

PACIFICA



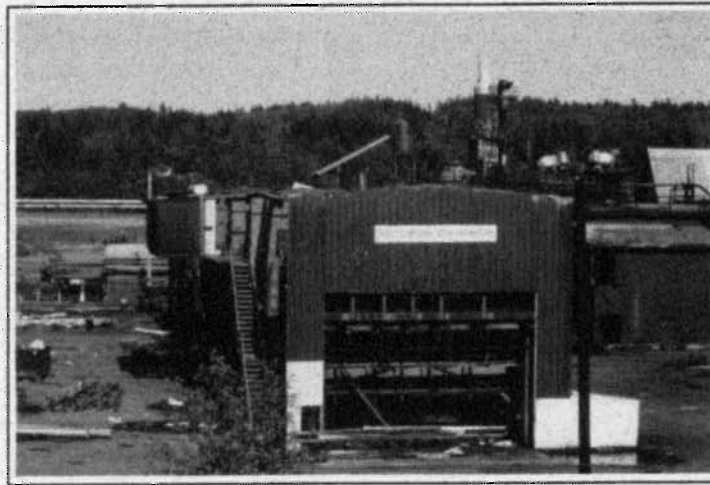
The Association of Pacific Coast Geographers

Fall 1996

FUTURE IMAGES IN PAST ASSOCIATIONS: REDEVELOPING PORT GAMBLE, WASHINGTON

Matt Dadswell and Rex Clarke, University of Washington, Department of Geography

In November 1995, Pope & Talbot, Inc. of Portland, Oregon, permanently closed the longest continuously operating sawmill in North America. The mill is located in Port Gamble, on Washington's Kitsap Peninsula, approximately 30 miles west across the Puget Sound from Seattle. The town of Port Gamble was built by Pope & Talbot (then the Puget Mill Company) in 1853 to house



The Port Gamble Mill still intact but silent in February, 1996.

the labor force for its newly constructed sawmill. Pope & Talbot owned all of the land and buildings within the town until 1985. In 1985 a separate and independent partnership, Pope Resources, was formed to own and manage Pope & Talbot's property holdings in Washington. Pope & Talbot subsequently leased both the mill and town of Port Gamble back from Pope Resources. Pope & Talbot's 10-year, nonrenewable lease on the townsite expired in December 1995. Port Gamble continued to function as a company town until the mill's closure with the town's thirty or so houses leased to mill workers at subsidized rates.

A Relic From Another Era

Built in 1853, Port Gamble was one of the first sawmills established in what would soon become the Territory of Washington. This was the era of the steam-powered cargo mill; the era of the skid road, ox yards and sailing ships. Trees were felled manually with axes, dragged by oxen along

graded paths (skid roads) to rivers and floated to the sawmills. The resulting logs were exported by ship, primarily to San Francisco and Hawaii. The Kitsap Peninsula rapidly developed as the focus of Washington's timber industry with a number of sawmills located in the area by the mid-1860s. By this time, the Port Gamble mill was the dominant economic enterprise in the Puget Sound region. It would also be one of the most enduring. By 1949, the Port Gamble mill was the only one of the 52 enterprises identified in the 1860 Federal Census of Washington's Industries that

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NOTICE: CHANGE IN ANNUAL MEETING SCHEDULE

The 1997 meeting will be held
September 10-13 in Spokane, Washington.
See note inside for more information.

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Pacifica is a publication of the Association of Pacific Coast Geographers, a regional division of the Association of American Geographers. The newsletter appears two times a year in Fall and Spring. The deadline for the submission of announcements and reports for the Fall issue is September 1 and for the Spring issue is February 1.

PRESIDENT'S MESSAGE

*Joan Clemons,
Graduate School of Education and
Information Studies, University of California,
Los Angeles*

I had been teaching geography for 10 years in a community college when I was invited to UCLA to talk about common goals of geographers in four year and two year institutions and how we might help each other. For me, it was the beginning of the expansion of my geographic family. I began to see myself as part of the K-16 continuum of educators dedicated to helping students understand the importance of geography for life. That was 1979. Today geography has changed—it is nationwide, regional, local and vocal. It is no longer just the domain of the university department. K-12 teachers across the land are taking ownership of the discipline. They are exploring the new geography standards and using the five themes of geography. Community college geographers are contributing geography majors to their feeder institutions and making their presence known at local and national meetings. They are concerned about undergraduate teaching and the connection of their curriculum to transfer institutions and to the job market.

I have been a participant in the growth and diffusion of geography as a community college faculty member, as a former coordinator of the California Geography Alliance, as a director of California Subject Matter Project on History and Geography, as a coordinator of the Family Geography Challenge, and finally as a teacher of teachers in the Graduate School of Education at UCLA. These opportunities have presented a challenge, forcing a view of geography, K-16, from the perspective of different institutions. This has been invaluable to me.

As I reflect on these experiences, I see the APCG playing a central role as the regional organization that can strengthen the connection between K-12 teachers, and community college and university faculty members. Community college geographers play an important role in the educational

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APCG 96 RECAP

For the fourth year in a row the APCG held its Annual Meeting (the 59th) in California, more particularly, at CSU, Sacramento, June 9-12. Never before in the organization's history have the meetings reflected such a collapsed geography. Only once before were they held three consecutive years in one state (California, 1957-59). To correct this recent solstitial-Californial tilt, next year the APCG will meet in Spokane in September, and a year later in Flagstaff.

About 140 people turned out (and paid!) for APCG 96 in Sacramento, including, I am proud to report, three from the University of Washington, ending a long drought in that corner of APCG land. Regular APCG members made up 50% of the registrants, students another 32%, the rest split about evenly between retired and spouse. Californians comprised just under 70% of the attendance, followed distantly by Arizona (11), Oregon (8), Washington (7), Nevada (5), Ohio (4), Illinois (2), and one each from Alaska, Hawaii, Kentucky, Louisiana, Texas, and Switzerland. While we stubbornly stuck to the view that the meetings ran from June 9-12, in fact the first big event was on Saturday, June 8—an all day Transect of the Sierra Nevada, led by Jeff Schaffer (Berkeley ABD and Wilderness Press author). All who attended found the trip fascinating and had a great time, despite their return to Sacramento at about 2am Sunday—five hours past the advertised time.

