Kirkland Yesterday, Today, Tomorrow
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Introduction

This historical narrative, researched and written in 2024, is intended to accompany the City of Kirkland Comprehensive Plan to provide context for the Plan's recommendations. Study and interpretation of Kirkland's past enables us to better understand the City's present; when we understand the present, we can make informed choices for the City's future, as the Comprehensive Plan proposes. Where did contemporary "Kirkland" come from? What did it displace? How has it changed through time? What can we learn from those changes to work toward a better future, together?

This historical narrative is scoped to provide background and context for Kirkland's history of Planning, and is being used, in part, to fulfill the City's obligations under State law to document any history of exclusionary practices or racially disparate impacts by answering the following questions:

1. What are the local historical patterns, events or actions that may have had a racially disparate effect?
2. Who has been subject to disproportionate housing impacts because of race?
3. Who has been subject to displacement or exclusion?

I introduce this narrative with many thanks to Loita Hawkinson and the Kirkland Heritage Society, and to those whose work I consulted to develop this narrative, particularly Lucile McDonald, David Buerge, Patrick Teft, Bob Neir, and Matt McCauley.

Land and Water Acknowledgement

We acknowledge that the Southern Salish Sea region lies on the unceded and ancestral land of the Coast Salish peoples, the Duwamish, Muckleshoot, Puyallup, Skykomish, Snoqualmie, Snohomish, Suquamish and Tulalip tribes and other tribes of the Puget Sound Salish people, and that present-day City of Kirkland is in the traditional heartland of the Lake People and the River People. We honor with gratitude the land itself, the First People – who have reserved treaty rights and have continued to live here since time immemorial – and their ancestral heritage.

Then and Now

In 2024, Kirkland is a lakeside city of more than 92,000 residents; its past, present, and future are oriented to the great body of freshwater at its doorstep. Lake Washington today covers an area of nearly 35 square miles and is at its deepest near Madison Park, at 220'.

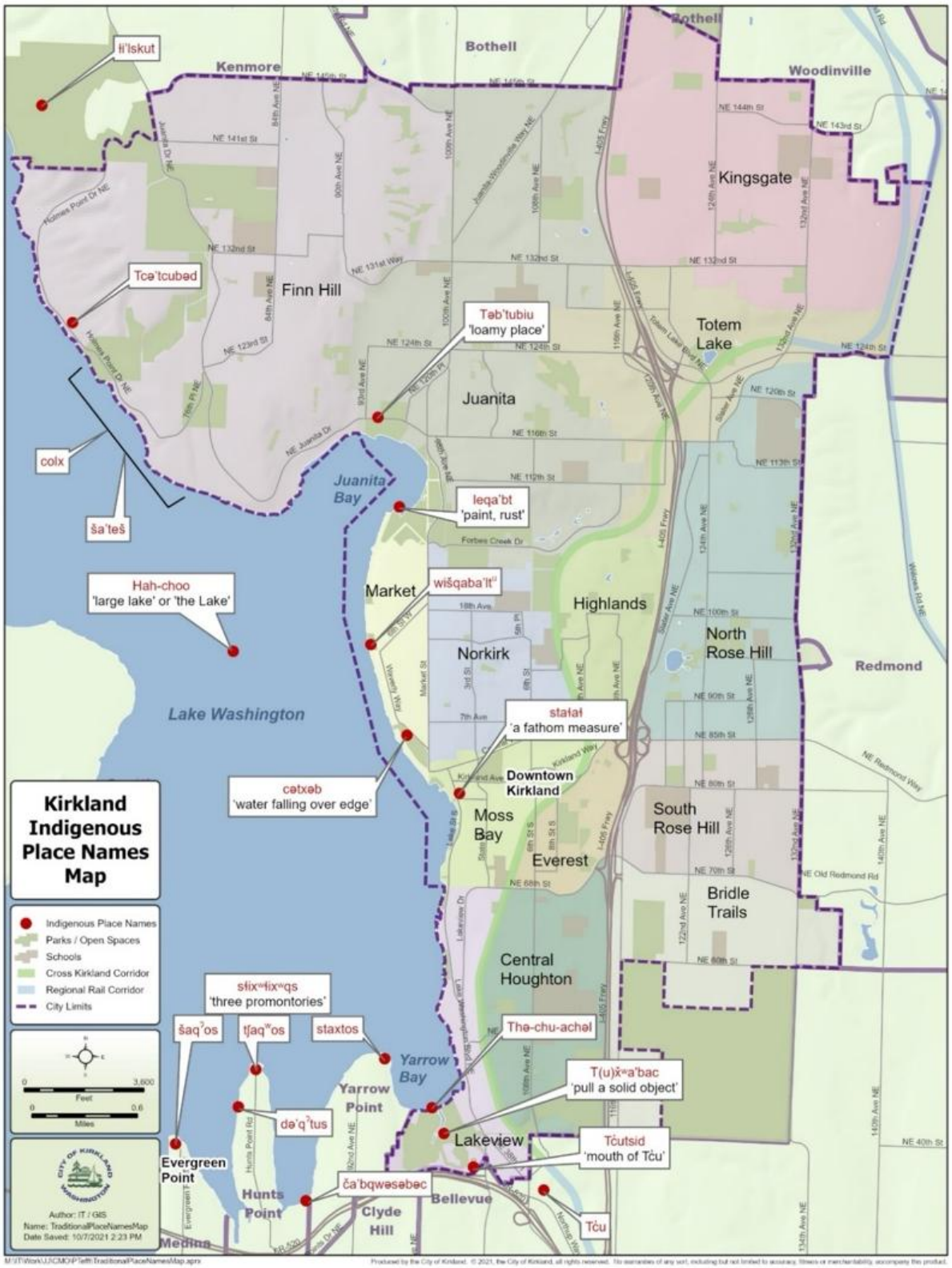
Once it was a Native lake, then a barrier to easy travel, then a navigable water highway for suburban industries and suburban commuters, today it is a tremendous source of beauty, recreation, and identity.

In 2024, Kirkland land use is characterized by commercial, industrial, and low-, mid- and high-density residential development, served by bridges and highways, public transportation, sidewalks, bikeways, and walking paths. Kirkland stretches back east from the lakeshore, up hillsides and across formerly forested land. Over time, where once there were Native longhouses, today there are parks, condominiums, parking lots, and restaurants; where once there was forest, today there are businesses and homes. Kirkland manages approximately 487 acres of forested and natural area parklands – about 4% of the City's total land base. From one-acre Brookhaven Park to Watershed Park's 77 acres of continuous upland forest, the city's natural lands and parklands provide healthy buffers along salmon-bearing streams and critical habitats along natural trails, and access to Bridle Trails State Park's nearly 500 acres.[1]

This narrative is a long set of stories about gaining shelter, getting around, and making a living. And about enjoying life in this beautiful place. In developing this narrative, we will explore the forces that shaped Kirkland as we know it today: international, national, regional, state, county, and municipal policies, projects, and circumstances, as well as corporate initiatives and local practices.

Kirkland's first stories are those of land and water, and ancient people.

Once, the place we call Kirkland was Native ground and Native water. In 1853, when Washington Territory was created in the United States, the land stretching from the eastern shore of Lake Washington to the foothills of the Cascade Mountains was not a wilderness. It was a complex and inhabited homeland – a forest of Douglas fir, cedar, and hemlock, open prairies, and wetlands, threaded by rivers and streams, carpeted by ponds and lakes. Native people lived in and managed this place with reverence and foresight, achieving a sustainable relationship with their environment.[2]



Map 1: Kirkland area indigenous place names (Lushootseed is in red text) with known meaning. (Source: Patrick Teft, https://www.kirklandwa.gov/Government/City-Managers-Office/Kirkland-Native-History-Document, City of Kirkland)

The Native Lake: *x̌ačču* (Hahchoo)

The indigenous River People lived on the Duwamish, Black, Cedar and Sammamish Rivers, and the indigenous Lake People lived on Lake Washington and Lake Union. By adapting to lake and river environments, these two groups developed separate identities. The Lake People of Lake Washington were more closely associated with the Duwamish than any other group, since the lake historically drained to the south out the Black River, joining the Cedar River at the site of the most important Duwamish winter village. Duwamish people who lived in villages along the shores of Hahchoo, or present-day Lake Washington, were collectively known as Hahchoo-AHBSH, or *x̌ačuabš,* that is, Lake People. The Native people living along the lakeshore and managing the lands inshore in what we today call Kirkland were Duwamish.[3]

"Duwamish" is the Anglicized pronunciation of *dx^{w}dəwʔabš*, which means "people of the inside." This descriptive term references where the Duwamish lived, east of the Salish Sea, in the interior on the rivers and lakes. Although the Duwamish groups shared a single language - Lushootseed – pronunciations varied and other aspects of their cultures differed, such as particular foods and basketry styles.[4]

Archaeological data demonstrates that for at least 12,500 years, First Peoples have inhabited, navigated, and traversed the southern Salish Sea land and waters. Tribal groups traditionally held a heartland where they lived, fished, gathered, wintered, and practiced their culture – art, craft, song, story, and spiritual beliefs. Beyond these homelands, indigenous people interacted in shared spaces while trading and resource gathering. Traditionally, members of different tribes practiced marriage as a cultural exchange and a bonding act of diplomacy. Marriage relationships connected families on different watersheds and formed alliances of mutual support, to expand the economic base and develop the cultural network.[5]

Lake People lived on Hahchoo in small, autonomous winter villages of two to five longhouses. Village locations were carefully selected in relation to the waterways and surrounding lands according to ancient traditions. The abundance of natural resources and efficient technologies for making shelter and preserving food enabled indigenous people to foster a rich cultural and spiritual life. The yearly cycle of activities was divided between the harvesting of food from temporary camps in warm months and communal life in substantial longhouses during the winter. It is this seasonality that brought the Lake People into ongoing contact with early Kirkland-area settlers on Lake Washington.[6]

The Eastside land and water provided Lake People with a wide range of seasonal resources. The rivers were valued as a source of migratory salmon, and the lakes had their own resident populations of species like the kokanee (freshwater salmon), sucken, chubb, and peamouth, and freshwater shellfish. There were also waterfowl and beaver, otters, deer, and

other animals that were hunted and trapped. Local historian Lucile McDonald noted that Lake People constructed a pen of brush on the open prairie near today's Totem Lake, in which to corral deer for easy access. Native people gathered edible plants including many varieties of berries, the wapato - or "Indian potato" - in wetlands, and camas in the open prairies. Fibers from the water lily, cattail, cedar, and various grasses were used to make clothing, mats, and baskets.[7]

The division of the Lake People into separate winter village groups reflected the unique character of the lake fishery. For those living alongside a river, a weir built across the channel kept fish from moving upstream and made them easy to trap and catch. Upstream and downstream groups worked out the placement and timing of weirs. However, a weir built on one tributary of the Lake would have no effect on the catch at any other, so there was no need to negotiate and cooperate as there was among river groups who competed on the same river for salmon. Precisely how this affected social relations among the Lake People groups cannot now be determined, but the presence of so many separate winter villages in one relatively small area – along the eastern shore of Lake Washington - suggests that it enhanced their autonomy.[8]

Indigenous people were masterful navigators of the saltwater bays and freshwater rivers and lakes, designing canoes for those specific uses. Knowledge of weather, wind, tides, shallows, river currents, snags and logjams, skillful canoe handling, and sophisticated canoe carving and repair were essential to getting around. The crossing from Lake Union east to Lake Washington, called *Skhwacugwit* (meaning "canoe portage") was part of the vital pathway from saltwater into the lakes and up the Sammamish River system all the way up to Issaquah, then beyond on foot into and across the Cascade Mountains.[9]

The ancestral language Lushootseed (*dx^{w}ləšucid*), also known as Southern Puget Sound Salish, is one of several languages of the Salishan language family, spoken throughout the region. The Lake People passed along their history, beliefs, and skills to succeeding generations for thousands of years in a rich oral tradition. Additionally, *Chinuk Wawa* (Chinook jargon) was developed from the Chinookan language and used prior to Euro-American contact as a means for disparate tribes to communicate and trade. After colonization, *Chinuk Wawa* was adapted as a pidgin trade language, incorporating French and English words, and widely spoken across the Pacific Northwest to communicate with newcomers, from Hudson's Bay Company trappers and traders to settlers.[10]

By settlement, indigenous people had suffered waves of epidemic disease that drastically thinned their numbers. Robert Boyd documents the cataclysmic impact on Native people of communicable disease introduced by colonizers on the Northwest Coast. He dates the initial appearance at around 1775, as epidemic smallpox spread overland, erasing as much as a third of the population and destabilizing indigenous lifeways. Decimation by disease

profoundly affected every aspect of indigenous life for generations. This terrible human toll contributed to the colonizers' sense that Native longhouses were abandoned and that Native people were "in decline," soon to be displaced by vigorous newcomers.[11]

From organization of the Oregon Country in 1848, the U.S. government, local settlers, and their representatives set about instituting policies of displacement, separation, and exclusion by using treaties, territorial laws, and local ordinances to prohibit interracial marriage, eradicate Native culture, and prevent Native inheritance in the Pacific Northwest. While Native labor was essential to the newcomers, Native residency was not, and in-city Native residences were prohibited in Seattle and elsewhere. Federal treaties established title to Native land and water to free it for newcomer settlement. Individual land holdings were not part of indigenous culture, although family and tribal proprietary rights to resources were fully recognized. The newcomers' idea of land as a commodity to be bought, sold, and owned by individuals, was utterly unfamiliar to Native people, and the practice – codified by treaty - would eventually dispossess them.

It is important to note that federal treaties *reserved*—not granted—land, hunting, and fishing rights to Native peoples. The 1850s treaties are legal contracts negotiated between so-called "equals": the sovereign Native governments on the one hand and the U.S. government on the other. In the treaties, tribes relinquished claims to most of the land they occupied and used, and at the same time, reserved a number of landholdings in perpetuity, often distant from their traditional homes. Native people also reserved the right to continue to hunt, gather, and fish without interference in traditional areas. In exchange for the relinquished Native lands, the U.S. federal government agreed to provide limited supplies, educational services, medical care, and modest monetary compensation. The government also agreed to protect rights and lands that were reserved to the tribes. [12]

When Washington became a territory in 1853, the first order of business for newly appointed Governor Isaac Ingalls Stevens was to conclude a series of seven treaties to dispossess Native people of their traditional lands in the new territory so that they could be claimed by settlers. Specifically, the Treaty of Point Elliott granted settlement rights to 55,000 acres, including the area of Greater Kirkland. Representatives of more than twenty tribal groups signed this treaty on January 22, 1855, near present-day Mukilteo. Chief *Si?ał* (Seattle) of the Duwamish and Suquamish tribes was the first treaty signatory, exercising his pre-eminent local authority. His mark is followed by those of the leaders of other Native groups. In exchange for guaranteed perpetual fishing and hunting rights on their "usual and accustomed grounds," including Lake Washington and its shoreline and inland woods, meadows, and prairies, this treaty set aside land for reservations in the Puget Sound region: Tulalip, Lummi, and Port Madison (Suquamish).[13]

Today, Washington State has 29 federally recognized tribes but the Duwamish, including the River and Lake Peoples, are not among them, although this ruling is under appeal. Originally assigned to the Port Madison Indian Reservation by the Treaty of Point Elliott, some Duwamish left their homes behind but many others declined to relocate and asked that a separate reservation be set aside in their homeland, located where the Black and Cedar Rivers joined, in present-day Renton. A Duwamish land reservation along the Black River—the "inside" place that gave the Duwamish their name—was unsuccessfully proposed through the U.S. Bureau of Indian Affairs in 1864. The Muckleshoot Reservation, established in 1857, was later enlarged in hopes that the Duwamish would move to that area. Many did so, but not all. Some Duwamish withdrew from the new settlements and reservations, retreating to the back country and returning for seasonal harvests to these familiar shores and waters. Some Duwamish descendants have enrolled with other tribes but some continue to live in their aboriginal territory, which includes portions of Seattle, Burien, Tukwila, Renton, Redmond, and Kirkland.[14]

Present-day name, or location (English Language)	**Traditional Place Name & Meaning** Lushootseed (dx^{w}ləšucid) Language **by Reference Source**			
	Hilbert, Waterman[2,4,13]	**Buerge[12,12c]: [Harrington[12jph]]**	**Water-lines Project(UW)[16]**	**King County Historic Preservation[16]**
Lake Washington	**Hah-chu / Hah-choo** 'large lake' or 'the Lake'	**HAH-choo** 'the Lake'		
Saint Edward State Park Grotto	**ɬi'lskut / Li'lskut**	**Tɬetɬsk^{w}ot / ƛeƛ sk^{w}ot**		
Holmes Point / Manitou (near town of Juanita)	**Tcəʼtcubəd / čebčubəd**			
Two places "2-3 miles above Kirkland"		• **Tsolkh / colx** • **Shaʼtèʃ / šaʼteš**		
Juanita Bay / Juanita Creek	**Təbʼtubiu** 'loamy place'	**TUB-tub-yu / Tabta-beʼu**		**TEʼbtubiu**
Nelson Point	**leqaʼbt** 'paint, rust'	**leKHabts / lexabc**		
Waverly Beach (beach north of the town of Kirkland)	**ẃcqabc-aƛʼtʼu / wišqabaʼlt^{u}**			
Hillside water channel, north of downtown Kirkland	**Tsəʼxub /cətx̌əb** 'dripping water'	**Tseh hub** 'looks like drops down'	**cətxəb** 'water falling over edge'	
Kirkland	**stałał / StaʼLal** 'a fathom measure'	**Kaleʼtsi** 'Kirkland'		
Yarrow Bay		**Thə-chu-achəl**		
Yarrow Bay Wetlands (swamp)	**T(u)x̌^{w}a'bac / Txwaʼbats** 'pulling something toward one' or 'pull a solid object'			
Northup Creek	**Tću / Ts!u**			
Mouth of Northup Creek	**Tćutsid / Ts!uʼtsid** 'mouth of Tću'			
Three Points: Yarrow Point, Hunts Point, Evergreen Point	**słix^{w}ɬix^{w}qs / SLi^{u}Liʼuks** 'three promontories'	**Łeułek^{a}s**		
Yarrow Point		**Stakhtos / staxtos**		
Small creek at the head of Cozy Cove (formerly Anderson Bay)	**TcaʼbqwEsEbEts / čaʼbqwəsəbəc**			
Hunts Point		**tʃaq^{w}os / Tsah q^{w}os**		
Small marsh west of Hunts Point (at head of inlet)	**DEʼq!tus / dəʼq^{ʔ}tus**			
Evergreen Point (formerly Fairweather Point)		**tʃaqʼos / šaq^{ʔ}os**		

Table 1: Kirkland-area Indigenous place names, with known meaning, listed geographically from north to south. (Source: Patrick Teft,

https://www.kirklandwa.gov/Government/City-Managers-Office/Kirkland-Native-History-Document, City of Kirkland)

Prior to the federal treaties, from the 1820s onward, traders and trappers, adventurers, prospectors, and then land-hungry settlers began to investigate the land and waters between Elliott Bay and the Cascade Mountains. Newcomers "explored" nearby rivers, lakes, forests, and mountains, hunting for coal, gold, iron ore, timber, farmland, or some other pot of gold at the end of the rainbow. Coal surveyors brought the first waves of investment to Renton, along the Duwamish River, and later to Issaquah, Coal Creek, and Newcastle in the 1860s. Settlers began to squat on pre-emption claims and later file formal homestead land claims along the eastern shore of Lake Washington, from what they would name Pleasant Bay – Yarrow Bay - northward to Juanita Bay, along the shoreline and inland.

Confiscation and distribution of Native land by early territorial Donation Land Law (1850) granted claims of 360 and later 160 acres of surveyed public land to adult male heads of households and also to their wives. The Homestead Act (1862) provided 160 acres to any citizen, including single women and formerly enslaved people. All that was required was a minimal filing fee, 5 years of continuous residence, and a modest improvement on the land. Before the federal surveys were completed, squatters could try to establish "pre-emption claims" by residency and cultivation. In any case, Native people were displaced from their ancient homes as farmers, ranchers, miners, loggers, and speculators spread throughout Washington Territory, to develop what they perceived as wilderness.[15]

But the "wilderness" was a homeland. On Lake Washington, *Hah-chu-AHBSH* and *S-tsah-PAHBSH* are placenames based on where the Lake People lived—deeply rooted in the traditional place names in Lushootseed. Generally, names of people end with the suffix *abš* or *AHBSH*, "People of," as in *dx^{w}dəwʔabš* or *Xačua'bš*, "Lake People." Another suffix, *biu* or *biux,* byoo/byookh, meaning "a homogenous group or cluster" shows up in *sduk^{w}albix^{w},* Snoqualmie ,and *Ta'btabiuxabš*, the name of the Juanita Creek people.[16]

A variety of sources identify eighteen distinct Native villages or longhouse sites along the Lake Washington shoreline. From one exceptional primary source, a Lake People village list submitted as evidence under oath in a 1927 U.S. Court of Claims case, we know how many longhouses stood at many of the sites and even how big they were. According to the list, the longhouses were "medium sized, 8 by 16 fathoms," or about 50 by 100 feet in size. Houses of this size probably sheltered four or five families.[17]

Of those eighteen village or longhouse sites, three or four were in the Kirkland area – at Yarrow Bay, at Kirkland itself, and at Juanita Bay. A longhouse site was situated on Yarrow Bay, and a historic village stood near the present central Kirkland waterfront composed of three longhouses, identified as *stałał* or Sta' Lal. Multiple sources have identified "a water channel on the hillside north of Kirkland" with the traditional place name of *Tsə'xub* or

TSEH khoob, meaning "dripping water." Also, three longhouses were located near Forbes Creek, a short distance south of Juanita Beach, and served as a winter village. The *TAB tah biu* or TAHB-tah-byook meaning "people of the loamy place," also had a longhouse village at the mouth of Juanita Creek. One of the Lake People's burial grounds appears to have been located on today's Yarrow Point, where settlers recall seeing grave mounds.[18]

Faint memories persist of the very earliest newcomers using planks from "abandoned" Native longhouses at village sites to build their own cabins and outbuildings within greater Kirkland. Settlers on Yarrow Point turned up Native grave goods as they cleared and cultivated their orchards and garden plots. Although scant attention was paid to the ancient caretakers of this magnificent place, the newcomers were reminded as they settled that they were building new lives in a place that had its own human history. The Lake People returned periodically after settlement to trade salmon, clams, venison, furs, baskets, and even potatoes to supply the new arrivals. Settlers recorded Native canoes making these seasonal visits to the Kirkland lakeshore until the construction of the Lake Washington Ship Canal.[19]

x̌aču (Hahchoo) becomes Lake Washington

As we have seen, *x̌aču* (Hahchoo) was a Native lake of longstanding, in deep time. After the first traders began to arrive, it was known in Chinook jargon as *Hyas Chuck* – Large Water – in contrast to *Tenas Chuck* – Small Water – or Lake Union. On July 4, 1854, at a Seattle picnic, settler Thomas Mercer suggested renaming the enormous lake, Lake Washington, to honor the first President of the United States, and the smaller one, Lake Union, for the role he predicted the latter would take in a future canal to unite salt and fresh water to develop Seattle as an industrial city of smokestacks.[20]

Settlers surveying potential homesites on the eastern shore of Lake Washington found a heavily timbered shoreline, with far more wetlands and shoreline marshes than today. Gaining shelter, getting around, making a living, and enjoying life were the four basic necessities of settlement. 1870 marks a watershed year in newcomer settlement on the eastern lakeshore. Washington was still a territory, nineteen years from statehood. Seattle was a small industrial port town of 2000 residents fanning back from the Elliott Bay waterfront of sawmills, coal and timber wharves, warehouses, and shipyards. The eastern shoreline of Lake Washington attracted settlers, and to the east of the shore stretched Native ground newly opened by the Point Elliott Treaty. The land was attractive to homesteaders and opportunists. Enormous wealth lay in the plentiful natural resources and the power of the rushing streams.[21]

In 1870, a U.S. Surveyor General's mapmaker surveyed the lakeshore, marking off uniform parcels for grants under the Homestead Act. The surveyor recorded three new structures that had already been built on the lakeshore in the Kirkland area-- two on the eastern shore

of Yarrow Bay and one at the head of Juanita Bay. These first known settlers were Nancy McGregor and her sons James and William Popham, who each had a cabin and land on Yarrow Bay. Up on Juanita Bay, Martin Hubbard had already built a cabin by 1870. "Firsts" are often dubious but certainly Nancy McGregor, her sons, and Martin Hubbard were among the very earliest settlers in Kirkland. Hubbard drowned in 1887, and Nancy McGregor moved away, but Samuel and Caroline French and their son Harry settled in what became Houghton in 1872. The French family remained as the founding family of Kirkland.[22]

As young Harry French recorded in his diary, at his lodgings over in Seattle:

There is considerable good land here … Father's (Houghton) claim has only about 1/2 an acre clear on it and (the cabin) is so hidden by trees that it is invisible from a boat on the water … We are going to Lake Washington onto our claim tomorrow. Harry French, 1872[23]

Along the lakeshore, the 1870s were a decade of dramatic and escalating change as a new settlement took shape, meeting newcomers' basic necessities. The first settlers to the place we call Houghton arrived prior to 1870; more settlers started clearing land at the place we call Kirkland in 1875; and still more at the place we call Juanita Bay by 1877, following on Hubbard's settlement. In Houghton, Caroline French named their place on the eastern shore of Lake Washington, Pleasant Bay. Nancy McGregor sold her place to Jay and Eva O'Conner. Young Harry French and his father Samuel soon replaced their cabin, building a two-story frame house on Harry's claim directly north of his parents' property. Harry French provided space for Houghton's first school and first Sunday School in that original cabin. To the south, in 1875, Benson Northup and his parents built adjoining homesteads on the head of Yarrow Bay, at what would become known as Northup Landing. Marking the 1875 founding of the town which would become Kirkland, J.W. DeMott took up land in what is now Kirkland's downtown, Edwin and Phoebe Church filed the first claim on the shore of what we know as Moss Bay. Andrew and Susannah Nelson homesteaded the area west of Market Street. The puzzle pieces of settlement filled in along the shoreline of Lake Washington in what is Kirkland today.[24]

Moving inland, to the east, the land was a great forest, dotted with prairies and wetlands, threaded by streams and by Native trails quickly adopted by settlers. The Eastside was slowly homesteaded to Redmond and beyond to Issaquah, by the close of the 19th century.[25]

Settlers went to work clearing the forest from their own land to build a dwelling and put in a garden, planning for as much self-sufficiency as possible. But by 1875, hired laborers were already at work in Kirkland. Industrial logging was already underway on the eastern shore as crews worked east up into the timber from Northup Landing on Yarrow Bay. Once the land was cleared to a "stump farm," it could be put to work – and so could local workers of another kind. One agricultural manual laborer on a Houghton farm was paid by the day.

