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Cover Illustration

FLATHEAD RIVER was explored by members of Isaac Stevens' railway survey expedition in the spring of 1854, and it was at that time that the artist Gustavus Sohon drew the sketch that is reproduced on the cover for this issue. Though it was done some years after the fur trade era, the country probably had not greatly changed. It is described in Stevens' *Report* as follows: "Spring was then well advanced, and the prairie covered with long grass.... The river banks and the adjoining country, being much cut up by coulées, have the appearance of that on the Upper Missouri. The soil is principally a light yellow clay; the stream here is two hundred yards wide, swift and deep, sparsely timbered with pine and cedar, and a few cottonwood and aspen.

"From a high point he [John Mullan] could see over the country for a great distance, limited to the eastward by a high snow-clad range of mountains, which runs close to the eastern border of Flathead lake at its whole length, and continues on northward to the head of Clark's Fork."

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Liverpool, Gateway to Zion

BY W. H. G. ARMYTAGE

ONE SUMMER'S DAY in 1837 six Americans arrived in the Lancashire town of Preston. One of them was the brother of a local nonconformist, the Rev. Joseph Fielding, then presiding over the moral and spiritual welfare of the Vauxhall chapel. The brother had brought with him five preachers, who promulgated a strange new gospel. Man, they proclaimed, was part of the substance of God and would become God. Man was not born in sin and was not accountable for offenses other than his own. The Earth was a colony of embodied spirits, one of many such settlements in space. God was president of Spirits, Men, Angels, and Gods. Spirits still waited to receive their fleshly tabernacle. Men were immortal beings with living souls and human bodies. Angels were immortal beings who have lived on earth in imperfect obedience to the law. Gods were immortal beings, the final state of men who have lived on earth in obedience to the law.

The Rev. Joseph Fielding offered one of the preachers, Heber C. Kimball, the hospitality of his pulpit to proclaim this exciting evangel. He made his pulpit available to the others, too, but after a week he withdrew the invitation because he had lost his congregation.

The American team moved to Walkenford, where other nonconformists also offered their pulpits. They, too, lost their congregations. The team moved to Manchester, to Southport, to Bolton, to Salford. Then they went down to Burslem by coach and worked out again to Liverpool, slowly building up a network of churches. Within three years their work was crowned with success: forty of their converts set sail for the new Zion in America. Among them was 26-year-old William Clayton, who be-

came the personal secretary to Joseph Smith, the organizer of this new religion.

Lancashire became the evangelistic bridgehead. It had been, for the previous four decades, a fertile ground for prophets of one kind or another. It had provided followers for Joanna Southcott and John Wroe, millenarians whose gospel was far more difficult to capture than that of these Americans. Joanna's disciples promised a Shiloh; these Americans offered a Zion. Their apocalypse vibrated in the web of congregations that grew southward and westward at an astonishing rate. Within five years the Liverpool *Albion* was reporting (September, 1842):

The emigration of the Mormons or Latter Day Saints is daily increasing...the class of persons thus emigrating are in appearance and worldly circumstances above the ordinary men of steerage passengers. The bulk of them are from the Midland Counties—farmers and farmers' servants, with their wives and families. Upward of five thousand have already emigrated, and an equal number will probably leave before Christmas.

"These people," concluded the paper, "possess at least an average share of intelligence." It was from a Lancashire nonconformist pastor, the Rev. Thomas Dent of Billington, near Whalley, that Henry Caswall got much of the material which enabled him to publish in 1843 his well-known book *The Prophet of the Nineteenth Century, or, The Rise, Progress and Present State of the Mormons or Latter Day Saints*.

And it was Elder Amos Fielding, the brother of the nonconformist minister at Preston, who from 1841-43 superintended the passage of those who took ship for Zion. This was more than mere coincidence, for the materialistic theology of the more extreme sections of English dissent, their Hebraism, their adherence to Mosaic rather than Christian precepts, and their chiliastic fervor had prepared the way for the dogma of Mormonism. Here was a living prophet, a continuous inspiration.

