

**Cows in the Commons, Dogs on the Lawn:
A History of Animals in Seattle**

Frederick L. Brown

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of the requirements of the degree of

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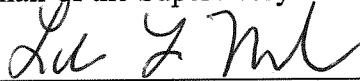
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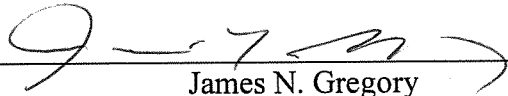


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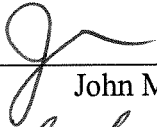
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Abstract

Cows in the Commons, Dogs on the Lawn: A History of Animals in Seattle

Frederick L. Brown

Chair of the Supervisory Committee:

Associate Professor Linda Nash

Department of History

This dissertation explores the ways humans used animals to shape Seattle in its material and cultural forms, the struggles among humans about how best to incorporate animals into urban life, and animals' own active role in the city. The power of animals in this history stems, in part, from their ability to provide three things that humans desire: materials goods, love, and prestige. Humans have considered animals to be property, companions, and symbols – creatures of economic, social, and cultural importance. Human quests for these goods have consistently resulted in struggles over three distinctions: those between human and animal, between domestic and wild, and between pet and livestock. This dissertation explores the interplay of two alternative strategies that humans adopt toward these three distinctions: treating them as strict dualisms versus considering them to be borderlands, as distinctions that are fluid and permeable. Yet it also asserts that animals have their own active role in history. It is not in isolation but in relationship with animals and the rest of nonhuman nature that humans formed plans for Seattle. Animal actions sometimes furthered and sometimes countered human projects. In this sense, it was humans and animals together who shaped the city.

The dissertation begins with the encounter of Native people and newcomers in the context of the fur trade on Puget Sound in the 1830s, describing the differing conceptions of the human-animal distinction both groups held and the role domestic animals played in newcomers' land claims. It then considers the role of the spread of livestock and the destruction of wild animals in the early history of Seattle, founded in 1851. It then takes up the role that removing first cows and then horses took in making neighborhoods urban and middle-class and the city modern in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

Finally, it describes the growing pet-livestock dichotomy, by considering both the consolidation of the livestock industry away from cities in the twentieth century and the growing importance of pets to city-dwellers in that same century.

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For my Father

I think I could turn and live with animals, they are so placid
and self-contain'd,
I stand and look at them long and long.

They do not sweat and whine about their condition,
They do not lie awake in the dark and weep for their sins,
They do not make me sick discussing their duty to God,
Not one is dissatisfied, not one is demented with the mania of
owning things,
Not one kneels to another, nor to his kind that lived thousands
of years ago,
Not one is respectable or unhappy over the whole earth.
-- Walt Whitman, Song of Myself

Introduction

Seattle would not exist without animals. With them, humans shaped the city in its material and cultural forms. Animals helped humans to log the forests, grade the streets, construct the buildings, and plough the fields that defined an expanding Euro-American space on Elliott Bay starting in the 1850s. Animals sustained human bodies throughout the city's history. Meat from wild fish, birds, and mammals nourished Salish peoples on Elliott Bay for centuries. These animals continued to have great importance to newcomers and Natives for decades – as fish still do – even as Seattleites relied increasingly on domestic animals for meat, milk, and eggs. The importance of domestic animals to Seattleites' bodies only increased in the twentieth century as meat consumption soared and as humans used more and more pharmaceuticals developed using the bodies of laboratory animals. Now, more than ever, animals are flesh of humans' flesh. They have been and continue to be everywhere in the city; yet they are largely absent from urban histories, in Seattle and elsewhere.

Their cultural importance rivals their material role, in ways that make the material and the cultural impossible to separate. Animals have shaped urban identities and urban space – the ways people defined who they were and where they were. For white newcomers (especially men), the belief that human was a category utterly apart from animal allowed

them to take full credit for the environmental and cultural changes that attended colonization. The distinction between domestic and wild animals helped them to construct a distinction between civilization and savagery. In the twentieth century, the physical separation of pets from livestock helped the most powerful city-dwellers define some neighborhoods as white and middle-class, the city as modern.

Capitalism, culture, and the human-animal bond are essential to this history. The power of animals in history stems from their ability to provide three things that humans desire: materials goods, love, and prestige. Humans have considered animals to be property, companions, and symbols – creatures of economic, social, and cultural importance. To expand on Claude Lévi-Strauss, humans have found animals to be good to eat, good to eat with, and good to think with.¹ The changing set of animals that inhabited Seattle and the changing human attitudes toward them have stemmed from humans' pursuit of these three goods and from the resistance that other humans and animals provided to those quests. In particular types of human-animal relations, however, one goal may become dominant, or the three may blend together. In the middle-class home, the effect of animals on property values, the cultural attachment to pets over livestock, and the personal affection toward pets blend in ways that make the three hard to disentangle. In the factory farm, the goal of profit is preeminent. To animal rescuers, the personal connection to animals is key, although the cultural meaning attached to those activities by the broader society is important as well. Yet all three goals run throughout the city's history.

These quests have consistently resulted in struggles over three distinctions: those between human and animal, between domestic and wild, and between pet and livestock. These three distinctions have ancient origins. The creation stories of Genesis assume that human and animal are meaningful categories, as do Indigenous stories in North America that refer to a time when animals were people and to an event where that ceased to be the case.

¹ In "*Le totémisme aujourd'hui*," Lévi-Strauss argues that in the selection of totemic species, "On comprend enfin que les especes naturelles ne sont pas choisies parce que "bonnes à manger" mais parce que "bonnes à penser." ("We understand in the end that natural species are chosen not because they're 'good to eat' but because they are 'good to think with.'") As Edmund Leach has noted, Lévi-Strauss phrases could also mean "goods to eat" and "goods to think with" (Lévi-Strauss, *Le totémisme aujourd'hui* [Paris: Presses universitaires de France, 1962], 128; Edmund Leach, *Claude Lévi-Strauss* (New York: Viking Press, [1970])).

The domestication of animals goes back thousands of years and with it the recognition of a difference between animals tame enough to stay near humans and those wild enough to flee them. Even the pet-livestock distinction has ancient roots. Indigenous peoples around the world have kept some animals primarily as pets, that is for non-utilitarian purposes – often the infants of wild animals kept temporarily until they were adults – while they kept other animals, such as dogs, for more utilitarian reasons.² This dissertation explores two alternative approaches to these distinctions: the divided regime and borderlands.

On the one hand, some have treated these distinctions as sharp dualisms, as utterly separate categories the boundaries of which must be policed. I introduce the term “divided regime” to refer to this stance toward these three distinctions. In this approach, humans are the actors of history, animals are not. Humans have obligations to fellow humans, but none to animals. Urban areas should be dominated by humans and their domestic allies, while wild animals belong in other places. Pets should be kept near at hand and given no work, while livestock should be hidden far away and given no affection. The divided regime is a strategy of simplification, which has appealed especially to the city’s most powerful inhabitants: white, middle-class men.

On the other hand, less powerful groups – women, the working class, people of color – have often been more apt to recognize that these categories are not so neat and so separate. I refer to this stance as a “borderlands” approach, borrowing the term from geographers Jennifer Wolch, Jody Emel, and Suzanne M. Michel who have applied it to the nature-culture distinction and the human-animal distinction.³ These are borderlands in the sense that they exist at the juncture of culturally significant distinctions; yet they are marked as much by flows across those boundaries as by separation at those boundaries. Far from clear-cut, unproblematic lines, they are permeable, contested, changing over time, variable across cultures, and difficult to trace precisely. As Michel argues, “borderlands can be conceived as sites where we are not afraid to transgress, and we even recognize the interplay between

² William W. Elmendorf, *The Structure of Twana Culture* (Pullman: Washington State University Press, 1992), 114-15.

socially constructed dualisms.” Like Michel, I question established dualisms with this project, tell the history of creating and contesting those distinctions, and reframe them (as have those who questioned the divided regime throughout the city’s history) as borderlands. The tension between borderlands and the divided regime structures many of the struggles described in this history.

Consider the three animal distinctions in turn. First, Americans typically take for granted a line between humans and nonhuman animals and thereby ignore the animal contribution to urban history altogether.⁴ They assume that only humans have agency, foresight, and planning, and that they alone are the proper focus of history. The fact that the human-animal borderland has a history becomes clear when we consider the differing worldviews of Salish people and European newcomers at the time of Seattle’s founding. Salish people did not draw a sharp human-animal distinction. They recognized the active animal role in history as they sought animal spirits as allies in understanding the cosmos and in gaining success in life, and as they told stories of a Myth Time when animals were people. Europeans, by contrast, assumed human dominion and a clear line between human and animal. Yet the behavior of animals put the lie to the notion that humans were the only actors of history. In wandering far from fur traders’ forts, cattle became wild and impossible to manage, living lives more focused on their own purposes than those that humans hoped to impose on them.

Second, Americans also take for granted a line between domestic and wild, with cities and rural areas as places for domestic animals, with woodlands and mountains as places for wild animals. This distinction is not inevitable. Domestication had a long history on Puget Sound before the arrival of white newcomers, since dogs played important roles as hunters, companions, and sources of wool. Many other creatures were tamed as pets as well, and horses reached Puget Sound a few decades before white settlers did. But, newcomers used

³ Jennifer Wolch and Jody Emel, “Preface,” in *Animal Geographies: Place, Politics, and Identity in the Nature-Culture Borderlands*, ed. Jennifer Wolch and Jody Emel (London: Verso, 1998), xvii-xviii; Suzanne M. Michel, “Golden Eagles and the Environmental Politics of Care,” in *Animal Geographies*, ed. Wolch and Emel, 162-70.

⁴ I generally use the term “animal” to refer to nonhuman animals in this dissertation, cognizant of the fact that humans are animals as well and that, as I argue, the sharp dualism between humans and animals is a cultural construct.

the distinction between animals largely under human control and those largely independent of human control – a distinction with a large grey area in the middle – in new ways to define the city and the differences that marked their settler culture. They brought specific domestic animals that were key to their economic system and their vision of life, and eliminated animals that threatened this world: wolves, coyotes, cougars, and bears. Key to the distinction between domestic and wild was not only human control of movement and breeding, but the cultural systems that assigned animals status as property and as social others. To newcomers, these domestic animals helped mark a distinction between civilization and savagery. Yet even today, many animals blur these distinctions and challenge this dualism. They thrive in the borderlands – from crows and squirrels who live as wild animals in the human-built environment to salmon raised in hatcheries till they swim free in rivers and oceans.

Finally, Americans rarely question the line that separates pets from livestock – a distinction that is regularly made manifest when they serve up the processed flesh of livestock to their pets in their dinner bowls, even though they cringe at the notion of eating cats or dogs.⁵ Yet this borderland has a history as well. When Seattle was a town, animals more regularly crossed this borderland, as farm animals could be loved in their childhood and eaten when full grown, as cats and dogs were (sometimes) loved, but also had jobs to do. Only in the twentieth century would it come to seem natural that pets and livestock have such profoundly different lives. The city came to be seen as a healthy, modern place of benevolence to animals, while the increasingly grim lives of livestock in the country were hidden.

Americans often take these distinctions for granted in their daily lives and in the writing of history. Yet by folding them more fully into history, we see that they are not inevitable distinctions, but borderlands. They are places defined as much by connection as by separation. They are sites of contest and of blending. None of these three distinctions is

⁵ I use the term “pet” throughout this dissertation to refer to domestic animals kept primarily as companions or for other non-utilitarian reasons. I use the term “livestock” to refer to domestic animals kept primarily for their labor or for the production of meat, milk, eggs, honey, and wool. I am aware that the use of these terms runs the

false or evil. They all serve important purposes. Yet in holding too tightly to them, we become blind to animal history, blind to the arbitrariness of concern for pets and indifference to livestock, blind to the arbitrariness of related distinctions between people, as when those who keep urban livestock for their usefulness are seen as backward, while those who keep pets for their friendship are seen as respectably middle-class.

The ubiquity of animals in cities and their unique role there make it essential to bring them into urban history. Urban historians have often considered the transformation of cities in terms of the development of economic enterprises and governmental institutions, struggles along lines of race, ethnicity, gender, and class for political power, and links through migration and trade to national and international networks of power. Environmental historians have considered how cities transform regional environments and how environmental quality within cities is a social good over which groups contest. Yet historians have yet to account in a systematic way for humans' ever-present and essential animal collaborators in the growth of cities. Without animals, the history of Seattle and other cities would be followed a very different course. Without animals, these cities would have taken on very different forms. Animals were crucial in shaping urban spaces and urban identities.

Given animals' unique status as property, symbols, and companions, their role cannot be easily explained using existing approaches to urban history. They are not just another example of property or as just another example of cultural symbol, since they are living beings that humans regard, to some extent, as social others. They have their own wills, with which they at times defy human projects. Neither can they be treated as just another subservient social group, since they do not participate consciously in human politics. Given their ubiquity and their unique status in urban history, historians must begin to account for their presence and their role in the development of cities. As such, this dissertation asks, quite simply, what animals were where, when, and why? It proposes a framework for how animals' role evolved – the divided regime and the alternative

risk of reducing animals to the categories with which humans define them. Yet the usage is difficult to avoid precisely because these categories are so important to the humans and animals considered here.

perspective of seeing and promoting borderlands. It also proposes that in explaining why animals' roles changed, we consider how their three statuses – property, companion, symbol – shape animal history. Put simply, in seeking profit, love, and prestige from animals, some humans have constructed a divided regime. Yet humans and animals have always contested these dualisms by seeing them as borderlands and treating them as borderlands.

My work builds on a growing literature in the environmental history of cities. While the dominant domestic-wild dualism pushes us to honor nature in the wilderness and ignore it in cities, historians such as William Cronon, Andrew Hurley, and Matthew Klinger have demonstrated the importance of tracing links between the city and rural and wild places, and of seeing how race, class, and gender have shaped urban space and urban dwellers' relations to each other and to the rest of nature.⁶ My research builds particularly on recent works that have demonstrated animals' important role in these urban histories. Scholars such as Jennifer Mason, Susan Jones, and Katherine Grier have shown how animals helped urban-dwellers elaborate their own identities and those of others, and how animals became both objects of consumption and consumers themselves.⁷ My dissertation also integrates the focus on space and agency that geographers have brought to urban animal stories. Geographers such as Chris Philo, Jennifer Wolch, and Kay Anderson see the growth of cities as a series of boundary-making projects.⁸ As they constructed these boundaries, humans have used animals to make cities modern, neighborhoods middle-class or working-class, and the home private and feminized. Yet animals have not been mere pawns in these events. As Chris Philo has argued, while animals do not participate in human “systems of (political)

⁶ William Cronon, *Nature's Metropolis: Chicago and the Great West* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1991); Andrew Hurley, *Environmental Inequalities: Class, Race, and Industrial Pollution in Gary, Indiana, 1945-1980* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1995); Matthew Klinger, *Emerald City: an Environmental History of Seattle* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2007).

⁷ Jennifer Mason, *Civilized Creatures: Urban Animals, Sentimental Culture, and American Literature, 1850-1900* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2005); Susan D. Jones, *Valuing Animals: Veterinarians and Their Patients in Modern America* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2003); Katherine C. Grier, *Pets in America: A History* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2006).

⁸ Chris Philo, “Animals, Geography, and the City: Notes on Inclusions and Exclusions,” in *Animal Geographies*, ed. Wolch and Emel, 51-71; Kay Anderson, “Animals, Science, and Spectacle in the City,” in *Animal Geographies*, ed. Wolch and Emel, 27-50; Jennifer Wolch, “Zoöpolis,” in *Animal Geographies*, ed. Wolch and Emel, 119-38.

meaning,” they have their own wills and purposes and regularly transgress human-created boundaries.

The history I describe happens in space. Marxist scholars such as Henri Lefebvre, Neil Smith, and David Harvey provide a homebase for my approach to space, although my interpretation is not strictly Marxist. With them, I assume humans construct space – both in the sense of assigning it meaning and materially transforming it – two processes which reinforce each other. As Neil Smith argues, “the production of space implies the production of meaning.”⁹ In these processes, capitalism frames both the processes that transform space and the ideologies with which humans understand space.¹⁰ Yet not only capitalism, but also white supremacy and patriarchy, underlay notions of civilization and modernity and the animals categories that supported those ideologies. Economic relations do not determine society and culture, but rather economy, society, and culture intertwine in shaping historical change. Animals complicate our understandings of space in at least three ways. First, they move through space based on their own intentions and thus take an active role in determining the material reality of particular places. While some might object to ascribing intentionality to them, animals’ movement resembles human movement in ways that the movement of water or plants do not. They desire many of the same things humans desire and these desires impel them to move. Second, animals attract attention through their movements and vocalizations, giving them particular power to embody cultural meaning, as progressive or backwards. Third, as social others, animals help shape and are shaped by the social relations deemed appropriate to particular places, such as the home, the street, or the farm. As humans pursued their projects of constructing space, they both made use of these characteristics of animals and had to contend with animal actions that did not fit their plans.

⁹ Neil Smith, *Uneven Development: Nature, Capital, and the Production of Space* (New York: Blackwell, 1984), 77.

¹⁰ In line with Henri Lefebvre, Edward Soja and others, I choose not to make a sharp distinction between space and place. Both concepts describe a connection between material forms and cultural meanings. On space and place, see Henri Lefebvre, *La production de l'espace* (Paris: Anthropos, 1985/2000); David Harvey, *The Condition of Postmodernity: An Enquiry into the Origins of Cultural Change* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1989); Edward Soja, *Thirdspace: Journeys to Los Angeles and other Real and Imagined Places* (Cambridge, Mass.: Blackwell, 1996); Smith, *Uneven Development*; Matthew Klinge, *Emerald City*, 4-5, 282n4.

The inclusion of animals in urban history complicates an urban history that assumes progress and human agency, a history that assumes a rational human mind standing apart from nature and shaping nature to its intended ends. It challenges, in two ways, the traditional view that history is “intentionally authored” by humans. First, it forces us to recognize that human intentions do not exist apart from nonhuman nature (including animals); they develop in the process of interacting with nature.¹¹ As Tim Ingold has argued, it may be more appropriate to say humans grow history than that they make history. Native people explicitly recognized their plans were limited by nonhuman actors: the desire of salmon to return to streams and the willingness of deer to be hunted were not givens; they could not be forced on animals by humans; rather they required animal consent. Newcomers did not acknowledge animal actors nearly so explicitly; yet animals shaped their desires and their ability to achieve them. The wide streets (rather than footpaths) around which newcomers planned their city only made sense given animals’ willingness to pull wagons through those streets. Newcomers’ dreams of clearing land were only possible given oxen’s and horses’ willingness to work. These animal wills were certainly shaped by human wills in processes of domestication and breeding. Yet human wills were, in turn, shaped and constrained by what animals would and would not do.

Second, the inclusion of animals in history forces us to ask whether animals themselves have agency. If we define agency as human agency (as some do), then clearly animals lack agency. They generally do not act with the forethought, planning, and self-awareness that humans sometimes do (although all three terms could be debated). Their action in the world is not shaped by language and culture to the extent that human action is.¹² On the other hand, animals clearly possess agency in the term’s most basic, etymological

¹¹ Timothy Mitchell, *Rule of Experts: Egypt, Techno-Politics, Modernity* (Berkeley: UC Press, 2002), 30, 45; Linda Nash, “The Agency of Nature, or the Nature of Agency?” *Environmental History* 10, no. 1 (2005): 67-69; Tim Ingold, “On the Distinction between Evolution and History,” *Social Evolution and History* 1, no. 1 (2002): 11.

¹² For instance, historian William H. Sewell, Jr., argues that “agency, which implies consciousness, intention, and judgment, is a faculty limited exclusively to humans.” Comment in “Nature, Agency, and Anthropocentrism” (online discussion about Ted Steinberg, “Down to Earth: Nature, Agency, and Power in History,” *American Historical Review* 107, no. 3 [2002]). Available at <http://historycooperative.press.uiuc.edu/phorum/read.php?f=13&I=5&t=5>, accessed April 2010. See also Francis Gooding, “Of Dodos and Dutchmen: Reflections on the Nature of History,” *Critical Quarterly* 47, no. 4 (December 2005): 32-47.

sense, deriving from the Latin *agere*, “to do.”¹³ Animals do things. It is in this sense that some have argued that all the components of the world – humans, other animals, plants, inanimate objects, human artifacts, ideas – have agency in that they are all inextricably linked in a network of connections that shapes history.¹⁴

Ultimately, neither of these formulations captures what is interesting about animals. It is not surprising that nonhuman animals do not act like humans, neither is it surprising that they act. Entire books have been written on whether specific characteristics should apply to animals. Arranged very roughly from the least to the most controversial, they include suffering, emotions, intention, will, consciousness, thought, planning, morality, souls, subjectivity, culture, language, reason, self-awareness.¹⁵ This dissertation will not resolve these questions. Yet it seems clear to me that animals (especially the animals with relatively developed brains that I consider in this dissertation) interact with the world in a way that differs from rocks and from automobiles and that also differs from humans. I believe animals have wills and intentions with which they shape their world. These intentions typically focus on immediate concerns – survival, food, water, shelter, sex, social connection, and avoiding suffering – topics that also occupy human minds to a great extent. Like human agency, animal agency is constrained by structure. For domestic animals (and many wild ones), humans are a preeminent part of that structure. Animals constrain human actions, but not as much as we do theirs.

This dissertation will inevitably tell us much more about humans than it will about animals. This is what historical records reveal. This is what we as humans are prepared to

¹³ The first definition of “agency” in Merriam-Webster’s Tenth Edition is “the capacity, condition, or state of acting or of exerting power.” The first definition in the *Oxford English Dictionary* is “The faculty of an agent or of acting; active working or operation; action, activity.”

¹⁴ This broad definition of agency, what some term the “agency of nature,” is used for example in the following. Timothy Mitchell, *Rule of Experts: Egypt, Techno-Politics, Modernity* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002), 30; Donald Worster, “Seeing beyond Culture,” *Journal of American History* 76, no. 4 (March 1990): 1144. On actor-network theory, which proposes a broad definition of agency, see Bruno Latour, “Do Scientific Objects Have a History?: Pasteur and Whitehead in a Bath of Lactic Acid,” *Common Knowledge* 5 (Spring 1996): 76-91; Michael Woods, “Fantastic Mr. Fox? Representing Animals in the Hunting Debate,” in *Animal Spaces, Beastly Places: New Geographies of Human-Animal Relations*, ed. Chris Philo and Chris Wilbert (London: Routledge, 2000), 199.

understand. Still, it is important to recognize that other creatures with their own minds observed and participated in the history I describe here. As anthropologist Tim Ingold has noted, “animals have a history of their relations with humans,” but only humans construct narratives of this history.¹⁶ In some sense, the real history of animals resides in animal minds and will remain unwritten. Animals deserve our respect, our consideration, and our honest recognition of their role in history. They are the subjects of their own lives. Yet I make no special claim to understand their viewpoints. While we may wish to know animals’ minds, we must recognize their profound otherness. We can, with Walt Whitman, “look at them long and long.” I certainly do. Yet ultimately, as an historian, I am better positioned to tell the story of my fellow humans who, like me, “sweat and whine about their condition” and “lie awake in the dark and weep for their sins.”

To bring animals into urban history, I consider the stories of a particular place: Seattle. Seattle presents an excellent case study with which to consider how animals fit into the cultural and material transformation of U.S. cities, given its relatively short history and the fact that its development mirrors that of the United States more broadly. The factors that make Seattle’s history unique – its development at a particular time in a particular place – allow it to exemplify broader trends. In the early nineteenth century, Native peoples dominated this place, as they did most of the United States. In the nineteenth century, white settlers brought European-American culture and political control to this landscape, as throughout most of North America. Around the turn of the twentieth century, Seattle transformed from a small town to a major city, at the same time that the United States shifted from a largely rural nation to a largely urban nation. The relatively brief span of Seattle’s postcontact history allows us to consider two transformative shifts within the confines of one study, those from Indigenous control to Euro-American control and from town to city.

The rich set of documents on Seattle’s history add to its usefulness as a case study, particularly the comptroller’s files and city ordinances held at the Seattle Municipal

¹⁵ For a summary of many of these debates, see Jean Kazez, *Animalkind: What We Owe to Animals* (West Sussex: Wiley-Blackwell, 2010). See also Edward A. Wasserman and Thomas R. Zentall, eds., *Comparative Cognition: Experimental Explorations of Animal Intelligence* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2006).

Archives. These files contain hundreds of letters in which citizens express opinions about legal issues involving animals, especially animals in public places. The careful indexing of these documents has made it possible to identify the hundreds of documents on animal topics scattered among the tens of thousands of documents in the archives. The existing literature on animals in cities has often relied on official reports and newspaper accounts. These Seattle documents make it possible not only to capture the language with which city-dwellers expressed their vision of how animals fit into the city, but also to locate petitioners with regards to neighborhood and occupation. These letters do not reflect the full diversity of the city: while they include both working-class and middle-class letter-writers, they represent primarily white native-born urban-dwellers. Yet they do allow the voices of many Seattleites to inform our understandings of how animals fit into the changing city.

Building on a rich literature at the nexus of history and geography, I am attempting something new: telling the history of one city in a way that takes seriously the role of animals of all sorts. My study is broad in its scope – including the animals that we humans frame as pets, livestock, and wild – broad in its timeframe, and localized in space. Including a range of human-animal relations allows me to reveal the workings of the divided regime, while I avoid the danger of presenting one component as representative of the system as a whole. The broad time span of my research allows me to underline the contingency of current arrangements by describing the very different arrangements at key moments in the past, notably bringing in the contrasting role of animals in Native and newcomer practices and ideologies. Finally, the tight geographic focus on one city allows me to make use of specific documents, such as property records and demographic data, to illuminate the spatial nature of these relations: the boundaries between home and street, between neighborhoods, and between city and country. My approach allows me to investigate the diverse ways humans and animals interact in the city and consider them as a whole. We cannot neatly separate human from animal, domestic from wild, pet from livestock, because all are connected. My project tells this connected story: animals, as much as humans, helped make Seattle a city.

¹⁶ Tim Ingold, *The Perception of the Environment: Essays on Livelihood, Dwelling, and Skill* (London: Routledge, 2000), 61.

When European settlers arrived in Salish Country, two peoples with very different attitudes and practices toward animals came into contact, as my first chapter explores. Although Salish people acknowledged it much more fully than did newcomers, animals had great power to constrain human projects in this encounter. The Salish peoples who had long lived on the Duwamish River and other nearby waterways relied on salmon and other animals for survival, and sought out spiritual allies, many of them in the form of animals, to achieve success and to understand their world. They related to animals as sources of food, as spiritual guides, and as the Animal People who talked and acted much like humans in Salish story-telling. Europeans assigned no such spiritual importance to animals, but also recognized they were key to their survival. After the Hudson's Bay Company (HBC) established its outpost at Fort Nisqually in 1833, some fifty miles to the south of what is now Seattle, it was cattle wandering far from the fort that provided the most tangible evidence of European claims to enormous areas of land. Beyond their critical material importance, to many Europeans these animals were also a hopeful sign of a landscape becoming civilized. To Native people, cattle were a threat to traditional subsistence, but also a ready source of meat if they were hunted (or as Europeans saw it, stolen). The struggles between newcomers and Natives over land and over property rights in livestock, as well as their trade in furs, made animals central to the European dispossession of Salish peoples.

After Seattle's founding in 1851, as my second chapter describes, the expanding cohort of Euro-Americans' animals and the retreating deer, bears, and cougars allowed newcomers to implant a familiar economic system in an unfamiliar place. It defined in newcomers' minds a line between civilization and savagery, between domestic and wild. The labor of animals was essential to the logging and farming that transformed the area around Elliott Bay. The wide roads that shaped the city would have been largely pointless without horse-drawn conveyances to use them. The removal of wild animals was also crucial in defining the city as civilized, as demonstrated by the celebration of this process. Animals continued to be central to relations between Natives and newcomers in this era. In the military-political struggle over land, the Native peoples who objected violently to

dispossession in 1855-1856 were those who needed land for their horses, whereas those who relied on the salmon of Puget Sound did not revolt. Within the town, however, the spatial division between livestock and pets, between use and nurturance, had yet to emerge. The same animals could be both loved and worked, as when beloved dogs were used in hunting, or when chickens served as children's pets in their infancy and as supper when fully grown. Nonetheless, women and men already displayed divergent tendencies in thinking about animals, as women took a stronger role in calling for kindness to animals and were more ready to include animals in stories of the city's growth. These divergent viewpoints would provide a template for the growing divided regime, with home as a place where animals were loved, the farm and the lab as places where animals were used.

In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, as my third chapter explains, efforts to maximize profits from animals, urban land, and transportation led city-dwellers to eliminate cows and horses. Yet these efforts also helped define neighborhoods as middle-class and the city as modern. The link to class identity is made clear in the decidedly working-class nature of petitioners favoring free-roaming cows – petitioners whose pleas were largely ignored, as the city council essentially banned cows in 1907. Practices of urban subsistence with livestock in which women, men, and children all partook at home gave way to distant commercial farms providing milk, eggs, and meat. Middle-class residents were particularly insistent that home livestock production had no place in the city. Restrictive covenants in new whites-only middle-class neighborhoods of the 1920s and 1930s explicitly banned livestock, including chickens. Yet increasing restrictions on urban livestock never completely removed the utilitarian practices of keeping chickens or fishing in urban waterways. Horses followed a different path. Given the fact that it was typically businesses and the wealthy who owned horses, their departure was much more gradual. It happened over a period of some thirty years as individual owners and city agencies chose cars over horses. Yet horses eventually came to be seen as symbols of backwardness as well.

My fourth chapter considers cats and especially dogs – creatures with whom humans have formed especially close bonds in ways shaped by consumerism, the domestic ethic of kindness, and the changing social structure of the home. Most cats and dogs had a working

role in the nineteenth century, as mousers, as guardians, or as hunting dogs. Through the twentieth century, their role shifted increasingly toward companionship. City people, especially the middle class, went from viewing cats and dogs as servants to seeing them as children and as consumers. Restrictive covenants in new whites-only neighborhoods defined these animals as the only creatures that fit into respectable homes. Building on the domestic ethic of kindness dating back to the nineteenth century, many parents came to feel pets were an ideal way for children to learn empathy and compassion. Although rarely seen merely as property, they became increasingly objects of consumption and consumers themselves. In families without children, cats and dogs often took on the role of surrogate children. Increasingly, humans confined cats and dogs to their homes. A debate roiled the city from the 1930s to the 1950s on whether dogs should have the freedom to roam the city. At the time, a system we might call the “dog commons” existed wherein dogs were allowed to wander the streets, as long as they had a license. The opponents of dog freedom were motivated primarily by a desire to protect property – lawns, flowers, and shrubs – but also put forth arguments about public health. Ultimately, voters approved a leash law in 1957. Since then, dogs' and cats' role in the city has become quite secure, as small animal veterinarians, pet shops, dog parks, and doggie daycare have become essential elements of urban pet-keeping for many city people. Relations with cats and dogs are, for most city people, their most intense connection with nonhuman animals. Yet as they celebrate these loving relationships, they generally ignore the distant animals that shape urban life as well.

Cattle, pigs, and chickens, as my fifth chapter argues, are as much a part of urban life as cats and dogs, as crows and raccoons. Their lives are shaped by humans' efforts to profit from their flesh and their labor. Yet their presence and absence also took on cultural importance. Through the century the hiding of livestock and the hiding of people who worked with animals went together to define what it meant to be urban. Through the century, farmers, grocers, and livestock corporations developed new market strategies to profit from their sale and families began to view the home as a sign of wealth more than a producer of wealth. These trends led to the decline in backyard chickens (a trend that has reversed somewhat in recent decades). In the 1920s, the last large hog farms that made use of urban

food waste moved from South Seattle to the east side of Lake Washington, and by 1960, the system of feeding urban food waste to hogs had disappeared altogether. The urban stockyards and slaughterhouses where cattle, pigs, and chickens that had lived their lives in the country spent their final hours or days disappeared in the 1980s and 1990s, as owners found ways to lower costs with non-unionized, immigrant workers in rural places. In meat departments and butcher shops, consumers increasingly encountered the flesh of cattle, hogs and chickens in sanitized displays of meat wrapped in cellophane. These animals have become increasingly hidden from view, even as Americans consume them in greater quantities. The increasingly disparate treatment of livestock and pets makes clear the growing power of the divided regime.

Animals shaped the city's physical form, the bodies of urban-dwellers, and the meanings city-people attached to people and to places. City-dwellers have influenced which animals share the city with them, as they sought profits, prestige, and love from their fellow creatures. In seeking these goods, they relied on the three dualisms that make up the divided regime – those between human and animal, between domestic and wild, between pet and livestock. Yet many humans and animals contested these dualisms and viewed them instead as borderlands. Animals and humans are woven into the same society so tightly, city-dwellers cannot understand who they are or where they are without considering the animals who have accompanied them on the journey.

Chapter One

Salmon, Beaver, and Sheep: Animals in the Salish and European World

In the early nineteenth century, a young man named Wahalchu was hunting ducks from his canoe near Sbakwabaks and seeking spiritual power. As he gathered up spent arrows, he looked into the water and saw a large house beneath the waves with salmon resting on the roof and herds of elk standing outside. He hurried home to get his father's aid in acquiring the power these animals foretold. Yet his father was away and his mother could only send him back alone to discover the house was gone. Wahalchu had begun questing as a young man, and his searches took him not only to Sbakwabaks – but to points throughout the inland sea of Whulch. White settlers would later call Sbakwabaks “Alki Point” and already called Whulch “Puget’s Sound” in their efforts to lay claim to those places. Wahalchu’s connection to them stemmed from an older knowledge of the people, plants, animals, currents, and spirit allies associated with them. The spirits he saw and heard during these quests – many of them manifested as animals – helped him learn how power moved through the world and how he might gain guardians and understanding. Animals were both one of the means and one of the end goals of these quests: spirits might take the form of animals, and visions of animals such as elk and salmon foretold future success in hunting and fishing. For Wahalchu and other Indigenous people on Puget Sound, animals were crucial in sustaining their bodies and defining their place in the universe. The stories they told of the Myth Time before the current world emerged and of ongoing quests for power made animals’ role clear. Animals helped them make their world.¹

¹ Edward S. Curtis, *The North American Indian: Being a Series of Volumes Picturing and Describing the Indians of the United States, and Alaska*, vol. 9, *Salishan Tribes of the Coast. The Chimakum and the Quilliute. The Willapa* (New York: Johnson Reprint Corporation, 1913), 97-100; Jay Miller, *Lushootseed Culture and the*

We could say that some of European newcomers in that era. Animals were central to all their quests for land and profit. Beavers and their pelts first attracted them to Puget Sound. Wild animals and domestic ones sustained their bodies. The wandering of their cattle represented the most tangible evidence of newcomers' claim to a broad swath of territory. Yet the stories Europeans told about their place in the world had little room for animals' active role. From biblical stories of creation to ongoing stories of colonization and civilization, animals took only a supporting part. Rather, Europeans told themselves who they were and where they were, in part, through distinctions between human and animal, between domestic and wild. In seeing humans as the prime actors of history, they justified their colonizing project. In laying property claims to domestic animals, they claimed broad expanses of land. The distinctions of the divided regime that had such great importance to newcomers were not unknown to the Indigenous people of Puget Sound. Yet Indigenous people lived these distinctions more as borderlands than as sharp dichotomies. They saw humans and animals as collaborators, both possessed of an active role in history. They did not accept the European notion that the newcomers' cattle were fundamentally different from wild animals in that Europeans owned them no matter where they wandered. While Natives and newcomers told very different stories about animals, their daily encounters with animals were not so divergent. Both groups depended on animals to survive and had to contend with animal actions that did not conform with human desires. Whether humans recognized it or not (and Salish did so much more than newcomers), human agency ultimately hinged on the ability to harness the labor and energy of animals.

The history of Europeans and Salish on Puget Sound is about much more than animals – it is about race, empire, capitalism, and spiritual power. But tied into all these stories are stories about animals: as commodities, as symbols, as spiritual allies. To understand where the city of Seattle came from, we must understand the ways of relating to animals that preceded its founding. We must understand the contests over the human-animal

Shamanic Odyssey: An Anchored Radiance (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1999), 11-13; Coll Thrush, *Native Seattle: Histories of the Crossing-Over Place* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2007), 20-21; Myron Eells, *The Indians of Puget Sound: The Notebooks of Myron Eells* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1985), 395, 410-11.

borderlands and the domestic-wild borderlands when Europeans first arrived in Salish country.

Moon the Transformer: Salish Perspectives on Animals

During the Myth Time, before the current world emerged, animals were people.² Snoqualmie Charlie, a man born around 1850, told one story about that world. Toad was watching her grandson, Moon, one day, when Dog Salmon stole the boy. Several shamans set out to bring the baby back – Yellowhammer, Woodpecker, Raven, and Osprey – all without success. It was Bluejay who finally journeyed to the Dog Salmon people and found Moon – by then a grown man with a Dog Salmon wife and children. Moon decided to leave Dog Salmon Country. In doing so, he helped change the Myth Time into the modern world. He became the Transformer. As he went up the river, he drove the dog salmon ahead of him, saying “The new generation is coming now and you shall be food for the people, O Dog Salmon.”

As Moon the Transformer met Animal People on his journey, he changed them into different creatures – sandpipers, mallard ducks, and clams. The people became afraid of the changes Moon was bringing and made weapons to defend themselves. Yet no one could stop him. Moon encountered many other people and made them the plants and animals they are today. As he changed them, they acquired the traits they still have. Bear, for instance, thought a day and night should last a year; so bears now sleep in the winter and are out in the summer. Often, as Moon changed a creature, he commented that they would be food for humans. “You shall be something good to eat,” he told the deer.

When Moon came to the place from which he had been stolen as a child, he turned the fish weir there into Snoqualmie Falls. He then tried out various people to be the sun and the moon, eventually settling on himself and his brother, Sun, as the best light-givers. Finally, Moon created the people that would live on each river. “Fish shall run up these

² Jay Miller and Vi Hilbert, “Lushootseed Animal People: Mediation and Transformation from Myth to History,” in *Monsters, Tricksters, and Sacred Cows: Animal Tales and American Identities*, ed. James Arnold (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1996), 138-56.

rivers; they shall belong to each people on its own river. You shall make your own living from the fish, deer and other wild game.”³

Lushootseed story-telling focuses on this Myth Time, and very often the period just before the current world emerged – when Animal People became the particular animals, plants, mountains, rivers, and human groups that exist today. The Lushootseed peoples who lived on Puget Sound were part of the broader Coast Salish cultural group who inhabited lands from the Gulf of Georgia to south of the Columbia River. For Salish peoples and for Native people throughout North America, distinctions existed between humans and other animals: Moon made animals food for humans, not the opposite. In saying that once “animals were people,” story-tellers marked a distinction, as well as a connection.⁴ Still, there was a fluidity to the line between human and animal, a recognition that both humans and animals had an active role in shaping events. Any distinction did not imply human superiority or dominion. By giving humans and animals a shared origin, the Myth Time left the distinction between human and animal less than rigid. This blurring of any distinction between human and animal extended from the Myth Time to the modern world. To people who constructed time in a non-linear fashion, the Myth Time, although past, still existed in the present. The specific stories Salish people told about animals were unique, and the specific spirits from whom they sought power were particular to local places, such as Snoqualmie Falls or the Duwamish River. Yet peoples across the continent shared a sense of

³ Arthur C. Ballard, *Mythology of Southern Puget Sound* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1929), 69-80.

⁴ Susie Sampson Peter, *xecusede? ?e g^weq^wulce?: The Wisdom of a Skagit Elder* ([Seattle]: Lushootseed Press, 1995), 127, 151. Virginia DeJohn Anderson argues that some New England Indians (Powhatan, Narragansett, and Massachusetts) may have lacked a generic category “animal” and thought of them rather as individual species. She notes that vocabulary lists compiled by colonists lacked a word for “animal,” instead using the word “beast,” which may only refer to mammals and not all animals. However, it is not clear from her description what exactly the Indian words recorded meant. Marion Schwartz argues that the Micmac of Nova Scotia, at least, told stories of a Myth Time when animals were people. Lushootseed has two related words for animals: *tataculbix* (large animals), and *titiculbix* (small animals), as well as the word *alps* (animals, especially domestic ones). Virginia DeJohn Anderson, *Creatures of Empire: How Domestic Animals Transformed Early America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2004), 18; Marion Schwartz, *A History of Dogs in the Early Americas* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1997), 21; Dawn Bates, Thom Hess, and Vi Hilbert, *Lushootseed Dictionary* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1994).

profound connection between animals and humans and a belief in a Myth Time when animals were people.⁵

The Salish stories also blur distinctions between the spiritual and material roles of animals, pointing up the inadequacy of that Western dichotomy in understanding Native culture. As historian Matthew Klinge notes, “To see the stories or any part of Native spiritual life through Western eyes flattens the historical complexity of Native culture.”⁶ And as Skagit elder Vi Hilbert reminds scholars, “Write all you want because you can never learn culture from a book.”⁷ Animals were at once spirit allies, physical beings, and the Animal People of the Myth Time in ways that defy any clear separation of those roles.⁸ Lushootseed people used the human-animal distinction and the domestic-wild distinction in relating to animals. Yet, unlike newcomers, they did not conceive these distinctions as rigid lines that precluded animal agency. They recognized that human power emerged from the ability to successfully harness animal power, something that required the collaboration of animals.

Salish peoples told stories, such as the one about Moon, in the longhouses dotting the area that would become Seattle. Three separate groups inhabited this area, living in towns along waterways reflecting not only the water-based system of transportation, but the necessity of living close to the pathways salmon followed. The Duwamish, or People of the Inside Place, lived along the Duwamish and Black Rivers. At the mouth of the Duwamish stood two villages: Herring’s House and Little-Bit-Straight Point. Herring’s House included at least four longhouses and a large potlatch building; at least three longhouses were at Little-

⁵ Miller, *Lushootseed Culture*, 50-51; Miller and Hilbert, “Lushootseed Animal People,” 138-56. For descriptions of the Myth Time and Animal People among other Indigenous groups, see Richard K. Nelson, *Make Prayers to the Raven: A Koyukon View of the Northern Forest* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1983), 14-32; Nancy J. Turner, *The Earth’s Blanket: Traditional Teachings for Sustainable Living* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2005), 76-81; E. Richard Atleo, *Tsawalk: A Nuuchah-nulth Worldview* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 2004), 59-64; Schwartz, *A History of Dogs*, 21; Catherine L. Albanese, *Nature Religion in America: From the Algonkian Indians to the New Age* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1990), 23.

⁶ Matthew Klinge, *Emerald City: An Environmental History of Seattle* (New Haven: Yale University, 2007), 13.

⁷ Miller, *Lushootseed Culture*, dedication page.

Bit-Straight Point. Further upstream was Basketry Hat with three longhouses and Place of the Fish Spear with two longhouses. A second group, the Shilsholes, the People of the Entering and Emerging Place, lived along Salmon Bay. Their village called Tucked Away Inside was located on an important trade route between saltwater and upland towns and had two large longhouses and an even larger potlatch building. By one account, the Shilsholes had once numbered in the thousands, but small-pox and raids from northern tribes devastated them in the early nineteenth century. The village's name may have highlighted the relative safety it provided from raiders.⁹ A third group, the Hachooabsh, or Lake People, lived along the vast lake called Hachooab, meaning simply Great Lake – what Europeans would later call Lake Washington. At the mouth of Thornton Creek, Silenced Place had at least one longhouse. Little Canoe Channel at the mouth of Ravenna Creek on Union Bay had at least five longhouses and a fishing weir. Further south, near the current Bryn Mawr neighborhood, was another village called Swimming Hole.¹⁰ At these villages, people harvested the salmon that migrated up the river, and exploited other creatures such as mussels, clams, cod, grebes, and deer. They shared knowledge about these creatures as Animal People, as spiritual allies, and as game.

For Salish peoples, humans exerted agency in the context of place and the spiritual powers that inhabited that place, never as a force external to that web of connections.¹¹ The spirit allies whose aid they required for success in hunting and fishing, as well as in gambling and other activities, shaped their understandings of human agency. They sought to act respectfully toward game species as manifestations of animal spirits that might take offense and choose not to return. They sought hunting, gambling, and medicine powers from other spirits many of whom took the form of animals as well, and often ones of little material importance (raven, coyote). They did not imagine a divide between nature and culture, or a

⁸ On the place of animals in the worldview of Indigenous peoples of North America generally, see Carolyn Merchant, *Ecological Revolutions: Nature, Gender, and Science in New England* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1991), 44-50; Albanese, *Nature Religion*, 16-46; Nelson, *Make Prayers*.

⁹ Lynn L. Larson and Dennis E. Lewarch, *The Archaeology of West Point, Seattle, Washington: 4,000 Years of Hunter-Fisher-Gatherer Land in Southern Puget Sound* (Seattle: Larson Anthropological/Archaeological Service, 1995), vol. 1, p. 1-13.

¹⁰ Thrush, *Native Seattle*, 209-55.

human dominion over animals, as Europeans did. Rather, animals chose to present themselves to hunters and fishers through their own independent agency. Practices of alliance-building with animal spirits combined with hunting techniques as Salish people worked to acquire the flesh of animals for food.

Key examples of this alliance-building were First Salmon ceremonies. Salmon might decide not to return to the streams of Whulch if they did not receive proper respect when they were fished from the stream.¹² So, most Native peoples of Whulch had and continue to have some form of First Salmon ceremony that encourages the return of salmon, the creature of paramount importance in their diet.¹³ They honored First Salmon in simple ceremonies and by restrictions on activities such as stepping over the salmon or bringing out bows and arrows. People carefully placed the bones of the first salmon taken each year in the river to allow the salmon's souls to return to their home. Once their souls returned to streams, salmon journeyed back to their homes in the distant ocean, where they lived in longhouses much as humans do. Lushootseed stories warned of the dangers of failing to properly respect salmon. Disrespected salmon might bring immediate harm to people, or they might decide not to return to streams the next year.¹⁴ On the Columbia River (and likely on Puget Sound as well), Indigenous people refused to sell salmon to newcomers early in the season lest they fail to give proper respect and thus ruin the rest of the season. On May 5, 1835, Fort Nisqually reported, "The fresh salmon are getting numerous amongst the natives, and only a few come to us" – a possible reference to efforts to assure respect for First Salmon.¹⁵

¹¹ Alexandra Harmon, *Indians in the Making: Ethnic Relations and Indian Identities around Puget Sound* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998), 23; Miller, *Lushootseed Culture*, 21-25.

¹² Klingle, *Emerald City*, 22; Ballard, *Mythology*, 133-35; Arthur C. Ballard, *Some Tales of the Southern Puget Sound Salish* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1927), 81; Joseph E. Taylor, *Making Salmon: An Environmental History of the Northwest Fisheries Crisis* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1999), 13-38.

¹³ Miller, *Lushootseed Culture*, 7, 25, 98-99; William W. Elmendorf, *The Structure of Twana Culture* (Pullman: Washington State University Press, 1992), 117-19.

¹⁴ Klingle, *Emerald City*, 22; Ballard, *Mythology*, 133-35; Ballard, *Some Tales*, 81; Taylor, *Making Salmon*, 13-38; Elmendorf, *Structure of Twana Culture*, 117-19.

¹⁵ Richard Somerset Mackie, *Trading Beyond the Mountains: The British Fur Trade on the Pacific, 1793-1843* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1997), 190; George Dickey, ed., *The Journal of Occurrences at Fort Nisqually* ([Tacoma?]: Fort Nisqually Association, [1993?]), May 5, 1835 (referred to hereafter as Fort Nisqually Journal).

Salish peoples also sought to assure the compliance of elk and deer. A hunter avoided ritual pollution by not hunting within a day of having sex and avoiding hunting when his wife was menstruating.¹⁶ Some Salish people held first elk ceremonies in order to placate the “father of elk” and assure good hunting in the following season.¹⁷ Animals as well as humans chose the alliances they would form in a world where both were aware of spirit allies and both exerted agency that could shape their world.

In naming the places they visited, Lushootseed people testified to the importance of these animals. While few Seattle neighborhoods, streets, or geographic features are named for animals today, many had such names for the area’s original residents.¹⁸ Fish, especially salmon, were central to human life on Whulch. The large town at the mouth of the Duwamish River was known as “Herring’s House.” The nearby creek was known as “Smelt.” Further upstream was a site known as “Fish Drying Rack.” Further still lay another important village, “Place of the Fish Spear.” A Lake Washington bay now known as Wolf Bay in the Windermere neighborhood was called “Minnows.” “Thrashed Water,” an inlet on the north side of Chachu’oo (what Europeans would later call Lake Union), referred to a place where people drove fish into the narrows by thrashing the water.

Shellfish, unlike most animals, hardly move. Perhaps for this reason, the Salish did not assign them a major role in the workings of the cosmos. These creatures were, nonetheless, important to Lushootseed subsistence. People harvested mollusk species such as “the littleneck clam, butter clam, horse clam, cockle, geoduck, bay mussel, and native oyster.” Some species lived on the surface of tidelands and could simply be gathered; people employed digging sticks to harvest others.¹⁹ Yet few Native stories refer to these creatures as important characters. While shellfish were an important part of the diet, few if any place names refer to them.

¹⁶ Elmendorf, *Structure of Twana Culture*, 85.

¹⁷ Elmendorf, *Structure of Twana Culture*, 117, 529-32.

¹⁸ Salmon Bay is perhaps the most prominent feature named for an animal today. Other such features exist, but are not widely known, such as Dead-horse Canyon and Wolf Bay.

¹⁹ Wayne Suttles and Barbara Lane, “Southern Coast Salish,” in *Handbook of North American Indians*, vol. 7, *Northwest Coast*, ed. William C. Sturtevant and Wayne Suttles (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution, 1990), 489.

Hunters caught around twenty different species of waterfowl, sometimes using fire to hunt them from their canoes at night. They hunted ducks with nets at places where the ducks gathered to feast on herrings.²⁰ In light of this important role, a number of places were named for these creatures. About a mile upstream from Herring's House was Aerial Duck Net Place. Likewise, "Aerial Duck Net" referred to a point on Whulch, where a trail began leading to Lake Union. They named an inlet "Loon Place," a stream "Ducklings," and a point on the shore of Lake Washington "Osprey's House." Lushootseed story-tellers likewise commemorated the importance of these animals as they told stories of Raven, Wren, Loon, and Bufflehead.²¹

Although four-legged creatures were of greater importance to people in uplands, Native people near the shores of Whulch commemorated mammals as well. Several sites referred to the beavers that would attract whites starting in the 1830s. Native people dubbed a site on the Duwamish River "Beaver," a place on Lake Washington "Gnawed." A point on the northwest shore of Lake Washington was known as "Hunt by Looking at the Water," indicating perhaps a place where deer were hunted when they came to drink. Hunters generally pursued deer and elk individually using bows and arrows. Dogs helped them locate game and track animals that were wounded. People also trapped deer using pitfalls or snares. On occasion, they would hunt collectively, driving game with nets to surround them or to force them into the water where they could be clubbed. In addition to deer and elk, hunters also used deadfalls and snares to take "black bear, beavers, raccoons, marmots, and other small animals."²² As they told stories of coyote, bear, mink, and chipmunk, they testified to the importance of these animals in their lives.

Although wild animals dominated Lushootseed people's spiritual world and their diet, it was domestic creatures that were most visible in their daily lives: the dogs that lived in their villages, and for people on the Nisqually Plains, the horses that they owned by the 1790s. They did not rely on domestic animals to the extent that Euro-Americans did. The reliance on horses was limited to southern Puget Sound. The keeping of dogs, unlike sheep

²⁰ Suttles and Lane, "Southern Coast Salish," 489.

²¹ Ballard, *Mythology*, 81, 98, 101, 137.

²² Suttles and Lane, "Southern Coast Salish," 489.

and cattle, did not put people at war with predators. Yet even as Salish people blurred any domestic-wild line by viewing the woods as no less sacred than the town, they also marked a distinction by treating dogs and horses differently than other animals. These animals were essential to their way of life.

Dogs were useful collaborators and objects of affection, even in a human society where wild animals had such importance. Dogs are perhaps humans' oldest companion species, and have a very ancient association with people on the waterways near Sbakwabaks.²³ The first archeological evidence of dogs in the lands that would become Seattle dates to 1000 B.C.E., but in all likelihood these animals arrived with the first people that colonized the area after the retreat of the Ice Age glaciers.²⁴ Some of the attributes of twenty-first century pet-keeping have existed on Whulch for centuries. Dogs had names. They lived with families in their houses. They were often buried when they died, and people never expected to eat them. However, these dogs were always expected to do useful work. This fact explains the two separate breeds of dogs in the area, one kept for wool and the other for hunting. The work that hunting dogs did required careful training from a young age, using both special training techniques and medicine with magical powers. Native people worked especially to teach the dogs the smell of wounded deer, so they could trail an animal effectively after it had been wounded.²⁵

Although there is little sign that the fur trade endangered the fur-bearing animals it targeted on Whulch, it led to the extinction of one breed of dogs. While the European presence generally expanded the area's population of domestic animals, in this case the opposite was true. When local hunters brought in pelts, they traded these furs primarily for woolen blankets.²⁶ These blankets of sheep's wool eventually replaced the Native blankets

²³ On the domestication of dogs, see Juliet Clutton-Brock, "Dog," in *Evolution of Domesticated Animals*, ed. Ian L. Mason (London: Longman, 1984), 198-210; S. Bökönyi, *History of Domestic Mammals in Central and Eastern Europe* (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1974), 313-33; Juliet Clutton-Brock, *A Natural History of Domesticated Animals* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 49-61; Frederick E. Zeuner, *A History of Domesticated Animals* (London: Hutchinson of London, 1963), 79-111.

²⁴ George Gibbs, *Tribes of Western Washington and Northwestern Oregon* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1877), 221-22; Miller, *Lushootseed Culture*, 2; Larson and Lewarch, *Archaeology of West Point*, vol. 1, p. 9-9.

²⁵ William W. Elmendorf, *Structure of Twana Culture*, 94-100.

²⁶ Fort Nisqually Journal, January 28, 1834, September 10, 1835.

made from combinations of dog fur, mountain goat fur, and duck and goose down. Captain George Vancouver, the leader of the first European exploration of Puget Sound in 1792, had described these animals in the following terms: “The dogs belonging to this tribe of Indians were numerous, and much resembled those of Pomerania, though in general somewhat larger. They were all shorn as fleeces, that large portions could be lifted up by a corner without causing any separation. They were composed of a mixture of a coarse kind of wool, with very fine long hair, capable of being spun into yarn. This gave me reason to believe that their woollen clothing might in part be composed of this material mixed with a finer kind of wool from some other animal, as their garments were all too fine to be manufactured from the coarse coating of the dog alone.”²⁷ People kept these dogs throughout the Salish Sea – along Puget Sound, the Strait of Juan de Fuca, the Georgia Strait, and the Fraser River – carefully separating them from the hunting dogs, sometimes on islands, so the two types of dog would not interbreed.²⁸ These “numerous” animals were extinct by the 1850s.

Despite affection for dogs, Lushootseed people seem not to have accorded them the spiritual role of wild creatures. For the most part, dogs in the Myth Time acted largely like they do in the current world. They appear as “dogs” not “Dog” in most of the Lushootseed stories recorded in the early twentieth century. In this, they bear some resemblance to common wild game species – salmon, elk, deer – that Lushootseed people likely saw frequently or daily. Yet, even these wild creatures also appear as characters in the stories as Animal People as well, as Elk, Deer, and Salmon. Dogs, by contrast, are almost always just plain dogs. They chase a bull-elk allowing a hunter to kill it.²⁹ The dog of a supernatural being licks an old man’s eyes restoring his sight.³⁰ A dog follows his master’s instruction to bark in the wrong direction when asked which way the master had gone.³¹ A dog looks for lice. A dog lays down by a fire. Some of these dogs have remarkable powers, but none of them are people; none of them hunt with a bow and arrow, row a canoe, or talk. One Twana

²⁷ Entry dated May 24, 1792, George Vancouver, *A Voyage of Discovery to the North Pacific Ocean, and Round the World* (London, 1798), 2:265.

²⁸ F. W. Howay, “The Dog’s Hair Blankets of the Coast Salish,” *Washington Historical Quarterly* 9, no. 2 (1918): 83-92.

²⁹ Ballard, *Mythology*, 94.

³⁰ Ballard, *Mythology*, 139.

story – from a Lushootseed people near Hood Canal – does provide a counter-example. In it, the Transformer was giving away things to all the people and Dog is the only one who spoke up to get “sqa’p”: “And now he is the sqa’p animal: foolish, steals, bothers people, a silly bother.”³² More elaborate stories of dogs as people appear in the stories of other Indigenous Americans, such as the dog-as-husband stories told by Tlingit, Haida, and Nootka, as well as Arapaho.³³ Puget Sound stories, however, cast dogs much more as useful servants than as Animal People or spiritual allies.

Indigenous groups’ first encounters with horses suggest that while they sometimes associated them with dogs, the category of “domestic” was not firmly established. Peoples of the northern Great Plains referred to horses as “elk dog,” “big dog,” or “mysterious dog.”³⁴ The Nisqually term for horse, *stick-ai-o*, by contrast, derives from the word for wolf.³⁵ From the moment horses arrived in eastern Washington, they were compared to wild animals, yet treated, unlike wild animals, as living property and objects of trade. One year, the Walla Walla travelled across the Blue Mountains to fight the Shoshones. Their scouts reported the Shoshones had come with “some strange looking animals. They were not elk or deer but they looked like elk or deer, only they had no horns.” The Shoshones were riding the animals and were able to precisely control the speed and direction of the animals. The Walla Walla traded all they had brought with them for a stallion and a mare. “Our people were very proud,” one Walla Walla noted. “The Yakima were allowed to take the mare to their country, for it was safer there, and the stallion was kept in the Walla Walla Valley. Each year the mare was brought to the Walla Walla Valley and bred. So there were more horses.”³⁶ It was likely from Yakima Country that horses first reached Puget Sound in the late 1790s. Given their late arrival, they appear only rarely in Lushootseed story-telling.

³¹ Ballard, *Mythology*, 117.

³² Elmendorf, *Structure of Twana Culture*, 99.

³³ Schwartz, *A History of Dogs*, 24-25.

³⁴ Darrell Robes Kipp, “Horses and Indians,” in *Encyclopedia of North American Indians*, ed. F. E. Hoxie (New York: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1996); George Bird Grinnell, “Horses,” in *Handbook of American Indians North of Mexico*, ed. F. W. Hodge (New York: Pageant Books, 1959), 569-71.

³⁵ Eells, *The Indians of Puget Sound*, 194-95.

³⁶ H. M. Painter, “The Coming of the Horse,” *Washington Historical Quarterly* 37, no. 1 (1946): 155-57.

So, domestic animals were not unknown; but they had nothing like the importance they would have for newcomers. Notably, Lushootseed people did not regularly rely on domestic animals for food, and thus did not regularly slaughter domestic animals. Some have argued that the lack of widespread domestication in the Americas was due almost solely to the absence of likely candidates following the mass extinctions of the Pleistocene around 10,000 to 15,000 B.C.E.³⁷ In this view, environmental constraints shaped cultural practices, rather than the other way around. Animals certainly play an active role in the domestication process and individuals of many species regularly refuse to mate in captivity or act with such aggression that the venture is not worthwhile. Yet bison may be no more ferocious than the aurochs ancestor of cattle. And the wild sheep and goats of the Americas might be as amenable to domestication as those of Europe. As zoologist Juliet Clutton-Brock argues, “It was probably for cultural, as much as for many other complicated reasons, that the native Americans never domesticated the bighorn sheep, nor the Australian Aborigines the kangaroo.”³⁸ When Europeans and Lushootseed met on Whulch in the nineteenth century, they each brought ideas about animals and practices with animals that reinforced each other. Ultimately, in these lifeways, environmental and cultural causes intertwined in ways that are impossible to disentangle.

Although Indigenous stories of the Myth Time establish a link between humans and animals, they also established a line. There was connection, because in the Myth Time, animals were people; people and animals had a common origin. Yet there was separation as well: in transforming the world, Moon had animals food for humans and marked a distinction between the two. It was, in other words, a borderland – a place of both connection and separation.³⁹ An active role in history was not reserved exclusively to humans, but shared by humans, animals, and spiritual beings.

³⁷ Jared Diamond, *Guns, Germs, and Steel: The Fates of Human Societies* (New York: Norton, 1998), 46-47, 157-75.

³⁸ Juliet Clutton-Brock, *A Natural History of Domesticated Animals* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 31.

³⁹ Nelson, *Make Prayers*, 20-21.

The Hudson's Bay Company and the Fur Trade

When Europeans first came to Whulch, they too had animals on their minds. In May of 1792, the Duwamish, Shisholes, and Hachooabsh – residents of Herring's House, Little-Bit-Straight Point, Basketry Hat, Place of the Fish Spear, and many other towns – saw the first Europeans on Whulch: George Vancouver and his crew aboard the *Discovery*. His survey of Puget Sound was part of a voyage for empire. His immediate mission was to consolidate British control of the sea otter trade on the Pacific Coast and to search for a Northwest Passage to facilitate that trade. His surveys also helped prepare the way for the beaver trade in Puget Sound. This trade revealed that very different ideas about animals did not preclude cooperation in very similar practices: treating beaver skins as valuable commodities.

A persistent theme of British and later U.S. imperialism was the effort to transform the landscape, in newcomers' view, from one shaped by nature to one shaped by culture – a project in which domestic animals would play a crucial role. Vancouver's 1792 survey of Puget Sound revealed his desire to make the lands he saw into a place more like Europe. This goal fit nowhere within his specific mission instructions, but it was an economic strategy and a cultural impulse that would profoundly shape the encounter between Natives and newcomers in the region. It was a goal which would, by 1833, bring the introduction of cattle and sheep to the region.

At the same time, Vancouver minimized the transformations Native people had brought to the land. When he first observed park-like clearings around villages on Puget Sound, he viewed them as pure products of "nature," unshaped by "the hand of man." As he continued his voyage through the sound, however, he was forced to admit, somewhat grudgingly, "It is also possible, that most of the clear spaces may have been indebted, for the removal of their timber and underwood, to manual labour."⁴⁰ Yet he still regretted the absence of European-style houses and agriculture. "This country," Vancouver wrote, "regarded in an agricultural point of view, I should conceive is capable of high

⁴⁰ Vancouver, *Voyage of Discovery*, 2:227-28, 2:254.

improvement” with the introduction of “nutritious exotics.”⁴¹ As he continued further, he seemed to forget his earlier insight about Natives’ “manual labour” – an insight which fit poorly within an imperial narrative of progress and British land claims. “The serenity of the climate,” he noted, “the innumerable pleasing landscapes, and the abundant fertility that unassisted nature puts forth, require only to be enriched by the industry of man with villages, mansions, cottages, and other buildings, to render it the most lovely country that can be imagined; whilst the labour of the inhabitants would be amply rewarded, in the bounties which nature seems ready to bestow on cultivation.”⁴² Seeing deer at play in “beautiful pastures,” he said, “Nature had here provided the well-stocked park, and wanted only the assistance of art to continue that desirable assemblage of surface, which is so much sought in other countries, and only to be acquired by an immoderate expence of labour.”⁴³ As he prepared to leave Puget Sound, Vancouver claimed the surrounding lands in the name of British crown. He certainly knew these lands were already inhabited by Native people; yet those existing rights to these lands played little or no part in his thinking. His brief insight that Native people had, through their own labor, created this landscape was forgotten. In the end, Vancouver seemed to believe, it was “unassisted nature” in the absence of “art,” “labour” or “cultivation” that had made this place.⁴⁴

The newcomers who mapped and envisioned exploiting the lands of Puget Sound brought not only new economic strategies for using animals, they brought new stories about how humans and animals fit into the world. While Salish told stories of Animal People, newcomers (when they told of animals at all) emphasized human dominion. While animals were central to Salish understandings of their place in the cosmos, as seen in the Moon the Transformer story, Christianity gave them only cursory attention. The central relationship in

⁴¹ Vancouver, *Voyage of Discovery*, 2:251.

⁴² Vancouver, *Voyage of Discovery*, 2:259.

⁴³ Vancouver, *Voyage of Discovery*, 2:288.

