World War I. Many of the buildings are constructed of brick, with Italianate and Richardsonian Romanesque styles (City of Bellingham N.d.(b):3). Following World War II, Fairhaven began to fall into disrepair. Businesses and industry were attracted to Downtown. Beginning in 1973, Kenneth Imus, a resident of Fairhaven, acquired and renovated many of the historic district properties for commercial lease (City of Bellingham, N.d.(b):11).

Several other property owners followed, and Fairhaven was resuscitated by its large number of tourist-orientated shops and amenities (City of Bellingham N.d.(b):11).



*Figure 8: This map from the Old Town Sub-Area Plan highlights the district’s boundaries and features, such as historic buildings (in red), Whatcom Creek, and public park land. Courtesy of the City of Bellingham. (City of Bellingham 2008).*

In the 2008 Old Town Sub-Area Plan, the City of Bellingham identified priorities for this area including preserving its sense of place, historic resources, and public views (Fig. 3). Its natural and historic setting near Whatcom Creek make it an archaeologically rich area; it was once a culturally rich area as well (City of Bellingham 2008). Once home to an opera house, various hotels, saloons, restaurants, markets and retail shops, Old Town’s character shifted with the advent of the automobile. By the mid-1920s, large areas were filled in to extend the shorelines and industrial facilities grew around the shorelines of Bellingham Bay. Old Town became a transitional place between the commercial district of Downtown and the industrial

district of the waterfront. Today there are large sections of Old Town that remain vacant, and little reuse and preservation has occurred here compared to Downtown and Fairhaven (City of Bellingham 2008:10). Old Town does, however, have attributes that the City of Bellingham has identified for redevelopment, including its historic structures and history, its location as a waypoint between Downtown and local neighborhoods, its parks and open spaces already served by public transportation and its proximity to Whatcom Creek (City of Bellingham 2008:10). In the 2008 Old Town Plan, the City of Bellingham found residents and users of the district expressed strong interest in preserving and enhancing the characteristics of the area. Important historic buildings, such as Old City Hall (now the Whatcom Museum), the Territorial Courthouse, the Great Northern Passenger Station, and Pickett House all contribute to character and views of the district (City of Bellingham 2008:13).

## Chapter Five: Methods and Approaches

This thesis is developed by the anthropological critique of heritage tourism and also draws on approaches from both public history and ethnohistory. These applied fields are complementary to one another. Public history's aim is to make the findings of historians accessible to the public, breaking down the barriers between academia and those outside of it. Self-guided historic walking tours can work within these goals by providing the public with access to historic information while engaging the public with the built environment.

Ethnohistory is the use of historical and ethnological methods in research to understand the nature and causes of change in a culture. Ethnohistory relies on a variety of materials and methods, such as books, manuscripts, maps, music, paintings, photos, folklore, oral traditions, ecology, archaeology, museum collections, customs, language, and place names. Public history and ethnohistory work well together to contribute different approaches and can be used by the historian to create diverse presentations, inclusive of different peoples and backgrounds useful to drawing a larger audience to the presentation.

### Self-Guided Historic Walking Tours and Heritage Management

The past can be made manifest in a variety of ways: recollected narratives, written history, traditions, archaeological and archival records, and through artifacts, structures, and sites (Ashworth 2011). Buildings and sites are especially visible and accessible expressions of the past (Ashworth 2011), making them prime candidates for the telling of history. Due to their accessibility, self-guided historic walking tours are often developed by a variety of agencies, including public agencies, to present the past to the public. According to Gregory Ashworth,

heritage is a process by which objects, events, sites, performances, and personalities are transformed into experiences in and for the present (2011). This process is often sought by agencies in the cultural, economic, and political spheres to help assign value to the past and to contribute to the sustaining of elements of it in the present through preservation or conservation (Ashworth 2011). In this regard, preservation is the halting of development in a given area, while conservation is the purposeful preservation of an entity through such methods as adaptive reuse (Ashworth 2011).

Historic preservation and conservation strengthen communities by rehabilitating and reusing historic properties and buildings while attracting heritage tourism (Czark 2004). Heritage tourism is advantageous for numerous reasons: it generates more jobs and tax revenue than new construction due to sustainable development by using less-expensive recycled resources, as well as a decreased demand in energy and materials (Czark 2004). Using existing assets, historic preservation can aid in the revitalization of downtowns and neighborhoods while helping to bridge a community's past, present and future by conveying context and continuity to the public (Czark 2004). In Whatcom County, many of the areas highlighted in self-guided historic walking tours have been selected by local, state, and national historic preservation lists as important monuments to the development of Whatcom County and the American West. Understanding the history of local buildings, and of Whatcom County is integral to the understanding of their inclusion in various walking tours. Following the theoretical frameworks concerning sense of place, multi-vocality, and authenticity, Whatcom County's self-guided historic walking tours could be analyzed to show the ways in which public



history presentations in Whatcom County can be improved to draw a larger audience of heritage tourists.

## Public History

Useful perspectives for analyzing self-guided historic walking tours in Whatcom County can be found in the applied discipline of public history, the intent of which is to make the knowledge gathered by historians accessible to the public. Public history has been defined by John Tosh, at its most basic, as the free access of the public to the findings of historic scholarship (2008:119). Following the tradition of historian Robert Archibald, who placed historians as collaborators rather than owners, particularly of community based histories, Hilda Kean defines public history as the demystifying of what historians do through the sharing of conceptual, as well as content-based, knowledge (Kean 2010). This definition emphasizes the building of a relationship between academic history and the public, in which historians must make the knowledge transmitted to the public accessible for their consumption (Kean 2010).

The past can act as a catalyst for people to make sense of themselves and their lives and to negotiate the present and navigate the future to help answer questions about identity and responsibility (Kean 2010). Self-guided historic walking tours are one tool the historian can use to share the past with the public. The inclusion of oral history is a way to accommodate multiple points of view, allowing for multiple parts of a story to contribute to the whole, an approach that may work well in historic walking tour presentations to make tours more inclusive while acknowledging the shared pasts of multiple groups (Blatti 1990:615).

Jo Blatti recommends the following versatile criteria for analyzing public history presentations, which can also be applied to the analysis of self-guided historic walking tours:

1. Does the work present individuals' testimony in a complex manner, recognizing such complicating factors as personality and the operations of memory?
2. Do we see and hear multiple points of view in the work?
3. Does the work provide a context to help the audience interpret the points of view expressed?
4. Does the work provide clues as to how the material was gathered and how it was selected for presentation?
5. In sum, does the piece give the audience an active, interpretive role (1990:617)?

Blatti and Shackel's criteria have been combined, with additions by the author, to create criteria for analyzing public walking tours in Whatcom County, Washington. The first three criteria serve to analyze the authenticity in the presentation, while the fourth and fifth criteria lend themselves to the discussion of multi-vocality in the piece. Criteria six through eight were developed to represent the sense of place the work presents, and the last two criteria help to examine how the piece engages its audience using a public history approach:

1. Does the work present individuals' testimony in a complex manner, recognizing such complicating factors as personality and the operations of memory?
2. Does the work provide clues as to how the material was gathered and how it was selected for presentation?
3. Does the work provide a context to help the audience interpret the points of view expressed?
4. Do we see and hear multiple points of view in the work? Does this work serve to explore diversity in the past to promote it in the present, building a multi-cultural presentation?
5. Does the piece critically analyze and expose racism in the past and present, creating a color-conscious past rather than a color-blind past?
6. Is the relationship between the peoples presented and changes in their landscape or environment described?
7. Does the work explain how locations were selected? Is the selection of location(s) described in this piece tying in to a central theme about the time or peoples described?
8. Does the piece relate to the socio-political, economic, religious, ethnic and gender history of the place presented?
9. Does the piece give the audience an active, interpretive role?
10. Are photos presented to help the audience understand how the site was accessed, used, and/or modified by the peoples described?

## Ethnohistory

The discipline of ethnohistory also offers distinct perspectives and approaches that are useful for a public heritage interpretation. As defined by James Axtell, "...ethnohistory is the use of historical and ethnological methods and materials to gain knowledge of the nature and causes of change in a culture defined by ethnological concepts and categories" (1979:2). Axtell delves into the methodology of ethnohistory, listing the following requirements for using the ethnohistoric method:

1. Focusing on the whole culture of a society as a developing entity over time and space.
2. Emphasizing socio-cultural change.
3. Using historical methods and materials, such as books, manuscripts, maps, music, paintings, photos, folklore, oral traditions, ecology, archaeology, museum collections, customs, language, and place names (1979: 2-4).

I applied this approach particularly in deepening my own understanding of history of Whatcom County so that I had access to content beyond published histories that I could apply to evaluating authenticity, multi-vocality, and sense of place. The focus on groups of people in this study was relevant not only to the discussion of multi-vocality in public walking tours, but also when considering the role of identity in shaping the content of the analyzed walking tours.

Archival research of primary documents was conducted at the Center for Pacific Northwest Studies. Collections researched included the Alaska Packer's Association records, the Bellingham Bay Improvement Company records, the Galen Biery papers and photographs, Women in the Commercial Fishing Industry Research Collection and the Pacific American Fisheries records, which provided information about Bellingham's early economic ventures in mining, salmon fishing and canning, and railroads. Special attention was paid to locating records relating to histories that were often under-represented in secondary documents, such

as Asian cannery works, local indigenous populations, and the role women played in economic and industrial activities in early Whatcom County history. Further archival research was carried out at the Whatcom Museum Photo Archives, which provided many of the photographs shown in this thesis. The photo archives were invaluable at helping to illustrate the history of that was largely ignored by many other sources.

Extensive library research was conducted to locate primary and secondary documents illustrating Bellingham's early history. A survey of historic buildings and homes listed on the City of Bellingham website aided in providing contemporary photographs of historic buildings and their nomination forms that led to their inclusion on the historic register. Museum collections at the Bellingham Maritime Museum and the Whatcom Museum were accessed to further document the local industrial history and to help fill in gaps in information remaining following extensive library research.

Archaeological records available through the Western Washington University Anthropology Department were researched, and their findings were used when applicable. Archaeological records provided valuable information on land use and the material culture of indigenous peoples in and around Whatcom County, Washington. Historic Property Inventory Forms (HPIFs) from The Department of Archaeology and Historic Preservation were also accessed to obtain information on historic buildings and their history of use.

## Chapter Six: Whatcom County's Early History and Development

The history of Whatcom County was researched to identify themes about the people, occupations, and cultural groups that would likely be underrepresented in historic presentations of the region. Bellingham and Blaine were the focus of the research as the self-guided historic walking tours in Whatcom County took place in these two cities. The research conducted in this chapter was integral in identifying gaps in multi-vocality to provide suggestions in Chapter Seven for improvements to history representations for future self-guided walking tours. Historic background information was informed by various local history books and pamphlets (See Barrow 1970, Beebe-Carhart 1926, Dan Boxberger 2000, Davis 1993, Friday 1994 and 1999, Nugent 1999, Radke 2002, Roeder Roth 1926, Smith 2004, Suttles 1951, Taylor 1969, Willson 1982). Further sources included various planning documents from the City of Bellingham, websites promoting Whatcom County tourism, Historic Property Inventory Forms (HPIFS) from the Washington Department of Archaeology and Historic Preservation, as well as archival research at the Whatcom Museum and the Center for Pacific Northwest Studies. Photographs and maps were largely found at the Whatcom Museum Photo Archives and on the City of Bellingham's website. Photographs selected for this chapter were chosen to contextualize the resources available to historic researchers to use to interpret history and to illustrate the special industries and peoples in the region.

The waters and banks of Whatcom County were a source of food, a means to carry away waste, and a landmark to its indigenous peoples (Friday 1999:3). Indigenous peoples used the mouth of Whatcom Creek seasonally—the flora and fauna of the area remained relatively unaffected by their presence (Friday, 1999:3). Whatcom Creek acted as a crossroads for early

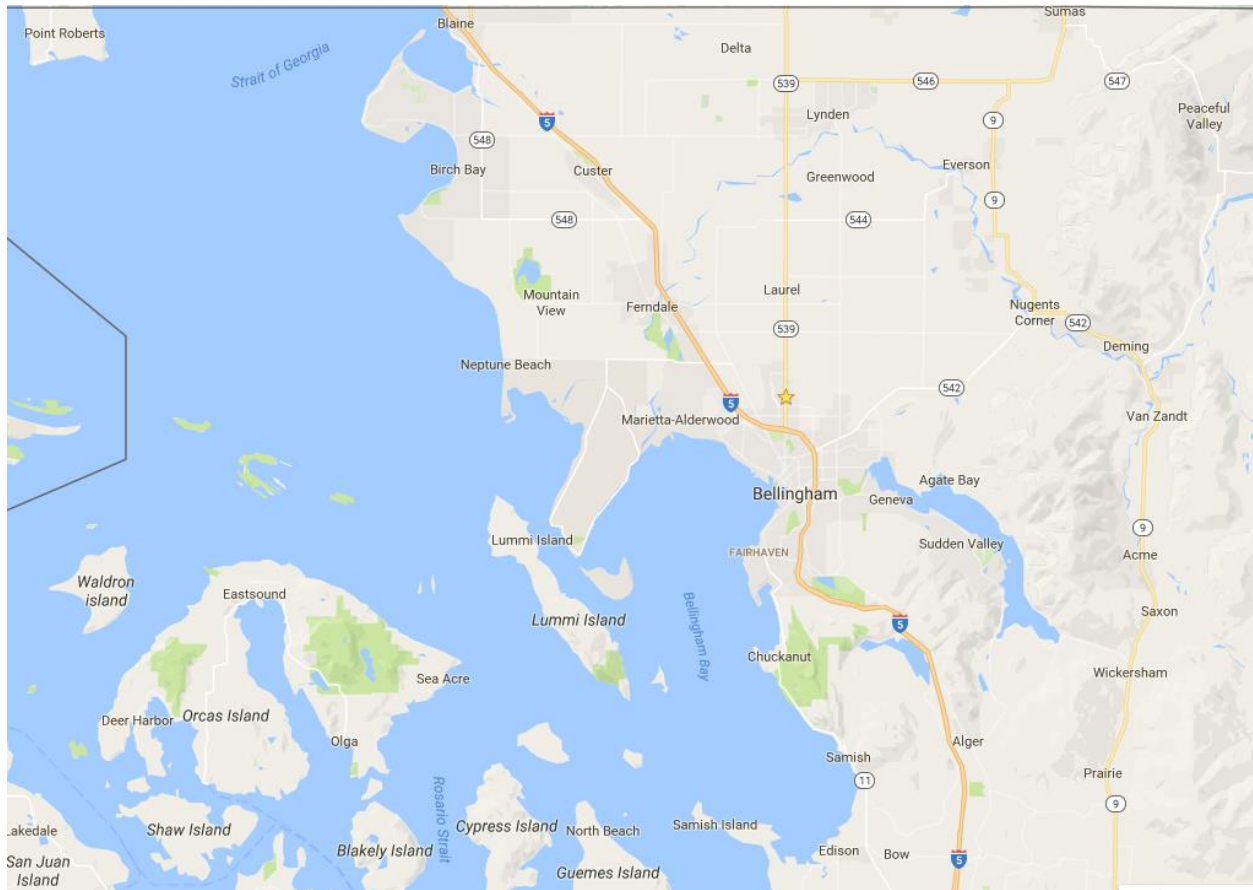
settlers—it was vital to trade and remained important to Euro-Americans as it had to indigenous peoples (Friday 1999:3). The course of history in the towns around Bellingham Bay was dependent on the seas and rivers as a means of transportation of people and products, a source of vital resources such as salmon, and the impetus for the ship building industry (Barrow 1970:10).

These industries were reliant on many peoples for their labor. Chinese and Japanese laborers were employed in the canning industry, Scandinavian and Croatian families were heavily involved in the fishing industry, Sikh laborers worked in the timber industry, and settlers of all backgrounds comprised the rest of the working classes. It was common for women to be employed by the salmon cannery operations throughout Whatcom County until the companies' demise. The lives of these peoples are peppered throughout the histories of these maritime industries, and their incorporation into heritage and history presentations is vital in telling the story of Bellingham and Whatcom County.

### Environment of Whatcom County

Understanding the geography of Whatcom County is important to understanding the economic history of its towns and the maritime heritage that is presented to the region's tourists. Whatcom County is the northwestern most county in the state of Washington, and is therefore situated along the shores of the Northern Puget Sound of the Salish Sea, which is comprised of the Strait of Juan de Fuca and the Strait of Georgia (which separates Vancouver

Island from the Canadian Mainland) in addition to the Puget Sound.



*Figure 9: Bellingham Bay and Environs. Map data ©2016 Google.*

The Strait of Juan de Fuca is the main passage of water into the Puget Sound as well as the outlet of the Salish Sea into the Pacific Ocean. It is a 'straight-walled passage ten to fifteen miles wide...that allows the waters of the Pacific to flow into the sunken valleys that lie between the first and second ranges' of the Olympic Mountains of the Washington mainland and Vancouver Island (Suttles 1951:1). The Puget Sound is home to both the San Juan and Gulf Islands, which are divided into United States and Canadian territory by the Strait of Juan de Fuca, the Haro Strait, and Boundary Pass. At the exit of the Rosario Strait, a narrow passage between Fidalgo and Lopez Island, is the Bellingham Channel between Cyprus and Guemes

Channel. As you exit this Channel, you find Lummi Island to the north, with Bellingham Bay facing its eastern shores. Further north lies Lummi Bay, then Birch Bay and finally Drayton Harbor, just before the Canadian border along the 49th parallel. Into these bays and harbors, numerous rivers and streams empty, the most important historically of these being: the Lummi/Red River, the Nooksack River, Whatcom Creek, Dakota Creek, and Squalicum Creek. There are numerous lakes in the region, the largest of which are Lake Whatcom, Lake Padden, Lake Samish, Lake Terrell, and Wiser Lake. Situated near various bodies of water, foothills, and mountains, Bellingham Bay is a geographically isolated region surrounded by numerous natural resources.



*Figure 10: Lummi Fish Dance on Lummi Island. Used with permission from the Whatcom Museum Photo Archives.*

This region has a Temperate Oceanic Climate (Taylor 1969:9). The summers are usually warm and moist; the winters are generally mild and wet. Each winter, snow generally only lasts



a few days on the ground, although some winters are more severe (Suttles 1951:2).

Precipitation in this area reaches an average of over 32 inches annually (Taylor 1969:9).

Whatcom County is a part of the West Coast Marine Forest Vegetation group, with the principal species of flora being Douglas fir (Taylor 1969:10). Other historically important species are hemlock and western red cedar. The lowlands also see a scattering of aspen and alder trees (Taylor 1969:10-11). There are over 25 species of berries indigenous to the region and more than a dozen edible roots that were traditionally part of the Coast Salish diet (Nugent 1999:3). Camas and lily bulbs were the most important vegetable group for indigenous populations in Whatcom County, although bracken fern, berries, and nuts were also commonly consumed (Larsen 1971:9).

Fauna in the area include several species of fish, such as halibut, sturgeon, smelt, cod, herring, flounder and several species of salmon (Taylor 1969:18). Salmon were the most important fish nutritionally and economically to Coast Salish peoples, followed by sturgeon and other types of fish (Larsen 1971:10). Shellfish are also abundant in this region, as are duck, seal, and, prior to the arrival of fur trappers to the area employed by the Hudson's Bay Company, beaver (Nugent 1999:3). Shellfish were the most important staple to the Coast Salish diet, especially crabs and bivalves (Larsen 1971:9). Waterfowl were also important, and up to 27 varieties were hunted, generally by net or sling (Larsen 1971:9-10). Deer and elk were hunted around Lake Terrell, and seal and porpoises were hunted in the sea. Whales may have also been hunted (Larsen 1971:10). As one can imagine from this list, access to water and its resources was integral to the lifeways of indigenous peoples in Whatcom County. They would also become important to the early settlers to the region. Local flora and fauna, valuable

resources to indigenous peoples, would be exploited by early settlers for survival and economic gain. The vast forests of trees would fuel the early lumber industry, while salmon would become one of the earliest profitable industries in Whatcom County.



*Figure 11: Sehome in 1885. The beginning of the BB&BC Railroad can be seen in the left center, which ran from the coal mine to Whatcom Creek. Used with permission from the Whatcom Museum Photo Archives.*

### Early Settlers in Whatcom County

What is now the city of Bellingham was originally four different towns. The first town site to be settled was Whatcom in 1852 (Willson 1982). Bellingham was founded in 1853, shortly followed by Fairhaven in the same year; Sehome was established last, in 1855 (Willson 1982) (See Fig. 6). In 1890, Bellingham was incorporated into the town of Fairhaven, and Sehome changed its name to 'New Whatcom' (See Fig. 7). In 1891, New Whatcom and Whatcom merged together keeping the name New Whatcom until 1901 when New Whatcom changed its name to Whatcom. In 1903, Fairhaven and Whatcom merged, changing the name of the town for a final time to Bellingham (Willson 1982). I will use original place names when

applicable, as each area retained distinct characteristics until the roads in the region were improved enough to foster communication and movement more readily between these settlements.

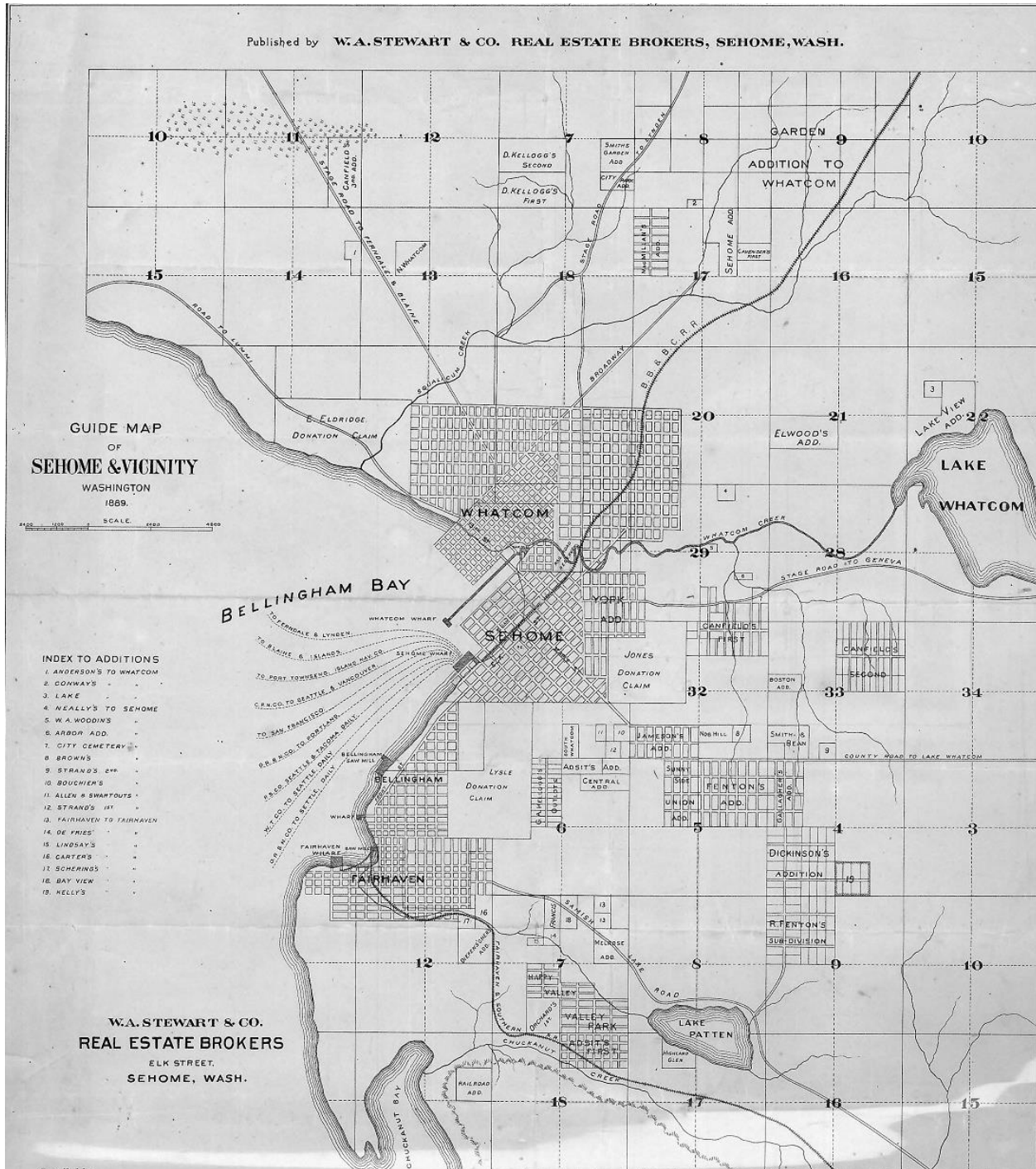


Figure 12: 1889 Map of Bellingham Bay towns (City of Bellingham 1889).

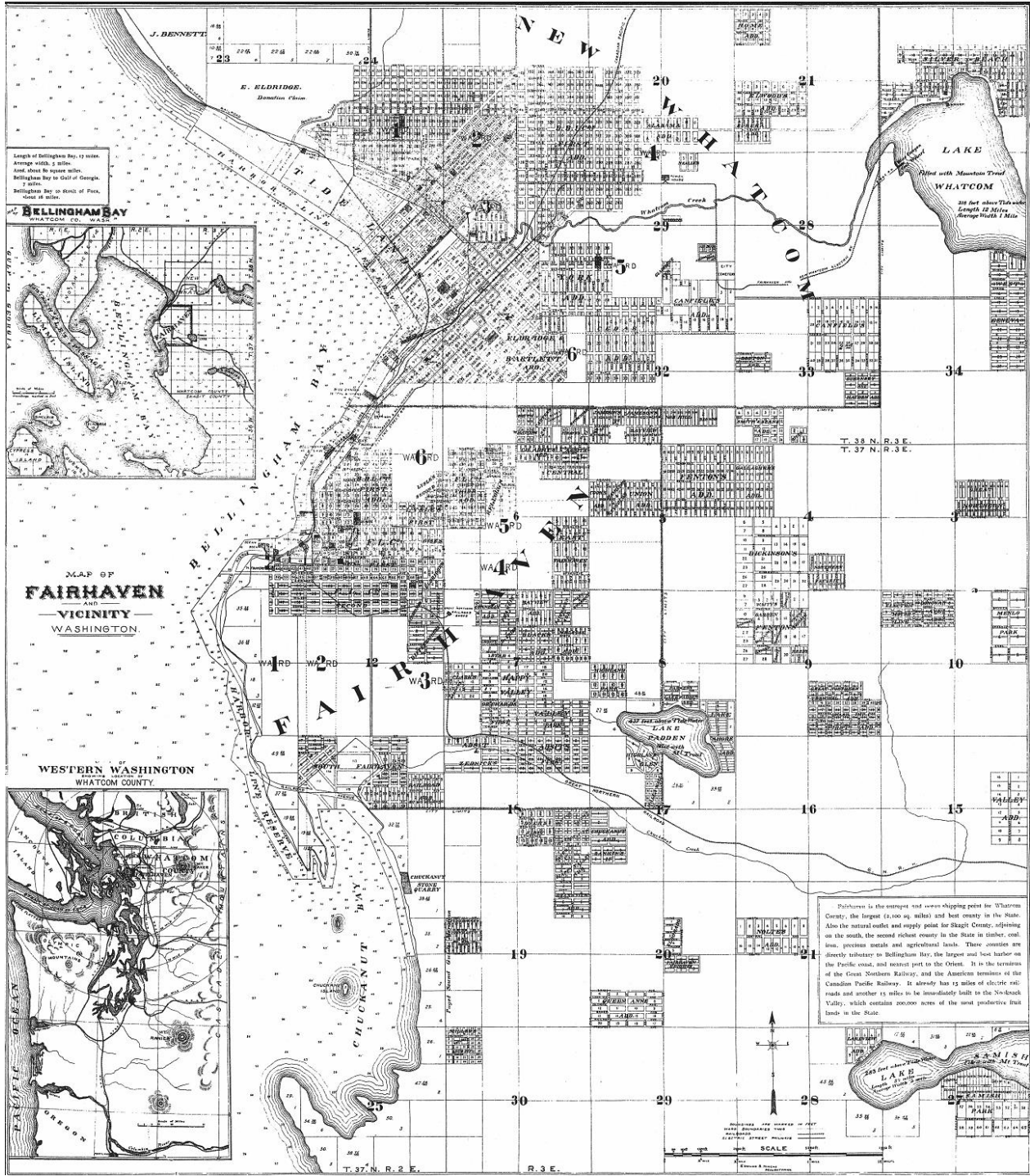
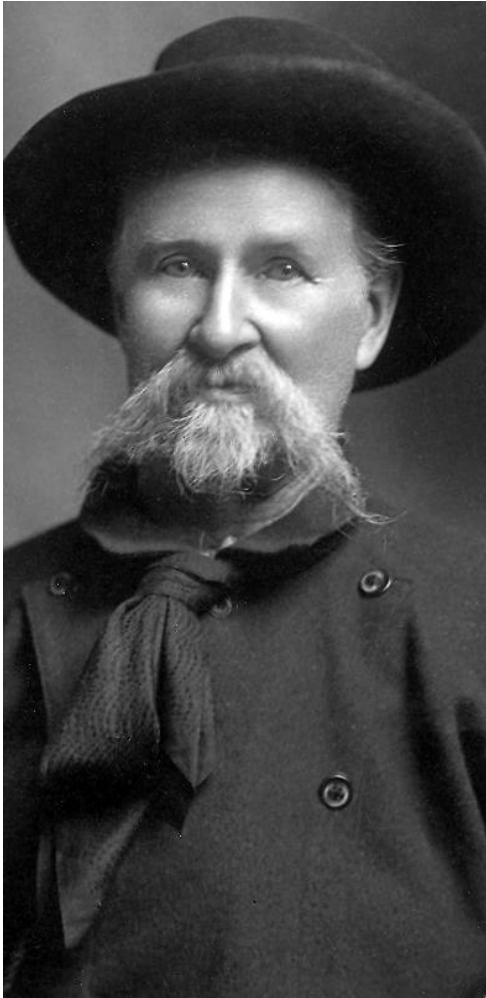


Figure 13: 1892 Map of Bellingham Bay towns (City of Bellingham 1892).

In 1846 the official boundary between the United States and Canada was established as the 49th Parallel, although the international boundary through the Puget Sound would later become disputed between the United States and Britain until a settlement was reached in 1872 (Roeder Roth 1926). The establishment of this boundary, coupled with legislation during the



*Figure 14: 'Blanket' Bill Jarman, 1901. Used with permission from the Whatcom Museum Photo Archives.*

1850s, opened the Pacific Northwest to new settlement.

Between 1850 and 1854, the Donation Land Claim Act

brought settlers out West in ever increasing numbers. The

Donation Land Claim Act allowed single men to claim 160

acres and married men to claim 320 acres of land. Anyone

who had been a Euro-American resident prior to 1850

received twice the acreage amount (Roeder Roth 1926).

Prior to the 1850s, few white settlers came to the region,

but within a few decades the West would settle rapidly.

As early as the 1840s, traders like William “Blanket Bill” Jarman and trappers for the Hudson’s Bay Company transiently visited Bellingham Bay (Barrow 1970). Captain

William Pattle came to Bellingham Bay in 1852 in search

of timber, landing near what is now known as Lower

Whatcom Falls on Whatcom Creek. During this trip, he

discovered coal and filed the first donation claim on Bellingham Bay (Barrow 1970). In addition

to Pattle, some of the first settlers to develop Whatcom County were Captain Henry Roeder

and Russell Peabody, later to be joined by Edward Eldridge, in the early 1850s. These men all

filed Donation Land Claim Act claims. Roeder and Peabody opened a mill at the mouth of Whatcom Creek in 1853, the first industry in what would become Bellingham.

In 1858, gold was discovered in the Fraser River Valley in Canada (Barrow 1970). The same year, the first boats arrived in Bellingham Bay with passengers headed for the gold fields, bringing as many as 10,000 people through the area, many of whom camped along the beach and bluff near the Roeder and Peabody Mill on Whatcom Creek (Friday 1999:4). From there, they would have hiked inland following Native American paths to The Crossing on the Nooksack River and north to the Fraser River (Friday 1999:4). The Crossing of the Nooksack River would become one of the earliest inland sites for European American settlement in Whatcom County.

1858 marked other historic 'firsts' for the towns around Bellingham Bay, such as the first recorded sale of lots (by Henry Roeder in June), the construction of the first brick building north of San Francisco on E Street (which still stands today), the beginning of a trail from the town of Whatcom to a site near Chilliwack, British Columbia, and the printing of the first newspaper in Whatcom, the Northern Light on July 3<sup>rd</sup> (Barrow 1970).

However, the 'Gold Fever' in the Fraser River soon proved to be disappointing, and the trail to the Fraser River valley from Bellingham Bay was difficult at best. There was no real overland route; a far easier route existed by water via the Fraser River (Barrow 1970). The final blow to the boom of development occurred when the governor of British Columbia, James Douglas, announced all miners were now required to go to Victoria to receive a miner's license before embarking for the Fraser River, vastly decreasing the visitors to Bellingham Bay towns (Roeder Roth 1926). The development bubble burst, and within 10 days the population of Whatcom plummeted from a few thousand to about 150 people. Buildings were dismantled

and shipped to Victoria, marking the beginning of the 'Dark Ages' in Whatcom County, which lasted until 1880 (Barrow 1970). Those that remained in the Bellingham Bay area worked in the area's established two industries: lumber and coal.

After the loss of the Roeder and Peabody mill in 1873, there was virtually no industry left around the bay other than the occasional and brief periods in which the coal mine was active (Barrow 1970). By 1879 there were only about 20 settlers left in Bellingham Bay; they were the families on the original donation claims (Barrow 1970). However, a revival began in the 1880s with the arrival of a utopian community from Kansas called the Washington Colony. By March 1882, steamers into the bay were crowded with settlers, and by June the twice-weekly service to Bellingham Bay from Seattle could not keep up with the demand of supplies and people coming into the region (Barrow 1970). During the 1880s three hotels were built in Whatcom, and two in Bellingham and Fairhaven, which were often overcrowded. 'Dirty' Dan Harris began platting Fairhaven to sell parcels to settlers, the old Whatcom Mill was rebuilt by the Kansas Colony, and the first banks and fish canneries opened (Barrow 1970). In 1891 the railroads arrived, accelerating timber production in the county (Barrow 1970). It was during this time that maritime industry in the towns that would become Bellingham began to flourish, which continued through the first half of the 20th century.

## Inland Settlement

What is now Lynden was first settled in the 1870s by the Judson family, marking the beginning of settlement around the Nooksack River and farther inland. Obstacles facing early inland settlers included the lack of roads and the presence of log jams on the Nooksack River; it became the mission of early inland settlers to clear the jams to increase ease of transportation

to Bellingham Bay (Barrow 1970:6). In February of 1877, the 'Big Jam' was cleared. The 'Little Jam' was cleared shortly after (Barrow 1970:7). The clearing of the Nooksack River allowed for the development of larger boats to navigate the Nooksack, and steamers were soon travelling up and down the Nooksack bringing goods and people to inland locations (Barrow 1970:7). Steamboats remained on the Nooksack until 1909. Steamboats allowed for settlement in the interior, increasing the demand for roads, thus decreasing the demand for travel on the river (Barrow 1970:7). Inland settlement also encouraged trade between the newly emerging neighboring communities and the indigenous peoples of Whatcom County.

### Indigenous Peoples of Whatcom County

Traditionally, Whatcom County was home to many of the Coast Salish peoples: the Lummi, Semiahmoo, Nooksack, Saanich, Snokomish, and Samish (Suttles 1951: 27, 33, 43). The basic social unit of the Coast Salish in this area was the extended family, which was a unit of consumption as well as production (Larsen 1971:11). More productive subsistence activities, such as reef netting salmon, required the cooperation of several families to be successful (Larsen 1971:11).

Lottie Roeder Roth, daughter of settler Henry Roeder, wrote a history of Whatcom County in 1926. Roeder Roth's history is colored by her parentage—she was not an adult first-hand observer during the early settlement period, and her aim was to paint her parents and their peers as heroic founders of a rugged and wild west. However, that is not to say her history is without merit. Her history does serve to lend valuable information regarding the social climate and cultural norms of the era. Per history of Whatcom County presented by Lottie Roeder Roth, the attitudes and relationships between early white settlers to Whatcom County



and the native community were mixed (1926). However, some of the settlers had only had experiences with Plains Indians groups prior to reaching Bellingham Bay, and were prompted by either desire or fear to treat them poorly, generally by feigning friendship to order to swindle them of their resources (1926:49). Few settlers had genuine friendships with Indians. Property rights, sex relations, and alcohol were at the heart of most of the issues between white settlers and local Indians. While many early settlers married indigenous women, this practice became less common as time went on and more white women arrived in Whatcom County, and some men abandoned their native wives and children to remarry or when they left the area during periodic recessions.

In his research of the Lummi people's access to their traditional fishing grounds, Daniel Boxberger used an ethnographic approach in telling their history. It provides a complex view of the changing relationships to fishing rights, discussed more in depth later in this chapter. Prior to the arrival of white settlers, the Lummi and Nooksack were semi-sedentary peoples that travelled seasonally for resource allocation, living in villages in politically and economically independent houses united by kinship and some cooperative subsistence activities (Boxberger 2000:11). A smallpox outbreak in 1782 had decimated their population, which was once between 700 to 800 individuals; increased raids from northern tribes in the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> centuries resulted in a further decline in population (Boxberger 2000). The signing of the Treaty of Point Elliott in 1855 removed the Semiahmoo, Samish, and Lummi to a reservation at the mouth of the Nooksack River, further reducing their access to land and water.

While local indigenous groups had sporadic contact with fur trappers from the Hudson's Bay Company prior to the arrival of settlers, the traders had largely abstained from trading

liquor with indigenous peoples. This would change with the arrival of permanent settlers, especially after the arrival of the military in 1856 to establish Fort Bellingham. The local Indian Agent complained to Governor Stevens that the soldiers were no better than the raiders they built the fort to protect against, and attributed the liquor traffic largely to the soldiers; the liquor traffic would remain even after the fort was moved in 1859 to the San Juan Islands during the Pig War border dispute (Boxberger 2000:27). During the 1858 Fraser River Gold Rush, many transient miners passed through Whatcom County on their way north in British Columbia. Brothels, saloons, hotels and a newspaper were all new industries to Bellingham Bay. Indian Agent Fitzhugh recorded fear among Lummi Indians during this time, who were afraid miners coming up from California fields would massacre them as they had Indians in California (Boxberger 2000:28).

Missionaries, such as Father Eugene Casimir Chirouse, held Christian services periodically on the Lummi reservation, and in 1861 a church was built on the reservation (Boxberger 2000:30). Other attempts to modify indigenous culture occurred in Whatcom County during this time. In the 1870s, a strong push to teach agriculture to Native Americans occurred. Lummis were urged to farm or threatened with losing the allotment entitled to them in the Treaty of Point Elliott, and were discouraged from partaking in activities off the reservation (Boxberger 2000:32). The Nooksack had a different experience, as many of them did not move to the reservation and instead moved inland to traditional homelands and took out land claims in the 1880s under the Indian Homestead Act (Boxberger 2000:33).

While the Treaty of Point Elliott in 1855 secured some subsistence rights to local Indian groups, it was not strongly enforced. By 1900 Indians were largely excluded from the fisheries

of Whatcom County, and Chinese and Japanese labor had made them obsolete in the factories. Legislation requiring fishers to have licenses unavailable to Indians, who were not citizens of the United States at this time, further excluded the indigenous peoples from traditional lifeways—they faced fines and arrest if caught fishing without a license (Boxberger 2000:93). Local Indians were isolated from their traditional lifeways, such as salmon fishing, for several decades until legal activism that had begun in the 1920s resulted in legislation securing their rights to local fishing grounds with the passing of the 1979 Boldt Decision (Boxberger 2000).

### The Timber Industry and Lumber Mills

As part of his 1993 MA Thesis, David Davis examined the timber industry in Whatcom County. Due to a lack of other accessible sources on the topic, this paragraph gives a summary of his findings. Timber was the primary resource of Whatcom County for many decades; most industry depended on timber extraction and exportation until the late-20th century. Timber from the Puget Sound was instrumental in building San Francisco during the Gold Rush Boom in the 1850s, and rebuilding it following the 1906 earthquake that devastated the area. Throughout the 19th century, California was the biggest consumer of Puget Sound lumber. Between 1849 and 1853, ports were established all over the Puget Sound, including the towns that would become Bellingham to export lumber. Between 1905 and 1938 Washington was the largest lumber producer in the United States. While California was the largest importer of Puget Sound timber, in the 1850s markets in Australia and Hawaii opened. In the 1870s and 1880s more markets were established in Peru, Chile, China, England, and Ireland. It was, however, the California market that was the largest contributor to a series of booms and busts to the timber industry. More mills were constructed to keep up with demand; fiercer competition resulted in

a drop in prices, causing financial instability. This pattern is evident in the first mill to operate in Bellingham Bay, the Roeder and Peabody Mill, which would face numerous booms in operation only to experience a decline in demand, causing periodic closures. This pattern was common of many industries throughout America during his time, and would eventually culminate in the Panic of 1893.

