

Mark Twain's North American Tour of 1895

Being a listing of Mark Twain's Lectures across North America in 1895, a prelude to his World Tour: With notes on his modes of transportation; cities, towns and venues; as well as the fate of the many Native American Peoples who lived along the route.

B. Scott Holmes

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*Mr. & Mrs. S. L. Clemens, Clara Clemens, Mr. & Mrs. Pond
on deck of S. S. Warimoo, August 23, 1895. Last day together. The Clemens
Start for Australia.*

Mark Twain and Major James B. Pond, Mrs. Olivia Clemens, Clara Clemens, and Mrs. Pond aboard the S.S. Warimoo,

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(See Barbara Schmidt's "Chronology Of Known Mark Twain Speeches, Public Readings, And Lectures")

INTRODUCTION

Sam Clemens' first profession was as a type setter. He became a Mississippi Riverboat pilot, tried mining for silver, speculating in mine stock and newspaper reporting. He found fame and fortune as a writer and lecturer. Remembering his type setter days, he decided to invest in a type setting machine, the Paige typesetter, that promised to revolutionize the printing industry. He was certain he knew what was required and saw no future in the Linotype. He failed to see "outside the box" and the inventor of his type setting machine was an inveterate tinkerer, constantly in need of more capital. Along with this drain on his financial resources, he had established his own publishing company, Webster & Co.. Both these business ventures failed.

He was not, however, the poor business man as he is often portrayed. He was unfortunate and was unable to escape the "Panic of 1893". Five hundred banks closed, 15,000 businesses failed, and numerous farms ceased operation. The unemployment rate reached 25% in Pennsylvania, 35% in New York, and 43% in Michigan. Soup kitchens were opened to help feed the destitute. Facing starvation, people chopped wood, broke rocks, and sewed by hand with needle and thread in exchange for food. In some cases, women resorted to prostitution to feed their families.

Lawrence Howe writes of this period:

"... the fact that Samuel Clemens's publishing company succumbed to bankruptcy in 1894 is hardly a surprise. With national unemployment as high as 19 percent — 35 percent in a populous state like New York — is it any surprise that new books, unthinkable extravagances for people scrambling for necessities, might not be in high demand?

Granted, not all publishing houses failed during this period. And hardly anyone other than Sam Clemens invested a fortune in an ill-fated printing invention, the Paige typesetter. Over the course of several years, Clemens pumped no less than \$150,000 into the typesetter, an amount equivalent to about \$3.8 million dollars in today's value."

With the idea of weathering the storm by economizing, he closed up his Hartford home and moved his family to Europe in June of 1891. A year later he returned, alone, to check on the viability of his investments. He remained two weeks then returned to his family in Europe. May of 1893 found Sam back in the states checking on his investments. May 4, Thursday — The "Panic of 1893" struck the New York Stock Exchange. Financial reverses would worsen, ultimately forcing the downfall of Webster & Co., as well as the Paige typesetter. From the N.Y. Times, "The nearest approach to a panic which the Stock Exchange has witnessed since 1884 occurred to-day."

May 13, the *SS Kaiser Wilhelm II* sailed for Genoa, Italy with Sam on board. By May 15, stock prices had reached an all-time low. Sam would again be in the states in September and would

remain until March of 1894. Enter Henry Huttleston Rogers. Rogers and his personal secretary Katharine Harrison, known as “The Oracle”, were largely responsible for extricating Sam from financial ruin. Rogers had reportedly attended one of Twain’s lectures, date unknown. Ron Powers writes that:

“Clemens and Rogers met on a mid-September evening as Clemens stood with Dr. Rice in the lobby of the Murray Hill Hotel. Rice, acquainted with the Standard Oil man, made the introductions, and the three sat down for drinks. Within minutes the author and the industrial titan had been friends since God knew when. Sam was his witty self, but was delighted to find that Rogers could match him, *mot* for *mot* and story for story. Better than that, Rogers disclosed that he’d been a big fan since catching one of Mark Twain’s ‘Sandwich Islands’ lectures a long time ago.”

By March 6 of 1894, Sam had assigned power of attorney to H.H. Rogers and assigned all his property including typesetter rights and copyright on his books to Livy. He then returned to Europe. It was during this period that Sam resolved to return to the lecture circuit on a world wide scale in order to cancel all the debts that had accumulated. He would cross the Atlantic Ocean eight more times before starting out on the tour described in his book *Following the Equator*.

On April 23, 1895 while in Paris, Sam wrote to J. Henry Harper:

To-day I shall sign a contract which has just arrived from Melbourne, for a six to nine months’ reading tour next fall & winter in the Sandwich Islands, New Zealand, Australia, Ceylon, Madras, Calcutta, Bombay & other Indian cities, then South Africa & the Mauritius. After which I shall probably read in England a spell, then talk across America to Pacific coast & then back again through the Southern States.

And then die, I reckon. ...

On May 10, the Clemens family, not together in America since 1891, left Paris for Southampton.

On May 11 they departed Southampton for New York on the *SS New York*. The voyage would take seven days.

On May 18 the *SS New York* arrived in New York. The family went immediately to Elmira.”

On May 26 Sam wrote to his brother, Orion, from Elmira:

We are all in good health, & Livy looks young & fresh & spry. I have very little time in which to select and prepare my readings, but I will make up by working double tides till I start west. We shall start about mid-summer. We sail for Australia

from the Pacific Coast in August. Livy and Clara go with me around the world, but Susie refuses because she hates the sea, & Jean refuses because she can't spare the time from school.

On July 14, at Quarry Farm, A few minutes before leaving for town, Sam wrote to his sister Pamela Moffett:

I have not been able to write. I have been in bed ever since we arrived here May 25th, until four days ago when I put on my clothes for the first time in 45 days to go to New York — barely capable of the exertion — to undergo the shame born of the mistake I made in establishing a publishing house. I can't make any more financial mistakes; I've nothing left to make them with. If Webster had paid me my dividend on the Grant book when he paid himself & Mrs. Grant, I should have been spared the humiliations of these days. However I am still clean of dishonesty toward any man, and — but never mind, it would profit nothing to say it.

Livy & Clara have gone down in the valley to take the train toward the Pacific Coast, & I follow in five minutes. We leave Susy & Jean here at the farm. They will join us in London next year.

Livy and Clara left first, but only for the depot, where Sam caught up with them. Sam's indelible picture of the train pulling out from Elmira with Susy waving tearful good-byes on the platform was the last time they would see her alive.