The Sunday evening kick-off event was a well-received talk on "California at the Crossroads" by Sacramento Bee columnist Dan Walters, whose understanding of the social, political, and economic geography of the state is such that we should make him an honorary member of the APCG. Following Walters was our own Marsha Dillon's very informative talk, lavishly illustrated with slides, on "Dams, Dollars & Dreams," in which she explained the complex problems of managing California's water resources.

Monday began with a short round of two concurrent paper sessions (we stuck with two concurrent sessions throughout the meetings to minimize temporal conflicts for those who like to hear the papers). The

rest of Monday was devoted to field trips—an incredible TEN field trips! While a logistical nightmare, all trips went as planned—none was cancelled. Trips included a Walking Tour of Sacramento (Robin Datel and Paula Boghosian), Northern Sierra Nevada Gold Country (Miles Roberts), Sacramento Delta (Megan Andrews, Marsha Dillon and Tom Krabacher), Riparian Forests of the Cosumnes River (Sharon Johnson), Sierra Wildfire Ecology (Susan Welch), Agriculture of the Lower Sacramento Valley (Bob Phillips), Sacramento's Northern Suburbs (Dennis Dingemans), American River Parkway Canoe Tour (Mike Fitzwater and Jack Mrowka), Sacramento Archives (Tim Hallinan), and Emergency Operations Centers (John Passerello). Altogether, 108 people went on the trips. A similar number attended the barbecue along the American River in Alumni Grove Monday evening, with the Canoe Tour participants arriving by boat. The atmosphere, socially and meteorologically, was sublime.

All day Tuesday was devoted to paper sessions, as was Wednesday morning. In all, 65 papers were in the program (37% by students), in 14 separate sessions, including one on Medical Geography organized by Tim Dagodag, one on Applied Geography arranged by John Passerello, one on GIS in Fire Management arranged by Passerello's colleague and CSUS graduate Dave Kehrlein, and one on Teaching Geography in a California Community College, a special panel run by Steve Cunha, Bob Christopherson, and Carol Jean Cox.

Geographical dignitaries were about: NCGE President Jim Marran made a special presentation on Geography for Life—the National Geography Standards, and AAG President Larry Brown scouted out the look and feel of AAG Regional meetings, fodder for his August AAG Newsletter column. Larry also was called upon to make extemporaneous remarks at Tuesday evening's banquet, in which he reminisced about Duilio Peruzzi's flash sweaters in the 60's, among other things.

Drawing on his year at Uppsala, APCG President Elliot McIntire capped the banquet with his address

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APCG 96 RECAP

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on "Linnaeus's Geographical Legacy," tracing the travels of Linnaeus's many students to all corners the globe.

Financially the meetings were a success: the APCG's coffers are about \$1850 richer because of shrewd fiscal management—this despite receiving no funds from our administration to help host the meetings.

Finally, heartfelt thanks to all the people who participated: those who attended, those who presented papers, those who led trips, those who presented awards, those who helped out. It was a lot of work but wonderfully fulfilling to have scores of geographers in our town, on our campus.

Bob Richardson
CSU, Sacramento

1996 AWARDS

Joe Leeper (Humboldt State University), Chair of the 1996 Awards Committee, reports that there were 2 Distinguished Service Awards and 3 student paper awards presented at the Sacramento meeting. Tom McKnight and Margaret Trussell received awards for Distinguished Service. Margaret was not able to attend the banquet and sends her thanks to the membership in a note that follows this announcement. The student awards included:

Matt Dadswell and Rex Clarke, University of Washington, Tom McKnight and Joan Clemons Award for Outstanding Graduate Student Paper for their presentation "Capital and the Company Town: the Timber Industry and Port Gamble, Washington". [A version of this paper is our feature essay in this issue of *The Pacifica*.]

Sharon Johnson, University of California, Berkeley received the Harry and Shirley Bailey Award for Outstanding Paper by a Ph.D. Student for "Factors Contributing to Land Use Change in the Hardwood Rangelands of Two Central Sierran Counties".

David Wasserman, Arizona State University, the President's Award for Outstanding Paper by an Master's Student, for his presentation on "The Mexican Shopping Mall: Form and Function of an Imported Commercial Landscape".

A NOTE FROM MARGARET TRUSSELL

[Editor's note: Margaret Trussell was not able to attend the banquet ceremonies in Sacramento where she received an Award for Distinguished Service.]

I want to thank the members of APCG for the award for outstanding and distinguished service made to me at the 1996 meeting. I never dreamed that I was even being considered. The plaque is beautiful, but, of course I treasure the recognition from so many colleagues whose views I value.

I realize that one of the contributions that you must have considered was the establishment of the Women's Network the year I was president, 1986.

The main purpose of the Network (open to geographers of all ages and both sexes) is to bring new members together thereby facilitating formation of friendships and fuller participation. The contributions of such diverse members introduces new ideas, for they are often conversant with the latest developments and techniques in the field. This knowledge is essential to the continued health—in fact, it is the lifeblood—of the discipline.

A network is not the creation of an individual. Many gifted women and men were already working in this field. Their contributions as well as those of others over the decade since the network was established have enabled it to change and grow to meet new needs. Indeed, I noticed in the Spring 1996 *Pacifica* that there now is "an unmoderated electronic mailing list and discussion forum" for the Women's Network of the APCG.

A network by its very nature is the creation of many people. What will the next decade bring?

PRESIDENT'S MESSAGE

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achievement of students who are more often than not low income or minority students, or returning students or students who need a second chance at higher education. Those community college geography students who transfer to a four year institution bring solid geography training and those who go into the job market have been touched by geography for life. The AAG Committee on College Geography is in the process of revising its 1970 study of community college geographers. There are 1,154 two year institutions in the United States, potentially teaching geography. It is time that we recognize that the success of the community college geographer is linked to the strength and collaboration of the local four year geography program. Together, we can make a difference, but we need to talk about our programs and compare curricula so that transfer is both possible and convenient for the student.