The lure of timber brought Henry Roeder and Russell Peabody to explore Bellingham Bay, and they established the first mill on the bay in 1853 (Barrow 1970). They heard of a site from local Indians that met the necessary conditions to operate a saw mill on Whatcom Creek. The site had an adequate supply of water power; powered by the Lower Whatcom Falls



*Figure 15: The Roeder and Peabody Mill and Post Office built in 1853, photo taken in 1903. Used with permission from the Whatcom Museum Photo Archives.*

(Murray 1955). The mill was near Pattle's claim, currently the site of the Maritime Heritage Park in Bellingham. Lummi Chief Chowitzin is credited with having ceded the lands near Whatcom Creek to Roeder and Peabody, perhaps in the hopes of establishing trade relations and allies against northern coastal Indians who periodically raided Coast Salish villages (Friday 1999:4). After an initial period of good will between the mill owners and the Lummi, relations seemed to have soured; it is possible the Lummi resented Roeder and Peabody, or they just may have not been motivated to work in their mill as was expected by Roeder and Peabody (Friday 1999:4). This led Roeder and Peabody to hire Indians from Vancouver Island and the northern mainland, including men from northern raiding tribes, leading to violence between the indigenous groups (Friday 1999:4). These delays in labor meant delays in getting the wood cut and shipped to San Francisco in time—by the time it was ready, San Francisco was already largely rebuilt, forcing Roeder and Peabody to sell their lumber in Victoria, British Columbia, for much lower prices (Friday 1999:4). The arrival of George Pickett and the establishment of Fort Bellingham near Whatcom Creek in 1856 provided some stability to the mill for a short while (Friday 1999:4).

However, in 1873 the mill burned down and was not rebuilt (Barrow 1970). The lumber industry in Whatcom County did not recover until the establishment of the Washington Colony from Kansas in 1881, which economically revitalized Whatcom County (Roeder Roth 1926). The Washington Colony was a utopian community, interested in settling in Whatcom County with

plans to use the economic gains from a lumber mill to finance their colony. The Washington Colony was given the Roeder Peabody mill site, and half the interest in the land for which the Colony was supposed to build a mill, a wharf, a church, and around 50 dwellings (Roeder Roth 1926). By August 1882, the mill was ready, and a small wharf was built. Only about half of the expected 50 families came from Kansas, but the increase in population and resurgence of industry helped kick-start the economy of the county (Roeder Roth 1926). A newspaper and telegraph office opened, and more mills and coal mines were started (Roeder Roth 1926). In 1883, Roeder gave 4.5 acres of undeveloped land (part of which is now Maritime Heritage Park) to the city of Whatcom to be used as a park, although it was quickly utilized instead as a garbage dump (Friday 1999:5). Runs of fish steadily decreased over the years following, partly



*Figure 16: A group of 13 people in a large double sail canoe during a 4th of July picnic at the Roeder Mill circa 1870. The mill can be seen in the background. Used with permission from the Whatcom Museum Photo Archives.*

due to refuse in the waterway that blocked spawning salmon from reaching their spawning grounds (Friday 1999:5).

J.H. Bloedel was the first and biggest lumberman to exploit the Lake Whatcom watershed and surrounding forests for lumber (Davis 1993). In 1898, Bloedel formed a partnership with J. J. Donovan and Peter Larson to begin the Bloedel Donovan Mill (Davis 1993). The Bloedel Donovan Mill grew large because Bloedel bought out many small logging operations around Lake Whatcom (Davis 1993). He also purchased land and timber right around Cain Lake, Alger, the eastern slopes of Chuckanut Mountain and the south of Lake Whatcom (Davis 1993). The peak of their operations was 1913, although the company continued operations until 1944 (Davis 1993).

While many local settlers worked in the lumber mills around the turn of the century, many of the lumber industry workers in Bellingham were also of East Indian descent. The clear majority of the East Indian immigrants into the United States at the turn of the century were unskilled workers, most practiced the Sikh religion (Hess 1974:578). While a small number were students or professionals, the clear majority remained laborers (Hess 1974:578). Canadian propaganda put out by steamship and railroad interests attracted these workers, who arrived in large numbers to port cities such as Vancouver, British Columbia. Some immigrated to the United States, generally after brief stays in British Columbia or when denied entry at Vancouver (Hess 1974:579). There were few jobs open to Sikh workers—farming, shipping, the lumber industry were some of the jobs a Sikh immigrant could hope to pursue (Dhavan 2006:820). This

accounted for the large number of Sikh workers in the Whatcom



*Figure: 3 Sikh men residing in Bellingham, 1912. Used with permission from the Whatcom Museum Photo Archives.*



County lumber industry. They soon experienced discrimination from white laborers. Many white laborers feared encroachment by Asian laborers hired at cheaper wages than their white counterparts. When employers increased their wages to help dispel rumors they were relying on cheap labor, white workers became more enraged that East Indian workers were being overpaid (Hess 1974:579).



*Figure 17: East Asian Workers Discussing the 1907 Riots. Taken from Werter Dodd's 1907 Article "The Hindu in the Northwest". Dodd refers to 'Hindus' in this article as 'undesirable citizens', 'not-adaptable', as living 'in dirt and filth', demonstrating the racism facing the Sikh population.*

On September 5, 1907, several hundred white men raided the living quarters of Sikh lumber employees in Bellingham, forcing several hundred to leave Bellingham for Canada (Hess 1974:579). Local mills where Sikh men worked were raided, as well as the homes of Sikh men, who were dragged from bed and taken to city limits (Wynne 1966:174). Six were hospitalized due to the beatings they received, and several hundred were jailed to protect them (Wynne 1966:174). The mayor of Bellingham deputized 50 men to help protect the Sikh men, and made

strong statements against the violence that had occurred. When charges against five individuals who perpetrated the crimes were dropped due to lack of witnesses willing to testify, the mayor spoke out against the decision (Kaur 2014:1). The mayor categorized the Sikh workers as law abiding, peaceful citizens, and ultimately blamed the local mill owners for the events



*Figure 18: From Dodd (1907): Mill workers on their way to receive their pay before they leave Bellingham, under guard from the police following the 1907 riot.*

precipitated by hiring immigrants as a lower rate than white workers and playing a large part in instigating a wage war (Kaur 2014:1).

Since the victims of the Bellingham riot were Canadian subjects, the situation was reported to Governor-General Grey in Ottawa. Governor-General Grey who was informed that due to the strong anti-Asian sentiment in the area, it would be difficult to prosecute the ringleaders of the events (Wynne 1966:174). Two days later, an Anti-Asian riot would break out in Vancouver, British Columbia, and by August 5, 1907 a branch of the Asiatic Exclusion League was there (Wynne 1966:174). Following the riots in Bellingham, the East Indian population in

Bellingham was non-existent; however, the events that occurred in Bellingham and the 1907 Sikh Riot (as it came to be called), are indicative of a larger picture of anti-Asian sentiment that was growing throughout the nation in the first decade of the 20<sup>th</sup> century.

Later conflicts in Vancouver, British Columbia and Everett, Washington added to the growing resentment and contributed to a worsening social and economic situation for East Indian immigrants in the West. The events that took place in Bellingham are evidence of regional politics that would spread throughout the United States and into Canada. The events in Bellingham, Everett, and Vancouver contributed greatly to the legislative restriction that passed in 1908, limiting the number of East Indian immigrants permitted into the United States (Hess 1974: 580). Further legislation limited the definition of who would be considered as white for purposes of naturalization; while Indians were defined ethnographically as Caucasian, they would be classified in the 1923 case, *United States v. Bhagat Singh Thind*, as a race separate from white Caucasians, disallowing them from becoming naturalized citizens, and in some states, from holding property (Shah 1999:259). Like the 1882 Chinese Exclusion Act and the 1907 Executive Order that limited Japanese immigration to the United States, the 1923 case would classify yet another Asian group as 'Other', as less-than.

The events that unfolded in Bellingham paralleled American race issues across the nation, and should not be ignored, but remembered. While the East Indian population of Bellingham was here for only a short while, the events that occurred in 1907 would have far reaching implications that would last for several decades until the post-WWII era. The rhetoric present in events that led to the 1907 riot in Bellingham is still used today. Fears of losing jobs, wages, and culture are often used to justify restricting immigration of groups of people that are

seen as 'Other'. The 1907 riot is an important historical event, not just for Bellingham and Whatcom County, but for the entire nation.

## Coal Mining

In 1849 the first reports of 'black stones', as observed by indigenous peoples of Bellingham Bay, were recorded by Samuel Hancock (Melder 1938:152). It was not until 1851 that coal was 'discovered' along Bellingham Bay; it would not become an industry for some time longer (Melder 1938:152). Captain William Pattle discovered coal in 1851 while looking for spar timber for the Hudson's Bay Company on his donation claim in the town of Sehome (Melder 1938:153). The discovery led to an examination and a seam several feet thick was uncovered. As the transportation of this coal presented no difficult problem, the mine was soon opened and produced coal for the next 25 years (Melder 1938:153). The coal was lignite coal, and was primarily shipped to California, the biggest market for Bellingham Bay coal (Melder 1938:158). Mining during this time was dirty and dangerous work, due to the possibility of issues of poor ventilation, explosive gases, floods, and cave-ins (Campbell 1982:146). While coal played an important role in the development of Washington's economy in the 1880s, it remained a high risk and generally unprofitable business (Campbell 1982:146).



*Figure 19: A group inside the Bellingham Coal Mine. Taken on the 5th level during a tour Bellingham Coal Mine gave to employee of Puget Sound Power and Light Company on March 30, 1927. Used with permission from the Whatcom Museum Photo Archives.*

Two employees of Roeder and Peabody's mill, Henry Hewitt and William Brown, found coal on land adjoining Pattle's claim the same year the mill was constructed, in 1853 (Barrow 1970). The coal deposit was located near the present-day intersection of Railroad Avenue and East Maple Street, and was of a better quality than the coal that was mined by William Pattle (Barrow 1970). Originally from the San Francisco region, Brown returned to San Francisco with a coal sample to find investors and capital needed to develop the mine (Barrow 1970). They sold their discovery for \$18,000, and from the coal deposit the Bellingham Bay Coal Company was developed (Barrow 1970). Between the years of 1854-1859 small shipments of coal were

sent, but little to no profit was made and the company was forced to reorganize (Barrow 1970).

One issue with coal in the Bellingham Bay region was the amount of sulphur it contained. Mine debris occasionally caught fire, which was difficult to extinguish due to the sulphurous coal, necessitating the need to fill the mines with water to extinguish the fire (Roeder Roth 1926). It would take months to pump out the water and begin operations again (Roeder Roth 1926). In 1880, the Bellingham Bay Coal mine was closed.



Figure 20: The Kiwanis Club being entertained by the Bellingham Coal mine, 1925. Used with permission from the Whatcom Museum Photo Archives.

Other mines in Whatcom County, such as the Blue Canyon and South Bay mines, were opened between 1890 and 1900. These mines were situated near Lake Whatcom, and had no direct access to the railroad (Melder 1938:162). Coal had to be shipped by barge the length of the lake to reach the nearest railway, making transportation expensive. An explosion in the Blue Mine Canyon in 1895 led to the deaths of 23 miners and discouraged operators. By 1901 it had virtually ceased operations (Melder 1938:162).

The next major coal mining operation was the Bellingham Coal Mine Company, which opened its mine in 1918. It reopened the previous Bellingham Bay Coal mine that was in operation in the 1860s and 1870s before it had closed due to a fire (Melder 1938:164). While other, smaller mines remained in operation until the mid-1950s, coal began to decline in importance by the late 19th century (Barrow 1970).

### Salmon Fishing and Canneries

Salmon was believed by early settlers in Bellingham Bay to be of an inexhaustible supply. Spawning migrations literally clogged the banks of rivers and streams and settlers reportedly used pitchforks to remove the fish (Barrow 1970). The main source of salmon was Fraser River sockeye run in which fish were hauled by wagonloads; some were eaten fresh, some were dried, smoked or salted, but most were used as fertilizer and hog feed (Barrow 1970). By 1899, Whatcom County contained 11 of the largest canneries in the state (Barrow 1970). Six were located near Blaine, and five were in Fairhaven. The first modern cannery opened in the county was operated out of Semiahmoo and owned by D. Drysdale, who also owned traps at Point Roberts (Barrow 1970). Drysdale's cannery became the Alaska Packers Association (APA), which was incorporated with headquarters in San Francisco. The APA quickly

gained control of Port Roberts and Semiahmoo in 1894 by buying traps, properties, leases, sites, and equipment. At this point, it was the largest salmon packer in the area, setting a world record in 1898 for an amazing 3,240 cases packed in one season (Barrow 1970:13).



*Figure 21: Chinese workers at Pacific American Fisheries surrounded by stacked cans of salmon. Used with permission from the Whatcom Museum Photo Archives.*

In 1893, the first fish preservation company, The Bellingham Bay Fish Company, opened in Fairhaven, marking the beginning of the salmon industry development along the Fairhaven waterfront (Markham 1993). In Whatcom, the first and only cannery was opened at an old brickyard at Fort Bellingham in 1895 (Barrow 1970). Several unemployment laborers opened their own operation, packing 250 cases that sold for a total of \$900. Considering the time and labor costs of this operation, they turned a very small profit, leading to the decision to close this



cannery and return to their previous trades (Barrow 1970). Bellingham Bay's first real cannery was opened in Fairhaven in 1896 and was named the Fairhaven Canning Company (Barrow 1970). It was constructed by Oswald Steele at the foot of Taylor Avenue (Radke 2002). This location was sold multiple times, eventually becoming a part of the Pacific American Fisheries (Kleeman and Rink 2013). Many other canneries were built and closed in Whatcom County throughout the late 1890s. The most important of these started as the Franco-American North Pacific Packing Company, opened in Fairhaven in 1898 and organized by Roland Onffroy and Dr. Andrien Monod, a French Consulate residing in Seattle (Radke 2002). This cannery failed after one season, causing Onffroy to go to Chicago and locate the backing of food packers and



*Figure 22: Iron Chink at Pacific American Fisheries receiving fish from the floor, 1906. Used with permission from the Whatcom Museum Photo Archives.*

dealers (Radke 2002). However, this setback allowed for the creation of Pacific American Fisheries by Onffroy and Everett (Ed) Deming, a promoter and a businessman (Radke 2002).



*Figure 23: Brailing fish at Pacific American Fisheries trap 2, 1906. Used with permission from the Whatcom Museum Photo Archives.*

In the early days of the salmon canneries, most cannery employees were Chinese laborers provided by the prominent labor contractor, Goon Dip (Friday 1994, Radke 2002). These Chinese workers were largely separated from residents, confined to a very small area of bunkhouses near the salmon canneries. By the early 1900s, automation such as the “Iron Chink”, invented by E. A. Smith to behead, de-fin, and eviscerate fish, decreased the demand for Chinese laborers (Boxberger 2000, Friday 1994). Demand was further decreased by the



Figure 24: Man in front of Goon Dip's Company. Used with permission from the Whatcom Museum Photo Archives.

'Yellow Peril' of the late 19<sup>th</sup> Century, which led to legislation restricting immigration of Chinese nationals into the United States. The 1882 Chinese Exclusion Act would virtually ban all Chinese immigration into the United States. Chinese workers were largely replaced with Japanese and Filipino cannery workers throughout the Pacific Northwest, including Bellingham.

Combined with the large hauls from the fish traps, the canneries were making large profits. However, the overfishing of the salmon led to depletion of the salmon stocks throughout the Northern Puget Sound, much like it had in California and along the Columbia River previously

(Friday 1994). Overfishing was further exacerbated during WWI, when government contracts increased the demand for canned salmon (Boxberger 2000).

Daniel Boxberger explored the ways in which the cannery industry excluded indigenous fishers from the fisheries and contributed to poverty and many other issues for local indigenous groups in his book *To Fish in Common* (2000). The Treaty of Point Elliott was not ratified until 1859 and contained 15 articles protecting Indian interests. Article five reserved hunting, fishing,

and gathering rights at 'usual and accustomed stations' (Treaty of Point Elliot 1855). When the salmon canneries first began opening in the Puget Sound in the 1880s, Lummi acted as producers. Cannery owners and operators sought out the local indigenous groups to fish for them and many Lummi abandoned their traditional subsistence economy when the fishery became commercialized. As technology changed, they were no longer needed to fish, nor were



*Figure 25: Lummi fishing camp at Legoe Bay on Lummi Island, 1895. Used with permission from the Whatcom Museum Photo Archives.*

they desired for factory work as Asian immigrants were preferred by the cannery operators (Boxberger 2000:9). Furthermore, commercial fishers during the 1894-1895 seasons were paid between ten to fifteen cents per fish, compared to five to eight cents for Lummi fishers. Since

Lummi were fishing for both their own subsistence as well as cash, they were not organized to the point to be able to demand the same prices as non-Indians (Boxberger 2000:49).

As outlined by Boxberger, The Lummi responded to the loss of their fishing sites by seeking aid from the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) and seeking their own counsel when the BIA proved unable to assist them in meeting their goals. A series of legal cases were heard near the turn of the century, to little or no success. The Lummi exclusion from the fisheries was compounded by exclusion of work in the canneries. While some Lummi could find cannery jobs, Chinese labor was much preferred in the region, as the Chinese workers provided their own overseer and would work long hours with little pay (2000:56).

In 1930, the Lummi founded a cooperative to advise on matters of self-regulation, how to obtain fair prices when selling fish, how to find markets to sell in, and regulation of gear used (2000:101). The 1930s were a changing point for Lummi fishing—a 1931 case determined the tidelands of the reservation are in common ownership of the Lummi and in 1934 Initiative 77 was passed, banning fish traps. Throughout the 1960s canneries such as the Pacific American Fisheries began leaving the area, as the salmon stocks were depleted (2000:144). This allowed for the growth of the Indian fishery in the 1960s (2000:145). This tied in with the larger-scale American Indian Movement of the 1960s, with several tribes throughout Washington State voicing concerns over the way the commercial fisheries had come to exclude Indians (2000:154). In 1971, 13 tribes, including the Lummi, decided to sue the state. The U.S. government intervened on their behalf, and in February 1974 the Boldt Decision was passed, in which the treaties were interpreted to mean treaty tribes were entitled to 50% of the guaranteed allotment of salmon (2000:154). The decision was upheld following several appeals

by the United States Supreme Court, following some minor revisions, in 1979 (Boxberger 2000:156). By 1985, the Lummi were the strongest fishing tribe in the Pacific Northwest, taking almost half of their allowable fish (2000:166). In more recent years, the Lummi have actively been involved in the preservation of the fishery and are involved in the attempts to protect the remaining salmon population (National Museum of the American Indian: 2). This has included working in conjunction with other area Indian groups to protect the watershed in and around the reservation, as well as efforts to aid in the salmon spawn (Relyea 2013).

The history of the canneries in Whatcom County is tied to several important episodes of U.S. history. The use of Asian cannery workers contributed to anti-Asian sentiment locally, seen in articles published in local newspapers detailing the threat of 'Celestials' (a slur used to describe Chinese people during the late 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> century) and other Asian groups. It is also tied to the larger fear of Asian immigration throughout the United States which would culminate in various acts of legislation to limit, and in some cases, outright ban, the immigration of Asian peoples to the United States. Also, the legislative actions taken by the Lummi are demonstrative of a larger Indian Rights movement that occurred in the United States throughout the 1960s and 1970s. The legal actions taken by the Lummi are also indicative of their own agency which would culminate in the Boldt Decision, forever securing their rights to fish in local fisheries.

## Shipbuilding

The Coast Salish used the Salish Sea, Whatcom Creek, and the Nooksack River as their roads, travelling by salt chuck or coast canoes; using smaller canoes for river travelling (Barrow 1970:6). Canoes were also used by early settlers; they were excellent vessels: lightweight, seaworthy, capable of carrying heavy loads and comparatively cheap to construct compared to other boats (Barrow 1970:6). Later, shipbuilding became another important industry to Bellingham Bay. The first boat built on the bay was constructed by Captain Roeder in 1854, the schooner *H.C. Page*. He sold it, and began construction on a larger schooner, the *General Harney*, which became one of the first historic vessels of Puget Sound (Barrow 1970:7). The

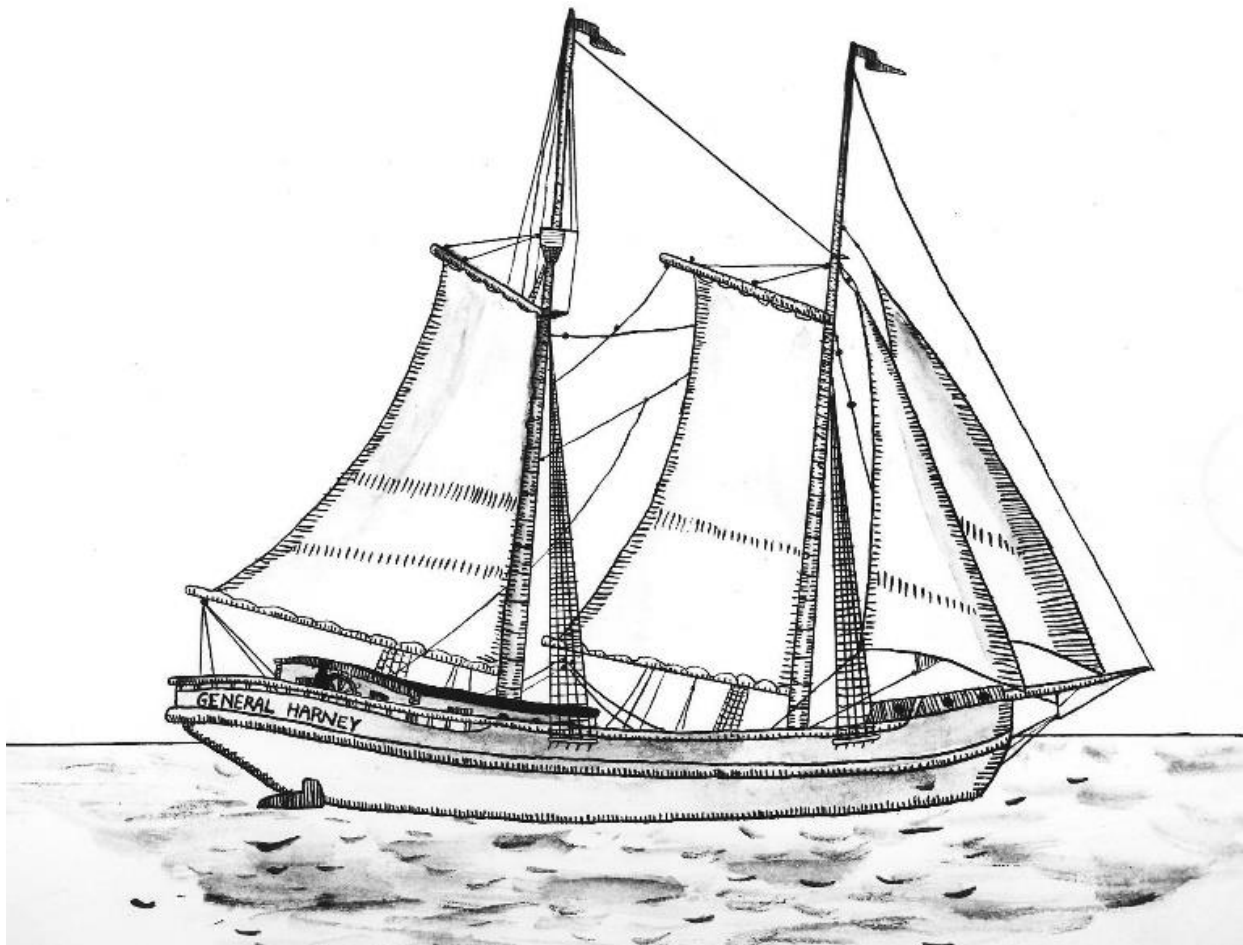


Figure 26: Rudimentary drawing of the *General Harney* cattle transport of Henry Roeder, n.d. Artist Unknown. Used with permission from the Whatcom Museum Photo Archives.

*General Harney* moved troops and guns from the Bay to San Juan Island during the 'Pig War' of 1859, a boundary dispute between the United States and Canada. The ship carried supplies and freight between ports in the Puget Sound (Barrow 1970:7). It was lost in 1889 when it ran aground near Goose Island (Barrow 1970:7).

Boat building began in the earliest times as individual efforts and grew into large commercial operations in the 20<sup>th</sup> century. As early as the 1890s, yacht clubs were formed in Fairhaven and New Whatcom for boating enthusiasts, although the boat building industry did not begin for several more decades (Barrow 1970:14). During World War I there was an urgent need from the United States military for ships. The Pacific American Fisheries built seven boats for the Navy during the war to help meet this need under the name Northwest Shipbuilding Company. However, it was during World War II that a warehouse belonging to the Pacific American Fisheries at the end of Harris Avenue in Fairhaven was leased by the Northwest Shipbuilding Company to an investor from Seattle (Barrow 1970:16). Six months prior to Pearl Harbor, A.W. Talbot, an investment broker in Seattle, began a shipbuilding program for the United States Navy. It incorporated Bellingham Iron Works and Bellingham Marine Railway and Boatbuilding Company into Bellingham Shipyards Company (Barrow 1970:16). During WWII, more than 1000 vessels were built from this warehouse. During the Korean War, they provided 30 minesweepers, and in 1956 a contract was completed for 487 vessels. The company closed in 1963 due to a decline in the demand for ship and boat building (Barrow 1970:17). Unified Boatbuilders, Incorporated was founded in 1957 (Barrow 1970:18). They produced reinforced fiberglass boats, including hundreds for the Navy. During the Vietnam War, they produced PBR boats. They also produced the first fiberglass commercial pleasure boats (Barrow 1970:18).



Shipbuilding in Whatcom County served numerous functions—it provided jobs to many residents, while supplying local fishing operations with the boats needed to fuel their industry. Shipbuilding was also integral to military operations throughout the United States, beginning with the Pig War and ending with the Vietnam War. In its earliest day, local shipbuilding added residents in travelling to inland regions of Whatcom County, in a time where the few roads that did exist were rough and took several days to traverse. At the end of shipbuilding enterprises in Whatcom County, boats were largely being built as part of the Vietnam War effort as well as for pleasure.

### Women in Whatcom County Industry

The first white woman to come to Whatcom County was Theresa Eldridge, who arrived with her husband Edward in 1853. She settled on a donation claim of 320 acres in what became the town of Whatcom (Beebe 1926:15). Other women arriving in Whatcom County in the late 1800s, and worked in various professions. The professions opened to women at this time were rather limited in Whatcom County—many women worked as teachers and nurses, although many women would find work in select industries.

Women were largely excluded from industry in early Whatcom County History, with a few notable exceptions: the salmon canneries and brothels. In the late 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> Centuries, many women and children were employed by the salmon canneries, working in the tin can factories or filling the cans with salmon. The timber, fishing, and mining industries attracted male workers to Pacific Northwest. A variety of vices followed them, including gambling and prostitution. As settlement in and around Bellingham Bay increased, gambling

became less common due to crackdowns from policing bodies, but prostitution would share a long history with maritime industry (Smith 2004:2). Prostitution in the towns that would become Bellingham was largely tolerated, although there were periods of intolerance and crackdowns. While early prostitution was not well-documented, an assumption can be made that it was like the industry in Seattle and other towns in the Puget Sound region (Smith 2004:4). In Seattle, the first prostitutes were indigenous women who worked in brothels such as the one owned by John Pennel, in which men could dance for free, but were expected to buy themselves and their partners drinks and to use the small rooms for a fee. This was a pattern throughout the West, and was most likely the case in Bellingham, as well (Smith 2004:4).



*Figure 27: Woman working in line at Pacific American Fisheries, chipping and topping cans, 1906. Used with permission from the Whatcom Museum Photo Archives.*



12  
*Figure 28: Women filling cans by hand at Pacific American Fisheries, 1906. Used with permission from the Whatcom Museum Photo Archives.*



Figure 29: Orange squares represent the boundaries for the Old Town red light district in 1890 using Whitney's Map of The Bellingham Bay Cities and Environs (City of Bellingham 1890) and today using Google Maps (©2016 Google). The blue square represents the site of the Great Northern Station in the center of the Red Light District.

In Bellingham's Old Town area, previously the city of Whatcom, the earliest known waterfront shacks, called 'cribs' were opened on the tide flats near Whatcom Creek below the Roeder mill. In Fairhaven, a similar scene below 10<sup>th</sup> Street emerged in the early days of settlement. These were sparse one story single or multi-room buildings, catering to laborers and other low-class clientele (Smith 2004:3). In 1910, a city charter of Whatcom established the limits of the red-light district from the waterfront to the Whatcom Creek waterway, F Street, and 12<sup>th</sup> Street (now Astor Street), although it grew out of these confines almost as soon as the ordinance passed (Smith 2004:5). An 1890 petition, delivered to the City Council of Whatcom, sought to suppress the expansion of the brothels' territory. It was accompanied by editorials in the town's newspapers calling for the licensing, limiting, and eliminating of houses and/or the district itself. During this era, there was a dichotomy between the public disapproval of the red-light district and its unofficial tolerance by city government (Smith 2004:6).

In Fairhaven, the 'lower city' area below 12<sup>th</sup> Street was home to a wide variety of illicit businesses catering to various vices. 'Devil's Row' was an area on 11<sup>th</sup> Street between McKenzie and Harris Avenues, known for its theaters and saloons, such as the Spokane Theater, Vineyard Saloon, Casino Theater, and Tontine Saloon (Smith 2004:11). The Spokane Theater and Casino Theater both had boxing matches, musical and dramatic performances liquor, gambling, pool and billiards available to its patrons, with prostitutes available with second floor rooms (Smith 2004:12). However, the 1893-1898 recession was hard on prostitution, just like other industrial sectors. The decision to make Seattle the terminus of the Great Northern rail line, rather than Fairhaven as hoped by its residents and investors, resulted in a substantial decline in the

number of brothels in Fairhaven. By the turn of the 20<sup>th</sup> Century, many of the theaters and casinos of Devil's Row were closed (Smith 2004:21). By 1904, the buildings that had housed these businesses were torn down. A few businesses (such as the Trocadero, The Castle, The Palace, and The New Casino)held on as a destination for the upper classes of society out 'slumming'; these would all close due to raids after the consolidation of Fairhaven into Bellingham despite the promise by city government to accommodate the social climate of Fairhaven. Many society folks out slumming were arrested, and their names were published in local newspapers, putting an effective end to the practice (Smith 2004:21-22). By 1910, prostitution had disappeared from Fairhaven (Smith 2004:22).

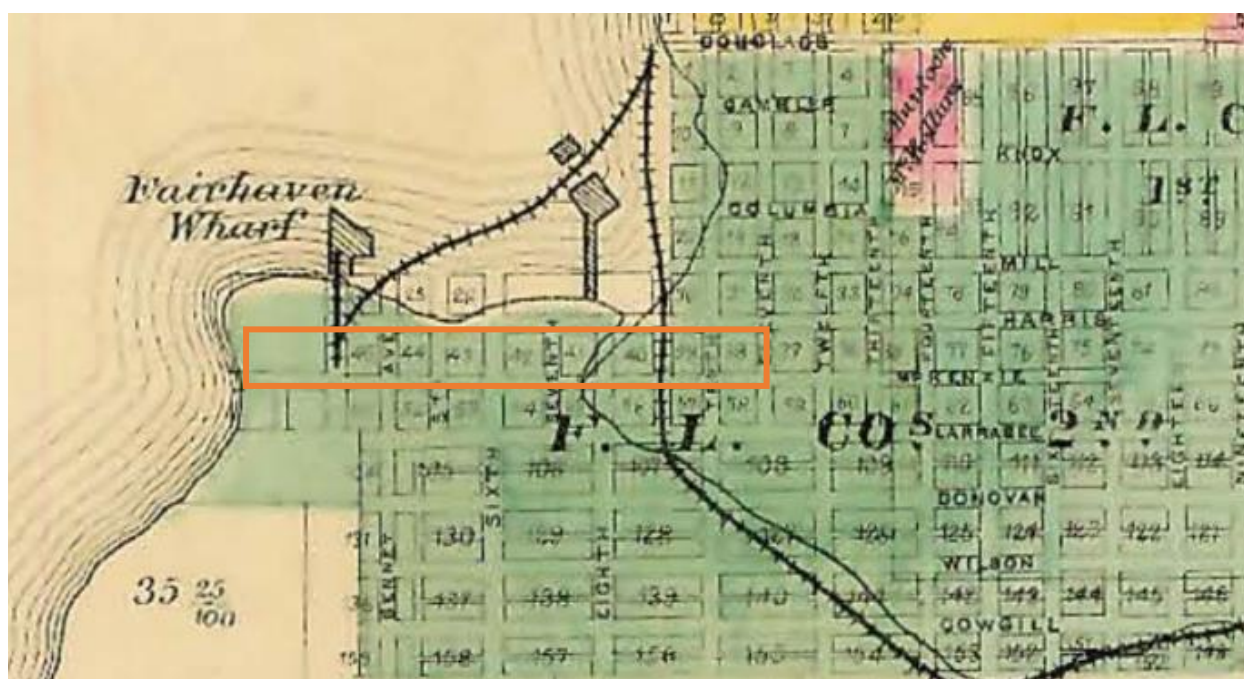


Figure 30: Site of Fairhaven's Devil's Row, home to saloons and brothels around the turn of the Century using the Whitney's Map of Bellingham Bay Cities and Environs (City of Bellingham 1890).

Houses and brothels remained open in the Old Town area, however. The rationale for keeping them open was that they would continue despite efforts to abolish them, and the income from licensing fees and fines levied on the houses and women provided large revenue

to city government. The houses were also seen as a necessary outlet for male sexuality and as a protection for respectable females (Smith 2004:25). Records dating from 1899-1904 show fines for prostitution at \$15 on the prostitute for 'residing in a house of ill-fame' and \$25 or more for the madam for 'keeping a house of ill-fame'. Accounting for inflation, this would equate to roughly \$400 and \$675 today (Smith 2004:27).



*Figure 31: Billy Sunday in 1908. Image courtesy of the Library of Congress, LC-USZ62-69880.*

Popular opinion and tolerance would shift for a period in 1909 following the visit of a famous traveling minister, Billy Sunday. Sunday gave a sermon on moral reform, and following his sermon, a group of citizens formed the Municipal Association, which voted to close the red-light district or move it to another area (Smith 2004:29). The local saloons supported the measure, as the houses served liquor without a license and took away business from them while avoiding the taxes and fees the saloons were required to pay (Smith 2004:30). On

February 13, 1910, around 400 supporters came to the YMCA where a resolution was drafted to be presented to city council demanding the red-light district be closed by April 1, 1910, and vowing to take legal action if the council failed to act (Smith 2004:30). Some others who did not

agree with the Municipal Association did agree that the red-light district ought to be moved—it surrounded the Great Northern train station, and was therefore the first thing arrivals in Bellingham were greeted by (Smith 2004:31). Due to further pressures from the Municipal Association, the city council voted to ask the mayor, J. P. de Mattos, to close the district. He then ordered the chief of police to close the cribs in the red-light district and other areas of the city (Smith 2004:32). The women working in the red-light district moved to other parts of the city, primarily to the vicinity of Dock Street (now Cornwall Avenue) and Railroad Avenue. The city's loss of income from red-light district licenses and fees was roughly \$17,000 (over 11%) of its \$150,000 budget. The mayor was forced to eliminate two fire trucks and other miscellaneous items from the budget to make up for the shortfall (Smith 2004:33). In November, 1910, the Municipal Association convinced city council to make Bellingham a 'dry' city, 9 years prior to the Volstead Act in 1919 which would outlaw liquor across America. All 40 saloons within its boundaries were ordered to sell only soft drinks (Smith 2004:35). The acts of the Municipal League worked to drive vice in the city underground—prostitution and liquor were still readily available, albeit more hidden from view.

Eventually the Municipal League would fade away, and prostitution returned to the Downtown area and, to a lesser extent, in the lettered street area and along the tide flats (Smith 2004:36). Between the 1920s and 1940s, brothels came and went through many of the hotels and rooming houses in the Downtown area. Some were exclusively brothels while others were used for both legitimate and illicit purposes (Smith 2004:41). During this period, women working as prostitutes were required to be registered with the police and health checkups were instituted (Smith 2004:46). Police and health officials were able to monitor disease, identify



new women, and ensure they were not underage. Rules existed regarding their visibility and where they could travel, but without the presence of pimps, these women controlled their income and could leave the trade when and if they desired (Smith 2004:47). Threat of abuse by patrons was minimized by the settings of the brothels—the bartenders and male employees of these establishments helped protect the women (Smith 2004:48). During this time, police conducted 4 to 5 raids per night, totaling 20 to 25 arrests on average, half of which were women and the half of which were johns. Many women carried the bail fee on themselves or had their madam bail them out within an hour; the fees were expected as a part of doing business (Smith 2004:48-49). Prostitutes often gave policemen gifts to keep them sympathetic towards them, and while they did not officially tolerate prostitution, it was met with little more than token resistance (Smith 2004:50).

In the early 20<sup>th</sup> century there were not many economic opportunities for uneducated women. Educated women were employed in teaching, nursing, and secretarial fields, but the prospects for those that did not have the means to an education were low paying, high labor jobs. Prostitutes could make ten times the wages of someone working in a factory (Smith 2004:60). While not much is known about many of the women that worked in the brothels in Bellingham, the madam of the Winter Garden brothel in Bellingham, Joy Stokes, is an exception. Stokes left a six-figure sum to Western Washington College (now University) when she passed away, to be used for loans for students who would otherwise have to leave school, still available to today's students (Smith 2004:67). The closure of the brothels in 1948, ordered by the governor of Washington, affected the Bellingham businesses who delivered to the houses and were patronized by the women working there (Smith 2004:76).

## Chapter Seven: An Analysis of Self-Guided Historic Walking Tours in Whatcom County, Washington

Twelve self-guided historical walking tours were analyzed and are displayed below, with the year of publication, the number of stops the tour contained, and the format of the tour.

Table 1: Self-Guided Historic Walking Tours and Summary Information of Each Tour			
Tour	Published	Stops	Format
Blaine’s Historic Homes, Buildings, and Churches	1996	149	Booklet
The City of Bellingham Downtown Historic Walking Tour	2015	45	Booklet & audio
The City of Bellingham Old Sehome Historic Walking Tour	2016	32	Booklet & audio
The Downtown Renaissance Network: Downtown	2006	20	Pamphlet
The Downtown Renaissance Network: Old Town	2006	20	Pamphlet
The Downtown Renaissance Network: Railroad Avenue	2006	20	Pamphlet
Fairhaven: the Town that Smelled of Gunsmoke	1990	51	Booklet
The Fairhaven Association Historic Walking Tour Map	2000	12	Pamphlet
The Rail Trail Guide	2013	35	Booklet
The Vintage Bellingham Walking Tour: Downtown and Eldridge	1980	24	Pamphlet
The Vintage Bellingham Walking Tour: Sehome and Fairhaven	1980	20	Pamphlet
Walking Washington’s History: Bellingham	2016	60	Book

All tours were analyzed in summary tables following the criteria established in Chapter Five and are repeated below. Criteria one and two are used to analyze multi-vocality in the piece, three through five explore authenticity in the piece, six through eight analyze the sense of place in the piece, and nine and ten explore the audience engagement in interpretation:

1. Do we see and hear multiple points of view in the work? Does this work serve to explore diversity in the past to promote it in the present, building a multi-cultural presentation?
2. Does the piece critically analyze and expose racism in the past and present, creating a color-conscious past rather than a color-blind past?
3. Does the work present individual’s testimony in a complex manner, recognizing such complicating factors as personality and the operations of memory?
4. Does the work provide clues as to how the material was gathered and how it was selected for presentation?

5. Does the work provide a context to help the audience interpret the points of view expressed?
6. Is the relationship between the peoples presented and changes in their landscape or environment described?
7. Does the work explain how locations were selected? Is the selection of location(s) described in this piece tying in to a central theme about the time or peoples described?
8. Does the piece relate to the socio-political, economic, religious, ethnic and gender history of the place presented?
9. Does the piece give the audience an active, interpretive role?
10. Are photos presented to help the audience understand how the site was accessed, used, and/or modified by the peoples described?

The results are presented in a summary table for each tour following a description of the walking tour. More information regarding the full narrative text, as well as an analysis of the multi-vocality, sense of place, and engagement in interpretation can be found in the appendix. The narrative tables list each stop of the tour. Column one lists the stop, column two analyzes the multi-vocality of the content ('M'), column three analyzes the sense of place of contributed by the content ('S'), column four analyzes the intended audience engagement in the interpretation of the content ('E'), and column five gives a description of the narrative presented in the pamphlet, summarized when necessary for space.

### Blaine's Historic Homes, Buildings, and Churches: Three Self-Guided Walking Tours Highlighting Blaine's Early History

This pamphlet lists three walking tours in Blaine, Washington, all of which are enclosed within four original homestead allotments: The Cain Homestead, the Boblett Homestead, and the Miller and Kingsley Homesteads. The tour was compiled by the Blaine Neighborhood Association Salishan Chapter, with grant funds received from the City of Blaine hotel/motel tax fund in 1996. The hotel/motel tax funds are used to develop Blaine's tourism and recreation

economy (City of Blaine N.d.). It was compiled with research obtained from local Blaine historians, staff of the *Record Journal*, members of the City of Blaine government, Whatcom County Parks and Recreation, and various historic period books chronicling Blaine's History. The Cain Homestead tour contains 50 stops, the Boblett Homestead tour contains 63 stops, and the Miller and Kingsley Homesteads tour contains 36 stops. The purpose of this tour is to provide a sense of place for Blaine and its unique history as a border town on the frontier, with the goal of attracting tourism. It is a very extensive tour; every building contained within the former homesteads has been selected. Since it is so inclusive, it describes the lives of everyday people, including laborers and women in addition to the founders of Blaine. However, since it is so extensive and inclusive, the narrative text is rather long, and that may detract from its ability to attract tourists (for a full description and analysis of the narrative text, see Tables 12, 13, and 14).