FROM ELMIRA TO BUFFALO AND CLEVELAND

Sunday July 14th: Samuel L Clemens, his wife Livy and daughter Clara along with James B. Pond and his wife depart Elmira, New York on board the *Delaware Lackawanna & Western Railroad* bound for Buffalo. The DL&W followed a route along the Chemung River Valley to the river's origin at the confluence of the Tioga and Cohocton rivers. The line continued up the Cohocton Valley to near Atlanta, then into the Genesee River Valley to East Bethany. Finally, the road went downhill to Buffalo, New York.



Chemung River

The Chemung River is a tributary of the Susquehanna River, approximately 46.4 miles long, formed near Painted Post by the confluence of the Tioga and Cohocton rivers. It flows generally east-southeast through Corning, Big Flats, Elmira, and Waverly. It crosses into northern Pennsylvania before joining the Susquehanna River.

The name of the river comes from an Lenape word meaning "at the horn" composed of the root chemu 'horn' and the suffix -ng meaning 'at/on'. Another possible etymology is "big horn", possibly dating from the discovery of large mammoth tusks in the river bed. Most of the valley is cut into Devonian age shale, sandstone, and limestone. The hilltops are rounded by glaciation. The tributaries, particularly the Cohocton River, have captured some of the former Genesee River drainage, due to terminal moraines that filled some valley areas and diverted streams.

The area near the river's source was referred to as Concanoga, or the land of three rivers, by the Seneca who lived in the area. In colonial times the river valley was a major trade route through the hill country of western New York, first for the Iroquois and other Native Americans, and later for the European settlers. In 1779 during the Revolutionary War, American troops of the Sullivan Expedition defeated a combined force of Iroquois, Tories and British at the Battle of Newtown along the river southeast of Elmira. The victory opened the way for Sullivan to systematically destroy Iroquois villages and settlements throughout their homeland of central and western New York.

The construction of the Chemung Canal, completed in 1833, between the Chemung and the southern end of Seneca Lake allowed the shipment of Pennsylvania anthracite coal, lumber and



Delaware, Lackawanna & Western Railroad through the Cohocton River Valley

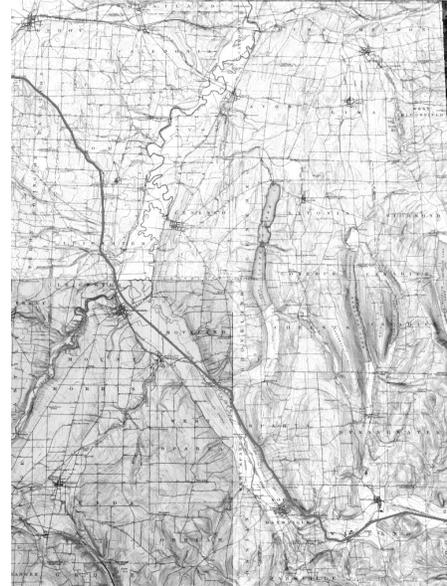
agricultural products to the Erie Canal system. Elmira became a regional center of manufacturing. The canals were rendered obsolete by the coming of the railroads in the late 1840s and 1850s.

The Cohocton River, sometimes referred to as the Conhocton River, is a 58.5-mile-long tributary of the Chemung River. The name "Cohocton" is derived from an Iroquois term, Ga-ha-to, meaning "log floating in the water" or "trees in the water". In the 1820s the New York State Legislature commissioned a study for the building of a canal that would link the Cohocton at Bath to Keuka Lake (Crooked Lake) and Seneca Lake. The Crooked Lake Canal

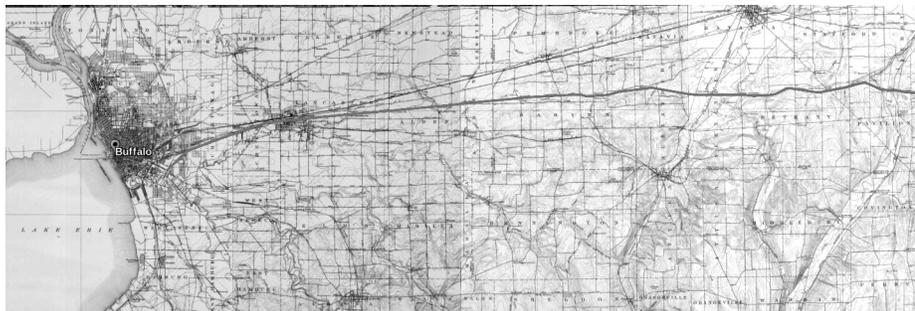
connecting the two lakes was built, but the link to the Cohocton was never completed. The Cohocton River rises in southeastern Livingston County, approximately 15 miles northeast of Dansville. It flows generally southeast through rural Steuben County, in a winding course through a valley of the Allegheny Plateau, past Cohocton, Avoca and Bath. At Painted Post it is joined by the Tioga River to form the Chemung and then the Susquehanna River.

The Genesee River Valley:

Historically, the river's gorge formed a clearly demarcated border between the lands of the Five Nations of the Iroquois, whose range extended east and the related tribes of the Erie people and Wenro along the west side of the gorge. By the end of the Beaver Wars and the American Revolution, the lands in all of upstate New York into the Ohio Country were controlled by the Iroquois Confederation, but were also effectively depopulated, the tribes weakened in the Revolution. In 1779, on the orders of George Washington, the Sullivan Expedition destroyed over 40 Haudenosaunee villages in and around the watershed to force the Seneca and allied nations out of the newly formed United States. Subsequently, with most Iroquois having fled to Canada, the remnant tribal groups were in no position to further impede white settlers, so most of New York state west of the Genesee River became part of the Holland Purchase after the American Revolution. From 1801 to 1846 the entire region was sold to individual owners from the Holland Land office in Batavia, New York. In the 1797 Treaty of Big Tree, the Seneca tribes were granted six reservations along the river, among them Canawaugus, Little Beard's Town, Geneseo, Caneadea, Deyuitgau and Gardeau. In August 1826, the Ogden Land Company purchased the six Genesee River reservations from the Seneca, allegedly under duress; the modern Seneca Nation of Indians does not recognize the 1826 sale as valid and moved to reclaim Canawaugus in December 2022. **(Wikipedia)**



Genesee River Valley



East Bethany to Buffalo

Thomas Reigstad writes:

And so, the morning of July 15, 1895, Twain slouched into Buffalo for a two-hour layover. This was the last time he ever visited Buffalo, where he once lived as a newlywed, a first-time father and a newspaper owner and managing editor. His old Buffalo friend Charles M. Underhill collected Twain, his wife, Olivia, and daughter Clara by carriage at the Exchange Street station. Underhill whisked the women off for a quick visit with his wife, Emma. Twain had read about the spectacular marble and granite Blocher Memorial in Forest Lawn, and wanted to see it, hoping to write an article about it. According to Underhill, “the monument did not stir him,” and Twain dismissed it as a possible subject for a story. On the carriage ride from the cemetery back to Underhill’s house, a dejected Twain confided that “he hadn’t anything more to write about, that he had got to the end.” An hour or so later, Twain and family returned to Buffalo’s train station and proceeded to Cleveland.



