What exactly is the business of historical societies? Remembrance. I think of this answer while writing in early December, the November just past having been a month of remembrance.

A much-promoted television series recalled the frightful but occasionally exhilarating days of the Second World War. Nevertheless, with World War II fading deeper into the past (meaning there are ever fewer people alive who lived through those tumultuous days, now becoming a part of history), a more immediate occasion was also widely attended to—the 25th anniversary of John Kennedy's assassination.

It was noted several times during the month that the Kennedy family would prefer having the late president's birth celebrated, rather than his untimely death. I would be interested to know (and perhaps a reader can tell us) just when President Lincoln's birth came to be celebrated, as opposed to John Wilkes Booth's infamy.

My sense is that November 22nd is observed not so much out of regard for Kennedy, the man and the myth, but rather how you were doing or where you were when the president was struck, or up the "grassy knoll." This was testimony to how ingrained the scene of that particular crime had become to those who have seen films or other documentaries of the event.

But, and here is my point, the Kennedy assassination will also pass into the recesses of history. Those born after 1963 will increasingly displace the populace for whom the event in Dealey Plaza holds immediacy. As that happens, as fewer people remember Kennedy and what the shock of his death meant to the nation and its presumed invincibility in the "American Century," instruments will need to be created to preserve its significance.

Indeed, the top floor of the old book depository in Dallas is being converted into a museum of the assassination.

In a less dramatic way, this happens continuously in every county in this state and most of its communities. As the events of a particular era begin to fade, efforts are mounted to recall the past for the benefit of temporal newcomers through books, exhibits, reenactments and the like. In this regard, I call your attention to the list of historical societies printed below, affiliates of the State Historical Society for the purpose of distributing this magazine—a relationship I sincerely hope expands into other areas of mutual support.

(More on that in a future column.)

For now, let us simply acknowledge our collective mission: Remembrance—keeping history alive in the lives of the living.

—David L. Nicandri, Director

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- Sumner Historical Society
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Logging takes to the air.

Cover: Bird’s-eye view maps, popular tools of civic promotion in the late 19th century, provide a fascinating glimpse into community history (see story on page 3). This artist’s rendering of Olympia, East Olympia and Tumwater was published in 1879; it was illustrated by E. S. Glover and lithographed by A. L. Bancroft & Co., San Francisco. In 10 short years after the completion of Glover’s sketch, the rustic frontier town of Olympia became, though relatively little changed, the state capital. (Courtesy of the Geography and Map Division, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.)
Our Brief History Simplifies the Task of Understanding

The flow of life fills our days so much with vivid impressions of the present that it is difficult to visualize or understand what is out of our time. This is a basic problem of history and of historical societies, whose mission is to keep the past enough alive that there can be some understanding of what has gone before—what happened in the past that brought us to the present state of affairs.

The further back the years, the more difficult it is to relate to them. It is difficult to realize that those who were alive long ago—alive as we are now—were not just like us. The ways they thought and acted were influenced by their times, which were quite different from ours. They were not less intelligent or moral or resourceful; they just couldn’t know what was yet to be.

So the people of times past and the events that transpired because of what they did may now seem odd and strange. But they were not odd or strange in their time; only in ours. I remember an old school text that referred to Orientals as “the queer people”—different from us, and so considered “queer.”

A recent trip into northern England to visit medieval relics took us to York, so old a city that it has several museums, each for a different period.

One is Roman. The legions of Caesar were there before the Christian era began and artifacts resurrected from long interment are numerous. Another is Viking. Invaders from the north occupied York for a long period. A third museum relates to the period of French or Norman domination.

And finally, in the town castle is an extensive collection of what many might call 20th-century junk, collected in the 1920s and ’30s by a local doctor who made his rounds through the countryside, frequently taking household items such as utensils, farm tools, early radios and pictures off the walls in lieu of money as payment for his services. His accumulation is now on display, and it is this museum, not those of the periods of antiquity, that is most popular with the people of Yorkshire. And why? Because a person can go there and say: “I remember that. My grandfather had one.”

This bears out the conclusion that the more distant the past, the more difficult it is for us to relate to it. And the longer ago people lived, the more difficulty we have understanding them.

Does this mean that what was said and done a hundred years ago by those who created the state of Washington are beyond our understanding because they have been gone so long? It need not and should not be. A hundred years is but a clock tick in the time span of civilization. Our story is short indeed compared to that of a place such as York, where the people have 20 centuries to contend with in attempting to understand where they fit into their history.

The brevity of our history can be considered an advantage. It simplifies the tasks of teachers, compilers of history, editors of historical journals and curators of historical museums. But simplicity does not always equate with effectiveness. The people of Washington, as I have observed before, do not seem to have any better grasp on their past than people of much older states—perhaps not as good. This is something to concern ourselves with as the Centennial dramas begin and the matter of understanding what is out of our time has our attention.

—John McClelland, Jr.
PANORAMAS of PROMISE

Bird's-eye view maps provide a unique look at Washington communities.

By Larry Schoonover

Terminus of the Northern Pacific Railroad," proudly proclaimed the printed legend at the bottom of an 1878 "Bird's Eye View" map of adolescent Tacoma, Washington Territory. The phrase indicated the economic importance of the railroad in the Pacific Northwest. It also expressed the strong competitive spirit between towns and communities in the late 19th century. Lithographed urban perspective maps, commonly labeled "bird's-eye view" or "panoramic view" maps, were printed to promote the growth of communities. They illustrated civic pride and achievement, and advertised the community's prospects.

The value of bird's-eye view maps for historical study was demonstrated by the leading authority on the subject, John W. Reps. His recent publication, Panoramas of Promise:

ABOVE:
E. S. Glover's 1879 view of Olympia included the figure of an artist working at his easel, presumably a self-portrait.
The printed lithographs derived their name from the presumed perspective of a bird several thousand feet in the air above a community. Artists, once assured of financial profit, walked the streets of a city sketching details of topography and architecture. After choosing an imaginary vantage point that flatteringly portrayed the town, bird’s-eye view artists created a finished drawing that duplicated nearly every feature of the community. The best of the maps were visually enhanced by the artists’ draftsmanship, painstaking attention to detail and sense of perspective. Artistic license allowed illustrators to clean up city streets and occasionally project building development before the actual time of construction. When completed, the artist’s townscape drawing was transferred to one of the leading lithography businesses, which produced the completed lithographs.

The Pacific Northwest’s earliest cityscape was an 1846 drawing of Oregon City which appeared in Sir Henry James Warre’s Sketches in North America and the Oregon Territory. Several publishing or printing firms were established in California after the Gold Rush and, in 1858, the partnership of Charles Kuchel and Emil Dresel illustrated a perspective map of Vancouver, Washington Territory. Nineteen vignettes of local structures, illustrating the details of pioneer architecture, surrounded a view of the city.

In 1866, Grafton Tyler Brown, a black artist from San Francisco, produced a view of Walla Walla. His lithograph included nearly 30 vignettes of prominent residences and businesses around a perspective image of Walla Walla. Businesses illustrated included blacksmithing, carriage making, livery and feed stable, city brewery, saloon, saddlery, even a book store. Names of the buildings’ owners were also included on the map.

An inscription printed on the bottom of the Walla Walla drawing indicated that the views were made “From Photographs by P. F. Castelman.” Reps located a Walla Walla Statesman dated May 5, 1865, a year before the lithographic map was printed, which stated, “Mr. P. F. Castelman [sic] is engaged in taking photographic views of the city and of the principal business houses, with a view of sending them to San Francisco and having them lithographed.”

A decade later, Eli S. Glover illustrated a bird’s-eye view map of Walla Walla that was printed by A. L. Bancroft & Co., San Francisco. Evidence of considerable “progress” was indicated by the number of “Churches and Schools” and “Public Buildings and Factories” listed in the legend at the bottom of the map. Glover was responsible for several other Washington bird’s-eye view maps that were printed in the late 1870s, cityscapes of Seattle, Tacoma, Port Townsend and Olympia. The August 14, 1878, issue of the Weekly Pacific Tribune stated, “The lithographic pictures of Port Townsend … have been delivered to those subscribing for them, and we presume the Seattle pictures will be delivered next. Dr. Thatcher and Mr. Glover are now in Tacoma for the purpose of getting pictures of that new and promising town.”

A figure in the foreground of Glover’s Olympia bird’s-eye view map is of particular interest. He depicted an artist working at his easel, presumably a self-portrait of Glover sketching the territorial capital. Washington’s early communities were drawn “startling true” by the bird’s-eye view map artists, at least by Eli Glover. Of Glover’s Seattle drawing, the July 10, 1878, issue of the Weekly Pacific Tribune reported,

ELEGANT PICTURE. We were yesterday shown the birdseye view of Seattle sketched by Mr. E. S. Glover, for which his agent is now soliciting subscriptions. The scene represents every building that stood in the town last December so as to be easily recognized, and includes a double waterfront—the Sound and Lakes Union and Washington. The picture, when lithographed, will be beautiful indeed, and startling true to the persons in the city. The view is of the birdseye description, [as] Seattle and the adjacent lands and waters are supposed to look at an altitude of 2,000 feet.

Favorable comments by the press most likely encouraged sales subscriptions. More importantly, the newspaper articles provide evidence regarding the artistic accuracy of the drawings. Faithful representation of a community was important, probably more so than artistic merit, because the finished product was scrutinized by local citizens. Sales depended upon realistic views of the businesses and residences in the community.
Although several factors contributed to the economic development and the population growth of Washington Territory, the expansion of the Northern Pacific Railroad in the early 1880s was vital. Railroad companies subsidized the publication of townscapes in an effort to stimulate settlement. However, of all of Henry Wellge's 1884 Western bird's-eye view maps, including views in Oregon, Montana and Washington, were of cities located along the route of the Northern Pacific Railroad. Wellge's views also included a large number of business listings in the legends at the bottom of the maps, corresponding with the increase in churches, schools, and social, fraternal or other public organizations associated with population growth and increased economic activity.

Henry Wellge was busy during the year 1884. After sketching panoramic maps for towns in Montana, Wellge, following the tracks of the Northern Pacific Railroad westward, illustrated six bird's-eye view maps of towns in Washington Territory: Spokane Falls, Cheney, Dayton, Walla Walla, Tacoma and Seattle. Another view, of Waitsburg, bears a stylistic resemblance to the work of Henry Wellge, but may have been illustrated by the map's copublisher, a prolific bird's-eye view map artist named Albert Ruger.

In the mid-1880s, the town of Cheney, named after Benjamin P. Cheney, a director of the Northern Pacific Railroad Company, was engaged in a spirited contest with Spokane Falls for commercial and political dominance. Illustrated cityscapes of Cheney and Spokane Falls were undoubtedly viewed with pride by community fathers, and the civic competition probably increased sales of the localized maps.

A column in the Spokane Falls Weekly Review, dated August 16, 1884, noted,

The bird's-eye view of Spokane Falls recently issued have been delivered, and gives unqualified satisfaction. The town has grown considerable since the map was drawn, but the publishing house is not to blame for that.

The same issue of the Spokane newspaper remarked,

Percival & Andrews, a couple of old friends at the county seat, have our thanks for a copy of a bird's eye view of Cheney, similar to the one of Spokane Falls recently issued by J. Stoner, of Madison, Wis.
The view is an elegant one, and shows our neighboring town to the very best advantage.

On the other side of Washington Territory, the Seattle Post-Intelligencer reported, in a column dated July 15, 1884,

FINE VIEWS.—H. Wellge, an artist, who has been here during the past fortnight, has completed in ink the finest view of Seattle ever known. It is of the bird's eye character, and shows everything for two miles up and down the bay, and out to and on Lakes Union and Washington, as also the bay in front of the town. On the bay are a large number of vessels—screw, stern end [sic] sidewheel steamers, sail vessels of all rigs, and small boats. In the town are shown the streets and houses, fences, gardens and shade trees, with the timber beyond, all beautifully plain, clear and distinct. With but little difficulty every house in town can be picked out. The picture is fourteen inches wide and thirty-three inches long. It will be lithographed, printed on card board, and sold to our citizens at the rate of $3 apiece, twelve for $20, and $1 apiece for hundred. It will be a splendid thing to send abroad to advertise the town.

The writer of the article obviously liked Wellge's illustrated view of Seattle. The same piece also provided a clue regarding the number of lithographed maps that were published for sale:

A bird's eye view of Tacoma has been taken by the same artist, and 4,000 copies sold. J. J. Stoner, of Madison, Wisconsin, is the publisher of these pictures. O. Swift, the agent, will begin to canvass the town for orders tomorrow.

One wonders if the agent, O. Swift, was able to sell as many subscriptions for Seattle as were sold, or reportedly sold, for Tacoma.

In 1889 the town of Walla Walla was visited by artist Bruce Wellington Pierce. Pierce's illustrated lithograph, a fourth perspective view of Walla Walla, was published one year later. This bird's-eye view map was surrounded by vignettes of businesses and residences, reminiscent of the Walla Walla map drawn by Grafton Tyler Brown in 1866. Comparison of the two maps indicates a dramatic transformation of Walla Walla. Pierce's map included the imprint, "Compliments of Baumeister & Reynolds, Real Estate and Insurance Agents." Several bird's-eye view maps printed during this period included advertisements for local real estate companies or insurance businesses. Indeed, Pierce's 1891 view of Fairhaven (now part of Bellingham) was probably sponsored by the Fairhaven Land Company.

Additional evidence of local promotional activity appeared on a panoramic view of Spokane Falls that was published in 1890, "Eleven Months After The Great Fire." Some of the Spokane maps included the inscription, "Drawn by Augustus Koch for H. L. Moody, Real Estate Agr., 202 and 203 Tidball Block, Spokane Falls, Washington." Other versions of the map did not contain the advertising information. Evidently, copies of the bird's-eye view maps were overprinted to generate additional revenue for the publisher and provide valuable public relations for local businessmen.

Augustus Koch also lithographed a view of Seattle in 1889, "Eighteen Months After The Great Fire." He therefore illustrated two cities in the state that dramatically rebuilt after suffering disastrous 1889 fires. Both maps were replete with numerous business listings in the legends, no doubt generating additional revenue for Koch, who acted as his own publisher.

Bird's-eye view maps continued their popularity into the 20th century despite the technological advances of photography and commercial printing. In 1905, Spokane's popular John W. Graham & Co., the "If it's made of paper we have it" store, published an oversized urban lithograph that graphically depicted the city of Spokane. The following ad appeared in the local paper for years: "BIRDSEYE VIEW OF SPOKANE. The best map of its kind ever gotten up. Produced by us at an expense of $1700.00. Size of map, 42x55 inches, and in colors. Mail one to your friends. Price to you ... 50c. Mailing tubes, each ... 10c."