⁴⁴ On Vancouver in the Pacific Northwest, see Klinge, *Emerald City*, 23-27; Cole Harris, *The Resettlement of British Columbia: Essays on Colonialism and Geographical Change* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1997), 10-13. On Vancouver’s mission instructions, see Robin Fisher and Hugh Johnston, “Introduction,” in *From Maps to Metaphors: The Pacific World of George Vancouver*, ed. Robin Fisher and Hugh Johnston (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1993), 7; Glyndwr Williams, “Myth and Reality: The Theoretical Geography of Northwest America from Cook to Vancouver,” in *From Maps to Metaphors*, 43-44.

the Bible is that between humans and God. Animals only appear in ways that make their subservience clear. When newcomers preached to Native people on Puget Sound and sought to convert them to Christianity, among their stories were three that included animals: the Creation, the Fall, and the Flood.⁴⁵ The Creation story as presented in Genesis makes clear that people are distinct from animals and that they have dominion over them.⁴⁶ In it, God tells the first humans that they would “have dominion over the fish of the sea, and over the fowl of the air, and over every living thing that moveth upon the earth.” Adam, by naming the animals, marks human power over these fellow creatures.

In a second story, that of Adam and Eve’s banishment from the Garden of Eden, many Christians saw the origin of animals’ wildness.⁴⁷ English theologians argued that “man” had perfect control of animals in Eden and only with the Fall was he forced to labor to assert that control. The broken condition of the world might be made whole, they argued citing Isaiah, in a future paradise where “The wolf also shall dwell with the lamb, and the leopard shall lie down with the kid.”⁴⁸ Wild animals would not threaten domestic ones, but live in harmony. Just as the control of animals was ordained by God, animals’ failure to obey human desires marked humans’ fall from God’s grace. The Fall set humans in the precarious position of having a certain control over animals, but always being threatened by wild animals, and the potential wildness of domestic animals.

Finally, in the story of Noah and the Flood, humans exhibited power over animals through their care for them.⁴⁹ Even though animals figured prominently in the story, its central point was again the relationship between humans and God. Angered at humans’

⁴⁵ Entries dated July 28, 1833, October 17, 1833, and November 10, 1833, William Fraser Tolmie, *The Journals of William Fraser Tolmie, Physician and Fur Trader* (Vancouver, B.C.: Mitchell Press, 1963), 221-22, 242, 249; Francis Norbert Blanchet and Modeste Demers, *Notices and Voyages of the Famed Quebec Mission to the Pacific Northwest* (Portland: Oregon Historical Society, 1956), 40; Jeanne Kay, “Human Dominion Over Nature in the Hebrew Bible,” *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 79, no. 2 (June 1989): 214-32; Robin Attfield, “Christian Attitudes toward Nature,” *Journal of the History of Ideas* 44, no. 3 (1983): 369-86.

⁴⁶ Genesis, books 1-2; Mark Stoll, *Protestantism, Capitalism, and Nature in North America* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1997), 23-24.

⁴⁷ Erica Fudge, *Perceiving Animals: Humans and Beasts in Early Modern English Culture* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 2000), 37-38; Stoll, 21.

⁴⁸ Isaiah 11:6.

⁴⁹ Genesis, books 6-9.

wickedness, God regretted creating humans and decided to flood the earth and destroy all life. God favored Noah, however, and told him to build an ark that would protect him, his family, and two or more members of all the species of animals. Animals in this story were not sources of spiritual power, but mere pawns in the struggle between humans and God – drowned in great numbers for human wickedness in which they took no part. As God blessed Noah and his family on leaving the ark, he again described the human dominion over other creatures and the exceptional status of humans that set them apart from animals. In the story, God makes clear that animals, as well as plants, would be food for humans: “Every moving thing that liveth shall be meat for you; even as the green herb have I given you all things.”

The trade in furs on Puget Sound did not require Natives and newcomers to rework their respective views of the human-animal borderlands, in part because it was so short-lived. Both sides could agree animals were valuable items of trade. Whether one believed that animals allowed themselves to be trapped because of the respect humans offered them or that God created them for human use mattered little as Natives and newcomers haggled over the value of a beaver pelt. Neither did the trade require reworking the domestic-wild borderlands as did European agriculture. In the fur trade, both Natives and newcomers relied on wild animals. Long before the arrival of Europeans, Indigenous peoples had traded furs, foodstuffs, baskets, and dentalium shells.⁵⁰ But, the scale of the trade and the connection to world markets were something new.

This trade had several important effects on Native people: it helped spread epidemic disease, provided a neutral place for diplomacy between Native groups, and introduced them to manufactured goods. As discussed earlier, it even led to the extinction of the woolly breed of dogs.⁵¹ All these changes stemmed from the value traders assigned beavers as a commodity. Yet the beaver’s status as a commodity was contingent. Just as the trade was

⁵⁰ Marian W. Smith, *The Puyallup-Nisqually* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1940), 146-50; Elmendorf, *Structure of Twana Culture*, 289.

⁵¹ Vancouver, *Voyage of Discovery*, 2:265. On the fur trade in the Pacific Northwest generally, see Harris, *Resettlement of British Columbia*; Harmon, *Indians in the Making*, 13-42; Klinge, *Emerald City*, 23-27; Robin Fisher, *Contact and Conflict: Indian-European Relations in British Columbia, 1774-1890* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1992).

getting under way, the popularity of beaver-felt hats in Europe plummeted and with it the trade in beavers.

Some have argued that in some regions of North America, the fur trade had the power to transform Indigenous worldviews and economies. Historian Calvin Martin has argued, based on questionable evidence, that Native peoples of New England “made war” on beaver because they blamed them for epidemics.⁵² Historian Richard White argues, much more convincingly, that among the Choctaws the fur trade served to undermine Native economies and create the “roots of dependency.” But as anthropologist Shepherd Krech III has noted, “there were many beaver trades, not one.” On Whulch, the intensive trading of furs was short-lived. In contrast to its strategy elsewhere, the HBC actively promoted European agriculture and even white settlement on Puget Sound, both because it viewed that as the most profitable enterprise there and because it hoped to counter U.S. territorial claims to the region.⁵³ Ultimately, agriculture and white settlement took on much more importance there than the beaver trade ever did.⁵⁴ During its short life, the trade in furs certainly did not require a transformation of Salish worldviews.

The beavers who first attracted Europeans to Whulch had shared the area’s waterways with humans for millennia. The two species, there as elsewhere, were arguably the most aggressive transformers of their own environment. Beavers had felled thousands of trees with their incisor teeth and powerful jaw muscles, gaining not only nutrition from the bark and cambium, but building materials for dams and lodges. With these dams, they turned flowing streams into ponds, within which they could build their lodges in safety. In these lodges, beaver gave birth to pups, who around the age of two would be forced out of the

⁵² Calvin Martin, *Keepers of the Game: Indian-Animal Relationships and the Fur Trade* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1978).

⁵³ Mackie, *Trading Beyond the Mountains*, 234, 238, James R. Gibson, *Farming the Frontier: The Agricultural Opening of Oregon Country 1786-1846* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1985), 87, 118.

⁵⁴ Richard White, *The Roots of Dependency: Subsistence, Environment, and Social Change among the Choctaws, Pawnees, and Navajos* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1983), 34-146; Shepard Krech III, *The Ecological Indian: Myth and History* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1999), 176; William Cronon, *Changes in the Land: Indians, Colonists, and the Ecology of New England* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1983), 91-107; Merchant, *Ecological Revolutions*, 53-56.

parents' lodge and would set out in search of other waterways to dam.⁵⁵ Through this process, they dispersed themselves throughout the region, transforming flowing streams into vast wetlands. When the ponds they had created silted up and were abandoned, they left behind rich meadows that contributed to the diverse ecology of Whulch.

Beavers' thick fur allowed them to survive in their watery home. It also attracted Lushootseed hunters. They put their canoes on beaver ponds, broke down dams, and speared the beavers as they came out to repair their structures. They searched out beaver trails leading from ponds and set bent-sapling traps to snare passing beavers. They also used pitfall traps, as described in the story of Raven using such a trap to catch a beaver. Beavers provided meat and fur, and their incisors had various uses: as incising tools for decorative work on bones or antlers, and as gambling bones.⁵⁶ These same thick furs helped attract the British traders to the region.

Europeans first settled permanently on Whulch in 1833. That year, a young man named William F. Tolmie travelled Whulch carefully observing places and animals in hopes of obtaining the power they embodied – not the spiritual power that Jacob Wahalchu sought on his quests, but the power of economic value, power that came from dominating animals, not from allying with them. When he came to Sbakwabaks in July of that year, he had only been on Whulch a few weeks and sought ways to connect that place to an expanding web of capitalism as an agent of the Hudson's Bay Company (HBC). In travelling to Whulch, he traced in reverse the path beaver skins would take to Europe. After leaving his native Scotland in the fall of 1832, with stops at London, Honolulu, and two Columbia River fur-trade posts – Fort George and Fort Vancouver – the twenty-one-year-old Tolmie had arrived at the proposed site of Fort Nisqually on Sequatchew Creek (some forty miles southwest of Sbakwabaks, midway between the current cities of Tacoma and Olympia) in May of 1833. Over the next twenty years, he would spend much of his working life at the new fort and around Whulch managing the fur trade and agricultural affairs of the Hudson's Bay

⁵⁵ Dietland Müller-Schwarze and Lixing Sun, *The Beaver: Natural History of a Wetlands Engineer* (Ithaca: Comstock Publishing Associates, 2003).

Company.⁵⁷ He ultimately decided not to establish a trading outpost at Sbakwabaks, but his work and that of other HBC employees would connect the people of that place, as they would peoples throughout Whulch, to markets in Hawai'i, London, and China. Local hunters brought in pelts of beaver, bear, elk, deer, lynx, wolves, raccoon, mink, fisher, martins, and wood rats and traded these furs primarily for woolen blankets, but also for tobacco, firearms, ammunition, traps, handkerchiefs, fishing hooks, and more.⁵⁸ Once HBC traders had acquired beaver, workers dusted and bundled the furs and sent them to Fort Vancouver, where the regional trade was organized.

The fur had both a material and an abstract existence. The material fur would end up as a hat on someone's head, but the abstract fur would allow HBC managers to assess their subordinates and plan future business strategies. With the precision of accountants, managers compared each year's receipts: "Our returns so far much better than at that time being no less than 250 Beaver skins ahead of last year."⁵⁹ Each month at Fort Nisqually, the newcomers reduced their interactions with local animals to a neat numeric list. This accounting separated the beaver as commodity from the beaver as living being, a demarcation even stronger in the minds of distant consumers for whom the creatures were pure commodities. It was the value assigned these beavers in distant markets that lay behind Salish hunters' newfound attraction to them and the travels of hundreds of Salish people each year to Fort Nisqually.

The fort provided a venue for diplomacy, marriages, and alliance-forming, as much as for trade. It brought together peoples from a wide area. Salish people probably had had few occasions to meet so many strangers under peaceful circumstances before the creation of the fort.⁶⁰ These alliances and marriages blurred neat distinctions between Native and newcomers, as HBC workers and managers just arriving in the region (a diverse group of whites – many with Native wives – Iroquois, Abenaki, French-Canadians – many of mixed

⁵⁶ Arthur Ballard, *Mythology*, 97-98; Hermann Haeberlin and Erna Gunther, *The Indians of Puget Sound* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1930), 25; Elmendorf, *Structure of Twana Culture*, 94; Larson and Lewarch, *Archaeology of West Point*, vol. 1, pp. 9-6 to 9-8.

⁵⁷ Tolmie, *Journals*; Fort Nisqually Journal.

⁵⁸ Fort Nisqually Journal, January 28, 1834, September 10, 1835.

⁵⁹ Fort Nisqually Journal, May 18, 1835.

white and Native blood – and Hawai’ians) formed sexual relationships and marriages with Salish women, and as Salish people sought to form useful alliances not only with the newcomers, but with other Salish groups. Although the fort’s journals have only two references to Duwamish visitors, they record dozens of visits each year by Suquamish people. Given the close connections between those two groups, visitors described as Suquamish may well have included people from the Duwamish watershed. Not surprisingly, peoples residing close to the fort were the most regular visitors. Although people came from as far north as the Georgia Strait, as far east as the Yakima plain and as far south as the Cowlitz River, the people around Keelbeed, Sbawkabaks, and Clear Water were especially well represented. While many of these visits had little to do with trading furs, it was the existence of the fort – established because of the value assigned to beaver in distant markets – that made them possible.

Like other Salish people, Seattle, a man of about forty, likely travelled to Fort Nisqually as much to learn about the newcomers and to meet Salish people from other places, as to trade furs. He was a regular visitor to the fort along with his “friends,” “family,” or others “of his tribe.”⁶¹ The fort journals made several references to his visits in the 1830s, and referred even more often to his ally, the Suquamish chief Challacum.⁶² Described at times as a “chief” in the fort’s journals, he was clearly an important man and the leader of the groups he travelled with. His homelands spanned both sides of Whulch. By one account, he had a Suquamish father and a Duwamish mother, in line with the local practice of strengthening alliance networks by marrying outside one’s local group. Seattle would

⁶⁰ Harmon, *Indians in the Making*, 36-37.

⁶¹ Entries for August 25, 1835; September 28, 1835; October 18, 1835; January 3, 4, 10, and 18, 1836; November 22, 1836; March 31, 1837; December 6, 1837; January 9, 1838; April 9, 1838; and August 23, 1838, Fort Nisqually Journal. The journals also contains two references to Duwamish traders: July 11, 1835: “This evening a band of So-qua-mish and a few O-waw-mish cast up to trade”; December 16, 1835: “Traded 10 Beaver skins & two Otter from a few O-no-waw-mish.” (Lushootseed languages were undergoing a transition at this time transforming *n* to *d*.) For an account of Seattle’s interactions with the HBC, see Archie Binns, *Northwest Gateway: The Story of the Port of Seattle* (Portland, Oregon: Binfords & Mort, 1941), 96.

⁶² The journals refer to at least eight visits by Seattle between 1835 and 1838. No journals exist from mid-1839 to 1845.

eventually become chief of several towns on both sides of the channel, including the land where white settlers would establish a town named for him: Seattle.⁶³

Along with manufactured goods and neutral meeting places, however, the trade brought something more pernicious. European germs had preceded European people on Puget Sound. These were, in a sense, the first European creatures to reach Puget Sound, arriving well before Vancouver. As he surveyed Whulch in 1792, Vancouver encountered empty villages “over-run with weeds” and human bones “promiscuously scattered about.” He met Salish people who bore the marks of smallpox on their faces.⁶⁴ In subsequent decades, smallpox, measles, influenza, and other devastating infectious diseases, to which Indigenous peoples had no immunity, ravished towns all through Puget Sound. While the exact toll will never be known, by one estimate, that of anthropologist Robert T. Boyd, the population of the Northwest Coast fell by eighty percent or more from 1774 to 1874. Into the tumult of cultural adjustment and ethnic realignment accompanying this catastrophe, European fur traders and settlers would insert themselves in the 1830s.⁶⁵

Human depopulation affected animal populations as well. Deer and elk were wild: they roamed free and often fled when they saw humans. Yet human actions shaped their lives, helped determine where they would graze, and affected their population numbers. Salish people used fire to create meadows in which animals would graze and could be hunted. Near one deserted village on Penn’s Cove, Vancouver described a “delightful prospect” of “spacious meadows” extending for several miles – “beautiful pastures” in which “deer were seen playing in great numbers.”⁶⁶ Although we do not know if Indigenous people created these particular meadows with fire, we know that Salish people kept forests at bay and fostered meadows with fire. As human populations plummeted, many of these meadows lost their human tenders, reducing the habitat available for deer. On the other

⁶³ By C. H. Hanford’s account, Seattle became the chief of six villages through a battle on the upper Duwamish River (*Seattle and Environs, 1852-1924*, [Chicago: Pioneer Historical Publishing, 1924], 1:144). Emily Inez Denny places this battle around 1841 (*Blazing the Way: True Stories, Songs and Sketches of Puget Sound and Other Pioneers* [Seattle: Rainier Printing Company, 1909], 360).

⁶⁴ Vancouver, *Voyage of Discovery*, 2:229-30.

⁶⁵ Robert T. Boyd, *The Coming of the Spirit of Pestilence: Introduced Infectious Diseases and Population Decline among Northwest Coast Indians, 1774-1874* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press 1999), 30-39, 57-58, 153-60, 262-78; Harris, *Resettlement*, 3-30; Klingle, *Emerald City*, 24.

hand, the region then also had fewer hunters pursuing deer. So, how exactly deer fared amid these countervailing trends is hard to say. What is clear is that a system where animals lived wild lives shaped by human agency was transformed.⁶⁷ When Euro-Americans brought livestock, they would further alter how animals transformed grass into flesh. Yet the transformation was not as complete as Europeans imagined, the line between domestic and wild not nearly as stark. Salish people shaped deer's lives more than newcomers recognized. And as we shall see, cattle had ample opportunities to express their own wildness.

Epidemic diseases increased after Fort Nisqually was established. The plagues killed many and likely led to increased killing of shamans, who were blamed for the spreading disease.⁶⁸ In December of 1837, Chief Seattle himself killed a shaman near Fort Nisqually.⁶⁹ While the fort officials saw Seattle's action as "murder" and wished the other Indians would "shoot the villain," shamans who did not succeed in curing their patients were often killed in this sort of retribution. The fort journals recounted many such killings of shamans in the early years of the fur trade. Since these killings occurred at a time when epidemic disease periodically raged through Indigenous populations – possibly worsened by disruptions of Native subsistence from white settlement – they may indicate an undermining of shamans' power or fears that shamans were exerting malevolent power. While these epidemics may have undermined shamans' ability to exert power through their spirit allies, they did not end these alliances. Debates about the power of shamans continued through the nineteenth century and beyond.⁷⁰ And epidemics not only fostered violent plans against Indigenous shamans, but against the fur traders, as well. HBC officials heard reports of an impending Indian attack on the fort (which never occurred) in the late 1840s, as Native people blamed whites for the measles epidemic then ravaging their population.⁷¹

⁶⁶ Vancouver, *Voyage of Discovery*, 2:287.

⁶⁷ *Duwamish, Lummi, [et al.] vs. the United States of America* (Seattle: Argus Press, 1933[?]), 645, 667, 691, 696; Gibson, *Farming the Frontier*, 96; Arthur R. Kruckeberg, *The Natural History of Puget Sound Country* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1991), 188-89.

⁶⁸ Boyd, *Coming of the Spirit of Pestilence*, 277.

⁶⁹ Entries for December 6, 1837 and January 9, 1838, Fort Nisqually Journal

⁷⁰ For instance, as Indian Shakers created a religion blending Native and Christian beliefs (Harmon, 124-30).

⁷¹ Harmon, 53; Boyd, 156.

The Puget Sound fur trade, however, was short-lived. As newcomers looked through these accounting tables, they soon learned that they were making little money on furs. Despite a few promising years, the fur trade on Puget Sound never really took off. William Kittson, a manager at Fort Nisqually, attributed declining fur-trade returns starting in 1836 to illness among Native peoples that kept them from coming to the fort, as well as to conflicts among Native groups near Whidbey Island. In addition, the popularity of fur hats was fading in Europe in favor of silk hats. The fur trade revealed stresses, but was so short-lived it did not fundamentally transform Native beliefs and culture.⁷² The trading in furs altered the Indigenous world more through epidemic diseases and the opportunities for new alliance-making in those years than through the actual business of trading furs. It allowed the Indigenous view of a human-animal borderland and the newcomer notion of a sharp human-animal line to coexist, even as they dealt with the very same animals. However, this was only the first step in European imperial projects. As Europeans brought in their domestic livestock, they would quickly dispossess Salish people of much that had been theirs.

“The First Step Toward Colonization”: The Puget Sound Agricultural Company and Livestock

As Tolmie prepared to leave Fort Vancouver for Fort Nisqually one day in the early 1830s, he heard his superior Dr. John McLoughlin lay out his plans: “the Dr unfolded ... his views regarding the breeding of cattle here. He thinks that when the trade in furs is knocked up which at no very distant day must happen, the servants of Coy. [the Hudson’s Bay Company] may turn their attention to the rearing of cattle for the sake of the hides & tallow, in which he says business could be carried on to a greater amount, than that of the furs collected west of the Rocky Mountains.”⁷³ From the beginning, HBC officials saw the beaver trade on Puget Sound as a temporary industry. Although the HBC was generally

⁷² Harmon, *Indians in the Making*, 14-15; Richard White, *Land Use, Environment, and Social Change: The Shaping of Island County, Washington* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1992), 30-31; Cecelia Svinth Carpenter, *Fort Nisqually: A Documented History of Indian and British Interaction* (Tacoma, Wash.: Tahoma Research Service, 1986), 81; Richard White, “Animals and Enterprise,” in *The Oxford History of the American West*, ed. Clyde A. Milner II and others (New York: Oxford University Press, 1994), 245.

⁷³ Entry dated May 12, 1833, Tolmie, *Journals*, 178-79.

averse to anything that would get in the way of the fur trade, including white settlement and agriculture, it viewed livestock operations on Puget Sound, tended by European farmers, as the best way to counter U.S. claims and to assure the profitability of the company. Indeed, they brought cattle to the fort in its first year. As officials surveyed the landscape of the Northwest, they assessed its ability to support Euro-American agriculture and European livestock. When the HBC encouraged settlers to take up residence in the area, it offered each family a lease on “at least 100 acres of land, besides the use of common or pasture lands.”⁷⁴ While the HBC was taking the unusual step of emphasizing agriculture and white settlement, rather than the trade in furs, it did not want to cede control to settlers by letting them own, rather than lease land. Still, the lease terms suggested that the newcomers (both white and mixed-race) felt justified in expropriating Salish lands for the common use of cattle-owning newcomers. This view of the commons paid no heed to Lushootseed ownership of these lands, which livestock would damage. It also revealed how dependent settlers were on harvesting the wealth and energy stored by livestock to gain power in this new country.

Tolmie envisioned more than profits when he saw the cattle the HBC brought to the region. His journal entries suggested a cultural, aesthetic attachment to those animals newcomers considered to be livestock, beyond any hard-nosed economic considerations. Ambling through the prairie near Fort Nisqually one Sunday in June 1833, Tolmie noted on a steep bank “the lazy steers reclining in the shade in the midst of luxuriant pasturage,” a sight that caused him to reflect “what a pity that a country which so easily could afford subsistence to man is yet uninhabited.”⁷⁵ His words elided centuries of Lushootseed habitation and management of the landscape. They also showed the power of cattle to evoke the European agricultural system that he saw as the only legitimate future for this landscape. His aesthetic attachment even emerged when no actual livestock were present. Strolling through marshlands and spying a “picturesquely situated ... indian wigwam” on “a solitary grassy flat,” he commented “a snug little cottage a l’anglais with its stockyard &c would look well aye charming in this spot.”⁷⁶ Unlike East Coast settlers of the seventeenth century,

⁷⁴ Gibson, *Farming the Frontier*, 111.

⁷⁵ Entry dated June 2, 1833, Tolmie, *Journals*, 197.

⁷⁶ Entry dated November 22, 1833, Tolmie, *Journals*, 252.

newcomers to Puget Sound apparently did not comment on the relative lack of domesticated animals among Indians. It was, by then, a familiar fact to Europeans that Indians had fewer domestic animals. But like those earlier colonists, they likely judged the absence of these animals as proof Indians were not among the “more civil nations.”⁷⁷

European livestock had a much greater role in transforming Whulch than European markets for fur. Even while the fur trade was quite active, King George men (as Native people called the British) brought with them the animals they thought important to their economic survival. The Fort Nisqually journals and settler diaries refer to cattle, horses, and dogs by 1833, pigs by 1834, goats and chickens by 1836, sheep and cats by 1838. Except for dogs and horses, none of these creatures had ever walked the shores of Whulch before. Livestock followed disease at the vanguard of European domination, bringing conflict over land rights and more pronounced European assertions of power than the trade in furs ever did. Cattle and sheep allowed newcomers to expand the space they controlled on Whulch from the confined area of Fort Nisqually (measured in square feet) to the enormous area where their livestock grazed (measured in square miles). Whether these animals were brought in order to take Native land or whether the land grabs were needed to feed the expanding herds is less important than the fact that Europeans saw their land claims and the presence of livestock as integral parts of an inevitable and beneficial transformation the landscape. Cattle, crops, and stockades were, in Tolmie’s phrase, “the first step towards colonization.”⁷⁸ HBC cattle and sheep on the plains of south Whulch were the most visible form of the newcomers’ presence, transforming as they did enormous segments of the landscape with their visual presence and their diminishment of the grass supply. They helped lay the groundwork for the imposition of European power and European agricultural systems over a wide area of formerly Native-controlled lands – the ultimate beneficiaries of which would be U.S. settlers much more than British traders.⁷⁹

⁷⁷ Virginia DeJohn Anderson, *Creatures of Empire: How Domestic Animals Transformed Early America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2004), 32.

⁷⁸ Entry dated June 5, 1833, Tolmie, *Journals*, 199.

⁷⁹ Harris, *The Resettlement of British Columbia*, 31-102; Anderson, *Creatures of Empire*, 11.

These efforts ultimately depended on the distinction between domestic animals and wild ones. These distinctions were not unknown to Salish people, who kept dogs and sometimes horses and who recognized these animals' particular relationship with humans. Yet unlike Salish people, newcomers held up domestic animals as clearly superior to wild ones, and made them a central form of property and wealth. The distinction had deep roots. The wilderness, and the wild beasts that inhabited it, could be viewed as a threatening place abandoned by God, as seen from biblical descriptions of Israelites wandering in the wilderness to New England Puritans' portrayal of their "errand in the wilderness" to white settlers in the American West decrying the "howling wilderness" that surrounded them.⁸⁰ Many Christians understood the wildness of animals to be the result of Adam and Eve's fall from God's grace.⁸¹ In the Garden of Eden, all animals had been tame and vegetarian. Europeans took domestic animals, given their tameness, to be less degenerated than wild animals. In scientific thought as well, domestic animals held a higher place than wild ones. The French zoologist Buffon, for instance, categorized domestic animals as lying between humans and wild animals on the hierarchy of life.⁸²

The wild-domestic distinction does describe real differences in animal behavior. Domestic animals generally allow humans to approach; wild animals generally flee humans. Domestic animals accept human control, while wild animals reject it. Whereas wild animals generally avoid human habitations, domestic animals live near them. Indeed, domestic derives from the Latin *domus*, meaning home. Still, these distinctions were far from absolute, especially as newcomers tried to import these distinctions into the Pacific Northwest. Cattle became as wild as deer. They had to be hunted, rather than herded. Although deer were wild to the European mind, Salish people had long shaped their lives with fire that created habitats favorable to them. Through ritual respect, Salish people gained deer's compliance in being hunted.

⁸⁰ William Cronon, "The Trouble with Wilderness; or, Getting Back to the Wrong Nature," in *Uncommon Ground: Rethinking the Human Place in Nature*, ed. William Cronon (New York: W. W. Norton, 1996), 70-71.

⁸¹ Mason, *Civilized Creatures*, 8; Keith Thomas, *Man and the Natural World: A History of the Modern Sensibility* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1983), 17-19.

⁸² Jennifer Mason, *Civilized Creatures: Urban Animals, Sentimental Culture, and American Literature, 1850-1900* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2005), 8.

Animals transformed into commodities – both domestic animals and wild ones – connected Whulch to global networks of trade. The Columbia Department assembled furs from Fort Nisqually and other posts, shipping them to London via Hawai'i. It sent beef, pork, butter, salmon, lumber, and other goods to Hawai'i, and brought back Hawai'ian goods such as salt, molasses, rice, and tobacco, Chinese goods such as tea, sugar, and sandalwood boxes, and European manufactured goods such as blankets, woolens, knives, sewing needles, and beaver traps. It distributed these imported goods to its other trading posts, including Fort Nisqually, which used them to trade for furs and to support its employees. The Columbia Department also shipped hide and tallow to California. Fort Nisqually, specifically, provided furs to this global trade. Its agricultural operations supplied butter to the Russian settlement at Sitka. Its cattle were slaughtered, salted, and shipped to Russian Alaska and Hawai'i. The Puget Sound farms shipped small quantities of domestic animal hides and large quantities of wool to London. In 1848, for example, they shipped ten tons of wool. Its cattle and sheep provided meat for Victoria. Through this new trade, a beaver that started her life on the Duwamish River or a sheep that grazed near the Nisqually River might end up as a hat or pair of trousers in Europe. Tea grown in China, blankets woven in London, and salt harvested near Honolulu could make their way to Puget Sound.⁸³

While Indigenous peoples encouraged animal movement through burning, whites constrained them with fences and buildings. To control the animals they imported, newcomers built fences that were human dominion made manifest. With fences, newcomers marked a sharp line between human masters and animal servants. They also separated savagery from civilization, domestic from wild, lands controlled by Europeans from those controlled by Native peoples. Yet the distinctions they established were never absolute. Natives, newcomers, and animals themselves regularly crossed them. Hardly a month passed at the Fort Nisqually without workers shaping the landscape with barriers to control animals: cutting fence poles and pickets, building and repairing fences, constructing stables, cow houses, pigsties, and hen houses. Lushootseed women and men joined with men of Hawai'ian, Abanaki, French-Canadian, Iroquois, English, and Irish descent in these labors.

⁸³ Mackie, *Trading Beyond the Mountains*, 151-83, 239; Gibson, *Farming the Frontier*, 75-124.

Controlling animals' movement was important not only to allow HBC employees to extract labor, wool, milk, eggs, and meat, but also to protect the new crops the company brought to Whulch. Building fences was so central to Euro-American conceptions of agriculture and property that one English settler could berate a white American in the following terms: "Visit from Deane, to whom I gave a good rowing for his idleness. Seven weeks since he was here before and he has not yet enclosed an atom of land."⁸⁴ With these barriers, newcomers integrated animals' actions with the growing of crops, using oxen and horses to plough the fields of potatoes, peas, wheat, oats, corn, and barley, confining animals in crop fields at times so they would deposit their manure there, or hauling their manure to those fields.

Despite all their efforts, HBC workers had to contend with animal actions that defied human projects. Even when humans sought to avoid conflicts, animals could create them. Domestic and wild animals alike regularly reminded newcomers that human dominion was more a notion than a fact. Pigs broke through fences. Dogs attacked pigs. The cattle who had walked the 140 miles from Fort Vancouver displayed at times "an inclination to return" there.⁸⁵ Eagles preyed on sheep. Wolves attacked sheep and even dogs. And Indians' dogs had their own role in these conflicts. They contributed to some of the most protracted and intense conflicts between newcomers and the original inhabitants of the land they farmed. Encountering for the first time small, tame creatures, Native people's dogs repeatedly harassed and killed sheep and chickens. On December 31, 1846, a dog belonging to a man who worked for an English settler named Joseph Heath killed several chickens. Heath shot the dog. Later that day, the Native man shot Heath's favorite terrier, leading to a six-day negotiation over restitution, a struggle in which at one point the two men each grabbed hold of the other's gun "with our eyes fixed on each other for nearly ten minutes," a struggle which Heath saw as one over "whether I shall be their master or their slave." Yet Heath did have to negotiate. Even after Heath forced the man to relinquish his gun, he felt obliged to give him a blanket as a present to prevent alienating the Salish workers whose labor he needed.

⁸⁴ Entry dated December 30, 1846, Joseph Heath, *Memoirs of Nisqually* (Fairfield, Wash.: Ye Galleon Press, 1979), 80.

⁸⁵ Entry for August 18, 1833, Fort Nisqually Journal.

With time, the HBC efforts shifted more and more to agriculture, in part to establish a stronger British claim to land north of the Columbia. Accordingly, the HBC established a subsidiary in 1838 called the Puget Sound Agricultural Company (PSAC).⁸⁶ The new corporation was established, according to its prospectus, “for the purpose of rearing flocks and herds, with a view to the production of wool, hides and tallow, and for the cultivation of other agricultural produce.”⁸⁷ With names like Elk Plain, Tlithlow, Muck, Spanuch, Sastuck, and Tenalquat, PSAC agricultural stations soon dotted the plains between the Nisqually and Puyallup Rivers – a network of farms from which livestock wandered over vast expanses of Native lands.⁸⁸ Beyond operating these stations with company employees, the PSAC encouraged settlers to come farm as sharecroppers. Joseph Heath did so on the Steilacoom River, north of Fort Nisqually, as did his fellow Englishman John Ross, south of the fort.⁸⁹ These farms expanded the reach of the HBC and increased the centers from which cattle ranged, competing with deer and elk for graze and creating conflicts with Native peoples. At the same time, these white farmers were utterly dependent on the labor of Native people to keep their operations going.

Natives and newcomers both adapted new attitudes and practices toward animals in order to gain access to animals and land. Company employees and settlers created a complex of fences and houses for animals. Yet the intent was never to fully constrain all domesticated animals within built structures at all times. Although Europeans thought of their cattle as property, the creatures were as wild as they were domesticated. Indeed, the newcomers often compared them with deer. Yet they did not, thereby, relinquish their claims of ownership. They strategically defined them as wild in that they should roam freely, but domestic in that only their (European) owners could hunt them – a blurring of distinctions that had no precedent in English law, but that served the newcomers’ immediate interests. The buildings housed animals only some of the time: cows while they were milked, hens while they roosted at night, sheep while they were collected for shearing, horses while they were not at work.

⁸⁶ Carpenter, *Fort Nisqually*, 97; Mackie, *Trading Beyond the Mountains*, 234, 238.

⁸⁷ Puget Sound Agricultural Company prospectus, 1839, Folder 1-5, Puget Sound Agricultural Company Papers, UW Special Collections.

⁸⁸ Carpenter, *Fort Nisqually*, 123.

But cattle were allowed to roam free without human supervision much of the time and sheep moved between “parks” under the eye of sheepherders. This wandering produced a wild state in their cattle that the King George men themselves acknowledged. When cattle wounded or nearly killed men, when they refused to be corralled or broken to the plough, the newcomers could only acknowledge that they were “very wicked and wild.”⁹⁰

These cattle roaming far and wide put the King George men at odds with local people. In the 1830s, few disputes emerged over domesticated animals. However, as these herds increased and the fur trade declined in the 1840s, conflicts began. These herds played a similar role to the one that historian Virginia DeJohn Anderson has noted in the British colonies of eastern North America “as the advance guard and a primary motive” for British expansion.⁹¹ However, unlike the earlier East Coast conflicts Anderson described, the notion of animals as property was hardly novel to Whulch inhabitants. The Nisqually had had horses for several decades. These creatures grazed freely on the plains of southern Puget Sound. People knew each other’s horses by sight and would never use another person’s horse unless the owner was an enemy whom they were willing (or desirous) to antagonize. They saw them as creatures that were property that could be traded, inherited, or wagered in gambling.⁹² Yet as on the East Coast, livestock were the first to occupy Native lands that Englishmen claimed and over which they would eventually wrest effective control from Native peoples. In asserting their ownership of animals distant from their fort, Europeans began a process of dispossession.

When Salish people killed newcomers’ cattle, newcomers termed such hunters “thieves” and viewed their actions through the lens of property rights. In ways the fur trade never had, practices now brought ideological differences into the open. However, legal norms and the punishments the British imposed in this era were less rooted in formal law than in sovereign power: the (limited) British ability to impose the terms of interaction.⁹³ British actions existed outside any formal legal definitions of crimes, court procedures, and

⁸⁹ Carpenter, *Fort Nisqually*, 128.

⁹⁰ Entries for June 11, 1834, March 29, 1849, and October 1849, Fort Nisqually Journal.

⁹¹ Anderson, *Creatures of Empire*, 11; Cronon, *Changes in the Land*, 127-50.

⁹² Smith, *The Puyallup-Nisqually*, 30, 143.

punishments, as well as ignoring Indigenous people's rights to their lands. In March 1846, for instance, the HBC worker Bastian found five Indians skinning an ox in the American Plain (immediately north of the fort). The incident led the fort to focus its personnel on punishing these hunters: "Started across with an armed party of men and Indians and sent Latour and Michael (Indian) to make up a crew of Beach Indians and proceed along the shore to the northward in a canoe. The land party proceeded through the woods to the beach without success and those in the two canoes were not more fortunate." Eventually, the King George men captured "two of the five culprits," flogged them, and temporarily imprisoned them.⁹⁴ On Wednesday, March 3, 1847, Indians killed and ate one ram. The company dispatched no fewer than seven employees after the thieves: "At 10 AM, Dr. Tolmie, accompanied by John Ross, Wren, Bastian and Deane went out on horseback and armed in search of the Indians who stole the sheep. They will be joined at the Walla Walla Road by Edgar and another party, and proceed to Puyallup where the rogues are said to be."⁹⁵ Through coercive force, King George men sought to gain and protect the right to use unbounded pastures in south Whulch.

As much as Europeans, Salish people understood the claim to power that these roaming animals represented. Like the newcomers, they strategically reworked their views of how one ought to relate to animals as they struggled over control of their land. They did not accept the right of King George men to graze cattle on their lands without payment. They saw the threat that cattle represented and soon hunted them not merely for food, but also (it would seem) as protest. Significantly, on at least two occasions, they simply left a cow's carcass as carrion for birds. They also wounded livestock and left them to suffer rather than killing them. On May 18, 1845, Heath found eagles and buzzards devouring a heifer that Indians had shot and killed. On March 29, 1848, he found "a dead cow nearly devoured by the ravens, and my people skinning one of the oxen which had died from its

⁹³ Harris, *Resettlement of British Columbia*, 48-50.

⁹⁴ Entry for March 16, 1846, Fort Nisqually Journal.

⁹⁵ Entry for March 4, 1847, Fort Nisqually Journal. Other incidents are described on July 1, 1846, December 10, 1846, and March 24, 1849.

wounds of Friday last.”⁹⁶ No sources reveal the intentions of these hunters who killed or wounded cattle without consuming most of the carcass. Yet these novel practices suggest both that local people chose not to accord cattle the ritual respect they did wild animals and that they were hunting in part as protest as well as to make up for food shortfalls.⁹⁷

Alongside protest, there was subterfuge, as Salish people adopted novel hunting techniques. In 1849, when the fort suspected that three Snohomish had killed a cow on the beach, the HBC manager seized “a gun and a few trifles” from the Indians and demanded they bring the animal’s intact head as proof they had not shot her, but found her dead. They brought him the head, but he still refused to relinquish the property, having learned the Indians had apparently developed a method to hide their killing: “they first knock down the cow with a stone & then cut its throat.”⁹⁸ Their adoption of specialized hunting techniques indicates that they understood, but did not accept British assertions of animal ownership. They certainly did not feel any such ownership gave the British the right to use Salish lands for grazing. Through these techniques, they maintained the right to hunt animals on their lands, while avoiding direct conflict with whites.

For several years, Salish resistance was effective. In February 1845, Heath commented, “Indians killing cattle in every direction. Many of them known, but the Doctor [Tolmie] fearful of taking any strong measures, not having a sufficient force at command.”⁹⁹ Similarly in March 1848, Heath noted, “Rode to the Fort to talk with the Doctor as to the best means of putting a stop to the cattle killing. Cannot prevail upon him to act with firmness and promptitude. Waiting until the Fort is enclosed.”¹⁰⁰ It is not clear why Tolmie resisted harsh measures after having imprisoned and flogged Native people for killing cattle in 1847. He may have had less interest in protecting Heath’s cattle than those owned directly by the

⁹⁶ Heath, *Memoirs of Nisqually*, 41-42.

⁹⁷ June McCormick Collins, *Valley of the Spirits: The Upper Skagit Indians of Western Washington* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1974), 214; June McCormick Collins, “The Mythological Basis for Attitudes toward Animals among Salish-speaking Indians,” *The Journal of American Folklore* 65, no. 258 (1952): 357.

⁹⁸ Entry for March 1849, Fort Nisqually Journal.

⁹⁹ Entry dated February 12, 1845, Heath, *Memoirs of Nisqually*, 21. In quoting Heath, I have omitted the parenthetical words provided by Lucille McDonald in her edition of the journal. For instance, this quote in McDonald’s edition read “Indians (are) killing the cattle in every direction. Most of them (are) known, but the Doctor (is) fearful of taking any strong measures, not having a sufficient force at (his) command.”

¹⁰⁰ Entry dated March 29, 1848, Heath, *Memoir of Nisqually*, 31.

PSAC. What is clear is that British animal practices were greatly increasing conflict. Even as the British used their cattle to expand their claims to Whulch, Native resistance limited that power. These battles over livestock and resources served as preludes to the outright battles between settlers and Salish in 1855.

Salish people seemed to grasp what few newcomers did, as they told stories of their relation to animals. The ability of both Natives and newcomers depended on their ability to harness the power of animals, a reality that Salish stories underlined in their descriptions of Animal People whose aid humans require, a reality generally ignored in newcomers' stories of human dominion and civilizing progress. Different ways of relating to animals were fundamental to these Native-newcomer encounters. Although newcomers saw clear lines between human and animal, between domestic and wild, their struggles with Indigenous people showed these distinctions were tenuous at best. While newcomers posited a human dominion over animals and the rest of nature, wild animals and Indian dogs regularly attacked their livestock, showing just how little power they really had. While they made property claims based on the domestic nature of the cattle, these animals actually ran as wild as deer. The most important stories newcomers told about animals emphasized the separation between human and animal. Lushootseed stories provide a more accurate portrait of these borderlands as places of negotiation between humans and animals. Newcomers gained increasing power, but not without resistance from the other humans and animals with whom they shared Whulch.

Chapter Two
Oxen and Cougars:
Constructing the Town and the Wilderness

We do not know what animals newcomers brought with them on that first day they entered the lands around Elliott Bay to stay. But it did not take them long to acquire quite a menagerie. The Oregon Treaty of 1846 between Great Britain and the United States made Puget Sound definitively part of the United States (at least to whites' way of thinking) and provoked a surge of U.S. citizens to its shores. Whites came to what would become Seattle in 1851, settling there on Salish lands. Luther Collins and others settled on the Duwamish River in September of that year. Arthur Denny and his party landed on Alki Point in November and moved, the following year, across Elliott Bay to what is now downtown Seattle.¹ The village grew slowly until, by 1860, it had a newcomer population of 188 – all whites except for one African-American – who lived alongside, worked with, and relied on the Salish people that had lived there for centuries. Newcomers were perhaps only beginning to outnumber Natives, since an 1854 census counted 351 Duwamish people throughout the region.² The newcomers made no delay in assembling their familiar cohort of animals. They chronicled the arrival of the first cattle in 1851 and the first horses in 1853. They did not note other animals' arrival as carefully, but letters, memoirs, and censuses indicate newcomers had chickens and dogs by 1852, cats by 1854, pigs by 1855, mules by 1859,

¹ Coll Thrush, *Native Seattle: Histories of the Crossing-Over Place* (Seattle: University of Washington, 2007); Matthew Klinge, *Emerald City: An Environmental History of Seattle* (New Haven: Yale University, 2007), 28; Roberta Frye Watt, *Four Wagons West: The Story of Seattle* (Portland, Oregon: Metropolitan Press, 1931), 29-32; Emily Inez Denny, *Blazing the Way: True Stories, Songs and Sketches of Puget Sound and Other Pioneers* (Seattle: Rainier Printing Company, 1909), 41-62.

² *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs* (Washington, D.C., 1854-1855), 458.

sheep (and likely bees as well) by 1860.³ They may well have had goats, geese, ducks, pigeons, or rabbits too. The tiny village was alive with creatures that had never walked the shores of Elliott Bay before.

Creating a Euro-American town required these tame animals with whom newcomers were familiar. These animals had both material and cultural importance – two aspects of their animal practices that are better seen as reinforcing each other than as two distinct elements. To newcomers, the spread of these animals, as much as the decline of wild predators, helped mark progress and a line between civilization and savagery. They were not an afterthought or a convenience; they were essential. They were necessary for material success, to be sure. Animals were required to provide food, log forests, grade roads, plough fields, transport goods, kill mice, protect property, aid in hunting, and much more. Newcomers never really considered Native ways of relating to animals as a viable model for their own life on Puget Sound, given a fixed cultural sense in newcomers' mind of what it meant to be civilized. Taken for granted in newcomers' mind was a domestic-wild line and the benefit of expanding the domestic area. While they never said domestic animals were crucial to their sense of who they were, the fact that they assembled them so quickly and that accounts refer repeatedly to their early absence shows just how crucial they were.

These animals were so important to settler Catherine Blaine that she regularly described them in letters to relatives back East. Her description mixed affection and practicality. She noted in one letter that she and her husband had twenty chickens, two pigs, a cat named Jim, and hoped to get two cows soon. She called her cat “playful and cunning,” the chickens “little fellows” who regularly got into “mischief,” but carefully noted that the pigs would reach a hundred pounds, that the chickens were “half grown,” the price of cows, and the benefits of a climate where cows could graze throughout the winter.⁴

³ David Blaine and Catherine Blaine, *Memoirs of Puget Sound: Early Seattle 1853-1856: The Letters of David & Catherine Blaine* (Fairfield, Wash.: Ye Galleon Press, 1978); Denny, *Blazing the Way*, 58-59, 71; Assessment and Statistical Roll, Washington Territory Auditor's Office Records, 1858-1861, University of Washington Special Collections; 1852 account book, Charles C. Terry Papers, University of Washington Special Collections.

⁴ Catherine Blaine to Seraphina Paine (her sister), July 1855, Blaine and Blaine, *Memoirs of Puget Sound*, 139.

At the same time as they favored domestic animals over wild ones, newcomers also brought their own view of relations between humans and animals. Newcomers assumed a sharp line between human and animal, with humans as actors and animals as servants or victims, but not as allies they should meet on an equal plane. When they told stories of the town's founding, they typically had very little to say about animals. Yet, seen another way, these events were as much about animals as they were about people. For even as newcomers ignored animals' active role, these domestic creatures were taking advantage of their human allies to move into a new habitat.

Domestic animals helped mark distinctions between newcomers and Natives, in newcomers' view between civilization and savagery. Yet these distinctions were far from rigid. While domestic animals were necessary to newcomers' projects, most white residents did not have any – at least none that census takers (who ignored cats and dogs) noted. Livestock already marked a class difference between the most prosperous residents and poorer newcomers who worked at logging or in lumber mills, ran hard-scrabble farms without a horse, an ox, or a pig, hunted, fished, or did other jobs. Most newcomers resembled Seattle's Indigenous population in that they owned no large livestock. And all newcomers, whether they owned livestock or not, depended almost as much on fish and venison for meat as did Salish peoples. Furthermore, livestock were not the sole province of newcomers. The Nisqually of south Puget Sound had long owned horses. Although few Native people in Seattle acquired large livestock, they did acquire them on the reservations they were soon forced to accept. The distinction between domestic animals and wild was crucial to the city's early history. Without the work of these domestic animals and the removal of predators, the town could not have existed. But animals served as much to blur distinctions between Native and newcomer, as to mark them. As newcomers worked to enforce distinctions between human and animal, between domestic and wild, they found these borderlands marked as much by connection as by separation.

“If This Cougar Had Not Dined so Gluttonously”: Wild Animals in Early Seattle

Creating a Euro-American town meant moving the boundary (porous as it was) between domestic animals and wild animals. It meant favoring domestic animals and killing wild ones. This was, above all, a material process. By seeing what animals were where, newcomers could gauge their success at bringing a familiar economic system to a new place. While Native people viewed wild animals both as spiritual allies and sources of food, newcomers tended to see them in starkly material terms: as either food or threats to livestock, as game or varmints. The reliance on game became a suspect subsistence strategy, widespread and practical as it was in the early years of Seattle, since it connected newcomers to Indigenous foodways. Removing predators, on the other hand, was so central to European economic strategies that it also became something of a cultural touchstone – marked by rituals of measurement, story-telling, and display. Newcomers objected to predators killing their livestock primarily for the economic loss it entailed; but they also seemed to regret the animals’ failure to respect human dominion. Wild animals had their own ideas of where to go, what to eat, and how to act – ideas that constrained newcomers’ projects of dominion and colonization.

The distinction between domestic animals and wild fit into the broader discourse on civilization and savagery. Newcomers defined their conquest of the American West, as they had the earlier conquest in the East, as more than a simple war over resources between two separate parties, whites and Indians. They saw it as a progression from savagery to civilization. They justified their conquest with the notion that they brought a series of institutions – far superior to those that Indians had – which would improve the places they inhabited. With Christianity, capitalism, democracy, European agriculture, and a more settled lifestyle, they felt they brought a more advanced way of living. This attitude led whites to see Native people’s fields as something other than agriculture, and indeed white settlement would force Lushootseed people to abandon their potato fields in Seattle and elsewhere.⁵ Whether Indians adopted newcomers’ practices or became extinct in the face of

⁵ Alan G. Marshall, “Unusual Gardens: The Nez Perce and Wild Horticulture on the Eastern Columbia Plateau,” in *Northwest Lands, Northwest Peoples: Readings in Environmental History*, ed. Dale D. Goble and Paul W. Hirt (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1999), 173-87.

the new culture, newcomers were confident they brought a better future to the regions they invaded. The superiority of European institutions, in this view, both assured success and justified the venture, since they would be putting the land to its highest use. Conveniently, the spread of these institutions fit with newcomers' self-interest in acquiring property. Part of getting "the wilde nature out of" the land (as one farmer near Seattle put it) was changing the animals that inhabited it.⁶

Animals that were viewed as game played a double role in the early history of Seattle. Their flesh was essential to the survival of early settlers; yet reliance on venison and fish made white newcomers dangerously similar to Indians in many newcomers' views. Early white settlers commented regularly on the area's abundant game. Nancy Russell Thomas who arrived in 1852 recalled, "we were happy and healthy, and had plenty of wild game, clams, oysters, salmon, and wild fruit, and good pure spring water."⁷ Walter Graham bought a farm on the Duwamish in 1854. "For twenty years," he later said, "I shot all the venison I cared for, grouse and other game filled the woods, and with clams and oysters we had all we wanted."⁸ A folksong from the 1870s celebrated this abundance: "No longer the slave of ambition / I laugh at the world and its shams / As I think of my happy condition / Surrounded by acres of clams."⁹ The song seemed to puncture newcomers' inflated notions of progress through hard work. The song made clear that the lines between civilization and savagery were not as neat as some newcomers might hope. Even as newcomers brought their own cohort of domestic animals with them, they sustained their bodies in ways that resembled those of Indians.

⁶ Patricia Nelson Limerick, *The Legacy of Conquest: The Unbroken Past of the American West* (New York: Norton, 1987), 36, 58; Robert V. Hine and John Mack, *The American West: A New Interpretive History* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2000), 199-200; William Cronon, *Changes in the Land: Indians, Colonists, and the Ecology of New England* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1983), 4-5; Richard White, *Land Use, Environment, and Social Change: The Shaping of Island County, Washington* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1992), 35-36.

⁷ Nancy Russell Thomas, "Walked Across the Plains..." *Tacoma Ledger*, November 13, 1892 [posted as "The Pioneer Story of Nancy Russell Thomas," Historylink Essay 5623, http://www.historylink.org/index.cfm?DisplayPage=output.cfm&file_id=5623 (accessed November 2009)].

⁸ Walter Graham, "Interview with Mr. Walter Graham," 1914, Manuscript Collection, Museum of History and Industry, Seattle, Washington (cited hereafter as MOHAI).

For many whites, however, “ambition” was central to their identity. To them, the abundance of wild nature seemed dangerous, a trap that had ensnared Native people and might seduce newcomers as well. It threatened the values of industriousness and progress that underlay their right to the land through new systems of production that constituted civilization. The newcomers’ animal ways represented not only a material strategy for survival, but a way of telling themselves who they were, a token of cultural identity. Even when game represented a convenient source of meat, some criticized it as denoting laziness. Indeed, the very convenience of game and fish served to indict them as a source of food – a critique that was never made, for instance, of using an ox to plough a field rather than ploughing it oneself. A note of contempt appeared in Indian Agent E. A. Starling’s 1852 account of Puget Sound Indians’ subsistence practices. “The numerous varieties of fish which abound in the salt and fresh water,” he wrote, “together with the roots and berries that grow in abundance through the woods and prairies, give them an easy livelihood wherever they may stray. In their canoes they float through life, wandering in the different seasons to the places abounding most in the different kinds of food.”¹⁰ For Starling, Indians merely “stray,” “wander,” and “float through life” rather than expending any admirable effort to acquire their food. Starling’s contempt mirrored long-standing discourses about Indians’ indolence that were meant to mark clear distinctions between Natives and newcomers and thereby justify dispossession. Displaying the common middle-class critique of pot-hunting – that is, hunting for the dinner pot rather than for sport – Catherine Blaine saw laziness in the fact that Indians hunted only for food: “The Indians are too lazy to hunt and fish except when compelled by their necessities.”¹¹ Again, the obvious parallel critique was never made: Europeans only cultivated fields when it was necessary to their survival, never for sport. As whites sought to distinguish themselves from Native peoples and justify their right to Native lands, and as they sought to turn Native peoples away from savagery and toward civilization,

⁹ Henry Francis, “Old Settler’s Song,” call number 979.5 H396oL, Pacific Northwest Collection, University of Washington Libraries; David Kellogg memoir, no. 16, Manuscript Collection, MOHAI; Denny, *Blazing the Way*, 72.

¹⁰ E. A. Starling (Indian agent for district of Puget’s Sound) to Anson Dart (Superintendent of Indian Affairs, Oregon Territory), September 1, 1852, Steilacoom, in *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs Annual Report* (Washington, D.C., 1852), 168-75.

the apparently easy livelihood from abundant wildlife constituted a ready symbol of backwardness.¹²

Abundant nature might ensnare whites as well, in this view. Charles Prosch wrote that Puget Sound in the early days of white settlement was “a paradise for lazy people who were content to live like Indians.”¹³ How exactly the town’s elites distinguished the ambitious from the lazy is not entirely clear. But they relied in part on the distinction between U.S.-born settlers (“Bostons”) and HBC managers and workers (“King George men”) – the former almost exclusively whites, the latter including whites with Indian wives, Indians, Hawai’ians, and people of mixed race. Some argued that association with Native peoples and the native environment posed a threat to whiteness. Blaine referred in her letters to “those filthy, vile men who cohabit with the diseased squaws.” Prosch wrote in his reminiscences, “The Hudson Bay men, largely Scotchmen and Canadian, were wedded to Indian women, and some of them were quite as degraded and barbarous as the savages.”¹⁴ One American Indian agent would not even ascribe whiteness to these HBC traders who intermarried with Native women. In discussing which Northwest Indians had traded with whites by 1858, Michael Simmons wrote: “when I speak of whites I mean Americans; the Hudson’s Bay Company people may have traded with most of them.”¹⁵ For U.S. settlers anxious to mark a difference between themselves and the earlier newcomers, race and reliance on abundant nature blended in a critique of their rivals.

These concerns notwithstanding, venison and fish were central to newcomers’ diets for decades. Even if it was a snare to the lazy, it sustained the bodies of all newcomers. And whites often relied on Native labor to acquire this food. Even as David Kellogg, who arrived in Seattle in 1862, recollected the ease with which settlers could fish or clam, he acknowledged it was often easier to rely on Native labor for certain foods: “Hunger had no terrors for the family. You could catch your own fish and dig your own clams, the siwashes

¹¹ Blaine and Blaine, *Memoirs of Puget Sound*, 88.

¹² Klinge, *Emerald City*, 32.

¹³ Charles Prosch, *Reminiscences of Washington Territory* (Seattle, 1904) , 27.

¹⁴ Prosch, *Reminiscences* 11-12.

[savages] were friendly, they brought them as well as wild berries from the forest, wild ducks, bear or deer and gladly exchanged them for a white man's biscuit or a cup of frontier coffee with a little sugar in it."¹⁶ Settlers' reliance on Native people as hunters and fishers was not merely a stopgap in the precarious early days of the town; it extended for decades. One of real-estate man George Kinnear's first memories after arriving in Seattle in September of 1878 was his father sending him to buy a salmon from a "long-haired Indian." He saw what he described as "a stream of canoes" coming from Elliott Bay to Indian "wigwams" at the foot of Columbia and Marion streets, each canoe bringing "three to nine bright shining, silver salmon." The young boy bought a ten-pound salmon for five cents.¹⁷

Despite political and environmental challenges, Native peoples continued to rely on wild animals for sustenance, even as they incorporated European foods into their diets. Still, Europeans and their livestock threatened Native food sources. Pigs and cattle rooted up clam beds, potato, and camas fields.¹⁸ Settlers broke Native peoples' fishing weirs, or established their own fishing operations that took fish from Indigenous people.¹⁹ As Wapato John, who lived near the Nisqually River put it, "they destroyed our fish traps, cut them with their axes. He seen it with his own eyes. That was his father's property— fish trap."²⁰ In Natives' eyes, whites also did not show proper respect to salmon and other creatures and thus brought the risk these animals would decide not to return.²¹ Despite these challenges, traditional foodways were not eradicated. Newcomers could not exterminate the salmon of Puget Sound as they had the bison of the Plains. Natives, like newcomers, adopted European livestock

¹⁵ M. T. Simmons (Indian agent, Puget Sound District) to J.W. Nesmith (Superintendent of Indian Affairs, Washington and Oregon), Olympia, June 30, 1858, *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs* (Washington, D.C., 1858), 224-36.

¹⁶ David Kellogg memoir, no. 116, Manuscript Collection, MOHAI.

¹⁷ George Kinnear memoir, no. 15, Manuscript Collection, MOHAI.

¹⁸ George Gibbs, *Indian Tribes of Washington Territory* (Fairfield, Wash.: Ye Galleon Press, 1967), 31, 39; Henry L. Yesler, "Henry Yesler and the Founding of Seattle," *Washington Historical Quarterly* 42, no. 4 (October 1951): 271-76.

¹⁹ G. A. Paige to M. T. Simmons, July 1, 1858, Kitsap Agency, *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs* (Washington, D.C., 1858), 329-32; Sophie Frye Bass, *When Seattle Was a Village* (Seattle: Lowman & Hanford, 1947), 28.

²⁰ U.S. Court of Claims, *The Duwamish, Lummi, Whidby Island, Skagit [et al.] vs. United States of America* (Seattle: Argus Press, [1933?]), 653.

²¹ June McCormick Collins, *A Study of Religious Change among the Skagit Indians Western Washington* (Chicago, 1946), 48.

and began to rely on them for labor and food. Yet throughout the nineteenth century and up to the present, Native peoples continued to fish in the growing town of Seattle, both to sustain themselves and to trade with white newcomers.

While species hunted as game held an ambiguous place in white settlers' storytelling – evoked alternatively with nostalgia for past abundance or with concern about the temptation to laziness – stories about predators served to underline the hardship of early days. There was no nostalgia for cougars, wolves, or bears. They not only threatened livestock; they threatened human dominion. Their demise marked progress.

Predators in the woods and prairies around Elliott Bay began encountering new creatures in the mid-nineteenth century. Having wandered from farms around Fort Nisqually, cattle were roaming those woods even before white settlers came to Elliott Bay in 1851. They were quite wild and shy, HBC employees noted, but surely provided cougars, bears, and wolves a new source of prey. In 1851 and soon after, even more new creatures – hogs, chickens, cats, sheep – appeared around the houses of the new white settlers. A new type of cattle that was less wild and aggressive appeared as well – these tame American cattle often distinguished from the wild Spanish cattle by the bells around their necks. Horses were less prevalent than cattle, but they too appeared in much greater numbers than they had before. Predators came into conflict with the newcomers as soon as they started preying on these new domestic animals.

Predators and the regions' other wild animals also confronted radical changes in their environment. That humans transformed the area's environment was nothing new, but the scale was unprecedented. Native people had long carved out meadows and prairies from the region's forests using fires. They created more open forests to aid hunting and encouraged the growth of camas and other useful roots. With the arrival of the potato in the 1830s, they began to cultivate that productive plant in fields around Elliott Bay and elsewhere throughout Puget Sound. The white settlers of Seattle, however, undertook a much more dramatic transformation of the region's environment. They quickly began removing the Douglas-firs, hemlocks, and cedars that had covered the area's hills, turning them into lumber at Henry

Yesler's mill on the waterfront. As settlers replaced forests with stumps, they gradually filled cleared areas with farms and houses. They replaced existing plants with wheat, oats, barley, peas, potatoes, timothy, and clover, with pear, peach, plum, quince, cherry, and above all apple trees.²²

These transformations generally took food from wild animals and gave it to newcomers and their animals. Animals that had long lived in those woods faced the loss of plants that had fed and sheltered them and increased hunting from a growing human population with firearms.²³ The habitat for deer and elk was diminished by logging and farming. Humans were hunting game in greater numbers. Cattle were competing with native herbivores for grass. In this context, predators may have had little choice but to prey on the newcomers' cattle or starve. So, they took advantage of the changes that non-Indian settlers brought, as the city's pigeons, crows, gulls, squirrels, raccoons, mice, rats, and other wild species do to this day. Cougars, bears, and wolves attacked sheep, cattle, and pigs. Hawks and owls preyed on chickens.²⁴ Other wild animals found ways to profit from the newcomers without killing them. Crows kept their eyes on the recently arrived pigs, learning that they could follow them as they routed up clam beds and be able to dine on the otherwise inaccessible food.²⁵

Newcomers' response was to try to eliminate the predators that most threatened their livestock. These attacks on predators had precedents. Nisqually on southern Puget Sound had long organized hunts to kill the cougars that threatened their herds of horses.²⁶ Yet the

²² 1860 King County census, Washington Territory Auditor's Office Records, University of Washington Special Collections.

²³ Cadastral survey notes, Townships 24 and 25 North, Range 4 East, Willamette Meridian, 1861, General Land Office (available from Bureau of Land Management, <http://www.blm.gov/or/landrecords/survey/ySrvy1.php>, accessed March 2010); Prosch, *Reminiscences*, 23; Thomas W. Prosch, *A Chronological History of Seattle from 1850 to 1897* ([Seattle], 1901), 58; U.S. Court of Claims, *Duwamish, Lummi, Whidby Island*, 645, 667, 691, 696; Gibson, *Farming the Frontier*, 96; Arthur R. Kruckeberg, *The Natural History of Puget Sound Country* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1991), 188-89; Isabella Bayles Drew, [Reminiscences], no. 351, Manuscript Collection, MOHAI; Diary of Alexander Murray Gow Year of 1864, copied from the original by his daughter Dora (Gow) Ellis, no. 14, Manuscript Collection, MOHAI; *Christian Brownfield v. Harriet Brownfield*, 1874, King County District Court, # 42, Washington State Archives, Puget Sound.

²⁴ Jane Fenton Kelly, "The Trail of a Pioneer Family," no. 347, Manuscript Collection, MOHAI.

²⁵ Henry Yesler, "Settlement of Washington Territory," 1878, MicNews Numbered Series 13, University of Washington Libraries.

²⁶ Marian W. Smith, *The Puyallup-Nisqually* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1940), 30.

scale of the effort was new. The state law allowed bounties of five dollars on wolves and cougars, and four dollars on bears.²⁷ Wolves were exterminated around Seattle soon after newcomers arrived and have not returned since (except as zoo animals or pets). The struggle with bears and cougars was much more protracted, as twenty-first century incursions of these animals into the city prove.

Their pursuit of cougars did not approach the extremes of the war nineteenth-century Americans waged against wolves – an effort shaped by the belief, as one historian put, that wolves “not only deserved death but deserved to be punished for living.”²⁸ There is no evidence, for instance, that Seattleites tortured cougars before killing them, although the strychnine they used could well be considered torture. In almost all the cases the papers described, farmers could point to livestock the cougars had killed. In 1870, for instance, eighteen-year-old Curtis Brownfield shot a cougar near Lake Union that had killed a steer and a heifer.²⁹

Still, newcomers killed cougars with a zeal that did not stem entirely from the material threat they posed to livestock. A sense of pride in human dominion pervades the efforts at killing cougars – a sense that wild nature was not merely a threat to livestock, but a moral evil. Emily Inez Denny recounted how her aunt Louisa Boren Denny became worried one day that the cattle were acting strangely. The next day Louisa’s husband David went up with his dog, Towser, and found the remnants of a calf devoured by “some wild beast.” Towser followed the animal’s track and chased it up a giant cedar, where David saw “a huge cougar glaring down at him with great, savage yellow eyes.” David’s first shot misfired, his second struck the cat in the vitals, the third hit the cougar in the head. The story was especially notable, Emily Denny said, as it was “the first [cougar] killed by a white man in this region” and were it stuffed it “would now be highly prized.” Emily Denny imposed a clear moral in this story: the violence of the civilizers emerged only in response to the violence of wild nature. She almost seemed to chastise the cougar for wantonly ignoring

²⁷ Richard A. Ballinger, *Ballinger's Annotated Codes and Statutes of Washington* (Seattle: Bancroft-Whitney, 1897), 884.

