The state of Washington has its own cultural politics. The pundits, like James Farley (of the "Soviet of Washington" fame) and Richard Neuberger, who wrote about "Cockeyed Politics in the Hinterlands," have made much of it. The main currents of contemporary political activity are not Columbia's concern, but readers of this journal should be aware, by virtue of their inherent affiliation with things historical, that the next legislative session could be the most important ever in terms of its likely effect on the way this state will deal with those aspects of public policy that come under the rubric of "heritage."

Traditionally, Washington policymakers have paid little attention to state history. That, too, is a distinguishing characteristic of our political culture, though little appreciated by and large (as opposed to our presumed "radical heritage") by either elected leaders or the public they represent. This is about to change, I trust; at least such is the hope.

A casual perusal of any daily newspaper in this state will, over time, routinely reveal a story reporting on where our state "ranks" in terms of expenditures for distinct areas of public activity. Some examples are support of common schools, the rate of pay for college professors, tourist promotion, etc. Washington is high in some, low in others. There is no official ranking in "heritage support," but let me offer a broad, admittedly impressionistic but honest assessment about where Washington stands among the 50 states: LAST.

This sorry state of affairs is made dramatically clear with a few simple comparisons within our region to the stature and budgetary support of the state historical societies of Oregon, Idaho and Montana. No more dramatic contrast could be conceived than that between the Provincial Museum in Victoria and what must pass for its equivalent in Washington. Although nationally these are not halcyon days for heritage either, the gap between Washington's proficiency and that of sister states is, if anything, getting greater. Maybe the nadir has been reached.

Presently, two concurrent though differently focused studies offer great promise to raise Washington from the heritage depths, and may come before the centennial legislative session, appropriately enough. One, "The Heritage Policy Agenda," an initiative of the Centennial Commission, aims to redress the limits, or idiosyncrasies, of the operations and management side. For instance, outside observers in the heritage field always marvel at the fact that Washington has three state-funded historical societies.

But that is not the only anomaly by any means. Larry Tise, director of the American Association for State and Local History, recently spoke here and, from his national perspective, commented upon the now conventional aspects of state history programs. More times than not, Washington simply does not measure up when it comes to support for programs such as roadside historical markers, statewide museum collections management and networking, junior history, and grants-in-aid to local organizations. Not that Washington is in complete default. This very magazine, new as it is, is a bright spot, and certainly deserving of perpetuation.

Nevertheless, the principal deficiency in the Washington heritage array is what might be termed the "flagship museum." To create one would require a substantial capital appropriation, but already the legislature has provided funds for the preliminary planning of a new state museum, to be administered by the Washington State Historical Society in conjunction with the restoration of the magnificent Union Station in the Society's headquarters city, Tacoma.

Modeled, conceptually, after the museum in Victoria, this facility would interpret the history of all the ems, sections and peoples of Washington. This "Smithsonian" for Washington, the state, would be a heritage leader, helpmate and benchmark. To say that it would be a major tourism destination point is a recommendation in its own right.

But ultimately, this new museum of Washington history would alter the public consciousness about where this state has been and where it's heading, and that would be to the benefit of us all.

—David L. Nicandri, Director
Early this century, an irreverent weekly found nothing sacred—except justice.
By John Fahey

The Invisible Sex  8
Washington women of the 1880s, as seen through the territory's newspapers.
By Mike and Lynn Jordan

The Three Musketeers of Northwest History  16
Three friends, Ezra Meeker, Clarence Bagley and George Himes, were early chroniclers of the history they had lived.
By Frank L. Green

Abby Williams Hill  21
An exhibit of the long-neglected work of an important woman artist.
By Ronald Fields

Statehood for Washington  30
Politics, railroads and resources influenced the struggle.
By Keith A. Murray

When History Was News  36
Washington came into statehood with a bang—many bangs.

The Romantic Northwest of the Army Engineers  38
John Mix Stanley's images record the historic railroad exploration led by Governor Isaac Stevens.
By David L. Nicandri

Columbia Reviews  46
Recent books of interest on Northwest history.
Edited by Dr. Robert C. Carriker

History Album  48
Washington celebrated the end of World War I with turkeys and colored garlands.
The “Cascade Curtain” and Our Second Century

The land as it lies in many states gives the impression of sameness, border to border, but not in Washington. To understand why, and what difference it makes, calls for a review of events of long ago—as does an understanding of almost any present-day situation, so much related are the sequential events in the progression of civilization.

Those who came West long ago with minds made up to go all the way found a lofty range of mountains lying inland a hundred miles or so, paralleling their goal, the coast. West of that barrier they found a forested expanse where the climate was mild in all seasons. It was there, along the west-flowing rivers and around the great sound, that they chose to settle and claim the land as their own. The other side of the Cascade range, in the earliest years, was not rejected; it was simply ignored.

Soon, when necessity called for the establishment of government, that part of Oregon Territory lying north and west of the Columbia was the area the settlers told Congress should be converted into a new territory. But Congress, looking at the primitive maps of the time, decided to place the protective embrace of the new territory around a vast inland region as well as the coastal forests and the high mountain range running north and south. Neither the natural division created by the Cascades nor the north-south flow of the Columbia was used. Instead, the Continental Divide, more than 400 miles east of the coast line, was made the eastern border, and it had to be changed more than once in subsequent years, as was shown on maps published in the Fall 1988 issue of Columbia.

So Washington, straddling the Cascade range, has stood divided in terms of climate and geography, from its inception. There is reason to ask, after all this time and as the year of its centennial begins, whether Washington feels otherwise divided or if it has managed to achieve a satisfactory sense of oneness, in spite of what the boundary setters did.

If there is any such holdover it is seldom expressed. And it would not be fair to conclude that the east side is content merely because it has learned to live with a secondary situation. Rather, it can be concluded that the two parts of Washington have so well adapted to what was imposed upon them that a well-integrated state has long since emerged. Eastern Washington may have been the second choice of some settlers, but is second in few other ways. Western Washington’s old forests are all but gone; the rich lands on the east side continue to produce quantities of grain and fruit known over the world. The east side generates all the power needed in the region, with enough surplus to help supply neighbors. It elects its share of the leaders and has had its due influence upon the affairs of the state since the constitution was written.

Remote from the population centers of the west side accounted mainly for early efforts of east-siders to split off from Washington and join with Idaho and Oregon, allowing the mountains to become a boundary after all. Those early feelings of isolation began to end when the original Cascade wagon road was cut through, breaching the mountain barrier. The feelings diminished much more when the railroads were able to route their rails through the passes, and were all but eliminated as the age of cars came on and roads were built over Snoqualmie and Stevens passes. Isolation ended when air travel made it possible to fly in convenience and, for the most part, comfort, from one side to the other and back in the same day.

Washingtonians should be able to agree that they are going into the second century not at all the worse because of what the congressional boundary setters decided, more in ignorance than wisdom, long, long ago.

—John McClelland, Jr.
P. H. WINSTON,
Spokane's Candid Journalist

By John Fahey

This study of Patrick H. Winston was chosen by his friends to run in the final issue of his weekly newspaper. Considered his official portrait by the family, it was made only a few years before his death.

Photo courtesy of Winston's grandson, Patrick H. Winston, Spokane.
Among the legion of Washington State political figures, most of whom have taken themselves very seriously, Colonel Patrick Henry Winston shines as a model of whimsy, wit and candor. The passage of more than 80 years has not dimmed his humor. Winston served as attorney general from 1897 to 1901 in the first administration of Governor John R. Rogers, whom Winston would label an "ass and fraud." But his special niche in political lore rests on his nimble oratory and the 34 issues of Winston's Weekly, a newspaper of opinion which he published in Spokane until his death in 1904.

Winston, as politician, attorney and editor, possessed a mind too vigorous to confine to one political creed or a single point of view. During his 17 years in Spokane and Olympia, he achieved considerable regional fame as an antic orator, equally capable of advocating either side of a given issue. Political debates were, in the nineties, contests of lungs and wit, and Winston's name on the playbill was sure to pack a house.

His quips circulated like legends. Robbed at gunpoint, he was said to have handed over one silver dollar and offered the thug a cigar. "I told him a dollar was all I had," Winston observed. "I must conclude he was a stranger, for who else would take the word of a citizen of Spokane!"

His title of "colonel" was honorary, of course. Winston insisted that he had acquired it when a hotel proprietor, spotting him for a politician, wrote "Col" by his name in the register, meaning "collect."

Winston was impertinent. Of his religious affiliation he remarked, "I'm happy to be Episcopalian because the church doesn't interfere with my business, my morals, or my religion." As the speaker at a rally of boosters for a railroad in Port Townsend, Winston peered for several minutes at the crowd before beginning: "The last time I was here the town was full of sailors and sons of bitches." Anticipatory pause. Then: "I see the sailors have moved away."

Born and educated in North Carolina and the oldest of five brothers and sisters, Winston descended from the Winston line that included Sarah Winston, third wife of John Henry and mother of Patrick Henry, Revolutionary patriot and champion of the Bill of Rights, whose ringing "Give me liberty or give me death!" rallied colonial Americans.

As valedictorian of his University of North Carolina graduating class, young Patrick Henry Winston so impressed Secretary of State William H. Seward that Seward gave the student speaker his gold watch chain. Winston soon wrote Seward to inquire about openings in the diplomatic service, obviously hoping for a modest ambassadorship, to which Seward replied that no clerical posts were available. He advised Winston to study and travel and "at no time allow yourself to ask or hold any office for the purpose of mere pecuniary gain."

Winston turned to the law. In those times, attorneys considered themselves the intellectual mentors of their communities and cited the Bible and classical literature in their arguments to a jury. A young man prepared for a legal career by "reading" in a lawyer's office, learning terms and precedents, court etiquette, and jurisprudence, before presenting himself for examination. Winston was not yet 21 when he was admitted to practice, a confident youngster of medium height, balding, with a prominent mustache. He opened his office in Baltimore and there, in due course, married the daughter of a Pennsylvania attorney.

Seward's advice notwithstanding, Winston soon forged political connections
that induced President Chester A. Arthur, a Republican, to appoint him to a position in the land office at Lewiston, Idaho Territory, in 1884. Winston had embraced the Republican party for only about one year, having resigned from the Democratic party in a caustic speech widely quoted in North Carolina. The story went around that Arthur dispatched Winston to Idaho to avoid laughing himself to death at Winston's drollery.

Arthur's party, however, was breaking on political shoals. Independent Republicans, as they called themselves, went over to the Democrats in the next election, including the editor of The Nation, E. L. Godkin, on whom Winston would model his later editorial efforts. In Lewiston the ostensibly Republican Winston induced a number of leading Democrats to write letters testifying to his Democratic leanings, sensing that his Republicanship was about to be tested. Then he paid a stagecoach driver to signal, from the winding road that descends into Lewiston from the north, the outcome of the presidential election. When his driver signaled that Grover Cleveland had won, Winston produced his Democratic credentials, exclaiming, "Never let it be said that this country can change parties faster than I can!"

Patrick and Virginia Winston moved their growing family—they would eventually produce ten children—to Spokane. The "family" included two black servants who were former slaves, one a woman bought by Patrick's parents at auction as a small girl to be a childhood companion to Master Patrick. For a year, Winston owned a share in the Spokane Review and edited the newspaper for its Portland proprietors. (It would later be purchased by William H. Cowles and associates and combined, in 1894, with their Spokesman.)

When the election of Benjamin Harrison restored Republicans to preeminence, Winston was appointed U.S. district attorney and served until Cleveland regained the presidency. During these years he won statewide acclaim as a speaker stumpimg for Republican candidates, but in 1896 he joined the general bolt by Western men from the party when it repudiated silver. As a fusion candidate, Winston was elected state attorney general. As he had demonstrated in Lewiston, changing parties ruffled Winston not at all. He would write in his Weekly that he shifted "with grace and ease" from one camp to another, and when a lady asked about his affiliation he told her, "Madame, I belong to no party. I am running all of them."

Governor John Rogers' inept administration dismayed Winston. Some years later when he said so in his Weekly, a reader pointed out that Winston had supported Rogers' candidacy. Answer: "The editor of this journal voted for Rogers, but he is not asking a monument for it. If a monument were erected to the editor, measured by the proportions of asses and frauds he has voted for, there is not enough marble in the United States to build it."
Farmers, he wrote, should declare their land railroad right of way, so “the assessor will be well satisfied to list it at a twentieth of its actual value.”

Winston founded his Weekly in 1903. Spokane at that time teemed with real estate speculators, immigrants seeking jobs or land, merchants hunting locations. The daily newspapers were too busy “gathering and printing the news,” Winston asserted, leaving to weeklies “the task of educating the people.” His paper voiced independent opinion—a tabloid four columns wide, eight to ten pages an issue, with departments for society, drama and sports. Winston wrote (along with most of the contents) a column of news and comment headed “The Week,” frankly copying the editorial style of Godkin.

But if avowedly independent in politics, Winston’s Weekly purveyed the prejudices of its publisher: Patrick Henry Winston admired Napoleon (he kept a bit of moss from Napoleon’s grave in a picture frame), mistrusted savings banks, declared The Scarlet Letter the “one good novel” by an American, advocated state management of liquor sales and was convinced that politicians and railroads connived to rob the citizenry. His opinion of railroads was generally shared by Eastern Washington residents.