Much of what is today the city of Blaine was originally three homesteads: the Cain, Boblett, and Miller and Kingsley homesteads. Blaine itself was first settled in 1856 because of the U.S. Boundary Survey Commission surveying the 49<sup>th</sup> Parallel, and again during the Fraser River Gold Rush in 1858 (Blaine Neighborhood Association (BNA) 1996). Like Bellingham, much of the town was deserted during the Gold Rush when laws changed requiring miners to go to Victoria, British Columbia, for a license. The next wave of settlers came in 1870, and many of the notable historic homes from the Blaine walking tours date to this time (BNA 1996). Other stops along these tours point out railway, oyster, crab, salmon cannery, lumber mill, and shingle mill buildings and sites. Other attractions include banks, churches, stores, and other commercial and civic centers from previous eras. The pamphlet offers glimpses into maritime

history, although it is largely focused on homes, naming residents and including short biographies, including some of female residents. There are only two mentions of indigenous history or culture, written from the perspective of the white settlers, but there are several stops that describe various European immigrant stories, and one entry that alludes to the lives of Chinese and Indian cannery workers at the Alaska Packer’s Association (APA) complex on Semiahmoo Spit. Overall, the tour has a high level of authenticity, although a few stops do include anecdotal stories. If these stories are widely known in the community, they may be perceived as authentic, if not necessarily accurate. Mostly, however, the tour relies on history books and information gathered from local historians and museums. The tour is presented in a brochure size booklet, 44 pages in length, with one to two pictures per page to supplement the narrative text. Most of the stops described buildings, although a few were viewpoints that asked the audience to envision an historic scene.

Criteria	Analysis
Do we see and hear multiple points of view in the work? Does this work serve to explore diversity in the past to promote it in the present, building a multi-cultural presentation?	Occasionally. Various stops discuss the lives of working class men, and in some instances, women. Two stops mention indigenous peoples, but only in relation to white settlers. Other examples include child labor in salmon canneries, a reverend who worked as a missionary among the local Indians, the trek of immigrants in coming to America and out West, and interactions between settlers and local Indians.
Does the piece critically analyze and expose racism in the past and present, creating a color-conscious past rather than a color-blind past?	No. The information about the stops that do discuss the relations between settlers and indigenous people describe them from the perspective of white settlers, and never discusses racism. The only conflict described is between the Semiahmoo and the Haida, two indigenous groups. One stop mentions the APA complex had bunkhouses for Chinese and Indian laborers, but does not describe or interpret their lives to the audience.

<b>Table 2, continued</b>	
Does the work present individual's testimony in a complex manner, recognizing such complicating factors as personality and the operations of memory?	No. This is never described.
Does the work provide clues as to how the material was gathered and how it was selected for presentation?	Yes. The acknowledgements section lists individuals who assisted with the research for the tours, including historians, descendants of the original settlers, personnel from the City of Blaine, and the Semiahmoo Park Museum Archives. It also lists a bibliography or books that informed the work.
Does the work provide a context to help the audience interpret the points of view expressed?	Occasionally. Several stops provide a narrative as to what life was like for early settlers (how they got water, how the early fire brigades worked, and how customs operated at the turn of the century) in the region and the history of the settlement of Blaine.
Is the relationship between the peoples presented and changes in their landscape or environment described?	Occasionally. Some stops describe the changes in scenery--the first roads and railways, docks and buildings to be constructed, and later, the movement of the railway and roads for the construction of I-5.
Does the work explain how locations were selected? Is the selection of location(s) described in this piece tying in to a central theme about the time or peoples described?	No. It appears that every structure within the original boundary lines of the homestead allotments are described. Locations were not selected, or rather, they were all selected.
Does the piece relate to the socio-political, economic, religious, ethnic and gender history of the place presented?	Somewhat. The economic and religious history is discussed. The types of shops and businesses are discussed in depth, as well as the history of various churches. Gender history is discussed occasionally--stops mention a woman who worked as an interpreter for customs, the founding of the Deborah Rebekah Lodge in 1892, and a local woman who was known for playing poker with the men, and worked as a department store clerk. Ethnic history is also occasionally depicted--several European immigrants are discussed. One mention is made to the bunkhouses at the APA complex that housed Chinese, Indian, women, and white laborers. There are several mentions of the relationship between native peoples and white settlers.

<b>Table 2, continued</b>	
Does the piece give the audience an active, interpretive role?	Occasionally. Some stops are viewpoints, in which the audience is given a narrative to help them visualize how the landscape would have looked at a point in history: These viewpoints include the 1909 Blaine waterfront, Blaine Harbor where a lighthouse once stood, the 1905 Drayton Harbor Oyster Company site, excerpts from Ed Holtzheimer's 1906 article "Early History of California Creek", which described the early landscape, and Semiahmoo Spit when the APA was in operation.
Are photos presented to help the audience understand how the site was accessed, used, and/or modified by the peoples described?	Yes, each page contains one or two photos to accompany some of the stops. In conjunction with the narrative, this helps the audience picture how the material landscape would have been and how much has changed, or conversely, how much has remained the same.

The three tours that comprise the Blaine Historic Homes and Churches walking tour do not contain a high level of multi-vocality, although twelve of the 149 stops in this pamphlet do contain a multi-vocal narrative. Since virtually all the buildings contained within each original homestead are included for presentation, the lives of the working-class men and women who lived in Blaine during its early history were represented at several stops. Other ethnic groups, such as indigenous peoples, were mentioned a few times in passing, but primarily in relation to white settlers. Including ethnographic materials into their research is one way the authors could have included native voices into their presentation.

The authors do achieve high levels of authenticity with their presentations. They consulted with local historians, personnel from Blaine city government and the Semiahmoo Park Archives. A few anecdotal stories are included, presumably provided by the family historians the authors cited in the acknowledgements section of the pamphlet. While these anecdotal stories are not as reliable as primary source information, they do provide information that would otherwise not be available for dissemination. The pamphlet also is successful in

providing historical background information to make their presentation comprehensive and aid the audience in visualizing changes to the town's landscape (the railways, docks, roads and buildings) and provide a narrative as to what life was like for early settlers living in a border town on the frontier. Blaine is unique from other towns in Whatcom County because of its history as a border crossing, and the authors can utilize this narrative to create a distinctive sense of place for Blaine. Since so many stops were included, the tour authors were not very selective in the process of determining what to include in the tour—making it more inclusive than many of the other tours.

While the tour highlights Blaine's economic and religious history at length, other histories are often ignored. While illustrating the various retail stores and industrial centers in Blaine and Semiahmoo Spit helps to illustrate part of the story of Blaine's history, the tour would have been more dynamic and inclusive if more discussion had occurred of the lives of women, indigenous peoples, and the laboring class. One stop discussing the APA complex on Semiahmoo Spit mentions the Chinese, Indian, and female bunkhouses at the site. It would have been a more inclusive presentation if this has been elaborated on—when did Chinese and Indian workers live and work at APA, and for how long? How many employees were there? Why did they leave and where did they go? A brief description answering some of these questions would have improved the narrative text. Other ethnic groups are depicted more in depth, such as European immigrants in relation to their religious histories. Many of the historic period churches in Blaine were begun by immigrant enclaves, as discussed in this tour; many of the 12 stops that were rated as containing a multi-vocal presentation were related to the religious history of various ethnic groups.



Since the tour is already so long due to the number of stops it contains, it was most likely not feasible to include historic photographs of every stop. Those that are included are historic and are not paired with contemporary photographs to make comparisons of the changes to the landscape or use of buildings over time. The audience's engagement in the tour may have been strengthened with a few examples of contemporary viewpoints or buildings in conjunction with the historic photographs selected for inclusion in the tours.

### City of Bellingham: Historic Walking Tour: Downtown

In 2013, the City of Bellingham received a grant to develop a historic walking tour for the Downtown area financed in part with federal funds from the National Park Service, Department of the Interior, through the Washington State Department of Archaeology and Historic Preservation (DAHP). The results were published in 2015. The tour is available in two formats: a short 1.25 mile walk, and a longer two mile walk. In addition to the variety in the length of the tour, the tour is also available in many formats: a mobile-friendly interactive story map available online (<http://www.iqmap.org/storymaps/map-journal/cob/index.html?appid=c36de675c0154899accf20641f432d86&webmap=f2ca764b299349cfa48a06039f2fa036>); a mobile app that allows the participant to listen to an audio guide from a smart phone and a booklet that can be purchased from the Whatcom Museum as well as some participating local businesses. The objectives of the project are to teach the public about Bellingham's local history, to promote local businesses, and provide a healthy outdoor activity for residents and tourists. Bellingham's sense of place includes the evolution of the landscape of economy of Bellingham since the arrival of white settlers in the 1850s. As modes of travel have changed from foot, boat, and wagon to train, streetcar, bus and automobile,

Downtown's streets, buildings, and landscapes have been shaped. While Downtown continues to change, the tour aims to show that it remains a vibrant retail center. It highlights the historic buildings that survived demolition during the 1960s urban renewal and have been restored and adapted to new uses and leads participants through streetscapes that have been improved with landscaping, public art, and plazas.

The utilization of technology in the tour makes it relevant for younger audiences, and has been successful enough that a new tour of Old Sehome was published in August 2016 following this format. By encouraging more visitors to the Downtown sector, the tours also provide businesses benefits from locals and tourists (City of Bellingham 2013:3). Photos used in this tour were obtained from the Whatcom Museum Photo Archives.

The self-guided versions of this tour contain 45 stops, beginning at the Old City Hall, currently part of the Whatcom Museum. Web versions of this tour allow the participant to watch a 15-minute video tour of the museum in addition to the written or audio accompaniment to each site. The walking tour lists numerous attractions and historic places, such as the original shoreline that would have once been home to Lummi, Nooksack, and eventually, white settlers, as a trading and fishing ground; the original industries that sprang up and supported the towns that would become Bellingham, beginning with the Roeder and Peabody Mill in 1853 and later continued by the Washington Colony utopian society from Kansas (for a full description and analysis of the narrative text, see Table 18).

The Lummi and Nooksack people are mentioned at several stops, associated with historic photos of fishing camps, mentions of Coast Salish place names, and the tour stop at the story pole created by Lummi tribal members Joseph Hillaire and Herb John. The latter stands

today in front of the Whatcom County Courthouse illustrating the history of the Lummi people and cooperation between Lummi Chief Chowitzin, Roeder, and Peabody in locating a site to place their lumber mill in 1853. Other mentions of early industrial history include the former site of the Milwaukee Road Freight Station (previously the Bellingham Bay and British Columbia (BB&BC) Railway), which persisted until 1980 and the former site of the BB&BC Train Passenger Depot; various retail and commercial locations, the Sehome Mine, and Pacific American Fisheries (City of Bellingham 2015b).

Table 3: Summary Table of City of Bellingham: Downtown Historic Walking Tour	
Criteria	Analysis
Do we see and hear multiple points of view in the work? Does this work serve to explore diversity in the past to promote it in the present, building a multi-cultural presentation?	Yes, a few stops discuss indigenous peoples. An encampment on Whatcom Beach at the site of Maritime Heritage Park discusses the use of the beach as a seasonal fishing camp by the Lummi and Nooksack, and its continuance as a trading and fishing center for some time after the arrival of white settlers. Another stop focuses on the Lummi story pole created in 1952 to mark the 100th anniversary of the arrival of Peabody and Roeder on Bellingham Bay and the generous treatment they received from the Lummi. This stop also explains the purpose of a story pole and how they differ from totem poles, helping to impart some cultural knowledge to the audience. Brothels are also mentioned at one stop, alluding to the tolerated (or at least ignored) profession of many women in Bellingham while it was legal until 1948.
Does the piece critically analyze and expose racism in the past and present, creating a color-conscious past rather than a color-blind past?	No. While native peoples are mentioned at two stops, the history told is one of cooperation and good relations, which was not always the case. Other groups of people are ignored.
Does the work present individual's testimony in a complex manner, recognizing such complicating factors as personality and the operations of memory?	No, there is no individual testimony presented.

<b>Table 3, continued</b>	
Does the work provide clues as to how the material was gathered and how it was selected for presentation?	The City of Bellingham’s Planning and Community Development Department developed the tour to reconnect residents with the city's past. Historic photos were provided by the Whatcom Museum Photo Archives.
Does the work provide a context to help the audience interpret the points of view expressed?	Yes. Paragraph-long narratives accompany every stop. The early history and experiences of settlers is given contextualization, as is the architecture and landscape.
Is the relationship between the peoples presented and changes in their landscape or environment described?	Yes. The narrative for every stop indicates the year the building was constructed, helping the audience understand thematic changes to Downtown over time, as well as architectural styles that evolved throughout the early decades of Bellingham Bay history. Changes to the landscape are also described, such as the wharves that once stretched out into the bay, the railroads that once ran through Downtown, the removal of hills and rocky outcrops, the construction of bridges to link the early Bellingham Bay towns to one another, and the demolishing of many buildings during the urban renewal of the 1960s.
Does the work explain how locations were selected? Is the selection of location(s) described in this piece tying in to a central theme about the time or peoples described?	The selection process is not explicitly stated, although the narrative of the stops describes the evolution of historic buildings and the landscape over time. Most pieces are either historic buildings that have been adapted to new uses, or landmarks, such as Whatcom Creek or the Railroad Avenue train stations that have been altered to fit the changing needs of Bellingham Bay residents.
Does the piece relate to the socio-political, economic, religious, ethnic and gender history of the place presented?	The narratives of civic buildings such as the Old City Hall, New City Hall, the Federal Building and the Carnegie Library highlight some of the socio-political history. The stop for Pickett Bridge discusses the building of Fort Bellingham. The economic history is described at length, as many of the stops are commercial buildings. The timber and coal industries are also mentioned. Gender history is largely ignored, except for one stop that discusses very briefly the history of prostitution. Ethnic history is touched upon in two stops that relate to native peoples, although their history is not discussed beyond their use of Whatcom Creek as a seasonal camp and the purpose of story poles.

<b>Table 3, continued</b>	
Does the piece give the audience an active, interpretive role?	Yes, several stops have multiple pictures that show historic photos with modern photos, allowing the audience to view and imagine changes in the landscape over time.
Are photos presented to help the audience understand how the site was accessed, used, and/or modified by the peoples described?	Yes, photos are included at every stop, and in some cases, photographs are used to show the same building or landscape over time, to allow the audience to see the modifications to the site. The railways that once ran through Downtown are highlighted in many pictures, illustrating some of the most obvious changes to the Downtown landscape, as well as remnants of the original landscape the narrative points out--the houses sited on hills above the street, irregular rock impressions jutting out from otherwise smooth concrete walls, and alleys that climb 20 feet above street level.

This tour contains several stops that have multi-vocal narrative text. A few stops discuss the role of indigenous peoples, such as an encampment at Whatcom Creek (where Maritime Heritage Park is now located). The narrative text provides the context of the beach as a seasonal fishing camp for the Lummi and Nooksack, and its continuance as a trading center with white settlers after their arrival. Another stop, at the Lummi story pole now located in front of the courthouse, explains its history and cultural significance. The story pole was created by Lummi artists to celebrate the 100<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the arrival of Peabody and Roeder in 1852 and the generous treatment they received from the Lummi who led them to Whatcom Creek to build their mill. The narrative text explains the purpose of story poles and their difference from totem poles, imparting some cultural knowledge for the audience. Other diverse representations include mention of brothels at the Spokane Building stop, the second floor of which operated as a brothel, as prostitution was legal in Bellingham until 1948. However, while indigenous people are represented in two stops, the history told is one of cooperation and friendship with white settlers. As discussed in Chapter Six, the relationship

between the Lummi and white settlers was not always a positive relationship, and none of the other history is mentioned. Discussion of the fishing camps at the mouth of Whatcom Creek could have segued into a narrative about the habitat restoration of the creek to return salmon harvests, or the struggle of Lummi fishers to return to their traditional fishing grounds.

The stop for the Whatcom Creek lumber mills discusses the arrival of the Washington Colony utopian community that arrived in Bellingham Bay in the 1880s and helped to revive the economy of Whatcom. It would make the tour more interesting to include more information about the group—where they came from, what their goals were, and why they left. In this section, it would have also created a more multi-vocal story to include information about the large number of Sikh immigrants that worked in the lumber mills on the bay at the turn of the century and the 1907 riot that occurred as discussed in Chapter Six.

The tour contains accurate, well-researched information. Photographs were provided by the Whatcom Museum of History and Art. Each stop is accompanied by paragraph-long context and information, helping to give the audience contextualization of history, architecture, and landscape. Each stop lists the year the building was constructed, aiding the audience in picturing thematic changes to the architecture of Downtown's buildings over time. Changes to the landscape are also described, such as the wharves that once stretched out into the bay, railroads that once ran through Downtown, the removal of hills and rocky outcrops from Downtown, the construction of bridges to link Whatcom and Sehome, and the demolition of many Downtown buildings during the 1960s urban renewal, all of which molded Downtown's landscape and are described in enough detail to give the audience context for the current landscape of Downtown.

It is not known from the booklet how the stops in the tour were selected. However, the sense of place the tour intends to disseminate is the evolution of the Downtown landscape over time, as a center of constant urban renewal and the stops all contribute to this theme. The stops presented in this tour tie into several pieces of Bellingham history. Civic history is represented in the inclusion of buildings such as the city hall buildings, the Federal Building, and the Carnegie Library. Economic history is discussed at length—several stops describe the history of the retail space of commercial buildings and industrial spaces. However, gender history is almost entirely ignored apart from the Spokane Building stop, which briefly mentions prostitution. As previously mentioned, ethnic and racial history is represented in a handful of stops that relate native history, although it is largely in relation to the arrival of white settlers and not representative of their overall narrative. This could have been remedied by adding even brief text at the stop entitled “Bellingham’s First People”. A quote or ethnographic text from a Lummi or Nooksack person would have added a level of authenticity to the piece and allowed them to speak for themselves. While it is noted that they accessed the Whatcom Creek beach as part of their subsistence activities, other information would have helped to create a more inclusive presentation.

The stops of this tour are all supplemented by historic photographs. Some of the stops contain more than one photograph, and this occasionally includes a photograph from the contemporary period that serves to illustrate the changes as well as the ways in which many buildings have remained the same on the exterior. The juxtaposition of historic photographs with modern ones also serves to promote the theme of urban renewal, such as at the Milwaukee Road Freight Station stop. The station was built in the 1940s and operated until the

1980s when the Milwaukee Railroad went bankrupt. In the 1990s, La Fiamma Pizza repurposed and remodeled the building. The stop for the Bellingham Public Market also fits into this theme and shows historic and modern photographs illustrating its repurpose from a public market building to its current use as a Rite Aid pharmacy. The photographs also allow the audience to see modifications to the sites selected for this tour. Remnants of past landscapes are pointed out by the narrative text of the tour, such as irregular rock impressions jutting out from concrete walls, houses sited on hills above the street level, and alleys that climb above the street level; this engages the audience in the interpretation and makes the storytelling more dynamic.

#### City of Bellingham: Historic Walking Tour: Old Sehome

In August of 2016, the City of Bellingham published a walking tour following the same format as the 2015 Downtown walking tour. Like the other City of Bellingham tour, the City of Bellingham's Planning and Community Development Department developed this tour to reconnect residents with the city's past and to attract tourists to this area of Bellingham. Historic photos were provided by the Whatcom Museum Photo Archives to illustrate changes to historic buildings and the landscape, and to help the audience situate historic buildings in time. This tour was also presented in three formats: a booklet of 66 pages of color and black and white photographs, and interactive story map, and an audio tour that can be downloaded to a smart phone or tablet. The booklet is available through the Whatcom Museum Store, the Whatcom Museum Photo Archives, the Bellingham Public Library, and the Bellingham and Whatcom County Tourism Visitor Centers on Potter Street and Commercial Street (for a full description and analysis of the narrative text, see Table 19).



The tour is 32 stops in length. The sense of place fostered in this tour is the evolution of historic buildings as they have been restored, rehabilitated and converted to new uses and public improvements. The evolution of Sehome has seen a transformation from industry and single family dwellings to more commercial and multi-family housing. Each stop of the tour contains historic photographs, and most stops also are supplemented with photos from the modern era to serve the purpose of the tour.

Table 4: Summary Table of City of Bellingham Historic Walking Tour: Old Sehome	
Criteria	Analysis
Do we see and hear multiple points of view in the work? Does this work serve to explore diversity in the past to promote it in the present, building a multi-cultural presentation?	The introduction explains the origins of the name Sehome, named for the mine superintendent's Clallam father-in-law. Other groups mentioned in this tour included Chinese coal miners, blue collar working men and single professional women, immigrants from Norway, Sweden, and Germany, notable women in Bellingham history: Frances Larrabee, Ella Higginson, Mabel Zoe Wilson, and Frances Axtell..
Does the piece critically analyze and expose racism in the past and present, creating a color-conscious past rather than a color-blind past?	No. While the tour does discuss the lives of several notable women and mentions Chinese coal mine crews in passing, it does not discuss issues of race. Discussion of immigrants is largely focused on Europeans.
Does the work present individual's testimony in a complex manner, recognizing such complicating factors as personality and the operations of memory?	No, the tour does not present testimony or ethnography.
Does the work provide clues as to how the material was gathered and how it was selected for presentation?	The City of Bellingham's Planning and Community Development Department developed the tour to reconnect residents with the city's past. Historic photos were provided by the Whatcom Museum Photo Archives.
Does the work provide a context to help the audience interpret the points of view expressed?	Yes, introductory text helps set the scene for the audience. It explains when Sehome was founded and by whom, and its early industry and development.

<b>Table 4, continued</b>	
Is the relationship between the peoples presented and changes in their landscape or environment described?	Yes. The various stops have historic photos juxtaposed by recent photographs to show the changes to the landscape and buildings over time. Other historic landscape photos illustrate how the landscape of Bellingham Bay was drastically changed: the bay once came much further inland, and the entire area was once dense forest. Buildings that once housed industry have been converted largely to commercial use and have been repurposed to function with today's needs.
Does the work explain how locations were selected? Is the selection of location(s) described in this piece tying in to a central theme about the time or peoples described?	The tour was designed to encourage Bellingham residents to walk and discover shops, restaurants, music venues and activities Downtown. To this end, most stops have historic and contemporary photos to illustrate the changes to the area and to highlight the similarities. Historic period commercial buildings within the area of the original town of Sehome were chosen, as were apartment buildings and homes that illustrated changes in the area or highlighted interesting or rare architectural design elements.
Does the piece relate to the socio-political, economic, religious, ethnic and gender history of the place presented?	Yes, it does relate to these histories in the stops discussed previously above.
Does the piece give the audience an active, interpretive role?	The juxtaposition of historic and contemporary photographs serves to allow the audience to interpret changes over time in the area.
Are photos presented to help the audience understand how the site was accessed, used, and/or modified by the peoples described?	Photos are used at every stop, and most contain contemporary photos next to historic photos, showing changes over time. Several landscape photos are also presented from the 19th century that show the early landscape before the shore was pushed out and before the area was cleared for development.

This walking tour contains several diverse presentations, beginning in the introductory text. The original town of Sehome grew up around a coal mine; the town itself was named for the mine superintendent's father-in-law, a member of the Clallam tribe. This illustrates the common practice of early settlers—many were single men who married native women. The stop for the BBIC also mentions the clearing of the site by Chinese coal mine crews, although no

other discussion of these crews is presented. The tour also depicts the lives of working class men and women at the Orchard Terrace Apartments stop and the religious history of European immigrants to Bellingham Bay. Women's history is represented at the stops for the YWCA, Alamo Apartments, and the Axtell House. While the tour does represent many histories, ethnic and racial history is largely underserved and only European immigrants are discussed at any length. Chinese coal mine laborers are mentioned in one sentence in the BBIC stop, but no further elaboration is made regarding their history. It would have made the tour more multi-vocal to elaborate on what brought the immigrants to Bellingham, how long they were here, and what prompted them to leave the region. The history of Chinese laborers in the canneries in Fairhaven was quite contentious, as discussed in Chapter Six. Including some information about the racial tensions between white residents and Chinese immigrants, and how the Chinese were confined to live and work within a small area of the town, would have made for a more compelling piece.

The sense of place developed by the authors of this tour place Sehome as the site of early industrial development, centered initially around the coal mine industry and the beginnings of commercial and residential construction. Early landscape photos included in the tour illustrate the location of the original shoreline before the shoreline was moved out and large sections of land that now make up areas of this tour were filled in. It is also apparent from the landscape photographs the amount of logging needed to clear the land around Bellingham Bay; it was originally dense forest. The juxtaposition of development next to old growth forests helps to show how much of Bellingham Bay was still a frontier for decades into the history of early settlers. The historic photographs next to modern photographs of the historic sites in this

tour relate to this tour's theme of restoration, rehabilitation, and conversion of buildings to new uses. The sites of industrial and working class businesses, such as automobile shops, dairies, blacksmith shops, and hardware stores have been replaced with housing, restaurants, cafes, music venues, brew pubs and artisan shops. The goal of bringing residents and tourists to walk this tour and discover local businesses is served by this theme, however, making the tour more inclusive in its history would help attract a broader audience to the tour.

### Downtown Renaissance Network Poster Tours

A local philanthropic and advocacy organization, the Downtown Renaissance Network (now the Downtown Bellingham Partnership) partners with local business to promote events, improve marketing, and offer other assistance to local businesses. The Downtown Renaissance Network produced three walking tours of Bellingham in 2006, during an economic recession. These walking tours were sponsored by various local businesses and entities with the aim to increase revenue to Downtown businesses by drawing people to the Downtown, Railroad Avenue, and Old Town districts of Bellingham. The narrative text and archival photos were researched at the Whatcom Museum of History and Art. The narrative text contained in each tour is accurate in its storytelling and is, overall, an authentic representation of Bellingham's early history. The tours largely describe Bellingham's economic history, contributing to the authors' intended sense of place by depicting Downtown and Railroad Avenue as a bustling economic hub and Old Town as the historic birthplace of Bellingham. These walking tours are short and meant to be completed quickly; organized as pamphlets, these tours represent three distinct regional areas of central Bellingham: Downtown, Old Town, and Railroad Avenue. Each tour contains 20 stops; each stop contains brief narrative text, which is supplemented by a

historic photograph. The beginning of each tour has a longer narrative introduction that sets a historic context and sense of place for the tour. However, the tours themselves contain little narrative information about each stop, due to their layout as a trifold pamphlet. The struggle to increase the text would have required the photographs to be smaller, which may have made them undecipherable. However, additions to the narrative text could have made the tour more dynamic and inclusive, and increased the interest in Downtown and Old Town for locals and tourists alike. To update these tours, the Downtown Bellingham Partnership could supplement the pamphlets with an audio tour that would allow for more in depth narratives.

#### Downtown Renaissance Network: Downtown

Originally, Downtown was the economic hub of the merged cities of Sehome and Whatcom, and later for Bellingham. Per the introductory text, Downtown has undergone many transformations: in the 1950s, food markets began moving out of Downtown; in the 1960s, large discount stores moved closer to the newly constructed freeway interchanges; in 1988, the Bellis Fair Mall opened, moving the large anchor stores away from Downtown. However, through these changes, the Downtown district and its historic buildings has managed to survive (Downtown Renaissance Network 2006a).

This pamphlet takes the audience back in time, when Downtown Bellingham was the social, commercial, civic, and political center for the city of Bellingham. The buildings spotlighted on this tour all contribute to this purpose. Examples include Beck's Theater, Wahl's Department Store, The American Theater, The Leopold Hotel, and several buildings and blocks: The Clover, the Lighthouse, Crown Plaza, and the Barlow Building. While most of the businesses housed in these buildings have closed as economic demands have shifted, the buildings

themselves survive and are repurposed to meet today's economic demands (for a full description and analysis of the narrative text, see Table 15).

Table 5: Summary Table of Downtown Renaissance Network: Downtown Walking Tour	
Criteria	Analysis
Do we see and hear multiple points of view in the work? Does this work serve to explore diversity in the past to promote it in the present, building a multi-cultural presentation?	Only at one stop: The Federal Building was built in 1913. Hugh Eldridge, Bellingham's postmaster, required that the architect design the building with sidewalk-level access to make it accessible to the elderly and handicapped, an innovative feature at a time when many government buildings were designed with more elaborate entrances, usually including a staircase.
Does the piece critically analyze and expose racism in the past and present, creating a color-conscious past rather than a color-blind past?	No, no such discussion is included.
Does the work present individual's testimony in a complex manner, recognizing such complicating factors as personality and the operations of memory?	No. This is never described.
Does the work provide clues as to how the material was gathered and how it was selected for presentation?	Yes, the Whatcom Museum of History and Art provided archival photographs. Historians from the museum provided information for the narrative text.
Does the work provide a context to help the audience interpret the points of view expressed?	Yes, the introductory text provides a context of Downtown at the "heart of the community", and gives a brief economic history of the district.
Is the relationship between the peoples presented and changes in their landscape or environment described?	Many stops focus on buildings still in use, such as the Bellingham Public Market, the Montague-McHugh Building, the Luther Building, the Leopold, the Red Front Building, the Barlow Building, and the Clover Building. Many were once department stores which have since been repurposed to contain shops on the bottom floors and apartments on upper floors after the construction of I-5 and Bellis Fair Mall drew the large stores away from Downtown.

<b>Table 5, continued</b>	
Does the work explain how locations were selected? Is the selection of location(s) described in this piece tying in to a central theme about the time or peoples described?	Stops that were chosen due to the availability of historic buildings and street scene photographs from the early 20th century. Of the 20 stops, 14 describe historic buildings, 4 of which have been torn down. The remaining 6 stops illustrate social activities, such as a circus and parade, or features that were once Downtown, such as the streetcars system that linked neighborhoods to Downtown.
Does the piece relate to the socio-political, economic, religious, ethnic and gender history of the place presented?	It relates the economic history, but the socio-political, religious, ethnic, and gender histories are ignored.
Does the piece give the audience an active, interpretive role?	No, much of the interpretation that does exist has been done for the audience.
Are photos presented to help the audience understand how the site was accessed, used, and/or modified by the peoples described?	Yes, each stop is illustrated by a photograph to help situate the audience in the past. While many of the historic buildings remain the same, the décor, cars and signage show has drastically changed, showing Downtown's transformation over time.

Except for the narrative text for the Federal Building stop, the multi-vocality of this tour is very low. Since the tour is largely concerned with the historic buildings in the Downtown area and the businesses that were once housed within them, there is little opportunity for the tour to depict the lives of non-dominant groups in early history. However, some opportunities did exist within the narrative text—when describing Wahl’s Department Store, for instance. Wahl’s was a women’s clothing store Downtown throughout the first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, and one possibility for this tour would have been to provide a brief narrative regarding the evolution of women’s fashion or their role in the Downtown economy. When this tour does describe individuals, it is largely about the ownership of historic buildings. It does not describe who their clientele was or the general makeup of Bellingham’s population. The tour also contains a brief mention of the Barlow Building as the location of the Crown Bar before Prohibition. Bellingham voted to enact Prohibition in 1910—a decade earlier than the rest of America. As a result, the

vice industry operated underground for several decades. Speakeasies and brothels were operating out of several Downtown businesses, and were patronized largely by the working classes. The Barlow Building stop would have provided a good opportunity to briefly describe this history.

The tour was researched with the Whatcom Museum of History and Art, who also provided the historic photographs. The introductory text provides some background context, describing Downtown as the “heart of the community” and gives a brief economic history of the district. While it is an authentic representation of Bellingham’s history, it would have been more interesting with the addition of other aspects of Downtown history. The streetcar trolley line is briefly mentioned at one stop—including information about how Bellingham residents accessed Downtown (and who accessed it) would have served to provide information as to how the working class could enjoy Downtown alongside of the upper classes. Stops showing images of circuses, the tulip festival and theaters showed some glimpses into the entertainment available to early residents. Other questions the authors might have asked themselves were “Who attended these events?” Was there a division in the upper-class entertainment (such as Beck’s Opera House) and the lower classes (such as the circus)? Were these attended by families with children? Was there an opportunity to find primary source materials (such as ads for events or newspaper articles) that may have included individual testimony of events that could have served alongside a historic photograph to add depth to the discussion? Answering some of these questions might have made for a more interesting presentation without requiring large amounts of narrative text and would have still fit in with the sense of place the tour presents.



The photographs are all historic period photographs that are arranged on top of a map, allowing the audience to project the images to a known space on the landscape. The scenery, vehicles, and signage seen in the background of the photos have changed, helping to illustrate some of the changes to the Downtown landscape over time. However, introducing more contemporary photographs next to historic ones, or more landscapes would have allowed the audience a more active interpretive role.

### Downtown Renaissance Network: Old Town

The final of the three Downtown Renaissance Network walking tours takes place in Old Town, what was once the center for the town of Whatcom before merging into what is now Bellingham. Old Town was the first settlement and was the original center for growth. According to the poster, few of the structures survive, but the landscape is relatively intact: Whatcom Creek, Lower Whatcom Falls, and the shoreline bluff, contribute to the sense of place the early settlers experienced when they landed in Bellingham Bay. One small brick building does still exist from the Gold Rush era, the T & G Richards Building. This is the oldest building in Washington State. Originally a goods store, it was once used at the Territorial Courthouse. When the Gold Rush bust occurred in Whatcom, the other buildings constructed during the Gold Rush were dismantled and moved to Victoria, British Columbia. However, since this building was constructed from brick this was not possible. This building also demonstrates how landfill changed the area. The first floor of the building is now largely underground, and the second story is now at the street level with the door relocated to accommodate this change.

Another building highlighted by this tour is the New Whatcom City Hall, built in 1893. Now housing the Whatcom Museum, it is one of the few buildings that survive from this time.

Other notable buildings mentioned that were once integral to Old Town include the Depot Bar, the Mobile Restaurant, Citizen’s Dock (in a photo with the steamer *Kulshan*) and the Edward Eldridge Cabin, all dating to 1913 or prior. Some landmark buildings, such as the Great Northern Passenger Station, the Granary Building, and the Pickett House were not included, presumably due to their distance from the other landmarks. While the other two tours highlight their part in Downtown’s history, this tour highlights the ability to view the changes that occurred to Whatcom, and later Bellingham, over time (for a full description and analysis of the narrative text, see Appendix).

Table 6: Summary Table of Downtown Renaissance Network: Old Town Walking Tour	
Criteria	Analysis
Do we see and hear multiple points of view in the work? Does this work serve to explore diversity in the past to promote it in the present, building a multi-cultural presentation?	Yes. The introduction describes how the area around Whatcom Creek was used historically by the Lummi as a seasonal gathering camp. The photograph of the Mobile Restaurant appears to have been owned or operated by African Americans, although the narrative text does not confirm this. A photo of Indian canoes on Bellingham Bay illustrates the original use and changes to the area, and a photo of Colony Mill workers depicts laborers.
Does the piece critically analyze and expose racism in the past and present, creating a color-conscious past rather than a color-blind past?	No. While Indians and perhaps African-American are included in the photographs and narrative text, no descriptions of their lives or interactions with white settlers is given.
Does the work present individual’s testimony in a complex manner, recognizing such complicating factors as personality and the operations of memory?	No. This is never described.
Does the work provide clues as to how the material was gathered and how it was selected for presentation?	Yes, the Whatcom Museum of History and Art provided archival photographs. Historians from the museum provided information for the narrative text.

<b>Table 6, continued</b>	
Does the work provide a context to help the audience interpret the points of view expressed?	Yes, the introductory narrative establishes Old Town as the original town of Whatcom, the oldest of the four towns that would merge to become Bellingham. Since few structures from the early history remain, this tour's sense of place is tied to the bay, Whatcom Creek, and the early economy of Whatcom.
Is the relationship between the peoples presented and changes in their landscape or environment described?	The history of Old Town reflects the history of change on Bellingham Bay. The shallow-watered, mud flat coastline was filled in and deep waterways were dredged to allow bigger boats to reach the shore. The first streets and buildings were built out over the water on pilings. The Territorial Courthouse is a good example of this. Originally built on the coast and two stories tall, it became one story after the land around it was filled in. The first story became the basement, and a second story window was remodeled into a door.
Does the work explain how locations were selected? Is the selection of location(s) described in this piece tying in to a central theme about the time or peoples described?	Occasionally: Many of the buildings that are shown are given little context other than a photograph and the year it was taken. The landscape photos and the Territorial Courthouse are given more context to show the changes to the landscape and to highlight the lone building remaining from the 1858 Gold Rush.
Does the piece relate to the socio-political, economic, religious, ethnic and gender history of the place presented?	The economic and ethnic history is somewhat described. Native encampments on the beach and canoes are shown, and a few local businesses from the turn of the century are pictured. Little context is given to the businesses, although the photographs and their descriptions do serve to demonstrate the variety of local businesses, such as restaurants, bicycle shops, saloons, tailors, and the timber industry. Civic buildings such as the Territorial Courthouse and the New Whatcom City Hall (now Whatcom Museum) are also shown.
Does the piece give the audience an active, interpretive role?	Seldom. A few landscape photographs, such as the original coastline below the bluff where the Whatcom Museum is located, and the original location of the mouth of Whatcom Creek provide an opportunity for the audience to interpret changes to the landscape.

<b>Table 6, continued</b>	
Are photos presented to help the audience understand how the site was accessed, used, and/or modified by the peoples described?	Yes, photographs showing the viaduct that is now Holly Street, Bellingham Bay with long wharves stretching across the water, the location of the original shoreline, and the mouth of Whatcom Creek all show how Bellingham Bay was altered by its early Euro-American inhabitants. Discussion of the Territorial Courthouse, which was built during the 1858 Gold Rush as a store to supply the miners, is an example of how landfill changed the environment of the bay, and how the building has been adapted to serve various functions throughout its history.

The introduction of this tour describes the area around Whatcom Creek and how it was used historically by the Lummi as a seasonal gathering camp. While the discussion lacks critical analysis—it merely mentions their presence in the area—it does serve to remind the audience that the white settlers in Whatcom (now the Old Town district) were not the first humans to occupy the area. Another photograph depicts the Mobile Restaurant and its staff in 1908. It appears the people in the photograph were African-American, although the narrative text does not provide any information beyond the address.

At another stop for the Colony Mill, mill workers are shown in front of the mill, but the narrative text only states the mill was built on the site of an earlier mill from 1853. As discussed in Chapter Six, the Washington Colony came to the area to start a utopian society, and took over the Roeder and Peabody Mill. The colony was responsible for helping to revive the economy of Whatcom, which had been in decline since the end of the 1858 Fraser River Gold Rush. While they were not successful in starting a long-term community in the area, they were integral to the early history of Whatcom; it would have been more interesting to add a sentence or two about their history in Whatcom.

Like the other Downtown Renaissance Network tours, this tour was based on research conducted at the Whatcom Museum of History and Art. Curators from the museum also provided the historic photographs. Overall, the authenticity of the tour is high; however, providing individual testimony or brief ethnographic material when discussing how the Lummi used or accessed Whatcom Creek, would have made for a more dynamic presentation with a higher level of authenticity. The introductory text serves to provide context for the tour and situates the Old Town district as the original town of Whatcom, the oldest of the Bellingham Bay towns.

Since few structures from the early history of Old Town survive to this day, the landscape itself is used to develop a sense of place for this tour. Whatcom Creek and Bellingham Bay provided transportation and powered the early economy of the area. Changes in Whatcom are reflected in the changes brought to the landscape and are visible in the historic photographs featured in this tour. The shallow watered, mud-flat coastline was filled in with material dredged from the bay to allow for larger ships to reach the docks; the first streets and buildings were built out over the water on pilings and land was later filled in around them. A longer discussion of one such building, the Territorial Courthouse, helps to illustrate the changes to the landscape.

While the Territorial Courthouse was given context and interpretation, the other buildings on this tour were not. Little information is given beyond the address and year the photograph of the site was taken. This allows for an interpretation of the landscape, but does not provide the historical context needed to understand the significance of the buildings selected for inclusion in this tour. The economic history of Whatcom is somewhat explained,

and the Lummi are briefly mentioned, but the lives of other ethnic groups, religious groups, women, and the working class are ignored. As discussed in Chapter Six, the timber industry in Bellingham has a long and interesting history. The Sikh workers in the mill were not included, and a brief description of their presence and the 1907 riot would have enriched the context and represented a group often ignored in history presentations.

### Downtown Renaissance Network: Railroad Avenue

The next walking tour poster highlights Railroad Avenue in the Downtown district. The purpose of the text for this tour is to create a sense of place for Railroad Avenue by highlighting the current rejuvenation of the businesses and buildings along the street. This tour places Railroad Avenue as a center of constant urban renewal. Originally named Railroad Avenue because it housed the railway station for the Bellingham Bay and British Columbia (BB & BC) Railway system, it later became a major automobile hub for the Downtown Center, housing the first service station in the city. The map contains images from the turn of the century, dating before and during its operation as a part of the BB & BC Railroad system. Several BB & BC fixtures are illustrated as well as businesses such as the Bellingham Grocery Company, the Famous Shoe House, and Imperial Coffee and Spice Company that were located at the railroad line for convenient freight transportation.

Criteria	Analysis
Do we see and hear multiple points of view in the work? Does this work serve to explore diversity in the past to promote it in the present, building a multi-cultural presentation?	No, there is no discussion of people in general in this piece. It is solely focused on the functionality of the street, primarily when it served as the center for industry and railroads in Bellingham.

<b>Table 7, continued</b>	
Does the piece critically analyze and expose racism in the past and present, creating a color-conscious past rather than a color-blind past?	No, no such discussion is included.
Does the work present individual's testimony in a complex manner, recognizing such complicating factors as personality and the operations of memory?	No. This is never described.
Does the work provide clues as to how the material was gathered and how it was selected for presentation?	Yes, the Whatcom Museum of History and Art provided archival photographs. Historians from the museum provided information for the narrative text.
Does the work provide a context to help the audience interpret the points of view expressed?	Yes, the introductory narrative establishes Railroad Avenue as the hub of the railroads of Bellingham, beginning as early as the 1880s. The railroads are positioned as integral to the early economy of Bellingham Bay, both in importing and exporting goods as well as serving as transportation to bring people to and from the Downtown area.
Is the relationship between the peoples presented and changes in their landscape or environment described?	Yes. Originally, Railroad Avenue served as a train yard. Around the turn of the century, it housed various industries, hotels, and brothels. In the 1910s, horse drawn freight wagons serviced the railroad and surrounding businesses. Streetcars intersected here, bringing in shoppers. By the 1920s, it was transformed by the advent of the automobile and a shift away from businesses dependent on rail and freight. The street became the major parking area for Downtown, and the first service station in Bellingham was located on Railroad. In the 1960s, businesses began to move away from Downtown and it became the home of small, specialty shops and restaurants, as well as the city bus depot. Railroad has been a transportation hub, and is depicted as an "incubator for new businesses and long-standing landmarks".

