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The Pacific Northwest History Conference provides a forum for the exchange of ideas among historians, museum professionals, educators, archivists, history enthusiasts, and community activists. The 64th conference commemorates the 150th anniversary of the announcement of the Emancipation Proclamation on September 22, 1862, and the 50th anniversary of the landmark 1962 Supreme Court ruling ending segregation in all transportation facilities. For program and registration information visit: http://www.WashingtonHistory.org/HeritageServices/conferences.aspx.

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When travelling to Seattle from Richland, my favorite route is via the Vernita Bridge to the bridge at Vantage, passing through the orchard and wine country from Desert Aire to Beverly. The ever-expanding vineyards and orchards create colorful reflections in the Columbia River, particularly in the fall. Dark cliffs provide a rugged backdrop—massive basalt outcrops that jut out into the river at Sentinel Gap. The long rows of poplars planted as windbreaks for the orchards remind me of a Van Gogh painting when the light is right.

This stretch of the river is a microclimate protected by the basalt cliffs to the west and softened by the river itself. The stretch is also moderated by the warm katabatic winds that flow from the west down the cliff faces. The climate is ideal for orchards and vineyards, which are amply irrigated with water from the river.

The route is also a tour through American progress in civil engineering over the last century. From the Vernita Bridge, reactors at the Hanford Nuclear Reservation downstream are silhouetted against the background of river and sage lands. The reactors and associated facilities at Hanford are engineering marvels from World War II and the Cold War. Proceeding westward and then northward along the river, large high-voltage transmission towers walk along the river like spindly steel giants, testifying to the electrification provided by dams along the river. Soon the Priest Rapids Dam and then the Wanapum Dam appear—both concrete and earth-fill dams built in the 1960s to provide flood control and electrical power. At Beverly the most aesthetically elegant and oldest structure on this stretch of river makes an appearance—the Beverly Railroad Bridge.

Designed by the Pennsylvania Steel Company, the Beverly Bridge was constructed by the Milwaukee Road railroad company in 1909 as part of its transcontinental railroad expansion from Chicago to Tacoma. The bridge cost $1 million to construct—a substantial sum in those days—and took two years to complete. Materials for the bridge were shipped by steamboat from points upstream. The economic health of the town of Beverly depended on the railroad. During World War II thousands of railcars were noted passing through Beverly en route to the Hanford site—a sprawling construction project with a secret purpose.
The bridge was placed on concrete piers some 85 feet above the water. The spans consist of 14 Warren deck trusses and one Parker through truss. By the way, the aesthetically pleasing arch of the Parker truss is echoed in the bridges at Vernita and Vantage. The railroad was electrified in the 1920s, and its catenary supports are still visible on the Beverly Bridge, forming a long row of tapers on the bridge deck.

Warren truss bridges are scattered around the Midwest and the Pacific Northwest, including the Westfir Railroad Bridge in Lane County, Oregon (1910); several railroad bridges in Shasta County, California (1939); and the Umatilla highway bridge across the Columbia River (1955).

The Warren truss was patented in Great Britain in 1848 by James Warren and Willoughby Manzoni. The Warren, or triangular, truss is composed of continuous triangles used to connect the top and bottom chords. Many truss configurations evolved throughout the 19th century, but the Warren truss did not originally contain verticals and was the only one with an analog in nature—the hollow bones of dinosaurs and birds.

The Parker truss was developed by engineer C. H. Parker during the 1870s for spans up to 250 feet. The curved top chord with its vertical and diagonal members makes this an aesthetically pleasing form.

The Milwaukee Road went bankrupt in the 1977, and its lines in the Pacific Northwest were abandoned in 1980. Both bridge and right-of-way were acquired by the State of Washington in lieu of back taxes. Placed on the National Register of Historic Places in 1982, the bridge remains in remarkably good condition. With the trees and vineyards, the basalt cliffs, and the bridge itself reflecting in the river, the Beverly Railroad Bridge forms an elegant engineering statement set against a backdrop of nature.

Melvin Adams lives in Richland, retired after working 24 years at Hanford Nuclear Reservation as an engineer and manager. A former COLUMBIA contributor, Adams is a published poet and author of Netting the Sun: A Personal Geography of the Oregon Desert (Washington State University Press).
MILLIONS OF PEOPLE have driven along the scenic ribbon of Highway 101 that hugs the north bank of the Columbia River near its mouth, unaware of the treasure buried in the sand beside the road. Nestled between the slopes of the Coast Range, a wetland, and the bank of the Columbia River, archaeologists discovered a site that had been hidden for over 180 years. This important find provides a unique look at one of the principal summer villages of the Chinook Indians at the dawn of the historical era in the Pacific Northwest and clarifies our understanding of a highly sophisticated native culture and its trade networks.

Station Camp—one of the more significant campsites of the Lewis and Clark expedition—became part of Lewis and Clark National Historical Park in 2004. The site comprises part of the Chinook Indian village known as the Middle Village (q’qyaqlxam), the remains of which had lain buried beneath the ruins of McGowan, a late 19th- and early 20th-century salmon cannery and town. This multifaceted site is emblematic of the change effected by the fur trade when the Chinooks at the mouth of the Columbia were at the zenith of their power.

Between 2002 and 2005 a team of National Park Service, Portland State University, and local historical archaeologists explored the Middle Village. The information recovered from those investigations provides a unique means with which to study the history and culture of the Chinook people—from the vantage point of the material objects they purchased or received as gifts and used, modified, repaired, and discarded; within the remains of their houses; in and around their hearths; and in the context of other camp areas. The Middle Village site, interwoven as it is with the history of the Lewis and Clark expedition, also reflects the larger processes of colonization and development in the Pacific Northwest.

Much of what we know about the early historic period in the Pacific Northwest derives from the accounts of American and European explorers, fur traders, and soldiers. Their perceptions of the people of the lower Columbia were based on their European and eastern American origins. They were foreigners and did not fully understand the unique and complex cultures of the Pacific Northwest’s native inhabitants. Today, historical archaeology gives us the tools to provide crucial pieces of the story for people who had no written records, about whom we know very little, or who are highly underrepresented in history—like the Chinooks. It also allows us to question our understanding of history, even in those places where the documentary record is quite rich.

William Clark described a large Chinook village near the site of what he called “Station Camp.” After abandoning their campsite at the “Dismal Nitch,” Clark wrote:

The rainy weather Continued without a longer intermission than 2 hours at a time from the 5th in the morng. untill the 16th is eleven days rain, and the most disagreeable time I have experienced Confined on a tempiest Coast wet, where I can neither get out to hunt, return to a better Situation, or proceed on: in this Situation have we been for...
Six days past.—fortunately the wind lay about 3 oClock we loaded I in great haste and Set out passed the blustering Point below which is a Sand beech, with a Small marshy bottom for 3 miles on the Stard. Side, on which is a large village of 36 houses deserted by the Inds. & in full possession of the flees, a Small Creek fall in at this village, which waters the Country for a few miles back.

The Corps of Discovery stayed at Station Camp November 15–25, 1805, to make a variety of geographic observations, explore the surrounding area, and decide where they would make their winter camp—which turned out to be on the south side of the river. We now know that the “abandoned” village noted by Clark had been vacated only temporarily. The Chinooks at the mouth of the Columbia River were semisedentary. Their ability to store food in winter villages allowed them to return to the same village sites for several seasons. In spring the people traveled, usually by canoe, to summer villages and field camps to collect food, including fish, shellfish, terrestrial and marine mammals, and plants.

On their return trip up the river in March 1806, Lewis and Clark documented this two-season village pattern (winter versus summer), as did Gabriel Franchère in 1815. Lewis and Clark encountered several camps and villages along the river, all of which were vacant in the fall of 1805. In the spring the river was crowded with Indians in canoes, fishing for sturgeon and salmon. At each confluence with a river or stream, a small camp or village was situated for the most advantageous fishing. Brian Harrison, who first rediscovered the Middle Village site in 2002, suggests that summer villages and field camps were erected in places where an abundance of food and other resources could be procured and processed. Fishing sites along the banks of the lower Columbia River from Baker Bay, just inside Cape Disappointment, to Point Ellice and perhaps a portion of Grays Bay, were excellent for summer villages because the salmon first entered the river there, healthy and in condition for their intended battle upstream to reach their spawning grounds. Salmon from these lower Columbia locations, being of the highest quality, were greatly prized and commanded a very high price farther upriver.

Based on the work of ethnographers and ethnohistorians, summer villages of the lower Columbia Chinooks are known to have been situated on the river’s bank from Cape Disappointment to Grays Bay. One of the villages, quatsa’imts, was identified by noted anthropologist Verne Ray as the “principal village of the group commonly known as Chinook. A number of small
Satellite villages were clustered around it.” Ray created a map that shows only qwats'amts in the area between Point Ellice and the east end of Baker Bay, with nothing along the shoreline near the site of Station Camp. Other researchers, however, place the villages of qí'qayaqílxam (“middle town”) and qail'cíak near Station Camp. It is likely that qail'cíak was just downstream of Point Ellice, based on a description by photographer Edward Curtis. The evidence indicates that qí'qayaqílxam is the Middle Village of the Chinook.

Other early explorers besides Lewis and Clark noted a major site in the vicinity of Station Camp. In 1792 Captain Robert Gray found a large Indian village on the north bank of the Columbia “about five leagues from the entrance.” The village was called “Chenooke” by the Indians. As part of the Vancouver expedition, Lieutenant William Broughton used Gray’s map of the river’s entrance when he arrived in the lower river later that same year. National Park Service historian John Hussey states, “From a map drawn by Broughton it is possible to fix the location of this settlement with precision. It was situated on the beach to the southeast of Chinook Point, between the present McGowan and Point Ellice.” Examination of Broughton’s 1792 map shows the “Village chenooke” as 12 rectangular blocks (probably houses) in two rows, with an anchorage somewhat east of Station Camp, but still near or within the eastern bounds of the McGowan fish cannery town. Maskell C. Ewing’s 1837 map, based on Lieutenant William A. Slacum’s trip to the Columbia River, shows “Chenook Village” at about the same location. Captain Edward Belcher’s 1844 map, based on the Columbia explorations by the HMS Sulphur in 1839, depicts “Chenoke Point” and a “Chenoke Village” with several squares lined up along the river, at the same general location.