Cleveland Railroad Terminal

After a two hour lay over in Buffalo, Twain's party proceeded to Cleveland, Ohio.

In October 1867, the Cleveland, Painesville and Ashtabula Railroad leased the Cleveland and Toledo Railroad. The CP&A changed its name to the Lake Shore Railway on March 31, 1868, and on February 11, 1869, the Lake Shore absorbed the Cleveland and Toledo. On April 6 the Michigan Southern and Northern Indiana Railroad and Lake Shore merged to form the Lake Shore and Michigan Southern Railway, which absorbed the Buffalo and Erie Railroad on June 22, giving one company the whole route from Buffalo to Chicago.

Around 1877, Cornelius Vanderbilt and his New York Central and Hudson River Railroad gained a majority of stock of the Lake Shore and Michigan Southern Railway. The line provided an ideal extension of the New York Central main line from Buffalo west to Chicago, along with the route across southern Ontario (Canada Southern Railway and Michigan Central Railroad). On December 22, 1914, the New York Central and Hudson River Railroad merged with the Lake Shore and Michigan Southern Railway to form a new New York Central Railroad. (*Wikipedia*)

James B Pond writes:

The Stillman—with “Mark Twain”, his wife and their daughter, Clara. “Mark” looks badly fatigued. His huge carbuncle seven weeks old, and the annoying supplementary proceedings in New York are telling upon him.

“Mark” and family out to dinner with some old friends and companions of the Quaker City tour. He came home very nervous and much distressed. There are intimations that his baggage will be attached and other annoyances.

Sam’s friends were Timothy and Eliza Crocker and Solon and Emily Severance. Mary Fairbanks was not present as the Fairbankses had lost their fortune and closed the Cleveland Herald in 1880. Abel had since died and Mary moved to Massachusetts to live with her daughter.

Sam wrote to H. H. Rogers:

Cleveland
16 July 1895
Dear Mr. Rogers:

... Had a roaring success at the Elmira reformatory Sunday night. But here, last night, I suffered another Randall’s Island defeat— and by George, for the same cause—children. There were a couple of hundred little boys behind me on the stage, on a lofty tier of benches which made them the most conspicuous object in the house. And there was nobody to watch them or keep them quiet. Why, with their scufflings and horse-play and noise, it was just a menagerie. Besides, a concert of amateurs had been smuggled into the program (to precede me,) and their families and friends (say ten per cent of the audience) kept encoring them and they always responded. So it was 20 minutes to 9 before I got on the platform in front of those 2,600 people who had paid a dollar apiece for a chance to go to hell in this fashion.

I got started magnificently, but inside of half an hour the scuffling boys had the audience’s maddened attention and I saw it was a gone case; so I skipped a third of my program and quit. The newspapers are kind, but between you and me it was a defeat. There ain’t going to be any more concerts at my lectures. I care nothing for this defeat, because it was not my fault. My first half hour showed that I had the house, and I could have kept it if I hadn’t been so handicapped.

Yours sincerely

SL Clemens

P.S. I find that there were five hundred boys behind me, two-thirds as many as Randall’s Island, and that they flowed past my back in clattering shoals, some leaving the house, others returning for some more skylarking!

ACROSS THE GREAT LAKES

Mark Twain left Cleveland, Ohio July 17 on board the *SS Northland*. They sailed across Lake Erie to the Detroit River, across Lake St Clair and along the St. Clair River. July 18th they crossed Lake Huron and landed in Sault Ste. Marie. Here he gave his third, unremarked, lecture. From there they sailed to Mackinaw Island on board the *T. S. Faxton*.

Pond: Wednesday, July 17th.:

Mercury 98° degrees still on the ascent. *S.S. Northland*. Our party left Cleveland for Mackinac at seven o'clock. "Mark" much debilitated. He is carrying on a big fight against his bodily disability. All that has been said of this fine ocean ship on the Great Lakes is not exaggerated. There is an ice plant on board that produces five tons of ice daily, and an electric plant that supplies two thousand seven hundred incandescent burners. The trip across Lake Erie to Detroit River, Lake St. Clair and the St. Clair River is most charming. "Mark" and Mrs. Clemens are very cheerful today. The passengers have discovered who they are. Our party is the center of attraction. Wherever "Mark" sits or stands on the deck of the steamer, in the smoking room, dining room, or cabin, he is the magnet, and people strain their necks to see him and to catch every word he utters.

The Northern Steamship Company (Western New York Heritage):

James. J. Hill, railroad magnate of the Great Northern Railroad, developed the Northern Steamship Company to connect his freight shipments between Buffalo and Duluth. After constructing six lake freighters, he decided to capture passenger traffic on the Great Lakes and in 1892 began construction on the first of two luxury liners at the Globe Iron Works in Cleveland. His intention was to build the largest and most modern ships on the Great Lakes, equal in every way to the 'ocean greyhounds' in speed and luxury.

The first, named the "North West," was launched in 1894 and, after test runs, came to Buffalo to be finished and furnished. According to J.A. Colby and Sons, of Chicago, their company designed the furniture and upholstery for both liners, using mahogany and primavera (white mahogany) in Louis XV Rococo style. The company described its decor thus: "When we think of the traditional shiny, white cabins we have known so well, this symphony of brown, bronze-green, and gold with the delicate carving and relief work, repeated through such an imposing length of space, all softened by the light of amber-tinted glass, is a marvel... Staircases of white mahogany, with tessellated floors and upholstering of terra-cotta leather; huge plate mirrors; balconies furnished in antique brass; reading rooms no less luxurious; ladies' parlors; men's cafe; smoking rooms; little conservatories; bronze and marble statues; a dining-room like a prince's banquet hall; and staterooms of every conceivable shape and size here..."