He left a detailed account in 1880 of backbreaking work grubbing out roots and burning huge stumps, preparing the land to transplant fruit tree starts and berry plants.[26]

Living off the land was not easy, and many people had to supplement their gardens and chicken coops with paying work to earn a living. Even in a largely barter economy, some things – postage, taxes, boat fares – cost cash money. Industry and commerce began at once – they arrived with the settlers. As much as possible, people worked where they lived, or nearby. As logging moved inland, local labor followed it; as land clearing moved inland behind logging, local labor also followed it. Early settlers relied on farming, fishing, and hunting plus logging, mining, shipping, manual labor, and boatbuilding to make a living. But not everyone worked where they lived. Houghton and inland residents traveled back and forth on the Newcastle Road – 132nd Avenue, NE, today – south to distant jobs in the Newcastle and Black Diamond coal mines, or – like Harry French – across the lake to the industrial jobs of Seattle.[27]

Pleasant Bay grew into a very small town with a little general store, clinging to the edge of the lake. In 1879, nineteen settlers established the first Church of Christ of Pleasant Bay, on land donated by Harry French. Boston philanthropist Sarah Jane Houghton donated the bell for the chapel, and the community renamed itself "Houghton" in her honor.[28]

In Houghton, on the lakeshore, Frank Curtis and Jay O'Conner were attuned to the industries of the lake and the rivers as well as those of the farm, mine, and forest. Curtis had settled on land at the water's edge – building a dock soon known as Curtis Landing – and putting up a large frame home. Early travelers to or from distant Seattle found the Curtis landing and Curtis's hospitable home a convenient spot to break their trip, which required the often harrowing crossing of Lake Washington by boat. Soon Curtis's neighbors, the O'Conner's, built a substantial frame house intended to double as a family home and a hotel and restaurant for travelers. Jay O'Conner sold the property to John Fish, whose family lived at and operated Lake House for many years. Houghton settlers used their lakefront position at the intersection of waterborne and land-based transportation to generate income.[29]

The Curtis and O'Conner families continued the long Native tradition of wooden boat building on the lakeshore, designing and constructing workboats for commercial and industrial use, and small steamer foot ferries for the passenger trade. Boatbuilding in Houghton exploded in the 1880s. In 1884, O'Conner hired boatwright Edward F. Lee to build the steam scow SQUAK for freight runs up the meandering Sammamish River into Lake Sammamish, back to Juanita, and over to Seattle. Throughout the 1880s and into the 1890s, passenger foot ferries like the EDITH E, the ELFIN, and the CITY OF LATONA carried passengers among the lakefront spots, and from the eastern shore to Seattle destinations on the west side of Lake Washington. One of the foot ferries made the Leschi to Houghton run twice daily, charging passengers 25 cents each way and bringing the mail twice weekly.

In 1901, Frank Curtis and his two sons built the PEERLESS, a more substantial steamer, intended for saltwater use, and floated out the Black River at the southwest corner of Lake Washington, out to saltwater. It was an ambitious shipbuilding venture for the new century, and foreshadowed things to come.[30]

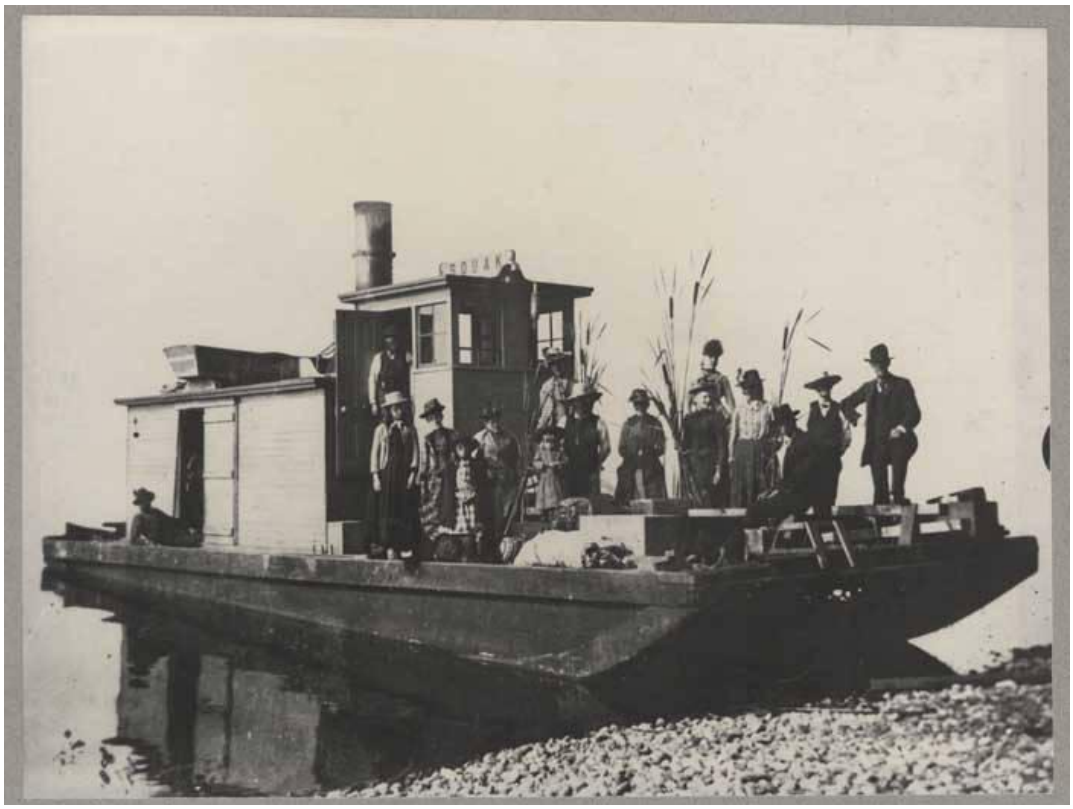


Figure 1: The steam scow *Squak* was a work boat, built on the Houghton shoreline and, here, on a fun outing. (Source: Museum of History & Industry)

But the most significant improvement to getting around reliably on Lake Washington was true public transportation. In 1899, King County began the half century of ferry service between Madison Park and the downtown Kirkland ferry slip that did so much to make Kirkland the "Hub of the Eastside." The foot ferry WASHINGTON was the first of many ferryboats to make this run, later followed by the auto ferries LINCOLN and the ISSAQUAH– which were both built on the eastern shore of Yarrow Bay, too.[31]

As the ambitious settlers of Houghton industrialized the shoreline, Native presence continued to resonate in this mixed world, as indigenous people made their seasonal returns. Settlers recorded their memories of Native people paddling canoes along the lakeshore at Yarrow Bay and at Juanita Bay as late as 1916, when the Ship Canal was completed. Frank and Wayne Kirtley remembered hearing about Native people in Kirkland:

When they (my great grandparents] first came here, the Indians (sic) *still camped at Yarrow Bay. They'd come over in the summertime and camp there in the summer. They'd come to the house and sell fish and clams and things like that.*[32]

North up the eastern shore of Lake Washington, Dorr Forbes, a Civil War veteran, filed a claim in 1877 that included a pond that was then called Forbes Lake. At Juanita, Forbes built a water-powered shingle mill on Forbes Creek, and dammed a mill pond to increase its head. Such industrial mills turned timber into marketable lumber.[33]

Above Juanita, the Woodin Logging Company logged off what would become Finn Hill, skidding logs down a tramway to the landing and mill on Juanita Bay. The first Finnish settlers arrived at the turn of the century, more than fifty immigrant families connected through chain migration from Finland and Finnish communities in the eastern U.S. to settle the hill. The men mostly worked in the woods during the week and farmed on the weekends, adding their labor to that of their wives and children. Finn Hill was an immigrant enclave, with Finnish the common tongue and a shared Finnish culture from food and music to saunas.[34]

Waterfront land was the first to be claimed and developed by settlers. But the attraction was more access than scenery. Latecomers homesteaded back in the woods, hoping to clear land and prove up on their claim. A traveler described these hardscrabble, lonely stump ranchers up east in the deep timber, far from the lakeshore, and traveling to distant jobsites to make a living:

Every man has 160 acres, which puts cabins about a half mile apart. Each cabin has about it a clearing of a few acres, one to six generally. All about it is the immense forest. The few country roads are simply trails wide enough for an ox team… We followed one of the trails, keeping within a quarter mile of the lake and calling at several of the cabins. Five-sixths of the settlers in that section are bachelors. These poor fellows keep house, doing all their own cooking and work. During certain seasons they leave their ranches and work in the city or else in lumber camps…A mile or so from the lake the land is open to claims but all bordering the lake anywhere near the city are held at fictitious values.[35]

Water provided the easiest way to get around and the lakefront settlements were oriented to Lake Washington, but trails penetrated the inland forest, linking the widely spaced homesteads and settlements. The Houghton landing was the western end of one vital roadway to Redmond, widened and cleared repeatedly. The Curtis Road - NE 52nd Street – originated at the Curtis lakeshore dock and entered the timber east of the tiny settlement. The Curtis Road then headed east to Luke McRedmond's primitive bridge across the Sammamish River and then over a rough trail east to Issaquah. The Curtis Landing can be thought of as the vital lakeshore centerpoint where land and water met, and leading to a network of trails to get around the Eastside, on foot, on horseback, with a wagon. After the

twice-weekly U.S. mail was dropped off by steamer at Curtis Landing, it was picked up by postmasters and postmistresses for horseback delivery to settlements like Bellevue and Redmond. Settlers on the Eastside were eager for more population, better roads, better employment opportunities, better communication, better lake transportation, and a railroad.[36]

First Industrialization of Kirkland, Boomtown

By 1888, about 200 men, women, and children lived along and near the shoreline between Yarrow Bay and Juanita Bay. In that year, construction was completed to Kirkland on the Seattle, Lakeshore, and Eastern (SLE) Railway, vital in the eyes of boosters to "opening" the Eastside to progress. Industrial development with jobs and payrolls seemed essential to local progress – whether that was logging and lumbering, mining, building boats, or heavy industry. On cue, enter Peter Kirk. English entrepreneur Kirk was counting on the arrival of the SLE Railway to the Eastside when he unveiled dramatic plans for a steel mill and company town in the place now named "Kirkland." Kirk and his backers anticipated the imminent opening of not just the railroad but also a ship canal and locks linking the lakes to Elliott Bay. Just like Seattle's founding settlers dreamed of a transcontinental railroad connecting at the waterfront to trans-Pacific steamers, so also did Kirk and ambitious settlers dream of a canal and locks linking Lake Washington to saltwater and a railroad linking the Eastside to markets in the Midwest and back east, and to Seattle's waterfront wharves and the ports of Asia.[37]

Kirk's sprawling, international enterprise incorporated as the Moss Bay Iron and Steel Company on August 18, 1888, ballyhooed as the Next Big Thing in Seattle newspapers. Peter Kirk named Moss Bay in memory of the Moss Bay in England near the Kirk family foundry. Just like the Seattle boosters, Kirk envisioned Kirkland as a city of smokestacks, as depicted on the letterhead of his stock certificates. Kirkland would become, Kirk promised, the Pittsburgh of the West with more than 2000 men working at the mill and living in the company town with their families. It was a place to get rich quick for investors and speculators, and a place to make a living for white and blue-collar workers. The enterprise was reincorporated the following year as the Great Western Iron & Steel Company, intended to fabricate, ship, and sell railroad rail throughout Asia.[38]



Figure 2: The Kirkland waterfront, during Peter Kirk's industrial initiative. (Source: Special Collections, University of Washington Libraries)

Kirk's Kirkland Land and Improvement Company purchased local acreage, cleared it, and burned stumps throughout 1890, "downtown" along the west-facing lakeshore, and up east on Rose Hill. Kirk needed cooling ponds for his steel mill waterworks, and bought out the small lake and some acreage owned by Dorr Forbes. Kirk built a sawmill and domestic brickworks as well as the mill's foundry, blacksmith shop, coal bunkers, and cooling ponds. The Seattle, Lakeshore and Eastern railroad spur (along what is currently Slater Avenue) was built, intended to meet rail-borne freight cars bringing in shipments of coking coal from Ravensdale, iron ore from mines in the Cascades, and lime from the San Juan Islands. In1891, Rose Hill was bustling in its noisy, grimy industrial heyday. Shipments of firebrick, fire clay, and cement began to arrive on barges at the new Kirkland wharves. Waterborne barges and rail-borne freight cars were essential to the success of the Kirkland mill, at the intersection of transportation modes.[39]



Figure 3: We look east toward the steel mill in 1890. The planked road was 7th Avenue, then called Piccadilly, which ran from Market Street to the mill. The bunker

at left was intended to store iron ore, coal and lime, dumped by railcars on the spur.
(Source: Harry D. French; in Kirkland Heritage Society collection)

Down the hill from the mill to the west, the Kirkland Land and Improvement Company platted out a planned community to house the projected workforce, including white collar homes and blue-collar cottages. Kirkland was to be intentionally modeled on the extraordinary company town of Pullman, IL, an instant industrial suburb planned in every detail to foster worker efficiency, contentment, and self-improvement. There were no saloons in Pullman, only one church, and the town's library selection fostered the "moral and intellectual growth" of the workers.[40]

Kirkland development also included the elegant brick buildings built at the heart of the new town – at Market Street and 7th Avenue - to house a hotel, theater (the first on the Eastside), real estate office, bank, and retail enterprises, as well as homes on the westward facing hillside west of Market Street for engineering and management staff, and smaller, simpler cottages for laborers. In 1890, engineer John Kellett developed and filed the original town plat for Kirkland, establishing the street layout familiar today – the plan of Old Kirkland. Kirk's own home was built on the southern corner of Third Street West and Fifth Avenue. Though Kirk publicly discouraged land speculation, he and his investors privately practiced and encouraged it, and property values skyrocketed in the older town of Houghton and the new boomtown of Kirkland, particularly on lakeview land. Kirk's steel mill enterprise powered Kirkland's first great boom.[41]

Coincident with Kirk's plans, inland homestead claims continued to be filed in the brush and the woods, further and further back east from the desirable waterfront land. Up in today's Rose Hill and in the Bridle Trails area, John Andreen and half a dozen other men made their 160-acre homestead claims between 1888 and 1891, likely drawn by the widespread Kirkland boomtown publicity.[42]

Two circumstances forced the mill to close down without producing a foot of steel rail. First, the necessary canal and locks between Lake Washington and Elliott Bay were not built as the investors had hoped. Second, an international financial crisis deterred Kirk's backers from completing their investments. The mill was eventually foreclosed and sold off in an 1895 sheriff's sale - more than $1 million of investment was lost. In interviews, Peter Kirk claimed that he had intended this location to become the "manufacturing center of Puget Sound," expecting to produce enough steel rail to "monopolize the business of the Pacific Coast and also of the Far East." Kirk's ambitious venture in 1888-1893 was the first in a series of grand corporate visions for Kirkland, which seemed to be a template in search of an identity, a townsite in search of a town, a present in search of a future. After the mill's failure, Kirkland entered the first in a series of quiet times. Peter Kirk and his family remained in Kirkland, surrounded by empty buildings, unbuilt lots, and carefully surveyed streets that led nowhere.[43]



HARRY WHITE. WILL B. WHITE. GEORGE WHITE

Confidence has been restored; the winter of discontent has disappeared!
The Sunshine of Progress is warming the Blood of the Nation!
The Song of Prosperity is heard in the air; the Pacific Coast is herself again!

THEREFORE BE IT KNOWN TO ALL THE INHABITANTS OF THE EARTH, THAT ON

Monday, the 2d Day of February, 1891,

WHITE BROTHERS'

Addition to South Kirkland

Will be Put Upon the Market.

WHO HAS NOT HEARD OF KIRKLAND?

KIRKLAND will be the greatest railroad center in Washington.
KIRKLAND is the gateway to the wealth of the Cascades.
KIRKLAND is the heart of the greatest limestone ledge on the coast.
KIRKLAND is the great coke market of the Northwest.
KIRKLAND will manufacture iron at 25 percent less than it can be brought from the East.
KIRKLAND will ship iron, coal and steel to Japan and China.
KIRKLAND will give employment to thousands of laborers.
KIRKLAND is the Lackawana of coal.
KIRKLAND is the Pittsburg of steel.

KIRKLAND is the place to live, the place to make money and the place for happiness.
KIRKLAND is where mechanics smile.
KIRKLAND is where merchants rejoice.
KIRKLAND is where there is work for all.
KIRKLAND is where comfort abounds.
KIRKLAND is where the great iron works are.
KIRKLAND is where $1,000,000 is now being expended.
KIRKLAND is where great trip-hammers are to fall.
KIRKLAND is the home of a $3,000,000 corporation.
KIRKLAND will soon contain 275 tons of machinery.

Buy a Lot on Monday, February 2d, and thus secure an interest in the Pittsburg of the Northwest.

HARRY WHITE & CO.,

Occidental Block. Seattle, Wash.

Figure 4: This castles-in-the-air real estate promotion was published in a Seattle theater program, intended to encourage investment in industrializing Kirkland.
(Source: Seattle Public Library)

Despite the steel mill's failure, Kirkland incorporated in 1905. A delegation of Kirklanders presented an appeal to incorporate to the King County Commissioners, claiming that 70 out of the 90 eligible voters in a population of 400 had voted affirmatively. The incorporation would include "only a small part of the Kirkland precinct," including the town of Kirkland itself and a "settled region known as South Kirkland," likely Houghton. At times referring to Kirkland as "East Seattle," the *Seattle Times* participated in this latest grandiose scheme to boom Kirkland, reporting on its front page that the Gaylord Iron Works intended to reopen and rehabilitate the old steel mill and manufacture rails for the Asia trade. Kirk's old Kirkland Development Company ran a campaign of real estate ads, hyping the 25 King County public ferry trips per day, between Kirkland and Madison Park. The major impetus for incorporation seems to have been the potential revival of the steel mill, but the promising Gaylord industrial initiative had disappeared from the Seattle newspapers by October 1905, when Kirkland's incorporation was formally approved.[44]

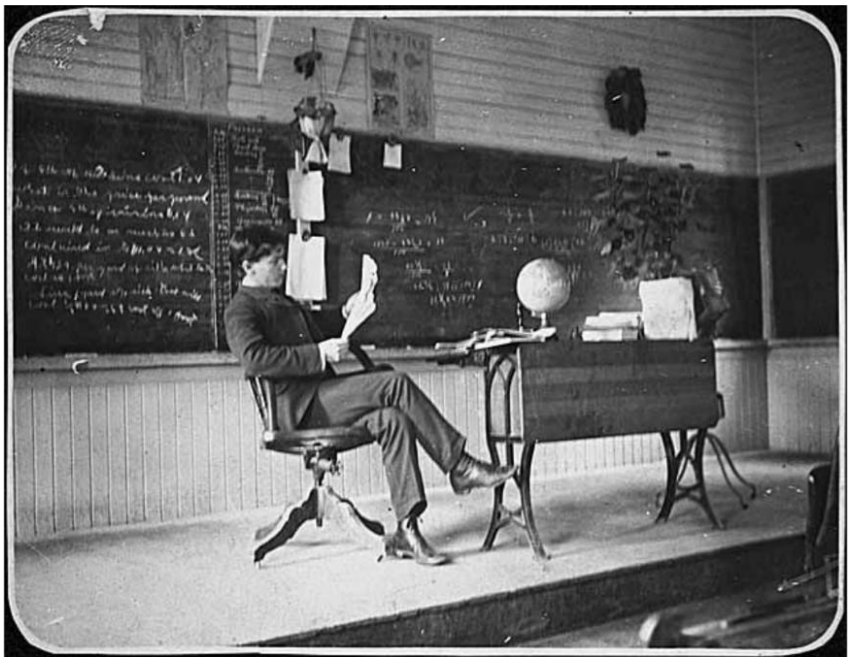
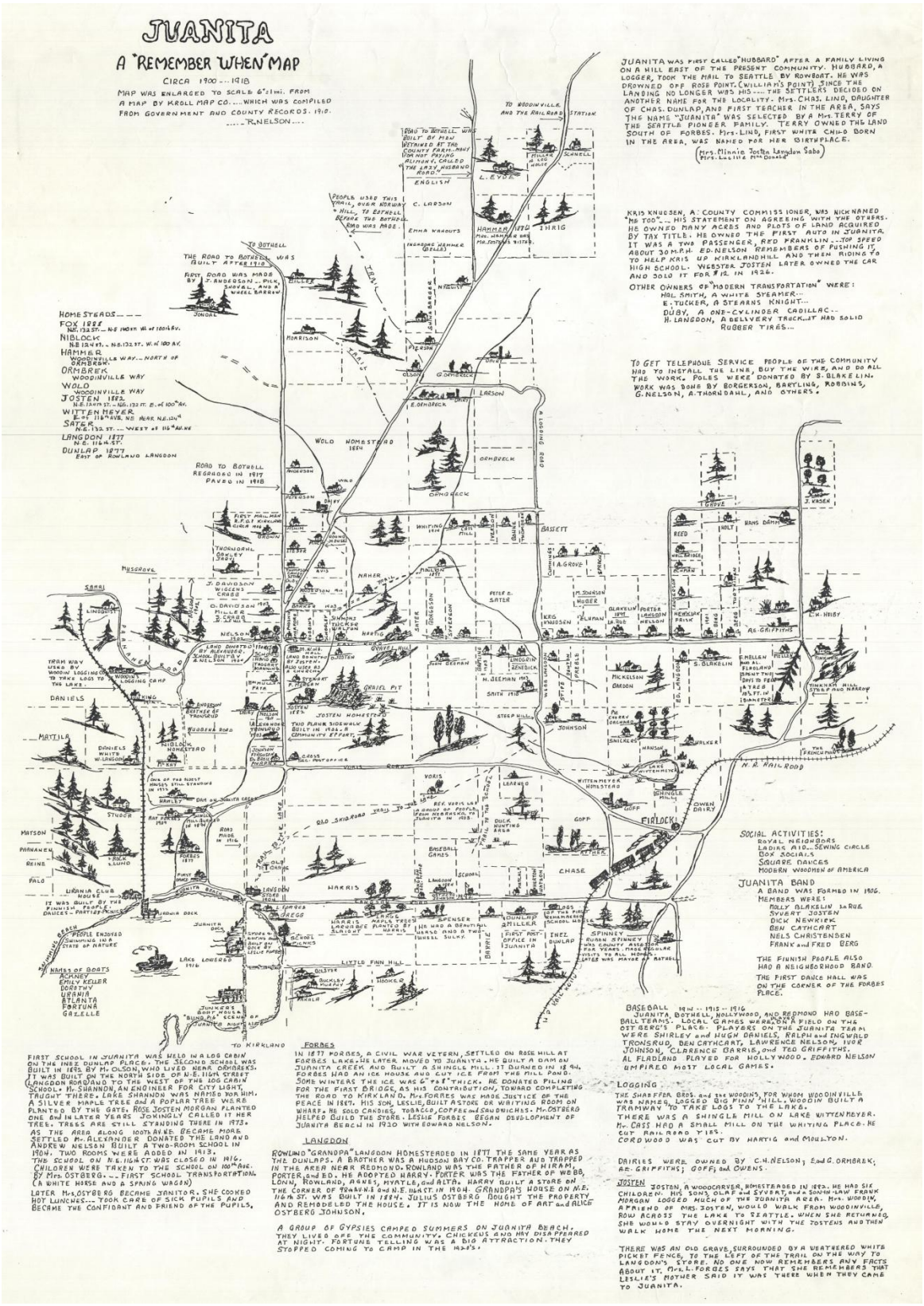


Figure 5: Teacher Will Shannon in his Juanita School classroom, about 1903. (Source: Eastside Heritage Center)

After incorporation in 1905, the speculative boom collapsed. The Eastsiders who remained after the steel mill boom and the incorporation boom resumed their ways of life: logging, farming, working for wages, building and running freight and passenger steamers throughout Lake Washington, up the Sammamish Slough, and on to the logging camps and mills and mines of Lake Sammamish and southward. The hourly County ferry pulsed traffic through downtown Kirkland, from the ferry slip to the Kirkland-Redmond road. Smaller foot ferry traffic loaded and unloaded at Curtis Landing, in Houghton. Kirkland dozed on island time, stirring to life with each ferry and falling back to sleep in between.[45]



Map 2: Ruth Nelson's remarkable map documented Juanita as she recalled her hometown in the 1970s. (Source: City of Kirkland)

Houghton Industrialization

By the turn of the 20th century, the eastern shore of Yarrow Bay had a long tradition of boatbuilding. In 1904, George Bartsch and Harry Tompkins purchased lakefront property from the Curtis family and began to build steamers for the lake passenger trade. Their shipyard has been described as a "single 10 x 12 foot shanty where 12 men, a horse, and a wagon were employed." There was a winch powered by a mule – Bartsch and Tompkins operated a "miniature shipyard," as Lucile McDonald put it, but the B&T yard did represent a step in the incremental transition from settler family lakeshore construction to incorporated lakefront maritime industry.[46]

In 1907, Captain John Anderson purchased the Bartsch and Tompkins property and acquired more acreage, expanding the Houghton shipyard to ten acres. Anderson invested $25,000 in new machinery and shipyard construction, and doubled the workforce to twenty-five men to complete contracts as they came in. Anderson Shipbuilding built a lighthouse tender and the ISSAQUAH and the LINCOLN lake ferries. As the population around Lake Washington grew, travel on the water remained the fastest, cheapest way to get around. Like his predecessors, Anderson was interested in the design and construction of ships but he was also interested in running them – that was where the long-term profits lay. With that in mind, he built Atlanta Park at the shipyard site, as well as Fortuna Park on Mercer Island and Wildwood Park on Meydenbauer Bay. These parks were named for a series of Anderson-built passenger steamers, and provided sylvan destinations for lake excursions to dance and picnic on the lakeshore in the summertime.[47]

The 1909 Alaska-Yukon-Pacific Exposition (AYPE) at the University of Washington campus boomed foot ferry construction, as the Anderson shipyard built lake excursion steamers for the AYPE crowds. The fortunes of the wooden, steam-powered shipyard were linked with those of entrepreneur, captain, and impresario John Anderson. During his long career in Pacific Northwest ferryboating, he had a dozen vessels built from scratch at the Houghton shipyard, converted some from steam to diesel power, and others from foot to auto ferries. The industrialized Houghton shoreline was bustling in a modest way, providing blue-collar jobs for people to work where they lived.[48]

Back from the lakeshore, hardscrabble farmers and gentleman farmers continued to clear the forest and settle the land for a variety of purposes. As an example, in about 1900, John Cort, the variety theater impresario, developed Whisker Farm in Houghton, on 108th Avenue, NE, long known as Cort Road. Seattle newspaper reporters covered every party that he and his wife hosted there; the theatrical guests brought a touch of cosmopolitan glamor to the Eastside. Cort picked up his guests at the Curtis Landing in the 12-passenger horse-drawn "tallyho," to carry them up the hill. He and his wife developed a large fruit and

poultry farm, with extensive flower gardens, and hired a local staff to manage the place, including farmhands, gardeners, cooks, and maids. Like all enterprising Eastside landowners, Cort was interested in transportation to "open up" the region. He bid on and received the visionary franchise to construct an electric trolley line from the Kirkland ferry slip to North Bend but doesn't seem to have pursued the enterprise. After Cort purchased one of the earliest automobiles available in the Seattle area, he sold off the tallyho and most of his horses. He and other landowners agitated for the improvement of the Kirkland-Redmond Road. When realtors Burke & Farrar began to aggressively market their Kirkland tracts in 1910, they referred in their advertising to "prominent men in the city [Seattle]" like James Clise, Frederick Stimson, Leigh Hunt, Jacob Furth, and John Cort whose ownership of Eastside land led the way into the future and should reassure others.[49]

Contemporary to Cort, a second interesting Seattle-based resident of the greater Kirkland area was Isaac Israel Walker, African-American businessman and real estate investor. Walker was swept up in the Klondike gold rush, and returned repeatedly to his claims in the Yukon where he did well enough to purchase 20 acres near Lake Wittenmyer (today's Totem Lake). Walker developed a truck farm there and is also credited in the *Seattle Republican* as a poultry breeder. Though Walker owned property and maintained a home in Seattle, he became so identified with Kirkland that Seattle newspapers referred to him by 1920 as "Mr. I.I. Walker of Kirkland." Walker was well-educated and well-to-do, and was a founder of the Seattle African Methodist Episcopal Church. Walker was an associate of Horace Cayton, Sr., editor and publisher of the *Seattle Republican*, and frequently mentioned in that newspaper's pages. Cayton's son considered "Mr. Walker" to be a "dedicated intellectual," and an authority on politics and social issues concerning people of color.[50]



Figure 6: Lake Wittenmeyer – today's Totem Lake – was named for an early settler family in an area that has undergone radical change from Native times to the present.
(Source: Kirkland Heritage Society)

Better private and public transportation were key to the Eastside's future growth and development. The ferry landing in downtown Kirkland was the beating heart that made the town; the landings in Houghton and Juanita and on Meydenbauer Bay were serviced by small foot ferries but the hourly King County auto ferries were fundamental to Kirkland's emergence as "The Hub of the Eastside." For instance, the Yellowstone Trail was the first transcontinental automobile highway through the upper tier of states across the United States, established on May 23, 1912, as "A Good Road from Plymouth Rock to Puget Sound." The Yellowstone Trail highway ran from Massachusetts, past Yellowstone National Park to cross the Cascade Mountains through Snoqualmie Pass right down to the oiled Kirkland-Redmond Road and on to the ferry dock at Kirkland.[51]

Another Boom

In 1910, ambitious realtors Bert Farrar and E.C. Burke brought a burst of new energy to marketing and selling Kirkland and the Eastside. Anticipating the boom that would follow on the – once again – anticipated completion of the Lake Washington Ship Canal, the pair bought out the entire Kirkland Development Company land holdings – 2000 acres and 2 miles of shoreline from Juanita Bay to Houghton. The Kirkland Development Company land had not been logged or marketed for years, and was fringed on its edges by development. Burke & Farrar paid close to $500,000 for the enormous tract of land, and set to work in 1910 surveying~~, platting lots and subdivisions,~~ and constructing roads. Kirkland, once

again, was marketed as the site of the Eastside's coming boom. And, once again, gaining shelter, getting around, making a living, and enjoying life were key. Carrie Shumway was the first woman elected to the Kirkland Council and the first woman elected to *any* town council in Washington State – the newly incorporated town took its politics seriously. The Kirkland ferry landing was "the focal point for all the state and county roads in this section," real estate ads proclaimed, and the road to Redmond was soon not only blacktopped but served by motorized jitney stages! in 1918, Bert Farrar wisely bought an interest in the *East Side Journal* to boost his subdivisions and to control coverage of the Kirkland boom.[52]



Figure 7: The jitney bus provided public transportation between Redmond and Kirkland; here, the radiator has overheated in 1907. (Source: Eastside Heritage Society)

Opening a large office in Kirkland, with signage visible from approaching ferries, Burke and Farrar aggressively marketed the town as "an enterprising city," with a population in 1910 of 1500 (within then city limits). The realtors built the Rose Hill School, next to the old steel mill site, hoping to lure family buyers. Burke and Farrar invited smart buyers to join the owners of the "many fine ranches and small acreage tracts that have been brought to a high state of cultivation, in the vicinity of Kirkland." They marketed timbered acreage further east to be cleared for farms and ranches, and western land with water views for fine residences and summer homes. From 1914 throughout the 1920s, Burke & Farrar built many Arts & Crafts bungalows and Craftsman-style small houses, many of which survive in Kirkland today. Kirkland experienced something of a boom, as the population grew from 392 at incorporation in 1905 to 532 by 1910 and 1354 by 1920. And, most remarkably,

Burke and Farrar offered "sites for reliable manufacturing concerns" ***for free*** to provide jobs for the population of 1,000,000 anticipated by the shadowy "civic plans commission."[53]



Kirkland

A Coming Manufacturing Center

Now that the construction of Lake Washington Canal is assured, manufacturers are looking toward Kirkland for factory sites.