College and university geographers are increasingly involved with the Alliances and other statewide and national projects as content specialists. They are learning about themes, standards and Advanced Placement exams. Teacher training and in-service programs commonly utilize a college or university geographer to enrich the K-12 curriculum. As this occurs, more geographers understand the impact of the diffusion of geographic studies across the K-12 curriculum. More university geographers see their discipline in the hands of the energetic teacher who engages her students in applying and questioning geographic principles.

Those K-12 teachers, in the trenches, have taken the themes and standards of geography into their classrooms with enthusiasm. These teachers have used the Family Geography Challenge, sponsored by the National Geographic Society, and found it overwhelmingly supportive of bringing together families to study geography. Teachers have joined the Alliances, participated in the forging of standards, themes, lesson plans, field trips and instructional methods. And their students are increasingly matriculating into higher education—at the two and four year level.

We have a trilogy of energetic supporters moving geography through the educational pipeline. The APCG is ideally suited to be the local and regional support for the success of this endeavor. Already, APCG members are working with their local teachers on standards and themes; APCG members are working collaboratively to insure geography's position in the undergraduate curriculum at two year and four year institutions. It is time that we recognize the equal contribution of all the partners responsible for the success of geography. As past APCG presidents have said, it is a good time to be a geographer. We are in this together and together we can make a difference across the curriculum in providing geographic principles for life long use.

PACIFICA ESSAY MAKES THE SACRAMENTO BEE

"Sacramento's Redneck Suburb" by Dennis Dingemans, which appeared as the cover essay for the Spring '96 newsletter was reprinted in the Sunday, May 19, 1996 issue of *The Sacramento Bee*. Dingemans was identified as a geographer and *Pacifica* and the APCG were mentioned. Dennis notes proudly that the *Bee* has a circulation of 300,000 plus, so this may be the greatest exposure the APCG has ever received! (Dan Arreola)

MINUTES OF THE APCG BUSINESS MEETING

Tuesday, June 11, 1996 • California State University, Sacramento

Alan Lew

1. The meeting was called to order by President McIntire at about 5:05. Approximately 30 people were in attendance. Last year's business meeting minutes were approved unanimously.
2. Election results: Dan Arreola was elected the new Vice President of the APCG.
3. Treasurer's report (Alan Lew). The Treasurer's Report was unanimously approved (see below). The APCG account is very healthy, and grew considerably in large part due to the \$4,000 profit generated by the 1995 conference in Sonoma. Bill Crowley was thanked accordingly. There was some discussion of whether APCG should invest a portion of its money in accounts that earn a higher interest rate. Alan Lew will look into this. There was also some question on the accounting of OSU (*Yearbook*) expenses. Alan will also look into this.
4. AAG matters and Regional Councilor report (Bill Crowley). Bill reported on the new *Annals* editor (John Paul Jones), and the search for a new *PG* editor. He also reported that the AAG Council is concerned about cuts to federal research funding, which is likely to be 2/3 of current levels by the year 2000 no matter which political party is in power. There are a lot of non-geography departments (anthropology, geology and math) that are in trouble these days, but not many geography departments. Several new Ph.D. programs have either been approved or are in the approval process. There was a question about whether we can require all AAG members of Division 6 to be members of APCG. This is something that we can not do.
5. *Yearbook* Editor's report (Dan Turbeville). Dan reported that we should expect the 1995 *Yearbook* by next month (August 1996). He stated that because the OSU Press no longer received a state subsidy, they tend to favor more profitable publishing contracts over the APCG's. This is a major cause for the delay in publishing the *Yearbook* in recent years. Dan stated that he received 18 submissions, eight of which will appear in the 1995 *Yearbook*, and six of which are ready for the 1996 *Yearbook*. Dan also announced that he will be stepping down as *Yearbook* editor due to other commitments. He noted that the ideal editor should be someone who is "ruthless, computer literate and with many contacts."
7. Newsletter Editor's report (Dan Arreola). Dan reported that The Administrators now do all of the Newsletter production work and also now serves as the APCG's permanent address. They also obtained a non-profit bulk mailing permit for us, which is much cheaper, but can cause considerable delays in the distribution of *Pacifica* and renewal invoices. He mentioned that using one's home address instead of department address can speed things up. We need to ensure that an adequate surplus of newsletters is produced each time to cover new members (this was not done for the Spring 1996 issue.) The printing deadlines of *Pacifica* will need to be changed now that we are moving to a Fall schedule. Martha Works (Portland State) will assume the position of *Pacifica* editor with the next issue.
8. Membership Committee report (Bill Loy). Bill reported that the second membership renewal invoices will now be sent first class in order to obtain change of address information. He commented on the success of the membership directory and encouraged everyone to try to get their colleagues to join the APCG. He mentioned that at 442 members, we are probably at the highest level ever for APCG.
9. Women's Network report (Megan Andrews). Megan reported that the field trip organized by the APCG Women's Network was very successful. The 7am breakfast meeting was less successful, probably because it was too early in the morning. Next year they will try a luncheon. The Women's Network has some funds to support three to four women students to attend next year's APCG meeting.
10. Archivist report (James Scott). Jim reported that Bob Richardson was the main user of the archives this year. Bill Loy sent many photographs for the

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MINUTES OF THE APCG BUSINESS MEETING

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archives, which are now 5 cubic feet, one of which is a full set of Yearbooks.

11. Conference Organizer's report (Bob Richardson - absent). Bob's conference report will be presented in the Fall *Pacifica* newsletter. Preliminary estimates were 120 registrants for Sacramento. This compares with about 170 for Sonoma.
12. President's report (Elliot McIntire). Elliot thanked the Executive Council and the Internet for their support. Elliot mentioned that all APCG members are eligible to vote.
13. New and Other Business from the Floor. The Applied Geographers group seem to be reviving under John Passerello. John felt that the best way to get Applied Geography members is to track our graduates. John will write something on Applied Geography for the next Newsletter. It was announced that Betsy Burns has been made the chair of the nominating committee for this coming year.

Future venues for meetings include: Spokane 1997 and Flagstaff 1998. Suggestions for 1998 included Ashland, OR and Reno; Central Washington was suggested for the year 2000.

Elliot mentioned that the APCG would like to establish a home page on the WWW.