The ship could carry between 800 and 1,000 per trip, including a crew of 147, most of them dedicated to serving the passengers. The company declared that, unlike the



SS Northland

great Atlantic ocean liners, the "North West" had an unlimited supply of fresh water and was able to supply hot and cold water under pressure, with flush toilets in the water closets from pressure tanks. With three hundred separate water fixtures aboard and constant water pressure, the company was able to advertise the ship as especially safe from damage by fire.

The "North West" weighed 2,339 tons, was 385 feet long, 44 feet at the beam, and 34 feet from keel to promenade deck. Its hull was painted white, the three smokestacks painted yellow with a black band near the top, the center stack having a white star and the letter "N" to signify the company. Its two quadruple expansion engines generated 7,000 HP. It had a regular speed of 20 MPH with a 16 foot draft. Its two propellers were 13 feet in diameter. The ship consumed eight tons of coal per hour.

When the "North West" steamed full speed up the Detroit and St. Clair rivers, its huge size created destructive wakes and shore damage; the ship was subsequently obliged to reduce its speed in these areas.

By 1895, the "North Land" had launched, identical to the "North West" except for refinements possible with the newer ship. Both ships maintained service of every three days between Buffalo and Duluth. The regular stops were Buffalo, Cleveland, Detroit, Mackinac Island, Sault St. Marie, and Duluth.

Sam was full of praise for the North Land, and said there wasn't much about the vessel to remind him of the days when he used to pilot a steamboat on the Mississippi river. "It is the best I have ever seen," he said, "in the way of passenger boats. The Fall River steamers are more elaborately decorated, but are more like ocean steamers than the North Land, and not so pleasant and comfortable."

Pond: Wednesday, July 17th. (Cont.):

New Venice, on the St. Clair River, is a most interesting resort. I have seen nothing else like it in America. For miles on the American side are rows of cottages built upon piles over the water, with no means of communication with each other except by small row boats, and these are numerous. There is a little slip, or dock, with pretty boats and boat houses by every cottage. Some of the boats are very elaborate. This is a unique resort for wealthy people of Michigan, Ohio and Indiana, and quite a number of Chicagoans have elegant summer homes here. There is great opportunity for fishing and duck shooting, as the Canadian side of the river is a vast rice marsh inhabited by water fowls only. Now few eastern people know of these extensive luxurious resorts, and all the growth of two decades.

Michigan's Venice, or New Venice refers to the **St. Clair Flats**, a freshwater river delta where the St. Clair River flows into Lake St. Clair. Pond noted a unique community of lavish homes and clubs, built upon wooden pilings and canals, that drew comparisons to Venice, Italy.

Pond: Wednesday, July 17th. (Cont.):

On the second day out on Lake Huron, "Mark" was on deck in the morning for the first time, feeling fresh and spry as a young kitten. Many people made excuses for speaking to him. One man had stopped off in Cleveland on purpose to hear him. Another from Washington Territory, who had lived forty years in the West, owned a copy of "Roughing It," which he and his wife knew by heart. One very gentle elderly lady wished to thank him for the nice things he has written and said of cats. But the one who interested "Mark" the most was a young man who asked him if he had ever seen or used a shaving stone, handing him one. It was a small, peculiar, fine-grained sandstone, the shape of a miniature grindstone, and about the size of an ordinary watch. He explained that all you had to do was to rub your face with it and the rough beard would disappear, leaving a clean shaven face.

Mark took it, rubbed it on his unshaven cheek, and expressed great wonder at the result. He put it in his vest pocket very unceremoniously, remarking at the same time:

“That is just what I want. The Madam (he generally speaks of Mrs. Clemens as “The Madam”) will have no cause to complain of my never being ready in time for church because it takes so long to shave. I will just put this into my vest pocket on Sunday. Then when I get to church, I’ll pull the thing out and enjoy a quiet shave in my pew during the long prayer. I see it is called “Adam’s Shaving Stone.” Of course Adam had no other means of shaving, so he just laid his cheek on a stone and it became smooth.”

July 18 Thursday - The Clemens party arrived in **Sault Ste. Marie, Michigan**, and checked into the **Hotel Iroquois**. Sam gave his talk at the **Soo Opera House**. J.B. Pond did not make a diary entry on this stop, nor did Sam mention it in any letters extant.

Pond: Friday, July 19th, Mackinac, Grand Hotel.:

We came by steamer T. S. Faxton, of the Arnold Line. It was an ideal excursion among the islands. It was cold, but none of our party would leave the deck until dinner bell rang. Mark said, “That sounds like an old fashioned summons to dinner. It means a good old fashioned unpretentious dinner, too. I’m going to try it.” We all sat down to a table reaching the entire length of the cabin. We naturally fell in with the rush and all got seats. It was a good dinner, too—the best I ever heard of for 25 cents.



Arrival at Mackinaw Island from the T. S. Faxton. The Grand Hotel in the distance, July 19. Mark Twain Archive , Elmira College; <https://nyheritage.org/citation>

The **T.S. Faxton** was a late-19th-century excursion paddle-wheeler, boasting three passenger decks and room for over 1,200 passengers for summer lake excursions. Later in her life, she was converted to a freight-hauling scow steamer, better suited for hauling goods rather than passengers. The conversion left her as a functional but utilitarian vessel.

Pond, July 19th continues: At 4:30 we reached the Grand Hotel, where I saw one of Mark’s lithographs in the hotel office, and “Tickets For Sale Here” written in blue pencil upon the margin. It seemed dull and dead about the lobby and also in the streets. The hotel manager said the Casino, an adjoining hall, was at our service, free, and the keeper had instructions to seat and light it. Dinner time came

and we all went down together. It was Mark's first appearance in a public dining room since we started. He attracted some attention as he entered and sat down, but nothing especial transpired. After dinner the news stand man told me he had not sold ticket, and no one had enquired about them. I waited until eight o'clock and went to the hall to notify the man that he need not light up, as there would be no audience. The janitor and I stood chatting until about half past eight. I was about to leave when a man and woman came to the door and asked for tickets. I was about to tell them there would be no lecture when I saw a number of people, guests of the house, coming. So I suddenly changed my mind and told them: "Admission \$1.00. Pay the money to me and walk right in." The crowd kept rushing on me and I was obliged to ask everybody who could to please have the exact amount ready, as I was unable to change large bills without a good deal of delay. It was after nine o'clock before the rush was over and I sent a boy for "Mark." He expressed his pleasant surprise. I asked him to walk to the platform and introduce himself, which he did. I don't believe there was ever an audience that had a better time of an hour and a half. Mark was simply immense.

