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**Four Years for a Fair: Issues, Actions and Activities Coincident
and Connected to the Organization & Development of the Alaska-
Yukon-Pacific Exposition 1905-1909**

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FOUR YEARS FOR A FAIR: ISSUES, ACTIONS AND ACTIVITIES
COINCIDENT AND CONNECTED TO THE ORGANIZATION &
DEVELOPMENT OF THE ALASKA-YUKON-PACIFIC
EXPOSITION 1905-1909

by

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Kent D. Richards

HONORS ADVISER

PREFACE

This paper has been approached as an educational exercise. As a result I fear any true historical value that might be attached to it is either insignificant or incidental--but, certainly appreciated. Rather than simply becoming familiar with a particular series of events from the past, my purpose has been educational in a larger sense. I have found this assignment a valuable learning experience in historical research, an avocation I enjoy.

I would be remiss in not thanking the following people:

....The ladies of the University of Washington library's Northwest Collection without whose reluctantly rendered assistance this composition would have surely suffered.

....My room mates, "Fisker," "Angie" and "Thor" who grudgingly ate off the floor while allowing me the exclusive use of our communal dining room table during the seven weeks I labored with the semantics of this monograph.

....Dr. Kent Richards who, despite the constant risk of developing astigmatic pupils, read this manuscript while it was ensconced in its primal script.

And

....My typist, Betty Peary (whose bill I have not yet received) for correcting--most?--many?--or all?--of my spelling errors and comma faults.

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INTRODUCTION

Freshman pond is a large circular concrete pool on the University of Washington campus. Due to the geysering action of its fountain, the water does not freeze in the winter, making it an ideal refuge for a small flock of mallard ducks that frequent the pond (seemingly indisposed towards migrating to warmer winter climate). Beyond the pond up a short slope there is a chair-sized boulder on the edge of the grass. It is a good place to sit, look at the pond and reflect. It is a good place from which to view Seattle and the scene that surrounds the city.

On this winter's day the sky over Seattle is spectacularly clear and blue, but the students who trudge past me seem in a haze (perhaps more academic than atmospheric). Oblivious to the goodness of the day, they pass from one class to the next in tune to the rhythm of clock and bell--their minds, if not their backs, turned against the scene with which I am so attended.

The center of this scene is the huge bulk and graceful lines of Mt. Rainier, set before the cloudless winter sky. Commanding one's attention, it almost relegates to obscurity scenery that might otherwise dominate a view. To the left, nearly drowning in snow and sun, are the Cascades. Opposite them, to the west, is the snow

glistened arête profile of the wild and isolated Olympic range. Water captures the foreground. Lake Washington to the left, Lake Union to the right and beyond that the rolling gray-green swells of Puget Sound. Then there is the city: in between, above, below and around all these lakes and mountains and arms of the sea. Filling the space with houses, roads and telephone poles, it throbs with cars, trucks and people; is dotted with schools, parks and hospitals; and cut by freeways and avenues. Downtown, I imagine commerce and business or powerful recluses living in tall buildings where once the Douglass fir stood. First Avenue--Skid Road--is a collection of bars, cheap hotels, "skin flicks," dead dreams and dying men. Below the escarpment, along the water front, the piers--with their restaurants, import shops and pilings capped with gray gulls--the Seamen's Union Hall and the state ferry terminal surround the harbor, where the trade of the world sits anchored in ships. Cars file along the freeway. A ferry cruises into Elliott Bay. Huge jets (built only a few miles away) hang silently in the distance. The scene from Freshman Pond is a busy one.

Sixty-odd years before this scene was different. In 1906 what was to become Freshman Pond was known as the Geyser Fountain and existed only on paper.¹ The work that

¹See Appendix I., "Preliminary Plan for the Alaska-Yukon-Pacific Exposition."

poured the concrete in its construction during July of 1908, was not commissioned by the University but by a corporation. The Geyser Fountain was designed and built as part of what was to be known as the Cascade Court--the central focal point in the grounds plan of the Alaska-Yukon-Pacific Exposition held in Seattle during the summer of 1909.

This was the golden age of expositions. Since the original American exposition, held in Philadelphia in 1876 commemorating the union's first centennial, a series of great fairs had been staged in the major cities of the country. Chicago and St. Louis were the leaders in size and success. Portland's Lewis and Clark Exposition of 1904 was financially successful if only regional in appeal and served as an inspiration and standard of comparison for ~~the~~ effort Seattle would make. The immediate predecessor to the Seattle fair--held at Jamestown, Virginia in 1907 as a tri-centennial celebration of that city's founding--was to have a great impact in the organization of Seattle's fair, which was originally scheduled for that same year. Such exhibitions were mammoth undertakings, and success required experienced personnel, huge sums of money and the total support of an ambitious and far sighted citizenry. Whatever Seattle had in the first decade of the twentieth century, it had an optimistic population who disagreed only over the degree of brilliance to Seattle's rising star. Since the earliest settlement the phrase "New York Alki," meaning "New York by-and-by" in Chinook jargon, had been

on the lips of the people expressing their hope to become for Asia what the port of New York was to Europe.² Not knowing the fulfilment of that dream would still be in the future over half a century later, nothing could stop the dreaming or working toward the fulfilment of that goal. Christened the "Seattle Spirit," this abundance of civic pride was capable of great doings. If holding a world's fair was the style, then certainly, Seattle could do no less.

²Murray Morgan, Skid Road: An Informal Portrait of Seattle (New York: Viking Press, 1951), p. 3-4.

CHAPTER I

THE ORIGIN AND GROWTH OF THE IDEA

THE IDEA

In the last days of June, 1905, Godfrey Chealander passed through Seattle on his way to Portland from Alaska. Appointed by Alaskan Governor Bradley as special commissioner to the Lewis and Clark Exposition, Chealander was returning from the Northland after gathering an exhibit for the Portland fair representing the natural wealth of Alaska. While in Seattle he first spoke of the possibility of an Alaskan fair. His ideas were quickly seized upon by the local press.

Alaska is one of the richest and most resourceful countries among the possessions of the United States, [and] is attracting attention the world over, not only among capitalists, but the prospectors and homeseeker as well. It is not strange, then, that the idea of holding a purely Alaskan fair should suggest itself, and that Seattle, the gateway to the Northwest and so closely allied with her interests should be selected as the city in which to hold the big fair.³

From this beginning the idea quickly grew, spreading and finding wide support. Initial backing came from Seattle's business community. Expressing the sentiments of the local Chamber of Commerce, B. Melke, secretary of

³Seattle Daily Times, June 28, 1905, p.1:1.

that organization, said, "The idea grows on me; I like it."⁴ Chealander assured the Seattleites there was support for the plan in the North saying: "I mentioned the possibility of such a fair to a number of prominent Alaskans.... They all agree that Alaska should have a fair of her own, in fact, most of them were enthusiastic over the idea."⁵ Continuing on to attend his duties in Portland, Chealander left Seattle to consider his proposal. Thus, the idea was out, judged sound and plausible, and--with typical western enthusiasm and without a pause to consider the huge amounts of energy and money it could require--it was determined, though informally and unofficially, that Seattle would host a fair for Alaska.

On first thought it may seem strange to hold an Alaskan fair in Seattle, Washington. It was not as though the Alaskan cities would have been incapable of staging such an event. After all, Dawson, in the Yukon Territory, had held a successful but, admittedly, small exhibition a few years prior to this time. Seattle revelled in the choice of location, and the Daily Times rationalized it thusly:

Owing to the great great distances in Alaska and the fact the people are so widely scattered and being, you might say, too preoccupied in creating the greatest commonwealth in the United States, they have not the time to take charge of

⁴Seattle Daily Times, June 29, 1905, p. 1:3.

⁵Seattle Daily Times, June 28, 1905, p. 2:4.

the fair; the broader expanse of conditions during the past few years has practically made Seattle a sort of sponsor for Alaska, and for this, if no other reason, Seattle could properly take charge of the matter.⁶

It was felt to be the natural thing to do. After all Seattle was the only city in the world to "own" a territory. For as long as it had been financially advantageous to attach Seattle with the word Alaska, the city had promoted the association. Ever since the word "gold" came out of the Northland, the city fathers had boosted the couplet: "Seattle and Alaska," "Alaska and Seattle." To this end an out of work newspaperman named Erastus Brainerd was hired to propagandize the world. Given a fat expense account he, in return, gave Seattle Alaska.⁷ Not that there was not any competition. In 1897 half a dozen coastal towns beside Seattle had an equal chance to develop as the center of the Alaskan trade. Tacoma and Bellingham on the Sound, Vancouver and Nenaimo in Canada, Portland on the Columbia and San Francisco (which naturally assumed itself to be the center of anybody's gold rush anywhere) all sought to become the primary port for what would develop into a most lucrative trade. Brainerd's efforts synonymized the words Seattle and Alaska in the minds of the thousands of neophyte prospectors who were on their way to Alaska. Even if half of Seattle was determined to go North

⁶Ibid., p. 1:1.

⁷Morgan, 161.

to gather their fortunes in the gold fields, the rest could remain to make theirs outfitting the hoard of gullible "tenderfeet" that would pass through the city. By the time an Alaskan fair was being promoted, the Northland was considered the best and most profitable market in the United States.⁸ Seattle was the center of that commercial activity and her merchants serviced the Alaskans with typical capitalistic enthusiasm--relieving them of their money with a smile.

Seattle's pre-eminent position with regard to everything Alaskan was taken for granted when the fair was first proposed. "The fact that Seattle is the logical point where the exposition should be held was so thoroughly appreciated in Alaska that the projectors of the movement never considered any other city," boasted the Times.⁹ Even if Alaskans did not appreciate this arrogance, there was little reason to quarrel. As a distant land Alaska was widely misunderstood. Anything that might bring the territory closer ties with the United States, as a fair certainly could, was something for which to be grateful. "Anything Seattle does for Alaska is appreciated," said a young merchant from Nome speaking of the fair. "We people up there sometimes wonder if we really are a part of the United States, but I guess we are. I know the people of the far

⁸Seattle Daily Times, June 28, 1907, p. 2:3.

⁹Seattle Daily Times, June 30, 1905, p. 19:7.

north would keenly appreciate it if Seattle should take this step."¹⁰

In the earliest stages it was apparent that the primary aim of the fair should be educational. Misconceptions about the district were gross and extremely widespread. Alaskans were not insensitive to this and some, such as Rev. Dr. Newell Dwight Hillis, a long time Alaskan and personal friend of the territory's governor, voiced their objections. "So few people throughout the nation at large understand or appreciate Alaska," said the Rev. Dr. Hillis, "The impression has gone abroad that the country is merely a land of ice and snow."¹¹ A fair could do a lot towards eliminating such notions and fostering closer ties between the Union and her territory. But if the aims were educational, the intent was economic. Closer ties meant more trade, preferably conducted through the port of Seattle, and that meant increased revenue for Seattle's businessmen. Considered nothing to be ashamed of and certainly no secret, the capitalist dreams of profit were openly expressed:

The awakening of interest in Alaska that would follow the exploitation of the resources of that district through the exposition would have the effect of attracting capital to sections of the district and enhance the value of all holdings in Alaska.¹²

¹⁰Seattle Daily Times, July 20, 1905, p. 4:4.

¹¹Seattle Daily Times, July 14, 1905, p. 2:5.

¹²Seattle Daily Times, June 29, 1905, p. 1:3.

In view of the prevailing popular and positive feelings towards business, capitalism and the profit motive, plus the printing of such encouraging statements, the speed with which the band wagon filled and the whole idea ballooned was not at all surprising.

By the time Godfrey Chealander returned to Seattle, about a month after he had first proposed an Alaskan fair, the idea had received a considerable amount of attention and thought. The Seattle Daily Times announced that "the seed already sown has taken root and an Alaskan Exposition in Seattle is now an assured fact."¹³ The fair was to be held in 1907, a year that would commemorate two of the most significant dates in American-Alaskan history. The year 1907 would be both the tenth anniversary of the discovery of gold in the North and the fortieth year since President Andrew Johnson's Secretary of State, William H. Seward, had negotiated for the purchase of Alaska (derogatorily referred to at the time as "The Czar's Fairy Land"). Two civic organizations, the Chamber of Commerce and the Alaska Club, had jointly adopted the idea and announced themselves willing to lend whatever assistance necessary to make the exposition a success.

During a luncheon at the Alaska Club Chealander outlined a plan behind which Alaskans would unite for the holding of an exposition in Seattle. He explained the germ

¹³Seattle Daily Times, July 30, 1905, p. 1:7.

of his original idea as coming from the intimate first hand knowledge of Alaska he came to while collecting specimens for the Portland Exposition. After travelling thousands of miles through that immense country it occurred to him that he had visited but a part of the territory and that he was compelled to ignore the resources of large areas in his exhibit. It was apparent that Alaska proper had never been adequately shown up to the American people, that the Lewis and Clark Exposition was not going to do the job and that it could only be done in the grand scale the subject demanded by holding an exposition for that sole and specific purpose. Chealander's remarks were favorably accepted and an informal discussion of means to launch the project followed. It was deemed proper that communications seeking support for the enterprise should be directed to the prominent citizens of the various northern settlements. Mr. Sheffield, the Secretary to the Chamber of Commerce, and Mr. Chealander agreed to accept the task of contacting the miners and businessmen of Alaska, the various chambers of commerce and all the newspapers of the territory seeking their views and soliciting their approval for the scheme. Seattle would await a positive reaction from the Alaskans before proceeding with its plans--remaining heartily in favor of the idea and "willing to lend every aid to make the exposition a success."¹⁴

¹⁴Ibid.

Overwhelming Alaskan support for the planned exposition was honestly expected but not without a small amount of hesitancy on the part of the Northerners. In recent years they had grown a bit recalcitrant toward the Union. Owing to the federal government's attitude toward the territory, expressed by the neglect and heedlessness attended the petitions and demands of the Alaskans for such rights and representation they felt due all citizens, a degree of animosity leading to apathy existed in the territory. A prominent businessman and president of the Alaska Club, an organization of Seattle men who had once lived in the territory and retained an interest in the North, J. E. Chilberg offered sympathy to the maligned Alaskans. Professing an understanding of their problems, Chilberg sought support for the planned exposition by sympathizing with the Alaskan's problems while extolling their virtues and achievements:

With so much solicitude bestowed upon the dusky citizens of Cuba, Porto Rico [sic], Hawaii and the Philippines the latter two countries with their acquired and forced American citizenship and so little accorded the free-born American citizens in Alaska, a country that, through untold suffering and hardship and through a spirit of indomitable perseverance, faith and energy on the part of these hardy and venturesome people, is just emerging as the most wonderful spot on the face of the earth today.¹⁵

So it was that Godfrey Chealander left for Skagway, there to continue his journey to Tanana and down the Yukon

¹⁵Ibid., 2:1.

to Nome, for the purpose of interesting the communities of the Northland in an exclusively Alaskan fair to be held in Seattle during 1907.

THE ORGANIZATION

In November, 1905, Godfrey Chealander had returned from Alaska. Speaking before a Seattle Chamber of Commerce meeting he reported enthusiasm and wholehearted support for an Alaskan fair. J. E. Chilberg, whom the Daily Times predicted as the man most likely to serve as the president of any fair, replied that "...Alaska wanted a fair, Seattle could be depended upon to do its share."¹⁶ A discussion ensued about enlarging the scope of the fair. Lovett M. Wood advanced the fear that if Pacific or Oriental interests were included in the fair, it could well be at Alaska's expense. Apparently this was the popular sentiment as the final motion called for an exclusively northern fair, an "Alaska-Yukon Exposition," to be held in Seattle between June 1 and December 1, 1907. The motion passed unanimously. Godfrey Chealander was charged with selecting a permanent organizational committee of five men to begin the work.¹⁷

The drizzling gray Puget Sound winter passed and as the spring of 1906 settled on Seattle, little was being

¹⁶Seattle Daily Times, November 11, 1905, p. 7:2.