As Washington celebrates the centennial of statehood, we can look to panoramic maps for an understanding of community life, especially in the 19th century. Bird's-eye view maps highlighted the infancy of community development, illustrated the importance of natural resources, and portrayed the promotional efforts of city fathers to entice prospective citizens to the region. At first glance, the illustrations may appear "romantic," but careful analysis of the townscape panoramas reveals rather accurate representations of the promise of Washington's cities and towns.

Bird's-eye view map of Fairhaven (Bellingham), 1891. Illustrated by B. W. Pierce, published by Fairhaven Land Co. and printed by the Elliot Company of San Francisco.


Said the Spokane paper about an 1884 map: "The town has grown considerable since the map was drawn, but the publishing house is not to blame for that."

Larry Schoonover is curator of history for the Eastern Washington State Historical Society.
The limits of field sketching are evident in this presumed drawing of Marcus Whitman.

Early drawings return to the Northwest.

In 1847, shortly before the murders of Marcus and Narcissa Whitman and several others and the destruction of the mission buildings, the Canadian artist Paul Kane visited the site and was "received very kindly by the missionary and his wife." While there he sketched the mission, two Cayuse Indians and an Indian fan belonging to Mrs. Whitman, and made drawings purported to be the only surviving illustrations of the Whitmans. Although photography was in practice in the eastern U.S., the technology did not arrive in the West until several years after the death of the Whitmans.

Paul Kane spent his childhood in York (now known as Toronto), where at 23 he began his career as a sign painter. A year later, in 1834, he was painting professionally as a portraitist, traveling as far as New Orleans, Louisiana, and Mobile, Alabama, in pursuit of his profession.

In 1841, Kane traveled to Europe to sharpen his artistic talent. In London, he met George Catlin, the first artist of any importance to visit the West in order to paint Indians. After nearly four years in Europe, Kane returned to Canada. He later wrote, "I determined to devote whatever talents and proficiency I possessed to the painting of a series of pictures illustrative of the North American Indians and scenery."

In preparation for this work, Kane spent the summer of 1845 in the Great Lakes region painting the leading chieftains. There he practiced living outdoors and learned the cultural skills necessary for him to be accepted by Native Americans. In 1846, Kane spent the winter at
Fort Vancouver. The following spring and summer, he traveled in and around the Northwest attempting to capture the landscape and Indian tribes before the advancing American settlement overwhelmed their culture. He published an account of his travels in 1859, entitled *Wanderings of an Artist*.

In the book, Kane described his visit in July 1847 with Dr. Whitman, who took him to a Cayuse lodge where he sketched Tomakus. The Indian attempted to throw the sketch in the fire, but Kane snatched it from him. “He ... appeared greatly enraged, but before he had time to recover from his surprise I left the lodge and mounted my horse, not without occasionally looking back to see if he might not send an arrow after me.”

Kane returned to Toronto in 1848, carrying with him his field sketches. He successfully exhibited them, translating many into formal canvas paintings. This collection brought him some notoriety. However, growing blindness, first noticeable in 1859, began to isolate him from other people. Kane scarcely touched a brush after that date. Without new paintings to maintain public interest, Kane became a forgotten figure.

Paul Kane died on February 20, 1871. Many of his drawings came to be housed in the Royal Ontario Museum in Toronto. Now, for the first time, the sketches of the Whitmans, the mission and “Narcissa’s Indian fan” will be loaned to the Whitman Mission National Historic Site in Walla Walla. The Royal Ontario Museum has agreed to loan the sketches from April through November 1989.

The drawings will be exhibited in the newly redesigned and refurbished visitor-center museum at Whitman Mission, where visitors will see lifelike Indian mannequins in colorful, handmade clothing, original artwork, historical artifacts excavated at the mission site and many interesting exhibits of the Whitman’s mission and the Cayuse Indians.

David Herrera is superintendent of the Whitman Mission National Historic Site in Walla Walla.

ABOVE: Kane's drawing of Narcissa Whitman shows the famous missionary as contemplative, perhaps even melancholy.

BELOW: Whitman Mission: a famed stop on the Overland Trail to Oregon and one of the most important historic sites in the Northwest.
The State’s Role

When it was organized in 1853, Washington Territory was an undeveloped land with vast potential and scarcely 4,000 white inhabitants scattered in small settlements and homesteads. The responsibility for organizing the territory fell to Isaac Stevens, who was appointed its first governor by President Franklin Pierce. In fact, Stevens filled three positions. In addition to serving as governor, he was appointed superintendent of territorial Indian affairs and was in charge of the Northern Pacific Railroad Survey to determine possible routes through Washington to the Pacific Ocean. That Stevens was given this combination of responsibilities was not surprising, since the development of the territory’s potential required that it be made amenable to white settlement and economic development. This meant that Stevens needed to secure treaties to acquire the vast tracts of land upon which native Indians resided (Indians far outnumbered whites and their ancestral lands were among the most desirable in Washington), move native peoples onto reservations to allow quick and economical access for white settlement and industry, and plan for railroad access to move people and products.

Stevens’ handling of Indian affairs reflected a callousness toward Native Americans that characterized the situation nationally. Although he claimed that he was guided by a “scrupulous regard for their welfare,” Stevens viewed Indians as little more than impediments to progress. Bribery, deceit and an arrogant disregard for the cultures and traditions of the various tribes that resided within the territory were common during his administration’s dealings with Indians. Where tribes lived and how they lived were not significant issues so long as Indians were out of the way. Once placed on reservations, Indian welfare would be the responsibility of the federal government. They could survive as they might, or not survive at all. Human services in Washington, in the form of a policy towards Native Americans, did not get off to an encouraging start under Stevens’ direction.
Immigration was also on Stevens' mind when he proposed that the territory make provision for the welfare of white citizens. In his message to the first territorial legislature, in 1854, he declared that a way needed to be found "to relieve cases of suffering and distress" among the new settlers. In response, the legislature passed "An Act Relating to the Support of the Poor," the basic piece of social welfare legislation that guided Washington's activities in this area until 1933. Similar to "poor laws" enacted throughout the nation since colonial times, the law delegated to the counties "entire and exclusive superintendence" over "every poor person who shall be unable to earn a livelihood in consequence of bodily infirmity, idiocy [i.e., mental retardation], lunacy [i.e., mental illness], or other cause." Relatives had primary responsibility for support of their needy kin. Counties were granted the authority to fine relatives for nonsupport, build workhouses or contract out for care of adults and apprentice out poor children.

There is little indication that the tiny counties of the territory did much at all to fulfill these responsibilities. The reason for this is not hard to understand: providing for the needy was simply too expensive. For example, in 1855, the year after the poor law was passed, King County, with a population of 170, appealed to the territorial legislature for reimbursement for lodging and providing medical treatment for a destitute sailor found roaming in a disoriented manner on a beach near Seattle. The county bill, $1,659, exceeded total government revenue for the entire year. Predictably, the legislature declined to pay. There the matter stood until the early 1860s: the territorial legislature giving the counties responsibility for helping the needy, while the counties lacked the financial resources to do it.

By 1860, the population of Washington Territory had increased roughly threefold, to nearly 12,000. But with growth came demands for the territorial government to share with the counties the burden of providing for those in need. Specifically, local officials wanted the territory to commit its resources for the care of the insane. It is not surprising that provision for the insane became the entree of territorial government into human services activities. But in the mid-19th century virtually all experts agreed that adequate care for the insane required institutional care and treatment.

The first three-year contract was awarded to the Sisters of Charity. But where was the money for this fund to come from? No provision was made to generate funds, so the law was useless.

Finally, in 1864, the territory began to make partial payment for 19 months of back services. But payment was made in greenbacks, a currency worth half its face value in Washington and which the Sisters had previously been assured would not be used. Sister (later Mother) Joseph, the superior of the Sisters of Charity, wrote to Governor Pickering. In reply, "[Pickering] wrote us about DEMOCRACY being the cause of the Civil War and of the war being the reason for the low value of GREENBACKS. He wrote us that through penance, we must resign ourselves to our loss, since our Pastors and our Bishops support the Democratic Party."

Even with all their difficulties, the Sisters of Charity were willing to continue when the contract came up for renewal in 1865. But now, apparently with the payment issue resolved for future contractors, the new contract was awarded to two businessmen from Monticello. Still, uneasiness was developing about the propriety of the contract system. In 1867, Territorial Governor Marshall Moore argued that the contract system was "wrong in principle and cruel in practice." It was too easy for such a system to encourage incompetent providers who were motivated by profit. Moore's warnings were borne out when, in 1869, Dorothea Lynde Dix, a nationally prominent reformer on behalf of the insane who was touring the West Coast, directed an experienced medical man to inspect Washington's facility in Monticello. As a result of that inspection, Dix reported that patients lived in unsanitary and inhumane conditions.
Territorial authorities were horrified, as much because Dix's report could discourage settlement in Washington as for what it meant about the quality of provision for the insane. The House Select Committee on the Insane Asylum warned that "the fame and shame of this institution have a wider range than we were before aware of, and may well detract seriously from the rising reputation of our Territory and our people, and should be at once amended." Clearly, an alternative was needed that would give the territory more direct control over patient welfare. By 1871, the territory was able to purchase an abandoned army outpost, Fort Steilacoom, and convert it into a permanent asylum for the insane. But even so, Washington's problems were not solved. A contract system was still used, although a physician was also hired to provide treatment for the insane. In 1875, complaints by asylum physicians concerning brutality and poor living conditions resulted in another special investigation. When that study exonerated the contractor, the Medical Society of Washington Territory successfully lobbied for reform measures which placed the institution under the direction of a competent physician recommended by the governor and approved by the legislature. With that, Western State Hospital, now the oldest state human services institution, was born.

By 1880, the population of Washington Territory had increased to 75,116. Three years later, the completion of the Northern Pacific Railroad further hastened population growth. By 1890, the year after statehood was granted, the population of Washington stood at 357,232, an increase of more than 375 percent in only a decade. Heading toward statehood, civic boosters and political leaders wanted nothing to embarrass the territory as they sought to convince federal officials that Washington was ready to take its place as a state in the Union.

As the population and wealth of the territory increased, and as calls for statehood became more persistent, so too did demands for a new hospital building to replace the overcrowded, rickety former army barracks that housed the insane. The cost would be substantial, but after a four-year battle, territorial officials were prepared to support the building of a new hospital. The enormity of the costs involved only serve to highlight the importance of the issue. The total territorial budget for 1885-87 was $282,500. Nearly two-thirds of that amount was earmarked for mental health needs: $85,000 for ongoing operating expenses at the hospital and $100,000 for new construction. The Tacoma Daily Ledger of December 17, 1887, referred to the opening of the "new hundred thousand dollar hospital for the insane" in Steilacoom as "one of the most brilliant social events that ever took place in the territory." It was a signal to the rest of the nation that Washington was coming of age and was prepared to meet the social responsibilities entailed by statehood.

Immediately after admission, state involvement in human services quickly expanded. Only 11 days after Washington became a state, its first governor, Elisha P. Ferry, warned the legislature that in the state's burgeoning urban centers there was "a class of young boys who defy parental authority and [who] have little regard for the rights of property." The courts were reluctant to sentence these youths to prison terms with hardened criminals at the state penitentiary in Walla Walla. A special institution was needed to reform these "depraved and vicious youth." The legislature agreed and, in 1891, a State Training School for juvenile offenders opened in Chehalis. That same year, a second institution for the insane, Eastern State Hospital, opened at Medical Lake, near Spokane. The new hospital was intended to relieve severe overcrowding at Western State Hospital and also to satisfy demands from legislators representing Eastern Wash-
ingleton for a state charitable institution in that section of the state. Two years later, in 1892, the state opened a School for Defective (e.g., deaf-mute, blind or mentally retarded) Youth in Vancouver. In an attempt to assure efficiency in the operation of state institutions, a State Board of Control was formed in 1901, the forerunner of what is today the Department of Social and Health Services. By 1932, 9,594 people were institutionalized in state facilities.

At the county level, institutional relief efforts were centered in support of almshouses, whose residents were mostly aged and infirm. By the early 1930s, 24 Washington counties had almshouses, housing 2,434 people "with varying degrees of adequacy and comfort to the inmates." There is no doubt that the number housed in state and county facilities would have been much higher if there had been more spaces available in these chronically overcrowded institutions.

By the beginning of the 20th century, Washington was solidly committed to providing institutionalization for many groups of citizens who were thought to need such assistance. The state's mental hospitals led the way, clearly standing out as Washington's major contribution to human services. By the early years of the new century, Washington's mental hospitals were aptly described as "the most important bit of philanthropy the state is engaged in." Certainly the mental hospital system was the state's most expensive philanthropic enterprise. Yet, for all this, by the early 1900s, all was not well with the Washington mental hospital system. There were periodic complaints about staff brutality toward patients, political interference in institutional affairs and inefficient management of institutional resources. The complaints only added to the frustration caused by the fact that the state could not seem to build new hospital buildings fast enough to keep pace with the steady increase in the number of insane.

For example, by 1904, after 33 years of steady growth at the Fort Steilacoom hospital, the number of institutionalized patients had grown from 14 in 1871 to 837. A. H. McLeish, superintendent at Western State Hospital, reported that the institution had room for only 400 patients, but 510 were crowded into the hospital's wards. Moreover, an estimated increase of 100 new male patients over the next biennium threatened to make an already critical situation worse. The state responded. Between 1905 and 1907, new buildings to relieve overcrowding were built at Western State Hospital. But by 1908, a new superintendent, A. P. Calhoun, reported that the new wards would soon be filled. Moreover, there were now "enough patients sleeping in the halls and corridors at the present time on the female side to almost fill a new ward." Similar conditions existed at Eastern State Hospital. Overcrowding led to calls for yet another state mental hospital, what would become Northern State Hospital at Sedro Woolley.

Overcrowding was caused by a number of factors. New settlement combined with natural growth to create an increasingly large at-risk population in the state. The ineffectiveness of available therapies, combined with virtually no community living alternatives, made it inevitable that large numbers of the at-risk population who were institutionalized would become chronic cases. Finally, mental hospitals were actually serving as homes for many poor elderly who, as Superintendent Calhoun put it, "having a few harmless delusions and being unable to support themselves, are adjudged insane" and committed. These were people who apparently could be cared for at home or in county infirmaries, "as well [as], if not better than in the crowded wards of an asylum." But the economic incentive for counties was to send them to a state mental hospital, if at all possible. Once these people were committed to the state hospital, counties would be freed from the responsibility for maintaining them.