I counted my money while the show was going on and found I had taken in \$398. When the entertainment was about half over, two young men came to the door and wanted to be admitted for \$1.00 for the two. I said, "No, \$1.00 each. I cannot take less." They turned to go, when I called them back and explained that I needed two more dollars to make receipts just \$400., and said: "Now, if you'll pay a dollar each and complete my pile, you can come in and enjoy the best end of the programme, and when the show is out I'll take you down stairs and blow you off to twice that amount." They paid the two dollars and after the crowd had left the hall, I introduced them to Mark and we all went down to the billiard room, had a good time until 12 o'clock, and Mark and I made two delightful acquaintances. This has been one of our best days. Mark is gaining.

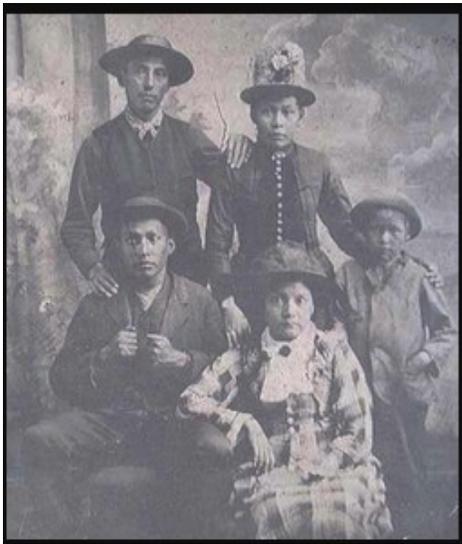
In 1886, the *Michigan Central Railroad, Grand Rapids and Indiana Railroad, and Detroit and Cleveland Steamship Navigation Company* formed the Mackinac Island Hotel Company. The group purchased the land on which the hotel was built and construction began, based upon the design by Detroit architects Mason and Rice. When it opened the following year, the hotel was advertised to Chicago, Erie, Montreal and Detroit residents as a summer retreat for vacationers who arrived by lake steamer and by rail from across the continent. Rates at the hotel ranged from US \$3 to US \$5 a night.

Pond: Saturday, July 20th, Mackinac to Petoskey:

"Mark" and I left the ladies at The Grand and went to Petoskey on the two o'clock train and boat. The smoke is so thick as to be almost stifling. There are forest fires on both sides of the track. There is a good hotel here. Mark dressed his carbuncle himself without assistance. He is surely gaining. We had a full house, and for the first time in a number of years I had a lecture room so crowded at \$1.00 a ticket that many could not get standing room and were obliged to go away. The theatre

has a seating capacity of five hundred, but over seven hundred and fifty got in. "Mark's" programme was just right—one hour and twenty minutes. He stopped at an hour and ten minutes, and cries of "Go on! Go on!" were so earnest that he told one more story. George Kennan was one of the audience. He is going to give a course of lectures at Lake View Assembly, an auxiliary Chautauqua adjoining Petoskey, where about five thousand people assemble every summer. Mr. Hall, the manager, thought that "Mark Twain" would not draw sufficient to warrant engaging him, so I took the risk outside, and won.

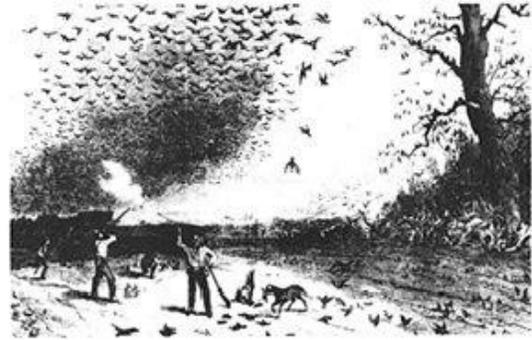
Sam and James Pond took a boat from Mackinaw Island to Mackinaw City where they boarded the *Northern Arrow*, one of the named passenger trains of the *Pennsylvania Railroad* serving St. Louis, Missouri, Cincinnati, Ohio, Chicago, Illinois, and Mackinaw City, Michigan. It used the *Grand Rapids and Indiana Railroad*, a leased subsidiary of the Pennsylvania system. The train was frequented by northbound travelers to popular Northern Michigan destinations north of Grand Rapids, Michigan, such as Petoskey, Mackinaw City and Mackinac Island. One section of the *Northern Arrow* was a seasonal summer weekly service between Cincinnati, Fort Wayne, Indiana, and Mackinaw City, while another section ran between St. Louis, Fort Wayne, and Mackinaw City. On May 26, 1950, the *Northern Arrow* was re-equipped with a lightweight lounge and sleeping cars plus a dining car decorated with Northern Michigan photomurals. Service was ended in 1961.



1800s Odawa family, Little Traverse Bay

The **Little Traverse Bay** area was long inhabited by indigenous peoples, including the Odawa people. The name "Petoskey" is said to mean "where the light shines through the clouds" in the language of the Odawa. After the 1836 Treaty of Washington, Odawa Chief Ignatius Petosega (1787–1885) took the opportunity to purchase lands near the Bear River. Petosega's father was Antoine Carre, a French Canadian fur trader and his mother was Odawa. By the 1850s, several religious groups had established missions near the Little Traverse Bay. The Mormons had been based at Beaver Island, the Jesuit missionaries had been based at L'arbor Croche and Michilimackinac, with a Catholic presence in Harbor Springs, then known as "Little Traverse". Andrew Porter, a Presbyterian missionary, arrived at the village of Bear River (as it was then called) in 1852.

Petoskey was the location of the extermination of the last huge breeding colony of passenger pigeon. A state historical marker commemorates the events, including the last great nesting in 1878. That summer, the breeding colony of Pigeons arrived near Crooked Lake. The flock covered 40 square miles and for three months yielded over 50,000 birds a day to hunters. One hunter reportedly killed 3,000,000 of the birds and according to one account earned \$60,000. Records estimate between 10-15 million slaughtered. The passenger pigeon was never again seen in the state after 1889.