The latest company to establish its factory here is the C. D. Moore Company, manufacturing logging tools.

A city with factories in its midst is builded on a firm foundation—the value of Kirkland property as an investment is increased with every newly established factory or industry.

Our terms are 10 per cent down and $5.00 or $10.00 a month, according to value and location of property.

BURKE & FARRAR

OWNERS.

405-409 NEW YORK BLOCK.

Branch Offices at Madison Park and Kirkland.

Figure 8: The Burke and Farrar real estate speculation promised a boom for Kirkland, giving away an industrial site *gratis*, *Seattle Times* March 29, 1911. (Source: Seattle Public Library)

In 1919, the *East Side Journal* editorialized, eager for the prosperity and payroll of local industry:

Bellevue would have outgrown Kirkland had it a concern like Burke & Farrar….If it had not been for the enterprise (of B & F), Kirkland would be a lake shore settlement in the same class as Medina and Bellevue…We want industries. Without the assistance of Burke & Farrar, sufficient money could not be raised in Kirkland to donate a fair-sized factory site…."[54]

Kirkland has been lucky enough to boast a series of newspapers, beginning as early as 1890. The first paper, *The Kirkland News*, was the earliest published on the Eastside. In 1905, *The Kirkland Press* began to publish, followed by the *East Side Journal*. For decades, the *Journal* connected the far-flung Eastside community. The *Journal's* editor acted as an influencer, informing public understanding and shaping public opinion. And the little town's communications were forward looking, too. In 1907, the Lake Washington Telephone Company was headquartered in Kirkland with 200 subscribers by 1915 – the operator connected calls by hand through her switchboard.[55]

After the Lake Washington Ship Canal

Until 1916, Lake Union and Lake Washington were separated by land; Lake Sammamish joined Lake Washington through the meandering Sammamish River – today's Slough - and Lake Washington reached Elliott Bay via the Black, Cedar, and Duwamish rivers. After construction of the Lake Washington Ship Canal, the Lake Washington watershed was reoriented entirely: instead of flowing south out of the Black River, the lake now drained west through the canal. The Ship Canal lowered Lake Washington by 9', shrinking the lake, leaving wharves and landings high and dry, reconfiguring the islands and Points, and draining wetlands causing immense consequences for the ecosystem of the lake and for its Native people. The 9' vertical drop exposed sloping, drying shoreline all along the lakeshore. As the water retreated, the marshes that had sheltered vast populations of waterfowl dried out and became overgrown with willow and cottonwood. Even though the marshes eventually restored themselves at a lower level, the birds never returned in anything like their former numbers. Nor did the muskrats, the kokanee, and any of the other fish whose gravel spawning beds were exposed to the air. The water lilies and cattails took years to reestablish themselves, and the wapato seems to have disappeared altogether.[56]

The lowering of Lake Washington exposed a new shoreline, including a long curving strip of sandy beach at Juanita. Dorr Forbes and his son recognized the opportunity for recreation offered by the new lakeshore and developed their property as a bathing beach, planting cottonwoods and opening a bathhouse and refreshment stand in 1920. Adjacent owners developed Shady Beach and Sandy Beach, and Juanita became a popular summertime resort. ~~In Houghton, the King County ferries used the Anderson shipyard wharf after the lake was lowered until new facilities were built in downtown Kirkland on the newly exposed lakeshore at the foot of Kirkland Avenue.~~ All around the lake, Lake Washington Boulevard was improved in the 1920s as an auto road to encircle the lake. And the falling water level created "new" shoreline on the water side of the Boulevard. For instance, much of today's Marsh Park was donated by Louis Marsh to the City of Kirkland – it was "new" land west of Lake Washington Boulevard that was exposed by the lowering of the lake.[57]

After the Lake Washington Ship Canal and the Hiram Chittenden Locks opened, it wasn't necessary to float completed vessels out to salt water at high tide on the Black River, and Anderson Shipbuilding in Houghton took advantage of the opportunity to tackle larger saltwater craft. Substantial ship construction was now feasible on Lake Washington because ships could use the Canal locks to reach Elliott Bay. During World War I, Anderson Shipbuilding upped its game, bidding on and winning the opportunity to build four ocean-going wooden cargo steamships under contract for the French. These technically demanding projects employed nearly 400 blue-collar workers at the Houghton shipyard. Local landowners, investors, and speculators had agitated for a canal for nearly forty years

before its grand opening on July 4, 1917, and the Lake Washington Ship Canal truly did open up the lake to increased industrialization, as boosters had hoped.[58]

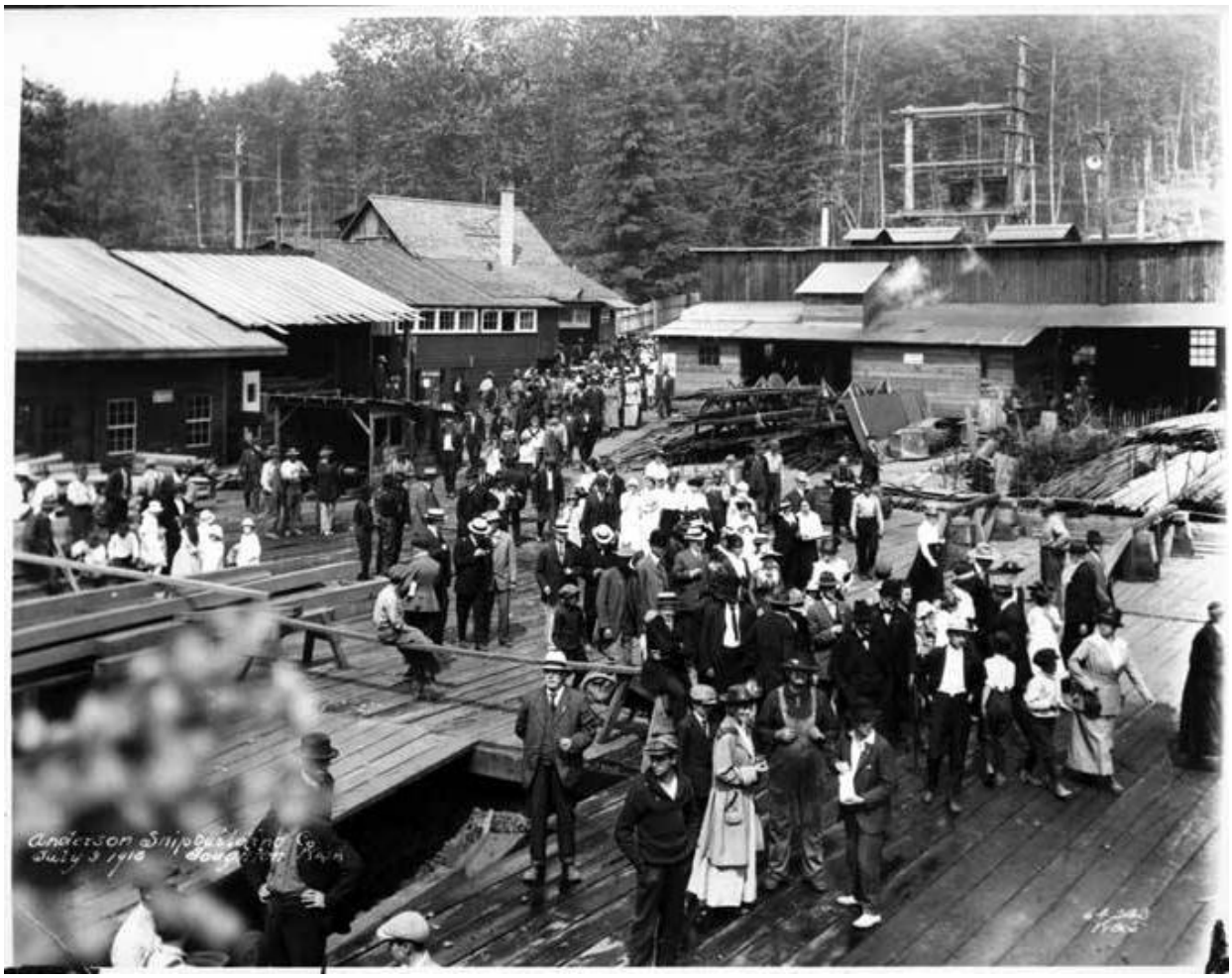


Figure 9: A festive crowd gathered at Anderson Shipbuilding, July 3, 1918, for the launch of one of the wooden ocean-going ships for France. (Source: Museum of History & Industry)

And Kirkland benefitted, too. In 1923, Kirkland High School was opened – the lovely terraced site is today's Heritage Park, home of the Kirkland Heritage Society Resource Center and Museum.[59]

Shipbuilding

In 1923, Charles Burckhardt, owner of Alaska Consolidated Canneries, purchased the Anderson shipyard on the Houghton shore, soon joined by the smaller Ballinger Boat Works located on the shoreline at 10th Avenue, S. The 1920s were a boomtime for metro Seattle, a time of rapid expansion in Pacific Northwest fisheries and shipbuilding. Burckhardt used his newly-named Lake Washington Shipyards (LWS) as a freshwater winter tie-up for his salmon cannery tenders and fishing vessels but also aggressively pursued general repair

and construction contracts. In 1926, the steamer CHIPPEWA was converted into a single-ended automobile ferry for the Puget Sound Navigation Company – the first work in steel done at the Houghton shipyard. The CHIPPEWA represented investment in new technology, and a new chapter for innovative shipbuilding would soon begin on the Houghton lakeshore. But just as Peter Kirk's plans were destroyed by a poor economy, so also were Charles Burckhardt's plans slowed – though not entirely destroyed.[60]

When the Great Depression hit the national and international economies, Lake Washington Shipyards fell on lean times and so did the men who depended on it for work. Urban unemployment in Washington State ran a steady 25-30%, a rough figure that only counted out-of-work men, not women. Under the circumstances, Burckhardt concentrated on building and repair for the Alaska fisheries market he knew so well, and a string of small contracts kept the shipyard alive during the early Depression. At times, only three men worked at the yard, the night watchman and the two managers, burning the midnight oil. Burckhardt had invested in an aggressive management team to explore new building and repair opportunities. Beginning in 1933, Lake Washington Shipyards began to advertise in *Marine Digest,* promoting its services in both wood ***and steel***.[61]



Figure 10: Shipyard management began to aggressively market the yard's newly-acquired skills in metal shipbuilding in Marine Digest, in 1933. (Source: Puget Sound Maritime Historical Society)

During a contract, the boom-and-bust shipyard employed fifty, a hundred, or two hundred local men as needed, and laid them off when the job was complete. Repair of the fishing fleet and cannery tenders was seasonal, but other contracts were unpredictable. During the hungry 1930s, men clustered outside the fence each morning, cash bribe in hand, competing to be hired for the day. Some Eastside craftsmen in wood – shipwrights and joiners – spent the time between shipyard contracts building furniture or houses. But the metal craftsmen couldn't maintain their skills at home, and combed metro Seattle for metalworking jobs, commuting to work far from home. The shipyard's ability to complete a contract capably depended on a workforce that it couldn't consistently maintain, which risked the shipyard's sustainability and posed a hardship to local shipyard labor.[62]

Lake Washington Shipyards established a reputation for superior craftsmanship on a shoestring, completing its contracts on time and within budget. *Marine Digest* later noted the "brains, guts, and hard work" that kept the yard going during the Depression, even editorializing that "Seattle's ability in the art and craft of steel shipbuilding [has] previously been demonstrated at the Lake Washington Shipyards." In the view of the *Marine Digest*, the Houghton shipyard was a leader in steel shipbuilding in the entire metropolitan area. At LWS, son often followed father at the shipyard, working in a family tradition of local blue-collar craftsmanship. Boys apprenticed after school, working toward their own set of tools, the hallmark of craft pride. As the shipyard increasingly turned to metal during the 1930s, the sons of Kirkland wooden boatbuilders trained in shipfitting, welding, and machining. Blue-collar work, where you lived, was part of a proud Kirkland heritage.[63]

Kirkland was founded as a steel mill company town to fabricate steel rails for railroads in Asia, and as part of his town-building real estate initiative, Peter Kirk and his backers invited other industrialists to join him. Kirk investor Leigh Hunt persuaded an Indiana investor to move his woolen mill to the Kirkland lakeshore, just north of today's Marina Park. The first woolen mill in Washington State was established in Kirkland in 1892, and the woolen mill succeeded where the steel mill had not. It produced wool products for Klondike Gold Rush prospectors and then for the U.S. military during World War I. From the early 1890s, under varied ownership and management, the woolen mill was downtown Kirkland's principal industry, employing as many as 250 men and women, but usually a few dozen. The woolen mill continued to produce jackets, blankets, plaid woolens, and flannels into the Great Depression. [64]



Figure 11: These men and women worked at blue-collar jobs in Kirkland's woolen mill at the turn of the 20th century. (Source: Museum of History & Industry)



Figure 12: Kirkland's woolen mill, on the waterfront. (Source: Special Collections, University of Washington Libraries)

The Great Depression

The two most successful industries in Kirkland's early history that were not based on extractive natural resources were wool milling and steel shipbuilding. Houghton and Kirkland had the industrialized waterfront that could provide blue-collar jobs and a significant local payroll to keep Kirkland retailers in business.

But back from the lakeshore in the 1920s and 1930s, life was rural not suburban or industrial. Hardscrabble farmers ran subsistence farms with families tending a large kitchen garden and chickens and a cow, walking out to the outhouse, carrying water to the house, lighting an oil lamp at night, and cooking and warming the house with firewood. Adults and older children worked for barter or for cash where they could, when they could. Working in the woods or the mines or the shipyard, at the woolen mill, harvesting berries, or selling eggs. While roses bloomed and grapes climbed the arbors, it is too easy to romanticize this life and important to listen to a man who lived it.[65]

In 1932, Ray Bishop was broke and unemployed in Kirkland, and he cashed in his life insurance policy to buy a plot of land in the "Steel Works Addition," up the hill east of downtown. Bishop built a shed to live in out of leftover wood salvaged from the demolition of a Redmond store. The kitchen shelves were wooden apple boxes, and there were no windows. Bishop traded labor for five windowpanes and installed them himself. Slowly he pieced together a living, exchanging his work for chickens and then trading their eggs for groceries. Over the years, he built a chicken coop, goat shed, woodshed, and roofed the farm buildings and his little cottage with cedar shakes that he split himself. Mrs. Bishop was an economic partner, helping in every way she could. She made butter for the family and a surplus to sell or trade, by shaking milk in a canning jar. When Mr. Bishop was lucky enough to get an odd job that paid cash, he walked to work because he had no money for gas and no car to put the gas in. Bishop didn't recall this time with wistful nostalgia; instead he remarked, "There was sure a lot of unhappiness. That's what the Depression was like around here." [66]



Figure 13: Rural Kirkland dozed on "island time" between ferries. (Source: Museum of History & Industry)

During the Great Depression, Eastside families like Bishop's made do, working seasonally at the shipyard, at the woolen mill, at a logging camp, or for the New Deal Works Progress Administration, then retiring to their "stump ranches" on logged-off land. The ambitious raised chickens and sold eggs and garden produce; the bold flouted Prohibition law, and brewed beer or distilled moonshine whiskey to sell. Prohibition of the production and sale of alcoholic beverages in Washington State began in 1916, two years earlier than by federal law, and lasted until 1933. Of many such instances reported in the Seattle newspapers, in 1926, U.S. Marshals shut down a hundred gallon still near Juanita School. Four years later, in 1930, authorities busted a still on Market Street, in downtown Kirkland, on "the old Fessenden place," then rented to the Lee family. But Rose Hill, in particular, was "noted for its bootleggers" during Prohibition; most raids are described as being "near Kirkland," or outside its then-boundaries. The biggest Kirkland-area haul was in December 1932, when agents raided a local ranch, complete with turkeys and goats, to seize $30,000 of bonded liquor, smuggled in from Canada. But most local moonshiners were making do. Kirkland-area rancher John Walton told a *Seattle Times* reporter, "I couldn't get a job and I couldn't make money selling chickens so I took up moonshining." [67]

In Kirkland proper, not everyone struggled to make ends meet. Despite the Depression, professional men, like doctors, dentists, and attorneys, earned a good living whether paid in cash or paid with barter. Depression Kirkland depended on the ferry traffic to support a small downtown business district including a bank, post office, movie theater, newspaper

office, and retail shops. Riding the bus to Kirkland from Redmond, a farm family could visit the doctor or dentist, buy an Easter hat, attend Sunday School, and shop for garden seed. Kirkland was truly the Hub of the Eastside, situated at that vital central place by the ferry landing.[68]



Figure 14: The cross-lake auto ferry was the beating heart of Kirkland, pulsing hourly traffic through downtown. (Source: Special Collections, University of Washington Libraries)

Throughout the 1930s, downtown Kirkland was the focus of an extended rural community of dairies and poultry farms, nurseries and truck gardens, and its newspaper, *The East Side Journal*, continued to provide the communication which bound these scattered readers together. The *Journal* reported on community, printing weekly reports of the social and civic programs of the dozen small community clubs in the surrounding area, and publicized meetings, graduations, sports events, church services, and dances. Its Society column covered the Eastside "elite," detailing the luncheons to and fro of Kirkland matrons or the stay at a Redmond home of visitors from faraway Tacoma. The lending library sponsored by the Kirkland Woman's Club served the extended community as did the Kirkland merchants who advertised their goods and services in the *Journal*'s back pages.[69]



Figure 15: The King County Ferry made Kirkland the Hub of the Eastside, at this directional sign (now the intersection of Lake Street and Kirkland Avenue). (Source: Museum of History & Industry)

In 1930, about 1700 people lived within Kirkland town limits and three or four times that number lived within three miles of its border. This community, isolated by few roads and by Lake Washington, depended on the ferries that crossed the lake to and from Madison Park, in Seattle. Travel around the lake, on the northerly or southerly end, was time-consuming on poor roads. On the Eastside, local traffic on foot, in trucks and cars, and on the privately owned buses, rose and fell according to the ferry schedule, as though on an island. The Eastside's backwater insularity was intensified by the Great Depression hard times, testing its self-sufficiency. In 1933, the average price in Seattle groceries for eggs fell to 12c a dozen, and prices for other local farm products followed suit. At times, it cost more to keep the chickens than a farmer could earn for their eggs.[70]

Between 1930 and 1935, in the Great Depression, assessed valuation within the Kirkland city limits fell by one-third, nearly $1 million. In 1932, the first year of President Herbert Hoover's administration, King County provided $2500 per month for unemployment relief in the "immediate district" of Kirkland, requiring applicants to prove their poverty to an investigating committee. The aid provided a minimum of one day's work per week for one hundred men in rotation, starting with the neediest. In Kirkland, private charities held dances and raffles to raise additional funds for food, fuel, and clothing to be distributed locally. But Kirkland Congregational Church had to release its minister in 1933 because

income from the membership totaled less than $1000 – the community could not afford his modest salary.[71]

Franklin D. Roosevelt was elected President in 1932, promising a "New Deal" for the United States. The *East Side Journal* editor Harold Everest had endorsed the laissez-faire policies of his opponent, incumbent President Herbert Hoover, and had published cheerfully optimistic editorials for Kirkland readers, asserting time and again that the national, regional, and local economy had "turned the corner," and that prosperity was on the way. In 1933, the *East Side Journal* announced that the Lake Washington Shipyards had just won a contract that would employ fifty men, and Everest characterized the contract as evidence of the "return to normalcy for the nation." Everest editorialized against Roosevelt as a "lightweight candidate," who would impose a socialist "virtual dictatorship." Editor Everest also worried about leftist radicals organizing labor unrest in Kirkland among the unemployed, fomented by "red leaders" from "outside." However ambivalent the *Journal* was about FDR as a candidate, Everest celebrated the President's New Deal programs, praising the Bank Holiday and the National Industrial Recovery Act (NIRA), reporting that 100% of Kirkland merchants were sporting blue eagle placards or banners, labelled NRA, indicating their participation in NIRA. In 1933, the New Deal Reconstruction Finance Corporation partly funded a shipyard contract that promised to put as many as 200 men to work, and the *Journal* praised it as a "big thing for the district." [72]



Figure 16: The federal New Deal had major impacts in Kirkland. In 1938, the Works Progress Administration (WPA) cannery in Kirkland produced 400,000 cans of fruits, vegetables, and meat. (Source: Kirkland Heritage Society)

In January 1934, the *East Side Journal* reported that the shipyard had won eleven of its twelve most-recent bids for construction or repair. Aside from the shipyard contracts, Kirkland also benefited from the New Deal Works Progress Administration (WPA) programs, which more than doubled local work relief. The WPA built its local office in Kirkland, and hundreds of men from the Kirkland area worked on repairs to local roads, and construction of downtown sidewalks, a town cannery, community center, and a new school. In its first year of operation, 1935, the cannery assisted 379 local families to preserve produce, chicken, and other edibles for winter use, and it was a source of not just sustenance but considerable local pride. "Prosperity," enthused Editor Everest, "Isn't around the corner for Kirkland anymore – it's here!"[73]

The *East Side Journal* measured Kirkland's prosperity by the local payroll, referring to the town as "the shopping center of the Eastside." Kirkland was run by and for its downtown retailers, led by a small group of boosters and influencers, and governed by a handful of local prominent citizens. When Prohibition ended, in 1933, many Kirkland business owners rejoiced at the return of beer. But Mayor Charles Newberry, then pastor of Kirkland

Congregational Church, resigned his political position rather than preside over collection of revenue from the legal sale of alcohol – an evil, as he saw it. The *Journal* joked that Kirkland had "tumbled from the water wagon," and the city councilmen accepted the mayor's principled resignation with polite regret and then promptly drafted an ordinance to profit from the new era. Beer sellers in Kirkland were required to be residents of the town, post a substantial bond, pay a hefty annual fee, and close by 1 am. Federal New Deal programs, the end of national Prohibition, and federal investment in local industry contributed to Kirkland's recovery from the Great Depression. Rugged individualists on the Eastside profited from state and federal policies and programs.[74]

In 1935, Lake Washington Shipyards won a private contract with Puget Sound Navigation Company – the "Black Ball Line" – and a chance to demonstrate its technical superiority and score a public relations coup. Working to an extraordinary design, the shipyard built a new superstructure on top of a burned-out hull and launched the glamorous art deco ferry KALAKALA. A glowing press release described the ferry as "fully streamlined in accordance with the latest principles of aerodynamics…[And s]he will at a distance resemble a mammoth aeroplane skimming over the surface of the water."[75]



Figure 17: The steel-sheathed ferry *Kalakala* was built from the hull up at Lake Washington Shipyard, and underscored the shipyard's cutting edge design and technology abilities. (Source: Museum of History & Industry)

"The most photographed ferry in the world" made the cover of *The Saturday Evening Post,* was featured in a movie, and was metro Seattle's icon in the decades before the Space Needle. The Kirkland shipbuilders had used "a unique method of electric welding [which] gives great strength and has made it possible to do away with unsightly rivet heads." Lake Washington Shipyards acquired twelve electric arc welding machines "of the latest type"

and its craftsmen mastered this innovative manufacturing technology. This engineering, fabrication, and aesthetic achievement thrilled the 100,000 spectators who lined the entire lake to witness the KALAKALA's maiden voyage, on July 2, 1935. *Journal* editor Everest was enraptured:

Gracefully reflected in the light of the moon, with its silvery sides aglitter and lights twinkling from its portholes, the novel ferry crossed the still waters of Lake Washington on its first run under its own power…. This is just another feather in the caps of the local shipyard officials.[76]

After the KALAKALA, the shipyard was busy and prosperous, building private yachts, fishing vessels, a ship for the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers, and a sophisticated oceanographic survey ship for the U.S. Coast and Geodetic Survey. The shipyard invested in a new steel crane and a new set of ways. When the survey ship EXPLORER was launched, Kirkland folks turned out to cheer and rejoice. Not only had the ship kept 250 men at work in the shipyard, the U.S. Coast and Geodetic Survey immediately ordered a sister ship, PATHFINDER, and LWS landed the tricky contract to timber the caissons of the Tacoma Narrows Bridge.[77]

Technically sophisticated and competitive for federal contracts, the Lake Washington Shipyards payroll drove Kirkland's economic recovery from the Great Depression. The 1936 holiday buying season was the best in Kirkland since 1929. Between 1935 and 1940, the town's assessed valuation increased to nearly its pre-Depression level and deposits in the First National Bank of Kirkland more than doubled. Real estate sales began to recover, and the national Rotary crowned Kirkland's commercial success by chartering a local affiliate.[78]

Kirkland and the Lake Washington Shipyard were more than content with one another. Eastside blue-collar craftsmen could work where they lived, read the local newspaper, spend their money in the hometown stores, worship at the hometown church, save their money in the hometown bank, and buy whatever house or land they could afford – as long as the real estate's racial covenant or prevailing racial discrimination did not prevent the purchase. Federal New Deal programs had left behind better roads and the Kirkland cannery, open to anyone in the community who wished to preserve homegrown fruit and vegetables. The local press, politicians, and pulpit celebrated this prosperity, creating and marketing Kirkland's small-town values – individualism, self-reliance, neighborliness, thrift, ingenuity, and respect for tradition.