Winston’s little paper regularly attacked railroad lobbyists in Olympia and opposed public bond issues. No issue appeared without a call for a grand jury to investigate alleged misdeeds of public officers. A number of thoughtful articles on railroads were written by the attorney William E. Cullen, who had moved to Spokane after a notable role in mining and railroad litigations in Montana. Despite these preoccupations, however, the Weekly ranged across life in Spokane.

To farmers burdened by assessed valuations, Winston counseled them to declare their land railroad right of way, whereupon “the assessor will be well satisfied to list it at a twentieth of its actual value.” Irritated local agents of the Northern Pacific banned sales of the weekly in their depots.

Winston’s tomfoolery livened every issue. In his second he produced patently fictitious comments on his first issue, dated August 22, 1903. One ostensibly quoted the New York Journal: “While Colonel Winston is making himself ridiculous once a week, Colonel Hearst is making himself ridiculous every day.” A purported letter from a political figure: “I saw today a gang of statesmen who I thought represented well the burning issues of the times—irrigation, irritation, navigation, propagation, combination, repudiation, and Carrie Nation, to say nothing of the Cayuse nation and damnation.”

By October Winston claimed 2,700 subscribers, although he admitted that few of them expected his paper to survive. He sold subscriptions at $2 a year, but one subscriber would pay only 50 cents in advance and (Winston said) another, a nickel. Winston maintained that “every copy costs more than it is sold for,” claiming a loss of 72 cents on each subscription. Readers were not sure that Winston, in this case, was joking. “This journal is different from all others in its moral and intellectual qualities,” he wrote. “It may surprise some of our readers to learn that it is conducted without the slightest consideration for money.” In his eighth month as proprietor Winston counted 8,000 readers.

When the week had been dull Winston filled his columns with recollections of North Carolina and tall tales. An item to the memory of Morgiana Smith: “She died from injuries received while bravely fighting to retain possession of a remnant of silk at a drapery sale. She fought for two hours and permanently disabled four of her opponents before she succumbed.”
In one issue, under his heading “The Week,” Winston printed the Lord’s Prayer, explaining that “nothing happened this past week worth the attention of a gentleman.” Had Winston’s newspaper not mirrored the public man, his readers might have taken it for one more bilious journal. But the readers knew their colonel, and he appeared not only as editor but as a character in many items, enhancing the rogueish reputation he had established as a platform speaker. Winston once published an appeal for the return of his eyeglasses, which he was known to misplace often. “The editor of this journal has, again, lost his spectacles. Anyone finding a pair of spectacles, now or hereafter, will please bring them to the office of Winston’s Weekly. This may be regarded as a standing invitation.” Soon, “it fairly rained” spectacles on the editor’s desk.

Winston chided Spokane’s pastors, its policemen and its crib operators, but his sharpest barbs were aimed at calls for bond issues. He claimed that his editorials killed a $400,000 school bond scheme, punctured plans for bonds to build a combined convention hall and armory, and checkmated bonds for an expensive bridge. He was incensed when the city council limited architectural and construction bidding for a Carnegie library to Spokane firms. And when the council decreed that chickens could no longer run at large in streets, Winston demanded that the council authorize a city coop using only Spokane architects and builders, after sending a delegation East to study chicken-coop architecture there.

Spokane’s daily newspapers often sniped at Winston and he, delighted, shot back. “It has long been a question,” he observed, “whether the Chronicle wags the Chamber of Commerce or the Chamber of Commerce wags the Chronicle, both wags being so feeble that it is impossible to tell which is tail and which is dog.” He pretended to be charmed by Chronicle editor Henry Rising’s stuffy editorials on bank clearances. When the Spokesman-Review printed a list of Spokane’s supposed millionaires, Winston wrote, “We take the liberty of adding the name of William H. Cowles to the list,” Cowles being publisher of the Spokesman-Review and probably the richest man in Spokane.

When Winston died suddenly, aged 58, in the eighth month of his weekly’s publication, Spokane lost its most candid journal. Of an unidentified lady, Winston could say, “She is certainly, in form and face, the equal of any in this city, in spite of the fact that her wealth was not acquired early enough in life to be devoted to her education.” Of women’s low-cut bodices, men “saw nothing like it since they were weaned.” He could suggest that the railroads and the people resolve their political contention by each side’s taking one senator, instead of letting the railroads buy two. And he offered a creed for politicians: “Be true to something, or somebody.”

A final issue of Winston’s Weekly on April 9, 1904, written by friends, sketched Winston’s life, printed selected articles from earlier issues and carried the eulogy that had been spoken at his funeral: “His distinguishing characteristic was his absolute love of justice.”

Winston had remarked that his newspaper was “reproved for its immorality, criticized for its inelegant English, denounced for its independence, rebuked for its honesty, and questioned for its sincerity.” All true. There never has been another like it in Spokane.

[Editor’s note: A complete, bound set of Winston’s Weekly is in the archives of the Eastern Washington State Historical Society.]
The INVISIBLE SEX

The approach of statehood heightened awareness of women's roles.

By Mike and Lynn Jordan

The role of American women in the decade of the 1880s has been described by social historians as "caretaking and nurturing inside and outside the home."

Family food preparation, clothing production and care of the sick were activities within the home. Technology had yet to lift even a portion of these burdens from women. In the Far West, where such qualities as initiative, resourcefulness and energy were applauded in the female gender, "women were extolled as mothers, wives and civilization," in the words of historian Julie Roy Jeffrey.

If women's realm was the home and hearth, was this role reflected in that mirror of American life, the daily newspaper? What other women's roles—in economic, political and community life—were portrayed in contemporary newspapers? The answers are surprising for Washington Territory in 1889.

Analysis of news items from 55 randomly selected issues of daily newspapers in Washington Territory in 1889 shows that women were most often mentioned in the news in connection with five topics: (1) when accused, tried or convicted of crimes; (2) as the victims of crimes; (3) when they were involved in economic activities outside the home; (4) in women's suffrage activities; and (5) in social and community welfare projects. A comparative analysis of women in the news during the same period in New York, Portland and San Francisco shows a similar pattern.
The high percentage of news items about women involved with crime—either as the accused or as the victim—is the result of the American concept of news and the news reporting system. News by definition is the extraordinary, not the normal pattern of events. This precept makes reporters ignore what is routine.

News reporting efficiency depended upon assigning reporters to the sources—like police stations and the courts—that most often generated out-of-the-ordinary news. In addition, the popular cultural ideal of women as homemakers and mothers caused any involvement of women in crime to be judged “extraordinary.” Such events were automatically news since they conflicted with the accepted role of women.

The arrest of Mrs. Minerva Allen in Tacoma on a charge of burglary in July 1889 illustrates the point. Not only was Mrs. Allen a woman burglar, but her toddler son accompanied her as a decoy and lookout. Mrs. Allen’s arrest generated newspaper coverage in Tacoma and throughout the territory for what would have been a commonplace offense if perpetrated by a man. Another round of news coverage ensued when it was reported, “Mrs. Allen attempted to escape by scaling the eight-foot fence surrounding the jail yard. She climbed upon a box, let the baby down on the other side and then jumped over herself.” “Baby” Allen, as the newspapers called the child, remained in jail with his mother pending her trial, which resulted in her conviction. Then, it was off to the territory’s Walla Walla prison for mother and child, where Baby Allen was expected to live with the county sheriff’s family so that he could enjoy occasional visits with his convict mother.

Mrs. Allen’s train trip from Tacoma to Walla Walla produced this further bit of newspaper pathos: “When night came and it was time to go to bed, Mrs. Allen, the notorious red-
haired woman, had Baby Allen get down on his knees and say his prayers as usual. The scene was quite affecting, and several of the hardened criminals dropped a tear as they witnessed the simple manifestation of faith and innocence."

A frequent theme of news items involving women criminals was prostitution. Cities like Seattle, Tacoma and Spokane tolerated houses of prostitution. However, periodic raids and arrests of inmates, followed by fines levied against both inmates and madams, were routine. City fathers considered the fines the equivalent of a license fee, which they could not collect without acknowledging their own involvement in a crime. "Instead of breaking up the business altogether," commented Tacoma's Ledger after the sudden arrest of the city's prostitutes, "it has been the custom of the chiefs of police of Tacoma to periodically raid these houses and take their inmates before a justice of the peace, where their money is paid into the city treasury. A well-known citizen said last night that funds are probably wanted to clean streets, and 'the unfortunates' were compelled to whack up their share.'"

Women were most often the victims of crimes such as seduction, rape, or assault and battery by husbands or suitors. The occasional instance in which the male was the target of female violence aroused the "extraordinary news" precepts of the newspapers. Mrs. Charles Skeels, also known as Bronco Liz, wife of a Spokane saloon keeper, finally tired of her husband's dalliance with other women. She stalked him to a rooming house and punctuated their marriage and her husband's life with three pistol shots. Ultimately a jury acquitted her of the charge of murder. The Portland Morning Oregonian editorialized approvingly of a wife who armed herself with hickory sticks. She applied these so effectively to her drunken husband when he tried to beat her that he signed and delivered, while employed as servants in the homes of those able to pay the $20 to $25 a month that a domestic worker commanded in 1889. They also performed similar work in boardinghouses, hotels and restaurants.

But their economic role outside the home was mentioned rarely unless an accident or some other occurrence turned it into news. For example, the Tacoma News revealed women's employment in commercial laundries in this follow-up news item after an industrial accident: "Yesterday noon, at the Tacoma Steam Laundry, Mrs. S. McGee took up a collection for Lena Reeves, the girl whose hand was crippled in a mangler Monday evening, and secured $67 in about half an hour." Sadie Brantner, whose seduction case against an aspiring Tacoma politician became a major news event in 1889, was identified as a book saleswoman. A news story about postal service criticized a female postal clerk who objected when a male patron insisted on smoking his cigar while waiting at her window for his mail.

Unlike women's economic activities outside
the home, women's work as charity volunteers was reported regularly in Washington newspapers, as well as those in the other major cities.

Social welfare in 1889 throughout the United States was essentially a religious, fraternal or volunteer community undertaking. Local governments offered minimal food supplies and medical assistance to individuals with established residence. County poor farms reluctantly harbored the elderly, the disadvantaged and the unemployable. Pierce County boarded its indigent and elderly at a local hospital for 80 cents a day. To reduce this expense the county, in 1889, planned to open a poor farm where residents could raise some of their own food.

Temporary assistance to the disadvantaged was the chore of women's organizations dedicated to providing aid to families, women and children. Typical of these groups was the Ladies' Benevolent Society of Spokane. The society sponsored charity events to raise funds, identified those in need and supervised the distribution of aid. Charity balls, strawberry socials and other events were regularly reported as news, as Mrs. Mary Crosby was an example of a woman engaging in a business outside her home, although not far from it. She lived above her bakery on South 11th in Tacoma around the turn of the century.
Nursing was almost exclusively a woman's job. This is the staff of the Annie C. Paddock Hospital in Tacoma shortly after its opening in 1889.

were the good works of the society. An annual charity ball at Spokane in December 1888 raised $700 to $1,000 "and furnished the sinews of war with which they can prosecute their great work of charity."

The Spokane society reported, "During the last year aid has been given in 110 cases, including many families—about 300 persons in all, and the receipts from all sources amount to $860 to date, but it is thought that by the end of the year the total receipts will have reached an even $1,000, nearly all of which will have been used in the work."

The Ladies' Benevolent Society provided the necessities and even paid for hospital treatment: "Money is never given to applicants, but they are supplied with food or clothing as their needs require." The society did not provide assistance to families in which able-bodied males were not working. Single males, able-bodied but indigent, were scorned as "tramps," and could look to no one for assistance. Law enforcement agencies jailed them under the vagrancy law or drove them out of town when there was no need for their labor as street cleaners on city chain gangs.

Strangely, it was news coverage of the women's suffrage debate in the territory in 1889 that provided the most revealing insights into women's role in the home. Supporters of women's suffrage in Washington glimpsed tantalizing opportunities in 1889, the year in which statehood became a reality for the territory. The necessity for a convention to create the new state's constitution created the forum in which suffragists could press for women's right to vote.

Nor was the suffrage issue new in Washington. In 1883 the Territorial Legislature had authorized women's suffrage, joining Wyoming and Utah among territories granting this priv-
ilege. Women's voting rights disappeared, however, in 1886 when the Washington Supreme Court declared the enfranchising act improp­erly drawn. In 1888 the legislature responded with a new women's suffrage act, but this was struck down by a lower court as unconsti­tutional on the grounds that the federal government had never authorized territories to enfranchise women.

Thus, Washington suffragists had twice enjoyed the euphoria of winning the legislature's approval of the right to vote; twice the courts had snatched away the hard-won victory. Nonetheless, women in Washington remained eligible to vote in school elections if they met the same voting qualifications specified for men.

Seven months elapsed between congres­sional authorization of a Washington state constitutional convention, February 22, 1889, and the election to approve or reject the constitu­tion, October 1, 1889. These months produced a lively public dialogue on the questions of women's suffrage.