<b>Table 7, continued</b>	
Does the work explain how locations were selected? Is the selection of location(s) described in this piece tying in to a central theme about the time or peoples described?	The pieces selected serve two purposes: to show how Railroad Avenue has been the transportation hub throughout the city's history, and to highlight various small businesses that have existed throughout its history. The transportation stops include sites of former railroad stations and hotels that have now been converted into the site of the farmer's market and the Whatcom Transportation Authority bus depot. Over time, the businesses have included grocery warehouses, shoe stores, bicycle shops, blacksmiths, coffee and spice companies, and gasoline service stations.
Does the piece relate to the socio-political, economic, religious, ethnic and gender history of the place presented?	The piece relates the economic and transportation history, but does not represent ethnic, religious, or gender history. One socio-political event is described, a water fight that occurred on Railroad Avenue in 1891, when festivities to welcome Canadian dignitaries in the hopes of connecting the Bellingham Bay and British Columbia Railway to the Canadian Pacific Railway went awry.
Does the piece give the audience an active, interpretive role?	No, much of the interpretation that does exist has been done for the audience.
Are photos presented to help the audience understand how the site was accessed, used, and/or modified by the peoples described?	Yes, each stop is illustrated by a photograph to help situate the audience in the past. While many of the historic buildings remain the same, the railways have disappeared from Downtown, vestiges of their history remain.

This tour contains no multi-vocal discussions. Focused primarily on the railroads and the buildings associated with the railroads that ran on Railroad Avenue, some opportunities to elaborate on diverse backgrounds could have been exploited to create a more interesting presentation. For instance, the introductory text mentions that some retail locations near the turn of the century housed hotels and brothels on the upper level. Discussion of these brothels would have included some women's history into the context of the tour. Since Railroad Avenue served local industry, a brief mention of the people that worked in various industries or photos of the workers would have made the tour more inclusive. There is one photograph that appears



to be of some railroad train conductors, but there is no text explaining who they are or when the photo was taken. The photograph is not well served without these narrative elements. Other photographs appear to include some of the employees or patrons in front of various businesses, but they are too small to see well. A more descriptive caption would have improved this.

The sense of place positioned in this tour established Railroad Avenue as the hub of industry in Bellingham, beginning as early as the 1880s. The railroads were responsible for importing and exporting goods and transporting citizens from the neighborhoods to the Downtown retail district. The train yard was the backbone of the district and was surrounded by retail, industry, lodging, and entertainment. The area was transformed as modes of transportation changed—in the 1910s horse drawn freight wagons serviced the railroads and businesses Downtown, and streetcars intersected the area to bring in shoppers and workers. In the 1920s the automobile became more readily available and Railroad Avenue became the major parking area for Downtown. The first service station in Bellingham was located on Railroad Avenue. In the 1960s, retail began moving away from Downtown and Railroad became home to small specialty shops and restaurants. The bus depot was moved in the area to maintain Railroad Avenue's place as the transportation hub of Bellingham. This sense of place is seen in the items selected for presentation in this tour—all the stops were related to the railroads or are the site of historic buildings that housed industry and specialty shops.

The photographs in the tour serve to highlight the changes and similarities in the landscape. While many of the historic buildings remain largely the same from the outside, the railroads have disappeared from Downtown. The tour does illustrate the vestiges of the

railroads—the BB&BC station is now the site of the Farmer’s Market and the Whatcom Transportation Authority (WTA) is at the former Northern Pacific railroad depot. While the railroads may be gone, the tour helps to bring the audience to the remnants of the era when they were present and were a functional part of Bellingham’s industry. However, it would have served the tour to include some more contemporary photographs (perhaps a panoramic shot to save space since space on these trifold posters is limited) to show the vestiges of the railroads in their current setting.

### Fairhaven: The Town that Smelled of Gunsmoke: A Directory to the Historical Markers Placed Around Old Fairhaven; Tyrone Tillson Historical Markers

In 1988, the Old Fairhaven Association (OFA) received a \$5,000 grant for community improvements (Garnick 2008). Tyrone Tillson, a local hobby historian and publisher of the *Fairhaven Gazette*, suggested historic markers as an effective way to communicate local history to the public and 29 markers were placed throughout the Fairhaven Historic District (Wanielista 2010). A second grant, in 1994, allowed for an additional 21 markers to be placed (Garnick 2008). Today, 48 markers survive. The first batch of markers was discussed in a walking tour pamphlet. The markers that were added later have content available online on the Historic Fairhaven Association’s website, <https://www.fairhaven.com/category/historical/>, or in person by scanning QR codes with a smartphone. For the most part, the website/QR code information mirrors the information found in the pamphlet tour, but in some cases, it is expanded upon. For the markers that were added later, I included the information available from the website/QR code information in the narrative text table (see Table 23).

According to Tyrone Tillson's widow, Penny Tillson, Tillson applied for the grants, wrote the content for the markers, had them engraved, and helped install them (Wanielista 2010). It is apparent, by the content of the markers, that Tillson was most interested in the more scandalous events in history that placed Fairhaven among the 'Wild West' towns of the early frontier. The markers, aimed toward tourists, do not tell a comprehensive history of Fairhaven, but rather, a snapshot of the way Fairhaven may have been for some residents during the turn of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. Some of the markers are apparently sensationalized and reflect perhaps not the history that was, but rather, the history that Tillson wished had taken place.

The original markers placed from the 1988 grant to the OFA were detailed in a walking tour pamphlet written by Tillson and published in 1990 in a pamphlet titled 'Fairhaven: The Town that Smelled of Gunsmoke', a telling title, given the nature of the history presented within. The Historic Fairhaven Association has built upon the work of Tillson by adding QR codes to many of the markers; tourists need only scan these codes to learn more information about the historical event detailed by the marker. Much of this information comes from Tillson's 1990 pamphlet, but it has been supplemented by further research, all detailed on the website.

Many of the historic buildings chosen for inclusion by Tillson lend themselves to depict Fairhaven as the center for violence, gambling, drinking, prostitution, and other vices. Saloons, theaters, and music halls account for 10 of the 48 known markers, while sites relating to the early legal system, detailing early jails, the court system, and police force, account for another 7.

However sensational, the Tillson markers also account for an earlier part of Bellingham history often ignored: the presence of large numbers of Chinese and Japanese cannery workers

in the late 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> centuries in Fairhaven. Six markers discuss the history of Asian cannery workers in Fairhaven. The markers regarding early Asian residents of Fairhaven reflect, without critical comment, the bigotry of the time. Examples include markers with text such as 'Chinese Foreman traded daughter for a son', 'Chinese Mafia attempt assassination here' and 'Sam Low's Opium Den 1904'. Without the additional information listed in the original 1990 pamphlet or online, the history presented is decidedly one-sided, sensationalist, and doesn't explain the culture and social order of the time that created and allowed for such events to occur (for a full description and analysis of the narrative text, see Table 20).

Two historic markers placed by Tillson are no longer present. The first, the Trocadero Music Hall, was thrown into the creek near Harris Avenue in 1993 and later reset by the Tillsons. A few days later, it again went missing and was never recovered (Garnick 2008). It is assumed this was due to the caption on the marker 'Mr. Noel [the greeter at the saloon] wore a dress and welcomed the guests' (Mr. Noel was a known transvestite). It was the only aspect of the seven walking tours analyzing that made any mention of a figure of a non-heteronormative past in Whatcom County. This marker was apparently vandalized because the history being presented offended the vandal(s).

The other marker that has been removed had a similar history. The marker originally read 'Chinese Deadline. No Chinese allowed past this point. 1898-1908' (Wanielista 2010). Deadlines were chosen streets that could not be crossed, in this case, by Chinese residents of the bunkhouses near the canneries at the waterfront, literally creating a line of demarcation between white society and Asian workers (Fairhaven: Historical 2015). At some point, an unknown party placed another plaque on top of the original that relayed information about the

Emancipation Proclamation (Wanielista 2010). When the City of Bellingham removed the replacement marker, the original marker was also removed and was not replaced until 2011. In the spring of 2011 the Old Fairhaven Association and then-mayor of Bellingham, Dan Pike, placed a new marker at Harris Avenue and 8<sup>th</sup> Street, again commemorating the Deadline with an additional inscription apologizing to the Chinese Community (Bikman 2014).

While the Tillson markers often depict a history of vice and ignore other concurrent histories, they do depict often under-represented events and peoples in Fairhaven and Bellingham history. Chinese and Japanese cannery workers are included here, although in a somewhat problematic way because of a lack of context. The Tillson markers provide a small glimpse into the lives of these residents, supplemented by the 1990 pamphlet penned by Tillson and the information on the Fairhaven.com website. The Chinese Bunkhouse marker indicates the population of Chinese residents in 1900 as 600 individuals (or roughly 15% of the population of Fairhaven in 1910), illustrating just how many people would have been confined to a very small amount of land on the Fairhaven waterfront. Fairhaven.com illustrates their living conditions—20 or so hotels built during the boom of the early 1890s were left vacant by the global depression of the mid-1890s. Two hotels were converted into Chinese Bunkhouses, responsible for housing the hundreds of salmon cannery workers. Other markers tell of the Japanese bunkhouses, with a marker for Japanese Bunkhouse No. 5 (thus indicating the presence of at least four more). Information provided on Fairhaven.com helps to illustrate how permanent these residents were in Fairhaven during the early 20<sup>th</sup> century, detailing the various Japanese businesses that supported the workers of the canneries. Cafes, laundries, and opium dens were operated at various times along Harris Avenue (2015).

Table 8: Summary Table of Fairhaven: The Town that Smelled of Gunsmoke: A Directory of the Historical Markers Placed Around Old Fairhaven	
Criteria	Analysis
Do we see and hear multiple points of view in the work? Does this work serve to explore diversity in the past to promote it in the present, building a multi-cultural presentation?	The piece does explore the lives and other contributions to the local economy of Chinese and Japanese cannery workers at 6 stops, as well as prostitutes employed in the red-light district. A native campsite and early Spanish settlers are also discussed. However, all groups represented are discussed in a sensationalist manner, rather than portraying a more accurate and balanced representation of their history.
Does the piece critically analyze and expose racism in the past and present, creating a color-conscious past rather than a color-blind past?	While the piece does educate the audience about the existence of various minority groups in Fairhaven's early history, it reflects the bigotry of the time and has been a source of controversy with inscriptions such as "Chinese Foreman traded daughter for a son", "Chinese Mafia attempt assassination here" and "Sam Low's Opium Den 1904". With little narrative to explain these events, the information associated with these stops can be interpreted as inflammatory.
Does the work present individual's testimony in a complex manner, recognizing such complicating factors as personality and the operations of memory?	Much of the research does appear to be anecdotal in nature, although it is unknown from whom Tyrone Tillson received the stories he used for his markers or walking tour. In an article, his widow states several boxes of research exist, but at the present time it has not been made available to the public.
Does the work provide clues as to how the material was gathered and how it was selected for presentation?	The material presented was all researched and written by Tyrone Tillson, but it is not stated how he researched the information.
Does the work provide a context to help the audience interpret the points of view expressed?	Yes, historic context is somewhat provided. Historic quotes denouncing Fairhaven as a center of vice from J.J. Donovan at the Trocadero Music Hall stop and Will Visscher, the first editor of the <i>Fairhaven Herald</i> newspaper at the Bad Clancy's Spokane Vaudeville House stop serve to illustrate the divide of 'proper' folks and those involved in the vice trade. The stops are largely at historic buildings, but discuss colorful events and ways of living that made Fairhaven unique, which differs from many other walking tours that just list the history of ownership or of retail businesses that occupied the building.

<b>Table 8, continued</b>	
Is the relationship between the peoples presented and changes in their landscape or environment described?	Several historic buildings are listed, although they are described without dates, making it hard to place the changes to the landscape in context with one another.
Does the work explain how locations were selected? Is the selection of location(s) described in this piece tying in to a central theme about the time or peoples described?	It is not stated how locations were selected, but the selection undoubtedly contributes to Tillson's goal in telling the history of vice, violence, and colorful anecdotes that depict Fairhaven as a wild frontier town at the turn of the century.
Does the piece relate to the socio-political, economic, religious, ethnic and gender history of the place presented?	The early vigilante police force and jailhouse is discussed at several stops, and some stops include the history of early civic and political buildings, such as the courthouse, the town pillory, the town Marshall's office, city police court, the fire brigade, and Frank Clancy's failed political career at the Bad Clancy's Spokane Vaudeville House stop. Gender history is mostly discussed in relation to the red-light district and Devil's Row. What is perhaps unique in Fairhaven is that the brothels were all run by women, as discussed in the stop detailing the red-light district. Ethnic history is also discussed, although rather sensationally. Chinese and Japanese cannery workers, indigenous peoples, and Spanish explorers are all given their place in Fairhaven's history.
Does the piece give the audience an active, interpretive role?	While the language used in the narrative text is illustrative and allows the audience to imagine the way things would have looked or felt like, the tour does not place the audience in a more active role.
Are photos presented to help the audience understand how the site was accessed, used, and/or modified by the peoples described?	Historic photos are present alongside the text for many stops. Not much discussion of the landscape is included to show modification. They do serve to illustrate how buildings looked during the early history of Fairhaven though, and provide context to the participant.

This walking tour contains several examples of multi-vocal presentations, such as the inclusion of Asian cannery workers in the narrative text of six stops, and the discussion of prostitutes employed in the red-light district between McKenzie and Harris Avenues. Other stops include a discussion of a native campsite and the presence of Spanish explorers. However, the narrative text for many stops is sensational and, at times repeats stereotypical imagery.

Rather than helping to analyze or explore racism, some stops have the opposite effect, such as the inscription ‘Chinese Foreman traded daughter for a son’ and “Chinese mafia attempt assassination here”. The titles chosen for the inscriptions on the historic markers could have been chosen to portray a more balanced and accurate representation of history in a less inflammatory manner. It would have been more inclusive to describe the lives of the Chinese and Japanese laborers working in the salmon canneries at the end of Harris Avenue. Aspects of their lives are hinted at—the Chinese Deadline marker shows the limits of their freedoms to travel, and the marker for the opium den indicates, in part, how many of the Asian cannery workers may have spent their free time. The narrative text of the tour provides no hints about what brought them to this area, and why they left. Discussing these aspects of history would have led to a more fully realized historical presentation.

Tyrone Tillson conducted research for the historic markers and tour pamphlet through various means of research. In a 2008 interview, Tillson’s widow stated she has a storage unit filled with boxes of his research (Garnick 2008). From the narrative text of the walking tour, newspaper articles appear to have informed at least some of the research. Quotes from local industry magnate J. J. Donovan and Will Visscher, the first editor of the Fairhaven Herald are presented as individual testimony and add authenticity to the narrative developed by Tillson. Tillson’s sense of Fairhaven as a place is as part of the history of the Wild West. Tillson paints a narrative of shootouts, criminals, saloons, brothels, and corrupted politicians. Colorful events are the focus of Tillson’s tour, such as the explosion on May 26, 1892 when gunpowder exploded, breaking windows as far as three miles away from Fairhaven, a robbery at Butch’s Saloon in 1902 perpetrated by parolees from the state prison that resulted in two deaths, or



the arrest of Frank “Spider” Biles, the assistant fire chief who was caught setting fire to the Tontine Saloon in 1892. While these stories are entertaining, they do not paint a realistic history of Fairhaven—the authenticity of this tour is quite low; the lives of the other residents of Fairhaven, not involved in the vice trade, are ignored. Several historic buildings are included, but without dates to place them historically.

The history of early civic buildings is also recorded, but mostly as they tie into the history of vice. The courthouse, town pillory, Marshall’s office, city police court, and fire brigade are all mentioned. Political history is largely ignored, although the story of Frank Clancy’s failed political career is discussed at the Bad Clancy’s Spokane Vaudeville House Stop. The only representation of women’s history is in the inclusion of prostitution in Tillson’s narrative, and the mention that “proper” women did not travel unescorted below 9th Street in Fairhaven due to the presence of brothels. However, what is unique about the discussion of the brothels is the indication they were run by women, a departure from the dominant narrative of prostitution in the United States. As such, the history of prostitution in Bellingham Bay towns is unique, and the tour benefits from the inclusion of this information.

The inclusion of historic photographs helps to picture the landscape of early Fairhaven; however, it is not discussed enough in the narrative text to engage the audience in interpreting the landscape. The tour would have benefited from more descriptions of the landscape and the changes to Fairhaven because of the arrival of white settlers and the industries they created out of the natural resources of the bay. Of the stops, only three engaged the audience in the interpretation, such as the site of the fire wagon and hay barn, where it was described how fires were fought at the end of the 19th century. Describing the buckets, ladders, and

rudimentary fire wagons that were used helps to illustrate technological changes over the last 100 years. Another stop describing Chinese bunkhouses along the Fairhaven waterfront asserts that hundreds of Chinese laborers were employed. While the pamphlet tour makes a briefer statement about these workers, the online entry that can be accessed from scanning the QR code on the marker elaborates on the history of the Chinese workers. The bunkhouses used by Pacific American Fisheries were repurposed hotels from the boom of the 1890s that had been left empty following the Great Panic. In 1897, 60 Chinese men arrived, and the following year the number grew ten times to 600. If more information such as this was included in the walking tour pamphlet and on the historic markers, the tour would have been strengthened and would have been more inclusive.

#### The Fairhaven Association Fairhaven Historic District Walking Tour Map

The Fairhaven Association presumably created this walking tour in 2000 to promote the historic landmarks and buildings in Fairhaven to draw tourism to the area and to promote buildings that had available retail space to prospective renters. Information used in this pamphlet was obtained from Tyrone Tillson and Gordon Tweit, local historians. The tour contains 11 stops, all at historic commercial buildings (for a full description and analysis of the narrative text, see Table 21).

Highlighting various events, shopping and dining areas, and recreation near Fairhaven, this walking tour map lays out a relatively short trip through Fairhaven beginning on the northeast corner of 12<sup>th</sup> and Fairhaven at the former site of the Fairhaven Hotel and ending at the Northwest corner of 10<sup>th</sup> and Harris. The entirety of the tour stops consist of buildings within the Fairhaven Historic District that once hosted a variety of local businesses. Like other

walking tours of Fairhaven, the tour serves to illustrate the days of the Fairhaven boom town, when it was still home to numerous taverns, a bustling red light district, and many local criminals. The history of various buildings that serve as stops on the walking tour is examined, detailing the variety of local businesses that have called Fairhaven home. Analogous to today, Fairhaven is painted as a place, that for over 100 years, has been home to thriving transportation system, serving a variety of shops, recreational activities, and restaurants, perhaps best summarized thusly, “Fine restaurants, galleries, gift shops and many other businesses crowd the streets which once held saloons and brothels, but the spirit of Fairhaven remains the same, and entrepreneurs still make it their home.”

Criteria	Analysis
Do we see and hear multiple points of view in the work? Does this work serve to explore diversity in the past to promote it in the present, building a multi-cultural presentation?	Only briefly in the introduction. The Fairhaven boom is discussed, including the sudden influx of people including immigrants from as far away as Germany. With the new people came new construction including hotels and boarding houses. Prostitutes are mentioned in passing, as another group of people that moved into the area to take advantage of the influx of people to the bay. At the Pythias Building stop, fraternal orders and secret societies that existed at the turn of the century in Fairhaven are also mentioned.
Does the piece critically analyze and expose racism in the past and present, creating a color-conscious past rather than a color-blind past?	No, no discussion of race or ethnicity exists in the presentation.
Does the work present individual’s testimony in a complex manner, recognizing such complicating factors as personality and the operations of memory?	No, there is no presentation of individual testimony.

<b>Table 9, continued</b>	
Does the work provide clues as to how the material was gathered and how it was selected for presentation?	Yes, information presented was obtained from Tyrone Tillson and Gordon Tweit, local historians. Historic buildings were selected for presentation to draw tourists to the retail area and to promote buildings that had vacant retail space at the time it was published to attract retailers to the area. Most building stops have long lists of various businesses that were once housed in them to illustrate the variety of businesses that exist or have existed in Fairhaven, another aid in attracting retailers.
Does the work provide a context to help the audience interpret the points of view expressed?	The introduction does provide some context regarding the early days in Fairhaven-although it is very brief. It primarily discusses the boom in 1890, and does not provide much context as to the founding of the town prior to the boom or what happened after the boom.
Is the relationship between the peoples presented and changes in their landscape or environment described?	Yes; in the introduction, the 1890 boom in Fairhaven is discussed. Speculation over the town becoming the location of a railroad terminus led to widespread speculation. Thirty five hotels and boarding houses were constructed to house new residents, land was cleared, and a vigilante police force was formed. After the boom busted, the town became a fishing and seaport town.
Does the work explain how locations were selected? Is the selection of location(s) described in this piece tying in to a central theme about the time or peoples described?	It does not state how they were selected, however, all the stops are historic commercial buildings in Fairhaven, mostly dating back to around the 1889-1890 boom year.
Does the piece relate to the socio-political, economic, religious, ethnic and gender history of the place presented?	Seldom. It does somewhat discuss the economic history, but only inasmuch as it lists the various businesses that were housed in each building. It briefly mentions the role of women in early history-some worked in the red-light district along McKenzie Avenue, and 'proper' women did not venture below 9th Street unescorted because of the brothels. No other gender history is included. Ethnic and political history are ignored.
Does the piece give the audience an active, interpretive role?	Rarely. While photos are provided, they are small and cropped, and do not show the evolution of buildings or the landscape over time. The Sycamore Square stop does mention original painted signs on the northeast corner of the building that are still visible, allowing the audience a chance to interact with the landscape.

<b>Table 9, continued</b>	
Are photos presented to help the audience understand how the site was accessed, used, and/or modified by the peoples described?	Photographs are provided but they are small and do not show surroundings that would indicate access and use.

The little narrative associated with the tour is largely focused on the commercial history of historic buildings. The introduction text does provide some background context. The boom of the early 1890s brought in many immigrants from as far away as Germany. Following the influx of people came the construction of buildings to house and entertain them, including brothels. Beyond these brief mentions, no other diversity or multi-vocality is presented. The tour would have been strengthened by recognizing the diverse history of Fairhaven.

The tour's purpose is to promote historic buildings in Fairhaven and draw visitors to Fairhaven, including shoppers and possible retailers. Historic buildings standing vacant were listed as such, and the narrative at most stops contains a history of the various businesses once housed within them. The historic information is well-researched and contains the years each building was built and the various uses it has had during its history. The history of its use helps to illustrate the versatility of these historic buildings. This tour depicts of a sense of Fairhaven as a place with endurance—for the last 100 years, the buildings in this tour have stood, through the Panic and Great Depression to the modern era. However, beyond the economic history of Fairhaven, little to no other histories are presented. Of the people themselves who lived and worked in Fairhaven are not referred to, nor is the socio-political, religious, or ethnic history. The narrative text would have been strengthened by inclusion of such information, and presenting a more vibrant, diverse history of Fairhaven may have also served the tour's goal of attracting retailers and shoppers to the area.

The photographs used in the tour are small and cropped, showing just the buildings selected for the tour. All are from the modern era except for a historic photograph of the Fairhaven Hotel, destroyed in 1953. Historic photographs in conjunction with the modern photographs would have helped show the long history of these buildings and how they have been adapted over time, very appropriate of the goal of the tour and more engaging. The tour would also have benefited from the inclusion of historic and modern landscape photographs. This would have illustrated how beautiful the retail corridor is and how the people of Fairhaven have modified, accessed, and used the area to meet their adaptive needs. In doing so, the history aspect of the tour would have been made more dynamic, and may have made Fairhaven more attractive to retailers and shoppers.

### Rail Trail Walking Guide

The Rail Trail Walking Guide, published in 2013, is split into three sections, all within Bellingham. The first section takes the walker through Fairhaven to Boulevard Park, the second from Boulevard Park to Railroad Avenue and the third concludes at the end of Railroad Avenue. Features of this self-guided tour include not only the railway, but also industrial features, many harkening back to the early maritime industries of Bellingham. It was sponsored by local businesses in conjunction with a grant from the Whatcom Community Foundation and written by Karl Kleeman and William Rink with assistance from the Whatcom Museum, Center for Pacific Northwest Studies, Heritage Resources, and Western Washington University in obtaining the photographs used. Much of the content was obtained from the book *Boulevard Park and Taylor Avenue Dock* by Brian L. Griffin (2007).

Highlighted in the first leg of the tour are old Pacific American Fisheries locations, such as the brick office building that now houses the Amtrak and Greyhound Stations on Harris Avenue, the Puget Sound Saw Mills & Shingle Company, the Taylor Avenue Dock, which has been converted into a pedestrian walkway connecting to Boulevard Park, and E.K. Wood Lumber Mill. The second leg of the tour includes stops along the former Northern Pacific Log Dump, the Bellingham Bay and Eastern Railway Coal and Timber Wharf, and the Bloedel-Donovan Lumber Mills. The final section, along Railroad Avenue, contains snapshots of the area circa 1882 and demonstrates the development that occurred in what would become a central part of the Downtown district (for a full description and analysis of the narrative text, see Tables 22, 23, and 24).

Table 10: Summary Table of Rail Trail Walking Guide	
Criteria	Analysis
Do we see and hear multiple points of view in the work? Does this work serve to explore diversity in the past to promote it in the present, building a multi-cultural presentation?	No stops mention peoples from a diverse background. Industry is often described, but not the peoples working in these industries, the lives of people of color, or the lives of women.
Does the piece critically analyze and expose racism in the past and present, creating a color-conscious past rather than a color-blind past?	No such discussion is possible because there is not a representation of different ethnic or racial groups in this presentation.
Does the work present individual's testimony in a complex manner, recognizing such complicating factors as personality and the operations of memory?	No, individual testimony or ethnography is not present.

<b>Table 10, continued</b>	
Does the work provide clues as to how the material was gathered and how it was selected for presentation?	Yes. The authors state much of the information came from the book <i>Boulevard Park &amp; Taylor Avenue Dock</i> by Brian L. Griffin. The authors also thank the Center for Pacific Northwest Studies, Heritage Resources, Western Washington University, and the Whatcom Museum for photographs. Many photographs are also cited as the author of the tour's own.
Does the work provide a context to help the audience interpret the points of view expressed?	Yes. The first two pages of the booklet summarize the development of railroads and industry in Bellingham. It briefly lists the various railroads and when they were established in the area to serve as context for more in depth discussion later.
Is the relationship between the peoples presented and changes in their landscape or environment described?	Yes, through photographs and maps that show changes in the landscape over time. Many earlier tracks were converted into trails and pedestrian walkways, such as the interurban trail and trails near Boulevard Park.
Does the work explain how locations were selected? Is the selection of location(s) described in this piece tying in to a central theme about the time or peoples described?	All the locations selected were related to railroads in Bellingham. The businesses and buildings selected were industrial locations that were serviced by the railroads or were related to the maintenance or storage of railroad equipment and engines.
Does the piece relate to the socio-political, economic, religious, ethnic and gender history of the place presented?	The economic and industrial history as related to railroads in Bellingham Bay is explored in some depth. Stops include industrial companies such as Pacific American Fisheries, various sawmills and shingle mills, Reid Brothers Boiler Works, Pacific American Tar Company, Bellingham Flour Mills Company, Bellingham Bay Gas Company, the Trolley Power Station and many railroad buildings. Other histories are ignored as outside of the scope of this presentation.
Does the piece give the audience an active, interpretive role?	The use of maps and historic photographs helps the audience situate themselves in the landscape that used to exist surrounding Bellingham Bay railroads. Railroad Avenue, for instance, once housed the engine house, many BB&BC buildings including a hotel and station, and had many tracks running down the wide street. It is now changed to a major parking area, possible because of the width of the street to allow for railroads to come through the street. Photographs of this area show the adaptation and change of this area over time and allow the audience to experience how it may have been to be in the area earlier.



<b>Table 10, continued</b>	
Are photos presented to help the audience understand how the site was accessed, used, and/or modified by the peoples described?	Yes. Each stop is supplemented by one to three photographs. Most are historical, as many of the structures no longer exist, but some are contemporary to show the current building or structure and its current use. Examples include the Downtown NP RR Trestle stop that now forms part of the South Bay Trail and Downtown Bellingham, the Milwaukee Road Freight Station that now houses La Fiamma Pizza, and the Northern Pacific Depot that now is the Downtown WTA bus station.

The narrative of this tour is focused on the Railroad history of Bellingham, from Fairhaven to Downtown. The narrative text ignores representations of diversity or ethnic history. The one possible exception to this was the stop for the Fairhaven Great Northern Station. The narrative mentions it was constructed near Dead Man's Point, which had served as a burial ground. However, the narrative text does not explain who used or accessed this burial ground (i.e., indigenous peoples or settlers). No other stops mention the lives of the people that lived and worked in the industries and businesses described in the tour. The tour would have been strengthened by adding in these stories. The authors state that the bulk of the research for this booklet came from one book. Including more sources would have been one way to include different points of view and more narratives into the tour.

The work is successful in summarizing the development of railroads and industry in Bellingham to provide a historic context for the rest of the information presented in the tour. The introduction at the beginning of the booklet briefly lists the railroads that operated in Bellingham and a synopsis of their history to serve as a context for more in depth discussions later in the booklet. The photographs and maps selected for inclusion in the tour help to illustrate changes in the landscape over time. For example, the Northern Pacific railroad trestle now forms part of the South Bay Trail, the Milwaukee Road Freight Station has been

repurposed to house La Fiamma Pizza, and the Downtown Northern Pacific Depot has been repurposed as the Downtown WTA bus depot.

The tour focuses on the industries served by the railroad companies, as well as the structures that once functioned as part of the railroad system. To that end, most of the history presented is the industrial and economic history of Bellingham and other histories are largely ignored. The tour's narrative could have been more inclusive and still stayed within its theme and sense of place by exploring the lives of the workers in these industries and businesses, such as the ethnic groups that worked in these industries (such as the stops for Pacific American Fisheries and the various lumber mills featured, which employed specific ethnic groups during times in their histories as discussed in Chapter Six). Some stops, such as Pacific American Fisheries, "the early history of the east bay area", "other east bay companies", the Northern Pacific line going north, the Railroad Avenue freight yard, and the BB&BC Motorcar Kulshan have photographs that show workers. Including brief biographies of these people would have maintained the overall goal of the booklet and provided more depth to the histories presented.

### Vintage Bellingham Walking Tours

In 1980, two self-guided historic walking tours in Bellingham were published by the Historic Preservation Office of the Whatcom County Parks and Recreation Board and the Bellingham Municipal Arts Commission. Historic photographs were provided by the Whatcom Museum, with designs and illustrations by Kent Shoemaker. Both tours are arranged in a pamphlet. A map of the tour is arranged in the center of the brochure. Illustrations of the stops and their street addresses are featured on the maps, with a couple of historic photographs to illustrate the narrative text. Relatively short in length, the tours are designed to begin and end

at bus stops, leading downhill or along level ground to ensure they are accessible to people with varying levels of physical ability.

Both tours are divided into two parts. Sehome and Fairhaven are combined into one pamphlet, and Downtown and Eldridge into another. Each tour is between eight to twelve stops at historic buildings, with brief narrative text to give some context to each building.

Introductions to each tour provide some historic background narrative and help to establish the sense of place for the region the self-guided tour takes place in. What is perhaps confusing to the audience of the Vintage Bellingham Walking Tours is the maps themselves—they depict and label buildings that are not included in the narrative text. The reason for this is unknown—perhaps the tours were intended to be longer in length, or perhaps the authors' intention was to include other buildings to help the audience orientate themselves and locate the buildings discussed in the pamphlets.

#### Vintage Bellingham Walking Tour: Downtown and Eldridge

The Downtown walking tour begins on Whatcom Creek and goes through Old Town before making its way into Downtown. Old Town stops include Whatcom Creek, the site of the Roeder and Peabody sawmill, the George Pickett House, the Old Whatcom Courthouse (also known as the Territorial Courthouse), the Great Northern Passenger Station, and the New Whatcom City Hall. Downtown locations include several historic buildings, Citizen's Dock, the Mt. Baker Theater, and City Hall. The Downtown walking tour references the evolution that has occurred Downtown, from forest to urban center. Many of these stops, such as the Great Northern Passenger Station, The Old Whatcom Courthouse, the George Pickett House, and Citizen's Dock are included on the National Register of Historic Places.

The Eldridge tour, unlike the Downtown tour, takes its audience through a largely residential neighborhood. One of the first neighborhoods in Bellingham, the Eldridge neighborhood contains many homes built between 1880 and 1910, on land first claimed and platted by two pioneers, Edward Eldridge and Henry Roeder. Many of the homes in this neighborhood are listed on the National Register of Historic Places. Elizabeth Park, the oldest park in Whatcom County, is at the center of this neighborhood and is an example of turn of the century landscape architecture. Since 1976, the residents of this neighborhood have conducted annual home tours through this district, and plaques on the front of the homes indicate the home’s historic name and its date of construction (City of Bellingham N.d.(b)). Architectural styles are noted in addition to some notable residents of the neighborhood.

Table 11: Vintage Bellingham Walking Tour: Downtown and Eldridge	
Criteria	Analysis
Do we see and hear multiple points of view in the work? Does this work serve to explore diversity in the past to promote it in the present, building a multi-cultural presentation?	No. This work does not contain any narratives that present a multi-cultural history. The narratives are not presented in a manner that gives multiple points of view.
Does the piece critically analyze and expose racism in the past and present, creating a color-conscious past rather than a color-blind past?	No, there is no discussion of racial or ethnic history.
Does the work present individual’s testimony in a complex manner, recognizing such complicating factors as personality and the operations of memory?	No, no individual testimony is presented.

<b>Table 11, continued</b>	
Does the work provide clues as to how the material was gathered and how it was selected for presentation?	The pamphlet states that historic photographs were provided by the Whatcom Museum, with designs and illustrations by Kent Shoemaker. The tours do not state how the historic information was researched. It was published by the Historic Preservation Office of the Whatcom County Parks and Recreation Board.
Does the work provide a context to help the audience interpret the points of view expressed?	A brief introduction does give a broad historical background, which gives contextualization to the sense of place the author intends. The Downtown introduction depicts the foundation of Whatcom as a mill town surrounded by forest. The Eldridge introduction describes a residential neighborhood now on the National Register of Historic Places due to its concentration of large Victorian homes that housed many early settlers.
Is the relationship between the peoples presented and changes in their landscape or environment described?	In four of the tour's 24 stops the history of the landscape is described, three of which are introductory narratives. Changes to the original shoreline of Bellingham Bay is discussed, the growth of the four original bay towns into the unified city of Bellingham and the removal of the forest to make way for the towns that became Bellingham are also described. The Whatcom Creek stop describes the industries that altered the landscape-saw mills, coal mines, salmon canneries, and dairy farms.
Does the work explain how locations were selected? Is the selection of location(s) described in this piece tying in to a central theme about the time or peoples described?	The selection of pieces is not described. The map also depicts many more locations than are given a narrative on the tour--it is not explained why the stops that were given narratives were chosen over the other stops. Since the other stops are shown on the map but not listed in the tour, it is possible that these are other interesting buildings that there was not room to discuss, or they may simply be wayfinding locations. The selection does not tie into a central theme other than that they are all historical period buildings.

<b>Table 11, continued</b>	
Does the piece relate to the socio-political, economic, religious, ethnic and gender history of the place presented?	Rarely. In the introductory/narrative stops, the industrial history of Bellingham is described. One stop, for the Aftermath Club, mentions a woman's literary society, but does not provide details as to their membership, how long the organization existed, or their impact on society.
Does the piece give the audience an active, interpretive role?	No. This presentation does not attempt to engage the audience in the interpretation of historic events.
Are photos presented to help the audience understand how the site was accessed, used, and/or modified by the peoples described?	Two photos are presented in the entire tour, in addition to a map. It would have been more helpful to decrease the size of the map and include more historic photographs to illustrate how stops looked historically to illustrate changes and modifications.

As this tour is so short in length, not much space has been devoted to narrative text. Personal stories or glimpses into the lives of the people living and working in the Downtown and Eldridge areas are not explored. While a women’s literary group is mentioned, the tour does not describe the group or its purpose, it assumes the reader already has knowledge of this group which would be isolating for a tourist (and many residents) who is not familiar with the area or its history.

While growth and industry is somewhat described, the changes to the landscape and the relationship people had with the land is sorely lacking. Since the narrative text is so sparse, it is unclear what the intended theme or sense of place for this tour was. It is also confusing that the map indicates many more stops that are not described at all in the narrative text—raising the question as to how the stops selected for this tour were chosen and why only some of them were given descriptions. It may have been helpful to decrease the size of the map—which takes up most of the pamphlet—to allow for more interpretation. Due to the lack of text

and photographs, the audience engagement in this piece is very low. It does not interpret events for the audience or attempt to involve them in any interpretation.

### Vintage Bellingham Walking Tour: Fairhaven and Sehome

The Fairhaven tour begins in a residential neighborhood on 14<sup>th</sup> Street and contains many stops at Victorian mansions before ending at the Fairhaven Public Library. Of the eight stops on this part of the tour, six are residences of some of Fairhaven's earliest and most wealthy residents. In addition to the library, the other non-residential stop is for the Sacred Heart Roman Catholic Church. The introductory text for this tour briefly discusses the life of 'Dirty' Dan Harris, a smuggler and sailor who recognized the deep water off the shore of Fairhaven made it more likely to be a functioning sea port than Whatcom's mud flat shore. It also mentions the 1880s boom of Fairhaven, when it looked as though it might be chosen as the terminus of the Great Northern and the speculation that followed in the 1890s. The boom ended when the terminus was placed in another city, but many of the historic buildings of Fairhaven date to this time.

The Sehome portion of the tour describes an area that has been part of four towns: Sehome, New Whatcom, Whatcom, and finally Bellingham. The main discussion of the introductory text focuses on the preponderance of turn-of-the-century houses in this district. The tour has nine stops, of which six are of large private residences that largely now serve as multi-family housing for university students. The three stops that are not residential—the National Guard Armory, the YWCA, and Old Main at Western Washington University—are largely described by architectural styles rather than historic narratives.

Table 12: Vintage Bellingham Walking Tour: Fairhaven and Sehome

Criteria	Analysis
Do we see and hear multiple points of view in the work? Does this work serve to explore diversity in the past to promote it in the present, building a multi-cultural presentation?	No. This work does not contain any narratives that present a multi-cultural history. The narratives are not presented in a manner that gives multiple points of view.
Does the piece critically analyze and expose racism in the past and present, creating a color-conscious past rather than a color-blind past?	No, there is no discussion of racial or ethnic history.
Does the work present individual's testimony in a complex manner, recognizing such complicating factors as personality and the operations of memory?	No, no individual testimony is presented.
Does the work provide clues as to how the material was gathered and how it was selected for presentation?	The pamphlet states that historic photographs were provided by the Whatcom Museum, with designs and illustrations by Kent Shoemaker. The tours do not state how the historic information was researched. It was published by the Historic Preservation Office of the Whatcom County Parks and Recreation Board.
Does the work provide a context to help the audience interpret the points of view expressed?	A brief introduction does give a broad historical background, which gives contextualization to the sense of place the author intends. The Fairhaven introduction describes the early port town began by Dirty Dan Harris and the later 1890 boom due to railroad speculation. The Sehome introduction describes an area that has been part of four towns: Sehome, New Whatcom, Whatcom, and Bellingham. The main characteristic emphasized is the amount of turn of the century residences due to the university and the need for student housing.
Is the relationship between the peoples presented and changes in their landscape or environment described?	Only in one of the introductory stops of the 21 stops on this tour. The Fairhaven introduction describes the boom of growth in 1890 from railroad speculation that led to the rapid construction of many of the residential and commercial buildings in Fairhaven, many of which still survive.



<b>Table 12, continued</b>	
Does the work explain how locations were selected? Is the selection of location(s) described in this piece tying in to a central theme about the time or peoples described?	Like the other Vintage Bellingham tour, the selection of pieces is not described. The map also depicts many more locations than are given a narrative on the tour--it is not explained why the stops that were given narratives were chosen over the other stops. Since the other stops are shown on the map but not listed in the tour, it is possible that these are other interesting buildings that there was not room to discuss, or they may simply be wayfinding locations. The selection does not tie into a central theme other than that they are all historical period buildings, mostly residences.
Does the piece relate to the socio-political, economic, religious, ethnic and gender history of the place presented?	Rarely. The tour stops largely are of private residences. The Fairhaven portion does include a stop for Sacred Heart Roman Catholic Church, although it only gives the address and no narrative of the location. The Sehome portion includes two three stops that are not residential--the National Guard Armory, the YWCA, and Old Main at Western Washington University. Instead of describing their history, however, the tour describes their building materials and architectural styles.
Does the piece give the audience an active, interpretive role?	No. This presentation does not attempt to engage the audience in the interpretation of historic events.
Are photos presented to help the audience understand how the site was accessed, used, and/or modified by the peoples described?	Two photos are presented, in addition to a map. Like the other Vintage Bellingham tour, it would have been helpful to include more historic photographs to illustrate site access and modification.