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At this time, Zion was in Illinois. Originally called Commerce, it had been occupied by Joseph Smith as a city for the Saints and rechristened Nauvoo, which, he alleged, was Hebrew for "City Beautiful." The Church of the Latter-day Saints was only ten years old when the first batch of pilgrims sailed from Liverpool in 1840.

New as it was, its appeal was as old as religion itself. Indeed, it combined the eschatology of the Old Testament with the comfort of the New. Its founder, Joseph Smith, claimed to have met the angel of God at Cumorah Hill, New York, on September 22, 1827, and to have been given a set of golden plates, together with two spiritual glasses for reading them, Urim and Thummin. From these plates, upon which was engraved the Book of Mormon, Joseph Smith deciphered the story of the wanderings of ancient peoples. There were the Jaredites who, after many trials, came from the Tower of Babel to America in about 600 B.C. There were also two tribes from Jerusalem, the Nephites and Lamanites—one good, one evil—who also came to America after the birth of Christ. The Lamanites (the bad tribe) wiped out the Nephites (the good tribe) and were in possession of the entire American continent by 420 A.D. These Lamanites were, according to Smith, the ancestors of the North American Indians.

Smith's mission, proclaimed through the Church of the Latter-day Saints, which he had founded three years after he discovered the golden plates, was to redeem America, the Promised Land, for the Nephites.

The story, said Smith, had been engraved on the plates by Mormon, the last of the Nephites, who died before his work was finished, leaving it to his son, Moroni. Mormon, said Smith, meant "More Good," and the Mormons lived up to their name by sending into the mission field a band of evangelists who reaped the greatest and most successful harvest of souls since Wesley's time.

PERHAPS THE most remarkable of the missionaries sent to England was Brigham Young, one of the Twelve Apostles whom Smith had appointed to extend the boundaries of his church. Brigham Young was then rising to the height of his power. Thirty-nine years old, he was animated by the fact that Joseph Smith had received a revelation from God that it was the duty of the Church to preach the Gospel in England.

He arrived in Liverpool in April, 1840, and

was a resounding success. One of his converts gave him enough money to secure the copyright of the Book of Mormon and to publish several thousand copies of it. Meetings were held all over the depressed towns of the North, and 8,000 converts were made.

To advertise the faith, Young established an English newspaper at Liverpool, with the apt title of the *Millennial Star*, under the editorship of Parley P. Pratt. The gospel he preached was a simple one, and it was told in a simple way. He carried no purse; he made no demands on his hearers' reason. He appealed to the yearning for opulence that lay deep in the heart of the depressed northerners. He offered miracles. But above all, he made sense of the warring sects. Bethel and Zion were now realities, and the Mormons urged the English to take up quarters there. As Joseph Smith, the prophet, had said in an epistle to the Saints in Great Britain:

The spirit of emigration has actuated the children of men, from the time our first parents were expelled from the garden until now. It was this spirit that first peopled the plains of Shinar, and all other places; yes, it was emigration that first broke upon the death-like silence and loneliness of an empty earth, and caused the desolate land to teem with life and the desert to smile with joy.

Copies of the Book of Mormon were sent to Queen Victoria and Prince Albert in the hope that they, too, would take the trail to Nauvoo as "Zion's nursing mother." Queen Victoria paid no attention, but in the next thirty years some 22,000 of her subjects did, and emigrated under Mormon auspices. For Brigham Young established the tradition which made Britain the richest recruiting grounds which the Mormons enjoyed in the world. The elders funneled the annual stream through the port at Liverpool, and each departure for Zion was chronicled with fervor in the *Millennial Star*, read by an audience of 25,000 a week.

The stream increased under Elders Amos Fielding and Reuben Hedlock, who successfully managed the emigration until February, 1846, and saw nearly 1,000 people safely on the road to Zion. By this time troubles had arisen which put a temporary halt to any further schemes. To begin with, Joseph Smith was murdered in 1844, and though some of his followers expected him to rise from the dead and ride through the air on a white horse at the head of a heavenly host, others, more practical, elected Brigham Young as his successor.