Despite their disenfranchisement by the territorial courts, a few Wash­ington women attempted to vote in the national election of November 1888. This was possible because the territory had not adopted the Australian secret ballot. Ballots were printed and distributed by the par­ties and by the candidates. To obtain a ballot was no problem; the difficulty for women lay in having it accepted and counted.

Mrs. Zerelda N. McCoy, vice president for Washington of the National Woman Suffrage Association, tried to vote in a suburb of Tacoma but her ballot was deposited only with the elec­tion board's nonacceptance written upon it. “About a dozen women offered their votes at Gig Harbor and their ballots were accepted,” according to the Tacoma Ledger. (See “The Nevada Bloomer Case,” Columbia, Summer 1888, for further reading.)

The National Woman Suffrage Association sent a team of campaign workers into the ter­ritory within weeks after President Grover Cleveland's approval of the Washington state­hood bill in February 1889. There were three main objectives: to mobilize women in support of the suffrage campaign through meetings and rallies—no easy task; to work for the election of delegates known to favor women’s suffrage to the constitutional convention, scheduled to start July 4, 1889; and to gather petitions urging the convention to include women’s suffrage within the new state constitution.

Each of these produced news. For example, Mrs. Clara Colby, editor of the Women’s Tribune, a Nebraska-based publication, talked to suf­frage meetings in every county seat in Eastern Washington during a three-week swing. She was optimistic, she told the Tacoma News, that suffragists were making progress in seeing that constitutional convention delegates favoring women’s suffrage were on the party tickets.

At North Yakima the technique for gaining signatures on the petitions for suffrage to lay before the convention was also news. As the Yakima Herald saw it, the suffragists were also preparing a blacklist of businesses whose owners or managers refused to sign their petitions. “Whenever they failed to get a signer to the petition, [they] drew a blacklist and proceeded to put the name of the refuser upon it. Woe to the man who is blacklisted by our sisters, our cousins and our aunts. They need never again raise their heads for political preference.”

BARBARA J. THOMPSON (1826-1913) was a pioneer leader in the cause of women's suffrage, initially in Nebraska. In 1883, at age 57, she relocated to Washington Territory, residing in both Tacoma and Walla Walla, and continued to be active in the suffrage cause nationally and locally. In her later years she was president of the first suffrage society in Tacoma, as well as vice president of the National Woman Suffrage Association. She was a correspondent and friend to a number of national suffrage leaders, including Susan B. Anthony and Elizabeth Cady Stanton. Some of this correspondence and related memorabilia is preserved in the Woman Suffrage Manuscript Collection at the Washington State Historical Society. The National Woman Suffrage Association membership ticket reproduced above is from that collection.
Washington women gained and lost the right to vote in the 1880s, and with voting rights came the right to serve on juries. Here, the first women members of a King County grand jury were photographed with male jury members.

The suffragists sought to focus the debate in the newspapers on the issue of political equality. Matilda Hindman, National Woman Suffrage Association leader, called women's suffrage “the principle of equal protection to all citizens.” Opponents of woman suffrage, on the other hand, tried to shift the focus of the debate to women's role in society.

A series of letters, editorials and rebuttals appeared in Tacoma newspapers after Mrs. A. W. Mackey, the wife of a Presbyterian minister, declared that women’s suffrage was opposed by “the better class of women in America. We do not wish it because we consider it to be a direct blow at the home.” Mrs. Mackey explained that if women were to vote, then they should also stand for office. The result might be election. No woman, she said, could remain “the same pure, noble” person and mingle with the class of men who were on the Tacoma City Council.

Mrs. Mackey's defense of the home and virtuous womanhood shifted the suffrage debate from political equality to women's role. She expanded her theme in a published letter declaring that voting would only increase the burdens of women's work in the home. “I have been in many homes in all planes of life ... and I have never seen a home where a mother's interest or time could be spared for the exciting, contaminating, degrading life of politics.”

The conflict between women's suffrage and women's role in the home was neatly summed up by the editor of the Tacoma News: “The woman suffragists all over the country ... are continuing the fight for citizenship with ever increasing vigor. The same amount of energy introduced into the kitchens of the nation would soon solve the much deplored evil of incompetent female help. Woman suffrage may be good in theory, but well cooked meals are better in practice. There is nothing more visionary than woman suffrage and nothing more practicable than our daily bread.”

The Constitutional Convention, after a series of angry debates, decided to sidestep the issue and exclude women's suffrage as part of the
constitution. Instead, it submitted the question as a separate ballot issue to the then all-male Washington electorate, which overwhelmingly rejected it.

The suffrage issue brought the role of women into greater relief in territorial newspapers, but it was still a strangely out-of-focus portrayal. Newspapers exaggerated the prevalence of women as victims or perpetrators of crime, and press agentry also created a larger-than-life picture of women as entertainers.

Because there were few, if any, alternatives to the ladies’ benevolent societies that funded and administered community social welfare, the importance of women in these activities may well have received the attention in print that it deserved. However, the newspapers were nearly silent on two other aspects of women’s role: economic activities outside the home and their domestic service activities in the home. Anti-suffragist responses in the newspaper debate over women’s suffrage provide an insight into the demands of household work women were expected to accomplish within the home. These present a view of women’s role far more burdensome than the traditional caretaking and nurturing idea.

Perhaps the reality for most Washington Territory women in 1889 was closer to a Tacoma Ledger anecdote in which a farmer declared marriage a success. It was offered as humor but there was also an undeniable thread of truth in it. He explained that marriage had to be a success. His wife, he said, “milks six cows, gets breakfast and starts four children for school, looks after the other three; feeds hens, hogs and motherless sheep; skims 20 pans of milk, washes clothes, gets dinner, etceteray. Think I could hire anybody to do it for what she gits. Not much! Marriage, sir, a success, a great success.”

Mike and Lynn Jordan are a Seattle-based husband-and-wife writer-researcher team. Mike is a doctoral candidate at the U.W. after 30 years in journalism and public relations. Lynn is the author of Women of This World (1978), a history of the Portland branch of the American Association of University Women, and is a volunteer archivist at the Regional National Archives Center.

Actresses like Helena Madjeska, Lydia Thompson and Kate Putnam received much press attention. All—especially Thompson’s “British Burlesque” troupe—were popular attractions in Washington opera houses in the 1880s.
The THRee Musketeers of Northwest History

Early chroniclers Meeker, Bagley and Himes built a historical foundation.

By Frank L. Green
Ezra Meeker was active in founding the Washington State Historical Society. When elected president of the organization in 1903, at age 73, he set about advancing its interests with characteristic energy. For advice on how to proceed he contacted Himes, who had been doing the same work for the Oregon Historical Society. Himes responded generously:

“I was turned loose in the work that now occupies my time on Jan. 9, 1899, without any instructions or hints from any source as to what was desirable to accomplish, and what has been done has been simply the outgrowth of what seemed necessary under the circumstances.

“From the first it has seemed to me that the library feature was of the chief importance, and where money was an essential factor.

“I steadily set my face against purchasing relics. If a society begins to do that, there is no end to the opportunity afforded for the expenditure of money. Of course there may be occasions when things will have to be bought, but I emphasize the idea of public spirit, and that the work of the society is not a money making scheme, and hence there is not funds to pay for relics; furthermore I emphasize the idea that it is not ownership that the society desires so much as it is to get the relics which are of interest by reason of association or of interest as a basis or means of comparison, in a place of permanent safety; hence I occasionally secure loans of implements, relics, etc. and give a receipt therefore . . . showing title to be in the individual.”

Museum directors of today would turn pale if such a policy were suggested to them. Apparently Himes was not so interested in running a museum as he was a library.

In spite of his efforts Meeker found little interest among the public in the work of a Washington historical society. He reported to Bagley, “The plan outlined by the Curators of the Society is to have a personal canvas made to secure the records already made by the pioneers as well as the stories of those that are left as to important historical events. By way of experiment I have undertaken this work during the month of March and must frankly say that I am surprised at the rich field to be worked.”

When his term was over Meeker began to plan the Oregon Trail trips for which he is chiefly known (see Columbia, Spring 1988). Because of them some people called him a professional pioneer. His answer: “Pioneer should always be spelled with a capital P.” Although many others thought it an aberration that a man of his age—he was 75 when he started—should want to subject himself to the rigors of such an adventure, his friends stayed by him. Himes, in fact, advised two trips, one to select sites and arrange for monuments, and another to see to their placement. Bagley was 100 percent behind the enterprise, but chided Meeker at one point for using the phrase “Oregon Trail.” “We always used the word ‘road,’” he wrote.
Himes summed up Meeker’s accomplishments: “Yes, Meeker is a man of nerve and is possessed of wonderful vitality...His work is a monumental one, sentimental possibly...but nevertheless of practical value, or will be to the future.”

Even though they lacked Meeker’s vitality for long trips, the other two accompanied him on shorter ones, such as the visit to Naches Pass in July 1919. Himes suggested a division of labor in a letter to Bagley: “Meeker cooks well, I’ll supply wood and water, you wash the tins.”

On this occasion they were accompanied by William P. Bonney, a relative newcomer to the historical fraternity. He was to become the fount of all wisdom at the Washington State Historical Society during the 30 years he was secretary, but at this time he was a mere youngster compared to the three. Bonney kept a diary of important happenings at the Society museum and elsewhere, and it is to this that we must go to find out what happened on the trip: “It had been the first intention of Meeker, Himes and Bagley to pass over the summit, but failing to secure horses, Himes and Bagley declined to go farther. We all turned back, Mr. Meeker entering a vigorous protest [he was nearing 90]. It was his strong desire to continue across the mountains, but all thought it inadvisable for these old men to do so.”

While Meeker crisscrossed the country in the interest of the Oregon Trail, Bagley was setting about the collection of local history that would result in his voluminous histories of Seattle and King County.

When C. A. Snowden was writing his history of Washington he paid Bagley a visit. As Bagley described it, “He did me the compliment of coming out and spending half a day in examining my collection, to say that I seemed to be the only Historical Society on the Sound.”

Bagley, of course, had no intention of being a historical society all by himself. He felt that such an organization could function best as part of a state university. With that in mind he and several others in Seattle including Edmond Meany, Thomas Burke and C. H. Hanford formed the Washington University State Historical Society in 1904.

Meeker was no longer president of the Tacoma group and, in fact, it now seemed to be on its last legs. A proposal was made to merge the two societies. The merger had all but gone through when the old rivalry between Tacoma and Seattle surfaced once more and scuttled the plan.

Bagley wrote to Meeker, who was on one of his Oregon Trail junkets, “All efforts to merge the two societies of Seattle and Tacoma were dropped soon after you left. Gilstrap got such a hold in Tacoma, and the Boomers were so much opposed to anything of the kind that we dropped the matter entirely.” W. H. Gilstrap, secretary of the Tacoma society as well as of the Ferry Museum, soon moved both organizations into a new building where they are now one.

As a leader of the Washington University State Historical Society, Bagley called for a concerted effort to gather historical materials in a central place. He struck a prophetic note in a letter to Winlock Miller, yet another pioneer historiographer: “I have seen so many similar efforts live a precarious existence and finally die from slow decay that I may be permitted to express doubts as to the long life or active work of the present one.” Sadly, the valuable Winlock Miller collection, which might have made a difference in this effort, went to Yale (though...
Seattle, Wash., November 30, 1918.

Ezra Meeker,
George H. Himes.
My two dear friends:--

Today I am that favorite piece of French artillery that killed so many Huns--"Soixante quinzieme," seventy-five.

It is given to us to witness the World's greatest event save only the birth of the Christ. Since history began kings and emperors have ruled the earth and its peoples with no regard for the wishes or needs of those under them. Now is begun the time from which the peoples of all lands will date their complete freedom of the rule of tyrants. Perhaps it is the beginning of the Millenium? Who may say?

It goes without saying that the fruition of the hopes of the leaders of the great movement will be long in coming. It has taken the French nation one hundred and twenty years to achieve true democracy, so we may not despair if it takes the other struggling nations just emerging from darkness many years to learn to govern themselves and rule wisely and honestly.

Do you two realize that we three are practically all who are left in the northwest (particularly Washington) who have witnessed the birth of more than one commonwealth between the Rockies and the Pacific? At least of those who have written and printed books and recorded the events of the decades as we saw them.

It is hard to realize that Old Oregon when we discovered it held only about twenty thousand whites and more than a hundred thousand of the aborigines; that the great and populous region between the Rockies and the Missouri river was all Indian country; that it took three months or a letter reach loved ones on the other side of the continent and for an answer of any kind to be returned to us. No railroads, no telegraphs, no telephones, and often no mails for months at a time in severe wintry weather.

Looking back over the years of our manhood I believe we have done well. We have helped to make history and to live it, some of us more than others perhaps but at least we have made the world about us know we were alive.

We were a part of that great westward movement that began three centuries ago and that ended only just yesterday. We were of a pioneer race as far back as the records show and we have done our full share of pioneering.

Humanly speaking it is not long until we shall pass on into the Unknown, then.

"Let us so live that when the summons comes to the pale realm of death" we may carry with us the love of those who have known us. I wish we might plan to take two or three days together in the coming springtime and revisit some of the places where history (American) began in this Sound country and recall to each other so much only we three perhaps remember.

Dear old friends I love you, and may God bless you.

Sincerely yours,

[Signature]

COLUMBIA 19 WINTER 1989
a microfilm copy of the collection is now available at the Society in Tacoma).