Similarly, to the other Vintage Bellingham Walking Tour, the narrative text is too short to allow for personal narratives or diverse representations. The private residences that are listed would allow for some personal story-telling if there was more space on the brochure. Again, the map is so large it does not allow for more text in the stop descriptions. While the homes selected for this tour are large and stately, displaying ornate turn of the century

architectural styles, without interpretation this tour becomes a list of homes. The narrative text for the Sehome tour indicates that many of the large homes that once housed wealthier families have been turned into multi-unit student housing due to the decrease in the average family home. It would have been enticing to explore some of the stories of the residents of these homes, whether it be their original, wealthy occupants, or the purpose they now serve as student housing.

Also, missing from this tour is a discussion of other histories. Industrial, social, economic, and gender history would have been compelling to more people than architectural styles. Who built the grand homes of Sehome and Fairhaven? Where did the residents of these neighborhoods work? The stop for the YWCA would be a great opportunity to discuss the lives of women at the time it was built, in addition to the architecture. The stop for the National Guard Armory indicates it was built of Chuckanut sandstone, but offers no explanation to why this is interesting, or to the military history of the region which led to its construction. Both Vintage Bellingham Walking Tours would benefit from more interpretation and story-telling, and a smaller map.

### Walking Washington's History: Bellingham

Published in March, 2016, Judy Bentley's *Walking Washington's History: Ten Cities* contains ten self-guided historic walking tours in cities throughout Washington State, including Bellingham. The Bellingham walking tour is 30 pages in length. It opens with a nine-page history of Bellingham, discussing important historic events such as the opening of the Roeder and Peabody Mill in 1852, the 1858 Fraser River gold rush, industrial history of coal mining, railroads, and fisheries, and touches on the racial arrival of Chinese cannery workers and the

activities of the Ku Klux Klan in the 1920s. Bentley is an emeritus faculty member of South Seattle College and also authored *Hiking Washington's History*, a narration of 40 historic trails in Washington.

Bentley cites her resources as the Bellingham Public Library, the Bellingham Railway Museum, the Fairhaven Library, the Visitor Information Center, and the Whatcom Museum of History and Art. Non-fiction and fiction sources are cited including Annie Dillard's fictional account of early Bellingham Bay life, *The Living*, Lelah Jackson Edson's 1951 *The Fourth Corner: Highlights from the Early Northwest*, Karl Kleeman and William Rink's *Rail Trail Walking Guide: Fairhaven to Bellingham*, and Fred Moody's article for *Pacific Magazine*, "Bellingham, My Home".

The self-guided tours cover large distances across Bellingham, mirroring Bentley's previous work on hiking tours. The Bellingham Loop is 7 miles round-trip and takes the audience from Downtown to Fairhaven, with a 3-mile (one-way) extension through South Hill and Western Washington University; this is effectively a hike through much of Bellingham. Maps showing the course of the trip, its stops, public restrooms, and cultural amenities such as museums accompany the narrative text. Bentley includes addresses, directions and wayfinding points for the stops to assist the audience. In addition to historic buildings, the tour is also peppered with stories of historic events, such as the arrival of Captain Pickett, the Olympic Pipeline Explosion, the history of fish traps on the bay, and the creation of Fairhaven Park. The narrative text is supplemented with historic photographs from the Whatcom Museum.

Table 13: Walking Washington's History: Bellingham

Criteria	Analysis
<p>Do we see and hear multiple points of view in the work? Does this work serve to explore diversity in the past to promote it in the present, building a multi-cultural presentation?</p>	<p>Yes, in 13 of the tour's 61 stops. Stops discuss Lummi artists that created a story pole now in front of the courthouse; the signing of the 1855 Treaty of Point Elliott by the Lummi and the establishment of reservations; the marriage of Captain Pickett to a local indigenous woman; the lives of working class individuals (miners, laborers, low-income residents); Chinese cannery workers that lived in bunkhouses in Fairhaven, who were supplied by Chinese labor contractor Goon Dip; the arrival of Spanish explorers prior to the settlement of the region; the establishment of the red-light district in Fairhaven and its later crackdown following the sermon of Billy Sunday; Croatian fishermen from the island of Vis that settled in the area to work for salmon canneries and worshipped at the Sacred Heart Catholic Church.</p>
<p>Does the piece critically analyze and expose racism in the past and present, creating a color-conscious past rather than a color-blind past?</p>	<p>The piece discusses the lives of Chinese cannery workers, describing how they were not allowed to venture out of their allotted area in Fairhaven. In the introductory text, the author describes the activities of the KKK in Bellingham in the 1920s and their anti-foreign sentiment aimed at Asians, African-Americans, and Catholics. The author had opportunity to discuss this history further in the stops that discuss the canneries and how they impacted the indigenous fisheries.</p>

<b>Table 13, continued</b>	
Does the work present individual's testimony in a complex manner, recognizing such complicating factors as personality and the operations of memory?	No individual testimony is presented. The tour would be strengthened by the inclusion of quotes and personal testimony. However, one stop does recount oral histories. The stop for Marine Park discusses how a spot has been called many names, including Deadman's Point, although conflicting local legends explain why. According to oral history, it was either the site of an attack on Spanish explorers from a coalition of hostile local Indians or a raid on local Indians from a northern tribe.
Does the work provide clues as to how the material was gathered and how it was selected for presentation?	Yes. The author cites non-fiction and fiction sources including Annie Dillard's fictional account of early Bellingham Bay life, <i>The Living</i> , Lelah Jackson Edson's 1951 <i>The Fourth Corner: Highlights from the Early Northwest</i> , Karl Kleeman and William Rink's <i>Rail Trail Walking Guide: Fairhaven to Bellingham</i> , and Fred Moody's article for <i>Pacific Magazine</i> , "Bellingham, My Home". Resources included were the Bellingham Public Library, the Bellingham Railway Museum, the Fairhaven Library, the Visitor Information Center, and the Whatcom Museum of History and Art. Bentley does not describe how she chose sites to be included in the tour, however.
Does the work provide a context to help the audience interpret the points of view expressed?	Yes, the tour begins with a several-page introductory text outlining a history of Bellingham beginning with the arrival of white settlers and describing the economic history of Bellingham Bay towns. The narrative contains descriptions of Chinese laborers in the salmon canneries, the activities of Bellingham's KKK chapter in the 1920s, the arrival of large numbers of Croatian fishers, South Asians to work in the lumber mills, and the lives of notable women.

<b>Table 13, continued</b>	
Is the relationship between the peoples presented and changes in their landscape or environment described?	The introductory text describes a series of booms and busts throughout the towns that would become Bellingham, such as the 1858 Gold Rush and the Fairhaven boom following railroad speculation. The text also describes the advent of industry--lumber, fishing, railroads--that would all prove to modify the landscape and the environment.
Does the work explain how locations were selected? Is the selection of location(s) described in this piece tying in to a central theme about the time or peoples described?	The author does not state how she decided upon the stops and sites selected for this tour. The book's introduction states the book aims to emphasize one period of its history, and other events may be mentioned only lightly. To that end, it appears Bentley was highlighting the booms of the towns that would become Bellingham and the development of maritime industry.
Does the piece relate to the socio-political, economic, religious, ethnic and gender history of the place presented?	Yes, the economic and social history is well represented. The religious, ethnic, and gender history are less-well represented, but are discussed at length in the introductory background information and at various stops. The maps for the two sections of the tour indicate the path of the tour and illustrate the locations of the sites mentioned that no longer exist, allowing the participant to imagine their relationship with the remaining landscape.
Does the piece give the audience an active, interpretive role?	Yes. On the parts of the walking tour that go through the South Bay Trail, Fairhaven and at a stop downtown, Bentley encourages the audience to refer to local historic markers, including the Tyrone Tillson markers throughout Fairhaven and plaques along the South Bay Trail. This encouragement to explore surroundings helps create an interactive experience for the participant. The photographs selected help the audience to picture the descriptions Bentley gives in this piece.

<b>Table 13, continued</b>	
Are photos presented to help the audience understand how the site was accessed, used, and/or modified by the peoples described?	The photos that are included illustrate women working in salmon canneries, the world's tallest Christmas tree coming down Railroad Avenue, and students gathered in Red Square at Western Washington University following the assassination of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. More pictures would have been beneficial, however, to illustrate changes over time and the overall landscape and to show the buildings that are no longer standing that were mentioned in the tour, such as the Fairhaven Hotel, the original St. Joseph Hospital, and the Pacific American Fisheries buildings.

Due to the format of this tour, the author was able to be more descriptive and relay more history and events than the authors of several of the other self-guided walking tours that were limited to small pamphlets. Because the author had several pages to impart important historic events and themes across Bellingham’s history before beginning the actual tour, the sense of place and interpretation of events this tour intends to describe is very clear.

Multi-vocality in the stops is relatively high, and coupled with the introductory text which contains the stories of various minority groups in Bellingham’s history, the overall multi-vocality for this walking tour is very high. The narrative text focuses on telling a story of Bellingham as a rough-neck frontier town in the northern corner of the United States, built up over a series of economic booms in the latter part of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. Stops on this tour such as Fort Bellingham, built to protect settlers and local Indians from northern raiders; the 1858 Fraser River gold rush; the histories of railroads that once operated throughout the county reinforce this depiction.

One way in which this presentation would have engaged the audience more in its interpretation would have been to include more photographs illustrating the buildings discussed that are no longer present, such as the Fairhaven Hotel and the original St. Joseph Hospital in Fairhaven. Bentley does engage the audience in the interpretation by pointing out historical markers and inviting them to explore the landscape. If this had been couple with more photographs it would have been even more successful.

## Results

The totals across from the narrative text for all walking tours is displayed in the tables below. The narrative text was analyzed for the number of stops that contained multi-vocality (column M), related to the overall theme and sense of place (column S) and the engagement of the audience in the historic interpretation (column E) (see Table 10). The tables containing the descriptions and analysis of the narrative text can be found in the Appendix. The counts from Table 10 were converted into percentages, using the number of stops that met the criteria out of the total number of stops in the tour (see Table 11). Percentages were rounded to the nearest whole number. Since almost all tours contained high levels of authenticity, it was redundant to analyze these criteria in the results, although it was discussed earlier in this chapter in the summary tables for each tour.



Table 14: Number of stops with quantities of multi-vocality (M), sense of place (S), and participant engagement in interpretation (E) by tour				
Walking Tour Title	M	S	E	Total Stops
Blaine's Historic Homes, Buildings, and Churches: Cain Homestead	3	22	22	50
Blaine's Historic Homes, Buildings, and Churches: Boblett Homestead	5	26	24	63
Blaine's Historic Homes, Buildings, and Churches: Miller & Kingsley Homestead	4	22	18	36
Downtown Renaissance Network: Downtown	1	7	2	20
Downtown Renaissance Network: Old Town	4	8	7	20
Downtown Renaissance Network: Railroad Avenue	0	4	9	20
City of Bellingham Historic Walking Tour: Downtown	4	30	6	45
City of Bellingham Historic Walking Tour: Old Sehome	9	20	27	32
Fairhaven: The Town that Smelled of Gunsmoke	6	42	3	51
The Fairhaven Association Fairhaven Historic District Walking Tour Map	0	8	2	12
Rail Trail Walking Guide: Fairhaven Amtrak Station to Boulevard Park	1	14	4	14
Rail Trail Walking Guide: Boulevard Park to Railroad Avenue	0	9	2	9
Rail Trail Walking Guide: Railroad Avenue	0	12	4	12
Vintage Bellingham Walking Tour: Downtown and Eldridge	0	5	2	24
Vintage Bellingham Walking Tour: Sehome and Fairhaven	0	3	2	20
Walking Washington's History: Bellingham	13	38	7	61

Table 15: Percentage of stops with quantities of multi-vocality (M), sense of place (S), and participant engagement in interpretation (E) by tour			
Walking Tour Title	% of Stops		
	M	S	E
Blaine's Historic Homes, Buildings, and Churches: Cain Homestead (1996)	6%	44%	44%
Blaine's Historic Homes, Buildings, and Churches: Boblett Homestead (1996)	8%	41%	38%
Blaine's Historic Homes, Buildings, and Churches: Miller & Kingsley Homestead (1996)	11%	61%	50%
Downtown Renaissance Network: Downtown (2006)	5%	35%	10%
Downtown Renaissance Network: Old Town (2006)	20%	40%	35%
Downtown Renaissance Network: Railroad Avenue (2006)	0%	20%	15%
City of Bellingham Historic Walking Tour: Downtown (2015)	9%	67%	13%
City of Bellingham Historic Walking Tour: Old Sehome (2016)	28%	63%	84%
Fairhaven: The Town that Smelled of Gunsmoke (1990)	12%	82%	6%
The Fairhaven Association Fairhaven Historic District Walking Tour Map (2000)	0%	67%	17%
Rail Trail Walking Guide: Fairhaven Amtrak Station to Boulevard Park (2013)	7%	100%	29%
Rail Trail Walking Guide: Boulevard Park to Railroad Avenue (2013)	0%	100%	22%
Rail Trail Walking Guide: Railroad Avenue (2013)	0%	100%	33%
Vintage Bellingham Walking Tour: Downtown and Eldridge (1980)	0%	21%	8%
Vintage Bellingham Walking Tour: Sehome and Fairhaven (1980)	0%	15%	10%
Walking Washington's History: Bellingham (2016)	21%	62%	11%

Many tours either did not contain any diversity, or had very low scores in multi-vocality. The sense of place of many of the tours may have been a contributing factor to these low scores, as some of the tours (such as the Rail Trail Walking Guide and the Fairhaven Association Fairhaven Historic District Walking Tour Map) were focused on a specific aspect of history (such as the industrial or commercial history) while other histories and stories were ignored. However, as discussed following the summary tables earlier in this chapter, the tours would have been strengthened and attracted a broader audience if these stories were included. Many tours that include multi-vocal presentations, such as Blaine's Historic Homes, Buildings, and Churches: Miller & Kingsley Homestead section, the City of Bellingham Historic Walking Tour of Old Sehome, and Fairhaven: The Town that Smelled of Gunsmoke, could include diverse histories in the narrative text while maintaining the sense of place desired for their tour.

For most of the tours a high frequency of the stops contributed to building a sense of place. The highest of which was found in the Rail Trail Walking Guide, due to a strongly stated goal that made identifying its sense of place easier than some of the other tours. The tours that had the lowest overall frequency regarding sense of place were the Downtown Renaissance Network Tours and the Vintage Bellingham Walking Tours. This was largely because the narrative text of these tours was so short (many of the stops only contained the year the building was constructed and its name with no other information) that it made establishing and adhering to a sense of place more difficult. Blaine's Historic Homes, Buildings and Churches would have had a higher level of sense of place if the process for selecting buildings and sites for inclusion had been more exclusive. It is more difficult to relate every stop to a central theme when there are no criteria for choosing them.

The degree to which the tours engaged their audience varied greatly between the walking tours. The tours that demonstrated a higher level of audience engagement did so largely through the photographs that were chosen to supplement the narrative text or descriptive in the narrative text or how sites were utilized over time. This was easier to accomplish in the longer booklets, as they had more space to describe how the site was accessed, used, and/or modified. Blaine's Historic Homes, Buildings, and Churches engaged the audience through its narrative text, especially its viewpoint stops that serve to have the audience visualize the evolution of the site described. The other tours with high levels of audience engagement (City of Bellingham Historic Walking Tour: Old Sehome and the Rail Trail Walking Guide) did so by using photographs from the historic era in conjunction with photographs from the modern era. For the walking tours with less room for narrative text, such as the Downtown Renaissance Network, utilizing photographs in a different manner would have improved their level of engagement, helping these tours attract a larger audience.

## Chapter Eight: Conclusion

The growing body of anthropological studies of tourism has focused on such issues as multi-vocality, authenticity, sense of place, and audience engagement in heritage interpretations, and was utilized to establish criteria to analyze walking tours in Whatcom County, Washington, using a public history and ethnographic approach. The results of this analysis were presented in Chapter Seven with suggestions for future presentations utilizing the historic background information presented in Chapter Six. The results indicate that many self-guided historic walking tour presentations are created with high levels of authenticity and contribute to an overall narrative or sense of place, but often have low levels of multi-vocality and audience engagement in interpretation. Many times, this stems from the research methods utilized to create the self-guided historic walking tour—by using public history and ethnohistory approaches, the researcher could have created a more inclusive presentation.

Ethnography, art, folklore, oral history, archaeology, language, and place names were rarely described as items of research. While books, manuscripts, and museum collections (such as photographs) were often accessed, including these other sources would increase the likelihood of uncovering under-represented histories for inclusion, helping self-guided historic walking tours to make a larger impact in the local community and to tourists. Another strategy to help engage the audience in the interpretation of history is the use of photographs and maps. The use of maps and photographs to illustrate the point of view of the work is integral. By showing changes to the landscape and built environment over time, the audience can better understand how a region was used, accessed, and modified over time by its residents. The use of maps can also show the growth and spread of towns, the changing of street names,

waterways, and city terrain. Many tours only presented historic era photographs—while these are excellent for illustrating how the building or site was historically, they do not illustrate how this was different a generation later, or in the modern era. It can be helpful to juxtapose maps and photographs from different eras to allow the audience to understand the history over time rather than at one frozen, static place. In doing so, presentations become more dynamic and interesting to the viewer.

Walking tours are a valuable tool to draw tourists (as well as residents) into retail and dining areas while engaging audiences in the heritage and history of Whatcom County. By making walking tours more inclusive of the different peoples and histories of Bellingham and Whatcom County, a broader audience can be attracted, benefitting local business owners, museums, local communities, and other stakeholders. Walking tours are versatile, able to engage their audience with the built and natural environment, with the possibility attracting participants from a diverse background. As discussed in Chapter Two, self-guided historic walking tours are part of a growing trend in heritage tourism; consumers increasingly seek out heritage attractions to learn more about local communities and are most often engaged in presentations to which they can relate their own experiences and understanding.

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Stop	M	S	E	Description
429 Peace Portal		X	X	Blaine was settled during 1856 (US Boundary Survey Commission survey of the 49th parallel) and 1858 (Fraser River Gold Rush). Two towns, sharing the name Semiahmoo (one on the Spit, one in present day Blaine) prospered from Commission's activities and outfitting miners. When Commission completed and miners needed to go to Victoria to obtain a mining permit, the towns were nearly deserted. Second wave of settlers came in 1870 due to revised Homestead Act which permitted twice as much land per claim. Timber attracted more settlers in 1876.
477 Peace Portal			X	1908-Hotel lobby and bar on first floor, rooms on the second floor. On line from all traffic going to and from the train station. Later home to Post Office, then US Customs Office.
111 Marine		X	X	1891-In 1906 construction began to move the Great Northern line along the waterfront. Two camps of 100 men each relocated the track from the Boundary Line to Dakota Creek.
515 Peace Portal		X		1900-Mrs. Jessie Maria Kilroy, a widow, came to Blaine from MN to live near her daughter who told her in a letter of the booming town of Blaine. It had over 160 buildings, 12 miles of graded streets, 4 ft. sidewalks of 1st grade lumber, one daily and two weekly newspapers, sawmills, shingle mills, canneries, 6 churches, and train service. She later opened up one of the first bakeries.
570 Peace Portal		X	X	1909-Blaine's waterfront held 5 canneries, 3 lumber mills, and oyster industry, a crab cannery, 3 shingle mills, and another 8 shingle mills surrounded Blaine. Freight trains traversed the waterfront. The bay held cargo ships, steamers, schooners, and a ferry that ran between Blaine and the Spit, as well as a small fishing fleet.
G Street		X	X	John and Lucretia Cain left Dakota in 1871 for Semiahmoo after former neighbors, the Kingleys and Dexters, had settled. They came by rail from Dakota to San Francisco, and then by steamer to Portland, OR. The family camped while one son went on foot to Olympia to get two teams to bring the family from Portland to Olympia. They then traveled by boat to Seattle, Whatcom, then Semiahmoo from May 24-July 1. The Cain homestead became much off Blaine. In 1884 they platted their homestead and helped construct the first road to Whatcom. In 1889 they built a large story hotel, for employees of their shingle mill. By 1890, they owned the general store, a wharf and dock, interests in other buildings. James Cain was Blaine's first mayor, first postmaster, and first notary public. In 1885 they started the first newspaper. The Cain mansion was built in 1889 and was considered one of the finest residences in Whatcom County. The grounds contained an orchard, ranch, bandstand, and a park like setting where many local events were held.
240 G		X	X	1902-Home of Star K. Rounds and his family in 1906. He was the Secretary and Treasurer of the H.L. Jenkins Lumber Co., the principal mill in Blaine employing 350 men. In 1906, it cut 100,000,000 ft. of lumber, and twice as many shingles. The company had offices in Blaine, Seattle, Vancouver, Douglas BC, Miriam Park MN, San Diego, San Francisco, New York City, Shanghai, and Hong Kong.
638 Peace Portal		X	X	Home of the Farmers Mutual Telephone Co., incorporated in 1905. Each operator had two large position switch boards that lit up when a call came in. They also blew the town's fire siren when anyone reported a fire, often resulting in their board becoming jammed with callers.
648 Peace Portal		X	X	Site of Wolten and Montfort store, which sold furniture, groceries, hardware, crockery, and farm tools.
633 Peace Portal			X	Former site of Red Front Clothing and Shoe Store, which remained opened at various locations until 1968. Before WWI, it was opened M-F 8a-9p, and Sat. from 8a-12a. During WWI, the hours changed from 8a-5:30p to save electricity, and it never returned to its longer hours.

658 Peace Portal		X		1902-Home of A.B. Barrett's Ideal Shoe Store. Good footwear was essential before the advent of the car. Settlers worked in labor intensive jobs, cleared land, tended gardens, cared for livestock, harvested orchards, built homes; walked to dances, Downtown, the theater, church, school, homes of friends. In 1908, about 5 families in Blaine owned cars.
669 Peace Portal		X	X	O.P. Carver, Postmaster at Semiahmoo, petitioned the US Lighthouse Board in Washington, DC for a lighthouse in 1897 and 1900. From 1899-1900 352 vessels cleared Blaine for foreign ports and 330 entered from foreign ports. In 1905, the lighthouse was completed. In 1908, Blaine was Washington's 3rd largest port of entry, second only to Seattle and Tacoma. The lighthouse stood until 1944.
674 Peace Portal		X		1909-Owned by Clark T Goff, who owned many store fronts in Blaine consolidated into one locations, Goff's, which is still owned and run by the Goff family and they still use the 1909 cash register. It is the longest continuously operated business in Blaine.
677 Peace Portal				1892-Previously home to Blaine Café
684 Peace Portal		X		1899-Built as the State Bank of Blaine. In 1909, it boasted a capital and surplus of \$28,000. The bank's principal business involved lending money to mills.
685 Peace Portal				Previous site of City of Paris Dry Goods Store. Offered many fancy items, including the 'Dowager Corset for stout women'.
H Street Parklet			X	The Blaine Juvenile Band was organized in 1917; the City built them a bandstand here. They gave concerts dressed in purple and white, the colors of their sponsor, the Elks Lodge.
715 Peace Portal		X	X	1909-Managed and later owned/operated by Reinholdt Oertel as Oertel's Market. The Oertels raised livestock and their ranch near Birch Point and prepared meat for their store in their slaughter house at Dakota Creek near Shipyard Rd. People phoned in their meat and grocery orders and the Oertel's delivered them all around Blaine and Birch Bay.
738 Peace Portal				Site of W.L. Fox's Drug Store. It remained the site of various drug stores until 1994.
245 H			X	1900s-Site of a boarding house. 1925-building was built to house the Blaine Journal. It had first been published in 1885, the second newspaper in Whatcom County. In 1906, the Journal was published each Friday and a year's subscription cost \$1.50.
344 H		X		Blaine Fire Department-In the early days, bucket brigades were used. In 1892, Blaine purchased 1,000 ft. of 2 1/2-inch hose, two brass nozzles, and two hose carts. In 1895, hand-hauled chemical tanks on two wheeled carts were introduced. The present fire department was organized in 1904. That same year, a masquerade ball was held at Loomis Hall to raise money for equipment. The firefighter's ball is still an important annual event in Blaine.
384 H	X	X		Arthur Seely invented a can washing machine and a weighing machine for use in canneries. In 1906 he started a factory at this location and invented a lacquering machine that would paint the inside of cans to prevent rust. The machine was popular as it was quick, neat, required less labor, and reduced the risk of fire. It was reported to have been used by nearly every salmon cannery. Children as young as 10 worked in the canneries, filling and labelling cans.
399 H			X	The Methodist Episcopal Church was organized in the Kingsley home in 1871. In 1878, a church was built on California Creek, and eventually was moved to this location. In burned down in 1903 and another church was built in 1904. Glass windows commemorated early settlers. The church was renovated in 1948, but burned down in 1993.

604 H	X			Father J.B. Boulet built Saint Anne Church in 1905. Before this, mass was held in Loomis Hall. Boulet was a Quebec teacher who came to Washington Territory to work with the Indian populations. In 1889 he was assigned to Whatcom and looked after 2 churches and 18 missions. The Blaine mission was founded in 1896. Boulet had been a writer and a publisher and used the income to build several Indian churches in Puget Sound. He spoke Chinook, Skagit, and Klickitat, was loved and respected.
1590 H				A 40-acre tract of land was purchased by the city for a park.
636 6th	X			1912-Became the home of the Botta family, owners of Indiana House, a rooming house for working men. Mr. Botta made loans and Mrs. Botta interpreted for customs and immigration as she spoke 3 languages. She was born in Italy, went to France to work as a nanny, and came to the US where she learned English. She could also interpret Portuguese.
610 G				1909-Home of John W. Sheets, who acquired the Blaine Journal and Blaine Press, consolidating them into one newspaper. He served as mayor and editor of the Journal.
590 G		X		Home of William Bond, a Customs Officer. In 1914, 7 men comprised the customs staff. One officer lived on permanent detail, later it was changed to a live-in shift that rotated every 30 days.
508 G			X	Previously home of the First Baptist Church, now the Northwest Community Church. Built in 1891, the spire was the tallest structure in town.
492 G				1904-Home of Otto B. Rasmussen, a Swedish immigrant, and his wife Mary Marguerite Montfort. He was partner in the Red Front Clothing and Shoe Store.
486 G				1907-Home of Andrew Danielson, a clerk at Wolten's store. He operated his own grocery store for many years before starting his own real estate firm. In 1922, he was elected to the Washington Assembly.
509 F		X		1903-Home of Louis and Alice Montfort. He owned a livery stable and provided free access to an artesian well on their property, which was important during times of water shortages. They sold feed, seed, and ice; plowed fields; kept horses and rented carriages.
508 F		X		1892-Built by George Westcott as his family home. He served as police judge, who decided if an offender would go to jail or pay a fine, held court, and performed marriages.
526 F				1912-Home of Walter and Maize Whitcomb and later Joe Magnusson, owners of a dry goods store.
590 F		X	X	1900-Home of French-speaking Baydette family. Mr. Baydette was an immigration officer and inspected on the train from White Rock to Blaine. He also spent time at 'the dog house', a small immigration building that housed the inspector, a desk, and a chair. In this time, the border crossing closed at midnight, along with all government offices, and people waited to cross the line until it reopened in the morning.
481 F				1904-Built for Capt. Abraham Richard Montfort, an Irish immigrant. He was commissioned an ensign by Queen Victoria in 1857, then promoted to captain in 1866. He left the army after serving with the Tenth Light Infantry in India. He and his family arrived in Blaine in 1903. Several of their sons became local business owners.
492 F			X	1903-Home of German immigrants L.W. Gundlach and his wife. Mr. Gundlach was the founder and president of the Bank of Blaine. Later it was the home of Charles and Edith Loomis. Edith was adored by neighborhood children because she let them play in the house, specifically a large walk in closet with its own window, and the 3rd floor where they could see the whole town. She let them sample candy she made for her husband's store. They are now interned in one of the two vaults at the Blaine Cemetery.
462 F			X	George A. Ellsperman came to Blaine in 1888, and was appointed Deputy Collection of Customs in charge of the Port of Blaine in 1894 and 1905. He assisted Samuel Hill in the construction of the Peace Arch monument.
410 F				1902-Home of George and Louise Montfort. He was the city attorney for 16 years, owned the Blaine Journal, and served as postmaster in the 1920s and 1930s.

415 F			X	1902-Served as the home of Guy Jennison for many years, who owned a jewelry store and watch repair shop.
400 F			X	1899-Home of C.B. Hovey, owner of a hardware store with his son. Later owned by a customs broker and the owner of the Ivan-L Theater.
414 4th				1912-Home of Harry Landeck. He started the Blaine Juvenile Band in 1917. Later home of Pete Barbeau, longtime caregiver of the gardens at Peace Arch State Park.
E & 4th		X		The Metropolitan Opera House was once housed on this corner, which had a live opera. Performances were given by artists who stopped in Blaine while traveling by train to Vancouver, BC. It was owned by the Cain family, who ran a store on the first floor. It was destroyed by a fire in 1930.
E Street & I-5				The Blaine Foundry and Machine Co. was incorporated in 1909. Previously work had to be sent to Bellingham, Seattle, other coast cities, which was expensive. Now it is the site of I-5.
220 C				1910-Built for Robert Morrison, manager of Blaine's Morrison Lumber Mill, which employed 100 men. By 1914, it occupied 15 acres of tidelands with a daily capacity of 60,000 ft. of lumber. Products were shipped to Alaska, India, and Asia. Later, it was the home of the Goffs. Originally the home was on E Street, but was moved to this location when I-5 was constructed.
223 B				1905-Home of Mr. and Mrs. Howard Muncy. He was foreman at the APA and the proud owner of the first cement sidewalk in Blaine until it was cracked by aftershocks from the 1906 San Francisco earthquake.
159 B				1890s-Home of William and Harrit Willihan. He was a customs inspector.
101 1st		X	X	Dr. G.D. DeMent came to Blaine in the 1880s and was the first doctor in Blaine. He was given one block square as payment for helping the Cains survey their homestead. This home sits on the last 5 lots of the DeMent land grant. The original home was burnt down by bootleggers in 1934. Several homes fell victim to this practice during Prohibition as bootleggers would use the fire to divert attention from their smuggling operations.
A & 2nd		X		A.L. and Mary Pickett came to Blaine in 1889. He worked as a knee-bolter in the shingle mills until he got cedar poisoning. Later, he oversaw piling lumber with horses in the seasoning yard at Morrison Mill.
Peace Arch		X	X	Stands on the boundary line between US and Canada. It was built in 1920 and 1921 to commemorate 100 years of Peace between the countries since the War of 1812. Photo shows the arch, the Leonard Hotel, and several mills on the waterfront. The park was started on the US side \$1,200 in donations from school children across Washington State. It was called Samuel Hill Memorial Park in honor of the man who had the idea for the Peace Arch and President of the Pacific Highway Association. He was a road and railroad builder, a millionaire, and a Seattle Quaker.

Table 17: Narrative Text Analysis of Blaine's Historic Homes and Churches: Boblett Homestead				
Stop	M	S	E	Description
810 Peace Portal			X	1903-Original counterweight elevator still in back. 'Horseshoes' sign at base of elevator indicates they were sold here at the turn of the century.
758 Peace Portal		X	X	1890-Home of Hotel Blaine originally here, destroyed in fire in 1939. Originally owned by a sawmill owner/logger.
766 Peace Portal		X	X	1909-site of a tonsorial parlor with modern bathrooms. Discusses how people in early 1900s got water before sewer lines.
253 Martin		X		Originally a blacksmith shop.
250 Martin		X	X	1909-Blaine Theater in 1909. Discusses that the theater was not just for movies, but other forms of entertainment for the community.
288 Martin			X	1903-Charles Loomis-councilman in 1892-owned Loomis' store/Loomis Hall which had dances, graduation ceremonies, basketball games before the high school had a gym.
815 3rd				1909-Originally dry goods store.
315 Martin				1909-Originally furniture and household store.
288 Clark		X	X	1909-In 1886 Rufus A. Wilson came to Blaine, his family a month after him. Came by rail via South Dakota to New Westminster, and then by stagecoach to Blaine. He became Town Marshall, later superintendent of APA.
265 Clark				1890-Residence of Claude Earl 'Bud' Wilson. He formed partnership with other locals to create a large hardware/grocery store.
253 Clark		X		Home of A.H. Wilson, resident of Bellingham, then Blaine. Owner of a grocery store and President of the Civic League of Blaine which focused on 'creating healthy sentiment on all public moral questions'.
320 Clark				1908-Home of O.K. Middleton, director and cashier at Home State Bank
323 Clark	X	X	X	1892-In 1880 German immigrant family arrived from Potsdam, MN. Son recalls walking to Bellingham and back to do buying for their family store, 'a long lonesome old walk'.
340 Clark		X		Home of George and Evelyn DeWitt Clinton Pruner. He edited the Blaine Journal newspaper and was Postmaster. She taught school for \$30/month, including lighting fires in the morning and doing janitorial work. He was the child of Welsh/Irish immigrant who fought at Gettysburg. She was descended from Nathan Hale.
352 Clark		X		1900-Home of widow Catherine Kingsley. She was President of the Women's Christian Temperance Union.
353 Clark		X	X	1892-Home of Mr. Carver, last Postmaster when the Post Office was on Semiahmoo Spit--improvement from rowing 25 miles to Whatcom for mail and provisions; where you risked being stuck indefinitely if the weather was bad.
363 Clark		X	X	1892-Home of members of the Perley family who built large shingle mill on Miller's Wharf. Discusses early vehicle driving as a dangerous sport. Flats were very common, and one had to take passengers to help dig out sunk cars.
364 Clark		X	X	1908-home of Jim & Hazel Scott. He owned transfer business, moving things using horses-including houses.
376 Clark				1912-1930s-Home of Roy and Marjorie Barrett. Roy had been a baseball player for UW and the Seattle Rainiers. He wanted to buy a drug store, but didn't have the funds. Another baseball player friend sent money, which the Barrets paid off by working together in the store.
388 Clark				1905-Home of W.H. Smith, carpenter. Later a United Church of Christ.
854 4th		X		Originally a rooming house called Missouri house. Discusses men living in tents and rooming homes when moving out West.

866 4th		x		1912-Jim Willison's home, a shingle mill worker and later City Treasurer.
876 4th				1912-Lists history of home ownership.
885 4th		x	x	1910-Site became new location of the Congregational Church. Reverend Oliver Perry Avery founded Blaine's Boy Scouts, possibly one of the first troops in America. The original log church is now at Pioneer Park in Ferndale, and is depicted in the current church's stained glass windows. The original 600 lb. bell from Cincinnati, Ohio is displayed inside.
936 4th				1904-Home of Gordon and Alta McElmon. He worked as a hardware store clerk.
939 Harrison				1902-Home of Mr. and Mrs. Clinton Mosher, a local business owner.
895 Harrison			x	1903-William Frank and Minnie Kaylor home. He was a carpenter, she rented rooms and cooked meals for local teachers who boarded there.
869 Harrison				1982-Became the home of F.W. and Ellen Agee when they arrived in 1910. He owned a clothing and shoe store.
841 Harrison				Home of Bert and Helen Van Luven. Bert came to Blaine in 1886 and contributed to the book 'Pioneers of Peace', written in 1959.
491 Martin	x	x		Site of a grocery store owned by Magnus Thodarson, an Icelandic immigrant by way of Manitoba. Blaine's harbor and fishing reminded him of Iceland. Worked in the mills, woods, and other stores before purchasing his store. He often extended credit to poor customers, even during the Depression.
878 Harrison				1907-Home of Mr. Eaton, a carpenter and cabinet maker who built the house.
884 Harrison	x			1902-Home of Al and Ella White. His mother was an English widow and a pen pal of a Birch Bay resident and German immigrant, Charles Vogt, who she later married. They had a homestead that Vogt descendants still live on or near.
892 Harrison		x	x	Home of Earl Bullock, who came to Blaine in 1896. He opened a Photo Gallery in 1897 and worked the tugboat <i>Shamrock II</i> hauling logs to mills in Blaine Harbor. In the summer, he rented rowboats to vacationers in Birch Bay.
895 Blaine		x	x	1903-Mansion of Lester David, owner of Fraser River Mills and Blaine's mayor in 1899. In 1901, he began construction on Blaine's Monarch Mill. By 1906, it grew into the immense plan of the H.L. Jenkins Lumber Co.
959 Blaine		x		1892-Owned by Theo Bisson, the new Superintendent of the Blaine Electric Company. Electricity first came to Blaine two decades earlier in 1890 but service was intermittent for years.
956 Blaine				1892-Became home of Harry and Emma Litton who owned a clothing and shoe store.
976 Blaine			x	1899-Parsonage of the Free Methodist Church. 1890-brick church built between parsonage and 956 Blaine Avenue. After the society disbanded, it was used as a Boy Scout hall, then demolished.
993 Blaine				Lists home ownership. One owner was a mill worker who later owned a tonsorial parlor.
1015-1018 Garfield				1015 was moved from Mitchell to make room for Elementary School. A superintendent of the school lived there at both locations.
1027 Garfield				1890-the Veratt house.
543 Boblett		x	x	1905-Built for the John Nicoll family who bought the Eclipse Shingle Mill. It burned down in 1907 but rebuilt in 6 weeks due to 'round-the-clock' builders. The original carriage house is still out front.
965 Harrison	x	x	x	1910-Home of Bill Runge, born in Blaine in 1884, 4 months after his parents arrived at Semiahmoo Spit via steamship. Family settled at Drayton Harbor, living in an old barn. Kids learned to read by reading newspapers that lined the walls. The property was logged in 1888. Family planted an orchard with over 100 trees. Chief Semiahmoo frequently came to trade fish for apples and meat.
977 Harrison				1899-Home of Reverend William L. Dawson and his wife, a Union Veteran, Mayor in 1907. Blaine schools closed for a day of mourning when he passed.



1033 Harrison		X		1890-Home of Mary Drake and daughter Daisy. They came from Missouri when Mary's husband died. Daisy worked for Blaine Water Company, was a good cook and a creative artist. Her sister, Rose, married R.H. Smith, who could translate Indian language and told good 'yarns'.
495 Boblett		X		1905-Augustus Allen and Sarah Hawkins Jenkins' home. In 1920s it was bought by Doc Lampman, who had a horseshoe court and homemade bleachers in the backyard. Marriages were performed inside by James Leroy Bilou, Police Judge and Justice of the Peace. The Bilous used the yard for concerts.
1013 4th				1902-House was originally smaller and at another location. Moved and expanded, but original roof line is still visible.
382 Boblett		X		1889-Christ Episcopal Church services were held in member's homes. 1904-small wooden church with leaded glass from Czechoslovakia was built, with a baptismal font donated by Blaine women's group 'The Willing Workers'.
358 Boblett				1909-Built by W.H. Smith for William Jackson Gillespie who came to Blaine in 1888 and established the first real estate office, supplied notary, collection, insurance, and customs brokerage.
340 Boblett			X	1918-Built for Mrs. Frankie Hunter. Husband Fred had been killed in a logging accident. She was bookkeeper for Erie Shingle Mill, and later was City Clerk.
328 Boblett		X		1923-Frank and Sadie Fox home. He owned Campbell River Lumber Co. that logged on Vancouver Island.
317 Boblett		X		1908-Built for Harold Hunter, partner in Erie Shingle Mill and owner of Campbell River Lumber Co. Later home to a veteran city councilman.
314 Boblett		X	X	1925-Built for Harold Merrill, manager of a cooperative shingle mill. Manufacturing cedar shingles and processing lumber was a backbone of development. During the Panic of 1893, some of Blaine's mills were run on a cooperative basis. It was one of the few sources of work and shingle script was used as currency.
287 Boblett		X	X	Built between 1902 and 1907 for Jared Ware Hunter, owner of Erie Shingle Mill which began operation in 1900. By 1906, it was Blaine's second largest shingle mill, cutting 250,000 red cedar shingles every 10 hours. Hunter family also owned logging interests in Canada. Thomas Alton Hunter lived here with his wife Dora. He later became a State Senator.
265 Boblett		X		1899-Home of J.L. Smiley, owner of J.L. Cannery in Blaine that packed 16,060 cases of salmon in 1908. Later owned by nurse/midwife that ran a care facility.
250 Boblett				1900-Home of J.S. Crilly, general manager of Blaine Water Co.
976 Peace Portal				1905-Typical Victorian mansion, owned by various residents.
948 Peace Portal		X	X	1905-Drayton Harbor Oyster Co. planted seven carloads of seed oysters from CT on 20 acres of tideland on the south side of the bay. Rail charges cost \$5,300. Oyster's growth rate was phenomenal due to the unusually high water temperature created by the tide flats. Ten more carloads were planted the next spring. Harvesting was done by the Drayton, the only oyster dredge on the coast.
936 Peace Portal				Built in early 1920s for Mr. Johnson, President of Home State Bank from 1927 to 1932. Bank went broke in 1932, depositors lost 90%.
908 Peace Portal				1908-Christian Science students began holding services in home of M.L. Snider. In 1925, First Church of Christ, Scientist built here.
900 Peace Portal		X	X	Ed Holtzheimer arrived at Semiahmoo in 1870. 1906-wrote an article, 'Early History of California Creek' for the Blaine Journal describing early settler life. He helped get the Post Office established at the Spit in 1872. A little steamer, <i>Phantom</i> , made weekly trips from Port Townsend by way of the islands, and the day which the mail was due became a holiday to settlers. Every business and work was dismissed and postponed.
862 Peace Portal	X		X3	Site of the International Order of the Odd Fellows Hall in 1890. Women's Deborah Rebekah Lodge instituted in 1892.

830 Peace Portal				1899-1902-A.H. Wilson and Co. grocery store built here.
816 Peace Portal			X	1907-Location of the Ivan-L Theater.