Not only were living conditions inadequate for patients at the state mental hospitals, but working conditions for the staff were also extremely poor. For example, in 1920, attendants at Western State Hospital could expect to work as many as 12 to 13½ hours daily (except for one day a week when the workday stretched for 15½ hours). Time off was limited to one and a half days every two weeks, a one-week vacation every six months, and one week's sick leave yearly. No training program existed to prepare attendants for the extremely difficult task of working with mentally disturbed people. The ratio of attendants to patients was a dangerously low 1 to 16. Moreover, attendants were virtually bound to the institution during their entire period of employment, whether they were on duty or not, since they were expected to live on the hospital grounds. For most, this meant living on the same wards as patients, often in the same rooms as patients. There was simply no way for attendants to get away from the intense daily stress of working with mentally disordered people. These living and working conditions, combined with a woefully inadequate salary scale, make it clear why there was a high turnover among attendants, as well as frequent charges of patient abuse.

Conditions at other state institutions were equally grim. For example, by 1911, serious concerns began to be voiced about conditions at the State Training School in Chehalis. One investigating committee found that milk was so scarce "that often mush is eaten without milk," eggs and poultry were rarely served and "fresh fruit, even an apple, was a luxury." The same committee reported, "There is no system of rewards for good behavior in the institution and hence officials rely entirely upon the punishment of offenders in cases of disobedience, insubordination and immorality."

Discipline over the boys was maintained through corporal punishment, usually in the form of severe spankings. A minor offense, such as talking in line, would consist of 10 hits with a large leather strap or oak paddle, applied "with terrific force." An officer at the Training School reported that "nothing less than ten spats counted, twenty to thirty was ordinary, thirty to sixty was good, and in some cases 160 was necessary, in such cases three or four officers being required to do the work." Other forms of punishment included isolation in the "dungeon" (with a diet of bread and water), beatings with fists and feet, and being placed in the "face box." The latter was a coffins-like box into which a minor was placed with a leather collar to hold the face...
The National Safety Council was active from 1913 in promoting safe workplaces.

In this photo, which appeared in the 1913 Seattle Juvenile Court annual report, a private hearing is being held for a Seattle juvenile case.

The girls' dormitory was in a badly overcrowded wooden building, with no fire escapes, no fire drills and no alarm system. It was built to house 40, but actually contained 60, and there were not enough beds for all the girls. From 8:00 p.m. to 6:30 a.m., they were locked in the dormitory without any supervision. Sick girls were forced to remain in the dormitory because there were no hospital facilities for them. When not in their dormitory, girls were limited to one "general assembly room" which served as their work and recreation room and in which they spent their entire free day each Sunday. In order to assure that the sexes did not mix, the girls were not provided opportunity for outdoor exercise.

In 1912, Judge A. W. Frater of the Seattle Juvenile Court characterized conditions faced by girls at the State Training School as "little less than criminal" and urged that if the legislature was unwilling to act to rectify the situation, "it is the duty of every humanely disposed person in the State to rise up and compel action." Finally, in 1914, revelations about conditions in the girls' wing led to successful demands that the girls be provided with a separate institution, which was opened at Grand Mound in southern Thurston County. While conditions at Grand Mound were, no doubt, an improvement over Chehalis, complaints persisted about severe overcrowding, poor facilities, high staff turnover and lack of vocational training. Nor did the movement of the girls to Grand Mound relieve conditions at the Chehalis institution. In 1921, the Department of Health reported that its inspection of the State Training School "revealed so much that was unsanitary that space prevents giving details." Two years later, Governor Louis F. Hart reported that the Training School was so overcrowded that tents were being used to house boys. He warned the legislature that "with cots in the hallways and overcrowded conditions everywhere, the superintendent is doing as well as anyone could. With imbeciles, idiots, sub-normal and some almost normal, it is difficult to render any real service to any of the wards."

During the early statehood period, provision for the mentally retarded was also expanding. In 1892, a separate School for Feeble-Minded opened in Vancouver, with 26 pupils. The school was intended to serve the educational needs of children who today we would consider mildly retarded. After their period of education, which consisted primarily of physiological and social training, the idea was to return these children to their communities. By 1905, the school was overcrowded and had a lengthy waiting list. A new site was selected, in Medical Lake, adjacent to Eastern State Hospital, and buildings were erected with a capacity of 200. Along with the increased capacity came a new mission: providing custodial and asylum care for children with all degrees of mental retardation through their adolescent years. The change in mission was highlighted in a name change. The
Sharing “A Shared Experience”

The traveling exhibition “A Shared Experience,” subtitled “A Pictorial History of Washington State’s Human Services from Territorial Days to the Present,” will crisscross the state through­out 1989. Below is a list of dates and locations.

**ABERDEEN**
South Shore Mall, September 2-September 24.

**ANACORTES**
Anacortes City Museum, June 23-July 9.

**BELLEVUE**
Bellevue Square, June 5-June 21.

**BELLINGHAM**
Wilson Library, Western Washington University, October 26- November 22.

**BREMERTON**
Fremont Golden Morgan Center, July 31-August 3.
Washington Veteran’s Home, August 5-August 23.
Silverdale Mall, August 25-September 3.

**CENTRALIA/CHEHALIS**
Lewis County Historical Museum, November 30-December 30.

**COLVILLE**
Stevens County Courthouse, May 8-May 29.

**EVERETT**
Everett Community College, July 6-July 13.

**KELSO**
Cowlitz County Historical Museum, March 28-April 29.

**MOSES LAKE**
Public Library, March 9-April 1.

**MOUNTLAKE TERRACE**
Mountlake Terrace Public Library, July 14-July 20.

**MOUNT VERNON**

**OKANOGAN**
The Cedars Inn, June 6-June 28.

**OLYMPIA**
State Capitol Rotunda, February 1-February 10.

**PORT ANGELES**
Clallam County Museum, August 5-August 27.

**SEATTLE**
University of Washington HUB, May 23-June 4.
Washington State Hospital Association and Washington State Medical Association Conference, Sea-Tac Red Lion Inn, September 26-October 1.

**SPOKANE**
Higher Education Center, September 10-September 24.
Lecture, September 14.
University City Mall, September 25-October 8.
Northtown Mall, October 9-October 26.

**SULTAN**

**TACOMA**
Western State Hospital, October 1-October 12.
Tacoma Mall, October 14-October 22.

**TRICITIES**
Pasco Library, February 10-March 3.

**VANCOUVER**
Vancouver Mall, February 16-February 26.
Jantzen Beach Mall, March 1-March 8.
Clarke College, March 9-March 16. Lecture, March 16.
Camar Public Library, March 17-March 23.

**WALLA WALLA**
Walla Walla Public Library, January 6-February 5.

**WENATCHEE**
Wenatchee Public Library, April 7-May 3.

**YAKIMA**
Yakama Valley Regional Library, November 1-December 15.
Lecture, November 9.
The Sisters of Charity of Providence, led by the indefatigable Mother Joseph, arrived in 1856. They used this building in Vancouver to house mentally ill patients; it was the first multifunction human services institution in Washington Territory.

people begging on city streets, he declared, and too many "agency tramps" who went from one charitable organization to another, taking advantage of the public's desire to help the needy. What was needed, Garrett argued, was a central office so that complete records could be kept on all who were seeking assistance. The result was the Bureau of Associated Charities of the "unworthy" poor. This meant that they had to inquire into the morals and lifestyles of those who sought charitable assistance, as well as monitoring the amount of assistance to assure that only the minimum material aid was offered so as not to encourage dependency among the poor. The bureau made social investigations of all who requested assistance, utilizing "friendly visitors" who investigated both the material needs and spiritual state of those requesting assistance. It was beyond the financial capabilities of private charities to provide for cases of chronic need. An agreement was reached with the city calling for municipal authorities to handle cases of long-term need, while private organizations would provide for acute cases. The Charity Organization Society would investigate all applicants for assistance.

By the early years of this century, interest developed in the establishment of a state organization which could coordinate private, municipal and state efforts. Such an effort would not be unique to Washington. State conferences of charities and corrections were established bodies in most states by the early 20th century. The first Washington Conference of Charities and Corrections (after World War I renamed the Washington State Conference of Social Work) was held at Plymouth Congregational Church in Seattle in 1904. The program for the first meeting stated that it was intended as "A Public Conference for the purpose of discussing the problems of caring for our weaker citizens in State and County Institutions and by means of private philanthropy, and for encouraging remedial legislation."

The early meetings of the conference were open to all. "Every citizen should consider himself or herself a delegate," declared the program for the first meeting. Ideally, charity work was conceived to be the responsibility of a mixture of professionally trained workers, clergy, and business and political leaders. The term "social worker" was used by delegates, but it did not yet have its modern connotation of a person trained in a professional school of social work. The prerequisites for participation in charity organizations were a sincere interest in helping others, dedication to the paramount importance of social harmony among various socioeconomic groups and the time and energy to find practical means to achieve those ends.

Social welfare activity had its heyday in Washington during the Progressive Era, the first two decades of the 20th century. In 1913, a short-lived Seattle-based periodical devoted to regional social welfare activities, Welfare, was able to boast that "the social legislation of Washington is comprehensive and inspiring." Certainly there were a number of reasons for pride in what the state had accomplished. Washington was the first state in the Union to adopt a Workman's Compensation Law to protect workers in cases of industrial accidents. By 1913, Washington was one of only eight states to have passed minimum-wage legislation and one of only nine states to have established an eight-hour workday for women. Within a year the state also passed a Mother's Pension Law, which provided some relief to indigent married women with dependent children whose husbands had either died, deserted, were inmates in state prisons or mental hospitals or were totally disabled. State charitable institutions, although certainly fraught with problems, were providing needed assistance for many. Larger cities were establishing juvenile courts. Private philanthropic agencies were active and organized on a statewide basis.

But, along with pride, there was also cause for concern. Inadequate budgets, the result of political and public apathy, were a fact of life. Human service needs were rarely high-priority items at any level of government in the state. For those officials charged with directing activities, the resulting inability to provide adequate services bred bitterness and frustration. Judge Frater of the Seattle Juvenile Court gave voice to feelings no doubt shared by many. He observed that throughout the state there was enthusiasm "to appropriate vast sums of money for fairs, for waterways, for harbors, in aid of commercial enterprises, and for bridges and automobile roads." But when attention was
directed to meeting human needs, a different spirit prevailed:

When it comes to caring for and saving boys and girls to society, curing the drunk and "dopester" of a dangerous disease, reforming women and girls, ameliorating the suffering of deserted women and children, or to save some brother the stigma of being adjudicated insane or of compelling some scoundrel who has deserted wife and family to work at hard labor for their support, then the cost looms high and a halt must be called, for the revenues of the State will not permit the necessary appropriations to be made.

One group which Frater did not mention among those deserving of assistance was the unemployed. This is not surprising, since many in the Pacific Northwest feared the unemployed as a potentially militant class which, when organized, could cause grave social disruption. Labor unrest was widespread in Washington during the Progressive Era. The extreme emotional reaction directed toward unemployed and itinerant workers can be glimpsed from Seattle Mayor H. C. Gill's remarks at the 1915 State Conference of Charities and Correction. Gill characterized the unemployed as "undecent citizens" who "belonged to a lower strata of society." He declared that "from a strictly governmental point of view we do not owe these bums and tramps a living at the expense of decent citizens." Nor was Gill's hostility an isolated example. Also in 1915, when a leader of Seattle-area unemployed spoke before the Municipal League, asking for understanding for the plight of those out of work, the reaction was anything but sympathetic. A reporter who covered the meeting reported that the audience had never thought of the unemployed "as being anything but some dangerous element like dynamite that must be kept in dry quarters away from society lest it blow up and carry society with it to Jericho." All this did not bode well for how the public would respond to the needs of the unemployed as the Great Depression approached.

As the Progressive Era drew to a close and the nation returned to "normalcy" in the 1920s, social welfare activity stagnated at the national level and in the states. Efforts to expand or improve county and state welfare services in Washington exemplified this trend. Arlien Johnson, who during the mid-1920s served as secretary of the State Conference of Social Work, reported that "there was great resistance in the counties, among the county welfare supervisors, to have anything interfere with their own operation of poor relief." County relief "was over the counter and it was really punitive." Johnson also reported that change was difficult to effect at the state level. State officials were much more interested in improving economy of operation than in improving or expanding delivery of social services. Lobbying was ineffective since "we didn't know what we were doing because we knew nothing about state government."

Washington, like the rest of the nation, was not prepared for the massive relief needs of the Great Depression. The state was hit particularly hard by the Depression, with unemployment far in excess of the national average of 25 percent of the work force. In the Puget Sound region alone, unemployment ranged from 40 to 60 percent. Cities joined forces with private charitable agencies to raise funds, but their combined resources were too little to meet the enormity of the need. As the preamble to the 1931 proceedings of the Washington State Conference of Social Work put it, "Many communities in the state are facing unprecedented relief problems." But the state remained largely uninvolved. Governor Roland Hartley saw relief as a moral issue, testing the character of the needy, rather than recognizing the economic forces which wrought havoc with the lives of so many. He specifically rejected a role for the state in relief efforts, declaring that "to transfer this obligation from the county to the state opens the door to unlimited opportunities for waste, inefficiency, and graft."

The organized charity community of Washington did recognize the enormity of the problem. Pelagius Williams, president of the 1931 Washington State Conference of Social Work, expressed the concern of his colleagues when he declared that "no session of this Conference has been faced with so many and with such perplexing problems as face this gathering." Unemployment, the theme of the meeting, presented an ugly picture . . . a picture of lowered living standards—of men and women and little children going without sufficient food and without suitable clothing for the protection of their health in winter; of sickness resulting from lowered resistance due to this lack of proper food and clothing; of men grown weary and discouraged from the vain search month after month for employment; of fathers and mothers harassed by worry over debts and inability to make their meager supplies fill all the family's needs; of homes and furniture lost in the buying; of families moving into cheaper quarters and crowding in together to reduce expenses; of men deserting in the hope that their families may receive a mother's pension, or asking to be locked up for nonsupport in order that their family may receive 30 or 45 dollars per month from the County while they put in their time at the Stockade or County Work Farm; of increased population in children's institutions; of delinquency and crime, juvenile and adult, growing out of enforced idleness and lack of wholesome activities . . . ; of widespread and growing unrest, with all the danger that it carries for sound family and community life; of an increasing number of suicides resulting from worry and despair.

It was an "ugly picture" indeed. Relieving the enormous human suffering caused by the Great Depression was beyond what could ever have been imagined by the architects of the state's antiquated poor law. A new infusion of resources and a new vision to guide relief efforts would be needed.