¹⁷Ibid.

said about the "great Alaskan fair." Little had been done. April came and with fair's projected opening day only fourteen months away no corporation had been formed, no invitations had been sent and no money had been raised. The future of the fair was uncertain. On the eleventh of April a banquet was held at the Washington Hotel to consider its stagnant disposition. At this meeting the Seattle exposition was formally launched (perhaps re-launched) when fifty prominent men were asked to serve as trustees for the organization that was to be incorporated as soon as the necessary papers could be drawn "for the great fair of 1909."¹⁸

It is uncertain exactly when it was determined to postpone the fair two years until 1909, but this was the first mentioning of such a change made in the press. For some time there had been talk of rescheduling the fair for 1909. As early as July, 1905, William Sulzer, congressional representative of New York's 10th district, suggested a two year delay. In Seattle as part of his annual visit to the goldmine he and his brother jointly operated in southern Alaska, the congressman spoke before a banquet held in his honor at the Rainier Club. Highly regarded by the local press as "one of the most eloquent men in Congress and one of the bravest," Sulzer was described as a "warm friend of

¹⁸Seattle Daily Times, April 12, 1906, p. 1:5. See Appendix II, "Board of Trustees: Alaska-Yukon-Pacific Exposition."

Seattle and Alaska."¹⁹ He declared an Alaskan exposition to be proper if held in 1909, two years after the Jamestown Exposition to which the federal Congress had already appropriated one and a half million dollars. Further impetus for delay and a suggestion for broadening the scope of the fair came in advice from Henry E. Reid. A knowledgeable and experienced exposition executive, Reid had served a secretary of the Lewis and Clark Exposition which had just closed after a successful run in Portland. He proposed that "Seattle should postpone the Alaska Exposition until 1909 and then hold a big world's fair in which other states might participate and a feature of Oriental participation might be made."²⁰ Reid acknowledged that a credible Alaskan display could be arranged in a year and a half, but it would be wise to think bigger and consider the idea of expanding into a major fair. The State of Washington had religiously supported the expositions hosted by other states and might well expect their participation as they had enjoyed hers. Moreover, federal aid would be much more likely for a 1909 fair. In that year Seattle would have no competition interfering with the chances for success. In view of these considerations, plus the short length of time before a 1907 opening would have to be made, postponement was the only realistic alternative.

¹⁹Seattle Daily Times, July 18, 1905, p. 5:3.

²⁰Seattle Daily Times, November 6, 1905, p. 4:5.

As the evening progressed the conversation touched on several aspects of the fair. One suggestion favored enlarging the scope of the exposition to involve the whole Pacific coast. Another proposed that the State University campus be chosen as the site. Neither of these proposals was acted upon and as the talking ceased the floor was given to Godfrey Chealander. After reaffirming the support and interest of the Alaskans, he delivered a progress report recapping the work accomplished by himself and his committee since the previous fall. It must have been a short report. There is scant evidence that Chealander and his five associates accomplished anything since their appointment to organize the fair five months earlier. After such a non-productive term of office Chealander could not have been too surprised when he was replaced.²¹

Ira A. Nadeau was chosen to succeed Chealander. He, in turn, was probably not too surprised at receiving this appointment, perhaps because he had tendered his resignation four weeks earlier.²² As general agent he had been the Northern Pacific Railroad's top man in Seattle. At this time the railroads were one of the nation's most vital businesses and being the general agent for a city the size of Seattle required a man of ability, energy and action. Evidently Nadeau was such a man. He immediately went to

²¹Seattle Daily Times, April 12, 1906, p. 1:5.

²²Seattle Daily Times, April 3, 1906, p. 2:6.

work organizing the fair, appointing three commissioners to represent the Seattle group. One man would be sent east to call on the suppliers of goods for the Alaska trade as well as other manufacturers that might be interested in renting space for exhibiting their products at the fair. A second emissary was to man a booth at the Jamestown Exposition promoting the Seattle fair. The third commissioner would go north to arouse interest and solicit funds among the people of Alaska and the Yukon. The obvious choice was Godfrey Chealander; who, for all practical purposes, was removed from the fair organization and exiled to the Northlands.²³

Twelve days after becoming legally incorporated-- May 8, 1906²⁴--the trustees of the Alaska-Yukon-Pacific Exposition called their first official meeting to order at the Chamber of Commerce.²⁵ The assembly was a model of harmony as not a single dissident opinion was voiced against any of the actions taken.

It was no surprise that John Edward Chilberg was made president of the corporation. Prior to this meeting he had been publicized as "...the only logical man for the position."²⁶ With characteristic humility Chilberg held

²³Seattle Daily Times, May 15, 1906, p. 5:4.

²⁴U.S., Congress, Senate, Participation in the Alaska-Yukon-Pacific Exposition, 61st Cong., 3rd Sess., 1910, Document no. 671.

²⁵Seattle Daily Times, May 13, 1906, p. 1:4.

²⁶Ibid., p. 1:7.

out against the honor, claiming he had not the time to serve, but adding that if it were truly the will of the directorship he would serve. Born in Wapello county, Iowa, Chilberg had come to Seattle with his parents at an early age. Completing his education at the Territorial University he joined his father's grocery business. After being burned out in 1889 he opened a brokerage and commission business and soon after was operating a steamer between Seattle and Central America. With the 1897 gold rush, Chilberg headed north, where he remained for two years. Returning to Seattle he organized the Century Company of which he was president. In 1903 his company built the fifteen story Alaska Building, the tallest in Seattle up to that time, followed soon thereafter by the "new" Washington Hotel. By the time of his selection as president for Seattle's exposition, he was one of the city's leading capitalists--serving as president or vice-president of assorted banks, insurance companies, ship yards and mining corporations.²⁷ These firms operated in both Alaska and the States, keeping J. E. Chilberg "more closely in touch with the territory than any other strictly local man."²⁸

As president Chilberg would find his position more honorary than functional being mostly engaged in the "enter-

²⁷General History: Alaska-Yukon-Pacific Exposition (Seattle, Washington: compliments of the Vulcan Iron Works, 1909), no pagination.

²⁸Seattle Daily Times, May 13, 1906, p. 1:7.

tainment of dignitaries, presiding at social functions and speech making on all sorts of occasions;"²⁹ while the working executive of the fair would be the director-general. Aptly titled, the director-general was responsible for overseeing all aspects of the fair on a day to day basis. More a position of labor than honor Ira A. Nadeau was endorsed for the office by president Chilberg.³⁰ A logical choice Nadeau was already deeply involved in the exposition as chairman of the second organizational committee.

A newspaperman, William M. Sheffield, was named secretary. A west coast native, he was born in Marysville, California. During his career he had traveled widely working on papers in New York, Chicago, eastern Oregon and Portland's leading paper, the Oregonian, before settling in Seattle seventeen years before this appointment. The one time city editor of the Seattle Daily Times was, like most of the fair directorate, well acquainted with Alaska, having spent a year writing and prospecting in the North.³¹

Additional nominations filled the slate of officers. C. R. Collins was named treasurer. A brace of three vice-presidents--John K. McGraw (former governor of the state), R. A. Ballinger (a local judge) and A. S. Kerry--was selected. The elections were cut and dried since the can-

²⁹Seattle Daily Times, March 8, 1908, p. 5:4.

³⁰Seattle Daily Times, May 13, 1906, p. 1:7.

³¹General History, no pagination.

didates, having been chosen before the meeting, ran unopposed. It was moved and unanimously accepted that this slate of nominees be accepted. The whole operation took less than eight minutes of elapsed time from the nominating to the turning over of the gavel to president Chilberg. After hearing only a portion of the lengthy bylaws, the reading was interrupted by a motion for their approval. It was seconded and passed unanimously.³²

The organizational framework was expanded when the president appointed people to serve on the exposition company's ten permanent committees: (1) executive committee, (2) finance and supplies, (3) ways and means, (4) concessions and privileges, (5) exhibits, transportation, rules and regulations, (6) press and publicity, (7) grounds and buildings, (8) ceremonies, music, amusements and athletic sports, (9) legislation (10) mines and mining.³³ It would be the task of these groups to begin the work necessary to organize the fair in their delegated areas of responsibility. The officers were heartened as every man asked to serve gladly accepted. Their appointments were ratified en masse by a unanimous vote of the trustees. These men, like the corporate officers, were volunteers.

³²Seattle Daily Times, May 20, 1906, p. 3:1. See Appendix III, "Officers and Directors of the Alaska-Yukon-Pacific Exposition."

³³Seattle Daily Times, May 27, 1906, p. 17:7. See Appendix IV, "The Permanent Committees of the Alaska-Yukon-Pacific Exposition."

President Chilberg said:

Not a single officer of this Exposition is receiving one penny for his services, nor has he, nor will he receive such remuneration, and furthermore some of us are devoting the larger share of our time and energy in an earnest, conscientious effort to make your Exposition a success.³⁴

Eventually experienced professional exposition directors would be hired. At this time it was impractical to employ such men. First, it would be necessary for the committees, to which these men would be responsible, to make some basic decisions. Besides, with three full years remaining before the fair's opening day, the cost of hiring such executives was prohibitive--especially for an organization that had no funds. So it was that in the last days of May, 1906, nearly a year after the project was first proposed, the ten permanent committees of the Alaska-Yukon-Pacific Exposition first met to begin their work.³⁵

THE LOCATION

The selection of a site for the exposition was the first major task confronting the trustees. Immediately, there appeared a dearth of individuals and groups, each in support of a particular locale. Obviously, whoever controlled the site, that would ultimately be selected, stood to gain substantially. The city's parks commission sug-

³⁴Ibid.

³⁵Seattle Daily Times, May 31, 1906, p. 3:4.

gested Madison, Woodland and Washington Parks. Private citizens and citizen groups supported Magnolia Bluff and Mt. Baker Park. Several sites along the shores of Lakes Washington and Union, and Puget Sound were mentioned. A strong case was being built for the University of Washington campus. Fearing the bitterness that might grow from the competition developing between the groups, President Chilberg urged that the decision be made as quickly as possible.

Nevertheless, the competition grew keen. The Daily Times printed an editorial discussing some of the qualities and qualifications the chosen site should possess. The newspaper pointed out that all sites should be carefully considered as the location might well determine the success or failure of the fair. It was felt that the site should abut on water and also have steam rail connections. The water requirement was not considered absolutely necessary, as were railroad facilities. But a water front site was considered especially desirable as an attraction for mid-western and eastern visitors. In addition, it was considered essential to have good street car connections, especially if the site was located some distance from the downtown hotel and business district. Admittedly it would be difficult to find such a site among the hilly terrain of Seattle, but the site did not have to be improved as clearing of the land could be part of the landscaping job. With these considerations in mind the Times half heartedly suggested a site beyond Interbay, admitting that it was not

known if the privately owned piece of real estate was obtainable.³⁶

The municipal park board actively campaigned in favor of Woodland Park as the exposition site. Their only reservation that the development of the site should not cause injury to timber stands on the tract. As an alternative they proposed Mt. Baker Park on the shore of Lake Washington. At the time this property was privately controlled, but plans had already been formulated for its purchase in the near future by the city of Seattle. The board wanted to see a city park receive the exposition so that the municipal government would benefit from the resulting buildings and other improvements. The park board of commissioners unanimously agreed that Woodland Park and Mt. Baker Park were the best sites for the fair among the lands owned or soon to be acquired by the city.³⁷

Further support for the Woodland site came from a citizen's committee appointed by the various improvement clubs of the Green Lake, Fremont and Ballard districts. Headed by C. H. Shields, the committee boasted itself as representing 40,000 citizens. Shields contended that the A.Y.P.E. was being promoted by the citizens of Seattle for the purpose of advertising the city, as well as Alaska and the other areas mentioned in the title. Furthermore, the

³⁶Ibid., May 31, 1906, p. 6:3.

³⁷Seattle Daily Times, June 18, 1906, p. 5:3.

bulk of money financing the fair was to be raised from local sources. Considering this, Shield's group maintained that the fair directorate must choose a site in the best interests of the citizens; that is, a site on which the lasting benefits and improvements would accrue to the working man rather than any special interest group. Shields described the Woodland Park property as "a site far superior in beauty and grandeur, a site that is more centrally located, one which cannot be equalled for street car services, one which far surpasses all other sites that have been mentioned in scenic beauty and natural advantage." Adamantly maintaining that the permanent improvements on the exposition site should benefit the common man, Shields spoke against those who advocated sites not owned by the municipal government, saying: "We contend...that the citizens of Seattle should spend their money to serve themselves instead of making a present to the State University or some individual."³⁸

But the final decision would be made by the board of trustees. To this end a sub-committee chaired by C. J. Smith and consisting of J. C. Marmaduke, John H. McGraw, H. F. Grant, A. S. Kerry, C. R. Collins, F. W. Baker, E. S. Meany and I. A. Nadeau was chosen. It would be their duty to evaluate the various locations and make

³⁸Ibid.

a proposal to the entire board.³⁹ Declaring that no snap judgements would be made, the committee promised to fairly evaluate all of the proposed sites. Six were investigated. Magnolia Bluff, Woodland Park and the University campus were leading contenders. Mt. Baker Park, the Bailey peninsula and Washington Park were also considered. According to I.A. Nadeau, the committee had six criteria for judging the suitability of the proposed locations.

First--Area of not less than 220 acres.

Second--Ample transportation both by street and steam railroad, the latter indispensable to delivery of building materials, exhibits, etc., at the very ground to be occupied by the various buildings.

Third--Sightliness and view.

Fourth--Ability of ground to be economically improved and beautified.

Fifth--Sanitary conditions, namely drainage and an abundant supply of water.

Sixth--To be a public park or place, if possible, so as to conserve much of the expenditure for the permanent benefit of the people.⁴⁰

Not all of the sub-committee members were unbiased. At least two openly favored the University campus. Ira A. Nadeau, the director-general and a member of the site selection committee had publically discussed the University as a favorable site a month before the formal decision was made.⁴¹ A week before the vote, while the sub-committee was still investigating the proposed sites, Edmund Meany revealed his feeling "that the University grounds will be

³⁹Seattle Daily Times, June 24, 1906, p. 2:2.

⁴⁰Ibid.

⁴¹Seattle Daily Times, May 13, 1906, p. 1:4.

the selection of the exposition management."⁴² As an insider, Meany--a member of the fair's executive committee and the site selection sub-committee--personally took part in the decision making and knew what he was talking about. Long employed by the University as a professor of history, he had always been one of the school's most vigorous supporters. Naturally, he favored the selection of its campus as the A.Y.P.E. site.

After investigating the various sites over a period of several days, the committee chairman called a meeting. According to Nadeau, before there was any interchange of views a secret ballot was conducted and the University campus was the unanimous choice.⁴³ This recommendation was sent to the executive committee. In the absence of the sub-committee chairman, a verbal report on the examination of the sites was presented by director-general Nadeau: Magnolia Bluff was considered a beautiful and well located site. However, its one great disadvantage, a lack of steam railroad transportation, eliminated it from competition. Bailey peninsula was applauded for its beauty, but its isolation and the fact that it was privately owned worked against it. Scenic Mt. Baker Park had good street car service, but lacked steam railroad facilities. Disregarding or ignorant of the fact that the city park board was com-

⁴²Seattle Daily Times, June 13, 1906, p. 9:5.

⁴³Seattle Daily Times, February 24, 1906, p. 2:2-3.

mitted to purchasing the tract, Nadeau criticized the site's then private ownership, saying: "the opinion expressed in the committee was that the site selected should be on public grounds, so that the benefits should remain."