The Belcher map, one of the more detailed of this era, also shows a “Chehalis Village” just west of modern-day Chinook Point (no squares) and a “Klatsup Village” (nine squares) west of the point and east of the mouth of the Chinook River. The 1840 Arrowsmith map, perhaps based on Hudson’s Bay Company information, shows only one village with six blocks at the same location as Belcher’s “Chenoke Village.” An 1844 map by French explorer Eugène Duflot de Mofras shows four blocks, apparently houses, which are at the same
Lewis and Clark collected measurements of the distance from Station Camp to this village using their surveying chain, reporting that their campsite was about one-half mile (162 poles) from a stake in the village. Exactly where in the village that stake was placed is unknown. Nor do we know how much the dwellings were spread out compared with the Lewis and Clark campsite. Because they did not report houses directly adjacent to their campsite, it is possible that the portion of the Middle Village found in 2002 post-dates the departure of the Lewis and Clark expedition in 1806. Given the archaeological evidence, we know that some of the houses were dismantled and rebuilt many times during the contact period. Depending on the number of houses built in any one season, it is possible that Lewis and Clark failed to recognize that a portion of the village was more proximate to their campsite because it had been dismantled or was not inhabited that year.

From the standpoint of anthropological knowledge, we simply do not know enough about the way in which seasonal summer villages of the Chinook were constructed and varied from year to year to definitely trust the historical record that Lewis and Clark did not camp on or near the site of the Middle Village. That said, it is quite possible that the Middle Village expanded or that internal arrangements moved in response to the Lewis and Clark encampment and, perhaps more important, the establishment of the fur trade post of Fort Astoria in 1811.

The Middle Village site yielded lead balls and gun flints from early trade muskets, free-blown bottle glass, glass and copper trade beads, English creamware, and Chinese "Canton ware" ceramics. These and other historical items were found in the same areas as stone tools of Native American manufacture, including arrow-sized stone projectile points, fishing net weights, tabular and pumice abraders, argillite tobacco pipe fragments, and the debris from stone tool production (known in archaeology as "lithic debitage"). The fur trade artifacts generally predate the Hudson’s Bay Company, which took over operations at Astoria (Fort George) in 1821 and founded Fort Vancouver in 1825. The Middle Village site is firmly dated to the late 18th and early 19th century by these trade goods. While an earlier component of the Middle Village may be present within the broader area of the

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site, it did not appear in the area that the archaeologists investigated.

The architectural remains are one of the most significant aspects of the site. The remains of walls, roofs, and built-in floor storage provide important information on how the Chinooks built their houses and stored foods and valuables, and where they set up their fireplaces for heating and cooking. There are few other excavated sites in the region that have such well-preserved features associated with an apparently short term of use during the early fur trade period. This aspect of the Middle Village site provides information useful in assessing how the Chinooks constructed and lived in their lower Columbia plank houses at the time of contact.

With painstaking care, archaeologists excavated and recorded the dark charcoal-filled and fire-reddened stains in sediments of fine sand representing the arrangement of pits, postholes, and long trenches that held the houses' cedar wall planks, formed their storage pits, and served as their fireplaces. In one area, under the fill for a late-19th-century dairy barn, excavation uncovered the charred remains of a fallen plank house roof or wall. Many of the fire pits, or hearths, contained concentrations of fish bones, providing clues to the types of fish collected and eaten at the site. Most of the fish bones were identified as sturgeon, but there were sizable numbers of salmon bones. The archaeological team also recovered the charred remnants of traditional plant foods, including hazelnuts, wapato, and camas.

The excavators identified at least three and perhaps as many as five post-and-beam plank structures, each inferred to contain a central hearth, without a well-defined hearth box, and good evidence for periodic rebuilding of the structure on approximately the same site but without clear reuse of the exact same plank trenches. Storage pits were present under sleeping benches that lined the interior walls of the structures. These houses appear to be relatively small (690 to 750 square feet), seasonal structures that were periodically rebuilt and reused on approximately the same spot. These houses are much smaller than those upriver and on the northern Northwest Coast.

U NIQUE AMONG the elements of the Middle Village site is the abundance of items that are usually quite rare at Chinook village sites at the time of contact, and, conversely, the scarcity of more traditional types of stone tools commonly found at such sites. Usually rare stone artifacts like carved tobacco pipes were relatively abundant at Middle Village (34 fragments were recovered) and normally very rare artifacts such as hand-manufactured aboriginal clay balls were very abundant (267 objects). The archaeologists only recovered 9 stone projectile points, most small arrow-sized, triangular, side-notched types. In contrast, the archaeologists recovered many more firearm related objects, including 11 gun flints and 75 pieces of lead shot (musket balls, bird shot, and buckshot). Other contact
period Chinookan sites, like the Cathlapotle and Meier sites in the Portland/Vancouver Basin, have few firearm artifacts and hundreds of stone projectile points, probably reflecting the long precontact use of these sites and a dearth of firearms at those sites during the contact period.

Glass trade beads are also very common at Station Camp. Some of these are of a distinctive and time-sensitive manufacturing technique, known as a speo, which was one means of heat-rounding the beads. Likewise, other traditional wealth items of copper are also prevalent, primarily in the form of bracelet fragments, pendants, sheets, and tubes. In addition, trade rings, Chinese coins, brass buttons, a hawk bell, thimble, and chain were recovered. Many of the complete copper artifacts appear to have been lost in the sandy floor of the plank house that was found under the old milking barn. The pottery included relatively large numbers of English creamware pottery, Chinese export porcelain, and stoneware vessels (both European and Chinese types). One of the vessels is a tea caddy, which would have been very prized possession on any European or American table, let alone in a Chinook longhouse 17,000 miles from its place of manufacture in England.

It is apparent that the Chinooks did not trade away their furs and other products at a discount. The oft-recited myth of European and American dominance over the trading relationship with Indians does not hold up in light of the goods found within the traditional context of the summer plank houses at the Middle Village.

The Middle Village site appears closely associated with the Chinook leader Comcomly and his family. As one of the tribe’s most important leaders during the contact period (c. 1788–1825), Comcomly controlled the trade of European and American goods and furs on the lower Columbia River and with these goods bought slaves, commercial goods provided by the fur traders, and even wives. Through these people and property he amassed great status and power. The Middle Village yielded significantly higher densities of copper items, beads, imported pottery, weapons, and other signifiers of wealth and high status compared to other sites. The variety and amount of such items at the Middle Village suggest that it was either the residence of a chief, perhaps even Comcomly himself, or perhaps that at this time the power and wealth of the Chinooks were being liberally spread through the elite of the villages.

Abandonment of the Middle Village appears sudden. Many of the fur-trade items, like glass trade beads, ceramics, and glass bottles, are technologically earlier in time and predate the establishment of Fort Vancouver, the Hudson’s Bay Company’s regional headquarters and depot in 1825. The abandonment of the site is associated with two important events in the history of this area—the 1825 abandonment of Fort George (formerly Fort Astoria) as a result of the merger of the North West Company with the Hudson’s Bay Company in 1821, and the malaria epidemics of 1830–1834.

Changes in the structure of trade with the British and the adverse effects of infectious disease among the lower Columbia Chinooks are probably main factors contributing to the abandonment of the Middle Village. It is unclear, however, which was the more powerful factor. Likewise, unrelated events may have led to abandonment of the site. John Scouler, surgeon for the Hudson’s Bay Company’s ship William and Anne, reported in 1825 that Comcomly had lived in one of the villages between Chinook Point and Point Ellice earlier but had abandoned the site by that time: “Point Ellis [sic] used to be the favourite residence of the Chinooks, but since the calamities of the chief’s family, Comcomly & most of his people have abandoned it.”

The calamity noted by Scouler was the death of two of Comcomly’s sons due to an unknown illness, a sickness attributed to a shaman who attempted to cure it and which, after the shaman’s assassination by another of Comcomly’s sons, led to a battle among the Chinooks near Fort George. Clearly, the time period around 1825 was one of intense disruption for the Chinook people on the lower Columbia.

Regardless of why it was deserted and entered into the oral traditions of the Chinook people, it should be clear that this archaeological site is very important in the history of the Pacific Northwest. The archaeological finds at Middle Village/Station Camp contribute substantially to our understanding of the Chinook people who inhabited the region 200 years ago and expand greatly on the institutional story of Lewis and Clark.

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Hollywood-on-the-Flats in Tacoma and Seattle’s Hoover Town

By Hilary Anderson

AFTER ITS DESIGNATION as the Northern Pacific Railroad’s western terminus in 1873, Tacoma became known as the “City of Destiny.” Despite this thunderous beginning, the Stock Market Crash of 1929 brought Tacoma to its knees. By the time the nationwide unemployment rate peaked at 25 percent in 1933, thousands in Tacoma and Pierce County had lost their jobs as well as their homes.

Even before the Great Depression, the Pacific Northwest had been suffering hard times. A collection of shacks and lean-tos at the east end of the Puyallup River, between the Carsten Packing Company plant and the city dump, began to take shape in the early to mid 1920s. This government-owned 300-foot-wide strip of land, originally set aside as a flood control reserve, is mentioned for the first time on July 18, 1924, in a Tacoma Daily Ledger article headlined “Hard-Hearted Law Spoils Happy Home of Score of ’Boes.” According to the article, Detective U. T. Colyar and two police officers, responding to a complaint, took it upon themselves to destroy the camp. They startled the slumbering inhabitants with the yell of “Fire!” and proceeded to burn bedding, destroy cookware, and tear picture frames from trees, “thus bringing to an abrupt end what probably has been a home for hundreds of wanderers during the past several months.”