Dennis Dingemans suggested that the APCG support the American Geographical Society and its journal, *The Geographical Review*, which is currently having financial problems due to a decline in corporate donation. Lay Gibson commented that the AGS does the same kind of geography as we do in the APCG. Jim Scott mentioned that APCG gave \$1000 to the IGC when it was in Washington, DC. Phil Pryde suggested that we specify our donation for *The Geographical Review*. Dennis moved and approved unanimously that APCG will donate \$1,000 to the AGS to support publication of *The Geographical Review*.

Meeting adjourned at about 6:10 pm.

APCG APPLIED GEOGRAPHERS

The Applied Geographers Group has been active recently in assisting geography students with career advice and obtaining employment, conducting research in hazards analysis, advancing the discipline in Geographic Information Systems, and presenting papers at the APCG Meetings at California State University Sacramento. Employment opportunities for geographers have increased with the State of California, especially for those graduates with a GIS specialty; there is a current opening with the California Department of Forestry and Fire Protection. Applied Geographers assisted in the development of a Standardized Emergency Management System (SEMS) for California which strengthens the emergency response organization at the local and state levels.

Operational Area formation within county boundaries has provided the framework for the cooperative efforts of special districts. All cities and the county to work together to plan and prepare for, respond to, recover from and mitigate the effects of disaster to minimize the loss of life and property. The core of the Applied Geography network is still within geography departments at colleges and universities and maintenance of contacts with students who have graduated serves as a resource for career advice, employment opportunities and research projects. Geographers interested in becoming a part of this network should work with their departments to bring alumni and students together and create data bases of applied geography fields. For more information about the APCG Applied Geography Specialty Group you may contact John Passerello at: passerellojandb@worldnet.att.net or call John at (916) 262-1846. John works for the Governor's Office of Emergency Services in California.

APCG TREASURER'S REPORT - JUNE 10, 1996

Alan A. Lew
Northern Arizona University

Transactions for - June 1, 1995 - April 17, 1996

<i>Forward at close of books, May 31, 1995</i>	\$28,347.85	<i>Total</i>
	\$2,065.04	S. Bailey Schol. Fund
	\$5,000.00	McKnight/Clemons Schol. Fund
	\$21,282.81	<i>Regular Account</i>

RECEIPTS

Dues	\$6,058.00
Gift, from Shirley Bailey for Scholarship Account	\$500.00
Interest on Shirley Bailey Scholarship Fund Account	\$34.98
Profit, 1995 Annual Meetings	\$4,015.29
AAG Regional Allocation	\$861.60
Interest on Regular Account	\$137.31
APCG Yearbook Income	\$2,003.11
Repayment of 1995 Conference Advance	\$1,000.00

TOTAL INCOME **\$14,610.29**

DISBURSEMENTS

APCG '95 Conference Grants & Awards	\$1,950.00
Travel grants for untenured faculty	\$200.00
Shirley Baily Scholarship	\$100.00
Plenary Presentation funds	\$250.00
Student Travel Awards	\$1,200.00
President's Award	\$200.00

Newsletters	Printing	Production	Postage	
Fall 1994	\$793.99	\$107.75	\$493.46	\$1,395.20
Spring 1995	\$1,468.19	\$354.00	\$113.57	\$1,935.76
Administration (93.3 hours + misc expenses)				\$2,805.66
Membership Billing				\$96.19
Sauer Tribute Mailings				\$63.00
OSU Press (1993 Yearbook)				\$2,831.18

TOTAL EXPENDITURES **\$11,076.99**

<i>Balance on Books, June 10, 1996</i>	\$31,881.15	<i>Total</i>
	\$2,500.02	Bailey Schol. Fund
	\$5,000.00	McKnight/Clemons Schol. Fund
	\$24,381.13	<i>Regular Account</i>

Total Membership - June 10, 1994 = 280
 Total Membership - May 31, 1995 = 408
 Total Membership - May 15, 1996 = 442

REDEVELOPING PORT GAMBLE, WASHINGTON

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was still operating. The mill at nearby Port Ludlow, the second longest surviving sawmill from this era, closed in the mid-1930s.

During the late 1800s, Port Gamble was a thriving mill town providing employment for 175 men. The town, constructed by Pope & Talbot, physically reflected the Company's East Machias, Maine, origins. The orderly streets were lined with elm and maple trees imported from the East Coast and married workers were housed in simple wood-frame houses with gable roofs. The Company's efforts to replicate its origins were most dramatically manifest in the town's church. The church, built in 1870, is an exact replica of the Congregational Church of East Machias. The presence and styling of the town's Masonic Lodge further emphasized Port Gamble's New England character.

Cultural geographers, such as James and Nancy Duncan, have suggested that certain landscapes tend to naturalize social relations. This seems likely in the case of the typical nineteenth-century Company Town. In Washington, the construction and operation

of Company Towns was often necessary to attract, house, and ensure the reproduction of a suitable labor force. Ownership of all town services and amenities, such as schools, stores, churches and amusement halls, allowed the "Company" almost unlimited control over the lives of their workers. Segregation by class and race was common in this type of Company Town. Segregation by class was apparent in the layout of Port Gamble. Management occupied the large houses that line the town's main street. The workers occupied smaller houses further from the mill. Racial segregation was manifest in the separate town that Pope & Talbot built to house the mill's Native American laborers. This town, named Little Boston, was located across the bay from Port Gamble and today is the location of the Port Gamble Indian Reservation. The design of Port Gamble in the image of a New England town also served to

maintain control of the labor force and represented an early example of capitalist environmentalist logic: the notion that providing a well-maintained, aesthetically-pleasing living environment would result in an orderly and loyal labor force. Many of the town's residents hailed from Maine and were proud of their New England roots. For these workers the town was a "home away from home," a familiar landscape within an often daunting wilderness. The town design also served to foster a sense of mutual origins between the company and its workers. Despite the violent booms and busts and associated shifts in the locus of production that have characterized the Pacific Northwest timber industry, business in the mill and town of Port