Washington Park was reported to lack sightliness. Highly publicized Woodland was ill considered for "faults similar to other sites plus the consideration that choosing it would have meant closing the park to the public for at least three years."⁴⁴ The executive committee unanimously accepted the recommendation and referred the matter to the board of trustees for the formal vote to officially name the State University campus as the site for the exposition.

Consisting of 355 acres, all within the city limits, the campus of the State University was an ample tract of land for the A.Y.P.E. Situated between Lakes Washington (to the east) and Union (to the south and west), the site had over a mile and a quarter of lake frontage. To the south, towards Lake Union, the land slopes gently from the highest point in the northeast corner about 225 feet to tide level. On the Lake Washington side the land is level for about half its width where it abruptly breaks off to the lake shore in a series of benches, terraces and ravines.⁴⁵

⁴⁴Seattle Daily Times, June 23, 1906, p. 2:1-2.

⁴⁵Seattle Daily Times, June 24, 1906, p. 2:1.

Transportation requirements were easily met by the campus. Steam railroad services could be provided by the S and I branch of the Northern Pacific Railroad whose line curved through the campus. The Seattle Electric Company already had a street car line servicing the University district that could easily be doubled. Additional street car service could be arranged by extending any of several existing lines to the fair grounds.⁴⁶

At this time the campus was largely in a primeval state, covered with stands of timber interlaced with woodland paths and secluded meadows. A veritable natural park, the beauty of the campus was unequalled in Seattle. Knowledgeable visitors had often remarked that the site was among the most attractive in the nation for a university. As an exposition site it was considered "the most magnificent location of any enjoyed since the Columbian Exposition looked on Lake Michigan from its splendid site on the plain."⁴⁷

The University community was enthusiastic at the choosing of the campus as the exposition site. Throughout the selection process the faculty and students had heard projections and promises of what it could do for the school. At a minimum the school could expect two or three permanent

⁴⁶Ibid., 2:2.

⁴⁷Robert Craik McLean, "The Seattle Exposition of 1909," The Western Architect, XIV (July, 1909), 4.

buildings in addition to the grounds development work that would be necessary. At the time the University, though the largest in the Northwest, was quite small. The class of 1906 consisted of but 105 graduates from a student body of 1,190 and a faculty of seventy-one. Though struggling through a temporary money shortage, the University was generally supported by the people, who apparently recognized its value to the future. Its selection as the location for the A.Y.P.E. was heartily welcomed.⁴⁸

Choosing the University site presented several legal problems. The first objection was raised prior to the selection of a site in a letter to the A.Y.P.E. executive committee. According to the letter's author, certain provisions of Pierce's code, governing the actions of the University's board of regents, would prohibit use of the campus. It was the letter's position that certain sections of the code (covering the use of donated money or property and the creation of any debt thus incurred) would be violated if the exposition were held on the campus. The A.Y.P.E. management asked Judge R. A. Ballinger for a legal opinion. In the days before the conflict on interest doctrine was enunciated, Judge Ballinger, who happened to be a vice-president of the exposition company, saw no reason to disqualify himself. Predictably he over-ruled this ob-

⁴⁸Seattle Daily Times, July 7, 1906, p. 1:1.

jection and the first legal barrier was surmounted without difficulty.⁴⁹

A second legal problem involved the consumption of alcoholic beverages at the exposition. The state laws regulating the use of alcohol on or near the University were as clear as they were strict. There was "not the slightest chance of liquor being sold either on the grounds or within two miles of the site."⁵⁰ The "booze question," as it came to be called, had two sides. One was obvious: There had never before been a dry fair. At the A.Y.P.E. a fair goer expecting to purchase an innocent glass of beer on a hot afternoon would have to settle for sarsaparilla. More important than this inconvenience was the possible fiscal impact. Revenue generated by the sale of alcoholic beverages could be necessary for the financial success of the fair. On the other hand, a "no booze" fair was out of the ordinary and might make good advertising. Throughout the exposition Seattle made an effort to attract the "right class of people" and a dry fair would easily fit into the new morality being promoted in the city. Seattle's solid citizens were seeking a new image for the city. The bawdy times of the gold rush, epitomized by Skid Road, were out--to be replaced by whatever culture could be lured to the Union's most western state. Whatever its effect on potential fair

⁴⁹Seattle Daily Times, June 23, 1906, p. 2:3.

⁵⁰Seattle Daily Times, May 13, 1906, p. 1:7.

goers, the local saloon owners heartily approved of the plan to go ahead with a dry exposition on the campus site as this would make their downtown establishments the only place a man could get a drink. So it was that a covenant forbidding the sale of liquor in violation of state law, plus a guarantee of indemnity for destruction or despoilation of the grounds by the exposition company were included in the contract for the use of the University grounds director-general Nadeau had prepared for submission to the school's board of regents.⁵¹

⁵¹Seattle Daily Times, July 1, 1906, p. 4:5.

CHAPTER II

FINANCING THE EXPOSITION

The raising of funds was the primary concern during the early developmental stages of the Alaska-Yukon-Pacific Exposition. Over a four year period members of the committees on finance, ways and means, concessions and legislation would ceaselessly work to secure the necessary financing. On opening day the fair would represent a multi-million dollar investment by foreign national, federal, state and local governments as well as private business, fraternal organizations and individuals.

The money raising activities of the A.Y.P.E. could be divided into two categories. The funds to finance the work of the corporation itself were to be publicly solicited through the sale of stocks and bonds. This money would be used to develop the site and erect the necessary structures. With the improvements represented by this work the directors could seek further investment, inviting interested parties to make exhibits either to be housed in their own buildings or the exhibition palaces erected by the corporation. Further money could be raised by selling the rights to concessions and privileges, for a fee plus a percentage of the profits. However, receiving investment capital is contingent on many things, such as: having a good cause, knowing

the right people, and being able to sell the idea. The exposition directors realized that before any outside investment could be interested in the fair, it would be necessary for the people of Seattle--the original promoters of the fair--to put their money where their collective mouth was. Before any outside investors could be approached, Seattle would have to demonstrate its determination and good intentions by raising a substantial sum of money.

THE STOCK SUBSCRIPTION

In order to acquire this initial funding it was the decision of the A.Y.P.E. directorate to offer the investing public of Seattle a half million dollar issue of capital stock. It was hoped that the stock offering would not only be totally subscribed to, but subscribed to within a single day and by as large a number of individuals from as broad a spectrum of Seattle's populace as possible.

The task of organizing and carrying out the operation fell primarily on the ways and means committee chairmanned by Will H. Parry, a prominent local businessman. From the committee's offices on the fifteenth floor of the Alaska Building, Parry directed his staff as they organized for the target date which, after being set back several months, was firmly established as October 2, 1906.⁵² On

⁵²General History, no pagination.

that day something that had never before been done for any cause would be attempted by the promoters of the Seattle exposition. If half a million in stock could be sold in a single day's time the world would be made aware of Seattle's exposition in a most positive way. The publicity alone would be invaluable in promoting interest and further investment in the fair and the money to begin work on the University grounds would be available.

In the beginning the exposition company sought to make the A.Y.P.E. a people's fair. The ways and means committee hoped to subscribe the stock issue among as many individuals as possible. The purpose was to create a broad base of economic interest in the fair in hope of promoting a sense of personal pride in the success of the fair among as large a segment of the population as possible. The more people who became financially involved the greater were the chances for success. In pursuit of this policy it was necessary to politely refuse early offers to purchase large blocks of stock made prior to the October second target date by several railroads in order to maintain the integrity of the one day sale and maximize the amount of stock available to the small investor.⁵³

As the appointed day drew near, efforts to promote the impending stock sale increased. A number of local

⁵³Seattle Daily Times, July 1, 1906, p. 1:1.

businesses rushed to make whatever profit possible in promoting the sale. The most altruistic support came from the Standard Furniture Company--a consistent advertiser in the Times billing itself as the "largest furniture company in the West." In place of their regular advertising, the company used its newspaper space to promote the stock sale by listing eleven points as to why people should invest in the exposition and ending with the slogan "Seattle for you--for us--for all of us all the time!"⁵⁴ A more typical scheme was offered by the Garvey-Buchanan Company. After advertising such "Tuesday Specials" as 5¢ wash rags for 3¢, three pound pots of "Pure Leaf Lard" for 44¢ and \$1.50 "grey enameled bed pans" for 89¢; a contest was announced concerning the stock to be purchased by the company. "The store that Serves you Best" promised to divide and donate \$1,000 in stock among the three most popular charities in Seattle as determined by a vote of their customers; one vote being given for each 10¢ spent in the store during October. "Help your favorite charity" read the ad, implying one would also help the A.Y.P.E. and maybe the Garvey-Buchanan Company.⁵⁵ But the most popular and effective promotion made by a business in connection with the stock sale was done by the Bon Marché. The department store simply pasted five thousand one dollar bills in its front win-

⁵⁴Seattle Daily Times, October 1, 1906, p. 4:5-7.

⁵⁵Ibid., p. 3:1-3.

dow to represent its investment in the cause. The resulting display turned more than a few heads and, being mentioned in the press, yielded the company some free publicity.⁵⁶ On the eve of the sale the Times urged support for the A.Y.P.E. saying:

Everyone must give liberally or the effort to raise the money in one day will fall down and the heralds will not bear forth the tidings that 'SEATTLE RAISED A HALF MILLION DOLLARS IN ONE DAY TO CARRY ON ITS FAIR.'⁵⁷

When the day arrived, the exposition organizers were ready for their big promotion. Every aspect of the sale was organized. An army of volunteers went out with subscription blanks in an effort to contact every resident of the city. Blanks were carried on street cars. Subscriptions were taken at drug stores. Three special offices to receive subscriptions were established at the Alaska Club, the Chamber of Commerce and the Commercial Club. Meanwhile, in the committee's headquarters, a certified public accountant and his three assistants stood ready with adding machines to keep a constant total.

The offer was simple. Stock was available in ten dollar shares for which the investor received a "handsome certificate with each subscription." Cash was not mandatory. Liberal credit terms allowed stock to be purchased on nothing down with four easy installments due over the

⁵⁶Ibid., p. 20:6.

⁵⁷Ibid., p. 1:7.

next two years. The financing was intentionally designed so that anyone could afford to participate.⁵⁸

A flood of subscriptions came in from all sorts of people. Setting the pace for his fellows, an architect phoned in a request for \$250 worth. A real estate man reconsidered his original \$300 subscription, concluded he had not done enough, and upped his investment to \$500.⁵⁹ There was generally good support from every constituency in the community. A special committee was established under a black to sell stock among the "Afro-American population of the city."⁶⁰

As a reminder that only half a day was left in the stock sale, every whistle in town was blown at noon. At the mayor's direction the fire department was ordered to ring all its bells and blow the fire boat's whistle. The port warden had all steamers in the harbor blast out as did the whistles at every factory in the city.⁶¹ The din was terrific.

But subscriptions from the public sector were flagging. It was obvious that the previously declined offers of the railroads and other prominent monied interests would be necessary if the sale were to succeed. The Great North-

⁵⁸Ibid.

⁵⁹Seattle Daily Times, October 2, 1906, p. 2:1.

⁶⁰Seattle Daily Times, September 26, 1906, p. 1:4.

⁶¹Seattle Daily Times, September 29, 1906, p. 1:1.

ern, Union Pacific and Northern Pacific railroads each took \$25,000 in stock. The Chicago, Milwaukee and St. Paul-- though under construction and not expected to be operative by the time of the fair--offered \$10,000.⁶² The city's streetcar utility, the Seattle Electric Company, bought \$15,000 worth. This was considered especially generous considering that the company would be required to spend a quarter million dollars for improvements and equipment (half of which would be useless after the exposition's closing) to provide the A.Y.P.E. grounds with transportation services. Most of the local banks each took a \$5,000 subscription as did Seattle Lighting Company. In spite of the fair being dry, the Seattle Brewing and Malting Company subscribed to \$12,000 in stock, far surpassing the Olympia Brewing Company's \$1,500. A special effort was made among the city's real estate men who found \$120,000 to chip into the cause.⁶³

When the day was done, and the accountant's adding machines clicked up their final totals, it was obvious that Seattle had once again risen to the occasion. Chairman Will Parry of the ways and means committee reported the following results to the press:

⁶²Seattle Daily Times, October 1, 1906, p. 1:6.

⁶³Seattle Daily Times, October 2, 1906, p. 2:3.

We have checked up and entered subscriptions to the amount of \$533,780. We have pledges in various forms, including those where directors of corporations are absent, but which are as good as wheat, \$53,500. We have in irregular subscriptions, held under conditions, but all of which will be adjusted, \$7,250. We have in sight, which we are confident will come, \$14,000, or a grand total of \$608,530, divided among, approximately 6,500 persons or corporations.⁶⁴

The stock subscription was more than a success in financial terms, but as a publicity stunt the project was an initial disappointment. There was little immediate reaction in the newspapers of the nation. The anticipated flood of publicity turned out to be a trickle. In the days following the sale, the New York Times gave Seattle none of the notice it expected.⁶⁵ The Yakima Democrat, the "Official Paper of North Yakima," neglected to report the sale.⁶⁶ Even in Seattle the story was subordinated on the front page. Six inch headlines proclaimed an assault on a well known businessman in downtown Seattle. As one of an unconnected series of murders and assaults, the shooting of Jesse Hall prompted the Times to editorialize against the insanity pleas being entered on behalf of the accused as threats to justice and safety of Seattle's citizens.⁶⁷ A single positive reaction came from the state of Iowa two days after the

⁶⁴Seattle Daily Times, October 3, 1906, p. 1:1.

⁶⁵New York Times, October 3-5, 1906.

⁶⁶Yakima Democrat, October 7 & 13, 1906.

⁶⁷Seattle Daily Times, October 2, 1906, p. 1:1.

sale. Impressed by the successful stock subscription, the mid-western state's governor requested that the A.Y.P.E. send an official representative to lobby before his legislature in promotion of a "liberal appropriation for a state building and exhibit."⁶⁸ Although encouraging at the time, it must be noted that Iowa never made a financial commitment to the exposition.

The significance of the October second sale would become evident later. In state legislatures and the halls of Congress it could be offered to hesitant lawmakers as proof of Seattle's desire and determination to hold a successful fair. Having backed its talk with its money, Seattle would find it easier raising funds for the project. Claiming no credit for the success of the sale, chairman Parry expressed his satisfaction, saying: "The people are to be congratulated for their spontaneous giving."⁶⁹

THE PIPER BILLS

When the Tenth Regular Session of the Washington State Legislature was called to order, in January of 1907, the responsibility for promoting the A.Y.P.E. was clearly in the hands of the lawmakers. Throughout the nation the legislatures of several states were considering involvement in the A.Y.P.E. In Washington, D.C. an appropriation bill

⁶⁸Seattle Daily Times, October 4, 1906, p. 1:3.

⁶⁹Seattle Daily Times, October 2, 1906, p. 2:3.

that would make possible participation by the territory of Alaska had been introduced in Congress. All awaited action by the home state legislature. If Washington state did not liberally support the Seattle project, there would be little chance of gaining participation by other states or the federal government. Therefore, it is understandable that the A.Y.P.E. proponents were anxious for the first bill introduced to yield a liberal appropriation in the range of one million dollars.⁷⁰ In addition, haste was necessary if the work was not to be delayed as several state legislatures faced adjournment in less than sixty days, not to meet again until 1908 or in some cases 1909.

Among leading politicians there was wide spread support for a state appropriation. Governor Meade encouraged the legislators to look favorably on the exposition in a message addressed to the "Gentlemen of the Senate and the House of Representatives:"

The most important subject for your consideration is conserving the welfare of the state and guarding its treasury is presented in the proposal to extend aid in the construction and maintenance of the Alaska-Yukon-Pacific Exposition. The growth of the commonwealth, the intense energy and patriotism of its citizenship, our interests in the affairs of the world find concrete expression in the plan of holding here on the shores of Puget Sound a great international fair.