By the mid 1930s the shantytown had reestablished itself and become a classic “Hooverville,” the term coined in honor of President Herbert Hoover—whom it was popular to blame for the nation’s economic collapse—in reference to the ubiquitous Depression-era makeshift slums that sprang up in many urban centers across the country.

Tacoma’s Hooverville was called “Hollywood-on-the-Tideflats,” which became “Hollywood-on-the-Tideflats” or just “Hollywood-on-the-Flats.” According to author and journalist Karla Stover, the name was coined by Tacoma police officers called there on a regular basis who said “they were told stories fantastic enough to be in a movie script.” Other cities and towns in Washington had Hoovervilles. The Seattle Hooverville, which in 1934 consisted of hundreds of pieced-together shacks spread over nine acres of public land, was the largest and best documented. Olympia’s Hooverville existed on a much smaller scale—it was called “Little Hollywood.”

In 1927 the Tacoma Daily Ledger first used the name “Hollywood-on-the-Tideflats” in an article on a police raid of S. A. Lowery’s shack, where 15 gallons of moonshine whisky had been discovered. Although selling bootleg liquor during Prohibition was a risky business, the enterprise held one obvious attraction for some Hollywood residents—it could be very profitable.

Toward the end of Prohibition there was yet another raid by the police and “dry squad.” N. A. Jonco, age 72, was referred to as “king of Hollywood on the Tideflats” in the Daily Ledger’s April 22, 1932, article titled “Suicide Cheats Arrest.” Jonco, who ran a small grocery store in the shantytown, was alleged to have sold wood alcohol to a Native American who later died. Afraid that he faced a lengthy prison term under a long-standing statute that made it a felony to sell an intoxicant to a Native American, Jonco hanged himself.

A few days later, an April 26 article in the Ledger described a dangerous concoction called the “Hollywood-on-the-Tideflats
Cocktail," which was made from "100 gallons of ethyl alcohol, a half gallon of gasoline, five gallons of ethyl acetate, and five gallons of wood alcohol."

WHILE THERE IS little documentation on Tacoma's Hollywood residents or their patterns of social life, Seattle's main Hooverville—which at one point housed up to 1,000 people—was the focus of journalists and sociologists alike. University of Washington history professor James Gregory notes that it "started as a group of little huts on land next to Elliot Bay south of 'skid road,' as the Pioneer Square area was then called. This was Port of Seattle property that had been occupied by Skinner and Eddy shipyard during World War I." In terms of today's topography, this area lies between CenturyLink Field and the Alaskan Way Viaduct. It is an industrial locale where shipping containers are unloaded.

Seattle's encampment had started forming in 1931, and—like Tacoma's Hollywood—authorities soon burned it down. Unlike Hollywood, the population of Seattle's Hooverville was almost exclusively male. Donald Francis Roy, who wrote "Hooverville: A Study of a Community of Homeless Men in Seattle" for his University of Washington master's thesis in 1935, put the 1934 population of the encampment at 639, noting that only 7 occupants were women. The city later ruled that women and children could not reside there. By 1934 the shantytown had formed a quasi-government with an unofficial mayor and community council, and city officials had learned to tolerate its presence—provided its residents policed themselves.

As the Depression deepened, homeless encampments grew. In July 1935 the "mayor" of Seattle's Hooverville—one Jesse Jackson—issued a statement that began,

It was in October 1931 that I, a lumberjack, long out of employment, found myself out of funds, seeking relief from charitable institutions. The depression had just begun, and no national or state relief system had been set up, so the task of handling the relief of the needy was being attempted in a feeble way by charitable organizations that were not prepared to handle such a gigantic and unexpected problem, and naturally the relief given, through no fault of theirs, was pretty bad.

Jackson went on to discuss the circumstances that led to the shantytown’s growth—a story mirrored in similar encampments across the country—and some of the problems its residents faced. "The business houses in this part of town were pretty hostile to us," he wrote. "They looked down upon us as a bunch of shiftless fellows, and no doubt wanted to be rid of us." He noted that their attitude did improve when they witnessed the determination of the people forced to live there.

There is no known documentation of self-policing efforts in Hollywood-on-the-Flats, although the reference to Jonco the storekeeper as the "king of Hollywood" points to leadership of a sort. Crime, however, made the shantytown a special target. On December 27, 1936, the 10-year-old son of Dr. and Mrs. William W. Mattson of Tacoma was kidnapped. His body was later discovered in a field in Snohomish County. Law enforcement officials focused on Washington's Hoovervilles during the subsequent manhunt.

The January 21, 1937, Seattle Times ran an article titled "Officers Search 'Jungles' For Clues to Boy's Slayer." "On orders from C. C. Spears, chief of the FBI in the Pacific Northwest, city and state police combed 'jungles' and slums today in a thorough search for the kidnapper-killer of Charles Mattson, according to United Press." Chief of Police William H. Sears ordered that all "suspicious looking characters" be brought in for questioning. Tacoma Police Captain Cliff
HOPE IN HARD TIMES: Poets Respond to Adversity

ON APRIL 29, 2012, SIX POETS gathered at the Washington State History Museum to give a public reading of poetry inspired by the Hope in Hard Times exhibition, on view at the museum through November 4. Below is a selection written and read by Tammy Robacker, Tacoma’s 2010–11 Urban Grace Soul of the City poet laureate. The poem was inspired by a display in the exhibition of the accompanying photograph of Josephine Kelley and some keepsakes, toys, and other items that once belonged to this little girl who died of diptheria at the beginning of the Depression.

Requiem for Josephine Kelley
One Child Lost in the Great Depression, 1927

Let no one ever say their heart isn’t heavy as a steamer trunk on your exhibition day where to push forward means people must press faces complacent up close to cold glass to chase ghosts backward near 100 years by gazing deep into the marble eye view of your child’s tomb. To take in the gravity of what is easily felled by a high fever or having no food. To suffer the loss of an entire garden before any seedling can spring her roots. Josephine, you were a simple shoot, but so capable in nascence. Here your palpable absence is bequeathed to us in remembrance, in antique details staged as if by mother’s grief. By hollow hoop and static stick. Sock dolly. Small tobacco tin that will never know how to hold your blue hair bow or secret away red glass beads in your embroidered purses. Today it must tuck in our curses.
—Tammy Robacker

Osborne did the same. His officers in Tacoma “searched habitats of itinerants” but were unable to find anyone who fit the description they had been given. The article exuded disdain for Hollywood’s inhabitants, describing them as “ragged” and “unkempt.” According to Tacoma police historian Detective Erik Timothy, “There were occasional ‘sweeps’ of the camps, usually in response to public pressure to do something about the significant crime problems associated with the camps. For the most part, however, the police left the camps and their inhabitants alone.”

Of Seattle’s Hooverville, Jesse Jackson remarked, “We do not have a great deal of trouble in enforcing regulations laid down here. The most of our people try to do the right thing. Of course we, like all other communities, have our share of undesirables.” Aside from any civil or criminal punishment miscreants might have to undergo, the Hooverville’s self-policing made use of its own methods of punishment, which included kicking troublemakers out of the area. According to Jackson, “The most unruly offenders must also suffer a punishment meted out by the residents of Hooverville. We collect a party of Hooverville residents and remove the offender’s shack.” The wood and other raw materials could then be used by others.

Donald Francis Roy corroborated the Seattle shantytown’s use of this punishment when he described an incident that took place one spring evening: a Hooverville resident, in a drunken stupor, proclaimed loudly and in unseemly language, that he was going to “de-capitate certain of his immediate neighbors with an axe.” According to Roy, citizens of the encampment banded together to subdue him and then demolished his hut.

By 1937 Tacoma’s Hollywood population had grown to 1,200—double that of 1932. Acknowledging that the homeless situation was a “community problem,” Tacoma’s Federation of Social Agencies met at the YWCA in March 1937 and appointed a “committee to study the tidelands problem,” according to a March 10, 1937, Ledger article. The committee found that 519 residents were receiving some type of aid and that only about 15 to 20 percent of school-age children actually attended school. They discovered that the encampment “district has the highest murder, suicide, and crime rate and that health and moral conditions are distressingly bad. There are no playfields, churches, or schools in the area.”

It looked like help was perhaps on the horizon. Congress was getting ready to pass the United States Housing
Act, which stated that the policy of the United States was to “assist States and political subdivisions of States to remedy the unsafe housing conditions and acute shortage of decent and safe dwellings for low-income families.” It appears to have taken some time for this assistance to manifest.

On August 16, 1940, the Tacoma City Council created the Tacoma Housing Authority, with the aim of eliminating slums by creating low-income housing solutions and increasing the availability of clean and safe residences for low-income Tacoma families. But these remedies were slow in coming, and as the 1930s turned into the 1940s and the economy improved, tolerance for shantytowns diminished. In April 1940, Tacoma police chief Einar Langseth told the Tacoma Times about his plan to clean up Hollywood-on-the-Flats, “in a continued drive to rid the city of undesirables.” Langseth had a poor opinion of these disadvantaged, homeless inhabitants, saying, “If they’re not good enough for other cities in this state, they’re not good enough for us…. Tacoma is not going to be a dumping-ground for the ‘unwanteds’ from other communities. Conditions have been frightful, and would lead in time to knifings and other crimes.”

The following year, in a September 9, 1941, Tacoma Times article, Mayor Harry Cain defended the homeless, “The
distressing lack of low rent facilities in Tacoma has been obvious for some time.” He said he would not approve the demolition of a certain “subdivision” of Hollywood-on-the-Flats until a survey had been conducted. He furthered this sentiment, saying that “provision must be made for those who are dispossessed.” Thus, there was debate amongst city officials over whether the time had come to get rid of the slums.

Seattle authorities were also considering how to dismantle their Hooverville. In May 1941 the city’s health commissioner asked the city council to take action regarding the destruction of the shantytown. The council appointed a committee consisting of one representative each from the health, fire, building, and police departments to take the matter in hand. A year later the health commissioner again wrote to the council, stating that since the committee’s appointment, “we have burned or caused to be removed about six hundred of these sub standard dwelling places.” He noted that there were still about 75 structures that needed to be eradicated before they could be reoccupied. Though a small number of shacks remained, the bulk of the encampment had been permanently destroyed.