Table 18: Narrative Text Analysis of Blaine's Historic Homes and Churches: Miller and Kingsley Homestead				
Stop	M	S	E	Description
1016 Peace Portal			X	1901-Built as a rooming house for the Boatman family. The roof and porch indicate their Southern Roots.
311 Cherry				1905-Became the home of Jake Meyers, Director of US Customs in Blaine, and his wife Selma, a schoolteacher. Many of the home's original features have been preserved.
276 Cherry		X	X	1902-Home of Emmet and Maude Pendleton. Emmet purchased lumber from small horse logging camps and sold it to larger companies, and arranged transport by rail to large ports. Enough lumber went out of Blaine to rebuild all of San Francisco after the 1906 earthquake.
347 Cherry	X	X		1902-Home of Ella Simonson, an employee at a department store. She was known for playing poker with the men--was also known for being knowledgeable of the stock at the store, and always knew how much material a pattern would need.
1127 4th				1907-Home of a local reverend.
1082 4th			X	The first 3 families to arrive in Semiahmoo in 1870 were the Bobletts, the Richards, and Eliza Dexter. They were brought by steamer, swam their cattle ashore, and used rowboats for themselves. At first they all shared an abandoned house left over from the 1858 boom. They eventually split up--the Bobletts on their claim and the others at Drayton Harbor. By the 1890s, another boom hit and 1,700 tents were pitched around Blaine. The Bobletts sold some of their property and went to Victoria so they wouldn't be tempted to sell more. The boom ended, and Mr. Boblett returned money to some of the buyers that were left destitute. The house on the site was built later.
1083 Harrison		X	X	1909-Home of George S. Shaw, a relative of George Bernard Shaw. Sold real estate, represented 12 insurance companies, and sold steamer tickets to Europe. \$250 cash bought a small house on 6 cleared and fenced lots with a woodshed and a chicken coop, \$4,000 bought a 40-acre farm with a house, horse and buggy, barn, outhouses, orchard, farm machinery, and livestock, \$1,800 bought a fine residence in Blaine with a small fruit orchard, \$700 acquired 8 lots in Block 11 of Cain's First Addition.
1090 Harrison			X	1897-Home of Cpt. Isaac and Mary Scott. He was a Civil War veteran and worked for the Assessor's Office.
581 Cherry				In 1909-Home of Arthur Allen who owned the Crystal Theater and the Blaine Photographic Studio.
1112 Harrison				1912-Full Gospel Church started. Worshipped according to the book of Acts, who worshipped here starting in 1944.
1167 Harrison	X	X	X	1916-Home of John and Christine Stephenson, Icelandic immigrants. They owned a corner store in part of the home.
1191 Harrison		X	X	Home of the Hamleys, English immigrants. Came to NY in 1872, settled in Kansas. In 1882, came out West to San Francisco, and boarded a steamer to Seattle. Landed at Semiahmoo in 1883, rowed across Drayton Harbor in a dugout canoe and were pulled ashore by an ox. 'Like all early settlers, the Hamleys were aware that the long, difficult journey to Washington State meant a long lifetime of living here.'
1218 Harrison				1929-Free Church Unitarian completed by Icelandic immigrant volunteers under Reverend Albert Kristjansson.
Salishan Park		X	X	During the 1890 boom, residents voted \$40,000 in bonds for school buildings. In 1891, two brick grade schools were built. 1914-PTA developed to the 'close cooperation of parents and teachers in the informed understanding and promotion of the mental, spiritual, and physical welfare of children.'
1322 Blaine				Was once the parsonage of the Methodist Episcopal Church.
655 Adelia		X		1902-Home of Andrew Buckner and his wife Nettie Mae Boswell. She had raised her five siblings since her early 20s when both of her parents passed away.

733 Adelia		X		1920-Owned by Lee Cornish, a brick mason. His sister Nellie taught in Blaine schools in 1897 without compensation because tax funds were unavailable due to legal complications. The schools carried on by way of private subscription and money earned from plays given by citizens. In 19114 Nellie founded the Cornish School of Fine Arts in Seattle, serving as director until she retired.
1482 Blaine		X		1923-Home of Matt Steffern, who, at the age of 17, delivered for a store in town using a team of horses. It was hard going on the mud roads, sticky with blue clay. Many teamsters carried a block and tackle to pull themselves out. He later worked at the City of Blaine's Street and Water Superintendent.
Harrison & Adelia		X	X	Previously was the site of Byron Kinglsey's home which looked out over the bay. It was a Victorian furnished with lumber brought around the Horn of Africa. He had arrived in Drayton Harbor at the age of 15 in 1871 by steamer, which carried his family and their possession for \$70 from Seattle. They arrived with 7 other families, and he would later marry a daughter from one of the other families. He was integral in the construction of Kingsley Wharf, establishing Lincoln Park, and forming the First National Bank of Blaine. He later served as the Chief of Police.
1395 Harrison		X		Edward J Rohrbacher came to Blaine in 1886 and opened Rohrbacher Iron Works, which served bicycles and later, vehicles. He was one of the first men in the County to own a car, and in 1907 invented and patented an air pump that could be attached to the frame of any vehicle. By 1909 he's perfected an automatic electric switch, a tire connection and belt shifter, and 5 different models of pumps.
1340 Harrison		X		1909-Built for Albert Still and his family. During the Depression, it was bought on contract by a local postal worker. His wages were reduced and he was forced to give up the house. When times became less lean, his contract was reinstated on the house and he could purchase the home.
1318 Harrison				1919-Home built for Albert Still, who later became Vice President of the Bank and later president.
1333 Harrison			X	1906-Built for George A, Willison and his family. He founded the Home State Bank.
1283 Harrison		X	X	1903-Built for Capt. R.W. Ridings and his wife, Sadie. He taught music, was Justice of the Peace in 1904, and then Police Judge. In 1909, he had a lumber and shingle brokerage business in the Home State Bank building.
1274 Harrison		X		1905-Was later purchased by the Durgin family. Mr. Durgin had been the lighthouse keeper on Patos Island, and transferred to Blaine Lighthouse so his 13 children could attend school. His daughter, Lou Glidden, wrote 'The Light on the Island' about their time on Patos.
1242 Harrison		X		1922-Was later the home of Richard and Vera Oertel. Vera's grandparents were German immigrants who came to the US in 1849. Vera remembered her mother heating up irons on the stove to press clothing and her father walking many miles with his friends to play music for dances as far away as New Westminster.
1218 4th		X	X	1890-Built by Robert and Alice Gilday. He was a partner in the local stable, which sold hay, feed, grain, flour, coal, wood, provided livery and team work. The Victorian façade, picket fence, and wooden sidewalks indicate that Blaine was thriving under the fisheries, single and lumber mills, and farm community. It had 6 miles of plank roads and sidewalks by 1897.
1147 4th		X		Barney Schlader farmed and logged an area around Dakota Creek when he arrived in Blaine with his family in 1893. He bought the three lots on which this home sites in 1901 for \$150. The home was built in 1902.
1215 4th		X	X	1902-Built for the Witherow family. A son was killed in a cannery accident-the steam was not completely down on the retort, and when the door was unlocked it blew open and killed him. There were many accidents at the canneries, mills, logging camps, and at sea in the labor-intensive industries at the turn of the century.
318 Cedar			X	1931-Built for Walter Schauer, a customs officer, and his wife, Ella.
1200 Peace Portal				1920-Home of the Hamptons. He managers a furnishings store; later owned by a Pool Hall owner.

Peace Portal Viewpoint	X	X	X	The first salmon cannery in Whatcom County was built on Semiahmoo Spit in 1881; it operated for 10 years and had a daily pack of 9,600 cans. In 1891 it was sold to Daniel Drysdale who formed the Alaska Packers Association. In 1893, Drysdale established the first fish trap at Point Roberts and packed 36,244 cases of sockeye. By 1903, APA built a complex on the Spit that included the cannery, two warehouses, separate bunkhouses for Chinese, Indian, and white laborers, women's dormitories, two dining halls, a mechanic's bunkhouse, two reservoirs, and a two-story office. In 1906 the APA was the largest salmon cannery in the world. They have facilities at Point Roberts, Anacortes, and several in Alaska.
1238 Peace Portal		X	X	Charles Wilkinson, the bookkeeper of the APA, and later manager, went to live in a large white home owned by the company on the Spit. It was near the main office. There were 150 fish traps in the early 1900s that caught 40,000 to 70,000 fish at a time, but they were voted out in 1935. The APA stopped buying fish in Blaine, canned fish in Alaska, and shipped the cans to Blaine for labelling. He was the last manager of the APA and retired to this location in the 1950s.
1170 Peace Portal				1907-Home of the Gardner family. It is believed Mr. Gardner owned one of 7 bars located in Blaine in 1906. Later home of blacksmith George Shay, who served on the Town Council, was a police officer, and became a state prison official. His wife, Minnie Ellen, was a dressmaker.
1150 Peace Portal		X	X	Dave S. Miller came to Semiahmoo in 1870 and homestead land near the bay. In the early 1880s Ed Boblett, Byron Kinglsey and he platted 'Drayton on Drayton Harbor', which became incorporated into the town of Blaine in 1884 along with the town sites of Concord and Boblett. In 1890p he obtained a contract to grade Cherry Street and install sidewalks. In 1893 he was mayor. Miller's Wharf, which extended into Drayton Harbor from the base of Cherry Street, supported the cannery and two single mills and was the home of the city's light plant in 1898. He also owned a department store. He built a mansion at this site in 1890.
1116 Peace Portal	X	X	X	Legend has it that Semiahmoo Indians built a stockade here to protect from raids from Haida Indians. One day several Haida canoes landed on California Creek to raid the stockade. The Semiahmoos learned of the plan from an Indian coming back from hunting elk at Lake Terrell. They set up an ambush and attacked the Haidas. The home here was built in 1932 for Charles and Mabel Oertel, the bookkeeper for Oertel's Market.

Table 19: Narrative Text Analysis of Downtown Renaissance Network Historic Walking Tour: Downtown Bellingham, Washington				
Photos/Stop	M	S	E	Description
Intro		X	X	Downtown Bellingham has boomed and busts over the years. Today it is part of a nationwide effort to transform city center back into economic, cultural, and civic hearts of the community. Bellingham is consolidated from several smaller towns. The areas one had three Downtown business areas: Whatcom (Old Town), Sehome (State Street) and Fairhaven (Harris Avenue). When Whatcom and Sehome combined in the early 1890s, members of the business districts compromised and agreed to develop in the area between the two original towns, forming today's Downtown. By 1904, Fairhaven joined the mix and much of Fairhaven's business left and came Downtown. It grew for 50 years, then in the 1950s, food markets moved away from Downtown. In the 1960s, large discount stores opened near I-5, and in 1988, Bellis Fair mall opened. The mall drew stores away from Downtown. Today, it is growing as a business, cultural, and civic center. In the early days, a short walk Downtown led to the train station and steamship dock. Everything was Downtown: food stores, theaters, restaurants, saloons, post office, hotels, YMCA, department stores, city hall, the library, and churches. The advent of the car led to dealerships and service stations to open. It was the core of retail, cultural, political life.
Barnum Bailey Circus				Parade on Holly Street in 1908
Bellingham Public Market		X		Ca. 1920. Established in 1916 by William Vines and housed independent vendors. Suburban shopping centers, starting in the late 1950s, slowly shifted grocery shopping away from Downtown.
Charlie Chaplin Look Alike Contest, 1921				Held a Charlie Chaplin look-alike contest at the Liberty Theater in 1921. The former Liberty Theater was replaced by a parking garage in 1969.
Montague-McHugh				Photo from 1927. Designed by John Graham, Sr. Known as the 114 Building for many years, it was the Bon Marche from 1957 until 1988. Today it is known as Crown Plaza.
Horseshoe Café				A Downtown landmark, established in its current location by Jack Kahn and Julian Berenstein. Photo from 1958.
The Luther Bldg.				Named for Thomas Luther, who financed construction of the building in 1912. Its cornice ornamentation was lost in later remodels.
The Leopold Hotel, 1930				Named for owner Leopold F. Schmidt, former brewery magnate. The hotel was managed by his business partner Henry Schupp.
Tulip Festival				Whatcom High School's float in the Tulip Festival parade in 1927.
Red Front Bldg.				Built in 1900 for Samuel Altshuler's men's clothing store.
Barlow Building		X		The Crown Bar was here before Prohibition. The façade was recently restored for Cliff Barlow's Leather Goods in 1925 by local contractor Jim Macy. The Northwest Hardware Building, now Bellingham Hardware Apartments, was built in 1909.
The Lighthouse Block, 1925		X		Faced with Chuckanut sandstone and had a large ornamental clock tower, it was home to the First National Bank of Bellingham for several decades before being torn down in 1959.
American Theater, 1942		X		Originally Beck's Theater, it was an opulent stage theater converted into Bellingham's largest movie palace. It was torn down in 1959 to make way for department stores.
Cornwall Ave		X		The area between Holly and Magnolia was known as department store row, as seen in this photo from 1947.

Trolley, 1914		x		Streetcars linked neighborhoods to Downtown.
Clover Building				Ca. 1928
Wahl's, 1956				The ladies' clothing store starting by J.B. Wahl in 1904 was a hometown favorite. It occupied the J.J. Donovan Building at 1025 W. Holly, which was torn down in 1974 to make way for a drive-through bank.
J.C. Penney's				Replaced the American Theater in 1960 and left when Bellis Fair mall opened.
Federal Building, 1920s	x			Hugh Eldridge, Bellingham's postmaster, insisted architect James Knox Taylor's design include sidewalk-level access for the elderly and handicapped, an innovative feature for a government building built in 1913.
Beck's Theater 1903		x	x	Held over 2,000 people and was billed as one of the largest theaters on the West Coast. Built by a German immigrant Jacob 'Jake' Beck, who had built the Pacific House in 1884, a hotel and saloon. Also, brewed 'Whatcom Beer' using water from Chinook Creek. In 1889, he built the Grand View Hotel (E Holly & Dock (now Cornwall)), featuring the county's largest saloon. By the early 1900s, Beck owned most of the east side of Dock Street between Holly and Magnolia. City Council urged him to build an opera house. Hoping to leave a legacy, he mortgaged everything he had to finance its construction. It was 3 stories, and next to the Grand View, with a Louis XIV interior and two balconies. Costing \$150,000, it opened in 1902. Though well attended, it was in financial trouble. Production companies received most of the door, and he was forced to subsidize operations with hotel and liquor business. When prohibition came in 1910, he was sunk. The Bellingham National Bank restructured his debt, saving the theater, but the stress led to ill health and he died in 1914. The theater was renamed the American Theater and started showing movies. It was torn down in 1959 and replaced by J.C. Penney and Woolworth's stores in 1960.

**Table 20: Narrative Text Analysis of Downtown Renaissance Network Historic Walking Tour:  
Old Town Bellingham, Washington**

Photos/Stop	M	S	E	Description
Intro	x	x	x	The area now called Old Town was the original town of Whatcom, one of four communities that came together to form Bellingham. Whatcom was the first settled. Few structures from the early settlement period survive. However, geological features including the creek, waterfall, shoreline bluff and several historic buildings within walking distance of each other provide a sense of place where the first Euro-Americans came. When the settlers arrived 150 years ago, everywhere on the bluff north of Holly Street was thick forest and high tide came up to the bottom of the bluff. The Bay was much bigger than it is now. The first settlers came for trees, building a small sawmill at the mouth of Whatcom Creek. They picked the site because of the waterfall which would power the wheel that ran the mill. Salt water provided a transportation route to move the lumber. The Lummi Indians has used the location as a seasonal gathering camp. The first settlers built homes, then small businesses near the mill. When the US Army built Fort Bellingham in 1856 the captain in charge built his home here, too. The 1858 Fraser River Gold Rush grew the population of Whatcom from 100 to several thousand, many living in tents on the beach. One small brick building remains from the 1858 Gold Rush days, the oldest brick building in Washington State. The history of Old Town reflects the history of change on Bellingham Bay over the last 100 years. The Bay at Whatcom was mud flats, with shallow water. Long docks were built to reach deep water; eventually deep waterways were dredged out through the sane to provide routes for bigger boats to reach the shore. The mud dredged out was laid on top of mudflats to create more upland on which to build. Much of Old Town today is on an area where the Bay once was. When population increased after 1900, the towns grew together. Whatcom consolidated with Sehome (now the Downtown area) in 1891 and changed its name to New Whatcom. New Whatcom merged with Fairhaven in 1903 and created Bellingham. Business moved into Downtown, and Old Whatcom has been known as Old Town ever since.
Holly Street				Ca. 1890. Looking west down Holly Street in Whatcom.
Depot Bar, 1905				701 Holly Street.
Viaduct Saloon,				Ca. 1905. 533 Holly Street. Photo shows that it served Rainier Beer.
Territorial Courthouse, 1885		x	x	Photo shows viaduct and wharf behind it. The viaduct is now Holly Street. This building is the only remaining building from the Fraser River Gold Rush. During the Gold Rush, locals were commissioned to build a trail north towards the fields; the trail was heavily promoted. It never was completed, and most of the would-be miners left. By the end of the summer, the population had dwindled down to about 100, the same as before the boom. However, the T.G. Richards brick store building was built during the boom, made from bricks that were carried as ballast on one of the ships anchored in the bay. It was the first brick building in Washington State and is one the National Register of Historic Places. It served as the territorial courthouse prior to statehood. When the building was erected, it was right on the beach and the building was two stories tall. Later, the area was filled and what had been the first floor became the basement. The second floor became the first floor with a new door and steps added where a window had once been.
Whatcom, 1890		x		Looking up C Street from Holly Street.
New Whatcom City Hall, 1893				Now home to the Whatcom Museum of History and Art.
Whatcom Creek, 1890		x	x	Mouth of the creek. The Washington Colony Mill is visible on the right. This was also the location of the Roeder Mill, the beginning of Bellingham.



Louvre Lunch Room, 1905				Lunch room and clam chowder at 519 Holly Street.
Whatcom, 1911				Looking west from Holly Street east of C Street.
Whatcom, 1893				Looking west at Holly in the far left and Aston Street.
Citizen's Dock, 1913		x		The steamer <i>Kulshan</i> at Citizen's Dock on the Whatcom Creek Waterway. It was the bay's major passenger steamship terminal.
The Mobile Restaurant, 1908	x			314 Holly Street. The photo appears to show black employees/owners, although it is hard to tell and there is no further information other than the address.
Old Town, 1905		x	x	Old Town from the Whatcom Museum bluff. The Holly Street viaduct connected Old Town with Downtown, spanning the mouth of Whatcom Creek. Many Old Town buildings were built on pilings and fronted onto the viaduct.
Stewart and Lalonde, 1905				309 Holly Street.
Eldridge Cabin, 1853		x	x	Built in 1853 near the mouth of Whatcom Creek and the Roeder Mill. It was one of the first Euro-American homes on Bellingham Bay.
E. Wright Bicycles, 1905				806 Holly Street.
Native American Canoes, 1895	x		x	Canoes on the Bellingham Bay beach. The photo shows the original bay shoreline at today's Maritime Heritage Center Park. The beach was at the bottom of the bluff directly below the Whatcom Museum Building.
Colony Mill, 1900	x	x		Photo of workers at Washington Colony Mill in front of the mill. The mill was built on the site of an earlier mill of 1853.
Bellingham Bay, 1890		x	x	Photo of Bellingham Bay with Whatcom and beyond. At first long wharves stretched out into the bay across shallow water. Later, deep-water waterways were dredged to bring ships to shore.

**Table 21: Narrative Text Analysis of Downtown Renaissance Network Historic Walking Tour:  
Railroad Avenue, Bellingham, Washington**

Photos/Stop	M	S	E	Description
Intro		X	X	<p>The Bellingham Bay and British Columbia Railroad (BB&amp;BC) was established in the 1880s, and by 1910 had expanded the line throughout the county. Its main operations were located on Railroad Avenue, giving the street its name. By 1892 the Railroad built a train station, office, and hotel on the SE section of Railroad and Chestnut, site of the farmer's market today. Tracks were wide as it served as a switching yard. It was the center of commerce and freight. Bellingham's main retail center was one block west on Cornwall and on Holly. By 1900, shops on Railroad included wholesalers, feed and seed stores, construction material distributors, printing press shops, blacksmith shops, and bicycle repair. Some buildings were topped by cheap second story hotels and brothels.</p> <p>In the 1910s, horse drawn freight wagons and drays (vehicles use to haul goods) serviced the railroad and surrounding businesses. Trolley intersected at Holly and Magnolia. In the early days, electric power from Nooksack Falls in the mountains to Bellingham Bay was intermittent, and when it stopped, the trolleys stopped. The streetcar company built an auxiliary steam power plant on York Street at the east end of Railroad to keep the cars moving--it still stands.</p> <p>By the 1920s, Railroad was being transformed by the car. The wide strip became the major parking area for Downtown, and the city's first service station was located here.</p> <p>Through the 1960s it served as an edge-of-town district. When businesses moved away from Downtown, it became the home of small and specialty shops and restaurants. It has always been home to transportation activities. Although Downtown is no longer the sole focus of the city's economy, Railroad is still an incubator for new businesses and long standing landmarks. It is still a transportation hub. Whatcom Transportation Authority has converted a former Northern Pacific railroad depot to the central terminal. Changing times transform the community, and the community transforms Railroad Avenue.</p>
Railroad & Chestnut				Railroad south of Chestnut-Bellingham Bay and British Columbia Railroad Station and Hotel, ca. 1900. The railroad gave the street its name.
World's Tallest Christmas Tree			X	Arrival of the World's tallest Christmas tree, 1949. In the 1940s, Railroad was the center of national attention around Christmas, at a time when civic Christmas celebrations were popular. For several years Railroad was the location of the world's tallest Christmas tree--it was 153 ft. high in 1949, the size of a 15-story building.
Grocery Building		X		Northern Grocery Company building, ca. 1930. The largest of many wholesale warehouses on the street.
Washington Grocery Company				ca. 1905. 1213-1215 Railroad Avenue.
Bellingham Commission Co.				Ca.1905. 1221 Railroad Avenue.
The Famous Shoe House, 1905				ca. 1905. 117 East Holly Street, on the corner of Railroad Avenue and Holly.
Charles Stanbra Bicycles, 1905				ca. 1905. 1315 Railroad Avenue.
John Kastner Blacksmith, 1905				ca. 1905. 1317 Railroad Avenue. Horseshoes are still imbedded in the sidewalk in front.

Train Cars 1920s		x		Train cars, trucks and warehouses south of Chestnut Street in the 1920s.
Imperial Coffee and Spice Co.				205 East Holly Street, just around the corner from Railroad Avenue.
Railway & Light Co.				Whatcom County Railways and Light Company Power Station, ca. 1910. The steam plant generated electricity for Bellingham's streetcars.
Train switching		x		Ca. 1917. Train switching made Railroad Avenue an active and noisy center of Downtown.
Bellingham Gasoline Service Co.				ca. 1920. The first automobile service station in Bellingham, on the corner of Railroad and Magnolia
Montague & McHugh Dry Goods				ca. 1920. 202 East Holly Street, on the corner of Holly Street and Railroad Avenue.
Great Railroad Avenue Water Fight		x	x	A water fight occurred in 1891 during festivities to welcome Canadian dignitaries in the hopes of connecting the Bellingham Bay and British Columbia Railway to the Canadian Pacific Railway. The event went poorly. Several thousand locals turned up for the affair, and over-excitement and drunkenness led the fire brigades, who were on site to create archways of water when the dignitaries arrived to turn the hoses on each other. The train carrying the dignitaries arrived, and they were soaked through the open windows of their train car. Another altercation involving the Canadian flag was witnessed by the dignitaries, causing embarrassment to the city.

Table 22: Narrative Text Analysis of City of Bellingham: Historic Walking Tour: Downtown

Photos/Stop	M	S	E	Description
Old City Hall		X	X	121 Prospect, 1892. Built as the City Hall for New Whatcom after the unification of Whatcom and Sehome. Alfred Lee was chosen as the architect and the Victorian architecture was meant to show civic superiority over rival Fairhaven. Started during a boom, a depression soon occurred. The first council meeting in 1893 was in a building largely unfinished above the first floor and the tower without clockworks. The building served as Bellingham's City Hall when Whatcom and Fairhaven merged until 1939. It has been a museum since 1941.
Bellingham's First People	X	X	X	This photograph was taken in the mid-1890s and shows a native encampment on Whatcom Beach at what is now Maritime Heritage Park. The beach was below Old City Hall and was used as a seasonal fishing camp by the Lummi and Nooksack tribes. After Roeder and Peabody established the Whatcom Mill the area continued to be used by settlers and natives as a trading and fishing center.
Whatcom Creek Lumber Mills		X	X	The first lumber mill on Bellingham Bay, the Whatcom Mill, was built by settlers Capt. Henry Roeder and Russell Peabody in 1853. The men came seeking a waterfall location to supply power to the mill and were led to the location by Lummi Chief Chow'it'sut. The mill was opened sporadically for many years until it was destroyed by a fire in 1873. In 1883 the Washington Colony, a utopian group from Kansas, rebuilt the mill and a mill long wharf was extended out over the bay to accommodate large ships. A section of Colony Wharf exists today at an extension of C Street.
Whatcom Creek		X	X	The name Whatcom comes from the Nooksack work meaning 'place of noisy rumbling waters'. The mouth of the creek was an estuary, but over time its mud flats were filled using all types of waste to create land upon which to build. The creek was later dredged to create deeper access for large ships. By the 1920s it had become an open sewer and served as the city dump until 1953. In the 1970s environmentalists began restoring the creek and the former landfills have been reclaimed as riparian areas and parkland. The sewage treatment plant has been repurposed as a fish hatchery.
Pickett Bridge		X	X	The 60' long concrete arch bridge across Whatcom Creek at Dupont Street is named for Capt. George E. Pickett. In 1856 Pickett was sent by the U.S. Army to build a fort on Bellingham Bay to protect the bay towns against Indian raiders from the north. The current bridge built in 1920 replaced the military bridge that was built in 1857 to connect Fort Steilacoom in south Puget Sound with Fort Bellingham. Its location is near the current bridge. Pickett House, built in 1856 with boards from the Roeder Peabody mill still stands today at 910 Bancroft St.
Lummi Story Pole	X	X	X	Lummi tribal leaders Joseph Hillaire and Herb John carved a story pole in 1852 to commemorate the 100th anniversary of the arrived of Peabody and Roeder on Bellingham Bay and the generous treatment they received from the Lummi. Different from a totem pole, which depicts a tribal or family history, a story pole illustrates a legend of folktale. The story pole illustrates the story of the Lummi people, and the figures represent Chief Chow'it'sut, sub-chief Tsi'li'x, Roeder and Peabody. Originally erected near Whatcom Creek, the pole was moved to its current location at Lottie and Grand.
New City Hall				210 Lottie Street, Built 1939. In 1939 this City Hall replaced the 1892 City Hall. Built under the Works Progress Administration through the New Deal federal relief program, the City Hall is an example of Art Moderne style, closely related to Art Deco.

Downtown Living		X		210 and 214 N. Commercial Street, ca. 1900. In the early 1900s Downtown Bellingham had a mix of residential, commercial and industrial buildings. By the 1920s as housing began to be developed on the outskirts of town along new street car lines, Downtown buildings shifted from wood frame residential houses to masonry business office and commercial buildings.
Gilbert Flats				201 N. Commercial Street, 1906. Today the Avalon Apartments, the Classical Revival style of the Gilbert Flats was one of Downtown's first apartment buildings. These were advertised as the leading fashionable apartment house in the city and the most modern. Features included speaking tubes and electronic buttons that closed the street doors from the second floor.
Bellingham Hotel		X		119 N. Commercial Street, 1929. The Bellingham Hotel (today Bellingham Towers) represents that last and largest structure to be built Downtown before the Depression. The architect, Robert C. Reamer, also designed the Mt. Baker Theater. The Art Deco style skyscraper operated as a hotel from 1930-1973.
Mt. Baker Theater		X		100 N. Commercial Street, 1927. The Spanish-Moorish style theater was developed at the end of the 1920s by the Metropolitan Building Company, and investment syndicate in Seattle that was to create a new metropolitan district in Bellingham. The Mt. Baker Theater was used for both stage performances and film, marking the transition from vaudeville to movie theaters.
Montague and McHugh Dept. Store		X		114 W. Magnolia Street, 1927. Designed in the Beaux Arts style and faced with ornate glazed terra cotta, the building was the first to be developed in the 'Metropolitan District' and was one of the finest department stores. During WWII, it was used as a bomb casing factory and in post-war times it was a Bon Marche.
Red Front Building			X	200 W. Holly Street, 1900. The Romanesque Style Red Front Building was built for Samuel Altshuler's Red Front Clothing Store. The upper floor was operated as the Savoy Hotel from 1915 to the 1960s Engraved in stone above the front column the words 'Canoe Street' indicate the street name before it was changed to Commercial Street.
Streets with Two Names		X	S	In 1889 the Whatcom Creek Estuary was bridged linking Whatcom and Sehome. After the 1904 City of Bellingham consolidation, 106 street names were changed to eliminate duplications that arose during the settlement of the 4 towns. Streets with descriptive names suggesting frontier life were given more generic names common in other cities. Elk became State, Canoe/Sylvan became Commercial, Dock became Cornwall (to honor Pierre Cornwall, an early investor in several Bellingham industries).
The Clover Block			X	201 W. Holly Street, 1902. Designed in the Beaux Arts style in an H-Plan that created two second story light courts and skylights to maximize light to interior rooms. The building is named after the poem 'Four-Leaf Clover' by Ella Higginson, poet laureate of Washington State in 1931. Her poem was inspired by a clover she saw in 1890 while walking in the Old Orchard Tract, today's Orchard Terrace Condominiums at 901 N. Forest Street.
Bellingham National Bank			S	101 E. Holly Street, 1912. The 5 story Chicago style Bellingham National Bank Building was dramatically different from the buildings built during this time. Until the Bellingham Herald was built in 1926, this building was the most prestigious business address, with prominent doctors and lawyers offices on the upper floors.
Leopold Hotel		X		1206 Cornwall Avenue, 1929. This 9 story Mission style hotel was the third to be built in conjunction with two earlier buildings. The 1899 Byron House Hotel was the first built, with a smaller building added to the south in 1913. In 1929 the Leopold Hotel was added and stood side by side for 38 years until the Byron House was demolished in 1967. The Leopold had 150 rooms equipped with radio speakers and modern desk style telephone with hand-held receivers. When Call of the Wild was filmed on Mt. Baker in 1935, 60 members of the cast and crew stayed at the hotel, including Clark Gable and Loretta Young. Other guests included President Taft and Shirley Temple.

Milwaukee Road Freight Station			200 E. Chestnut Street, 1943. The Milwaukee Railroad took over the Bellingham Bay and British Columbia Railway around 1911. The station was built in the 1940s and served until 1980 when it went into bankruptcy. It was repurposed in the 1990s by La Fiamma pizza restaurant.	
Washington Grocery Co. Warehouse		X	1125 Railroad Avenue, 1912. Stephen Glascock built this 3-story building as the Washington Grocery Company headquarters. It was connected to the railway for easy loading. This area was a warehouse district in the 1920s and served many wholesale businesses such as auto garages, machine and boiler shops, light industrial sheds, and lodging houses for workers.	
Former Site of BB&BC Train Depot		X	1100 Railroad Avenue, 1891. The BB&BC train depot once stood on the same block between Chestnut and Maple Streets where the Depot Market now stands. It was built for passenger service and hand freight, which was delivered using a dray (a strong, low cart). In 1892 the railroad company built the BB&BC Hotel next to the station to accommodate the droves of passengers arriving Downtown.	
State Street-Frontier Road to Commercial Corridor		X	X	State Street was originally named Elk Street and began as a muddy road servicing Sehome Mine in the 1850s. The mine was located near what is today the intersection of Laurel Street and Railroad Avenue. Improvements were made to Elk in the late 1800s by adding wood planks to muddy roads and sidewalks to keep traffic moving smoothly. By 1904, when the towns consolidated, the street was a commercial corridor paved in brick and serviced by a streetcar line. The name was changed from Elk to State to reflect the metamorphosis from frontier town to metropolitan center.
Scottish Rite Temple / Masonic Hall		X	X	1101 N. State Street, 1905. The Egyptian Revival Style Masonic Hall was home to a fraternal organization. Fraternal lodges and secret societies were popular ways for men to socialize in the late 19th century. The Masons were a society that opened their lodge in 1883 and in 1905 when the building was built, membership was 200.
Herald Building		X		1155 N. State Street, 1926. The Gothic Revival style Bellingham Herald Building was constructed of steel and faced in terra cotta and stone. The Herald began in the 1890s as the Fairhaven Herald, changing its name in the 1904 merge. After the building was completed, 50 local merchants petitioned to change the name of Elk Street to State, which was accomplished in 1926.
Hotel Laube		X		1224 N. State Street, 1904. Originally a 51-room hotel, it was served by the north-south streetcar line, featured a lobby for travelling salesmen's displays and had an 80-seat café. By the 1930s, the Laube lost its stylishness and was used as inexpensive single room lodging. In 2008 it was rehabilitated into 20 affordable apartments and two commercial spaces by the Bellingham Housing Authority.
Exchange Building		X		1248 N. State Street, 1908. The building was named for the New York Stock Exchange building and was intended to give businesses a centralized location. In 1923 the building was repurposed at the Hotel Henry, and in 1942 the YMCA moved in. In 1968 the building was modernized with a gold mesh façade, which was removed in 1992 to reveal the original brick, scrolled corbels, and cornice.
Old State Highway 99/E Holly Street		X	X	Before I-5 was built, State Highway 99 was the major route for all points north and south and brought customers directly through Downtown along Holly Street. From the 1920s through the 1950s Downtown was a hub for travelers, shoppers, and diners. By the 1950s Downtown began experiencing traffic congestion and parking shortages. By the 1960s much of the traffic was diverted to I-5.
YMCA				311 E. Holly Street, 1906. The Richardsonian Romanesque style building with a façade heavily clad in Chuckanut sandstone was the first YMCA building. The building originally had offices and a gym on the first floor and the upper floor was dormitory rooms and small apartments. In 1942, the YMCA moved to the former Hotel Henry on State Street and the International Order of the Odd Fellows purchased the building and occupied it until the late 1970s.

Dahlquist Building		X	X	1311-1313 N. State Street, 1907-1908. This building was constructed for Thomas Dahlquist to house the Bellingham Bay Grocery Company. Letters in the niches at the cornice above the third-floor windows spell out the name Dahlquist. He claimed to have the oldest grocery business in Bellingham, dating back to the early logging days, and told stories of delivering groceries by wheelbarrow to shacks in the wilderness as far as today's Franklin Street.
Union Depot		X		1322 N. State Street, 1922. This building was built as the station for the interurban electric streetcars and motor buses. The service made connections to Lynden and Ferndale. In 1922, the Interurban served 17 stage lines and completed 77 daily trips. Puget Sound Power & Light owned and operated the Interurban, which ended service in 1928 as buses proved more popular and cost efficient.
Puget Sound Power & Light Building		X		1329 N. State Street, 1930. This building was originally home office of the Puget Sound Power & Light Company. The building is in Art Deco style. The stage depot on the first floor had been relocated from the old Union Depot across the street, and it had a covered concourse to protect passengers from the rain. The first floor housed a ticket office, restrooms, a restaurant, barber shop, and soda fountain. Greyhound acquired the bus service in 1948 and operated here until it moved to Fairhaven in the 1980s.
Alley Freight Delivery		X		The rail tracks in the alley are a remnant of a once-busy area between North State and Railroad Avenue. The alleys were used by the trains to offload freight behind the stores. The loading docks have largely been removed, but remnants of doors and former openings can be seen a few feet above grade where the loading docks were.
Spokane Building	X	X		1322 Railroad Avenue, 1903. The building has been used as a feed store ever since it was built. It was financed by investors from Spokane who built on speculation of an east-west railroad connection from Bellingham to Spokane. In 1923, George Hohl's firm moved in to sell fertilizer and poultry supplies. It became Hohl's feed and seed in 1945 and shared the building was grain operators Farley-Clark Inc. and Clark Feed & Seed. The second floor was originally operated as a brothel which was legal until 1948. The upstairs lodging house was operated from 1904-1924 and was called the Spokane House (or Hotel) from 1925-1948.
Railroad Avenue		X		Railroad Avenue was the 'workhorse' street of Downtown. It was designed to accommodate 4 sets of tracks for freight delivery from the BB&BC Railroad. The road attracted machinery and repair shops, warehouses, agricultural supply and manufacturing businesses. As Downtown grew and become more metropolitan, the noise of the trains disturbed business owners, visitors, and residents, and blocked traffic. The rail line was decommissioned by 1980.
Bellingham Federal Building	X	X		104 W. Magnolia St., 1912-1913. It was designed for the US Post Office with the needs of the elderly and handicapped patrons in mind under the direction of Postmaster Hugh Eldridge. The street level entrance was uncommon at the time, most Post Offices had their entrance at the top of a flight of steps. The Beaux Arts style was common for public and institutional buildings around the turn of the century. It was designed in an O-shape to allow for interior light.
Bellingham Public Market		X		1400 Cornwall Avenue, 1916. Today's Rite Aid building was originally built as the public market. Downtown Bellingham had many public markets, which operated similarly to the farmer's market today. This market has 23 vendors including a grocery, meat and fish market, a restaurant and soda fountain, a watchmaker, florist, and wood and coal dealers. It had lift-up overhead bay doors, freight delivery in the alley, and a streetcar stop on the corner. It closed in 1957 before becoming a Pay 'n Save before becoming Rite Aid.
Benevolent Protective Order of Elks Building		X	X	1412 Cornwall Avenue, 1912. This building was the clubhouse for the Elks fraternal society. For many years, it was one of Bellingham's most prestigious social organizations and had many political and civic leaders as members. The building offered members use of card rooms, pool tables, and a three-lane bowling alley. The first floor had offices and reading rooms and the second held a large ballroom. It was a place to gather and socialize, and the organization contributed to many charitable and civic causes.

Urbanizing Downtown's Natural Landscape		X		Originally a collection of hills and rocky outcrops, the Downtown landscape has been leveled to create a more amenable site for building that allows storefronts to open directly onto sidewalks at street level. Some remnants of the original landscape remain, such as houses sited on hills above the street, alleys that climb 20' above street level and urban 'fossils' such as the rocky outcrop behind the Mt. Baker Theater.
Public Comfort Station		X		109 W. Champion Street, 1928. This building was designed as a public restroom to accommodate Tulip Festival visitors, which reached its peak in the 1920s. It was built up to the bluff upon which the Carnegie Public Library stood, accounting for the triangular floor plan.
Carnegie Library				109 W. Champion Street, 1908, demolished 1953. In 1903 Bellingham's first Carnegie Library was built on 12th Street in Fairhaven. In 1906 Bellingham became one of only two cities in the country to win a second grant to build a Carnegie Library. Patrons had to climb 45 steps to reach the front door, which sat on a rocky hill. The stairs proved to be a hindrance and boosters began looking for a new site. It was 1951 before they found one. The library was demolished in 1953, the hill was excavated, and the site became a parking lot.
Whatcom meets Sehome		X		An iron bolt dating back to the surveys made in 1858 of Sehome and Whatcom, was driven into solid rock and the intersection of Champion and Holly Streets. A granite sculpture marks the spot today. The boundary between the early towns is evident in this section of Downtown from the numerous flatiron buildings, so called backed out their triangular shape which resembles a clothes iron. In 1889 a bridge was built over the Whatcom Creek estuary linking the towns. This led to unification of the two towns in 1891.
L.C. Countryman Building				1316 Bay Street, 1904. Today's Pickford Theater was originally a discount, or 'racket' store. The term came from the sounds of peddler's carts by the banging of pots and pans attached to the carts. The business was originally located at Holly and C Street, but in 1904 it was moved to the more desirable location on Bay Street. In 1924 the building was updated to its current appearance in the Spanish Colonial Revival style with glazed terra cotta tile work on the ground floor and stucco on the upper story.
Flatiron Building				1313 Bay Street, 1907. The Flatiron Building was built for the Bellingham Bay Furniture Company as its warehouse and was one of the first commercial buildings in the Northwest to be constructed of reinforced concrete to mitigate the possibility of fire. It was the tallest building until 1926.
Barlow Building				211 W. Holly Street, 1892. Originally built for Phillip Baum's Grocery store, it also housed the Crown Bar and Cliff Barlow's Leather Goods. In 1925 the façade was remodeled into the Spanish Mission style. After Barlow's closed in 1959, the building has been the home to various businesses. In 2003 the metal façade from the 1960s was removed exposing the 1925 brickwork.
Bay Street Public Market				301 W. Holly Street 1926. This Tudor Revival style was described as 'Old English' style when it was constructed. To attract customers, the building had entrances on both Holly and Bay Streets and was located on a trolley line. It became a Sears in 1928, until it moved to a new building on Cornwall in 1949.
Downtown Today		X	X	Today Downtown continues to change and after more than a century it remains a vibrant retail center. Many buildings have been demolished during the urban renewal of the 1960s, but many that remain have been restored and adapted to new uses. Streetscapes have also been improved with trees, landscaping, public art, and plazas.