Brigham Young, the Lord's anointed,
Loved of heav'n and fear'd of hell;
Like Elijah's on Elisha
Joseph's mantle on him fell.

This caused further trouble. Secession parties, one led by Sidney Rigdon and another headed by James Jesse Strang, were a source of trouble within, and the general body of Gentiles in Illinois caused trouble without. So Brigham Young decided to lead a great march into the wilderness of the West to find a real Zion. Nauvoo became a transport terminal and bridgehead for the great hejira, and on February 15, 1846, Young crossed the Mississippi with 2,000 Saints.

His idea was to make for California (then part of Mexico) or Oregon (then being disputed for by the United States and Great Britain). After a pilgrimage of seventeen months, over prairies and mountains, he led 12,000 Saints in successive groups to the Promised Land, to which he gave the name of Deseret, the land of the Honey Bee. In this heroic march, the spirit of the Mormons was sustained by an English brass band recruited by a missionary in England in the early days. The band played hymns, quadrilles, polkas, and minuets with catholic taste and gusto. William Clayton, the former English secretary of Joseph Smith, kept a logbook of the expedition and even invented a speedometer for the wagons.

Deseret, or Salt Lake City, bore a strange resemblance to Canaan. There was a Jordan issuing from a mountain lake and losing itself in the salt waters of a Dead Sea. Here, indeed, was the portion of Jacob, and in less than a year after their arrival the Mormons had an adobe town of 5,000 inhabitants. Since their very life depended on agriculture, they irrigated each communal holding by canals and lakes. The desert bloomed into the State of Deseret, which formally became the Territory of Utah in 1850.

So the Saints prospered. But many of the 35,000 who trod the Oregon Trail after them in 1849, or the 55,000 who trod it in 1850 to the newly discovered goldfields in California, did not. Indeed, they probably fed the Saints' prosperity, since Salt Lake City was their last great posting station where they stripped themselves of all encumbrances that might bar their way to California.

IN ENGLAND, meanwhile, the elders had been coöperating by petitioning the Queen to let them direct their emigrants to Vancouver Island or Oregon, and in February, 1847, they transmitted a petition 168 feet long, to which 13,000 people had put their names. Encouraged by reports from America, Elder O. Smith, on April 1, 1847, ordered the English emigrants to direct

their attention to Vancouver Island. Luckily, however, the news came through of the founding of Salt Lake City, and on December 23, 1847, a proclamation once more opened up the emigration from Liverpool. This time, it was trumpet tongued. Land lay in abundance; and the proclamation read:

To the Saints in England, Scotland, Ireland and Wales and adjacent islands and countries, we say, emigrate as speedily as possible to this vicinity, looking to and following the counsel of the Presidency at Liverpool; shipping to New Orleans, and from thence direct to Council Bluffs, which will save much expense. Those who have but little means and little or no labour, will soon exhaust that means if they remain where they are, therefore, it is wisdom that they remove without delay; for here is land on which, by their labour, they can speedily better their condition for their further journey.

THE SECOND PHASE of the Mormon exodus from England began in the grim year 1848, when Chartist disturbances reached a climax. To the bleakly comforted readers of the *Millennial Star* and the *Udgonn Seion* (its Welsh counterpart—published in Merthyr Tydfil) Elder Orson Spencer offered a tantalizing picture of "The resting place of Israel for the last days . . . beautiful for situation and the ultimate joy of the whole earth is the state of Zion established in the mountains," all the more beautiful for being cheap. On February 1 he asked presidents of conferences to forward estimates of the number of people who would be ready to emigrate within eight to twenty-two days. For an advance of £1 and £6 on embarkation (children half-price), the faithful could obtain passage to St. Louis, and for another £4 to Council Bluffs. Nearly 120 people hastened to answer, and in less than a fortnight the *Carnatic* carried them with the returning missionaries to St. Louis.