Bagley continued to advise Meeker on what was going on at home, including the sale of Meeker's Pioneer Reminiscences, to which Bagley had added a long essay entitled "In the Beginning," centered around the story of Fort Nisqually. Sales were not booming and Himes, although feeling that the effort was praiseworthy, added, "As important as is the making of records relative to the early days of the Pacific Northwest, it does not count for much in a money sense.... It will not be fully appreciated until generations yet unborn come upon the stage."

Bagley, writing later to Meeker, was of the same mind: "The fact is, as you and I discovered long ago, history is not much sought for in the State of Washington. Fiction, if it reads smoothly, and is full of lies like Mrs. Dye's books, will find a market. Your own experience serves to confirm these statements after a fashion. When you cheapened your book and put in a stock of picture cards you began to make expenses." (Eva Emery Dye, a popular historical novelist of the day, often let her romantic tendencies distort the facts.)

That there were weaknesses in their approach to history, which worked against large sales is evidenced by a statement in one of Meeker's letters: "Many things have passed from memory, though much is retained curiously enough of trivial incidents of no special importance."

Of course, one person's trivia may be another's obsession. Many of the topics dealt with in the correspondence would be of interest to somebody. For instance, Himes responded to Meeker's question about the first brewery in the area: "I never expected to see the day when two cubs like Bagley and yourself would get into a muss about beer. Why did you not resort to the first shop where the stuff was for sale and settle the?" He had no knowledge of a brewery in Portland before Henry Weinhard started one in 1857. English ale was brought in as early as 1847. The question was purely academic, since both Meeker and Himes appear to have been teetotalers.

Disputes such as this did arise now and then, with the heat of the argument varying in inverse proportion to the size of the point at issue.

When Meeker was out of town, Bagley wrote him, "I hope you will get back here this coming spring as I need someone to quarrel with."

On the whole, however, the three seemed to enjoy their arguments. Bagley wrote at one time when Meeker was on the Oregon Trail, "I hope you will get back here this coming spring as I need someone to quarrel with."

And in fact they could get seriously annoyed with each other. In another letter to Meeker, Bagley commented, "At times you exhibit more cross-grained perversity than any other young man of my acquaintance."

This is not to say that they avoided serious issues. Meeker, in writing The Tragedy of Leschi, hit hard at Governor Stevens for his handling of the chief's trial. He continued to believe that it was a judicial murder. When he considered the question of whether or not Leschi had ever signed the Medicine Creek treaty, he concluded that the answer was no. This brought him into conflict with Himes.

In a letter to Meeker, Himes brought forth the testimony of Benjamin Shaw, interpreter at the council: "I am reasonably sure he agrees with you about its being a judicial murder, but he is equally positive about Leschi signing the treaty. I've no doubt myself on that point and never had." In further defense of Shaw's credibility Himes writes, "He was a part owner with Mike Simmons in the first mill in Tumwater and was always considered, so far as I know, one of the most reliable men in the country."

Himes felt that Meeker depended too much on Indian testimony to make his point, but his major criticism concerned a broader issue. "What I am getting at is simply this: It would be unwise in my judgment to allow the old-time feeling growing out of the bitter political discussion of nearly 50 years ago to mar the pages of the history."

Regardless of the trivia and an occasional lack of objectivity, the three made a substantial contribution to local history. Perhaps Bagley sums it up best in a letter sent to both Meeker and Himes: "Do you realize that we three are practically all who are left in the Northwest... who have witnessed the birth of more than one commonwealth between the Rockies and the Pacific! At least of those who have written and printed books and recorded the events... We have helped to make history and to live it, some of us more than others, perhaps, but at least we have made the world about us know that we were alive."

And so they did. Few people are privileged to take a major part in the history they write about. Historians have debated how well and truly these histories have been written. Nevertheless, bearing in mind that in their time local history was largely an amateur pursuit, today's professionals can be grateful for what the Three Musketeers gave them to build on.

Frank L. Green is chief librarian of the Washington State Historical Society.
The Historical Society exhibits the long-neglected work of an important woman artist.

By Ronald Fields

Among the University of Puget Sound's permanent collections are more than one hundred canvases by Tacoma artist Abby Williams Hill. The Hill Collection spans a period of 50 years, from the 1880s to the 1930s, and principally comprises Western landscapes ranging from the Cascades, the Tetons, the Grand Canyon, Yellowstone Park, Zion and Yosemite to Southern California's Laguna Beach. Included also are floral studies, still lifes and portraits of Sioux and Flathead Indians.

Abby Hill is little known today, but during the early years of this century she enjoyed a considerable measure of fame, and her work was widely exhibited. Her early acclaim came from works commissioned by the State of Washington and two major railway companies—the Great Northern and the Northern Pacific—and exhibited at the Chicago World's Fair, 1893; the Louisiana Purchase Exposition in St. Louis, 1904; and the Lewis and Clark Exposi-
Abby Williams married Dr. Frank Hill in 1888. A year later, they moved to Tacoma, where they resided for the next 23 years.

In fact, at the Seattle exposition she was awarded two gold medals for her work.

In spite of this record, her art has not been significantly exhibited since 1909—that is, until this winter, with the opening of “Abby Williams Hill and the Lure of the West,” which will be on view at the Society museum from December 22, 1988, through April 30, 1989. Indeed, some canvases in the show have never been publicly shown.

Reasons for the eclipse of her career are varied. Apart from the fairs, she did not participate in commercial or competitive exhibitions which might have brought her work to the attention of professional critics or gallery dealers. Geographically separated from Eastern artistic centers, Hill worked alone, neither seeking nor needing the support such art organizations might have provided. On principle, she did not wish to sell her work, maintaining that she painted for her family rather than for financial gain or notoriety. Those paintings which were not retained by the Hill family are privately owned and, as a consequence, have not come to the attention of historians. Finally, after 1909, family responsibilities denied her the opportunity for the intensive work of the first decade of her career and, like the Progressives of the period, she was much occupied with social issues such as educational reform. In fact, she is better remembered for her social work than for her painting. It was she who organized the Washington State Chapter of the Congress of Mothers (parent organization to the Parent-Teachers Association) and served as president for its initial five years. Yet, to the end of her life, she remained, in her own mind, first of all an artist.

Born Abby Rhoda Williams, second daughter of a cabinetmaker who had, in 1855, joined Josiah Grinnell’s pioneer community in Iowa, she was reared in an austere Christian atmosphere which may have contributed to her uncommon confidence, her independence and her admiration of the natural world for its religious connotations.

As a young woman, Hill acquired as good an education in art as was available to a woman artist of her era in America. In 1880 she left her home in Grinnell to study in Chicago with H. E. Spread, whom she identified as one of the founders of the Chicago Art Institute. In 1884 she taught painting at Bertieron-Haut, a small finishing school for girls in Quebec, in exchange for the chance to study French. Two years later she joined the Art Student’s League in New York, where she studied with William Merritt Chase and J. Carroll Beckwith.

Chase, who had served as director of the league for a time, was by far the most important influence on her work. Through him, she came to appreciate the new directions of painting exemplified by Manet, the Impressionists and the more robust style of the so-called Munich school. Almost 10 years after her
association with the league, she studied in Hamburg with the illustrator Hermann Haase.

Abby Williams married Dr. Frank Hill in December 1888, and in 1889 they moved to Tacoma. In Eastern newspapers the region and the city had been extravagantly advertised: "Famed throughout the world for beauty of situation and environment, unsurpassed mountain scenery, greatest timber belt in the world." Abby Hill had longed to see snow-capped mountains; as a child on the prairie, she had often imagined mountain peaks in cloud formations.

Hill was not immediately to enjoy the scenic grandeur of the Northwest. In November her only child, Romayne, was born handicapped with partial paralysis on his left side. For six years all her attention was directed to his care.

In the summer of 1895 Hill got her first taste of camping in the wilderness, and it set the pattern for the rest of her life. She accompanied an excursion party to Mt. Rainier, and remained there for nearly a month with a group encamped at the Nisqually glacier to paint and hike the area. She wrote,

"We tramped through meadows in which the flowers were knee high everywhere, and the air laden with fragrance.... We crossed a large snow field, bordered with yellow, white and pink blossoms. I think of the summers and summers in which no human eye has come to see the marvels of this place. How these flowers have blossomed and faded unseen, and the countless thousands of souls down below starving for beauty there. I heard an avalanche thundering down the mountain. The noise of rushing water is always heard, and one must cross brooks by the dozens to get almost anywhere.

Hill was enraptured with the wilderness. "I think," she concluded, "we all felt very near to God for being so surrounded by these beautiful works." When this camping trip ended, Hill joined another group for two weeks exploring the lower portion of Hood Canal, extending inland to what is now Olympic National Park.

Hill's newfound enthusiasm for camping and painting in the wilderness was interrupted by a two-year tour of Europe. Leaving her son with relatives in Iowa, she visited European galleries while her husband did medical research in Hamburg.

When Hill returned to Tacoma, she determined that she would educate her son at home. Moreover, she had wanted additional children but, incapable of having more, she adopted three girls. She attempted to educate them all herself. She taught them English through the practice of reading and through the writing of journals and diaries (which she graded), and French and German via conventional exercises as well as poetry and songs. She played the violin and the piano for music lessons. History and geography were taught using her own extensive collections of maps and books. Drawing and biology were pursued through field work—collecting, classifying and drawing plants, animals and marine life.

Hill's classroom was a campsite she established in 1899 near the southern tip of Vashon Island in Puget Sound. A tamed
wilderness, it was highlighted by a constant array of commercial sailing ships and occasional Indian encampments. She and her children read, studied, sailed, hiked and sketched, returning to town only for provisions or unavoidable social obligations. Dr. Hill joined them on occasional weekends although he did not share the family’s enthusiasm for camp life.

It was an ideal situation for Hill and her children, although she came in for a good deal of criticism from her social peers in Tacoma for the ostensible negligence of her own attire and, in particular, the clothing of her girls. But Hill was adamant on the matter of dress:

“I am not at home in the world of fashion, and I cannot reconcile myself to spending on the stylish at the expense of the practical and good. I should like to wear cloth like men do, made simply and of styles that change but little. I should like to wear it until it is worn out and that is considered mannish. I am utterly spoiled by my ideas about dress. People are ashamed of my looks when I have on a gown of the best material, fitting well, well made but dating two or three years back.”

“I was cut out,” she avowed, “for the wilds,” and in summer of 1902 she took her “flock” of preteens to the untamed wilderness of King’s River Canyon in California for an extended camping and painting trip, then spent the autumn camped at Trout Lake in southwestern Washington. The paintings produced at these locations were the impetus for her contracts with the railway companies.

In 1903 Hill heard that the railroads were hiring artists to advertise landscape scenery for the purpose of attracting tourists, so she took a number of paintings to the Great Northern agent in Seattle and secured a commission. The contract was an unusual one, permitting the Great Northern use of the canvases to advertise, at the St. Louis fair, the beauty of the Northwest—and, of course, the access provided to it by the Great Northern and its branch lines. In return, she received four 1,000-mile tickets and repossession of the canvases after their exhibition.

The task was formidable. She was required to depict some of
the most rugged and inaccessible scenery of the Cascade Range, and her single advantage was a letter of introduction to the employees of the railway company urging them to offer whatever assistance they could for her work. The locations selected were Tumwater Canyon, Lake Chelan and the mountains of the upper lake country—Horseshoe Basin and the Peaks of Agnes. Access to the locations involved travel by train, stagecoach, steamboat and pack train, with weeks of camping. Most of Hill's earlier camping experiences had been connected with established campgrounds equipped with supplies and managed by guides. Now she was on her own, with four children and a deadline for an assignment. But within three months she had completed 20 canvases and had earned passage for her children to see the world's fair in St. Louis.

The success of these canvases earned Hill a second railway contract, with the Northern Pacific in 1904, under similar terms. The railway company identified general geographic areas, leaving the specific scenes to Hill's discretion. Some designated sites were impossible to paint. Smoke from forest fires prevented her from painting the Monte Cristo Mountains in Washington and the Coeur d'Alene and Pend Orielle lakes in Idaho. But she was able to complete five paintings from the vicinity of Mt. Rainier, four from Eddy, Montana, and one of Cabinet Gorge in Idaho. These works were exhibited at the Lewis and Clark Exposition in Portland.

The Northern Pacific railway company retained Hill under contract for the summers of 1905-6 to work in Yellowstone Park. Her first summer in the park was spent at Yellowstone Falls, the second in the Upper Geyser Basin.

Subsequently Hill was approached by the Union Pacific company to produce paintings of Zion and Bryce national parks, and by the Canadian Pacific company for scenes in the Canadian Rockies, but she declined these offers in order to take her youngsters to Europe as a capstone to the education she had been providing. She also wanted them to have the experience of living in Europe before they were to begin college. Hill and her children toured western Europe by bicycle in 1908 and 1909.

The European tour came to an end when Hill received word that her husband was too ill to continue practice. He suffered from a melancholia that at times made him completely helpless. His physicians recommended a sunnier climate, and from 1913 to 1921 Abby Hill lived in an isolated beach house at Laguna Beach, California, while her husband underwent periodic confinement in a sanitarium.