²⁸ Jon T. Coleman, *Vicious: Wolves and Men in America* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2004), 2.

²⁹ “Panther Killed,” *Weekly Intelligencer*, January 10, 1870; Prosch, *Chronological History*, 201.

human notions of property and dominion: “if this cougar had not dined so gluttonously on the tender calf ... possibly he would not have come to such a sudden and violent end.”³⁰

Denny’s contemporaries did not dispute that cougars were out of place in the city. They were as happy as she that the wild had been pushed back to make room for the domestic. Yet some of them thought these types of stories were conscious acts of self-fashioning, efforts to affirm the rugged character of the intrepid pioneer by emphasizing the dangerous creatures they faced. But she rejected that stance. “Some imagine,” she wrote, “that the danger of encounters with cougars has been purposely exaggerated by the pioneer hunters to create admiring respect for their own prowess. This is not my opinion, as I believe there is good reason to fear them, especially if they are hungry.”³¹ Humans are likely wise to fear cougars, although they very rarely kill humans.³² Yet whether story-tellers exaggerated or not, it was clear the cougar role in history extended beyond just killing sheep. They had the power to evoke both the threat of savage nature and the fortitude of early pioneers.

While few rituals attended the commonplace slaughter of cattle, sheep, hogs, or chickens, the killings of cougars entailed the measurement of the animal, the telling of the tale, and sometimes a public display. Settlers not only killed these animals, they described them in moral terms as “sanguinary and terrible,” as “brutes” and “monsters.” Hunters celebrated these encounters by telling and retelling the stories, as regular newspaper accounts attest. Emily Inez Denny seems to suggest that each death was a significant event. “Since the first settlement there have been killed in King County nearly thirty of these animals,” she wrote. Apparently, no killing passed without notice. Hunters typically measured their victim. Mr. McAllister killed a cougar measuring eight feet one inch; Luke McRedmond killed a cat that was ten feet three inches.³³ At least some hunters displayed the trophies of these encounters. Denny regretted the cougar her father killed had not been stuffed, but everyone certainly came to see the animal and comment on his size. McAllister announced his intention to turn the pelt from the cougar he had killed into a robe. One cougar that had

³⁰ Denny, *Blazing the Way*, 105-9.

³¹ Denny, *Blazing the Way*, 109.

³² Cougars have killed one human in Washington state in the last century (Susan Gilmore, “A Fourth Sighting of Cougar Reported in Magnolia,” *ST*, September 4, 2009).

been killing sheep was even captured alive, caged, and put on display up and down the Sound.³⁴ Newspapers accounts make clear these predators genuinely threatened livestock. But the zeal to recount these incidents and display the perpetrators showed cougars threatened not only cattle and sheep, but also human dominion.

“Never Were Dumb Brutes Better Appreciated”: Domesticated Animals in Early Seattle

While domestic animals were crucial to newcomers’ projects on Puget Sound, newcomers were far from agreed on how exactly to treat them. As they negotiated the domestic-wild borderlands by increasing the number of livestock, they also negotiated the human-animal borderlands. They struggled over how much to enfold animals within the circle of humane concern, whether human obligations to animals more closely resembled their obligations to rocks and trees or their obligations to other humans. Women often took the role of advocating greater care.

Harriet and Christian Brownfield, 44 and 46, prompted by a physician’s recommendation that Harriet “go west” for her health, set out from their home in Missouri in 1865 with their children, thirteen-year old Curtis and seven-year old Rosa. Draft animals were crucial to the Brownfields’ journey: these creatures pulled the family’s worldly possessions some two thousand miles across plains and through mountain passes to arrive eventually on the shores of Lake Union. Oxen and horses (it is not clear which the Brownfields had) would be crucial to whites’ efforts to transform the forests, meadows, and fields around Elliott Bay.

As they journeyed West, however, the couple quarreled over the best way to treat those animals – their parts in these arguments mirroring growing gender divisions in attitudes toward animals in the country more broadly. In Harriet’s words, “He said while crossing the Plains that if it was not for the name of the thing he would leave me there. The reason he

³³ *Daily Pacific Tribune*, July 25, 1877; “Killed at Last,” *Daily Intelligencer*, August 5, 1872.

³⁴ *Weekly Intelligencer*, June 17, 1872, 3; *Ibid.*, August 5, 1872, 3; *Puget Sound Dispatch*, June 13, 1872, 3; *Seattle Post-Intelligencer*, September 21, 1890, 8; Prosch, *Chronological History*, 201; *Weekly Intelligencer*, February 28, 1870, 3; Denny, *Blazing the Way*, 111-12, 413.

said that to me was because I told him any one so Cruel to Animals as he was ought not to have any.”³⁵ For many white men, animals told them who they were through the productive work they accomplished and through demonstrations of human mastery and control; for many white women, animals told them who they were through the interactions humans had with animals.

When they arrived in Seattle, Harriet and Christian continued to rely on the labor of animals and to argue about their treatment. In the spring of 1874, Harriet said, Christian’s “ill-treatment and threatening language [...] reached to such an extent that I could not endure it any longer.” One day, Christian “threatened to murder” when dinner, in Harriet’s words, was “perhaps 10 or 15 minutes at the most late.” Harriet attributed his anger to a deeper disagreement: “The reason that he used the threatening language was I called a dog from a cow that he was dogging.” Finally, a lawyer questioning young Rosa during the couple’s divorce proceedings suggested yet another conflict between the couple. He asked if Harriet had left Christian “because he had the old dog killed” – a story their daughter denied having heard. While it was rare for marital conflict to revolve primarily around the treatment of animals, the couple’s differences point to a broader pattern. While women emphasized affection toward animals, men emphasized control.³⁶

The difference in attitudes stemmed from a broader trend that historians have called the separate spheres. Work had often revolved around households in the eighteenth century and (male) commentators often assigned a higher moral sense to men than women. While women did most of the work of rearing children, men were seen as more attuned to what was needed for the moral education of children. In the nineteenth century, especially for middle-class white Americans, work and home became separated. Men became associated with the world of work and women with the domestic sphere. In a marked change, it was now

³⁵ C. Brownfield, Seattle, Washington, U.S. census, 1870 [accessed via Ancestry.com]; *Christian Brownfield v. Harriet Brownfield*, 1874, King County District Court case # 42, Washington Territory records, Washington State Archives-Puget Sound.

³⁶ *Brownfield v. Brownfield*.

assumed that women with their greater moral sense could inculcate good morals to children.³⁷

At the same time, women began to be the most vocal advocates of kindness to animals. Many men and women have for millennia felt kindness and affection for animals. Notably, the only tear that Odysseus shed on returning to Ithaca was on seeing his old hunting dog. Yet in the nineteenth century it was middle-class women who sounded calls to adopt an attitude of kindness toward “dumb brutes.”³⁸ As historian Katherine Grier has argued, in the nineteenth century many middle-class Americans adopted a domestic ethic of kindness that saw animals as allowing humans to teach their children an ethic of benevolence, with women taking the lead role in that education. Women also extended the moral sphere beyond the household, in a process that later reformers would term “municipal housekeeping,” by forming humane societies that advocated kindness to pets and work animals, and joining anti-vivisection leagues that protested lab experiments.³⁹ As white settlers moved to Seattle in the mid-nineteenth century, many women already embraced this ethic of kindness. These gender expectations only increased by the time in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries when women wrote memoirs about early Seattle.

As Yi Fu-Tuan has suggested in his *Dominance and Affection*, control and kindness may ultimately represent two sides of the same hierarchical attitude that underlies relations of power.⁴⁰ While both sexes had a vision of dominion over nature, men and women often emphasized different aspects of that dominion. For many white men, their transformations of the local environment gave them the right to own it. Women often emphasized the role of animals in these transformations, and the human control evident in animal “faithfulness.” The reduction of animals, be it to faithful servants or to chattel, requires a belief in a strong human-animal divide absent from Native people’s cosmologies. Yet this difference of

³⁷ Steven Mintz and Susan Kellogg, *Domestic Revolutions: A Social History of American Family Life* (New York: The Free Press 1988); Mark C. Carnes, “The Rise and Consolidation of Bourgeois Culture,” in *Encyclopedia of American Social History* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1993), 605-20.

³⁸ Julie Roy Jeffrey, *Frontier Women: “Civilizing” the West? 1840-1880* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1997), 11-34.

³⁹ Katherine C. Grier, *Pets in America: A History* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2006), 132-35.

⁴⁰ Yi-Fu Tuan, *Dominance and Affection: The Making of Pets* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1984).

attitude still had a profound effect on the nature of human-animal relations. It led to conflicts between women and men, and it contributed to the gender identities each sex held. Yet ultimately the ideology of dominance of nature that underlay both white women's and white men's attitudes shaped whites' efforts to transform the environment in ways that seemed appropriate to their conceptions of "civilization."

Not only practice, but story-telling differed between white men and white women. In white men's stories of early Seattle, animals hardly figure at all. They emphasized the transformations animals worked, but ignored the creatures themselves. Focusing on structures and institutions that marked progress, men let animals' contributions fade into the background. Men's association with the economy beyond the household led them to talk more of industries, transportation, and buildings. Chroniclers such as Arthur Denny, Thomas Prosch, and Clarence Bagley paid animals only passing heed in their accounts.⁴¹ Henry A. Smith, who settled on land around Smith's Cove in the 1850s, described the area's early landscape in a poem that was typical of many white men's stories of the city's founding. He called out three major projects to which livestock were central without ever mentioning domestic animals specifically: agriculture, road-building, and logging. Describing the hills around Elliott Bay, Smith declared: "The soil was sighing for the white man's care."⁴² Soon oxen and horses would help whites cultivate that land. They would help to clear land, to fertilize, plough, harrow, and harvest fields. Yet these animals were only present in Smith's poem by implication.

Smith went on to say of the landscape around Elliott Bay: "Its widest highway was an Indian trail." Livestock were both the reason for roads and the means of getting them. Long before the 1850s, Native people had established an elaborate network of trails connecting canoe landing points along the hills and valleys of Seattle. Yet a new domestic-animal based transportation system required a new set of roads. And it was oxen and horses that helped

⁴¹ Arthur A. Denny, *Pioneer Days on Puget Sound* (Fairfield, Wash.: Ye Galleon Press, 1979); Clarence B. Bagley, *History of Seattle: From the Earliest Settlement to the Present Time* (Chicago: S. J. Clarke Publishing Company, 1916); Thomas W. Prosch, *A Chronological History of Seattle from 1850 to 1897 Prepared in 1900 and 1901* ([Seattle], 1901).

⁴² Henry A. Smith, "Seattle in the Early Days (Written in 1887)," Henry Smith folder, Manuscript Collection, MOHAI.

humans haul away trees and grade surfaces to make these roads. Smith went on to note: “Then somber woods, as all old settlers know. / Obscured the glory of the eastern skies.” While humans labor with saws and axes was required to fell these trees, only the timber nearest the shore could be brought to mills or loaded on boats without the work of huge teams of six to twelve draft animals.⁴³ Logging would provide the area’s first major industry, and necessitate the importation of oxen. For Smith, it was men who transformed nature; mentioning their animal collaborators would only muddy a simple story of human progress and human agency.

White women were more likely to point to animals’ crucial role. Authors, such as Emily Inez Denny, Roberta Frye Watt, and Sophie Frye Bass regularly pointed up human-animal collaboration as an ingredient in white colonization. Focusing of the daily activities that transformed the city, they could hardly ignore animals’ role. Given their domestic and moral role, women may have more easily evoked animals’ role in the household economy. Lacking power, they could more easily empathize with animals, both in noting their historical role and in advocating for their protection.⁴⁴

Writing in the 1920s long after her 1853 trek across the country, Phoebe Goodell Judson remembered the joy she felt when she was reunited with her animals at Olympia – a joy increased by her identification with her cow as a fellow mother:

from away in the heavy forest came the faint tinkling of a familiar bell. Clear and louder it sounded as it neared the prairie. Soon my eyes were delighted and my heart cheered by the sight of the old yellow cow, as she took the lead of the other stock according to her custom in our travels all the way across the plains. I noticed she carried her head a little higher than usual, but did not wonder when I saw a little red calf frisking along by her side. Oh my! Weren't we proud of our cows and calf– the first ones we had ever owned, and I do not think we would have parted with them for their weight in gold.⁴⁵

⁴³ “Lumbering—Oxen” and “Lumbering—Horses,” Photo Collection, MOHAI.

⁴⁴ Denny, *Blazing the Way*; Watt, *Four Wagons West*; Bass, *When Seattle Was a Village*.

⁴⁵ Phoebe Goodell Judson, *A Pioneer's Search for an Ideal Home* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1984), 103.

Also writing in the 1920s, Roberta Frye Watt – a granddaughter of Arthur and Mary Denny born in Seattle around 1870 – expressed similar affection for the animals that walked with her grandparents and other white settlers across the continent: “What unsung heroes were the faithful animals that strained and pulled the heavy, creaking emigrant wagons day after day! They, too, were valiant pioneers. Providing them with water and forage became almost the first considerations, for the overlanders were helpless without them.”⁴⁶ Emily Inez Denny said of Seattle’s first oxen: “Never were dumb brutes better appreciated than these useful creatures.”⁴⁷ Significantly, she attributed this sentiment to two men (David Denny and Thomas Mercer) indicating perhaps the difference was more in the stories each gender was expected to tell than the emotions they experienced. While both men and women encountered animal laborers daily and knew their crucial role, women were more likely to accord them a place in history.

One man who did discuss at length his affection for his livestock knew this emotion that might strike his readers as out of place. In his reminiscences, Ezra Meeker felt obliged to preface a paean to the oxen with whom he crossed the continent: “What I am about to write may provoke a smile.... That there should be a feeling akin to affection between a man and ox will seem past comprehension to many.”⁴⁸ Such apologies for affection toward animals seem never to appear in women’s stories of early Puget Sound. Meeker, his wife Eliza, and seven-week-old son Marion set out from Iowa in 1852, journeyed along the Oregon Trail with four steers and four cows, visited the many new white settlements on Puget Sound (judging Seattle “not much of a town”), and eventually settled near Olympia.⁴⁹ Writing fifty years later, Meeker remembered both the cows and oxen with affection. The cows gave them the luxury of butter and buttermilk. As Meeker’s memoir waxed rhapsodic about his wife’s cooking, it hit the following high point as he described cows’ roles in creating a domestic space even in the trailside camp: “Then the buttermilk! What a luxury! I shall never, as long as I live, forget the shortcake and cornbread, the puddings and pumpkin

⁴⁶ Watt, *Four Wagons*, 9.

⁴⁷ Denny, *Blazing the Way*, 60; see also Watt, *Four Wagons*, 44.

⁴⁸ Ezra Meeker, *Pioneer Reminiscences of Puget Sound* (Seattle: Lowman and Hanford, 1905).

⁴⁹ Meeker, *Pioneer Reminiscences*, 7.

pies, and above all, the buttermilk.”⁵⁰ Their oxen supplied traction and even warmth. Ezra would sometimes nap on his watch with his back against that of his ox, Buck, both to ward off the cold and to know if the cattle sensed danger in the night. When he was forced to part with his team of oxen to take up a claim on McNeil Island in Puget Sound, he spoke movingly about his “close companions,” emphasizing their recognition of human mastery: “They knew me as far as they could see, and seemed delighted to obey my word, and I did regret to feel constrained to part with them.” The self-consciousness of Meeker’s account only underscores the author’s somewhat atypical posture toward animals – a posture more closely associated with nineteenth-century women than men.

Although men and women disagreed on how to navigate the human-animal borderlands – on how to describe animals’ historical role or whether to promote their welfare – everyone had to live closely with animals every day. These essential collaborators were evident to all the human inhabitants of Seattle; the sounds, sights, and smells of animals defined the contours of daily life. Roosters crowing, hens clucking, dogs barking, cattle bellowing, horses snorting greeted citizens’ ears at every turn as they went about their business – as present in the town, as they have been absent from its history. Horses trotted down streets with riders or pulling wagons, their manure and urine mixing with the mud and dirt. Pigs and cattle roamed streets and foraged on the outskirts of town. Many if not most city-dwellers integrated into their daily routines feeding chickens and checking for eggs, milking and caring for cows, slopping pigs, or taking care of other backyard livestock such as rabbits, ducks, geese, pigeons, or bees. Dogs and cats wandered the town as well. Most dogs likely had owners and were fed; but many cats simply lived by their wits hunting mice, rats, and birds. Animals, as much as humans, helped make Seattle a town.

In 1860, a King County census revealed a simple fact: most of the county’s newcomers were not humans, but domesticated animals. The county’s 302 non-Indian inhabitants owned 50 horses, 661 cattle, 225 pigs, and 495 chickens. While cats and dogs and wildlife went uncounted, government officials carefully enumerated the livestock inhabitants of King County, along with its human inhabitants. Looked at one way, the

⁵⁰ Ezra Meeker, *Ox-team Days on the Oregon Trail* (Yonkers-on-the-Hudson, N.Y.: World Book Co., 1922).

livestock censuses expresses the ultimate in human dominion: animals were reduced to property that needed to be counted to assess taxes. Looked at another way, they were testament to animals' success in using humans: their flourishing numbers a clear sign of their evolutionary success.

Livestock ownership was not, however, equally distributed. Most newcomer households had no livestock, if the census can be believed. In this they resembled Seattle's Native population, whom existing accounts rarely describe as tending livestock. The constraint for many newcomers was likely similar to that of Native peoples; they did not have secure access to land where they could graze domestic creatures. However, almost all the city's most prominent citizens – the names familiar to students of Seattle's history – had at least a few cattle, pigs, or a horse. Arthur Denny had a horse and two cattle, as did his son David. Henry A. Smith had a horse, six cattle, ten fowls, and eight pigs; David S. Maynard, a horse and eleven cattle.⁵¹ Animals served to mark differences between Native and newcomer, between men and women, between workers and the middle class. Three animals in particular – cattle, horses, and chickens – illustrate how humans and animals navigated the borderlands of their growing village.

Cattle: “The Lack of Milk Worked a Great Hardship”

The story of cattle in the growing town belies any simple line between domestic and wild. Domestic cattle were perhaps the most versatile animals newcomers brought with them, providing traction, milk, and (rarely) meat. They were essential collaborators as newcomers pushed out the domestic-wild borderlands making space for the town, while also telling the newcomers that they, in contrast to Natives, were Americans and milk-drinkers. Yet cattle first reached Seattle not as tame, domestic creatures, but as wild animals. Cattle came to the woods and prairies around Elliott Bay well before white settlers did, having gone feral and migrated from the farms around Fort Nisqually.⁵² These were what settlers called “Spanish cattle,” descended from longhorn cattle brought to the Americas before Europeans

⁵¹ 1860 census, Washington Territory, State Auditor's Records, 1857-1861, University of Washington Special Collections.

⁵² White, *Land Use*, 49.

developed specialized breeds of dairy and beef cattle. HBC herdsmen had driven them to Fort Nisqually from the Mexican settlements in California, some by way of the trading post at Walla Walla.⁵³ In nineteenth-century Europe, modern breeds were developed in response to the needs of increased production and specialization associated with urbanization and industrialization.⁵⁴ U.S. settlers, as they came West, brought many of these breeds of cattle with them, such as Jerseys – breeds imported from Britain earlier in the century.⁵⁵ As HBC Spanish cattle encountered the new American cattle, some American settlers complained of the Spanish cattle near Fort Nisqually ruining American cattle breeds.⁵⁶ In Seattle as late as 1880, people were still hunting the wild cattle that roamed near the town.⁵⁷ While cattle bespoke civilization to newcomers, they often lived as wild as deer.

In bringing cattle to Seattle, white settlers introduced creatures with an ancient connection to humans. According to archeologists and biologists, most of the world's domestic cattle (*Bos taurus*) descend from the now-extinct wild ox or aurochs (*Bos primigenius*) that once lived throughout Eurasia and Africa north of the equator. It was these aurochs that artists painted on the walls of Lascaux Cave in France some seventeen millennia ago. Humans began to tame these fierce creatures at least as early as the seventh millennium B.C.E., as evidence from Turkey attests. They began to use cows for milk production by the fourth millennium B.C.E. in Egypt and Mesopotamia. And ultimately, cattle fared much better than their wild cousins. By most accounts, the last aurochs died in Poland in 1627.⁵⁸

At first blush, domestication might seem an obvious story of human dominion and control – one that showed humans to be the actors of history and cattle the objects. It does

⁵³ Clarence B. Bagley, "In the Beginning," in *Pioneer Reminiscences of Puget Sound: The Tragedy of Leschi*, ed. Ezra Meeker (Seattle: Lowman & Hanford, 1905), 481.

⁵⁴ H. Epstein and I. L. Mason, "Cattle," in *Evolution of Domesticated Animals*, ed. Ian L. Mason (London: Longman, 1984), 12.

⁵⁵ Denny, *Blazing the Way*, 254.

⁵⁶ Fort Nisqually Journal, May 16, 1853; March 19, 1853; and June 20, 1852. L. A. Smith, "Notice," *Columbian*, March 19, 1853.

⁵⁷ David T. Denny diary, January 29, 1880, Denny Family Papers, MOHAI.

⁵⁸ On the domestication of cattle, see S. Bökönyi, *History of Domestic Mammals in Central and Eastern Europe* (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1974), 95-147; Epstein and Mason, 6-27; Juliet Clutton-Brock, *A Natural History of Domesticated Animals* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 81-90; Frederick E. Zeuner, *A History of Domesticated Animals* (London: Hutchinson of London, 1963), 201-244; Daniel G. Bradley and

seem likely that the humans involved in encounters leading to domestication had a better idea of the end result (especially once they already had one or two domestic species) than did the animals. To say cattle “chose” domestication or struck a “bargain” with humans, as some have argued, is at best a vague analogy that assigns nonhuman species the characteristics of human individuals.⁵⁹ And still, human desires had to accommodate themselves to bovine desires. It was likely those aurochs which came closer to farmers’ fields or reacted with less fear or violence toward humans that became domesticated. While humans gained much materially and symbolically from this association – milk, meat, and hides, symbols of wealth and prestige – cattle also gained protection from their ancient predators (by allying with their new predator) and access to better forage. The downside of the relationship fell almost entirely to the cattle. Trading one predator for another may or may not have been a detriment, but the suffering humans can inflict on cattle in life surely is. This greatly increased with nineteenth-century railroad shipping and twentieth-century feedlots, but was hardly absent before. Nonetheless, as a species, they adapted to an emerging ecological niche – the agricultural zones humans were creating – even as that agriculture was diminishing their existing habitat. Domestication represented a new alliance with mutual benefits developed through the actions of uncounted individuals, both human and bovine.⁶⁰

Along with the animals themselves, Europeans brought legal concepts that treated cattle as property, and sought to enforce that right even when the cattle wandered far from settlements. These legal concepts served to strengthen the distinction between human and animal, since animals were property and their owners were not – a distinction that was far from rigid, since in other parts of the United States, enslaved humans could be owned as property. Embedded in the very words Europeans used to refer to animals were centuries-old habits of thinking about animals as property. “Livestock,” a word that first appeared in the

David A. Magee, “Genetics and Origins of Domestic Cattle,” in *Documenting Domestication: New Genetic and Archaeological Paradigms*, ed. Melinda A. Zeder (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2006), 317-28.

⁵⁹ Peter Singer and Jim Mason, *The Way We Eat: Why Our Food Choices Matter* ([Emmaus, Penn.]: Rodale, 2006), 248-51; Clutton-Brock, *Natural History*, 29.

⁶⁰ Singer and Mason, *The Way We Eat*, 248-51; Clutton-Brock, *Natural History*, 29; Tim Ingold, *Hunters, Pastoralists and Ranchers: Reindeer Economies and their Transformations* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1980), 96; Michael Pollan, *The Botany of Desire: A Plant's-eye View of the World* (New York: Random House, 2002).

English language in the mid-eighteenth century, implied a union of the living and the financial. The term “cattle” also referred to property, having the same Latin root as both “capital” and “chattel.” This term first appeared in English in the fourteenth century and through the nineteenth century could refer to any type of livestock. For instance, after first describing a shipment of “neat cattle” and sheep, an HBC official at Fort Victoria could subsequently refer simply to “the cattle of both kinds.”⁶¹ To specify the species *Bos taurus*, nineteenth-century English had at least three options: neat cattle, black cattle, or horned cattle. The latter two terms were somewhat misleading in that not all *Bos taurus* are black, and not all are horned. The term “neat” (unrelated etymologically to the adjective meaning orderly) also has a derivation revealing the property status of animals: it is related to an Old English word meaning “to make use of,” to a Latvian term for “money,” and to a German term for livestock generally. The term first appeared in English by the twelfth century referring specifically to *Bos taurus*. “Neat” would gradually disappear from speech in the nineteenth century, except in expressions such as “neat’s-foot oil” (which is made from cattle bones). By the twentieth century, cattle had come to refer specifically to *Bos taurus*.

White settlers took it for granted that animals would help them in their endeavors to establish civilization in the Pacific Northwest. When they eyed Salish lands around Elliott Bay that they hoped to expropriate, they visualized cattle grazing those lands (or worried the lands would not support those vital creatures). By Arthur Denny’s account, when he and two other founders of Seattle (Carson Boren and William Bell) claimed land in what would become downtown Seattle, they looked over the area carefully to assess “the harbor, timber, and feed for stock.”⁶² However, the spot they decided upon was not entirely to their liking: “we had fears that the range for our stock would not afford them sufficient feed in the winter.”⁶³ So, they set out to explore nearby meadows in hopes of finding better graze.

⁶¹ James Douglas in Victoria wrote William F. Tolmie at Fort Nisqually on April 11, 1850, saying “The Driver [a ship] arrived here the day following her departure from Nisqually and landed 803 sheep and 85 head of neat Cattle including the cattle of both kind brought by Captain Grant which have been delivered and ought to be deducted from the numbers.” (Reel 1M216, Ft. Nisqually Correspondence Books: B.151/b/1-3, 1850-52, HBC Archives). *Oxford English Dictionary*, s.v. “neat,” “nait” (University of Washington subscription database, accessed March 2010).

⁶² Denny, *Pioneer Days*, 16.

⁶³ Denny, *Pioneer Days*, 30.

White settlers, however, did not simply transport a familiar livestock system to a new place. The system evolved with the new environment and the animals themselves played a role in its transformation. Cattle bridged town and wilderness, rather than defining a sharp line between them. Given the lack of fenced pastures and given the luxury of an informal commons of undeveloped lands, livestock owners developed new practices to exploit these resources, but also to assure control of their animals (see figure 5). In 1855, Catherine Blaine wrote her relatives at length about her cows, evidently believing livestock practices in far-off Seattle would surprise them.

The folks here do not take the calves from the cows, but let them suck as long as cows give milk. There are no pastures here and the cows run in the woods and would not come up to be milked if their calves were weaned. The calves are kept in a pen or yard and the cows turned in to them until they get a part of the milk, and then they are tied while the rest of the milk is taken.⁶⁴

Cattle spent days grazing in the woods, and evenings near settlers' houses. By penning the calves, settlers exploited the desire of nursing cows to return to their calves and the herd behavior of cattle both to constrain and benefit from animal choices. Cows chose where to move during the day based on where they found the best grazing; yet they had to rejoin the settlement at end of day to suckle their calves. The system was so effective (and the winters so mild) that at first settlers could simply allow their cattle to live off native grasses. As Catherine Blaine put it, cows "do not have to be fed in the winter, as we have so little cold weather and snow that they can pick their own living and keep fat."⁶⁵ Yet over time, newcomers' growing herds of cattle had to rely on cultivating and harvesting crops of hay and the system came to resemble those in the East.⁶⁶

Cattle served two primary roles for settlers in Seattle: providing milk and traction. (Only rarely did they supply meat, which early settlers got primarily from game and salmon.) Drinking milk was not only a practical source of protein, but a declaration of American identity. Few Americans drank raw milk in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, favoring milk products such as cheese, butter, and clabbered milk (a yogurt-like fermented

⁶⁴ Catherine Blaine to family, September 16, 1855, in Blaine and Blaine, *Memoirs of Puget Sound*, 144-45.

⁶⁵ Catherine Blaine to Seraphina Paine, July 1855, in Blaine and Blaine, *Memoirs of Puget Sound*, 139.

milk product). There were likely important health reasons for these preferences, since these processed milk products – either because of their higher fat content or the presence of fermenting bacteria – made the milk much less likely to contain harmful bacteria. However, in the early nineteenth century, for many tee-totalers opposed to alcohol and what they saw as the less-than-American Irish and German immigrants who favored beer and cider, milk became an especially American drink.⁶⁷

Like many Americans, early Seattleites saw milk as an essential food. Its absence was a cause for concern. One particular story appeared repeatedly in settlers' accounts, emphasizing the abnormality of life without cows and the resilience of early settlers under these conditions. Emily Inez Denny wrote about it around 1899, describing events that happened a few years before her birth. During the first days of the Denny party at Alki Point in 1851, Mary Denny's health was poor "and it became necessary to provide nourishment for the infant [Rolland]; as there were no cows within reach, or tinned substitutes, the experiment of feeding him on clam juice was made with good effect."⁶⁸ Writing in 1931, Roberta Frye Watt put a more dire spin on the story saying, "The lack of milk worked the greatest hardship. Not only Mary Denny's tiny baby but the other young children had only clam broth for milk substitute all year."⁶⁹ Other local historians provided versions of this story as well. Cow's milk was not necessary to life, as the clam juice proved. Yet it was a familiar nutrient – a food viewed as essential – that helped tell the newcomers that even in this distant place they were Americans. Soon, Seattle had the dairy cows it needed for an ample supply of milk.

Cattle provided not only food, but traction. Whites never imagined replicating the Native subsistence system, nor the Native reliance on human muscle power for work. They always imagined that domestic animals would feed them and help them transform the land. Felling and moving trees with human muscles was certainly possible. Like drinking clam

⁶⁶ *Brownfield v. Brownfield*, 34.

⁶⁷ E. Melanie DuPuis, *Nature's Perfect Food: How Milk Became America's Drink* (New York: New York University Press, 2002), 21-26, 117; Joseph R. Gusfield, *Symbolic Crusade: Status Politics and the American Temperance Movement* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1963), 55.

⁶⁸ Denny, *Blazing the Way*, 317.

⁶⁹ Frye, *Four Wagons West*, 48.

juice, however, newcomers remembered this type of work as a badge of pioneer status, not a viable long-term practice. Arthur Denny wrote in his memoir in the 1880s that while his group of settlers stayed at Alki Point in 1851, a passing ship captain made a contract with them to cut a load of piles. Denny noted with pride the rigors of pioneer life without oxen or horses:

We had no team at the time, but some of us went to work cutting the timber nearest to the water, and rolled and hauled in by hand, while Lee Terry went up the Sound and obtained a yoke of oxen, which he drove on the beach from Puyallup with which to complete the cargo, but we had made very considerable progress by hand before his arrival with the cattle.⁷⁰

Oxen were crucial to the relatively large-scale operations that gradually allowed early Seattleites to eliminate the “somber woods” that “[o]bscured the glory of the eastern skies.”⁷¹

Other settlers followed a similar path, saving enough money to buy oxen that they could use for lumbering. Eli Mapel recounted how when he arrived at his father’s place on the Duwamish River in 1852, the two men started cutting lumber and pulling it out to the river “on their shoulders.” The profits from their early efforts, Mapel said, “afforded us with money enough to go to the Columbia River and buy two yoke of oxen which cost us \$600. We drove them to Olympia and shipped them down on a scow to the Duwamish River. Then we went to farming and lumbering.”⁷² Ida H. Gow likewise recalled the difficult first years on her father’s farm on the Duwamish River when “everything had to be carried on their backs over the trails.”⁷³ By marking as unusual and trying these stories in which humans hauled lumber and supplies on their backs, settlers revealed how central livestock were to their projects of environmental transformation.

⁷⁰ Denny, *Pioneer Days*, 13.

⁷¹ Watt, *Four Wagons*, 44; Henry A. Smith, “Seattle in the Early Days (Written in 1887),” Henry Smith folder, Manuscript Collection, MOHAI.

⁷² Eli Mapel, “Pioneer Recollections, 1902,” Historylink Essay no. 2645, <http://www.historylink.org> (accessed November 2009).

⁷³ Ida H. Gow, “A Bit of Family History: Mother’s Ancestry and Later Life,” no. 14, Manuscript Collection, MOHAI.

Horses: From “Siwash buggies” to “Boston kaynim”

Although Seattle had few horses in its early decades, in one sense it was these animals that gave the city its shape. The town had wide streets and the region soon had roads – thoroughfares that had little purpose absent animal-drawn conveyances. The city’s animal-based transportation system was one more way that newcomers marked a distinction between civilization and savagery. In the town’s early decades, few wagons travelled these routes on any given day. While King County had 661 cattle by 1860, it had only fifty horses. Yet these streets and roads told newcomers that they did not intend to rely forever on foot travel and on canoes paddled by Indians. They foresaw horsepower moving people, crops, and merchandise. In the small town of Seattle, horses were hardly needed to transport humans. One could easily walk. But, horses played an important role in connecting farms to the town. They, with oxen, were used in logging and ploughing. And horses with their greater speed generally took on the labor of moving merchandise around the town of Seattle. As such, their importance and numbers would increase throughout the nineteenth century. The very shape of the city with streets wide enough for two horse-drawn wagons to proceed in opposite directions stemmed from these animals’ presence.

The horses brought by whites were not the first horses to trot the hills around Elliott Bay. Yet in the growing European-American town they would take on an importance they had never had for the Duwamish, Hachooabsh, and Shilsholes. According to archeologists, horses (of species other than *Equus caballus*) had roamed the Americas for millions of years, but went extinct some ten thousand years ago around the time that the most recent Ice Age ended and humans first arrived in the Americas.⁷⁴ The Spanish brought horses into Mexico in the sixteenth century. From there, they spread northward providing Native peoples of the Great Plains the means to transform their culture and exploit more effectively the enormous herds of bison. By the 1740s horses had reached the peoples of Eastern Washington and the

⁷⁴ Stephen Budiansky, *The Nature of Horses: Exploring Equine Evolution, Intelligence, and Behavior* (New York: Free Press, 1997).

peoples of southern Puget Sound began using horses at least by the early nineteenth century.⁷⁵

Horses never achieved the importance for Natives near Elliott Bay that they had for Native people around Mt. Rainier, the Nisqually plain, or the Cowlitz River, and especially for the Yakimas and other peoples east of the Cascades. The watery landscape with few vast prairies generally made canoes more practical than horses. Before the founding of Seattle, Native peoples from other regions may have occasionally brought horses to the area around Elliott Bay – they certainly did after Seattle’s founding – but the local peoples had few if any horses. According to a survey by HBC factor William F. Tolmie in 1844, the Duwamish had no horses and the Suquamish had only five, while the Nisqually had 190, and the Staktamish on the Cowlitz River had 89. By contrast, Tolmie estimated the Duwamish had 36 canoes and the Suquamish 160.⁷⁶

Like cattle, horses achieved great evolutionary success by allying themselves with humans. Through the individual actions of uncounted humans and horses, a remarkable collaboration emerged – one in which humans had the greater control, but not total control. Horses have a much more recent association with humans than cattle. According to biologists and archeologists, most modern horses (*Equus caballus*) likely descend from animals domesticated in Ukraine or Turkestan some six thousand years ago, among farmers and hunters who had already domesticated cattle, pigs, and sheep.⁷⁷ A few of the cousins of domesticated horses still live wild: the Prezewalski’s horses (*Equus ferus przewalskii*) of Mongolia. In contrast to most other domesticated species (but like the cat), the horse remains little changed from its wild cousins. From the steppes, domesticated horses soon spread to Mesopotamia, Egypt, Western Europe, India, and China, and were used for meat, for pulling

⁷⁵ Yvonne Prater, *Snoqualmie Pass: From Indian Trail to Interstate* (Seattle: The Mountaineers, 1981), 10; George Gibbs, *Tribes of Western Washington and Northwestern Oregon* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1877), 221.

⁷⁶ *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs* (Washington, D.C., 1854), 458.

⁷⁷ On the domestication of horses, see Juliet Clutton-Brock, *Natural History*, 100-113; S. Bökönyi, “Horse,” in *Evolution of Domesticated Animals*, ed. Ian L. Mason (London: Longman, 1984), 162-71; Bökönyi, *History of Domestic Mammals*, 230-96; Zeuner, *History of Domesticated Animals*, 299-337; Sandra L. Olsen, “Early Horse Domestication on the Eurasian Steppe,” in *Documenting Domestication: New Genetic and Archaeological Paradigms*, ed. Melinda A. Zeder and others (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2006), 245-69.

wagons, chariots, and ploughs, for riding and racing, and for warfare. Horse-riding, an especially dramatic form of cross-species collaboration, began to appear at least four thousand years ago. Perhaps because of the incredible speed with which horses allowed humans to move or the close communication involved in riding and driving, humans in many cultures and many eras have formed especially close relations with this animal – rivaled perhaps only by the bond between humans and dogs.

The bond was close enough that we know the names of the first horses that newcomers brought to Seattle – the only species in which this is the case. Thomas Mercer brought the first team of horses to the town of Seattle in the fall of 1853 – the black mare Tib and the white horse Charley, both of whom had crossed the plains with him. They were the only team in town for several years and provided Mercer a great deal of business. His nephew Dexter Horton worked for him doing about two hours of teaming work daily, hauling lumber and merchandise within the small town.⁷⁸ The horse population grew much more slowly than the cattle population. By 1860, the 302 non-Indian inhabitants of King County had 50 horses and 661 cattle; by 1870, the 2,120 newcomers had 305 horses and 1,575 cattle.⁷⁹

As Seattle grew, horses helped stitch together its increasing distances. They took on a vital role in the town's growing webs of commerce in ways that would make them a prominent feature of urban life well into the twentieth century. David Denny, for instance, established his homestead near Lake Union in the 1850s and used his horses to link to people and merchandise in the town of Seattle about a mile to the South. In the laconic, two- to three-sentence entries in his diary, one of the individuals that appeared most often was Jack: January 8, 1870: "...went to town on Jack..."; January 10: "...went to town Jack..."; January 20: "...to town on Jack..."; January 21: "...went to town Jack..." He regularly rode his horse Jack or hitched up a team to take care of business in town, to haul eggs and butter to

⁷⁸ Archie Binns, *Northwest Gateway: The Story of the Port of Seattle* (Portland, Oreg.: Binfords and Mort, 1941), 65; Denny, *Blazing the Way*, 331; Watt, *Four Wagons*, 134-36; Kay Frances Reinartz, *Queen Anne: Community on the Hill* (Seattle: Queen Anne Historical Society, 1993), 27; C. H. Hanford, *Seattle and Environs, 1852-1924* (Chicago: Pioneer Historical Publishing, 1924), 1:84.

⁷⁹ U.S. Census, 1860, 1870.

market, to bring dairy salt, flour, lumber, tools, and other supplies back to his farm.⁸⁰

Frances McAllister remembered her family's much longer journey from her family's farm on the Duwamish to Seattle, around the 1870s. They drove a horse and wagon through numerous other farms opening and shutting gates, then took a ferry across the river, on one- or two-day trips that provided them supplies for a month.⁸¹

These trips required roads. As newcomers told the early story of their city, road-building featured prominently. Roads were important for commerce and military power. Barely mentioned in celebrations of these expanding networks were the horses without whom these roads would serve little purpose. Newcomers did, however, note their joy in no longer having to rely on Salish canoes. Early white settlers underscored the abnormality of having to travel by water, as well as their jocular embrace of their rude means of transport, by terming canoes "siwash buggies" – the term neatly mirrored the Chinook jargon term for wagon "Boston kaynim," or U.S. canoe.⁸² When Arthur Denny argued in Olympia for a military road from Steilacoom to Seattle, his experience getting to the roads meeting made his words all the more impassioned. He and his Salish canoe-paddlers took three days to arrive from Seattle, given the stormy weather that kept them on Vashon Island for two nights on the way.⁸³

Road-building featured much more prominently in Arthur Denny's telling of Seattle history than the animals that helped grub out and grade the roads. Denny, in fact, placed such importance on roads that his memoir described several early projects that petered out with little effect. In 1853, the federal government appropriated money for the military to build a wagon road from Steilacoom to Walla Walla. By Denny's account, citizens of Seattle "practically accomplished" a spur road from Seattle to the new military road; but ultimately the military wagon road "was not a success." When the military road failed, the white settlers set out to build their own road or pack trail over the pass. Denny described in detail an 1855 effort to build a pack trail through Cedar Pass; "but this trail was never traveled to

⁸⁰ David Denny diaries, Denny Family Collection, MOHAI.

⁸¹ John and Frances McCallister diaries, MOHAI.

⁸² Watt, *Four Wagons*, 135.

⁸³ Bass, *When Seattle Was A Village*, 34.

any extent,” Denny noted. Denny finally described a successful road-building effort in 1867, when a wagon road was built through Snoqualmie Pass.⁸⁴

To tell themselves who they were it was important for Seattleites to define where they were. As Seattle became more connected to world commerce, roads and the horses that humans drove along them were central to that process. Even when the efforts at road-building had little practical effect, telling those stories said that Seattle was progressing and pushing back the wild.

Chickens: “Very Valuable Wedding Presents”

As cattle bridged the town and the woods, as horses helped form connections to global markets, chickens helped Seattleites define home. Town-dwellers noted with pride their expanding flocks. For them, these creatures who stayed close to home and whose care fell primarily to women and children were not only a welcome source of eggs and meat, but a symbol of domesticity.

The particular ways that white settlers used chickens in Seattle were far from inevitable, as demonstrated by the variety of purposes to which different cultures have put these birds.⁸⁵ Humans have used chickens in food production for eggs or meat or both, in ceremonial and religious purposes such as cock-fighting, sacrifices, decorative feathers, fortune-telling, and competitive showing, and as the rooster alarm clocks that awake farmers and townspeople throughout much of the world to this day.⁸⁶ Their sacred importance led many cultures to establish taboos on eating the birds, just as Americans now shun eating horses, dogs, and cats. Chickens were first domesticated from one or more species of junglefowl in southeast Asia.⁸⁷ In the second millennium B.C.E., humans kept chickens in much of southeast Asia and in China. Egypt with its extensive trade network also soon acquired them. Domestication expanded to other areas in the first millennium B.C.E.,

⁸⁴ Prosch, *Chronological History*, 178-80; Prater, *Snoqualmie Pass*, 29-32; James Oliphant, “Cattle Trade Through Snoqualmie Pass,” *Pacific Northwest Quarterly* 38 (July 1947): 195.

⁸⁵ On the domestication of chickens, see Zeuner, *History of Domesticated Animals*, 443-55; R. D. Crawford, “Domestic Fowl,” in *Evolution of Domesticated Animals*, ed. Ian L. Mason (London: Longman, 1984), 298-310.

⁸⁶ Zeuner, *History of Domesticated Animals*, 449.

throughout the Middle East, and to Greece and Italy. Julius Caesar mentioned the presence of chickens in Britain before the Roman conquest, but archeological evidence suggests they arrived there only a few decades before the Romans.⁸⁸ Some evidence indicates chickens reached South America long before European colonization, where they served not as food, but for cock-fighting and feather decorations. Chickens, however, only arrived in Seattle with white settlers. In Chinook jargon, whites and Native peoples on Puget Sound called hens and roosters by the French names HBC workers used when talking about them: “la poule” and “le coq.”⁸⁹

Chickens were familiar animals and familiar food that connected settlers to places left behind – a source of evident pride to early Seattleites. In 1854, Catherine Blaine exuded to a friend: “You say you suppose we have no chickens. You are mistaken. We have a fine little flock of seven small ones besides four larger.”⁹⁰ She wrote her family in detail about her growing flock, her “very fine” rooster and “three pullets” and her hopes for “quite a flock” by summer. She also noted, however, that an “Indian dog” had killed her rooster.⁹¹ Despite European notions of dominion and control, the domesticated and wild animals that had lived on Puget Sound for centuries often countered whites’ desires for the region. By one count at least, the area’s flock increased only slowly. An 1860 census recorded only 495 fowl belonging to the 220 King County families it listed.⁹²

Later city historians as well pointed up the importance of chickens and the pride their new owners took in them. Local historians, especially women, folded chickens into one of the emblematic stories of Seattle’s founding. Roberta Frye Watt and Emily Inez Denny both told the story of the hen and rooster given to the newlyweds, Louisa and David Denny, in 1853. In Watt’s version:

⁸⁷ Crawford, “Domestic Fowl,” 298.

⁸⁸ Mason, *Evolution of Domesticated Animals*, 302.

⁸⁹ George Gibbs, *Dictionary of the Chinook Jargon, or Indian Trade Language, Now in General Use on the Northwest Coast* (Olympia, Wash.: T. G. Lowe, 1873).

⁹⁰ Catherine Blaine to Seraphina Paine, August 4, 1854, in Blaine and Blaine, *Memoirs of Puget Sound*, 103.

⁹¹ Catherine Blaine to family, May 31, 1854, in Blaine and Blaine, *Memoirs of Puget Sound*, 88.

⁹² Assessment and Statistical Rolls, Washington Territory Auditor’s Office Records, 1857-1861, University of Washington Special Collections.

After the ceremony and wedding dinner, the bride and bridegroom went down the bluff to their canoe carrying their few wedding gifts, among which were an old hen and a rooster given them by Dr. Maynard. Chickens were scarce in those days and were considered very valuable wedding presents.... The old hen that Dr. Maynard gave the “newly-weds” made a nest under the doorstep, and went to sitting as soon as the nest was full of eggs. Both she and the rooster seemed to realize that there was no time to waste in this new country, for when the eggs were hatched the rooster took full charge of the chicks while the hen filled the nest again and soon came forth with a second brood.⁹³

In avian fertility, white settlers found a useful metaphor for human fertility. In these stories, the birds seem to stand in for the white settlers in their desire to reproduce and fill the new country with individuals like themselves. The livestock that stayed closest to home, and whose care was typically the purview of women, formed the most potent symbol of domesticity.

Cattle, horses, and chickens helped settlers survive in a new place and transform their environment. While salmon, deer, pheasants, and canoes supplied many of the same needs as these animals, newcomers never really considered relying on these creatures long-term. These familiar animals helped newcomers see they were creating a European landscape, as they pushed out the domestic-wild borderlands. Their steadfast attachment to familiar species, even in the presence of local alternatives like salmon, clams, and venison, points to their cultural attachment, as well as material reliance, on these creatures. Early white Seattleites (especially the men) believed that they were the actors of history and that these animal allies were merely tools. Yet the animals themselves had, centuries ago, taken advantage of humans to gain access to new habitats. Their arrival in the northwest United States was but the latest phase in that ongoing history. In this, these creatures were not alone. Newcomers brought with them other important animals as well – dogs, cats, pigs, and others – which we shall consider in later chapters.

⁹³ Watt, *Four Wagons*, 90-93. Emily Inez Denny tells a similar version of the story, also emphasizing the motherly qualities of the rooster (*Blazing the Way*, 73).

“Usual and Accustomed Grounds”: Native Peoples and Changing Human-Animal Relations

Although livestock were crucial to colonization, we should not think for a moment that they marked a neat line between Natives and newcomers. Ironically, even as whites encouraged Salish people to adopt Euro-American lifeways, it was the Indigenous people whose property relations most resembled those of newcomers who suffered most in the first years of white settlement. Salish people with large herds of horses stood to lose the land on which to graze them. By one account, one of the Nisqually leaders, Leschi, stood up at the negotiations for the Treaty of Medicine Creek and said “we want some of the bottom land so our people can learn to farm, and some of the prairie where we can pasture our horses, and we want some land along this creek so our people may come in from the Sound and camp and go to the prairies for our horses.”⁹⁴ The treaty, which the Nisqually and Puyallup signed in 1854, provided them the right to fish in “usual and accustomed grounds,” but provided “the privilege of hunting, gathering roots and berries, and pasturing their horses” only “on open and unclaimed lands.” They had no secure access to land for their horses. The treaty also called for them to castrate or confine all their stallions.⁹⁵ Although Leschi’s name appeared on the treaty, he always claimed he never signed it. Soon, he helped lead the revolt against the new treaties.

Some Salish people had owned horses since the early nineteenth century. And Indians, as much as newcomers, sought to acquire livestock as a means of sustenance. Salish people also began to acquire European livestock soon after newcomers arrived. While livestock were crucial to newcomers’ projects, Indians owned them as well. Even as livestock marked distinctions, they also blurred the lines between Natives and newcomers.

While U.S. treaties with Native peoples assured, nominally at least, the right to hunt, fish, and gather, they did not adequately allow Natives to keep their horses. Soon after the founding of Seattle, Isaac Stevens – governor and superintendent of Indian Affairs for Washington Territory – forced local chiefs to sign a series of treaties relinquishing their land.

⁹⁴ Ezra Meeker, *The Tragedy of Leschi* (Seattle: Historical Society of Seattle and King County, 1980), 52.

⁹⁵ United States, *Treaty between the United States and the Nisqually and Other Bands of Indians* (Seattle: Shorey Book Store, 1966) [Treaty of Medicine Creek, 1854].

On January 22, 1855, Stevens and several Native leaders including Chief Seattle signed the Point Elliott Treaty. Using language commonplace in Indian-white treaties, the document assured white migrants access to lands formerly held by Native people, while still providing enough assurances to Native people to prevent outright warfare.

Article 5. The right of taking fish at usual and accustomed grounds and stations is further secured to said Indians in common with all citizens of the Territory, and of erecting temporary houses for the purpose of curing, together with the privilege of hunting and gathering roots and berries on open and unclaimed lands. Provided, however, That they shall not take shell-fish from any beds staked or cultivated by citizens.⁹⁶

These words meant that Indians would not be fully confined to reservations. Their insertion into the treaty spoke to the desire of Salish peoples to continue to live and work at their “accustomed grounds” (many of which lay within the new city of Seattle), both at hunting and fishing, and as laborers in new industries.

Since Native peoples, like Europeans, considered their livestock property and needed property rights in land to maintain them, giving up their land was an especially grievous blow. Horse owners were faced with abandoning their horses, or defying the treaties to assert their right to traditional grazing grounds.⁹⁷ Stevens, himself, had a year earlier emphasized the necessity that treaties accord Indians enough land “to give each Indian a homestead and land sufficient to pasture their animals.”⁹⁸ Yet when he concluded treaties that removed Native claims to lands near white settlements, he ignored his own insight, soon leading to war. The Nisqually, Yakima, Klickitat, and White River Duwamish, among others, did not accept the new treaties and attacked white settlements in 1855. By contrast, people that relied on fishing and hunting – a form of subsistence that Europeans saw as less

⁹⁶ United States, *Treaty between the United States and the Dwamish, Suquamish, and other allied and subordinate tribes of Indians in Washington Territory: January 22, 1855, ratified April 11, 1859* (Seattle: Shorey Book Store, 1966) [Point Elliott Treaty].

⁹⁷ Harmon, *Indians in the Making*, 85-86.

⁹⁸ Report from Stevens to Bureau of Indian Affairs, dated September 1854, quoted in Meeker, *Pioneer Reminiscences*, 257.

than ideal – only gradually lost the ability to access the lands and waters they needed for those activities.

In the resulting war – the only organized resistance to white colonization to take place within Seattle – both sides' tactics revealed livestock's importance to newcomers and Natives alike. While the resisters had little hope of militarily defeating the white settlers and the soldiers that defended them, they felt by killing whites on isolated farms, by killing or scattering livestock, and by burning buildings and crops, they could demoralize whites and discourage expropriation.⁹⁹ In their brief attack on Seattle on January 26, 1856, they succeeded primarily in killing and scattering livestock and setting fire to buildings. By various accounts, the attackers killed or drove off most of the settlers' cattle, burned many of the town's buildings, and feasted on several cattle near the current site of Seattle's central public library (Fifth Avenue and Madison Street).¹⁰⁰

In a skirmish in which only one white person was killed, white survivors remembered the loss of livestock as one of the most traumatic events. The resisters had revealed the vulnerability of white settlers who let the animals they considered living property roam far from their houses. They revealed that what newcomers viewed as a line between civilization and savagery was far from secure. As recounted by Roberta Frye Watt, a granddaughter of Arthur Denny born about twenty years after the war:

The pioneer children had little milk to drink, for most of the cows had been either stolen or killed by the Indians. One of Louisa[Boren Denny]'s memories was of the children crying for milk. Seventy-five years later, Susan Mercer told how she and her sister mourned the loss of their cow. They had had her only one day and were anticipating the milk and butter they were to have.¹⁰¹

Migration to Puget Sound slowed for several years, and out-migration increased. The threat to livestock was only one reason for this pattern. Yet David Blaine cited that as a prime reason he and Catherine left Seattle for good in 1856. As Native attacks began in late 1855,

⁹⁹ David Blaine to family, December 18, 1855, in Blaine and Blaine, *Memoirs of Puget Sound*, 151-52.

¹⁰⁰ Bass, *Pig-tail Days*, 100; Mapel, "Pioneer Recollections, 1902"; Denny, *Blazing the Way*, 443; Yesler, "Settlement of Washington Territory."

¹⁰¹ Watt, *Four Wagons*, 247.

he wrote his relatives dolefully: "Our cows do not come home and I have not been able to find them." After he and his wife had left Seattle, he explained: "We could neither live safely in our house nor take care of our cows to keep them from the predatory savages, nor carry out our plans."¹⁰²

For white Americans who saw livestock as a necessary part of the world they were creating, their absence marked decay and made life intolerable. Bureau of Indian Affairs inspector J. Ross Browne visited Puget Sound in 1857 and described with dismay the appearance of the prairies south of Olympia. "All along the road, houses are deserted and going to ruin; fences cast down and in a state of decay; fields once waving with luxuriant crops of wheat are desolate; and but little if any stock to be seen in the broad prairies that formerly bore such inspiring evidences of life."¹⁰³ Along with crops, houses, and fences, animals were an important marker of progress that settlers looked for as they surveyed a landscape. Their absence was a depressing visual sign of a set-back in efforts at white colonization.

Indigenous people acknowledged the importance of livestock not only by attacking them in their revolt, but by acquiring them as a means of sustenance. On reservations, Native people, as well as Indian agents, recognized the advantages of livestock and made efforts to obtain them. Bureau of Indian Affairs reports are the main testament to these efforts and may reflect the story Salish people and Indian agents believed they were expected to tell more than their heart-felt desires. Still, white managers of the reservations near Seattle viewed livestock as an important marker of progress and an incentive to accept white culture. They viewed hunting, fishing, and gathering as markers of backwardness that bureaucrats needed to measure in order to assess progress in the "civilizing" project. The annual reports of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs established a standard measure to quantify this

¹⁰² David Blaine to family, March 19, 1856, in Blaine and Blaine, *Memoirs of Puget Sound*, 152, 160. On Indians killing of livestock see also, Walter Graham, "Interview with Mr. Walter Graham," 1914, Manuscript Collection, MOHAI; Ella Brannon Woolery, "Indian War Recollections," no. 11, Manuscript Collection, MOHAI; Elwood R. Maunder, "Building on Sawdust," no. 354, Manuscript Collection, MOHAI; Denny, *Blazing the Way*, 443.

¹⁰³ J. Ross Browne, "Report on the Condition of the Indian Reservations in the Territories of Oregon and Washington," November 17, 1857, Letters Received by the Office of Indian Affairs, 1824-81, Roll No. 610, Microform no. A1783, Microforms Department, University of Washington Libraries.

process. In 1876, for instance, the Indian agent to Tulalip Reservation – home to many people who had once called the land that became Seattle home – reported that the reservation’s Indians gained 66% of their livelihood through “civilized pursuits” and 34% through fishing, hunting, and gathering.¹⁰⁴

Livestock had a greater role on reservations, where Salish people had secure access to land, than in Seattle itself. It seems that the Indigenous residents of Seattle, like most of its white residents, never acquired large livestock in any numbers, although the Snoqualmie from the Cascades foothills and Indians from eastern Washington regularly visited the town with their horses.¹⁰⁵ Although Seattle was as much an Indian town as a white town in its early years, newcomers held most of the large land holdings. The few existing sources make no reference to Natives in the town acquiring horses, cattle, pigs, or chickens. While they could easily load their dogs into canoes when they travelled Puget Sound, acquiring livestock would have required a more settled lifestyle. They supported themselves through continued fishing and clamming and by working for newcomers.

The fact remains that Salish people worked to acquire livestock and, in some cases, put them profitably to work.¹⁰⁶ For white assimilationists, Indians working with cattle was a token of civilization, providing Indian agents an incentive to emphasize these efforts. The Suquamish at Port Madison requested a larger reservation so that they could have cattle and other stock. In arguing for this land, which they felt had been promised them, they pointed to livestock. In the Indian agent’s words, “They desire to buy some cattle and other stock. The Reservation as you selected it would not give them any grazing land.”¹⁰⁷ The Indian agent and schoolteacher at Tulalip Reservation, Father Eugene Casimire Chirouse, hired a man

¹⁰⁴ *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs* (Washington, D.C., 1876).

¹⁰⁵ Bass, *When Seattle Was a Village*, 21; Bass, *Pig-Tail Days*, 31.

¹⁰⁶ Letter from E. C. Chirouse, *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs* (Washington, D.C., 1865), 75-77; Port Madison Reservation report, *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs* (Washington, D.C., 1870-71); Tulalip agency report by John O’Keane, *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs* (Washington, D.C., 1881), 173; Howe to Heale[?], Seattle, June 27, 1863, Letters from Employees assigned to Tulalip, Muckleshoot, and Port Madison Reservations, April 24, 1861-July 1, 1874, Records of the Washington Superintendency, Roll 12, Reel 25, Microform A171, MicNews Department, University of Washington Libraries.

¹⁰⁷ L. D. Howe to State Superintendent of Indian Affairs, June 27, 1863, Roll 12, Reel 25, Microform A171, MicNews Department, University of Washington Libraries.

with a plough to help the Native boys in his school plant their fields, but had more trouble getting livestock. Writing in 1865, Chirouse noted: “When the boys observed the man with oxen and plough coming to their assistance for the first time, their joy was beyond bound, all expressing their delight in joyous acclamation, and went to work with a new ardor, which still continues.” Chirouse went on to say, “As many of my pupils are now able to plough and drive cattle, I desire very much to see them provided with a good plough, a strong wagon, and two yokes at least of strong and gentle oxen, for their own special use. These are absolutely necessary in order to aid and sustain them in their ardor in working.”¹⁰⁸

U.S. policy toward Native people on Puget Sound followed the confused and disingenuous model seen in many other regions of the country. Officials encouraged Native people to adopt European-style agriculture, yet removed them from their existing potato fields and placed them on small reservations little suited to agriculture and without the livestock needed to work the land along Euro-American models. Yet Indians had some success at European-style livestock operations. In 1870, for instance, agents were praising the Indians on the Port Madison Reservation for using their oxen to run a logging operation. However, Salish people never acquired livestock nor established crop fields on anything like the scale white settlers did. In 1876, for instance, the agent at Tulalip reported that the 3,250 Native people associated with the reservation had 130 cattle, 58 horses, 50 swine, and only 20 acres under cultivation.¹⁰⁹ While many Duwamish, Shilsholes, and Hachooabsh continued traditional fishing and clamming, or earned money from whites at saw-mills or on farms, few reproduced European models of agriculture. Livestock did not mark a sharp line between Natives and newcomers, since some Natives acquired them after the reservation system was imposed and many whites did not own livestock. Yet livestock did mark in newcomers’ minds a distinction between civilization and savagery. Newcomers used them in ways that extended their power, without allowing Natives the lands needed to continue either traditional foodways or to fully succeed at European agriculture.

¹⁰⁸ Letter from E. C. Chirouse, *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs* (Washington, D.C., 1856).

¹⁰⁹ *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs* (Washington, D.C., 1876).

Newcomers' efforts to reproduce familiar patterns of culture and economy depended in part upon their ability to reproduce relations with familiar animals. But this was not so neat or so easy. Their cultural attachment to their animal ways was evident in the speed with which they assembled their traditional cohort of animals, their celebration of killing predators, and their attachment to familiar strategies like milk-drinking and road-building, despite alternatives like clam-juice and canoes. Yet their efforts were undermined by Native resistance and sometimes by the animals (domestic and wild) themselves. And the distinctions newcomers promoted were never as substantial as they imagined. Newcomers often could not agree on how exactly to navigate the human-animal borderlands: how fully to include animals in the circle of humane concern and whether to ascribe them an historical role. Domestic animals did not mark newcomers as civilized in the way some colonists had hoped. Both Natives and newcomers relied on wild animals for decades. Most newcomers, like almost all Natives, in Seattle acquired but few livestock. And many Natives attempted, with only minimal success, to launch livestock operations on reservations. Animals helped tell newcomers who they were. But the domestic-wild borderlands were as much sites of contest as of conquest.

Chapter Three
Cows and Horses:
Eliminating Livestock in the Modern City

After journeying from Missouri to Seattle with their two children, Harriet and Christian Brownfield took up a homestead on Lake Union in the late 1860s. When the couple separated in 1872, Christian stayed on the homestead and Harriet moved into town. Yet Harriet took some of the livestock with her. While the rural plot along Lake Union had more room for animals, a town-dweller like Harriet could make good use of them as well. By her report, the farm had six horses, two oxen, four cows, one bull, and an unspecified number of chickens. As they divided their property, Harriet got six chickens, one cow, and a share of the other household goods. In early Seattle, cows and chickens, as well as horses and other livestock, were equally at home in the city and the country.

As Seattle grew in the 1890s and beyond, practices and laws involving animals helped harden a distinction between town and country. It was the white middle class that had the most power in determining whether laws would allow cow grazing, whether streets would be paved (thus favoring cars over horses), and whether businesses and government agencies would use trucks or horses. To them, a modern city was increasingly a middle-class city: clean, progressive, efficient, segregated along lines of race and class, with homes focused on consumption rather than production.¹ The shift away from working animals and toward pets was part of a broader shift from “purely utilitarian to symbolic goods.”² It arose, in part, because of the development of technological alternatives to urban livestock (automobiles, rail

¹ Gary Cross, *An All-Consuming Century: Why Commercialism Won in Modern America* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2000), 1, 2; Olivier Zunz, *The Changing Face of Inequality: Urbanization, Industrial Development, and Immigrants in Detroit, 1880-1920* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1982), 3-6; William Leach, *Land of Desire: Merchants, Power, and the Rise of a New American Culture* (New York: Vintage Books 1994), 3, 8.

² Cross, *All-Consuming Century*, 18.

lines connecting rural dairies to the city). Yet property values played an important role as well, in part because owners found more profitable uses for land than pasturing animals, but also because the presence or absence of specific animals had cultural meaning and therefore the power to affect property values. Increasingly, city-dwellers defined themselves by what they consumed rather than what they produced at home, as the growing importance of expansive green lawns showed. A key step in creating this new city was removing cows and horses.

Although both cows and horses ultimately came to be seen as backwards, the very different fate of these two species shows the contingency of large animals' departure from the city (see figures 7-11). The process was negotiated differently depending not only on the available alternatives to urban livestock, but also on the class position of owners and the representational role of animals. The difference might appear at first to have a simple technological explanation. Cow work (producing milk) could be done at a distance, horse work (hauling people and goods) could not. There was a technological and systematic alternative to urban cows in 1890s (rural cows linked to cities by trains), while there was no alternative to horses until the early 1900s. Yet the details of the transition in Seattle and other cities reveal that technology did not determine these transitions. New train lines that hauled milk from rural farms to cities allowed cows to be moved to the country, but did not necessitate it. Much of the other technological infrastructure that assured the safety of milk shipped from country to city – pasteurization and milk testing – did not come into widespread use until years after humans had moved cows to the country. And while cows were legislated off the streets, horses were not, even when an alternative (the motor vehicle) was available.

Cows were forced out in the early twentieth century, in part because property owners found more profitable uses for land. But cows' association with production, working people, and rural places, which did not sit well with middle-class homeowners, was crucially important as well. At this time, the vacant lots and undeveloped areas in the urban outskirts that served as a grazing commons for cows were being developed for housing. Neighborhoods of scattered development with plenty of room for cows gave way to

neighborhoods with apartment buildings or houses with small yards. Cows were gradually pushed farther and farther out, as Seattle expanded from a small town of 3,553 in 1880, whose few densely developed blocks hugged Elliott Bay, to an enormous city of 237,194 in 1910, where dense development extended from Columbia City three miles southeast of downtown to Ballard four miles northwest of downtown. While horses were concentrated in the city's business core, cows were concentrated in outlying neighborhoods (see maps in figures 3-4). Yet density and property values alone were not enough to push cows out of the city. Even in 1910, the city had neighborhoods with enough open space to provide graze for a few cows. Many cow owners, including families with just one or two cows, found profitable ways to keep cows in this changing city. Government action, favored especially by the middle class, combined with increasing density to eliminate cows. Encouraged by real-estate developers, the city council severely restricted cow-owning in 1907 by making it illegal to herd them through the streets in most of the city.