The project of the exposition is one that deserves the earnest support of every patriotic citizen of the Northwest.⁷¹

⁷⁰Seattle Daily Times, January 13, 1907, p. 3:1.

⁷¹Seattle Daily Times, January 15, 1907, p. 10:4.

A few days later the nationally known politician and famed orator, William Jennings Bryan, spoke before the legislature. Introduced as "one of the most distinguished citizens of the world," Bryan addressed a packed gallery before a joint session of the legislature. In endorsing the A.Y.P.E. Bryan characterized himself as a believer in expositions as being great educational opportunities. He suggested a substantial appropriation for the Seattle fair.

Since both major parties had endorsed the exposition in their platforms, which had been affirmed by the vote of the people in the November election, there was no organized opposition to state financial aid for the A.Y.P.E. in either house of the legislature. The appropriation was considered an investment. The exposition would exploit the resources, natural wealth and opportunities of the Northwest. It would make more widely known the constantly increasing importance of the Pacific Ocean commerce of which Washington State was rapidly becoming the chief beneficiary. In general, the A.Y.P.E. would demonstrate the progress of Western America in the previous century. For every dollar invested the state could realistically expect a multiplied, though indirect, return. Civic pride and sound business judgement made the prospect popular and appealing. Some sort of an appropriation was a certainty.

According to Governor Meade's message, "the real vital question for you (the legislators) to answer is what

amount, in your judgement, should be appropriated."⁷² The exposition directors were suggesting a million dollars. That was a lot of money. Recognizing this president Chilberg had devised some very good strategy to promote his legislative program. According to him, the exposition company was not asking for a single dollar. The fair was simply inviting the state to participate and to appropriate \$400,000 for that purpose. This was to cover the cost of a building with a complete exhibit of the state's products, plus the normal expenditures for administration and operation. Not one dollar of this fund was to be handled by the officers of the corporation or come into the treasury of the exposition company. The money was to be expended under the direct supervision of a state commission, to be appointed by and responsible to the governor and the legislature. In essential organization this group would not differ from previous commissions for the Chicago Exposition, the St. Louis Exposition or the Lewis and Clark Exhibition.⁷³

A second bill was also proposed asking \$600,000 for the University of Washington. The money was to be used for permanent buildings on the school's campus. Such was the growth of the University over the previous years, it was argued, that this appropriation would simply fill an existing need. Every cent of the money was to be expended

⁷²Ibid.

⁷³Seattle Daily Times, January 20, 1907, p. 3:5.

"under the direct supervision of the board of regents of the university, who are responsible men with fixed duties established by the state."⁷⁴ The exposition company would benefit only in the temporary use of the structures. The plan was for the buildings to be completed to that point which would make them suitable for exposition purposes and then be delivered to the company for its use. After the closing of the fair, the buildings would be returned in good order to the regents. The structures would then be completed for use by the University, according to their original plans, with money held out of the state's appropriation. In this manner, according to J. E. Chilberg, not a dollar would be wasted.⁷⁵

The problem was where to find the dollars. They could not be taken from the general fund without having the state deny its paramount duty to maintain its established departments and institutions. An alternative source would have to be tapped. In his message, Governor Meade suggested "a special levy upon the taxable property of the state for the years 1907, 1908, and 1909 to raise the sum appropriated."⁷⁶ The exposition directorate agreed this would be a fair and equitable method of raising the money. At the time, Washington had an estimated population of 850,000 and

⁷⁴Ibid.

⁷⁵Ibid.

⁷⁶Seattle Daily Times, January 15, 1907, p. 10:5.

an assessed valuation of \$530,000,000. This would call for an average of only 47¢ per man, woman and child in order to raise the \$400,000. In comparison, Oregon gave Portland \$1.11 per capita or about one-third of one percent of its assessed value; while Washington would only be contributing about one-thirteenth of one percent.⁷⁷ According to the proponents of the fair, such an appropriation could be painlessly absorbed by the taxpayers without the slightest difficulty.

On the 21st of January, such a bill was introduced into the state legislature's upper house by Senator Knickerbocker. Senate Bill Number 45 proposed a three year tax to raise funds for the A.Y.P.E.⁷⁸ Almost immediately the proposal became a political issue. Combinations were formed in both the house and senate offering amendments to the bill. A solid eastern Washington delegation proposed adding a measure providing funds for projects to open the upper Columbia and Snake Rivers to navigation. The "open river" movement confederated with other special interest groups seeking money for an assortment of programs. This culminated in a suggested three year, one mill levy to fund the A.Y.P.E. and other state obligations.⁷⁹

⁷⁷Seattle Daily Times, January 20, 1907, p. 4:4.

⁷⁸Seattle Daily Times, January 21, 1907, p. 11:4.

⁷⁹Seattle Daily Times, January 23, 1907, p. 2:5.

But it was a series of four acts, referred to as the Piper bills after the senator who introduced them, that found favor in the senate. These statutes created a special fund and appropriated one million dollars from that fund to the A.Y.P.E. After being railroaded through the appropriations committee, the bills were printed and voted on as soon as the ink dried, under a suspension of the rules. The fund was to operate on warrants issued against revenue from the sale of certain state owned shore lands along Lakes Union and Washington. Previously held by the federal government, these lands were received by the state upon admission to the Union. The land would have eventually been sold. The only difference being, rather than allowing ten years for the land to be paid in full, the Piper bills gave only three.⁸⁰ In the eyes of its backers, these bills simply advanced the process a few years and allotted the first million dollars to the A.Y.P.E. commission, rather than the state's general fund. To insure the integrity of the general fund, a disclaimer of liability against state was included in the bills. With their unanimous approval, the senate sent the Piper bills to the house.⁸¹

In the house the bills met some resistance. The package remained in committee long enough to threaten tying up the entire legislative process. There was no questioning

⁸⁰Seattle Daily Times, January 29, 1907, p. 3:1.

⁸¹Seattle Daily Times, January 30, 1907, p. 15:1.

the value of the fair and general sentiment favored the bill, but there was some debate. The committee discussed the possibility of land speculators buying the property at a minimal price and holding it in speculation that the value might rise. This would represent a loss to the state. Such fears were dissuaded by advocates of the sale who maintained that the land was unsuited for commercial development and would not significantly appreciate in the immediate future.⁸² Additional conflict developed over the selection of appraisers to set prices for the land. At this time the probity of the state's land commissioner, E. W. Ross, was questioned.⁸³ There were those who felt an investigation was needed, as there was some question of who was buying state land at what prices. In the end Ross was allowed to chair the board of assessors.⁸⁴ Finally, after some minor technical amendments were added, the bills were passed and returned to the senate. Once again voting out of order, the senate unanimously passed the Piper bills a second time and sent them to the Governor's mansion for signing on Monday, February 2, 1907.⁸⁵

In Seattle a group was gathering strength to test the Piper bills in court. Shortly after the bills were

⁸²Seattle Daily Times, February 1, 1907, p. 10:5.

⁸³Ibid., p. 12:3.

⁸⁴Seattle Daily Times, March 21, 1908, p. 2:1.

⁸⁵Seattle Daily Times, February 2, 1907, p. 1:3.

first proposed, a meeting of lake shore property owners was held seeking ways to discourage their passing. These people generally favored state patronage for the A.Y.P.E., but they opposed the means to the end. The land owners imagined the proposal as a conspiracy between Piper and Ross to dispose of lands to which they claimed riparian rights.⁸⁶

One business, the Brace-Heagot Mill Company, took the issue to court over three and two-thirds acres of the shore land. Superior Court Judge Arthur E. Griffin upheld the power of the land commissioners to implement the Piper bills, maintaining that they had been vested full power for the purpose of selling the lands.⁸⁷ A second court case was initiated by the heirs of the J. W. McGilvra estate. Contending that the state did not own and, therefore, could not sell the lakeside land, the litigants sought an injunction to prevent the land commissioners from acting under the Piper bills. In defense of his actions, Oliver C. McGilvra wrote to the editors of the Times explaining: "It is not my purpose to defeat the fair but it is my purpose to protect the interests of the state."⁸⁸ Additionally, McGilvra felt the state should allow ten years for the payments on the land sales to be made. Two months after the case was thrown out of court, and just before the option

⁸⁶Seattle Daily Times, February 1, 1907, p. 17:3.

⁸⁷Seattle Daily Times, February 18, 1908, p. 4:5.

⁸⁸Seattle Daily Times, March 31, 1908, p. 20:1.

giving preference to adjacent landowners in purchasing plots of the shore lands expired, McGilvra exercised his option on \$200,000 worth of land.⁸⁹

Eventually, five courts (King County Superior, Thurston County Superior, the Washington State Supreme, the U.S. District and U.S. Appeals Court) would rule on the legality of the Piper bills. Through all of this legislation the A.Y.P.E. company was represented by its lawyer, John W. Roberts. In all cases, he successfully defended their interests.

It was past time to begin selling the land. Under the provisions of the Piper bills, the sale was to be prosecuted by the office of the state land commission. Surveying and platting of the land was to be done by a state engineer, who filed his reports with the land commissioner's office in Olympia.⁹⁰ The board of land commissioners would investigate, hold a public hearing and fix a minimum price for each parcel of land. Unless proven fraudulent or arbitrary in a court of law, these values were to be absolute.⁹¹ As a special consideration, upland owners, like McGilvra, were given twenty days to file applications for the purchase of tracts abutting their property at the pre-determined minimum price. Those remaining lands would be sold to the

⁸⁹Seattle Daily Times, April 8, 1908, p. 11:4.

⁹⁰Seattle Daily Times, March 21, 1908, p. 2:1.

⁹¹Seattle Daily Times, February 18, 1908, p. 4:5.

highest bidder at public auction. Under the terms of the legislation authorizing the disposal of the lands, one-third of each sale was immediately due and the rest over three years at 6% interest.⁹² Eventually, despite these more demanding than normal terms and other problems that would occur, \$1,180,911.86 in state lands along Lakes Union and Washington were sold to provide state funding for the Alaska-Yukon-Pacific Exposition.

CONGRESSIONAL ENDORSEMENT

It was President Theodore Roosevelt who first mentioned the A.Y.P.E. before the United States Congress. In his message to the closing session of the 59th Congress, Roosevelt enunciated his administration's positive policy towards the Seattle fair:

Our fellow citizens who dwell on the shores of Puget Sound, with characteristic energy are arranging to hold in Seattle the Alaska-Yukon-Pacific Exposition. Its special aims include the upbuilding of Alaska and the development of American commerce on the Pacific.

This exposition in its purpose and scope, should appeal not only to the people of the Pacific slope, but to the people of the United States at large.⁹³

After acknowledging the noted contribution of Alaska's gold mining industry to the national treasury, the President expounded on the territory's valuable annual harvest of fish and furs. Despite Alaska's many problems and

⁹²Seattle Daily Times, March 21, 1908, p. 2:1.

⁹³Seattle Daily Times, April 4, 1906, p. 15:4.

his own admission of the need for "complete reorganization of governmental systems there," the President expressed his belief that the future of the Northland was bright.⁹⁴

The President did not limit his arguments favoring the A.Y.P.E. solely to its relationship with the North. Roosevelt was of the opinion that the exposition could do something for the nation as a whole. Appealing to Congress' sense of business and economics, he gave some simple figures and made the obvious conclusion: The countries of the Pacific rim had more people than all of Europe and an annual foreign trade exceeding three billion dollars of which the U.S. was getting only \$700 million. Theodore Roosevelt portrayed the A.Y.P.E. as a vehicle for cornering a greater proportion of commerce: "If this trade were thoroughly understood and pushed by our manufacturers," reasoned the President, "the industries not only of the Pacific slope, but of all our country, particularly our cotton growing states, would be greatly benefited."⁹⁵

In consideration of the Union's past history, it is not surprising that the President should have taken such a position; that is, connecting the A.Y.P.E. with the nation's hopes for economic growth into the Pacific world. Beginning with the close of the Civil War, a growing group of expansionists argued that America's future lay not only in Mani-

⁹⁴Ibid.

⁹⁵Seattle Daily Times, December 4, 1906, p. 15:4.

fest Destiny but on the high seas, particularly in the Western ocean. One man of position, so convinced, was William H. Seward. He recognized the increased military strength with which the Union had emerged from the Civil War as allowing the nation to assume a more important role in world politics. Through his office as Secretary of State to Presidents Lincoln and Johnson, Seward began to direct the U.S. towards an expanded foreign policy, especially in the Caribbean, the Pacific and Asia. Although met with a great deal of suspicion in the Senate, Seward's successful effort to secure Alaska for the nation evidenced his attitude and met with great approval among postbellum expansionists.

It was not until the spread-eagle Americanism of the 1890's that the United States became a real imperial power. Over the opposition of the very active Anti-Imperialist League, which included some of his most powerful political adversaries, President McKinley was able to change the course of American foreign policy. In the last two years of the nineteenth century the United States burst into the Pacific: acquiring Hawaii by legislative act, securing part of Samoa through negotiation, taking possession of Wake Island, and obtaining Guam and the Philippine Islands by conquest.

At about this same time McKinley's Secretary of State, John Hay, set about designing a policy towards China. After some little thought, the so-called "Open Door Note"

was composed and circulated among Europe's colonial powers. Threatened by the Boxer rebellion, the policy survived the military action, as did Chinese territorial integrity. It is doubtful if the policy had any real effect in preventing China's dismemberment, as each nation with a stake in China declined overt action for fear of precipitating a general war. Being unwilling to back the obligations assumed by the Open Door policy with a substantial military presence in the Far East, America was merely encouraging expectations that could not be met.

For over a century American merchants had cast longing eyes on the Pacific as a vast marketplace awaiting exploitation. From New England's harbors, Yankee clipper ships had long been sent on the dangerous, though profitable, trip to Cathay. More recently the Pacific railroads, most especially Jim Hill's Great Northern line, had begun operating steamers on the oriental sea routes. To Americans, who had just conquered a continent, the future lay in crossing the Pacific. Europe seemed a stale and stodgy continent in comparison to the wondrous opportunities of the Pacific. In pursuing its expansive foreign policy and taking its Pacific possessions, the federal government was only institutionalizing these dreams. Considering this, it is not at all surprising that the A.Y.P.E. was presented to Congress and the public as a valuable tool for the continuation of established American policy in the Pacific. That this policy was generally subscribed to by the voting public, was

evidenced in McKinley's re-election over an anti-imperialist candidate in the 1900 Presidential election. So it was that Washington's Congressman W. E. Humphrey could play on these sentiments in urging the passing of federal funds for the A.Y.P.E. :

The great commercial development of this nation in the future must be upon the Pacific. If we are to have commercial supremacy, it must come upon the Pacific. If we are to be a world power, we must conquer the Pacific. The future, the destiny and the integrity of this nation, depends most largely upon our actions within the next few years upon the Pacific. The next ten years will be big with mighty events upon the Pacific Ocean. We may attempt as we will to disguise the fact, but upon the Pacific within the next few years will be the scene of our greatest achievement, our greatest success, our greatest glory, or it will be the scene of our failure, our defeat, and our humiliation. And herein, gentlemen, to my mind, lies the greatest reason of all for doing at this opportune time everything possible to draw attention of the nation to this fact. Can money be more wisely expended than for this purpose?⁹⁶

The first federal A.Y.P.E. bill was introduced into the House of Representatives on December 7, 1906. At this time the exposition company was asking only for money to finance a proper exhibit of Alaskan resources. It was felt necessary to make a request at this early date so that sufficient time would remain for collecting the specimens which would have to be at tidewater, ready for shipment to Seattle, no later than the fall of 1908.⁹⁷ Such a bill was necessary

⁹⁶U.S., Congress, House, Committee on Industrial Arts and Expositions, Hearings Before the Committee on Industrial Arts and Expositions: the Alaska-Yukon-Pacific Exposition, 60th Cong., January 27, 1908, p. 6.