When Dr. Hill was released from treatment in 1924, Mrs. Hill embarked on her last sustained camping venture. She purchased a Hudson automobile and, for the next seven years, she and Dr. Hill spent their winters in Tucson. During the other seasons they camped in the Western national parks. She continued, whenever possible, to paint, hopeful of producing a series of canvases from each of the national parks which could be exhibited by the National Park Service. While the circumstances of her camping were not always conducive to concentrated or prolonged work, she was able to complete a number of national park scenes during the 1920s. Negotiations for their exhibition were never realized. The Hills retired in San Diego in the early 1930s. Frank died there in 1938 and Abby in 1943.

Among frontier artists Abby Williams Hill was exceptional. She demonstrated her competence as a professional early in her career but had little chance thereafter to assure her distinctive role as a Western landscapist. She was nevertheless commissioned to paint landscapes of some of the most rugged terrain in the country. She must have been one of the very few women to be so employed, if not the only one. Working on the last Western frontier, she was able to realize her own aspirations to live in the wilds and gain some prestige through the companies for whom she worked and from the wide exposure of her paintings. Finally, her early commissioned canvases are of significant historical value, for they stand as testimony to the promise of economic prosperity and scenic riches that cities and railway companies alike touted to lure numberless pioneers to the Northwest.

The Hill Collection will be the principal Centennial exhibition of the Washington State Historical Society. For the first time in more than three-quarters of a century, the surviving railway-commissioned canvases will be on display, along with representative works from Hill's earlier and later periods of work. This showing of Washington State's most important collection of early Western art composed by a single artist is long overdue.

Ron Fields, professor of art history at the University of Puget Sound, has completed a book-length study of Hill to be published in 1989 by the Washington State Historical Society.

Paintings courtesy of University of Puget Sound.
STATEHOOD for Washingtonians must acknowledge, unashamedly, that the state's foundations were economic ones, laid by those who came West seeking their fortunes on a raw frontier with abundant natural resources available for the taking. They were not refugees from extreme poverty, like so many who crossed the Atlantic, nor from oppression, like the Mormons. They were primarily opportunists, intent on taking advantage of abundance.

But land can't be claimed and traded, or lumber marketed, or the dishonest element (always present) held in check, without government, and so one of the first orders of business for the scattered few who had ended their immigrant journeys between the mouth of the Cowlitz River and Puget Sound was to establish a government. This meant inducing Congress to divide Oregon Territory, giving them the northern half, and this was successfully accomplished early in 1853, only seven years after an American could settle north of the great river and be sure he would not eventually be living under the British flag.

Two years later, a resource in addition to fish, timber and land was discovered—gold—and it was on the eastern side of the mountain barrier that bisected the new territory, near Fort Colville in the upper valley of the Columbia. That discovery, like all gold findings, started a rush of prospectors from nearby and as far away as California. This made Eastern Washington temporarily more populous than the western side.

Additional mineral discoveries in Idaho resulted in Idaho's being separated from Washington in 1862, with its capital in Lewiston. Walla Walla speculators wanted their city to be the capital when the state of Washington was admitted to the Union, but the loss of the Idaho mines doomed their hopes. For a short time settlers in the area south of the Snake River, where Walla Walla is located, talked of joining with Oregon, but when that territory was admitted to the Union in 1859, the line now marking the boundary was fixed.

Just before the Civil War, Clark County and the town growing around the old headquarters of the Hudson's Bay Company at Fort Vancouver tried to move the territorial capital from Olympia to Vancouver, but their scheme failed. Vancouver and Walla Walla newspaper editors, criticizing what they called "the Olympia ring," combined their mutual interests to oppose what Puget Sound communities said they wanted, such as roads, a terminus of a transcontinental railroad on Puget Sound, free lands for farming and lumbering, and generous federal appropriations for making it easier to prosper economically.

By the end of the Civil War some Walla Walla businessmen and politicians proposed that all of eastern Washington and eastern Oregon be joined to make a new territory. Since Oregon was already a state, Congress had no power to remove half of its territory to satisfy the ambitions of a few dozen Walla Walla citizens, and the idea got nowhere. All those citizens could do was oppose any idea or any federal appropriations for a wagon road through Snoqualmie Pass, an improvement that would be highly profitable for the towns situated at the west end of the pass. Even though the cost of building such a road through the lowest elevation north of the Columbia Gorge was estimated at only $2,000, the opponents of the road cited the terrible cost of such an undertaking and were able to stop the territorial legislature from appropriating funds even to survey a trail.

When Congress chartered the Northern Pacific Railroad in 1864 it was evident to the Walla Walla group that their community was not to be on the transcontinental rail line that would reach salt water by the shortest route possible. Accordingly, the Walla Walla boosters and their former Lewiston rivals for leadership in the transmontane parts of Washington and Idaho settled their differences and began to cooperate on a scheme to divide Idaho, whose capital was now Boise, and to annex the mining camps north of the Salmon River to Washington. If this could be done they would then petition Congress for immediate admission as a state. The idea was submitted to the voters of Washington but they were profoundly indifferent. Less than 10,000 men voted at all, and only half of these made any choice regarding the statehood issue. Not even 1,000 approved calling a constitutional convention to meet and write a form of government for a new state east of the Cascades.

A new element was added when the Northern Pacific Railroad charter was amended to allow the rail corporation to make Portland its terminus instead of some town
on Puget Sound. It permitted the company to run only a branch line from Portland to Puget Sound. Once again the Walla Walla newspaper editor urged the territorial legislature to call an election to vote on statehood to give Washington some political power in Congress. The majority of voters didn’t seem to care where the railroad went, for this time only 2,000 people voted, with at least 1,100 opposed.

In 1872 the proponents of statehood tried again and the results were the same. More voters participated this time, but the opposition defeated the measure by more than two to one. The collapse of Jay Cooke & Company in 1873 and the subsequent banking panic in America, followed by several years of economic depression, slowed any idea of statehood. The costs to individual taxpayers, if they had to make up in state taxes what they would lose from federal subsidies, cooled their enthusiasm enormously. When valuable mineral deposits in the mountains east of Coeur d’Alene, Idaho, were discovered, sentiments changed not only in Walla Walla but in the Puget Sound counties as well. As the value of the mines rapidly increased, desire for annexation of northern Idaho, and the consequent tax revenues that could be generated there, made promoters of the statehood issue confident that they had a chance. Nevertheless, the rank and file of the voters remained indifferent.

Among Walla Walla enthusiasts, their antipathy toward Puget Sound Republicans like Elisha P. Ferry made it difficult for them to cooperate on almost anything. Seattle newspapers accused Portland’s Oregon Steam Navigation Company of trying to ruin the future for Puget Sound towns for the benefit of the lower Columbia River ports. While there was probably considerable truth to their charges, only the adjournment of Congress before southeast Washington was annexed to Oregon prevented Walla Walla, the most populous town in the territory, from becoming part of Oregon. Frightened by the prospect of losing Walla Walla and north Idaho to Oregon if Congress consented to the proposed boundary changes, Puget

(Continued on page 34)

In 30 years’ time, Washington’s built environment was transformed, reflecting broader demographic patterns. The fur-trading outpost, like this one at Fort Colville, once the architectural symbol of Northwestern commerce, was supplanted by the ubiquitous train station.  

Washington State Historical Society
The Case of the Missing Transcripts

The vital record of the Washington Constitutional Convention has never been found.

By Nancy Pryor

The framers of the Washington State Constitution had budget problems. Now, 100 years later, lawyers and historians in search of the full story of the Constitutional Convention are acutely aware of those problems—especially the new state’s drastic economies in recordkeeping.

Although there were shorthand notes made of the full text of all speeches and arguments, the notes were never transcribed and the shorthand notebooks have not survived. Researchers have only the abbreviated Journal of the Constitutional Convention, which was kept in longhand on each day of the convention. The Journal was left in the care of the Secretary of State and was not published until 1962.

On Saturday, July 6, 1889 (day three of the convention), T. P. Dyer, chairman of the committee to choose an official stenographer, read to the convention a brief letter from A. C. Bowman and C. B. Eaton, reputedly the two finest stenographers in Washington Territory. Bowman and Eaton stated that they would record in shorthand the proceedings and debates of the convention. It was agreed that they would receive compensation "usual for such services" from the next legislature. The convention approved the proposal, but funds to pay for transcription of the notes were never forthcoming.

Washington had been given a federal appropriation of $20,000 to defray the cost of the Constitutional Convention, but it was soon apparent that it would not be enough. Article 24, Section 19 authorized the legislature to appropriate sufficient money to pay expenses of the convention not provided for by Congress. The first state legislative session (1889-90) dutifully voted $6,076.27 to cover the deficit, but money for stenographic services was not included. A search of state archives uncovered a number of satisfied claims but nothing pertaining to payment for notes of the proceedings. The convention delegates were heavy consumers of ice, in the heat of that 1889 summer. Ice supplies were fully funded by the legislature, but nothing was set aside for the stenographers.

Historian Edmond S. Meany, a member of the state House of Representatives for the second and third legislative sessions (1891 and 1893), tried to rectify the situation. Meany understood how important it would be to future generations to have a full and complete transcript of the proceedings. He introduced two bills in 1891. The first (HB 309) would have appropriated $1,250 to pay "certain convention officials for performance of duties"—namely, fees for Bowman and Eaton; the second authorized the transcription of the stenographic notes. Both bills were sent to committee, where they died. Charles E. Claypool introduced a concurrent bill in the Senate providing for transcription and publication of convention notes but it, too, failed to get out of committee.

The 1891 journals show that Bowman and Eaton were hired by the Senate as stenographers for the impeachment trial of a Jefferson County judge. Apparently they still enjoyed a good reputation in their field.

Meany says in his History of the State of Washington that...
he also introduced similar legislation in 1893. If he did, it must have been in a bill on another subject since there is no mention of it in the 1893 House Journal indexes, and no reference in the body of text. At any rate, Meany tells us that the 1893 legislation also failed.

In 1901, Meany writes, the stenographers stated that they "would no longer think of trying to transcribe their shorthand notes." Anyone who has ever tried to reconstitute cold notes could sympathize with the problem.

In spite of the negative statements by the two stenographers, Clinton A. Snowden in his 1909 History of Washington still advocated transcription and publication of the reporters' notes; however, he added a dark note that "it is reported that some part of them no longer exist." Snowden exhorted the next legislature to preserve what remained of them and "to put them where the people may have easy access to them."

Finally, in 1913, Seattle lawyer John R. Kinnear, who had been a delegate to the convention, published a plea for transcription in his "Notes on the Constitutional Convention," in the Washington Historical Quarterly. As numerous lawyers and researchers can attest, Kinnear's line of reasoning was prophetic. His argument, in part, states that "the bare reading of the words of the constitution gives rise to divided opinions as to the actual meaning contained therein, and, in instances of the kind, it is always the practice of the legal profession to procure information of the intent of the framers of the constitution." He goes on to say that "every lawyer in the state will appreciate the value it will be to the courts."

Kinnear brought up another arresting argument when he said, "The general public would be interested in learning the influence brought to bear on us in forming the different sections. While of no legal value, these would be eloquent with information showing the character of the men of the convention." Seventy-five years after Kinnear, a question arises. Were these transcriptions merely overlooked by succeeding legislatures, or was there a group who felt that it was in its own best interest to suppress publication of the full transcript? Heavy lobbying and local self-interest were both important factors in late-19th-century legislation. It is possible that some of the founding fathers worried that their images would not be improved by a full disclosure of proceedings.

At any rate, by 1927 the Seattle Post-Intelligencer reported that only eight delegates were still alive. Memories of the convention were dim, and still no proceedings had been published.

In 1962 the Journal of the Washington State Constitutional Convention, 1889 was finally published. This is an edited version of the daily notes taken in longhand during the convention. There are few direct quotations from the speeches and debates.

The Journal provides only a bare-bones version of the proceedings. In the preface the editors express their regret that no James Madison ever emerged from among the delegates, complete with a detailed diary of proceedings. Lawyers and historians are forced to rely on newspaper accounts of debates, and the microfilm of such papers as the Olympia Washington Standard and the Tacoma Daily Ledger is in almost constant demand.

The Washington Constitution has served the state well. It is unfortunate that succeeding legislatures failed the delegates and their employees in the effort to preserve the documentation of its birth.

Nancy Pryor is former head of the Washington Room at the State Library in Olympia and now resides in Dixie, Washington.
Sound opponents of statehood switched sides, and in 1876 proposed that a state with the current boundaries be admitted as soon as possible. A feverish pro-statehood campaign was successful, and the voters all around Puget Sound shifted from indifference or opposition to support for statehood. Seattle and King counties, for example, voted 1,399 to 22 to call a constitutional convention. Port Townsend and surrounding communities supported the idea 357 to 7. Kitsap County voted 272 to 4 in favor. Only in the river counties south of the Snake and north of the Columbia did opponents of immediate statehood win a majority. They still wanted to be a part of Oregon. To court support in these regions the constitutional measure proposed that Walla Walla be the site of the convention.