Russell Hollander, a member of the faculty at Saint Martin's College in Lacey, wrote this essay as a companion to a traveling exhibition, "A Shared Experience" (see sidebar, page 88), sponsored by the Department of Social and Health Services and the Washington Commission for the Humanities.
Visions of the Washington State Historical Society

The prospects for a new W.S.H.S. exhibition facility at Union Station in Tacoma have been much discussed in these pages and elsewhere, but finally a visualization of what the new facility might be like is available. The Society commissioned the exhibition design firm Gerard Hilferty & Associates to prepare a sequence of drawings indicating what the museum visitor might see upon entering the facility sometime in the early 1990s.

Working from a series of suggested exhibit themes and interpretive strategies prepared by David L. Nicandri, the Hilferty team composed the sketches you see here. We present them in the sequence in which a visitor would encounter them.

The level of display sophistication is modeled after the excellent exhibits at the Royal British Columbia Museum in Victoria.

The first is a view of the station rotunda, from the perspective of the mezzanine. With a cafe to the left, one looks down upon the main floor that will serve as the grand public entry to the facility, an entry shared by both the museum and the proposed federal courthouse. In this orientation space Hilferty envisions modern interactive video devices that simulate encounters with historical figures, people who might have been traversing the station lobby in times past—for example, immigrants from abroad or the East, or soldiers on leave from the great wars.

Once inside the new exhibition hall that will be built next to the historic station, the visitor will encounter a series of dramatic exhibition spaces. The level of display sophistication is modeled after the excellent exhibits at the Royal British Columbia Museum in Victoria. That is, visitors will be able to physically immerse themselves in the texture of times past, not simply look upon display cases or label text, as if reading a “book on a wall.”

The three theme areas shown here typify the broad sweep of the Society's interpretive goal: all peoples, regions and eras will be depicted. The overarching historical interpretation for this curriculum of exhibits is the history of interaction between the people who have lived in Washington and the physical environment of the state. More particularly, certain “ecological types” of human activity have been identified for elaboration.

Take, for example, the natural bounty represented by the fur-bearing animals in the region. One sketch picks up Washington State history at the time of contact between native peoples. (Continued on page 24)

COLUMBIA 21 SPRING 1989
This view of the Society facility as it was originally proposed is from the Stadium Way vantage point that, in truncated form, still presents itself to visitors.

The name "Palladium of Tacoma" might have applied to this vision of a cultural edifice which, though grandly conceived, was never completed. A corner of the adjacent football stadium, still standing, is seen in the left foreground.
and fur traders. Some of the interpretive mechanisms in this scene are a cutaway view of an Indian longhouse, salmon-drying racks, canoes, a fur trade store and a blockhouse.

The great epoch in our state's history of the timber commonwealth is represented in the adjacent drawing of logging, milling and industry appurtenances. Look for the shingle weavers' work line in the center of this sketch.

Robert Ficken and Charles LeWarne state in their recent centennial history that the Washington of 1945 was closer to the Washington of today than to the Washington of 1940. Our state, as we know it, is the product of the New Deal, its infrastructure improvements (such as Grand Coulee Dam) and their maximization during World War II.

To give proper emphasis to the critical events of the middle third of the 20th century, another drawing (previous page) conveys the dogged hopefulness of the Dust Bowl refugees, the hopelessness of Skid Road "Hoovervilles," and part of Washington's contribution to the arsenal of democracy, a B-17 "Flying Fortress."

Behind these drawings and dreams of the Washington State Historical Society is a history that few contemporary members, if any, can recall. Yet the current generation of leaders is not the only one to have had a grand vision for the Society.

Recently, board member Wilma Snyder called our attention to some drawings (page 23, bottom) in the Society's library revealing the magnitude of the founders' vision. It's a shame that circumstances did not allow the completion of a design that was only partially implemented.

The two wings built from this plan plus the helpful but architecturally incompatible modern addition are slated for remodeling beginning late this year. This work is being coordinated by Merritt + Pardini/TRA architects, to whom we also extend our thanks for revealing this look backward.

—Editor
CENTENNIAL HISTORICAL FACTS:
A Window on Washington’s Past

If a day in the life of a state is good, wouldn’t 365 days be better?

The Washington Centennial Commission thought so, and commissioned the Washington State Historical Society to find out. A team of researchers searched newspapers, magazines, manuscripts and other sources to assemble two facts from each day between November 11, 1888, and November 11, 1889. A small selection from the 730 facts, appropriate to spring, appears here. No formal publication of the full list is planned, but the list is available to newspapers, broadcasting stations and other media from the commission’s agent, the Rockey Company, 2121 Fifth Ave., Seattle, 98121. These facts appear here with the Rockey Company’s permission.

Then, as now, Washingtonians said and did varied and unexpected things. Consider a newspaper report from November 1888: Somewhere in Walla Walla County, an applicant for a teacher’s job was asked to describe Washington Territory’s “contour and relief.” He replied: “The new railroad is a great relief to us.” The reporter did not say whether the school hired him, but that is the way of brief facts like these—like windows, they never show all of a scene.

March 1889

March 1, 1889
SEATTLE
Captain Paul Boynton, a swimmer noted for his aquatic shows and for swimming in his “patent rubber suit,” arrived in Seattle to capture live sea lions for the Lincoln Park Zoo of Chicago. He was also trying to capture mountain goats, seals, grizzlies and cougars. He warned that the work was dangerous, for a sea lion could bite a man’s arm off.

March 2, 1889
SEATTLE
In Seattle, jail sentences seemed to reflect ethnic prejudice. A white man received one year for burglary; a Chinese man got four years for stealing chickens.

March 4, 1889
TACOMA
Porter, a Tacoma runner, defeated an Olympia runner, Dobbins, in a 75-yard sprint held near the Tacoma zoo. The winning time was 7.5 seconds, and the winner finished a yard ahead of the second-place runner. The prize was $500.

March 6, 1889
OLYMPIA
Smallpox was reported at Olympia. A cynical newspaper responded that that was not astonishing: “Almost anything is likely to break out in Olympia.”

March 12, 1889
SEATTLE
A Seattle newspaper headlined a story, “RAPID ROADS TO DEATH. The Cigarette, Opium, Morphia Injection and Cocaine. Large and Increasing Numbers Working Their Own Destruction—Corpses that Move.”

March 13, 1889
ROCHE HARBOR
At Roche Harbor in the San Juans, lime kilns burning day and night were producing 350 barrels a day of the vital building material. The kilns employed 60 men; a barrel sold for $1.50.

March 13, 1889
SPOKANE
The Washington Water Power Company was incorporated, and bought part of the falls at Spokane as a power station. (The flour mill could not provide enough electricity.) When the new power station was finished, it was the largest west of Denver.

May 14, 1889
STATEWIDE
The state elected 75 delegates to the Constitutional Convention, to write the state’s first constitution. The delegates were to assemble at Olympia on July 4.

March 20, 1889
TACOMA
The Puyallup Indian Tribe voted 73 to 41 against selling some of its reservation land to a railroad. Chief Tommy Lane argued against the sale, saying, “If we sell this land, our waterfront is gone, and... other companies will buy up other parts until nothing is left of our reservation. ... Our, my people, keep a fast hold of the remains of the once vast country you owned.”

March 20, 1889
SEATTLE
Robert O. Lee, the first black man to practice law in Washington Territory, was admitted to the bar. He came from Springfield, Illinois, where he was a practicing lawyer before the Illinois Supreme Court.

March 24, 1889
STATEWIDE
A local newspaper reported that in Illinois, a county court adjudged when a frozen 28-pound chinook salmon arrived in town, so that everyone would have a chance to honor “the great fruit of the Pacific Ocean.”

March 27, 1889
PUGET SOUND
The steamship Henry Baily defeated the Skagit Chief in a race on Puget Sound; the losing boat waited too long before breaking up the cabin furniture for fuel.

Edited by Redmond J. Barnett
March 30, 1889
SEATTLE
A messenger boy for Western Union in Seattle was fired for circulating a petition requesting that work be limited to 10 hours a day and pay be raised to $25 a month. Messengers worked 12 hours a day (with an hour and a half off for dinner and supper) for $20 a month.

April 1889

April 2, 1889
SEATTLE
Railroad workers near Seattle struck when their wages were cut from $1.75 a day to $1.60.

April 4, 1889
OLYMPIA
The Washington State Teachers' Association was organized at a meeting of teachers and superintendents at Olympia. J. H. Morgan of Ellensburg was named president; Miss Nettie Moore of Spokane Falls, secretary.

April 8, 1889
TACOMA
The president of the cleaninghouse for Tacoma banks announced that the bankers would establish a uniform standard time in the city. "There are scarcely any two places of business in the city that have the same time," he said. To fit the railroad schedules, the time would be 9 minutes and 36 seconds ahead of the time given by the sun.

April 9, 1889
STATEWIDE
The new territorial governor, Miles C. Moore, was inaugurated. The inaugural ball was held in Olympia, in a hall festooned with evergreens, bunting and flags.

April 15, 1889
STATEWIDE
Territorial Governor Miles C. Moore proclaimed May 14 as election day for delegates to the convention to frame a state constitution for Washington.

April 17, 1889
STATEWIDE
A Minnesota newspaper predicted that if an author could write a novel in the "romantic surroundings" of Puget Sound, it would gain its author as large a fortune as Ben-Hur.

April 19, 1889
STATEWIDE
Supporters of women's suffrage held meetings around the state to try to persuade the Constitutional Convention to permit women to vote.

April 20, 1889
ELLENSBURG
A new stagecoach, with six horses, began running between Ellensburg and Rock Island. The coach had nine passengers for the Conconully mines.

April 21, 1889
YAKIMA VALLEY
Farmers in Yakima experimented to see "whether sagebrush land is suitable for the production of sugar beets or not."

April 22, 1889
SPOKANE
A Spokane newspaper urged citizens to stop hauling dead animals out of town and dumping them in the river. "Pollution of the river with such things," as well as air pollution, seemed unfair. The paper urged citizens to bury the carcasses instead.

May 2, 1889
STEILACOOM
A box that appeared to contain dried apples drifted ashore at Steilacoom. The wise man who said "corporations are artificial creations of the law, from reality," the school principal said, "they could build forts of their own."

May 15, 1889
SEATTLE
The National Bank of Commerce opened in Seattle. It later became Rainier Bank. The second depositor was the druggist G. O. Guy. A month after the Seattle fire later that year, deposits rose from $60,000 to $104,000.

May 19, 1889
PORT TOWNSEND
Port Townsend's baseball team played the team from Snohomish, and won by a score of 7 to 1. Port Townsend's next stop was a three-game series at Victoria.

May 21, 1889
STATEWIDE
The Canadian minister of finance was quoted as saying that if Americans were afraid of the new gun emplacements on Canadian land on Puget Sound, they could build forts of their own.

May 23, 1889
SEATTLE
Commencement exercises for the University of Washington's class of 1889 were held at Frye's Opera House in Seattle. The total number of graduates was seven.

May 25, 1889
TACOMA
An anonymous visitor described Tacoma as "like a section of San Francisco transplanted," but complained of "the drizzle drizzle from December to, sometimes, July."

May 27, 1889
WENATCHEE
Wenatchee, founded six months before, had 18 houses but no school. Since the man hired to build the school was reported to be "a man of alleged eccentricities and occasional departures from reality," the school was not yet built.

Raymond J. Barnett, development officer for the Washington State Historical Society and a professional historian, directed the research for the Centennial Historical Facts.
Just a hundred years ago, Florence Merriam, a young Victorian from New York, let her love for nature overcome her qualms about the unknown West. After a winter in California to improve her health, she joined her brother, Dr. C. Hart Merriam, for a trip by tugboat to the farthest northwest corner of the continental United States. He wanted to study the small mammals at Neah Bay, at the tip of the Olympic Peninsula. Hart was already a well-known naturalist, and the next year he was named the first chief of the U.S. Biological Survey, the federal government’s first natural sciences agency.

Florence (1863-1948), eight years younger than Hart, had just completed college and would soon publish her first book on birds, no small task for a young woman of 26 in 1889. With her brother’s encouragement, she became one of the foremost women writers of her era, and traveled for the next 50 years studying the birds—live. Until then, most had studied birds only as “skins” in private or the few public collections. After Florence married Vernon Bailey, chief naturalist for the Biological Survey, they traveled the American West together. Little was yet known about its flora and fauna; he focused on the mammals, she on the birds. She published about 100 articles, primarily for ornithological magazines, and 10 books. Among them were the first Handbook of Birds of the Western United States and Birds of New Mexico.

This was to be Florence’s only trip to Washington. She left no description of the area except for a few brief notes, which she fashioned into a manuscript that was never printed. Seattle had “saloons by the dozen. Those and real estate seem to be the main business. Fruit brought from Oregon and California is dear.” On August 27, 1888, she and her brother took The Dispatch from Seattle to Neah Bay, stopping en route at Port Townsend, where the Indians came ashore just ahead of their boat. This was in stark contrast, she noted, to arriving at the Central Hotel and finding electric lights in the bedrooms. There were “negro and Chinese servants, and Durkee’s salad dressing! … After dinner went up town, saloons, beer halls, etc. abound below, up on plateau from cliffs old fashioned country village, roads through grass, close cropped by cows that graze at pleasure in streets.”

Accompanying them was their mother, even more Victorian and with even more qualms than Florence. Her health was precarious, though its consumptive base was unspoken. (She died of consumption within five years.) At Neah Bay, after their first breakfast of “omelette of brains,” the mother rose from her bed but once—and that only briefly. Florence, however, determined to continue her lifelong habit of following her brother through the woods, curious about whatever he would find there and identify for her.

Fresh from college, Florence drank in all the stories of her contacts. The truth of any of them must lie with history. Where other views do not exist, her truth can fill some blanks to help us understand more of the thinking of her day. She was an honest writer and forthright, and she told it as she saw it, imbued with the idealism of her youth and all the virtues that her strong family and Smith College education had instilled in her. Despite the occasionally patronizing tone of Florence’s remarks about native people—her sympathy toward them notwithstanding, she exemplified the 19th-century white intelligentsia’s thinking on the subject—her memoir is valuable for its description of native life at the time.

She jotted her impressions in a small, gold-covered notebook and later developed them into a manuscript, but it was never published. The manuscript appears below, slightly edited for length and modern readability. Footnotes add embellishments from her notebook that are of interest today but which she chose to omit from her manuscript. Both the manuscript and the notebook, still with wildflowers and bird feathers pressed in its pages, are in the Florence Merriam Bailey Papers (82/46) at the Bancroft Library, University of California at Berkeley.
In her manuscript, Merriam recorded amazement over the heavy burdens Makah women carried using large baskets suspended by broad bands across their foreheads.
A Tugboat Trip to the Northwest Corner

By Florence A. Merriam

We were a party of three, a naturalist, his mother and his sister—myself—bound for an Indian reservation on the extreme northwest corner of the United States—barring Alaska—a region of great fame in small but biological circles.