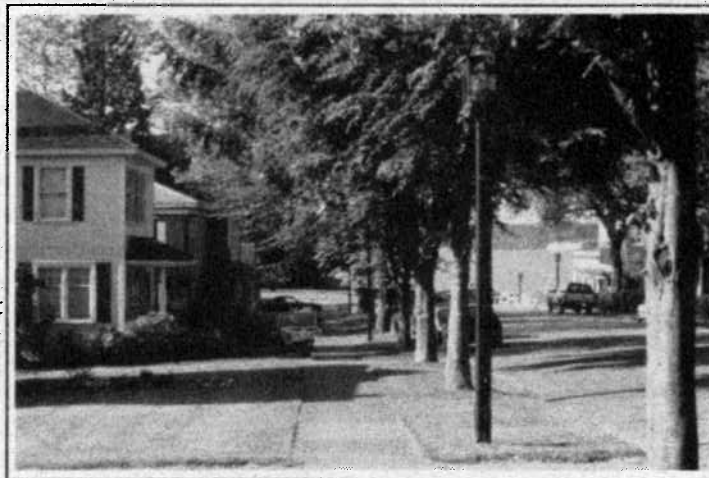
Gamble continued, largely unchecked, until the early 1990s.

Larger Forces at Work?

Pope & Talbot's decision to permanently close the mill at Port Gamble demonstrates the relationship between large scale restructuring processes and local, place-specific effects. Commonly cited restructuring forces in the context of the Pacific Northwest timber industry include:

pressures exerted by environmental concerns, the export of unprocessed logs to Japan; increased competition from Canada; and technological change. These forces most likely all played a role in the demise of the Port Gamble mill in one form or another. The actions of Pope & Talbot and Pope Resources as mediating agents are, however, crucial in understanding how these broad forces are played out at the local level.

Explaining the closure of the Port Gamble mill in 1995, Pope & Talbot identified the primary reason to be a lack of acceptably priced timber in the mill's operating region. This was explained as largely the result of two processes: 1) environmental pressures reducing the overall amount of timber available for harvest, and 2) a strong export log market that further reduced the



Elm and maple trees, imported as slips from the East Coast, line either side of Port Gamble's main street.

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REDEVELOPING PORT GAMBLE, WASHINGTON

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volume of timber destined for local mills. These reduced log volumes combined with weakened lumber markets resulted in the mill operating at less than full capacity and subsequently at a loss for two years prior to the closure. Pope & Talbot state in their 1995 Company Report that in the face of no foreseeable solution to the timber supply situation, they were forced to permanently close the mill at Port Gamble.

Pope & Talbot are perhaps not quite the passive victims their explanation suggests. In 1953, the book that accompanied Port Gamble's centennial celebration stated that the future of the town's employer was assured by the timber supplies from Pope & Talbot's newly established Hood Canal Tree Farm. Indeed, the historic marker located on the main street of the town states: "Today this is the oldest sawmill operation on the North American continent with most of its log supply coming from nearby Pope & Talbot tree farms . . .". The importance of the Hood Canal Tree Farm to the profitable operation of the Port Gamble mill is consistently emphasized in the firm's company reports in the 1970s and early 1980s. However, in 1985 this tree farm, along with the mill and town of Port Gamble, was transferred to the newly-created, independent firm of Pope Resources. Although Pope & Talbot leased back the mill and townsite, they lost control of the Hood Canal Tree Farm. This move in effect severed the mill from the assured supply of timber that had historically allowed the mill to continue running when the price and availability of open market timber supplies fluctuated.

In their 1995 Company Report, Pope Resources reported on the profitable operation of the Hood Canal Tree Farm, which comprised 73 percent of their gross operating revenue. Sales of logs were made to export and domestic markets and standing timber was sold to buyers who logged it under purchase contracts. Reflecting industry trends, thirty percent of the total revenue Pope Resources derived from timber sales in 1995 accrued from direct sales to Japanese buyers. Annual sales revenue from this source increased from just \$101,000 in 1993 to almost \$9,000,000 in 1995. In addition, Pope Resources indirectly sold logs to Japanese and Korean buyers through export brokers. No sales were made to Pope & Talbot that year. Ironically, Pope Resources stated in their 1995 Company Report that they were

concerned that mill closures in the area would affect their sales to local markets.

Future Development Plans

The remaining 27 percent of Pope Resources' 1995 operating revenue resulted from property development. The firm's largest property development to date is the model recreational community located on the site of the former company town of Port Ludlow. Development in this site was initiated by Pope & Talbot in the 1960s. Indeed, Pope & Talbot are no strangers to land development. Realizing as early as 1907 that their main assets were their timberlands and land that had already been logged, they initiated the Alderwood Manor development using the 10-acre lot concept to market the development across the country. Today, Alderwood Manor is part of the unincorporated suburban landscape north of Seattle. Another early project was the development of the residential community of Broadmoor, northwest of downtown Seattle. According to a 1969 Seattle Times article, this development, completed in 1929, was "the first residential development in the United States to have all utilities underground, be built around a golf course, and have private guards to protect against intrusion." Pope & Talbot have since undertaken projects in numerous other locations in the region including sites in Tacoma, Everett, Bremerton, and Marysville.

In addition to Port Ludlow, Pope Resources currently has three large scale development projects underway in Kitsap County. As was the case with Pope & Talbot, these development operations are closely related to its timber management activities. Echoing former Pope & Talbot Annual Reports, Pope Resources state in their 1995 Company Report that future development projects may occur as a result of "economic and population pressures" making harvested lands more "suitable" for property development than reforestation. In these cases, Pope Resources may sell the land as undeveloped lots or tracts or develop it themselves for sale as improved property. All of Pope Resources' holdings are currently within a 50 mile radius of Seattle and economic and population pressures are very powerful in much of this area. As Peter Pope, presently head of Pope & Talbot and a director of the Pope Resources Partnership,

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REDEVELOPING PORT GAMBLE, WASHINGTON