The flock covered 40 square miles and for three months yielded over 50,000 birds a day to hunters

Pond: Sunday, July 21st.:

“Mark” and I left Petoskey for Mackinac at 5:30 this morning, to spend Sunday. It was severe on the poor man, but he was heroic and silent all the way. He has not tasted food since the dinner on the Faxton, Friday.

Sam’s notebook: July 21 ’95. (Sunday.) The “Islander.” This is merely a ferry-boat — 7 ½ mile course, to Mackinac Island. Yet it is neat, nice, comfortable, convenient — neither of those words can be applied to any channel boat, those damned offal-scows.

Pond: Monday, July 22nd.:



Early Soo Locks

On Lake Superior. S. S. Northwest. We went on deck early and found the smoke all gone and the sun shining brightly, but it has been so cold all day that few passengers are on deck. It took us a long time to pass through the Locks, although our big steamer had the right of way and Capt. Brown and Purser Pierce did all they could to hurry us on, for we were already eight hours late. There are hundreds of sailing and steam craft waiting their turn to pass through. The lock’s capacity is tested every

moment from the opening to the closing of navigation. I counted upwards of six

hundred craft during the day yesterday. The commerce of these lakes is astonishingly great, and little known by the eastern people.

The Soo Locks (sometimes spelled Sault Locks but pronounced "soo") are a set of parallel locks, operated and maintained by the United States Army Corps of Engineers, Detroit District, that enable ships to travel between Lake Superior and the lower Great Lakes. They are located on the St. Marys River between Lake Superior and Lake Huron, between the Upper Peninsula of the U.S. state of Michigan and the Canadian province of Ontario. They bypass the rapids of the river, where the water falls 21 ft (6.4 m).

Mark Twain's course took him through the Copper Country of the Keweenaw Peninsula and a stop at Houghton, Michigan. When Horace Greeley said "Go west, young man" he was referring to the copper rush in Michigan's western upper peninsula. Houghton gained importance with the opening of the Keweenaw Waterway in 1873. The waterway was created by dredging out Portage Lake, Portage Shipping Canal and Lily Pond. This created the new island of Copper Island, the northern tip of the Keweenaw Peninsula. In 1854 Houghton was said to be occupied by thieves, crooks, murderers and indians. The increasing demand for copper wiring fueled much of Houghton's development in the 60's and 70's and by 1883 the railroad was extended from Marquette.



Apostle Islands

Before the arrival of the white man... On and around the Apostle Islands, Lake Superior, Ojibwa people discovered and innovated agricultural advancements, including excavating copper deposits and creating specialized tools for agriculture, hunting and fishing, the use of canoes in rice harvesting, conjugal collaborative farming, and the Three Sisters Crop Complex, enabling the Ojibwa to greatly expand their population, territory and power outward in all directions creating an enormous nation. These rapid advances in technology, along with five centuries of migration from the east, caused divisive ideological disagreements over traditionalism, and ultimately, the Potawatomi, Ottawa, and other tribes split off, leaving the

Ojibwe alone wielding full control over the entire Lake Superior region, with the Islands remaining their power center.

All the Mississippi nations' nevertheless considered the area their ancient cultural and spiritual home. When the early French traders arrived around 1640, the capital city on Madeline Island was given the name La Pointe, and by 1693 it was fortified and included as an official Trading Post city in the Empire of New France, but with the westward expansion of European colonialism, conflicts boiled into formal wars from 1775 onward. Over the next 35 years, as more and more Native populations were concentrated into increasingly smaller areas, these areas became unable to provide sustenance for the swelling populations, and in 1811, the recognized principal Chief Buffalo from La Pointe led an army of Ojibwa to fight in Tecumseh's War against the U.S.. Though the American flag was hoisted over the Islands in 1816, Chief Buffalo fought for decades against the United States' government and mining and lumber capitalists continual and sometimes deadly efforts to completely remove the Ojibwe people.

Chief Buffalo had a change of heart and pursued diplomacy after meeting Michel Caddotte in Sault Ste Marie. Caddotte convinced him that by avoiding violence against the US, he could negotiate better treaties for the Ojibwa people. He successfully secured permanent reserves of land including the mainland coastline nearest the Islands for the Red Cliff band, as well as entire reservations for other bands in the region. (Wikipedia)

Pond: Monday, July 22nd. (continues):

We landed at Duluth at just 9 p.m. Mr. Briggs, our correspondent, met us at the wharf with a carriage. As our boat neared land, Briggs shouted:

“Hello, Major Pond.”

“Hello, Briggs”.

“Is Mark Twain all right?”

“Yes, he is ready to go to the hall. He will be the first passenger off the ship”.

“Good. We have a big audience waiting for him”, said Mr. Briggs.



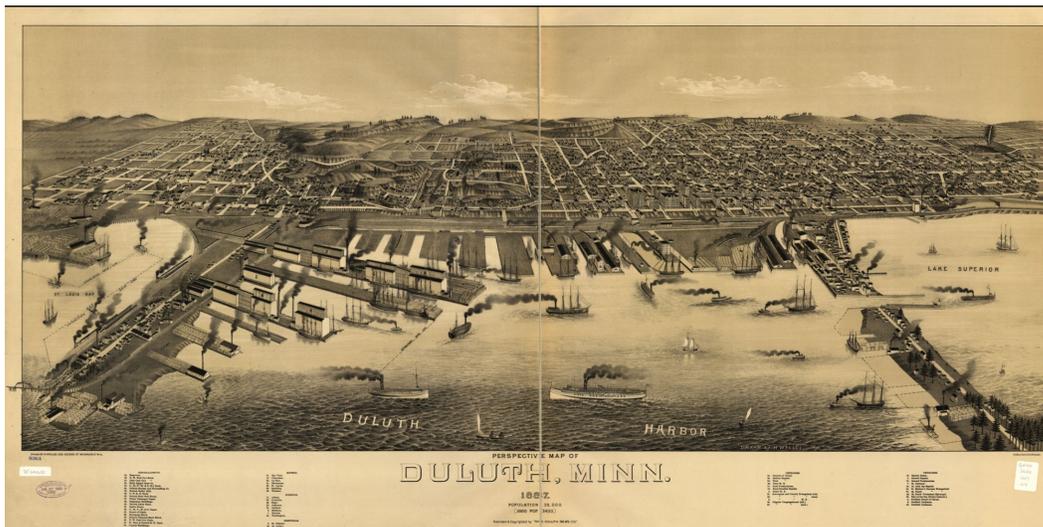
Chief Buffalo (Kechewaishke) was a principal leader of the Lake Superior Chippewa (Ojibwe) Tribe in the Apostle Islands when the Treaty of 1854 was signed.