We were to go a hundred miles by tugboat and down straits reputed to be more turbulent than the English Channel. We would arrive at our port in the middle of the night, and as there was no wharf, would be taken ashore by Indians in their canoes. Landing the canoes through the surf was often dangerous—by daylight. Even if it were a case of life and death, we could not leave the reservation until the next trip of the tugboat. These were mere details of the itinerary to the naturalist. Mother looked grave but said little, for she would have followed her son through the smoke of battle.

But we were favored by the gods. Leaving Port Townsend, we sailed down the straits of Juan de Fuca, overlooked by the snowcapped peaks of the Olympic range, as “a painted ship upon a painted ocean.” In our path, sea fowl sat on the smooth surface, turning their heads like weathervanes at our approach. Mirrored in the still water beside us lay the passing shore—a dark band of forest, above which the mountains, rising ridge behind ridge, faded into haze, a golden glow crowning their summits. Reflected from one of the many curious sandspits that stretched out from shore was the image of a trim, banded, red, white and black lighthouse, its colors sharply defined in the water.

Watching the shore and its resemblances, we could have dreamed the hours away, but the naturalist roused us from our reveries by calling us to the railing. We were passing through a sea of the giant kelp which the Cape Indians, whose reservation we were going to visit, have used for ages in their industries. It was so remarkable that the captain lingered to give us its statistics. Attached at sea bottom, the largest of the great brown hose-like tubes slanted up through the water 300 feet before reaching the top. There they were held by round air bulbs that floated their leaves, perhaps 50 splendid streamers, 30 or 40 feet long, washing idly near the surface.

The Indians have found various uses for the kelp stems, from fish lines to wagon wheels for their children's carts. The bulbs have served them as water bottles and bait holders; the tubular part of the stem has taken the place of barrels for holding the family supplies of seal and whale oil; and the cordlike portion is used in making their famous fishing lines. They cut sections of stem 10 to 15 fathoms long, soak them in fresh water, stretch and rub them, then dry them in the smoke of the lodge, afterwards knotting them together till they have lines 200 fathoms long, fit for the deep-sea cod fishing. They are said to equal the best hemp fishing lines.

From the novel sights along the way, we turned with curiosity to our fellow passengers, seated like ourselves upon their luggage or the grocery boxes that strewed the deck. The captain had succeeded in finding a chair for Mother. Of course it was only natural that we should be making a trip, but to find anyone else bound for far Cape Flattery seemed passing strange. Nevertheless, the subsiding swells of the big...
waves of the “boom” from Tacoma and Seattle had spent themselves along these straits leading to the ocean; and all the talk was of land, “pre-emption” and “claims” to be “proved up.”

The speculators and settlers who were attracted to this forest country seemed to have a hardy character of their own. There was a party of jolly old white-bearded Scotchmen who discussed investments with courage and whose hearty laughter was good to hear. A fresh-faced country girl with a French patois also looked ready to meet what frontier life had for her to bear. In one old man who sat apart I thought I recognized a Gloucester fisherman I had known. I wondered to find him so far from home, but understood how the narrow patch of land between the wide straits and the great ocean might attract the weatherbeaten old sailor, for his mild blue eyes had the fixed, distant look of one who scans the seas, but when recalled rested tenderly upon the little girl who looked up at him in her play.

The semiweekly visit of the tugboat was evidently the event of the hamlets along the straits. Even the schoolchildren came to see it, with their dinner pails on their arms. At one port, as the captain bustled about with his hand full of papers, a boy with a crutch came forward to help the meager crew unload the freight. It was touching to see how his sad, brave face lit up as he swung a great loop of boxes from the boat, for once forceful as other lads.

We watched from the pilothouse as the sun went down like a red Japanese lantern between distant snow-covered mountains. As we looked at the changing sky, the captain at the wheel told of his life in the army and then of the fierce storms he had fought in the turbulent straits, scoffing at those who talked of his “luck” at sea, for the old soldier guided his boat with the keen watchfulness and ready courage that had made him a successful leader in the war. As the travelers watched the rich colors mellow in the sky, he told us of his home; and when the sunset glow had faded, a tender light still rested in the eyes of the old captain, thinking of the little daughter he had left in port.

After starlight, the boat passed a harbor whose dark, timbered hillside rose black against the sky. Through its heavy shadow on the water, lines of orange light flickered from Indian bonfires on the beach. Sometimes forms could be seen feeding the flames. One Indian and his squaw paddled out to the tugboat, and as the man stood up in the canoe beside it, the squaw kept the boat in place by deft turns of the paddle that sent off waves of silvery phosphorescence through the black water. The only passenger for this port was a lad going in search of an old uncle, and as
the boat steamed away, two lantern sparks filed up the lonely trail and disappeared into the dark forest.

At half-past three in the morning the signal whistle blew and, shivering with cold, the party stumbled up deck. A heavy gale was blowing, a pale moon was barely visible through the clouds, and we could hear the surf beat on the shore. We found the Indians who had come to take us to land holding up torches to guide us into the canoe. Their dark faces looked hideous in the flaring light, and for some reason their savage guttural muttering did not appeal to me.

The naturalist led the way, dropping over the side of the tugboat into the canoe. His ladies followed meekly, although we noted his remark that the boat was tottish and paid good heed to the captain's directions to get down in the bottom, sit exactly in the middle, hold firmly to the rods in front of us, and, come what might, stir neither hand nor foot. I thought grimly of the stories he had told of capsizing in the surf and then reflected ruefully upon—my scalp-lock! When he joined us, however, we felt more cheerful, and before the waves could toss us, the wind subsided and the air grew warm. Moreover, the murderous-sounding talk of the Indian chief, on translation, proved to be a request for lumber; he was anxious to finish his house and had plenty of money to pay for it, he said!

When the boat touched the beach, obeying a signal from the captain, the medicine man picked up the astonished mother and carried her dryshod to land.

The trader came out to meet us and led us through the rows of Indian canoes drawn up on shore back to his house, where we were surprised to find the tables strewn with the latest books and magazines, stray volumes like Rossetti and Swinburne, and classics in literature and philosophy. We were still more bewildered next morning when a Chinese cook served steak and mushrooms with an omelette of brains for breakfast. We had brought paper bags of crackers and fruit to ward off starvation among the savages. But our host had been a Virginia gentleman.

Once on the ground, the naturalist could not rest until he had explored the forest, and we were eager to see the wonders of which he had told us. Directed by the trader, we took the one road leading into the woods. I shrank a little at the Indians we met, but they smiled pleasantly in response to our "good morning." I also hesitated to leave my wraps hanging on the bushes by the way, but the naturalist assured me that nothing would be touched on a reservation.

We found the forest more wonderful than we had imagined. Neah Bay is in the belt of greatest rainfall in the United States, receiving nine feet of water annually. The resulting vegetation is almost tropical in luxuriance. The timber is made up of gigantic spruces and firs 150 feet in height, many of them 10 feet in diameter. The spaces are filled with undergrowth almost as dense as a jungle. The naturalist could barely see the birds and mammals of which he was in pursuit, and when he shot a squirrel, it took him nearly an hour and a half to force his way through the 40 feet of thicket between him and it. The forest reminded me of pictures of tropical scenes in the old geographies. At the base of the huge trees were great spreading clusters of giant fern. On the branches lay thick cushions of green moss from which long slender ferns swayed in the wind. Deer and elk were near, and bear were so plenty that a dozing bruin was often startled from his nap.

The Makahs, in strong contrast to the Indians of the plains, until recently had had no horses, but now it was the favorite amusement of a few of the tribe to ride up and down the narrow strip of beach that edged the forest. We met one of these equestrians on the road in the woods. Ben Butler was his name, and he stopped his horse to tell us his story. He had been at school in Oregon, learning the blacksmith's trade. His family had opposed his going, he told us, thinking that the white men would make a slave of him and put him into the army. They had not frightened him, however, for as he said to us with simple dignity, "I told them I thought they would not do that to me."

The naturalist tried to get Ben Butler and other Indian boys to trap for him, but without success, so he had to set to work himself. One day when he was putting out his traps I went with him, watching birds. Happening to turn around, I started to find a great Indian standing motionless a few feet behind me, an ax on his shoulder and a charred brand in his hand. He was barefoot and had come upon us without a sound. It was somewhat surprising, but one look in his kindly old face reassured me. His parted black hair hung straight to his shoulders, but was kept in place by his parted black hair hung straight to his shoulders, but was kept in place by his parted black hair hung straight to his shoulders, but was kept in place by his parted black hair hung straight to his shoulders, but was kept in place by his parted black hair hung straight to his shoulders, but was kept in place by his parted black hair hung straight to his shoulders, but was kept in place by his parted black hair hung straight to his shoulders, but was kept in place by his parted black hair hung straight to his shoulders, but was kept in place by his parted black hair hung straight to his shoulders, but was kept in place by his parted black hair hung straight to his shoulders, but was kept in place by his parted black hair hung straight to his shoulders, but was kept in place by his parted black hair hung straight to his shoulders, but was kept in place by his parted black hair hung straight to his 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through the fence at us, smiling in response to our greeting. Sometimes a tall dignified Indian robed in a long scarlet blanket, a red band around his forehead, would pass with stately tread on the way for his morning plunge in the river. Most of the Cape Indians—men and women—wore our ordinary dress, but they all had bands around their foreheads, while their straight hair hung to the shoulders. Many of them pierced their noses, often hanging from them pieces of abalone shell. They paint their faces black or red, or stripe them with other colors, but do not tattoo extensively. At times, it is said, they wear a wreath of seaweed or a turban of cedar bark.

The beach in front of the house was strewn with strange-looking canoes hollowed out of cedar logs, with long pointed beaklike bows like the Queen Charlotte Island boats seen in museums. Flocks of tame fish crows, sometimes accompanied by gulls, walked about picking up refuse among the logs and driftwood that littered the beach.

The women and children were going back and forth loading their boats to go hop picking. Most of the tribe were bound for the Puyallup hop yards. I saw one canoe put off with 11 in it—men, women, and children. It seemed a long journey for such a craft—40 miles down the rough straits and then out across the Sound. Many of the largest hop fields were back of Seattle—from the straits a trip that took the great Sound steamers a night and a day.

From our piazza we saw the squaws go by, their backs bent under heavy loads in baskets hung by broad bands across their foreheads. It seemed incredible that they could support such weight in that way, but the baskets were made broader at the top to throw the weight upon the shoulders. The trader said that he had seen a squaw carrying 11 sticks of cordwood.

Women do much of the hard work. Before the tribe came under the influence of white men, it was considered degrading for a chief to do anything but hunt, fish or kill whales; now the men are no idlers, and are not ashamed to wash and mend, and often make their own clothes, besides carrying on their regular occupations.

The Makahs are not only a producing tribe, but a trading tribe. For a long time they acted as trading mediums between the Indians of the coast north and south of Cape Flattery. Now they exchange with the Indians of Vancouver Island, giving them whale oil and dried halibut for dogfish oil, which they in turn sell to the white traders to be used for illuminating purposes or sold as cod liver oil! They had been so accustomed to bargaining for everything that at one time they demanded pay for letting their children attend the reservation school. Although they hunt the fur seal and sell its pelts to the white men, their principal source of wealth is oil and dried fish.

Unlike the wigwam-dwelling tribes of the interior, the Makahs do not hunt and make little attempt to cultivate the ground, but live almost exclusively upon the sea, whale and halibut being their staple food. Agriculturists they could never be. Both soil and climate are against it. The reservation is rocky, mountainous and heavily timbered, while the air is so saturated that it is impossible to cure hay. Indeed, in this tribe as with others, the wisest policy seems to be to encourage them to do that for which they are best fitted. Their best development will be along the lines of life natural to them, not by forcing them arbitrarily to adopt the trades of white men. Here it would be a matter of teaching them to carry on their own industries more intelligently, with the possible addition suggested by Judge Swan, the authority upon the tribe, to raise osier willows for baskets and manufacture kelp into food products. Judge Swan says that they could easily become not only a self-supporting but wealthy community. It is so easy for them to get their living from

**NOTES**

Makahs live by fishing, those use mostly boats made by Vancouver Island Indians, though Indian women told us Makahs made as good as others... go hop picking to make money from that and seal fishing, fur seal $5 pelt, and then come back and give potlatch. Vancouver Island Indians bring dogfish oil to Mr. Sebastian, trader, to sell because better price than on British side. Have to be watched, won't give full measure of oil.

12. "Women with heavy baskets on back hung from band, woven or straw across flattened head, men in skirts wading in water."

13. "Help load boats, paddle, do all drudgery; men kind if all goes well, but if not, beat [the women]—take quarrels to Indian Agent. In summer when plenty of work fishing, drying out dogfish oil, etc. get along very well, but in winter when nothing else to do, quarrel, Mrs. Powell says."

14. James Gilchrist Swan, a pioneer in 1852, played an important role in the development of the territory. He taught on the Makah Indian Reservation, wrote about his experiences and collaborated with the Smithsonian on ethnological studies of the Makah Indians.
the sea, that, like tropical races who have but to stretch out
to stretch out their hands for food, they have little desire to acu-
mulate. It is true that they dry halibut and smoke whale meat to use during the winter, but otherwise
they are careless, indolent and improvident.

Their great desire seems to be to get a little surplus
on hand, make a “potlatch” party, and give it all away.
The more an Indian gives away the better is his stand-
ing with the tribe and the greater his chance of being made chief. Sometimes on returning from hop picking
one of them will give a potlatch and spend two or
three thousand dollars—all he has in the world—on
presents for his guests. The presents range from a tin
pan, a brass kettle or a yard of calico up to a plush
dress, so it is no wonder that the money mounts up.

This generosity is not all for selfish ends; the
Makahs are predominantly a freehanded social people.
They will share their last morsel, and they consider it a
favor to dine with them. Sometimes they give three or
four feasts a day to a stranger.

I did not care to dine with the Indians, but was
sorry not to be able to talk with them. Many of them
understood English, but are diffident about speaking it,
so conversation often flags. The traders and agents
talk to them in Chinook—a jargon of English, French
and Indian adopted by the Hudson Bay Company as a
means of communication with the Indians of the
Pacific Coast region. It covers only the necessary
words, and the trader told me that he learned it in a
few days.

In going among the Makahs, I was attracted
by their friendliness. One day when looking for birds, I
found two squaws washing in a stream. With the usual
mixture of Indian and American customs, though
washing in a brook they were rubbing their clothes on
a washboard. They were decorated with silver rings,
earrings and bracelets that had been hammered out of
silver dollars. As I came up, they smiled and began
talking to me, seeming disappointed when I could not
understand. They looked eagerly at my opera glass,
and when I held it out, one of them took her hands out
of the water and dried them vigorously on her dress,
smiling with the delight of a child.