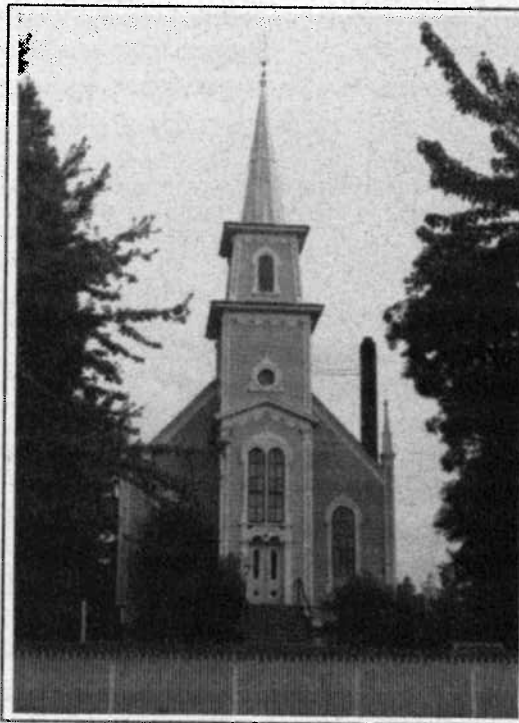
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observed in 1969, the "firm is in a fortunate position to develop residential properties, since early lumbermen needed stands close to water to facilitate logging. Now people want land close to water" (Seattle Times article March 24, 1969). Although technically the firm in question has changed since then, the sentiment remains as, if not more, true.

Our attention was initially brought to the closure of the Port Gamble mill by a feature article in the Pacific Northwest Magazine insert in the Seattle Sunday Times. The mill closure received attention in the magazine because of the town. In the early 1960s, Pope & Talbot renovated many of the town's remaining structures and in 1966, part of the townsite was declared a National Historic Landmark. The town is a featured attraction in many guidebooks to the Pacific Northwest, which tend to focus on the town's historical significance, architecture and New England character. Closure of the mill called the future of the town into question. According to a representative of the Kitsap County Historical Society, Pope Resources and Pope & Talbot have not accepted any federal or state financial assistance to preserve the town and are free to alter the site as they see fit.

Pope Resources has committed to maintain care of Port Gamble until December 1996. Upon taking control of the townsite, Pope Resources raised the rental prices of the company-subsidized housing slightly and plans to increase them further to a fair market value by the end of 1996. Following the loss of employment, many former employees left the town. It is possible that the proposed rent increases will result in the few remaining residents being forced to leave. Concomitant with the exodus of workers are concerns over Pope Resources' future plans for the town. Given that Pope Resources owns 3,500 acres of forested land next to the town, development can encompass a large amount of area. Here, past associations may provide a glimpse of the

future. The development of Port Ludlow into an exclusive resort and retirement community provides, what, for many, is an unsettling image of Port Gamble's future. Following the closure of the Port Ludlow mill in the mid-1930s, many of the town's houses were moved to Port Gamble. By the 1960s none of the town's original buildings were standing. However, fragments



Port Gamble's Episcopal Church, built in 1870, is an exact replica of the Congregational Church of East Machias, Maine.

of the town's earlier being, the outlines of streets and foundations, suggested its former importance. Geographer Kenneth Erickson in his guidebook entitled *Lumber Ghosts*, described the above scene and also his return to the site in 1992, which he characterized as a "shocking return to the present." The restful location where one could imagine the "sailing ships in the harbor . . . the mill whistle, and the odor of smoke and freshly sawed wood" had been leveled by bulldozers and replaced with a conference center, beach club, and tiered condominiums overlooking a 285 boat marina. Further back the development includes 800 homes organized around a 27-hole golf course. Streets and buildings in the development are named after elements of Pope & Talbot's and Port Ludlow's history.

If Pope Resources knows what the future holds for the town of Port Gamble they are not saying. The mill equipment was auctioned in Spring of 1996 and as of July, portions of the mill buildings appeared to be in the midst of being dismantled to allow removal of equipment. A committee of local business interests has been formed to consider development proposals for the town. Speculation is rife that a development similar to Port Ludlow may occur at Port Gamble. Pope Resources has received a zoning change for the mill site that would permit light industrial uses or development such as a marina. Several rumored development alternatives identified in the press and by remaining employees include: converting one or more of the historic buildings into bed and breakfast inns; develop-

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REDEVELOPING PORT GAMBLE, WASHINGTON

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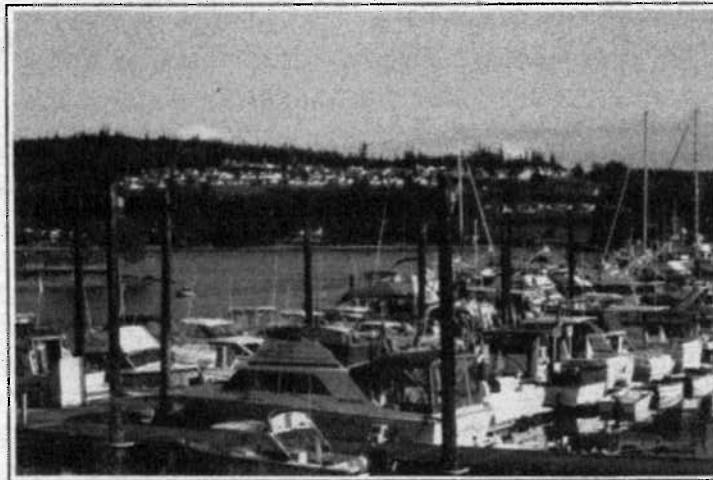
ing the former mill location into a casino in conjunction with the neighboring Clallam tribe; and converting the mill site into an aquarium or a light industrial park.

Whatever the development alternative selected for Port Gamble, continuity with the past will be assured through the preservation of the townsite. Pope Resources, and Pope & Talbot before them, are adept at developing residential landscapes around a central theme. Although Erickson found the development of

Port Ludlow a "shocking return to the present," other commentators have suggested that portions of the community provide a tasteful return to the past. Indeed, the homes in Port Ludlow are advertised as being "reminiscent of a seaside village in Maine." Even newly constructed buildings in Port Ludlow are seen to represent the past. According to local historian Harriet Fish: "(h)ere a leisurely style of living and conference center . . . give life to the nostalgia now gone and the 'once-upon-a-time' feeling left by the old sawmill town, now just a memory."