Brigham Young realized that, whatever the success of the Mormon evangel in other countries (they had a newspaper in Lausanne, *Le Reflecteur*, and another in Scandinavia, *Skandinavians Sterne*), Liverpool was the conduit pipe. So he sent one of the Twelve Apostles—the inner cabinet of Deseret—to superintend the new emigration. Elder Orson Pratt, on whom his choice fell, was the philosopher of Mormonism, their one propagandist thinker with whom even sophisticated Gentiles hesitated to bandy words. Pratt, an early disciple of Smith, had been the subtle and skillful apologist of polygamy. He had been to England before and had stood close to Brigham Young in his hours of trial before he succeeded Joseph Smith. He had

traveled with him on the great hegira to Salt Lake City, and was known as the Gauge of Philosophy. Sir Richard Burton called him

The Usman of the New Faith, writer, preacher, theologian, missionary, astronomer, philosopher and mathematician—especially in the highest branches—he has thrust thought into a faith of ceremony which is supposed to dispense with the trouble of thinking and has intruded human learning into a scheme whose essence is the utter abrogation of the individual will.

Pratt facilitated the exodus of the English Saints to an amazing degree. He dispatched 5,369 souls by twenty-one vessels in a period of little more than two and a half years. He was helped in this by the establishment of the Perpetual Emigration Fund to which all the church was obliged to contribute. He was also inspired to suggest that emigrants should for £20 go to Council Bluffs as the halfway house. As he wrote:

Let the Saints go with expectation of helping themselves, without throwing a heavier burden upon the American brethren. After arriving at the Bluffs, diligence and patience will, within a few years, enable you to perform the balance of the journey.

He suggested that, at Council Bluffs, emigrants might either work to accumulate further money for their passage or work it from there. In either case they would find there three of the Twelve Apostles, who could give them advice: O. Hyde, G. A. Smith, and E. T. Benson.

This Smilesean project was abandoned by Pratt's successor, Elder Franklin D. Richards, who had a scheme for directing emigrants either via Panama or around Cape Horn. But unfortunately this was as expensive as the Council Bluffs project had been cheap. In 1852 only 251 emigrants got away, and then only to Council Bluffs, with the help of £1,000 given by the Perpetual Emigration Fund. They were met at Council Bluffs by Elder Abraham O. Smoot and taken in a convoy of thirty-one wagons to Salt Lake City. There, after a three-month journey, they were greeted by a band, a salute of guns, and the thundering warnings of Brigham Young himself, who told them:

Do not any of you suffer the thought to enter your minds, that you must go to the gold mines, in search of riches. That is no place for Saints. Don't any of you imagine to yourselves that you can go to the gold mines for anything to help yourselves with: you must live here; this is the gathering place for the Saints.

By 1852 the numbers of would-be emigrants were so great that Elder Samuel Richards at Liverpool was besieged. As one who explored the system reported:

The anxiety of thousands of the Saints to gather to Utah, had become immense, so much so that Elder Richards was frequently desired to organise companies who would walk the entire overland journey, and assist to haul the provisions and luggage also. Much prudence and caution were now required to restrain the overflowing spirits which the Saints were giving way to, and at the same time to promote the emigration of as large a number as practicable in the approaching season.

Brigham Young was constrained to issue a seventh general Epistle to console them: "doubt no longer, but come next year to the place of gathering, even in flocks as doves fly to their windows before a storm."

THE MORMONS' emigration evoked much comment, usually from the dispossessed nonconformist ministers whose congregations had fallen away in consequence. But others, like Dr. Conybeare, who as principal of the newly founded Liverpool Collegiate Institution had witnessed their arrival at Liverpool, saw the tremendous significance of it all. "Great Britain," wrote Conybeare in what was, to date, the best appreciation of the movement, "is the true theatre of Mormon triumph." He went on:

The preachers are far from unsuccessful in their efforts to obtain disciples; the surprising confidence and zeal with which they promulgate their creed, the prominence they give to the exciting topics of the speedy coming of the Saviour, and his personal millennial reign, and the attractiveness to many minds of the idea of an infallible church, relying for its evidences and its guidance upon revelations made perpetually to its rulers, these, with other influences, have combined to give the Mormon movement a position and importance with the working classes, which, perhaps, should draw to it much more than it has yet received of the attention of our public teachers.