Advocates of statehood had a new problem, however. In 1876 Colorado had been admitted to the Union, and its three electoral votes for the Republicans in the presidential election of that year had turned an almost certain Democrat victory for Samuel Tilden into a Republican triumph when the electoral commission, created to resolve all disputed election results in several states, gave every vote in question to Rutherford B. Hayes of Ohio. The Democrats in Congress howled in protest and some of the party leaders stated that it would be a long, long time before they voted to admit another Republican state. In the face of this, Republican Washington had little chance of being admitted by a Democratic party in control of Congress.

Nevertheless, the constitutional convention met in Walla Walla in the summer of 1878, and proceeded to draft proposals that were certain to arouse opposition by the powerful lobbyists for the Northern Pacific Railroad or for the Oregon Steam Navigation Company. In addition, the delegates came up with an unusual proposition calling for voters to express their preference for a candidate, and also to select a second choice if no one received a majority. Voting rights for women and their right to hold state or local offices, radical proposals in the 1870s, were included in the draft constitution. There was a referendum proposed to abolish the sale of alcoholic beverages, but in a hard-drinking frontier society this had little chance of passing. But then, it really didn’t matter. Although Washington Territory voters favored the constitution 6,537 to 3,236, Congress did not even vote the matter out of the Committee on Territories, and that was that. Interestingly, Washington voters rejected both prohibition and women’s suffrage, but the north Idaho counties approved the constitution itself in a nonbinding “straw vote,” 737 to 26. This, however, was because these mining counties were having their own sectional problems with those interested in the prosperity of Boise and southern Idaho Territory.

In 1881 a legislator from Walla Walla named N. T. Caton introduced a memorial to Congress asking it to authorize Washington to draft a new state constitution immediately. The Washington Territorial legislature passed the memorial, but when it reached Congress it was sent to the usual hostile committee and there it stayed for the next six years. The Democratic majority meant it when they said they were going to admit no more Republican states. Everyone knew, though, that sooner or later the Democrats would have to change their position.

During the 1880s, railroad building in the Western United States expanded the rail lines and increased population rapidly. Very soon Dakota, Montana, Wyoming, Utah, Idaho and Washington territories would have enough population to make statehood near-mandatory. New Mexico was slightly different, as was Oklahoma. In New Mexico there were sharp divisions between the Anglo and Hispanic sections of the territory. Oklahoma had many Native Americans living in it, and the nation was not yet ready for citizenship for Indians. Utah’s population was largely Mormon, and Congress was hostile to them because of their practice of polygamy. This still left five territories to be considered, and the Republicans made their admission a large part of their political programs.
The Enabling Act, approved on Washington's Birthday, was the signal for the start of the activities that would turn Washington the territory into Washington the state, complete with constitution and elected officials.

During the next five years admission bills were routinely introduced into Congress but nothing came of them, for the Democrats buried them as soon as they appeared. Of passing interest was a bill introduced by Senator Orville H. Platt of Connecticut for admission of the State of Tacoma. Immediately, Seattle and Olympia citizens opposed such a name for the eventual state. Given the mortality rate of statehood proposals, this debate counted but little. Congressional Democrats were as opposed to a Republican state of Tacoma as they were to a Republican state of Washington.

The matter of annexation of north Idaho to eastern Washington continued to be pushed by advocates of statehood. Even the south Idaho counties reluctantly supported it through a memorial to Congress, but other problems delayed Congressional consideration. During the mid-1880s labor troubles in the coal mines of Washington and Wyoming resulted in violence against Chinese and black laborers brought in to replace Caucasian workers on strike against the mining companies. Opponents of statehood for these two territories seized on these outrages to denounce Western society as unfit for self-government. This was unfair to the local population, for most people in the Northwest were not so much concerned about racial prejudice as they were hostile to the corporations importing the victims of violence in the first place.

In the presidential campaign of 1888 the Western statehood issue became a priority among Republicans. This time the candidate, Benjamin Harrison, won the election in the electoral college, though Grover Cleveland received a majority of the popular votes. Before leaving office, Cleveland signed a bill on February 22, 1889, setting in motion the machinery that would culminate in statehood for the Dakotas, Montana and Washington.

Seventy-five delegates met in Olympia on July 4, 1889, to draft the state constitution. They borrowed from constitutions of other, older states and copied parts of a proposed model document submitted to them by a Portland resident. The delegates worked steadily until August 22, adding a few ideas of their own and resolving differences in wording. Finally they reached a consensus. Unhappily, the legislature didn’t appropriate funds to transcribe the minutes taken of the debates, so all that historians have to work with are newspaper reports, interviews with delegates and the journal of the convention finally published in 1962 (see pages 32-33). The delegates rushed home as soon as the convention adjourned to prepare for the October 1 election which would decide the fate of the proposed constitution document and the election of state officials. If the voters approved, the constitution would be submitted without much doubt of acceptance by the new Republican-controlled Congress. The delegates had ducked the thorny questions of voting rights for women, prohibition of liquor and the location of the new state capital. These items were submitted as separate actions. The male voters—women could not yet vote—disapproved of both prohibition and women’s suffrage. They voted to keep the capital in Olympia. They registered their approval of the final document by a vote of 40,152 to 11,789. On November 11, 1889, President Harrison issued a proclamation admitting Washington into the Union. The news reached Olympia by telegram sent from the office of Secretary of State James G. Blaine to Governor Elisha P. Ferry. Since the State Department wired “collect,” the governor had to pay 61 cents to read, “The President signed the proclamation declaring Washington to be a state in the union at five o’clock and twenty seven minutes this afternoon.”

Keith A. Murray is a retired professor of history at Western Washington University and author of The Pig War, published by the Washington State Historical Society in 1968.
THE GLAD TIDINGS:
Washington Becomes a State

WASHINGTON'S BIRTHDAY
WAS A NOISY ONE

Washington came into statehood with a bang—many bangs. News reports tell of widespread firings of cannon and other firearms to create the noise considered as appropriate for admission day as for the Fourth of July.

The final act of the admission process—the signature of President Benjamin Harrison on the omnibus bill creating the states of North and South Dakota and Montana as well as Washington—had been long expected and was no surprise; even so, when the day finally came there was much exuberant celebrating.

The news reached Walla Walla while classes were still in session at Whitman College. A cannon was brought into town from nearby Fort Walla Walla for use as an instrument of celebration. It startled the town with its first roar and school was out. "Within a minute or so the college buildings were deserted," wrote historian Harry M. Painter, "and students ran down the street to the center of town where crowds were gathering . . . Bells were ringing; blacksmiths, having brought out their anvils, were hammering out salutes in the old fashioned manner remembered by pioneers. Men kept firing their revolvers . . . They were shouting, and noisemakers of all kinds were adding to the uproar. There was no formality; everything was impromptu. The swinging doors of the saloons were in constant activity. All realized that our means for celebrating the fact that we were no longer a ward or stepchild of the nation, that Washington had become a member of the great sisterhood of sovereign states, were inadequate to the occasion."

Another history written only four years after the event observed, "There was much public and private rejoicing, many reunions, and much gratulation; some with glare of bugle and roll of drums with roar of cannon fired in national salute, with a flinging to the breeze of that beloved banner now enriched by a quartette of stars."

Washington had endured the second-class status of a territory from 1853 until 1889, 36 years, and was understandably jubilant when its rank was raised.
was taken from an old Russian man-of-war about the time that Alaska was purchased by the United States. It was presented to Mr. Kelly by a United States naval officer. It weighs about 2200 pounds, and carries a twenty-pound ball. It is mounted on a wooden carriage and four cast-iron wheels.

The charges consisted of four pounds of powder and a large wad of gunny sack. Officer Bixler, assisted by Officer Brandish and Charles Durham, of Eagle Hose company, No. 2, had charge of the cannon during the firing of the salute.

TOLD IN VERSE.

The Rev. Dwight Williams, of Cazenovia, N. Y., who is staying in the city temporarily, has penned the following poem, entitled "Washington," in honor of the event, for the LEDGER:

WASHINGTON.
A state! A state! with bell and gun,
Salute the star of Washington!
It shines above her mountain crest,
The pride and beauty of the west;
A beacon to the lands remote,
Who hear the loud, exultant note,
And cry, All hail! thou star of gold,
Whose rising is a rapture told.
Fair Puget's waves enchanting,
The mountain gorges haunting
With gleams of beauty manifold.
Ye vanished years turn back and see!
The wonder grows, and what shall be?
This is no phantom of a night,
A new age dawns with splendor bright;
The seeds of Progress at a leap
Have cleared the Rockies bold and steep;
The east is here herself to sit
In thrones of power that her bent,
And "Home, Sweet Home" is singing
While the bells are ringing;
Through the star and welcome it.

Hark, how the tramp of labor sounds,
It halts, and in, enchanted grounds
Delight the eye, and cheer the heart,
And home of beauty, homes of art,
Rise from the smoke of flagrant "fit,"
The marvel of an age astir;
Swing banners out a new display
O'er crag and tower, and stream and bay;
To children full of laughter,
In days and years long after,
God keep them waving as to-day.

Hall, Washington, thou westmost star,
Thy very name prevails afar
To crown thee with a sacred charm;
O, blend of earth with beauty warm,
The arch of beauty is complete.
Enthroned with stars the oceans meet
With golden links from far off Maine,
And one sweet song, and one refrain,
Ringe out in joyous measure;
With flags upon the air;
Hall, state impealed in Freedom's reign!

POLLY'S CANNON

As the Tacoma Daily Ledger reported, news of the admission of Washington as a state was officially celebrated in Tacoma in 1889 with the firing of a cannon. The gun, old even then, had been salvaged from the Politkofsky, one of the Russian naval vessels to ply Northwest waters. It roared 42 times in honor of Washington's status as the 42d state, and once more for the honor of Tacoma—or because the mayor liked the blast a muzzle-loaded cannon makes when primed with four pounds of gunpowder.

Whether the Politkofsky cannon was ever fired again is not recorded, but it was given, eventually, to the Washington State Historical Society. To this day it occupies an honored position at the entrance to the Society's headquarters on Stadium Way in Tacoma.

The Russian gunboat Politkofsky was built for the fur trade and launched in 1866. When it fell into American hands after the purchase of Alaska, it was put to many uses before falling victim to a storm while tied up at Nome.
The explorations for a railroad route to the Pacific in the 1850s have always been overshadowed in the scholarly and popular literature of the American West by the antecedent travels of such military men as Lewis and Clark and John Fremont, and civilians such as the missionaries DeSmet and Whitman. The Pacific railroad surveys were conducted by the Corps of Topographical Engineers, which existed as a separate branch of the army from the Corps of Engineers proper between 1838 and the Civil War. The surveys were far more
definitive with regard to the mapping of the West's river systems, mountain passes and natural resources than the pathfinders previously mentioned. The Pacific railroad expeditions, consisting of scores of men, have suffered in comparison to the dramatic exploits of the solitary trailblazer, best typified in the Northwest by Peter Skene Ogden of the Hudson's Bay Company. This is an unfortunate oversight, for the surveys were, in many respects, the crowning achievement of the half-century-long movement initiated by Thomas Jefferson and aimed at discovering the real nature of the American West.

The surveys were born of the sectional strife that plagued the United States after the Mexican War. By the early 1850s, railroad technology had developed to such an extent that a transcontinental line could seriously be put forth as a national and commercial enterprise, but sectional politics clouded the issue. The question was a fundamental one: what route would such a railroad take? More particularly, which city, which state and (most important, within the context of the time) which region was to be the home of the eastern terminus? The commercial advantages to being the rail gateway to the West were so great that the political machines of the Northern, border and Southern states in the Mississippi Valley were obsessed with the prospect of gaining the prize. Virtually every major city, from New Orleans to St. Paul, envisioned a grand place in the sun for itself with the completion of a Pacific railroad.

Since the concept of extending more than one rail line westward did not enter into the political discourse, the selection of a route, and a terminus, became an all-or-nothing proposition. It would have been difficult for Congress to make a single determination in the best of times. With the country tending toward dissolution, the procedure for making national decisions was becoming unworkable.

So Congress looked to science to answer the question that contemporary politics could not: which route to the West, in the jargon of the time, was most practicable—in terms of cost, climate, pass elevations, grades and natural resources? Congress, through the War Department, designated the Corps of Topographical Engineers to be their agent for scientific discovery.

The Pacific railroad surveys were authorized on March 2, 1853. The corps was to investigate the four proposed routes that had the most congressional support: a northern route terminating on Lake Superior, under the command of the first governor of Washington Territory, Isaac I. Stevens; a central route with a terminus at any one of several cities in the state of Missouri; and two purely southern alternatives. Ironically, the route of the first transcontinental line to be actually built—the Union & Central Pacific—was not investigated at this stage.

The personalities of those involved in the expeditions were a critical factor in the success of this mission. Most significantly, the secretary of war taking office in 1853 and the person who had control of the corps was none other than Jefferson Davis. Davis would ultimately author the final recommendations to Congress on which route, scientifically speaking, was the most feasible. As it turned out, each of the survey commanders thought his route was workable. Not surprisingly, Davis and the corps leadership, which also had a Southern bias, eventually recommended a southern route to the Pacific.

Davis' role raised many doubts about the evenhandedness with which the railroad surveys' information was analyzed. And so the notion of building a railroad to the Pacific died in the maelstrom of sectional strife, not to be resurrected until a reunified country could focus its energies. Though clearly not at fault, even science had failed to answer the great question.