In the case of Port Gamble, the actual structures that historically formed the center of company town life have been preserved. The buildings are a powerful symbol of the area's past and not surprisingly, Pope Resources state that any future development of the site will revolve around preservation of the town's "signature" buildings which include the church, Masonic Lodge, and the homes of the former company management. These buildings are marked by plaques that provide information on the history of the structure. The social relations naturalized by, and embedded in, the town's layout and New England character, are nearly as evident today as they were in the 1800s. While the future of the signature buildings is assured, the future of the buildings that housed the workers is less certain. Similarly, none of the original structures in Little Boston are thought to have survived and the Port Gamble

Indian Reservation's most visible symbol is its bingo hall. Any development alternative based upon the historic character of Port Gamble will essentially represent the manipulation of the landscape of a former elite for the consumption of a new elite. The possible transition of Port Gamble from a functioning mill town to some form of centerpiece for a residential or commercial development is also indicative of broader societal trends, which Sharon Zukin, among others, suggests are characterized by the transformation of



The Marina and associated housing developments at neighboring Port Ludlow provide an unsettling image of Port Gamble's future.

landscapes of production into landscapes of consumption. In the context of the Pacific Northwest, this potential development is characteristic of the collision of interests between the old and new, as a landscape formerly dominated by an extractive industry, and in this case, mill workers, potentially becomes inhabited by white-collar newcomers.

Pope Resources leaves no doubt that whatever happens to Port Gamble will be market-driven. Regardless of the development alternative selected, Port Gamble will experience some growing pains and the costs of these pains will be borne unevenly. It is important to note that closure of the mill has resulted in roots developed over several generations of mill workers being severed. Today, the sentiments of the mill's former employees, caught in the cross fire of the global and the local and the pressures of corporate competition, are displayed on a hand-lettered, wooden sign that hangs at the mill's entrance: "Good-bye to a grand old lady! You have been harsh & unforgiving at times. You will be rememered [sic] for this by some. To others you have given food & security. We will all miss you. May you rest in peace."

COLLEGE BOARD APPROVES ADVANCED PLACEMENT GEOGRAPHY

On June 21, 1996, the trustees of the College Board voted unanimously to add a course and examination in geography to the Advanced Placement (AP) Program. In making the case for an AP Geography offering, the formal recommendation pointed both to the importance of geographic understanding for effective participation in modern society and to heightened demands for geographical knowledge in a variety of arenas. Students who successfully complete an AP examination are eligible for advanced placement and/or credit, in the subject examined, at many colleges and universities.

Advanced Placement courses are usually the most demanding courses offered in high schools. The courses are attractive because they give students a head start at the outset of their college careers. Adding geography puts the discipline alongside the principal college-preparatory subjects that make up the AP Program. The implementation of AP Geography will take approximately three years. The implementation process will be overseen by a committee of geographers that will work with the staff of ETS. The committee will be chaired by Alexander B. Murphy (University of Oregon), who also chaired the AP Geography Task Force. It will consist of nine geographers, six representing the discipline at the college level and three at the secondary level. The committee will develop the course and examination, and it will establish guidelines for the workshops and institutes that teachers will attend before offering AP Geography courses.

This is an exciting development for geography. It means that high school students will have the opportunity to be exposed to a rigorous course in geography and that geography will increasingly be seen as a serious subject. If the experiences of other disciplines in the AP Program are any guide, it also means that colleges and universities are likely to see a growing num-

ber of entering students who are both well prepared in geography and who are predisposed toward majoring in geography. The AP Program is thus likely to play an important role in the rapid reinvigoration of geography that is currently underway.

For more information contact:

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abmurphy@oregon.uoregon.edu
Department of Geography, University of Oregon
Eugene, Oregon 97403 USA
TEL: 541-346-4571; FAX: 541-346-2067

APCG WOMEN'S NETWORK

APCG-WOMEN is an unmoderated electronic mailing list and discussion forum for the Women's Network of the APCG. The list was conceived in order to facilitate communications between geographers. Topics of discussion are proposed by list members. The list is open to anyone with an interest in the Women's Network. To subscribe to the list, send the following command in the body of an email message to "majordomo@lists.uoregon.edu": `subscribe apcg-women`

If you do not receive an acknowledgement from the server, or you would like additional information, please contact

Lynn Rosentrater at
ldr@darkwing.uoregon.edu
or
Megan Andrews at
ashbaugh@rohan.sdsu.edu

ANNOUNCEMENTS

AN INVITATION TO ALL MEMBERS OF THE ASSOCIATION OF PACIFIC COAST GEOGRAPHERS

The Women's Network invites you to nominate a female undergraduate or graduate student to attend the Annual Meeting of the Association of Pacific Coast Geographers in Spokane, Washington, September 10-13, 1997.

The Network will pay registration and partial travel costs for the student. It is not necessary that the student give a paper; rather, we are underwriting the opportunity for a student to attend a major regional meeting of geographers without the pressure of giving a paper. This initiative is funded through contributions to the Women's Network of the APCG. Four awards will be made based on a lottery.

We are hosting a Women's Network Luncheon in Spokane, on Thursday, September 12, 1997, at which time students will be asked to speak about their needs and interests and how the APCG and the Women's Network might assist them in reaching their goals.

The deadline for nominations is: March 31, 1997. Please ask your student nominee to provide the Network with a statement about why they want to attend the meeting and what they see as the role of students in the APCG. We will notify you and your student in April. Because the funding is through a University Foundation, we can only reimburse students once we have receipts. The process is very quick but cannot take place until after the meetings. Nominated students should be made aware of this condition and of the need to keep all receipts.

Nominations should be sent to:

Megan Andrews, Women's Network, APCG
Department of Geography
San Diego State University
5300 Campanile Drive
San Diego, CA 92182
email: ashbaugh@rohan.susu.edu.

APCG 96 T-SHIRTS

A few T-shirts remain, in Medium and Extra Large. These are true collector items, giving the full Annual Meeting history of the APCG from 1935-1996. The price is still \$12. We'll cover shipping to anywhere in the USA. All proceeds go to the APCG. Send your check and address to Bob Richardson, Department of Geography, CSU Sacramento, Sacramento CA 95819-6003. For further information e-mail Bob at: apcg@csus.edu

APCG YEARBOOK

Dan Turbeville is the editor for the 1996 *Yearbook*. Deadline for 1996 *YEARBOOK* paper submissions is 1 December 1996. Paper presenters at the 1996 Sacramento meeting and other members with manuscripts of potential interest to APCG members are encouraged to submit their work.