The *Millennial Star* intoned the homing call: "Every particle of our means which we use in Babylon is a loss to ourselves." It reinforced this with a threat: "Every Saint who does not come home will be afflicted by the Devil." In response to this message, 2,609 Saints left Liverpool in 1853; of this number 2,312 were British subjects. The Emigration Fund made this possible, and, while it lasted, observers like Dr. Conybeare considered that at least 3,000 persons a year would continue to be helped across to Salt Lake City.

Brigham Young was anxious that they should come, and in 1854 there was published, in England, a magnificent folio, *The Route from Liverpool to Salt Lake City*, with engravings and a fine text. This, together with a stream of pamphlet literature, numerous meetings, and a constant draft of fresh missionaries, reaped a rich harvest.

But unfortunately, just as the need was greatest and the desire to emigrate at its peak, the cost of wagons and transportation rose exorbitantly because of the great rush along the Oregon Trail to the goldfields (which, incidentally, had been discovered by a Mormon volunteer). Unfortunately, too, the Perpetual Emigration Fund could not help in 1855, as there was a disastrous crop failure and the Church was short of money.

So Brigham Young decided to abandon the prairie schooners on which the emigrants had hitherto traveled from Council Bluffs and substitute hand-carts. In a letter to Liverpool he wrote: "Thus you will perceive the money usually spent in England for extra clothing and unnecessary 'fiddle-faddles'—for extra freight on the same, and for hauling this across the plains, can all be saved; and most assuredly may be more profitably used on the arrival of the Saints here." A song was composed for the occasion:

Hurrah for the Camp of Israel!
Hurrah for the hand-cart scheme!
Hurrah! Hurrah! 'tis better far
Than the wagon and ox-team.

The Saints hoped to march proudly along the hand-cart line, and in 1856 a group of 1,300 men, women, and children left Liverpool for winter quarters at Council Bluffs. There they split into five companies. The first traveled safely to Utah, but the last did not. Their sufferings, as winter caught them in the mountains, were fearful. Sixty-seven of one group of four hundred died; others froze to death; and many of the survivors took a long time to recover. Furthermore, they lost most of their cattle. Brigham Young was impelled to call off the scheme and revert to the prairie schooners.

In this year, too, the Mormons held a census and gave their population as 76,335—a generous estimate, highly pitched since they were trying to claim a state government. Allowing that they numbered at least 60,000, it is interesting to note that all the visitors agreed that by far the largest proportion of these were English. Thus the Frenchman, Jules Rémy, in his *Journey to Great Salt Lake City* (London, 1861), set down the nationalities represented there in order of importance: "English, Scotch, Canadian, Americans, Danes, Swedes, Norwegians, Germans, Swiss, Poles, Russians, Italians, French, Negroes, Hindoos and Australians; we even saw a Chinese there."

WHAT DID the Englishmen give to Zion? The cynics might say that Brigham Young got an-

other wife—his twenty-fourth: Eliza Burgess. She fell in love with the broad-shouldered American Moses when she arrived, a young girl of seventeen, with her parents in 1846. She did not dare admit her love, so she decided to serve his senior wife for seven years, at the end of which period she was to become his wife. Brigham Young agreed, and when she was twenty-four, he married her. They had a son whom Brigham called his "English Boy."

If the Mormon husbands were served, so were the Mormon hymns. Among the English emigrants was one of the Mormons' greatest hymn writers—Adam Craik Smith, author of "Jesus Bids Me Shine," "Beautiful Mountain Homes," "Hail Bright Millennial Day," "Zion Stands with Hills Surrounded," and numerous others. G. D. Pyker has computed that a third of the Mormon composers were British. The ecstasy of Zion stimulated many of them to compositions which have made the Mormons one of the great singing sects of the world, and to this day the Mormon choirs can recapture the massed thrills of the great Exodus and the glory of the sight of Zion in a drilled harmony that reflects their organization.