But what of the survey reports themselves—a 12-volume encyclopedia of the American West, published after the expeditions were completed? The narratives, scientific reports and maps prepared by Stevens and his colleagues contributed immensely to the geographical, geological, ethnological, botanical and zoological knowledge of the West. As a series, the Pacific railroad reports became the foundation for all subsequent investigations of the West by the scientific community. They were also the most reliable resource available to the general reader, including the potential emigrant, as to what could be found in these previously underexplored lands. The railroad reports were the high tide of the Corps of Topographical Engineers' influence on the course of national history.

There was one last, and most easily digestible, source of information contained in the reports—the lithographic illustrations that accompanied the written narratives. Here, we will concentrate solely on the prints that were contained in Isaac Stevens' northern report.

Most of the drawings in Stevens' and the other volumes depicted the landscape over which the proposed rail beds would pass. Many others provided an unprecedented record of the man-made environment. In a way, the lithographs are snapshots of history—a unique view of a trail from St. Paul to Puget Sound as it looked in 1853.

Today, in a culture that is awash with visual images, it is important to remember the impact that graphic imagery had on the mid-19th century. These irreplaceable views of the exotic West, valuable to us because of their antiquity, were also uncommonly important at the time of their origin. They stir the imagination now as easily as they did 130 years ago.

Stevens selected John Mix Stanley to be the expedition's chief artist. Stanley had previously traveled throughout much of the West compiling a portfolio of Indian paintings which, once exhibited in many of the nation's great Eastern cities, brought him renown. In fact, Stanley had visited the old Oregon Country in 1847-48, and thus was far more familiar with the destination of the expedition than were most of its members, including the new governor of Washington Territory.

Stanley was an accomplished member of the romantic movement in art—a body of work that looked sympathetically upon the primitive and mystical quality of nature. Stanley's images,
whether those on canvas or the sketches which the lithographers reproduced for inclusion in the railroad reports, were documentary in purpose and thus fully in keeping with the scientific orientation of the expedition. Yet they were highly impressionistic as well. Romanticist that he was, Stanley was intent upon transcending reality. His sketches are imbued with the awesome grandeur one experienced in the great expanses of the West. The "big sky" as romantic imagery was born in this era. In nearly every instance, the distant horizon accounts for only half of the sketch. Evidences of civilization, such as fur-trading outposts, offered in part to provide some sense of scale, are repeatedly dwarfed by a monumental natural backdrop. The lithographs of the Pacific railroad reports are, as Dr. William Goetzmann has written, visual poetry—truthful without being overly descriptive. Like all good works of art, they preserve a valuable state of mind, showing the Northwest as the explorer saw it, a world that quickly faded into history with the onset of pioneer settlement.

Isaac Stevens, already having been appointed governor, sought and received the command of the northern survey. His expedition would be the first to follow in the footsteps of Lewis and Clark, and would supersede all other explorations in importance except the latter's trailblazing expedition of 1804-6. Stevens had graduated from West Point (first in his class), served in the Mexican War, and successfully completed several projects in the East as an army engineer.

Having to resign his commission to serve as governor put the 35-year-old Stevens in the awkward position of being the civilian head of a military expedition. This difficulty was compounded by the presence of numerous other civilian scientists and engineers. So that the expedition might best protect and discipline itself, Stevens gave it a military organization by conferring upon the "gentlemen" of the party the grade of lieutenant. This arrangement did not work well.

Stevens' most important military associates would be Lt. John Mullan, Lt. Andrew Jackson Donelson of the Corps of Engineers, and Capt. George McClellan, also of the corps. In this manner, the northern survey, more than any other, had a definite Corps of Engineers flavor to it, and not by accident. Because of intraservice rivalry between the topographical engineers and the more established Corps of Engineers, Davis was pressed into giving the latter some of the glory associated with this grand reconnaissance.

Because Stevens' route was so far north and, thus, thought susceptible to early winter storms, he made the decision to divide the survey. McClellan was dispatched, by sea, to Fort Vancouver, where he eventually organized a 61-man force with
the mission of exploring the passes of the Cascade range, and then linking with Stevens and the main party inland. Information on the Cascades was critical because Seattle, even then, was conceded to be the best port on Puget Sound; and were a railroad to dip south to traverse the Cascades via the Columbia Gorge and then head north to the Sound, it would add 150 miles to the route. Also on the Pacific, Stevens ordered the creation of a corps led by Lt. Rufus Saxton, whose goal was to establish a depot at St. Mary's Village, just west of the Continental Divide, with provisions brought from the coast. This was done to facilitate the winter operations Stevens had in mind, and to enable his parties to stay in the field as long as possible.

The 86-man eastern contingent, under the direct command of Stevens, included two civilian engineers, a geologist, a surgeon-naturalist, many scientific assistants, and, most important for our purposes, the artist Mr. Stanley.

The various military units, packers, scientists, and engineers of the northern survey coalesced near St. Paul, Minnesota, in late May 1853. The team spent the early part of June investigating possible crossings of the Mississippi, broke in 173 mules, checked out instruments, and otherwise got ready to break camp, which they did on June 6.

Two weeks out, with the party traveling at a rate of between 15 and 20 miles a day, the terrain changed to rolling prairie. Stevens noted that they were on a gentle ascent.

On July 10, near Lake Jessie in east-central North Dakota, the expedition reached buffalo country—and in a grand manner. Accompanying one of Stanley's most famous sketches, Stevens wrote in awestruck tones:

"About five miles from camp we ascended to the top of a high hill, and for a great distance ahead every square mile seemed to have... buffalo upon it. Their number was variously estimated by the members of the party—some as high as half a million. I do not think it is any exaggeration to set it down at 200,000. I had heard of the myriads of these animals inhabiting these plains, but I could not realize the truth of these accounts till to-day, when they surpassed anything I could have imagined..."

A week later, the Stevens party encountered the camp of the Red River Hunters—an amalgam of Chippewa, Sioux and European blood—1,300 in all, residents of Pembina on the Canada-
U.S. border south of Winnipeg. (It was with these people that the Hudson's Bay Company tried to colonize Puget Sound in an ill-fated attempt to stave off American emigration.) The hunters were out on their semiannual buffalo hunt. They used the meat and robes for sustenance and trade. The Stevens expedition purchased pemmican, sugar, moccasins and other things from the camp, and then moved west.

The American Fur Company's Fort Union, at the confluence of the Yellowstone and Missouri rivers, was reached on August 1. Located on the present border of North Dakota and Montana, the fort was the first outpost of American civilization the members of the northern survey had seen since they left St. Paul. Reaching Fort Union was important for two reasons. After having traveled 715 miles in 55 days, the party badly needed to rest the animals, add supplies and make plans for the weeks ahead. With that in mind, Stevens secured the services of Alexander Culbertson, factor of both Fort Union and the next milestone, Fort Benton, as a guide. Secondly, reaching Fort Union meant the expedition was about to enter the country of the much feared Blackfeet and related tribes, whose legendary warlike temperament effectively put the countryside north of Bozeman Pass off limits to white men and thus posed a serious threat to the feasibility of a railroad along the upper Missouri.

Stevens had his first scare within the ranks at Fort Union, but it was not derived from the Blackfeet. It seems some of the company's voyageurs started playing a practical joke on some of Stevens' unsuspecting men by relating stories of knee-deep snow on the plains west of there in August, and 20-foot drifts in the Rocky Mountain passes by early October. Stevens was forced to read from the published writings of Father DeSmet to reassure his men about the lightness and lateness of the snowfall on the leeward side of the divide, thus allaying the incipient mutiny.

Three hundred and seventy miles after leaving Fort Union, the Stevens party arrived at the last outpost before the Rocky Mountains—Fort Benton. The fort was located about 20 miles downstream from an equally important natural landmark, the great falls on the Missouri, thus the name of that Montana city. Fort Benton was smaller than Fort Union. Built, in parts, of wood, adobe, and unfired brick, it was the home of a dozen American Fur Company men and their families, who traded with the Blackfeet. The safe haven by the fort again allowed the expedition to sustain itself.

Stevens also used the fort, because of its proximity to the Continental Divide, as the headquarters for many side explorations, most of which were aimed at assessing the railroad feasibility of several mountain passes. Most vexatious was the exploration of the upper reaches of the Marias River and Pass, located at the southern end of present-day Glacier Park. Stevens was on his way north from Benton to the camp of the Piegan Indians to secure guides for an exploration of Marias Pass when a dispatch arrived from the rear announcing that Lt. Saxton of the western division had established a resupply depot west of the Rockies and then met, virtually on the divide itself, forward elements of Stevens' command. This was a most important development, and Stevens was overjoyed. He waxed eloquent in a letter to Jefferson Davis, written at Fort Benton on September 15:

"Daylight now breaks through the struggle of three months.... Parties from the Mississippi and the Pacific shook hands across the continent."
Stevens hastened back to Benton for a full report from Saxton. He learned that the Bitterroot and Cascade chains were more difficult than the Rockies (especially with regard to wagon travel); that winter atop these mountains was only five or six weeks away, not the eight he had assumed; that McClellan was struggling in the Cascades; and that the expedition had discovered a pass through the Rockies more than 1,000 feet lower than the famed South Pass on the emigrant road to Oregon—a pass, Stevens wrote Davis, "not only practicable, but expressly made to our hands for the great northern railroad."

The Stevens train headed out of Fort Benton toward the mountains during the third week of September. They crossed the divide, according to Stevens, with larger game within earshot, [Stevens] issued a proclamation announcing the existence of Washington Territory and creating its civil government, which was himself."

The major objective in the intermontane Bitterroot Valley was Fort Owen, a trader's post just south of present-day Missoula. It was named after the brothers Owen who, in 1850, had purchased St. Mary's Mission village, built by Father DeSmet in 1841, from the Jesuits. Here, Stevens' eastern division was resupplied with rations, beef cattle and pack animals transported up the Columbia and Clark Fork by Lt. Saxton's 20 soldiers and 30 packers. While at Fort Owen, from September 29 to October 3, Stevens made arrangements to establish a winter post for a detachment of 15 men under the direction of 23-year-old Lt. John Mullan. Mullan, who had graduated the previous year from West Point, was second only to Stanley in Stevens' personal estimation of talent and loyalty. Mullan established his camp 20 miles up the Bitterroot River from Fort Owen, and named it Cantonment Stevens. The camp served as his base of operations for the taking of meteorological observations in the Rockies, particularly with regard characteristic ease. In leaving the watershed of the Missouri and entering that of the Columbia, via Cadotte's Pass (so named after one of Stevens' guides, Pierre Cadotte, a French Canadian half-blood who had used it while trapping in 1851), Stevens set foot in his Washington Territory for the first time. At the divide, Stevens halted the party for a short ceremony, which one writer colorfully related: "To all interested cottontails and the accoutrements of the hunters and explorers.
to temperatures and snow depths, and as the base for several side explorations of the divide region—work Stevens did not have time to complete.

Mullan made five separate subexplorations from the time Stevens left him in October 1853 until he reported to Stevens in Olympia one year later. The detachment’s map detailing the topography of the Northwest was incorporated into the first definitive map of the whole West; the maps would never have been as detailed as they were without the efforts of Mullan, his detachment and such civilian engineers and scientific assistants as A. W. Tinkham and James Dory. In all, these men explored nine passes across the divide, and five across the Bitterroots. It was the greatest reconnaissance the Rockies had ever known.

Stevens left Fort Owen on October 4. Sending the main train down the Clark Fork and around Lake Pend Oreille, Stevens and a party of eight, including Stanley, took a shortcut through the Bitterroot Range in order to evaluate its feasibility as a more direct route.

Descending the west side of the Bitterroot chain, Stevens came upon the Jesuit mission just east of Lake Coeur d’Alene. Today, it is known as Cataldo Mission. It is the oldest piece of formal architecture extant in the state of Idaho, designed and built in 1848 by Father Ravalli, in whose room the governor spent the night of October 12.

When Stevens got to the mission, he was expecting to learn of McClellan’s whereabouts, but he did not. So he and the party continued westward along the Spokane River until, on October 17, in the vicinity of Spokane Falls, he learned from the Spokane Indians that a military contingent had arrived at Colville, to the northwest. Stevens knew this had to be McClellan. Interestingly, they had earlier discussed the likelihood that Colville would be the place they would link up.

Stevens hurried north, to Fort Colville, a Hudson’s Bay Company post one mile past Kettle Falls, where he did indeed find McClellan and his party.

After requisitioning from the company still more supplies, Stevens led the expedition south on October 21. Three days later, they reached the old Tshimikain (or Chemakan) Mission, slightly northwest of Spokane. The mission had been founded by the Walker and Eels families, cohorts of the Whitmans, and abandoned after the massacre at Wailatpu in 1847. Just south of the mission, near the south bank of the Spokane River, Stevens and McClellan’s forces rendezvoused with Donelson and the main train. The entire expedition, both east and west divisions, was
brought together at one place (called Camp Washington, north of present-day Reardan) for the first and only time. There, Stevens again divided the expedition, apportioning the various routes to Puget Sound among the various commanders.

Stevens and the main train took a more easterly route southward through the more hospitable Palouse country. Stevens was one of the first to publicize the fertility of the soil and the attendant agricultural prospects of the Northwest as a whole, and of the Palouse in particular.