In August 1941, following Seattle’s lead, Tacoma safety commissioner Holmes Eastwood and fire chief Emory N. Whitaker expressed the opinion that Hollywood-on-the-Flats was a fire hazard and needed to go. A decision was reached after much debate amongst city officials, and on May 20, 1942, the Tacoma Fire Department burned the shantytown to the ground, explaining that it was done not only to address safety issues but also as a “wartime security measure for the industries located there.”

Exactly when is not documented, but at some point a small encampment reemerged. On March 4, 1956, the Tacoma News Tribune reported that the “population has dwindled from about 150 during World War II to about 60 persons.” Hollywood had been rebuilt, only to be demolished once again in July 1956 as a training operation for Tacoma’s rookie firemen.

With the passage of time, Tacoma’s Hollywood-on-the-Flats and Seattle’s Hooverville have largely been forgotten. Looking back from the vantage point of the present—wherein we have the “Great Recession,” not to mention the 99 Percent movement—perhaps the existence and significance of the Hoovervilles can be better understood.

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Music from Century 21

Every world’s fair seems to have generated an abundance of music celebrating the occasion, and Seattle’s two world’s fairs—the Alaska-Yukon-Pacific Exposition in 1909 and the Century 21 Exposition in 1962—were no exceptions. While the AYPE produced a greater quantity of music, Century 21 appears to have generated some compositions by nationally recognized musicians and composers. The World of Tomorrow was a collaboration between well-known composer Morton Gould (1913–1996), and lyricist Edward Heyman (1907–1981). Love in the Needle’s Eye, a collaboration between prominent regional jazz musicians Art and Toni Mineo (1892–1979 and 1888–1984, respectively) was recorded by the nationally popular bandleader Vincent Lopez (1895-1975) in the album Music Out of Century 21. World’s Fair Days, composed and recorded by Northwest music pioneers Alice and “Morrie” Morrison, is an example of more local efforts.
In 1889 artist James Tilton Pickett lay dying in a Portland boardinghouse. He had spent weeks struggling over a painting of the SS Alaskan, a ship that broke in half and disappeared into the ocean 18 miles off the Oregon coast. “During the time he was working on the picture, Jimmie was so depressed he could hardly eat or sleep, and I am sure it hastened his end,” wrote friend and fellow boarder E. C. McReavy some 40 years later. There is no other known evidence to support the statements McReavy made in his letter. We may never know for certain whether Pickett’s painting of a nameless sinking ship in the collection of the Washington State Historical Society is, indeed, the painting McReavy described as the artist’s last work. But greater than the mystery of the SS Alaskan is the mystery of Pickett’s own life.

The story of James Tilton Pickett begins and in some respects ends with his father, George Edward Pickett, who is best known to history as the Confederate general who headed “Pickett’s Charge” during the Battle of Gettysburg. What few outside of the Pacific Northwest remember is that for Pickett, as for many Civil War commanders, Washington Territory was a proving ground where he gained experience via cultural and military interactions with tribes of the region.

Like so many others before him, Pickett, then a United States Army captain, had been called out to help settle disputes between settlers and the northern tribes attacking the outpost of Fort Bellingham. It was during this time that Pickett, a widower, met and married the woman who gave birth to his first living child—an Indian woman known by most Pickett historians as “Morning Mist.” It is believed that she was a member of a northern tribe. Most of the sources that refer to Pickett’s second wife suggest that she was Haida. There is no confirmation of this passed down from any direct source. Art historian Lelah Jackson Edson made a search for information about the woman years after principal actors in the drama had died—a search that proved unsuccessful.

There are a number of interpretations, many of them questionable, about how the Pickets met and married. Edson surmised that Pickett first saw his future...
wife at Semiahmoo, then later at Fort
Bellingham, citing loneliness after the
death of his first wife as the rationale for
taking a second. Pickett was in the area to
discuss peace terms with the Haidas, and,
according to National Park Service histo-
rian Michael Vouri, Pickett first spotted
Morning Mist during a tour of Indian vil-
lages in the Semiahmoo area.

In The Laurels are Cut Down, novel-
list Archie Binns spins a romantic tale
in which Pickett first saw Morning Mist
during an attack on her village. In his
memoir, The Roaring Land, the story
that Binns tells is not nearly as dra-
matic. He simply states that Morning
Mist was one of the Haida Indians who
chose to live in Bellingham Bay. By this
account, Pickett never saw any mem-
bers of the enemy fleet—his contact was
only with tribal members who came to
the fort of their own accord.

The historians agree on one thing,
however—the Picketts’ marriage was
solemnized in both tribal and civil cer-
emony. During the ceremony, the gloved
right hand of the bride was held in the
gloved right hand of the groom. A trunk
once belonging to Morning Mist, now
housed at the Washington State Histori-
cal Society, bears this anecdote out. Still
inside are two white gloves, yellowed with
time, both made for the same hand.

Pickett’s second marriage was also des-
tined to be a brief one. Born on December
31, 1857, James Tilton Pickett was named
after his godfather, Major James Tilton, a
man who proved to be the strongest link
young Pickett had to his father through
his childhood and early
adulthood have been over-
shadowed by his native
origins. As a child who was half
Indian and half white, he has con-
sistently been portrayed as a lost, lones-
some soul tormented by his inability to
fit into either world. The myth of the
“noble savage” was a popular one during
the time when those who knew James at
a young age were writing memoirs and
speaking to his early biographers.

James was not the only child raised
in the Collins home. Mason County
census records from 1870 and 1871 show
a younger child, Emmaline Smith, also
reported as Indian by the 1871 census
taker. Emmaline was six years younger
than her foster brother James. After
her husband died, Catherine remarried
a neighbor, William Walter. The cen-
sus indicates that James and Emmaline
both moved with their foster mother to
the new household; however, there is no
documentation by Pickett historians of
Emmaline’s eventual fate. In the 1879
census records, when the girl would have
been 15 years old, she is no longer listed.

Regardless of household, James in-
teracted with a number of other chil-
dren, both at home and at school. How
much his native ancestry affected these
interactions is unknown—his Indian
heritage is rarely mentioned by those
who knew James in childhood. One
of the Kamilchie Valley families he
summered with—the Campbells—did
mention in a letter that he was “usually

fair for one of his race.” While he undoubtedly was aware of his mother’s origins, there is no record that he interacted with his blood relations.

James had few interactions with fellow male students that were of any duration. His one close friend was Dea Williams. This closeness lasted throughout their youth, despite the fact that Williams did not follow Pickett to Union Academy in Olympia. Of other classmates, a serious disposition led him to write in frustration in his diary, “Such boys! They think of nothing but play.”

His criticisms were aimed at the girls as well but were tempered with a sense of humor. He once wrote—also in his diary—of a classmate and fellow boarder at the home of Calvin and Pamela Hale: “Too miserable to draw, so I lie on the sofa and read to Minnie. I am cross and she is crosser, and turns from sweet to sour, fifteen times an hour.” She was a frequent subject both of diary entries and illustration—he mentions that he “made a pretty little sketch of Minnie as she slept on the sofa.”

James, Minnie, and another boarder, Sarah Sparks, formed a trio of friends. They had affectionate nicknames for one another—Sarah was “Sahara”; Minnie, “Minnehaha”; and James, “Aunt Jemima.” James was not afraid to chastise his friends when they grew tedious, but he chose to do so in verse:

Oh, Sahara,
Thy mind is a desert bare
Thy curls are flaxen and fair,
What will thou not do and done,
Though thy ways are wild and strange,
Thy word is not swift to change;
Thy tongue is swift in range.

He appears to have been somewhat kinder to Minnie.

While there is no evidence for affairs of the heart, it is obvious that James had a passion for painting. From a young age he spent every possible moment covering every available surface with his artwork. “He used the walls of both house and barn for pictures and both were well covered with beautiful work,” averred Allie Saegar, who had admired Pickett during his youth in Arcadia. “The boy could get nothing to work on, so used the outside walls. He was particularly fond of birds and there were many pictures drawn on birds.”

His foster mother made every effort to support his artwork, despite the fact that it caused some tension in the family. James was of little use on the farm—his gift for drawing did not translate into a gift for agriculture. He perpetually tried to shirk his duties, easily distracted by a chance to sketch an outdoor scene or capture a particular moment in time. Drawing materials were limited in Washington Territory. With pencils often in short supply, James took to using charcoal shakes.

Having developed a streak of perfectionism early on, James took as much care and pride in academics as he did in his artwork. At the age of 18, his education brought him to Olympia’s Union Academy, which he attended from the fall of 1876 to April 1877, boarding with the Hales. He paid for his keep by doing an assortment of odd jobs for the Hales, from building fences to digging stumps.

Despite the often heavy labor that he undertook at the Hales, he maintained a strong focus on his studies. For him mathematics was a curse. James struggled over the subject, often into the night, and took his inability to conquer the subject very much to heart. In his diary he wrote:

Made fearful failures today. Oh! Dear, isn’t it rather hard to see others marked perfect and get a low standing yourself, when you are morally certain that no one in the class has studied harder or understands the lesson better than yourself? Well that has been my experience today.

In the end, his hard work paid off. Final grades published in the Washington Standard cited Pickett as having an average of 100 percent in both studies and deportment, making him one of the top pupils at the academy. Recognizing his artistic talent and fine hand, his instructors selected him to teach penmanship to younger students. Pickett apparently applied the same intensity to the art of handwriting that he applied to mathematics. But his true love was still painting.

Olympia residents tried to interest him in other pursuits. For a time, James stayed with A. C. Woodard, a dentist and photographer. Woodard taught James photography, hoping that he would take over that portion of his business. The young man was not interested in cameras and photography.
Instead, he had fixed on his dreams of working in color and creating the scenes he saw before him on canvas and paper. He continued to draw through his three terms at the Academy, sketching everything he saw—ships, schoolmates, and the town itself. He nearly fell prey to a rising tide while sketching Tumwater Falls, losing himself in the work until the water was so high that he had to wade ashore.