“We'll have them convulsed in ten minutes”, said I.

“Mark” was the first passenger to land. Mr. Briggs hurried him to the church, which was packed with twelve hundred and fifty warm friends (100° in the shade) to meet and greet him. It was a big audience. Got through at 10:50. Were all on board train for Minneapolis at 11:20. Gross: \$902.00.

It was my busy night. The train for Minneapolis was to start at 12 o'clock. The agents in New York who had fitted me out with transportation and promised that everything should be in readiness on our arrival in Duluth, had forgotten us, and no arrangements for sleeper or transfer of baggage had been made. I had all this to attend to, besides looking after the business part of the lecture, which was on sharing terms with a church society. Everything mixed up, as the door-tender and finance committee were bound to hear the lecture. I could get no statement, but took all the money in sight, and “Mark” and I got on board the train as it was starting for Minneapolis.

Fears reports that the Clemens party took rooms at the **Spalding Hotel** located at 428 W. Superior St. The elegant 200-room hotel opened on June 6, 1889.



ACROSS THE PRAIRIES

Departing the Great Lakes region, July 22, 1895, Twain's party heads for the Great Plains. First into an area of tourist attraction, no small part due to the fantasy world created by Henry Wadsworth Longfellow and his "Song of Hiawatha", Lake Minnetonka and Minnehaha Falls. Twain gave lectures in **Minneapolis** July 23rd and **St. Paul** on the 24th.

There were two possible railroad routes from Duluth to Minneapolis, one using lines that would eventually become part of the *Northern Pacific Railway*, in 1900 and 1901; the other using lines that would become part of the *Great Northern Railroad* in 1907. Twain rested on the 25th then headed to **Winnipeg**, Manitoba. American railroads stopped at the Canadian border, St. Vincent Junction or Noyes, ND. On the Canadian side was **Gretna**, mentioned by Major Pond. He took a number of photographs that are labeled as Gretna but not indicating if the party was going to or coming from Winnipeg.



Departing Duluth

The Grand Excursion, a trip sponsored by the *Rock Island Railroad*, brought more than a thousand curious travelers into Minnesota by rail and steamboat in 1854. The next year, in 1855, Henry Wadsworth Longfellow published "The Song of Hiawatha," an epic poem said to be based on Ojibwe legends of Hiawatha (see Nanabozho). Inspired by coverage of the Grand Excursion in eastern newspapers and those who read Longfellow's story, tourists flocked to the area in the following decades. Hiawatha, the real person, was a co-founder of the Haudenosaunee or Iroquois confederacy. Depending on the version of the narrative he was a leader of the Onondaga, or the Mohawk or perhaps both. According to some versions he was born an Onondaga, but adopted into the Mohawk. Indications are that Longfellow used that name because it sounded better than Nanabozho. (There is some confusion in available sources as to whether the name is spelled with a N or an M). There are also strong indications that Longfellow was influenced by the Finnish "Kalevala."

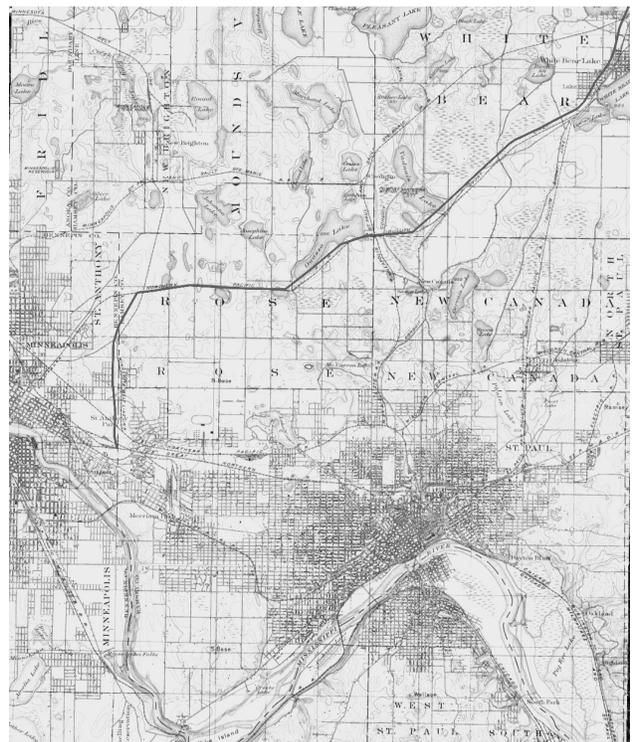
Nanabozho is a trickster figure in Anishinaabe aadizookaan (traditional storytelling), particularly among the Ojibwe. Longfellow eliminated any and all trickster characteristics from the Hiawatha version. Nanabozho could take the shape of male or female animals or humans in storytelling. Most commonly an animal such as a raven or coyote that lives near the tribe and is cunning enough to make capture difficult.

The *Lake Superior and Mississippi Railroad*, created in 1863, was the first rail link between the Twin Cities and Duluth. Financier Jay Cooke had selected Duluth as the northern end of the new railroad. Lyman Dayton, a local businessman put up \$10,000 of his own money to do the original surveying work and served as the railroad's president until his death in 1865. It was completed in 1870, running through the city of Carlton and along the path of the Saint Louis River to Duluth. Later that year the first passenger trains started running between the Twin Cities and Duluth.

The Lake Superior and Mississippi was a victim of the Panic of 1873, as Jay Cooke's company was overextended and burdened with financial commitments to the Northern Pacific Railway. It was reorganized in 1877 as the *St. Paul and Duluth Railroad*. It was bought by the Northern Pacific in 1900. Known to this day as the "Skally Line", it operated from Saint Paul to Duluth, Minnesota, with branches to Minneapolis, Taylors Falls, Kettle River, and Cloquet, in Minnesota, and Grantsburg and Superior in Wisconsin.

Although the bonanza farms of North Dakota were largely created by the Northern Pacific in the 1870s, the *St. Paul, Minneapolis, and Manitoba Railway* (StPM&M) had taken over the bulk of the wheat trade by the 1890s. The StPM&M operated almost a thousand miles of track in North Dakota, carefully planned to serve the needs of wheat growers in the Red River Valley. In 1894, the railroad, renamed the *Great Northern* in 1890, carried 20.7 million bushels of wheat. Only about 6 million bushels were shipped over the Northern Pacific.