⁹⁷Seattle Daily Times, December 7, 1906, p. 1:4.

because as a territory Alaska had no taxing power, as did a state, and was unable to raise funds for its own exhibit. Mentioning only Alaska's exhibiting, the bill was not intended to provide for the general participation of the federal government. This would be requested in a second bill. In much the same manner as they had approached the state of Washington, the exposition directors avoided asking the federal government for a direct contribution to the A.Y.P.E. company's treasury by requesting only "reasonable participation as had been the rule at previous fairs."⁹⁸

As the Pacific aspects of the A.Y.P.E. came to the front in the Congressional fight for financial support of the Seattle exposition an ancillary issue may have entered into the consideration. Although it is difficult to directly tie it to the eventual funding of the A.Y.P.E., it is likely that the increasing activity of the Japanese in the Pacific may have influenced Congress. After the Russo-Japanese War, it was evident that the Mikado was a growing threat to American dreams of supremacy in the Pacific. As the A.Y.P.E. was recognized as a means of preserving America's stature in the Pacific, support for it would grow in Congress.

In its bitterest form American resentment of the Japanese threat expressed itself as racial prejudice. It is difficult to gauge what effect this had on Congress as a whole, but it is certain that one member was seriously con-

⁹⁸Seattle Daily Times, December 17, 1906, p. 1:4.

cerned. Alabama Congressman Richmond P. Hobson, a retired military captain, saw the Japanese as a threat to the west coast, predicting "the Japanese nation is already planning an armed conflict with the United States."⁹⁹ In his travels about the country the Congressman drew respectable crowds, never missing a chance to harangue the public on the "Yellow Peril":

Don't discount the yellow man. He can shoot just as straight and fast as the white man and he likes it. He wants conflict--war--fighting. War is relief to him. It is a means of expressing the inherent medieval spirit in him--the barbarism.¹⁰⁰

Whether the Alabama Congressman was a visionary or merely a racist is a matter of personal opinion. It would be over thirty years before the Japanese threat would manifest itself in history. Nevertheless, in his own time the retired captain did not have to look very far for evidence supporting his position. Hobson must have been tremendously worried about the 110,000 Japanese subjects living in American owned Hawaii. Rumored to be arming themselves, these people increased the tension by, reportedly, sending the Emperor a message promising "should the emergency arise, we offer ourselves courageously to the state, thus to guard and maintain the prosperity of our imperial throne."¹⁰¹ For a people of questionable national loyalties such a statement

⁹⁹Seattle Daily Times, May 1, 1908, p. 1:2.

¹⁰⁰Ibid.

¹⁰¹Seattle Daily Times, May 8, 1908, p. 2:1.

was incriminating. Men like Hobson could even see a threat to the Union in growing ties between the British and the Japanese. The Congressman went so far as to characterize the presence of Japanese citizens in British Columbia as a base of operations from which the "yellow hoard might descend on the Pacific Coast."¹⁰²

Fortunately more rational thinkers prevailed. The Japanese had a right to be concerned about America. It was an indisputable fact that the U.S. government had abandoned its isolationist policy and come forth as a first class imperialistic power. American sea power and military might was a sign of the times, enabling the United States to extend her domain beyond the seas.¹⁰³ Certainly the citizens of Seattle were concerned about growing Japanese naval power and how it might affect them as a Pacific port, but, in general--though advocates of a strong Pacific fleet, like Hobson--they were more racially tolerant. In one celebrated case an inter-racial couple planning matrimony made headlines when they fled San Francisco to be married in Seattle, where it was legally possible.¹⁰⁴ The Seattle proponents of the A.Y.P.E. were businessmen hoping for peace and increased trade with the Japanese: "A magnificent future rests upon friendly relations and commercial intercourse

¹⁰²Seattle Daily Times, May 1, 1908, p. 1:7.

¹⁰³Seattle Daily Times, May 3, 1908, p. 1:2.

¹⁰⁴Seattle Daily Times, March 27, 1909, p. 1:7.

and not upon race prejudice and the hatred and hostility it engenders."¹⁰⁵

After failing in the 59th Congress, Washington's delegation re-introduced legislation supporting the A.Y.P.E. before the 60th Congress. Reiterating that the fair was only asking for reasonable federal participation, as had been the case in previous exhibitions, Representative Humphrey led the fight in the House. Enjoying the support of the Roosevelt administration, Congressman Humphrey had little trouble securing a star witness to appear before Congress on behalf of the A.Y.P.E. Secretary of War, William H. Taft, was sent up the Hill to testify before the House Committee on Industrial Arts and Expositions. In an appearance that received a riotous welcome in his honor, accompanied by much handclapping and thumping on the tables,¹⁰⁶ Taft fully endorsed the A.Y.P.E. The Secretary felt "it is more important for us to have an exposition in the West than in the East." It was Mr. Taft's judgment "that the next fifty years will see the greatest development in the history of the world on the Pacific, and it seems to me," said the rotund gentleman from Ohio, "that anything we can do to take part in it we ought to."¹⁰⁷

¹⁰⁵"Japan and the Seattle Exposition," The Outlook, April 18, 1908, p. 854.

¹⁰⁶Seattle Daily Times, January 27, 1908, p. 1:1.

¹⁰⁷U.S., Congress, House, p. 12.

In the minds of some, there were grave questions if any fair should receive federal funding. The Jamestown Exposition had been a giant fiasco; and as one of its major participants, the federal government had taken a financial beating. In one form or another, Congress had given the Virginians \$2,750,000. A million of this was a loan to be repaid at the close of the exposition and secured by a lien on 40% of the gate. Wisely neglecting to publish its attendance figures, the fair was estimated to have been visited by only 3-5,000 people per day. In the end the federal loan was settled on the basis of an extremely low 1,500 admittance per day. As a result the government lost \$860,000.¹⁰⁸ In this period of normally balanced federal budgets, many Congressmen were incensed.

The A.Y.P.E. people felt themselves entitled to some federal aid, as it had never before been denied an American exposition. Representative Humphrey pleaded that there be no malice towards the Seattle cause due to the fiscal irresponsibility of previous fairs: "We are not asking the government to give us a dollar for this exposition...the promise will be kept to the letter and the spirit."¹⁰⁹ The A.Y.P.E. was asking only for the government's participation as an exhibitor, not as a financial partner.

¹⁰⁸The Independent, April 24, 1909, p. 258.

¹⁰⁹Seattle Daily Times, January 27, 1908, p. 11:1.

According to the Congressman, there was no chance the fair would not succeed:

The Pacific coast is synonymous with push, enterprise and success. The Portland fair was the most successful ever given. We have no failures standing against us. You have a right to believe that those who have always succeeded will succeed. Then pardon me what may seem like a local boast, but we of the State of Washington and city of Seattle more than twenty years ago blotted from our vocabulary the word 'failure.'¹¹⁰

Citing the one day stock subscription as evidence of Seattle's support for her fair, Mr. Humphrey offered his reluctant constituents an old proverb: "God helps those that help themselves." The implication was clear: Seattle had helped itself and the United States Congress should not be so ungodly as to disregard this righteous rule.¹¹¹

On May 27, 1908 the Congress came through with an appropriation for the Alaska-Yukon-Pacific Exposition. It was not as much as the \$2,750,000 the Jamestown Exposition received.¹¹² It was not even as large as the one million first requested in the 59th Congress.¹¹³ It was even less than the \$750,000 a group of Congressional leaders had recently promised in a "confidential statement."¹¹⁴ As it

¹¹⁰U.S., Congress, House, p. 7.

¹¹¹Seattle Daily Times, January 27, 1908, p. 11:7.

¹¹²The Independent, April 24, 1909, p. 258.

¹¹³Seattle Daily Times, December 7, 1906, p. 1:4.

¹¹⁴Seattle Daily Times, April 10, 1906, p. 7:2.

came out of conference, the appropriation allowed but \$600,000 for the A.Y.P.E. The money was to be divided as follows: general federal government exhibits \$200,000, Alaskan exhibits \$100,000, Hawaiian and Philippine exhibits \$25,000 each with the remaining \$250,000 allotted for construction of buildings to house the displays.¹¹⁵

As a result of the government's involvement in the Jamestown Exposition fiasco, the federal A.Y.P.E. bill had some unique provisions. One clause dealt with financial liability. Section 18 denied that the United States could be:

...in any manner or under any circumstances be liable for any acts, doings or representations of said Alaska-Yukon-Pacific Exposition (a corporation), its officers, agents, servants or employees, or any of them, or for any subscriptions to the capital stock, or for any stock certificates, bonds, mortgages, or obligations of any kind issued by said corporation, or accruing by reasons of the same.¹¹⁶

To insure against further incursions into the federal treasury for the benefit of the A.Y.P.E., Section 20 was included:

That the United States shall not in any manner or under any circumstances make any loan, directly or indirectly to the Alaska-Yukon-Pacific Exposition or for the benefit of said exposition or for any purpose thereof, and shall not appropriate for any purpose whatsoever in connection with said exposition any sum of money other than that provided in this act.¹¹⁷

¹¹⁵Seattle Daily Times, May 5, 1908, p. 25:4.

¹¹⁶U.S. Congress, Senate, p. 16.

¹¹⁷Ibid.

In the eyes of the exposition directorate such stipulations were unnecessary. The A.Y.P.E. never intended to ask the federal Congress for a loan, nor did they expect any debts to foist upon the U.S. treasury. These two sections were designed to protect the federal government from financial responsibility should the A.Y.P.E. fail and included for the purpose of gaining from those lawmakers who feared involvement in another Jamestown experience, the votes necessary to pass the bill.

Included only to allay the fears of certain legislators, such provisions presented no problems to the exposition company. However, a third stipulation of the law did, for a time, create some difficulty. According to Section 17:

...no liability against the Government shall be incurred and no expenditure of money appropriated by this act shall be made until the president of said exposition shall have furnished to the satisfaction of the Secretary of the Treasury proof that there has been obtained for the purpose of completing and opening said exposition bona fide subscriptions to the stock of Alaska-Yukon-Pacific Exposition (a corporation), by responsible parties, contributions, donations and appropriations, from all sources, aggregating a sum not less than one million dollars: PROVIDED, that no appropriations made by any State or Territory, and no appropriation herein made, shall be considered as any part of said million dollars.¹¹⁸

In brief, Section 17 required the exposition company to show proof of having raised one million dollars before any of the federal funds would be released from the treasury.

¹¹⁸Ibid., p. 17.

Some quick addition made it obvious to the directors that the money total would be very close--on the short side. In Washington, D.C., Judge R. A. Ballinger of the A.Y.P.E. legislative committee arranged a meeting with Secretary of the Treasury, George B. Cortelyos. The subject was the interpretation of Section 17.¹¹⁹ The judge was unable to convince Cortelyos to allow money raised by the Arctic Brotherhood to be figured in the \$1,000,000. Without this the A.Y.P.E. might well fall short and lose the federal funds. To insure against this eventuality, a syndicate of Seattle bankers and financiers was organized to underwrite any extra financing required to qualify for the federal money.¹²⁰ In the meantime, Ballinger had taken his case to the Secretary of War. A political ally of Taft's, Ballinger would work in the Secretary's successful 1908 Presidential campaign and ultimately be made Secretary of the Interior in his cabinet.¹²¹ As a result of this session, the A.Y.P.E. bill was interpreted such that the disputed money could be included in the \$1,000,000 total.¹²² In their final figuring the exposition company offered

¹¹⁹Seattle Daily Times, June 13, 1908, p. 4:1.

¹²⁰Seattle Daily Times, June 18, 1908, p. 24:1.

¹²¹Seattle Daily Times, November 5, 1908, p. 8:3.

treasury officials a total of \$1,019,120.19:

\$ 800,000	stock subscription
190,120.91	county appropriations
4,000	donation by telephone companies
<u>25,000</u>	contribution by Arctic Brotherhood
\$1,019,120.91	TOTAL ¹²³

A telegram confirming the validity of these figures was sent to the Secretary, notifying him of the exposition's compliance with the law.¹²⁴ In turn, a letter was forwarded to Jesse E. Wilson, chairman of the U.S. Board of Managers to the Alaska-Yukon-Pacific Exposition,¹²⁵ notifying him that the money was available and work could begin to prepare the federal government for participation in the Seattle exposition.¹²⁶

THE BOND ISSUE

A bond sale was the final step in the financial development of the Seattle exposition. When opened, late in the fall of 1908, there was little initial enthusiasm for the sale. As if to squash any rumors that the A.Y.P.E. was in financial trouble and that the bond issue was an emer-

¹²³Seattle Daily Times, June 16, 1908, p. 8:3.

¹²⁴Seattle Daily Times, June 27, 1908, p. 1:7.

¹²⁵The U.S. Board of Managers to the Alaska-Yukon-Pacific Exposition was composed of J. E. Wilson--Assistant Secretary of the Interior, W. deC. Ravenal--Administrative Assistant of the National Museum, and W. N. Geddes of the Treasury Department.

¹²⁶U.S., Congress, Senate, p. 13.

gency measure, the Daily Times came out with an editorial calmly explaining the action. It was important that the exposition company's position be explained to potential bond purchasers and thus retain their confidence in the exposition. According to the Times' editorial, the bond issue had been a part of the financial committee's plans all along. The sale was last in position due "only to the logical working of the financial plan."¹²⁷

To the investor the bond issue was characterized as a "necessary, legitimate and profitable offering." The sale was to contain \$350,000 worth of bonds issued in denominations of \$100, \$500 and \$1,000.¹²⁸ At retirement the bonds were to return 6% interest--2% more than the average savings account would offer. A fool-proof investment, payment of the bonds was tied to a lien against the exposition's gate receipts. According to this plan 30% of the gross receipts after June 15th would be diverted into a sinking fund toward retiring the bonds. Allowing a conservative 5,000 paid admissions per day and expenses, the exposition company could honestly expect enough money to redeem the whole issue by September 8, 1909. As further security the bond fund was named beneficiary of the insurance policies guarding the A.Y.P.E. against physical calamity. "Nothing under heaven," promised exposition president Chilberg, "except the complete

¹²⁷Seattle Daily Times, October 13, 1908, p. 4:3.

¹²⁸Ibid.

annihilation of Seattle can prevent these bonds from being paid."¹²⁹

As in the stock subscription, a concerted effort was made to interest the small investor. A copy of the prospectus was mailed to seven thousand people, most of whom were stockholders.¹³⁰ It was pointed out that, according to local bankers, investment in A.Y.P.E. bonds was an extraordinary financial opportunity. Figuring the 6% interest to be paid through October 15th, while the principal would be remitted as soon as admission receipts would allow, it would be possible to realize 8% interest on one's investment.¹³¹

Seemingly there was every reason to expect the swift and successful completion of the sale. Purchases by Eastern capitalists were announced as endorsements of the bond issue.

Eastern capital is not seeking wild-cat or purely speculative investments. Money is too scarce to be thrown away or even donated and there must be real faith in the success of the exposition when its bonds find other than a selfish or patriotic market.¹³²

But in Seattle, sales were sluggish. The same class of businessmen, who had been financing the fair all along,

¹²⁹Ibid., p. 8:5.

¹³⁰Seattle Daily Times, October 8, 1908, p. 3:3.

¹³¹Ibid., p. 6:2 & 3.

¹³²Seattle Daily Times, October 11, 1908, p. 6:3.

were the only customers. Those who had subscribed to the \$800,000 in stock, purchased the \$1,000,000 of shore lands and were now buying the A.Y.P.E.'s bonds were, too often, the same people. Like their wallets, their support was dwindling.