Despite those small-town values, Kirkland's 1930s economic success depended on federal U.S. Navy and Geodetic Survey contracts and on federal New Deal programs. Short-of-war and wartime mobilization of Lake Washington Shipyards as a defense industrial plant brought a conclusive end to the Great Depression and transformed Kirkland, fundamentally challenging local people's belief in those small-town values. Mobilization did not just

continue the late 1930s success, it utterly displaced it and upset the delicate relationships between towns and industry, customers and workers, residents and strangers.[79]

Kirkland Wartime Mobilized Industry

In 1940, before the United States entered World War II, Lake Washington Shipyards already had U.S. Navy contracts on the books for four anti-submarine net tenders, one thousand balk banks for anti-submarine nets, seven artillery lighters, and six seaplane tenders. The huge federal Naval Appropriations Bill brought cost-plus contracts to the smallest U.S. shipyards to produce for the short-of-war arsenal of democracy, and the Defense Plant Corporation (DPC) financed plant construction and expansion. Additional policy inducements to private investment in the national defense program included accelerated tax depreciation for new construction and expansion. LWS would call on federal programs to underwrite an enormous expansion in land and upgrades to facilities.[80]



Figure 18: Seaplane tender *Suisun*, off Lake Washington Shipyards, September 1944.
(Source: U.S. Naval Historical Center)

Wartime ownership of new construction at Lake Washington Shipyards demonstrates this combined effect. The U.S. Navy Stores building, which issued the top-secret radar equipment to employees with security clearance, was managed by U.S. Navy personnel. The land on which the building was constructed belonged to the shipyard, which also owned the top floor; the first and second floors, however, belonged to the Defense Plant Corporation (DPC). Of the $1.5 million spent on new equipment and facilities at Lake Washington Shipyard between 1941 and 1943, less than $200,000 was private money.[81]

Sponsored by the U.S. Navy, the DPC purchased land north and south of the shipyard on the Houghton shoreline, taking the reluctant northerly landowner to court to force the sale. On his lakefront property, the government expanded the Houghton landing to accommodate the ferry LINCOLN which would carry LWS shipyard workers to and from Seattle. On the new south yard, the DPC built an entire metal fabrication shop, three new sets of ship construction ways and the craneway to service them. A new outfitting dock was built, as well as first aid facilities, a cafeteria and lunchroom, and a new septic system. As well, the DPC paid to blacktop the shipyard, fence it, and extend the water system. In short, the federal government built an entire shipyard that was three or four times the size of the prewar yard, and then leased it back to Lake Washington Shipyards.[82]

Lake Washington Shipyards was privately held but the unique wartime relationship among the corporation, the military, and the federal government – so visible in the yard's dramatic expansion – gave the local impression that the yard had been commandeered by the U.S. Navy. This perception deepened when the Works Progress Administration (WPA)-built Kirkland community center was taken over by the Navy, and converted to a 250-man barracks for naval crews awaiting completion of their ships at the yard. [83]

In all, 29 seaplane tenders, net tenders, and torpedo motherships were built from scratch and more than 500 Allied ships repaired at LWS, as a mobilized industrial plant throughout World War II. Throughout 1941, as the European war raged and tensions heightened in the Pacific, the sleepy isolationism of the Eastside gave way to a rising sense of dread and urgency. Lake Washington Shipyards took on a heroic wartime role, vital to naval success as sailors and shipbuilders stood shoulder-to-shoulder to win the war at sea. On the night of Pearl Harbor, the yard's assistant superintendent took his rifle down to the shipyard, and spent the night awake on the end of the outfitting dock, intending to protect the shipyard against attack. Just north up the shoreline, Ballinger Boat Works was mobilized and renamed Kirkland Marine Construction in 1942, gaining a U.S. Coast Guard contract for 68 wooden-hulled picket boats. Kirkland's prewar isolation and isolationism – expressed by its newspaper – disappeared overnight. Isolationists became belligerents.[84]

Starting on March 14, 1942, the Lake Washington Shipyards' weekly newspaper, *On the Ways,* celebrated the soldiers of production. The U.S. Navy financed the newspaper to promote "the zeal, the sincerity, the two-fisted eagerness of … the Lake Washington Shipyards to help make every minute count toward victory." From the first issue to the last, on October 26, 1945, *On the Ways* produced a steady blend of exhortation, humor, cheesecake, and chitchat, uniquely tailored to the Kirkland homefront. [85]

In 1939, 250 men worked at Lake Washington Shipyards; at Pearl Harbor, 2000; by the summer of 1943, there were more than 8,000 workers, on three shifts round-the-clock. Employment rose more than 3,000% in less than four years. In the 1930s, each ship was

tailor-made by craftsmen and the yard essentially shut down between contracts. For the duration, 24/7/365, the mobilized shipyard introduced multiple production, using standardized parts and pre-assembled units, and quickly trained, highly specialized workers. Journeyman crafts were broken into sets of simple skills, opening well-paid blue-collar unionized work to the unskilled and semiskilled, to women and to people of color. As World War II mobilization put an end to the Great Depression, the shipyard boomed on the wartime cost-plus contracts, and so did the shipyard's hometown boom on the industrial payroll. The "greatest Christmas buying rush in the history of the city" hit Kirkland in December 1942, and holiday season sales continued to grow each year throughout the war.[86]

On the eve of World War II, Kirkland was a small city of shops, professional offices, a small hospital, churches, and clubs. Customers from all over the Eastside did their usual weekly shopping in the markets, at the specialty shops, and at the J.C. Penney department store. Several professionals, including an attorney, two physicians, a dentist, two veterinarians, and an architect centered their sprawling practices in Kirkland. There was a fine high school that served a wide area, and seven active churches. Local clubs included the Rotary, Commercial Club, Active Club, Federated Order of Eagles, the Kirkland Woman's Club, Red Cross guilds, Business and Professional Women's club, and half a dozen other associations that provided social activities and promoted civic betterment. There was a legal maximum of six beer-selling taverns in town. Hardware and lumber dealers supplied local builders; feed and agricultural machinery outlets supplied local farmers and ranchers. Seven auto dealerships sold new and used cars and trucks in Kirkland, and there were numerous service stations that repaired trucks and cars, as well as sold gas and oil.[87]

Kirkland was still the "Hub of the Eastside," as the four-way stop signal proclaimed, set at the town's central intersection, at the turn to the ferry slip. The venerable LINCOLN, built at Lake Washington Shipyards' predecessor yard in 1914, carried commuters, students, shoppers, mail, freight – nearly everything – that came from or to the Eastside. The drive to Seattle remained formidable in 1939, a lengthy trip around either the north or south end of Lake Washington. Major King County roads were in good shape, but many of the Eastside's secondary roads were gravel, and often potholed and muddy. There were no passenger trains to Kirkland or bridges across the lake.[88]



Figure 19: In 1940, the "bridge to the future" opened to traffic on Lake Washington. Its convenience would displace the lake ferries, and be joined in 1963 by the northerly cross-lake bridge. Both would suburbanize the Eastside. (Source: Museum of History & Industry)

Kirkland's population had grown by 20% between 1930 and 1940, and deposits in the First National Bank of Kirkland, had nearly tripled. However, total assessed valuation of existing structures and property declined during the same period. The recovery of retail in downtown Kirkland masked deep and enduring rural poverty. Government inspection determined that nearly 75% of the houses on Rose Hill needed major repairs and/or lacked indoor plumbing. The most common home in 1939 was a two-bedroom frame structure with a basement and unfinished attic, of less than 1,000 square feet in area, on a large rural lot or small acreage. Outside of town, away from the shipyard, away from the ferry dock, the Eastside lived on rural time. Four days after Pearl Harbor, the *East Side Journal* editor advised local poultry ranchers on the best methods to maintain high egg production despite the wartime blackout's unsettling effects on laying hens. As the war began, there were nearly as many advertisements in the *Journal* for dealers in farm equipment, nursery stock, seed, and feed as for all other retail establishments combined. [89]

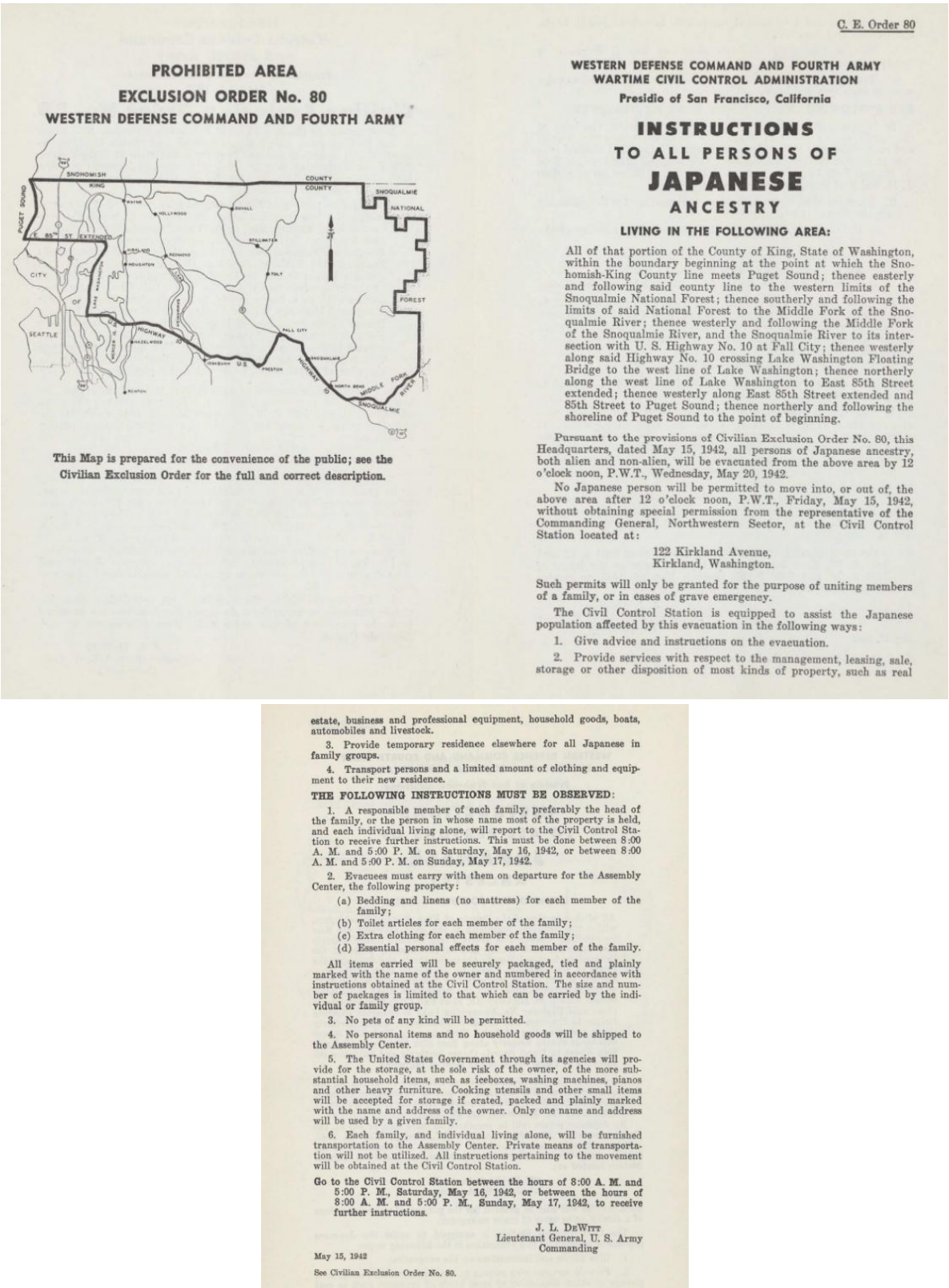
After Pearl Harbor, on the wartime homefront, Kirkland folks joined the local Civil Defense, training to deal with any emergency, whether a mass evacuation or an incendiary attack which left hundreds dead and injured. Shifts of plane spotters scanned the skies with binoculars from a lookout tower on Rose Hill, and Kirkland and Houghton boaters organized patrols of Lake Washington. Kirkland Civil Defense patrolled the gasoline and oil storage facility on the lakeshore to prevent sabotage, and enforced blackout regulations throughout the unincorporated area around Kirkland, including Juanita, Rose Hill, and Houghton.[90]

The *East Side Journal* published a weekly column, "Mrs. America Meets Defense," which stressed women's voluntarism on the homefront: knitting, sewing, baking cookies, and rolling bandages. The Kirkland Emergency First Air Corps organized, to work alongside local Red Cross and church auxiliaries. The uniformed Corps women learned basics of battlefield medicine and first aid for gas and chemical warfare if Kirkland were attacked. Going from door to door, representatives of Kirkland's civilian defense visited every area home, to urge residents to prepare for emergency. [91]

In December 1942, the *East Side Journal* reported that Kirkland was a "number one bombing area" because of its proximity to the Lake Washington Shipyards. Consequently, local Civil Defense had been allocated an especially large supply of cots, stretchers, gas masks, and steel helmets because of the heightened risk of enemy attack. Throughout the war, both the *Journal* and the *Bellevue American* emphasized the importance of the shipyard as a military target, stoking the local sense of patriotism, anxiety, and anger.[92]

The homefront's growing sense of urgency bred resentment and fear of people of Japanese descent, who looked like the enemy. Most local Nisei and Issei lived outside the then-Kirkland city limits, on farms on Rose Hill, in Juanita, and in the Yarrow Bay wetlands, and further south in Bellevue. Issei – first generation Japanese immigrants – were forbidden by law to become citizens or to own land. Their "property" was lease-held. Nisei – second generation Japanese-Americans, born in the United States - were citizens by birth with the rights due to any citizen. Japanese farm families had participated alongside the prewar Eastside rural community – and sometimes within it. The president of Kirkland High School's junior class was a Nisei boy. Nevertheless, after Pearl Harbor, those who had resented Japanese farmers before the war found an opportunity to justify their eviction from their land and their homes.[93]

The Eastside homefront seethed with rumor about local Japanese and Japanese Americans. There was talk that Japanese farmers in Houghton and Medina had seeded their 1942 crops in coded patterns which Japanese bomber pilots could read. "Though," as the *East Side Journal* pointed out, "no sabotage or other unloyalty among the Eastside Japanese has yet been reported to the press," by May 1942, the last Japanese and Japanese Americans were forced from the Eastside bound for relocation camps and then on to internment camps. Without trial, under Executive Order 9066, their loyalty was suspect and their leased farmland was forfeit. Despite federal policy that should have protected their rights as citizens, federal practice under the urgency of wartime betrayed those rights. On May 20-21, 1942, more than four hundred Issei and Nisei from throughout the Eastside boarded the first passenger trains to depart the Kirkland station in sixteen years, bound for the Camp Harmony detention center at the Puyallup fairgrounds, on to Fresno, California and then on to other incarceration camps.[94] [95]



C. E. Order 80

PROHIBITED AREA

EXCLUSION ORDER No. 80

WESTERN DEFENSE COMMAND AND FOURTH ARMY

This Map is prepared for the convenience of the public; see the Civilian Exclusion Order for the full and correct description.

WESTERN DEFENSE COMMAND AND FOURTH ARMY
WARTIME CIVIL CONTROL ADMINISTRATION
Presidio of San Francisco, California

INSTRUCTIONS TO ALL PERSONS OF JAPANESE ANCESTRY

LIVING IN THE FOLLOWING AREA:

All of that portion of the County of King, State of Washington, within the boundary beginning at the point at which the Snohomish-King County line meets Puget Sound; thence easterly and following said county line to the western limits of the Snoqualmie National Forest; thence southerly and following the limits of said National Forest to the Middle Fork of the Snoqualmie River; thence westerly and following the Middle Fork of the Snoqualmie River, and the Snoqualmie River to its intersection with U. S. Highway No. 10 at Fall City; thence westerly along said Highway No. 10 crossing Lake Washington Floating Bridge to the west line of Lake Washington; thence northerly along the west line of Lake Washington to East 85th Street extended; thence westerly along East 85th Street extended and 85th Street to Puget Sound; thence northerly and following the shoreline of Puget Sound to the point of beginning.

Pursuant to the provisions of Civilian Exclusion Order No. 80, this Headquarters, dated May 15, 1942, all persons of Japanese ancestry, both alien and non-alien, will be evacuated from the above area by 12 o'clock noon, P.W.T., Wednesday, May 20, 1942.

No Japanese person will be permitted to move into, or out of, the above area after 12 o'clock noon, P.W.T., Friday, May 15, 1942, without obtaining special permission from the representative of the Commanding General, Northwestern Sector, at the Civil Control Station located at:

122 Kirkland Avenue,
Kirkland, Washington.

Such permits will only be granted for the purpose of uniting members of a family, or in cases of grave emergency.

The Civil Control Station is equipped to assist the Japanese population affected by this evacuation in the following ways:

1. Give advice and instructions on the evacuation.
2. Provide services with respect to the management, leasing, sale, storage or other disposition of most kinds of property, such as real estate, business and professional equipment, household goods, boats, automobiles and livestock.
3. Provide temporary residence elsewhere for all Japanese in family groups.
4. Transport persons and a limited amount of clothing and equipment to their new residence.

THE FOLLOWING INSTRUCTIONS MUST BE OBSERVED:

1. A responsible member of each family, preferably the head of the family, or the person in whose name most of the property is held, and each individual living alone, will report to the Civil Control Station to receive further instructions. This must be done between 8:00 A. M. and 5:00 P. M. on Saturday, May 16, 1942, or between 8:00 A. M. and 5:00 P. M. on Sunday, May 17, 1942.
2. Evacuees must carry with them on departure for the Assembly Center, the following property:
   (a) Bedding and linens (no mattress) for each member of the family;
   (b) Toilet articles for each member of the family;
   (c) Extra clothing for each member of the family;
   (d) Essential personal effects for each member of the family.

   All items carried will be securely packaged, tied and plainly marked with the name of the owner and numbered in accordance with instructions obtained at the Civil Control Station. The size and number of packages is limited to that which can be carried by the individual or family group.
3. No pets of any kind will be permitted.
4. No personal items and no household goods will be shipped to the Assembly Center.
5. The United States Government through its agencies will provide for the storage, at the sole risk of the owner, of the more substantial household items, such as iceboxes, washing machines, pianos and other heavy furniture. Cooking utensils and other small items will be accepted for storage if crated, packed and plainly marked with the name and address of the owner. Only one name and address will be used by a given family.
6. Each family, and individual living alone, will be furnished transportation to the Assembly Center. Private means of transportation will not be utilized. All instructions pertaining to the movement will be obtained at the Civil Control Station.

Go to the Civil Control Station between the hours of 8:00 A. M. and 5:00 P. M., Saturday, May 16, 1942, or between the hours of 8:00 A. M. and 5:00 P. M., Sunday, May 17, 1942, to receive further instructions.

J. L. DeWitt
Lieutenant General, U. S. Army
Commanding

May 15, 1942

See Civilian Exclusion Order No. 80.

Figure 20: In May 1942, more than 400 Japanese Issei and Japanese-American Nisei boarded the train in Kirkland, headed for wartime incarceration. (Source: *Japanese American Digitization Project, Archives and Special Collections. California State University*)

The departure of Japanese and Japanese-American farmers, in late spring, left seeded fields and berry acreage behind on the Eastside, ready for summer and fall harvest. In Bellevue, for instance, nearly five hundred acres of land farmed by evacuees was confiscated and placed under the management of Western Farm and Produce. A single Japanese-American servicemen, serving in the famed U.S. Army 442nd division, returned to Bellevue in the summer of 1941 for a brief visit. His appearance on Main Street suggested to edgy locals that the internees would soon return, and prompted a petition signed by more than 400 Bellevue residents to demand that the government never permit the Issei and Nisei to return to the Eastside. At war's end, the Remember Pearl Harbor League and Japanese Exclusion League sold hundreds of dollars in memberships in its Eastside meetings, earning national attention in *Time* magazine. Wartime hysteria justified the unconstitutional policy and practice of racial purging on the Eastside~~, paving the way for postwar racial exclusion~~.[96]

As millions of men and women went off to the war's frontlines, other millions went to the war's homefront. In the huge manpower shortage, Lake Washington Shipyards as well as every other mobilized defense employer placed ads in periodicals throughout the U.S., urging the soldiers of production to pursue draft-deferred opportunities in defense industries. Between October 1941 and October 1942, Lake Washington Shipyards hired 6000 new workers – and many workers brought their families with them to the Eastside.

In the first years of Lake Washington Shipyards mobilization, newcomers were local men recruited from Kirkland-area farms and WPA crews, from Seattle bakeries, filling stations, offices, and factories. Then they came from logging camps and fishing boats; there were wheat farmers from eastern Washington; then oil pipeline welders from Montana; and the rural poor of the Dust Bowl. Most had never worked in a shipyard before but they were all "people who worked with their hands, who had gone from job to job to job." The shipyard ran urgent ads for trainees in the Eastside and Seattle newspapers, and trainees received free instruction in a trade and earned half salary from the start of training. "They put everybody to work [at LWS] who could stagger down there," was the cynical opinion of one experienced shipfitter at Lake Washington Shipyards. [97]

The newcomers to Lake Washington Shipyards included a wide range but "Okies" and "Arkies" may have been the most conspicuous strangers. They were the rural white poor migrants from the Dust Bowl; they spoke with accents and had no shipbuilding skills. They were called "hicks" and "red necks." Some could not read a ruler let alone a blueprint and some had truly not worn shoes until they pulled on shipyard workboats. Judged shiftless and incompetent, they were butts of many of the shipyard pranks and practical jokes. As were women and African-American men and women. [98]

Federal policy governing the lucrative cost-plus contracts for U. S. Navy construction at LWS required union membership and prohibited racial discrimination in hiring. The cost-plus

wartime reimbursement returned all basic expenses to the shipyard plus a fixed percentage fee of those costs, usually 10%. Such cost accounting did not encourage keeping the payroll lean or maintaining prudent oversight of supplies but it did encourage the colossal wartime effort to arm the world and win the war.[99]

During the early homefront, female workers at the shipyard were clerks, secretaries, or first aid nurses. But as more men went to the frontlines, women were called on to learn shipyard jobs traditionally considered "men's work." Begged to stay home during the Great Depression, to not take a "man's job" from him, women were now begged to train for war production. Training alongside men at the Kirkland trade school, women eventually comprised 50% of welders, sheet metal workers, burners, electricians, and scalers at Lake Washington Shipyards. The federal Lanham Act daycare center, located in the wartime housing project, charged $.25 per child per day, and downtown Kirkland businesses catered to working women, offering laundry service and takeout family meals.[100]

Until 1937, the biggest shipyard unions – the Boilermakers and Iron Shipbuilders – had explicitly excluded Blacks from membership, as did the Machinists and the Brotherhood of Electrical Workers. At Pearl Harbor, employment opportunities for Blacks in Seattle area shipyards were limited to jobs as scalers – industrial janitors. During the wartime emergency, perhaps 10% of Lake Washington Shipyards employees were Black. The only Black employees at Lake Washington Shipyards who were admitted to full union membership belonged to Shipscalers Local 541, in the American Federation of Labor. Blacks were grudgingly admitted to AFL Painters Local 300, to paint camouflage on the seaplane tenders, but their union memberships were only "for the duration," and they didn't actually belong to Local 300 but in the Shipscalers – in the end, this meant that their high-paying blue-collar jobs ended with the war and these painters would not paint G.I. Bill houses after the war. In the full press run of *On the Ways,* only two photographs of Black workers were published. They were essential but they were virtually invisible.[101]

The Kirkland-area wartime housing shortage was acute. There was nowhere to go. Newly-arrived families lived in garages, chicken coops, tents, and shacks. The shipyard took advertising space in the *East Side Journal* throughout 1942 to beg local residents to rent sleeping rooms in their homes to defense workers, and a June editorial urged such cooperation as "a patriotic duty." Some homeowners complied and hastily remodeled – one family put their kids outside in tents and rented out their rooms.[102]

Sharing homes, pitching tents, and converting outbuildings didn't meet the dramatic housing crisis. In March 1942, the *Journal* announced that construction would soon begin on 400 new homes for shipyard defense workers. One hundred were to be permanent houses, built to last; the rest would be built to last only for the duration. Neighbors have vivid memories of the speed with which the new federal housing went up – "One day, there

was a cow pasture there; the next day, they were bulldozing.; the next day, the framing was going up."[103]

By every indicator, Kirkland was soon overwhelmed by wartime mobilization. Overnight, 6,000 new shipyard workers had arrived, many with families, and most needing to live where they worked. Traffic flooded local roads, and traffic scofflaws ignored local law enforcement. Although gas, oil, and tires were rationed during the war, and new cars were unavailable, there were plenty of prewar jalopies. In a 1942 traffic study, 8,800 cars drove through downtown Kirkland between 6am and 10am – and of those, 50 blew straight through the stop sign at the center of town. 90% of Kirkland's traffic tickets went unpaid in 1942, a clear indicator of the work hard, play hard wartime boomtown.[104]

The LWS wartime federal housing projects were built south and east of the then Kirkland city limits in unincorporated King County. The permanent homes in Lakeview Terrace were conventionally built all-electric homes on slab foundations, quite small but with privacy and a superb view west across the lake. Projects A and B consisted of duplexes. Built on wooden foundations, their substandard construction was lightly framed, completely uninsulated, and roofed with tarpaper. Each unit in A and B was equipped with a coal-burning range, and had its outside coal bin. But the first two families to move into the projects were grateful – one had been living in a chicken coop, the other in a garage. Many had arrived in Kirkland with their kids, their dogs, and all their belongings lashed under a tarpaulin in the back of a pickup truck – a modern covered wagon. The duplex rents were quite reasonable - between $37 and $46 monthly for two- and three-bedroom units when weekly paychecks of $60-70 were common at the shipyard. Shipyard employment increased every month throughout 1942, and a week after Lakeview Terrace opened, the *Journal* announced bids for thirteen hundred additional housing units to be built south along the bluff, east of the old Cort Road. On that same day, the Kirkland School District called for bids to construct a new elementary school, to serve the children of the new project – Stewart Heights.[105]