I was anxious to visit the Indian “Siwash” houses,
and the agent’s wife kindly offered to go with me. The
rickety-looking unpainted buildings were huddled
together at all angles. There were a few two-story
houses, but most of them were one story, with nearly
flat roofs for drying fish. Few had more than one door;
those with a window were distinguished as “Boston
houses.” Some of the lodges were as much as 60 feet
long by 30 feet wide, but without floors or partitions.
Several families lived in a house, the owner housing
his relatives and friends who then might, if they chose,
bear a part of the family care and support.

One of the most interesting lodges that we
visited was a rain-blackened, long, barn-
like building, decorated along the whole
front length with bright parallel scal-
laced lines representing a snake, though its size sug-
gested a sea serpent. After we stepped through the low
doorway and my eyes got accustomed to the darkness, I
felt a thrill of surprise and pleasure; it was like a
Rembrandt interior. The blackness of the great
windowless room was softened by slanting rays of pale
yellow light coming from the roof where an occasional
board was wanting. Little by little I made out the
details of the house. A family occupied each corner,
having a fire out in the middle of the hard earth floor
and letting the smoke curl up to seek an escape
through the roof—only a few of the more modern
houses had stoves and chimneys. Above the floor
around the walls ran a divanlike shelf that served as
clothes-press and bed. Above this, a dado of straw-
colored matting made by the squaws of bullrushes
and flags gave a pleasing color to the room. As three
yards of rain fall during the year, it is sometimes incon-
venient to have boards off the roof, so the Indians
hang up boats and whale bladders to catch the water.

Strips of fish and whale meat also hang from the ceil-
ing, in process of smoking.

The Makahs keep all their possessions in their
houses, from hens to barrels of whale oil. In one lodge,
neat to the door, a barefoot squaw was walking up and
down a boat treading out dog fish oil. On the dirt
floor beside her, a woman was making bread with bak-
ing powder. A few feet away, grouped around a corner
fire, a family were baking bread on the ground, some
sitting, others reclining on mats. The women looked
up pleasantly, and the agent’s wife, pointing to an old
squaw in a white dress, explained, “That is Queen
Annie; the queens always dress in white. She has a
quantity of basket work to sell.”

In the back of the room, on the ground beside a
smoking fire, a young girl sat with her baby in her
arms. A wrinkled old squaw crouched beside her—her
mother, my friend said.

In a dark house almost deserted by the hop pickers,
in a far corner of the floor we could just distinguish a
gray-blanketed form. “Who’s that?” the agent’s wife
asked. Much to my surprise, an old blind man raised
his gray head from his chest, asking feebly for food. An
image of greater loneliness and dejection I never saw.
His daughter was living at the agency, and when my
friend gave him news of her he listened with pathetic
interest.

She told me that the Makahs were devoted to their
children. The previous year there had been an epi-
demic of measles in the hop yards and many of the lit-
tle ones had died, causing great desolation among the
A Makah mother (identified as Mary Butler) rocks her infant in an ingenious tripod foot rocker identical to the one described by Florence Merriam.
people. That year, not a child could go to the yards. "See that woman?" my guide asked, pointing to a squaw whose black hair was cut short of her shoulders. "She lost a child—that is their mourning—they cut their hair." I was glad to hear of the Indians' love for their children. It was a touch of nature that dispelled the feeling that they were savages. And my heart warmed to the poor lonely mother.

We found a number of sick Indian women who turned to the agent's wife for sympathy. She said there was a great deal of consumption among the people, probably due to the excessive dampness and their disregard for hygiene. "We can't get them to take any medicine. They think the doctor is going to kill them, and they throw his medicine away, dose by dose, so he won't know," she explained.

As we entered the house of the medicine man, he called out "Telacom"—friend—in a hearty tone of welcome. He was chief of the tribe, and the agent had wisely made him chief of police as well to have his authority on the side of order. The chiefs, however, have little power now, they say; the important questions are submitted to councils. I was interested to hear that the women speak in the councils where they are concerned.

As we went about, we were looking for one of the babies whose foreheads were being flattened, and at last we found a lodge where there was one. A tiny canoe-shaped cradle hung from a tripod swung by a little brother. Sometimes the mother, as she works, rocks the cradle by a string attached to her great toe. The poor infant was swathed so tightly it could hardly stir, and lay like a little mummy in its case. There it would be kept for nearly a year. The babies almost never cry, I was told. Over the child's face was what looked like the cozy of a teapot, woven of the inner fiber of the cedar. I lifted up the edge of this extinguisher and there was the famous board, bound firmly across the soft bones of the poor child's forehead.

In this same house we found a young girl just home from the agency. She was the first one we had seen sitting anywhere except the floor. She was dressed in a neat blue calico and was making buttonholes. The contrast to all we had seen was so striking that it led us to talk of the agency work. My friend said that they could not let the children go home during schoolwork as it would be impossible to civilize them if they were left under the free life of the tribe. When I talked to the reservation teacher, a discouraged-looking young man, he hinted of the far-reaching trouble that made it necessary to separate the children from the home love that should surround them in their childhood. "If I let them draw or sing, they're happy; they would write all day," he said, but added sternly, "I have to keep them at their arithmetic and grammar."

The Makahs live so close to nature that they translate all its phenomena into terms of their own experience. I wished to join their evening groups around the bonfires on the beach and get a clue to their folklore. Trees, birds, fish and animals to them are all Indians, imprisoned in these forms for their evil deeds. The seal, being a thief, had his arms cut off and was thrown into the sea. Comets and meteors are spirits of dead chiefs. Stars are the spirits of Indians. Sea birds crying in the cliffs before a storm are dead Indians wailing to warn their friends of danger. The aura borealis is a light made by a tribe of dwarf Indians living many moons to the north, at the pole. On one of the pillarlike rocks near the cape lives the spirit who rules the wind and waves, and the Red Men propitiate him with presents as they pass. The moon is a jellylike substance such as fish eat. When there is an eclipse, a fish is trying to devour the sun or moon, and may be driven away by shouts or the firing of guns. April is the moon of sprouts and buds; June is the month of the red huckleberry; August is the season of rest.
The legend says that the tribe originated at the cape. There the gods first created animals, and the Makahs afterwards sprang from the union of some of these with a star that fell from heaven. The Makahs have no outward religious forms. When an Indian wants to supplicate the Great Spirit, he waits for the full moon and then goes up into a mountain in the heart of the forest. First he makes himself acceptable to the god by bathing and rubbing himself with cedar twigs. Then, when the sun rises, like the prophets of old he prays alone in the silence of the mountain.

Some spirits, the Makahs believe, go into the bodies of owls after death. A short time before we were at the reservation, a curious coincidence strengthened them in this belief. A child of the tribe was visiting in Vancouver when her playfellows at Neah Bay heard an owl hoot in the woods. They fled home in terror, screaming that the child had died and had spoken to them in the forest. Soon after, word came that the child had died at Vancouver at about this time.

We could have listened to the Indian legends and superstition and given ourselves to the charm of their life for an indefinite period, but our tugboat was expected and we had to select our Indian baskets and make ready to depart. The Makahs are said to do the finest basket work in the world. A quantity of it already lay spread out when the medicine man brought his squash with some to sell. By strange gestures and guttural ejaculations she expressed her surprise at the quantity of work she found there, and I had to pacify her by explaining that it was only there to select from. She went around the room examining it piece by piece, sometimes muttering disapproval and then crooning with admiration over what I supposed she thought a particularly good piece of work. I held up a mat and asked her how long it took to make it, and by means of signs—making a circle for the sun, pointing from east to west, and holding up a finger for a day—she quickly caught my meaning and held up fingers to tell me the time for different pieces of work. The naturalist had picked up one of the grotesque wooden masks used by the Makahs in their dances, and when she came to that, she broke into loud bursts of laughter over the hideous thing.

I was attracted by the kindly face of one old squaw, and as she left, by a singular misunderstanding, I was again shown the strong human sympathy that had brought the dusky sisters nearer to me. Mother had been ill since our arrival, and we were anxiously waiting to take her on board the tugboat before daylight the next morning, when it was necessary for us to start. In some way the Indians had learned of her illness, and when leaving, the old squaw pointed to the sick room questioningly. Thinking she meant to ask if we were to take Mother away on the boat, I nodded assent, but her moans and gestures of sympathetic distress startled me with my mistake. She walked out wailing with sorrow, and as her dark figure passed through the door, I shuddered, for her straight black hair was cut short across her neck.

Harriet Kofalk is a historical researcher, writer, poet and part-time research administrator at the Rand Corporation in Santa Monica, California. Her No Woman Tenderfoot, a chronicle of Florence Merriam Bailey’s life, is being published this spring by Texas A&M University.

Native Americans served as an inexpensive labor force in the Puyallup Valley hop fields during the 1880s. Note the predominance of women and young children in the photograph. Epidemics of measles and other contagious diseases encountered by hop-field workers sometimes decimated large groups of native peoples, particularly young children.

The excerpts from Florence Merriam’s notebook and manuscript are published through the courtesy of the Bancroft Library, University of California at Berkeley.
The Story of Statehood as Told on Admission Day

An indignant Elwood Evans wrote history he had helped make.

If it is true that history is written best by one who has himself observed what he writes about, then there is no more authoritative Washington territorial historian than Elwood Evans. He arrived at the beginning, in 1853. He was in the forefront of public affairs from then until he died 44 years later. Throughout that time, he was sufficiently aware of the history as he saw it, making sure to keep good records of it and to pause, when he had time, to put it all down in writing.

He did not have a compelling urge to publish, like his contemporary Ezra Meeker, and so when Hubert Howe Bancroft came through the Northwest gathering material for his monumental series of books on Pacific Coast history, Evans, glad of a chance to be helpful, turned over his historical accumulation about the territory and told Bancroft to make free use of it. Bancroft did so, giving full credit to Evans for the history of Washington Territory as it appears in Bancroft's works.

So, in 1889, with statehood for Washington as well as three other territories assured, Evans—who by then had been territorial secretary and, for an extended period, acting governor—felt obliged to write a piece for the newspapers, telling how it all came about. What he produced was a kind of historical letter to the editor, for by that time, he, like other territorial leaders, had been aroused to wrath by the long delays Congress had imposed on statehood legislation. He wanted readers to know why Washington had been forced to wait so long and to convince them it was all very wrong.

What follows here is the main portion of Evans' history of the events leading to statehood, as published by the Tacoma Daily Ledger on November 11, 1889, the day Washington finally became a state. Omitted is a long preface consisting mainly of a condemnation of Congress for having subjected Washington to long years of territorial thralldom, when Washington was far more ready for statehood than other territories admitted sooner.

On the 19th of November, 1869, the legislature of Washington territory passed an act providing for the submission to the voters of the territory at the next general election (1870) a proposition for calling a convention to frame a state constitution, preparatory to applying for admission into the Union. There was great indifference manifested, and the measure was defeated. At the sessions of 1871 and 1876, the same act was passed, meeting with like result. In 1875 a more mandatory bill, embodying the provision that if the majority of voters at the election of 1876 were favorable to the call of the convention, the legislature of 1877 should make the necessary provisions. The vote was 4229 less than half the vote of this territory on officers voted for, a large majority of whom formed state conventions. During those years, after the representatives of the people in their legislative assembly had inaugurated the movement, our delegate, Charles D. N. Jacobs, urged the matter, stoutly maintaining the desire of the people for state government, and their entire ability to carry successfully the burden of a state government. At that period Senator Mitchell, of Oregon, was also a strong party of citizens in Walla Walla county, championed by the Walla Walla Union, urging upon congress the annexation of the Walla Walla valley to Oregon.

The territorial legislature of 1877, in obedience to the popular voice of the people, as expressed at the election of 1876, passed an act providing for the election of delegates to a convention to be held at the city of Walla Walla on the second Tuesday of June, 1878, for the purpose of framing a state constitution, and the manner of its submission to the people for ratification. Those delegates, fifteen in number, were to be elected at a special election to be held April 9, 1879, three from the territory at large, one from each of the three judicial districts and one from each of the nine legislative council districts. The act authorized the election of a delegate from the three counties of north Idaho, viz: Nez Peres, Shoshone and Idaho, the pan-handle, as it is called—a strip of territory lying between the eastern boundary of Washington and the crest of the Bitter Root mountains, at the northwest boundary of Montana. That delegate was to possess all the qualifications of membership, save the right of voting. The legislature appropriated $200 to pay his pet diem and attendance. Alonzo Eeland was the accredited delegate of north Idaho. The convention met at the time designated (June 11, 1878) at Science hall, in the city of Walla Walla, and elected the late Alexander S. Abert, esq., president. The constitution prepared by it was ratified at the general election of 1878, by the vote of 4692 to 3231, exactly two to one. (It may be of interest to add that at the same election the vote polled for delegate amounted to 12,847.)

Thomas H. Brents was elected delegate to congress at that time. The first bill he introduced in congress was for the admission of Washington, including the territory of Idaho, to the Union, as provided by the adopted state constitution of 1878. Strong objections were made to admission "under a constitution framed by the people on their own motion and without authority from congress," also, on account of certain features providing for the election of members of the first legislature under the state government, which, owing to changes that had taken place in the meantime, would operate unjustly against some sections in the apportionment.

To avoid such objections at the Forty-seventh congress (June 12, 1882) Delegate Brents introduced an enabling act authorizing the people to hold a convention and frame a state constitution and apply for admission under it. The opposition then ostensibly was in doubt as to the sufficiency of population. Delegate Brents cited the census of 1880, exhibiting a population of 75,116, exclusive of north Idaho, and produced figures to show the ratio of growth the two succeeding years. Justifying his claim within the proposed state boundaries of a population of 127,000. He urged the compact and inducement held out in the Oregon organic act, wherein and whereby the benefits provisions of the ordinance of 1857 were extended over the territory west of the Rocky mountains, providing for the admission of states as soon as a population of 50,000 was assured. But all of no avail, for within two years a presidential election would occur, and the three electoral votes of Washington might determine the result.

Again we were denied, and told to wait. Our delegates in congress, backed by the unanimous voice of an aroused constituency, the industrious Brents, the eloquent Voorhees, on all proper occasions, urged our claims. The legislature, at its regular session, by earnest memorials, prayed that 'Our great natural resources, our future wealth, demand such recognition, and they are entitled to congressional representation to secure their development. With requisite population in numbers, who have demonstrated their ability to
maintain government, we pray that our disabilities may be removed and we restored to those rights which belong to American birthright and citizenship — the right to select our own rulers, to make our own laws. We ask for nothing that is not your duty to confer. We pray only to be allowed to consider ourselves citizens of the United States of America.