During the last part of his third term at the academy, in February 1879, Pickett formed a small design class of six students, offering as a prize to the best student a picture of Union Academy. The prize went to Eva Bigelow, the girl James believed to be the academy's most brilliant student. She may have had an unfair advantage—James gave drawing lessons to the daughters of the prominent Bigelow family, Eva among them.

The Walters realized that James would not be satisfied until his dream of becoming an artist had been fulfilled. A loving foster family, they "worked and skimped and saved" to send him to an art school in California. In the early 1880s there were few options for artistic education in the Pacific Northwest. Students could either learn at the hands of a private tutor or travel south to California where the San Francisco School of Design had been established in 1874.

Although sources do not list the School of Design by name, it is apparent that it was the art school so often mentioned by James's acquaintances. It was the only art school in existence on the West Coast until nearly the beginning of the 20th century. In 1906 an earthquake and subsequent fires that rocked San Francisco destroyed the records of the school that launched the careers of many Northwest artists.

Examination of the school itself provides a picture of what a Northwest art education looked like in the 1880s. There was no distinction between male and female at the School of Design—without endowment, the school accepted any pupil who could afford the tuition, which ranged from $10 to $12 a month, depending on the courses selected. Most of the pupils were young women.

The school's instructor, Virgil Williams, placed heavy emphasis on studying the classics, insisting that his students pay close attention to historical works. Pickett's work reflects this method of teaching. His charcoal sketches from this period are of the busts of Greek men and women, perhaps studies of the very same busts that adorned the School of Design.

Pickett's education was cut short due to lack of funds. The Walters did not have the means to pay his tuition, and the help promised by his birth family was never forthcoming, probably because of the poverty that afflicted General Pickett after the end of the Civil War.

George Pickett died in 1875 of "gastric fever," or liver abscess, never again seeing the son he had abandoned in the Pacific Northwest. By the time of his death, he had been remarried for several years. His second family consisted of his wife, LaSalle Corbell Pickett, and two sons, George Jr. and Corbell. This family was aware of James, although the extent to which any of them truly knew about or accepted George's second marriage is uncertain. While LaSalle recognized her stepson as her husband's responsibility, she made no public reference to his second wife or his first-born son in any of the books she later penned about the general's life.

The only clue to her interpretation of the story is the following passage from The Heart of a Soldier, a book of letters published after his death: "He made them his friends, learned their languages, built schoolhouses for them and taught them, and they called him Nesika Tyee—Our Chief. One old Indian chief insisted upon making him a present of one of his children."

Notably, she does not specify the identity of that child.

LaSalle was a relatively supportive stepmother to James. The pair maintained a warm correspondence throughout his adulthood, with LaSalle frequently signing letters "your loving" and "your devoted mother." James was concerned enough for his stepmother to worry over her health in letters to his foster mother, Catherine. LaSalle made plans to visit him in San Francisco, but these were squelched by her frequent illnesses.

Her plans did not necessarily arise from her great regard for her stepson. After the general's death, James Pickett contested his father's estate. LaSalle had sent James the cavalry saber George had wielded during the battle of Gettysburg, and that was all he received from his father's estate. Although neither LaSalle nor James's half brother George Pickett Jr. had ever stepped onto Pacific Northwest soil, they refused to relinquish the elder Pickett's Whatcom property. George Jr. finally paid the visit that LaSalle had postponed, seeking out James in San Francisco, but the nature of their conversation is unrecorded. Apparently George expressed disdain for James's native heritage, something that caused the young artist to recoil from him in anger.

LaSalle Pickett eventually gave James a quit-claim deed to one of George's

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properties in Whatcom, but this did not occur until July 23, 1888, over a decade after the general’s death. By this time James had moved to Portland and taken a job with the *Weekly Oregonian*.

After his brief study in California, James was forced to take whatever work he could find as an illustrator, working first for the Seattle *Post-Intelligencer*, and then with the *Portland Oregonian*. While this was an improvement over splitting logs, James’s letters to his foster mother reveal that this life was not easy. “Dear Mama,” one letter begins. “I have forgotten where I was when I wrote to you last. I have been sketching all over the coast. Have had a rough trip. All kinds of traveling, horseback, steamboat, stage, rowboat, [railroad] car, and on foot, bad weather, and general discomforts.”

A peek into one of his sketchbooks reveals a man who spent his free time dreaming—along with sketches of ships and the sea he sketched faraway locales. Half-imagined on tattered pages are penciled drawings with such titles as “The Tiber-Mount Adventine,” “Plains of Phillipi,” and “The Garden of Gethsamane [sic].”

Pickett lived in a Portland boardinghouse run by a woman named Jones. He had no known love affairs or close friendships, and he seems to have been in a constant struggle to remain financially solvent.

In May 1889 an event occurred that inspired Pickett’s final work of art. The entire Pacific Coast was rocked by news of the SS *Alaskan* shipwreck. A side-wheel steamer, the ship began to leak as it passed Yaquina Light on its way from Portland to San Francisco. The crew ran through the vessel, stuffing holes with blankets in hope that the seas would calm, allowing them to make it ashore before water flooded the steamer. Wind and sea intensified as all hands worked through the darkness to launch the lifeboats, miles from the safety of land. The steward refused to leave the wreck, stating that he preferred to go down with the ship rather than brave the deep waters in a shaking lifeboat. He was not the only one—the captain, second officer, and chief engineer remained, as did some of the passengers.

At 2:15 in the morning, the steamer went down stern first, breaking in half and taking 12 men with it. The lifeboats that had been lowered into the water were thrown against the angry waves. The first officer held onto a piece of wreckage for 33 hours before being rescued. The last 12 of those hours had been spent on hands and knees trying to remain perched on the debris to avoid drowning. Of the 47 men who had been on the ship, only 16 survived.

The survivors of the wreck were taken to Portland, where they found temporary refuge in the same boardinghouse where James Pickett resided. The artist became obsessed with painting the tale of the sailors who surrounded him, spending hours on capturing every detail. “His picture of the sinking of the SS *Alaskan* was Jimmie’s most noted painting,” related fellow boarder Ed McReavy. “He had sketches of the boat before she sailed, and also drawings of the captain and some of the officers. By getting one of the surviving seamen to sit with him, describing the wreck as he saw it, Jimmie produced a painting that was remarkable in detail. It was praised by every sailor that saw it. I remember how some people would go away crying after viewing the painting.”
The James Pickett painting of a sinking ship at the Washington State Historical Society could be the one referenced earlier as the SS Alaskan. Although the ship on the canvas is not a side-wheeler, the hopelessness and fearful skies of the shipwreck are palpable. The small details portrayed in the image—the American flag, the men crying out to a distant vessel—are so clear that it is difficult to believe they are solely a product of the artist’s imagination. And then there is the writing on the back of this canvas. Someone—presumably the artist—has excerpted part of the last stanza of “Dreamland,” a poem written by Edgar Allan Poe in 1844:

By a route obscure and lonely
Haunted by ill angels only
I have wandered home but newly
From this…[illegible, but the original poem reads “From this ultimate dim Thule.”]

The writing starts out in large, beautiful script but gradually becomes broken, faltering, and unreadable.

Pickett spent his last days in bed, near his final canvas. He asked for the few letters that his father had written him, his stepmother’s announcement that he was to have his father’s saber, and the sword itself. There is no record of his last words. He died of typhoid fever on August 28, 1889. His obituary was published a week later.

James Tilton Pickett has been represented in history as a child of two worlds—the “white” world of his father and foster family and the “Indian” one of the mother he never knew. Attention to Pickett has been focused on his status as the half-Indian child of a Con federate general rather than on the person he was as a whole. If Pickett was marked by a family he did not know, so too was he defined by the communities in which he lived—in Oregon, in California, and most especially in the Puget Sound area.

His eulogist, David Wetzel, did not remember him for his father but for his talent as a painter. He hinted at adversity by writing that “he [Pickett] drank at the same spring at which Raphiel [sic] and Dore drank; and had he lived, and been permitted to follow his chosen profession, the world would have said he drank almost as deeply as did these masters of the brush.” His was a gift half-realized; from whence it sprung can only be guessed at.

The true tragedy of the Pickett story rests in how much of it has disappeared or, in fact, been stolen from history. The trunk given to him by his mother survives today, but the items it was said to contain disappeared after his funeral—even before it was sent to Catherine Collins as a final reminder of her foster son. The saber that comforted James in his final days as well as the letters written by his father all went missing after his death. He had few confidants—the stories that remain were collected by historians and novelists from those who had a fleeting childhood acquaintance. Those, too, have been misinterpreted over the years. The picture of Pickett that remains is ephemeral, dimming as time passes and as those with connections to the family story fade away.

James Tilton Pickett’s greatest contribution is the body of work he left behind. He was one of the first settlement period artists in Washington Territory. His landscapes capture the history of a region not completely tamed—a world already partly lost by the time he died, as railroad tracks crossed the continent, headed toward Puget Sound. The mystery of his life is echoed by the mysteries of his paintings. Together they represent a Washington that is gone to us forever.