Opened in November 1943, Stewart Heights became notorious for the speed with which it was built and the shoddiness of its construction. It was simply a barracks for the soldiers of production, and their families. Impermanent, it was intended to last only for the duration of the war. Coal-heated, with fiberboard interiors, Stewart Heights had a community center, volunteer fire department, daycare facility, cafeteria, county library branch, and an auditorium. It was designed to be a temporary community on the homefront of a nation at war. The King County Housing Authority managed Stewart Heights, and invited bids for a grocery, pharmacy, dry goods store, beauty shop, barber, laundry, and shoe store – nearly all those outlets were open at Stewart Heights by January 1944.[106]



Figure 21: The Stewart Heights federal housing project for wartime workers at LWS, administered by King County Housing Authority. (Source: Special Collections, University of Washington Libraries)

Kirkland Rotary and the Kirkland Congregational Church held a welcoming party for "Kirkland's newest citizens" at the newly-opened Collins Elementary School. Newcomers were welcomed and invited to build and belong to a community that would outlast the homefront. "We think of you," remarked the mayor, "as a definite part of our community and we are glad to welcome you here… If after the war is over, you decide to stay here, we'll be glad to have you." However, most Stewart Heights residents remained strangers in Kirkland. Local schoolkids called Stewart Heights "Stupid Heights," and its residents young and old endured constant teasing as ignorant yokels who washed their feet in the toilet, tried to build wood fires in the oven of their range, and peed in coffee cans and tossed the urine out the back door. They were never fully accepted as Kirkland residents despite their crucial role in wartime industrial production and their value as customers in the Kirkland boomtown.[107]



Figure 22: The new Collins School ~~at Stewart Heights~~, for the children of LWS workers, 1944. (Source: Museum of History & Industry)

Kirkland's welcome, modest as it was, was not extended to all Black workers and their families because most of them were not there. Despite federal policy, racial segregation was the practice of the King County Housing Authority in the Kirkland projects. Blacks who worked at the Lake Washington Shipyards were not eligible to rent in the Projects, so many had to live in Seattle and commute by ferry to the shipyard from Madison Park, riding a bus to and from their housing to the Madison Park ferry landing. The inconvenience of this inequitable practice added hours of unnecessary commuting time to many Black shipyard workers' daily schedule and barred them from acceptance into the Kirkland community.[108]

Despite the mayor's welcoming words, The *East Side Journal* editor worried that "Kirkland is a city full of problems because the war has caused her expansion too fast." The federal Defense Housing Authority reported that, by fall 1943, new housing had been built in the Kirkland area to accommodate 1,500 families, as well as a dormitory for 200 single men. The Inglewood Country Club clubhouse was remodeled as a dormitory for an additional 250 single men. Facing crises in transportation, policing, water and sewage, healthcare, and education, Kirkland itself began to change in response to the risks and opportunities of the homefront. Few boys were interested in the longstanding Kirkland High School agricultural program. In 1943, the high school dropped the program entirely because of "the increasing strong industrial trend of the area." Life seemed to speed up, and to become more dangerous and demanding. "Where once," editor Frank wrote, "we knew almost everyone

on the street, now we know only one in five." In the town where everyone once noticed a stranger, suddenly nearly everyone was a stranger.[109]

The Kirkland wartime community never embraced most newcomers; they were too different and they were tolerated only for the duration. Newcomers remained customers and strangers, separate from long term residents. The boomtown itself was noisy, disorganized, gaudy, and brash – sometimes, self-indulgent. Crises in public safety and public health had broken public trust. Local sewage and water systems were utterly inadequate. The Kirkland City Council reluctantly agreed to allow the wartime housing projects to open "using a temporary septic system instead of the desired sewer … [because] the pressure to occupy was too great to put off opening." In fact, to save time, the contractor laid the water line to the housing projects on top of the ground, and during the winter, straw fires were kindled on top of it, to keep the water from freezing solid in the pipe. A 1945 tenant census throughout King County's housing projects found that most out-of-staters were from the Mountain and North Central states, but many on the local homefront wished to believe that most newcomers were Dust Bowl hillbillies or big city toughs. Gossips repeated sensational tales of the ignorance of Tarheels, Arkies, and Okies, or the arrogance of Texans, or the streetwise swagger of Chicago bullies.[110]

But commercial Kirkland was thriving, in a world at war. Gold stars hung in the windows of town homes and lonely farmhouses, to commemorate Kirkland's servicemen and women who had died in the war, and the downtown Penney's department store filled an entire display window with photos of Kirkland young people serving in uniform. But on the homefront, deposits in the First National Bank of Kirkland increased by 500% between 1940 and 1945. Many local businesses expanded during the war, from the bowling alley to the grocery store. New enterprises included another service station, a new post office, bakery, furniture store, auto repair, butcher shop, and a greatly enhanced movie theater. By war's end, there were three pharmacies in downtown Kirkland, and numerous clothiers opened during the war. Merchants advertised layaway purchase plans, and welcomed "Newcomers and Defense Workers," announcing longer business hours to accommodate shift workers, "So that you can shop leisurely and cash your paycheck." A bustling boomtown replaced the modest market town of the 1930s, and Kirkland also remained the market and transportation hub of the Eastside, serving a dispersed population of between 12,000 and 15,000.[111]

But shipyard growth crossed a line, sometime in late 1943, where the unspoken bargain between industry and community was broken. Environmental and civic problems exceeded economic benefits but the variable of wartime urgency altered that simple equation. Kirkland, thrilled by the boom, and Houghton, rising to homefront necessity, accommodated Lake Washington Shipyards. But it was a bad neighbor. Three shifts a day, bright lights, ship construction noise and the loudspeaker all night long, a filthy lake, and a

hometown that seemed lawless and out of control. Rats roamed the shoreline, and ships in for repairs discharged oily bilge into Yarrow Bay. Early in the war, a Washington State chemist remarked of water scooped from Yarrow Bay, "By God, this is almost pure urine!" And two years later, it was reported that sewage from the shipyard had polluted "large areas" of the lake, In June 1944, the Washington State Department of Health declared Kirkland's drinking water "unfit for human consumption," with E.coli at five times the permissible level, and boil-before-drinking orders were frequently in place. Lake Washington bathing beaches were closed in the summertime throughout the later years of the war.[112]

After the War

Five thousand cheering spectators had lined the lakeshore for the launching of the first LWS seaplane tender, but the Eastside acceptance of the shipyard's heroic role grew more reluctant over the course of the war. As the yard experienced its most dramatic and lucrative period, it encountered the most hostile climate of community opinion.

At war's end, the U.S. Navy instantly cancelled its contracts with Lake Washington Shipyards, and the payroll began to decline. The yard went down to a six-day week, and then in August 1945, the yard laid off nearly all of the swing shift. The last issue of *On the Ways* was published September 28, 1945. Every woman welder in the shipyard was laid off the day before Thanksgiving, 1945. By August 1946, the *104 Reporter* remarked gloomily that the Lake Washington Shipyards was "completely empty but for a few taking inventory." And the boomtown also began to decline. *Journal* editor Frank noted, "Merchandising has been very simple [in Kirkland] the last two or three years. Almost anything could be sold if it was obtainable but times are changing."[113]

As early as 1943, some Eastsiders had grown skeptical of the boomtown benefits of an industrialized shoreline, and wary of a twin blue- and white-collar future. Blue-collar local jobs and white-collar suburbanization seemed mutually exclusive. Kirkland's City Council appointed a Postwar Planning Commission in 1943, to explore avenues for "creating postwar employment." At war's end, proposals were made by the U.S. Navy to dredge Yarrow Bay as a "freshwater reserve naval base" to accommodate more than 300 ships, with repair facilities at Lake Washington Shipyards. The Navy promised a payroll of more than 2000 blue-collar workers at the base and yard. Kirkland's Commercial Club hailed these efforts. But editor Frank also editorialized that "Kirkland and its environs are the natural place for Seattle expansion," meaning G.I. Bill residential subdivisions for workers commuting to white- or blue-collar jobs in Seattle.[114]



Figure 23: After the conclusion of World War II, the U.S. Navy proposed mooring a fleet of warships in Yarrow Bay, and using the Lake Washington Shipyard as a repair facility. (Source: Seattle Public Library)

Civic, fraternal, and community organizations throughout the Eastside joined in "white heat indignation" to oppose the Navy's Yarrow Bay proposal and its "menace to the health and security of a quiet, peaceful residential community." Houghton and Yarrow Point, on the east, south, and west side of the bay, were unincorporated residential communities each represented only by their community clubs. A lakefront resident in Houghton told a *Seattle Times* reporter that no one had complained about the mobilized shipyard "because this was

wartime." But the war was over and even patriots had had their fill of an industrialized lakeshore. The community clubs opposed the Navy's moorage plan, and they led the campaign to oppose it. Kirkland's boosters and retailers stood alone against most of the Eastside in support of the Navy's proposal to permanently industrialize the Houghton lakeshore and Yarrow Bay. [115]

The Yarrow Community Club chair put the proposition simply:

If Kirkland wants the payroll, let Kirkland take the boats, too…Let them take the unsanitary conditions which come from the sewage, and the oil which comes from pumping out the bilges, and the wrecked view which comes from having a flock of boats tied up right on the front doorstep. If Kirkland wants all this, let them have it in front of Kirkland.[116]

The argument over the fate of Yarrow Bay split along class lines. Editor Frank, of the *East Side Journal*, argued the "moral obligation to provide jobs for the several thousand war workers who want to remain on the Eastside following the war," and declared that opposition to the Navy plan came only from the "wealthy and influential." The Kirkland Commercial Club agreed. The Club urged cooperation with the U.S. Navy, arguing that the Navy plan would employ nearly 4000 men and women, and suggesting that the Navy also planned to convert the Stewart Heights housing project in a West Coast naval academy, a Kirkland Annapolis.[117]

Organized labor joined local retailers to advocate for the Navy plan, satirizing the effete aristocrats "raising their collective hands in horror at marring the beauty of 'ouah lovely lake'." Don't, urged the Boilermakers *104 Reporter,* allow "a little scenery to jeopardize a two-million-dollar payroll." A meeting at Stewart Heights turned out more than 600 supporters of the Navy plan. In what critics called a "beer hall atmosphere," one speaker satirized "these people who clip coupons for their income" on Lake Washington's Gold Coast. He continued:[118]

This is more than a fight against moorage of these Navy ships here…For years, one group, mostly well-to-do people, have fought against any plan to industrialize any part of the lake near Kirkland. The other group, people who must work for a living, know that there must be some industry there to give them jobs. You can't live on scenery alone – we tried that between 1932 and 1938.[119]

On August 30, 1945, the Navy announced its intention to moor the ships in Oregon, and expressed shock at the local hostility. This decision meant the end to "working where you live" for thousands of blue-collar men and women who lived on the Eastside.[120]

"It hardly seems possible," wrote editor Frank, "that the management or the government would allow all this valuable equipment to lay idle." But Lake Washington Shipyards was essentially shut down. Between July and November 1945, applications for public assistance

in King County rose by nearly 1,000% as a civilian economy haltingly replaced a wartime economy. Local public housing built for war workers became in effect low-income housing, situated far from employment and with limited public transportation. Kirkland's boosters regrouped, marketing Kirkland in 1947 at the second annual Summer Festival as the "Small City with Metropolitan Advantages." The visiting entrepreneurial investor was invited to investigate the "fine choices of [factory] sites" and the potential commuting homeowner was directed to the "excellent schools, churches, and recreational facilities," near the "beautiful residential area." Kirkland boosters hoped to have their cake and eat it, too.[121]



EAST SIDE HAVEN — If you've always wanted to know where the Kirkland ferry goes, this Post-Intelligencer cartoon map by Richard Higlin will give you a slightly imaginative idea of the many scenic and recreational advantages of the home communities of Kirkland and Houghton on the east side of Lake Washington.

Figure 24: After Houghton incorporated, Greater Kirkland struggled to accommodate its G.I. Bill residential suburban future as well as its blue-collar industrial heritage.
(Source: Seattle Public Library)

In 1947, the Skinner Corporation purchased the Lake Washington Shipyards for $85,000, settling separately with the federal Defense Plant Corporation for the south end of the shipyard. The shipyard, that had been so noisy and busy, fell silent. Skinner used the yard as a freshwater winter tie-up for the Alaska Steamship Company. Lake Washington Shipyards passed into industrial limbo – into "undevelopment" – as a handful of small enterprises leased space in its huge empty buildings. [122]

For five years, Houghton – reluctantly – and Kirkland - enthusiastically – had embraced a highspeed, crowded, lucrative blue-collar industrial homefront. After the war, Kirkland – reluctantly – and Houghton – enthusiastically – chose a white-collar residential suburban future. The G.I. Bill drove suburbanization of the Eastside, as new homeowners commuted to the jobs of Seattle and Renton over the 1940 I-90 bridge – the bridge to the future. And from the start, from 1940, traffic engineers designed a two-lane I-90 overpass at the site of interchange ramps to and from an as-yet unbuilt, barely imagined north-south major highway, which we know today as I-405.

Exclusionary Housing Practices

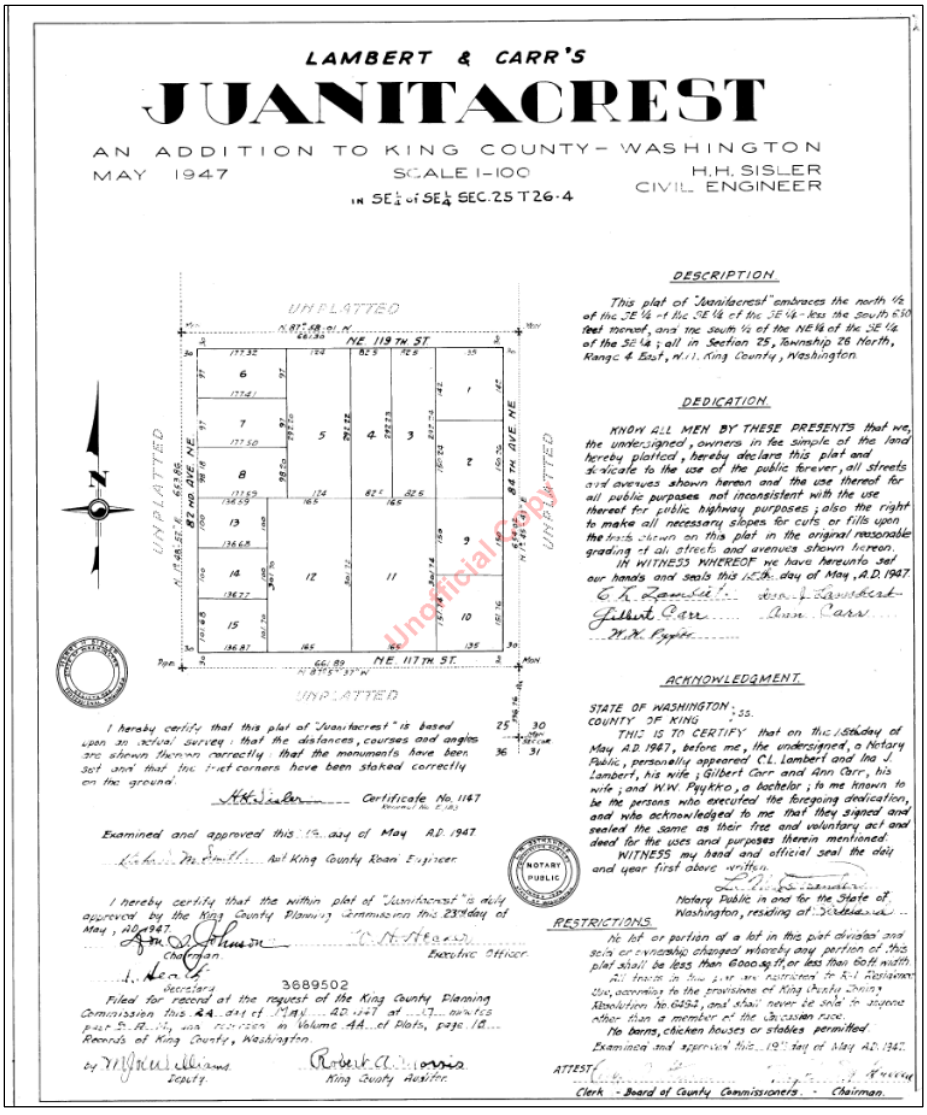
Federal policy enacted the Servicemen's Readjustment Act – better known as the G.I. Bill - to open the door to new home ownership for WW II veterans, no money down, low-cost mortgage guaranteed. Millions of veterans entered the middle-class and began to accumulate the generational wealth represented by home ownership. The G.I. Bill also underwrote veteran education from vocational training to graduate school. The Bill's opportunities were open to all veterans, by federal policy, but they were denied to some veterans, in local practice, as the Bill was administered state by state. Realtors colluded by racially steering Black veterans who were told that they wouldn't be comfortable in certain neighborhoods and effectively barring them in "redlining" from the opportunities of the G.I. Bill. Black home buyers who qualified for the G.I. Bill were often denied bank mortgages for capricious reasons, and they were often prohibited from purchasing a given home because of a racial covenant in the deed, that forbade sale to any "Asian, Jew, or Negro" purchaser. The G.I. Bill built middle-class America, training veterans for better jobs and bankrolling crucial home ownership, but the benefits were not equitably shared on racial grounds.[123]

Aside from the policy of the G.I. Bill, both federal and Washington State laws prohibited racial discrimination in real estate transactions, but discriminatory practices were commonplace on the Eastside and led to segregated neighborhoods. Discrimination is not only about policy and practice, it is also about social and personal prejudice. There were no racially restrictive covenants in Lake Hills, a brand-new G.I. Bill residential subdivision east of Bellevue in unincorporated King County, but the first Black G.I. to move into Lake Hills met fierce opposition from his new neighbors, and so did his wife and children. And so did

Black Kirkland residents Arline and Letcher Yarbrough, moving to a Kirkland waterfront home in 1950. Eastside realtors simply wouldn't show them houses; they would make appointments and not show up. The Yarbroughs found a waterfront Kirkland home on their own, bought it, and moved in. Some of their neighbors welcomed them; some circulated a petition to protest their presence in the home and the neighborhood.[124]

At least three Kirkland-area housing subdivisions were racially restricted through explicit property deed provisions or restrictive covenants: Kirkland Heights (1930), and Gov. Lot 3, Sec. 17, Township 25, Range 5 (1939), and Juanitacrest (1947), which postdates the G.I. Bill. These legal documents restricted the right of ownership and rental to those "only those of the Caucasian race." However, a 1948 U.S. Supreme Court decision ruled that "although racial restrictive covenants are private…they are none the less legally unenforceable, as they are in violation of the Equal Protection Clause of the Fourteenth Amendment." [334 US 1 (1948)]. In 1968, Congress passed the Fair Housing Act, which "made the use of racial restrictive covenants in housing illegal." [US Statute 82 Stat 73]. Additionally, the Washington State Legislature passed two laws enabling homeowner associations and property owners to remove unlawful restrictions from property documents:

> Homeowner's Associations (HOA) Discriminatory Provisions, 2006 [Engrossed Senate Bill 6169, Chapter 58, Laws of 2006]
>
> Restrictive Covenant Modification, 2018 [RCW 49.60.224]



LAMBERT & CARR'S

JUANITACREST

AN ADDITION TO KING COUNTY – WASHINGTON

MAY 1947 SCALE 1-100 H.H. SISLER CIVIL ENGINEER

IN SE¼ of SE¼ SEC. 25 T 26-4

UNPLATTED

NE 119 TH ST.

NE 117 TH ST.

82 ND AVE NE

84 TH AVE NE

DESCRIPTION

This plat of "Juanitacrest" embraces the north ½ of the SE¼ of the SE¼ of the SE¼ - less the south 650 feet thereof, and the south ½ of the NE¼ of the SE¼ of the SE¼; all in Section 25, Township 26 North, Range 4 East, W.M. King County, Washington.

DEDICATION

KNOW ALL MEN BY THESE PRESENTS that we, the undersigned, owners in fee simple of the land hereby platted, hereby declare this plat and dedicate to the use of the public forever, all streets and avenues shown hereon and the use thereof for all public purposes not inconsistent with the use thereof for public highway purposes; also the right to make all necessary slopes for cuts or fills upon the tracts shown on this plat in the original reasonable grading of all streets and avenues shown hereon.

IN WITNESS WHEREOF we have hereunto set our hands and seals this 15th day of May, A.D. 1947.

C. L. Lambert Ina J. Lambert

Gilbert Carr Ann Carr

W.W. Pyykko

ACKNOWLEDGMENT

STATE OF WASHINGTON } ss.
COUNTY OF KING }

THIS IS TO CERTIFY that on this 15th day of May A.D. 1947, before me, the undersigned, a Notary Public, personally appeared C.L. Lambert and Ina J. Lambert, his wife; Gilbert Carr and Ann Carr, his wife; and W.W. Pyykko, a bachelor; to me known to be the persons who executed the foregoing dedication, and who acknowledged to me that they signed and sealed the same as their free and voluntary act and deed for the uses and purposes therein mentioned.

WITNESS my hand and official seal the day and year first above written.

Notary Public in and for the State of Washington, residing at Seattle

I hereby certify that this plat of "Juanitacrest" is based upon an actual survey; that the distances, courses and angles are shown thereon correctly; that the monuments have been set and that the tract corners have been staked correctly on the ground.

H.H. Sisler Certificate No. 1147

Examined and approved this 19 day of May A.D. 1947

Asst King County Road Engineer

I hereby certify that the within plat of "Juanitacrest" is duly approved by the King County Planning Commission this 23rd day of May, A.D. 1947.

Chairman Executive Officer

Secretary

3689502

Filed for record at the request of the King County Planning Commission this 24 day of May A.D. 1947 at 17 minutes past 5 A.M., and recorded in Volume 44 of Plats, page 18 Records of King County, Washington.

by Deputy King County Auditor

RESTRICTIONS

No lot or portion of a lot in this plat divided and sold or ownership changed whereby any portion of this plat shall be less than 6000 sq.ft, or less than 60 ft. width.

All tracts in this plat are restricted to R-1 Residence Use, according to the provisions of King County Zoning Resolution No. 6494, and shall never be sold to anyone other than a member of the Caucasian race.

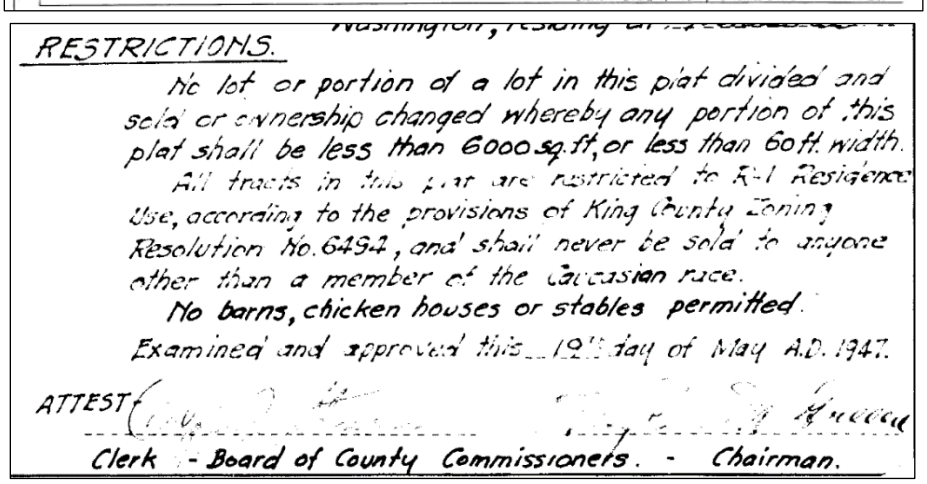
No barns, chicken houses or stables permitted.

Examined and approved this 19th day of May A.D. 1947.

ATTEST

Clerk - Board of County Commissioners. - Chairman.

Unofficial Copy



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Examined and approved this 19th day of May A.D. 1947.

ATTEST

Clerk - Board of County Commissioners. - Chairman.

Figure 25: This racial covenant (full page and excerpt shown) is from a plat in the Juanita area, dated to 1947, specifically prohibiting sale to "any person other than that of the Caucasian race." (Source: King County Recorder's Office)

Also, both the Washington State House and Senate have adopted E2SHB 1335, providing a process by which discriminatory covenants may be removed from a property's chain of title, a bill signed into law on May 12, 2021.[125]

We have seen that policy can be obstructed and corrupted by practice. Policies that prohibit racial exclusivity in the conveyance or lease of real estate are clearly defined and protected in law; practices to apply that law have varied widely. But, aside from policy and practice, enforcement is another matter, and so is prejudice. Racial covenants may be illegal but racism is part of the American inheritance, as American as baseball and apple pie. And so is nostalgia for a lost Eden in the good old days, when everyone was happy and friendly, and no one locked their door – an Eden, as we've seen from Ray Bishop's reminiscence, that never really existed. The King County Housing Authority's postwar 1946 study found that 75% of the housing in Houghton and on Rose Hill was substandard, lacking indoor toilet or bathing facilities or in need of major repairs. Well-to-do, white-collar lakefront families lived very different lives than rural families inland from the lake.[126]

After the war, in 1948, Houghton incorporated as an act of defense and defiance of its expected role as Kirkland's industrial district. "We revolted," commented first Houghton mayor V.J. Berto, "when the Navy wanted to moor a bunch of derelicts all the way down in front of us [on Yarrow Bay]. Kirkland was encouraging this proposal so we formed a city to control our own destiny…." But rejection of industry was also de facto rejection of racial and class diversity. On the same ballot that elected Berto, Houghton voters turned down a proposal to retain Stewart Heights as "low-rent housing." *Journal* editor Frank was an advocate for downtown Kirkland retail success rather than for racial inclusivity, but the effects of retaining industrial uses of Kirkland's lakeshore would have led to a more inclusive future. Frank watched in helpless fury as the Kirkland wartime boomtown declined, and one downtown business closed after another. Exasperated and frustrated by Houghton's uncooperative, "aloof" attitude, Frank predicted that not only would the newly incorporated town fail as "a restricted residential district," but that it would have to rely on Kirkland for essential services. In fact, within six months of incorporation, Houghton worked out an arrangement with Kirkland for fire protection. [127]

Stewart Heights and the other large housing projects continued to slowly empty into the early 1950s. Sections of Stewart Heights were hauled away for use as college dormitories at the University of Washington, and the single-family homes of Lakeview Terrace were sold to individuals. Veterans and commuting college students lived in the remaining projects, side by side with jobless "floaters," impoverished flotsam stranded by the receding homefront tide. A Houghton Councilman who recorded 1950 census data in Stewart Heights remembered that there were pockets of desperate poverty in the "barracks of [row] houses like chicken coops," which now included some Black and Hispanic families. Post-industrial poverty finally brought racial integration to the Projects. In 1951, Jim and Lou Hendry

opened a school for handicapped children in the Stewart Heights "abandoned housing project," as they put it; their visionary school, which was supported by a community group, ultimately moved to a different location and lives on in today's Lake Washington School District special education program ~~closed in 1952~~.