Horses, by contrast, were not banned. They were gradually replaced by automobiles and trucks from the 1910s to the 1930s, as business, government agencies, and the largely middle- and upper-class private owners of horses chose to make the switch. The power and wealth of horse owners meant the city took no action to ban them, even when a technological alternative existed. Ostensibly, the switch was an effort to find the most efficient method to move goods and people through the city. But several factors of particular concern to the middle class underlay these decisions as well. City people worried that making horses work was in and of itself inhumane, and especially that working-class teamsters were abusive to horses. They were concerned about the pollution from horse manure and urine, as a progressive embrace of cleanliness and sanitation took hold. They objected to the willfulness of horses that occasionally bolted, ignoring what was seen as humans' proper role of master. Couched in the language of efficiency and economy, this complex set of factors led to the horse's demise.

Urban cows were not modern, because of their association with production and working-class strategies of subsistence, and were quickly eliminated. Urban horses were potentially modern, given their association with commerce and consumption. Yet the

working of horses was ultimately judged to lack the efficiency, cleanliness, and benevolence of running motor vehicles. The practice of poor people herding their cows through city streets threatened middle-class ideas of the boundaries between city and country. Horses, by contrast, had an honored place in the building of the city and as symbols of wealth, and disappeared from the city much more gradually. Yet ultimately, both lost their urban role. Once symbols of civilization and progress, livestock became the antithesis of these ideals. By eliminating livestock, Seattleites helped make their city modern.

Cows in the Commons

Like Harriet Brownfield twenty years earlier, Sarah Ewing relied on cows to survive in the city in the 1890s. Living near downtown Seattle, she had negotiated with many nearby property owners so her cows could graze their vacant lots. She and her children herded her stock from their barn and through city streets to make use of these scattered pastures. The work of finding these grassy lots and moving her stock among them allowed her, Ewing said, “part of the means of gaining a livelihood.”³ Her husband worked outside the neighborhood, first as a clerk at the Seattle Transfer Company, later as a fireman for the City Water Department. It was Ewing and her children who had the responsibility of caring for the cows, finding them graze, milking them, and selling the milk. On January 18, 1892, however, her cows fell afoul of an alternate vision of urban living. That morning the poundmaster, Albert E. Boyd, and his dog took three of her cows and drove them into the city’s cattle pound. Ewing claimed that two of the cows were grazing a vacant lot with the owner’s permission, while Ewing’s daughter was herding the third. Boyd claimed the animals were running at large within the pound limits, violating a city ordinance. Ewing was using the commons for cattle, as newcomers had done since they took that land from Salish peoples. As the city grew more dense and populous and as the middle class sought to define their neighborhoods and their city as urban and modern, many saw no places for cows. The

³ Petition from Sarah Ewing, January 22, 1892, General File 991050, Seattle Municipal Archives. Hereafter, the following abbreviations are used: GF for General File; CF for Comptroller’s File; SMA for Seattle Municipal Archives; *SPI* for *Seattle Post-Intelligencer*; and *ST* for *Seattle Times*.

rules Boyd was enforcing would become ever more restrictive until herding cows in the commons was finally banned in 1907.

As Ewing's story illustrates, the sights, sounds, and smells of cows shaped the experience of living in the nineteenth-century city. The sound of cowbells or a calf bellowing for its mother animated the streets. Cow manure joined the other muck that made up the city streets. Walking down a sidewalk, one might meet a cow coming the other way. These stimuli were not inherently pleasant or unpleasant. It might seem self-evident to some modern urbanites that streets with cow manure are bad and that streets without it are better. But this is not necessarily the case. People experienced urban animals through cultural lenses that could frame them as progressive or backwards, as tokens of admirable industry or pathetic subsistence.⁴ There is little reason to think cow owners saw cow manure as reducing their quality of life. Real-estate developers and some home-owners in the early twentieth century, however, took a different view.

The physical presence of cows also shaped the material form of the city. Backyards had cowsheds to accommodate urban cows. The city had fences that allowed cows to graze through the streets without intruding into yards – any lawns or gardens had to be kept behind these fences. The link between cows and fences made the latter a powerful symbol of backwardness for some city-dwellers. A 1903 newspaper essay looked forward to a utopian world of 1919 when along with the “guest airships” available to hotel patrons, “Picket fences had been done away with as a relic of barbarism.”⁵ In the early twentieth century, a system some labelled barbarism was still crucial to the material existence of others. A few decades earlier, the system had been essential to most town-dwellers' visions of civilization.

Early town ordinances in Seattle show just how integral a variety of species were to urban life and the importance people placed on controlling those animals. Notably absent from these ordinances, however, was any explicit reference to cattle. Cows fit so comfortably into urban life that laws did not yet constrain them. Cow owners believed that milk cows

⁴ On the role of smell in history, see Alain Corbin, *The Foul and the Fragrant: Odor and the French Social Imagination*, trans. Roy Porter and others (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1986); Connie Y. Chiang, “The Nose Knows: The Sense of Smell in American History,” *Journal of American History* 95, no. 2 (2008): 405-16.

should have special access to the urban commons and city officials agreed by leaving them unregulated. After Seattle official incorporated in 1869 – a time when the town numbered some 1,100 inhabitants – three of its first seven ordinances related entirely to animals, while a fourth ordinance dealt with animals in part.⁶ Ordinance no. 2 specified that “no hogs shall be permitted to run at large within the City of Seattle at any time.” Ordinance no. 5 required that all dogs at liberty in the city should have a license. The law assumed dogs would roam free on the streets, yet sought to control these animals and their owners. Poor residents likely had a hard time paying the five-dollar fee needed to buy a license, at a time when workers only earned two to three dollars a day.⁷ Ordinance no. 6 regulated theatrical expositions and included a requirement that all “circuses and menageries” pay a license fee of twenty-five dollars – five times the fee for other entertainments. Finally, Ordinance no. 7 outlawed driving horses through the city “at a reckless or immoderate gait,” as well as riding or leading horses on sidewalks. The variety of roles animals played in the life of the town is evident in these laws: they provided food, companionship, entertainment, and transportation.

The urban spaces where cows grazed operated as a commons, resembling to some extent the rural commons (or range) of the American West, and older New England and European commons. Unlike earlier residents of Great Britain, cow owners in North America did not argue they had a customary right to these spaces. Common-law appeals to customs from “time immemorial” had little standing in the United States, and especially in the recently conquered lands of the American West.⁸ Seattleites did not dispute the city council’s authority to regulate the urban commons through statutes as the representative of the citizenry. Yet, urban dwellers did appeal to custom in that they wanted traditional subsistence uses of urban space protected through city ordinances.

Seattleites’ attitudes toward the commons reflected the cultural traditions of their places of origin. In the mid-nineteenth century, U.S.-born newcomers came to Seattle

⁵ “The City of Seattle in the Year 1919,” *ST*, October 11, 1903.

⁶ “Ordinance No. 1,” “Ordinance No. 2,” etc. *Seattle Daily Intelligencer*, January 10, 1870.

⁷ *Haley & others v. Gellersen*, 1874, King County District Court, Case #341, Washington State Archives, Puget Sound Regional Branch, Bellevue, Washington.

generally from states in the northern United States, from Iowa to Pennsylvania to Maine. Foreign-born settlers came largely from northern Europe – England, Ireland, Scotland, France, Sweden, and Germany – and beginning in the 1870s from China.⁹ They brought with them a set of practices and expectations about animals using public space. Many migrants had parents or grandparents born in New England, where towns had common lands dating back to the seventeenth century that afforded certain town members grazing rights. These systems built on English precedents, but each town developed its own common-land system determining how much pasture and forest would be set aside and how many livestock could graze them, often according greater rights to earlier and wealthier residents. Changing agricultural techniques and political tensions over rights available only to towns' first-comers led many towns to gradually sell off some or all of the common lands. In the towns' remaining common lands, grazing rights gradually disappeared in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. For instance, through the early years of the nineteenth century, Boston accorded residents a right to graze livestock on the common. In a decision fraught with class tension, the city transformed that space in 1830 into a park available for middle-class amusements, but not for grazing.¹⁰

As Americans moved to the Upper Midwest, they brought these traditions of common lands with them. These areas were settled in the early nineteenth century, as common-land systems were deteriorating in New England, as the middle class of growing towns wanted parks for play, not for work. In the Midwest, towns generally did not formally manage common lands; yet, undeveloped and unassigned lands on the edge of towns, served as informal commons where cattle and swine ran through the surrounding woods.¹¹ In the American West, these lands became known as open range.

⁸ Carol Rose, "The Comedy of the Commons: Custom, Commerce, and Inherently Public Property," *University of Chicago Law Review* 53, no. 3 (1986): 711-81; Virginia DeJohn Anderson, *Creatures of Empire: How Domestic Animals Transformed Early America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2004), 142, 158-70.

⁹ Seattle, Washington, U.S. Census, 1880.

¹⁰ Michael J. Rawson, "Nature and the City: Boston and the Construction of the American Metropolis, 1820-1920" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Wisconsin, 2005), 22-79; Ronald Lee Fleming and Lauri A. Halderman, *On Common Ground: Caring for Shared Land from Town Common to Urban Park* (Harvard, Massachusetts: Harvard Common Press, 1982).

¹¹ Percy Wells Bidwell and John I. Falconer, *History of Agriculture in the Northern United States, 1620-1860* (Washington, D. C.: Carnegie Institution of Washington, 1925), 167.

Although Seattle did not formally designate grazing commons, its efforts to privilege subsistence and small-scale market practices over large-scale economic enterprises mirrored European and colonial New England commons, where customs limited livestock numbers and favored small-scale exploitation.¹² Seattle practices indicate the existence of an informal commons of unfenced urban lands, recognized in city ordinances from the 1870s until the early twentieth century, a time when Seattle grew from a small town into a large city. These lands included both government-controlled property, such as streets, alleys, and squares, and unfenced private property open to public use, such as vacant lots and unplatted lands. While it is not clear that all Seattleites would have included all these areas in their definition of the “commons,” this set of lands clearly operated as a system.¹³ City laws contemplated such a set of lands (although they did not give it a name) when they authorized animals “running at large” in certain parts of the city.

Cows shaped this land system in two separate ways. First, human conceptions of how the system should operate were formed based on knowledge of how cows tended to act. Second, human control was always contingent on cow compliance, which was not always forthcoming. The boundaries of this urban commons were marked out by cows’ hooves as they tramped where they liked in search of graze – stopping only when they met a fence or building. The system made use of these creatures’ propensity toward tameness cultivated through millennia of domestication and human knowledge of that propensity. While aurochs might have trampled any fence that restricted them, only some cattle did.

¹² Rose, “Comedy of the Commons,” 743; Anderson, *Creatures of Empire*, 142, 158-70.

¹³ City officials and petitioners used two phrases interchangeably in legislation and elsewhere: “streets, alleys and commons” or “streets, alleys and public places” (with certain variations adding squares, avenues, etc.). The phrase “public places” was more typical in legislation, especially after the 1870s. This indicates that “commons” may have simply meant “public places,” perhaps including streets and alleys. (“commons”: Seattle Ordinance 43 [1873]; petition, May 23, 1910, CF 40485; report, December 9, 1912, CF 59319, SMA; “public places”: Seattle Ordinance 687 [1885]; Seattle Ordinance 4472 [1897]; West Seattle Ordinance 33 [1902]; West Seattle Ordinance 77 [1904]; Seattle Ordinance 13530 [1906], SMA). It is unclear whether city officials would have included undeveloped, unfenced private property as part of their definition of the commons. However, one pro-cow petition from northern Seattle referred to the “unoccupied lands and wooded commons adjacent to our homes” (petition, November 13, 1899, CF 6547, SMA). This likely referred to privately owned unplatted lands on the outskirts of Seattle. On urban commons, see Matthew Klinge, “Urban by Nature: An Environmental History of Seattle, 1880-1970” (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Washington, 2001), 38-56, 332-56; Rutherford H. Platt, “From Commons to Commons: Evolving Concepts of Open Space in North

As the Seattle city council expanded restrictions on livestock, milk cows maintained their freedom the longest. It was a freedom that permitted occasional transgression. The city, as well as cattle owners, wanted a measure of control over animal movement and animal sex. But they did not feel confining animals at all times was necessary for these efforts. Seattle's first law restricting cattle, in 1873, applied only to bulls, perhaps to allow cow owners to protect the breeds of their dairy cows and to eliminate the most aggressive type of cattle.¹⁴ The next year, the city turned its attention to cows, but only to "unruly cows." While cows could roam at large in the city, owners had to prevent them from breaking into people's property "through a gate or otherwise."¹⁵ The city marshal could impound cows that trespassed. This law, together with an 1886 law allowing the impounding of "unruly" animals "in the habit of breaking through, throwing down or jumping over fences or opening gates, and trespassing upon enclosed premises," defined the boundaries of an urban commons.¹⁶ Property owners had to have a fence, they had to have "enclosed premises," in order to have a reasonable expectation that cows would not enter their property. This language mirrored early twentieth-century rulings from the Washington State Supreme Court applying to rural areas – rulings that suggested private lands had to be fenced, lest they be considered "open to the commons" and available for public use.¹⁷

An 1884 Seattle law provided the clearest evidence that city officials favored family-based productive practices in these commons. The law outlawed animals from running at large in an area about ten blocks square around downtown. However, it restricted milk cows only from a smaller (and undefined) "business" area in the following terms: "provided that milch cows may be allowed such privileges in the parts of the city not devoted to business may be necessary and proper [sic] for their use by any family for milching purposes for such

American Cities," in *The Ecological City: Preserving and Restoring Urban Biodiversity*, ed. Rutherford H. Platt and others (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1994), 21-39.

¹⁴ Seattle Ordinance 43 (1873), SMA.

¹⁵ Seattle Ordinance 62 (1874), SMA.

¹⁶ Seattle Ordinance 725 (1886), SMA.

¹⁷ *W. J. Burrows et ux., v. P. E. Kinsley*, Supreme Court of Washington, 27 Wash. 694 (1902); *Fannie Turner v. William M. Ladd, et al.*, Supreme Court of Washington, 42 Wash. 274 (1906); *Hanson et al. v. Northern Pacific Railway Co.*, Supreme Court of Washington, 90 Wash. 516 (1916); *Mary A. Cartwright, Formerly Mary A. Thompson, et al. v. William Hamilton et al.*, Supreme Court of Washington, Department Two, 111 Wash. 685 (1920).

family.”¹⁸ In its clumsy language, the ordinance suggested the city council was loathe to eliminate cows’ use of the urban commons precisely because this traditional subsistence strategy provided milk for families’ own use. Not until 1888 did cows lose their freedom to roam unattended where other animals could not.¹⁹ Not until 1902 were citizens explicitly prohibited from actively herding cows within the pound limits.²⁰

The special position of cows also came out in the words petitioners used in writing their city council. Those who did not want livestock on their streets often complained of herds of “cattle” – downplaying the goal of milk production. Those opposing livestock limits typically defended the right of “cows” to wander the streets. Cows were special. No one argued that steers or horses or hogs should be allowed to run at large; but many argued that cows should. City dwellers considered the productive work of cows as vital to their livelihood and health. As artists represented the growing town in paintings, these creatures often featured prominently as vital evidences of a comfortably Euro-American landscape. But the privileged place of cows would not last much longer.

“That parties be restrained from herding cattle”: A modern vision of the city

In the early twentieth century, Seattle boosters touted the transformation of “a forest into a modern city,” of “cow paths through the woods” into “streets paved with asphaltum.”²¹ These writers and many other urban dwellers were working to achieve a modern vision of city life. In the modern city, these white city dwellers saw progress and order emerging through urban amenities, white racial homogeneity, increased property values, health reforms, and moral uplift. In the urban commons, they saw order and increased property values emerging through restriction on which humans and which animals could inhabit those spaces.

Legal and economic transformations – promoted most strongly by the white middle class, but embraced by others as well – favored these goals. New homeowners successfully

¹⁸ Seattle Ordinance 558 (1884), SMA.

¹⁹ Seattle Ordinance 998 (1888), SMA.

²⁰ Seattle Ordinance 8430 (1902), SMA.

²¹ “Seattle, City of Destiny,” *Alaska Yukon Magazine*, January 1908, 438.

lobbied their city councils to impose broader restrictions on cows' use of the urban commons – restrictions enforced by city herders. Real-estate developers built denser neighborhoods, lobbied for city improvements and greater constraints on free-roaming cows. At the same time, developers established restrictive covenants to exclude blacks and Asians in many new middle-class neighborhoods. Racial and class restrictions reinforced each other in this process. Some white homeowners saw progress and respectability in neighborhoods that excluded people of color as well as working-class people that relied on animals for home production.²² A vision of the home took hold as a site where women engaged in consumption separated from the commons, rather than in production closely linked to the commons. Fewer families drank milk from their own cow or that of a neighbor, as milk distribution became tied into a broader network of dairies, trains, milk wagons, milk dealers and grocery stores.

Throughout the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, some citizens of Seattle and its suburbs sent their city councils letters and petitions saying they did not want cows in the city. In Ballard – a suburb of some 17,000 people adjoining Seattle to the northwest which would be annexed by Seattle in 1907 – the city clerk received one such petition from the Bay View School on April 25, 1905 (see maps in figures 1-2). Teachers, the principal, and parents demanded that the cow-free zone be extended to include the school and vicinity. They urged “that parties be restrained from herding cattle in the street and right in front of our gate.” They saw it as “an imposition to have 25 or 30 cows herded right in our door yard and each with a bell on.”²³ They argued that schools would be safer and more modern without roaming livestock.

Two different visions of childhood – both tied to class – clashed in this petition, and in the changing city.²⁴ The petitioners were concerned that cows entered the school grounds “where the children have to play” and that “herd boys” used foul language around the female

²² Quintard Taylor, *Forging a Black Community: Seattle's Central District from 1870 through the Civil Rights Era* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1994), 82.

²³ Petition dated April 24, 1905, City of Ballard, Petitions, Livestock, box 4, folder 28, record series 9106-03, SMA.

teachers. Children, especially in the working class, played a prominent role in tending cows and in selling dairy products. Both girls and boys took care of family cows in the yard or in the neighborhood. Boys were hired as paid herders or “herd boys.”²⁵ The Bay View School petition presented a very different model of appropriate, moral childhood activities in the urban commons. It envisioned children walking to school through the streets, not working there as paid or unpaid herders.

As with most petitions advocating cow restrictions, professionals and business owners were prominent among the signers: the principal, the teachers, a lawyer, and an undertaker. However, 58% of the signers were working class – sailors, carpenters, saw filers, and laborers. The numbers made it fairly representative of other Ballard petitions to extend the “cow limits” (the cow-free zone). Middle-class and working-class Seattleites signed petitions on both sides of the issue. In Ballard, 57% of petition signers opposed to roaming livestock and 89% of those favoring it had working-class occupations, while the remaining signers had middle- or upper-class professions (see table 1). Yet, overall, the middle class was much more prevalent in efforts to limit cows; workers in efforts against cow restrictions. In Ballard, the middle class – and especially business owners – expressed almost no interest in allowing cows to roam at large.

²⁴ Two other petitions and letters mentioned children; one other mentioned women. Petition dated April 9, 1894, GF 993003 (children); letter dated November 19, 1904, CF 26497 (women and children), SMA; see also a letter from a later time period, June 6, 1923, CF 82451, mentioning children.

²⁵ Petition from Sarah Ewing, January 22, 1892, GF 991050, SMA; letter from W. Nickerson, April 12, 1892, GF 992048; Lynn Moen, ed., *Voices of Ballard: Immigrant Stories from the Vanishing Generation* (Seattle: Nordic Heritage Museum, 2001), 37, 49; interview with Eugene Coleman, 1975, BL-KNG 75-15em, Washington State Oral/Aural History Program.

*Table 1. Cow limit petitioners in Latona and Ballard by occupation categories, 1899-1905. See Appendix A for methodology.*²⁶

	Latona anti-livestock, 1899	Latona pro-livestock, 1899	Ballard anti-livestock, 1902-5	Ballard pro-livestock, 1902-5
Number of petitions	1	1	4	3
Number of signers	45	136	136	101
% women	9.7	12.5	27.9	47.5
Occupation categories				
% working class*	24.2	63	56.8	89.1
% middle class/upper class	72.7	32.9	42.1	7.9
% farmers or dairymen	0	1.4	0	3
% students	3.0	2.7	1.0	0

*all occupational percentages are based only on signers for whom occupation information could be located in Polk's Seattle City Directory, 1898-1906. I found occupational categories for 73% of the Latona anti-livestock petitioners, 53.7% of the Latona pro-livestock petitioners, 69.8% of the Ballard anti-livestock petitioners, and 70.6% of the Ballard pro-livestock petitioners.

The Bay View School petition embraced the ideal of urban “progress,” “development,” and “improvement,” and so did many others. Neighborhood improvement clubs were petitioning Seattle to create sidewalks, streetcar lines, and sewer systems in the city’s outskirts.²⁷ As these neighborhood improvements came into physical conflict with cows, hundreds of citizens petitioned to restrict cow grazing. They complained that cattle broke fences, ate flowers, and trampled truck gardens and lawns. They broke through wooden sidewalks. In colliding with streetcars or trains, they damaged those machines and

²⁶ Based on the following nine petitions in Seattle Municipal Archives: November 7, 1899, CF 6519; November 13, 1899, CF 6547, SMA; undated petition [ca. 1902/3] and petitions dated April 7, 1902, September 22, 1903, May 4, 1904, February 28, 1905, April 24, 1905, and May 20, 1905, City of Ballard, Petitions, Livestock, box 4, file 28, record series 9106-03, SMA (abbreviated as “Ballard livestock petitions” hereafter).

²⁷ Sidewalk requests: petition from Seattle Seminary, May 15, 1893, GF 990522; petition from Rainier Beach Improvement Club, July 27, 1908, CF 35055; petition from Longfellow Improvement Club, October 10, 1904, CF 25814; petition from 9th Ward Improvement Club, September 10, 1906, CF 30650. Streetcar requests: undated petition [1894?] for streetcar service to Woodland Park, GF 992157; petition from Ross Improvement Club, October 27, 1902, CF 16786; petition from University Community Club, June 1, 1903, CF 19673; petition from Capitol Hill Improvement Club, April 17, 1905, CF 27491, SMA.

injured their passengers.²⁸ There were other concerns as well. Cows might “placidly” usurp the sidewalk, forcing pedestrians into the muddy street.²⁹ The clanging of cow bells jangled city dwellers’ nerves.³⁰ While few saw the wandering of cows as a direct source of disease, they believed that barnyards were unhealthful. These concerns about material conflicts were not merely common-sense. At work here was a cultural vision about what belonged in the city. The sound of cow bells rankled, while citizens accepted louder and more modern sounds, such as streetcars and automobiles.³¹ The danger cows posed to trains and streetcars worried homeowners, while the threat these machines posed to human bodies passed unmentioned.

Beyond these physical concerns, petitioners expressed a broader sense that cows simply did not belong in the city. Cultural values intertwined with economic forces in the issue of property. Owners felt the presence of cows was “depreciating the value of our property.” They argued that certain property rights came with buying their houses and that these included the elimination of cows. Many referred to those who herded cows through their streets as outsiders, one petition terming them “street squatters” with no property rights in their district.³² One group captured the tenor of anti-cow attitudes when it said simply, “We think the city has progressed far enough to dispense with its cow pastures.”³³ Others did not feel they needed to supply any reason whatever: they assumed that government officials would agree that cows did not belong in modern neighborhoods.³⁴

The Ballard city council agreed. On May 9, 1905, it passed an ordinance moving the cow limits four blocks north, placing the school within the cow-free zone. This was the

²⁸ Petition, November 7, 1899, CF 6519; letter, November 19, 1904, CF 26497; letter, April 5, 1907, CF 31840; petition, July 29, 1907, CF 32619, SMA.

²⁹ Letter, November 19, 1904, CF 26497; petition, April 24, 1905, Ballard livestock petitions; petition, April 9, 1894, GF 993003, SMA.

³⁰ Petition, November 7, 1899, CF 6519; petition, April 24, 1905, Ballard livestock petitions; letter, December 9, 1903, CF 21970, SMA.

³¹ One citizen, arguing against chicken restrictions, noted the inconsistency of objecting to chickens’ cackle, while accepting “early morning freights squeaking around the corners and the siren voiced autos” letter, February 24, 1912, CF 47103, SMA.

³² Petition, August 19, 1890, GF 992989; petition, April 9, 1894, GF 993003; petition, November 7, 1899, CF 6519, SMA.

³³ Petition, 1890, GF 992994, SMA.

pattern throughout Seattle and its suburbs. Even brief petitions demanding cow restrictions, petitions that gave no reason for the request, often met with swift action. City officials rarely acted on petitions asking for more lax regulation of cows. When children went to the Bay View School, they were now safe from cows roaming at large. The commons would be devoted to transportation and to improving property values, not to livestock.

It was up to Seattle's poundmaster to protect this changing urban commons. This man had charge of the cattle pound and the dog pound and was responsible for rounding up cattle, horses, dogs, and other animals wandering the city in violation of relevant ordinances. While town marshals had taken animals into custody since the 1860s, by 1890 (and perhaps earlier) animal control had become a full-time job.³⁵ In 1894, the African American community had received the job of poundmaster as a political patronage position for its support of the Republican Party. Until the 1920s, the head poundmaster and many of his assistants were blacks.³⁶ These men enforced the pound limits throughout the city – and especially in the newly built outlying districts, many of which excluded blacks as residents.³⁷ In the vision of order and progress held by many whites, a modern district might have African Americans herding cows out of the commons – just as restrictive covenants would later allow blacks and Asians as servants in these districts.³⁸ It would not have African Americans walking the sidewalks or travelling the streets as co-equal residents.

Dogs on the lawn fit into the modern city, while cows in the commons did not. Poundmen protected private unfenced lawns that under an older view would have been considered “open to the commons,” ensuring that they would not be converted into milk by hungry cows. As the *Seattle Mail and Herald* put it, “the march of progress with its

³⁴ Petition, 1895, CF 186; petition, April 13, 1903, CF 18902; petition, April 27, 1903, CF 19179; petition, May 23, 1910, CF 40485, SMA.

³⁵ Ordinance no. 2 and ordinance no. 5, *Daily Intelligencer* January 10, 1870; GF 990816, SMA.

³⁶ *Seattle Police Department Annual Reports*, 1894-1930, SMA.

³⁷ Taylor, *Forging a Black Community*, 82; *Seattle Republican*, April 9, 1909, 4; Nov. 12, 1909, 1; letter dated April 6, 1907, CF 31840, SMA; *David Cole v. Hunter Tract Improvement Company*, Supreme Court of Washington, Department One, 61 Wash. 365, December 29, 1910; *Hunter Tract Improvement Company v. S. H. Stone et al.*, Supreme Court of Washington, Department Two, 58 Wash. 661, June 7, 1910.

³⁸ Deed to Dio Richardson, 1928; deed from Goodwin Real Estate Company to Seattle Title Trust Company, Jan. 27, 1928; deed from Goodwin Real Estate Company to Jakal M. Guliermovic, May 7, 1928; deed from N. B. Clarke to Agnes Donnelly Lowert, February 8, 1928, King County Recorder's Office.

unfenced lawns and fancy dogs is slowly but surely crowding the man with a cow farther and farther away from the business center of the city.” On grass throughout the city the “useless St. Bernard” was replacing the useful cow.³⁹ The pound protected trails meant not to lead cows from pasture to home, but to lead bicyclists between pleasant vistas.⁴⁰ Frank Pierrepont Graves, president of the university, lobbied to keep cows off the streets of the university district: an effort he hoped would allow “clean streets, decent lawns, and respectable University grounds.”⁴¹ City herders kept cows off the broad lawns of the city’s parks and golf courses.⁴²

Cows especially did not fit in with Seattle’s new park system as envisioned by John C. Olmsted in his 1903 plan. Olmsted proposed securing land with “commanding views,” “original woodland,” and level areas where workers could plant “grass for field sports and for the enjoyment of meadow scenery.” In parks, as around middle-class homes, grass as ornament rather than food for cattle told city-people they were modern. As social critic Thorstein Veblen noted in the 1890s, “to the average popular apprehension a herd of cattle so pointedly suggests thrift and usefulness that their presence in the public pleasure ground would be intolerably cheap,” much as they might afford a convenient way to keep the grass clipped.⁴³ Olmsted envisioned “pleasure drives, bridle paths, and bicycle paths.” But he mentioned animals only to suggest a route to the horse track on the Duwamish River, the planting of swans and other ornamental waterfowl in Green Lake, and arrangements for “a collection of hardy wild animals” at Woodland Park. For many Seattleites, the new Olmsted park system – like the new neighborhoods themselves – combined the city and the country in the best way possible: bucolic boulevards and peaceful lawns without the bellowing and

³⁹ *Seattle Mail and Herald*, Aug. 16, 1902, p. 2.

⁴⁰ Frank Cameron, “Bicycling in Seattle, 1879-1904” (1982), University of Washington Special Collections.

⁴¹ Carl. H Reeves to Clark Davis, May 4, 1901; Reeves to George H. King, May 4, 1901; Reeves to J. A. Moore, May 4, 1901; Reeves to Edmond S. Meany, May 4, 1901, UW Presidents Papers, 70-28, box 2, folder 4, University of Washington Special Collections; petition, November 7, 1899, CF 6519, SMA.

⁴² Letter, October 14, 1919, CF 74971; letter, May 31, 1923, CF 82451, SMA.

⁴³ Thorstein Veblen, *The Theory of the Leisure Class* (New York: Penguin Books, 1994), 135 (originally published 1899).

manure of cows. In the modern vision, these parks and private lawns would provide not only beauty, but health and moral uplift in the crowded city.⁴⁴

Modern Seattleites may not have liked cows on the streets, but they still desired cows' milk. Key to eliminating urban cows was the transformation of the milk distribution system itself. In 1900, yard dairies still provided a significant portion of Seattle's milk. By extrapolating from a 1914 Health Department report that suggested that each Seattleite consumed 22.6 gallons of milk annually (roughly a cup a day) – requiring one milk cow for every twenty-seven Seattleites – we can estimate that in 1900 the city's 993 backyard cows produced roughly a third of the city's milk.⁴⁵ In suburbs such as Georgetown and West Seattle, most milk was “furnished by one neighbor to another.”⁴⁶ Near the business core, however, most urban-dwellers got their milk from a milk wagon or grocery store. New cow restrictions and the growing density of population made the keeping of yard cows more and more difficult through the twentieth century. By 1915, the health department identified only 318 “one-cow dairies” providing perhaps one thirtieth of the city's milk.⁴⁷ A complex

⁴⁴ Libbie Balliet Hoag, “Seattle Parks and Boulevards,” *Alaska-Yukon Magazine*, August 1906, 363; *Bulletin of the Department of Health and Sanitation* [Seattle], August 1909, p. 5; Frederick Law Olmsted, “Public Parks and the Enlargement of Towns” (1870), in Olmsted, *Civilizing American Cities: Writings on City Landscapes* (New York: Da Capo Press, 1997), 52-99; John C. Olmsted, “Olmsted's Elaborate System of Parkways Will Make Seattle a Most Beautiful City,” *SPI*, October 4, 1903.

⁴⁵ This rough estimate is extrapolated from per-capita milk consumption and per-cow milk production numbers from a 1914 Seattle Health department report and from Seattle population figures. The 1914 Health Department Annual Report said that in that year 11,000 cows provided 19,000 gallons daily to Seattle. The population of Seattle in 1914 was approximately 307,000 (Polk's City Directory, 1914). This suggests that the city required one cow for every 27 human inhabitants to supply its milk needs. It also suggests that each Seattle consumed 0.061 gallons a milk a day (0.99 cups) or 22.6 gallons annually. Based on the fact that Seattle's population in 1900 was 80,671, we can assume it needed very approximately 2,987 cows that year to supply its milk needs. In 1900, census enumerators counted 993 dairy cows in yards and 491 on farms within the city limits (*Domestic Animals not on Farms or Ranges*, *Bulletin no. 17* [Washington, D.C.: Census Bureau, 1901]). These calculations provide the estimate that backyard cows provided a third of the city's milk in 1900. This estimates ignore likely changes in per-capita milk consumption and per-cow milk production. City of Seattle, “Report of the Department of Health and Sanitation of the City of Seattle,” 1914. *Domestic Animals not on Farms or Ranges*, *Bulletin no. 17* (Washington, D.C.: Census Bureau, 1901).

⁴⁶ Health officer report, May 14, 1906, Georgetown clerk files, box 1, file 49; petition [circa 1905], Petitions, Restricting Cows from Roaming at Large, City of West Seattle files, Record Series 9190-03 Box 3, File 18, SMA.

⁴⁷ This rough estimate is extrapolated from per-capita milk consumption and per-cow milk production numbers from a 1914 Seattle Health department report and from Seattle population figures. It assumes the city's statement that it had inspected 318 “one-cow dairies” in 1915 points to a somewhat larger number of yard cows; I've used the figure of 400. These rough estimates ignore likely changes in per-capita milk consumption and per-cow milk production. City of Seattle, “Report of the Department of Health and Sanitation,” 1914, 1915.

system delivered milk to the city. The city consumed nineteen thousand gallons each day in 1914, the health department reported, drawn from eleven thousand cows at 1,275 dairies – some within the city, others up to 150 miles away – milk distributed by trains, 218 milk wagons, 144 different dealers, and sold in four hundred grocery stores.⁴⁸ Large-scale, male-owned, rural dairies were replacing small-scale, often female-owned urban dairies. The new system emerged in part as a necessity given the elimination of vacant lots for graze. But, the milk bottle also had cultural power. The city's elite looked down, one writer said, "on those willing to keep [a cow] around for her usefulness and friendship."⁴⁹

Anxieties about the quality of milk emerged with increasing distance and commodification. Consumers now knew little about the source of their milk. In the 1890s, city people worried about swill milk, the product of cows fed the waste products of brewing. In the early twentieth century, they worried about conditions on the farms that produced their milk. Before reaching the consumer, milk might now spend a great deal of time in transit. Milk consumers no longer knew the producers. They did not know whether dairies had skimmed the butterfat from the milk, whether they had added water or other foreign substances, or whether the cows had been fed an unhealthy diet of waste from the brewing process. The growth of a large-scale anonymous market presented a particular peril to infants, who died from diarrhea at an alarming rate in the warm summer months.⁵⁰ In response to concerns about the quality of milk, the city passed a series of laws in the 1890s and early 1900s requiring milk inspectors to carefully monitor and regulate dairies and milk sales.⁵¹ City government had lent crucial support to the modern urban vision by restricting cows, thereby contributing to this distance that then created concern. Now, they worked to shore up faith in the quality of milk. Health officials never took the lead in efforts to boot livestock from the city. Real-estate sellers and homebuyers assumed that role. However, as the decline of yard dairies necessitated a more complex economic network, the health

⁴⁸ City of Seattle, "Report of the Department of Health and Sanitation," 1914.

⁴⁹ "A Fool's Diary," *Seattle Mail and Herald*, March 29, 1902 and August 16, 1902.

⁵⁰ City of Seattle, "Report of the Department of Health and Sanitation," 1915, 108.

⁵¹ Anderson, *Creatures of Empire*, 17, 29; *Seattle Mail and Herald*, March 29, 1902, 2; *ST*, May 20, 1907, 7; Seattle Ordinance 1787 (1891), Ordinance 2110 (1892), Ordinance 10123 (1903), Ordinance 12719 (1905),

department moved to assure the safety of milk. Following these regulatory efforts, infant mortality rates dropped markedly.

Officials chose to find a solution in science, regulation, and sanitary education, rather than in traditional subsistence practices. The initial modernization of long-distance milk markets required the further modernization of government regulation, and eventually pasteurization. A trust that had been based on knowing the producer – or tending the cow oneself – gave way to a trust in government inspection and certification. A complex pathway leading from rural dairies to urban iceboxes replaced the much shorter path from the urban commons to the backyard milk shed. Real-estate developers, homeowners, and dairy operators, aided by city herders and milk inspectors, had shifted the meaning of the commons. While the presence of cows had once made streets a site for production, the absence of cows now helped protect property values.

“To give we people owning cows a chance to live”: Working-class strategies in the changing city

In response to growing livestock restrictions, cow owners adopted several strategies: resistance, compromise, and improvisation. Hundreds of city dwellers – Sarah Ewing allegedly among them – resisted simply by violating the law. As the city population grew and livestock restrictions increased, the numbers of impounded animals rose as well – roughly mirroring the rate of increase in the city’s dairy herd. Throughout this period, Seattle’s city herders impounded one cow each year for every thirteen or so kept in the city. They impounded on average 220 cattle and horses each year from 1894 to 1896. That annual figure grew to 260 for the period from 1901 to 1905 and to 330 for the years 1908 to 1910. Perhaps half of these impounded creatures were cows.⁵² The impound records do not state

Ordinance 13705 (1906), Ordinance 16268 (1907), Ordinance 16712 (1907), Ordinance 20851 (1909), Ordinance 28896 (1912), SMA.

⁵² The 1901-1905 figure is based on the only years available: 1901, 1904 and 1905. Only in 1918 did the Police Department start to break down impounds separately. Numbers from 1918, 1923 and 1924 show that typically 55% of cattle and horses impounded were cattle. Most of the city’s cattle were cows. The estimate of one impound per 13 cows is based on 1901 and 1910 impound figures matched to 1900 and 1910 census figures

where animals were taken up. Yet as the city expanded in this era through annexations, as inner neighborhoods became more densely built, and as the no-cow herding zone expanded as well, it is likely that these cows were being impounded at greater and greater distance from Seattle's downtown. Many more animals, however, violated city ordinances with impunity. Seattle only employed two to four herders, who often had to herd impounded stock several miles back to the cattle pound before they could go out on another call.⁵³ Figures from the 1920s indicate citizens lodged five or more complaints about loose cattle for every one cow apprehended. While impounds dropped by half in the winter months when grass wasn't growing, through most of the year wandering livestock gave the city herders plenty of work.

Other cow owners protested by petitioning their city council. John F. Blodgett and his neighbors took this strategy. A fireman at a lumber mill, Blodgett organized a petition drive in May 1905 in response to new restrictions on livestock – restrictions passed following the Bay View School petition. In a thick, bold cursive hand, he made his plea to the city council: “to give we people owning cows a chance to live as well as those that do not own such.” He argued that under the current restrictions “many will be obliged to sell their cows, which in many cases is over half of their living.” Blodgett did not say who did the work to provide this “half of their living.” Men in his neighborhood worked as carpenters, sawyers, shingle weavers, teamsters, expressmen, blacksmiths, boilertenders, and the like away from home. The “half of the living” these families would be foregoing was the half that women in great measure provided.

Cows in the commons were a subsistence strategy for the working class. Their petitions to city governments continually made this point. In these petitions, a vision of a city divided between the struggling and the comfortable emerged. They complained that restrictions hurt particularly “the poorer class of our city.”⁵⁴ They argued that cow

on Seattle's dairy cow population. This figure assumes one half of impounded livestock were cows. In 1900, Seattle had 1484 dairy cows, 1910: 2097 dairy cows. *United States Census*, 1900, v. 5, pt. 1, table 41, p. 580; 1910, v. 5, table 66, p. 436; *Seattle Police Department Annual Reports*, 1894-1930, SMA.

⁵³ Letter, December 14, 1911, CF 45992, SMA.

⁵⁴ Petition, July 10, 1884, GF 991598, SMA.

restrictions benefited “speculators” and not “the majority” or “the people.”⁵⁵ They focused on basic necessities, not on “progress,” arguing their cows helped them “greatly in the support of our families.” New strictures represented a “loss” and “a great and unnecessary hardship” that benefited no one.⁵⁶ While the modern vision of the city saw ungrazed grass – grass that required a lawnmower – as an urban amenity, in the subsistence view it represented a waste of valuable resources. Petitioners argued that “ample grass” or “hundreds of dollars of good pasture” would have no animals to graze them, if cows couldn’t roam the streets.⁵⁷ In the “unoccupied lands and wooded commons which lie adjacent to our homes,” these city-dwellers saw a resource that should be put to use for the production of food and income.⁵⁸

The shape of Blodgett’s neighborhood, on the outskirts of Ballard, was still conducive to neighborhood livestock. As Blodgett collected signatures, he passed houses with large chicken coops and cowsheds in the backyard. He passed grassy, vacant lots that provided graze for his neighbor’s cows. Perhaps half of his neighbors owned cows. An analysis of property owners in several northern neighborhoods of Seattle shows that 39% owned one or two cows and that an additional 6% owned three or more cows. By contrast, an analysis of property owners in the older core neighborhoods near downtown Seattle shows that only 6% owned cows.⁵⁹ Most of Blodgett’s neighbors were homeowners. They may ultimately have profited from the real-estate development that drove up property values and drove out livestock. The housing boom provided jobs to the sawyers, carpenters, and lumber mill workers who signed his petition. Still, these women and men felt cows had a place in the changing city.

Blodgett was walking through an urban commons that national economic forces and the choices of developers and homeowners were rapidly transforming. His neighborhood was undergoing changes that areas closer to Seattle’s downtown – such as Sarah Ewing’s neighborhood – had seen in the 1890s. A few blocks south of Blodgett’s home, new denser

⁵⁵ Petition, May 4, 1904, Ballard livestock petitions, SMA.

⁵⁶ Petition, November 13, 1899, CF 6547, SMA.

⁵⁷ Petition, May 4, 1904, Ballard livestock petitions; petition, Nov. 14, 1899, CF 6547, SMA.

⁵⁸ Petition, November 13, 1899, CF 6547, SMA.

housing developments were replacing housing that allowed more room for cows. Newcomers were organizing sidewalk districts to replace dusty or muddy paths. They were planting lawns and buying lawnmowers to clip them. They were lobbying the city to bring in streetcars. Ice men and dairymen drove their wagons through the new streets, allowing some residents to forgo the family cow.⁶⁰

These new denser, richer neighborhoods were those that most interested real-estate investors and insurers. When the Sanborn company created a fire insurance map of Ballard in 1903, it hadn't even bothered to send its "striders" to Blodgett's block.⁶¹ The low density made sweeping fires less likely. The low property values made the neighborhood uninteresting to fire insurers. They did, however, map a block three streets south of Blodgett's home: the block had only four dwellings and seven outbuildings.⁶² Further south in the new residential neighborhoods, one typical block of similar size had sixteen dwellings and nineteen outbuildings.⁶³ Fireman Blodgett was battling a process that would soon make the northern blocks look more like the southern ones.

In the end, Blodgett collected signatures from sixty-eight of his neighbors. Ninety percent of the signers were from working-class families.⁶⁴ A pastor, a travel agent's wife, and two florists joined the multitude of families where men worked as laborers, carpenters, teamsters, blacksmiths, and the like – families who wanted cows to be able to graze in their neighborhood. Thirty-nine men and thirty women signed the petition. For a few of these women, these resources were of special importance: at least six of the thirty women signers

⁵⁹ Personal Property Assessment Rolls, King County, 1900, Washington State Archives, Puget Sound Regional Branch, Bellevue, Washington. The survey of northern neighborhoods covers primarily Green Lake, Latona, Ross, Fremont, Ravenna, and Interbay. See Appendix A.

⁶⁰ *Ballard News*, March 7, 1903, 5; July 13, 1906, 5; Dec. 21, 1906, 3; Aug. 16, 1907, 8; June 26, 1908, 6; Dec. 11, 1908, 5.

⁶¹ On fire insurance maps, see Diane L. Oswald, *Fire Insurance Maps: Their History and Application* (College Station, Texas: Lacewing Press, 1997).

⁶² *Insurance Maps of Seattle, Washington* (New York: Sanborn Map Company: 1904/5), NW corner of sheet 375; block bounded by Sixth, Earl, Brig and Sloop.

⁶³ *Insurance Maps of Seattle* (1904/5), NW corner of sheet 385; block bounded by Ship, North, Third and Second.

⁶⁴ 43 of the 48 signers for whom an occupation could be determined. The petition had 69 signers total. *Polk's Seattle City Directory*, 1904, 1905.

were widowed or divorced. Like hundreds of other city dwellers, these petition signers sought to preserve a place for urban livestock in the city.

Livestock owners also pursued strategies other than resistance. Some sought compromise between subsistence and investment – between a modern and a traditional vision of the city. As the modern vision sought to blend nature and civilization, to meld the best of country and city, it embraced the bucolic, restful vision of nature and not its smelly, sweaty role in production. Real-estate ads did, however, envision a limited relationship to nature for use, as well as for beauty. Developers touted neighborhoods with “lots all in lawn, flowers and fruit,” “beautiful gardens,” “bearing fruit trees,” and “excellent, tillable soil.”⁶⁵ While city dwellers might grow fruit trees or gardens, the advertisements drew the line at livestock. Those interested in running cows or even raising chickens – those who wanted to “feed the hungry” – were pointed toward lands distant from the city.⁶⁶

Those who pursued subsistence strategies in the city accepted parts of this modern vision and modified others. Many livestock owners conceded cows would have to leave the commons – and most people recognized this would eventually eliminate cows from the city altogether – but they defended the right to keep chickens. Petitioners in West Seattle pleaded merely that the time was “not yet ripe” for cow restrictions.⁶⁷ Writing in March of 1906, a group of cow owners in Magnolia asked simply that “cows be allowed to run at large in said district during the spring and summer of 1906.”⁶⁸ Yet, when in 1912 those concerned by the smell and perceived health threats of chickens sought to remove them from backyards as well, chicken owners successfully resisted.⁶⁹ They delivered a two-inch thick stack of petitions saying this would “absolutely impoverish” thousands of city dwellers. Seattle never passed a proposed ordinance that would have banned chickens from most standard urban lots. Subsistence practices continued in the city, just not in the urban commons.

⁶⁵ “A Big Give-away” [ad], *ST*, May 19, 1907; “Green Lake Reservoir Addition” [ad], *ST*, May 18, 1907; “Green Lake Reservoir Addition” [ad], May 12, 1907.

⁶⁶ “Seaview Tracts” [ad], *ST*, May 11, 1907; “Puyallup Valley” [ad], *ST*, May 12, 1907; “A Garden Spot for Garden Homes” [ad], *ST*, May 15, 1907.

⁶⁷ Petition [circa 1905], “Petitions, Restricting Cows from Roaming at Large,” box 3, file 18, record series 9190-03, City of West Seattle files, SMA.

⁶⁸ Petition, March 20, 1906, CF 28738, SMA.

The modern city provided some livestock owners ways to improvise continued subsistence practices. Residents of the largely African American East Madison neighborhood pursued a subsistence use of the urban commons longer than others. Walter Washington, an African American and head poundmaster from 1896 to about 1910, lived in East Madison, within a mile of downtown.⁷⁰ Many of the African American men who worked under him – including the dogcatchers – lived there as well. The men who ran the pound took advantage of their political patronage jobs to become some of the most prominent real-estate owners in the black community.⁷¹ Yet East Madison maintained traditional uses of the urban commons longer than other close-in districts. As segregation grew in the 1890s, blacks were more and more restricted to this district. While cow restrictions were extended to the neighborhood in 1894, residents kept cows until well into the twentieth century and herded them through the streets between pasture and home.⁷² While the poundmen enforced growing restrictions on livestock throughout the city – and profited from the rising real-estate prices – they allowed an older definition of the urban commons to continue in East Madison. Indeed, they themselves kept cows and chickens at their East Madison houses.⁷³

The strategies women used to market milk and eggs also show how working people improvised in the modern city. Mary Klamm, a widow with three children, lived a marginal existence in a “cabin” on the south side of town. She would regularly take the streetcar into town to sell her eggs.⁷⁴ Eugene Coleman’s mother had him ride the streetcar to deliver milk

⁶⁹ Letter, March 16, 1912, CF 47512; petition, April 12, 1912, CF 47457; letter, February 24, 1912, CF 47103, SMA; *Bulletin of the Department of Health and Sanitation* [Seattle], March 1912, 6.

⁷⁰ On the history of Seattle’s African American community, see Taylor, *Forging a Black Community*; Richard S. Hobbs, *The Cayton Legacy: An African American Family* (Pullman: Washington State University Press, 2002); Esther Hall Mumford, *Seattle’s Black Victorians, 1852-1901* (Seattle: Ananse Press, 1980).

⁷¹ *Seattle Republican*, December 7, 1900; *Seattle Republican*, Jan. 3, 1902; *Cayton’s Weekly*, August 25, 1917.

⁷² Interview of Fern Proctor, 1975, BL-KNG 75-18em; interview of Eugene Coleman, 1975, BL-KNG 75-15em, Washington State Oral/Aural History Program; petition, August 19, 1890, GF 992989; Seattle Ordinance 3380 (1894), SMA; Mumford, *Seattle’s Black Victorians*, 30, 84, 113, 114, 125-26, 133-34; *Cayton’s Weekly*, August 25, 1917; letter from Lizzie Grose Oxedine, November 1, 1936, box 1, folder 1, William Dixon papers, 0793-001, University of Washington Special Collections.

⁷³ Mumford, *Seattle’s Black Victorians*, 126.

⁷⁴ “Woman Killed Near Her Home,” *SPI*, December 2, 1907; “Mrs. Klemm and Her Cow,” *Seattle Mail and Herald*, December 7, 1907; *Polk’s Seattle City Directory*, 1890-1892; coroner’s inquest for Mary Klemm, December 3, 1901, King County coroner’s records, Washington State Archives, Puget Sound Regional Branch, Bellevue, Washington.

to her customers before he went to school each morning.⁷⁵ Urban livestock owners were finding subtle ways to continue their self-sufficiency, even as the urban commons transformed. While working people could not stop the expansion of cow-free zone, while they lost the use of the urban commons for production, they struggled to maintain traditional home-based economic strategies.

After John Blodgett finished canvassing his Ballard neighborhood, he wrote below all the signatures, “Out of 75 family’s visited in the limits specified only six would not sign this petition.”⁷⁶ The Ballard clerk filed the families’ petition on May 23, 1905. That same day, three women protested before the city council the “hardship” the new ordinance imposed in forcing them to pasture their cows north of town “in the timber.”⁷⁷ Yet the city council rejected the cow owners’ pleas. This was a common pattern. Cow owners could hope at best for a few years’ reprieve before the law banned livestock from their neighborhood streets. By 1907, only on the isolated Magnolia peninsula could Seattle’s livestock roam the urban commons at large.⁷⁸

The city moved from a complex commons embracing grazing, transportation, and social interaction to one focused more fully on transportation and managed to eliminate the livestock that could reduce property values. These transformations removed a subsistence strategy important to the working class and especially to women. Yet such strategies did not disappear. While many working people embraced a middle-class vision of the home as a site of consumption, others negotiated compromises and improvised strategies to keep cows and chickens in the city – typically at home rather than in the commons. Urban livestock, such as chickens, rabbits, and bees, continued to give some city dwellers, in Sarah Ewing’s phrase, “part of the means of gaining a livelyhood.”

⁷⁵ Interview with Eugene Coleman, 1975, BL-KNG 75-15em, Washington State Oral/Aural History Program.

⁷⁶ Spelling as per original.

⁷⁷ “City Council Proceedings,” *Ballard News*, May 27, 1905.

⁷⁸ Seattle Ordinance 16004 (1907), SMA.

Horses: Living Machines and Symbols of Progress

Horses' value as property and as symbols of progress went together to give them a surer foothold in the city. While cow-ownership was a strategy of working-class Seattleites, it was merchants and other wealthy Seattleites who purchased powerful and elegant horses. In the northern neighborhoods of the city, the median worth in personal property was \$185 for households that owned horses, while it was \$135 for households generally. For cow-owning households, the median worth in personal property was \$125.⁷⁹ The different fates of cows and horses depended in part on the social position of their owners. Although workers protested the loss of the cow commons vigorously, there was never much of a debate in the corridors of power about cows' ultimate fate. With horses, however, urban elites were more divided. With their wealthy owners and their association with commerce and progress, horses held their own much longer than cows. Yet government officials, progressive reformers, and business leaders raised a variety of concerns about humane treatment, human health, runaway horses, and economic efficiency. Slowly, the urban horse turned from a symbol of progress to a marker of backwardness.

An indispensable motor of the city's economy, horses were everywhere in Seattle around the turn of the twentieth century. Sturdy, slow teams pulled large covered wagons through city streets to deliver meat, cordwood, laundry, and furniture.⁸⁰ Horses hauled ice, milk, and coal to households. They pulled the buggies of the rich and the middle class through city streets. Hotels kept carriages to shuttle their guests to the train station or elsewhere. Large department stores like the Bon Marché and Frederick and Nelson maintained elegant carriages with carefully matched horses to carry clients, as well as wagons to deliver purchases to customers' houses. Horses graded the city's streets. They worked at construction sites, hauling materials, moving earth, and bending their muscles to hoist building components into place.

⁷⁹ Livestock Ownership Database in author's possession (see appendix A). Data from King County Property Rolls, 1900, Washington State Archives, Puget Sound Regional Branch.

⁸⁰ *James Henry v. Seattle Electric Company*, Supreme Court of Washington, 55 Wash. 444 (1909); *Mike Christensen v. Union Trunk Line*, Supreme Court of Washington, 6 Wash. 75 (1893).

While horses were key to urban life, they also traced connections between city and country. Farm horses helped feed the cities. For city horses, the countryside served as nursery and hospital – for a privileged few, it served as retirement haven. Rural spaces served as the site of equine reproduction: they rarely had sex or gave birth in the city.⁸¹ While hundreds of horses (mostly male)⁸² filled the city's stables and worked its streets, rarely did a foal take its first steps in the city. Mares were generally more valuable as breeding animals on rural farms than as urban workers. When horses suffered injury or disease, their owners often found them a pastoral setting in which to recuperate. The city, for instance, maintained a fifty-three acre farm southeast of the city in Kent, where horses wearied by pounding city pavements could regain their strength.⁸³ As automobiles replaced horses, a fortunate few horses found retirement in rural places. The Fire Department sought such a home for its horses, as it bought more and more motorized fire trucks. More often, owners shipped aging horses to rendering factories, where their bodies were turned into fertilizer and glue. The bodies of some likely became food for the new dominant urban animal: the dog.⁸⁴

While the number of cows declined in increasingly dense neighborhoods, especially middle-class ones as some home-owners petitioned for restrictions, horses' relationship to cities, modernity, and industrialization was more complicated. As much as the nineteenth century was the age of steam power, it was also the age of horse power. Horses were not a relic of the premodern city, they were central to building cities in the later nineteenth century. They were an integral part of industrialization, becoming an ever more important source of power to transport goods and operate machinery, as railroads and canals expanded, manufacturing increased, and commerce grew. Indeed, horse populations increased faster

⁸¹ Alvan S. Southworth, "Horses in Trade, Traffic and Transportation," *Frank Leslie's Popular Monthly*, June 1894, 2.

⁸² Document dated June 8, 1910, Water Department records, 1910, box 3, folder 6, SMA. This document lists 23 males and 4 females.

⁸³ *Annual Report of the City of Seattle Department of Streets and Sewers*, 1913-15.

⁸⁴ Katherine C. Grier, *Pets in America: A History* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2006), 285.

than human populations in bustling cities throughout the United States.⁸⁵ From 1890 to 1900, horses in King County (about a third of them Seattle horses) increased by 285% (from 1,561 to 6,019), while humans increased by only 70% (63,989 to 110,053).⁸⁶ Their population growth mirrored that of humans through the early 1900s and only began to flag in the 1910s.

The absence of a readily available alternative to horses in the 1890s and their association with consumption, commerce, and wealth, rather than production and subsistence, prompted city people to keep horses long after most cows had left the city. They were rarely a symbol of modernity – certainly not on a par with the steam engine, the railroad, or the automobile in that regard. Yet they represented progress and commerce. They fit comfortably into the modern city.⁸⁷

These essential collaborators were not hidden, but celebrated in art and urban imagery. Horses' presence in images meant to cast a favorable light on the city and its business enterprises shows just how comfortably they fit into people's notions of a modern city. They did not mark the city as backward, rather they showed it to be a hub of commerce. They fit as comfortably as electric streetcars and steam-powered trains – all of them symbols of progress. The city had many cows as well, but after the 1870s artists rarely featured them in images of the town. Business and civic leaders turned to horses to help tell a story of industry and progress. The letterhead of Stimson Mill Company portrayed the mill including five teams of horses at work moving lumber. The image of a forest across the bay and of a train and four ships linked local forests and the mill into worldwide networks, with horses playing a vital role.⁸⁸ The Ballard city logo portrayed a team drawing a buggy, alongside a streetcar, and many pedestrians in front of a bustling city hall.⁸⁹ The Seattle Brewing and Malting Company depicted its enormous brewery on its logo: a busy street scene with two

⁸⁵ Clay McShane and Joel A. Tarr, *The Horse in the City: Living Machines in the Nineteenth Century* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2007); Ann Norton Greene, *Horses at Work: Harnessing Power in Industrial America* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press 2008), 2.

⁸⁶ U.S. Census, 1900, 1910; Washington State, Board of Equalization Biennial Reports, 1900, 1910.

⁸⁷ McShane and Tarr, *Horse in the City*, 179.

⁸⁸ Letter from Stimson Mill Co. to Ballard City Council, dated August 2, 1904, file: Petitions, Protests/Remonstrances, 1905-1907, Ballard records, SMA.

⁸⁹ Letter dated Jan. 6, 1905, file: Petitions, 1904-10, Georgetown records, SMA.

trains standing by while thirteen horse-drawn vehicles were at work, one of them just pulling out of the factory ready to deliver beer to the city.⁹⁰ These images do not make horses the central focus, but neither do they try to hide them. Unlike cows, urban horses were consistent with the dynamic, progressive image these institutions hoped to portray.

Seattle merchants highlighted these animals as symbols of their wealth and status in photographs as well. When taking pictures, they carefully arranged horses in front of their stores. For instance, in a photograph from around 1897, four horses harnessed to delivery wagons stand outside the Electric Laundry with a man standing near each horse and two more men standing in the doorway.⁹¹ Around 1905, three men and a boy posed in front of a grocery with four horses, the humans holding the horses by the bridle or resting an arm on the horse's back. In another image, an enormous collection of some thirty-seven horses stand outside the Carter Contracting & Hauling Co., which also operated a stable. Alongside the horses are about eleven men and at least three boys that look to be younger than ten years old. The public face of many businesses was the horse-drawn wagons of merchandise that employees drove through the city. When businesses assembled the workers they wanted to memorialize in photographs, horses were an indispensable part of that group.

Horses served the wealthy, not only by pulling their carriages and buggies, but by advertising their prosperity – a fact they were proud to record in photographs. One photo shows two matched black horses belonging to Harry Whitney Treat with glossy coats pulling a driver and two elegant women.⁹² In another photograph, an elegant horse stands four-square on the ground as it prepares to pull a pony-cart containing Mrs. C. S. Cotton and Maude Semple, its head held high.⁹³ In front of an elegant house, an African American driver holds the reins of two horses with glossy coats, while a finely dressed white woman sits in the carriage.⁹⁴ Horses helped these Seattleites tell themselves and others who they were.

⁹⁰ Letter dated August 12, 1908, file: Seattle Brewing and Malting Co., Georgetown records, SMA.

⁹¹ Negative no. UW2113, University of Washington Digital Collections.

⁹² Photo 1795, n.d., Transportation Horse-Drawn, General Photo Files, MOHAI.

⁹³ Photo 6105, ca. 1900, Transportation – Horse-Drawn, General Photo File, MOHAI.

These indispensable engines of urban growth and these symbols of wealth would, however, gradually lose their hold on urban life. Automobiles became popular first with urban elites and then with businesses and government departments. While the number of horses in King County remained steady through the 1910s, automobile registration soared. There were twenty-four work horses in King County for every auto in 1908. By 1918, there were more than two cars for every horse. Horses' numbers in the county would begin to decline in absolute numbers in the 1920s, from 6,504 in 1920 to 3,171 in 1939. Meanwhile, automobile numbers increased dramatically from 327 in 1908 to 21,000 in 1918 to 132,000 in 1930.⁹⁵ This trend continued until the late twentieth century, when the horse population – fully transformed from livestock into pets – became to increase again in rural King County, where city people kept them to ride on weekends.⁹⁶

Motor vehicles and gasoline power sources did not replace just horses. They reduced reliance on all other forms of transportation: walking, bicycling, streetcars, and railroads. They democratized private transportation in a way that horses never did. Only the wealthiest Seattleites could afford to have a driver and horse take them to work and then care for the animal during the day. But the middle class and, with the availability of credit, even many workers could afford an automobile. At horses' peak in the early twentieth century, there was only one horse for every eighteen humans in King County. By 1930, there was one automobile for every four people.⁹⁷ With such prevalence, autos dominated streets in ways that horses never had. They were not so dangerous, per vehicle, as horses were; but soon their great numbers made them more dangerous in absolute terms.⁹⁸ They transformed streets from a diverse commons devoted to transportation, play, social interaction, peddling, and grazing livestock to a commons devoted almost solely to automobile and truck transportation.

⁹⁴ Photo 12,463, undated, Transportation—Horse-Drawn, General Photo File, MOHAI.

⁹⁵ Washington State, Board of Equalization Biennial Report (Olympia), 1908, 1918. "Autoists Urged to Apply for 1931 Licenses," *ST*, December 7, 1930.

⁹⁶ Jennifer Langston, "Growing Food Locally a Pricey Prospect for First-time Farmers," *SPI*, May 20, 2008.

⁹⁷ There were some 132,000 automobiles in 1930 ("Autoists Urged to Apply for 1931 Licenses," *ST*, December 7, 1930). The human population that year was 463,517.

⁹⁸ McShane and Tarr, *Horse in the City*, 180.

The disappearance of horses stemmed from choices about the relative efficiency of horses and trucks, but also from the physical and cultural context surrounding those choices. City officials gradually expanded pavement, creating hard, slippery surfaces better suited for automobiles than horses. Business owners and government departments gradually came to believe trucks were more economically efficient than horses. They did not need to be fed when they weren't working; they had greater speed, stamina, and power. However, the arithmetic of those assessments was far from simple. For decades, large urban enterprises paired the use of trucks and horses, finding trucks better on pavement, horses better on dirt roads, trucks more efficient for trips with few stops, horses more efficient for trips with many stops. Among other advantages, a well-trained horse could walk an established delivery route by memory – for instance, shadowing a milkman as he walked his route.⁹⁹

Attitudinal shifts affected horses as well, both as city officials decided to pave roads and as horse owners decided to switch to motor vehicles. Concerns about benevolence, health, runaway horses, and property all played their role in turning the urban horse from a symbol of progress to a marker of backwardness. Humane Society efforts to protect horses in the early twentieth century were one sign of growing ill-ease about work with horses. “They opened the door,” historian Ann Norton Greene argues, “to the idea that having horses do any work, apart from pleasure riding and driving, was automatically a form of abuse.”¹⁰⁰ These efforts were about much more than helping animals, although they surely had that effect. The local Humane Society efforts, in which white middle-class women took an especially prominent role, also helped mark class differences. In nineteenth-century Seattle, humans inflicted pain, suffering, and death on animals in a variety of ways. Elites and workers used dogs and firearms to pursue and kill wild animals. The wealthy employed painful techniques, such as forcing horses' heads up with bearing reins, to emphasize the elegance of the horses they owned.¹⁰¹ When their fine horses were no longer young and strong, many wealthy Seattleites sold their horses to work a series of less and less glamorous

⁹⁹ Frederick & Nelson supplement, *ST*, March 31, 1940; “A Plant with a Payroll of Two Millions,” *ST*, April 29, 1929; McShane and Tarr, *Horse in the City*, 175; City of Seattle, Health Department annual report, 1916, 159.

¹⁰⁰ Greene, *Horses at Work*, 253-54.

¹⁰¹ C. E. Bowman, “The Penograph Gallery,” *Seattle Mail and Herald*, March 24, 1906.

jobs, until they were valuable only as flesh and skin for rendering plants; rarely did they give horses a comfortable retirement. As the health commissioner noted, in some cases, “the poor animal [was] turned out to die upon the public streets or commons.”¹⁰² The rich man’s elegant carriage horse ten years on might be the tired nag pulling a peddler’s cart through the city with his last failing steps. The Humane Society, however, focused its efforts largely on working-class practices that harmed animals: teamsters who beat their horses excessively and later the African-American workers who managed the dog pound. They paid less attention to the wealthier owners who pushed workers to get as much labor out of the animals as possible.