Stop	M	S	E	Description
Introduction	X	X		1.5-mile tour through the south end of Downtown. Originally settled in 1853 at the coal mining town of Sehome, one of four early towns that became Bellingham in 1904. The name Sehome came from the mine superintendent's Clallam father in law, "S'<yah-whom". The entrance to the mine was near today's intersection of Laurel Street and Railroad Avenue. Sehome grew slowly around the operations of the Bellingham bay Coal Company. Mining operations stopped in 1878. In 1889, the coal company reinvented itself as a land company and sold off its real estate. In 1890, Sehome Hill was logged, a town site was cleared, and the new cross streets of Holly, Magnolia, Chestnut, Maple, Laurel, and Rose were cut through the forest. Over time the early wood frame buildings were replaced by large commercial masonry buildings, and Elk Street was renamed State Street.
Pacific Block		X	X	1057 N State, 1909. Once the Pacific Grocery owned by Peter P. Lee and George Brand. Lee ran a wholesale grocery business on the ground floor from 1915 to 1956. The second story housed the Pacific Apartments, advertised at 'moderate prices' with hot water, heat, gas ranges, and "disappearing beds" that folded up into the wall to save space. The Community Food Co-op was located here from 1982-1994. Today, apartments remain on upper floors and a youth performance group occupies the ground floor.
Maple Block		X	X	1051-1055 N State, 1903. First tenants were Merrin Wall Paper and Paint Company on the ground floor. The upper floor was rented at furnished rooms for the day or week, "50 cents and up". Later tenants included a funeral parlor, the Union Automobile Company (one of Bellingham's first car dealerships), and was used as the terminal of the Ferndale and Deming Stage Line and the Lynden Stage Company. From 1956 to 1976, Morse Hardware's glass departments occupied the first floor. The Pyramid Image Lab was a later tenant. Today apartments are on the upper floor and the ground floor is occupied by Pepper Sisters restaurant and retail space.
Morse Hardware Company			X	1025 N State, 1902. National Register listed. Built with Chuckanut sandstone, a local material used at the turn of the 20th century in early Downtown Bellingham. Robert Morse started the company in 1884. In 1902, he built the two-bay storefront building that stands today. A clever advertiser, he devised trendy promotions such as a bicycle parade to promote the brands of bikes he carried. When Billy Sunday came to town, he presented him with a Majestic cooking range and shipped it to his farm in Oregon. As a novelty, he kept a black bear in a wire pen outside the store. When he died in 1920, his son Cecil became the president. Currently the building awaits new use.
Blacksmith Warehouse		X	X	210 E Laurel, 1930s. Wood warehouse with unusual staggered false front. William H. Durkin ran a blacksmith shop out of the building in 1937, advertising services as "portable electric and acetylene welding, spring repairing, iron and steel work". In the late 1940s and early 1950s, the Marion Logging Company stored wood trusses and materials here. The building was vacant in the late 1950s and 1960s. In the 1970s, was used by UPS. Today it is a native plant store and metal artist studio.
B. B. Jones Block		X	X	932-936 N State, 1890-1891. The only commercial building remaining on State Street from the late 19th century real estate boom. Queen Anne style brick building with a projecting bay window and an octagonal turret. Originally topped with an onion dome. Owned by B.B. Jones, a Welsh man known as a mining expert with the Bellingham Bay Coal Company. In 1891 the U.S. Customs Office was located on the ground floor and Jones' son William lived upstairs. In 1905 it was used at the Bellingham Bottling Works. Today the Rose Apartments remain on top and an upholstery store is on the ground floor.
Gordon's Auto		X	X	932-936 N State, 1936. Henry Gordon's auto repair and wrecking businesses was one of several family businesses that endured for years on State Street, from 1924 to 1985. Gordon was a sports fan and in 1940 sponsored a baseball league, Gordon's Wreckers. When he died in 1952, his wife and son took over the business which operated until 1985 as Gordon's Riteway Muffler and Alignment. Today it houses a variety of businesses including a salon and a woodworking studio.

Park Lanes Bowling		X	X	902 N State, 1955. By the 1950s, bowling was a popular sport thanks to the invention of the automatic pin spotter (previously, 'pin boys' had to reset the pins manually). The increased availability of TV brought the sport to a wider audience through broadcast games like "Championship Bowling", "Celebrity Bowling", and "Bowling for Dollars". This alley was built during this time and operated from 1955 to 1976. In the 1960s, Bellingham had three bowling alleys, two of which were Downtown. In 1977, it moved to Guide Meridian. The building has undergone several conversions and is now a restaurant and retail space.
Bellingham Bay Coal Company (BBIC) Headquarters	X		X	901 N State, 1870, demolished 1949. Built as the office and residence of the company superintendent, Capt. James W. Tate. A Chinese crew from the coal mine cleared the site in 1870, and pioneer horticulturist John Bennett plants an orchard of pear, cherry, apple, and plum trees. 6 of the trees he planted remain today on the grounds of what became the Orchard Terrace Apartments. After the coal company closed in 1878, the property served as Pierre Cornwall's BBIC and other related companies. The former Tate house became a lodging house. Poet Ella Higginson's inspiration for her poem "Four Leaf Clover" came to her during a walk through the orchard.
Historic Elk Street			X	This photo dates to 1885, when Elk Street was the main road for the early settlement coal mining town of Sehome. The forest had been cleared northward to where Maple Street is today, but Elk Street remained a dirt road and would not be planked with wood until 1889. Elk Street was renamed State Street in the 1920s to reflect what had then become a major commercial corridor. Wharf Street can be seen running perpendicular to Elk heading towards the bay. The road to the west of Elk is today Railroad Avenue.
Sehome Hotel/Medcalf Dairy		X	X	820 N State Street. Sehome Hotel built 1887, demolished 1929, Medcalf Dairy built 1949. Formally the site of the Sehome Hotel, built in the early mining days with modern conveniences such as speaking tubs and electric lights. It was badly burned by teenage 'firebugs' (arsonists) in 1929. In 1949, the current building was built as a processing plant for the Medcalf Dairy, complete with automatic washing, bottling, and capping machinery. Started by brothers Frank and Donald G. Medcalf in 1936, the business has locations in rural towns throughout Whatcom County. After retiring in the early 1970s, Donald and his wife Lillian use the building for the Medcalf Real Estate Business. Today it houses several commercial buildings.
Historic Forest Street		X		The view in this photo was taken looking NW from today's Ivy street and shows N Forest in 1890, when the south ends was unimproved and strewn with logging debris. Helter-skelter fences and all manner of outbuildings lined the street, giving it a rural appearance. The white picket fence in the lower left encloses the BBIC headquarters. Elk Street can be seen just to left of the orchard. By 1889, Elk had been paved with cedar planks and illuminated by street lights at night. The house at 315 E Laurel on the corner of N Forest still stands.
Orchard Terrace Apartments	X		X	901 N Forest, 1951. National Register listed. The six brick and clapboard buildings of the Orchard Terrace Apartments were designed in a rustic, mid-century modern style and landscaped to create a community atmosphere typical of garden apartments popular in the 1950s. Large corner and picture windows were designed to connect residents with outdoor space. The name was derived from the "Orchard Tract", an earlier development on the site. They were built with financing from Section 608, a federal program that encouraged investment in moderately priced rental units to alleviate the housing shortage after WWII. The 48 efficiency apartments ranged from 640 to 900 square feet, and most early tenants were blue collar workers, although some were doctors, business owners, or professional single women. The apartments were converted into condos in the 1970s and are now the Orchard Terrace Condominiums.

Central Lutheran Church	X		X	925 N State, 1956. In the 1890s, immigrant Norwegians, Swedes and Germans had each formed their own Lutheran churches and services were held in their native languages. Such churches functioned as instant ethnic communities for first and second generation immigrants. In 1945, the congregation of the Norwegian Lutheran Church changed their name to Central Lutheran as it had come to see itself as American and not tied to one ethnicity. Construction on the new building began in 1953. A landmark of modern architecture: walls clad in stucco and Roman brick, with low-slung massing and horizontal lines. Largely built by volunteer labor from its congregation.
Tulip Time Parade down East Laurel Street			X	Intersection of E Laurel and N Forest. The popularity of tulip bulbs led to the creation of the Tulip Time Festival held each May in Bellingham from 1920-1929. The photo shows the State Normal School (now WWU) float, designed by Margaret Stuart of the Art Department, which carried two large swans driven by two students. The float's theme corresponded with the dedication of a bird sanctuary on campus in memory of Ida Agnes Baker, a teacher of nature studies who had been struck and killed by a streetcar on Laurel and Garden in 1921. The last Tulip Festival was in 1929. It could not be sustained through the Great Depression. The Skagit Tulip Festival started in 1984. A muddy path in the background of the photo is today's "Crooked Trail Path".
First Church of Christ, Scientists		X	X	1027 N Forest, 1916. Bellingham Register listed. This Beaux-Arts Classical Revival style church, with a vast portico and substantial, unornamented Tuscan columns, shows influences from Greek and Roman architecture. The First Church of Christ, Scientist, was established in Boston in 1879 by Mary Baker Eddy and continues to have many branches worldwide. It is a Christian denomination that believes that health, relationships, employment, and other personal and global problems can be solved by prayer. In the late 1970s through the early 1990s, the church was known as the Pentecostal Glad Tidings Church. In recent years, it has been converted to secular use and is renamed the "Majestic". The interior ballroom and dance floors are used for gatherings, weddings, events, and performances.
YWCA	X		X	1026 N Forest, 1914-1915. National Register Listed. Building with funds and land donated by the Charles X. Larrabee family. Dedicated by Frances Larrabee and her daughter, Mary Adele on 3/21/1915. Designed by Carl F. Gould, a Seattle architect in the Colonial Revival style. It held offices, a ballroom, a reception area and a lounge on the first floor, and short-term housing for single women on the upper floors. The basement included a "natatorium" (swimming pool). The structure cost \$50,000, not including the land also gifted by the Larrabee family. Founded in 1907, the Bellingham YWCA continues to offer services and programs to meet women's critical needs and foster self-sufficiency.
Axtell House	X	X	X	413 E Maple. 1902, remodeled 1926. Architect Alfred Lee in the Classical Revival style, later clad with a textured stucco veneer. Some of Sehome's many apartments are in single family houses that were converted into apartment buildings. Frances Axtell converted her house into 8 apartments, planning the layout herself and altering the exterior with an addition and a two-story portico. Her motivation is unknown. She occupied two of the three ground floor apartments with her husband and sister. Her husband was a physician who died in 1927. As a legislator, she had a special interest in labor issues, sponsoring minimum wage and public safety legislation. She ran for national office 3 times and was narrowly defeated in 1922. Her election would have made her the first female US senator. She was one of the first two women representatives to the Washington State Legislature in 1912. Her successful campaign was run by Ella Higginson, Washington State's Poet Laureate.
Alamo Apartments	X		X	421 E Maple, 1926. Architect Earl Morrison. Beaux-Arts style with Moorish decorative touches of tiles, urns, and minaret-like finials at the roofline. It was advertised as a "fireproof construction" since the exterior was finished in stucco and terra cotta. The interiors had mahogany woodwork, electric ranges, and electric laundry in the basement. The units also had Murphy "disappearing" beds. One of its best-known tenants was Normal School library Mabel Zoe Wilson. WWU's Wilson Library is named after her. Today it continues as apartments.

First Presbyterian Church			X	1031 N Garden, 1910-1912. Architect: Alpheus Dudley. Stucco-clad church, built by the First Presbyterian congregation after they outgrew their facility at 519 E Maple. In 1910, evangelist Billy Sunday held revival meetings in Bellingham, increasing religiosity and motivating congregants to donate labor and money for the handsome stained glass and Cherrywood pews in the new church. A memorial window reproduced a Holman Hunt painting of Christ knocking a door with no handle. The window was damaged when someone shot rounds of birdshot into the window during an evening service. The shooter was angry the minister, Reverend McCartney, had campaigned for local prohibition, which took effect in 1910.
Bernard and Anna Montague House				1030 N Garden, 1907-1908. Architect Alfred Lee. Washington State Heritage listed. Expansive style Craftsman style American Foursquare built for dry goods merchant Bernard Montague who lived her with his wife Anna and their 4 children. The house featured dumbwaiters and a "California Cooling Closet" (an early natural cooling method used before refrigeration). The Montagues often used their home for entertaining and employed a live-in maid like other well-to-do families of the era. With his business partner, Thomas C. McHugh, Montague opened a dry goods store in Fairhaven during the boom year of 1890. They moved the store Downtown a short time later and for decades the popular "Montague and McHugh" operated on the SE corner of Railroad and E Holly. After Montague's sudden death in 1923, his partner went on to finance a new and more opulent department store at 114 W Magnolia (Crown Plaza). The house contained 20 rooms, including a main parlor, a billiards room, and 6 bedrooms.
Morse House		X	X	1014 N Garden, 1896-1897. Architect: George F. Barber, Alfred Lee on-site supervisor. National Register listed. Extravagant Queen Anne home of Robert Morse, owner of the Morse Hardware Company just down the hill on Elk Street. The house was begun in 1895 but construction was delayed so that lumber Morse has purchased could be used to build Downtown's new Baptist Church where Morse was a deacon. Alfred Lee, the architect of City Hall, supervised the construction, but the plan came from a catalog. In 1986 the house was converted into a bed and breakfast, and today it is used as student housing. The complex roof lines, octagonal turrets and decorative trim work are characteristic of late-19th century residential architecture for the upper-middle class.
Winn/Dickinson House		X	X	1002 N Garden, 1891-1892. Free Classical style house with a Palladian window at the apex of the front-facing gable on the 3rd floor. The house was built for Superior Court judge J.R. Winn. The 2nd owner, Harvey L. Dickinson, was involved with real estate, loans, and insurance for H.L. Dickinson & Company. A native of New York, he and his wife, Clara, arrived in Fairhaven around 1890. When Clara died in 1911, Harvey's brother, Merville and his wife, Marian, moved in with him. Harvey died in 1925. Merville, Marian and their family lived in the house for many more years. In 2005, dormers were added and the house was converted into condominiums. The condominiums next door at 1000 N Garden were built in 2006 to complement the style of this residence.
Sehome Hill Historic District	X		X	National Register listed. Many homes in the Sehome Hill Historic District were built by Scandinavian millworkers and carpenters who lived in them. Immigrants from Norway, Sweden, and Denmark found jobs as millworkers, carpenters, and laborers in Bellingham's lumber and shingle industries. In the early 1890s, Victorian architecture was the predominant neighborhood style, but Queen Anne gave way in the early 20th century to Craftsman style bungalows and Foursquares. Many builders used plans found in catalogues. Their carpentry skills are evident in the fine woodworking found in both the exteriors and interiors, with attention to detail and elaborate ornamentation unusual for modestly sized homes. More information about the Sehome Hill Historic District is available in the Sehome History Group book <i>At Home on the Hill</i> .

Sehome Grade School		X		High & E Laurel, 1890. Demolished 1958. Architects: Pickle and Sutton of Tacoma. A wood frame school with 6 large classrooms, a recreational room and a small janitorial service elevator. Now the site of Laurel Park. In the late 1880s the school operated out of the 2nd floor of the Morse Hardware Store on Elk Street until P.B. Cornwall, president of the BBIC, donated land on High Street to be used for a school. Several students were injured the year it opened when workers clearing and grading the street outside the school exploded rocks, blasting them through windows of the 2nd grade classroom. The school was used until 1941. The City Park Board acquired the 2-acre parcel in 1967 and Laurel Park was developed in 1998.
Kulshan Apartments			X	1011 High, 1919. 3 story Beaux Arts style apartment building, windows feature keystone lintels and sills of terra cotta that contrast the building's red brick. Originally named "the Hull" after owner John G. Hull, who was a realtor. He did well in the speculative housing marking following WWI and sold a fair number of bungalows along this stretch of High Street. In June 1923, the Hull was renamed the Kulshan, what was believed to be the native name for Mount Baker. The apartments were rented both furnished and unfurnished.
First Presbyterian Church	X	X	X	519 E Maple, 1889. The predecessor of the church on N Garden. It was a Queen Anne style church with Gothic windows and a tower topped with a pyramidal steeple. In 1891 a scandal shook the congregation when member Annie Llewellyn was accused of laxness for selling whiskey and keeping her store open on Sunday. She repented publicly and could remain in the church. Her daughter Lizzie, who worked in the store, refused and was excommunicated. In 1909, the church had a popular minister with a dramatic preaching style that helped the congregation grow, and funds were raised to build the larger church. The older building was sold and the Faith Lutheran Church was established there in 1911. Later, the church was used as a martial arts school referred to as the "Karate Church". Bellingham got its first concrete sidewalks between 1908 and 1912. In a 1913 photo, the sidewalk near the church was being constructed by contractor James Macy. In the late 19th and early 20th centuries, streets and sidewalks were planked with old growth Douglas fir, which was cheap and plentiful but needed to be replaced periodically due to wear.
Morgan House		X	X	1200 N garden, 1890. Architect Robert W. Shoppell. 3 story Queen Anne house built for banker J.W. Morgan. Originally featured an open tower on the 3rd floor of the turret with the bell-shaped cap. Morgan was the manager of the Bellingham Bay National Bank, which built for its offices an ornate Chuckanut sandstone building on the corner of Holly and Elk in 1891. The bank failed in 1893 after the collapse of the NYSE. Morgan sold the house in 1898 to Louis and Mary White, who had 8 children and needed a large house. It became a college men's residence in 1957 and was converted into the Poplar Terrace apartments in 1959.
Fischer/ Donovan House		X	X	1201 N Garden, 1890. National Register listed. A Tudor Revival style house built for Edward Fischer, a land agent for the BB&BC Railroad, and his wife, Bertha. She was the daughter of Pierre Cornwall, the San Francisco banker who led development of Sehome for decades. She sold the home to engineer J.J. Donovan after Edward died in 1900. Donovan came to Fairhaven in 1888 after railroad contractor Nelson Bennett hired him to complete a survey for a rail line from Seattle to Bellingham Bay. After purchase, Donovan completed the interior, giving it its elaborate features. Further remodeling occurred after a car crashed into it in 1908. In the late 1930s it became the women's dormitory for the Normal School (now WWU). The house is now privately owned with the bottom floor used as a dental practice and rental rooms on the upper floor.
Dellinger House	X	X		1127 N Garden, 1906. Craftsman style American Foursquare house. Belonged to George and Harriet Dellinger. He was a realtor and she was a founding member of the Aftermath Blub, a women's reading and social group that built its own clubhouse at 1300 Broadway on the corner of Holly. Hattie died in 1923 but George remained working in real estate until age 97. On his 100th birthday he took a 30-minute plane ride over Bellingham. He died in 1952 at age 106 as Whatcom County's oldest pioneer. He is buried at Bayview Cemetery next to J.J. Donovan, his neighbor across the street. Currently the house serves as a halfway house.

Pacific Northwest Bell Building		X	X	1201 N Forest, 1958. Architect Ralf Decker. Unornamented blockish brick building illustrates how buildings evolve over time. It was once a one-story brick building that housed the Pacific Northwest Bell offices and plant. The original structure was expanded into 2 stories in 1958 and a 3rd was added in 1969. When telephone systems became automated, the switchboard operators were all laid off and today no humans work inside. In the photograph, you can see how traffic moved in two direction on Downtown streets (photo from 1958).
Daylight Building		X	X	1201-1213 N State, 1904. Architect Frank C Burns. National Register listed. Entrance is framed by two Roman style sandstone columns, topped with its name and build date in the lintel above the entrance. The stone was from Chuckanut Quarry, founded in 1856 by pioneer Henry Roeder. The Montgomery Ward department store opened here in 1928 (the arch over the basement entry on Chestnut still bears the company's name), but a fire gutted the store 6 months later. From 1976-1994, an adult theater, the Green Apple, was located here. Today, apartments remain on the 2nd story and commercial businesses are on the ground floor. The center doors and fanlight were added in 1918, and the upper floor was converted from offices to apartments. Built in 1926, the Herald Building was designed by F Stanley Piper with Earl Wilson Morrison and Van Salisbury Stimson. With the addition of this building, merchants on Elk Street petitioned City Council to change the street name to the more metropolitan State Street. The change was made on 4/13/1926.
Old Sehome today				N State Street continues to evolve as historic buildings are restored, rehabilitated and converted to new uses, housing restaurants, cafes, music venues, brew pubs, artisan shops and other locally-grown businesses. Today it is considered part of Downtown Bellingham, and the residential areas of N Forest, N Garden and other streets up the hill are in what is known as the Sehome neighborhood. Public improvements to safety and pedestrian walkways as well as landscaping have and will continue to be realized into the 21st century.

Table 24: Narrative Text Analysis of Fairhaven: The Town that Smelled of Gunsmoke and the Tyrone Tillson Historic Markers				
Stop	M	S	E	Description
Dirty Dan Got Hitched Here		x		Corner of Harris and 4th. This was the location of Dirty Dan's Hotel. He provided neither bedding nor mattresses, and poor food. At the time, it was the only hotel in the area.
Junction Saloon		x		Corner of Harris and 4th. When the railroad gangs would show up on weekends, the town marshal would park a wagon outside the Junction and wait for brawls. The jails would be overcrowded with people, a steady supply of men to work on the chain gang. The Hillside Strangler, Ken Bianchi, was captured a few hundred feet from this location.
Monogram Saloon		x		4th and Harris. On 5/26/1892, 20,000 pounds of gunpowder exploded three blocks west of the Monogram, breaking windows as far as three miles away. After the explosion, a vacuum was created, sucking out most of the windows in Fairhaven and raising a mushroom cloud.
Butch's Saloon		x		In 1902, recent parolees from the state prison robbed some men at Butch's Place Saloon. Gunfight ensued. Two men were killed, and two were imprisoned for sentences of 12-20 years.
Hotel de McGinty		x		6th and Harris. During the vigilante police days, the Committee of 25 approached the city leaders about building a jail so that the County Sherriff wouldn't have to house prisoners at his home on 11th Street handcuffed to his wood stove. An old scow was donated to be used as a jail. It was named the Hotel de McGinty, after a man that had drowned himself after losing his money in a poker game. Years later, a Japanese opium den was located at this spot.
Trocadero Music Hall		x		This marker was thrown into the creek by vandals. It was located just west of Padden Creek. The hall was described as 'hell on earth' in local newspapers. It was a giant dance hall with rows of box seats on the second floor where prostitutes plied their trade. Business was so good the women dug out a basement to expand business. When there was too much business, they rented out the Elsmere Hotel on 11th Street. The original Tillson Marker referred to a Mr. Niel, a transvestite doorman. "I have seen the slums and brothels in tough frontier towns...but in no place have I have been has protected vice been flaunted so shamelessly and flagrantly as it is here."—J.J. Donovan. Donovan was referring to an unwritten agreement in the 1890s between police, city leaders, and the police forth in which prostitutes paid monthly fines large enough to pay for the entire police force for 15 years.
Red Light District		x		12th and McKenzie. Pictured was May Wright's 'Castle', Ms. Arlington and Ms. Hill's 'Jewel' and a crib house. The Jewel was elegantly furnished, with two hostesses (madams). The Sporting Club Directory of 1891 referenced the 'boarders' vying with each other to make the guests as ease, and in making sure the guests 'enjoy the evening'. It was referred to as first class, where gentility reigned supreme.
Chinese Bunk House	x	x	x	The Fairhaven waterfront was the site of the largest salmon cannery in the world and employed several hundred Chinese laborers. Much of the garbage buried beneath Fairhaven consists of artifacts left over from their time here. <i>The online entry elaborates: During the boom days of the 1890s, 20 hotels were built in Fairhaven to accommodate the hundreds of new citizens who arrived each week by sternwheeler. During the Depression of the 1890s, the hotels were empty and nearly vacant. In 1897, 60 Chinese men arrived to work in the newly opened salmon canneries. The salmon trade grew and in 1898 600 Chinese workers arrived. Two boom day hotels, the Saint Louis and the Focal City, served as 'Chinese Bunkhouses'.</i>

Dirty Dan's Cabin		x	Daniel Jefferson Harris was called Dirty Shirt Harris and later, Dirty Dan. He and John Thomas built a cabin in 1853 here. John died the following year. For the next 30 years, Dan roomed here with 'various Indian maidens' and fostered several children. <i>The online entry elaborates: Dan was a smuggler between Victoria and Fairhaven in a small boat. 30 years later, he platted the town, built his hotel on the waterfront, and married. For his wife's health they moved to Los Angeles as a rich couple after selling Fairhaven. Before his death, Dan was swindled out of his fortunes.</i>
Ancient Indian Campsite	x	x	State archaeologists have carbon dated artifacts and fire pits in this region. The marshlands are what remains of the original waterfront inlet, and an Indian trail east of this site when to the surrounding foothills. <i>Elaborated online: State archaeologists excavated here in 1973 and discovered this area was used by two distinct groups including one from east of the Cascades. The carbon dates artifacts dated back 2,800 years. Artifacts included spear and lance heads and a labret worn by women in their lower lip.</i>
Spanish Massacre	x	x	Indian legends tell of Spanish soldiers who set up a fort at the mouth of Padden Creek in the 1600s. Eventually the intruders were slaughtered in a 3-day battle at the fort and along the creek. The fort mound was still visible in the early 1900s when it was destroyed during the construction of a lumber mill. Several artifacts have been found including a helmet, copper trading plates, a blunderbuss, and skeletons.
Spanish Chalice		x	One of the Spanish conquistadors 'apparently took a stroll over the old Indian trail and set his goblet down after drinking from the creek'. The discoverer described the chalice as a combination of metal and alloy with filigree work on the sides with four figureheads that resembled designs shown in Egyptian history. <i>Elaborated online: An artifact found by Mr. Leigh L. Rose while digging in Fairhaven garden set off speculations about the Spanish Fort legend. According to a local newspaper, the chalice was dated on the bottom to 1630. The whereabouts of this artifact are unknown.</i>
Fairhaven and Southern Railroad Bed			This trail was originally the roadbed for Fairhaven's railroad which ran from the Fairhaven Coal Mines to Sedro-Woolley and New Westminster. The Great Northern Railroad purchased the railroad and moved the tracks to their present-day location on the waterfront in 1903. <i>Elaborated online: Added that the roadbed is a trail between Fairhaven and Larrabee State Park called the Interurban Trail.</i>
City's Electrical Plant		x	Fairhaven & Southern Railroad brought regular shipments of coal to the power plant from the Fairhaven Mines. Electricity was turned off each night at 10 PM and gas lighting and kerosene were used at night.
Railroad Avenue			9th and Harris. The Fairhaven and Southern Railroad left the creek bed at this point and ran along the bay, heading north into Canada. The railroad station was on the northeast corner of 9th and Harris, along with a saloon and newspaper office.
Unknown Dead		x	10th and Harris. The town marshal complained there were too many unidentified dead. The solution was to display the dead in public views in hopes someone could identify the stranger before they were buried. The coroner kept an express wagon at the livery barn for use as a display cart.
Capital Saloon		x	A shooting occurred after an argument between a gambler and a bartender in the same week a man tried to kill himself by jumping out of the second story window of the Capital and landed on his head. He lived and a new plank was put in the sidewalk.
Courtroom		x	Judge Sam Curry set up his court in his real estate office. He received a fee for every new case he considered. He was known for his sense of fair play--if two men were in a gunfight and both were wounded, they were charged with simple court costs. If one man shot at another and missed, and the other did not have a gun, the suspect would be charged \$10 plus court costs. Those that did not pay court costs were placed in the Hotel de McGinty and made to work the chain gang ten hours a day for nine days or until the court fees were paid. The judge was later arrested for obtaining money under false pretenses. The court was eventually moved to the building on the northwest corner of 10th and Harris.



Town Pillory		x		For those that refused to work in the chain gang and could not afford court fees, they were placed in the stocks.
Diamond Palace		x		Diamond Palace Jewelry Store owner Valentine Kline eventually moved to Goldfield, Nevada where he was shot in the head four times by the owners of Goldfield Reduction Works for theft.
Devil's Row		x		11th Street. Was named Devil's Row by Will Visscher, the first editor of the <i>Fairhaven Herald</i> . The Fairhaven Land Company owned the newspaper and had its own candidates for the city's early elections, while the Devil's Row dive element had their own, led by Bad Clancy.
Bad Clancy's Spokane Vaudeville House		x	x	Frank Clancy, who aspired to be a political boss, was the owner of a saloon that was the resort of the 'negro crap pitcher, the tin-horn gambler, the brazen woman of the town out for a jamboree, the hobo and the loafer...Besides, he had an adjoining dance hall, a gambling place, and a variety show that attracted all of the elements, mostly of the lower class, that haunt such places"-Will Visscher. <i>Elaborated online: The Spokane was the first resort to open on this strip with the grand opening featuring a full Italian orchestra, walls lined with classic paintings, the finest glassware in the state and free meals for those who wished to attend. But Clancy decided he'd like to be leader of the whole city of Fairhaven, not just the Boss of Devil's Row. It didn't help his case when the news was printed about his attempt to stuff the ballot boxes by importing voters from all over the county, and buying votes with drinks. Clancy's side lost the 1890 election and nothing good was to be read about Devil's Row thereafter.</i>
Casino Theater		x		Common acts included knife throwing artists, the tightrope walkers, roller skaters, He-man, and exhibition fights between locals and sometimes world champions, such as Jack Dempsey and Paddy Gorman.
Tontine Saloon		x		A local gambler had his skull fractured in 1891 when he was caught shooting with loaded dice and was pistol-whipped. Frank 'Spider' Biles, assistant fire chief, was caught crawling around under the Tontine after setting fire to a whole row of buildings on McKenzie Avenue in 1892. He was given his nickname as he was found covered in spider webs.
Town Marshall's Office		x		Marshall Parker was initially not allowed an office as the city leaders figured he'd be more effected on horseback. In 1890 he convinced them otherwise and he was allowed to rent space in a local real estate office. He later skipped town and ran to Buenos Aires with most of the city treasury. The Pinkerton Detective Agency found him and he agreed to pay back part of it to let him go. He died in Dawson, Yukon.
Counterfeiter's Hideout				Three machinists worked producing \$5 and \$10 pieces which they used in crowded saloons on weekends. They were caught and sentenced to ten years each.
E.R. Hegg, Alaskan Photographer				A famous photographer still famous among Alaskans nearly 100 years later. <i>Elaborated online: E.A. Hegg had a photography studio in Fairhaven, but became famous for his work in Alaska during the Yukon Gold Rush. He arrived with his darkroom fastened to a sled drawn by a herd of long-haired goats.</i>
Royal Bodega Saloon		x		12th and Harris. Prior to the establishment of the Marshall's office in 1890, vigilantes covered cases. One deputy sheriff patrolled Fairhaven in the 1880s, but he was overwhelmed by the thousands of newcomers. In 1889, the Committee of 25 was formed and enforced the law.
Fairhaven Pharmacy		x		Still in business a few feet from the original spot 100 years later. <i>Online: A pharmacy has been in this location from 1890 on. On Fridays from 1-4 PM returned historian Gordy Tweit opens the basement museum for showing and sharing stories.</i>
The following were placed after publication. Descriptions are online:				
Apollo Theater		x		11th and Mill. By 1914, this was Fairhaven's only remaining movie theater. The Saturday matinee drew children from as far away as Skagit County, including Edward R. Murrow. Murrow regularly returned to Fairhaven as an adult to visit his parents, who lived on 13th Street.
Benton's Bath		x		A bathing room that provided such services as dining, shaving, and haircuts.
Cigar Factory		x		The B.B. Cigar Factory sold 10 and 15 cent cigars. Makers came from as far as Florida and Cuba. At large entertainment halls in Fairhaven, these cigars were used as a

				timer. At the Trocadero, men could pay 25 cents to sit with a lady as long as it took her to smoke one of the cigars.
City Police Court		x		Judge Henry C. Beach opened his new office here. He built a large platform, and spent his first day hanging his credentials. He placed 50 chairs in the main room.
Interurban Depot		x		The Fairhaven and Southern trains went along tracks here until the railway was sold and moved. It later served interurban cars that ran between Fairhaven and Mount Vernon, using a high trestle over the creek gorge on Old Samish Highway people screamed off. The trestle is now gone, but the Interurban Trail uses the old route the tracks took.
Mathew Cut in Two		x		An 11-year-old boy was playing baseball and ran out onto Harris Avenue to grab a baseball. A streetcar ran him over and was dragged for 50 feet. Both legs needed amputation, and the boy died before his 12th birthday.
Chinese Deadline	x	x		In the early West, Dead Lines were chosen streets that couldn't be crossed while wearing weapons. Guns were checked at the sheriff's office. It could also mean a street that was a limit to minorities. In Fairhaven, the deadline was 8th Street. A new marker was placed in 2011 apologizing for the 1898-1903 law.
Drowning Pool		x		Unwanted animals were drowned here in the days before agencies such as the Humane Society.
Fire Wagon and Hay Barn		x	x	Originally a bucket brigade and 30 volunteer firemen before the water system began operation in 1890. Their equipment consisted of 100 buckets and two ladders borrowed from the hardware store, a cart small enough to enable two men to pull it through the mud of the streets, and a map of the many wells around town from which water could be drawn. The fire wagon improved things, although it still had to be dragged through the mud.
US President				President McKinley toured thought Fairhaven.
Picnic Beach		x		Picnics near the lagoon were common, and many would dig looking for buried Spanish gold after a newspaper reported remains of the mounds of a fort's base named Fort Mamosea near the Padden Lagoon.
Policeman was Target		x		Policeman Phil DeFries was shot at 23 times during his career as a policeman in Bellingham and San Francisco.
Horse Stable		x		Horse stables and carriage storage were essential at a time where many owned horses.
Garbage Dump		x		A site near Padden Creek was used as Fairhaven's dump site that flowed into Padden Lagoon.
Missing Wagon		x		By the 1880s, sections of the streets were planked, graveled and bridged. Before that, some streets were so muddy and loose that a freight wagon was sucked under.
Cleopatra's Barge		x		A dozen elephants, camels, a hippopotamus, a giraffe, and a golden float representing Cleopatra's barge paraded from Fairhaven to the circus grounds at 21st and Donovan. Adam Forepaugh's 'Oldest Largest, Richest Exhibition in the World' came to Fairhaven in 1891. Thousands of visitors flowed in on steamers and trains to watch the three-ring circus.
Stage Station				Before boats and trains, people arrived by boats such as the sternwheelers.
Opium Den	x	x		Sam Low's Opium Den was open to the public in Fairhaven's Chinatown. By 1910, during the summer's peak canning months, the Chinese totaled 15% of Fairhaven's population.
Japanese Bunkhouse #5	x	x		A collection of Japanese businesses supported the men who also worked at the canneries. The amenities ranged from a café to a Japanese run opium den on Harris Avenue by Padden Creek
Chinese Mafia	x	x		During the time of Fairhaven's Chinatown, there were numerous battles between the Tongs of Fairhaven, Portland, Seattle, and San Francisco. A murdered north of Fairhaven was to be avenged by sending San Francisco's Sam Lew here. He had been to Fairhaven several times before on 'secret missions'. He took up residence in the red-light district a few blocks away. When lawyer Sun Chong arrived, the affair moved to the courts. Residents packed the courtroom.

Chinese Foreman	x	x	A Chinese foreman traded his daughter for a son. The foreman was one of hundreds of Chinese and Japanese workers contracted to work at the salmon cannery.
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Table 25: Narrative Text Analysis of the Fairhaven Association Fairhaven Historic District Walking Tour Map				
Photos/Stop	M	S	E	Description
Introduction	x	x	x	From 1889 to 1890, Fairhaven burst from the woods around the bay as a destination for adventurers and investors. With Fairhaven in the running to become the new major railroad terminus, over 35 hotels and boarding houses were built that year alone. Fairhaven was not chosen as the terminus, leaving Fairhaven to become a fishing and seaport town. In 1889 200 teams and wagons were imported to clear the land. Workers were imported from as far away as Germany. Men had to sleep in tents and built driftwood shelters on the beach until adequate housing could be constructed. Along with the 300 new people arriving every month, came gamblers and prostitutes. Brothels and taverns provided entertainment and McKenzie Avenue became the red-light district. Until May 1890 there was no police force, so local businessmen formed a vigilante group and used a beached scow as a jailhouse. Criminals were required to work on the chain gang, clearing out huge stumps around Fairhaven. If they refused they were wrapped in logging chains outside of the scow and left to the gaze of passersby for a week. The fine for public drunkenness ranged from \$5 to \$10 or 5-10 days on the chain gang. Proper women walked the streets comfortably, but did not venture before 9th Street unescorted because of the brothels. Loud brass bands and ladies of the night met incoming ships. Everyone had to clear Harris during weekly cattle drives up to the slaughterhouse on 10th Street. The noise and mud were part of the growing pains of this area. 100 years later, this area is once again a thriving area.
Fairhaven Hotel		x		12th and Harris 1890-1953. The hotel hosted such guests as Jim Hill and Mark Twain. The structure costs 5 times as much to build as the Mason Block constructed the same year. After the financial collapse of 1892, the hotel fell into disrepair and closed in 1922. A fire destroyed the building in 1953 and the property sold for \$2,500. What was left was used as fill in the marshlands near 6th and Harris.
Sycamore Square			x	12th and Harris 1890. This building has been used as a focal point of businesses in Fairhaven for 100 years. Original painted signs can be seen on the northeast corner of the building. It has been home to variety of businesses as well as the Cascade Gentlemen's Club on the west side of the top floor managed by Capt. Grahame, a survivor of the Charge of the Light Brigade at Balaklava.
Waldron Building		x		12th and McKenzie 1891. Only the first two floors were ever used--built during the boom, it went bust before filling up. Until the 1970s, it housed various taverns and restaurants. It currently awaits renovation.
Nelson Block		x		11th and Harris 1900. This building served as a bank for over 30 years until the Great Depression forced it out of business. Other retail shops and restaurants occupied the space and the upper floors were converted into apartments as the offices vacated. In the 1970s it was renovated and a human skeleton was found buried in the foundation of the building. It was renovated again in the 1990s.
1410 Building		x		1410 11th Street 1890. Formally the location of the Holland Liquor and Wine Wholesale Co., who was the own and sole distributor of the whisky 'Belle of the Sound'.
Terminal Building		x		11th and Harris 1888. This is the oldest surviving structure in Fairhaven. It originally contained a saloon, billiards parlor, and real estate offices. Since the 1970s it has been home to coffee shops.
Monahan Building		x		1209 11th Street 1890. T.E. Monahan had his first saloon, the Board of Trade, on the original wagon trail that connected Fairhaven and Bellingham. As it prospered, he relocated to 11th Street in 1891. The name Monahan is still visible at the top of the building. More recently it has been a movie theater, art gallery, and restaurant.

Pythias Building	x	x	1204-1210th Street. Constructed shortly before the Great Depression of 1892-1898, this building served as a meeting hall for several secret societies of Fairhaven including the United Workmen, Elks, American Yeomen, Rathbone Sisters, and the Woodsmen of America. It also provided office space. At one time, it was home to the Immanuel School of Industries, teaching young people the basics of industrial arts. It has since served as hotel, apartments, a variety of retail businesses, and a speakeasy. The upper levels are currently vacant and the top floor houses two large empty ballrooms.
Morgan Block		x	1000 Harris Avenue 1890. The old Morgan House Hotel sat atop a saloon. After Prohibition was passed in 1910, the saloon, along with 13 sampling rooms in the district, were forced to close. Since the 1970s artists and craftspeople have had studios and retail stores in this location.
Bellingham Bay Hotel and Jenkins-Boys Building		x	10th and Harris 1901 & 1903. Built to replace several wooden buildings and served as a hotel, saloon, and restaurant. The Jenkins-Boys building housed a Hardware Company with a dance hall and meeting room on the second floor. The bandstand was torn out to make room for fiberglass boats. In the 1960s this space was a commune and is now retail and office space.
Fairhaven Carnegie Library		x	1117 12th Street 1904. Residents had opened a reading room in the Fairhaven Bank Building in 1890, moving to the Mason Block in 1891. Mark Twain featured among guest readers. Andrew Carnegie fulfilled a significant funding request for the permanent library building during a philanthropical fit that resulted in construction of several 'Carnegie Libraries' across the US. Its objective was to create a place to spend evenings beside a saloon.

**Table 26: Narrative Text Analysis of Rail Trail Walking Guide: Fairhaven Amtrak Station to Boulevard Park**

Photos/Stop	M	S	E	Description
Fairhaven Great Northern Station	X	X	X	In 1903, after the Great Northern (GN) took over the Fairhaven and Southern (F&S) and moved the tracks from an inland route to the shore line. A new station was built at the end of Harris with a freight and passenger depot. When the Fairhaven station was torn down, all service was moved to the Bellingham station on Roeder Avenue. Service continued there until 1995 when the Amtrak station was built across the street from the 1903 station location. A hill in Fairhaven known as Dead Man's point had served as a burial ground. The rerouting of the railroad required a major cut into the hill, and eventually industrial development required its removal.
Fairhaven Amtrak Station		X	X	When the 1903 Fairhaven station closed, all passenger service was moved to the Bellingham station. Amtrak came in 1971, and in 1995 the Bellingham Amtrak station was relocated to Fairhaven. A renovated PAF building became the station.
Pacific American Fisheries		X		Site of one of the world's largest salmon canning operations, started in 1899. It operated along the shore where the Alaska Ferry Terminal and the Amtrak Station is now. A map of the can factory, processing areas, and warehouses show how large the operation was. PAF contributed many innovations to the industry, such as floating canneries, mechanized salmon processing, and shipbuilding. The company declined in the 1930s. In 1966, the property was sold to the Port.
Puget Sound Saw Mills & Shingle Co.		X		By 1900 there were 68 shingle mills in Whatcom County, outputting \$5 million worth of product per year. This company was the largest in the world, producing 135 million shingles in 1900.
Reid Bros. Boiler Works		X		Robert and Thomas Reid began their business in Missoula. Seeking a better business climate, they came to Fairhaven in 1898 to manufacture boilers and retorts for the mills and canneries. Originally on Harris, they moved to the present location on Harris in 1912. It is now owned by Robert Reid, the grandson of the founder.
Taylor Avenue Dock		X		Building long wharves out into the water extended the shoreline of Bellingham Bay. An early wharf, the Hill-Welbon Wharf later became the Taylor Avenue Dock. Today it is used as a pedestrian walkway. The GN Railroad ran along the tracks the BNSF tracks under the wharf today. The Northern Pacific (NP) ran along the outside of the wharf on a trestle in the bay which is currently the South Bay Trail walkway.
Pacific American Tar		X		Located along the GN tracks on the waterfront at the foot of Taylor Dock. The company processed fir wood stumps to manufacture turpentine, tar, pitch, tar oil, gas and charcoal.
Northern Pacific Depot		X		To serve the southern section of Bellingham Bay, the Bellingham Bay and Eastern which served the Blue Canyon Coal Mine on Lake Whatcom extended its trestles to Fairhaven. The NP purchased the line and its Depot was located on the trestle over the water, next to the Taylor Avenue Dock. This part of the trestle no longer exists.
Pacific American Fisheries		X	X	In 1895, Oswald Steele came to Fairhaven to begin a business shipping fresh fish East. In 1897 he opened the Fairhaven Canning Company on pilings north of the Taylor Avenue Dock. In 1901 he sold the business to the Pacific Navigation Company who sold it to the Sehome Canning Company, which eventually became part of PAF. It was used as a canned salmon warehouse and the location for curing and smoking salmon. In 1901 a bill was introduced to regulate the depth at which fish traps could be installed as a conservation measure. The fish trap lobby defeated the measure. In August 1901 PAF received daily 125,000 to 150,000 salmon. The fish traps were later banned but only after permanent damage to the salmon stock.