The Houghton Council contacted Rose Hill Community Club and other local civic groups, enlisting their support to close down and demolish the Projects altogether. Except for Lakeview Terrace, the World War II LWS housing Projects had largely been hauled away or pulled down by 1953.[128]

Postwar Kirkland

For a time, Kirkland continued to market itself as *both* a residential suburb *and* a place of industrial jobs. Kirkland's Chamber of Commerce published a brave characterization of Kirkland's "bright side of the future" - "a rural setting almost in the heart of metropolitan Seattle…(that) offers rare opportunity for the businessman, the industrialist, the suburban resident, (and) the farmer." The *Seattle Times* and the *Seattle Post-Intelligencer*, in 1948 and 1949, each published the Kirkland booster's dream in its postwar ambivalence. The *Times* six-page Sunday magazine supplement was replete with photos and enthusiastic captions. The text proclaimed Kirkland to be "a place of homes," and promised commuters "a good water system, the newest type of streetlights, outstanding schools, public health and recreation setups," as well as bathing beaches, shoreline homes, and small boat moorages. But an entire page was also devoted to local industry and profiled two small firms at the former shipyard site that employed two dozen workers– but even the most optimistic interpretation could not drum up a blue-collar payroll from a handful of small firms.[129]

The *Post Intelligencer* published a similar feature, reaching the complex conclusion that "Kirkland and Houghton are looking forward to development as residential communities with such small industries as can be accommodated without disfiguring the pleasant countryside." Both the *Times* and *P-I* articles mentioned the shipyard's current state as a tie-up for freighters and steamers, as well as the small factories at the shipyard, and pointed out the "number of oil distribution plants…built up along the Houghton shoreline to supply the Eastside with gasoline and heating oil." The *PI* specifically diagnosed the "hangover of the shipyard boom" during the war, resulting from the drunken spree that residents along the eastern shore of Lake Washington had wished for and worked toward, for sixty years. And now rejected.[130]

Getting around the Eastside changed dramatically after World War II. In 1948, Evergreen Trailways ended bus service between Kirkland and Seattle, and the Lake Washington ferry once again became Kirkland's lifeline to the jobs of Seattle. But car commuters could avoid the ferry entirely, crossing the lake at their convenience on the I-90 bridge. Kirkland area commuters wished for an even more convenient alternative. In April 1948, the Kirkland

Chamber of Commerce announced its backing for the construction of a second, more northerly bridge across the lake, a project that would not be complete until 1963. Eastsiders began to agitate for a "new multi-million dollar north-south highway … routed through the Eastside" – today's I-405 – and Washington State's Department of Transportation opened a field office at the old shipyard site as an office for planning and survey work. In 1949, the I-90 bridge became toll-free, and the Lake Washington ferry became financially unsustainable. When the last ferry ran in 1950, Kirkland lost its vital identity formed by waterborne transportation as the "Hub of the Eastside." The focus for suburban residential growth shifted south, closer to the I-90 bridge – to Bellevue, which incorporated in 1953. In 1948, the "first planned shopping center in the Northwest" had opened in Bellevue, featuring the only Eastside branch of Seattle's most prestigious department store. The shopping center was an exciting postwar suburban innovation, designed for affluent families with automobiles. By contrast, Kirkland had been an old-fashioned market town, a central place for far-flung agricultural customers, and then a wartime boomtown whose boom had ended. [131]

The 1949 *Post-Intelligencer* reporter joked that Houghton and Kirkland were "friendly rivals." Certainly incorporated Houghton thrived as a postwar residential suburb. Between 1950 and 1960, the homebuying period for so many veterans' families on the G.I bill, Houghton's residential population increased by 141%, while Kirkland's population only increased by 28% over the same period. [132]

Kirkland of the late 1950s reverted to a sleepy small town with boomtown hangovers all around – post-industrial shipyards, empty downtown storefronts, potholed streets, and the abandoned King County ferry slip. Annexations of Juanita, Finn Hill, Totem Lake, Rose Hill, Kingsgate – let alone incorporation with infuriated, alienated Houghton – were in the future. But Kirkland did remain a distinctive ***town*** even though its downtown was shabby and it had small town problems. On the one hand, Kirkland parents and boosters founded the Kirkland Little League in 1951, the first in the state, and Kirkland kids played ball at the downtown ballfield. Kirkland Cub Scouts was also the first pack in Washington State, and Kirkland Campfire had been active for three decades. Kirkland was a small family town, boosted by a local realtor – as usual – as "fast-growing Kirkland." On other hand, as local historian Matt McCauley has pointed out, the laziness, favoritism, and bush-league corruption of the Kirkland Police Department caused an embarrassing scandal, reported breathlessly throughout 1961 by the *Seattle Times*. The Kirkland streets were in terrible condition, the waterfront lined with derelict industrial buildings. Sewage remained a serious, unsolved problem and it was treated at a facility in the middle of downtown—complete with several open holding tanks—and its effluent pumped through an outfall into Moss Bay.[133]

Lake Washington pollution was a pressing problem for kids who wanted to swim in the summer. With each city responsible for its own waste, there were ten different sewage treatment plants discharging effluent and many septic systems draining into streams that flowed directly into Lake Washington. Between the 1940s and 1960s, over 20 billion gallons of untreated sewage flowed into the lake each year. Its water and beaches were foul, and swimming was frequently prohibited. Lake Washington's pollution was not a problem that any one municipality could solve – it was a *shared* problem of the towns around the lake that required cooperative action – policies, practice, and enforcement. In September 1958, voters overwhelmingly approved creation of a King County Metropolitan Authority to build and operate a regional sewage treatment system, the genesis of Metro. Times were changing; the historic edges of towns were blurring by necessity; towns were not islands, and state and county involvement and planning were becoming more important. In that same year, 1958, King County Parks acquired the three private beaches at Juanita, bringing them together as one beachfront park. In 1960, Northwest University established an extensive college campus on the site of Stewart Heights, along the old Cort Road, 108th Avenue, NE. Times were changing, and Kirkland stirred to change dramatically with the times, to acknowledge that it was part of the Eastside and to develop a vision for its future.[134]



Figure 26: This 1950 poster advocates creation of the King County Metropolitan Authority to coordinate efforts of towns around the lake to manage sewage flow into Lake Washington. (Source: Washington State Archives)

Kirkland Revival – Land Use and Social Change

Gaining shelter, getting around, making a living, and enjoying life remained the basic requirements of life. Getting around became much simpler after the 1963 completion of the Evergreen Point Floating Bridge across Lake Washington. Kirkland's population increased by 149% within the decade as suburban commuters could easily access Seattle's jobs. The 1960 "Plan for Houghton," recommended passage of a strict anti-industrial building code to protect the shoreline's suburban atmosphere. In particular, the Houghton planners felt that "redevelopment of the Lake Washington Shipyard area would improve the quality of the town immensely." Redevelopment meant demolition of the shipyard structures and replacement of the industrialized site with residential suburban land uses and recreational public lakefront parks. [135]

The Skinner Corporation presented a series of redevelopment proposals for the shipyard site. One, in 1960, would have created Lake Washington Marina Park, including two high-

rise apartment buildings, a restaurant, a large private marina, and some public moorage. Five years later, Skinner offered the plan for "Crescent Quai," which proposed a 20-story apartment tower, as well as numerous lower structures. In the proposal, Yarrow Bay was described as a "lagoon," and its redevelopment included the creation of a man-made island. In 1970, the *East Side Journal* breathlessly reported the imminent construction of another "multi-million dollar apartment development" on the shipyard site. None of the three proposals were built. Two years later, the Houghton Community Council and the Skinner Corporation signed a five-year demolition plan for the shipyard, indicating that – even without development – the site would be cleared of its deteriorating buildings and post-industrial debris. By 1975, the Lake Washington Shipyards site and shoreline would be clear, no matter what.[136]

Kirkland Revival – Civic Voluntarism and Innovation

In 1963, a group of local political and business leaders gathered together to form Kirkland Forward, dedicated to planning an improved future for Kirkland. Century 21, Seattle's 1962 World's Fair, had opened up the world to the metropolitan area and opened up the metropolitan area to the world. Seattle experienced a profound self-evaluation and an exciting wave of civic voluntarism and innovation followed. Kirkland Forward was very much in the spirit of that civic rediscovery. Kirkland's equivalent of Seattle's Municipal League, Kirkland Forward brought new resources, foresight, and daring to envision the future Kirkland, the Kirkland we live in today, in 2024. Better governance was the first step; better planning and management were the second.

Kirkland Revival – Governance

Kirkland's mayors had traditionally been part-time volunteers, well-intentioned and locally respected, directly elected by the voters. The mayors possessed full executive authority but were amateurs at governance, with little training or experience, and subject to local friendships and loyalties. Kirkland Forward advocated a new form of governance, to meet the needs of the present and future. In the new system, Kirkland's City Council would interview and hire a professional, full-time city manager to replace the mayor in his or her executive function. In 1964, Kirkland voters endorsed this change. In 1965, after a national search, Kirkland's Council voted to hire Allen Locke as Kirkland's first city manager. Locke brought experience, professionalism, confidence, and vision to land use planning and development that dramatically replaced Kirkland mayors' amiable and timid governance.[137]

Interviewed by the local press, Locke frankly assessed Kirkland, his new home and workplace. It was, he said, fundamentally a "blue collar town" and that those residents who did have wealth "did not flaunt it." "We were an old city by 1965, not growing," he observed, with a messy waterfront, deteriorating streets, an inadequate water system, and poor

sewage and storm drainage. But Locke was also convinced that the waterfront charm of backwater Kirkland was underappreciated. “Being a sleepy little city in the 1950s and 1960s was the best thing that ever happened to us,” he said. “Everyone (in Kirkland) was jealous of Bellevue and its rapid growth” but “we were very lucky to have that kind of growth pass us by.” Locke’s buoyant, optimistic approach to land use planning and development validated Kirkland Forward, and inspired the Kirkland revival until his retirement in 1985 and beyond.[138]

Locke recognized Kirkland’s potential in the 20th century and into the 21st. He anticipated dramatic growth in the small suburban city on Lake Washington at the virtual intersection of highway SR-520 and the soon-to-be-completed highway I-405, and believed in the power of planning to direct that growth. He said his first priorities were to reclaim the waterfront, expand and develop public parks, fix the streets, and deal with the sewage and storm drainage problems. And to ***manage*** growth. Kirkland’s waterfront and its spectacular lake views had lured settlement, speculation, and development for a century. 1960s developers eagerly responded to those opportunities with what Locke and others called “shoe box” apartment and condominium buildings being built densely side by side, on pilings out over the lake. Schooled by the Skinner proposals, Locke and his supporters on the Council anticipated proposals for high rise buildings on the waterfront, and placed height restrictions to protect lake views. To grow right, Kirkland needed foresightful planning. [139]

Leveraging county, state, and federal funding opportunities, Locke was able to secure federal highway beautification funds to bury downtown Kirkland’s unsightly electrical wires, previously held on utility poles. Kirkland voters decisively endorsed the new vision and energy in town, and passed a $500,000 bond to manage storm runoff and a $199,000 bond in 1967 to fund acquisition and renovation of parks.[140]

Kirkland Revival – A City of Parks

Locke hired strong, experienced staff, including Dave Brink as director of Kirkland Parks. Kirkland park development was certainly not a brand new idea. It had begun in the 1920s, with acquisition of Waverly Park and Kiwanis Park, and the newly exposed street ends, if the owners on the inland side of Lake Washington Boulevard did not pay land taxes on their “new” parcels. Waverly Park was called City Park and then part of Marina Park in 1937, the balance purchased from King County in 1939. Houghton Beach was deeded away by King County in 1954, and remained part of incorporated Houghton until the 1968 merger with Kirkland. In 1955, the then-new town of Houghton adapted the former wartime Lakeview Terrace community building as a new Houghton center – Terrace Park - housing the community club, library, and fire station. But Kirkland Revival would bring new energy and new acquisitions to Kirkland parkland.[141]

When Locke and Brink began their work in Kirkland, in 1965, downtown Marina Park included the rotting, derelict former King County ferry wharf and a muddy parking lot with concrete rubble scattered along the lake edge. Locke and the Council worked hard to create today's welcoming Marina Park and Pavilion. The downtown ballfield had long been home to Kirkland Little League, and teams played in what was called the "town league" against Issaquah, Black Diamond, and Bothell. Formerly known as the Civic Center, the City Council renamed the ballfield and adjacent tract as Peter Kirk Park in 1967, and a team of volunteers built the first swimming pool in about that same year.

Kirkland took advantage of every street end on the lake to create pocket parks, and also built parks inland, like Tot Lot Park, Highlands Park, Everest Park, and Crestwoods Park. The new Marina Park was completed in 1970, Houghton Beach Park in 1972, and Marsh Park in 1975, after Louis Marsh donated 115' of prime waterfront to the city and additional land was purchased. The City of Kirkland used a Washington State Recreation and Conservation Office grant to improve access to Lake Washington and restore the shoreline in Brink Park. Kirkland was becoming a city of parks, particularly along the extraordinary lakeshore.[142]

As early as 1972, Kirkland Parks Director Dave Brink could proudly tell a Seattle reporter:

Kirkland has the most public waterfront for each citizen of any city in the state. [143]
Dave Brink, 1972

Kirkland voters were thrilled by the exciting and beneficial changes to their town, as they enjoyed public spaces and public views. Buoyed by Kirkland residents' endorsement of parks bond issues into the 21st century, Kirkland purchased Brink Park on the lakeshore in its entirety. Voters made bond funds available to purchase the old Burke & Farrar Juanita Golf Course in 1976, developed as Juanita Bay Park in 1984, the jewel in Kirkland's crown. This park includes more than 100 acres, and is a rich wildlife habitat with a fairly natural shoreline that lets us glimpse that lakeshore as it once was, as a marsh in a Native homeland.[144]

By the end of the 20th century, Kirkland had shown itself to be a responsible steward of land and water in the public trust. In 2002, King County transferred Juanita Beach Park to the City of Kirkland. Yarrow Bay wetlands was dedicated to the city's management with the residential and commercial development of the Yarrow Bay shoreline. The successful passage of the 2012 Parks levy provided funds to restore and maintain O.O Denny Park, owned by the city of Seattle but managed by Kirkland. Formerly Orion Denny's summer estate, Klahanie, his widow willed the property to Seattle, in the public trust. The 2012 Parks levy also provided for park renovations and restoration of habitat, and development

of the Cross Kirkland Corridor bicycle and pedestrian trail, on the old railbed of the Seattle, Lakeshore, and Eastern Railway.

Kirkland Revival – Heritage

As Kirkland revived, the growing small city joined other Eastside towns to become interested in its character and heritage. What, residents inquired, made Kirkland *distinctive*? Although the rich indigenous heritage was not emphasized in Kirkland's discovery of its history, a 1933 "pow-wow" on Juanita Bay had brought together Lummi, Snoqualmie, Skykomish, Muckleshoot, Yakama and "La Conner" (likely Swinomish) tribal members for dugout canoe races. In some irony, the race was to commemorate completion of the Point Elliott treaty. Native canoes had also long been part of the races held each year on the Sammamish Slough. But rather than deep Native history, Kirkland oldtimers remembered the town of the 1920s and 1930s, and the neighborhoods were still dotted with old homes and buildings. In 1972, Kirkland volunteers organized the first Founders Day, to recognize and celebrate the original settlers. Kirkland had become conscious that it, indeed, actually *had* a history though it was somewhat narrowly construed, at first.[145]

The 1976 bicentennial of the United States increased nationwide interest in historic preservation – and Kirkland was no exception. In 1977, dedicated volunteers founded the Kirkland Historic Commission to raise awareness of Kirkland's place-based history. Many Kirkland history activists at the time owned old homes and were interested in researching and restoring their residences, offering annual public tours with considerable support from The Kirkland Woman's Club. The Commission's Historic Sites Committee developed and submitted criteria to the City for a property to qualify as a "Designated Kirkland Historic Commission Site," permitting proud homeowners to display their black-and-white plaques. Peter Kirk's Land and Improvement Company brick buildings were the first to be so honored. Two Kirkland Historic Commission members compiled "Historical Preservation in Kirkland," a report that was adopted and put into the City of Kirkland's Comprehensive Plan. By 2000, 284 historic structures had been inventoried in Kirkland, and 149 of those had substantially retained their original character. Kirkland activists were defining and claiming local history.[146]

In 1994, the Kirkland Historic Commission changed its name to the Kirkland Heritage Society, (KHS) which better captured its broadening mission. In that same year, the Washington Trust for Historic Preservation recognized the KHS newsletter "Blackberry Preserves," which local historian Matt McCauley had started. In 1999, KHS members Bob Burke and Barbara Loomis discovered that the 1922 Church of Christ, Scientist on First Street was to be torn down for development. The couple did extensive research and made convincing arguments to the Kirkland City Council, based on the language incorporated into the Comprehensive Plan. Council voted to save and move the building in 1999 to what has

become Heritage Park, a permanent home for the Kirkland Heritage Society Resource Center~~, since 2006~~. Over time, Kirkland has grown more reflective concerning its complex inheritance, and KHS collections, exhibits, and programs have evolved to reflect that new understanding. For twenty years, indefatigable Loita Hawkinson has been the heart and soul of heritage at KHS. Voluntarism and commitment have made Greater Kirkland's history accessible, and an important part of the Kirkland Revival.[147]



Figure 27: Kirkland's Heritage Hall houses the Kirkland Heritage Society's extraordinary collection of artifacts, documents, and photographs. (Source: City of Kirkland)

Over time, historic preservation initiatives moved several historic houses to save them from demolition by developers, including the 1872-4 French House and the 1903 Orton/Sutthoff House, and later the 1910 Shumway House, all three trailered from their original sites to new ones. Ideally, historic preservation initiatives preserve structures on sites that position viewers in place-based history, fully expressing the ways of life of earlier times. The three remaining ~~Peter Kirk~~ brick historic properties, at Market and Piccadilly – today's 7th Avenue - show us clearly the ambitious vision that Kirk had for Kirkland. Piccadilly was intended to be the company town's principal road, leading from the town's blue-collar and white-collar residential districts up to the steel mill. The 1929 Louis Marsh Mansion is on National

Register of Historic places and remains in place, a Historic Landmark. The Kirk, French, and Marsh surnames are familiar to readers of this narrative. The longhouse villages, Lake House, Whisker Farm, Isaac Walker's farm, Kirk's steel mill, Lake Washington Shipyards, and Stewart Heights are long gone.

An excellent example of recent historic preservation is the Buchanan House. This Victorian residence was built in 1890 during Peter Kirk's ambitious construction of his steel mill and the company town to accommodate its workforce. The home's original owner was William D. Buchanan, the town's first doctor, who remained in the residence/surgery for some time after the collapse of the steel mill initiative. Recently, the property came under critical threat for development, and the City and a range of partners ~~including the home's eventual owners Kim and Dan Hartman~~ worked together to tow the Buchanan/Trueblood house to temporary storage in a church parking lot. From the church parking lot, the home's eventual owners Kim and Dan Hartman helped orchestrate a transfer of the house ~~, and then~~ to a new lot at 129 Sixth Avenue, in 2017. The residence was listed on the National Register of Historic Places and designated as a City of Kirkland Historic Landmark.[148]

The Kirkland Cemetery, just south of Lake Washington High School, is another historic place of deep memory. Purchased from a homesteader by Peter Kirk's company in 1888, the cemetery is Kirkland's oldest park and is a walkable anthology of Kirkland short stories, from 1890 to the present. Civil War veterans, Scandinavian immigrants and steamboat builders are buried in this place, originally so far away from the town's lakeshore focus. There are a number of Native, Black, and Asian burials in the cemetery in the Kirkland Cemetery, stories in the great Kirkland history of biographies and definitely worthy of additional research. [149]

Kirkland Revival – Greater Kirkland Grows

Since the incorporation of Kirkland in 1905, the city has grown to approximately twelve times its original geographic boundaries, and its biggest expansions were in the last quarter of the 20th century, beginning in 1968. As recently as 1974, a resident could comment, "About 20 minutes away from downtown Seattle, Kirkland feels more like a small town than a suburb." But the small town was about to grow much larger, into a small city. In 1977, the City of Kirkland developed and adopted a robust planning document, the Comprehensive Plan, incorporating land use policies.[150]

Back in 1948, Houghton had enacted a defensive incorporation, a furious tactical maneuver designed to reject Kirkland's industrial vision of its future and to choose an elite suburban residential one instead. But, twenty years later, Kirkland itself had changed dramatically. After much negotiation and three contentious votes, in 1968, the citizens of Houghton finally elected to join Kirkland to become one community with a population of 13,500. In 1967, a new state law (the Community Council Law) allowed for the smaller of two merging

cities to form their own Community Council. Houghton was the first community in Washington State to have such a powerful council. After consolidation with Kirkland, Houghton's Council retained veto power over land use decisions that affected the original Houghton community. The consolidation presented several great Houghton waterfront opportunities to the forward-looking, waterfront parks-oriented Kirkland leadership, like the rusting remains of the old Lake Washington Shipyard and the decrepit Standard Oil tank farm. [151]



Figure 28: This 1968 cartoon satirized Kirkland's repeated efforts to gain consolidation between Kirkland and Houghton. (Source: Kirkland Heritage Society)

After the consolidation with Houghton, Kirkland began an ambitious series of annexations, embracing adjacent small towns and neighborhoods. The Norkirk neighborhood was originally homesteaded in the 1880s and named Capitol Hill, bounded by Rose Hill and the current Cross-Kirkland Corridor, formerly the SLE railroad. Norkirk was at the northern edge of Peter Kirk's grand design, purchased to be part of his new town, when 116th Avenue in Norkirk was called Sheffield Street. Kirk steel mill investor Joshua Montgomery Sears, one of the nation's wealthiest men, owned the land from 9th Avenue up to 18th Avenue, between 1st Street and 6th Street – Sears owned nearly half of Kirkland. The area around the present City Hall was the center of Kirk's town and thereafter, it retained that character,

becoming later Kirkland's civic center, with churches, the Kirkland Woman's Club, the American Legion Hall, and the Central School. [152]

The Highlands was largely homesteaded by Reuben Spinney, namesake of Spinney Homestead Park, which was purchased by Kirkland from the State of Washington Highway Commission during Kirkland's great 1970s parks expansion. Much of the Highlands was part of Peter Kirk's original Land and Improvement Company plat, which extended as far north as 95th Street, and also part of Rose Hill until the completion of I-405. Except for the Kirkland-Redmond highway, the Norkirk and Highlands roads were gravel – or dirt. Houses were built on big lots, and everyone had a garden and orchard, dirt driveway, well, and outhouse. Leatha's Store – the Rose Hill Grocery – on the southeast corner of NE 90 and 116th Avenue, NE had a gas pump and boasted a telephone line to the downtown Kirkland switchboard. Across from Leatha's was Acker's store that became the Grange Hall, used for community gatherings of every kind. The Highlands neighborhood was annexed to Kirkland in stages, starting with the railroad right-of-way in 1947, and completed in 1967 when I-405 construction was nearly concluded. This 1967 annexation consolidated all of the property west of I-405 into the City of Kirkland. [153]

By 1970, the rural character of Rose Hill was slowly being displaced by its new role as a suburban bedroom neighborhood. Parts of North Rose Hill were annexed from unincorporated King County to Kirkland in 1970, with the rest of Rose Hill in 1988. Kirk's chief engineer and metallurgist, John Kellett, had lived on Rose Hill in Workington, England, home of the original Kirk family steel works, and he is credited with giving Rose Hill its name. Rose Hill had been known for hundreds of small acreage family farms, raising chickens, cows, and pigs, with extensive kitchen gardens and lots of greenhouses. After passage of the Growth Management Act, residential construction intensified on Rose Hill. Barth House was built in 1912, on South Rose Hill, and designated as a landmark in 2017, in the midst of dramatic residential change. Its presence in a rapidly densifying neighborhood, brought area-wide media attention to the hoped-for outcomes of managed growth and the personal anxieties of density and change.[154]

Juanita was one of the earliest settled areas on the eastern shore of Lake Washington, where ill-fated settler Martin Hubbard built a dock in 1870. Juanita was an unincorporated area in King County until its gradual annexations to Kirkland in 1967, 1988, and 2011. The area we call Kingsgate was homesteaded from 1874 on. Nearly a century later, realtor Murdock MacPherson envisioned a planned community of thousands of suburban homes in Kingsgate and Queensgate, coinciding with the opening of the SR-520 bridge across Lake Washington in 1963. Nearly a thousand lots were surveyed and sold between 1965 and 1976. MacPherson's ads inquired, "What Kind of Growing-Up Memories Do You Want Your Child to Have?," promising a "new and wonderful way of life" in the planned suburb.

Kingsgate included three school sites and playgrounds and a future shopping center in his suburban plan. Other subdivision developments followed in the Kingsgate area. [155]

Kirkland annexed the Totem Lake area in 1974. "Totem Lake" itself had replaced the older name, Lake Wittenmyer, which commemorated an early settler family. However "Totem Lake" itself seems to have been a completely new name, coined to market the shopping center there in a strange celebration of a bogus indigenous history – Lake and River people did not carve totem poles. Nevertheless, Totem Lake Mall underwent a long series of reinventions, beginning in 1968 and culminating in the contemporary Village at Totem Lake. This remarkable mixed-use development includes more than 800 residential units, office spaces, and entertainment venues in addition to retail space, and is the front yard of the Evergreen Hospital healthcare complex. [156]

The annexations of Totem Lake, and the neighborhoods of South Juanita, North Rose Hill, and South Rose Hill through 1988, were responsible for nearly doubling Kirkland's population between 1970 and 1990.