Women used the Seattle Humane Society, as they did other appropriately high-minded voluntary organizations in the Progressive era, to exercise autonomy and engage in urban politics. First formed in 1891, the society had several incarnations.¹⁰³ The Oregon Humane Society encouraged the formation of the Seattle society, saying such efforts were especially needed where “much street work and excavation are being done.” As with many societies nationwide, men held the most prominent offices in the society, while women activists did the actual work of the society. Many credited Beulah Gronlund, secretary of the Humane Society, with a large part of the society’s success in the late 1890s.¹⁰⁴ In 1907, female members of Seattle Humane Society received permission to carry badges and enforce cruelty laws – an effort that set up class and gender conflicts challenging working-class men’s power to act in public spaces. The *Seattle Times* intoned, “Let the large coarse teamster who swats his horse or mules with uncalled for severity beware.”¹⁰⁵ The *Mail and Herald* encouraged city children to follow the example of a little girl in West Seattle who stopped a man from whipping his horses.¹⁰⁶

Absent in these accounts is any clear sense of how teamsters reacted to the women who confronted them on the city’s streets. But, while elites used horses to demonstrate their power and prestige, workers also used them to challenge that power. While horses in motion

¹⁰² J. E. Crichton to A. L. Walters, December 9, 1912, CF 59819, SMA.

¹⁰³ “To Protect Animals,” *SPI*, April 8, 1891.

¹⁰⁴ “Her Good Work Not Ended,” *SPI*, October 11, 1903.

¹⁰⁵ “Women to Act as Police,” *ST*, May 17, 1907.

were symbols of progress, some Seattleites viewed standing horses as an opportunity for the dangerous classes to make a claim on public space. Around 1890, business owners wrote the city council to complain about the “standing of teams and vehicles” on downtown streets, waiting for work opportunities.¹⁰⁷ Signers included the Seattle Hardware Company, the Goldstein Hat Company, Washington Floral Company, and fifty-four other businesses and individuals. Petitioners’ concerns went beyond a simply physical impediment to business. Working with animals on public streets gave teamsters an opportunity to occupy public places and use those places in ways that threatened middle-class sensibilities, especially with the use of profanity. In complaining about teamsters and motor truck drivers waiting on Cherry Street in downtown Seattle, business owners complained that “by much occupation of said street these parties have hindered the access of your petitioners to said buildings; that these parties are noisy and quarrelsome and are addicted to the use of profane language.”¹⁰⁸ The owner of a meat market protested to the city that “the continual noise and talking and profanity of these men has become a nuisance and is almost unbearable to merchants and property owners in this vicinity.”¹⁰⁹ Humane concerns mixed with class anxieties in producing reasons to eliminate horses. While commerce necessitated workers with animals in public space, middle-class reformers often saw in that work an unsettling form of animal abuse and workers’ public power.

Advocates of electric street-cars and automobiles pointed to the humane benefits of ending work with horses. “[I]f the abolition of horse-cars relegates the street-car horse to the country, he has reason to rejoice,” one advocate of electric street cars wrote in the 1890s.¹¹⁰ “The horse is capable of many things, but nature never intended that he should be at the mercy of so cruel a taskmaster as the average street-car driver.”¹¹¹ Advocates of the automobile touted their efforts as liberating horses from “slavery.” “Men call the horse their friend, but what the horse thinks of man we shall never know,” one author opined in *Motor*

¹⁰⁶ “What a Little Child May Do,” *Seattle Mail and Herald*, December 15, 1906.

¹⁰⁷ Petition, undated, GF 993316, SMA.

¹⁰⁸ Letter dated September 8, 1908, CF 35302, SMA.

¹⁰⁹ Letter filed January 23, 1911, CF 42612, SMA.

¹¹⁰ “The Street-car Horse and Other Horses,” *Youth's Companion*, January 31, 1895, 58.

¹¹¹ Oliver McKee, “The Horse or the Motor,” *Lippincott's Monthly Magazine*, March 1896, 379-84.

Magazine.¹¹² The exact role that attitudes such as these took in individual decisions to replace horses, first with electric street-cars and later with trucks and gasoline-based power sources, is not clear. Proponents of the new technologies clearly had a motivation to grasp for as many reasons as possible to promote their cause. Yet whether their concerns were heart-felt or not, the regular evocation of this argument indicates its resonance. At least some members of the middle class were growing uncomfortable with the notion of work with animals. As business owners and government officials argued the merits of horses and trucks, here was one more reason to see horse-keeping as backwards and automobiles as progressive.

Reformers around the country pointed to pollution as another reason to eliminate horses and to favor motorized vehicles.¹¹³ Seattle had 1,911 horses in 1900 – a workforce that produced something like thirty tons of manure and two thousand gallons of urine each day.¹¹⁴ “[T]he greatest gain of all from the departure of the horse will be cleanliness,” wrote one proponent of “the horseless city of the future.”¹¹⁵ Manure was an important commodity to market gardeners working in and near the city, in Rainier Valley, South Park, Georgetown, and north Seattle. It was part of what historian Ted Steinberg has called the “organic city,” as it was recycled back into the land to increase soil fertility and allow food production.¹¹⁶ But manure supported conspicuous consumption as well as agricultural production. As advertisements by urban stables indicate, it also fertilized urban lawns: an increasingly important crop in middle-class neighborhoods.¹¹⁷ Despite these uses, there was often too much of the stuff. In some areas, farmers found other fertilizers (such as guano, fish, or the manure of rural livestock) cheaper.¹¹⁸ Stable owners complained about the expense involved in having manure removed, indicating it was sometimes more of a liability than a valued

¹¹² Larry McKilwin, “Why Do We Tolerate Horses?,” *Motor Magazine*, September 1908.

¹¹³ Clay McShane, *Down the Asphalt Path: The Automobile and the American City* (New York: Columbia University Press 1994), 51.

¹¹⁴ Greene, *Horses at Work*, 174; U.S. census, 1900.

¹¹⁵ “The Horseless City of the Future,” *Current Literature*, March 1899, 253.

¹¹⁶ Ted Steinberg, *Down to Earth: Nature's Role in American History* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2002), 57, 162.

¹¹⁷ “Gives Hints for Culture of Lawn,” *ST*, March 4, 1917; “For Sale, Miscellaneous,” *ST*, January 31, 1913.

commodity.¹¹⁹ And manure destined for gardens or lawns could be a nuisance when stockpiled. As early as 1891, there were complaints about manure piles in the city.¹²⁰ In 1902, petitions complained that at a downtown stable “rotten manure” accumulated, which was “a menace and injurious to the health of your petitioners.”¹²¹ Even once the manure reached truck farms, it could be an annoyance to neighbors. In 1906, the health department of the Georgetown suburb heard complaints of market gardens that heaped manure nearby and allowed it to “sweat.”¹²² Many city-people saw manure as an aesthetic nuisance that cars and trucks would eliminate.

Increasingly, the middle class was coming to embrace what historian Nancy Tomes has termed “the gospel of germs.” To be modern, was to be hygienic and concerned about germs. This was one of the ways that Progressive reformers felt a profoundly disordered society could ultimately be reformed. During the early decades of the twentieth century, public health officials worked to change public policies and private practice alike. It was primarily middle-class reformers who pushed these new measures and who had the time to follow stricter prescriptions for home cleanliness. The elimination of horses from streets and chickens from backyards fit neatly into these broader goals.¹²³

Although horses played too great an urban role and had owners too powerful for them to be banned outright, these health and aesthetic concerns led law-makers to regulate stables. A 1905 ordinance required that stables within the first fire district (the downtown business district that had the strictest fire code) have concrete floors and the consent of neighbors. It set even tougher rules outside the fire district, in residential neighborhoods. Stables there had

¹¹⁸ McShane and Tarr, *Horse in the City*, 169.

¹¹⁹ CF 48318 (1912); CF 48444 (1912); CF 49110 (1912), SMA.

¹²⁰ City of Seattle, Health Department Annual Report, 1891, SMA.

¹²¹ CF 12834 (1902), SMA.

¹²² Georgetown health officer report, Georgetown folder 1/49, SMA.

¹²³ Nancy Tomes, *The Gospel of Germs: Men, Women, and the Microbe in American Life* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1998); Linda Nash, *Inescapable Ecologies: A History of Environment, Disease, and Knowledge* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2008), 93-102; Warwick Anderson, *Colonial Pathologies: American Tropical Medicine, Race, and Hygiene in the Philippines* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2006), 229-33; Greene, *Horses at Work*, 248-49.

to be fifteen feet from property and street lines. They had to have tap water and a sanitary manure box. Animals could not be kept on the ground adjacent to the building.¹²⁴

For a time, concerns about manure became particularly focused on flies. Health officials in Seattle and other cities became convinced, based on little evidence, that flies landing on manure were such an important vector of disease, especially typhoid, that all-out war should be declared on them.¹²⁵ In 1911, the health department reported that owing to their careful inspection of stables, flies would be “practically banished from Seattle” by the following year. The 1914 report continued to focus on diseases carried by the “Typhoid Fly.” The health department regularly inspected stables to make sure they properly maintained their manure boxes.¹²⁶ The city responded to health concerns with careful scorecards to regulate stables and with laws limiting property-owners' ability to build stables without neighbors' permission. The very visible and smellable pollution horses created was one more reason for reformers to favor the automobile as more modern.

Another complaint against horses was that they were less safe than motor vehicles, because they sometimes took fright and ran away. Horses, much more than cows, exercised their own wills in obvious ways: they could create havoc in urban places by running wild. These actions highlighted the contradiction between the belief that humans ought to be in charge and the fact that horses had their own agency that sometimes thwarted human intentions. Automobile advocates pointed to the absurdity of humans bowing to animal wills. “The average driver ... is constantly lifting his hand,” noted one author in the journal *Horseless Age*, “and signaling the motor vehicles to stop until he can get his horse under control; which in reality means until the horse himself decides to go ahead.”¹²⁷

On the evening of April 14, 1904, for instance, as fireman Jack Spaight drove a large black horse and one other horse to the scene of the fire, one horse slipped, pulling the other down as well. The black horse quickly rose to his feet with Spaight's aid. The fireman

¹²⁴ Ordinance 12240 (1905), SMA.

¹²⁵ Greene, *Horses at Work*, 249.

¹²⁶ Health Department annual report, 1914, 1915, 1916.

¹²⁷ *Horseless Age* 2 (1896): 2, quoted in Greene, 263.

detached the horse from his harness and handed the reins to a by-stander to hold, while he helped the other horse. On seeing his mate rise up, the black horse became frightened and broke loose from the stranger's grasp, tearing down the street and straight through a crowded sidewalk. He threw people to the ground, stepped on many and left dozens dazed, injured, and traumatized, finally stopping a few blocks later and letting someone take his reins again.¹²⁸ Similar stories made their ways into court proceedings and city newspapers frequently.¹²⁹ Frightened by construction or commotion, horses took flight, dragging wagons or buggies on perilous headlong dashes through city streets, or broke free trampling humans on sidewalks or alleyways. Faced with unfamiliar drivers, horses lit off and returned to their stables against the new driver's wishes.

Given such incidents, humans who worked with animals knew they were more than objects over whom humans exercised dominion. When a dealer had a horse he wanted to sell to the city of Seattle, he described him in the following terms: "I have a 4 yr old half Belgian weighed 1600 last March Sound healthy gentle & true, will work any where double or Single No tricks he is stout & well built Good feet Good action Price \$300.00."¹³⁰ The quote reveals the attention people paid to the animals they worked, both to their bodies and their personalities. They needed to know whether they had "good feet," but also whether they were "gentle," whether they had any "tricks," whether they worked easily with mates or not. By their unwillingness at times to be gentle servants, horses had forced humans to be attentive to their personalities.

Horses' actions often countered human plans and helped shape the city and its legal system. Drivers had a legal obligation to know the tendency of their teams to run wild. Automobile drivers (in their early days at least) were required by law to be attentive to horse personalities – observing whether a horse was taking fright and pulling over to the side of the

¹²⁸ "Death and Injury Follow Fire Alarm," *ST*, April 15, 1904; "One Killed, Ten Injured at Fire," *SPI*, April 15, 1904; letter filed May 2, 1904, CF 23880; letter filed May 9, 1904, CF 23955; letter filed May 13, 1904, CF 24017, SMA.

¹²⁹ *M. M. Teater v. the City of Seattle*, Supreme Court of Washington, 10 Wash. 327 (1894); *Edward F. White v. City of Ballard*, Supreme Court of Washington, 19 Wash. 284 (1898); *Elizabeth J. Spurrier v. Front Street Cable Railway Company*, Supreme Court of Washington, 3 Wash. 659 (1892).

¹³⁰ A. Fleming to L. B. Youngs, December 1, 1912, file: Horses and Vehicles, 1906-1921, box 3, folder 5, Water Department historical files, 8200-10, SMA.

road, if it was.¹³¹ In creating the public space of streets, the city government had to take into account things that could frighten horses. The tendency of horses to run away required cities to put guardrails on bridges, to arrange construction so horses had adequate sight lines. The city's first horse-drawn streetcar went down Second Avenue rather than risk frightening the concentrated horse traffic on First Avenue.¹³² For at least some urban-dwellers, horse agency was reason enough to be rid of them. Seattle farmer Tsuneta Korekiyo, who collected food waste from city restaurants, was only too glad to trade his willful horses for a tractable truck. "Once..., when I arrived at the kitchen of a hotel, my horses ran away, and someone caught them for me after they had gone a mile. Further, I had to pay a \$5 penalty at the police station. But in 1918 I bought a one-ton truck and so of course this kind of thing never happened after that!"¹³³

Such horse transgressions are easily dismissed, as animals behaving badly; most of the time, urban animals were under human control. But considered more closely, the transgressions of horses indicate that control is never complete, and that human plans have to be adjusted to account for animals' potential resistance. Knowledge of horses' willfulness shaped humans' interactions with them, from laws to harnessing techniques to the advice shared among humans about individual horses' personalities. Horses had no knowledge of the human plans about commerce, wealth, prestige, and power toward which humans directed their labors. But these creatures did have more immediate intentions which, at times, thwarted human desires. Humans' ability to act in the world has often been constrained by what animals would and would not do.

Despite the difficulties horses posed, they had wealthy advocates who found them a profitable, convenient, and elegant form of transportation well into the twentieth century. This meant that no law-maker sought to ban horses. But very early in the century, the city began paving its streets with asphalt – a decision which assumed that motor cars deserved

¹³¹ *Session Laws of the State of Washington* (Olympia, 1905), 294-95.

¹³² Walt Crowley, "Streetcars first enter service in Seattle on September 23, 1884," HistoryLink.org Essay 2688.

¹³³ Kazuo Ito, *Issei: A History of Japanese Immigrants in North America* (Seattle: Japanese Community Service, 1973), 479.

priority.¹³⁴ Seattle in the late nineteenth century had primarily dirt roads with a few streets in the inner city paved with cobblestones or planked with lumber. Cobblestone and planking provided a bumpy ride, but an acceptable one in carriage or wagon following a walking or trotting horse. This changed with efforts in the early twentieth century to bring improved roads that could accommodate automobiles. Motor cars had even more trouble dealing with muck than horses did. They did not need the gripping surface that uneven cobblestone pavements provided horses as they pulled loads up steep hills. Asphalt better suited the needs of automobiles. The built environment was becoming more hard-edged and more clearly bounded, as the city street came to resemble less and less the earth that defined rural spaces.

Automobiles also changed the rules of the road. The greater speed of automobiles required drivers to stay to one side of the road. Horses and drivers sometimes reduced a street's grade by weaving first to one side of the street and then to another – a practice so common horses could follow it with no prompting from their drivers. But, the increased traffic on streets and the greater speed at which automobiles travelled made this accommodation to the city's particular topography harder to employ.¹³⁵ The freedom to weave across streets was curtailed somewhat in 1901, when a law prohibited crossing to the left side of the street, except in the block of destination.¹³⁶ In 1904, the city council passed a similar law requiring vehicles to stay to the right on paved, planked, or macadamized streets, except within a block of one's destination.¹³⁷ As pavement moved out beyond the city's business core, the law made it harder for horses to climb the city's hills.

While health, benevolence, and control all played a role in these transformations, the language city people used in describing their choice of automobiles was most often the language of efficiency. In the early decades of the twentieth century, city departments had vigorous debates on whether horses or trucks did specific jobs better. The Chief of Police noted in 1909 that "The horse is doomed. Yes. It's bound to come—the motor fire engine

¹³⁴ James J. Flink, *The Car Culture* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1975), 35.

¹³⁵ "The Seattle Horse," *Seattle Post-Intelligencer Magazine*, October 10, 1909, 1.

¹³⁶ Seattle Ordinance 7502 (1901), SMA.

¹³⁷ Seattle Ordinance 11210 (1904), SMA.

and truck wagons. Several cities have already tried them and found them satisfactory.”¹³⁸ The chief of the Health Department’s garbage division, by contrast, argued the economic viability of horses well into the 1920s. In 1921, he noted that he would motorize his division only when “an economical and efficient system for motorizing this division can be demonstrated.... The present system [using both motors and horses] is efficient and the cost moderate as compared with other large cities.”¹³⁹ The department complained that many promoters of motorization were self-interested. “A great deal of agitation has been going on about the city favoring the motorization of the garbage business. It has emanated principally from the agents of different concerns who were manufacturing trucks or trailers.”¹⁴⁰ In 1922, the division continued to weigh the choices. “There is no evidence to show that motor trucks have any advantage over horse-drawn vehicles in our City, where the hills are very steep and the hauls are short.”¹⁴¹ As this language demonstrates, relying on horses could still be seen as progressive, rather than backwards. In 1924, the division still used both, but reported “many complaints” from unspecified sources “about the collection being made by horse-drawn wagons.”¹⁴² Not until 1924 did the garbage division chief become convinced of the viability of motorization, a process that occurred gradually between 1925 and 1928.¹⁴³ In 1927, the division report sounded resigned, but still not convinced about the superiority of trucks: “The teams and wagons could be operated at less expense, but owing to traffic conditions, motorization was compulsory.” Apparently, the glut of automobile traffic now made it impossible to efficiently complete garbage rounds with horses.

Urban businesses, likewise, gradually made the switch from horses to cars; yet the process took decades. Prestige, as much as efficiency, drove these choices. For instance, the elegant downtown department store, Frederick and Nelson, made a relatively rapid switch, while the Frye meatpacking plant took decades to change. In the first years of the twentieth century, Frederick and Nelson had a stable of dozens of horses. Shorty, Chub, Dick, Barney,

¹³⁸ “The Seattle Horse,” *Seattle Post-Intelligencer Magazine*, October 10, 1909, 1.

¹³⁹ City of Seattle, “Report of the Department of Health and Sanitation,” 1921, 13.

¹⁴⁰ City of Seattle, “Report of the Department of Health and Sanitation,” 1921, 77.

¹⁴¹ City of Seattle, “Report of the Department of Health and Sanitation,” 1922, 12.

¹⁴² City of Seattle, “Report of the Department of Health and Sanitation,” 1924, 11.

¹⁴³ City of Seattle, “Report of the Department of Health and Sanitation,” 1924-1929.

Colonel, Lion, Prince, Fred, and many other males, stabled alongside Mollie, Nellie, Queen, and a few other females. Bess and Bell were the company's show-horses. Both gray mares, they were featured prominently on postcards promoting the store. As automobiles came on the scene, the company bought a truck for paved roads, maintaining horses for the muddy roads away from the city center. Yet by 1910, it had largely switched to trucks.¹⁴⁴ The Frye meatpacking company did not switch nearly so fast. It was still using horses in 1929. This reflected in part the owner's personal preference: Charlie Frye was reportedly "a lover of horses."¹⁴⁵

For some, the decline of urban horses was traumatic. George Merrill, a bus driver for the Arlington hotel in the early twentieth century, faced the switch to the automobile with "a feeling of mixed joy and sorrow." By the newspaper's account, "Merrill understands horses, has loved them all his life, and while he welcomed the easier way [of gasoline trucks], he regretfully saw that his connection with his horses had been severed for all times." His connection to the animals he worked with went far beyond utilitarian considerations. "Merrill has never had a family," the newspaper noted. "He declares that his horses have in a way taken the place of home and fireside, the joys of which he has never known."¹⁴⁶

By the mid-twentieth century, horses had largely disappeared from city streets, yet not entirely. Even today, they maintain a small presence as urban workers and an increasing presence as pets in rural King County. The city has never banned horses or cows entirely, although one needs a sizable lot to keep them legally. In 1923, Seattle established its first comprehensive zoning ordinance, replacing the myriad of ordinances that had previously determined what activities could occur where. In residential neighborhoods, the ordinance permitted a stable with one animal (such as a horse, cow, goat, or sheep) for every two thousand square feet of property, as long as neighbors' permission was obtained. Stables in the business district required a public hearing.¹⁴⁷ The 1957 zoning ordinance put further restrictions on stables requiring a lot with twenty-thousand square feet (about four times the

¹⁴⁴ "Delivery Service Started with Wheelbarrow," *ST*, March 31, 1910.

¹⁴⁵ "A Plant with a Payroll of Two Millions," *ST*, April 29, 1929.

¹⁴⁶ Charles E. Hunt, "Quits Horses for Gas," *SPI*, April 20, 1913.

¹⁴⁷ Seattle Ordinance 45382 (1923), SMA.

size of a normal lot) in order to maintain a stable in a residential neighborhood.¹⁴⁸ Horses remain in the city to this day, although in numbers much reduced. At least two urban farms keep horses, one in West Seattle, one in South Seattle. Animal control officers occasionally encounter cattle as well.¹⁴⁹ The Police Department keeps horses in stables in Southwest Seattle and carriage horses, often stabled in the suburbs, pull visitors through Seattle's downtown streets.¹⁵⁰

By the 1940s, few working livestock moved through Seattle streets. While urban cows had been quickly judged not to be modern, people only gradually adopted that opinion about horses. Cows had disappeared in part because their pastures had been replaced with houses, yet also because the city council listened to real-estate developers and middle-class homeowners who simply felt cows did not belong in a modern city. Horses were eliminated much more gradually, both because horses' owners had more clout and because horses were not seen as being backwards in the ways cows were. Horse owners presented the relative efficiency and economy of automobiles and horses as their main reason for choosing one over the other. This was clearly a crucial factor. Yet the cultural associations surrounding horses contributed both to horses' staying power and to their ultimate demise. Horses had an association with commerce and industry, even as their manure, their willfulness, and concerns about their humane treatment led many to believe they did not fit in city.

Pets consume and livestock produce. Increasingly, the latter had no place in the city, as urban dwellers embraced an identity based on consumption, "the belief," as one historian termed it, "that goods give meaning to individuals and to their role in society."¹⁵¹ A borderlands system disappeared wherein cows and horses bridged, to some extent,

¹⁴⁸ Seattle Ordinance 86300 (1957), SMA.

¹⁴⁹ Don Baxter, Seattle Animal Shelter, personal communication, December 19, 2009, notes in author's possession.

¹⁵⁰ Jack Broom, "New Digs near for Horse Patrol," *ST*, January 14, 2000; Sherry Stripling, "Pair Finds Seattle's A Horse of a Another Color," *ST*, December 24, 1993.

distinctions between pet and livestock – categories that would harden through the century. Cows and horses were first and foremost livestock in humans' estimation: they were property and they had working roles providing milk and labor. They often suffered blows from humans seeking to extract their labor or compliance, from humans herding a recalcitrant cow to a new pasture or forcing a balky horse to move forward. Yet they had many attributes Americans now associate primarily with pets. Humans knew them as individuals. They typically had names. Simply by being in humans' presence these animals – at least some of them – had the opportunity to form relations with humans that went beyond mere property concerns. At least some urban cows and urban horses were described with terms such as “pet,” “favorite,” “friend,” “companion,” and “love.”¹⁵²

As working animals left the city, the categories of livestock and pet became ever more divergent. A pet-livestock dualism replaced the pet-livestock borderlands. The divided regime took on increasing power. To remain in the city, animals had to become pets. The other choice was to become livestock and reside in the country. Cows as a rule became livestock, at best known by a number on a factory farm. Horses suffered dramatic population declines. But a few of them became pets, boarded in the country to be ridden by city-people on weekends. In recent decades, the number of cattle in this increasingly urbanized county has declined, while horse numbers have risen. In 1978, King County had 632 horses and 36,224 cattle on farms. By 2002, it had 5,227 horses and only 418 cattle. Some farmers, indeed, complain that these horses boarded in the country raise property values and displace productive agriculture from rural King County. As pet-keeping gradually replaced livestock-

¹⁵¹ Gary Cross, *An All-Consuming Century: Why Commercialism Won in Modern America* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2000), 1.

¹⁵² “A Fool’s Diary,” *Seattle Mail and Herald*, March 29, 1902; “A Fool’s Diary,” *Seattle Mail and Herald*, August 16, 1902; Charles E. Hunt, “Quits Horses for Gas,” *SPI*, April 20, 1913; “Children’s Prize Drawing Competition,” *SPI*, Sunday, Jan 13, 1903; Wade Vaughn, *Seattle Leschi Diary* (Seattle: Leschi Improvement Council 1982), 173; *SPI*, January 22, 1905.

keeping in the city, similar processes are now at work in the countryside surrounding Seattle and its suburbs.¹⁵³

¹⁵³ Jennifer Langston, "Growing Food Locally a Pricey Prospect for First-time Farmers," *SPI*, May 20, 2008.

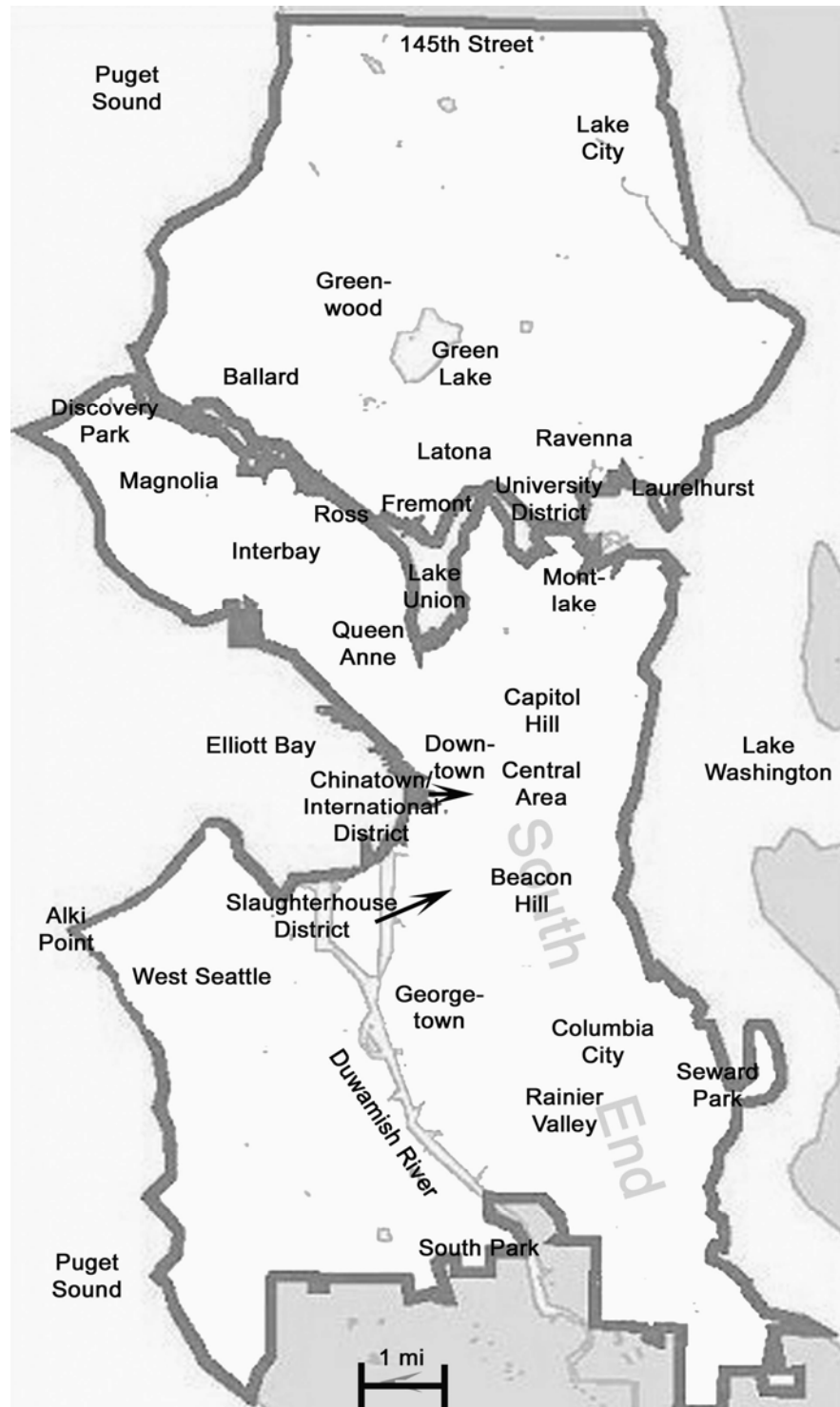


Figure 1) Map of Seattle showing current boundaries, selected neighborhoods and other points of interest. (Map created by author, based on "Seattle City Clerk's Neighborhood Map Atlas," available at seattle.gov)

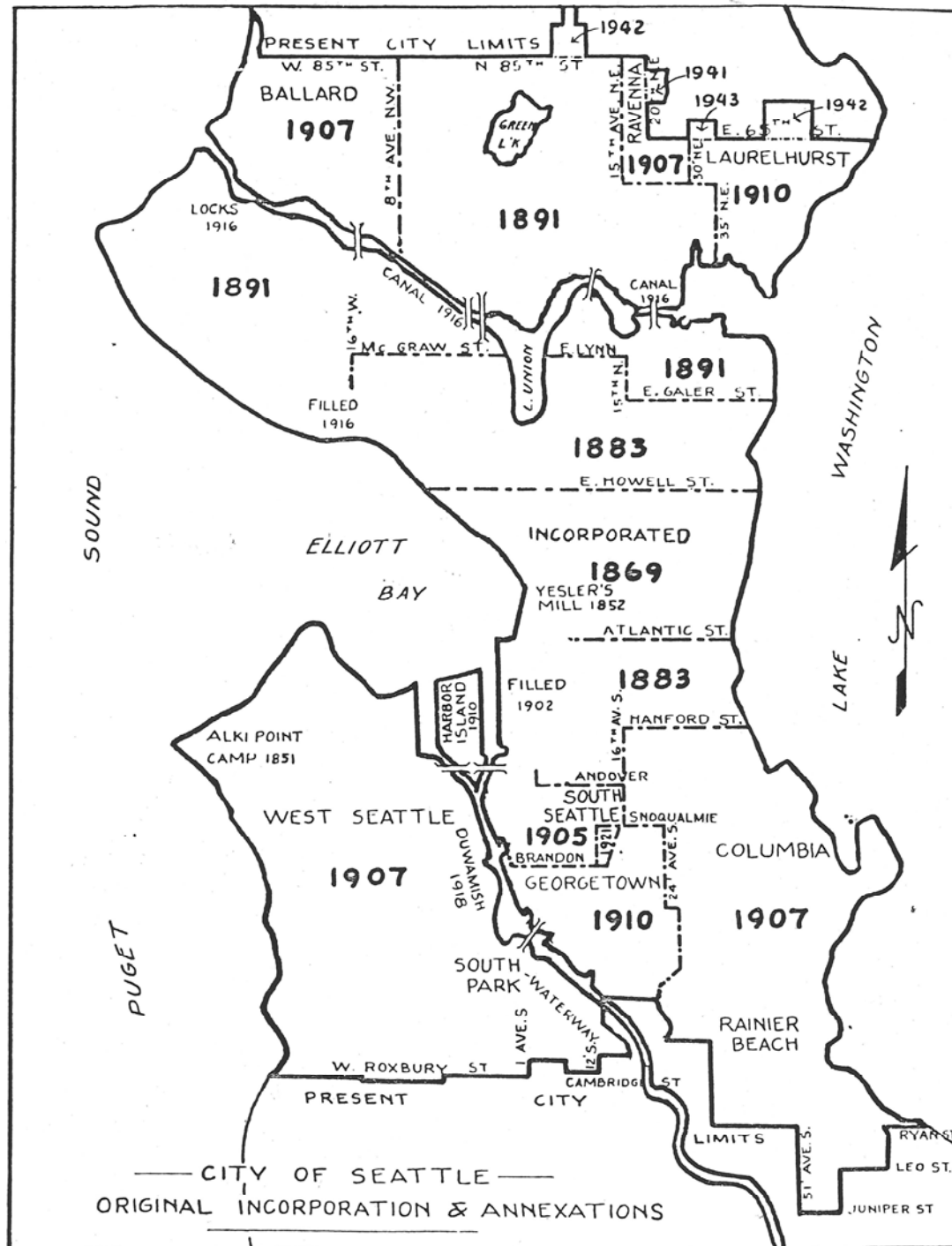


Figure 2) Map of Seattle showing annexations up to 1943. In 1953 and 1954, another series of annexations extended North Seattle to 145th Street, bringing the city to approximately its current boundaries. (Source: City of Seattle, Engineering Department; on annexations, see "Seattle Annexation Map," <http://clerk.seattle.gov/~public/annexations/>)

Number of Cattle in Selected Seattle Addresses 1900

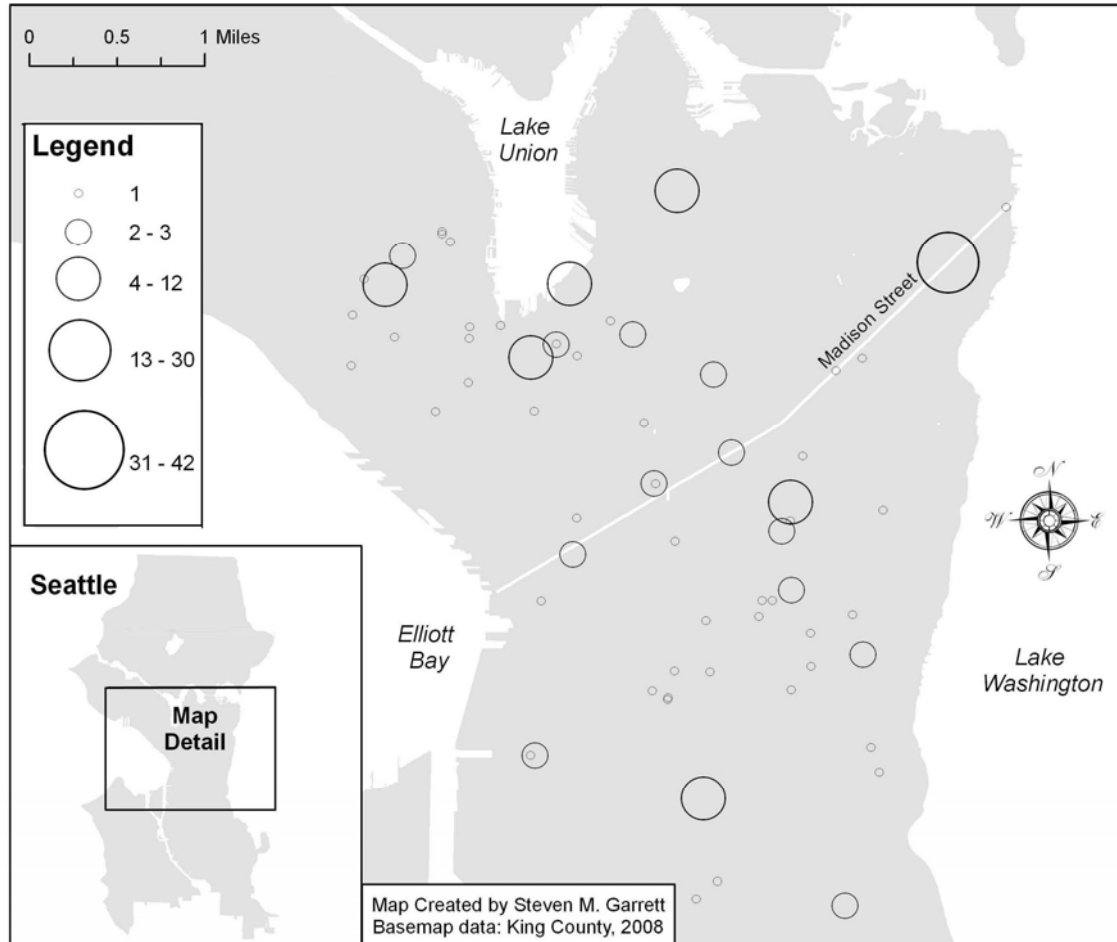


Figure 3) Map showing distribution of Seattle businesses and households owning cattle in selected neighborhoods in 1900. This image represents approximately one fifth of cattle-owning households in the neighborhoods depicted, based on a random sample of King County property rolls. Note that cattle (primarily cows) are concentrated in outlying neighborhoods and are often in businesses and households with very few cows, typically three or fewer. In all, this maps depicts 133 cattle; so the total number of cattle in the neighborhoods depicted would be five times that or roughly 665. This map excludes the northern neighborhoods of Ravenna, Latona, Fremont, and Green Lake, in which neighborhoods the property rolls do not include individual addresses. These neighborhoods had another 636 cattle, according to the property rolls. In all these property rolls suggest the entire city had 1,301 cattle. By contrast, a U.S. census survey that same year said the city had 2,105 cattle (1,484 of whom were dairy cows). This map also excludes neighborhoods that had not yet been annexed to Seattle: Ballard, West Seattle, Georgetown, and Columbia City. (Map created by Steven M. Garrett, modified by author)

Number of Horses in Selected Seattle Addresses 1900

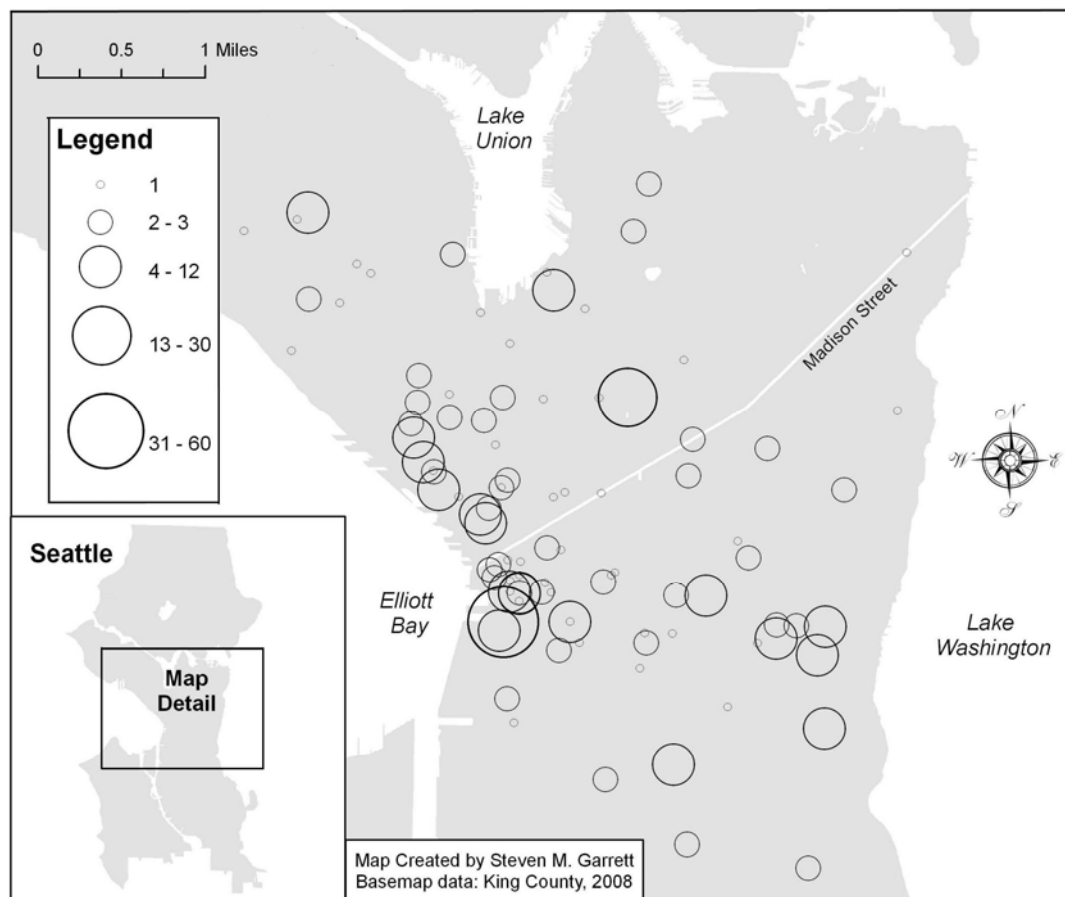


Figure 4) Map showing distribution of Seattle businesses and households owning horses in selected neighborhoods in 1900. This image represents approximately one fifth of horse-owning households and businesses, based on a random sample from King County property rolls from 1900. Note that horses, as opposed to cattle, are more concentrated near downtown and are typically at businesses and households that have many horses. In all, this map represent 373 horses, indicating that the neighborhoods depicted had a total about five times that number or roughly 1,865. This map excludes the northern neighborhoods of Ravenna, Latona, Fremont, Green Lake, and Ballard, where the property rolls do not provide individual addresses. These neighborhoods had another 239 horses. In all the property rolls suggest the entire city had 2,104 horses. By contrast, a U.S. census survey that same year said the city had 1,911 horses. The map also excludes neighborhoods that had not yet been annexed to Seattle: Ballard, West Seattle, Georgetown, and Columbia City. (Map created by Steven M. Garrett, modified by author)



Figure 4A) Fort Nisqually, 1843. The Hudson's Bay Company and its subsidiary the Puget Sound Agricultural Company were the first to bring cattle and sheep, as well as many other domestic animals, to the Puget Sound. While some stayed near the fort, as in this painting, cattle ranging far from the fort produced conflicts as Nisqually and other Salish people hunted them. These wandering cattle provided the most tangible evidence of British claims to enormous areas of Native land. (Image PDP02819 courtesy of Royal BC Museum, BC Archives) [This supplemental image was not part of the dissertation as submitted to the graduate school.]



Property of Museum of History & Industry, Seattle

Figure 5) Seattle, 1874. In Seattle's early decades, the town's residents allowed cattle to graze in the woods surrounding the town and worked to kill off the wild animals that threatened that grazing system. (Museum of History and Industry, 2002.3.483)



Property of Museum of History & Industry, Seattle

Figure 6) Oxen pulling logs on the Seattle waterfront, ca. 1885. Animal labor was crucial to logging, farming, and transportation in the nineteenth century and well into the twentieth. (Museum of History and Industry, 1983.10.6232)



University of Washington Libraries, Special Collections Division

Figure 7) "C. T. Conover and S. L. Crawford in horse and carriage on 5th Avenue between Cherry and Columbia Streets, ca. 1889." Only the wealthiest citizens could afford horses, which served not only as a means of transportation but as symbols of status. These horses appear to have bearing reins, meant to force the horses' heads up into a more elegant position -- a practice some humane activists denounced as cruel. (photograph by Frank La Roche, University of Washington Libraries, Special Collections, POR273)



Figure 8, above) Horses and men at work digging the Lincoln Reservoir, Seattle, 1899. Horses played a role in most construction projects until well into the twentieth century. They were crucial to building the modern infrastructure of the city. (courtesy: Seattle Municipal Archives Photographs, Item 7280)



Figure 9, left) Four boys and calf in pasture near 5021 50th Avenue South, Columbia City, Seattle, ca. 1910-1920. In the early twentieth century, cows were concentrated in outlying neighborhoods with enough open space to provide them grass to graze on. (Bearwood Collection, Rainier Valley Historical Society, on loan from Don Bearwood)

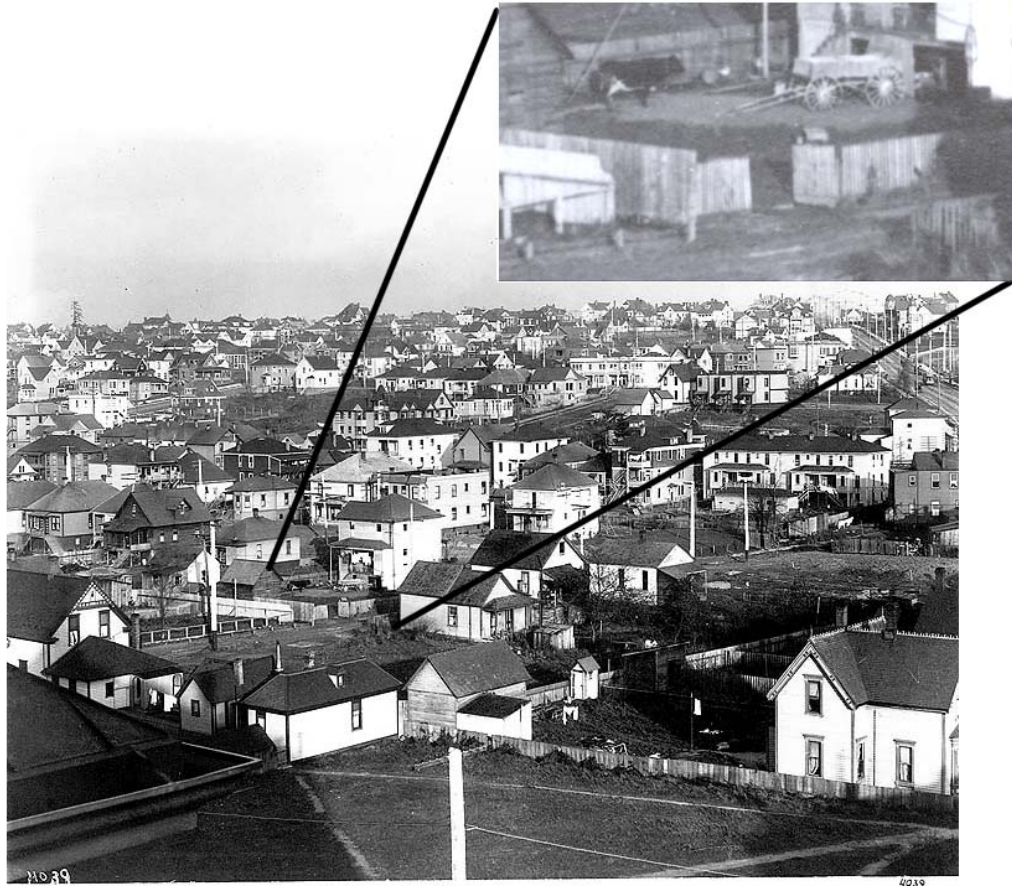


Figure 10) Cow in backyard, Capitol Hill neighborhood, Seattle, ca. 1905. Even in dense inner neighborhoods, some people kept cows in the early twentieth century. However, a 1907 law banning the herding of cows through city streets made this practice increasingly difficult. (photograph by Asahel Curtis, modified with inset by author, University of Washington Libraries, Special Collections, CUR283)



Figure 11) Phalen's Grocery Store, Columbia City, Seattle, 1908. The words at the bottom of the photograph read, "Some of the people horses and wagons that do the work at Phalen's Grocery." Note also the cat, named Growler, given a prominent place atop a box in the center of the photograph (enlarged in the upper-right inset in the version presented here). (Rainier Valley Historical Society, 93.001.066, photo modified with inset by author)



Property of Rainier Valley Historical Society, Seattle WA



Property of MSCUA, University of Washington Libraries. Photo Coll 273

Figure 12, above) Frank Pritchard with his dog after a successful hunt, Rainier Beach, Seattle, ca. 1910. Hunting and fishing were important sources of food to Natives and newcomers in the nineteenth century. Its importance declined through the twentieth century. (Rainier Valley Historical Society, 96.033.03)

Figure 13, left) A man and woman watching a kitten, at Warner residence on 18th Avenue South near Yesler, Seattle, ca. 1900. Although cats typically had working roles in the early twentieth century, people also enjoyed them for other reasons. (University of Washington Libraries, Special Collections, WAR0217)



Property of Museum of History & Industry, Seattle

Figure 14, left) Priscilla Grace Treat with her dog, ca. 1920. Some dogs, especially those kept by the middle and upper class, had no working role whatever in the early twentieth century. By the end of the century, this would become the dominant form of dog- and cat-keeping. (Museum of History and Industry, 1974.5923.46)

Figure 15, right) G.S. Dudley watches as his grandson Hawley pets a cat, Columbia City, 1905. (Rainier Valley Historical Society, 93.001.126)



Property of Rainier Valley Historical Society, Seattle WA



Property of Museum of History & Industry, Seattle

Figure 16) Children with dogs at Greenwood Boys Club dog show, Seattle, 1944. (Museum of History and Industry, 1986.5.8523.1)



Figure 17) Fredric and Sonny Matthieson with dog, likely South Seattle. As this photo seems to suggest, the working role of dogs in hunting and other activities and their role as companions often blended together. (Rainier Valley Historical Society, 95.77.34.a14)



Figure 18) "Elise Chandler feeding chickens on the Chandler farm," Rainier Valley, Seattle, 1908. The keeping of backyard chickens was an urban commonplace in the early twentieth century. Some citizens never abandoned the practice, although it was severely restricted from 1957 to 1982. (Rainier Valley Historical Society, 93.001.093)



Figure 19) Two-year-old Hearst Summers, feeding chickens, Rainier Valley, Seattle ca. 1910. Work with animals was integrated into the daily lives of many urban-dwellers, including very young children such as this little boy. (Rainier Valley Historical Society, 93.1.778)



Figure 20) Butchers dressed up for a parade day with display of meat behind them, Seattle. These are likely members of Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen Local 81 assembled for a Labor Day parade. (courtesy: UFCW Local 81)



Figure 21) Dan's Meats, Pike Place Market, Seattle, ca. 1950s. The animal origins of meat were abundantly clear before the decline of butcher shops and the rise of prepackaged meats. (courtesy: UFCW Local 81)



Figure 22) Associated Packing Company with cattle in foreground, ca. 1930-1940. This slaughterhouse was located about a mile south of Seattle. Other slaughterhouses were located in the industrial district south of downtown within the city itself. The city's last slaughterhouse closed in 1997. (Consolidated South District Commercial Club, *Seattle's South District: A Pictorial Study* [n.d.], p. 30)



Figure 23) Sow with piglets at Queen City Hog Farm, Maple Valley, Washington, 1954. The farm had 3,100 hogs who were fed with food waste (swill) from Seattle restaurants, hotels, and hospitals. (courtesy: Seattle Municipal Archives, Image number 44929; CF 223839, 1954)



Figure 24) Pigs at feeding troughs, Queen City Hog Farm, Maple Valley, 1954. Before the rise of factory farming, pigs had considerably more freedom of movement, although their ultimate fate was the same. (courtesy: Seattle Municipal Archives, Image number 44928; CF 223839, 1954)



Figure 25) Young male cougar captured in Discovery Park, Seattle, in September 2009, after spending several days in the park. He was returned to the wild with a radio collar linked to the cell-phone network to text his location to researchers. Keeping him wild and away from the city required more sophisticated technology than most of the worlds' humans carry. (magnoliavoice.com, September 6, 2009)

Chapter Four
Dogs and Cats:
From Servants to Children in the Twentieth-Century Home

Caesar, a large German Shepherd, lived in the Seward Park neighborhood of southern Seattle in the 1940s (see map in figure 1 for neighborhood locations). While he had a home with the Redfield family, his daily wanderings took him far beyond the confines of his humans' yard. In the dark of the evening, he regularly travelled unescorted the three blocks from the house to meet Mrs. Redfield and her daughter as they got off the bus and to accompany them down a treacherous trail back home. More than once, he journeyed to the thickly wooded Seward Park at night and discovered lost children whom he safely brought back to their parents, so his owners reported. He likely had many other haunts well known to his owners and others in the neighborhood, and many other habits that endeared him to his owners, who were sufficiently moved by his death to place a note in a Seattle pet magazine about his remarkable life.¹

Caesar was one of thousands of dogs that roamed city neighborhoods freely. What we might term a "dog commons" existed where dogs by the thousands wandered the streets, legally if they had a license.² This system was already under attack in the years that Caesar began patrolling Seward Park. In addition to the laudable activities that dogs engaged in, they urinated and defecated on lawns, dug up flowers and shrubs; they frightened and bit people; they chased cars and copulated in public view. While many celebrated dogs' role as they wandered neighborhoods; many others condemned it. Seattle continued to grow in the middle decades of the century – especially during World War II – from 365,583 inhabitants in 1930, to 368,302 in 1940, and to 467,591 in 1950. Like many large cities, it engaged in a

¹ *American Dog and Pet Magazine*, April 1941, 9.

² Donna Haraway refers to this space as a "commons" in *When Species Meet* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2007), 59, 128.

lengthy debate from the 1930s to the 1950s about how (or whether) to fit dogs into the changing city.

As the century progressed, more people came to associate loose dogs with the opposite of urban respectability. Dogs' attacks on the flowers, lawns, and gardens of middle-class homes led people to call for leash laws. But it was more than material depredations that bothered critics: loose dogs also stirred up cultural associations of backwardness and of Indigenous Seattle. Depending on what dog was where, urban dogs could take on very different meanings. The pampered pure-breed on its owner's lawn bespoke middle-class respectability. The independent mutt wandering far from home marked a neighborhood as rural and poor.

Paired with the trend toward greater control was a move toward greater affection for dogs and cats (see figures 12-17). Throughout the century, their numbers grew, as did humans' bond of affection for them.³ People went from seeing pets as loyal servants to seeing them as beloved children.⁴ Caesar's story fits into this trend, as much as it does into the narrative of declining dog freedom. Pet-owners were increasingly willing to record and commemorate the important part that animals played in their family lives, as illustrated when Caesar's family contacted a local magazine about their late beloved pup. Still, the shift did not affect all Seattleites equally. While the human-pet bond took on greater importance for city people broadly, white middle-class women were in the forefront of this transformation, as evidenced by their preponderance among the animal rescue groups that began to proliferate in the last third of the twentieth century.

³ Sources: "Dog and Cats Must Have New Tags by Jan. 15," *ST*, January 5, 1935; *American Dog and Pet Magazine*, June 1940, p. 7; "Health authorities advocate action to curb rabies spread," *ST*, May 13, 1951; Sam R. Sperry, "Changes in animal laws urged," *ST*, Sept. 30, 1971; 2006: Casey McNerthney, "Increased patrols look for pet license scofflaws," *SPI*, December 27, 2006; "Gregg Campaign on in all of its fury," *ST*, May 1, 1906, p. 5. On national population trends, see Jordan Curnutt, *Animals and the Law: A Sourcebook* (Santa Barbara, California: ABC CLIO, 2001), 115; Michael Schaffer, *One Nation Under Dog: Adventures in the New World of Prozac-Popping Puppies, Dog-Park Politics, and Organic Pet Food* (New York: Henry Holt, 2009), 33; Elizabeth A. Clancy and Andrew N. Rowan, "Companion Animal Demographies in the United States: A Historical Perspective," in *The State of Animals in 2003*, ed. D. J. Salem and A. N. Rowan. (Washington, D.C.: Humane Society Press, 2004), 9-26.

⁴ Schaffer, *One Nation Under Dog*, 222, 237.

While market forces increasingly restricted livestock to farms governed by the relatively simple rule of profit, a more complex set of forces focused on the home transformed the lives of cats and dogs. The changing social structure of the home, the spread of a middle-class ideal of kindness, and the embrace of a consumer mass culture all contributed to these transformations. All these changes would have been meaningless without the beauty, grace, playfulness, affection, and, above all tameness, that dogs and cats possess. If they always fled humans or attacked humans viciously, they would not be viewed as pets. Yet the nature of dogs and cats – a nature that humans and animals have co-created over thousands of years of domestication – does not require a specific relationship with them. Attitudes toward these animals are historically contingent. Through the twentieth century, the social makeup of the household – the set of human and nonhuman animals that inhabited it – changed dramatically. In the first two thirds of the century, livestock left the household, eliminating the most profound example of utilitarian relations with animals. In the final third of the century, fewer households had children. Both trends likely affected attitudes toward cats and dogs. Affection for pets was no longer tempered by any comparison with backyard chickens destined for slaughter. It became easier to see pets as children when fewer human children were around. Institutions such as humane societies promoted an ethic of kindness that gained increasing hold. Rising incomes made possible greater affection toward cats and dogs, but did not require it. However, entrepreneurs such as veterinarians, pet stores, pet food companies, and dog breeders all took advantage of this growing affection, while helping to promote it as well. Dogs and cats are social others: friends, companions, and servants. Yet these relationships are profoundly shaped and transformed by the social, economic, and cultural context of changing urban homes.

The fact that some paired increasing affection with increasing control may seem a paradox. Yet as Yi-Fu Tuan has argued, in pet-keeping dominance and affection are but two sides of the coin of human dominion.⁵ Benevolence toward and control over animals helped city people, especially the white middle class, draw lines between their neighborhoods and other neighborhoods, between themselves and other people. In this, species and place went

⁵ Yi-Fu Tuan, *Dominance and Affection: The Making of Pets* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1984).

together to mark respectability. As letters to the city council made clear, it was important to many Seattleites that their city not seem like the country and that it seem to be progressing toward a modern, better future. Dogs on the lawn – not cows on the lawn, not dogs in the streets – told some Seattleites that they were urban and modern.

Adults' Servants and Children's Playmates

In the early twentieth century, cats and dogs bridged human distinctions between pet and livestock. Seen as servants and friends, they were part of households, but also typically had working roles. While pigs', cattle's, and chicken's work (producing meat, milk, and eggs) could be easily exported to the country, the work of protecting property could not. It was both this working role and people's affection for cats and dogs that gave them a relatively secure urban home, even as livestock was eliminated. Cats protected food in houses, warehouses, and groceries by killing mice and rats. Dogs also commonly served to guard homes and businesses from theft.⁶ For instance, during a 1920 crime wave, some eighty people a day called the animal pound asking if any dogs were available, with bulldogs the most popular breed. Failing to find their desired breed, many people were willing to settle for "any kind of old dog that will bark when he's supposed to."⁷ Dogs worked with hunters, as well. At least 3,500 families owned bird dogs in the 1930s and waited anxiously for hunting season to begin so they could take their dogs to the fields – this in a city with some twenty thousand dogs in all.⁸ Dogs and cats were often beloved; yet they typically worked.

Dogs' reputation as a species – that they were "man's best friend" – assured their urban role, as much as individual connections with humans. When Seattleites began debating leash laws in the 1930s, many argued that dogs as a group had earned their freedom (not to be leashed) through service. One woman noted that dogs "did valiant service in the

⁶ Letter from Mrs. Glenn Armstrong, filed March 9, 1936, CF 150033, SMA; letter from Norman M. Littell, dated March 16, 1936, CF 150202, SMA. The following abbreviations are used in this chapter: CF for Comptroller's File; SMA for Seattle Municipal Archives; *SPI* for *Seattle Post-Intelligencer*; and *ST* for *Seattle Times*.

⁷ "Every Seattle Dog Has His Day," *ST*, January 7, 1920.

⁸ "Bird Dogs Must be Inoculated," *ST*, September 28, 1932.

war [World War I], and have served the human race back as far as history extends.”⁹ The owner of a Irish terrier named “Pat” commented that “a dog is the best friend of mankind, gaurd [sic] and protector, would give his life serving his master.”¹⁰ One woman argued that dogs had earned their freedom as a “faithful animal who thru the ages has stood by the human race in peace and war.”¹¹ Even in letters that made little mention of any real work, a discourse of service bolstered opinions of dogs.

Cats too were prized for their work. One woman ventured the opinion in the 1930s that “[d]ogs are chiefly kept as pets, while cats besides as pets, are mainly kept to kill or keep away mice and rats.”¹² Indeed, social critic Thorstein Veblen had argued that to the upper class in the late nineteenth century, “The cat is less reputable than [dogs and fast horses], because she is less wasteful; she may even serve a useful end.”¹³ The transformation of cats’ urban role has been even more dramatic than that of dogs. Since they first associated themselves with humans some four thousand years ago, they have lived so independently that some argue they were not truly domesticated until the last century and a half – the time when humans finally began to control their breeding. Cats appeared only rarely in early stories of the town. Many of them likely went about their work, while living semi-feral in sheds and barns. Other cats found warmer places to sleep in kitchens and children’s beds, although many people still found it unsanitary for cats to spend much time within houses. They worried that cats in beds would suffocate sleepers, especially children. Gradually, however, people began to see it as abnormal that cats wander the city, as self-reliant hunters and scavengers. Writing in 1926, one woman bemoaned cats deserted by their owners as “poor waifs slinking around in dismal places, eking out a miserable living” – a novel and negative view of the very self-reliant role as mousers that cats had long filled in the city.¹⁴ Largely ignored in the nineteenth century, cats came to rival (if not match) dogs in humans’ affection

⁹ Letter from Josephine Commer and others, filed 1936, CF 152105, SMA.

¹⁰ Letter filed January 20, 1936, CF 149486, SMA.

¹¹ Letter filed December 9, 1935, CF 148957, SMA.

¹² Letter dated October 27, 1935, CF 148564; letter dated June 15, 1939, CF 162903; letter dated April 16, 1942, CF 173684; letter filed April 1, 1945, CF 188455; letter filed November 12, 1946, CF 194218, SMA.

¹³ Thorstein Veblen, *The Theory of the Leisure Class* (New York: Penguin Books, 1994), 140 (originally published 1899).

¹⁴ “Cruelty to Cats” [letter from Mary Lee], *ST*, March 11, 1926.

in the twentieth century.¹⁵

While adults typically saw dogs and cats as servants a century ago, they could also be viewed as children. That unusual status, however, might require some justification, as in the story of one older man. “George Richardson,” the *Seattle Times* reported in 1906, “who is past 70 years old, and had a dog upon which he lavished affection, is inconsolable over the loss of his pet by poison. The dog has been his companion for years and as he had no children upon whom to center his love he gave it all to his dumb friend.”¹⁶ The writer did not criticize the man for loving his dog like a child. But the explanation made clear the dog was a second-rate substitute.

Alongside adults’ view of cats and dogs as loyal servants was children’s view of them as playmates, prized for their quirky personalities. Marie Walker wrote the *Post-Intelligencer*’s children’s club to tell of her cat who was seen licking its paw in order to wash Marie’s face as she slept.¹⁷ Paul Alexander wrote in about his “funny cat” that sat in the window sill to watch him eat and stuck its tongue out at him, whenever he looked at it.¹⁸ In Seattle, when the city council debated dogs in public space, petitioners referred repeatedly to the special connection between children and pets. People wondered how children could play with their dogs, if they had to lead them through the neighborhood on leashes. Most proponents of dog freedom seemed to accept the complaint of one petitioner’s children: “Mother we cant have any fun if we have to lead our dog around” on a leash.¹⁹ Not only had dogs earned their freedom, it was essential for children’s play.

By the 1930s, some even viewed dogs as a required part of childhood. Having a dog was “the heritage of all normal youngsters,” one journalist wrote in 1936.²⁰ A local dog magazine argued that “[e]very normal family at some time has given thought to buying a

¹⁵ Katherine C. Grier, *Pets in America: A History* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2006), 37. Surveys of pet owners continue to show that humans generally report a stronger emotional bond to their dogs than they do to their cats (Penny L. Bernstein, “The Human-Cat Relationship,” in *The Welfare of Cats*, ed. I. Rochlitz [Dordrecht, The Netherlands: Springer, 2005], 57-59).

¹⁶ “Humane Society is After Dog Poisoner,” *ST*, September 23, 1906.

¹⁷ *Seattle Post-Intelligencer Magazine*, November 4, 1917, 6.

¹⁸ *Seattle Post-Intelligencer Magazine*, May 18, 1918, 7.

¹⁹ Letter from Gladys Hourigan, January 19, 1936, CF 149002, SMA; see also letter from Hanna Roüvik(?) Gaerisch, December 1, 1935, CF 148957; letter from Gladys Hourigan, January 19, 1936, CF 149002.

²⁰ “Putting Docs [sic] on the Spot,” *Journal of Commerce*, February 18, 1936.

puppy.”²¹ Countering the argument that poor people who owned dogs had skewed priorities, one woman asserted that they were “just real folks,” demonstrated by the fact that they “love their children and the children love their pets.”²² Although not everybody loved dogs, many felt that “normal” youngsters in families of “real folks” ought to have a dog.