Oil & Gas		X		In 1938, lots on the bay south of Taylor avenue were sold to the Gilmore Oil Co. Oil and gas tanks stood at the location of the Chrysalis Inn. In 1940 Standard Oil Company under General Petroleum bought Gilmore Oil. They operated under the name until after WWII. In 1974 General Petroleum, now Mobil Oil, ceased operations at the site.
Bellingham Four Mills Co.		X		Located at Taylor and Bennett on the bay side of the GN railroad tracks was the large flour mill operated by George Hohl in 1906. In 1907 he sold the mill to Bellingham Flour Mills Company. The mill was a 3-story building on the shore next to the GN tracks. A warehouse stretched out on pilings, reaching out 220 ft. to the NP tracks so it could be served by two railroads.
Can Factory Buildings		X		In 1898 the Fairhaven branch of the Pacific Sheet Metal Works purchased land and built a brick 3 story building on land east of the GN track. Building A was built into a bluff with its basement level with the GN track. In this building salmon cans were manufactured. In 1900, the company bought more land to the west and built three more buildings on pilings over the water out to the NP trestle. These buildings eventually became salmon warehouses. In 1902 it was sold to the American Can Co. and in 1907 it was purchased by PAF. The buildings were demolished in the 1960s by the Port. Today you can see the 'tin rock' made by dumping scraps of tin and molten solder sticking out of the water.
Northern Pacific Trestle		X	X	In 1901 The Bellingham Bay & Eastern Railroad built a trestle on pilings in the tidewater off the shore along the eastern side of the bay to compete with the GN. NP took over the railroad in 1903. The site leading up to the E.K. Wood Lumber Co. has become the walkway over the water leading to Boulevard Park. The trestle still stands as part of the South Bay Trail.
EK Wood Lumber Co.		X		In 1883 a sawmill was built at the tip of Pattle's Point (now part of Boulevard Park), called the Red mill because of the bright red paint on its buildings. Before it started it hit financial ruin and shut down. In 1889, a 50% interest was purchased by the Fairhaven Land Co. who renovated and opened it. In 1900, the mill was purchased and became the E.K. Wood Lumber Co. The mill was destroyed by a fire in 1925. In 1945 the land was sold and some of the lower sections were acquired by the City of Bellingham to become Boulevard Park, which opened in 1980. One of the buildings became the site of the Woods Coffee Shop in the park.

Table 27: Narrative Text Analysis of Rail Trail Walking Guide: Boulevard Park to Railroad Avenue				
Photos/Stop	M	S	E	Description
Bellingham Bay Gas Company		X		The plant was designed to create burnable gas from coal. The company owned franchises to sell gas in all the towns on the Bay. Coal was initially purchased from the Fairhaven Mine near Sedro Woolley and the Lake Samish Mine. It was brought in by the F&S and later the GN. The gas works changed ownership several times; finally, it became Cascade Natural Gas Co. In closed in 1956 when cheaper gas became available via the Cascade Natural Gas pipeline. A small brick structure and a circular concrete base foundation for a gas storage tank still stands.
Great Northern Railroad and Northern Pacific Railroad Crossing		X		The first railroad along the Bay was the F&S. It hauled coal from Sedro Woolley to New Whatcom for a gasification plant. Many thought the F&S was built to compete with the GN. It was hoped the GN would go through the Sauk Pass to Sedro Woolley and then on to Fairhaven as its western terminus. The GN instead went through Steven's Pass to Everett and Seattle. Eventually GN purchased the F&S and it became the main GN line into Canada. The BB&E Railroad, later NP was built to haul coal and timber from Lake Whatcom to Bellingham Bay. The BB&E extended its line to Fairhaven, part of this trestle still exists on the south side of Boulevard Park. In 1902 the NP purchased the BB&E, and this was the crossing on the GN and NP.
Early History of the East Bay Area		X		The Donation Land Bill was enacted in 1850 by Congress to encourage settlement of the Northwest. It allowed a single man to claim 160 acres or a married couple to claim 320 acres. In 1853, W.R. Pattle, J. Thomas and J. Morrison all made claims under an agreement with a group of San Francisco coal speculators giving them mineral rights for \$75/month until they acquired full ownership of the land, then they agreed to sell the land for \$2,500. Thomas took a partner in Daniel 'Dirty Dan' Harris, who acquired the claim when Thomas died of TB. When patent deeds to the land were finally received from the government, the land was sold to others. Attempts at mining the poor-quality coal were not successful. In 1866, Union Coal Company was incorporated and the small town of Unionville was located here.
NP Log Dump		X	X	When the BB&E wharf and log dump was demolished in 1904, the NP moved its log dumping operator to a spur north of Boulevard Park.
BB&E Railway Coal and Timber Wharf		X		In 1892, the BB&E was built to bring coal from the Blue Canyon Mine on Lake Whatcom to its wharf on the bay for export. Coal was loaded onto barges at the mine at the upper end of Lake Whatcom, then barges moved it to the lower end. It was transferred to the railroad and moved by rail down to a wharf on the bay. Later the tracks were extended along Lake Whatcom to the coal mine and the barging ended. The water depth at the bunker was 27 ft., allowing large ships to load coal. For a while the US Navy was trying Blue Canyon coal for its ships; tests showed it to be the best steaming coal available on the west coast.
Bloedel-Donovan Lumber Mills		X		Founded in 1889, the Bellingham Bay Improvement Co. operated a speculative real estate venture and was involved in resource extraction and railroad development. The BBIC formed the subsidiary Bellingham Bay Lumber Co. in 1906. In 1898, 3 men met formed the Lake Whatcom Logging Co: Peter Larson, a railroad contractor, J.J. Donovan, a civil engineer, and J.H. Bloedel, a lumberman. In 1913 they bought the Bellingham Bay Lumber Co. Mill and renamed it the Bloedel Donovan Cargo Mill. The company bought and harvested vast tracks of timber and operated 4 sawmills, 3 planing mills, 3 shingle mills, a sash and door factory and a box plant.
Other East Bay Companies		X		Many companies did their own exporting and importing along the shore of Bellingham Bay including PAF, Campbell River Logging Co., the Chicago, Milwaukee and St. Paul Railroad, Standard Oil, Bloedel-Donovan Mills, E.K. Wood Lumber Co., Whatcom Fall Mill Co., and the International Cross Arm Manufacturing Co.
Downtown NP RR Trestle		X	X	The NP Railway ran parallel in an alley a half block east of the Bellingham Bay and British Columbia Railway (BB&BC) on Railroad Avenue. The trestle built by NP is now part of the South Bay Trail.



NP RR Ling Going North		x	From the trestle, the NP ran north paralleling Railroad Avenue. It continued north to its depot at Magnolia Street and then east to the north shore of Lake Whatcom, then Wickersham where it met the NP line running between Burlington and Sumas.
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Table 28: Narrative Text Analysis of Rail Trail Walking Guide: Railroad Avenue

Photos/Stop	M	S	E	Description
Railroad Avenue ca. 1883		X	X	The BB&BC was chartered in 1883 but the line to Sumas wasn't completed until 1891. In 1883 surveyors laid out the line and construction began on the wharf on the bay. In 1884, the construction of a right of way continued from the new wharf up the bluff to a flat area now the corner of Maple Street and Railroad Avenue.
BB&BC Roundhouse		X		In 1888, the first two BB&BC locomotives arrived in New Whatcom. A new frame roadhouse was built in 1890, which included bays the locomotives could be stored and worked on. The BB&BC was purchased by the Milwaukee Rd. in 1912 and was initially run at the Bellingham & Northern (B&N). In 1918, it was consolidated into the Milwaukee and ran until 1980. The roundhouse had 5 stalls, and a single man pushing a pole or arm extending from the table could turn the engines.
BB&BC Railroad Shops		X		Opposite from the roundhouse was the workshops: the machine shop, the blacksmith shop, and the car shop.
BB&BC Depot		X		Built in 1892, the passenger depot was located where the farmer's market is currently. The station was also used for freight and passenger service. The BB&BC Hotel was located at the north end.
BB&BC Hotel		X		In addition to the station and hotel, the railroad built the first electric company and first water system for New Whatcom. The railroad also built a lumber mill operated using the timber removed during construction on the line.
Milwaukee Rd Freight Station		X	X	The Milwaukee Road took over the BB&BC Railway in 1911. The building now housing La Fiamma Pizza was the station built in 1940, which operated until 1980.
Railroad Ave Freight Yard		X		Railroad is today wide enough for two traffic lands and four rows of parking because it originally had four tracks running down the center of the street.
Water Fight on Railroad Avenue		X	X	The first transcontinental Canadian Pacific RR from Montreal to New Whatcom arrived in 1891. Its arrival occasioned a big celebration. A wooden arch was erected over the tracks flying an American flag on the sides and the British Union Jack in the center. Arrangements were made for an arch of water from the city's fire hose companies, one on each side. Revelers were drinking and a rivalry broke out. One side soaked the other side, and a water fight ensued. The train came, with its windows open, full of prominent British and Canadian officials, who were then soaked. Apologies were made, but around that time someone noticed the British flag was higher on the arch than the US flags. The flag was removed and trampled. It is believed this impacted the chances for New Whatcom to play a role in the transcontinental service, but CP continued to use the tracks.
Santa Claus visit to Bellingham		X		The Milwaukee Road purchased the BB&BC in 1911 (then called the Bellingham Northern). In 1918 it was fully integrated into the Milwaukee system. It ran trains until 1980 when it went bankrupt and Burlington Northern took over part of their holdings. One of its locomotives brought Santa Claus to Bellingham in 1948. This tradition continued until 1970.
<i>Kulshan</i>		X		In 1906, the BB&BC purchased a 70-ft. motorcar named the <i>Kulshan</i> and operated passenger runs between Bellingham, Lynden, and Sumas.
Northern Pacific Depot		X	X	The NP ran from Bellingham along the shore of Lake Whatcom to Wickersham, where it interchanged with the NP line that ran north to Sumas and south to Seattle. In 1911, a new NP station was built on Railroad. Trains also ran along the south along the bay to Fairhaven. In 1970 the reorganization that combined the GN and NP with part of the Burlington Northern system, this depot was closed. All operations were moved to the GN station on Roeder Avenue. The old NP depot is now part of the WTA facility.
Trolley Power Station		X	X	In the late 1880s Bellingham had an extensive street railway system. Initially there were three smaller companies providing trolley service. In 1902, they were combined into the Whatcom County Railway & Light Company. In 1970 the company built a steam plant on York Street and Railroad Avenue to provide electricity to the streetcars and growing city.

Table 29: Narrative Text Analysis of Vintage Bellingham Walking Tour: Downtown and Eldridge				
Stop	M	S	E	Description
Introduction		X		The four original towns settled on Bellingham bay are almost hidden within the present city of Bellingham. During the last half of the 19th century, these communities each grew from small clusters of pioneer dwellings into separate towns. Growth brought them nearer to one another until they consolidated into Bellingham in 1903. The character of Bellingham owes a great deal to the survivors of these towns and times, buildings, and places everyone knew generations ago.
Downtown Introduction		X	X	Whatcom Creek was the site of Henry Roeder's sawmill, built in 1853. Though much of the area around the creek today, including downtown, was back in the woods then the first settlers arrived, some of Washington's oldest structures still stand oriented to the little creek. The most notable geographic feature in downtown in the old bluff which one was washed by high tide. Today it runs behind the museum and overlooks a large part of the downtown which is landfill. Many of the buildings in Old Town are still resting on pilings driven deep into the mudflats below. In central downtown, most of the vintage commercial buildings remain, giving the area ambience.
Whatcom Creek		X		It all began here where the noisy falling water provided the power to drive a saw mill. In time, gold rushes, coal mines, salmon canneries, and dairy farms joined forest industries to create a living for the people on the bay (26,000 in 1903).
George Pickett House				910 Bancroft. Bellingham's oldest building was home to the man who later led a famous charge at the battle of Gettysburg as one of Robert E. Lee's generals.
Old Whatcom Courthouse				1308 E Street. Constructed during the 1858 Fraser Gold rush, the brick used came all the way from Philadelphia to build one of the oldest structures of its kind in the Northwest.
New Whatcom City Hall				121 Prospect. Bellingham's foremost landmark has endured some rocky times to become one of the finest small museums in the west. The whole story is inside, and, of course, visitors are welcome.
Federal Building				100-106 W Magnolia. In a very timeless architectural style this 1912 beauty deserves a long, close look. It is one of the Downtown's finest edifices.
Great Northern Passenger Station				Roeder and D Street. Designed by F. Stanley Piper in 1927.
Citizen's Dock				1201 Roeder. Once the lively passenger station and freight terminal for Puget Sound's legendary Mosquito Fleet, the pilings were sunk in 1912.
BNB Building				101 E Holly. The only intact vintage building on Bellingham's main intersection, this F. Stanley Piper design dates from the pre-Depression era.
Leopold Hotel				1224 Cornwall. Established before 1890, Bellingham's downtown hotel is finding new life by uncovering much of its old charm.
Bellingham Herald Building				1155 N State. A contemporary of the BNB building, this fine, Tudor influenced Piper design has housed the Herald since completion in 1926.
Mt. Baker Theatre				106 N Commercial. Bellingham's precious last movie palace was finished in 1926. The interior elegance is highlighted by extensive woodwork and vaudevillian pipe organ.
City Hall				210 Lottie. This is the city's finest Art Deco style structure, in mint condition. Built in 1939.

Eldridge Introduction		X	X	The Eldridge Avenue area is a gracious residential neighborhood with a truly impressive concentration of vintage homes built between 1880 and 1910. On land first claimed and platted by two of Whatcom County's best known pioneers, Edward Eldridge and Henry Roeder, the area became Whatcom's most desirable neighborhood. Most of the area is included in the Eldridge Avenue Historic District which is listed on the National Register of Historic Places. Several dramatic Victorian homes set on tree lined streets are excellent clues to the grandeur of the mansions Eldridge and Roeder built in this neighborhood. Though they have both been destroyed, the neighbors in this district have led Bellingham's revival of vintage architecture. Whatcom County's oldest public Park is in the heart of the historic district. Named for Elizabeth Roeder, it is an example of turn of the century landscape architecture pioneered by Frederick Olmstead. Homes that have been opened for the area's annual tour bear plaques with their historic name and date of construction.
James Bolster House				2820 Eldridge. This unusual brick building was built the year after Seattle's disastrous 1889 fire to show that fireproof construction need not hinder fashionable architectural styles like Queen Anne.
Keyes House				2330 Henry. Built in 1893, neglected, and then carefully restored this tall Victorian is a masterpiece.
Ray Cissna House				2010 Eldridge. T. F. Doan designed this later addition to the neighborhood, finished in 1908.
Austin House				1504 Washington. This plantation style home was finished before 1890 by a large pioneer family.
Loggie House				2203 Utter. Artist Helen Loggie kept this 1893 family home almost unchanged until her death in 1976.
Shields House				2215 Utter. Lumberman Robert Shields built this home in 1902 in the Eastlake style.
West House				2737 Eldridge. Designed by T. F. Doan and built in 1905.
Aftermath Club		X		Broadway and Holly. Built in 1904 by a woman's literary society.
Roth Block				1100-1106 Holly. Named for author Lottie Roth by her husband Charles, owner of the Chuckanut sandstone quarry and partner of Lottie's father, Henry Roeder. Built in 1890.

Table 30: Narrative Text Analysis of Vintage Bellingham Walking Tour: Fairhaven and Sehome				
Stop	M	S	E	Description
Introduction		X		The four original towns settled on Bellingham bay are almost hidden within the present city of Bellingham. During the last half of the 19th century, these communities each grew from small clusters of pioneer dwellings into separate towns. Growth brought them nearer to one another until they consolidated into Bellingham in 1903. The character of Bellingham owes a great deal to the survivors of these towns and times, buildings, and places everyone knew generations ago.
Fairhaven Introduction		X	X	The town of Fairhaven was conceived by a colorful smuggler named Daniel Harris and was originally to be Bellingham Bay's main port. Dirty Dan Harris had been a sailor and he knew the deep water just off shore at Fairhaven made it a much more likely place for a seaport than Whatcom which was cloistered behind acres of shallow mudflats. But in the late 1880's it began to look like Fairhaven would become the terminus of the Great Northern Railroad. By 1890 the speculators in town were so confident of seeing a transcontinental railroad reach Puget Sound at Fairhaven that they built an entire town. That boom ended when the terminal became Tacoma but before it was over, fortunes were spent building the residential and commercial structures which made up Fairhaven--even today.
Clark Mansion				703 14th. Once an ornate Victorian, this 1890 home was completely remodeled in the Tudor style.
Roland G Gamwell House				1001 16th. Bellingham's finest Victorian, this Longstaff and Black designed residence was finished in 1892, after two years of construction.
James F Wardner House				1103 15th. Fairhaven's landmark Wardner's Castle was built in 1890.
Longstaff and Black House				12510 Gambier. This was the home of the architects who built Fairhaven. It was built in 1890.
Henry Bateman House				1034 15th. Another home from the Boom period, this one built by a speculator in 1891.
A.W. Atkins House				403 13th. This 1892 residence was a first on this end of the hill and was built to take full advantage of the view of Bellingham Bay.
Sacred Heart Roman Catholic Church				14th and Knox.
Fairhaven Public Library				1117 12th. This is one of the libraries built by Andrew Carnegie. Its Mission style is unusual for the Pacific Northwest, 1904.
Sehome Introduction		X	X	The northern shoulder of Sehome hill may well be one of Bellingham's most historically unusual neighborhoods. At the south end, the neighborhood touches the boundary of the smallest of the four original towns, Bellingham. As the story goes, Bellingham became the name of the consolidated towns on the bay as a compromise, since neither of the large towns, Fairhaven and Whatcom, wanted to feel consumed by the other. Before consolidation, section of the Sehome neighborhood went through almost comical identity problems. There are many buildings in the area which have been in four towns: Sehome, New Whatcom, Whatcom, and Bellingham, without ever moving. The single most characteristic element is the expansive collection of large turn of the century residences. Their survival is due to the growth of the university and its need for student housing at a time when extended families were shrinking and large homes were becoming unpractical.
J. J. Donovan House				1201 N Garden. Railroad lumberman Donovan had this home built in 1890 well before he and Julius Bloedel built one of the Northwest's largest lumber companies.

Louis P. White House			1200 N Garden. Built in 1890 this striking Queen Anne style residence is one of the elders of Sehome Hill. It is remarkably unchanged.
W.H. Axtell House			413 E Maple. Reflecting the post turn of the century change in architectural tastes, this 1902 residence was built by a local doctor.
Bernard Montague House			1030 N garden. Successful merchant Montague has this large home built in 1902. 24 years later he built the Bon Marche building.
National Guard Armory			523 N State. This medieval-looking structure is the city's largest remaining Chuckanut sandstone buildings. It was built in 1910.
Robert L. Morse House			1014 N Garden. Alfred Lee designed this classic Queen Anne lady for pioneer hardware merchant, Morse. It was finished in 1896.
YWCA Building			1026 N Forest. To many this slightly asymmetrical Carl F. Gould designed building, in the Georgian Revival style, is this city's most beautiful.
Alfred L. Black House			158 S Forest. Built by Fairhaven's last mayor and consolidated Bellingham's first, this Lee designed mansion symbolically straddles the old boundary between Whatcom and Fairhaven. It was built in 1903.
Old Main			WWU's heart and the first building constructed on the old normal school's campus. Classes began in this handsome Italian Renaissance giant in 1899.

Table 31: Narrative Text Analysis of Walking Washington's History: Bellingham				
Stop	M	S	E	Description
Introduction				This tour follows a century and a half of settlement, business, industry, and education. The walk begins in the oldest part of town, the early village of Whatcom, and winds through the second village of Sehome. At the southern edge of old Sehome, the walk straightens out on a railroad grade along the waterfront to Fairhaven. An optional climb to WWU takes its audience above the bay.
Whatcom County Courthouse	X			311 Grand Ave. The walk begins where the boom began in 1852, on a bluff above the bay. A totem carving in front of the courthouse depicts the arrival of Henry Roeder and Russell Peabody. Carved by Lummi artist Joseph Hillaire, it places the men in a canoe with Lummi leaders Ts-likw and Cha-wit-zit, who guided them to Whatcom Falls.
Pickett Bridge		X		Lottie and Dupont Street. The bridge was part of a military road built by US Army captain George Pickett just a few years after Roeder and Peabody arrived. The road went as far south as the coal mine at Sehome.
Whatcom Falls		X		North side of Pickett Bridge. The saw mill operated intermittently until 1873, when it burned down. The Washington Colony, a utopian community of 25 families from Kansas, took over the mill but it was abandoned in 1885 as a large milling and lumber operations moved to Lake Whatcom.
Maritime Heritage Park		X		Continue down the trail. A map near the Perry Center for Fisheries and Aquaculture Sciences contains a map of the old Village Trail. The village was Whatcom, the first of four strung out along Bellingham Bay before they joined forces as Bellingham.
Peabody Hill	X	X		Follow the trail upslope. High ground above Whatcom Creek where a blockhouse was built by Captain Pickett. Blockhouses were a common protection settlers used for shelter at night in times of threat. The Lummi signed treaties in 1855 and agreed to live on a reservation north of Bellingham Bay, but both settlers and natives feared northern tribes who would raid down the coast in large warrior canoes. Besides the blockhouse, Pickett's soldiers built a fort three miles north, which soon fell into disuse. Early life in Whatcom was precarious, as portrayed in Annie Dillard's novel <i>The Living</i> . Dillard spent 5 years in Bellingham while writing the book.
Pickett House	X	X		F Street and Bancroft. Built in 1856, at the time of early settlement, the house is the oldest building in Bellingham and the oldest wooden building in the state still on its own foundation. It was built from lumber from the Roeder-Peabody Mill. Captain George Pickett lived in this house with his Native American wife, Morning Mist. She died shortly after their son, James Tilton Pickett, was born in 1857. Pickett resigned his commission in the US Army in 1861, left his son with a local family, and returned to his native Virginia to fight for the South in the Civil War. James grew up to be an artist and claimed the family home, but he never again saw his father. He died at 32 of typhoid and TB. The house was deeded to the Washington State Historical Society in 1936.
Elizabeth Park				Follow the Old Village Trail for two blocks. Named for Roeder's wife, Elizabeth.
T.G. Richards and Company		X		1308 E Street. The first and oldest brick building in Washington. Thomas Richards, his brother Charles, and a 3rd investor, all from San Francisco, built the warehouse and store in 1858, when several thousand miners camped in the beaches, waiting for the construction of a trail to the Fraser River gold rush. Built with brick shipped as a ballast in ships from Philadelphia around Cape Horn through San Francisco, the building outlasted the gold rush, then became the county courthouse, jail, and center of social and political life. It still sits near the original shorelines, surrounded by recycling activity.

Great Northern Railway Passenger Depot		X		D Street and Holly. Dating to 1927. The original tracks of the Fairhaven and Southern Railway were built on a high trestle over the waterfront. A long viaduct left from the trestle across the tide flats to the Whatcom Wharf. When the Great Northern took over the railway, it moved the tracks onshore and erected the brick passenger depot. It no longer functions as a station, but the Bellingham name is still visible under the roofline.
Shoreline		X		C Street and Holly. The shoreline here has been greatly altered by landfill. In 1883, the Washington Colony built a dock nearly a mile long to reach deep water and sailing ships in the bay. In the early 1900s, Whatcom Creek was dredged and widened to accommodate the larger ships that would come through the Panama Canal, anticipated in 1914. Dredged material was used to fill in the tide flats and create industrial land. Today, C Street extends along the south side of the Whatcom Waterway on the Colony Wharf. Pulp and paper mills operated by Georgia Pacific were successors to the sawmills, claiming the waterfront for 40 years until 2001 when they closed and left large, vacant hulks on the west side of Roeder Avenue.
Maritime Heritage Park	X	X		East side of Holly Street. Occupies landfill that replaced the beach; the homeless sit on benches where miners once camped. On falls days during the salmon run, anglers line Whatcom Creek, casting for fish that swim up the creek and attempt the falls--but mostly flail against a metal gate, returning to the hatchery where they were born to be collected for artificial spawning. All aquatic life within three miles of the creek was killed during the Olympic Pipeline explosion in 1999, but restoration efforts have supported the return of salmon to the seasonal fishing camp at the mouth of the creek.
Olympic Pipeline Explosion		X		On 6/10/1999, gasoline leaked from a rupture in the underground Olympic Pipeline, which carries fuel from the refinery in Ferndale north of Bellingham to terminals in Seattle and Portland. It exploded upstream at Whatcom Falls Park and killed three youths fishing and playing in the creek. The leak spilled 277,200 gallons of gasoline into the creek and ignited a fireball that plunged 1/5 miles downstream, reaching I-5 but not downtown Bellingham. The tragedy led to the Washington Pipeline Safety Act of 2000, which allows the state to inspect intrastate pipelines. Banks of the creek that burned in the explosion have been restored. Pleasant trails in Whatcom Falls Park follow Whatcom Creek and the grade of a railroad that carried lumber and coal from industries on Lake Whatcom, including the Bloedel-Donovan lumber mill, to Bellingham.
Holly and Champion		X		At this intersection, you will find the first of three cornerstones that mark the original boundaries between the four original villages of Bellingham. This boundary between Whatcom and Sehome was marked by an iron bolt driven into solid rock. It divided the land claims of Russell Peabody, the Whatcom founder, and Edmund Fitzhugh, a Sehome resident. The citizens of these two towns voted to merge and the city built city hall, located at the top of the steps at Maritime Heritage Park.
Oakland Block		X		310-318 Holly. Downtown Bellingham was once Sehome, whose first boom came from a coal mine. Although coal mining failed, Sehome received a second boom between 1891 and 1893 due to the prospect of becoming a terminus for the Great Northern transcontinental railroad. Entrepreneurs constructed buildings such as this one. This building housed the new city's offices until city hall was completed in 1892. The Great Northern didn't choose New Whatcom as its terminus, but the merger spurred new growth.
Flatiron Building		X		A result of the growth following the merger of Sehome and Whatcom, this building was built in 1907-1908 on a triangle formed by the intersections of Bay, Prospect, and Champion Streets. The building across the street on the corner of Holly and Prospect depicts early 1900s Bellingham. All these triangles resulted from combining the different street grids from the different towns.
Mount Baker Building				Holly and Commercial. The tip of Mount Baker is visible to the east. Unlike Seattle and Tacoma, where the full backdrop of Mount Rainier is visible on clear days, Mount Baker is shielded by foothills and is only partially visible from sea level on a clear day.



Cornwall Avenue				Named for Pierre Cornwall, the primary coal mine investor.
Bellingham National Bank Building				Corner of Holly and Cornwall. First president was Victor A. Roeder, the son of Whatcom's founder.
Cornwall and Magnolia		X		Most of the east side of this block was owned by Jacob Beck, who brewed Whatcom Beer. With wealth from a saloon and his Grand View Hotel, Beck built an opulent theater in 1902. When Washington voters approved prohibition in 1910, saloons went out of business. Beck saved the theater but lost his hotel to the bank. His theater-turned-movie-house was razed in 1959 to make way for department stores.
Railroad Avenue		X		The original right-of-way of the military road, usurped for the route of regional railroads. At different times, Railroad Avenue accommodated engines, tracks, switching yards, horse-drawn freight wagons, and trolleys. Now it accommodates median trees and four rows of diagonal parking. The intersection of Magnolia and Railroad remains a transportation center, with the WTA station here. The tracks of a spur line leading toward the waterfront are still visible in the alley south of Railroad Avenue.
Railroads in Bellingham		X	X	The Bellingham Bay and Eastern Railroad, constructed by J.J. Donovan, hauled coal through town from the Blue Canyon Mine on Lake Whatcom to a coal and timber wharf on the bay. Donovan also had a hand in the Bellingham Bay and British Columbia (BB & BC) Railroad, which eventually established a connection to Canada. A kiosk on the SW corner of Railroad and Magnolia describes the Great Water Fight, which started as a celebration of the first Canadian Pacific train to arrive in town in 1891 and ended as a fiasco.
Bellingham Candy Company				1321-1327 Railroad. Although Bellingham never became the new Chicago as some developers had hoped, some buildings in the business district incorporated the "Chicago Style" of architecture, also known as the Commercial Style, which emphasized function over form.
Spokane Block				1322-1324 Railroad. Has rooms to let above, and still has a feed store on the ground floor.
Depot Market Square	X	X		Chestnut and Maple. This area was the wholesale district of New Whatcom, once bristling with warehouses, machine shops, boardinghouses, and lunchrooms for warehouse workers. The station and office for the BB & BC Railroad and a hotel occupied this location.
Washington Grocery Building	X	X		1133 Railroad. This building stored groceries waiting to be transported. With trains no longer loading wares, condos are changing this area's tone. This building provides low-income housing.
Sehome Coal Mine			X	Laurel and Railroad. An apartment development and a view of Bellingham Bay are now located here. Back in 1890, there were seven sawmills and three shingle mills around the bay. The Sehome Coal Mine was located at the base of the bluff near here, in the present railroad yards. The first dock in Sehome was one block northwest, at the foot of Cornwall Avenue, then known as Dock Street. It extended into the waterfront. Coal was carried by railroad on a trestle out across the water so that it could be dumped directly onto the waiting ships.

South Bay Trail		X	X	This trail is 2 miles and passes by the third village of Bellingham to reach the fourth--Fairhaven. Numbered posts on the way identify sites such as railroads, lumber mills, coal exports, canneries, and pollution. The trail begins on the grade of the old Northern Pacific tracks, on a long trestle that left the shore and stretched out across the bay avoiding the muddy tide flats. Most the mill and dock sites are not visible through the trees except in winter. One huge endeavor was the Bellingham Bay Improvement Company Mill (#20 on the signs) which had a 1,200-foot-long wharf and access to railroad tracks for exporting logs by land and sea. It was sold in 1913 to Bloedel and Donovan, the men who started the lumber company on Lake Whatcom. It was sold to the Port of Bellingham in 1947. For more than 40 years you could have heard one-ton Big Ole, the steam whistle at the mill. It blew for fifteen minutes nonstop, emptying the entire steam reservoir, to announce the end of WWI. The whistle is now on WWU campus and has been used for earthquake drills.
Cornwall Landfill		X		At about the 0.5-mile point, white plastic tarps are visible covering the site of the Cornwall Landfill, a dump at the end of Cornwall Avenue. It was used for municipal waste from 1953 to 1965. The tarps cover sediment dredged from Squalicum Harbor, forming a buffer that slants away from the bay to prevent and contain contamination.
Cornerstone Marker				The marker between Whatcom and Fairhaven comes at the 1/2-mile point.
Boulevard Park		X	X	At the 1.4-mile point, cross the Burlington Northern Railroad tracks to reach the park. The park replaced industrial land with lawns, benches, paved walkways over the waterfront, restrooms, and a playground. The coal dock for the Bellingham Bay Coal Company Mine stuck out into the bay just north of the park. Pattle Point, named for the first white settler that found coal, is at the south end of the park. The boardwalk derives from a railroad trestle built out over the water on pilings because the Great Northern had monopolized the shoreline (#13). The shoreline tracks for the BNSF remain active, carrying loads of oil to a refinery at Cherry Point north of Bellingham and coal to Vancouver, BC for export.
Big Tin Rock		X	X	By 1902, Fairhaven was the site of eight fish canning and packing companies. Pilings visible from the walkway mark the residue of two saloon warehouses and the Pacific Sheet Metal can factory. In 1899, the factory produced 27 million cans and still could not fill the demand from Puget Sound canneries. What looks like a rock between the shoreline and the walkway is the Big Tin Rock (#12), a pile of tin discarded in the process of making cans.
Fish Traps		X	X	Canneries drove pilings near a salmon migration route and enclosed the piling with wire net. The trap gathered fish until they could be dipped out into the hold of a ship, which carried them to the canneries. One fish trap could hold an estimated 30 tons of fish.
Taylor Dock				Walk to shore at Taylor Dock. The South Bay Trail continues south on 10th Street for a block, then the trail reemerges and continues to Mill Avenue.
Cornerstone Marker		X		This marker marks the boundary between Bellingham, the site of the Pattle Coal Mine, and Fairhaven.
Harris Avenue	X	X	X	The main street in Fairhaven, named after its first landowner, Daniel Jefferson Harris, referred to colloquially as "Dirty Dan" because of his unkempt appearance. Follow Harris west past Padden Creek lagoon. More than 50 paving stone markers in Fairhaven designate historic sites, including several in the vegetation strip between the sidewalk and Harris. Respectable women did not venture this way, and Chinese cannery workers who lived in bunkhouses on the waterfront could not venture in the other direction.

Marine Park	X	X		This site is near the earliest alleged European history on Bellingham Bay. This spot has been known as Poe's Point, Deadman's Point, Commercial Point, Post Point, and now Marine Park. It is unclear exactly who died here--Spanish pirates attacked by a coalition of hostile tribes or local Indians attacked by raiders from the north. Both events exist in oral tradition and neither in recorded history. Harris sold the county four acres on this point for a graveyard, making it Graveyard Point for a few years before the graves were moved.
Bellingham Cruise Terminal and Alaska Ferry			X	A reminder of the cities ties to the north. The site of the terminal for Amtrak and Greyhound was the headquarters of the most important industry in the city. By 1907, 65% of Bellingham's jobs were found in Fairhaven, and most were at Pacific American Fisheries (PAF). PAF grew to a company with 30 canneries under the leadership of E.B. Deming from Chicago. A mural at the terminal depicts the huge cannery in action, including a picture of 25,000 fish on the floor. The steam whistle from the boiler room could be heard three or four times a day. Until the fish gave out, this was Bellingham's most persistent boom.
Port of Bellingham			X	With the decline of the canneries, the Port of Bellingham (formed 1920) bought out PAF land, dry docks, and shipyards and began cleaning pollution from the waterfront. Some sites were redeveloped, including the terminals and Marine Park (the PAF shipyard had been there). Many dilapidated buildings were demolished, leaving an empty stretch along Harris. Where shipyards once flourished, the Fairhaven shipyard still has a floating dry dock for ship repair. Where Puget Sound Pulp and Timber processed logs, another business offers yacht service.
Historic Trail	X		X	Walking east on Harris to 6th Street, and walk a block south on 6th to a trail and take it east. Markers describe early history: the site of Daniel Harris' cabin and land claim, an Indian campsite archaeologically dated to 1500 BCE, and a bunkhouse that housed some of the thousand Chinese workers in the canneries. PAF depended for workers on a Chinese labor contractor, Goon Dip, whom Deming described variously as shrewd, generous, fair, just, businesslike, and the "best known member of the Chinese race in the entire Northwest".
Fairhaven Park			X	Designed by the Olmstead brothers as an auto campground on Highway 99, the first north-south highway through the state. The park includes the trailhead for the Interurban Trail, a biking and walking trail that follows the old Fairhaven and Southern Railway grade six miles south to Larrabee State Park. Charles Larrabee donated the land for Larrabee State Park. The trailhead is marked by brown posts with yellow stripes at Donovan and 12th Street.
McKenzie Avenue	X			McKenzie, extending to the waterfront, was the red-light district in a town with thirty saloons. That all changed in 1910 when a baseball player turned evangelist brought his national prohibition campaign to town. William Ashley "Billy" Sunday preached to crowds that reached 25,000 a day at a temporary tabernacle in Downtown. His converts persuaded 46 saloons in town to close. Nothing remains now of the district except the trail and a set of concrete steps leading to a vacant lot. Turning back onto Harris, you head through the Fairhaven Boom when there were 40 real estate offices selling land.
Bellingham Bay Hotel				Mid-block between 9th and 10th at 909-911 Harris. This was built in response to cannery employees' need for lodging.
The Morgan Block				10th and Harris. Housed a hotel on the top floor and a saloon on the bottom.
The Terminal Building				Harris and 11th. This is the oldest surviving commercial building in Fairhaven, built in 1889.
Nelson Block				Harris and 11th. The bank in this building bankrolled the second Fairhaven boom in the early 1900s.
The Monahan Building				1209 11th Street. This building opened as a saloon that catered to respectable people in 1891.

The Mason Block				12th and Harris. Now called Sycamore Square. This building housed five of those forty real estate offices as well as Russell Higginson's drug store.
The Fairhaven Hotel		X		The most opulent building of all was the Fairhaven Hotel, which towered above the others on 12th and Harris. Built in the tradition of grand railroad hotels, it hosted the likes of Mark Twain. The hotel became a luxurious in-town home for Charles Larrabee, founder of the Fairhaven Land Company. It did not survive past the 1950s. The site is now an abandoned gas station, a sore thumb left in boutique Fairhaven.
Two Bronzed Men		X		Two statues on benches in Fairhaven commemorate early founders: Daniel Harris and J.J. Donovan. Harris is hanging out in the village green on 10th between Mill and Harris. Donovan, who had his hand in almost everything--coal mines, railroads, lumber mills, and a library, hospital, college and church--is regarded as the most important man in Fairhaven history. At 11th and Harris, he is sitting on a bench writing a letter to his wife, Clara, which includes a sketch of the curve of Bellingham Bay showing the four towns.
Carnegie Library				1117 12th Street. Libraries across the country were funded by money from steel magnate Andrew Carnegie. The Fairhaven Library provided an alternative to saloons as a place for men to spend their evenings. It still provides a space for curious readers.
<b>Extended Walk: South Hill and Western Washington University</b>				
Introduction	X	X		Beyond the industries on the bay and the brick buildings of downtown Fairhaven were the lower streets of South Hill, home to many that came to work in fisheries and canneries. In the early 1900s, the modest homes on 10th, 11th, 12th, and 13th streets were occupied by Croatian families who had come from the island of Vis in the Adriatic Sea. They were recruited by a large cannery near Astoria, Oregon, but settled along the West Coast. In Bellingham, men took purse seiners out to fish and women worked seasonally in the canneries in large web houses, just south of the docks at the end of Taylor Avenue, where nets were made and maintained. When the fishing fleet was ready to leave for Alaska at the beginning of the summer, a priest from Sacred Heart Church would bless the boats on the dock, asking for a bountiful and safe season.
South Hill			X	South Hill is the slope of Sehome Hill, where the Higginsons and J.J. Donovan proposed the state's third teachers' college in 1895. The Bellingham Bay Improvement Company and the Fairhaven Land Company offered ten acres for the school, near the Higginsons' home overlooking the bay. The hills, with coal mines underneath, have been a natural barrier separating Western Washington University on top from the city below, adding to the traditional separation between town and gown; a metaphorical and physical climb to higher education.
Sacred Heart Catholic Church	X	X		Built in 1912, corner of Knox and 14th. When the Church of the Assumption, the first Catholic church, moved north in the city, south siders asked for a parish of their own. Sacred Heart served a largely Slavic congregation.
Wardner's Castle			X	1103 15th on 15th and Knox. Jim Wardner spent one year in Fairhaven and made \$62,000 in sixty days selling lots. He built this house and then left for South Africa in 1891. In his autobiography, Wardner described his life as having a "feverish haste for gain". The 23-room house was designed by Kirtland Cutter, an architect who earned fame building mansions in Spokane. The house was occupied for a long time by the Earles family. John Earles was a vice president of Puget Sound Sawmills & Timber Company on the Fairhaven Wharf, the largest shingle mill in the world.
Gamwell House				1001 16th on 16th and Douglas. This mansion was built during the first boom of 1890-1892 and is a reminder of Fairhaven's aspirations. Roland Gamwell was a real estate agent from Boston with a preference for the Queen Anne Style. He hired a Boston architect to design both his home and the Fairhaven Hotel, whose extravagance could not be maintained.
Taylor Avenue				A longtime tobogganing hill.

St. Joseph's Hospital	X	X	17th and Adams. The original site of St. Joseph's, the first hospital in Whatcom County. As the most prominent Catholic in town, J.J. Donovan persuaded the Fairhaven Land Company to donate this block to two Sisters of Providence. They opened the hospital in 1891 with 30 beds and fresh vegetables served from their own garden. The site was traded for one on Forest when a new hospital was built in 1900-1901. PeaceHealth St. Joseph, which has moved farther north, is now the largest employer in Whatcom County.
Western Washington University		X	A complex of residences, classroom buildings, library, performing arts center, student union, outdoor sculpture collection, and more. Compared to the two other Washington Universities that started as normal school, Eastern Washington University in Cheney and Central Washington University in Ellensburg, Western is the largest. From its modest beginnings, Western has expanded to cover 215 acres with smaller college campuses within it. Old Main, the first building on the northern end of campus, Edens Hall, and early dormitory, Higginson Hall, named for the Higginsons, Red Square, with its Fisher Fountain named for the president who was fired for his liberal views, and the plaza next to Viking Union with a view of the bay are all sights to view.
Herald Building			On the South Bay Trail, return to downtown and to this building on State and Chestnut. The sign on top is visible from a distance.
Old City Hall			121 Prospect. The Victorian landmark designed by local architect Alfred Lee. The hall sits on a bluff facing two directions. Since 1941, the hall has housed the Whatcom Museum of History and Art.