After several weeks, and with only four days left in the sale, \$50,000 in bonds remained to be sold. Aroused, the editors of the Times began a campaign to aid the exposition's bond sale. On the front page of the October 16, 1908 issue, the Times blasted out at those wealthy citizens who had not supported the fair. "Why don't you come through with a little of the Wealth Seattle has Given You, RICH MAN?" chided the newspaper. The editors went so far as to name many of Seattle's more affluent personages who had neglected to support the exposition: "the millionaires Cyrus F. Clapp, Harry Silvers, George Kinner, Victor Hugo Smith and Samuel Rosenberg." Prominent capitalists were publicly questioned: "Why doesn't William Pitt Trimble owner of the Bon Marche building subscribe?" Members of Seattle's leading families--the Jacksons and Yeslers among others--received front page notice of their non-participation in the A.Y.P.E. Lamented the Times, "So many Capitalists and rich men of this city have NOT yet subscribed for a SINGLE bond."¹³³

Within a day these men began to find that, for the

¹³³Seattle Daily Times, October 16, 1908, front page.

very first time, they had money to support the A.Y.P.E.¹³⁴ Finally, three days into this campaign the Times came out with a blank space on its front page and threatened to fill it with the names of "men who had been made wealthy by Seattle's growth, but who declined to aid the Exposition project."¹³⁵ The threat worked. In less than twenty-four hours the \$350,000 bond issue was fully subscribed¹³⁶ and the financial program of the A.Y.P.E. company complete.

¹³⁴Seattle Daily Times, October 17, 1908, p. 1:5.

¹³⁵Seattle Daily Times, October 19, 1908, p. 1:2.

¹³⁶Seattle Daily Times, October 20, 1908, p. 1:5.

CHAPTER III

THE REALIZATION

It was inevitable that the exposition company would hire professional executives. From the beginning the directors of the A.Y.P.E. realized there would come a point beyond which it would no longer be possible for amateurs to manage the fair. These men recognized the special qualities that made the exposition different from their own, more conventional, businesses. With the fair there was only one season, one chance for success--or failure and, as share owners, the directors wished to protect their investment. With the increasing frequency of expositions throughout the nation, management had come "to the front as a recognized profession producing many experts in the business."¹³⁷ To protect the interests of Seattle, the prudent course was to seek out and employ the most experienced and competent "expositionists" available to guide the A.Y.P.E. towards its opening in June of 1909.

To implement this decision the directors established four executive divisions. Ranking in no particular hierarchical order, they were the division of exploitation, division

¹³⁷Seattle Daily Times, March 8, 1908, magazine section, p. 5:3.

of concessions, division of exhibits and privileges, and division of works. Initially, the men selected to head these divisions were under the rather strict control of the executive committee and those standing committees of the A.Y.P.E. charged with the responsibilities of their divisions. Eventually, as their work grew more complex and intense, the four division executives were given full authority. In order that the efficiency of the operations might be increased, the directors passed a resolution empowering the division managers to employ and fix salaries for whatever work force they found necessary.¹³⁸ It would be the efforts of these divisions, their directors and their staffs that would bring the Alaska-Yukon-Pacific Exposition to realization.

DIVISION OF EXPLOITATION

Created on August 13, 1906, the division of exploitation was the first executive department to appear. By a vote of the executive committee, Henry E. Reed of Portland was named director of exploitation.¹³⁹ It was the mission of his division to publicize the fair and seek to induce participation by states, territories, cities and foreign governments in the Alaska-Yukon-Pacific Exposition.

¹³⁸Seattle Daily Times, April 17, 1909, p. 4:6.

¹³⁹Seattle Daily Times, August 13, 1906, p. 1:2.

A long time newspaperman, Reed was well known in the Northwest having held several desks for the Oregonian. Most recently he had served as secretary to Portland's Lewis and Clark Exposition, a position he occupied from that project's inception. As expected, Reed employed men who had been on his staff during the Portland fair. Such a man was Frank L. Merrick who was named to head the publicity department within the division of exploitation at the Seattle fair.¹³⁹

To aid Reed's department in seeking the participation of various governments in the A.Y.P.E., the directors appointed a number of special commissioners. It would be the duty of these men to work for, and lend whatever aid possible in, securing the involvement of governments in the geographic areas for which they were responsible. Initially, thirteen men were appointed to represent the exposition before the world in Europe, Asia, South America and most of the United States.¹⁴⁰

During the course of their appointments, these men would send Seattle dozens of glowing reports advising of "certain" or "eminent" actions by state legislatures that would provide for participation in the A.Y.P.E. The majority of these were false hopes; they just never came through.

¹³⁹Seattle Daily Times, August 13, 1906, p. 1:2.

¹⁴⁰Seattle Daily Times, January 13, 1907, p. 3.

Many states would make token exhibits, but, in addition to Washington, only five would construct buildings on the exposition grounds: Oregon, Idaho, California, Utah, and New York. These buildings represented investments by their sponsoring states ranging from a low of \$8,000 for Idaho,¹⁴¹ to California's \$100,000 ediface.¹⁴² The New York State building was a memorial to William H. Seward who as Secretary of State had negotiated the purchase of Alaska from Czarist Russia. Erected at a cost of \$75,000, the structure was a replica of the Seward family mansion in Auburn, New York and appropriately situated at the fair on Seward Avenue.¹⁴³ Led by W. H. Wehrung, who had previously been in charge of his state's exhibit at the St. Louis fair, the Oregon A.Y.P.E. Commission swiftly moved towards the completion of their task with the \$100,000 appropriated by that state's legislature.¹⁴⁴ The first state building to be started into construction, Oregon's exhibit was virtually complete before ground had been broken for Washington's building.¹⁴⁵

Work on Washington State's participation in the exposition had ground to a halt. According to provisions

¹⁴¹Seattle Daily Times, April 18, 1909, p. 20:2.

¹⁴²Seattle Daily Times, March 2, 1907, p. 5:4.

¹⁴³Seattle Daily Times, March 7, 1909, p. 3:5.

¹⁴⁴Seattle Daily Times, January 31, 1908, p. 3:4.

¹⁴⁵Seattle Daily Times, October 23, 1908, p. 1:6.

in the Piper bills, the governor was to appoint seven people to a state A.Y.P.E. commission. By a tacit agreement the exposition directors were to have a voice in the selection, in order to assure harmonic relations between the two groups.¹⁴⁶ However, Governor Meade reneged on this promise. It had been widely assumed that house speaker Falconer, a friend of the exposition, would chair the commission, but this was not to be. Obviously, the handling of \$400,000 in state funds, with all its attendant responsibilities--erecting a building, installing an exhibit and engaging employees--held political possibilities and in this, an election year, it was inevitable that the Washington's A.Y.P.E. appropriation should become political spoils.

Up for re-election in the fall of 1908 and less than popular in certain areas of western Washington, Governor Meade was seeking support in all corners. John L. Wilson ran a strong political machine within the state and was fully aware of Meade's problems. Through promising his support, Wilson was able to back the Governor into a corner and get an understanding on the personnel for the state's A.Y.P.E. commission. President Chilberg's suspicions of such politicking were well founded. John L. Wilson, the perennial candidate, would organize the commission and Henry A. McLean of Mt. Vernon, who had managed Wilson's

¹⁴⁶Seattle Daily Times, February 3, 1907, p. 4:4.

last campaign in Skagit county was named president of the "Alaska-Yukon-Pacific Commission of the State of Washington."¹⁴⁷

In its first year the commission accomplished little. Reportedly, friction between president McLean and executive commissioner Strawbridge had halted all progress. According to the Times, which unilaterally condemned both Governor Meade and "the Wilson gang of mud-slingers and slanderers,"¹⁴⁸ Henry McLean was attempting to dictate the entire program and, as a result, nothing was being accomplished.¹⁴⁹ Although the Piper bills carried an emergency clause, the commission had done little more in their entire first year of existence than invite two architects to submit drawings.¹⁵⁰ Fearing what the delay would do to his political strength in King county during the coming election, Governor Meade announced he was holding the commissioners personally responsible for any delay or lack of preparation for the June, 1909 opening. According to the Governor, "Henry McLean...(had) a political ambition of some kind that the other members of the commission can not

¹⁴⁷Seattle Daily Times, March 3, 1907, p. 26:1.
See Appendix V "The Alaska-Yukon-Pacific Commission of the State of Washington."

¹⁴⁸Seattle Daily Times, September 9, 1908, p. 1:7.

¹⁴⁹Seattle Daily Times, February 14, 1908, p. 9:3.

¹⁵⁰Ibid.

locate, but which is interfering with the work of the fair board."¹⁵¹ His sell out to the Wilson machine was beginning to hurt the Governor.

If Governor Meade was to maintain what little support he commanded in King county, it was incumbent upon him to get some action out of the commission. A caustic letter was penned to each of the commissioners directing them to abandon their dilatory tactics and overlook internal dissension and immediately begin preparations for the exposition.¹⁵² McLean answered by blaming financing as the source of delay. As chairman he refused to act until cash from the shore land sales was in hand. This was a needless delay, as director-general Nadeau knew of contractors willing to accept warrants against the land sales in lieu of cash. Thus, there was no reason to postpone construction.¹⁵³ But McLean was adamant and only the Governor's desire for Wilson's backing kept him from sacrificing the chairman. To overcome McLean, it was determined that a syndicate of the Governor's supporters under E. W. Purdy of Bellingham would subscribe to enough of the shore land warrants to allow the state commission to call for bids on construction of the state's building with the certainty of being able to

¹⁵¹Seattle Daily Times, February 14, 1908, p. 9:3.

¹⁵²Seattle Daily Times, March 27, 1908, p. 10:2.

¹⁵³Seattle Daily Times, March 8, 1908, p. 25:2.

make a cash payment. Under this plan the obstructive Mr. McLean could make no objection and the Governor would be preserved.¹⁵⁴ Within two months, a period during which he did not attend a single meeting, Henry McLean was replaced and the Washington State Commission to the Alaska-Yukon-Pacific Exposition could rush towards the completion of its task.¹⁵⁵

Through the division of exploitation a representative group of foreign national governments was induced to participate in the A.Y.P.E. Until the U.S. government provided for participation it was difficult to interest other national governments. However, once the Congress passed legislation funding federal participation and the State Department extended formal invitations, several favorable replies were forthcoming. Under director-general Nadeau a delegation visited Ottawa and secured Canadian participation.¹⁵⁶ They and the Japanese, were the only nations to construct their own buildings. The three man commission to Asia had little difficulty in interesting the Japanese whose government, with characteristic politeness, had only been waiting for the United States government to act before announcing their plans to exhibit at the Seattle

¹⁵⁴Seattle Daily Times, September 5, 1908, p. 1:4.

¹⁵⁵Seattle Daily Times, November 19, 1908, p. 2:4.

¹⁵⁶Seattle Daily Times, November 10, 1908, p. 8:5.

fair.¹⁵⁷

In the early years of the twentieth century, Seattle was a young city and there were few native Seattleites. The people had come to the city from the East, the Mid-West and the South as well as many foreign countries. These people still identified with their homes and it was natural for people from common backgrounds to congregate in clubs: the Pennsylvania Club or the Iowa Club. But as residents of the Northwest by choice, they naturally promoted Seattle and their new state in letters sent to relatives back "home." The exploitation division sought to organize this force into letter writing campaigns directed at the various state legislatures and encouraging participation in the A.Y.P.E. These efforts were largely unsuccessful, except for the Michigan Society which was unusually strong. Unable to secure an appropriation from their home state the society collected \$5,000 among themselves and with donated lumber raised a structure to represent their home state.¹⁵⁸ Similarly, Seattle's very substantial Swedish-American community arranged representation of their native land. Godfrey Chealander (originator of the Seattle fair) formed the Swedish Exhibit Associates, Inc. and with the \$10,000 he raised, constructed a Swedish national building.¹⁵⁹

¹⁵⁷Seattle Daily Times, January 24, 1909, p. 8:4.

¹⁵⁸Seattle Daily Times, February 28, 1909, p. 22:4.

¹⁵⁹Seattle Daily Times, February 28, 1909, p. 12:1.

Creating publicity was a major task and pastime of the exploitation division. In comparison to Chicago and St. Louis, who had staged successful fairs, Seattle was relatively unknown. All the work done in Seattle, and all the money invested in the A.Y.P.E. would be wasted if the world was left unaware of the "great Alaskan fair."

As early as the organizational meeting of May, 1906, steps had been taken to generate low-cost publicity for the exposition. As one of his first acts, director-general Nadeau was authorized to secure an official seal for the fair. A contest was announced offering a \$500 prize for the best design and a Miss Adelaide Hapscom of Seattle was judged the winner.¹⁶⁰ Contrary to the practice of previous expositions, the official A.Y.P.E. seal was not copyrighted.¹⁶¹ It was given to the public for their use. One company offered a package of twenty-five official A.Y.P.E. seals for 10¢ or a rubber stamp of the seal for a quarter.¹⁶² It was hoped that private individuals and business would utilize the seal on every piece of mail leaving town so that the word about Seattle's fair would be spread to every corner of the earth.

¹⁶⁰The Exposition Beautiful (Seattle, Washington: Seattle Publishing Co., 1909), p. 1.

¹⁶¹Seattle Daily Times, June 22, 1907, p. 26:3.

¹⁶²Seattle Daily Times, January 22, 1909, p. 13:3.

America's railroads proved to be a bonanza of publicity for the A.Y.P.E. In addition to contributing thousands of dollars to the exposition stock sale, they distributed untold thousands of pages of printed material publicizing the exposition throughout the nation. Among others the Denver and Rio Grande, the Southern Pacific and the San Pedro, Los Angeles and Salt Lake lines made promotional material available. During the two years prior to the fair, the Northern Pacific Railroad mentioned the A.Y.P.E. in all its publications including menu cards and letterheads. In a massive campaign during the months prior to the exposition's opening, the N.P. gave the fair notice in over 500 publications carrying a daily circulation of 15,000,000 readers. Not to be outdone Jim Hill's railroad, the Great Northern, was reported to be distributing literature about the A.Y.P.E. at the rate of 164,000 pieces per month.¹⁶³

The railroads were not wasting their money. They had an economic motive. Collectively they constituted the principal passenger transportation system of the day. They were the only way people could get to Seattle and the fair, and advertising the fair was a way to increase their business and their profits. Through the Transcontinental Passenger Association, the railroads went so far as to substantially cut their rates from eastern cities to Seattle dur-

¹⁶³Seattle Daily Times, January 5, 1909, p. 8:7.

ing the exposition season.¹⁶⁴ Thus, the railroads expected the summer of 1909 to bring the highest level of westward passenger travel in history.

Late in the fall and into the winter of 1908, internal strife grew in the A.Y.P.E. ranks, nearly consuming the division of exploitation. The director of exploitation felt he had been hired as an advisor, selected for his background as an expositionist, but he was finding the company officials increasingly less disposed towards accepting his council. His ego bruised, Reed grew annoyed. As the breach developed, Mr. Reed felt he was being ignored and found himself less willing to offer any advice. He began missing executive meetings.¹⁶⁵ Then came a salary dispute. Reed contended he had been promised a salary equal to that of any other executive employed by the A.Y.P.E. When he discovered the director of works was receiving \$500 per month in comparison to his own \$400 salary, Henry Reed felt injury in addition to the insult of being ignored by the exposition leadership. During the ensuing argument, the directors of the fair refused to make Reed's salary commensurate to that of the director of works division. Disgruntled and offended, Henry Reed felt he had no recourse but to resign his position.¹⁶⁶

¹⁶⁴Seattle Daily Times, October 8, 1908, p. 7:3.

¹⁶⁵Seattle Daily Times, October 23, 1908, p. 14:4.

¹⁶⁶Seattle Daily Times, October 20, 1908, p. 1:7.