But these appeals and petitions passed unheeded.

In 1886 the presidential election had passed, although another one was approaching. Still the territory found a friend in Oregon’s senator, Joseph N. Dolph. He introduced in the senate and ably urged the passage of a bill to provide for the formation and admission into the Union of the state of Washington. The state boundaries, as defined, included the north Idaho counties. Along with the admission bill, as a secondary, traveled hand-in-hand a similar bill for the annexation of those three north Idaho counties to Washington territory. Ably were our claims advocated by Senators Dolph and Mitchell, Missouri, of Alabama, and Platt, the senate chairman of the committee on territories.

The bill for the annexation of the Idaho counties, a condition precedent to the admission of the state as bounded by the Dolph bill, passed both houses, but was vetoed by President Cleveland. Subsequently the senate bill excluding the Idaho counties passed the senate at the first session of the Fifthih congress.

Bills for the admission of other states, each standing upon its own merits, also passed and went to the house. A hodgepodge was made by the house chairman of the committee on territories—Mr. Springer, of Illinois. He blended in one incongruous mass the future fate of Washington, the Dakotas and Montana, and made their admission depend upon the compulsory recognition of New Mexico and Utah as proposed for admission into the federal union. The Springer omnibus bill—that substitute for the senate measures, to accept which by the senate was qualiification pure and simple, which was ingenuously supposed by him—would throw the onus of delaying admission to the states upon the senate. But they accepted the issue. They refused to concur, and so the matter was carried over the presidential election of 1888. And at the short, or second session of the Fifthih congress no hope was entertained for admission. Relief was only looked for by the incoming administration calling an extra session.

Samuel S. Cox, the brilliant orator, made the speech in the house before quoted. Among other things he added, in discussing the Springer substitute, the omnibus bill:

"Why, then, has not one or the other or both of these territories been admitted? Is it because their admission has been made the sport of party or of polities? I am afraid there has been too much of it. Above all things, Mr. Speaker, this question of admission is not a party question. In the nature of things it cannot be. If these territories be not admitted this session they will shortly under republican auspices in the next congress, and their politics will take the reflection of the friends who gave them their early nurture.

Addressing himself to the bill and its merits, he said:

"What concerns us, immediately, Mr. Speaker, is the admission as states, with proper boundaries and suitable numbers, of five territories. These are combined in the substitute—the two Dakotas, Montana, Washington and New Mexico. I omit purposely any consideration of Utah. Our custom, sir, as to population has not been uniform. If population is to be the test of admission, the territories in the substitute have each a sufficient number for one member of congress. This is the moral, through not the legal, touchstone by which the admission of states should be determined. Many of our states have been admitted with less than a representative ratio. Illinois was 330 less, Florida 6000 less, Oregon 43,000 less, Kansas about 20,000 less, and Nevada 87,381 less than the ratio. The ratio in 1884, when Nevada was admitted, was 137,381. Nebraska was less than the ratio by 27,000, and Colorado by 31,426."

"On the next day [January 16, 1888],... the house got down to work. A committee of conference had been appointed by the two houses. Each branch had adhered to their original measures, and admission was likely to be lost by the two houses adhering to their disagreement. Mr. Cox led in motion to instruct the house committee to recede from certain amendments. Utah was not considered as entitled to present admission. New Mexico was stricken out of the Springer substitute. Some of the ultra-partisans of the house reported filibustering, but as the friends of the territories steadily kept gaining in strength, that course was abandoned and the leader was right triumphed in securing the passage of an omnibus bill satisfactory to both senate and house. Within that omnibus was the Washington enabling act. The Springer substitute, which was amended and passed was entitled "An act to provide for the division of Dakota into two states and to enable the people of North Dakota, South Dakota, Montana and Washington to form constitutions and state governments, and to be admitted into the Union on an equal footing with the original states, and to make donations of public lands to such states." That glorious triumph was rapidly completed by the said enabling act, receiving the signature of President Cleveland on the 22d of February, 1889, the anniversary of the birth of him whose name has been conferred upon our state.

The subsequent proceedings consequent upon such enabling act are fresh in the minds of all. The convention has been held, the constitution framed and ratified, and a state government started upon its career. May its future march in the mission of westernizing American civilization warrant the solemn prediction of that lamented champion of our cause, now motionless in death. All is bustle, motion and struggle. "This is the frontier spirit, with its passionate eagerness and strenuous effort. It would extract the greatest amount of values from mining, hails, territories and fields, and with a passion so absorbing as to be unashell. It takes from its very vastness a tone of identity. It makes routes for exchangeable commodities with a rapidity which seeks a market with one hand and throttles a monopoly with the other. It is the remarkable people which is not that the majesty and scale of nature in which their lot is cast. Their imagination revels in every sight. They gild their own struggles with the belief that they are the missionaries of civilization and the agents of Providence in the greatest work the world has ever seen. They live in the future rather than in the present; not that they fail to work while it is called to-day, but they see the country not merely as it is, but as it will be twenty, fifty, or one hundred years hence, when the seedlings shall have grown to forest trees. Before this all-pervading spirit governments become mere accidents in the race of advancement. Their people will use governments as they use plows and sawmills and ore-crushers and locomotives, and when they come to congress in the robes of statehood they will care what party may have made the robes or embroidered them with land largesses for schools, political franchises for men, decent domesticities for women, and liberty and independence for all."

Edwood Evans.

Tacoma, Nov. 9.
Changing perceptions of statehood, viewed from Alaska.

John S. Whitehead

"We're in a Great State to Celebrate"; "The Celebration of the Century"; or, simply, "Celebrate." These are the titles and phrases on hundreds of pieces of promotional literature proclaiming and advertising the centennial of Washington's admission to the union in 1889 as the 42nd state.

Centennial plates and bumper stickers, commemorative VISA cards "to charge into the centennial," community festivals in all 39 counties, athletic events that include a footrace along the Lewis and Clark Trail, books and songbooks, ethnic videos, double-sided maps, an aviation extravaganza, a "world's fair without walls" to celebrate Washington's interaction with its Pacific Rim neighbors, and a recreation of Washington's 1889 Constitutional Convention for high school students (Convention II) are all on the drawing board. The hoopla, fueled by a substantial legislative appropriation and by hopes for seemingly unlimited volunteer effort, should be sufficient to wake Rip Van Winkle. Once awake, however, what will he find Washingtonians celebrating after 100 years of statehood?

With the centennial kickoff virtually upon us it's appropriate to devote some historical attention to the nature of statehood celebrations.

Celebrations and birthdays, be they of nations, states, organizations, events or individuals, usually take one of two forms. People tend either to celebrate by remembering something specific that took place at a certain time in the past, or by examining how far they have come or progressed from that time. One form emphasizes remembrance, the other achievement. The anniversaries of D-Day or of Pearl Harbor fit squarely in the first form. Celebrants remember what they were doing at that precise time in the past. In some cases they remember what their relatives or role models were doing. World's fairs are the most common example of the second form of celebration with their "century of progress" themes. The Chicago World's Columbian Exposition of 1893 had little to do with remembering Columbus but instead celebrated how far the New World had progressed since its discovery! In some cases there are hybrid celebrations. Fiftieth-year reunions at colleges usually elicit memories of old college days and accounts of subsequent success in equal measure. Which form should a statehood celebration take?

An obvious source of inspiration has been the bicentennial of the Declaration of Independence. That celebration remembered the 200-year-old event creating the nation. But what is the best way for Washington to celebrate joining that nation a century later? A possible clue might come from Alaska's 25th-anniversary celebration, held in 1984.

In Alaska, statehood stands out as a watershed event. Admission to the union in 1959 brought full self-government after decades of delay and rebuffs from national congresses that said Alaska was not politically ready for admission. To prove its fitness for self-government, Alaska (much like Washington in 1878) held a constitutional convention prior to any congressional enabling legislation and wrote a "model state constitution." Alaskans proudly proclaimed this document as a short framework of government similar to the U.S. Constitution.

Statehood went much further in fact and symbol than simply changing Alaska's political form from dependent to fully self-governing. Territorial status had long been viewed as an impediment to economic growth. The territorial legislature lacked the power to regulate the fishing and canning interests. Statehood sup-
porters also claimed that the instability and uncertainty of territorial government made outside investors see Alaska as a poor field for new enterprises. Admission to the union ended these economic dulldrums. It brought a federal endowment of 103 million acres of land to the new state. Within two decades this land had produced the Prudhoe Bay oil field and a base of prosperity undreamed of in territorial days.

Twenty-five years after statehood, Alaska staged a gala silver anniversary in 1984. The celebration centered on honoring the men and women most active in the statehood battle, particularly the delegates to the 1955-56 constitutional convention. On statehood day, January 3, 1984, there were special events staged in Alaska's major cities. The principal ceremony was in Fairbanks, site of the constitutional convention, where the delegates, along with a selected group of other statehood supporters, assembled. The day began with the dedication of a postage stamp and a moving speech by Ada Wien, a convention delegate, on her memory of the night the statehood bill passed the U.S. Senate. The focal point of the celebration was the awarding of silver medals to the founders of Alaska at a gala dinner. One by one, the living delegates walked across the stage to the applause of several hundred people. Interviews by oral historians with many of the founders brought forth vivid and emotional memories of writing a constitution for a new state, a unique experience never to be repeated.

At first glance a Washingtonian might think the Alaska example, with its vivid memories of the past, offers very little guidance. After all, not many people who were around in 1889 are still alive to walk across a stage and be honored. But what would they want us to remember if they could speak? Might not a historical glance backward reveal problems of economic exploitation or political vassalage that were overcome by a proud people whose renewed memory might give Washington's current citizens a touchstone for celebration?

Washington's early historians did not celebrate the state's founders when they were alive, and their successors have not tried to ennoble the founders after death. Nearly all accounts, from those of Hubert Howe Bancroft in 1890 and Edmond S. Meany in 1909 to Keith Murray's in 1941, Charles M. Gates' in 1957 and Gordon Dodds' in 1986, describe the coming of statehood in Washington as a rather bland event, despite the fact that Washington had been a territory for 36 years. It is difficult to discern in any of these histories a popular or widespread movement for statehood. Though a few commentators note that the people of Washington saw territorial rule as colonialism, this seems to be more rhetoric than reality. Washington's two constitutional conventions in 1878 and 1889 attract little attention in these state histories—certainly not
The 25th anniversary of Alaska statehood, in addition to producing the usual postage stamp, centered on honoring the men and women who had participated in the constitutional convention.

The Alaska State flag, with its stars representing the North Star and the Big Dipper, was designed by a 13-year-old boy.

The 1878 constitution was ratified by the voters of the territory, but with a turnout that the federal Congress considered too low to be acceptable as a popular mandate for statehood. Congress showed no interest in adding an enabling act for Washington in 1878. After this congressional rebuff, popular sentiment for statehood in Washington waned in the 1880s with the completion of the Northern Pacific Railroad and an attendant economic and population boom. Washington's population of 75,000 in 1880 burgeoned to 357,000 by 1890. While boosters might announce that Washington deserved statehood to match its economic growth, this did not translate into any sustained popular drive for admission. Economic growth absorbed the interest of most Washingtonians, particularly the newly arrived.

Historian Bancroft describes the progress of the 1880s in euphoric tones: "From 1880 to 1888 the progress made in Washington was phenomenal, and was felt in every direction—in commerce, manufacture, banks, corporations, schools, growth of towns, improved styles of building, construction of railroads, mining, agriculture and society."

Writing several decades after Meany and Bancroft, Keith Murray confirms that the delegates were unable to devise effective measures to cope with them."

The 25th anniversary of Alaska statehood, in addition to producing the usual postage stamp, centered on honoring the men and women who had participated in the constitutional convention.
that the growth of the 1880s changed Washington dramatically and severed any connection with the reform sentiments of the 1870s. "In the summer of 1882," he notes, "the business recovery from the depression of the seventies had nearly submerged all problems." The corporate control spirit of the 1878 constitution was soon abandoned.

The boom of the 1880s revolutionized the dimensions of statehood sentiment in Washington. A nascent reform movement that saw statehood as a way to solve certain territorial problems became, in the 1880s, a boosters' effort to cap or culminate a decade of prosperity. The fact that most of Washington's population in 1889 had not been present in 1878 only accentuated the discontinuity in Washington's drive for statehood. Unlike Alaska's, Washington's territorial status had been no impediment to economic growth and change.

Statehood finally came to Washington in 1889 primarily through the initiative of Congress. The territory's congressional delegates had continued to push for admission throughout the 1880s, as had the delegates from Montana, Dakota, New Mexico and Utah. But by all accounts, the decision of Congress in early 1889 to pass enabling legislation for Washington, Montana, South Dakota and North Dakota had more to do with its own internal party politics than any popular statehood drive from the West.

The congressional enabling act of February 1889 called for constitutional conventions for all the omnibus states to be held in the summer. The citizens of Washington Territory might have turned their 1889 convention into an experience of self-expression, symbolizing their sense of achievement and arrival. They did not do this. The convention of 1889 has attracted even less comment from contemporary observers and later historians than the 1878 event. Bancroft notes of the delegates merely, "They were a conservative body of men, chosen from the various classes." He briefly describes the constitution as "an instrument well-adapted to their needs." Aside from that comment he neither praises nor criticizes the document.

Edmond Meany comments little more than that the convention met and signed the constitution. As to the document itself he says, "There is nothing bizarre, radical, or experimental about the constitution of Washington. It is a substantial and conservative framework of government with more than two centuries of American experience behind it."

Historians writing 50 to 100 years after the 1889 convention do not particularly alter the treatment given by the first chroniclers. Keith Murray merely notes, "Seventy-five delegates met at Olympia on July 4 to frame another constitution..."
Charles Gates, history professor at the University of Washington, was an authority on the period of Washington statehood. He was editor of the Pacific Northwest Quarterly for many years.

The official logo of the 1989 Washington Centennial Commission.

for Washington. On August 22 the convention adjourned and the members rushed home to prepare for the election on October 1." Both Gordon Dodds and Charles Gates point out that the 1889 convention was more pro-railroad and pro-entrepreneur than the 1878 body and cite the defeat of a proposal for a state railroad commission as evidence. Whether writing in 1890 or 1986, commentators look at Washington's 1889 Constitutional Convention with decided indifference.

This lack of enthusiasm for the convention of 1889 in no way indicates that statehood was not desired in Washington. It was simply seen as the natural reward for Washington's burgeoning population and economic growth. Though Bancroft uses few words on the 1889 convention, he heralds the arrival of Washington's newly self-governing status. He expounds that at the moment of his writing the first legislature of the new state was in session, laying "strong and broad and deep the foundations of a commonwealth destined for unimagined greatness."