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FOR SOME TIME there has been uncertainly about exactly what was written on the back of the James Pickett shipwreck painting housed in the Historical Society’s collections. The lettering was so faded that only a few words could be made out and others only guessed at. It appeared to be an imitation of Edgar Allan Poe’s “Dreamland” poem, with the writer substituting some words in place of the original verse. The Society’s curatorial staff and COLUMBIA Magazine collaborated in an effort to get to the bottom of this mystery. Lynette Miller, head of collections, brought the painting out of storage and Fred Poyner, digital collections curator, made a digital scan of the back side. Using Photoshop, an image editing software program, the magazine’s editor/graphic designer Christina Dubois then manipulated the scanned image, altering the tonal values and overall image contrast to maximize the legibility of the wording. The altered image (above) shows beyond doubt that the writer intended to quote the first and last two lines in the last stanza of Poe’s haunting poem about a place between wakefulness and death that can only be visited in one’s sleep.—CD

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Seattle Cookbooks from 1889 to 1940
Irr, as Claude Levi-Strauss wrote, “Cooking is a means by which nature is transformed into culture,” then cookbooks capture and record that culture. Along with diaries, journals, account books, newspapers, and literature, cookbooks contribute to the serious study of American life. In addition to being a collection of recipes and information on food preparation, a cookbook can be a valuable source of information about local businesses, regional ingredients, and the social interactions of those who contributed the recipes. In the case of Seattle, cookbooks published from the time Washington achieved statehood until just before World War II reflect the area’s transformation from a bustling boomtown into an American metropolitan center. These cookbooks mainly fall into two categories—1) they were compiled by religious or volunteer groups, or 2) issued by businesses to promote local companies or products. None appears to have a single author. Even when an author is listed, this person turns out to be the compiler and not the person who developed the recipes. The best of these early cookbooks include the foods cooks served to their family members and friends. It must be noted, though, that in these pre-litigious days, many cooks copied recipes without bothering to mention the source.

The cookbooks issued by clubs and other organizations are now classified as charity or community cookbooks. The very first one, *A Poetical Cook-Book* by Maria J. Moss, came out in 1864 and was sold at Philadelphia sanitary fairs—civilian fund-raising events organized during the Civil War to support federal troops and their families. Purchasers of charity cookbooks not only had the satisfaction of helping a worthy cause, they had access to tested recipes of friends and neighbors plus advice about menus, household hints, foods for invalids, and in the case of *A Poetical Cook-Book*, a great deal of food-related poetry. Community cookbooks gave women a chance to fulfill ambitions for achievement outside the home. Many of these women became astute fund-raisers.

Seattle’s earliest cookbook appears to have been published in 1889 by the Ladies of Pilgrim Congregational Church: *What the Plymouth Brethren Eat and How the Sisters Serve It*. Seattle’s Museum of History & Industry (MOHAI) has a copy of this rare 27-page booklet in its collection. The preface admits the recipes are not original, “but they have all been tested and found reliable, and if any of them fail, upon trial, to produce the expected results, it will be because of the omission of that amount of perseverance, discretion, and common sense which are essential to the success of any undertaking.”

Except for a recipe from Mrs. George A. Tewksbury, wife of the church’s pastor, and a Mrs. H. S. Taylor, the recipes are not signed. It is reasonable to assume that Mrs. Tewksbury, who came from the Boston area where cooking schools and cookbooks were popular and influential, probably headed the cookbook committee. Almost half of the book’s pages are filled with recipes for cakes, pies, and puddings. Desserts were extremely important to status-conscious Victorian-era cooks; more expensive dessert ingredients meant your family had “made it.” Desserts were also a popular feature of Boston Cooking School teachers, and Seattle cooks—just like East Coast cooks—were quick to emulate them.

Proceeds from the *Plymouth Brethren* cookbook probably helped purchase an organ for a new church on Third Avenue. A note in the church’s Herald newsletter of December 28, 1891, reported, “The women had undertaken to pay for the organ. A long series of dinners, entertainments, and various expedients of the Organ Fund Circle kept the ball rolling.”

In contrast to this very short cookbook without distinctive chapters, *Clever Cooking*, published in 1896 by the Women’s Guild of St. Mark’s Episcopal Church, contains chapter divisions, an essay titled “How to Keep House Successfully with One Servant,” suggested menus for one dollar, and a menu for a French dinner complete with wine recommendations. Reflecting the popularity of oysters, which were one of the most beloved American foods of the 19th century, there are six pages of oyster recipes, including Creamed Oysters, Frizzled Oysters, Oysters Served in Shells, Deviled Oysters, Oyster Cocktail, Oyster Kabobs, and Oysters on Toast. Puget Sound supplied Seattle with the native Olympia oyster, *Ostrea lurida*, until overharvesting and waste very nearly drove the species to extinction.

The preface of *Clever Cooking* acknowledges receipt of recipes from such notable persons as Mary J. Lincoln of the Boston Cooking School and Mrs. S. T. Rorer of the Philadelphia Cooking School. Recipes “borrowed” from other sources were actually credited to them, a rare feature in most cookbooks.

A special chapter titled “Chafing Dish” features what was then a new addition to the cook’s arsenal of cooking gear: “The modern chafing dish when complete consists of the stand and lamp, dish proper, cutlet dish, and hot water pan, and while...
preferable in sterling silver, just as good results have been made with a granite iron one...any ordinary cooking done in a saucepan on the range can be done in a chafing dish.” Noted cookbook author Fannie Farmer believed cooking in a chafing dish was “a method of food preparation so tidy and refined that it could happen right at the dinner table.” Chafing dishes were popular among people who lived in boardinghouses and apartments with limited cooking space.

The original edition of Clever Cooking sold for 50 cents, and the proceeds went into the church building fund. Although there are no sales records, it appears to have been a success because a second edition came out in 1903, which sold for a dollar.

It is difficult to assess how many community cookbooks were published in Seattle before 1940. The University of Washington WorldCat lists 26; Seattle Public Library has 9; Culinary Americana, a bibliography of cookbooks published in the United States between 1860 and 1960, contains 14; Margaret Cook’s America’s Charitable Cooks, a bibliography of fund-raising cookbooks published in the United States between 1861 and 1915, lists 12; and MOHAI has 9. It is likely that even more could be found in other repositories or church archives. Because press runs are not available, there is no way to know how many copies of each one were published—probably a few hundred at most, and more if the book became popular and went into a second or third edition. Often these second or third printings included additional recipes and featured different advertisements.

Promotional cookbooks issued by businesses comprise the second category. Among them are several geared toward brides, some that doubled as souvenirs, and a variety of cookbooks that promote a single product—e.g., How Ned and Molly Met the Vitamins Jolly, which focuses on pears, and Thousand Dollar Prize-Winning Recipes for Canned Salmon. Other product books promote companies like Fisher Flouring Mills, Wonder Shredder, and Crescent Spice. Still others promote a particular food item—such as olive oil, oysters, or rice—and contain recipes that prominently feature that item as an ingredient.

Visitors to the Alaska–Yukon–Pacific Exposition (AYPE), which primarily promoted Seattle, could bring home the AYPE Souvenir Cook Book for 1909. As was common in business cookbooks, the recipes were purchased by the publisher, not collected from local cooks. These may or may not have been dishes that Seattle cooks prepared in their kitchens. In contrast, the advertisements that appear on just about every other page are from Seattle bakeries, dairies, real estate offices, banks, lumber and flour mills, and the like. Attesting to Seattle’s growth, the book contains 20 ads for building-related products.

Seattle Brides Cook Book was published locally by the Union Advertising Company around 1911, and The Brides’ Cook Book had the imprint of San Francisco’s Pacific Coast Publishing. Both of these are of particular interest in that so many editions exist. Neither book ever listed the name of an editor or compiler. It seems as if the publishing company solicited advertisements and, once enough had been gathered, then another edition would be issued. Seattle Brides always used the same cover but the number of pages and advertisers varied with each printing. One edition of Seattle Brides Cook Book had numerous ads for Seattle apartments and real estate-related services while another featured a variety of local food businesses and Pike Place Market. Purchasers learned that the Sanitary Public Market had one floor
devoted to the manufacture of foods, a tea and coffee company that vacuum cleaned coffee beans to make them free of dust and foreign matter, and a Hawaiian booth that sold Hawaiian jams, preserves, sauces, and pineapple.

The Bride’s Cook Book appeared in several different editions and eventually changed its name to Cupid’s Book of Good Counsel. A letter from the United States Food Administration, dated July 1918 and printed in at least one edition, states that by using “the Wheatless and Sugarless recipes contained therein,” the “Housewife is performing a patriotic duty in conserving of Food so necessary for our Allies and armies abroad.” However, there are no such recipes; in fact, large amounts of sugar are called for in some recipes. Whether this is a later edition or whether the publisher did not pay any attention to the recipes is unknown as none of the cookbooks contains a date of publication. When the name was changed to Cupid’s Book, the same letter is printed but a note adds: “Recipes in this book have been changed to a pre-war basis, with many new and valuable additions.” Each edition also has distinctive advertisements and different numbers of pages.

OPPOSITE: One Clever Cooking soup recipe called for one-fourth pound butter, one pint of cream, and 100 oysters, including the liquor. It fails to note how many servings this would yield.

BELOW: The Seattle Brides Cook Books featured almost as many ads as recipes. They are a great source for learning about early 20th-century Seattle businesses.

COOKING UP SOME WOMEN’S SUFFRAGE

Though most of the early charity cookbooks are now forgotten, there is one—Washington Women’s Cook Book, published by the Washington Equal Suffrage Association in 1909—that has the distinction of being selected by the 2005 Feeding America: Historic American Cookbook Project as one of seven cookbooks most representative of the thousands published in America to support charitable causes. The Washington suffragists published this book to raise money in support of the women’s suffrage campaign.

According to a news article in the February 26, 1909, Seattle Post–Intelligencer, the Washington Equal Suffrage Association published the cookbook to raise funds and garner votes. As the article noted, they “believe that the approach to a man’s head is through his stomach. By enabling him to eat the best of fare they hope to win his gratitude and votes for the amendment. It was dedicated to the first woman ‘who realized that half of the human race were not getting a square deal, and who had the courage to voice a protest.’” This was one of several suffrage cookbooks published throughout the United States, the first of which appeared in Massachusetts in 1886.

Intended to be an all-purpose cookbook, Washington Women’s Cook Book contains a great variety of recipes. Most of the recipes in the book are signed, but because there were so many duplicates of certain dishes, the committee felt it wise to publish these without a signature. Each chapter begins with a statement that emphasizes giving women the vote—e.g., “What is politics? Why, it’s housekeeping on a big scale. The government is in a muddle because it has been trying to do the housekeeping without women.”