On November 3, 2009, responding to a King County initiative to encourage cities to annex unincorporated areas within the county, three previously unincorporated districts north of the city—Finn Hill, North Juanita, and Kingsgate - voted on whether to annex to Kirkland. The measure failed by seven votes to reach the 60% margin. However, since the affirmative vote was over 50%, the Kirkland City Council could and did vote to accept the annexation. These three annexations added 33,000 residents for a combined Greater Kirkland population of about 80,000 and an area of nearly seven square miles. [157]

Inland from the lakeshore, the Bridle Trails neighborhoods was annexed to Kirkland in 1969; the Central Park and Flying Horseshoe area in 1986, Silvers Spurs in 1988, land south of Sablewood in 1989, and Bridleview in 2009. At the heart of this neighborhood are three remarkably different land uses: the capped Houghton landfill which received both the community domestic waste and the Lake Washington Shipyards industrial waste, the King County transfer station which opened in 1967, and the trail-threaded, heavily-wooded Bridle Trails State Park, essentially the old 1-mile square school section 16, intended to be logged again and again for revenue to support schools.[158]

In one of Kirkland's very earliest annexations, 1949, the Everest neighborhood had become part of Kirkland. During the war, federal housing projects A and B had been located in Everest, and were afterward demolished and the land developed into Everest Park. The neighborhood was named to honor civic leader Harold P. Everest, former chair of the UW School of Journalism, publisher and editor of the influential *East Side Journal* before Robert Frank. The Seattle, Lakeshore and Eastern Railway threaded the Everest neighborhood from 1888 on, and Kirkland's SLE railroad station on Railroad Avenue was not torn down until the late 1960s. The Spirit of Washington dinner trains used the old railroad from 1992

through 2007. Along the railroad line, industries flourished during wartime mobilization and thereafter. The Seattle Door Company operated into the 1970s as Kirkland's largest employer, with several hundred blue-collar workers. In 2006, the old Door Company building was demolished and the site was redeveloped as the Google high-tech office complex. Feriton Spur Park commemorates the mixed transportation and industrial history of the neighborhood, connecting to the Cross Kirkland Corridor trail on the old Seattle, Lakeshore, and Eastern roadbed. [159]

Kirkland Revival – Land Use Planning

As late as 1967, despite the dramatic vision of Kirkland Forward, a cynical, unnamed Kirkland housewife commented to a Seattle reporter that "Kirkland really is a glorified bedroom for Bellevue, Renton, and Seattle, and it probably always will be." But that wasn't ever entirely true, and Kirkland came of age from 1968 through 1998, looking toward a new century with new ways to gain shelter, get around, make a living, and enjoy life in a town with a new sense of itself as a lakefront city, moving responsibly into a new century. [160]

In 1969, the Washington State Supreme Court's Lake Chelan decision put a stop to shoreline land-infill condominiums, ending "much over-water development." Condominium construction had exploded in the Pacific Northwest – so novel in 1962, that the *Seattle Times* real estate reporter carefully defined the novel concept of "individual ownership of an apartment in a multi-unit building." Kirkland condo construction was hedging-in older lakefront houses, and threatened to not only crowd out older single family homes but to bar public view of the water from Lake Washington Boulevard but to cover water close to the shoreline underneath over-water condominiums. In response, the City of Kirkland prepared a waterfront development policy. [161]

The 1974 Shoreline Master Program spoke for both Houghton and Kirkland concerning their shared lakefront mixed-use shoreline rather than a lakefront industrial town:

Industrial users are no longer permitted in the shoreline…the character of economic interests on the Kirkland shoreline has changed. The shoreline industrial commercial uses have been diminishing over the past fifty years. Oil storage tanks, lumber yards, barging operations, a woolen mill, a shipyard and other commercial uses have been (or will be) replaced by residences, less intensive commercial uses, or public parks.[162]

In 1977, Kirkland's waterfront development policy was clarified and expanded by the Washington State Shoreline Management Act. During the city managership of Allen Locke, Kirkland adopted its first Comprehensive Plan to establish broad goals and policies for community growth, and introduced very specific plans for each neighborhood in the City. That plan, called the Land Use Policy Plan, has been actively used and updated to reflect changing circumstances. The 1977 Comprehensive Plan provided a foundation for a pattern

and character of managed development that made Kirkland a very desirable place to work, live, and play. Throughout the 1980s, Kirkland grew both within the old city limits and through annexations – the population grew 113% between 1980 and 1990, and newspaper real estate advertisements touted the waterfront's "San Francisco style." And, in comparison with San Francisco and other California go-go cities, Kirkland was inexpensive and housing prices spiked in a market-driven wave of "Californication" that priced out many locals who hoped to live in Kirkland.[163]

Passage of the Washington State Growth Management Act (GMA) in 1990 required the City of Kirkland to reexamine the Comprehensive Plan in a systematic manner within the mandated state framework, and to develop focused goals and policies on citywide land use, transportation, and housing. The GMA requires Washington State jurisdictions, including Kirkland, to adopt plans that provide for growth and development in a manner that is internally and regionally consistent, equitable, achievable, and affordable. The 1995, 2004, and 2015 GMA updates of the Comprehensive Plan and annual amendments reflect Kirkland's intention to both meet the requirements of the state's Growth Management Plan and to create a workable framework within which to best meet the issues and opportunities currently facing our own City.[164]

The 1995 Comprehensive Plan, the first plan prepared under the Growth Management Act, was guided by a City Council appointed citizen advisory committee known as the Growth Management Commission (GMC). This group was established to recommend an updated Comprehensive Plan to the City Council consistent with the requirements of the GMA. Each planning initiative and amendment initiates the policy and practice to frame the Kirkland its residents will live in, in the future. As the City of Kirkland grew, good planning helped; as the city continues to grow, good planning will make all the difference to our city's way of life. The development of Carillon Point is a case in point.

Kirkland Revival – Carillon Point: A Case Study in the Power of Planning

In 1976, the Seattle Seahawks leased the southern half of the old shipyard from Skinner Corporation for corporate offices and football training fields.[165]

Six years later, in 1982, Kirkland's shoreline management plan emphasized mixed uses along the shoreline that were consistent with public access and water emphasis. Kirkland City Manager Allen Locke was convinced that the extraordinary size of the old shipyard property – 26 acres, unique on Lake Washington - required a sweeping, integrated proposal that encompassed the entire site as a "mixed use planned area." Kirkland Mayor D.V. Hurst agreed with Locke, referring in a memo sent to the Kirkland Planning Commission and the Houghton Community Council to this "once in a lifetime chance" to create a "planned area" with a "higher order of public benefit." Both men regarded the former Lake Washington Shipyards site as unduplicated on the entire lakeshore, a magnificent blank canvas. Skinner

Corporation presented a new proposal for an ambitious mixed-use commercial and residential development that emphasized public access to the lake as well as mitigation of liabilities. At first, the project was termed The Shipyard; soon, it was renamed Carillon Point.[166]



Figure 29: Carillon Point offers a case study in the positive outcome possible with land use planning and management. (Source: Carillon Point)

The Skinner Corporation's plans passed through years of review, public comment, city examination, and revision. Kirkland citizens insisted that development minimize adverse impacts on their environment and their quality of life. In particular, they valued maximized public access to Lake Washington, and mitigation for anticipated congestion and commercialization. Citizens were concerned about the density of development, the height of the proposed buildings, and the anticipated increase in traffic on Lake Washington Boulevard. In committed discussions, Kirkland and Houghton residents argued the merits of the proposal and the precedents it would set for future lakefront development. The public review process provided the forum for all interested parties to speak in their own self-interest, negotiating the bargain under whose terms they would cooperate. Civil public discussion was as vital as careful planning to this project's success, so many decades in the making.[167]

The "higher order of public benefit" to which Mayor Hurst referred persuaded the Kirkland Planning and Community Development Department staff to recommend that Carillon Point be permitted to vary from existing zoning regulations. By permitting denser development

and taller structures, Skinner Development Corporation was encouraged to finance and construct a project of the very highest quality, Skinner Development Corporation's showcase project. And so it has remained.[168]

Visionary planning made Carillon Point an integrated, shipyard-wide residential, retail, office, and mixed-use development with significant public access instead of 20 condominium slices of that shoreline, barring the lake from view and access. Visitors who stroll the waterfront trail can find interpretive signage along the way, that displays the history of the site, from Native times into the 1980s. Carillon Point is a case study in the success of planning in the City of Kirkland and of genuine public/private partnership.

Planning for the 21st Century Development of Kirkland

We learn about history to make the present make sense, so that we can make better choices for the future. But the historian falters without the perspective of time, to interpret recent history. The last quarter century of Kirkland history is more the province of planners and residents than historians. But it is clear to the historian that planning is essential to ensuring livability; it is not needless interference in a natural pattern of progressive change but careful preparation to shape the changes to come. In Kirkland's history, we have repeatedly seen that personal, social, and corporate initiatives have seized control of Greater Kirkland's destiny from one another with unintended and unpredictable consequences. Their effects have swept along the lakeshore and inland, in response to grandiose real estate speculations and industrial schemes, to wise and compassionate policies undone by capricious and prejudiced practice. Planning is active not passive; it takes back the initiative for managed change, guiding market forces to produce livable outcomes.[169]

Carillon Point was one of numerous major developments built in Kirkland between 1980 and 2024 – indeed, it is the model transition project from the 20th to the 21st century, showcasing the adaptive reuse of an industrial site. The Google developments along Sixth Street, South, also replaced the industrial uses along the old Seattle, Lakeshore, and Eastern railroad line with a new high-tech industrial use. And the Cross-Kirkland Corridor is itself built on that old railroad line, recently joined by the Totem Lake Connector; walkers and bikers enjoy these Kirkland pathways, as well as the many buffered bike lanes. Carillon Point was followed by downtown's Parkplace, the Yarrow Bay Office Park, Kirkland 405-Corporate Center, Juanita Village, the Village at Totem Lake, and Kirkland Urban. Lake Washington Technical College, Eastside Preparatory School, and Northwest University expanded, as did the Evergreen Hospital and the Totem Lake healthcare campus. City Hall moved to its current location at First and Fifth Avenue, to provide expanded services in response to Kirkland's exponential growth. And most recently, Houghton Park and Play has enlivened the site of the old Houghton Park & Ride, and public conversations are ongoing

about the proposal of the Seattle Kraken to develop the site in another classic public/private partnership.



Figure 30: Once, the heavily used Cross Kirkland Corridor was the Seattle, Lakeshore, and Eastern Railway roadbed, as shown here in 2013. (Source: City of Kirkland)

Central Kirkland itself changed dramatically with an amphitheater of mid-rise residential buildings around its perimeter, developing a market for downtown retail uses. Downtown's civic hub came alive with the development of Peter Kirk Park and the addition of a branch of the King County Library, art galleries, the senior center, teen center, and the performing arts theater. The South Kirkland Park and Ride facility has been converted into a TOD (Transit Oriented Development) with housing for a mix of incomes; construction is underway for a major transit hub at I-405 and NE 85th Street. It remains true that the essentials to livability are gaining shelter, making a living, getting around, and enjoying life. Good planning can foster them for residents in the Kirkland of the future. [170]

Three Drivers of Change in Kirkland, 2000-2025

1 Demography

Kirkland population growth and demographic change has created a much bigger, more dynamic, diverse, and affluent community, introducing challenges and opportunities.

Kirkland's demographic evolution over the last 25 years has been marked by significant shifts in population growth, age distribution, household structure, and income growth. A major spike in population growth happened in 2011, when the King County neighborhoods of North Juanita, Finn Hill, and Kingsgate were annexed into Kirkland. Post-annexation, major trends that affected Kirkland included recovery from the Great Recession of 2007-9, high growth rates in the City's under-18 and over-65 populations, and median income growth that outpaces many of Kirkland's peer cities. The growing affluence of households in Kirkland has generated many benefits, such as a city that is increasingly attractive for economic development, but also many challenges – in particular, a severe shortage of affordable and workforce housing. A key focus of the city government over the last 25 years has been addressing this housing crisis, and doing so in a way that promotes principles of environmental sustainability.

2 The sunsetting of the Houghton council, and its veto power over land use.

In 2022, the Washington state legislature, with full support of the Kirkland City Council, passed HB 1769 which sunset all Community Municipal Corporations such as the Houghton Community Council. The HCC was formally terminated as of July 9, 2022. Sunsetting the Houghton council has helped reinforce a more uniform and equitable approach to planning throughout Kirkland, in that no individual neighborhood has veto power over Citywide policy.

3 State and Regional Planning

3a State of Washington's Growth Management Act

Beginning in 1990, under the guidance of Washington State's Growth Management Act, the City has made annual updates to the Comprehensive Plan. These updates have been motivated by the desire of the city to adapt to change in the community – including population growth, the need for new infrastructure, and the desire to protect the environment and promote more walkable, human-centered neighborhoods. Two more Growth Management Act updates to Kirkland's Comprehensive Plan were completed in 2004 and 2015. The 2004 update included a community visioning outreach called "Community Conversations – Kirkland 2022" that won the Puget Sound Regional Council's Vision 2020 Award for its grass roots approach of asking residents and businesses to host their own conversations to discuss and determine Kirkland's future. In 2015, Kirkland's GMA update included a community visioning program called "Kirkland 2035 – Your Vision, Your Voice, Your Future" that used on-line approaches to connect with people along with

several community planning days and hosted conversations. A new update to the Comprehensive Plan – looking forward to the year 2044 – was initiated in 2022, focusing on themes of fostering a walkable, sustainable, livable, welcoming, and more equitable community.

Throughout the planning process to prepare and amend the Plan, the City actively encouraged and facilitated public participation using a variety of forums and involving several City boards and commissions. This historical narrative appendix has its place in the public conversation about the current Kirkland Comprehensive Plan, "a statement of the kind of community Kirkland wants to become, envisioned by those who live, work, recreate and visit here."[171]

3b The Puget Sound Regional Council (PSRC) develops policies and coordinates decisions about regional growth, transportation and economic development planning within King, Kitsap, Pierce and Snohomish counties. PSRC is composed of nearly 100 members, including the four counties, cities and towns, ports, state and local transportation agencies and Tribal governments within the region. When King County voters approved in 1958 the King County Metropolitan Authority to deal with the shared problem of Lake Washington pollution, they recognized that governance and planning cannot end at the edge of towns and cities, that regional systems are integrated. King County Metro was, in a sense, the forerunner of today's regional Puget Sound Regional Council. PSRC's regional plan helps promote achievement of the Growth Management Act's (GMA) planning objectives.

The PSRC designation of Totem Lake and greater Downtown Kirkland as Regional Growth Centers (RGCs) was of profound significance to planning and land use for both areas. The RGCs reinforce the City of Kirkland's growth strategy to create a series of walkable urban neighborhoods well-served by public transit, driving economic development. The Greater Downtown Kirkland Regional Growth Center (RGC) comprises the Moss Bay neighborhood, encompassing the historic center of Kirkland, its "downtown," and the NE 85th Street Station Area, the area surrounding a future Sound Transit Stride bus rapid transit station. Planning for the station seeks to leverage regional transit investments to connect to the historic downtown area and continue its development as a well-connected, mixed-use area. The Totem Lake Regional Growth Center (RGC) is characterized by office, retail, and institutional uses, as well as moderate and high-density residential development. Totem Lake is home to Evergreen Health Center, a regional transit center, the Totem Lake Connector, a pedestrian and bicycle bridge connection to the Cross Kirkland Connector, Totem Lake itself and its wetland trails, as well as the Village at Totem Lake, the major

redevelopment of the former Totem Lake Mall. The Totem Lake RGC offers additional redevelopment opportunities and access to the regional transportation system via Stride bus rapid transit being planned along I-405. [172]

The PSRC Vision 2050 is a bold envisioning of the future of regional growth in a quarter century. By 2050, the region's population is projected to reach 5.8 million people. The region's cities, counties, Tribes, ports, agencies, businesses and communities have worked together to develop VISION 2050 to prepare for this growth and serve as a guide for sustaining a healthy environment, thriving communities, and a strong economy. The Puget Sound Regional Council's VISION 2050 is a plan for the long-term that can be reviewed and adjusted as the region changes. VISION 2050's multicounty planning policies, actions, and regional growth strategy guide how and where the region grows through 2050. The plan informs updates to the Regional Transportation Plan and Regional Economic Strategy. Vision 2050 also sets the stage for updates to countywide planning policies and local comprehensive plans done by cities and counties.[173]

Let's look briefly at three recent Kirkland case studies that demonstrate the application of planning, particularly as guided by the Growth Management Act, the Puget Sound Regional council, and Kirkland's own planning documents.

First, Kirkland Parkplace opened in 1982, pulling Kirkland's downtown eastward and embracing Peter Kirk Park. Parkplace introduced a denser, more urban vibe to the center of town, siting retail, restaurants, and a movie theater east of the historic business core. As Kirkland residential density accelerated downtown, Parkplace became dated, and has been reimagined and reinvented as Kirkland Urban, opening in 2017-2019. Ringed by intensive residential development, downtown Kirkland is a thriving marketplace. Kirkland Urban is a mixed-use shopping, living, and dining destination in the heart of Kirkland featuring residences, restaurants, and retailers, adjacent to the Park, the pool, the library, the performing arts center, a teen center, and a senior center. In redeveloping this area, the City worked closely with a private developer to create a plan that functions as a walkable, transit-oriented easterly extension of downtown with excellent access to nearby open space.

Second, the Kirkland Parks Board proposed a Cross Kirkland Trail parallel to the active rail line in the 1990s. In late 2009, Burlington Northern-Santa Fe Railway sold the old Seattle, Lakeshore, and Eastern track to the Port of Seattle, and the Eastside Rail Corridor land came into public ownership. The Eastside Rail Corridor Interest Statement set goals for future development of the Corridor, and Kirkland purchased 5.75 miles of the roadbed in 2012. In 2014, the City Council adopted the Cross Kirkland Corridor Master Plan, and construction of the interim pathway followed shortly thereafter. In 2024, the gentle, curving

walking and biking trail threads the length and breadth of Kirkland, part of a long trail system that invites bikers and walkers to move through space and time.[174]

Third, Google was one of the original Silicon Valley tech giants to establish an engineering center in the Seattle area, opening the branch in Kirkland in 2004. Google's choice demonstrated conclusively that there are good options for high technology companies to flourish on the Eastside. Google chose to expand to Kirkland because many employees and corporate leadership live on the Eastside, making Kirkland a good place to grow a major business. Google has been a good neighbor in Kirkland, but activists worry about its effect on housing affordability in the City. Google's current campus along 6th Street is a good example of a tech campus' orientation along a major transit and trail corridor that is well-integrated with the surrounding neighborhood. Feriton Spur Park, which was built along the CKC as part of a unique public-private partnership between the City, SRM Development, and Google, is a popular trail-oriented community gathering space complete with a beer garden and repurposed railway caboose.

Conclusion

The City of Kirkland has grown from longhouse villages on a Native lake to the "Hub of the Eastside" ferry landing, to a blue-collar industrial factory town, to the subject of realtors' successive marketing schemes, to a World War II homefront boomtown, to a sleepy backwater, to a lakefront residential suburban town, to the city of today. In 2024, Kirkland is a complex lakeside city, rich in its distinctive neighborhoods, heir to a complex historic legacy, and facing the demanding challenges of the 21st century.

Peter Kirk's dream of a great city on the eastern shore of Lake Washington has been fulfilled, although not as he imagined it. There is no end to dreams of Kirkland – more than a century ago, Kirk was touting Kirkland as the "Pittsburgh of the West"; ninety years ago, the Kirkland Chamber of Commerce was touting Kirkland as the "Hub of the Eastside"; ten years ago, realtors were touting Kirkland as the "Sausalito of the North."[175]

Today, in 2024, Kirkland is a vibrant and thriving community of more than 92,000 people stepping up to help solve issues of regional importance - homelessness, affordable housing, mental health, transit access, equity. As each resident pursues their life – gaining shelter, getting around, making a living, enjoying life– we plan together toward a prosperous, secure, equitable future. State, regional, county, and municipal planning will get us where we want to go. The City of Kirkland's visioning work has begun toward "You Belong Here," the 2044 Comprehensive Plan. Every Kirkland resident should participate in the process of learning from the past, to make the present make sense, and to develop informed decisions for the future in respectful discussion. [176]

[1] Lucile McDonald, *Lake Washington Story* (Superior, 1979), pp 7-12; "20-Year Forest and Natural Areas Restoration Plan," 2015, https://www.kirklandwa.gov/files/sharedassets/public/v/1/parks-amp-comm-services/green-kirkland-partnership/pdfs/20-year-forest-and-natural-areas-restoration-plan.pdf accessed May 2024; Sharon Boswell, "King County Settlement Context," https://cdn.kingcounty.gov/-/media/king-county/depts/dnrp/building-property/historic-preservation-program/papers-and-research/kingcountyhistoricsettlementcontext.pdf?rev=6c20060d228f4fdd83b4f87883de51e3&hash=D50C74B1C45DB6D3F551802EC62C4A18; Plats of King County, King County Planning Department.
[2] Robert E. Ficken, *Washington Territory,* (Washington State University Press, 2002).
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[5] Conversations with tribal leaders representing the Duwamish, Muckleshoot, Suquamish, and Snoqualmie; Chief Seattle Club Interim Director and Lushootseed language speaker, June-November 2021; conversations Steven Moses, Director of Archaeology & Historic Preservation Department, Snoqualmie Tribe and McKenna Sweet Dorman, Assistant Director of Governmental Affairs and Special Projects, Snoqualmie Tribe, July-November 2021; David Buerge, "Kirkland: Its Native American Past and Present, October 2021, https://www.kirklandwa.gov/files/sharedassets/public/v/1/city-managers-office/pdfs/kirkland-its-native-american-past-and-present-by-david-buerge.pdf. This is an excellent, provocative article.
[6] "Suquamish History and Culture," https://suquamish.nsn.us/home/about-us/history-culture/ Accessed May 2024; Steven Moses, Director of Archaeology & Historic Preservation Department, Snoqualmie Tribe and McKenna Sweet Dorman, Assistant Director of Governmental Affairs and Special Projects, Snoqualmie Tribe, July-November 2021; Buerge, "Indian Lake Washington."
[7] Buerge, "Indian Lake Washington"; Juanita Beach Park History," King County Historic Preservation Program. Lucile McDonald described this pen at Totem Lake to Lorraine McConaghy in the 1980s; David Buerge confirmed in personal conversation 2024 with McConaghy that Patkanim described just such a pen on Whidbey Island.
[8] Buerge, "Indian Lake Washington,"; Dennis Lewarch, Tribal Historic Preservation Officer, Archaeology and Historic Preservation Department, Suquamish Tribe, https://suquamish.nsn.us/wp-content/uploads/2021/09/Suquamish-Land-Aknowledgement-Poster-8X11-12-17-19.pdf.
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[21] Clarence B. Bagley, *History of King County, Washington* (Clarke, 1929) p 838; Arline Ely, *Our Foundering Fathers* (Kirkland Public Library, 1975) p 29.

[22] McDonald, *Lake Washington Story*, p 23; https://kirklandheritage.org/category/early-history/.

[23] Harry French, diary entries, July 30, 1872, August 6 1872, August 26, 1872, available online https://kirklandheritage.org/the-french-family-of-pleasant-bay/.

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[25] Ely, pp 13-21.

[26] McDonald, *Eastside Notebook*, pp 90-91; McDonald, *Lake Washington Story*, pp 23, 57-58; McDonald, *Seattle Times,* October 23, 1955.

[27] McDonald, *Lake Washington Story,* p 23; hardscrabble farms, p 8, Matthew W. McCauley, *A Look to the Past: Kirkland: From Wilderness to High-Tech,* (Scriptoria, 2010); Black Diamond was later than the other eastside coal towns, when its first mine was opened 1883.

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[29] McDonald, *Eastside Notebook,* pp 23, 29.

[30] Ely, pp 13-15; McDonald, *Lake Washington Story,* pp 34-35; McDonald, *Eastside Notebook,* p 29; McCauley, *A Look to the Past,* pp 81-104.

[31] McDonald, *Eastside Notebook,* pp 66-68.

[32] Buerge, p 55; Frank Kirtley, recorded interview, Eastside Heritage Center, February 23, 1986. There is some evidence, from correspondence and oral history, that Native people, particularly children and youth, were integrated into early settler life as wards or domestic workers. This deserves a great deal of research and is outside the scope of this historical narrative.

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[34] McDonald, *Lake Washington Story*, pp 23, 49-51; https://www.finnhill.org/finn-hills-history

[35] McDonald, *Lake Washington Story*. pp 51-4, 57.

[36] McDonald, *Eastside Notebook*, pp 28-30, 155; McDonald, *Lake Washington Story,* p 57; Ely, p 14; old maps indicate that the Curtis Road did not originally follow NE 68th and NE 70th Streets, but may have cut east-west through what is today Bridle Trails State Park.

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[47] McDonald, *Eastside Notebook,* pp 66-7, 136-7; McDonald, *Lake Washington Story,* pp 102-3.
[48] Alan Stein and Paula Becker, *Alaska-Yukon-Pacific Exposition, Washington's First World's Fair*, (Historylink, 2009).
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[50] For Isaac Israel Walker, see "Blackberry Preserves: The Journal of the Kirkland Heritage Society," Jan/Feb 2021; Negro Citizens Club, I.I. Walker, *Seattle Post-Intelligencer,* August 26, 1910; Walker, a real estate investor, an intellectual, had been to the Yukon, close to wealthy, influential Cayton family, Horace Cayton, Jr., *Long Old Road* (Trident Press, 1965) pp 8-10, 21, 39, 75; Esther Mumford, *Seattle's Black Victorians* (Ananse Press 1980) pp 14, 18, 48, 85, 147, 171, 186-8, 206-7; Walker marriage reported *Seattle Republican,* July 26, 1907; see Walker's Lake Wittenmyer home, on Ruth Nelson's map of Juanita area historic structures, https://digitalcollections.lib.washington.edu/digital/collection/kccollects/id/676/
[51] "The Historic Yellowstone Trail in Washington," https://www.sunset-hwy.com/yellowstone_trail.htm; *Post-Intelligencer,* July 10, 1949.
[52] Burke and Farrar's Addition, https://recordsearch.kingcounty.gov/LandmarkWeb/Document/GetDocumentByBookPage/?booktype=PLAT&booknumber=025&pagenumber=029; "Change Over Time: The Lowering of Lake Washington", https://historylink.org/Content/education/downloads/Farrar.pdf; Carrie Shumway, https://www.historylink.org/File/2875
[53] *Seattle Times,* August 7, 1910, May 28, 1911.
[54] *East Side Journal,* May 15, 1919.
[55] McDonald, *Eastside Notebook,* pp 160-163.
[56] David Buerge, *Chief Seattle and the Town that Took His Name* (Sasquatch Books, 2017); Buerge, "Indian Lake Washington," *The Weekly,* August 1, 1984.
[57] McDonald, *Eastside Notebook,* pp 24, 64-65, 180-1; McDonald, *Lake Washington Story*, pp 50-51. After the opening of the Ship Canal, the lake fell vertically 9', but waterfront land grew much more, along the incline.
[58] *Seattle Times,* October 24, 1916; McDonald, *Lake Washington Story*, pp 36-38, 102-105; Ely, pp 89-90; McDonald and Hemion, p 131; Mary S. Kline and G.A. Bayless, *Ferryboats* (Bayless Books, 1983), pp 145-149, 153-57; H.W. McCurdy, *The Marine History of the Pacific Northwest* (Superior Publishing, 1966); also see McDonald and Hemion, for overview early shipbuilding history; McDonald, *Eastside Notebook*, pp 66-67, 136-7.
[59] McDonald, *Eastside Notebook,* pp 188-90; Kirkland Heritage Society, https://kirklandheritage.org/; McCauley, *Early Kirkland,* p115.
[60] McDonald and Hemion, p 137; Ely, p 104; Russell T. Mowry, memoir, undated, Eastside Heritage Center; McCauley, *A Look to the Past,* p 101-104.
[61] Kline and Bayless, pp 195-200; Loyal Fengler, recorded interview, Eastside Heritage Center, April 13, 1984; *Marine Digest,* throughout, 1933-39, LWS ad, August 12, 1933; "Go-go Economy Gone," *Seattle Times,* May 5, 1996.