Territorial Washington was not suffering from economic underdevelopment in 1889; just the opposite was the case. Though statehood gave Washington full control of its political structure, territorial rule had not been onerous. Earl Pomeroy, the nation's leading historian of Western territories, portrays territorial rule in the 1880s as inefficient but not much worse than the governments in the existing states at the time. "When statehood came," he writes, "the transition was slight." Washington's would probably not be celebrated in the style of Alaska's, even if the state's founders were alive and could walk across a stage. So what can we make from this historical record as a guide for a centennial celebration?

Washington's early state history does not involve the excitement of reformers overthrowing corporations or political rings, second-class citizens struggling for their rights or economic colonies demanding autonomy. However, for the average citizen today, looking for growth and prosperity, Washington's statehood history is anything but disappointing. In the 1880s the territory beckoned as a place of booming prosperity and attracted over a quarter-million people who wanted to partake of it. By 1888 the overwhelming majority of Washingtonians could not have seen territorial status as a sign of national rejection. Statehood came only a few years after most of them arrived.

The indifferent assessment of the Constitutional Convention does not signify that Washingtonians were less politically able than other Americans. The circumstances in which the convention took place were vastly different than those in Alaska. The act admitting Washington as a state had passed the Congress; Washingtonians had no need to prove their fitness for self-government at the convention. Past injustices and economic limitations were not foremost in the minds of the delegates. No wonder they met rather briefly, adopted a constitution similar to those of existing states, and "rushed home" to get on with the more exciting business of building Washington. The fact that four of the state's major cities burned that year may well indicate that there were more pressing crises to solve than writing a constitution. And there is no need to apologize for the document they wrote. With only 76 amendments added over the century, the 1889 constitution remains Washington's frame of government today.

Washington joined the Union in 1889 with the silver spoon of prosperity in its mouth. Preparing for "unimagined greatness" was uppermost in the minds of Washingtonians at that time. In the ensuing century this theme has been repeated, over and over again. World's fairs have been a favored form of celebration in Washington. In 1909, 20 years after statehood, Washington staged the Alaska-Yukon-Pacific Exposition, which brought thousands of Americans to the Northwest via the Northern Pacific Railroad, refurbished the campus of the University of Washington and engendered a sense of pride among residents of the state. Then, in
This novelty phonograph record was put out at the time of the Seattle World's Fair in 1962.

Washington State Historical Society

1962, boosters of what was seen by many Americans as a sleepy regional city won international acclaim with the Seattle World's Fair. This celebration, the first world's fair held in the United States following World War II, left behind the Space Needle as a nationally recognized symbol. With less fanfare, Spokane staged another world's fair 12 years later and transformed an industrial riverfront into one of the most beautiful urban centers in the Northwest. For better or worse, the state did not choose to mount another world's fair for its centennial commemoration; indeed, the first casualty appears to be the Pacific Celebration, an event based on a variation of a world's fair theme.

So what is there to celebrate? A look back over the last century suggests that Washingtonians are likely to do what they have traditionally done—celebrate where they're going and what they want to do, acknowledge the past but not dwell on any one particular moment from it. Exactly what and how they will celebrate remains to be seen. The Centennial Commission has been easy to criticize, but Washingtonians can be proud that there are several potential problems the planners are wisely avoiding. There are no signs in centennial literature of an attempt to re-create the past to fit the needs of the celebration.

Washington's centennial is not likely to take the same form as Alaska's silver anniversary. It is a different state, with a different history and tradition. In the coming months it also should be fascinating to glance across the border to Idaho and beyond to Montana and to North and South Dakota, to see how they celebrate their centennials. From those celebrations we will learn whether the states admitted in 1889 now exhibit a common lifestyle and tradition, or have distinct personalities. The celebration of the century will be exciting. At the moment, it is all the more intriguing because we don't know exactly what it will be.
like sturdy old oak trees, many successful universities have their roots in adversity. The University of Idaho at Moscow is one of these. Established by the territorial legislature as a consolation prize for north Idaho, it received the territorial governor's formal approval on January 3, 1889. Governor Edward Stevenson signed the bill in the presence of only one legislator. Later, when the state constitution was hammered out, the university's location in Moscow was confirmed in something like immortality, making it well-nigh impossible for it to move anywhere else, the only state university in the nation to be so obsequiously favored.

Despite this legal gold bonding, little else was provided. A measly $15,000 was allocated for the acquisition of land and a "suitable building." The latter was assembled piecemeal. The first president served without salary and the first students, 40 eager neophytes, plowed through dust a foot deep on opening day, October 3, 1892, for the privilege of an education. They were all placed in pre-college classes. The second president was regarded as especially qualified because he had been principal of a high school in Tacoma.

Ten years were required to complete the first unit of the university, a four-story edifice, "half as long as a football field," which served all requirements at the time. Unfortunately, only a few years after its completion, it gave up the ghost in billows of smoke and flames. Its remains were dynamited into oblivion.

Eventually this rugged past was overlooked even by those who created it—like William J. McConnell, who went bankrupt in the rich Palouse country's only crop failure, in 1893. McConnell lived long enough to receive a Golden Jubilee Doctorate, honoris causa, sharing honors with his sixth child, who graduated from the university on the same day in 1939. By this time, the university had succeeded so well that other parts of the state, envious of Moscow, were making sundry attempts to steal certain attractive schools or departments without even trying to conceal their schemes.

One may properly conclude from details like these that Keith Petersen's new history, the second focusing on the university in 25 years, is neither stuffy nor pedantic, nor isolated from the state's history at large. While it is referred to as a tabletop book, with heavy emphasis on its pictorial excellence, it contains a not inconsiderable text—a pleasant diversion for this reader. I must admit, however, that following the text, or texts, occupied all my ingenuity to stay on the right path. There seemed to be three sequences to follow, the principal text, an additional running commentary concerning the dramatic personae, placed on the outer edges of the broad pages, and, finally, lengthy notations related to the many illustrations.

One experienced publisher has observed that colleges and universities are fond of publishing their own histories, but no one wants to buy them. Most of them are hard to sell. This one could sell itself. If this is not why we publish college histories, it ought to be regarded as a plus and its author a cherished part of the institution's endowment.

Father Schoenberg has written numerous books on Pacific Northwest subjects, including a history of Gonzaga University. Currently living in Portland, Oregon, Fr. Schoenberg was Washington State Author for 1988 at the Governor's Writers Day.

A group of 16 essays, compiled by Wayne Suttles over a 40-year period and published under one cover, is a fitting monument to his exhaustive study of Coast Salish native peoples. These interpretive compositions are drawn from countless oral interviews during fieldwork among people of the Georgia Strait and the Puget Sound basin. We cannot fault Suttles for excluding the Coast Salish Tillamoeks living to the south, in Oregon, since they are outside the sound and strait region of his studies. In his last essay, he leaves his geographic area of study to espouse the contention of Susan Kent and a few others that the Interior Salish Sanpoils along the Columbia River near the center of the vast Columbia Plateau were not the pacificists which Verne E. Ray and others have considered them to be. There are, however, those who would side with Ray that the Sanpoils, by living in relative isolation and adopting a horse culture later than most plateau peoples, were prevented from aggressions against these natives and against those of the Great Plains during the buffalo hunting period (c. 1770-1870)

Suttles challenges the oft-repeated notion that the Coast Salish and other groups of the Northwest Coast lived in an Edenic environment, but does suggest the importance of that environment as related to their different cultures. He leaves his readers well supplied with the vitals of a good book—an informative text plus illustrations, bibliography and index. Although not light in content, Coast Salish Essays will be of use and interest both to scholars and to others who have more than just a passing interest in ethnohistory and who wish to understand this most important linguistic group of northwestern America.

Dr. Ruby is a practicing physician in Moses Lake. He has coauthored, with John A. Brown, numerous books on Pacific Northwest Indians, including The Chinooko (1976), Myron Eells and the Puget Sound Indians (1976), and Indians of the Pacific Northwest (1981).
**Historical Atlas of Washington.**


Reviewed by Dr. Stephen E. Balzarini.

The most useful book to be published recently on Washington State makes interesting and, at times, even compelling reading. Professors Scott and De Lorne have combined a lively text, sound scholarship, and clear and informative maps to produce a much-needed work which fills a gap in the literature of Washington State. Organized in a logical and usable fashion, the book comprises 77 different maps, with accompanying text arranged under 15 different subsections. The general subjects of the maps and subsections include such things as topography, landforms and climate, history (Indians, explorations, fur trade, missionaries, territorial development, migration and population growth), political development (voting patterns and political divisions), economic characteristics (land usage, crops, mining, fishing and energy), urbanization and cultural resources. The selected bibliography and the index to the text and maps are particularly useful.

In addition to the expected information in a work of this kind, the authors have gathered material which undoubtedly appears in no other single source. The section on cultural resources, which contains eight different maps and accompanying text, is an excellent example. These maps locate the state university and community college system, major libraries, and national and state parks and forests.

Despite the general utility and worth of the atlas, there are a few minor distractions. The most pronounced is that pages are not numbered consecutively, and are, in fact, numbered only in reference to the map number. This is not a serious problem, of course, and anyone-historian, politician, journalist, government official, business person, economist—attempting to understand the history, demographics, politics or economics of the state will find this atlas an indispensable source. Because it is such a valuable work on Washington, and therefore so important to the state, one is left to ponder why it was published by the University of Oklahoma Press.

Stephen E. Balzarini is an associate professor of history at Gonzaga University and a former assistant archivist at Washington State University.

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**Wobbly War:**

The Centralia Story.


Reviewed by James G. Newbill.

My initial reaction to this book, in spite of its eye-catching red dust jacket, nice binding and numerous pictures, was modest as the book appeared to be another retelling of the story of the Industrial Workers of the World. However, in a short time the reader is caught up with the detailed, careful examination of not only the familiar November 11, 1919, "Centralia Massacre," but also the general background leading to the deaths of six men and the imprisonment of eight more.

McClelland is quite successful in sketching the atmosphere of anti-IWW feeling in the region. There was the patriotism of World War I, with the resulting understandable antagonism toward the Wobblies (derisively called "Imperial Wilhelm’s Warriors"), for their opposition to the war. And the author points out the Western tradition of law and order, with its occasional use of vigilante punishment. Other writers (John S. Gambs, The Decline of the IWW) have suggested this connection, but McClelland’s analysis, though brief, is particularly clear.

Unlike many accounts of the event, this one is quite well balanced. This is not an apology for the IWW, nor a paean of patriotism, nor a condemnation of that community. It is very clear that injustices were done to the Wobblies. Wesley Everest was brutally hanged by a mob. Those convicted of murdering the veterans were given exceptionally long prison sentences. But the reader must carefully discipline himself not to forget what McClelland gives less emphasis to—the fact that four unarmed veterans were killed by Wobbly gunfire, and that one of them, Warren O. Grimm, was probably killed by a Wobbly sniper hidden in a nearby hotel. The author does not ignore these murders, but, with emphasis given to the Everest murder, the subsequent trial of the Wobblies, and the years of appeals for pardons, the reader can easily forget the four slain veterans. McClelland’s account has enough balance that this distortion is minimized.

The very minor errors (the stockade was not built in 1917 in Yakima, but in 1933; the raid on the Yakima IWW hall did not occur in 1918, but on July 9, 1917; and the IWW trouble in the Northwest did not begin in 1912, as there is evidence of a 1909 strike in Waterville and a 1910 conflict in Yakima) and the lack of a bibliography (partially offset by extensive footnotes) do not appreciably detract from the scholarly value of this excellent account.

James Newbill teaches history at Yakima Valley Community College. He has written several articles on IWW activities in Washington State.
Before the term "skyhook" entered the lexicon of basketball fans worldwide as the descriptive term for Kareem Abdul-Jabbar's patented shot, it would have applied to this facet of Northwest logging technology, one of the first attempts at the skyline timber-harvesting system. In order to mitigate the environmental effects left behind by skidding logs in rough terrain or through river and creek beds, the "skyhook" device was suspended in the air by a cable strung between two large trees above the stump-strewn ground. A second set of smaller and lower cables were then hooked to logs before they were yarded in.
Back Issues of Columbia Still Available

Readers interested in obtaining back issues of Columbia may contact Marie De Long at the Washington State Historical Society, 315 N. Stadium Way, Tacoma, WA 98403, (206) 593-2830.

Fall 1987/Volume 1, Number 3

"The Grand Olympic," by Nancy Allison Wright and Barbara Aydelott

"Pig War Letters: A Romantic Lieutenan's Account of the San Juan Crisis," by Keith A. Murray

"In Search of Chief Moses' Lost Possessions," by Robert H. Ruby and John A. Brown

"No Wrath Like That of an Indian Chief Scorned," by Isabelle Arcasa

"The Cannonball: The Little Railroad that Saved Olympia," by Arthur G. Dwelley

"The Loser Who Won: Gil Dobie, University of Washington Football Coach Extraordinaire," by Robert S. Welch

Winter 1988/Volume 1, Number 4

"The Duke of Tacoma and His Wonderful Museum," by Frank L. Green

"Little Girl Memories of a Christmas on the Cow-litz," by Mrs. Charles Olson

"Building Ships on a Lake," by Lorraine McConaghy

"Stagecoaches to Trains, Just 100 Years Ago," by David Buerge

"The Columbia Before It Was Tamed," by William D. Layman

"What Really Happened to Meriwether Lewis?" by Dee Brown

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"Strategy Strike on the Indian War Front," by Sidney Berland

"Centennial Hall of Honor Update"

"Ezra Meeker Goes to Wall Street"

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"The Hard First Way Across the Mountains," by Joan Robinson

"Long Road to Vindication for Accused Northwest Soldier: Granville Haller's Battle to Clear His Name," by Dr. Carl Schlicke

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"The Nevada Bloomer Case," by John Fahey

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"Glory Days of Vaudeville," by Nancy Allison Wright

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"Original Governor's Mansion," by Norman Johnson

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"The Invisible Sex," by Mike and Lynn Jordan

"The Three Musketeers of Northwest History: Meeker, Bagley and Himes," by Frank L. Green

"Abby Williams Hill," by Ronald Fields

"Statehood for Washington," by Keith A. Murray

"The Romantic Northwest of the Army Engineers," by David L. Nicandri


Torches to Guide Us


Panoramas of Promise


Washington's Admission and Its Historians


The Constitutions of the Northwest States, by John D. Hicks. Lincoln, Nebraska, 1923.


Additional Reading

Interested in learning more about the topics covered in this issue? The volumes listed here will get you started.

Whitman Mission Revisited


Our Brothers' Keepers