Animals were not only a source of joy to children, but of moral growth, a fact that women were especially likely to point out. This viewpoint dated back to the “domestic ethic of kindness,” elaborated in middle-class homes in the nineteenth century. Yet the moral lesson of kindness may have taken on even greater importance as livestock was eliminated from middle-class homes through the early twentieth century and children were no longer expected to slaughter some of the animals they took care of. As one woman wrote, children “learn unselfishness and thoughtfulness from their care.”²³ Another woman testified, “My own child is gradually, through the possession of a dog of his own, overcoming a decided strain of cruelty in his nature, and this one thing alone is repeated in thousands of families.”²⁴ Pets were a vital part of children’s moral education, many argued. One petitioner even made the startling claim that “no youngster that ever had a pet in his boyhood ever committed a murder.”²⁵ For the home to achieve its goals of helping children become responsible adults, pets were crucial.

The roles of adults’ servant and children’s pet were not neatly separated, but bridged by many individual dogs. As newspaper ads revealed, the work of watch-dog could easily blend with the role as children’s pet. “Pedigreed English bull terrier puppies ... watchdog, bird dog, good, kind; companion for children and will protect them,” read one ad.²⁶ “Police Dog puppies. The most intelligent and faithful companion, excellent as watchdog and ideal as pet for children,” proclaimed another.²⁷ Cats’ working role was so important that mouser was virtually a synonym for cat in the early twentieth century. Yet this did not keep children from lavishing affection on the working animal who shared their homes and yards. People

²¹ *American Dog and Pet Magazine*, May 1940, inside cover.

²² Letter from Mrs. W. J. Byrne, December 31, 1936, CF 153613, SMA.

²³ Letter from Mrs. Oakley, January 15, 1936, CF 149487.

²⁴ Letter from N. C. Travis, January 6, 1935, CF 149315.

²⁵ Letter filed November 21, 1946, CF 194218, SMA.

²⁶ *ST*, November 15, 1920, 21.

loved their cats and dogs in the early twentieth century; yet they also had work for them to do.

Consumers, Symbols, and Friends

The men who worked collecting stray dogs and cats in the early twentieth century often did not endear themselves to the citizens they served. It was their job to bring in dogs that did not have a metal tag indicating their owner had bought a license – \$1.00 for males, \$2.50 for females. In 1906, for example, Seattle had some five thousand dogs, of which only 1,300 were licensed; so the dog-catchers had plenty to do. The poundmaster and his workforce operated within the police department doing a job that was often dangerous and unpleasant, a fact which explains why the white-dominated city government had accorded these jobs primarily to African Americans. Poundmaster Henry Gregg hitched up his bright red horse-drawn wagon, with separate compartments for large dogs and small dogs, “steel[ed] his heart against the tearful pleas of women and children and trot[tet] off unlicensed dogs to the pound.” Once these animals arrived at the pound, most of them were euthanized. In 1913, for instance, some three thousand dogs were killed at the pound. Gregg may have loved cats and dogs as much as anyone. But the image of his work that emerged in press articles focused more on control than concern.²⁸ In the years to come, humane reformers turned their attention to the way the pound was run.

In the 1920s, three trends showed that cats and dogs were becoming the preeminent urban animals. First, they were increasingly commodities, as well as reasons for consumerism. Second, white middle-class neighborhoods began to ban all livestock, including chickens, and to define pets as the only permissible domestic animals. Third, the animal pound came under the management of the Humane Society – part of a gradual transformation of the pound from a police authority focused on livestock to a humanitarian authority focused on pets. These economic, social, and attitudinal shifts all worked together

²⁷ *ST*, May 1, 1921, 36; see also *ST*, March 2, 1921, 65; *ST*, May 4, 1925, 24; *ST*, November 14, 1925.

²⁸ “Gregg Promises a Whirlwind Campaign,” *ST*, April 24, 1907; “Gregg Campaign on in All its Fury,” *ST*, May 1, 1906; “Dog Catcher in Hard Luck,” *ST*, May 2, 1907; City of Seattle, “Report of the Department of Health and Sanitation,” 1914. See also “The Dog Catcher’s Victims,” *SPI*, August 20, 1899.

to transform the lives of cats and dogs. The presence of pets and the absence of livestock were particularly important to the white middle class's sense of who they were, as evidenced by their prominent role in fostering all three of these trends.

Ironically, as people went from seeing dogs and cats as servants to seeing them as children, these animals also become increasingly commodified. In a certain sense, dogs were livestock to breeders and pet-store owners; but they became pets the moment they were purchased.²⁹ Businesses and newspapers, in fact, called them "pet stock," perfectly capturing their in-between status. People have always acquired many dogs and most cats outside the formal marketplace: casually from neighbors in the early twentieth century, increasingly from animal shelters and rescue groups in the late twentieth century. Yet a market in dogs (and to some extent cats) came into its own in the 1910s and 1920s. By the mid-1910s, the *Seattle Times* had a separate classified section devoted to "pet stock," primarily dogs, but also cats, canaries, and rabbits. This section of classified ads was still dwarfed by the section for "poultry" and for "livestock" (mostly horses and cows, but also pigs and goats). But by the mid-1920s, the classified section indicates that a robust trade in dogs had developed, at least among the middle class that could afford purebred animals. The issue of the *Seattle Times* for September 20, 1925, lists seventeen ads for poultry, twenty-three for livestock, and sixty-nine for pet stock. Almost all the pets advertised were dogs, with only seven ads for cats (two offering them for free) and five for birds. People offered dogs for sale and for stud service from a wide range of breeds, almost all of them well adapted to hunting or guarding: German police dog, Russian wolf hound, pointer, water spaniel, cocker spaniel, Springer spaniel, Airedale, English setter, Llewellyn setter, Chesapeake Bay, spitz, English bulldog, French bulldog, fox terrier, Boston terrier, Irish terrier, Dobermann pinscher, pit bull, collie, bear hound, "bird dog," Pomeranian, and Chihuahua.³⁰ This small-scale cottage industry in breeding animals resulted from a growing

²⁹ Grier, *Pets in America*, 234.

³⁰ "Pet Stock," *ST*, September 20, 1925.

desire for purebred dogs and the growing presence of those dogs, no doubt, contributed in turn to the desire for these animals.³¹

Increasingly beloved as more than property by their owners, dogs and cats were no longer seen as less than property in the eyes of the laws. Dogs had their defenders in earlier centuries, even though many saw them as less valuable than livestock. An English commentator of the sixteenth century (when cattle was a synonym for livestock) pleaded for instance: “The Dogge (though the Lawyer alloweth him not in the number of cattel) and though he yeeldes of himselfe no profite, yet is he...to be esteemed.”³² Still it was only after the 1920s, as pet numbers and human affection for them grew, that U.S. courts began to consider dogs as personal property, just like other domestic animals.³³

Pets participated in the mass consumer culture that transformed the home and the city more broadly in the twentieth century. Increasingly commodities, they became, along with other inhabitants of middle-class homes, consumers as well. As historian Catherine Grier has described, pet stores did a lively trade in birds, fish, reptiles, and various small mammals in the early twentieth century.³⁴ The names of Seattle’s pet shops at mid-century give some idea of the diversity of creatures kept as pets: Barnier’s Pet Shop, the Bird House, Canine Beauty Shop & Pet Supply, Clough’s Certified Aviaries, Dillaway’s Aquarium & Pet Shop, Gooch’s Petland, Harwich’s Dr Pet Service, Jack’s Aquuary & Hobby Shop, Katnip Tree Co, and Orpheum Pet Shop.³⁵ The list, however, likely overemphasizes the importance of birds and fish, since the popular species of these animals had to be acquired from pet stores, while many could acquire kittens or puppies from neighbors. As children’s letters to the *Seattle Post-Intelligencer*’s Wide Awake Club reveal, other animals rarely rivaled cats and dogs in pet-owners’ affections – the animals that are the focus of this discussion.

As cats’ and dogs’ role changed, their numbers increased as well. Licensing numbers offer little clue to population, since they fluctuate wildly depending on how carefully the city

³¹ Grier, *Pets in America*, 233, 238; CF 150582, filed April 17, 1936; CF 156350, filed August 25, 1937; CF 162636, filed May 19, 1939; CF 37439, filed July 26, 1909.

³² B. Googe, Heresbach’s Husb. (1586), quoted in OED entry for “cattle.”

³³ Curnutt, *Animals and the Law*, 114-15.

³⁴ Grier, *Pets in America*, 231-71.

³⁵ Polk’s City Directory, 1951.

enforces these laws. Estimates of dog populations are perhaps no better. They do, however, fit the trend scholars have noted nationally: increasing pet populations throughout the century. Based on various estimates from Seattle city officials, the number of dogs in the city increased much more rapidly than the human population: from 5,000 dogs in 1906 to 20,000 in 1935 to 50,000 in 1951 to 125,000 in 2001. These numbers represent a steadily declining ratio of humans per dog: from 34 in 1906 to 18 in 1935 to 9 in 1951 and to 4.5 in 2001.³⁶ Fewer officials ventured to estimate the number of cats. But the number of cats, especially tame cats in households, likely increased as well.

These new relations with cats and dogs transformed the entire city, but especially white middle-class neighborhoods. As Seattle grew rapidly in the early years of the twentieth century, it became more segregated along lines of class and race. The city's total human population increased from 81,000 in 1900 to 238,000 in 1910 to 366,000 in 1930. As new middle-class neighborhoods were built in the 1920s, a new form of segregation emerged: restrictive covenants. These new neighborhoods had been developed on explicitly racist lines with restrictive covenants excluding Asians and African Americans. White real-estate developers added a class-based set of exclusions to these racist covenants by outlawing livestock in these neighborhoods as well, and therefore poor whites who might own them as an economic strategy. These legal instruments expressed and reinforced a vision of white middle-class respectability defined, in part, by the absence of livestock and the presence of pets.

Throughout the city, real-estate developers placed racial restrictions and class-based animal restrictions side by side in restrictive covenants. A deed for Lakeridge from 1931 stated in its second clause that "no poultry and no animals other than household pets [...] shall be kept," while the third clause stated the property could never be conveyed "to any

³⁶ "Dog and Cats Must Have New Tags by Jan. 15," *ST*, Jan. 5, 1935 (SPL Clipping file A75); *American Dog and Pet Magazine*, June 1940, p. 7; "Health authorities advocate action to curb rabies spread," *ST*, May 13, 1951; Sam R. Sperry, "Changes in animal laws urged," *ST*, September 30, 1971; Casey McNerthney, "Increased patrols look for pet license scofflaws," *SPI*, December 27, 2006; "Gregg Campaign on in all of its fury," *ST*, May 1, 1906, p. 5. On national population trends, see *Animals and the Law*, 115; Schaffer, *One Nation Under Dog*, 33; Elizabeth A. Clancy and Andrew N. Rowan, "Companion Animal Demographies in the United States: A Historical Perspective," in *The State of Animals in 2003*, ed. D. J. Salem and A. N. Rowan. (Washington, D.C.: Humane Society Press, 2004), 9-26.

person not of the White race,” nor could non-whites live there “except a domestic servant actually employed by a White occupant of such building.”³⁷ A deed from Beacon Hill in 1927 specified in its fifth clause that “No swine shall be kept on said premises,” while the sixth clause forbade sale of the property to “any person other than of the Caucasian race.”³⁸ A deed for a house in Magnolia stated in its third clause there should be “no chickens or other fowls, or animals, except individual household pets,” while its subsequent clause barred “persons of Asiatic, African or Negro blood,” except domestic servants.³⁹ A property on Interbay called for “no cows, hogs, goats or similar live stock ... and no fowl on a commercial basis,” while the preceding clause barred sale to “any person other than one of the White or Caucasian race.”⁴⁰

Similar restrictions soon shaped national policies. In 1938, the Federal Housing Administration (FHA) underwriting guidelines warned against providing loans in neighborhoods lacking restrictive covenants with a “prohibition of occupancy of properties except by the race for which they are intended” and a “prohibition of nuisances or undesirable buildings such as stables, pig pens, temporary dwellings, and high fences.” The 1955 guidelines were similar, although the language about race had become more coded, and the list of inappropriate animals extended to include chickens and dog-breeding operations. They warned about loans in neighborhoods where “the areas adjacent to the immediate neighborhood are occupied by a user group dissimilar to the typical occupants of the subject neighborhood,” as well as neighborhoods with “offensive noises, odors and unsightly neighborhood features such as stables, pigsties, chicken yards, and kennels.”⁴¹ By the 1950s, even chickens were seen as a threat to property values.

Both restrictive covenants and FHA guidelines defined the exclusions that marked progress and respectability for many white middle-class Americans. These exclusions

³⁷ Deed dated March 4, 1931, Record of Deeds, King County Courthouse.

³⁸ Deed dated November 18, 1927, Record of Deeds, King County Courthouse.

³⁹ Deed dated July 18, 1931, Record of Deeds, King County Courthouse.

⁴⁰ Deed dated September 30, 1931, Record of Deeds, King County Courthouse.

⁴¹ Federal Housing Administration, *Underwriting Manual: Underwriting and Valuation Procedure Under Title II of the National Housing Act* (Washington, D.C.: Superintendent of Documents, 1938), sections 935, 980(3),

included the well-known racial exclusions that precluded people of color from owning homes in these neighborhoods. But considerations of class shaped these neighborhoods as well. Anti-livestock clauses precluded working-class and middle-income people – whether white or non-white – who chose to raise animals for food. In other words, class was a matter of culture, as well as income and race. Housing prices would likely have prevented the poor from living in many of these neighborhoods; but the livestock rules excluded those with moderate wealth who chose to keep productive livestock at home.

Home-owners feared the crowing roosters or clucking hens would disturb their comfort and lower property values in a way that barking dogs did not. Given prevailing attitudes, they likely did. The covenants did not exclude animals based on their size, or purely based on species: they often did not specify all the species that were excluded and those that were permitted. Rather, they created exclusions based on the type of relationship with animals – “household pets” were acceptable, while “live stock” was excluded. One of the most common phrasings named only one species: “No chicken, or other fowls, or animals, except individual household pets” were allowed.⁴² A personal, “individual” relationship with dogs, cats, and birds fit into the modern, middle-class city – a connection based on companionship and love – while dependence on livestock for food or income did not.

By blending messages of humanitarianism, efficiency, and control, the Humane Society succeeded in gaining control of the animal pound in the 1920s. While much about the human-animal borderlands is contentious (do animals have souls? do they reason? are they conscious?), the strongest argument of humane advocates, dating back to Jeremy Bentham in the eighteenth century, has been that at the very least animals, like humans, do suffer.⁴³ Increasingly, animal advocates, especially women, invoked this argument. As

and 1380(2); Federal Housing Administration, *Underwriting Manual: Underwriting Analysis under Title II, Section 203* (Washington, D.C: Federal Housing Administration, 1955), sections 1316(7) and 1320(2).

⁴² Deed dated Oct. 20, 1928, Record of Deeds, King County Courthouse.

⁴³ James Serpell, *In the Company of Animals: A Study of Human-Animal Relationships* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1986), 160-62; Keith Thomas, *Man and the Natural World: A History of the Modern Sensibility* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1983), 176.

early as 1902, the Humane Society had lobbied to take over the animal pounds.⁴⁴ The society made clear that it viewed cats and dogs as the most important urban animals – an assessment that did not comport at all with the experience of residents of outlying neighborhoods, who were more concerned about loose livestock. As early as 1912, citizens filed a petition with over two hundred signatures favoring Humane Society control. It called for “placing the control of dumb animals where it belongs, with an institution founded on humanitarian principles,” rather than with the Police Department.⁴⁵ As animal advocates often did, they were careful to refer to animals as “dumb”: that is, lacking speech. Since animals were voiceless, it was reformers’ duty to speak for them.

Although participants did not evoke race, gender, and class specifically in debates over the pound, these identities all played some role in the transfer. The transfer would be from a public agency dedicated to law enforcement to a private organization dedicated to reducing animal suffering. It also placed the dog pound, most of whose employees were African American men, under an organization where white women had some of the most active roles. The transfer was part of a growing feminization of voices calling for kindness toward animals.⁴⁶ Although Humane Society advocates apparently made no mention of race in their campaign, the public image of African American dog-catchers in press coverage as unsympathetic to animals’ plight suggests that racial attitudes, as well, may have played a role in the transfer.⁴⁷ Like the Humane Society itself, those 1912 petitioners had a decidedly middle- and upper-class bent. Physicians, department store owners, jewelers, real-estate men, music teachers, officer workers and the like predominated, with only a few workers voicing their support.⁴⁸

The move to place the pound under Humane Society management fit within broader progressive aspirations for greater efficiency and the reform of other institutions like the

⁴⁴ “A Humane Movement,” *ST*, March 17, 1902; “Humane Society Report,” *ST*, April 8, 1902; “Special Meeting Tonight,” *ST*, May 24, 1904.

⁴⁵ Petition filed August 15, 1912, CF 48891; letter filed August 7, 1912, CF 48761, SMA.

⁴⁶ A list of life-time members of the Humane Society in 1925 revealed 16 women, 6 men and one organization. “New Shelter for Animals Assured,” *ST*, February 3, 1925.

⁴⁷ “Gregg Campaign on in All its Fury,” *ST*, May 1, 1906; “Open Season Here for H. Gregg,” *ST*, March 31, 1909; “War to Begin on Unlicensed Dogs,” *ST*, April 24, 1907.

⁴⁸ Dog Petition Database, in author’s possession, see Appendix A.

workplace and prisons. The Humane Society argued it would operate the pound at a savings to the city and in a more humane manner that would reduce animal suffering and disease. In this, the city was following the example of other major cities such as Spokane, Portland, San Francisco, Los Angeles, St. Louis, Boston, Philadelphia, and New York.⁴⁹ Of the pound then run by the Police Department, reformers said, “It is a place worthy of the dark ages and is allowed to exist only because the unfortunates there cannot tell their woes.” The society saw the pound as especially dangerous for its role in spreading rabies and other diseases. Small animals, it said, “are piled in there to fight and bite and spread any disease that may be among them.”⁵⁰ Humane Society experts, by contrast, would take a “reasonable, sensible and scientific” approach to the disease. Finally, and perhaps most importantly, the society hoped to reduce the suffering of animals. It proposed, for instance, a more humane manner of killing cats. The Police Department resorted to “‘soussing’ them in a tank of cold water,” despite having “a gas box in which to quickly and humanely put to death the cats.”⁵¹ The society suggested that electrocution would be an even more humane method. To city people intimately familiar with the process of slaughtering chickens and other livestock, the fact that the city killed thousands of cats and dogs a year apparently was not shocking, only the fact that it might be done in an inhumane manner.

Kindness did not preclude killing. If anything, the Humane Society promised to kill more animals, thereby “freeing the city of surplus dogs and cats.”⁵² As the pound turned its attention from work animals to beloved animals, in fact, its activities became even more focused on euthanasia. Killing unwanted cats and dogs had once taken place at home. When a distressed child wrote the *Seattle Times* in 1902 about her sadness at seeing a starving kitten on the way to school, the editors commented that “a friendly application of chloroform by some one in the neighborhood” would be the appropriate response to starving kittens or crippled dogs found on the street.⁵³ Humane literature promoted this practice as

⁴⁹ Letter from Charles M. Farrer, September 30 1919, CF 74892; letter dated September 7, 1921, CF 82560; “Humane Society to Run Pound?,” *ST*, March 5, 1922.

⁵⁰ Letter from Charles M. Farrer, October 20, 1913, CF 53929, SMA.

⁵¹ Letter from Mayor Hiram Gill, April 3, 1916, CF 63867, SMA.

⁵² Letter from King County Humane Society, September 30, 1919, CF 74892, SMA.

⁵³ “A Sleeping Potion,” *ST*, May 23, 1902.

well. In her book *Pussy-Meow* (modeled after *Black Beauty*), S. Louise Patteson encouraged owners to chloroform all but one or two kittens when a cat gave birth. In the book, the cat-narrator awakes from a nap to find three of her five kittens missing, but quickly adjusts: “knowing that whatever [the mistress] does is for the best, I gave myself over wholly to those that remained with me.”⁵⁴ The practice was, however, far from universal and many simply turned unwanted animals out on the streets. Increasingly, however, this killing happened at the animal pound. Valuable cows and horses brought to the pound were quickly redeemed or sold. But the pound killed hundreds of dogs and cats a year in the late nineteenth century and thousands a year in the first decades of the twentieth century.⁵⁵

These concerns about cats and dogs were far from the minds of Seattleites who lived in the outskirts, who were more concerned about loose cattle and horses. Indeed, what people thought of pound reform proposals depended in part on where they lived. In its proposals, the Humane Society envisioned taking over the dog pound and seemed not to consider what would happen to the cattle pound – both of which facilities the poundmaster managed.⁵⁶ By the late 1910s, cattle had been banned from roaming the city and cars had begun to outnumber horses on urban streets. Yet in outlying districts, loose cattle and horses still roamed, as they would for a decade or more. The cattle pound apprehended 119 cattle and 79 horses in 1920. By 1931, impounds had declined to twenty-one horses and seven cattle.⁵⁷ Despite this significant problem, residents complained that the society did

⁵⁴ S. Louise Patteson, *Pussy Meow: The Autobiography of a Cat* (Philadelphia: George W. Jacobs & Co., 1901), 29, 206; Grier, *Pets in America*, 81.

⁵⁵ Figures for scattered years indicate that 411 dogs were killed in 1896, 2,926 dogs were killed in 1913, and 3,448 dogs were killed in 1914. Documents do not refer to euthanizing cats until the 1920s. In the first six months of 1928, 2,010 dogs and 3,494 cats were killed. In 1934, 6,547 (96%) of the 8,716 cats brought to the pound were killed. By contrast, only 4,390 (56%) of the 7,784 dogs impounded were killed by pound workers. The remainder were redeemed by their owners, or sold to someone else. (Police Department Annual Report, 1896, SMA; City of Seattle, “Report of the Department of Health and Sanitation,” 1914; document filed August 13, 1928, CF 117670; document filed October 20, 1935, CF 148564, SMA.

⁵⁶ “Humane Society Offers to Manage Dog Pound,” *ST*, September 4, 1921; “Rap Purchasing Agent,” *ST*, September 8, 1921; document filed October 6, 1919, CF 74892, SMA.

⁵⁷ Police Department Annual Report, 1920, 1931, record series 1802-H8, SMA. The last reference to impounding cattle and horses in Seattle is in the 1937 Police Department report (4 cattle and no horses impounded; dealt with complaints about 22 loose cattle and 23 loose horses).

not “give any assurance they will properly handle” the “cattle part of the pound.”⁵⁸ It was primarily middle-class residents of these outlying neighborhoods, especially South Park and Laurelhurst, that wrote in to demand the “police” approach to animal control continue, people who worked as real-estate men, clerks, contractors, golf instructors, salesmen, business owners, business executives, and the like.⁵⁹ They lived, for example, in Laurelhurst in northeast Seattle, where new middle-class homes were being built starting in the early 1900s. Dozens of residents of that neighborhood signed a petition in 1921 demanding no change in pound management “relative to horses and cattle.”⁶⁰

These petitioners suspected that a “humane” approach to the pounds would de-emphasize control and make them subject to the manure, damage to lawns and shrubbery, and village-like appearance of livestock on their streets. With references to “protection” and “police” authority, these petitioners demonstrated that control trumped kindness in their vision of how humans should relate to urban animals. For these petitioners, city herders were an important urban amenity, a service they should be able to call on “day and night.” Faced with these complaints, the Humane Society finally specified that it would deal with loose cattle and horses as well. It did not make clear whether their approach to cattle (as opposed to dogs) would be more humane than the Police Department’s approach.⁶¹

Most city-dwellers lived in the denser inner neighborhoods where loose livestock was not a problem – a fact that became important when the issue came to public vote. For them, the focus on cats and dogs was appealing. And in case the promise of better treatment of cats and dogs was not enough, the Society repeatedly emphasized that its management would be more efficient and economical than the existing arrangements. On May 2, 1922, sixty percent of city voters approved the proposition that the Humane Society should manage the city’s animal pounds.⁶² The success of the initiative and the transfer of the pound to the Humane Society marked the growing focus on sentimental relations with

⁵⁸ Letter dated June 6, 1923, CF 82451, SMA.

⁵⁹ Letters filed September 19, 1921, CF 82451, Polk’s City Directories 1921-1923.

⁶⁰ Junius Rochester, “Laurelhurst,” historylink.org [accessed October 2008]; petition filed September 19, 1921 CF 82451, SMA.

⁶¹ Letters filed September 19, 1921, CF 82451, SMA; “Humane Society,” *ST*, March 14, 1922; letter dated May 28, 1923, CF 89749; letter dated June 22, 1923, CF 90210, SMA.

animals.⁶³ According to Humane Society accounts, it also reduced the suffering of the creatures who ended up at the pound. The Humane Society brought a focus on “clean kennels, good food and a well trained personnel.”⁶⁴ Restrictive covenants in white middle-class neighborhoods made clear that only pets fit into the middle-class home. The initiative granting the Humane Society control of the city pounds indicated that kindness toward animals had become a widely shared cultural value. However, city dwellers were far from agreed on whether kindness meant giving dogs the freedom of the city or whether dog and cat owners could better protect their animal companions and better protect their neighbors’ property by keeping pets close to home.

Dogs on the Lawn: Closing the Dog Commons

Dr. L. L. McCoy had little patience for the pets that wandered the Montlake neighborhood in the 1950s. “Many dogs and cats are house and garden broke at home but have little inhibition when allowed to roam at will,” he complained. Seattle had recently been designated the “City of Flowers,” he noted sarcastically, but might better be called the “City of Pets.” He found the suggestion that gardens should be fenced against animals especially offensive. “Visitors and home folks seldom drive around to see pets, but they do enjoy our lovely gardens, parks, and drives, and if each of them had to be fenced in for protection ... the city would take on the appearance of the Chicago Stockyards.” Dogs especially should not chose where to roam, he felt. He objected to the hunting dogs that frightened wildlife in the nearby Arboretum and – having studied their peregrinations quite closely – the fact that he had “seen dogs in my yard that have strayed as many as a dozen blocks from home.” Opinion was far from unanimous on McCoy’s side. Yet he expressed a growing sense among many Seattle’s that loose dogs (and perhaps loose cats as well) did not belong in a modern city.⁶⁵ The dog commons would close because dogs were a material and

⁶² The vote was 28,590 to 19,284 per “Humane Society Initiative,” *ST*, May 3, 1922.

⁶³ “Dog Pound Initiative,” *SPI*, April 28, 1922; “Humane Society Thanks Voters of City for Pound,” *SPI*, May 3, 1922; “Humane Society Promises Saving to Community,” *ST*, April 30, 1922.

⁶⁴ Association of Washington Cities/Bureau of Governmental Research, University of Washington, “Dogs as Municipal Problem,” *Washington Municipal Bulletin* 78 (1943): 16.

⁶⁵ Letter from L. L. McCoy, May 10, 1954, CF 224436, SMA.

cultural threat. They destroyed lawns. They also threatened the ideal of the home as a place focused on family connection rather than food production and of the city as progressing beyond its rustic past. As the absence of loose dogs came to be associated with urban respectability, a desire for orderly streets spread from middle-class neighborhoods to much of the city at large.

In the middle third of the twentieth century, concern about property transformed how dogs were allowed to use public space. From Seattle's founding until 1958, dogs could legally roam at large in the city's streets. As the legislative history demonstrates, dogs exercising unattended on the streets – the dog commons – was an accepted part of urban life in early Seattle. As noted in Chapter Two, the fifth ordinance that the city passed after formally incorporating in 1869 allowed dogs their freedom as long as their owners bought a license. The five-dollar fee, however, made it more difficult for poor citizens to use this commons.⁶⁶ This use of public space was regulated to reduce threats to human health and urban order, but was rarely questioned until the 1930s. Dogs wandered the streets on their own, or followed their owners as they did business. They followed children to school or met their young owners as they came home at the end of the day. They followed their adult owners to work, as well. Photographs from the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries show dogs strolling near their masters, dogs accompanying little boys to watch fires, dogs roaming around construction sites, and dogs simply exploring the streets on their own.

Through their desire to be near their owners and their ability to learn human schedules, dogs were active participants in shaping public space. They helped establish a type of companionship that focused not solely on the home, but moved throughout neighborhoods. Human desire for this type of companionship – a desire not all humans shared – could only create this system with dogs' willing participation. Public interactions between humans and dogs had some practical importance in protecting owners, especially children, from strangers and hazards. Yet these movements were also for the joy of companionship. In these relationships, dogs took actions that endeared themselves to humans. One Irish terrier, for instance, reportedly listened for the noon siren each day in

⁶⁶ "Ordinance no. 5," *Seattle Daily Intelligencer*, January 10, 1870.

order to run and meet his young master coming home from school.⁶⁷ When the dog commons came under attack in the 1930s, hundreds of dog owners wrote in with a spirited defense of canine freedom. Not until 1943, in fact, would the law specifically punish owners whose dogs damaged others' property as they wandered.⁶⁸ The debate on the dog commons continued until voters approved the city's first leash law in 1958, part of a nationwide trend that had begun with cities like Baltimore in 1927 and Chicago in 1931.⁶⁹

From its earliest existence, the dog commons were regulated to control both animal and human sexuality. Humans' desire to order this place was tempered by dogs' desire to have sex. Animal control laws sought to reduce pregnancies and the spectacle of dog packs following females in heat. The city's (generally male) law-makers assumed pregnancy was females' fault and focused their efforts accordingly. They seemed to see female sexuality as uncontrolled and dangerous in ways that male sexuality was not. People commonly castrated cattle, pigs, and horses: it made males more docile and produced better-tasting meat more quickly. Yet the thought of castrating dogs or cats for a different purpose – population control – seems not to have occurred to them. Focusing on females, the 1869 law mandating dog licenses ordained that “no slut [female dog] shall be allowed to run at large while in heat.” Uncontrolled animal sexuality both created disorderly streets and prevented owners from regulating the breed of their dogs. The choice of the word “slut” in the ordinance – a term whose more common, and more ancient, meaning was a “promiscuous woman” or “prostitute” – seemed to link uncontrolled animal sexuality and uncontrolled human sexuality. In controlling dogs, law-makers evoked parallel efforts to control the sexuality of the dangerous classes in the city's flourishing red-light district, the Lava Beds.⁷⁰

A curious geography of species and sex defined the animal city. Other than cats, who largely managed their own affairs, most urban domestic animals had skewed sex ratios. The most prominent urban cattle and chickens – the ones allowed to live well into adulthood –

⁶⁷ “Terrier Knows Time Whistle,” *ST*, April 30, 1922.

⁶⁸ Ordinance 72531 (1943), SMA.

⁶⁹ Seattle Public Library, Municipal Reference Division, “Provisions of the Ordinances of Pacific Coast Cities Regulating the Keeping of Dogs ...” (Seattle: Seattle Public Library, 1935).

were females: cows and hens, who were useful because humans turned their processes of biological reproduction (milk and eggs) to food production for humans. A series of cultural associations stemmed from females' preponderance in these species. These species were often gendered female and associated with the home. Given human projects for these animals, the skewed sex ratios were inevitable.

The reasons for male preponderance among horses and dogs are more complicated. Bulls don't give milk; roosters don't produce eggs. Yet mares can pull wagons and female dogs can bark at intruders or flush out game birds. With horses and dogs, the skewed sex ratios stemmed from a mix of biological and cultural reasons. Urban horses and dogs – species gendered male – tended, in fact, to be males and were more associated with the street. Mares were surely more valuable as breeders in the country; but some people may have harbored the belief that geldings were more tractable than mares.⁷¹ The scarcity of female dogs may have stemmed from convenience as much as from conscious efforts at population control: male dogs did not go into heat, or produce unwanted puppies. It likely also reflected the transfer of prejudices about human gender onto dogs. Owners may have seen males as more suited to masculine activities such as hunting and guarding. In criticizing the practice of drowning more female puppies than male, one American commentator in the 1930s suggested that some humans' ill-ease with sex and the same double-standard that blamed human females for pregnancy affected attitudes toward dogs:

Why do we drown the girls and save the boys? As the female, not to be blamed for her sex, grows up and in turn is ready to repeat the divine mystery of birth, she is shunned, hated and almost cursed. She is blamed for attracting the males, she is punished for discharging upon the floor, she is hidden away as a shameful thing when her breasts begin to swell.⁷²

Starting in 1893, city ordinances provided that licenses for male dogs cost substantially less than those for females. Like the ban on loose female dogs in heat, the

⁷⁰ “slut,” *Oxford English Dictionary* [database available from University of Washington, accessed December 2009]; “slut,” *Merriam-Webster's Collegiate Dictionary*, 10th ed. (Springfield, Massachusetts: Merriam-Webster, 1997); Thrush, *Native Seattle*, 60.

⁷¹ McShane and Tarr, *Horse in the City*, 10; Greene, *Horses at Work*, 129.

⁷² Will Judy, *Principles of Dog Breeding: A Presentation of Heredity in Dogs...* (Chicago: Judy Publishing, 1930), 36.

differential fee helped to reduce the dog population of the city by encouraging owners to drown more female puppies than male puppies. Indeed, among licensed animals, male dogs outnumbered females three to one.⁷³ Private breeders reportedly sold males at “a profitable return” while giving away females.⁷⁴ By 1918, the city was encouraging birth control in a new way: an owner with spayed female dog or any male dog paid one dollar for a license, while an owner of an unspayed female dog paid \$2.50. The law made no mention of castrating male dogs or cats – a much simpler operation – or of spaying female cats. By 1938, the city was encouraging the spaying of cats as well. But, license fees did not encourage castrating male pets until 1972.⁷⁵

The commons was also regulated along lines of class. While in the twentieth century, wandering dogs were seen as symbolizing a low-class neighborhood, in some ways the opposite was true in the nineteenth century. The licensing fee meant that the dogs of the middle class had the easiest access to the commons, since they could most easily afford the cost of a license. Notably, early laws paid no attention to what would later be a large concern: dogs defecating on lawns, and digging up shrubs and flowers. These middle-class amenities were rare in the nineteenth century. Fences that protected gardens from wandering cows and horses were common and also discouraged wandering dogs. While highly regulated, the dog commons offered some dogs considerable freedom in the early twentieth century.

⁷³ In 1935, out of some fifteen thousand licensed dogs in the city, only a little under a quarter were females. That year, 11,626 male dogs had licenses, 1,250 unaltered females, and 2,169 spayed females (report filed October 20, 1935, CF 148564, SMA). These licensing numbers reflect to some extent people’s tendency not to license females or to license them as males. Yet, given the other evidence, it seems clear there were more male dogs than female. Grier noted that in photographs nationwide in the nineteenth century, most canine subjects are male (*Pets in America*, 82).

⁷⁴ Letter from La Vina M. Kachel filed November 12, 1935, CF 148668, SMA.

⁷⁵ Catherine Grier, likewise, notes that cats and dogs were rarely castrated until the mid-twentieth century. She does not say when spaying became common (*Pets in America*, 79). The following ordinances lay out licensing fees for dogs and cats: Ordinance 5 (1870), Ordinance 162 (1878), Ordinance 2592 (1893), Ordinance 25745 (1910), Ordinance 38751 (1918), Ordinance 66253 (1936), Ordinance 75666 (1947), Ordinance 81583 (1952), Ordinance 85771 (1957), Ordinance 88650 (1959), Ordinance 91811 (1963), Ordinance 97851 (1969), Ordinance 101080 (1972), Ordinance 105361 (1976), Ordinance 110890 (1982), Ordinance 118096 (1996), and Ordinance 121004 (2002).

Fear of rabies set off a long debate about loose dogs in the 1930s, a debate that ended up having more to do with protecting property. Dogs regularly bit hundreds of Seattleites a year. Through these painful encounters, dogs demonstrated humans did not fully control them. Yet although dog bites no doubt led to angry words between humans and to retaliation against dogs (poisonings were relatively common), they precipitated no outcry against loose dogs in general. However, a rise of reported rabies cases in the 1920s and the development of rabies vaccines that same decade led to calls for control programs in many cities.⁷⁶ Health authorities began noticing rabies cases in King County in 1932. The disease was blamed for the death of two Seattle children in 1934 and one in 1935. A 1935 petition from the Seattle Hygienic League brought the issue to the city council's attention.⁷⁷ "Every loose dog and cat is a potential killer," the league warned. "True, only a few of the dogs may be rabid but how are we to know which ones to avoid and how can anyone avoid them when they are free to run?" In response, the Health Commissioner lent tacit endorsement to a leash law: he noted the large number of dog bites, and the fact that Chicago and New York had already banned loose dogs.⁷⁸

Public support for rabies vaccinations, however, was tempered by distrust of scientific experts. Many citizens were not prepared to embrace the control measures the experts recommended. Veterinarians in the 1930s were arguing that they, rather than public health agencies, should administer rabies vaccinations. The strategy allowed them to promote animal health and develop their practices, as they shifted from large animals to small ones.⁷⁹ However, while rabies provoked fear in some quarters, dozens wrote to express the view that vaccinations were useless, cruel to dogs, and a money-making scheme on the part of veterinarians.⁸⁰ Few letter-writers supported mandatory vaccinations. "It has never been proven that vaccinations on humans and animals have done anything good," one

⁷⁶ Susan D. Jones, *Valuing Animals: Veterinarians and Their Patients in Modern America* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 2003), 130.

⁷⁷ Petition filed March 11, 1935, CF 146410, SMA; "Law Leashing Dogs, Cats Asked by Hygienists," *ST*, Oct. 27, 1935; "'Dog Menace' Case up to Carroll," *SPI*, October 30, 1935.

⁷⁸ Letter dated November 4, 1935, CF 146410, SMA.

⁷⁹ Jones, *Valuing Animals*, 130-32.

woman wrote.⁸¹ The initiative, one woman argued, was “for the benefit of a small clique – in plain words, the veterinarian who wishes to swell his business.”⁸² Dogs’ health was at risk, petitioners worried. They were “most likely to die as a result of the pus injected.” “Inoculation will make a nice lot of sick dogs,” one woman wrote.⁸³ While scholars have noted that in some places rabies had special power to provoke hysteria despite the small number of human deaths, in Seattle, rabies shaped the thinking of city health officials and Humane Society officers more than that of average citizens.⁸⁴ Many in the broader public were deeply suspicious of rabies vaccinations, which were not mandated until 1952.⁸⁵

While rabies may have put the issue of leash laws on the table, the threat dogs posed to lawns, shrubs, and flowers stirred much more public interest. Homes nurtured by women were, in one view, under attack from marauding dogs. Proponents of new restrictions had a laundry list of complaints against dogs; but the daily threat dogs posed to these urban amenities was the factor that moved most to put pen to paper.⁸⁶ In contrast to the nineteenth-century city, more and more families had shrubbery, flowers, and lawns without fences. In fact, as petitioners pointed out, the city regularly encouraged citizens to beautify their neighborhood with these ornamental testaments to middle-class prosperity, these indicators that a family could afford to consume wealth, not produce it, at home.⁸⁷ Not surprisingly, petitioners with middle-class occupations were especially likely to raise these property concerns in their petitions, defining the home as a feminine space besieged by animal

⁸⁰ CFs with letters opposing mandatory rabies vaccines: 149811, 149822, 149833, 149856, 149895, 149856, 149918, 150033, 150090, 150111, 150112, 150119, 150203, 150203, 150203, 150265, SMA. At least 191 individuals wrote letters or signed petitions against mandatory vaccines; 99 of these signers were women.

⁸¹ Letter from Hanna Ronvik Gaerick, February 10, 1936, CF 149811, SMA.

⁸² Letter from Helen L. Evans, filed Feb 26, 1936, CF 149918; see also letter from Frances E. Watson, filed Feb. 17, 1936, CF 149833; letter from Mrs. W. F. Loendertsen, dated February 19, 1936, CF 149856, SMA.

⁸³ Letter filed February 19, 1936, CF 149856, SMA.

⁸⁴ Harriet Ritvo, *The Animal Estate: The English and Other Creatures in the Victorian Age* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1987), 168; Bert Hansen, “America’s First Medical Breakthrough: How Popular Excitement about a French Rabies Cure in 1885 Raised New Expectations for Medical Progress,” *American Historical Review* 103, no. 2 (1998): 373-418.

⁸⁵ Ordinance 81582 (1952), SMA; John Bigelow, “Health Authorities Advocate Action to Curb Rabies Spread,” *ST*, May 13, 1951.

⁸⁶ Dog Petitions Database in author’s possession, see Appendix A.

⁸⁷ Letter filed December 9, 1935, CF 148957, SMA.

violence.⁸⁸ One anonymous writer argued in particularly ornate (if imperfectly spelled) language, “Plants and flowers that have been planted & tenderly cared for by Mother Wife or daughter & become an adornment & a joy to the Household Are ruthlessly destroyed causing lamantation & Sorrow to those who have lavished so much work and love on these beautiful gifts of nature.”⁸⁹ Another informed the council: “My wife has been heart broken because some of her favorite flowers and shrubs have been destroyed.”⁹⁰

For a few people, the link between animals and backwardness made dogs (and sometimes cats as well) incompatible with urban living altogether. A number of letter-writers suggested that dogs belonged in the country, although no one actually urged the council to ban them. Yet many did suggest the city should ban free-roaming cats and dogs, precisely because they resembled earlier free-roaming livestock. In this view, dogs were not so different from cows when they wandered down one’s middle-class street. These letter-writers tied together distinctions between country and city, between the poor and property-owners, between Native spaces and Europeanized spaces, in defining their vision of a modern city. Protesting free-roaming cats and dogs, one writer wrote, “The city council might as well grant a license for hogs to run at large in the city, they will do no more harm to yards, and gardens, than dogs and cats will do.”⁹¹ Another wrote, “I am sure [...] that a vast majority of our home owners agreed that the modern progressive sanitary up to date city is no place for uncontrolled animals of any kind, dogs, cats, hogs, cattle or chickens.”⁹²

As Seattleites debated whether dogs should roam the streets, issues of class were never far from the surface. For some middle-class city-dwellers, roaming dogs represented backward rural living which their worldview tied to the poor and thus less “modern.” Property ownership was key to many urbanites’ vision of a progressive, orderly city. A

⁸⁸ While the middle-class residents outnumbered working-class residents three to one among those favoring restrictions on dogs in 1935 and 1936, they outnumbered them four to one among those who mentioned these issues of property damage. In these estimates, the occupational status of many petitioners is undetermined. Based on database in author’s possession including 624 petitions and letters from 1935 and 1936. See Appendix A.

⁸⁹ Anonymous letter, ca. March 10, 1928, CF 115071, SMA.

⁹⁰ Letter from T. E. Cornelius, February 15, 1936, CF 149822, SMA.

⁹¹ Letter filed April 15, 1942, CF 173678, April 15, 1942, SMA.

⁹² Letter from Mrs. C. S. Parcell, November 9, 1935, CF 148668; Letter from Mrs. V. F. Rafter, March 8, 1928, CF 115071, SMA.

modern city, for them, was one where property-owners' viewpoints reigned supreme. The struggle over the dog commons in the eyes of some was between "tax-payers" or "home owners" and poor people. Some apartment dwellers and poor people likely favored restrictions as well; but it was primarily property owners that felt motivated to write their city council. "I don't see why I should have to go to all the expense to protect my property," wrote one aggrieved resident "when I have to pay almost \$500.00 taxes in this city and the people that let their dogs run dont pay even a decent rent."⁹³ "I also pay taxes," wrote another, "and I think it is a shame that one has to be bothered with other peoples, dogs, & cats, if the taxes was heigh enough on these pests the poorer class of people couldan't afford to have them."⁹⁴ Some felt that ownership of dogs revealed the poor judgment of working people. "There are many many families today feeding a dog, some two, that cannot give their children enough to eat and wear," wrote one woman.⁹⁵ Higher fees or greater restrictions on dogs were among the solutions these citizens proposed.

Dogs could represent class not only through their movements through public space, but through their breeding. Poor people had poor dogs little worthy of respect, in this view, while pure-bred dogs could show one's refinement. Organizations such as the Pacific Northwest Bull Terrier Club, the Irish Terrier Club of the Northwest, and the Seattle Kennel Club allowed wealthy dog enthusiasts to show their animals and trade breeding and training tips. In announcing the upcoming Puget Sound Kennel Club's show in 1926, for instance, the *Seattle Star* made much of the unusual names of breeds readers were not likely to know: Schipperke, Samoyede, chow-chow, Brussels griffon, and Pinscher.⁹⁶ Newspaper society pages often included photographs of the city's grantees and their elegant dogs. Maltese terriers, cocker spaniels, Pomerians, and Irish setters and other "fine specimens of the canine family" costing "a small fortune" attested to the owners' social position.⁹⁷ At the same time, many middle-class residents questioned the breeding of wandering dogs. "I will say

⁹³ Letter filed April 1, 1945, CF 188455, SMA.

⁹⁴ Letter from Mary M. Jones, January 22, 1936, CF 149606, SMA (spelling per original).

⁹⁵ Letter from Ruth Lagerquist, January 13, 1936, CF 149486, SMA.

⁹⁶ "Schipperkes and Samoyedes to Howl," *Seattle Star*, March 5, 1926.

⁹⁷ *SPI*, September 2, 1928, society section, 1; "Mrs. Louis Robinson," *SPI*, September 20, 1925; "Canine Aristocrats Owned by Seattle Women," *SPI*, February 26, 1905.

this that parties owning the finer breed of Dogs [...] do not allow them to run at random on account of their value. its the mongrel & house pet which does the damage,” wrote one woman.⁹⁸ Wealthy owners of full-breed dogs not only wanted to protect their valuable animals, they likely had enough property to keep their dogs healthy.

Dogs were powerful symbols. As they wandered the city, they had the power to represent, in some white people’s minds, a city dominated by non-whites—an image they hoped to eliminate by ordering dogs’ movements. One man wrote, “A man whose work carries him all over the country remarked that Seattle was something like entering an old time Indian village ‘more dogs than people.’”⁹⁹ Another supported the leash law complaining of “[d]ogs bumbling all over the residential section as if in an Eskimo village, hardly are in keeping with a grownup city.”¹⁰⁰ For some, loose dogs threatened a narrative of progress from a Native past to a more orderly and whiter future. Their representational role provided a powerful reason to alter laws on their movements.

Given attitudes like these, a few dog-owners feared restrictions would lead to an outright ban. The Seattle-based editor of *American Dog and Pet Magazine* warned of “a determined effort to banish the dog from cities and confine his activities to the country.”¹⁰¹ Indeed, several Seattle petitioners voiced the opinion that dogs and cats belonged in the country, even as they wrote to support less drastic restrictions. “The place for a dog is not in the city but in the country where they can be free,” wrote one man.¹⁰² Another opined, “I am as fond of a dog as any one, But in their place, and I don’t think that is in a city.”¹⁰³

⁹⁸ Letter from Nulley Smith, March 19, 1928, CF 115353; see also letter from T. Williams, March 10, 1928, CF 115071; letter from Ruth Lagerquist, January 13, 1936, CF 149486. Others who refer to roaming dogs as mongrels: letter from Mrs. C. S. Parcell, March 16, 1936, CF 150119; letter from T. William, March 10, 1928, CF 115074, SMA.

⁹⁹ Letter dated March 10, 1943, CF 176449, SMA.

¹⁰⁰ Letter dated August 19, 1957, CF 233197, SMA.

¹⁰¹ *American Dog and Pet Magazine*, April 1940, 5. See also CF 176504, filed March 18, 1943, SMA; CF 231957, filed June 3, 1957, SMA.

¹⁰² Letter from Charles Horn, CF 150119, filed 1936; see also letter filed March 18, 1943, CF 176504; letter filed June 3, 1957, CF 231957; letter from Violet A. Ostom filed November 12, 1935, CF 148668; letter from Mrs. Wood, filed January 3, 1936, CF 149228; letter from Mrs. Glenn, filed January 10, 1936, CF 149355; letter from Ruth Laquerquist, filed January 20, 1936, CF 149486; letter from Verna M. Germain, filed January 31, 1936, CF 149643; letter from Mr. and Mrs. I. A. Westin, filed February 6, 1936, CF 149747; letter from Jas. S. Marriett, filed March 5, 1936, CF 149999; letter from Charles Horn, filed March 16, 1936, CF 150119, SMA.

¹⁰³ Letter from Jas. S. Marriett, filed March 5, 1936, CF 149999, SMA.

The dog commons had vocal defenders as well. Proponents and opponents wrote their city council in the 1930s in roughly equal numbers.¹⁰⁴ Those opposed to dogs' wanderings focused particularly on property damage and health concerns: 59% of petitions from 1935 and 1936 mentioned property damage, while 36% mentioned health issues. They had a variety of other concerns as well, which overlapped and added to those two primary concerns: dog feces, children's safety, barking, and conflicts with automobiles. In those same years, petitions favoring dogs pointed especially to the idea that dogs had earned their freedom through service (28%), to the cruelty of confining them (26%), their importance to children (22%), and their role as watchdogs (18%) (see tables 2 and 3 below). Workers were somewhat better represented in the defenders of the dog commons: the middle-class petitioners outnumbered working-class petitioners three to one among those favoring restriction, but only two to one among those opposing restrictions. The city council had a "live issue" on its hands – one not easily resolved.¹⁰⁵ While most people accepted temporary restrictions and muzzle laws when rabies outbreaks occurred in the 1930s, they felt permanent restrictions on dogs to be unfair.

¹⁰⁴ In 1935 and 1936, approximately 213 wrote letters or signed petitions opposing restrictions and 163 promoting restrictions. Forty-seven individual letters opposed restrictions; 58 individual letters promoted restrictions. (CFs with pro-restriction letters: 146410, 148957, 149002, 149228, 149315, 149355, 149486, 149606, 149607, 149643, 149747, 149833, 149855, 149917, 149999, 150033, 150098, 150119, 150185, 150186, 150119, 150603, 150833, 150853; CFs with anti-restriction letters: 148564, 148620, 148668, 148957, 149002, 149283, 149284, 149315, 149486, 149487, 149607, 149644, 149748, 149823, 149856, 150033, 150088, 150090, 150112, 150202, 150739). See Appendix A.

¹⁰⁵ "Dog Menace More Protests," *SPI*, October 31, 1935.

Table 2. Attitudes of pro-leash law petitioners, 1935-36 and 1957-58. This table summarizes opinions expressed in letters or petitions to Seattle City Council supporting leash laws (as percentage of all letters and petitions; not of all signers). Based on letters and petitions from Seattle Municipal Archives. See Appendix A.

	1935-36		1957-58	
Total number of letters/petitions	64		64	
concerned about property damage (flowers, shrubs, lawns, etc.)	38	59%	35	55%
concerns about health (dog bites, sanitation, and disease including rabies)	23	36%	11	17%
concerned about dog feces	18	28%	22	34%
likes and/or owns dogs, but still favor restrictions	13	20%	8	13%
concern for children's health, safety or well-being	12	19%	9	14%
garbage cans knocked around	9	14%	6	9%
barking	9	14%	13	20%
dogs dangerous to traffic	7	11%	7	11%
intimidation by dogs	4	6%	7	11%
cats are as bad or worse	4	6%	3	5%
annoyed by attitude of dog-owners	2	3%	4	6%
the poor shouldn't have dogs	3	5%	2	3%
linked to earlier livestock removal	5	8%		
dogs killed livestock (chickens, rabbits)	1	2%		
dogs having sex	3	5%		

Table 3. Attitudes of anti-leash law petitioners, 1935-36 and 1957-58. See Appendix A.

	1935-36		1957-58	
Total number of petitions and letters opposing leash laws	54		19	
dogs have earned their freedom	15	28%	1	5%
it's cruel to dogs to confine them	14	26%	4	21%
law will cause children to lose their pets	12	22%	3	16%
dogs' role as watchdogs	8	15%	2	11%
children cause more trouble than dogs	5	9%	4	21%
don't punish good owners	3	6%	3	16%
law will cause dogs to be destroyed	3	6%	2	11%
enforcement too costly or law unenforceable	2	4%	3	16%
why get license if it doesn't allow dog to go free	2	4%	1	5%
cats good mousers	2	4%		

Proponents and opponents of the dog commons described the same city in very different terms. Proponents of dog liberty described children playing with their dogs throughout the neighborhood, dogs who were attentive to distressed children and came to

their aid, dogs who were “not tramps—but pals,” often seen “romping with the boys when they return from school.”¹⁰⁶ Opponents described dogs barking at and jumping on passers-by, frightening and biting children, of belligerent dog owners who used their animals to terrorize the neighborhood, of dogs who dug up gardens and even urinated on milk deliveries. There was likely ample evidence for both opinions. Depending on one’s experience and biases, it was easy to see dogs as creating either community or disorder through their presence on streets.

By the 1950s, the letters to the council were no longer closely divided. Most people concerned enough to write in supported restrictions. Those promoting the leash law voiced familiar complaints about dogs damaging property, frightening and biting people, threatening human health, and creating a poor image for the city. But in the 1950s, only a few letter-writers defended loose dogs – just nineteen out of eighty-three letter-writers on the issue during 1957 and 1958. Presumably, dogs’ behavior had not changed. Their ability to delight by faithfully accompanying their humans through the streets and their ability to intimidate, bite, dig, and defecate were long-standing behaviors. What had changed was the shape of the city and the human embrace of the outward manifestations of middle-class respectability – lawns, gardens, and flowers – which made dogs’ depredations unacceptable, as did loose dogs’ association with poor people, Indigenous people, and the country.¹⁰⁷

One important change was that in the postwar era, more and more Seattleites were homeowners. With the growth in defense industries, Seattle’s economy grew through World War II and after.¹⁰⁸ The city expanded in both population and territory, adding more neighborhoods of detached housing.¹⁰⁹ The GI Bill and the Federal Housing Administration made it possible for more and more Americans, especially white veterans, to achieve homeownership. The era also saw huge increases in homeownership nationally, as in

¹⁰⁶ Letter filed May 3, 1943, CF 176925, SMA.

¹⁰⁷ The following CFs from 1957 and 1958 contain nineteen separate letters or petitions opposing leash laws: 231957, 232945, 232778, 233607, 233627, 234119, and 234128. The following CFs from 1957 and 1958 contain sixty-four separate letters or petitions favoring leash laws: 231265, 231926, 231940, 231957, 231979, 231993, 232238, 232513, 232778, 232793, 232812, 232823, 232778, 233650, 234112, and 234128. See Appendix A.

¹⁰⁸ Roger Sale, *Seattle: Past to Present* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1976), 187.

¹⁰⁹ Sale, *Seattle*, 190.

Seattle where it increased from 42% in 1940 to 57% in 1950, dipping slightly to 53% in 1960.¹¹⁰ As historian Roger Sale describes it, “It was the era of the bulldozer, the ranch-style house, the shopping center, the long runs of commerce on arterials filled with car lots, drive-ins, real estate agencies.”¹¹¹ Buildings in the north-end especially brought a suburban style of living within the city. Focused more on nuclear families and private homes than on neighborhoods, Seattle’s new homeowners expected dogs to be contained.

On March 11, 1958, residents of Seattle approved a leash-law referendum 55% to 45%.¹¹² The margin was decisive, but far from unanimous. It passed in all eleven of the cities’ legislative districts with margins ranging from 6% to 17%, winning most decisively in the dense downtown neighborhood. Of the eight ballot measures presented to voters that day, it was the issue voters were most likely to vote on.¹¹³ The reasons for the leash law stretched beyond the particular history of Seattle. The closing of the commons was part of a nationwide effort. A 1935 study of six major West Coast cities showed that none prohibited dogs running at large.¹¹⁴ By the 1950s, dog control was “a red-hot issue in hundreds of municipalities.”¹¹⁵ Sometimes with clippings from other town’s newspapers, citizens wrote the city council asking why Seattle did not follow the lead of New York, Los Angeles, Denver, San Diego, and Spokane. Part of the process of making Seattle a “grownup city” was taking its measure against these other metropolises.¹¹⁶ “Surely Seattle is progressive enough to have a leash law as many cities now have,” one person wrote.¹¹⁷

¹¹⁰ Lizabeth Cohen, *A Consumer’s Republic: The Politics of Mass Consumption in Postwar America* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2003), 123; U.S. census, 1940 and 1950.

¹¹¹ Sale, *Seattle*, 190.

¹¹² “Leash Law OK’d,” *SPI*, March 12, 1958; report filed March 24, 1958, CF 232708, SMA; Ordinance 86749 (1957), SMA.

¹¹³ Voter participation rates were: Abolition of Harbor Department: 74%; Land Acquisition: 77%; Metro Corporation Levy: 79%; Park Department Transfer: 80%; Recreational Facility: 81%; Metro Corporation Formation: 87%; School Levy: 89%; Dog Leash Law: 90%. Election results, King County Archives.

¹¹⁴ The survey looked at Los Angeles, San Francisco, Oakland, Portland, Spokane and Tacoma. Seattle Public Library Municipal Reference Division, “Dogs: Provisions of the Ordinances of Pacific Coast Cities...” November 25, 1935 (Seattle Public Library, Seattle Room, 344.79049 Se18D).

¹¹⁵ Quoted in “Judgments against Dog Owners Take a Bigger Bite,” *Better Homes and Gardens*, May 1957, 241.

¹¹⁶ Letter filed August 19, 1957, CF 233197, SMA.

¹¹⁷ Letter filed April 2, 1956, CF 229027, SMA.

The New Work of Dogs and Cats

Through the last third of the century, the trend toward greater affection and greater restraint continued. By the early twenty-first century, the place of cats and dogs in Seattleites' hearts and homes had changed dramatically. They were no longer servants, but children. That, at least, was the metaphor a majority adopted in regard to their animal companions.¹¹⁸ Pet owners were forming tighter bonds with their cats and dogs, spending more money on them, and expecting less work from them – at least not the type of work they did a century ago. This is not to say that there is one urban attitude toward cats and dogs. City people still have a broad range of opinions, from those who say “It’s just a dog” when they hear about a tragedy befalling an animal, to those who would never leave their pet to go on vacation.¹¹⁹ Cats’ and dogs’ place in urban life is as secure today (for sentimental reasons) as it was in the mid-nineteenth century (for utilitarian reasons). Changing attitudes toward animals, the changing structures of homes, their increasing integration into mass consumerism, and the supreme adaptability of cats and dogs have worked together to transform human relations with them.

Still, this growing affection has been paired with growing constraint. The constraint expresses both city dwellers' concern for cats and dogs as fellow creatures, but also their concern for the disorder they create in the urban landscape. The program that has perhaps most transformed the lives of cats and dogs in recent years is the highly successful spay/neuter campaigns dating to the late 1960s. The movement seems to have emerged, both because of increases in the dog and cat population, and because of growing humane concern for animals. The stated goal of spaying and neutering was to eliminate the sad necessity of euthanasia. Groups dominated by women took the lead in this transformation, often butting heads with largely male professions (veterinarians and scientists).

¹¹⁸ In the United States and Canada, 83% of pet owners who regularly take their pets to a veterinarian refer to themselves as the mom or dad of their pet (“Pet Owners Let Love Rule; National Survey Finds Love Is Strong Among Pet Owners,” *Canada NewsWire* [accessed via ProQuest], November 27, 2001).

¹¹⁹ Casey McNertheny, “Harley’s Loss a Lesson for Pet Owners” (and online reader comments), *SPI* [available at http://www.seattlepi.com/local/303220_dog10.html, accessed April 2010].

The population of stray cats and dogs seems to have spiked in the 1960s, leading to what some called a “pet population explosion.”¹²⁰ The growing focus of overpopulation may have been a matter of perception. It was likely no coincidence that concerns about pet populations emerged at the same time that many Americans were reading Paul Ehrlich's *The Population Bomb* (published in 1968) and worrying that the world faced catastrophe, if human populations were not reined in.¹²¹ Whatever the source of the renewed concern, many citizens began taking action. In 1967, the Progressive Animal Welfare Society (PAWS) organized with the goal of promoting spaying and neutering and reducing cat and dog populations. “Every time we went to the grocery store, there would be a box of kittens or puppies with a sign saying ‘free to a good home,’” said one PAWS founder, Virginia Knouse. “It was awful and we wanted to do something about it.”¹²² “Progressive” animal welfare advocates complained of the “caretaker” model of older organizations, like the Humane Society that managed the city dog and cat pound until 1972 – a model in which the organization simply killed unwanted cats and dogs without efforts to reduce the population through birth control and pet-owner education.¹²³ For the first time in the city’s history, an organized group of citizens, primarily women, thought it unacceptable that so many thousands of cats and dogs were killed each year. An earlier generation of humane activists had worried primarily about the manner in which they were killed. Public officials echoed the newfound concerns. Animal control director Anthony Bossart called the system of mass euthanasia “beyond reason in a moral society.”¹²⁴ When dissatisfaction with the Humane Society led the city to take over management of the pound in 1972, PAWS played an

¹²⁰ Byron Johnsrud, “A PAWS in the Day of Pet Occupation,” *ST*, May 14, 1972; Don Carter, “Pet Birth Control Works,” *SPI*, March 21, 1977.

¹²¹ Paul R. Ehrlich, *The Population Bomb* (New York: Ballantine Books, 1968).

¹²² “History of PAWS,” 2008 [available at <http://www.paws.org/about/history/>, accessed April 2010).

¹²³ Florence Ekstrand, “Is Humane Society Doing the Job?,” *Queen Anne News*, November 3, 1971; “Cats and Dogs” [editorial], *SPI*, April 13, 1972; David Suffia, “Animal Control: ‘Progressive’ or ‘Caretaker’ Policy?,” *ST*, June 4, 1973.

¹²⁴ Bossart to Sam Smith, August 23, 1973, in Seattle Office of Management, “An Analysis of a Solution to the Animal Control Problem” (Seattle, 1974).

important role. Indeed, four members of the city animal control board were also members of PAWS.¹²⁵

The effort at spaying and neutering had remarkable success. The city restructured its license fees to encourage both spaying females and castrating male animals. From 1958 to 1972, the fees had not encouraged spaying and neutering at all.¹²⁶ One 1972 fee proposal called for higher fees for unsplayed females, but not for unneutered males. However, in a time when the “women’s movement was ... gaining momentum ... [w]omen generally objected to the differentiation,” animal control head Anthony Bossart recalled. “Because it takes two to breed.”¹²⁷ Despite opposition from veterinarians, voters approved a municipal spay/neuter clinic, which opened in 1981.¹²⁸ These efforts allowed the city to drastically reduce the number of cats and dogs it killed. The city euthanized 16,381 cats and dogs in 1975, most of them perfectly healthy and well-behaved. In 2005, it euthanized 1,366 cats and dogs, all of them deemed too sick or poorly behaved to be adoptable.¹²⁹ By some measures, there is even a shortage of well-behaved dogs in Seattle. In what some have described as an “underground railroad,” rescue groups transport dogs from portions of the country where fewer dogs are spayed and neutered (the South, Eastern Washington) to regions with highly effective spay/neuter programs (the Northeast, Puget Sound).¹³⁰

Despite increasing sterilization, cat and dog populations have continued to rise because of their growing importance in city-dwellers’ emotional lives. Not everyone needs a mouser or a guard-dog; but everyone can use a friend. Through their ability to take on new roles as home-bound companions, cats and dogs have proliferated. By one account, the U.S. dog population went from fifteen million in the 1960s to seventy million in the early twenty-

¹²⁵ Nancy Bergh, “City’s Climbing Out of the Doghouse on Animal Control,” *Queen Anne News*, November 8, 1972.

¹²⁶ Ordinance 81583 (1952), Ordinance 85771 (1957), Ordinance 88650 (1959), Ordinance 91811 (1963), Ordinance 97851 (1969), Ordinance 101080 (1972), and Ordinance 105361 (1976), SMA.

¹²⁷ Don Carter, “Pet Birth Control Works,” *SPI*, March 21, 1977.

¹²⁸ “Interbay Spay Clinic OK’d,” *SPI*, June 5, 1980; Michael Sweeney, “Royer in the Dog House with Council on Spay-neuter Clinic,” *SPI*, July 1, 1980.

¹²⁹ City of Seattle, “Licensing and Consumer Affairs Annual Report,” 1975, record series 1802-H2, SMA; spreadsheet prepared by Robin Klunder, Seattle Animal Shelter, in author’s possession.

¹³⁰ Huan Hsu and Brian Miller, “Pet-rescue Underground Railroad Won’t Leave a Dog Behind,” *Seattle Weekly*, April 10, 2007; Jon Katz, “Rescuing Fly: A Journey on the Dog Underground Railroad,” *Slate.com* February 17, 2005 [<http://www.slate.com/id/2113564/>, accessed March 2010].

first century.¹³¹ In Seattle, according to estimates by city officials, the population of cats and dogs increased from 158,000 in 1970 to 375,000 in 2001, during which time the human population changed but little.¹³² Adult pet-owners more and more define urban pet-keeping. In 2007, 70% of pet products nationally were purchased by childless households, while in 2000 only 45% were.¹³³ Seattle is one of a growing number of cities (like San Francisco) that has more dogs than children. This may say more about declining human fertility than increasing dog-loving. But it has made childless households the predominant pet-keeping households.