James A. Wood, former city editor of the Seattle Daily Times, was named to replace Henry Reed and given full authority to reorganize the division of exploitation as he saw fit.¹⁶⁷ Wood accepted the publicity committee's recommendation that the division absorb its department of publicity under one unified directorship. There had been strong criticism of the publicity department charging it was doing an inadequate job; that the Northern Pacific alone had done more for the fair in the line of publicity. Almost immediately the fair's chief of publicity, Frank L. Merrick, who had been hired by Reed, was released from his \$250 per month position. The exposition pocketed the \$400 salary it had been paying Reed and James Wood took Merrick's smaller stipend and the job of publicizing the Seattle fair.¹⁶⁸

Quickly organizing dozens of activities to promote the A.Y.P.E., Wood proved to be an energetic and imaginative publicity manager. During his "letter writing days," Wood asked each resident of Seattle to pen a letter promoting the fair and mail it to a friend or relative outside the state. Calling upon his experience as a newspaperman, Wood aided editors from the Dawson Daily News¹⁶⁹ and the Centralia

¹⁶⁷Seattle Daily Times, October 24, 1908, p. 1:3.

¹⁶⁸Seattle Daily Times, October 20, 1908, p. 1:7.

¹⁶⁹Dawson Daily News, June 21, 1909.

Daily Chronicle¹⁷⁰ to the Seattle Daily Times¹⁷¹ in preparing special A.Y.P.E. editions through which the exposition received reams of free publicity. He organized a special tour of the fair grounds to school a group of 250 travelling salesmen on various aspects of the fair. Employed by Seattle firms each of these men would, in the course of their jobs, serve as an emissary for the exposition.¹⁷² The immensely popular director of exploitation was feted at a dinner in his honor given by fellow newspapermen and swamped with letters from local citizens suggesting their ideas for publicity schemes. It was plain to see that James Wood was a more dynamic person and effective director of exploitation than Henry Reed. His administration of the division of exploitation gave the A.Y.P.E. a maximum yield of publicity from a minimum number of dollars.

DIVISION OF CONCESSIONS

Although the directors of the A.Y.P.E. liked to imagine their exposition as an educational experience, it was considerably less cerebral than they might have first planned. During its development the Seattle fair grew to

¹⁷⁰Centralia Daily Chronicle, July 21, 1909.

¹⁷¹Seattle Daily Times, February 21, 1909.

¹⁷²Seattle Daily Times, January 31, 1909, p. 12:3.

be much more than an exhibit of Alaskan resources. Among these developments was the organization of a great midway of entertainment features designed to amuse the fair goer. Dubbed the Pay Streak--after the Alaskan prospector's term for a valuable deposit of gold--it became one of the exposition's leading attractions.

The division of concessions was directed by a former British cavalry officer. A veteran of the Boer War, in which he had commanded mounted troops, Captain A. W. Lewis had since retired and taken residence in the United States. An experienced expositionist, he had managed the largest concession on the grounds of the St. Louis fair. "The Boer War Spectacle" involved hundreds of men, horses and mules in a re-enactment of that conflict's greatest battles. It was an immensely popular attraction.¹⁷³

The task of the director of concessions was to arrange amusement features for the Pay Streak. In the beginning Mr. Lewis was deluged with hundreds of applications. The Captain could afford to be particular in his selection. At one time it was estimated that between 100 and 150 former concessionaires from the financially disastrous Jamestown Exposition were in Seattle seeking Mr. Lewis' approval on their applications for concession privileges at the A.Y.P.E.¹⁷⁴ The Jamestown concessionaires had been talking of Seattle

¹⁷³Seattle Daily Times, January 19, 1908, p. 20:3.

¹⁷⁴Seattle Daily Times, January 21, 1908, p. 7:3.

long before the Norfolk fair closed down. Among these eastern exposition entrepreneurs there was strong sentiment that the 1909 Seattle fair would be a financial success.

As director of concessions, Captain Lewis was greatly responsible for the A.Y.P.E.'s financial success. He and his staff thoroughly investigated hundreds upon hundreds of applications for restaurant concessions and shows for the Pay Streak, signing those which would be the most financially remunerative to the exposition corporation. In dealing with the most successful showmen in the country, Lewis was able to elicit some very favorable contracts on behalf of the A.Y.P.E. One hundred-fifteen concessions were signed, including thirty major shows. From "Helter-Skelter" described as "a mirth provoking attraction" to "Night and Ressurrection" showing "the transition of the soul to purgatory," the attractions ranged from the innocently ordinary to the bizarre. It is difficult to imagine how the "Johnstown Flood" would be recreated or why, but it was on the Pay Streak. Offering memories of the Civil War in "The Monitor and the Merrimac" and visions of the future in "A Trip to the Moon," which took its patrons "by air ship to the moon where he will be introduced to the many mysteries there," the concessions of the Pay Streak defied time and imagination.¹⁷⁵ By contract each of the shows was required

¹⁷⁵Seattle Daily Times, August 9, 1908, p. 19:3.

to pay a flat fee for their exclusive rights, put up a deposit guaranteeing their operation and then remit a percentage of their gate during the exposition season to the A.Y.P.E. company. An adroit businessman, Mr. Lewis and his division collected \$10,000 for the fair's treasury before the gates ever opened.¹⁷⁶

Supposedly the exposition was being aimed at the "right class of people." As a result the advance billing given the Pay Streak made the A.Y.P.E. sound a bit dull. According to the directorate the shows were neither "objectionable or questionable." Mr. Lewis promised that honesty and integrity would prevail in all business on the exposition's midway and all shows would be morally sanitary.

We will make every effort to keep fakers and grafters out of the grounds and will insist that all shows be clean. I know every exposition announces this in advance, but we mean what we say and will go if necessary to the length of holding daily inspections of each show and all the stands on the Pay Streak to ensure this.¹⁷⁷

The Pay Streak was no place for a swinger.

Among the attractions contracted for the Pay Streak, one caused a minor international incident. Captain A. M. Baker had been granted a license to operate a show entitled the "Eskimo Village." Having spent many years trading among the northern tribes, he seemed competent and knowledgeable

¹⁷⁶Seattle Daily Times, April 16, 1909, p. 1:2.

¹⁷⁷Seattle Daily Times, February 16, 1908, p. 3:7.

on the subject. It appeared as though he would provide the A.Y.P.E. with an interesting and educational display. To lend realism to his attraction, Captain Baker planned to stock it with real live eskimoes. After some negotiation a village of Siberian natives with which he had long engaged in trade was induced to serve in this capacity. They were transported to Puget Sound and quartered on Hood Canal to await the exposition's opening. Baker saw nothing irregular in this, but the Imperial Russian government called it kidnapping because the colony was removed without official permission. The Czar's ministers filed an official protest with the U.S. State Department. To soothe the Russians, it was promised that the errant Siberian subjects of the Czar would be returned as soon as ice conditions in the North would allow--probably not until after the closing of the exposition.¹⁷⁸

A month and a half prior to the exposition's opening, Captain A. W. Lewis tendered his resignation as director of concessions. He was leaving to assume management of the 1910 Los Angeles Mid-Winter Fair. Most of the division's work was completed. Every preliminary had been worked out to the satisfaction of the company's director. All the space was rented and the contracts signed. The remaining work, though involving considerable detail, was routine and

¹⁷⁸Seattle Daily Times, October 28, 1908, p. 1:3.

could be easily handled by Lewis' assistant E. G. Matlox, who was elevated to the directorship.¹⁷⁹

DIVISION OF EXHIBITS

In substance the Alaska-Yukon-Pacific Exposition was a collection of exhibits. Many were made by governmental units, whose participation was solicited and contracted by the director of exploitation, but more exhibits were installed by private businesses. Whole industries, as well as individual firms were represented. Dozens of manufacturers demonstrated their products. Together they constituted a trade fair, representing every imaginable aspect of contemporary technology.

The man responsible for arranging these displays was Henry E. Dosch, the director of exhibits. A qualified and experienced expositionist, having been connected with "all world's fairs held in late years," Dosch was assigned the tedious task of processing the multitude of applications that would be made for exhibiting privileges. It was his task to fill the A.Y.P.E.'s exhibition palaces with the most interesting and educational displays obtainable.

To house these displays the exposition company erected several exhibition palaces. The buildings were segregated in that each contained the displays of a particular industry or a class of industry, or displays endemic to

¹⁷⁹Seattle Daily Times, April 16, 1908, p. 1:2.

or representative of a particular geographic area. The semi-circular Manufacturers Building,--which not only displayed goods, but also the methods by which they were produced--and its near identical twin, the Agricultural Building, were set around the Geyser Fountain. Further agricultural displays were made at the Model Farm and Dairy Exhibits as well as at the Stock Exhibit which, much in the manner of a county fair, displayed and judged the finest specimens of animal husbandry produced in the Northwest. A Live Game Exhibit, featuring species indigenous to the Northwest and primarily composed of animals borrowed from the city's menagerie at Woodland Park, was established in facilities near Lake Union. Foreign exhibits were housed either in the European or Oriental palaces on Yukon Avenue. As primary employers in Washington State, the mining, fishing and forest products industries were each accorded a special ediface. The demand for rental space in these structures was attested to by the fact that all were almost completely booked solid fully a year before the fair was scheduled to open.

Special consideration was extended to the division of exhibits and its patrons by the nation's railroads. As a group they offered special freight rates to concerns shipping materials to Seattle for display at the exposition. Under a policy announced by the Continental Freight Bureau, exhibits being shipped to the A.Y.P.E. would pay the normal full tariff on the outgoing trip, but, if returned to the point

of origin within ninety days after the fair's closing, these same shipments would be carried at no cost, subject only to terminal and switching charges.¹⁸⁰

To prevent problems that had plagued previous expositions, the division of exhibits wrote some special provisions into the contracts signed by its patrons and a pamphlet containing complete rules and regulations for exhibitors was issued. According to Rule 15:

In order that the exposition shall be complete in all departments on the opening day, exhibitors will be expected to have their exhibits installed not later than midnight May 24, 1909. Any exhibitor whose exhibit is not installed...as set forth, will be barred from participation in the awards.¹⁸¹

In the early weeks of the Jamestown Exposition, visitors were openly disgusted that much of the fair was not complete.¹⁸² Seattle fully meant to profit from the mistakes made by the Virginians and in the division of exhibits, as in all facets of operation, sought to make the A.Y.P.E. a model of exposition success.

THE DIVISION OF WORKS

Fifteen thousand persons cheered and a military band played the Star Spangled Banner when the first shovelful of earth was turned for the Alaska-Yukon-Pacific Exposition.

¹⁸⁰Seattle Daily Times, August 27, 1908, p. 7:3.

¹⁸¹Seattle Daily Times, February 19, 1908, p. 2:5.

¹⁸²Seattle Daily Times, January 1, 1907, p. 1:5.

With a golden pick and spade, symbolic of the Alaskan treasures the exposition was originally formed to honor, president Chilberg officially began construction on the site that would continue for nearly two years until opening day. Described as "deliriously happy," the crowd that gathered on June 2, 1907 for the ground breaking ceremonies was wild with anticipation. After a parade through downtown Seattle, the merrymakers and dignitaries arrived at the site's natural amphitheatre on the University campus for the two o'clock ceremonies. Governor Meade, exposition president Chilberg, and a host of lesser officials briefly addressed the crowd before each ceremoniously turned a bit of the earth. A message from Teddy Roosevelt was delivered by his personal representative.¹⁸³ On behalf of the President, John Burnett conveyed good tidings:

You may say in the strongest terms that I am a staunch believer in the great Pacific and the Alaska-Yukon country. It has a future of unequalled opportunity backed by limitless resources and possibilities. Seattle and the other cities of Puget Sound and the Northwest are fortunate in facing the Pacific Ocean with its vast commerce and have everything to make them great and prosperous centers of population, trade and influence. The Alaska-Yukon-Pacific Exposition will be typical of the spirit and progress of the section it represents and I wish it great success.¹⁸⁴

At the conclusion of the ceremonies the souvenir seeking crowd descended on the platform ripping off pieces

¹⁸³Seattle Daily Times, June 2, 1907, p. 1:7.

¹⁸⁴Frank L. Merrick, "Ground Breaking Ceremonies of Alaska-Yukon-Pacific Exposition," Alaska-Yukon Magazine, Undated, p. 418. (Bound N.W. Collection, U. of W. Library).

of the patriotic bunting or if nothing else grubbing up a clod of freshly broken dirt. One "native son" turned a spade of earth, then disappeared with the golden tool; a moment later the ceremonial pick was similarly purloined. Within minutes the site was pillaged beyond recognition. "The souvenir hunters completely stripped the grandstand," reported the Times, "and did more in clearing than the spading exposition guests."¹⁸⁵

The massive job of overseeing the laying out and beautifying of the exposition grounds, plus supervising all construction on the site began in earnest after the ground breaking ceremonies and was the responsibility of the director of works. Once again an experienced staffer from the Lewis and Clark Exposition was sought out to be employed in an important executive position at the A.Y.P.E. As of January 1, 1907, Frank P. Allen, Jr., who had been in charge of structural work in the division of architecture of the Portland fair of 1905, was named director of works.¹⁸⁶ A native of Grand Rapids, Allen had received his early training under his father and later studied civil engineering in courses at the University of Michigan.¹⁸⁷ An architect and engineer of wide experience, Allen was a commendable choice.

¹⁸⁵Seattle Daily Times, June 2, 1907, p. 9:3.

¹⁸⁶Seattle Daily Times, June 23, 1908, p. 14:4.

¹⁸⁷General History, no pagination.

The master plan for the grounds was designed by "the most famous landscape firm in the country," the Olmstead Brothers of Boston, Massachusetts,¹⁸⁸ Retained as a planning consultant by the city of Seattle, the Boston firm was quite familiar with the Pacific Northwest. Through their design,¹⁸⁹ the Olmsteads were able to direct the exposition visitor's eye toward the most scenic elements offered by the university site. The central focal point was the "Arctic Circle" a round courtyard containing the "Geyser Basin" fountain. Radiating from this were three avenues, each connected to its own smaller circle--"Rainier," "Union" and "Washington Circle." The primary view down broad Rainier Vista toward Rainier Circle provided a spectacular panorama of that snow-capped volcano. At forty-five degree angles two lesser avenues connected to "Union Circle" and "Washington Circle," offering views of those lakes. The imaginative design was typical of the original work done by the Olmstead Brothers, many of whose works are considered classics by today's urban planners. These pioneers in city planning recognized the problems facing urban core areas (most important, the need for open spaces) decades before their fellows. Today the grounds of the University of Washington, though mutilated by the tremendous expansion in

¹⁸⁸McLean, p. 3.

¹⁸⁹See Appendix VI "Official Ground Plan Alaska-Yukon-Pacific Exposition."

facilities, still retain much of the park like atmosphere and the spectacular vistas designed into the campus by the Olmsteads. Throughout the nation this and other locations touched by the noted Boston landscape architects remain as oases in deserts of concrete.

The general architectural style of the fair was set by the exposition directors. "Instead of a corps of architects...two...John Galen Howard and a Mr. Galloway, were appointed"¹⁹⁰ to direct the designing of all structures on the grounds. Declining this opportunity to do something truly original, Messrs. Howard and Galloway agreed on the rather common, but quite acceptable, French renaissance style.¹⁹¹ Little deviation was allowed. There were some signs of Roman and Spanish influences but, tending to easily coalesce into the general style, these were hardly noticeable. Among the buildings, only the Arctic Brotherhood's log cabin truly departed from the architectural norm. To insure that standards were met, a detailed manual of "rules and regulations governing design, construction (and) erection...of all buildings...on the grounds...of the Alaska-Yukon-Pacific Exposition"¹⁹² was compiled, circulated and enforced by the director of the division of works.

¹⁹⁰McLean, p. 3.

¹⁹¹James A. Woods and Welford Beaton (eds.), The Alaska-Yukon-Pacific Exposition: Illustrated Articles. (Seattle: Seattle Publishing Co., 1909), no pagination.

¹⁹²Building Rules and Regulations of the Division of Works (Seattle: _____, 1909), p. 3.