The recipes came from all over the state. The Junior Equal Suffrage League compiled recipes for the “Confectionery” chapter. The Seattle Mountaineers’ chapter contains recipes and information for “cooking in camp” as well as lists of men’s and women’s necessities for “tramping” and camping trips. In addition to the many recipes, which are written with the ingredients and directions combined in one paragraph, the book has chapters called “Hints for Beauty and Hygiene” and “How Washington Women Lost the Ballot.” There are a few pages devoted to vegetarian cookery and a section of “Sailors Recipes,” submitted by a man who had cooked all over the world on board sailing vessels. Interestingly, these last followed more modern guidelines, with amounts of ingredients listed separately from the directions.

—JW
The recipes in these cookbooks generally follow the format seen in cookbooks today. They are grouped into sections or chapters centered on a main ingredient (meat or poultry) or meal element (dessert or appetizer). Among the fish and seafood items, clams, oysters, halibut and salmon—and canned salmon at that—predominated. But the cookbooks do not emphasize local products or a style of Washington or Pacific Northwest cooking. Recipes such as Welsh rarebit, scalloped potatoes, white cake, and a variety of salads can be found in most late-19th- and early-20th-century cookbooks. Even salmon, which is now thought of as a particularly Pacific Northwest food, can be found in cookbooks throughout the country. According to food writer and historian Sandy Oliver, “In the course of settling, adopting new foods, adapting others, and integrating the preferred and familiar with them, certain dishes became widely spread all over America.”

Regional foods were not a concern of those who published the early cookbooks. It was more important to follow the cuisine advocated by the country's leading cooking teachers rather than promote local talent. It was not until the late 20th century that cookbooks featuring Pacific Northwest cuisine—with their emphasis on fresh, local products—came on the market.

The thing that sets pre-World War II cookbooks apart from those that appear later lies in the way the recipes are written. The number of servings and oven temperature are rarely given, ethnic recipes are seldom seen, and the amount of each ingredient called for is sometimes confusing or inexact. Most recipes are written in a narrative style, with the amounts of ingredients and the directions combined in a single paragraph. By today's standards, these instructions seem vague and difficult to follow. Although not all recipes are written in such an abbreviated style, the following examples indicate why cooks began to ask for more specific instructions:

Lemon Pie—1 large juicy lemon, rind grated and juice added, 1 egg, 1 cup sugar, 1 teaspoon butter, 1 even tablespoon flour, a little water if necessary; two crusts.

Brown Bread—Three cups of corn meal, one and one-half wheat flour, two of molasses, one pint of sour milk, two teaspoons of soda, one-half teaspoon salt. Steam three hours.

The switch to a modern cookbook format, in which measured ingredients are listed first, followed by directions, gradually became the norm in the 1920s. By 1930 cookbooks such as Choice Recipes by Members of Fruit and Flower Mission had the majority of its recipes written in the new style. Still, some recipes remained unclear as these more modern cooks were unfamiliar with such terms as “cream butter and sugar” or “do not bake too fast.”

Though many women understood vague terms such as “a piece of butter,” imprecise measurements did cause problems. In America, as early as 1846, Catharine Beecher, an advocate of education for women and author of several household advice books, expressed a concern for “indefinite instructions.” In her 1873 book, The Housekeeper and Healthkeeper, she included a table of measurements that defined a medium size teaspoon as equaling 60 drops, or one-eighth of an ounce.

With the rise of the domestic science movement, its emphasis on exact measurements, and the manufacture of inexpensive measuring spoons and cups, cookbook instructors and authors—many of them graduates of the Boston Cooking School—again took on the task of defining measurements. One cooking teacher described a pinch of salt as “one eighth of a teaspoon” and “butter the size of an egg” as one heaping tablespoon. Fannie Farmer, whose writing influenced cooking well into the 20th century, emphasized the notion of level measurements, defined as “using a knife to level the surface after the spoon (or cup) had been filled.” Because her cookbooks are filled with directions such as, “A cupful is measured level,” she is considered the “Mother of Level Measurements.”

Change does not happen quickly and home cooks do not always pay attention to the experts, and so recipes in the earliest Seattle cookbooks were a combination of standard measurements (teaspoons, tablespoons, and cups), and imprecise ones (a “teacupful” or “two-thirds of a goblet of the best salad oil”).
Cookbooks of this period are brimming with advice—e.g., summer soups should be boiled from day to day to prevent spoiling, but if this happens add a piece of charcoal and then boil and strain into a “freshly scaled earthen or porcelain-lined ware”; and “a good rule for custard pudding is seven eggs to two quarts of milk.” Mention of a vegetarian café in the 1906 Household Cook Book, published by the Ladies of Stevens Woman’s Relief Corps, tells us that Seattle has had its share of vegetarians for over 100 years. In the same cookbook, an advertisement touting a particular brand of maple syrup as “free from all Chemicals, Glucose, Coloring, Flavoring or other adulterations” makes it clear that concern for “fresh” foods is not a new idea.

There is advice about canning, household tips, and making home remedies: “To Induce Sleep—Have the body gently rubbed all over with a towel wrung out of hot salt water.” “To Remove Stains—Put one teaspoon of turpentine in the wash water. It whitens, removes stains, and the clothes take less time to boil.”

The recipes, menus, advertisements, and essays in these early cookbooks describe a “slice of life” not found in standard history books and contribute to the serious study of American foodways, which can be described as an examination of the whys and wherefores of what we eat. Scholars have long recognized the importance of food in shaping a community and have asked such questions as, “How did the procurement of cereal grains shape a particular culture?” In the last 25 years there has been increased awareness of food history within scholarly communities. As John C. Dann, director of the Longone Center for American Culinary Research at the Clements Library in Ann Arbor, Michigan, puts it, institutions are now studying “the who, what, where, and why of a topic whose time has come.”


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Before Seattle Rocked
A City and Its Music
Reviewed by Professor Robert Donnelly.

Musician and historian Kurt E. Armbruster profoundly argues in Before Seattle Rocked that Seattle’s identity is music. This identity certainly includes alternative rock, arguably born in the Emerald City, but Armbruster strongly asserts that the musicians that came before Nirvana and Pearl Jam are even more significant. “Traditional” music, as the author defines—played or sung from the time of the native Duwamish until the late 1970s—is essential to defining Seattle’s character, and is certainly essential to understanding the city’s history.

Armbruster begins fittingly with Native American music of Elliott Bay, describing briefly Duwamish song and drumming with some help from Duwamish musician James Rasmussen. Armbruster then moves quickly through the mid 19th century, describing white immigrants who brought fiddle and brass, banjos and flutes, folk songs and hymns. Chinese laborers and merchants introduced Cantonese opera to the locals. Through the 1890s, steam shovels leveled the Seattle hills, industry and the population boomed, and Seattle rag, symphony, European military marches, and “jig piano”—a wide variety of music—“reflected our restlessness,” Armbruster explains. The 20th century offered more opportunities for professional musicians in the Queen City. They were hired by movie houses to put sound to the silent films and played for guests in the glittering ballrooms and gilded hotels.

Before Seattle Rocked, however, is more than a reading of music through the ages. Armbruster is not equivocal when he writes that musicians need to get paid! “I heartily condemn the exploiters…who, when the time comes to pay the musicians, discover they’ve left the checkbook at home.” In the late 19th century, exploitation convinced many craftsmen and laborers to organize unions. A member himself of the Seattle Musicians Association, Local 76, Armbruster has also written here a history of the musicians’ union in one of the most organized cities in the nation.

While Armbruster moves through the early and mid 20th century, it is easy to get lost among the numerous names of musicians and venues, which makes this a great reference work, too. We also gain greater insight into Seattle’s history through the “Roaring Twenties,” Prohibition, the Great Depression, and World War II. We read how the music, the industry, and the artists were affected by municipal vice reforms, segregation, greater freedom for women (“girl bands”), technology, and immigrant culture. Puget Sound during World War II attracted not only war industry laborers but also many more amateur and professional musicians. Armbruster methodically weaves incredible interviews into his narrative at this point, taking full advantage of an opportunity to record the memories of a generation that is quickly disappearing. After the war, Armbruster argues, the city entered a true Jazz Age and was, at the same time, the center of a “folk revival.” In the 1960s Seattle and its eclectic musical talent was “groovin’ high.”

Before Seattle Rocked is very subjective, which reveals Armbruster’s passion. His writing is sophisticated, clear, and insightful; his index and notes are very thorough. Music history is evidence of communication and the development of a craft. It is also a reflection of a community. Armbruster provides a close look at the city’s colorful, industrious, and creative history and helps to define that which is uniquely Seattle.

Robert Donnelly, an Oregon native, is an associate professor of history at Gonzaga University. His recent book is Dark Rose: Organized Crime and Corruption in Portland (2011).

Current & Noteworthy
By Robert Carriker, COLUMBIA Reviews Editor.

Three recently published coffee table books deserve praise. The most dynamic of the trio is New Land, North of the Columbia: Historic Documents that Tell the Story of Washington State from Territory to Today (Seattle: Sasquatch Books, 2011; 153 pp., $40 cloth), by Lorraine McConaghy, public historian at Seattle’s Museum of History & Industry. Intended, I believe, for the reading pleasure of armchair historians, the book is so well organized and the documents and illustrations so wisely chosen from 38 museums and archives in the state that the volume could easily be used...
as a colorful secondary textbook for college level courses in Washington history. The “academics” are substantial in this publication. The source location for each of the nearly 150 documents is identified. A table of contents and an index allow the volume to be easily researched. The accompanying commentary by McConaghy is not only accurate but insightful and well written. Moreover, the organization, design and layout of the book is attractive. Equally important, there is no obvious bias toward one or the other side of the Cascades.

My personal favorite in New Land, North of the Columbia is the 1948 brochure designed by citizens of Clallam, Grays Harbor, and Jefferson counties that urges Congress to “Investigate, Please” their claim that Olympic National Park is too large and it would be a wise course to return to the U.S. Forest Service all of the lands in the park that fall below the scenic high mountain peaks—then, perhaps, those old growth forests at the lower level could be leased to timber companies….” While Congress denied the request to investigate, nevertheless the plea was effectively framed in an impressive pamphlet.