They did something for England, too, for by offering to every convert an office in the church, however humble, they showed that it was possible to spark a religious revival by kindling a sense of personal participation in religion—one in every five participated in their form of government. As Conybeare said in 1854:

It is humiliating to confess that this fanatical superstition has made more converts in England than in all the world beside; yet the instrumentality by which they have been gained also contained matter of encouragement. The principle of organisation which has been so powerful a course of error might do good service to the cause of truth.

This participation in church government, he concluded, was in large measure a cause of its success and ought not to be neglected by the establishment.

The high-water mark of their influence in England was the great conference of elders which was held in London on September 1, 1857. And though they continued these demonstrations up to the end of the century, the first flush of their success faded in the general alarm occasioned by the great controversy over polygamy. By 1884 there was a strong anti-Mormon cadre of speakers, itself a testimony of the hold which the Mormons had established on England. One of the most effective of these, W. Jarman, in his book published at Exeter in 1884, described the

Mormons as *Uncle Sam's Abscess, or Hell upon Earth*. In this we hear an almost Kinseyan note on the behavior of the young Mormon missionaries:

These Libertines and habitual Lechers are thrown upon the British public for three years, and we are expected to believe that during that time, they live a life of

celibacy. You can believe it if you like; I don't; nor shall I until fish live without water. Mormon fish are not long out of water in England, if at all: there is so much water around our little island.

But the Mormons were well satisfied. By that time they had attracted 85,000 converts in England alone.

The State Archives of Washington

BY ROBERT W. NESBIT

ON MARCH 22, 1957, Governor Albert Rosellini signed into law House Bill 220 relating to public records in the state of Washington. This new statute, Chapter 246, Laws of 1957, which will go into effect this coming June, opens the way to a much improved program of archives administration and records management. It will make possible for the first time an efficient handling of the ever-growing flood of noncurrent public records which until now have been allowed to accumulate with little or no control.

Fifty years ago Professor Jacob Bowman, then of Bellingham Normal School, wrote a report on "The Archives of the State of Washington." He said of the situation at that time: "Each department is the custodian of its own public records, and their present condition, in some instances, is very lamentable . . . no attempt has been made to bring all the archives into order and harmony." Unfortunately this condition of things continued to exist until very recently.

In 1909 the legislature created an archives committee and put it in charge of the state archives, presumably to correct the situation. But two vital elements were lacking in the law: (1) an appropriation with which to operate an archives agency, and (2) statutory provisions that would regulate the centralization of the records to be preserved.

For many years the state librarian functioned as archivist and served also on the archives committee. No particular space was allocated to

public records, however, and no staff was assigned to service them. After 1929 the archives were administered by a separate agency attached first to the Department of Finance, Budget, and Business, and more recently to the Department of General Administration. Until lately the archives agency operated without a professional archivist to direct it.

The 1909 statute, which defined the functions of the state archives, had remained essentially unchanged until this year. In brief, the old statute provided that "any state, county, or other official may turn over to the director [of the department administering the archives] for permanent preservation any official archives not in current use in his office."

The difficulty of centralizing noncurrent records under such a law is readily apparent. There was no place for a professional archivist under the statute since he was given no real responsibility. The decision to deposit material with the archives agency was left entirely in the hands of the operating departments, and although the law described in general terms the kinds of records that constituted "archives," in practice the definition of the term was left to the officials who deposited them. Some departments deposited a large part of their records; others sent almost none. No real attempt could be made to consolidate the official records of the state, since no one knew where they were or had authority to centralize them.

As the years passed, the situation grew worse. Those in charge of the state archives were kept busy just taking care of the noncurrent material that was sent to them. Because there was no way of defining and deciding what should be

ROBERT W. NESBIT, Washington State Archivist, has written several book reviews for *PNQ*. His article "Agriculture in Eastern Washington, 1890-1910" was printed in the October, 1946, number. He is currently working on a biography of Judge Thomas Burke.