With growing social fragmentation, Americans have turned to cats and dogs to fulfill roles once filled by human family members. As journalist and dog trainer Jon Katz argues, “the new work of dogs is attending to the emotional lives of Americans, many of whom feel increasingly disconnected from one another.”¹³⁴ Pets serve as companions with whom to play and express affection. They also serve as facilitators of interactions with other humans and as markers of one’s social identity – perhaps as kind, easygoing, and sociable, perhaps as urbane and stylish, perhaps as tough and self-assured, depending on the animal and breed.¹³⁵ Households changed a great deal in the last third of the century, when pet-keeping began to increase significantly and when pets shifted markedly from being servants to being children. Fewer households had children. More people were living alone. In 1960, 42% of Seattle households had children under 18 at home; by 2000, only 17% did. And by 2000, 41% of the households in Seattle consisted of only one person and 19% of Seattleites were living in these solo households. This is not to say that pet-owners are particularly disconnected, only that connecting to pets is one appealing strategy in this new world.

¹³¹ Eric Sorenson, “Metro Dog: Pampered Like People, Our Pooches Are Us,” *Pacific Northwest Magazine*, May 14, 2006.

¹³² Sam R. Sperry, “Changes in Animal Laws Urged,” *ST*, September 30, 1971; Casey McNerthney, “Increased patrols look for pet license scofflaws,” *SPI*, December 27, 2006.

¹³³ Schaffer, *One Nation Under Dog*, 18.

¹³⁴ Jon Katz, *The New Work of Dogs: Tending to Life, Love, and Family* (New York: Random House, 2004), xix; see also Stephen R. Kellert, *Kinship to Mastery: Biophilia in Human Evolution and Development* (Washington, D.C.: Island Press, A Shearwater Book, 1997), 107.

¹³⁵ Clinton R. Sanders, *Understanding Dogs: Living and Working with Canine Companions* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press 1999), 5-8.

Growing expenditures on cats and dogs are one sign of their growing importance in Americans' lives, although average household spending is not as shocking as individual examples of excess. Some argue that Americans' increasing wealth gives them the luxury of these types of relationships. It is certainly true that around the globe the growth of a middle class is often attended by increases in pet-keeping.¹³⁶ Yet spending on cats and dogs has continued to increase, even as income levels have stagnated.¹³⁷

Seattleites and other Americans are spending more than ever on veterinary care for their cats and dogs, although pet-owners and others are divided on the wisdom of this trend. Some pet-owners are willing to undergo substantial financial hardship to provide their animals the best health care possible, while others rarely visit a veterinary or are only willing to pay for the most basic care. Average veterinary expenses for each dog-owning household in the United States went from \$132 in 1991 to \$356 in 2007. For each cat-owning household, they went from \$80 to \$190.¹³⁸ Seattle Journalist Tom Paulson captured the variety of opinions on this topic when he reported he had spent around \$7,000 to extend the life of his golden retriever Trudy, in part so his son who lived in South Africa could see her on his next trip to the United States. "Depending upon your relationship with dogs, and with money," he wrote, "this story will seem perfectly reasonable, somewhat absurd or completely insane. I have friends who argue each of these points of view."¹³⁹ The growing expense reflects the growing complexity and sophistication of the interventions possible for both humans and animals, as well as growing attachment to pets. Still, the amount Americans spend on their pets' health does not begin to rival what they spend on average for human health care: about \$15,000 per household.¹⁴⁰

Beyond health care, there are any number of signs that some cat and dog owners are willing to lavish money and attention on their pets in ways that were unheard of a generation

¹³⁶ Penny L. Bernstein, "The Human-Cat Relationship," in *The Welfare of Cats*, ed. Irene Rochlitz (Dordrecht, The Netherlands: Springer, 2005), 49.

¹³⁷ Ranny Green, "Recession? There's No Downturn in the Pet Shop Business," *ST*, April 23, 1980.

¹³⁸ American Veterinary Medical Association, "Market Research Statistics," 2007 [available <http://www.avma.org/reference/marketstats/ownership.asp>, accessed April 2010]; American Veterinary Medical Association, *U.S. Pet Ownership & Demographic Sourcebook* (Schaumburg, Illinois: American Veterinary Medical Association 1997).

¹³⁹ Tom Paulson, "\$7,000 Spent to Try to Save Trudy's Life a Bargain," *SPI*, May 12, 2008.

or two ago. But again, the particular stories featured in the media mask less shocking household averages. With the rise of solo households and of two-income couples, more city people are paying to put their dogs in daycare. The life of daycare manager, Elise Vincentini, traces this transformation. She had a dog in her childhood that slept in the backyard and ate Alpo. Now she runs the Downtown Dog Lounge in the Belltown neighborhood where for \$28 a day, dogs get custom meals, supervised socializing, and a webcam so their owners can check in while they're at work.¹⁴¹ The 2008 phonebook, however, lists only nine dog daycare centers in the city. With one daycare for every thirteen thousand dogs, it is clear this trend only affects the city's dog elite. While it is easy to point to cases of extravagance, the city's pet obsession likely does not rival its car obsession, its travel obsession, or its dining-out obsession. In the country at large, the average pet-owning household spends only about \$500 annually on their animals.¹⁴²

More important than the amount people spend on cats and dogs is their emotional role in urban lives. Cats and dogs are more central to many city people's sense of who they are. They are becoming more integral family members. Dog and cat owners (and chicken, goat, and bee owners for that matter) proudly refer to their animals as their "children," their "boys," or their "girls." One poll in the United States and Canada showed that 83% of pet-owners who regularly visit the veterinarian see themselves as the mom or dad of their pet.¹⁴³ While the metaphor is powerful and heartfelt; ultimately, people prize cats and dogs as much for the characteristics that distinguish them from human children, as from the similarities. They offer unconditional love (or seem to); you don't have to say no to them (or so some owners believe); they never leave the nest; they never become sexually active. Few public officials would venture to suggest a ban on urban cats and dogs, as some did in the early twentieth century.

¹⁴⁰ David Leonhardt, "Challenge to Health Bill: Selling Reform," *New York Times*, July 21, 2009.

¹⁴¹ Eric Sorenson, "Metro Dog: Pampered like People, Our Pooches Are Us," *Pacific Northwest Magazine*, May 14, 2006.

¹⁴² Grier, *Pets in America*, 316.

¹⁴³ "Pet Owners Let Love Rule; National Survey Finds Love Is Strong Among Pet Owners," *Canada NewsWire*, November 27, 2001.

Affection and constraint have increasingly shaped the lives of cats and dogs throughout the century. Economic, social, and attitudinal transformations reinforced each other in these processes. The home was a very different place in the early twenty-first century than it had been a century earlier. The elimination of livestock removed that example of utilitarian attitudes toward animals. As families had fewer children, pets themselves came to be seen as children. Attitudes of kindness were fostered by civil society in the form of the humane society and rescue groups. Yet economics played an important role as well. It was the protection of middle-class homes – both from the material threat of dogs’ digging and the symbolic threat to property values from the cultural associations of loose dogs – that led to growing restraints on dogs’ access to public space. Within the home, mass consumerism provided one avenue to express growing affection for cats and dogs. The promotion of this consumerism also helped consolidate those emotions. This complex set of factors focused on the home helped transform cats and dogs from servants to children and allowed their numbers to proliferate. Humans have increasingly constrained cattle, pigs, and chickens in very different ways, far from human homes.

Chapter Five
Cattle, Pigs, and Chickens:
Concentrating and Hiding Livestock in the Twentieth Century

As consumers shopped in the early and even the middle twentieth century, the animal origin of meat was abundantly clear. Animal carcasses, indeed, served as a form of advertisement. A photograph of William H. Murphy in front of his Pike Street Market around the late nineteenth century showed five carcasses (perhaps sheep), along with a side of beef, proudly displayed for all the passers-by to see.¹⁴⁴ On a parade day (likely Labor Day), the Denver Market displayed more than a dozen carcasses on a wooden frame decorated with banners of stars and stripes. Pedestrians on the sidewalk passed between the carcasses and the store itself.¹⁴⁵ The Palace Market displayed about a dozen carcasses in an elegant arch which customers passed under to enter their shop, where dozens more carcasses hung from the wall.¹⁴⁶ At Dan's Market in the Pike Place Market, near mid-century, butchers peered out from behind hanging carcasses of hogs and chickens. The shop even displayed one hog carcass on a support pillar on the pedestrian walkway near their shop, sure to catch the eye of passing customers (see figures 20-21).¹⁴⁷ The story those carcasses told consumers was a fairly honest one about the animal origins of meat. It was a story that butcher-shop owners thought would bring customers into their stores.

Some urban dwellers had a particularly clear sense of where that meat came from. The city had a thriving slaughterhouse industry through most of the twentieth century. Working through the last years of Seattle's meat-packing industry from the 1950s to the 1980s, Walt Sebring encountered animals in a way that few other city people did: as living

¹⁴⁴ Costello Scrapbook, vol. 12, p. 19, held at Seattle Public Library.

¹⁴⁵ Undated Denver Market photography, held at UFCW Local 81, Auburn, Washington.

¹⁴⁶ Undated Palace Market photograph, 2nd and Yesler, held at UFCW Local 81, Auburn, Washington.

¹⁴⁷ Undated Dan's Market photograph, held at UFCW Local 81, Auburn, Washington.

creatures that he killed to produce meat. He saw animals die by the hundreds every day. He heard pigs squeal as they were hoisted by their back legs. He occasionally saw bulls just shake their heads and look at him after being shot point blank with a shotgun. After that happened a few times, he went out and got a bigger gun. The gory, sometimes painful, work held no particular charm for him, but he did like the steady paycheck, his pension, the skills that allowed him the freedom to move easily from one operation to another, and the protections that union membership gave him. For Sebring and hundreds of other urban workers in the twentieth century, slaughterhouses provided tough, demanding labor, but a steady middle-class income. While killing livestock was an urban commonplace in the early twentieth century – both in backyards and in slaughterhouses – it was increasingly the province of a small number of workers by the last decades of the century. Because of the labor of people like Sebring, fewer people killed animals, even as meat consumption soared.¹⁴⁸

Livestock left the city – both backyards and stockyards – because corporations sought profits and because homeowners sought the prestige that the absence of livestock represented. The story of all the animals and humans in the meat industry is one of concentration and specialization. Corporations' desire to find ever cheaper sources of labor and to raise animals in the most remunerative way possible has made the lives of livestock and the people that slaughter and butcher them ever more hidden. Slaughterhouse work, once a well-paying urban job dominated by native-born and immigrant whites and a few African Americans and Latinos, has become a poorly paid and dangerous rural occupation performed by Latino and Southeast Asian immigrants – a job increasingly hidden from urban dwellers. The hiding of slaughter and of slaughterhouse workers emerged initially as a business strategy to maximize profits and reduce unions' power. Consolidation shaped farms as well. While most farms had some chickens, some cows, and some hogs a century ago, through the twentieth century farmers have increasingly concentrated these animals on

¹⁴⁸ Walt Sebring, interviewed by author, May 20, 2009, tape recording and transcript in author's possession; "Homes for Sale," *ST*, March 15, 1955; "Meatcutters Re-elect Top Officers," *ST*, February 6, 1970. The following abbreviations are used in this chapter: CF for Comptroller's File; SMA for Seattle Municipal Archives; *SPI* for *Seattle Post-Intelligencer*; and *ST* for *Seattle Times*.

specialized farms in specific regions of the country. My own grandparents' farm near Augusta, Kansas, traced this very arc, from a diversified farm with beef cattle, dairy cows, pigs, chickens, grains (including wheat, alfalfa, sorghum, and milo), and garden vegetables in the 1930s to a specialized farm raising beef cattle and grains in the 1970s. Today, cattle are concentrated in the Great Plains from Texas to Nebraska, hogs in the Midwest and North Carolina, and chickens in the South, in factory farms where animals are confined under increasingly harsh conditions. The quest for profits lay behind these trends toward consolidation. Yet the disappearance of slaughterhouse jobs and of intact carcasses from butcher shops reinforced attitudes that placed growing importance on kindness to animals. An increasing discomfort with the reality of slaughter means that city people are now only too happy in their ignorance of meat's origins. In the city, the killing of animals became out of place.

In Seattle as in other cities, most people chose to relate to animals in ways that sustained a story of interspecies benevolence. The story rests on two pillars: celebrating relations with pets that are based on kindness, while simultaneously obscuring utilitarian relations with livestock. In other words, the story relies on the divided regime. It has its origins in the white middle-class neighborhoods that used non-productive relations with animals as a marker of progress and respectability; for most Americans, this ideology has become the norm, at least rhetorically. Increasingly, many city dwellers tell themselves that their relations with animals are essentially benevolent, that they are "animal lovers" or at least kind toward animals. Their daily interactions with cats and dogs tell them they are benevolent. Their concern for the wild creatures they see on nature shows tells them they are benevolent. The absence of visible killing allows them to continue to believe this, even as they dine on meat, milk, eggs, and organic food fertilized by the manure of animals destined for slaughter. In calling this a story of benevolence, I do not want to suggest that city people do not genuinely care about animals, or that they do not help animals through their actions. Nor do I want to imply that benevolence is undesirable. I do want to suggest that urban lives and cities are structured in ways that emphasize sentimental relations toward animals (dog

parks, animal hospitals, pet stores) while hiding utilitarian relations (slaughterhouses, chicken farms), although it is not at all clear that city-dwellers' impact on animals' lives is, on balance, any more benign than it was fifty or a hundred years ago. As city people became kinder to pets, they generally increased their consumption of meat, milk, and eggs, while the animals producing this food lived in increasingly grim circumstances.

Work in Urban Slaughterhouses

Through most of the twentieth century, work with animals was urban, as well as rural, work. Hundreds of people worked in slaughterhouses south of Seattle's downtown and in its Chinatown (also known as the International District). While often seen as brutal, unpleasant work – activities from which middle-class neighborhoods were shielded – the slaughterhouses provided respectable and well-paying work in Seattle's ethnically diverse South End and provided food to the city. In the early twentieth century, Seattle emerged as the center of the meat-packing industry in the Pacific Northwest. With 132 workers, the city's eight slaughterhouses killed 18,132 cattle, 65,275 sheep, and 44,880 hogs in 1900 – by weight about 37% beef, 11% mutton, and 52% pork. One would have to go as far south as San Francisco and as far east as Omaha to find a larger slaughterhouse industry. This reflected the simple fact that Seattle was the largest city in the region; yet the export of cured meat products through the city's port boosted the industry. While the city had the country's forty-eighth largest human population, it had the twenty-third largest slaughterhouse industry. In all, the city produced 29.5 million pounds of red meat products per year, averaging out to some 365 pounds per human inhabitant of the city, far more than they could eat.¹⁴⁹ By the 1910s, many of the major national meat-packing firms had plants in Seattle – Armour, Swift, and Cudahy – along with local firms like Frye and Carstens.¹⁵⁰ The industry

¹⁴⁹ Assuming Seattleites ate about as much red meat as the average American (some 155 pounds per year based on 1909 numbers), most of the animal products the city produced were sold elsewhere, shipped either by boat or rail. U.S. Census, 1900, Volume 9, Part 3 "Manufactures: Special Reports on Selected Industries."

¹⁵⁰ *Polk's Seattle City Directory* (Seattle: Polk's Seattle Directory Company, 1911).

grew with the city, employing 521 men and 86 women by 1940.¹⁵¹ Far from being seen as inappropriate to the city, it was a significant urban industry.

A university student named John D. Molinaro provided one account of the industry when he toured the Frye Packing Plant in the 1930s – an operation that brought together workers from a diverse set of Seattle communities. The plant was located less than a mile and half to the southeast, but a world away, from the forty-two-floor Smith Tower that dominated downtown; the site is now located just west of I-5 on Airport Way about half a mile south of the I-5/I-90 Interchange (see map in figure 1). Molinaro was horrified by what he saw.¹⁵² The set of buildings gave out, Molinaro said, “a distasteful and ... pungent and nauseating odor...the odor of dead and dying animal carcasses.” He passed a room of men in “spotless white coats” weighing and marking boxes of wieners, sausages, and hams. Next he saw the killing floor, where beef carcasses “still hot and steaming from their recent disembowelment” hung from wheeled metal tracks. The butchers wore “long white coats spattered with gore,” watched over by U.S.D.A. inspectors. Finally, he saw the room where live animals were “harrassed and cajoled up a narrow enclosed incline” amid “ear piercing and heart-rending” cries from the hogs, “[t]he bawling of bulls, steers and calves; the shuffling and slipping of hooves; the hoarse calls and commands of the executioner’s aides.” The animals had little ability to resist. Yet they reacted with alarm to their unaccustomed surroundings – perhaps sensing their purpose.

In Molinaro’s narrative, the racial structuring of slaughterhouse jobs combined with his own racial views to make the African American workers at the plant seem especially brutish. On the killing floor, “I looked up for just a moment and met the gaze of a huge negro dressed in blue overalls and wearing heavy rubber boots. He was shirtless; the muscles of his arms, shoulders and backs bulged and rippled as he wielded the huge, wooden mallet that stunned the cattle to insensibility. A little to the right of him stood another negro who made quick thrusts with a long knife where emanated screams. Following each thrust was a

¹⁵¹ U.S. Census, 1940.

¹⁵² It is not clear under what circumstances he was given a tour of the plant, although he apparently wrote about it as a school composition much later, which may explain some of the overwrought prose. John D. Molinaro, “Baby Beef and Bougereau,” November 16, 1959, Frye Art Museum Archives.

sudden silence.” These were the only African Americans he described in the visit, men to whom the most brutal task had been assigned. He quickly left the scene dominated by “the bawling of bulls, the screams of hogs, the bloody butchers, the huge Negro with bulging neck, shoulder and arm muscles, with his huge mallet, who stunned the cattle just before the knife slashed the throat, and the blood poured forth, hot and steaming.”

He reacted to the plant’s other workers with more sympathy. The faces of the other men and women had “a strange fascination” for him – faces with “sad resignation” in which he could discern “the countries from which they come, Russia, Poland, Italy, Mexico” – workers he described as “deftly and dexterously wielding knives, hooks and hatchets.” He proceeded on to the hide room and the fertilizer room. He only heard descriptions of other places, the ham curing room, the smoke rooms, the refrigerator cars, the stock yards, and the grain elevator. On the way to the office, he saw the poultry houses. He was “only too happy” to leave the scene of the killing. While the brutal operation had the power to shock and dismay the first-time visitor, it provided needed jobs for hundreds of urban laborers through much of the twentieth century. The structure of work at the plant reinforced racial stereotypes; yet it also brought together a diverse group of workers.

One of the city’s first major meat-packers, Charles Frye, the son of German immigrants, arrived in town in 1888. With several years’ experience in the cattle industry around Butte, Montana, he apparently saw Seattle as a promising place to start his own business. The presence of slaughterhouses, such as his, was a sign of prosperity, the subject of celebratory newspapers articles with headlines such as “What a young man with vision has accomplished in Seattle.”¹⁵³ This was a marked change from Seattle’s early days, when Seattle had no need for a slaughterhouse district. When cattle reached the Seattle market in the 1860s and 1870s, typically after being herded from eastern Washington across Snoqualmie Pass, it was a newsworthy event, with details of the journey and notice of the

¹⁵³ “Seven-Year Growth,” *SPI*, June 21, 1896; “What a Young Man with Vision has accomplished in Seattle,” *ST*, June 22, 1924. On Charles Frye, see Helen Elizabeth Vogt, *Charlie Frye and His Times* (Seattle: SCW Publications, 1995).

availability of beef appearing in the papers.¹⁵⁴ As late as 1880, the city had only 3,553 inhabitants and a few steers a day could easily provide the city with an adequate supply of meat.¹⁵⁵ Soon after his arrival, Frye was slaughtering a few cattle a day. He then headed East to study the modern slaughtering techniques of Chicago and Cincinnati. On his return, his operation began killing animals on an industrial scale. Animals that spent most of their lives on farms were shipped to the city to die. In the 1890s, his stockyards could accommodate two hundred cattle, eight hundred hogs, and a thousand sheep at a time, and his plant could slaughter three hundred hogs, a hundred sheep and an unspecified number of cattle a day.¹⁵⁶

Railroads were crucial to the meat industry. They contributed to Seattle's population growth and thus to the demand for meat. They carried the animals needed to supply the city's meat-packing plants. A link to the Northern Pacific terminus in Tacoma was established in the 1880s; the Great Northern came to Seattle in 1893. The city expanded in the 1880s and 1890s, with the population soaring to 42,837 in 1890 and 80,671 in 1900, and so did its slaughtering business. With the rail link, Frye was soon bringing hogs from Oregon and Eastern Washington, while cattle and sheep could still be obtained closer to home. The success of this business depended not only on the growth of Seattle, but on exporting through the city's port.

This urban work was visible to the city at large, in part due to the efforts of the labor movement. Slaughterhouse workers' organizing struggle dated at least to 1901, when members of the Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workman of North America Local 186 struck Frye's plant demanding that they not be forced to board at the company cookhouse in lieu of higher wages and that Frye recognize the union. The union president, Frank N. Westfall, a German immigrant who worked as a hog butcher, maintained that he

¹⁵⁴ "Arrival of Beef Cattle," *Weekly Intelligencer*, December 6, 1869; David Brody, *The Butcher Workmen: A Study of Unionization* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1964), 8.

¹⁵⁵ Assuming that the average steer provides 500 pounds of dressed meat and that the average city-dweller consumed 2.5 lbs of meat a week, eighteen steers a week (two or three a day) would have provided enough meat for Seattleites in 1880. The figure of 2.5 pounds a week was the average consumption of red meat in 1910. (Susan B. Carter and others, eds., *Historical Statistics of the United States: Earliest Times to Present* [Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006]); on the role of meat in Chicago see William Cronon, *Nature's Metropolis: Chicago and the Great West* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1991), 207-62.

personally had lost ten or fifteen pounds, because of the poorly cooked and sometimes tainted food, some of which workers claimed was meat returned from the market. Frye countered that the almost exclusively white workforce was motivated more by prejudice against the Chinese cooks than valid complaints about the food. He was willing to shut down the cookhouse, but refused to recognize the union, and indeed fired the union officials at his plant.¹⁵⁷ The workers renewed their efforts in 1928, aided by a sympathetic boycott of Frye products by the retail butchers' union, Amalgamated Local 81. The union cards displayed in butcher shops let consumers know not only that the butcher was a union member, but that he supported the right of meat-packers to organize. Dock workers, likewise, supported the boycott by refusing to load Frye meat.¹⁵⁸ In a pattern used by owners in many industries, Frye exploited racial divisions among workers, hiring a group of African American strike-breakers to work the plant during the strike.¹⁵⁹ Yet the packing-house workers finally forced Frye to grant them recognition in 1932.¹⁶⁰ The city's meat-packing industry was largely organized by the late 1930s, aided no doubt by passage of the union-friendly Wagner Act of 1935.¹⁶¹ By the 1940s, over a thousand meatpacking workers were organized in Seattle and Tacoma.¹⁶² For the next fifty years, a largely unionized meatpacking industry would employ hundreds of workers.

The work of slaughtering and processing animals was structured along lines of race, with the best-paying work with large animals being dominated by whites. In the large slaughterhouses that killed sheep, cattle, and hogs in the 1930s, native-born whites and a few

¹⁵⁶ "Seven-Year Growth," *SPI*, June 21, 1896.

¹⁵⁷ Washington State Bureau of Labor, "Biennial Report," 1902.

¹⁵⁸ Entries for James Hand, Ed Lafreinere, G. H. Leu, R. A. Russell, Tom Sather, 1928-29 Ledger, United Food and Commercial Workers International Union (UFCW) Local 81 Headquarters, Auburn, Washington; entries for December 20, 1927, May 22, 1928, September 23, 1929, February 17, 1930, April 28, 1930, August 10, 1931, Board Reports Book, 1927-1932, UFCW Local 81 Headquarters, Auburn, Washington; Walt Sebring, interviewed by author, May 20, 2009, tape recording and transcript in author's possession.

¹⁵⁹ Helen Elizabeth Vogt, *Charlie Frye and His Time* (Seattle: SCW Publications, 1995), 257.

¹⁶⁰ "Butchers Plan New Methods," *Washington State Labor News (WSLN)*, October 10, 1930; "Meat Cutter Fight Frye Co. in Convention," *WSLN*, July 18, 1930; "Butchers Gain Results from Moral Support," *WSLN*, May 23, 1930; "Packers Urge Local Support," *WSLN*, June 26, 1931; "Resolution No. 23," *WSLN*, July 15, 1932; Washington State Bureau of Labor, "Biennial Report," 1917-18.

¹⁶¹ "Butcher Strike," *Argus*, November 20 1937; "Meat Crisis," *Argus*, December 4, 1937; "Settlement," *Argus*, December 11, 1937.

¹⁶² "Strike Closes Meat Plants," *SPI*, February 11, 1947.

blacks worked alongside immigrants from Russia, Poland, Sweden, Belgium, Italy, Spain, Germany, Lithuania, and Mexico – an ethnic mix that seems to have changed little until the 1970s when Vietnamese immigrants began working there.¹⁶³ In the chicken slaughterhouses of the International District, the workforce included many Asian immigrants. Asian and Filipino immigrants predominated in the fish canneries. While men held most of the jobs slaughtering and butchering cattle, hogs, and sheep, women worked more poorly paid jobs making sausage and wrapping meat.¹⁶⁴

In the largely working-class and increasingly unionized city of the early twentieth century, slaughterhouse workers' and retail butchers' labor was an accepted part of urban life, especially outside of middle-class neighborhoods. In sections of Beacon Hill above the slaughterhouse district, almost everyone had a neighbor who worked in meat-packing. On one block of Tenth Avenue South, for instance, the 1930 census revealed that packing-house workers born in Russia, Mexico, Lithuania, and Poland lived alongside a baker, a logger, and two miners born in Lithuania, a Swedish-born carpenter, and steel plant workers born in Poland and Michigan.¹⁶⁵ Retail butchers paraded in the annual labor day parades.¹⁶⁶ They formed key alliances with other workers to promote unionization and higher wages. The industry, like other noxious enterprises, was concentrated away from middle-class neighbors; yet the work of slaughtering animals was a part of urban life.

Animals had their own perspectives on slaughterhouse operations, which we can only guess at. Cattle arrived at the Frye plant in open lattice-work rail cars, shipped from as far away as the Dakotas and Nebraska – the relative freedom of their lives on farms now

¹⁶³ Molinaro, "Baby Beef and Bougereau"; Walt Sebring, interviewed by author; 1930 census, District 172, Beacon Hill.

¹⁶⁴ Vogt, *Charlie Frye*, 217; John Molinaro, "Baby Beef and Bougereau"; want ads placed in the following newspapers: *Gazzetta Italiana*, November 19, 1943, November 26, 1943; December 3, 1943; *Washington Posten* [Norwegian newspaper], November 19, November 26, December 3, 1943; *Svenska Pacific Tribunen* [Swedish newspaper], November 18, November 25, December 2, 1943; *Svenska Posten* [Swedish newspaper], November 18, November 25, December 2, 1943; *Seattle Star*, December 3, 1943; *ST*, December 3, 1943; *SPI*, December 3, 1943; Walt Sebring, interviewed by author, May 20, 2009, tape recording and transcript in author's possession. In 1920, meat-packing workers were 41% white immigrants, 21% native-born whites with immigrant parents, 35% native-born whites, 1.6% African Americans, and 0.9% Asians and American Indians. U.S. Census, 1920.

¹⁶⁵ 1300 block of Tenth Avenue South per U.S. Census Population Rolls, 1930, District 172, Seattle, Washington.

ended.¹⁶⁷ Workers unloaded them and herded them into the company's stockyards that could hold up to ten thousand cattle and twenty-five thousand sheep. Steers fattened in these yards for two to four months, consuming a feed of wheat, hay, and molasses. They had little choice of where to go or what to eat. Unlike the cattle on the plains near Fort Nisqually and in the woods around early Seattle, they could not roam at will. Unlike in the urban commons where cows chose where to graze and where horse compliance was required for transportation to work well, transgressions that countered human desires were rare.

City-dwellers wanted the jobs and the meat that slaughterhouses provided; they did not, however, want them next door. Property values and concerns about health and odors shaped where livestock were killed within the city – the association of stench and ill health a legacy of the miasma theory that shaped scientific thinking in the nineteenth century and public thinking well into the twentieth. The stench arising from the meat, offal, blood, and the rendering of fat could be appalling. Slaughterhouses were soon concentrated on tideflats and wharves south of downtown, an area close to rail lines and removed from middle-class neighborhoods north and west of downtown. The district was formalized in an 1895 ordinance – one of many early land-use ordinances eventually folded into the city's first comprehensive zoning ordinance in 1923.¹⁶⁸ With its 1895 ordinance, the city declared slaughterhouses, rendering plants, and the yarding of more than three cattle and swine outside that area to be nuisances. The law provided that the city health officer would have free entry into meat-packing operations and that slaughter and rendering practices should be “in that manner which is or shall be reputed or thought to be best adapted to securing and continuing their safety and wholesomeness as food.” Every twenty-four hours, the plants had to remove “all offal, blood, fat, refuse, garbage, unwholesome and offensive matter.” They had to have concrete floors and be connected to the sewer.¹⁶⁹ Despite these regulations, residents of the Beacon Hill neighborhood complained for years about the “stench” from the

¹⁶⁶ Photographs available at UFCW Local 81, Auburn, Washington.

¹⁶⁷ By 1929, the Frye plant slaughtered cattle that had been shipped from seven states ranging from California and Nevada to Montana and Wyoming, sheep from five states from California to Montana, hogs from seven different states as far away as the Dakotas and Nebraska (“A Plant with a Payroll of Two Millions,” *ST*, April 29, 1929).

¹⁶⁸ Ordinance No. 45382 (1923), SMA.

slaughterhouses and their inability to get city action against the wealthy slaughterhouse owners.¹⁷⁰ Far from being hidden out of view, these city-dwellers experienced the industry every day.

The regulation of urban livestock operations helped define a line between city and country. In the view expressed in the 1895 ordinance, the keeping of livestock for subsistence was appropriate to urban areas, as were dairies: the one type of market livestock operation most dependent on proximity to the final consumers. Raising commercial livestock for meat, by contrast, belonged in the country. The city council made clear that in restricting where slaughterhouses and other businesses kept cattle, it did not want to restrict urban family's use of livestock. The ordinance's restrictions did not apply, it said, to "the keeping of cattle by private families for their own use" or to urban dairies.

Integration into the national economy brought a change in diet and a related changed in how land was used. Rather than local game, fish, and shellfish, more and more it was meat from domesticated mammals and birds, often raised in distant places, that sustained urban-dwellers' bodies. The location of these plants on Seattle's tidelands helped close those commons to clamming and fishing – a resource that had sustained Native peoples for millennia and many struggling newcomers as well. These lands became filled with new industries – slaughterhouses, fish canneries, iron works, creosote factories, lumber mills, flour mills, and box factories – that often fouled the coastline and made traditional subsistence impossible.¹⁷¹ Eventually, all the rich tidelands near downtown would be filled in, depriving Lushootseeds and other city dwellers of a source of sustenance. While in the early twentieth century, slaughterhouses stood on piers jutting out into Elliott Bay, by the mid-twentieth century those killing factories, although still in the same spots, were surrounded by dry land. The slaughterhouses were more than ready to fill the need for meat in the market economy created in part by the destruction of subsistence practices. The very visible practices of hunting, fishing, and clamming – practiced by Lushootseed people and

¹⁶⁹ Ordinance 3876 (1895), SMA. See also, "May Extend Limits," *SPI*, May 5, 1905.

¹⁷⁰ "To Abate Nuisance," *SPI*, December 16, 1902; "Visit Slaughter House," *ST*, February 28, 1905; CF 26685, filed December 12, 1905, SMA.

most newcomers in the mid-nineteenth century – gave way to an equally utilitarian practice of slaughterhouse work which only a few practiced in a circumscribed district. By the late twentieth century, the slaughtering of livestock would be hidden from urban view altogether by the moving of packinghouses to rural districts.

Urban Hog Farmers

Some nights, the sun had hardly gone down when Tsuneta Korekiyo rose to get food for his hogs. He hitched up his two-horse wagon around two in the morning, left his farm in South Park and travelled north to collect swill (food waste) from restaurants and hotels. Hauling the stinking waste through city streets was unpleasant, even demeaning work. As another farmer, Yoshiichi Tanaka, later said, “I still feel ashamed that I had the nerve to drive through the busy downtown streets . . . in broad daylight with such a dirty wagon.” All told, about thirteen Japanese farmers had some five thousand hogs in and near Seattle in the 1910s – in South Park, a district that straddled the south boundary of Seattle, and in Sunnyside, some ten miles south of the city. These farmers produced roughly half the city’s locally produced pork, while white farmers produced the other half. Swill was such a valuable commodity that they paid businesses for the privilege of picking it up. Indeed, farmers complained that competition for the stuff was so intense that it was hard to make a profit.¹⁷²

In a system that recycled nutrients close to home, garbage did not go to waste, but served to fatten pigs that would in turn feed city-dwellers after their slaughter.¹⁷³ Farms such as these kept killing out of middle-class homes. It was farmers on the city’s outskirts that encountered these animals as living beings. Through the century, these operations would be increasingly concentrated and removed from urban view, further distancing city-dwellers from the source of their food. In seeking the profits that hogs could bring to their owners, one man successfully consolidated the business of collecting food waste and feeding it to

¹⁷¹ Sanborn Map Company, “Seattle” (New York: Sanborn Map Company, 1893-1903); Matthew Klinge, *Emerald City: An Environmental History of Seattle* (New Haven: Yale University, 2007), 80-83.

¹⁷² Kazuo Ito, *Issei: A History of Japanese Immigrants in North America*, trans. (Shinichiro Nakamura and Jean S. Gerard (Seattle: Japanese Community Service, 1973), 479-83; letter from Hugh M. Caldwell, mayor to City Council, July 2, 1920, *Cornelius v. Seattle*, 123 Wash. 550, Washington State Supreme Court, 1923.

hogs under his own control. His actions were part of a larger story of removing livestock from the city to maximize the profits they could bring and to make the city more modern.

Like the slaughterhouses, these hog farms were not out of place in the city and its environs; they were essentially urban places. They provided pork to the city and they required urban garbage to exist. They were the site of the same racial prejudices and struggles over power that defined the city more broadly. The pigs these farmers raised could not begin to fill the city's demand for pork, bacon, and ham. By one estimate, local hogs provided only ten percent of the city's pork.¹⁷⁴ They did, however, consume perhaps as much as a tenth of the city's municipal waste.¹⁷⁵ The omnivorous nature these creatures shared with humans – their willingness to eat all the food that humans threw away – assured these animals a place in the organic city.¹⁷⁶ When the system came apart in the 1950s, Seattleites lost even that link to origins of their pork and bacon.

While Japanese Americans first entered the hog business around 1910, Seattleites had no doubt been slopping hogs with food waste since they first brought these creatures there in the 1850s.¹⁷⁷ They even let the pigs roam the town. Wandering hogs could do useful work eating garbage that people threw into the street; yet they could also be aggressive and threatening. The city had such a problem with free-roaming hogs that the city's second ordinance after official incorporation in 1869 addressed the issue. “[N]o hogs shall be permitted to run at large within the City of Seattle at any time,” it read, making no mention of any other animals. By the late nineteenth century and early twentieth century, however,

¹⁷³ Ted Steinberg, *Down to Earth: Nature's Role in American History* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2002), 171.

¹⁷⁴ Plaintiff's briefs, *Cornelius v. Seattle*, 123 Wash. 550, Washington State Supreme Court, 1923. The Frye operation alone was killing thousands of hogs a day at his plant. “What a Young Man with Vision has Accomplished in Seattle,” *ST*, June 22, 1924.

¹⁷⁵ In 1919, the city produced 185,922 tons of refuse besides the swill. In the 1950s, the Queen City Farms used 30 tons a day (10,950 tons a year) to feed about 3,100 hogs. That works out to 3.53 tons per hog, which suggests the Japanese American farmers with 5000 hogs might have used 17,650 tons a year, or close to a tenth of the city's garbage around 1919 (CF 81573, 1921, SMA; CF 223839, 1954, SMA; “Swill Contract Negotiations,” Law Department records, 4401-02, 15/2, 1961, SMA)

¹⁷⁶ Ordinance 42354 (1921), SMA.

¹⁷⁷ “Auditor's Office records. 1858-1861. Assessment and Statistical Rolls.” 1857-1861, University of Washington Special Collections.

loose hogs were rare, even as many people still complained of loose cows and horses.¹⁷⁸ As the city grew in the late nineteenth century, the hauling of food waste in wagons became more common. The system and its smell were prevalent enough by 1896 for the city to pass a law requiring that containers used to transport swill be designed so that the waste “not be exposed to the eye and . . . not be offensive to the nose.”¹⁷⁹

Even the seemingly unappealing job of hauling swill was not secure against racial prejudice. In getting hogs out of the urban fringe, as at several other phases of the urban animal story, health regulations masked changes with class- or race-based motives. Those who did the work of hauling swill and slopping pigs, whether Japanese or not, likely had little sway in city hall. But the valuable commodity they transported attracted the attention of someone who did. I. W. Ringer was the white owner of the Pacific Meat and Packing Company. He also owned a large hog farm across Lake Washington from Seattle near the towns of Redmond and Kirkland – a business that was apparently floundering, but one he felt he could save through a strategy of vertical integration. Ringer appealed to the racial prejudice of the city council in suggesting it set up a monopoly in swill collection that would exclude non-citizens from bidding on the franchise. The bill excluded small Japanese farmers, because of their citizenship; but it would also exclude small white farmers, since it was Ringer that got the monopoly. While Ringer’s prime motivation seems to have been money and his city council ally Phillip Tindall’s seems to have been racial prejudice, ostensibly the measure was about health.¹⁸⁰ “[T]he majority [of hog farmers] have conducted their ranches under conditions of indescribable filth,” Tindall said, “But the paramount issue in my estimation is the protection of white industry against Japanese aggression.”¹⁸¹ In Tindall’s view, when white farmers collected rotting foods for hogs, they were industrious; when Japanese did it, they were aggressive. The ordinance itself, however, placed the emphasis on health, being entitled “an ordinance relating to the public health and

¹⁷⁸ “Ordinance No. 2,” *Seattle Daily Intelligencer*, January 10, 1870. In 1918, for instance, the Police Department impounded 161 cows, 160 horses, but only four pigs. Police Department Annual Report, 1920, 1802-H8, box 1, SMA.

¹⁷⁹ Seattle Ordinance 4170 (1896), Seattle Ordinance 4206 (1896), SMA.

¹⁸⁰ *Cornelius v. Seattle*, 123 Wash. 550, Washington State Supreme Court, 1923.

¹⁸¹ Phillip Tindall to Seattle City Council, July 13, 1920, quoted in appellants’ briefs, *Cornelius v. Seattle*.

sanitation.” The city council passed the anti-Japanese swill ordinance on June 13, 1921.¹⁸² Two months later, Ringer signed an agreement with the city to collect that swill, paying the city a fee that would vary with the price of hogs on the Chicago commodities market.¹⁸³

A restaurant owner and two Japanese farmers protested and sued the city to have the law declared unconstitutional. Carroll Cornelius argued that he had a property right in the swill his restaurant produced – rights that the city was violating. Takejiro Doi and Kaiji Koseki argued that Ringer simply could not compete with the Japanese hog ranches in obtaining restaurant swill and had appealed to the anti-Japanese prejudice of the city council.¹⁸⁴ They further argued the law’s anti-Japanese provision violated the equal protection clause of the Fourteenth Amendment and the U.S. treaty with Japan, which allowed Japanese immigrants the right to exercise their trade. The state Supreme Court, however, ruled that it was “a controlling obligation of a city ... to protect the health of its people in all lawful ways.” While it was “true,” the court said, that racial prejudice was an underlying motive of the councilmen, as a matter of law, it had to ignore motive.¹⁸⁵ “Swallowing our tears, we finally gave up,” said one farmer. The resulting swill monopoly eliminated hog farms from the city itself, concentrating hog-raising on Ringer’s farm in Redmond.

While the small hog-raisers had paid restaurants for the swill, Pacific Meat and Packing Company now paid a fee to the city alone. One Japanese dishwasher was so angry that a white farmer now took for free what Japanese farmers had once paid for that he put coffee grounds in the garbage – a substance that was poison to pigs. But ultimately, the restaurant owners needed their food waste hauled away and acquiesced in the requirement that they carefully segregate their food waste for the pigs. Pacific Meat and Packing Company flourished with its new monopoly. It held the swill monopoly for thirty years, during which time Ringer rose to prominence as the head of the local meat dealers’ and

¹⁸² Seattle Ordinance 42354 (1921), SMA.

¹⁸³ CF 82293, filed September 3, 1921, SMA; Ito, *Issei*, 479-83.

¹⁸⁴ First names: World War I draft registration records; Japanese Americans Relocated During World War II records [available through Ancestry.com]

¹⁸⁵ *Cornelius v. Seattle*.

grocers' associations.¹⁸⁶ Through those years, tens of thousands of hogs turned swill into meat and eventually went to slaughter, likely in one of the large meat-packing houses south of downtown. While the city was increasingly connected to international markets, a largely local cycle of nutrients sustained these pigs which in turn sustained city-dwellers.

In the 1950s, new technologies like cellophane and garbage disposals changed the nature of garbage and brought an end to the swill system. When Queen City Farms took over Pacific Meat's swill contract and hog farm in 1951, encroaching suburbanization threatened their operation. Seeking a more isolated location, the farm moved farther south to Maple Valley by 1954. Beginning in the mid-1950s the federal and state governments began recommending swill be cooked to "kill the germs causing vesicular exanthema and other hog diseases," a procedure that the Queen City Farms adopted.¹⁸⁷ More and more restaurants began using disposals to grind up food and send it through the sewers. Whereas the farm collected thirty tons a day of swill in 1951, it only collected about eight tons a day in 1959. The farm also found the swill increasingly contaminated with "coffee grounds, ashes, cans, tins, rubbish, soap, lye, glass, soil," detergent, cellophane, and aluminum. By 1959, it had decided urban swill was unfit to be consumed by hogs and negotiated an early end to their contract on April 1, 1960.¹⁸⁸

After that date, swill became just one more form of "garbage and rubbish" bound for landfills, collected under a separate contract by the Seattle Disposal Company.¹⁸⁹ Hogs had served as living garbage disposals in the city for over a century. As they roamed their farms or ran excitedly to get their next meal, they helped the city dispose of its waste. They also had been unwitting pawns in struggles over the wealth humans could derive from their ability to turn garbage into valuable meat.¹⁹⁰ Even after the 1960s, hogs destined for Seattle tables remained, in a certain sense, urban animals: they were confined in rural facilities that

¹⁸⁶ Resolution 8714 (1926); CF 128696, filed October 30, 1930; CF 156046, filed February 21, 1938; CF 167359, filed September 3, 1940; CF 168023, filed November 7, 1940; CF 214033, filed October 15 1951, SMA; "I. W. Ringer of Grocers Dies," *ST*, May 27, 1948.

¹⁸⁷ CF 223839, filed March 12, 1954, pp. 108, 111, SMA.

¹⁸⁸ CF 214145, filed October 24, 1951; CF 214447, filed November 1, 1951, SMA; "Machines called Hog-diet Peril," *ST*, March 16, 1955.

¹⁸⁹ "Swill Contract Negotiations," 4401-02, 15/2, 1961, SMA.

¹⁹⁰ CF 223839, filed March 12, 1954, SMA.

resembled urban factories more than older rural farms; from humans' perspective, they existed to feed urbanites.¹⁹¹ Yet the demise of urban hog farms meant they became increasingly invisible to city people.

Few city-people in the early twentieth-first century had the direct contact with living hogs that Tsuneta Korekiyo did a century before. Hogs who ended up in Seattle's supermarkets and restaurants now spent their lives far from Seattle. The consolidation of the swill industry under I. W. Ringer was a preview of the even greater concentration of hog raising in the latter twentieth century. The changing nature of garbage in the 1950s sped the process by removing the commercial advantage in locating at least some pigs near urban centers. While health concerns were the pretext for these changes, the search for profit underlay these changes most profoundly – changes that made possible the urban story of benevolence.

Urban Chickens: “Productive and Edible Animals”

Norman Guthmiller had some very practical reasons for keeping chickens and ducks at his house in North Seattle in the 1970s. They provided his family with eggs and meat, as they had done for Seattleites for over a century. Guthmiller differed from many other poultry-keepers, however, by articulating an ideological justification for what others simply engaged in as a practical subsistence strategy. Quoting Thorstein Veblen's famous phrase, he saw the keeping of cats and dogs as a wasteful example of “conspicuous consumption.” He felt, rather, that the city should encourage the keeping of any “productive and edible animal” like a chicken. “I've got nothing against dogs and cats,” he said, “and I know they give people love but maybe if everyone in the city kept chickens instead of dogs, the old and the poor wouldn't have to eat dog food. [...] If someone can starve in Northwest Africa because we give the food to dogs, then how long will it be before we say someone in the Ozarks can starve.” His rhetoric identified him as part of the back-to-the-land movement that

¹⁹¹ Journalist Michael Pollan calls them “animal cities” and refers to the “urbanization of America's animal population” (*The Omnivore's Dilemma: A Natural History of Four Meals* [New York: Penguin Press, 2006]), 67.

consciously questioned urban consumerism. For Guthmiller, keeping poultry was more than a way to get eggs and meat; it was a defiant stance for social justice.

His chicken and duck keeping might not have drawn much attention in South Seattle, where the practice was still common, but irate neighbors in his North Seattle neighborhood soon complained to the city. He was in fact violating a 1957 ordinance that prohibited keeping more than three small animals in a household. Guthmiller received a number of calls of support from other Seattleites keeping birds in defiance of the ordinance. This support notwithstanding, a jury found him guilty and fined him for a practice that many felt no longer fit in the city.¹⁹²

Because of pigs' relatively large size and because, unlike cows and chickens, they do not provide humans with food on a daily basis, they were removed from the backyards early in the city's history. As such, it was primarily the human quest for profits that shaped their lives. Chickens, by contrast, fit much more easily into backyards; so city-dwellers have shaped their lives based on their status as property, as symbols, and even as companions. Chickens have proved remarkably fluid in their ability to represent class in the city. A pervasive sense that backyard chickens had no place in the city gained increasing sway among the white middle class, and others as well, through much of the twentieth century. Yet recently reframed by concerns about environmentalism and animal welfare, chickens have become respectably middle-class, at least for some city people. The "taint of usefulness" and thrift has given way to the sheen of ethical eating.¹⁹³

While few city-dwellers now know how to slaughter and butcher chickens, these creatures are more than ever a part of human lives and human bodies. The foods that city-dwellers embrace – from fast-food meals to frozen chicken dinners – have contributed to soaring consumption of chickens that live far from human cities, but in increasingly city-like factory farms. People hid chickens and work with chickens, because slaughtering chickens is unpleasant work and because it does not fit within the urban story of benevolence and

¹⁹² "Guilty Verdict for Illegal Chicken Owner," *Seattle Sun*, December 14, 1977; "Fee for Jury Trial Rumples Feathers," *Seattle Sun*, October 12, 1977; Bob Liff, "Crusading for Chicks," *Seattle Sun*, September 21, 1977; Les Ledbetter, "Seattle Man Fighting City to Keep his 5 Chickens," *New York Times*, September 30, 1977.

middle-class respectability. Chickens moved first from backyards to urban slaughterhouses, then to enormous slaughterhouses far from the city. Yet they never really left Seattle.

Through the mid-twentieth century, backyard chickens were an urban commonplace through much of the city. Many city-dwellers kept a large enough flock to provide eggs and the occasional chicken stew, considering it a vital part of their subsistence. Chickens were so common in the 1920s that citizens could mock efforts to ban dogs from the city by sarcastically suggesting “the next move would be to legislate out of existence crowing rooster[s].”¹⁹⁴ However, by 1912, some residents were mobilizing to eliminate them from backyards – an effort that brought a furious response from chicken owners. They delivered a two-inch thick stack of petitions to the city council saying this would “absolutely impoverish” thousands of city dwellers.¹⁹⁵ “[T]he despised chicken has certainly done its share in lessening the burden of the family,” one advocate said, claiming that “many persons in Seattle [are] in such straitened circumstances that they are required to wait until the hens lay in the morning before they can be assured of breakfast.” At the public hearing, “four hundred chicken raisers and keepers of poultry” successfully drowned out the voices of those who spoke up for restrictions – including a ban on roosters and a requirement that chicken houses be fifteen feet from property lines – voices arguing that chickens reduced the value of rental properties by scaring off tenants and deprived hospital patients of the quiet they need to recover.¹⁹⁶

Using restrictive covenants, middle-class whites banned chickens from the new racially segregated neighborhoods they were building in the 1920s; yet the useful birds were common outside of those districts. Marguerite Johnson, an African American woman, remembered cows and chickens in Rainier Valley during her childhood in the 1910s and

¹⁹³ Thorstein Veblen, *The Theory of the Leisure Class* (New York: Penguin Books, 1994), 231 (originally published 1899).

¹⁹⁴ “Flood of Oratory Marks Arguments Over Noisy Dogs,” *SPI*, August 5, 1920.

¹⁹⁵ Letter, March 16, 1912, CF 47512; petition, April 12, 1912, CF 47457; letter, February 24, 1912, CF 47103, SMA; *Bulletin of the Department of Health and Sanitation* [Seattle], March 1912, 6.

¹⁹⁶ “Poultry Raisers Would Learn Ordinance Terms,” *ST*, March 26, 1912; “New Ordinance Fought by Owners of Chickens,” *ST*, April 14, 1912; “Chicken Ordinances of City to Remain Just as They Are,” *ST*, April 17, 1912.

1920s.¹⁹⁷ Marianne Picinich remembered that many of the Croatian immigrants and other families in her neighborhood along the Duwamish River kept chickens during the 1930s.¹⁹⁸ Iwao and Hanaye Matsushita, both Japanese immigrants, even made a brief home movie that included their flock of some six chickens, one of which had a brood of chicks, at their house in South Seattle in the 1930s. The fact that the couple owned a movie camera suggests that they were certainly not struggling working-class residents who had to have chickens to survive. The fact that kept such a large flock strongly suggests they were using them for meat, as well as eggs.¹⁹⁹ Only in the whites-only middle-class neighborhoods that viewed the productive home as suspect were these animals banned in the early twentieth century.

While few would describe slaughtering and butchering chickens as pleasant work, the meaning of this activity was hardly fixed. Many viewed it as incompatible with urban living in the twentieth century. Yet it was an essential domestic skill for others and could evoke warm associations of home and family. Edie Picardo, who was born in 1922 and grew up in North Seattle, remembered how his Italian-born grandmother would prepare chickens.

We had a little rock fireplace in the backyard and when weather permitted, Grandmother would put a huge pan of water over the fire and wait for it to boil. Then she would walk to the chicken coop a few yards away, grab a chicken, wring its neck, chop its head off with a hatchet and then throw it up in the air. Its wings would flap quite a bit before it hit the ground and there would be a little bit of blood around. After repeating this technique on three or four chickens, she would put them into the boiling water for about a minute, retrieve them and then begin to pull the feathers off. After disrobing the chickens of their feathers, she would open and clean them. A little while later we would eat the freshest, tastiest chicken ever conceived in a kitchen.

To the young man, this brutal scene was not disconcerting, but reassuring: “Witnessing the way Grandmother killed and prepared chickens, with a brutal, no-questions-asked efficiency, I feared nothing. What could possibly happen to me as long as Grandmother was there?”²⁰⁰

¹⁹⁷ Esther Hall Mumford, ed., *Seven Stars and Orion: Reflections of the Past* (Seattle: Ananse Press, 1986), 31.

¹⁹⁸ Marianne Picinich, interviewed by J. L. Joseph, March 14, 2001, Southwest Seattle Historical Society.

¹⁹⁹ Iwao Matsushita, “The House That Cats Built” [1930s-1940s] [film available at <http://www.seattlechannel.org/videos/video.asp?ID=4030732>, accessed May 2009]

²⁰⁰ Edie S. Picardo, *Tales of a Tail Gunner: A Memoir of Seattle and World War II* (Seattle: Hara Publishing 1996), 30-31.

While most urban chickens ended up in someone's pot, until that moment of slaughter they had some lee-way to conduct their daily lives. They wandered backyards. They clucked expectantly as they saw someone ready to throw grain their way. They foraged for insects. They negotiated pecking orders that assured relative harmony in their flocks. Some of them formed particular bonds with humans, especially children. While humans saw a particular purpose to all these chicken activities – allowing them to produce eggs and to grow meat that humans would later consume – chickens had their own purposes in pursuing these activities. Yet the backyard world that humans and chickens created together came increasingly under attack.

After the white middle class had abandoned backyard chickens, but long before they were banned from the city as a whole, urban poultry slaughterhouses thrived providing dressed chickens to the expanding segment of the urban population that did not want to raise and slaughter its own poultry. The slaughter of chickens moved from backyards to concentrated operations in the International District. One of the longest-lived chicken slaughterhouses was Acme Poultry, founded by Russian Jewish immigrant Morris Polack in 1928 and continuing to operate until 1997. In the utilitarian view of Polack and other poultry house owners, chickens were property, a commodity like any other: "same like you buy sacks or you buy fruit or whatever." He had no particular experience in the chicken business. Rather, he fell into it one day as he was peddling junk on the west side of Puget Sound and a farmer offered to pay him one cent a pound to take his chickens to market in Seattle. Once he saw this could be more profitable than junk-peddling, Polack and his brother Jack set out to "learn . . . the trade, what the chickens are worth and what they are so we could go down and talk intelligent." They set up their own business purchasing chickens, quickly buying into an existing slaughterhouse in 1928. The Polacks and other chicken buyers would ply the countryside in one-ton trucks buying birds by the dozens or hundreds and bringing back as many as five hundred in a load. It grew into a large operation employing 250 people by the

1980s. Into the 1990s, the firm was still killing forty thousand birds a day at its Seattle plant.²⁰¹

On Seattle's outskirts, farmers seized the opportunity to supply Seattle's growing market. Starting in 1917, for instance, the Puget Mill Company began promoting its logged-over land at Alderwood Manor – about five miles northeast of Seattle – as small five- to ten-acre farms. The human and avian population of Alderwood Manor soared from almost nothing to 1,463 and 200,000 respectively by 1922. By one account, the area had 2,500 poultry farms by the 1930s. Mr. and Mrs. Frank Pantley, for instance, produced some 6,500 capons a year for the Seattle market.²⁰² The community's success, however, was not all that real-estate sellers made it out to be. Their sales hype ignored the fact that families had paid much more for land at Alderwood Manor than they would have on other nearby logged-over lands and that many went bust or had to hold down urban jobs to keep themselves afloat.²⁰³ The city was connected to the country not only by the birds Polack and others drove to Chinatown, but by the urban salaries that sustained dreams of rural prosperity. Despite risks from real-estate boomers, families on farms surrounding Seattle, at Alderwood Manor and elsewhere, were able to produce chickens for a growing group of urban-dwellers who could not or would not raise their own chickens.

For Charles G. "Charlie" Chinn, the son of Chinese immigrants, as for Morris Polack, chickens were just another commodity. Chinn started China Poultry around 1951, when his previous small cab company was not "financially feasible or successful" and "there was a market for chickens" among Chinese restaurants that wanted "fresh killed and dressed poultry." Twice a week, trucks came in from poultry farms loaded with cages four feet square containing about twelve birds each to this small operation that employed just two or three people and was located in the Kong Yick building, the current site of the Wing Luke

²⁰¹ Morris Polack, interviewed by Eric Offenbacher, August 26, 1987, Morris Polack Papers, University of Washington Special Collections; "Polacks of Acme Known Nationally," *Washington Food Dealer*, January 1981; "Morris Polack," *ST*, December 27, 1993; "Morris Polack," *SPI*, December 27, 1993; "Acme's Morris Polack still Enjoys 'Making a Buck,'" *Turkey World*, November-December 1982; Tom Perry, manager at Acme Farms, personal communication, May 2009, notes in author's possession.

²⁰² "Frank Pantley's Alderwood Manor Capon Farm Thriving," *ST*, December 27, 1936.

²⁰³ David Wilma, "Lynnwood-Thumbnail History," 2007 [Historylink.org Essay 8200, accessed May 2009]; "A Free Education in Poultry Raising and Home Gardening" [ad], *ST*, October 5, 1919.

Asian Museum. Workers slit the birds throats, accumulated their bodies in a barrel, dumped their bodies into scalding water, put them through a chicken plucking machine, finished the plucking job by hand, then dumped the chickens in cooling tanks. Slaughtering these animals was (in his son Chuck's words) a "messy, bloody, goopy, stinky job." When customers ordered a bird, they would eviscerate the animal, and depending on the client's preference, cut off its head and feet, and split the carcasses down the back. When his daughter asked him about his fondest memories of China Poultry, Chuck Chinn just repeated the question and chuckled. But, on reflection, he said "one it was time that I spent with my father because there wasn't much other time. The other was it taught me the value of money because basically I worked for a dollar an hour." It was not the type of work that produced fond memories, except for the human connections it allowed and the wages earned.²⁰⁴

In the postwar years, the growing availability of store-bought chicken combined with a desire to distinguish urban from rural life in pushing backyard chickens to the margins of urban life. A hundred years earlier, livestock had been a crucial economic strategy and a sign of civilization. Now to an increasing number, they represented backwardness. There were few Seattleites, and even fewer among the white middle class, who did not see it as progress that one could buy a dressed chicken at the store rather than slaughtering and butchering it oneself. In 1948, a city councilman assured what he assumed were "thousands" of backyard chicken keepers that the council would "not force them to buy their eggs at grocery stores."²⁰⁵ Yet a mere nine years later, the city essentially banned backyard chickens.

Increasingly, citizens used health concerns to eliminate these urban chickens, spreading the ideology of the non-productive home from whites-only middle-class neighborhoods to the city more broadly. From Rainier Valley in the south to Ballard in the north, citizens complained increasingly of chicken yards, some with hundreds of hens and roosters, that were a "nuisance," a "sanitary" problem, and a "disturbance of peace and quiet." These operations were perfectly legal before 1957 so long as they met health standards. Chicken owners argued they provided an important way to sustain their families

²⁰⁴ Chuck Chinn, interviewed by Cassie Chinn, October 15, 2004, Wing Luke Asian Museum Archives.

²⁰⁵ "Chicken Owners' Fears Dispelled," *ST*, September 28, 1948.

and often there was little the city could do, except negotiate a compromise or stop practices they deemed unsanitary.²⁰⁶ While citizens made arguments about health, they were motivated as much by a cultural sense that productive animals did not fit into the city. One woman expressed this viewpoint particularly vividly when she wrote the city council in 1943: “Is it not possible to remain civilized...? Must we actually live and breathe with animals before we kill and eat them?” It was not the killing that threatened civilization, but where the killing was done. She was not alone in thinking that the keeping of livestock made the city less than civilized and should be relegated to other places. She was also not alone in embracing the middle-class amenities that attested to respectability. Chickens, she feared, would destroy “our beautiful yards which have taken years to make.”²⁰⁷

The circumstance of the Grastello case show just how much attitudes had changed. The city council fielded occasional complaints about chicken houses, often when new houses were built near an older house with an existing large-scale chicken operation. By the mid-1950s, it was very receptive to one persistent letter-writer, Denny W. DiJulio of Beacon Hill. He, joined in a petition by dozens of his neighbors, complained of the chicken house of Theresa Grastello. The flies, rats, and odors, he felt, were “detrimental to the health and welfare of the community inasmuch as it no longer remains sparsely populated.”²⁰⁸ The city’s director of public health, however, recognized that such complaints often had less to do with health than with sights, smells, and sounds that city-dwellers found inappropriate to a “civilized” place. “Almost without exception,” he noted, “whenever chickens, cows, goats, rabbits and other livestock are maintained in a populous area nuisance problems occur regardless of any relationship to health.”²⁰⁹

The city council soon acted on these concerns. The decision seems to have produced little discussion, other than the complaints by that one set of neighbors against Theresa Gastello, who had been keeping chickens for twenty-seven years. The public safety

²⁰⁶ CF 149016, filed December 13, 1935; CF 158949, filed May 14, 1938; CF 203820, filed July 14, 1949, SMA.

²⁰⁷ CF 176926, filed May 3, 1943, SMA.

²⁰⁸ CF 229614, filed June 18, 1956, SMA.

²⁰⁹ CF 229614, filed June 18, 1956, SMA.

committee determined that old zoning provisions allowing chickens were “antiquated.”²¹⁰ The sweeping nature of their ban indicates that the city council gave little thought to those who kept a few chickens for subsistence. For all practical matters, it banned chickens in 1957. The new zoning ordinance restricted to three the number of small animals (primarily dogs, cats, and chickens) that homeowners could keep. Since chickens are social animals that need companions, this law meant anyone with a dog or a cat really could not legally keep chickens. Even in families willing to forgo dogs and cats, the law made it impossible to keep enough chickens to regularly supply meat.²¹¹ Newspaper coverage accurately summarized the spirit, if not the letter, of the law, when it said: “the city’s new zoning code forbids the keeping of fowl in a single-residence district.”²¹²

Through the last half of the twentieth century, the decline of backyard poultry and of urban slaughterhouses meant that the chickens that ended up on Seattleites’ dinner plates came increasingly from distant places. By the 1990s, the state of Washington produced less than a third of the chicken it consumed, even as chicken consumption soared.²¹³ Americans consumed on average fourteen pounds of chicken meat each in 1950, twenty-seven pounds in 1970, forty-two pounds in 1990, and sixty pounds in 2007.²¹⁴ Consumption of chicken has soared, in a time period when consumption of beef and pork has stagnated, in part because marketers have successfully branded it as more healthy than other meats, even as they have found increasingly unhealthy and tasty ways to process it: most famously, the Chicken McNuggets introduced by McDonalds 1983.²¹⁵ These chickens lived their lives increasingly on factory farms far from Seattle. By the twenty-first century, most of Washington state’s

²¹⁰ “Chicken Complaints,” *ST*, July 31, 1956; “Council Group Hears Chicken Complaints,” *ST*, August 7, 1956; “Chickens Houses,” *ST*, August 31, 1956.

²¹¹ “Zoning Ordinance City of Seattle (Ordinance no. 86,300),” 1957, SMA.

²¹² “Poultry Ban Approved by Committee,” *ST*, August 27, 1958.

²¹³ In 1994, Washington produced 180,000,000 pounds of broilers, out of a total of 30,617,600,000 pounds in all the U.S. These figures suggest that Washington state produced 28% of the chicken it consumed assuming equal per capita chicken consumption throughout the United States. USDA, “Poultry Production and Value 1994 Summary,” May 1995. [Available at <http://usda.mannlib.cornell.edu/usda/nass/PoulProdVa/1990s/1995/PoulProdVa-05-02-1995.pdf>, accessed May 2009]

²¹⁴ USDA, filename: mtpouls.xls [available at <http://www.ers.usda.gov/Data/foodconsumption/FoodAvailSpreadsheets.htm>, accessed May 2009].

²¹⁵ Steve Striffler, *Chicken: The Dangerous Transformation of America’s Favorite Food* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2005), 17.

chicken-slaughtering was at the large Foster Farms plant in Longview some 130 miles south of Seattle, and at a smaller Draper Valley plant at Mount Vernon, some sixty miles north of Seattle. Nationally, the chicken business became increasingly concentrated in the South.²¹⁶ As Seattleites and other Americans consumed more chicken, they rarely encountered them as living creatures. Chickens no longer hung in butcher shops with their feet and heads intact. Chicken producers sold fewer chickens as complete birds, and more by parts, as skinless, boneless meat, or value-added prepared dinners. Americans also began eating out more and encountering chicken ready-to-eat on their plates.