[62] Richard Taylor, recorded interview, Eastside Heritage Center, March 12, 1984; John Rodgers, recorded interview, Eastside Heritage Center, March 27, 1984.
[63] *Marine Digest,* quotes January 21, 1939 and September 25, 1942, also see January 17, 1942; Richard Taylor, recorded interview, Eastside Heritage Center, March 12, 1984; John Rodgers, recorded interview, Eastside Heritage Center, March 27, 1984; Wallace Taylor, recorded interview, Eastside Heritage Center, April 1, 1984; Loyal Fengler, recorded interview, Eastside Heritage Center, April 13, 1984; *On the Ways*, May 16, 1942, June 17, 1942; Jeanne L. Whiting, *Yarrow: A Place* (Yarrow Point Bicentennial Committee, 1976), p 72.
[64] Woolen mill, https://kirklandheritage.org/kirklands-rich-history/; Greg Johnston, "Then and Now: The Klondike Gold Rush, WWI and Kirkland's Woolen Mill", *Patch*, November 4, 1911, https://patch.com/washington/kirkland/then-now-c-c-filson-the-klondike-gold-rush-and-kirkla86d8e32aaf; McDonald, *Lake Washington Story,* pp 54-55; Matthew W. McCauley mentions a box factory on the lakeshore, built in the 1890s, adjacent to the woolen mill, *Early Kirkland,* p 78.
[65] McDonald, *Lake Washington Story*, pp 8, 51-55; Ely, pp 73-77; McDonald and Hemion, "Lake Washington Shipyards, Part I," *The Sea Chest,* June 1983, p 135.
[66] McDonald, *Eastside Notebook,* pp 80-81.
[67] McDonald, *Eastside Notebook,* pp 74-5, 77; *Seattle Times* selected articles on Kirkland and Prohibition, September 26, 1920, August 24,1922, November 30, 1923, January 11-14, 1924, February 5, 1924; April 22, 1924, December 6, 1931.
[68] *East Side Journal,* April 30, 1939, October 5, 1939; Ely, pp 103-4; Elmer Miller, recorded interview, Eastside Heritage Center, March 18, 1984; John Rodgers, recorded interview, Eastside Heritage Center, March 27, 1984.
[69] *East Side Journal*, 1931-1939; Maurice Powell, recorded interview, December 10, 1986.
[70] Population statistics, U.S. Decennial Census; additional figures from Kirkland Congregational Church loan application, ?1938, Kirkland Congregational Church archives; Elmer Miller, recorded interview, Eastside Heritage Center, March 18, 1984; John Rodgers, recorded interview, Eastside Heritage Center, March 27, 1984; Maurice Powell, recorded interview, Eastside Heritage Center, December 10, 1986; *East Side Journal,* January 26, 1933.
[71] *An Economic Study of the Area East of Lake Washington,* Washington State Highway Commission, 1951, pp 41-3; *East Side Journal*, July 28, 1932, October 19, 1933; Ely, p 105; Lindahl, pp 62-4.
[72] *East Side Journal,* September 22, 1932, July 31, 1932, November 10, 1932, April 6, 1933, April 13, 1933, quote April 20, 1933, March 9, 1933, July 13, 1933, August 3, 1933, quote August 17, 1933, May 29, 1934, August 26, 1935, September 26, 1937; Lindahl, p 61; Ely, p 101; *Marine Digest*, August 12, 1933.
[73] *East Side Journal,* January 18, 1934, May 3, 1934, June 18, 1936, (July 28, 1932 notes monthly relief expenditure of $2500 in the district; June 18, 1936 notes six months relief expenditure of $35,000 within Kirkland city limits alone.); McDonald, *Eastside Notebook,* pp 126-28, 226-7.
[74] *East Side Journal,* April 13, 1933; Ordinance 398, *Ordinances of the City of Kirkland.*
[75] McDonald and Hemion, Part I, pp 21-2; George C. Nickum, recorded interview, Eastside Heritage Center, May 12, 1984, Kline and Bayless, press release p 231.
[76] Kline and Bayless, pp 229-47; Ely, p 105; Richard Taylor, recorded interview, Eastside Heritage Center, March 12, 1984; Loyal Fengler, Eastside Heritage Center, April 13, 1984; *East Side Journal,* July 6, 1935.
[77] Richard Taylor, recorded interview, Eastside Heritage Center, March 12, 1984; Loyal Fengler, recorded interview, Eastside Heritage Center, April 13, 1984; *Bellevue American*, October 19, 1939; *East Side Journal,* November 17, 1938, April 13, 1939, April 20, 1939, October 14, 1939; *Marine News,* December 1, 1938.
[78] *An Economic Study....*, pp 41-3; *East Side Journal,* December 31, 1936, June 24, 1937.
[79] Lindahl, pp 54, 69; *East Side Journal,* July 26, 1935, July 1, 1937, June 30, 1938.
[80] Russell Mowry, recorded interview, Eastside Heritage Center, March 25, 1984, April 5, 1984; *Seattle Post-Intelligencer* editorial quoted *On the Ways,* March 4, 1942; *Bellevue American*, October 31, 1940; Frederic Lane, *Ships for Victory,* (Johns Hopkins, 2001), pp 32-39, 52; Richard Polenberg, *War and Society,* (Lippincott, 1972), p 73; John Morton Blum, *V Was for Victory,* (Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1976), pp 12-13, 122; Gerald White, *Billions for Defense: Government Financing by the DPC during World War II* (University of Alabama, 1980), pp

7, 54; Robert H. Connery, *The Navy and Industrial Mobilization in World War II* (Princeton University Press, 1951), pp 90, 345-349.

[81] *War Industrial Facilities Authorized,* (War Production Board, 1943), Table 2; *East Side Journal* May 14, 1943; Russell Mowry, recorded interview, Eastside Heritage Center, March 25, 1984, April 5, 1984; Virginia Lang, recorded interview, Eastside Heritage Center, August 21, 1984; Loyal Fengler, recorded interview, Eastside Heritage Center, April 13, 1984; Herman Johnson, recorded interview, Eastside Heritage Center, March 10, 1984; Merritt Hackett, conversation with McConaghy, March 2, 1984.

[82] *East Side Journal,* May 14, 1943, Loyal Fengler, recorded interview, Eastside Heritage Center, April 13, 1984; Herman Johnson, recorded interview, Eastside Heritage Center, March 10, 1984; John Rodgers, recorded interview, Eastside Heritage Center, March 27, 1984.

[83] *East Side Journal,* November 2, 1942; Virginia Lang, recorded interview, Eastside Heritage Center, August 21, 1984; Russell Mowry, recorded interview, Eastside Heritage Center, March 25, 1984; Merritt Hackett, recorded interview, Eastside Heritage Center, March 2, 1984; Eugene Danielson, recorded interview, Eastside Heritage Center, April 14, 1984.

[84] *East Side Journal*, February 19, 1942; Richard Taylor, recorded interview, Eastside Heritage Center, March 12, 1984; McCauley, *A Look to the Past,* pp 101-104,

[85] Russell Mowry, recorded interview, Eastside Heritage Center, March 25, 1984, April 5, 1984; John Bratt, recorded interview, Eastside Heritage Center, March 2, 1984: John Rodgers, recorded interview, Eastside Heritage Center, March 27, 1984; Loyal Fengler, recorded interview, Eastside Heritage Center, April 13, 1984; E.N. Baunsgard, recorded interview, Eastside Heritage Center, June 29, 1984; *On the Ways,* March 14, 1941-October 26, 1945; for general LWS, see Lorraine McConaghy , "The Lake Washington Shipyards: For the Duration," (M.A. thesis, University of. Washington, 1987).

[86] For wartime defense contracting, see Robert H. Connery, *The Navy and Industrial Mobilization during World War II,* (Princeton, 1951); John Morton Blum, *V Was for Victory, (*Harcourt, Brace, Jovanovich, 1976); *East Side Journal,* April 13, 1939, January 4, 1942, quote December 24, 2942; ; *Seattle Times*, August 14, 1943; Marshall Maslin, editor, *Western Shipbuilders in World War II* (Shipbuilding Review Publishing Association, 1945), p 35-7; Frederick Lane, pp 236-41; Donald Nelson, *Arsenal of Democracy*, (Harcourt Brace, 1946), p 307.

[87] *East Side Journal*, ads throughout 1939; Maurice Powell, recorded interview, Eastside Heritage Center, December 10, 1986; McDonald, *Eastside Notebook,* pp 186-7.

[88] McDonald and Hemion, "Lake Washington Shipyards, Part I," p 133; Kirkland City Council meeting minutes, City of Kirkland, April 4, 1941; Ely, pp 108, 111; John Bratt, recorded interview, Eastside Heritage Center, March 2, 1984.

[89] U.S. Decennial Census 1950, table 4 (Kirkland population 1930: 1714 and 1940: 2084) and U.S. Decennial Census; *An Economic Study of the Area East of Lake Washington,* Washington State Highway Commission, 1951 (deposits 1930: $531,909, 1935: $696,263, 1940 $1,464,110); *Public Housing in King County: A Progress Report, 1939-1945,* Housing Authority of the County of King, 1945, p 78; *The Public Low Rent Housing Market,* Bureau of Economic Research, University of Washington, 1949, p 7; *East Side Journal* April 13, 1939; Eugene Hatch, recorded interview, Eastside Heritage Center, April 15, 1984; Lindahl, pp 70-75.

[90] *East Side Journal,* December 11, 1941, December 18, 1941; John Bratt, recorded interview, Eastside Heritage Center, March 2, 1984; Wallace Taylor, recorded interview, Eastside Heritage Center, April 1, 1984.

[91] *East Side Journal,* March 26, 1942, Feburary 5, 1942; *Bellevue American,* December 11, 1941; Jean Olsen, recorded interview, Eastside Heritage Center, March 11, 1984; D'Ann Campbell, *Women at War with America,* (Harvard University Press, 1984), pp 66-71; *Seattle Times,* June 21, 1943.

[92] *East Side Journal*, December 25, 1941; December 2, 1942, May 8, 1943; *Bellevue American,* April 23, 1942.

[93] There is an extensive historiography on Americans of Japanese descent on the West Coast and their wartime internment. See especially Roger Daniels, *Concentration Camps North America: Japanese in the United States and Canada During World War II,* (Krieger, 1989) and Stephen Fujita, *Altered Lives, Enduring Community: Japanese Americans Remember their World War II Incarceration,* (University of Washington Press, 2004), and Densho: The Japanese American Legacy Project, www.densho.org; Jean Olsen, recorded interview, Eastside Heritage Center, March 11, 1984; Ernest Thormahlen, recorded interview, Eastside Heritage Center, October 21, 1985; "Abundant Dreams Diverted," *Seattle Times*, June 23, 1996.

[94] Lucile McDonald, recorded interview, Eastside Heritage Center, April 6, 1985; *Bellevue American,* December 18, 1941, May 21, 1942; *East Side Journal,* quote March 12, 1942; Lucile McDonald, *Eastside Notebook*, pp 85-6; "Abundant Dreams Diverted," *Seattle Times,* June 23, 1996.
[95] See https://cdn.calisphere.org/data/28722/2z/bk0014b1k2z/files/bk0014b1k2z-FID1.pdf for collection of West Coast internment and expulsion documents, including Eastside and Kirkland examples.
[96] *East Side Journal*, May 21, 1942, July 4, 1942, June 10, 1943, April 5, 1945, April 12, 1945, April 19, 1945; *Bellevue American* May 28, 1942, April 2, 1943, June 24, 1942, September 3, 1942; *Time* magazine, April 16, 1945.
[97] Quote Herbert and Florence Wilkinson, recorded interview, Eastside Heritage Center, October 27, 1984; Elmer Miller quote, recorded interview, Eastside Heritage Center, March 18, 1984; *East Side Journal* , March 5, 1942 and throughout 1942; *Bellevue American,* July 22, 1942 and throughout 1942 and 1943, *On the Ways* May 27, 1942, July 18, 1942; Boilermakers Union *104 Reporter*, May 1, 1942, March 11, 1943; Arthur and Madge Warner, recorded interview, Eastside Heritage Center, March 16, 1984, Robert Tibbatts, recorded interview, Eastside Heritage Center, July 29, 1984; Felix Koutonen, recorded interview, Eastside Heritage Center, August 14, 1984; Eugene Danielson, recorded interview, Eastside Heritage Center, April 14, 1984; Ross Hadfield, recorded interview, Eastside Heritage Center, July 19, 1984; William Wilson, recorded interview, Eastside Heritage Center, July 23, 1984.
[98] Elmer Miller, recorded interview, Eastside Heritage Center, March 18, 1984; *East Side Journal* , March 5, 1942; *Bellevue American,* July 22, 1942; *On the Ways,* May 27, 1942, July 18, 1942; Boilermakers Union *104 Reporter*, May 1, 1942, March 11, 1943; Arthur and Madge Warner, recorded interview, Eastside Heritage Center, March 16, 1984, Robert Tibbatts, recorded interview, Eastside Heritage Center, July 29, 1984; Felix Koutonen, recorded interview, Eastside Heritage Center, August 14, 1984, Eugene Danielson, recorded interview, Eastside Heritage Center, April 14, 1984; Ross Hadfield, recorded interview, Eastside Heritage Center, July 19, 1984; William Wilson, recorded interview, Eastside Heritage Center, July 23, 1984.
[99] Frederic Lane, *Ships for Victory,* (Johns Hopkins, 2001), pp 32-39, 52; Richard Polenberg, *War and Society,* (Lippincott, 1972), p 73; John Morton Blum, *V Was for Victory,* (Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1976), pp 12-13, 122; Gerald White, *Billions for Defense: Government Financing by the DPC during World War II* (University of Alabama, 1980), pp 7, 54; Robert H. Connery, *The Navy and Industrial Mobilization in World War II* (Princeton University Press, 1951), pp 90, 345-349.
[100] D'Ann Campbell, pp 86, 150-153, 224; Susan Hartmann, *The Homefront and Beyond,* (Hall, 1982), pp 16-19; *Bellevue American* December 3, 1942; *On the Ways* for a range of treatments of female workers, July 7, 1942, Auguyst 19, 1942, December 12, 1942, January 27, 1943, May 5, 1943, July 10, 1943; Katharine Archibald, *Wartime Shipyard,* (University of California Press, 1947) Eleanor Holsten Somsak, recorded interview, Eastside Heritage Society, August 5, 1984; Karen Tucker Anderson, "The Impact of World War II in the Puget Sound Area on the Status of Women and the Family," (unpublished dissertation, University of Washington, 1975.)
[101] Howard Droker, "Seattle Race Relations During the Second World War," in G. Thomas Edwards and Carlos Schwantes, eds., *Experiences in a Promised Land,* (University of Washington Press, 1986); Louis Ruchames *Race, Jobs and Politics: The Story of the FEPC* (Columbia University Press, 1953), pp 16-23.; Herbert Northrup, *Organized Labor and the Negro* (Harper, 1944), pp 213-4. The corporate records of the Lake Washington Shipyards were stored in a railroad boxcar which burned, per Russell Mowry, recorded interview, Eastside Heritage Center, March 25, 1984, and some of the statistics – like Black employment, here – are speculative.
[102] Herbert and Florence Wilkinson, recorded interview, Eastside Heritage Center, October 27, 1985; Herman Johnson, recorded interview, Eastside Heritage Center, March 10, 1984; Henry Ona, recorded interview, Eastside Heritage Center, February 26, 1984; Ernest Thormahlen, recorded interview, Eastside Heritage Center, October 21, 1985; *East Side Journal,* April 2, 1942, May 24, 1942; June 1, 1942.
[103] Herbert and Florence Wilkinson, recorded interview, Eastside Heritage Center, October 27, 1985; *East Side Journal*, March 19, 1942.
[104] *East Side Journal,* April 2, 1942, May 24, 1942, April 22, 1943.
[105] *East Side Journal*, September 10, 1942, January 7, 1943; Norma Warner, recorded interview, Eastside Heritage Center, July 31, 1984; Jean Olsen, recorded interview, Eastside Heritage Center, March 11, 1984.

[106] *East Side Journal,* February 25, 1943, November 4, 1943, January 7, 1944. *East Side Journal,* January 7, 1943

[107] *East Side Journal*, January 7, 1943, October 28, 1943, November 4, 1943, November 25, 1943, December 2. 1943; Mary Martha Society, Kirkland Congregational Church archives King County Housing Authority, *Characteristics of Residents of Housing Projects in King County, Washington: 1945*, Research Bulletin No. 1 (Seattle, 1945), pp15-17.

[108] Roy Collins, recorded interview, Eastside Heritage Center, February 24, 1984; Henry Jovag, recorded interview, Eastside Heritage Center, March 4, 1985; Henry Ona, recorded interview, Eastside Heritage Center, February 26, 1984; Richard Taylor, recorded interview, Eastside Heritage Center, March 12, 1984; Loyal Fengler, recorded interview, Eastside Heritage Center, April 13, 1984; Doris Eason, recorded interview, Museum of History & Industry. March 23,1985; Louis Ruchames, *Race. Jobs, and Politics*, p 191.

[109] *East Side Journal,* June 1, 1942, August 20, 1942, April 22, 1943; "Board Minutes" Lake Washington School District (then, the Kirkland School District,) June 6, 1942; Vincent Widney, recorded interview, Eastside Heritage Center, October 18, 1985.

[110] *Annual Report,* King County Housing Authority, op.cit. p 44; Clark Kerr, *Migration to the Seattle Labor Market Area, 1940-1942* (University of Washington Press, 1942), pp 136ff; John Bratt, recorded interview, Eastside Heritage Center, March 2, 1984; Edith Osborn, recorded interview, Eastside Heritage Center, March 6, 1984;Robert Tibbatts, recorded interview, July 29, 1984, Herbert and Florence Wilkinson, recorded interview, Eastside Heritage Center, October 27, 1984, Nels Nelson, Roy St. Clair, Wilfred Miller, recorded interview, January 17, 1985, MOHAI, John Bratt, recorded interview, Eastside Heritage Center, March 2, 1984, Robert and Ruth Wiesen, recorded interview, Eastside Heritage Center, November 5, 1985, Eleanor Somsak, recorded interview, Eastside Heritage Center, August 5, 1984; *East Side Journal,* September 10, 1942, November 5, 1942; *Bellevue American,* October 15, 1942, March 30, 1944.

[111] *East Side Journal,* January 1, 1942, January 22, 1942, February 16, 1942, April 2, 1942, April 16, 1942, July 9, 1942, July 30, 1942, October 8, 1942, October 22, 1942, September 8, 1943, December 3, 1943, March 30, 1944, April 27, 1944; *Bellevue American,* June 3, 1943l *An Economic Study of the Area East of Lake Washington*, Washington State Highway Commission, 1951 (bank deposits 1940: $1464,110, 1945: $7,708,897).

[112] Calvin Schmid, *Social Trends in Seattle* (University of Washington Press, 1944), p 324-5; Norma and Albert Warner, recorded interview, July 31, 1984; Kirkland Cityi Council, meeting minutes, March 15, 1943; *Seattle Times*, June 14, 1944; Wayne and Frank Kirtley, recorded interview, Kirkland Heritage Society, February 23, 1986; Jean Olsen, recorded interview, Eastside Heritage Center, March 11, 1984; Robert Wiesen, recorded interview, Eastside Heritage Center, November 5, 1985; photo of LWS from Yarrow Point, *On the Ways,*, July 29, 1942; *East Side Journal,* June 15, 1944, June 29, 1944.

[113] *East Side Journal,* July 20, 1944, June 4, 1945; *104 Reporter*, July 12, 1945, August 30, 1945*,* November 19, 1945, December 13, 1945, March 21, 1945, May 2, 1946, August 22, 1946*; On the Ways,* September 28, 1945, September 7, 1945; for general historical literature on suburban development, see also Kenneth T. Jackson, *Crabgrass Frontier: The Suburbanization of the United States* (Oxford University Press, 1987); Stephanie Koontz, *The Way We Never Were. American Families and the Nostalgia Trap.* (Basic Books, 1992); Robert Fishman, *Bourgeois Utopias: The Rise and Fall of Suburbia.* (Basic Books, 1987); Elaine Tyler May, *Homeward Bound: American Families in the Cold War Era,* (Basic Books, 1988).

[114] *East Side Journal,* June 4, 1942; Kirkland City Council meeting minutes, September 20, 1943; Kirkland Ordinance $464, July 20, 1943; Yarrow Community Club meeting minutes, June 26, 1945, correspondence between John Hamilton, chairman, Yarrow Community Club and Warren Magnuson, June 28, 1945; Yarrow Community Club open letter, June 28, 1945, in Yarrow Community Club Archives.

[115] *Bellevue American,* June 28, 1945; Kirkland City Council meeting minutes, June 18, 1945; Yarrow Community Club minutes and ephemera, throughout summer, 1945; Ernest and Verna Thormahlen, recorded interview, October 21, 1985; *Seattle Times,* quote July 1, 1945.

[116] *Seattle Times,* June 28, 1945.

[117] *East Side Journal*, July 5, 1945, July 12, 1945.

[118] *104 Reporter,* July 12, 1945, July 19, 1945.

[119] *East Side Journal,* July 26, 1945.

[120] *Bellevue American*, August 30, 1945.

[121] *East Side Journal,* August 1, 1946; Herbert and Florence Wilkinson, recorded interview, Eastside Heritage Center, October 27, 1965; Ernest and Verna Thormahlen, recorded interview, Eastside Heritage Center, October 21, 1985; Vincent Widney, recorded interview, Eastside Heritage Center, October 19, 1985; *Public Housing,* pp 3-5; *Public Assistance in King County,* King County Welfare Department, 1946, p 24; quotes *Souvenir Program,* Second Annual Kirkland Summer Festival, 1947, Kirkland Chamber of Commerce; summer festival, *Seattle Times*, August 3, 1947.
[122] *Report by Trustees to the Stockholders Upon the Liquidation of the Company* (Lake Washington Shipyards, 1951.); *Seattle Times,* January 3, 1948; *Seattle Daily Journal of Commerce,* November 1, 1975; McDonald, *Eastside Notebook,* 136-7.
[123] Seattle and Eastside racially restrictive covenants, https://depts.washington.edu/civilr/covenants.htm;
[124] Arline Yarbrough, recorded interview, Kirkland Heritage Society 1993, Arline and Letcher Yarbrough, recorded interview, Museum of History & Industry, January 6, 1985; Harold Martin, recorded interview, Eastside Heritage Center, February 8, 1992; For general G.I. Bill, see Dianne Harris, *Little White Houses: How the Postwar Home Constructed Race in America*. (University of Minnesota Press, 2013); Glenn Altschuler and Stuart Blumin, *The GI Bill: The New Deal for Veterans.* (Oxford University Press, 2009).
[125] "Racial Restrictive Covenants Map Seattle/King County", Seattle Civil Rights and Labor History Project, 2004-2020. Retrieved November 2020; Catherine Silva, "Racial Restrictive Covenants History: Enforcing Neighborhood Segregation in Seattle: "Restrictive Covenant Modification," King County Department of Records and Licenses, https://depts.washington.edu/civilr/covenants_report.htm; Engrossed Senate Bill 6169, 2006 Regular Session, Washington State Senate, https://app.leg.wa.gov/documents/billdocs/2005-06/Htm/Bills/Senate%20Passed%20Legislature/6169.PL.htm; Oskar Rey, "The Lasting Impacts of Discriminatory Restrictive Covenants," article, MRSC Local Government Success, April 12, 2021, https://mrsc.org/stay-informed/mrsc-insight/april-2021/the-lasting-impacts-of-discriminatory-restrictive; https://eastsideforall.org/wp-content/uploads/2020/01/Racial-Restrictive-Covenants-Seattle-Civil-Rights-and-Labor-History-Project.pdf, accessed June 2024.
[126] *Public Housing in King County: A Progress Report, 1939-1946*, Housing Authority of the County of King, Seattle, 1946, pp 77-81.
[127] *East Side Journal,* July 10, 1947; *Argus,* August 11, 1945; Kirkland City Council, meeting minutes, October 9, 1947, December 8, 1947; Houghton Ordinances, 1948 Eastside Federated Clubs correspondence quoted n Rose Hill Community Club meeting minutes, Rose Hill Community Club, January 2, 1947; McDonald, *Eastside Notebook,* pp 228-230; *East Side Journal,* January 22, 1948; Kirkland City Council, meeting minutes, January 26, 1948.
[128] Eleanor Somsak, recorded interview, Eastside Heritage Center, August 5, 1984; Ernest and Verna Thormahlen, recorded interview, Eastside Heritage Center, October 21, 1985; Robert and Ruth Wiesen, recorded interview, Eastside Heritage Center, November 5, 1985; Albert and Norma Warner, recorded interview, Eastside Heritage Center, July 31, 1984; *Houghton Ordinances,* June 27, 1949; *East Side Journal,* April 24, 1947, October 23, 1948; Rose Hill Community Club records, May 6, 1948.
[129] *Seattle Times*, November 21, 1948; "The Bright Side of the Future," Kirkland Chamber of Commerce, undated but early 1947 according to *East Side Journal,* February 13, 1947; Jim and. Lou Hendry, *Against All Odds: The Life of Jim and Lou Hendry,* self, 1995, held at Kirkland Heritage Society.
[130] *Seattle Post-Intelligencer,* July 10, 1949.
[131] Russell Mowry, recorded interview, Eastside Heritage Center, March 25, 1984, April l5, 1984; Dona Shirlene Strombom, "The Kirkland Business District: A Case Study of the Discrepancy Between Potential and Retail Response," M.A. thesis, University of Washington, 1969, pp 44-45; Kenneth T. Jackson, *Crabgrass Frontier*, (Oxford University Press, 1985), p 259; *Post-Intelligencer,* July 10 1949; McCauley, *A Look to the Past,* features a 1952 family shoreline snapshot that clearly shows the essentially abandoned Kirkland Marine Construction Company, that had built Coast Guard ships on the Kirkland shoreline during the war.
[132] Census data, Department of Planning and Community Development, City of Kirkland, undated; U.S. Decennial Census.

[133] McCauley, "A Look to the Past: Kirkland, From Wilderness to High-Tech"; McCauley, "A Tribute to Al Locke," *Kirkland Lifestyle,* https://citylifestyle.com/articles/a-tribute-to-al-locke accessed June 2024; Camp Fire, https://kirklandheritage.org/bp-archive/vol-19-issue-2.pdf; scouting, https://www.kirklandreporter.com/news/volunteer-shares-kirklands-history-with-community/; Kirkland Little League, https://www.kirklandamerican.com/history, accessed June 2024; KPD scandal *Seattle Times* February 20, 1961, February 28, 1961, March 14-15, 1961, March 22, 1961, June 20, 1961; McCauley, *Early Kirkland,* p 105.

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[135] "Plan for Houghton, Washington," prepared by Isaacs Associates, Seattle, WA, 1960, pp 10, 17; U.S. Decennial Census.

[136] "Plan for Houghton," p 23; *Seattle Times*, July 24, 1972; Crescent Quai proposal, model photos, Skinner Development Corporation archives; *East Side Journal*, September 23, 1970; Ernest and Verna Thormahlen, recorded interview, *October 21, 1985.*

[137] For Locke, see excellent but undated article, *Post-Intelligencer,* Kirkland folder, Seattle Room, Seattle Public Library.

[138] McCauley, "A Tribute to Al Locke," *Kirkland Lifestyle,* https://citylifestyle.com/articles/a-tribute-to-al-locke accessed June 2024; "Facing the Lake"; Bob Neir, *City Comes of Age,* pp 6-9. https://www.kirklandwa.gov/files/sharedassets/public/v/1/public-works/cip/a-parks-story-2-web.pdf

[139] *Journal American*, June 4, 1985.

[140] McCauley, "A Tribute to Al Locke," *Kirkland Lifestyle,* https://citylifestyle.com/articles/a-tribute-to-al-locke accessed June 2024.

[141] Kirkland parks history developed from park-by-park histories at City of Kirkland website, for instance, Juanita Beach, https://www.kirklandwa.gov/files/sharedassets/public/v/1/parks-amp-comm-services/online-parks-guide/juanitabeachpark_history.pdf

[142] Neir, *City Comes of Age*, pp 24-25.

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[174] Cross Kirkland Corridor Master Plan, https://www.kirklandwa.gov/Government/Departments/Public-Works-Department/Cross-Kirkland-Corridor

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[176] Throughout his very fine political history of Kirkland, *A City Comes of Age 1965-1995*, Bob Neir refers to the lively civic discourse characteristic of Kirkland residents as their city has grown; his chapter "The Neighborhoods 'Arise'" is well worth reading.