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Cheney WA 99004-2431
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FAX (509)359-4632, email: dturbeville@ewu.edu

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ANNOUNCEMENTS APCG YEARBOOK

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Darrick Danta of CSU-Northridge will take over editorship of the newsletter with the 1997 Yearbook. If you have a manuscript you would like to have considered for the 1997 Yearbook please contact:

Dr. Darrick Danta
Department of Geography
California State University
Northridge, CA 91330-8249
e-mail: ddanta@csun.edu
(or, darrick.danta@csun.edu)

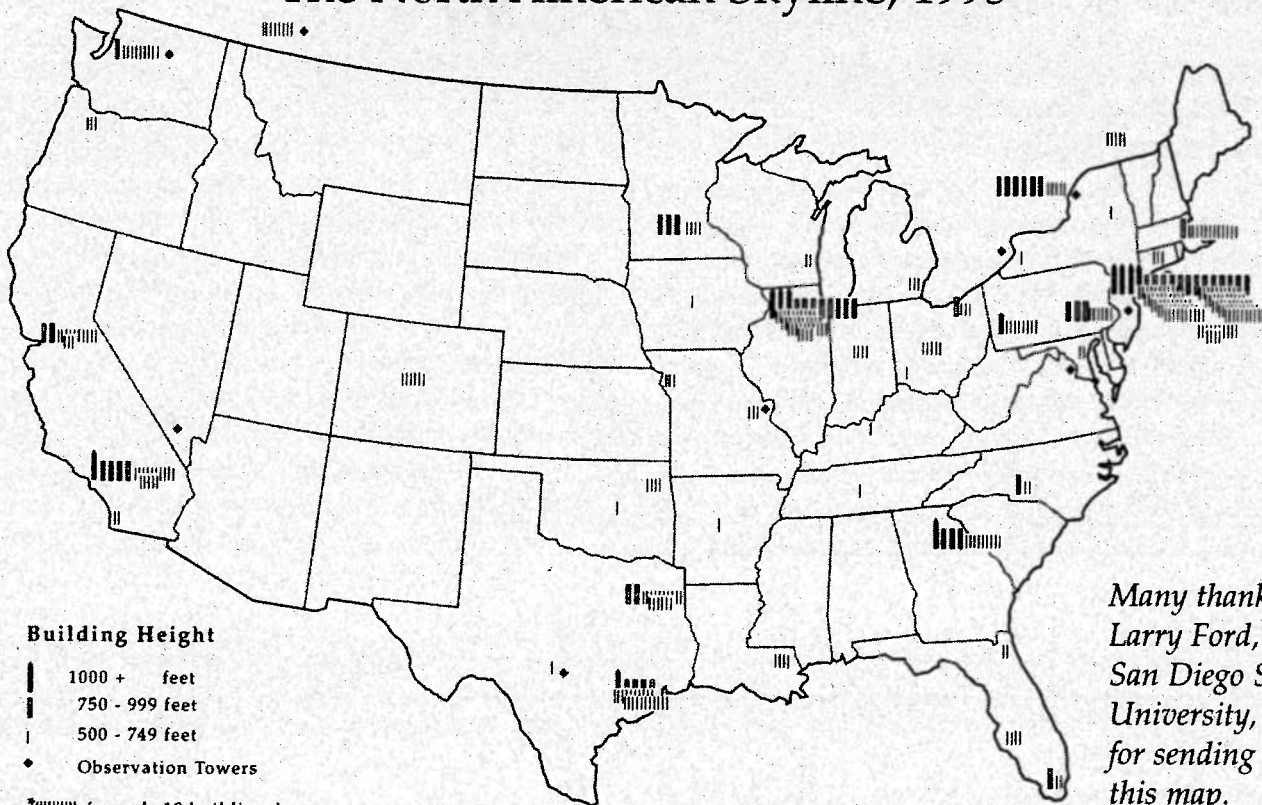
1997 MEETING ANNOUNCEMENT

The 60th Annual Meeting of the APCG will be held 10-13 September 1997 at the Ridpath Hotel in Spokane, and will be hosted by the Department of Geography & Anthropology at Eastern Washington University. Point of contact for meeting arrangements is:

Dan Turbeville
Eastern Washington University, MS-52
Cheney WA 99004-2431
(509)359-2270/2433
FAX (509)359-4632
email: dturbeville@ewu.edu

MAP CORNER

The North American Skyline, 1995



Many thanks to
Larry Ford,
San Diego State
University,
for sending
this map.

APCG MEMBERSHIP INFORMATION

Membership, mailings, and publication of the newsletter are now handled by The Administrators (see address below). Lori Martin and her assistant Kathy Charbeneau are in charge of membership; direct any questions you may have to them. Be sure and specify that you are with the APCG (they handle several different organizations). They will be sending out invoices for membership in November or December. The phone number for The Administrators is: 602-912-5300. You may also contact them by e-mail: theadmin@goodnet.com

ANNUAL DUES:

Voting: Regular \$15; Joint (husband and wife) \$10; Contributing \$20 or more. Joint members receive only one newsletter and one *Yearbook*.

Nonvoting: Student and Retired \$8

Dues are paid on the calendar year. To receive the current *Yearbook*, dues must be paid no later than September 1. Unless you indicate otherwise, checks dated before September 1 will be credited to the current year, while those dated after September 1 will be credited to the next year. Only current year members receive the *Yearbook*. Current members will be sent a membership renewal notice at the end of the calendar year.

HOW TO JOIN THE APCG:

Send your check payable to "APCG, along with your name and address to: Association of Pacific Coast Geographers, 3900 E. Camelback Road, Suite 200, Phoenix, Arizona 85018. Please also indicate your Title and Affiliation, and if you would like to be placed on the mailing lists of APCG Women's Network and the APCG Applied Geographers Specialty Group. Students must provide some form of proof of current status like the signature of a faculty professor.

Association of Pacific Coast Geographers
3900 E. Camelback Road, Suite 200
Phoenix, Arizona 85018

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