There was one minor instance of graft uncovered within the division of works. It would have been amazing only if none of the millions spent in constructing the A.Y.P.E. grounds had been feloniously abstracted. Surely more must have been taken than was involved in this single instance. The case centered around the exposition's chief of guards and time-keeper who just happened to be a thief. In his duties on the exposition grounds he discovered some profitable, though shady, but irresistible opportunities. He charged his subordinate guards \$15 for uniforms that cost \$9.50 and retained the profits for himself. As time-keeper he illegally elicited a two to five dollar surcharge from each laborer who sought employment in construction on the grounds. Eventually, he was caught attempting to collect wages for a man who had quit work some time before. Charged with grafting, George Heal was fired by the management and fled the city late one night under threat of arrest.¹⁹³

Christened the "Ivory City" because every one of its palaces was finished in the color of old ivory rather than the customary dazzling white, which "played havoc with the eye and made headache the price of an exposition perigrination,"¹⁹⁴ the exposition grounds were unique in the Northwest without losing the region's essential flavor. A splendid park of grassy slopes and formal gardens mingled with

¹⁹³Seattle Daily Times, July 16, 1908, p. 1:7.

¹⁹⁴Woods and Beaton (eds.), no pagination.

the balsom of the firs which were everywhere, the Alaska-Yukon-Pacific Exposition grounds were created by and the fair realized as a physical entity under the directions of the division of works.

CHAPTER IV

FOUR YEARS FOR A FAIR

The Alaska-Yukon-Pacific Exposition diversified as it grew through the four years of its development. Beginning as an effort to exhibit the resources of one misunderstood territory, the exposition expanded to include a whole ocean and the diverse lands beyond the beaches swept by its tides. From an indefinite "great Alaskan fair," to the Alaska-Yukon Exposition and finally the Alaska-Yukon-Pacific Exposition, the title of the fair reflected its broadening scope. Through four years of development and evolution to its final realization on the grounds of the State University, the A.Y.P.E. was a monument to the energy of a city.

In less than a decade Buffalo, Portland and Jamestown had each seized upon the centennial of some regionally prominent historical event and celebrated it with an exposition of national scope. But the A.Y.P.E. was intended to be unique among such events. "It is as different as those that have gone before it," claimed its publicists," as was the Chicago exposition from its progenitor, the glorified county fair."¹⁹⁵ Seattle promised a different approach--a new

¹⁹⁵ James A. Wood and Welford Beaton (eds.), no pagination.

theme.

"The exposition is not found upon historical sentiment"¹⁹⁶ proclaimed official A.Y.P.E. literature. Of course, after losing the original 1907 date (that was to simultaneously celebrate the purchase of Alaska and that territory's great gold rush) to the Jamestown exhibition, there was precious little left to celebrate. In chastising the Virginians for their unsuccessful fair, Seattle exposition officials demonstrated their irreverence for the past:

They advertised relics and reminiscences as their chief attractions. Everything old was dug up and made to appear older. Jamestown stood for the past.¹⁹⁷

But the people of Puget Sound were, by their own willfully offered admission, of a contradictory attitude:

Seattle stands for the future. American people as a whole do not care so much about the past--which can't be helped; so what's the use of talking about it--as they care for the future, which they have a share in and can have a share in shaping.¹⁹⁸

"This is not a centennial or anniversary exposition, and it is not being held to celebrate anything," proclaimed Captain A. W. Lewis, "except the marvelous growth and still more marvelous possibilities of the West."¹⁹⁹

The Washington fair promised views of another world

¹⁹⁶ Ibid., no pagination.

¹⁹⁷ The Independent, p. 259.

¹⁹⁸ Ibid.

¹⁹⁹ Seattle Daily Times, July 23, 1908, p. 10:3.

in its different kind of exposition:

Go anywhere today onto the highways and byways of Europe and see there what you saw in Chicago. Tour the Levant and see what you saw at St. Louis, but you must come to Seattle to see what the Government has done for even the remotest of its islands in the Philippine archipelago and learn what life was under the monarchs of Hawaii and what life there is today.²⁰⁰

Seattle was never shy about admitting its hard economic hopes: "The exposition is commercial in character and is not founded upon historical sentiment."²⁰¹ The A.Y.P.E. corporation president was blunt in expressing his business-like attitude towards the exposition. "It will do more to advertise Seattle throughout the commercial world than anything ever has done before," predicted Mr. Chilberg.²⁰² "Exploitation," "trade" and "opportunity" were the watchwords of the A.Y.P.E.:

The primary purpose...is to exploit the resources of the Pacific Coast States, of the Yukon Territory and Alaska and to make known and to foster the immense trade of the countries bordering on the Pacific.²⁰³

It means an opportunity.²⁰⁴

The exposition stylized itself as leading the way to the Newest World--the Pacific World. Through the Port of Seattle the A.Y.P.E. was pointing the way for enterprising

²⁰⁰James A. Wood and Welford Beaton (eds.), no pagination.

²⁰¹Seattle Daily Times, January 20, 1907, p. 4:5.

²⁰²Seattle Daily Times, May 20, 1906, p. 3:1.

²⁰³Information Guide: Seattle and A.Y.P. Exposition Diary and Official Calendar (Seattle: Information Guide Publishing Co., 1909), p. 7.

²⁰⁴Seattle Daily Times, July 7, 1906, p. 2:3.

Yankees toward new economic prosperity:

Here in these lands of unsolved problems, will the engineer find the setting for his future activities, in their undeveloped resources will the hardy settler find a livelihood and the capitalist his millions.²⁰⁵

The mission was of introduction and consolidation. "It means the union of the Orient and Occident," explained director-general Nadeau.²⁰⁶ Seattle was assuming "the task of introducing the half of the world which is developed almost to the ultimate, to the other half which to all interests and purposes...is developed not at all."²⁰⁷

Reputed to be "a mighty congress of the peoples and religions that flourish by the western seas; Mohammed confronts the great god Buddha, and Confucius bandies isms with the Christian,"²⁰⁸ the exposition was unique in its cosmopolitan nature. Despite its sterile economic core, through its four years of development a higher purpose arose for the Alaska-Yukon-Pacific Exposition: "to assemble the peoples so that Tagal may look at Siwash and the world know each as he is."²⁰⁹

²⁰⁵James A. Wood and Welford Beaton (eds.), no pagination.

²⁰⁶Seattle Daily Times, July 7, 1906, p. 2:3.

²⁰⁷Seattle Daily Times, May 20, 1906, p. 3:1.

²⁰⁸James A. Wood and Welford Beaton, no pagination.

²⁰⁹Ibid.

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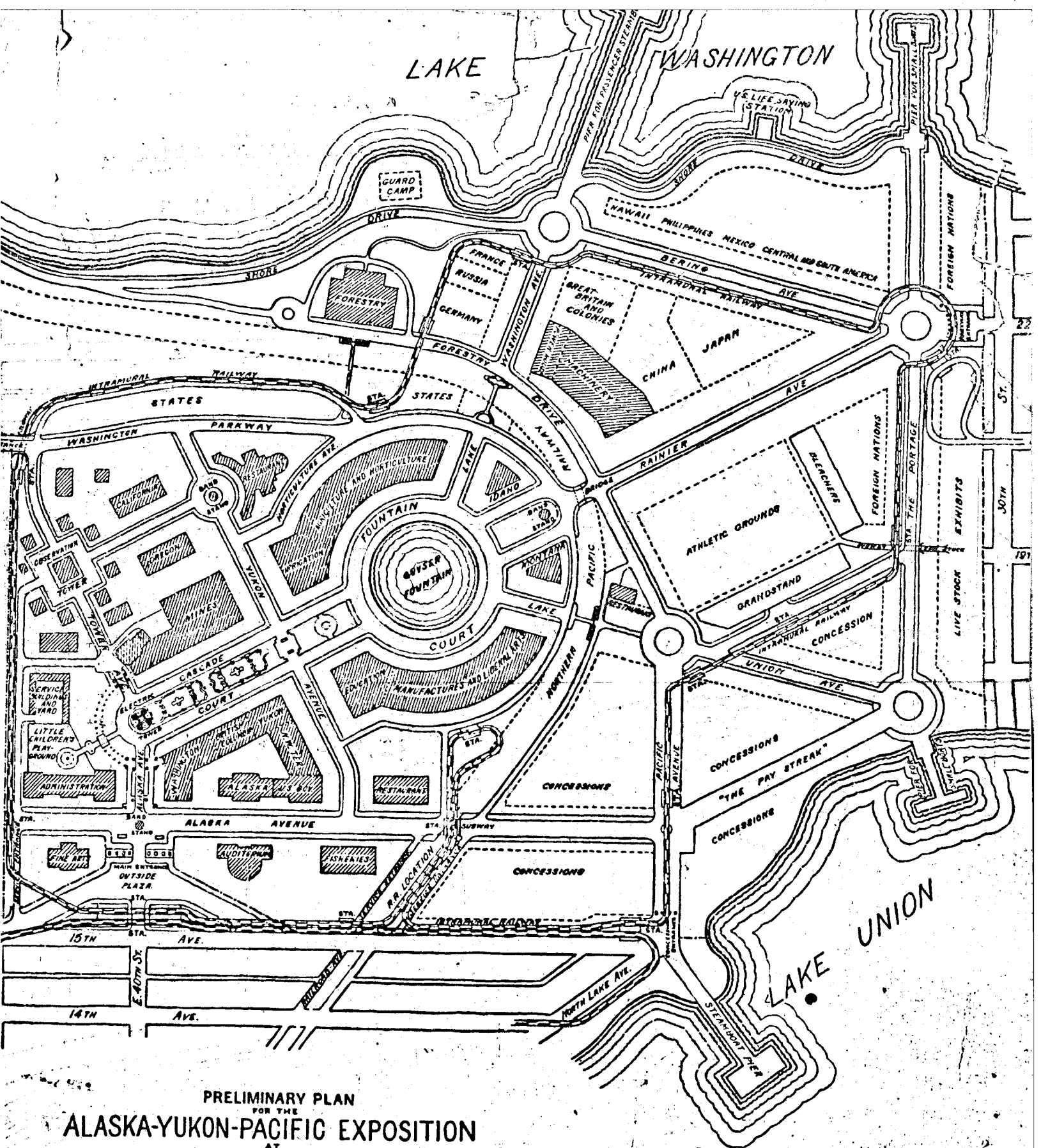
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APPENDIX I

PRELIMINARY PLAN FOR THE ALASKA-YUKON
PACIFIC EXPOSITION



PRELIMINARY PLAN
 FOR THE
ALASKA-YUKON-PACIFIC EXPOSITION
 AT
SEATTLE, WASH., 1909.

SCALE
 0 100 200 300 400 500 600 700 800 900 1000 FT.
 OLNSTED BROTHERS, LANDSCAPE ARCHITECTS
 NOVEMBER 5TH 1908.

APPENDIX II

BOARD OF TRUSTEES: ALASKA-YUKON-PACIFIC EXPOSITION
 (As Reported in the Seattle Daily Times, 1-11-09 page 7:3.)

T. Arari	Andrew Hemrid
E. W. Andrews	H. C. Henry
E. E. Ainsworth	James D. Hoge
F. W. Baker	A. S. Kerry
R. A. Ballinger	N. H. Latimer
A. J. Blethen	J. H. McGraw
George Boole	George S. McLaren
Alfred Battle	J. C. Marmaduke
Henry Broderick	E. S. Meany
J. E. Chilberg	J. A. Moore
J. W. Clise	Will H. Parry
C. R. Collins	J. G. Price
Josiah Collins	Wm. Piggott
Wm. N. Calhoun	J. B. Powles
John Davis	W. L. Rhoades
J. D. Farrell	J. W. Roberts
G. W. Fisher	E. Shorrocks
J. C. Ford	C. J. Smith
R. R. Fox	A. B. Steward
C. E. Fowler	C. D. Stimson
Jacob Furth	H. W. Treat
J. S. Goldsmith	E. E. Webster
John P. Hartman	J. L. Wilson
S. H. Hedges ¹	H. R. Williams

¹elected 2/13/09.

APPENDIX III

OFFICERS AND DIRECTORS OF THE ALASKA-YUKON-PACIFIC EXPOSITION
 (As Appearing in the Official Catalogue of the Alaska-
 Yukon-Pacific Exposition, 1909.)

President	J. E. Chilberg
First Vice-President.	J. H. McGraw
Second Vice-President	H. C. Henry ¹
Third Vice-President.	A. S. Kerry
Director-General.	I. A. Nadeau
Secretary	W. N. Sheffield
Treasurer	C. R. Collins
General Counsel	J. W. Roberts
Director of Works	Frank P. Allen, Jr.
Director of Exhibits and Privileges .	Henry E. Dosch
Director of Exploitation.	James A. Wood ²
Director of Concessions	J. E. Mattox ³
Electrical Engineer	J. R. Thompson
Medical Director	Dr. E. M. Reninger
Musical Director	F. N. Innes

¹replaced R. A. Ballinger 2/13/09

²replaced Henry Reed 10/24/08

³replaced Capt. A. W. Lewis 4/16/09

APPENDIX IV

THE PERMANENT COMMITTEES OF THE ALASKA-YUKON-PACIFIC
EXPOSITION (Original Members Appointed by the Board
of Trustees as Reported in the Seattle
Daily Times, 5-26-06 page 17:7.)

Personnel of Committees.

The committees as appointed by President Chilberg are as follows:

Executive Committee--J. E. Chilberg, president and ex-officio Chairman; Will H. Parry, E. S. Meany, Jacob Furth, J. S. Goldsmith, A. S. Kerry, George Boole, Josiah Collins.

Finance and Supplies--Jacob Furth, chairman; M. F. Backus, C. D. Stimson, Andrew Hemrich, N. H. Latimer.

Ways and Means--Will H. Parry, chairman; Jacob Furth, George Boole, R. R. Fox, F. W. Baker, C. H. Lilly, E. E. Webster.

Concessions and Privileges--J. S. Goldsmith, chairman; J. G. Price, A. S. Kerry, E. W. Andrews, W. H. Workman, Jr.

Exhibits, Transportation, Rules and Regulations--A. S. Kerry, chairman; H. F. Grant, J. D. Trenholme, E. Shorrock, R. R. Fox.

Press and Publicity--E. S. Meany, chairman; George S. McLaren, J. D. Hoge, C. R. Collins, C. E. Peabody.

Grounds and Buildings--C. J. Smith, chairman; A. J. Blethen, J. W. Clise, Moritz Thomsen, E. C. Hughes, H. F. Grant, J. A. Moore.

Ceremonies, Music, Amusements and Athletic Sports--Josiah Collins, chairman; J. C. Marmaduke, John Davis, J. D. Farrell, N. H. Latimer.

Legislation--C. H. Hanford, chairman; John H. McGraw, R. A. Ballinger, E. C. Hughes, John P. Hartman, John W. Roberts, John L. Wilson, William H. Moore, A. B. Stewart, J. W. Clise.

Mines and Mining--William Pigott, chairman; J. C. Ford, M. F. Backus, E. E. Caine, C. W. Fischer.

APPENDIX V

THE ALASKA-YUKON-PACIFIC COMMISSION OF THE STATE OF
 WASHINGTON (Original Members Appointed by
 Governor Meade as Reported in the Seattle
Daily Times, 5-31-07 page 13:1)

Henry A. McLean	Mt. Vernon ¹
George E. Dickson	Ellensburg
James W. Slayden	Steilacom
L. P. Hornberger	Spokane
R. W. Condon	Port Gamble ²
L. H. Burnett	Aberdeen
M. M. Goodman	Dayton

¹resigned 11/18/08

²resigned 1/14/09

APPENDIX VI

OFFICIAL GROUND PLAN--ALASKA-YUKON-PACIFIC EXPOSITION