Despite backyard chicken restrictions and the growing popularity of store-bought chicken, some city-dwellers kept chickens throughout the latter twentieth century.²¹⁷ In South Seattle, home to a diverse community of blacks, whites, American Indians, Latino and Latina Americans, and Asian Americans, as well as immigrants from China, Japan, the Philippines, Southeast Asia, Eastern Europe, Somalia and elsewhere, urban livestock were especially common. One resident remembered chickens, ducks, rabbits, goats, bees, and at least one turkey in the backyards of Beacon Hill in the 1970s and 1980s.²¹⁸ It was, however, the experience of Jo Hanson in the predominantly white neighborhood of West Seattle that first brought the issue to the city council's attention. She lived in a wooded area and began raising chickens in 1979, soon acquiring a flock of four hens and two roosters. By her account, her elderly neighbors liked hearing her roosters. "They'd say it reminded them of when they grew up." One of her neighbors, however, complained and brought the matter to the attention of the building department and the city council. Councilman Michael Hildt drew up legislation that year to allow more chickens.²¹⁹ Seattle Tilth, a local organic gardening organization, joined in the campaign to allow urban chickens. In 1982, the city authorized up to three chickens in residential neighborhoods, in addition to three cats or dogs.²²⁰ "You

²¹⁶ Tim Phelan, interviewed by author, May 22, 2009, tape recording and transcript in author's possession.

²¹⁷ Karleen Pederson-Wolfe, interviewed by Martha Crites, November 14, 2001, Rainier Valley Historical Society.

²¹⁸ Angelina Shell, interviewed by author, June 22, 2009, tape recording and transcript in author's possession.

²¹⁹ "Fowl Play: Zoning for Chickens," *Seattle Sun*, February 13, 1980.

²²⁰ Ordinance 110381 (1982), SMA.

know, there are more people who own ducks and chickens in West Seattle than you would think,” Hanson said. After 1982, they were no longer skirting the law.

In the late 1990s and early 2000s, interest in urban chickens soared among city dwellers, especially among non-immigrant whites and the middle class, the very groups that had earlier rejected urban livestock. New chicken-keepers rejected the utilitarian view of Polack, Chinn, and of the large factory farms and pursued new relations that blended pet and livestock status, that focused on environmental and animal welfare concerns. In the early twentieth century, most middle-class people chose not to have chickens, because of their association with the country and the past and because store-bought chicken was becoming available. In the 1990s, it was not so much social justice, as with some back-to-the-landers like Guthmiller, as environmental concerns and critiques of industrial agriculture that pushed the new trend. “I think it’s important,” said one chicken-keeper said, “to be as sustainable as possible in an urban environment.” For many, urban chicken-keeping was especially important to allow children to understand where their food came from. “They learn the cycle of life and what it entails to take care of animals,” said a teacher who kept chickens at her school.²²¹ But it also helped, for some new chicken-keepers, that people found ways to fit chickens into elegant yards. Martha Stewart helped make chicken-keeping acceptably middle-class with the beautiful chicken coop she showcased in the late 1990s. In one Seattle chicken-keeper’s assessment: “It was a beautiful element within her very conservative, decorative garden. And that flipped it for a lot of people. It was not just this granola-eating, Birkenstock-wearing back-to-the-lander organic fanatic.”²²² Seattle Tilth had been offering chicken classes since its founding in the 1970s, but found interest soaring in the late 1990s. They even began arranging an annual chicken coop tour beginning in 1999.²²³ Knowledge that had once been passed from neighbor to neighbor, from mother to daughter, was now taught in a class called City Chickens 101.

²²¹ Cecelia Goodnow, “‘Chickeneers’ Pack Poultry Classes . . .,” *SPI*, July 12, 2002.

²²² Jennifer Carlson, interviewed by author, June 19, 2009, tape recording and transcript in author’s possession.

²²³ Cecelia Goodnow, “‘Chickeneers’ Pack Poultry Classes and Build Trendy Coops for Backyard Flocks,” *SPI*, July 12, 2002; Marty Wingate, “City Coops in the Garden,” *SPI*, October 5, 2000.

Perhaps not surprisingly, trying to bring chickens within the circle of care that more typically enfolds cats and dogs creates problems. For instance, urban chicken-keeping requires only hens to lay eggs. Roosters are not banned outright in the city; yet it is difficult to keep a rooster without violating the city's noise ordinance or upsetting one's neighbors. Although some argue they are useful in fighting off predators and quickly establishing a pecking order, they are not needed in order for hens to lay eggs. Generally, hatcheries sex chicks soon after birth and kill the males of laying breeds. Or more horrifically, they do not kill them, leaving them to suffocate or die of thirst in waste containers.²²⁴ This killing in distant rural places receives little notice. Problems emerge, however, when city-people buy "hens" that turn out to be roosters – a fairly common occurrence. Hatcheries catering to commercial egg operations hire the best chick-sexers – Japanese Americans skilled in the vent-sexing technique originating in Japan – so that their clients will not waste feed on a cockerel for several weeks before discovering his sex.²²⁵ Hatcheries catering to the urban market, however, regularly supply a rooster instead of a hen. Some in fact include a few extra chicks in each order just to assure an urban chicken-keeper gets the requisite numbers of hens. Many of the new backyard chicken-keepers see their birds as pets and lack the skills and willingness to turn these unwanted roosters into food. Some urban chicken-keepers are willing to butcher their backyard birds for meat; but many would rather find homes for

²²⁴ Angelina Schell, interviewed by author; Jennifer Carlson, interviewed by author; George Yamada, interviewed by Megan Asaka, March 15-16, 2006, Densho Digital Archives; "Chick Sexer," *Dirty Jobs with Mike Rowe* (Discovery Channel, originally aired August 16, 2003) [available at <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=1tmEO9xRqvo>, accessed August 2009]; Eiichiro Azuma, "Race, Citizenship, and the 'Science of Chick Sexing': The Politics of Racial Identity among Japanese Americans," *Pacific Historical Review* 78, no. 2 (2009): 242-75.

Peter Singer and Jim Mason, *The Way We Eat: Why Our Food Choices Matter* ([Emmaus, Pennsylvania]: Rodale Inc, 2006), 40.

²²⁵ The vent of a chicken is the all-purpose external opening that combines the functions of urination, defecation, and reproduction. Vent-sexing involves squeezing the abdomen of the chick to expel waste products from the vent and carefully observing the texture and shininess of vent's rim to determine if the chick is male or female.

supernumerary males where they will not “become chicken soup.”²²⁶ Of five Seattle families that inadvertently acquired roosters in one study, only one chose to eat it.²²⁷

The continuation of chicken-keeping in some neighborhoods and its revival in others shows that the distinction between pet and livestock, between sentiment and use, was never absolute. The twenty-five year (virtual) ban on chickens and the lengthier period when the middle class saw them as out of place contributed to a new set of relations based on connection and sentiment. For many, killing a creature they know is no longer acceptable. Yet some city people are still willing to keep animals they use (whether for eggs or meat) close to home and very often to love them as pets. Backyard chickens have nothing like the prevalence they had a century ago, and nothing like the prevalence of dogs and cats today. Yet their urban role is increasing.

The Urbanization of Farm Animals

Although the new urban chicken-keepers get all the attention, for every one backyard chicken, Seattleites eat some twenty thousand factory-farmed chickens and thousands more chickens produce eggs consumed in the city. Backyard chickens are just a “drop in the Colonel’s bucket,” as one writer terms it.²²⁸ Most Americans today do not raise chickens, keep hogs, or work in slaughterhouses, and Seattleites are no exception. Most city-dwellers encounter cattle, pigs, and chickens primarily at the meat department, the restaurant, the kitchen, or the dinner table. These encounters help frame the city as a place of benevolence to animals, since the living animals destined to be meat are far from the scene. Despite appearances, however, the city is not solely a place of benevolence toward animals, but one that mixes use and sentiment. Within the city humans engage not only in sentimental

²²⁶ Message in author’s possession, posted June 16, 2009 on [Seattle] Chicken Lovers meetup group [<http://chicken.meetup.com/46/>]

²²⁷ Jennifer Lynn Blecha, “Urban Life with Livestock: Performing Alternative Imaginaries through Small-scale Livestock Agriculture in the United States” (Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Minnesota, 2007), 175.

²²⁸ Michael Perry, *Coop: A Year of Poultry, Pigs, and Parenting* (New York: Harpers, 2009), 2. The average American consumed about twenty-nine chickens in 1999. Seattle’s population in 2000 was 563,374, suggesting the city may have consumed some 16 million chickens. Susan B. Carter and others, eds., *Historical Statistics of the United States: Earliest Times to Present* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006). The estimate of 500 urban chickens is from Angelina Shell of Seattle Tilth, quoted in Tom Paulson, “Urban Bird Owners Get Anti-flu Advice,” *SPI*, October 4, 2006.

relations with cats and dogs, but the very utilitarian buying of meat – interactions governed by concerns about price, value, and profits. Utilitarian concerns transformed the grocery, slaughterhouse, and livestock industries in the twentieth century, hiding the lives of farm animals and the people who worked with them. Through the animals they eat, Seattleites are tied increasingly to distant places: factory farms and the increasingly dangerous slaughterhouses where animals are killed and processed into meat and prepared foods.

What the modern food system succeeds most fully in hiding is the lives of the workers who kill and process the animals. While city people know little of the lives that cattle, hogs, and chickens have, they know less about the lives of the workers who slaughter them. Vegetarian groups such as People for the Ethical Treatment of Animals (PETA) work assiduously, with high profile celebrity endorsements, to make clear the suffering of animals on factory farms. A series of popular books (most notably Michael Pollan's *The Omnivore's Dilemma* and Jonathan Safran Foer's *Eating Animals*) have detailed the lives and deaths of cattle, pigs, and chickens in the industrial farm system.²²⁹ No group, not even labor unions, has portrayed as effectively the lives of packinghouse workers to a broad public. Eric Schlosser, author of *Fast-food Nation* – like Upton Sinclair, author of *The Jungle*, a century earlier – lamented that the health concerns raised in his book provoked much greater interest than concerns about worker safety.²³⁰

Few of the animals that produce food for Seattle now live near the city or even in the state, as shown in tables 4 and 5. These tables provide a rough estimate of how much beef, pork, chicken, eggs, and milk is produced locally by comparing human and animal populations. If all animal-derived food consumed in the three-county region including Seattle (Snohomish, King, and King Counties) were produced locally we would expect a ratio of 1.0, while a lower ratio suggests imports and a higher ratio suggests exports (see

²²⁹ Pollan, *Omnivore's Dilemma*; Jonathan Safran Foer, *Eating Animals* (New York: Little, Brown 2009). Other examples are Peter Singer, and Jim Mason, *The Way We Eat: Why Our Food Choices Matter* ([Emmaus, Pennsylvania]: Rodale Inc., 2006); Jeffrey Moussaieff Masson, *The Face on Your Plate: The Truth About Food* (New York W. W. Norton, 2009); Nicolette Hahn Niman, *Righteous Porkchop: Finding a Life and Good Food Beyond Factory Farms* (New York: HarpersCollins, 2009).

²³⁰ Eric Schlosser, *Fast Food Nation: The Dark Side of the All-American Meal* (New York: Perennial, 2002); Eric Schlosser, public lecture about *Fast-food Nation*, University of Washington, January 22, 2002; Upton Sinclair, *The Jungle* (New York: Doubleday, Page, 1906).

chart for a more detailed explanation). This heavily urbanized area is a net importer of meat, milk, and eggs. While beef cattle, hogs, and chickens all lived near Seattle in significant numbers a century ago, layer hens and milk cows are the only animals producing food near the city on a large scale today.²³¹ Not surprisingly, the story for the state as a whole is different. The trend toward consolidation has meant that it has increasingly imported beef, pork, chicken, and eggs, but has become an exporter of milk. A drive through the Puget Sound countryside a century ago allowed city-dwellers to see the source of much of their food. The rural origins of many urban-dwellers fifty or a hundred years ago gave them a clear sense of the origin of meat. Today, urban consumers often have little clue.

*Table 4. Estimated local production of meat, milk, and eggs in Seattle area, 1900-2002.*²³²

	all cattle	hogs	chickens	milk cows	egg production
1900	.24	.11	.36	.43	.91
1950	.18	.04	.12	.34	.47
2002	.08	.01	.02	.34	.79*

*Estimate based on number of layers.

²³¹ John Fraser Hart, *The Changing Scale of American Agriculture* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2003), 49, 81, 126, 188.

²³² This table shows the ratio of actual agricultural census numbers in the three-county area around Seattle (Snohomish, King, and Pierce counties) to the numbers that would be expected if agricultural production were evenly distributed across the United States based on human population. For instance, in 1900 the three-county area had 0.25% of the United States' human population, but only 0.11% of the country's milk cows, producing the ratio of .43 (.11 divided by .25). Given the absence of USDA statistics on local food production across the century and the fact that methods for recording food production and consumption statistics change through the century more than methods for counting human and animal populations, I derived these ratios in order to provide a very rough estimate of the percentage of meat and animal products consumed in Seattle and vicinity that is produced locally. (Source: U.S. Agricultural Census available at <http://nass.usda.gov>)

Table 5. Estimated local production of meat, milk, and eggs in Washington state, 1900-2002.²³³

	all cattle	Hogs	chickens	Milk cows	egg production
1900	.88	.41	.76	.97	.94
1950	.73	.15	.21	.77	.47
2002	.55	.02	.19	1.29	.71

Hiding is essential to the workings of the modern livestock industry. Animals raised for meat, milk, and eggs live increasingly on concentrated agricultural feeding operations (CAFOs). These spaces became initially hidden from urban view as a result of economic strategies of concentration and specialization. Raising animals indoors – as these strategies require for hogs and chickens, but not for cattle – makes them less visible. When operations are concentrated, fewer people live near them. Increasingly, however, they are unseen because agricultural conglomerates do not want consumers to know how animals raised for food live their lives. Consumers, in turn, make little effort to acquire this knowledge.²³⁴ Hog farmers purposely locate their facilities so woods screen them from the highway to avoid the prying eyes of animal rights activists.²³⁵ Tyson Foods refuses permission to film inside the chicken houses of farmers working under contract, even when the farmers themselves are willing.²³⁶ As one scholar, a man generally quite sympathetic to the concentration of agriculture, put it, “corporate ConAgra is so rude and uncivil that it won’t let you go anywhere near one of its feedlots. I wonder what it is trying to hide.”²³⁷ The

²³³ This table shows the ratio of actual agricultural census numbers in Washington state to the numbers that would be expected if agricultural production were evenly distributed across the United States based on human population. These numbers provide a very rough estimate of the percentage of meat and animal products consumed in Washington state that were produced locally. If all products were produced and consumed in-state, we would expect the ratio to be 1.0. These figures reflect only animals on farms and exclude backyard livestock. Therefore, they ignore any difference in the prevalence of backyard livestock in Washington state as opposed to the nation as a whole. (Source: U.S. Agricultural Census available at <http://nass.usda.gov>)

²³⁴ The EPA relies in part on the size of operations, generally designating beef cattle operations with 1000 animals, dairy operations with 700 cows, hog operations with 2,500 animals, and chicken operations with 125,000 chickens as CAFOs (concentrated animal feeding operations), while also designating some smaller operations CAFOs depending on manure disposal methods. Food and Water Watch, “Factory Farm Pollution in the United States” [<http://www.factoryfarmmap.org/>, accessed May 2008].

²³⁵ Hart, *Changing Scale*, 195.

²³⁶ Robert Kenner, “Food Inc.” (documentary released 2009).

²³⁷ Hart, *Changing Scale*, 47.

Colorado legislature has even considered banning the distribution of photographs of CAFOs.²³⁸ Consumers' knowledge of food origins has become dangerous to the workings of the system.

On farms that city-dwellers rarely see, animals live lives that constrain their choices and movement ever more tightly. These are operations in which the sole measure of success is economic efficiency, where environmental costs can be externalized, and where humane concerns can be ignored. While urbanites celebrate the individuality and independence of cats and dogs, their choices remove most opportunity for cattle, pigs, and chickens to act independently at all. The operations, especially CAFO chicken houses and hog barns, rob animals of the opportunity to engage in a variety of ordinary behaviors that were a part of these animals' lives before the twentieth century. Many no longer graze, wallow, forage, have sex, walk outside, or see the sky; they often can not turn around. They have long been commodities; but commodification has moved to a new level. The product of their labor (meat) has long been under human control; but humans now control the exact conditions under which they produce meat in order to maximize profits and meet specific consumer demands. Industry transforms the very bodies of these cattle, pigs, and chickens to be ever more efficient in producing meat in a short amount of time and ever more uniform to facilitate the automation of slaughterhouses. It is an irony of veterinary medicine in the late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries that it concentrates especially on lengthening the lives of cats and dogs and shortening the lives (or "time to market") of cattle, hogs, and chickens. In the 1920s, chickens took sixteen weeks to reach a market weight of two pounds; by the 1990s, they were reaching a market weight over four pounds within seven weeks, while consuming less grain.²³⁹ Steers in the early twentieth century were slaughtered at four or five years of age; by the late twentieth century, feedlots got them to market weight within sixteen months.²⁴⁰

²³⁸ "Food Inc."

²³⁹ Roger Horowitz, *Putting Meat on the American Table: Taste, Technology, Transformation* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University, 2006), 126; Striffler, *Chicken*, 16.

²⁴⁰ Pollan, *Omnivore's Dilemma*, 71; Donald D. Stull and Michael J. Broadway, *Slaughterhouse Blues: The Meat and Poultry Industry in North America* (Belmont, California: Wadsworth, 2004), 32.

The system that constrains the movement of cattle, hogs, and chickens, also provides farmers with fewer choices. Increasingly, farmers who raise chickens and hogs are wholly dependent on the conglomerates that run the slaughterhouses. Some successful farmers embrace the system. But many complain they are “slaves” to conglomerates. “If Tyson wants improvements, you make them, you pay for them, and you smile real nice,” one chicken farmer said, or you may lose your contract and have no way to make money with your expensive mortgaged chicken houses.²⁴¹

The cattle industry has been transformed as well, although not to the same extent. Although the search for profits within capitalism has led to enormous changes in agricultural practices and in the bodies of livestock, nature imposes limits on those transformations. Since cattle (unlike chickens and pigs) are herbivores and need large pastures their first several months of life, farmers cannot profitably force them to live their entire lives indoors – at least not yet. Most cattle still start their lives on ranches run by independent farmers not wholly beholden to one conglomerate – farms that unlike modern hog barns and chicken houses look much like they did a century ago. Since cow/calf operations realize few economies of scale as they expand beyond fifty cows, more than half of cattle are born on these relatively small operations with fifty head or fewer.²⁴² Perhaps because of the beef industry’s failure to consolidate and centralize marketing, it has steadily lost market share to chickens, which consumers perceive as healthier.²⁴³ Once farmers sell cattle to feedlots, however, these animals enter the fully industrialized and consolidated food system. They live on enormous CAFO feedlots located especially in a triangle from Omaha to Amarillo to Denver. More than half the country’s beef passes through some five hundred feedlots that each produce fifty thousand cattle a year or more.²⁴⁴

These processes transformed urban businesses as well. Consolidation of the cattle, hog, and chicken industries destroyed the urban occupation of meat-packer and removed those jobs from urban communities. An essentially urban occupation that relied on a stable,

²⁴¹ Striffler, *Chicken*, 54.

²⁴² Hart, *Changing Scale*, 61.

²⁴³ Stull and Broadway, *Slaughterhouse Blues*, 19.

²⁴⁴ Hart, *Changing Scale*, 48.

skilled labor force – one that was largely unionized by the 1940s – became a rural occupation paying low wages and experiencing high turnover rates. At the beginning of the 1980s, Seattle had a number of unionized slaughterhouses; by the end of the century they were all gone. A number of factors conspired to end this era: the anti-union climate of the Reagan era, the consolidation of grocery chains, new packaging technology, and the rise of factory farms. Ronald Reagan’s 1981 firing of striking members of the Professional Air Traffic Controllers Organization (PATCO) and the contemporaneous recession had a chilling effect on union activism generally. “Yeah, guys were scared to go on strike,” one Seattle meat-packer remembered. “I know that has nothing to do with the meat industry. But, I tell you, they’re looking around, and things were tightening up.”²⁴⁵ While the companies that dominated meat-packing in the early twentieth century had been forced to divest themselves of their vertical integration in 1920, a similar level of concentration has reemerged.²⁴⁶ By the early twenty-first century, the top four companies in beef processing controlled 81 percent of the market; in pork, 59 percent; in poultry, 50 percent.²⁴⁷

Workers faced increasing challenges in the latter twentieth century, as companies fought unions and lowered wages. The large meat-packing operations began leaving Seattle in the 1980s. For instance, in late August of 1981, just weeks after the PATCO strike, the Cudahy-Bar S meat-packing operation – the successor to the Frye packinghouse – sold its plant to a group of its own executives in a bid to re-open as a non-union shop. The move forced out employees, most of them whites and African Americans, represented by United Food and Commercial Workers (UFCW) Local 186A, earning \$10.29. The company then hired new non-unionized workers at \$5.25 an hour. Union president Stewart Earl described his members’ work and their plight. “It is hard, tough, tedious work. You do the same thing, standing in the same place, for eight, 10 hours a day. They do the job with exquisite precision. They do the job with pride, for it is their livelihood, and now they have no livelihood.” After the closure, former employees gathered in the parking lot “talking,

²⁴⁵ Walt Sebring, interviewed by author, May 20, 2009, tape recording and transcript in author’s possession.

²⁴⁶ Stull and Broadway, *Slaughterhouse Blues*, 157

²⁴⁷ Horowitz, *Putting Meat*, 149; Stull and Broadway, *Slaughterhouse Blues*, 158.

sometimes laughing, sometimes almost in tears.”²⁴⁸ Cudahy-Bar S eventually closed its plant anyway in 1984 and soon the large meat-packing plants would leave Seattle altogether.²⁴⁹

In the latter twentieth century, the slaughterhouses, relocated to more rural locations, continued to include many immigrants, now Mexicans and Southeast Asians, rather than Eastern Europeans. These new workers were less able to defend their rights, because they were often non-unionized, and some were undocumented immigrants who feared deportation if they complained.²⁵⁰ The turnover rates, sometimes approaching or passing a hundred percent, were so high some managers started talking in terms of monthly rather than annual rates.²⁵¹ Wages in meatpacking went from being 15% above the manufacturing average in 1960 to 20% below that average in 1990.²⁵² Although reported injury rates fell significantly in the 1990s, by the end of the century the injury rate for meatpacking was still three times that for manufacturing in general, while the rate in poultry processing was half again higher than manufacturing in general.²⁵³ Increasing line speeds and high injury rates made it difficult for workers to make a long career of the work. Yet, these jobs were often the best jobs available in the rural areas they relocated to. For many Mexican and Southeast Asian immigrant workers they represented the best opportunity they could find. While the industry was largely unionized in the 1940s, today all the major meat-packers are strongly anti-union. Only a third of IBP workers are unionized.²⁵⁴ Tyson Foods has been cited repeatedly for violating labor laws by the National Labor Relations Board.²⁵⁵ For city people, the slaughterhouse worker was no longer someone who lived in the same city, but someone living far away who rarely crossed their minds, who worked at the huge Washington Beef plant in Toppenish, the Foster Farms poultry plant in Longview, or slaughterhouses in the

²⁴⁸ Gil Bailey, “Fired Union Workers Leave the Cudahy plant,” *SPI*, August 29, 1981.

²⁴⁹ Jerry E. Carson, “Fire Extensively Damages Old Meat-packing Plant,” *ST*, January 25, 1985.

²⁵⁰ Schlosser, *Fast Food Nation*; Striffler, *Chicken*; William Kandel, “Meat-processing Firms Attract Hispanic Workers to Rural America,” *Amber Waves: The Economics of Food, Farming, Natural Resources, and Rural America* (2006); Hart, *Changing Scale*, 55.

²⁵¹ Stull and Broadway, *Slaughterhouse Blues*, 80; Striffler, *Chicken*, 8.

²⁵² Stull and Broadway, *Slaughterhouse Blues*, 72.

²⁵³ Stull and Broadway, *Slaughterhouse Blues*, 76.

²⁵⁴ Schlosser, *Fast-food Nation*, 174.

²⁵⁵ Striffler, *Chicken*, 77.

Midwest or the South. “I want to get on top of a rooftop and scream my lungs out so that somebody will hear,” said one woman injured at a meatpacking plant in Greeley, Colorado.²⁵⁶ The food system that allowed urban consumers cheap meat took a toll on human workers, about whom urban consumers were largely ignorant.

In tandem with changes in the slaughterhouse industry came changes in grocery stores. Intact carcasses of chickens and pigs were common in meat departments until the mid twentieth century. These portrayals of the origins of meat began to disappear at mid-century to be replaced by precut meats wrapped in cellophane, and later in polyvinyl chloride (PVC). There is little sign that any squeamishness about all those hanging carcasses led to their disappearance. The topic did not come up as Pacific Northwest butchers and grocers advocated for these transformations in their trade journals. Rather it was concerns about profits, economy, and convenience that transformed consumers’ experiences. But these transformations in turn led to changing aesthetics.²⁵⁷ Neighborhood butchers disappeared with the rise of grocery chains that emphasized self-service and had fewer retail meat cutters visible to the public. These transformations have allowed consumers to buy more meat for less money than ever before. Self-service allowed grocery stores to earn more from their meat departments while lowering labor costs, as meat-cutting took place at centralized locations. The profit motive underlay the transformation of consumers’ experience, but many other factors were at play as well. Technological innovations helped make self-service possible. Cellophane and improved refrigeration cases made it easier for stores to keep meats cold, while allowing consumers to handle them. While these innovations appeared before World War II, they did not become widespread until after the war.²⁵⁸

Social and technological changes in the home also made self-service meat more appealing in the decades after World War II. More families had refrigerators and could store

²⁵⁶ Schlosser, *Fast-food Nation*, 186.

²⁵⁷ “Butcher Shop Cleanup Wanted by Customers,” *Pacific Northwest Merchant, Grocer & Meat Dealer* (PNMGMD), April 1947; E. F. Forbes, “The Packing Industry Sells Meat,” *PNMGMD*, October 1947; “38 Ways You May be Losing Money on Meat,” *PNMGMD*, January 1950; “Ocoma Brings Out Sensational ‘New’ Pack,” *PNMGMD*, May 1950.

²⁵⁸ Horowitz, *Changing Scale*, 34, 137-45; CF 210027, filed December 4, 1950, SMA.

meat at home.²⁵⁹ As more women worked outside the home and more families relied on automobiles in newer suburb-like neighborhoods, many wanted the convenience of buying pre-packaged meat in the evening when no butcher was present. Indeed, consumers pointed to these technologies as reasons to forgo the long-standing practice of requiring a butcher's presence when red meat was sold – a policy which unionized butchers had established to assure that they themselves could spend evenings at home. One shopper wrote the Seattle city council to say that “with present prepackaged meat systems” it made no sense to ban evening sales.²⁶⁰ Self-service progressed through the postwar years until by the 1970s hardly any Seattle-area stores had service counters. Meat appeared in refrigerators wrapped in plastic. Butchers worked behind walls, hidden from view. Consumers had no idea who worked cutting their meat.²⁶¹

Challenges to the Divided Regime

An attachment to the divided regime underlies many of the ways Americans relate to animals. A belief in a clear distinction between humans and animals allows farmers and corporations to treat livestock as objects, whose sole purpose is producing profits. A belief in the pet-livestock dualism allows city-dwellers to feed cats and dogs the flesh of factory-farmed chicken with little thought to the lives of the latter. The acceptance of the domestic-wild dualism undergirds capitalism in a profound way that urbanites rarely recognize. American consumerism necessitates expanding the portion of the globe devoted to supporting consumers, the livestock that consumers eat, and the pets that consumers love, at the expense of wild animals. Yet those same urban consumers are also often urban environmentalists who celebrate wild animals in their appropriately wild sphere (wolves, polar bears, orcas) as somehow untainted in a way that wild animals in the urban sphere (crows, pigeons, squirrels) are not.

²⁵⁹ Sue Bowden and Avner Offer, “Household Appliances and the Use of Time: The United States and Britain Since the 1920s,” *Economic History Review* 47, no. 4 (1994): 725-48.

²⁶⁰ CF 249680, filed December 9, 1963, SMA.

²⁶¹ Tim Phelan, interviewed by author, May 22, 2009, tape recording and transcript in author's possession.

These strict dualisms are far from inevitable or universally embraced. As a variety of challenges to the divided regime demonstrate, some people and animals lived these distinctions as borderlands, rather than as dualisms. Indeed, these challenges stem quite often from the internal contradictions of the divided regime itself. Vegetarians and vegans – at least to the extent their practices stem from ethical, rather than health, environmental, or geopolitical concerns – reject the strong human-animal dualism and pet-livestock dualism that underlie the practice of humans eating other animals. Animal rescue groups reject the strong human-animal dualism that limits the circle of humane concern to humans. Both vegetarianism and animal rescue have consistently attracted women much more than men, not surprisingly in a society where nurturing is associated with feminine identity, while dominance and power are associated with masculine identity. Other city-dwellers have challenged the pet-livestock dualism by raising livestock in the city. The city-dwellers who never abandoned urban livestock – especially immigrants in Seattle’s South End – challenged the notion that livestock belonged in the country and only pets fit into the city. Many of the new chicken-keepers, often white middle-class women, challenge the pet-livestock dichotomy in a different way, by treating these chickens (productive animals) as pets. Hands-on carnivores represent a small, but growing group that challenge the divided regime in a yet another way. For them, killing is no longer out of place in the city. By attending workshops to learn how to slaughter chickens or butcher pigs, they are reframing acts once shunned by the middle class as low-class and brutal as appropriately sophisticated expressions of local food and artisanal practice. Finally, animals themselves have challenged the divided regime. The diseases their bodies have developed in factory farms had the power to pierce the hiding upon which the divided regime depended. Confined animals often react to restrictions in ways that remind humans (at last potentially) that they are not mere objects, but rather fellow creatures that suffer. All these challenges have been important. Yet the divided regime’s resilience has, so far, prevented these challenges from affecting its most basic practices: the exploitation of livestock and the embrace of consumerism with its attendant environmental destruction at the expense of wild animals.

In Seattle's history, the most evident manifestation of discomfort with industrial meat, although it affected only a minority, was the rise of vegetarianism. Vegetarianism has a long history from its ancient association with high-caste groups in India dating back millennia and with European mystics in the middle ages. In the United States, the practice gained adherents during waves of reform in the 1830s and 1840s and in the early decades of the twentieth century. Seattle had a series of vegetarian restaurants in the first two decades of the twentieth century; yet the practice seems not to have been widespread in Seattle until the 1960s.²⁶² A generation earlier, most children grew up around livestock and, for good or ill, generally confronted and accepted at a young age a system wherein the barnyard creatures they sometimes showered with affection might end up on the dinner table. So the very practice of separating pets and livestock contributed to a new critique of the treatment of livestock. By the 1960s and especially for city-dwellers, the reality of where meat came from was both more hidden and more horrific once discovered. Many now discovered this reality not by watching their grandmother slaughter a chicken in the yard, but by reading a book, seeing a photograph, or more recently by viewing a video on the Internet. The counterculture of the 1960s permitted a general questioning of traditional practices, while the environmental movement, specifically, questioned the human dominion of nature, including animals. Books like Frances Moore Lappé's *Diet for a Small Planet* (1972) and Peter Singer's *Animal Liberation* (1975) presented environmental and moral arguments for not eating meat.²⁶³

The elimination of daily interaction with livestock and the questioning of human dominion were especially strong in cities. Perhaps for these reasons, it was particularly in

²⁶² A 1901 ad in the *Seattle Times* read, "A meat diet is unnecessary. Eat a good substantial vegetarian meal at the Good Health Restaurant, 616 Third Avenue." ("Personals--52," *ST*, August 8, 1901). See also, "Personal--52," *ST*, June 11, 1901; "Personals," *ST*, November 27, 1901; "Personals," *ST*, June 11, 1906; "For Sale, Miscellaneous," *ST*, November 6, 1910; "Business Chances," *ST*, Dec. 31, 1916. Karen Iacobbo and Michael Iacobbo, *Vegetarian America: A History* (Westport, Connecticut: Praeger, 2004), xv; Paul Robbins, "Shrines and Butchers: Animals as Deities, Capital and Meat in Contemporary North India," *Animal Geographies: Place Politics, and Identity in the Nature-Culture Borderlands*, ed. Jennifer Wolch and Jody Emel (London: Verso, 1998), 218-40; see also Tristram Stuart, *The Bloodless Revolution: A Cultural History of Vegetarianism from 1600 to Modern Times* (New York: W. W. Norton, 2006).

²⁶³ Peter Singer, *Animal Liberation: A New Ethic for our Treatment of Animals* (New York: New York Review, 1975); Frances Moore Lappé, *Diet for a Small Planet* (New York: Friends of the Earth, 1972).

urban places that people took the message of vegetarianism to heart. In Seattle, food-buying cooperatives that catered to vegetarians and did not sell meat came into their own in the 1960s and 1970s. The Puget Consumers Cooperative (PCC), founded in 1961, jumped from 340 members in 1967 to 3,466 in 1975.²⁶⁴ The Central Co-op opened its doors in 1978.²⁶⁵ Although both eventually began selling meat to appeal to a broader market (PCC in 1985, the Central Co-op in 1999), they would still remain popular with vegetarians and vegans. Today, Seattle is ranked as one of the nation's friendliest cities for vegetarians.²⁶⁶

Concerns about utilitarian relations with animals extended far beyond vegetarians. Urban-dwellers had a growing discomfort with the idea of work with animals, while the keeping of animals for leisure or companionship was rarely fundamentally questioned.²⁶⁷ In the late 1990s, a concerted effort almost succeeded in banning circuses involving animals from the city. Carriage horse drivers regularly encounter people who automatically assume their horses are abused.²⁶⁸ Although most city-dwellers eat meat, many have a growing discomfort with the realities of slaughter and those who do the work of killing animals and processing their meat. Tourists' ill-ease with the spectacle of crated chickens on trucks headed to the Acme Poultry house contributed to the plant's closure in 1997. One meat-packing worker noticed that by the late twentieth century, people were more likely to seem "nervous" when he told them he worked on a kill-floor.²⁶⁹ Many urban dwellers who ate meat came to have what one reporter termed a troubled and "evolving relationship with

²⁶⁴ PCC Natural Markets, "PCC History" [available at <http://www.pccnaturalmarkets.com/about/history.html>, accessed June 2009]

²⁶⁵ Central Co-op's Madison Markets Natural Foods, "Our Co-op" [available at http://www.madisonmarket.com/index.php?page=our_history, accessed June 2009]

²⁶⁶ People for the Ethical Treatment of Animals, "North America's Most Vegetarian-Friendly Cities!" [http://www.goveg.com/f-vegcities.asp, accessed June 2009]. While figures for Seattle specifically are not available, a 2000 survey reported that 1.2% of small-city residents surveyed in the United States, 4.5% of suburbanites, and 8.8% of large-city dwellers reported never eating meat ("How Many Vegetarians Are There?" [A 2000 National Zogby Poll sponsored by the Vegetarian Resource Group (VRG).] [available at <http://www.vrg.org/nutshell/poll2000.htm>, accessed May 2009]).

²⁶⁷ As historian Richard White notes, among urban environmentalists, "Animals that work are pitied and presumed abused." "'Are you an environmentalist or Do you Work for a Living?': Work and Nature," *Uncommon Ground: Rethinking the Human Place in Nature*, ed. William Cronon (New York: W. W. Norton, 1996), 178.

²⁶⁸ Sherry Stripling, "Pair Find Seattle's A Horse Of Another Color . . .," *SPI*, December 24, 1993.

²⁶⁹ Tom Perry, personal communication; Walt Sebring, interviewed by author, May 20, 2009, tape recording and transcript in author's possession.

meat.”²⁷⁰ City dwellers eat more meat than ever before, yet they are disturbed by these utilitarian relations.

The sharp human-animal line is questioned most fully in regard to pets. A search of petfinder.com in March 2010 revealed that at least 232 dogs and 279 cats in Seattle were looking for new homes. While a few of these animals were located at the Seattle Animal Shelter, most of them lived with volunteers of the many animal rescue groups that have proliferated in recent decades. At least thirty separate groups exist in Seattle and many more in outlying areas.²⁷¹ Largely staffed by white women, these organizations coordinate the work of hundreds of volunteers to find homes for as many cats and dogs as possible. They save the lives of thousands of animals a year. For the people who manage these groups or volunteer with them, it can involve long hours and expensive veterinary bills. Increasingly, volunteers are driving to areas east of the Cascades to rescue dogs from the overloaded shelters of Eastern Washington. The volunteers find the work enormously rewarding and important. “You don't give up on a dog. You just keep trying,” one rescuer said. Of the dogs, she and her husband have sheltered in South Seattle, one woman commented, “They're our kids. Our parents finally realized these are their grandchildren.”²⁷² While most Seattleites do not participate in these groups, these rescuers stand at one end of a spectrum representing a broader transformation of relations between humans and pets in the last third of the twentieth century.

A group we might call hands-on carnivores has challenged the divided regime in a different way: they reject the notion that slaughter should be hidden, that the city is defined by benevolent relations with pets, while utilitarian relations are better hidden in distant rural places. By making slaughter more visible, they also hope to make it less cruel. As described earlier, a growing number of city-dwellers are keeping backyard chickens, very often as pets that are named and allowed to live into old age even after they stop producing eggs. A minority of these new chicken-owners are willing to slaughter their hens when they no longer

²⁷⁰ Jonathan Kaufman, “What I Saw, and Ate, at the Pig ‘Sacrifice,’” *Seattle Weekly*, January 22, 2008.

²⁷¹ Petfinder.com, accessed March 18, 2010.

produce eggs or when they actually turn out to be roosters. One urban chicken-keeping group offers workshops in slaughtering and butchering chickens for interested members. In addition, some urbanites who have no farm animals are seeking out workshops to learn what is involved in the slaughtering and butchering of chickens or pigs.²⁷³ Bruce King at Homeacres Farm near Everett, for instance, offers pig, chicken, and turkey processing classes. Two Seattle brothers, Christian and Jake Rusby, headed to King's farm to celebrate their thirtieth birthdays. Jake shot the castrated pig with a .22 rifle. Guided by King, the two brothers "severed the animal's arteries, burned off hair, peeled back skin, and, elbows deep in entrails, carved through bones with a fine-tooth saw." While Christian found it a bit unsettling to eat pork tamales with the image of the slaughtered pig in his mind, yet ultimately he felt this was "the connection to my food I really wanted to capture." The numbers of these hands-on carnivores are dwarfed by the numbers of vegans and vegetarians. The latter, understandably, view this trend with suspicion. Peter Singer worries that enlightened carnivorism will attract ethical eaters, who might otherwise be inclined to try vegetarianism. My personal assessment is closer to that of Jake Lahne, a graduate student in food science at the University of Illinois, who has blogged about his experience slaughtering animals. "I truly believe that humane slaughter is important and possible," he writes, "but, as I have been learning, here's the truth about any slaughter: it is both morally difficult and really gross."²⁷⁴

Finally, animals themselves and animal bodies present challenges to the divided regime. While most consumers are all too happy not to know where their increasingly plentiful and inexpensive meat comes from, concerns about health and humane treatment had

²⁷² Huan Hsu and Brian Miller, "Pet-Rescue Underground Railroad Won't Leave a Dog Behind," *Seattle Weekly*, April 10, 2007; Jon Katz, *The New Work of Dogs: Tending to Life, Love, and Family* (New York: Random House, 2004), 44-81.

²⁷³ Jonathan Kauffman, "What I Saw and Ate at the Pig 'Sacrifice': Slices of Life," *Seattle Weekly*, January 23, 2008; electronic messages dated July 16, 2009 and April 12, 2010 in author's possession; "Progress Spurs Poultry Interest," capitalpress.com, September 1, 2009; Alex Williams, "Slaughterhouse Live," *NYT*, October 5, 2009; Home Acres Farm, "Pig Slaughter & Processing Classes," [<http://ebeyfarm.blogspot.com/p/pig-slaughter-processing-classes.html>, accessed April 2010]; Dog Mountain Farm, "Poultry Processing Classes," [<http://www.dogmtfarm.com/Poultry.htm>, accessed April 2010]; "The French Pig ~ The Butcher & the Cook at The Herbfarm" [<http://theherbfarmfrenchpig.eventbrite.com/>, accessed April 2010]

²⁷⁴ Jake Lahne, "Looking Your bacon in the Eye: Notes from a Slaughter Class," ethicurean.com, September 26, 2009.

the power to erase that distance. In 1970, Americans spent 4.2% of their income on meat, consuming on average 194 pounds a year. By 2005, they spent only 2.1% of their income to consume 221 pounds a year.²⁷⁵ Yet a series of newly prominent diseases – bovine spongiform encephalopathy (BSE, commonly called mad cow disease), salmonella, and E. coli 0175:H7 – could temporally shatter the obscurity of meat’s origins. The dispersed nature of the system that created this cheap and abundant meat came home to Seattleites in 1993 with the outbreak of E. coli 0175:H7 infections among those who had eaten hamburgers at Jack in the Box. This fatal strain of E. coli had developed in the 1980s through the use of antibiotics that promoted cattle’s growth and allowed them to survive on the unnatural diet of corn.²⁷⁶ The Puget Sound E. coli outbreak led to the hospitalization of dozens of children and the death of three. Newspaper readers learned that the ground beef that was sickening people came from a meat processing plant in California, although the cattle may actually have been slaughtered in “Michigan, California or Colorado.”²⁷⁷ Readers also learned some of the details of the slaughtering process: that cutting through an intestine or through feces-encrusted hide to the inner flesh may have allowed E. coli into the meat. The E. coli outbreak led the Clinton Administration to institute modest reforms of the meat inspection system.²⁷⁸ Through this outbreak and similar health problems associated with other diseases consumers gained temporary awareness of the complex sources of their food.

In more direct ways, animals have reacted against their growing confinement. In factory farms, some 91% of pigs and 83% of chickens develop stereotypical repetitive behaviors indicative of stress.²⁷⁹ Pigs confined in small pens gnaw obsessively on the bars and quickly develop the habit of chewing on their neighbors’ tail. Farmers respond by docking those tails (without anesthesia). Chickens stressed by their cramped quarters

²⁷⁵ Pew Commission on Industrial Farm Animal Production, “Putting Meat on the Table: Industrial Farm Animal Production in America” (Baltimore, 2008), 3.

²⁷⁶ Pollan, *Omnivore’s Dilemma*, 78.

²⁷⁷ Paul Shukovsky, “40,000 Bad Burgers May Have Been Eaten,” *SPI*, January 23, 1993.

²⁷⁸ David Wilma, “Food Contamination by E. Coli Bacteria Kills Three Children in Western Washington in January and February 1993,” historylink.org Essay 5687 [available at historylink.org, accessed June 2009]; Christopher Hanson, “Shelve New Meat Safety Plan, House Panel Urges,” *SPI*, June 28, 1995.

²⁷⁹ Temple Grandin, *Animals Make Us Human: Creating the Best Life for Animals* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Harcourt, 2009), 15.

habitually peck at their neighbors. And farmers respond by removing their beaks (without anesthesia). These animal actions demonstrate how little power these animals have. Yet they also indicate they are not deprived of the ability to act. These stereotypical behaviors show perhaps that animals are not completely “dumb” and incapable of speech. Rather, these very actions and the suffering that they suggest have, through the efforts of animal-rights activists, helped make consumers more concerned about conditions in factory farms.

While most consumers are content to see food as property, a few consumers have begun to respond to labelling claims about animal welfare. A stroll through Seattle’s grocery stores today reveals a variety of such labels: eggs are “cage free”; chicken is “free range”; and beef is “grass-fed.” Some consumers may also infer animal welfare claims from other labels, such “hormone-free,” “no antibiotics,” or “organic.” While these labels may not tell a complete story about the animal origins of meat, they encourage consumers to envision the living animals that stand at the other end of the food system – something that meat retailers did not do in the 1960s and 1970s. By some measures, consumer concern about the lives of farm animals is quite widespread. One nationwide survey showed that 75% of respondents favored “government mandates for basic animal welfare measures.”²⁸⁰ California voters approved a ballot measure to assure farm animals basic levels of welfare by almost a two to one margin in 2008.²⁸¹ By other measures, those issues matter little. Only a small percentage of the eggs, milk, and meat at local grocery stores make any explicit claims about animal welfare. Most packaging assumes that consumers focus on quality and price, as do television advertisements.

Dogs and cats act in ways that challenge the divided regime, as well. While pet owners question the human-animal distinction by considering cats and dogs their children, they reinforce it by denying cats and dogs the basic freedoms most humans enjoy and which most cats and dogs enjoyed half a century ago: the freedom to wander the city, the freedom to reproduce. Some dog experts argue that owners make animals’ suffering worse by assuming they think like humans: for instance, by explaining to a dog the reasons for her

²⁸⁰ Pew Commission, “Putting Meat on the Table.”

²⁸¹ Eric Bailey, “Farm Animal Protection Measure Wins,” *Los Angeles Times*, November 5, 2008; Carla Hall and Jerry Hirsch, “Prop. 2 Unlikely to Hike Egg Prices,” *Los Angeles Times*, November 6, 2008.

isolation, rather than finding a way to relieve her boredom.²⁸² New constraints have reduced dogs' and cats' suffering: fewer are killed at the animal shelter; fewer wander the streets subject to violence from cars and humans or to hunger. Yet these constraints also increase their suffering. Some 13% of American dogs suffer from separation anxiety, because they are confined alone during the day.²⁸³ Dogs and cats have reacted against their isolation by destroying furniture, barking incessantly, and urinating and defecating in houses and apartments. They too are not entirely "dumb" and are capable of making their unhappiness manifest.

The twentieth century saw a growing distinction between pets and livestock, as city-dwellers embraced benevolence to those animals they saw daily and showed indifference to the animals that supplied them meat. For those animals that city-dwellers did not keep near their homes – cattle and pigs – profit maximization was the key force transforming their lives in the twentieth century. For chickens that lived in urban backyards, cultural notions of which animals fit into respectable middle-class homes – notions that built on and sometimes masqueraded as health concerns – played an important role as well. Today, even as city people consume more meat than ever, it comes from large factory farms located far from Seattle. The absence of livestock, which initially defined white middle-class neighborhoods, came to define city life broadly. In the modern city, the middle class sees itself as fundamentally benevolent in ways that cross the species line. Yet this view depends on a domestic-wild dualism in which consumers ignore the impact of their consumption on wild animals, as well as the pet-livestock dualism that kept farm animals hidden. This story of benevolence has fostered deep relations with cats and dogs in the city – relations that enrich urban life for humans and allow privileged animals to enjoy long, carefree lives. But the

²⁸² James C. Ha, personal communication, February 5, 2010, notes in author's possession; Katz, *New Work*, 223-24; Patricia B. McConnell, *The Other End of the Leash: Why We Do What We Do Around Dogs* (New York: Ballantine Books, 2002), 105-8.

²⁸³ Schaffer, *One Nation*, 152.

story also entails hiding the grim lives of the animals on the other side of the divide, as well as the increasingly difficult lives of the slaughterhouse workers and farmers that help supply the growing appetite for meat.

Conclusion

In late August 2009, a cougar found his way into Seattle's Discovery Park. Only the third cougar to run loose in the city since the nineteenth century, he had perhaps followed the green belt along the rail line from the north to this park on the Puget Sound waterfront in the heart of the city (see figure 25). The town he entered was quite transformed from the one his fellow cougars encountered a century and a half earlier when they stalked settlers' cattle. Through strategies of accumulation, the changing social structure of homes, and the growing importance of the story of benevolence, humans had transformed the set of animals that inhabited the city and attitudes humans took toward them. It was no longer livestock, but pets, that were the principal nonhuman animals there. And so, this young male dined on neighborhood cats, not on sheep and cattle. A growing humane concern for animals – especially those that city people encountered as individuals – meant this cougar met a very different fate than his ancestors. He was not killed and put on display. Rather, State Fish and Wildlife trackers treed him using hound dogs and fired a tranquilizer dart into him in the early morning of Sunday, September 6. He was last seen later that day trotting away into the Cascade foothills, as a biologist and a dog chased him in order to increase his fear and aversion to people. He was a wild animal; but he went his way with a more sophisticated piece of technology than most of the world's humans carry. His new global positioning system (GPS) radio collar could send out a text message whenever he came into cellphone coverage, to report to biologists his wanderings over the previous thirty-two hours.²⁸⁴ No longer did city people trumpet human dominion by killing animals in a celebratory manner.

²⁸⁴ Don Duncan, "Discovery Park Cougar Captured," *ST*, August 27, 1981; Don Tewkesbury, "Captured Cougar is 'Fat and Sassy,'" *SPI*, August 28, 1981; Susan Gilmore, "Magnolia Residents: There's a Huge Cougar Roaming Here," *ST*, September 1, 2009; "Cougar Will Send Text Messages," [video], magnoliavoices.com,

City-dwellers questioned the divided regime – including the sharp human-animal dualism – and, thereby, allowed some animals within the circle of humane concern. Yet, all in all, human power over animals was greater than it had ever been. Ultimately, the domestic-wild divide was as strong as ever: it separated city from wilderness. A wild cougar that somehow wandered into the city was treated with all the benevolence modern technology could afford and public opinion demanded. But once back in the wild, he and his conspecifics had no refuge from the development that threatened their habitat.

Animals' role in urban history has been shaped by humans' ability to see them as property, as companions, and as symbols, as well as by animals' own actions. People seeking profit, property, and power have consistently used animals to pursue these goals. Nowhere is this more clear than in the factory farming of cattle, pigs, and chickens. Yet throughout Seattle's history, the categories with which people defined animals – the dualisms of the divided regime, the distinctions between human and animal, between domestic and wild, and between pets and livestock – were useful not only in extracting material resources from them (meat, milk, eggs, and labor) but in representing cultural prestige and in recognizing a few animals as social others. The presence or absence of animals helped define the town as civilized, homes and neighborhoods as middle-class and urban, and the city as modern. The humane treatment of this young cougar, which contrasted sharply with the treatment of most of the country's livestock, was part of defining the city as well. Certainly kindness to pets was increasingly important to city people. These were so many assurances to city-dwellers that their relationship with animals was benevolent. Though the values of the market were pervasive, others values shaped city-dwellers' choices as well.

Despite persistent challenges to the divided regime, the embrace of borderlands that blur distinctions between human and animals has been more rhetorical than material. Ultimately, human power and animal subjection have never been greater. Although many city-dwellers embrace more egalitarian relations with animals – as demonstrated by new forms of pet-keeping, by increased questioning of meat-eating, and increased concern about

September 6, 2009; Lornet Turnbull and Christine Clarridge, "Discovery Park's Cougar is Capture, Released into Wild," *ST*, September 7, 2009.

wild animals – animals actually have much less power to remake the city or to shape their own lives than they had a hundred years earlier. Predators now present only an occasional threat to the ways humans live in the city. Livestock no longer roam the city and city-dwellers do not need to take into account their habits or needs as they build their yards or establish urban policies. Dogs are more fully constrained and have lost control of their daily activities. Per-capita meat consumption has continued to rise in the country as a whole and the animals that produce that meat have increasingly short, constricted lives.²⁸⁵ While animals may have a greater place than ever in our imaginations and our families, human control of their activities has made the human-animal divide sharper than ever.

Recent controversies show that, although some city people challenge the sharp dualisms that make up the divided regime, they have done little to erode its most profound legacy: the stark differences in the lives of pets and livestock. Urbanites accord rhetorical concern and some material aid for wild animals, even as consumerism curtails these animals' opportunities to live. The city has invested millions in encouraging wild salmon to spawn more abundantly in the city. The city struggles over how best to remove Canada geese from public parks without raising a public outcry about killing them. In 2005, it successfully resolved a smaller problem. It used birth control and relocation, rather than slaughter, to remove feral rabbits from Woodland Park. On a much larger scale, with its spay/neuter clinic established in 1981 and public education campaigns, the city has eliminated the practice of killing thousands of healthy dogs and cats each year. Yet it is the search for corporate profits and consumer convenience that shapes the lives of the most numerous set of animals to whom Seattleites are connected: the millions and millions of cattle, pigs, and chickens (mostly chickens) that Seattleites consume every year.

The stark pet-livestock dichotomy remains a crucial strategy in city-dwellers' sometimes contradictory efforts to gain profit, prestige, and love from animals. As such, it shapes the lives of other confined urban animals as well. Lab animals, like livestock, are generally hidden from view: researchers use thousands of monkeys, rats, mice, rabbits, pigs,

²⁸⁵ USDA, "Table 10. U.S. Meat Supply and Use." 2004-2008 [available at <http://ers.usda.gov/Publications/AgOutlook/AOTables/>, accessed May 2010]

hamsters, and other creatures (including a small numbers of dogs and cats) for research in the Warren G. Magnuson Health Sciences Center at the University of Washington and in a separate facility in the Belltown neighborhood north of downtown.²⁸⁶ A few animal rights organizations protest animal testing; but few people avoid the products these labs make possible. The animals at Woodland Park Zoo, like pets, have always been more visible and beloved than lab animals, even though the human control of wild nature has provided much of the institution's appeal. Since the 1970s, the Woodland Park Zoo has worked to transform its architecture and its mission to de-emphasize the appearance of human control over animals and to encourage support for conservation.²⁸⁷ While some critics see the entire zoo enterprise as problematic and cruel, most city people accept the zoo, like pets in the home, as a good way for children to cultivate concern for animals of all sorts. Like the keeping of pets, it is an enterprise that mixes dominance and affection.

Despite human power, animals exert their own active role in history – something we might even call agency. We humans do not fully control their actions or their bodies. Dogs and cats destroy property in response to their growing confinement. Cattle, pigs, and chickens have little opportunities to resist; yet their bodies have produced new pathogens like *E. coli* in response to the cramped conditions they live in. And many other creatures in the city profit much more from us humans than we do from them. Crows, pigeons, gulls, sparrows, starlings, robins, woodpeckers, hummingbirds, raccoons, squirrels, opossums, and a thousand other creatures share the city with people – sometimes beloved, sometimes reviled, yet able to take advantage of the environment humans have transformed. City people struggle to keep other animals they find especially vile at bay – rats, mice, bed bugs, roaches, and flies. But these creatures flourish in the shared city as well.

²⁸⁶ A 2007 annual report gave the following census of the facility: dogs, 26; cats, 3; guinea pigs, 14; hamsters, 127; rabbits, 384; nonhuman primates, 785; pigs, 271; bats, 19; shrews, 23; opossums, 57; voles, 51; wild mice, 428; wild rats, 135. Domestic mice and rats, as well as birds and other nonmammals, were not included in the report. University of Washington, "Annual Report of Research Facility," 2007 [available at http://www.aphis.usda.gov/animal_welfare/downloads/7023/2007/2007Washington.pdf, accessed April 2010]. Philip Dawdy, "Welcome to the Monkey House," *Seattle Weekly*, November 27, 2002.

²⁸⁷ David Hancocks, *A Different Nature: The Paradoxical World of Zoos and Their Uncertain Future* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2001).

We cannot tell the history of Seattle or other cities without including animals. Humans used them to shape the city's physical form, the bodies of urban-dwellers, and the meanings they attached to people and to places. By including animals in the urban story, we can better pursue an honest, honorable relationship with all the animals we shape the planet with. The distinctions of the divided regime – human and animal, domestic and wild, pet and livestock – serve useful purposes; yet they are far from inevitable, impermeable, or unchanging. In living these distinctions as borderlands, we open up new possibilities of connection to other animals. In living these distinctions as borderlands, we open up new possibilities of connection to other humans who may have different answers to the question of how best to live with animals. In writing these distinctions as borderlands, we include animals in the history they helped shape.

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Appendix A

Methodology

Cow Petitions Spreadsheet

In order to assess the class position and gender of petitioners who wrote the city council about the regulation of cows in public space, I identified two sets of petitions that presented a large number of city-dwellers on both sides of the issue within the same neighborhoods. There were petitions from the city of Ballard, 1902-5, and from the Latona neighborhood, 1899 (see table 1, p. 103). I entered the names of these petition signers into an Excel spreadsheet. Then I matched as many of the petitioner signers as possible to listings in the Polk's city directories to identify their occupations and added this information to the spreadsheet. In cases of petitioner signers for whom no occupation was listed (typically women), I used the occupation of another person in the household, when possible, on the assumption that this would still provide an indication of whether households were working-class or middle/upper class. Then, I created a separate column within the spreadsheet to categorize the occupations into several groups: working-class, middle/upper class, farmer, or student. In order to define occupations as working class or middle/upper class, I used my own understandings of whether the occupation involved primarily physical labor (working-class) or primarily office work, sales, commerce, or the professions (middle-class). The category of middle class, I subdivided into 1) office workers, 2) professionals, 3) managers, executives, 4) business owners, and 5) middle-class government workers. For some occupations that could have a variety of meanings (miner, engineer) that could make them either working-class or middle-class, I made no determination. (Miners could either be investors in mines or workers in mines; engineers could either be office workers or people directly tending engines).

Occupations classified as working-class included: laborer, carpenter, sawyer, night watchman, patternmaker, molder, janitor, expressman, gardener, porter, house mover, nurseryman, conductor, bricklayer, painter, saw filer, shoemaker, lather, knotsawyer, driver, foreman, dynamo man, policeman, motorman, shingle weaver, merchant patrol, calker, scaler, planer boss, porter, millwright, dressmaker, stone mason, boilermaker, peddler, sailmaker, mason, cigar manufacturer, apron manufacturer, cement worker, boat builder, cook, fireman, blacksmith, electrical machinist, edgerman, shingler, and plumber.

Occupations classified as middle-class included: notions and dry goods [business owner], physician and druggist, bookkeeper, agent, teacher, fruit inspector, Reverend, purser, lawyer, proprietor, city solicitor, contractor and builder, county superintendent of public schools, deputy county auditor, president of water power company, UW president, professor, assistant professor, registrar, physician, manager, pastor, postmaster, collector, grocer, barber, real estate [business owner], principal, clothing [business owner], vice president of

investment company, saloon owner, deputy county assessor, timekeeper, florist, and travel agent.

I then counted occupational categories in the Excel spreadsheet to compile statistics as to the percentage of petition signers on both sides of the issue of cows in public spaces who had middle-class versus working-class occupations.

With these petition signers, I attempted to determine the gender of petition signers. For this, I simply assumed all signers with the title Mrs. or Miss, or with feminine first names were women. This method no doubt underestimates the percentage of women as petition signers, since some people who signed with their initials (e.g., V. Lekuesiler) may have been women.

The spreadsheet of cow petitions was based on the following nine petitions in the Seattle Municipal Archives: November 7, 1899, CF 6519; November 13, 1899, CF 6547; undated petition [ca. 1902/3] and petitions dated April 7, 1902, September 22, 1903, May 4, 1904, February 28, 1905, April 24, 1905, and May 20, 1905, City of Ballard, Petitions, Livestock, box 4, file 28, record series 9106-03. The spreadsheet has a total of 463 petitioners listed in it.

Dog Petitions Database

I used similar methods to assess attitudes toward dogs in public space and the class position of petition signers. However, these data were entered into an Access database to provide greater flexibility in querying the data. This database uses the names of petitioners and letter writers to the city council on issues related to dogs, including the management of the animal pounds, rabies vaccinations, and dogs in public places. The database includes the names of petitioners from selected petitions from 1904 to 1958 and includes a total of 1,524 names drawn from 94 separate comptroller's files located at the Seattle Municipal Archives. These petitions were selected to include examples of public opinion on the Humane Society and rabies vaccinations. It includes all the petitions identified relative to the issue of dogs in public places for two periods of particularly intense interest in that issue: 1935-36 and 1957-58. The complete list of CFs is as follows: CF 24119 (1904), CF 37439 (1909), CF 44938 (1911), CF 48831 (1912), CF 53929 (1913), CF 54062 (1913), CF 54109 (1913), CF 74971 (1919), CF 82451 (1919), CF 82560 (1921), CF 82451 (1921), CF 115071 (1928), CF 115209 (1928), CF 115353 (1928), CF 122939 (1928), CF 139843 (1933), CF 140189 (1933), CF 140211 (1933), CF 146410 (1935), CF 148606 (1935), CF 148615 (1935), CF 148620 (1935), CF 148668 (1935), CF 148957 (1935), CF 149002 (1936), CF 149228 (1936), CF 149283 (1936), CF 149283 (1936), CF 149284 (1936), CF 149315 (1936), CF 149355 (1936), CF 149486 (1936), CF 149487 (1936), CF 149606 (1936), CF 149607 (1936), CF 149643 (1936), CF 149644 (1936), CF 149747 (1936), CF 149748 (1936), CF 149811 (1936), CF 149823 (1936), CF 149822 (1936), CF 149833 (1936), CF 149856 (1936), CF 149917 (1936), CF 149895 (1936), CF 149856 (1936), CF 149918 (1936), CF 149936 (1936), CF 149999 (1936), CF 150033 (1936), CF 150088 (1936), CF 150090 (1936), CF 150098 (1936), CF 150111 (1936), CF 150112 (1936), CF 150119 (1936), CF 150120 (1936), CF 150185 (1936), CF 150186 (1936), CF 150119 (1936), CF 150202

(1936), CF 150203 (1936), CF 150265 (1936), CF 150390 (1936), CF 150582 (1936), CF 150603 (1936), CF 150739 (1936), CF 150833 (1936), CF 150853 (1936), CF 151645 (1936), CF 152105 (1936), CF 153613 (1936), CF 153704 (1937), CF 231265 (1957), CF 231926 (1957), CF 231940 (1957), CF 231957 (1957), CF 231979 (1957), CF 231993 (1957), CF 231979 (1957), CF 232945 (1957), CF 232148 (1957), CF 232235 (1957), CF 232238 (1957), CF 232513 (1957), CF 232778 (1957), CF 232793 (1957), CF 232812 (1957), CF 232823 (1957), CF 233607 (1957), CF 233627 (1957), CF 233650 (1957), CF 234112 (1958), CF 234119 (1958), CF 234128 (1958), and CF 234260 (1958).

As with the Cow Petitions Spreadsheet, I noted whether petitioners appeared to be women based on their first names and titles. For a subset of these petitioners – specifically petitioners addressing the issues of Humane Society control of the pound in 1912 and in 1923 and petitioners addressing dogs in public space in 1935-36 – I matched petitioners with data from Polk’s city directory.

In this database, I also used keyword indexing to describe the topics discussed by each petitioner or letter-writer and to determine which arguments were most prevalent among petitioners. These data are the basis for statements about the reasons Seattleites gave for wanting specific dog policies (see p. 176 and tables 2-3 on p. 181). They were also used to assess class positions of Humane Society petitioners in 1912 (p. 166) and in the early 1920s (pp. 168-69).

Livestock Ownership Database

I also constructed an Access database to look at data from the King County personal property rolls for 1900. These rolls are held at the Washington State Archives, Puget Sound Branch, Bellevue, Washington. Personal property refers to all property other than real estate: it includes livestock, furniture, jewelry, watches, pianos, bicycles, sewing machines, etc. The rolls include columns for “horses, mules or asses,” cattle, sheep and hogs. Very few city-dwellers owned hogs and none owned sheep, according to the rolls. Given the fact that historical documents have few references to mules or donkeys in Seattle, I assumed most or all of the “horses, mules or asses” were horses. The rolls do not list cats or dogs. The personal property rolls for Seattle in 1900 are divided between one book containing the older core neighborhoods of Seattle centered around downtown and another book called “new limits” that included the recently annexed northern neighborhoods of Green Lake, Latona, Ross, Fremont, Ravenna, and Interbay. The personal property rolls also have a separate book for Ballard (a separate city at the time), which I did not make use of.

I constructed one table in the database with a one-fifth sample of all property owners in the core neighborhoods who owned any livestock, obtained by entering all livestock owners listed on every fifth page of the personal property rolls. This table contains 161 property owners. Another table in the database contains all the property owners in the new northern neighborhoods who owned livestock. This table contains 589 property owners. The fields for both of these database tables include name of property owner, number of horses owned, value of horses owned, number of cattle owned, value of cattle owned, and value of all personal property. These tables were used to compile statistics about horse and cow ownership in various neighborhoods (see pp. 111, 116).

VITA

Frederick L. Brown was born in Stillwater, Oklahoma, in 1962. He received a bachelor's degree in French and classics from Washington University in St. Louis in 1984. He served as a Peace Corps volunteer working in community development in Guider, Cameroon. He had a long career as a book indexer and librarian before pursuing graduate studies in history. He earned his M.A. in history from the University of Washington in 2004. He earned his Ph.D. in history from the University of Washington in 2010. He currently works as an historian with the Pacific West Region office of the National Park Service in Seattle, Washington.

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[This full table of contents was not part of the dissertation as submitted.]