McConaghy selected more than three times as many documents as she could possibly include in her book. Even so, she more than accomplished her goal. Her real aim, though, was to energize her readers with an appreciation of archivists and the work they do. “I hope that this book will inspire you,” she writes, “to ask your own questions of our magnificent shared archival collection of Washington territorial and state history, and to value the work of those who care for that collection.” Mission accomplished.

From 1859 to 1872 American and British military forces occupied San Juan Island. Before the arrival of Euro-Americans, however, San Juan Island sheltered the Coast Salish Indians of Haro and Rosario Straits. In 1966 the National Park Service established San Juan Island National Historic Park. Is It a House?: Archaeological Excavations at English Camp, San Juan Island, Washington, edited by Amanda K. Taylor and Julie K. Stein (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2011; 182 pp., $30 paper), lacks the colorful text and illustrations of the book reviewed above, but it deserves praise for the way it details the science involved in archaeology. Presented as Burke Museum Research Report No. 9, the volume summarizes no-nonsense scholarship of excavations made in 1988, 1990, and 1991 on a single forested patch near the shore of Garrison Bay within the boundaries of San Juan Island National Historical Park—English Camp. Archaeology is sometimes painstakingly slow. The material taken over three years was processed during the next ten years and then analyzed for another decade. Most of the people who studied the collections came to the project too late to have been a part of the excavations. The 13 chapters about Operation D, or OpD, as it is called, are supported by 144 black and white illustrations. The title for the book comes from an overriding question that as yet has no answer: should OpD be interpreted as a domestic structure? The final sentence in the book urges readers “to reach their own conclusions or ask and answer entirely new questions.”

For thousands of years Native American artists on the Olympic Peninsula, especially women, have used tree roots, bark, and plant stems to build strong, attractive-looking baskets to carry or store food. A common interest in basketry united otherwise diverse tribes on the peninsula, writes Jacilee Wray, a widely published anthropologist at Olympic National Park. She has edited 10 chapters by a diverse group of authors into From the Hands of a Weaver: Olympic Peninsula Basketry through Time (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2012; 304 pp., $45 cloth). Two dozen expert scholars and basket makers, supported by 158 black and white illustrations, assist Wray in showing how Olympic Peninsula baskets evolved from merely utilitarian containers into works of art. Chapters focus on specific tribes: Klallam basketry, the heritage of Twana baskets; and the evolution of Makah basketry. There is also an excellent chapter on the marketing of Peninsula basketry. First, there was the opening of U.S. Highway 101 to the peninsula in 1931, and four years later the federal Indian Arts and Crafts Act was signed into law.

With its bibliography, index, and two appendices—one on construction techniques and the other on pre-1960s basket weavers—From the Hands of a Weaver serves as a reference work as well as an informative read. Chapter 10, “Basketry Today,” brings up important points about the declining availability of basket materials. Tradition and experience may call for spruce roots rather than cedar roots or eelgrass over bear grass or even sweet grass, but where are these resources to be found as the 21st century gains momentum? It is a problem for individual artists, about 1,000 of whom attend the meetings of the Northwest Native American Basketweavers Association, established in 1996.
With today’s surfeit of Northwest self-confidence and celebration, it’s difficult to imagine an era of regional self-doubt and diffidence. Think The Twilight Saga versus Ma & Pa Kettle, and you get the idea. Following World War II, Northwest identity began to shift from what political scientist Peter H. Odegard termed its colonial status toward a more self-assured position in the world. This shift was the focus in 1946 of the Writers’ Conference on the Northwest, the proceedings of which were published as Northwest Harvest: A Regional Stock-Taking (1948). Held at Reed College, the conference was purposely about Northwest regionalism rather than the craft of writing. Participants included novelists, journalists, editors, literary critics, historians, and sociologists, most with ties to the Northwest. And in the range and intersection of topics the participants examined, they helped formulate the field of Northwest Studies.

Throughout Northwest Harvest, the contributors question the concept of regionalism itself, especially in terms of literary representation. Novelist Elizabeth Marion claims that “regionalism, in itself, without any reference or attempt at reference to ‘fundamental human relations’ is nothing more than just another minority report.” Mabel Parsons Holmes, a University of Oregon professor, insists that one cannot separate “the life of a region and its literature.” Harold G. Merriam, editor of the literary journal Frontier, adds that “being regional in the best way is being universal in the best way.” Similarly, and with a touch of hyperbole, Stewart Holbrook calls for novelists to write great epics about the Northwest woods and timber industry by fathoming the “mysteries of lignin and cellulose.” All seem to agree with University of Washington professor Joseph B. Harrison that “modern ‘regionalism’ is a highly self-conscious and self-critical movement, not to be confused with the ‘local color’ of an earlier and perhaps more naïve generation.”

The conference’s keynote speaker was literary critic Carl Van Doren, who spoke of “the process of intersectional naturalization,” by which migrants take something of their native region with them to their adopted region. Van Doren distinguishes between a native citizen and a natural citizen. A migrant who becomes a natural citizen of a place might have more affinity for his or her adopted region than the native citizen who feels no connection to his or her place of origin and longs to escape. As a non-Northwesterner, Van Doren also notes the dangers of overemphasizing regional self-consciousness, warning that it can lead to isolationist or nationalist tendencies.

Perhaps unavoidably, some contributors to Northwest Harvest repeat well-worn generalizations about Northwest character. For novelist Ernest Haycox, “the Northwesterner...is more open and optimistic...is not genuinely class conscious...is probably less of what one might call formal...has considerable political starch...” and so on. James Stevens, renowned for his Paul Bunyan tales, contrasts such stereotypes with what he views as the undemocratic collectivism of the Northwest labor movement, specifically the IWW. On the other hand, Philip H. Parrish, an editor for the Morning Oregonian, avoids such regional (and political) dogmatism by emphasizing a shared regional experience. In recounting his own experience of arriving in the Northwest, he suggests that it is a near-archetypal story, marked for so many by their first dramatic crossing over the Cascade Mountains into the Puget Sound region or the Willamette Valley. Whether crossing by foot, wagon, railroad, or automobile, says Parrish, migrants to the region “have the common bond of their reactions [to the Northwest landscape and weather] and of knowledge that no matter what may happen to them, no matter what their lot in life may be, they do not live in Kansas.”

Two of the most notable contributions to Northwest Harvest come from novelist Robert Ormond Case and sociologist Horace R. Cayton. Case gives a historical overview of religion among Protestant settlers in the Northwest, noting how “the God of the pioneer had some of the attributes of the Jehovah of the Israelites: watchful, jealous, whimsical, easily aroused either to benevolence or to wrath.” He discusses the role of “neighboring” in binding communities and congregations and
calls the circuit-riding preacher “one of the welding agencies of democracy on the malleable frontier, an empire builder as well as savior of souls.” Case concludes by attributing the decline in church attendance in the Northwest to the automobile, which replaced formal worship with outdoor recreation. In other words, “the sunlight shining on empty pews was also reflected in the myriad windshields speeding toward the mountains and the sea.”

Horace R. Cayton, the son of a renowned African-American newspaperman in Seattle, recalls growing up in the Northwest at the turn of the 20th century when, as he says, “I lived and participated in the general culture of the area to an extent which is not possible now, for with the increase in the Negro population the race line sharpened and toughened.” He recounts his first experience of racial segregation (an experience he would elaborate upon in his 1965 memoir Long Old Road) and how the experience set him on a journey of alienation and rebellion. Eventually, though, inspired by a University of Washington professor from whom he learned about the race relations cycle (whereby Chinese, Japanese, and Filipino laborers were exploited to develop resources and then denied the benefits of those resources), Cayton turned to scholarship and social activism. Despite the “bitter crop” of the region’s racism, Cayton affirms his Northwest identity when he proclaims, “I belong to the Northwest.”

Not surprisingly for the mid 1940s, Cayton’s is the only minority voice in Northwest Harvest. Despite the work’s full and varied discussion of Northwest regionalism, there are no Native American, Asian, or Hispanic contributors—a fact that makes journalist Joseph Kinsey Howard’s definition of regionalism that much more trenchant: “The true concept of regionalism encompasses study of one’s neighbors, the physical features of one’s environment, and the area’s historical tradition, with the intent to make a worthwhile intellectual contribution to the welfare of the nation or the world.”

Peter Donahue teaches English at Wenatchee Valley College at Omak, in the Okanogan Valley.

### Additional Reading

**The Beverly Railroad Bridge**


**Middle Village**


**A Tale of Two Shantytowns**


**Dreamland**


**What’s Cooking?**


Correspondence

Wood, Not Woods

I much enjoyed the latest issue of COLUMBIA and congratulate you and the WSHS staff for maintaining such high quality in the magazine.

I have a comment about Terrell Gottschall’s article on the Walla Walla lynching of 1891. He writes of Colonel Charles Compton’s court-martial: “[Compton] hired C. E. S. Woods, a civilian attorney from Portland, as his counsel.” The effect of the description is to cast Compton’s attorney as someone who was not familiar with the military justice system. The attorney was Charles Erskine Scott Wood (not Woods). The article on Wood in the online Oregon Encyclopedia (http://www.oregonencyclopedia.org) characterizes him as “soldier, lawyer, poet, painter, raconteur, bon vivant, politician, free spirit, and Renaissance man”; note the first term is “soldier.”

Wood was a West Point graduate who came to Fort Vancouver in 1874 and served as aide-de-camp to General O. O. Howard in the Nez Perce and Bannock wars; he also served as a judge advocate at Fort Vancouver. While he left the army in 1884 and took up the law, he was not unfamiliar with the military justice system.

A very minor matter, but when his name is spelled correctly, Wood emerges from history not as a mere “civilian attorney,” but as something more. My compliments to Professor Gottschall for his account of an episode of Walla Walla history previously unknown to me.

—Richard H. Engeman

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