Pushing on ahead of the main train, a select few, including Stevens and Stanley, reached Fort Walla Walla, another Hudson’s Bay Company post, on November 1. Six years previously, Stanley had been traveling the same trail, from Tshimikain to Wailatpu, to paint the portraits of the Whitmans, when some friendly Indians warned him about the Cayuse uprising against the mission. Stanley fled to the safety of this fort, and descended the Columbia with the refugees of the massacre ransomed by Peter Skene Ogden.

By November 1853, Stevens was anxious to reach Puget Sound so that he might establish the workings of government in Washington Territory. Leaving the bulk of the expedition to filter in over the course of the next year, Stevens, accompanied as ever by Stanley, coursed down the Columbia on a whirlwind tour and arrived at Fort Vancouver on November 15. He remained there several days as a guest of Col. Benjamin Bonneville, and became acquainted with several of Stanley’s old friends with the Hudson’s Bay Company. When Stevens and the overland parties reached Vancouver barracks, the quartermaster employees and most of the “gentlemen,” including Stanley, were discharged. For them, the expedition was over, though the preparation of reports, charts and sketches would continue for months and years. Stanley, for one, was back on the East Coast by January 9, 1854, having been entrusted by Stevens to deliver reports to the War Department personally.

On November 25, 1853, Stevens reached Olympia. He named the city the provisional capital, issued a call for elections and established a headquarters for the collation and interpretation of the information gathered by the expedition. He also began organizing his preliminary report of explorations and ordered further investigations of Puget Sound.

The last plate to appear in Stevens’ final report shows Mt. Baker and the Cascade Range from his favorite spot in the territory, Whidbey Island. He wrote in his geographical memoir: “[Mt. Baker] is for this region a natural and important landmark, as Mount Rainier is for Admiralty Inlet…. Mt. Baker, which stands near the 49th degree of north latitude, may be said to be the northwestern pillar of the territory of the United States, and with it we conclude this review.”

“Chemakane Mission,” near present-day Ford, Washington, was abandoned by Protestant missionaries in the wake of the Whitman incident of 1847. The structure at the left is not a burial site but is for food preservation.
Railroading continues to exert its attraction for writers and a wide audience of enthusiasts. The arrival of the steel rails in the Pacific Northwest was a pivotal event in the region’s economic development, heralding the end of its frontier phase. Contemporary expectations typically were grandiose, but the Portland Oregonian, essentially, was correct in its declaration that “a new destiny is upon us” upon completion of the Northern Pacific’s transcontinental railroad line in 1883.

That event and those that immediately surrounded it are the principal focus of Peter Lewty’s monograph. He discusses the early history of the Northern Pacific’s initial exploration, construction and financing through the spectacular collapse of Jay Cooke & Company in 1873. In the wake of that financial debacle, even the completed sections were closed to traffic during the winter months until the army insisted that they be opened in the winter of 1876-77 in the face of Indian attacks. In that regard, the author might have noted one of the most telling confrontations of that period, namely the Battle of the Little Big Horn, which underlined the importance of rail transportation as an integral part of the successful conquest of the northern frontier.

Shifting his focus to the Pacific Northwest, the author outlines the fortunes of the Oregon Steam Navigation Company and the rise and fall of Henry Villard, who gained control and completed the N.P.’s transcontinental link. Lewty also devotes considerable space to a discussion of the building of individual sections and smaller branch lines, perhaps reflecting his own training as an engineer. Indeed, this volume is a result of his research on the railroads of the Columbia Interior while employed as a mining engineer for 12 years at Rossland, British Columbia. His study of the Columbia Gateway as the economic focal point of transportation during the immediate post-Civil War period concludes in 1884 with Villard’s resignation as president of the N.P. and the road’s completion of its Cascade line through the Yakima Valley to Tacoma under his successor, Robert Harris. A brief epilogue sketches subsequent developments through the 1970 Burlington Northern merger and the Staggers Act of 1980.

This monograph is useful for readers with a “close up” interest in the early transportation industry along the Columbia River. Lewty also attempts to integrate local events and developments with the larger trends and policies determined in New York and elsewhere. He relies too heavily upon newspapers and official company reports, however. More extensive use of secondary sources and the use of available manuscript collections—the Northern Pacific Railway Company Records of the Minnesota Historical Society and the Union Pacific Papers of the Nebraska Historical Society immediately come to mind—would have strengthened the study. Nonetheless, this is a readable book, one that should be appreciated by readers concerned with this fascinating and fundamentally significant aspect of the region’s heritage.

W. Thomas White is curator of the James Jerome Hill Reference Library, St. Paul, Minnesota, and a frequent contributor to Pacific Northwest journals.

As Washington State prepares to round the bend of 100 years of statehood, many of its educational and cultural institutions are simultaneously reaching that same landmark. The Burke Museum, at the University of Washington, has already passed it. To celebrate, the museum has published Spirit and Ancestor.

While the Burke Museum has built natural history collections of international stature ranging from birds’ nests and butterflies to geologic microfossils, and anthropology collections from throughout the Pacific Rim, this commemorative volume focuses exclusively on the Northwest Coast Indian art collection. This focus reflects the emphasis of the institution’s founders as well as its early collections and exhibitions.

In 1885, the Young Naturalists’ Society began construction of a building on the University of Washington campus, an association that eventually gave birth to the Burke Museum. In the initial chapter of the book under review, author Holm recalls the first century of the institution in a style that is interesting and brisk. The litany of figures credited with shaping the Northwest Coast collection, including Reverend Myron Ells and James G. Swan, and the recitation of buildings that housed the museum are enlivened by the generous use of photographs.

It is in the subsequent chapters—moving by culture group from south to north, from the Columbia River peoples to the Tlingit of Southeast Alaska—that Holm’s brilliance as artist, craftsman, anthropologist and art historian is demonstrated. Though the book is arranged with a definite logic, the fun lies in being able to read it backward or forward. Each artifact is skilfully photographed in color by Eduardo Calderon and accompanied by Holm’s captivating analysis of its cultural and artistic merits. No one can read the entry on Makah Indian whale floats and look at a seal in the same way again!

Holm’s selection of artifacts is a balanced representation of the Northwest Coast culture groups. The high quality of selections is attributable to the strength of the collection in the Burke (for it numbers over 8,000 pieces), coupled with Holm’s connoisseurship, which has earned him an international reputation.

Patricia Blankenship is assistant director of the Washington State Historical Society. Previously she served as acting curator of ethnology and acting chairperson of the Anthropology Division at the Burke Museum.

The topic of this book, a comparative study of two cities that share similar natural settings but lie separated by national boundaries, seems like a sure winner; and, for the most part, Distant Neighbors lives up to its promise. The author, Norbert MacDonald, has written "a comprehensive survey" of the histories of both Seattle, Washington, and Vancouver, British Columbia; and, while the organization is largely chronological, the emphasis is less on famous persons than on "the processes and events" which MacDonald regards as crucial to the two cities' development.

Of particular interest is his analysis of the disparate role that railroads played in the early history of the two cities. The Canadian Pacific Railway all but created Vancouver and dominated the city for decades. The Canadian Pacific and the Great Northern laid their tracks there. Equally fascinating is MacDonald's discussion of why Seattle benefited more than Vancouver from the economic activity generated by the Klondike gold rush. In addition to discussing such episodes, MacDonald pays heed to shifts in the ethnic, racial and class composition of the two cities; the relative weakness. Despite MacDonald's many allusions to the bitterness of labor unrest in both cities, his treatment of the topic is so cursory that the reader gains little sense of the feeling it evoked. He does a more thorough job of discussing the impact of the Depression and World War II; MacDonald credits the continued viability of public transit in Vancouver to its lower rate of car ownership, especially after World War I. Moreover, Canada never undertook an interstate highway system comparable to that of the United States because of its broad expanse, low population and lack of wealth. Although Seattleites have resisted the building of additional freeways since the late 1960s, theirs is the more sprawling city. Vancouver's compactness helps to explain why, despite the smaller population, it seems more lively and more urbane.

In conclusion, Distant Neighbors is always informative and sometimes penetrating, but seems to go off in too many directions. Scholars will wish that it offered a more sustained analysis of how differences in U.S. and Canadian policies affected these cities; general readers will desire more insight into the evolution of each city's distinctive identity.

Dr. Carol A. O'Connor is professor of history at Utah State University in Logan. She is the author of one book and several articles on the urbanization of America.

Current and Noteworthy

By Dr. Robert C. Carriker, Book Review Editor

Pacific Northwest Coast Indian art continues to flourish as a field of interest. The University of British Columbia Press has long actively published in this area, and when it issued three particularly attractive paperbound books in the summer of 1986, something of a boomlet in the field followed. Karen Duffek's Bill Reid: Beyond Essential Form (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1986; 64 pp., $12.95 paper) examines the influence of the artist, carver and writer who is generally acknowledged as the pivotal force in the reappraisal of Northwest Coast art. Marjorie M. Halpin's Jack Shadbolt and the Coast Indian Image (Vancouver: U.B.C. Press, 1986; 64 pp., $12.95 paper) offers an anthropologist's perspective on an important Canadian artist who integrated Indian elements into his highly stylized watercolors. Doreen Jensen and Polly Sargent's Robes of Power, Totem Poles on Cloth (Vancouver: U.B.C. Press, 1986; 96 pp., $15.95 paper) examines the crest-style robe, sister of the totem pole, as a unique form of graphic and narrative art.

Lately, the University of Oklahoma Press has reissued Norman Bancroft-Hunt's 1979 volume for Orbis Publishing called People of the Totem: The Indians of the Pacific Northwest (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1988; 128 pp., $14.95 paper). Printed in Spain, the volume contains 130 illustrations by photographer Werner Forman. Professor Allan H. Smith, Washington State University's noted anthropologist, was consulted on the reissue and enthusiastically endorsed the project. A companion volume is Ernest S. Burch, Jr., The Eskimos (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1988; 128 pp., $22.50). This time, photographer Forman provides 120 color photographs of native art and artifacts.

The jewels of the renaissance in Northwest Coast art, however, are Bill Holm's Spirit and Ancestor, reviewed in greater detail above; and Aldona Jonaitis', From the Land of the Totem Poles: The Northwest Coast Indian Art Collection at the American Museum of Natural History (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1988; 272 pp., $35). With 96 color photographs by Stephen S. Myres and 86 black-and-whites, plus maps and a bibliography, the volume is both an art book and a graphic catalog to the American Museum of Natural History collection in New York City.

It was December 1918. World War I was over and the men were coming home. Frank Martin, who managed the North End Market in Tacoma, festooned his store with garlands of gaily colored Christmas decorations and turkeys hung in profusion from the ceiling. In spite of the war-inflated price of 50 cents per pound, up 100% from the year before, many families splurged on the purchase of a bird. Other, less fortunate families had to settle for more reasonably priced chicken, duck or goose. But in the end, it did not really matter what was served for the holiday feast. The war was over, families were together, and it was a Christmas celebration many Washingtonians never forgot.

Readers are invited to submit historical photographs for History Album. Columbia will pay $25 for each photograph published. If a photograph is to be returned, it must be accompanied by a self-addressed, stamped envelope.
Washington State Historical Society
Exhibition Schedule

8/5/88-12/3/88
TIMBER!: a series of paintings by Robert Chamberlain illustrating old-time logging days.

11/11/88-1/7/89
CAPTAIN CHARLES WILKES’ GIG: a life-size replica will be built in the museum during public hours.

12/8/88-1/4/89
PEOPLES OF WASHINGTON: a multimedia exhibition of historical and contemporary photographs illustrating the ethnic diversity of Washington State.

12/22/88-4/30/89
ABBY WILLIAMS HILL AND THE LURE OF THE WEST: a retrospective exhibit of her paintings from the 1880s to the 1930s, drawn from the collection of the University of Puget Sound.

2/16/89-4/16/89

4/28/89-6/28/89

5/16/89-7/16/89
WASHINGTON HALL OF HONOR: an exhibition of photographs and descriptive text of 100 Washingtonians who have shaped the life of the state and its people during the last century.

7/27/89-11/30/89
MARITIME FOLKLIFE OF PUGET SOUND: contemporary maritime folk traditions on Puget Sound—boat models, knot work, decorative arts, fishing implements, etc., exhibited with their historic counterparts.

10/5/89-11/30/89
Form No. 1.

THE WESTERN UNION TELEGRAPH COMPANY.

This company TRANSMITS and DELIVERS messages only on conditions limiting its liability, which have been entered in the following manner:

1. That the company undertakes only to transmit or deliver the message and does not guarantee its arrival at the proper destination.
2. That if the message is defaced, destroyed, or delayed in transmission or delivery, the company shall not be responsible for such defacement, destruction, or delay.
3. That the sender acknowledges receipt of the message and agrees to pay the charge therefor.

THOS. T. HOBERT, General Manager.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>NUMBER</th>
<th>SENT BY</th>
<th>EXEC'D BY</th>
<th>CHECK</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>29</td>
<td>Collected 61c</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Received at Office of Executive Mansion Washington 11

To Elisha P. Ferry

The President signed the proclamation declaring Washington to be a State in the Union at five o'clock and twenty-seven minutes this afternoon.

Jos. E. Blaine