Pond: Tuesday, July 23.:



Minneapolis and St. Paul

Minneapolis 7:30. West Hotel,-a delightful place. Six skilled reporters spent about two hours with Mark. He was lying in bed, and very tired, I know, but he was extremely courteous to them and they all enjoyed the interview. The Metropolitan Opera House was filled to the top gallery with a big crowd of well-dressed, intelligent people. It was about as big a night as Mark ever had, to my knowledge. He had a new entertainment, blending pathos with humor, with unusual continuity.



Hotel Ryan, St. Paul

Opened in 1884, the **West Hotel** was Minneapolis's first grand hotel. It had 407 luxuriously furnished rooms, 140 baths, and featured an immense and opulent lobby which was claimed to be the largest in the nation. These elements combined to make what was considered for a time to be the most luxurious hotel west of Chicago. The West was designed by LeRoy Buffington and built on land that was once owned by the first resident of Minneapolis, John H. Stevens. Buffington created the West in the Queen Anne style that was quite popular in the last decades of the 19th century.

This was at Mrs. Clemens' suggestion. She had given me an idea on the start that too much humor tired an audience with laughing. Mark took the hint and worked in three or four pathetic stories that make the entertainment perfect. The "show" is a triumph, and Mark will never need a running mate to make him satisfactory to everybody.

The next day the Minneapolis papers were full of good things about the lecture. "The Times" devoted three columns and a half of fine print to a verbatim report of it. The following evening in St. Paul, Mark gave the same programme, which was commented on in glowing terms by St. Paul papers.



West Hotel, Minneapolis

The **Metropolitan Opera House** is not attested to in Barbara Schmidt's lecture list, rather Twain's lecture was said to have occurred in the hotel.



Clara Clemens and Samuel Clemens (Mark Twain) standing on train platform, location

July 24, In St. Paul: The Clemens party took rooms in the **Hotel Ryan** prior to his evening lecture at **St. Paul's People's Congregational Church**. They spent Thursday, the 25th in St. Paul. I have found no mention as to when they actually departed St. Paul for Winnipeg.

The **Ryan Hotel** in St. Paul was the finest luxury hotel Minnesota had to offer in the late 19th century. Designed by architect James J. Egan, construction of the hotel was funded by a millionaire gold and silver miner named Dennis Ryan. Rising from the Northeast corner of 6th and Robert, this Gothic creation of red St. Louis brick and white sandstone became a St. Paul land mark for 75 years. Terra cotta ornament, granite columns, arched windows, and bracketed balconies decorated the front facade for 150 feet on Robert Street and 225 feet on 6th.

Peoples Church was founded in St. Paul in 1888 by a group of Methodist men and women who wanted to keep their minister, Rev. Dr. Samuel G. Smith, when the Methodist hierarchy wanted him to move to a different church in another city. Defying the strictures of ecclesiastical polity, Smith and the church broke away and became an independent congregation.

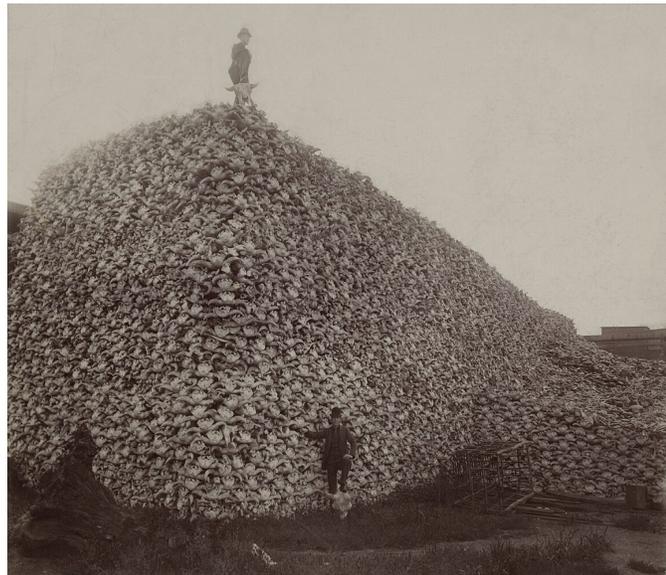
The train trip from St. Paul to Winnipeg, July 26, was about 600 miles. Referred to as “Mud City,” twenty-two years after incorporation, then “Winterpeg” some eighteen years later after extensive paving programs. Located like most other major Canadian cities within sixty miles of the American border, Winnipeg (from the Cree words win ‘murky’ and nipy ‘water’) had a rapidly-growing population thanks to the completion of the Canadian Pacific rail-line from Ontario in 1878, running to the Pacific coast by 1886. Winnipeg took its name from the sizeable lake 45 miles north. Between 1870 and 1885 there was considerable trade along the Red River between Winnipeg and the Twin Cities of Minnesota. Twain was following a route commonly taken by those crossing the Great Plains. Winnipeg and its environs in 1895 had a population of perhaps 37,000.

Pond, here, exhibits characteristic blindness to Native Americans. This region had not been uninhabited. The Northern Pacific Railroad had sent out survey expeditions in 1871, 1872 and 1873 to establish a route through Dakota and Montana territories. Tribes of the Great Plains, the Sioux in particular, opposed the railroad and harried construction crews. At the time the railroad reached Bismarck in 1873, the Sioux were formidable enough to prevent further track laying to the west. Because buffalo blocked the railroad tracks, knocked down telegraph poles and caused other damage, companies hired hunters to eradicate the herds near the tracks. Independent hide-hunters also helped exterminate droves of bison effectively eliminating the Plains Indians main source of food. Soldiers moved tribes from traditional lands onto reservations. The NPRR extended through northern Dakota Territory by 1881, and, two years later, completed approximately 2,100 miles of track from Ashland, Wisconsin to Portland, Oregon. The year 1883 also witnessed the destruction by hunters of what remained of the Great Northern Buffalo herd. Soldiers abandoned the Badlands Cantonment in March 1883. One of the last railroad shipments of buffalo hides took place from Dickinson, North Dakota in 1884.

There have been recent economic studies indicating that the attempt to eradicate bison was not the deciding factor in the fate of the huge herds. What may be more important was a switch from demand for robes, which require a great deal of processing and a limited harvesting time,

to simple hides. The market emerged suddenly in 1871 after railroads had penetrated Kansas and new tanning techniques were developed for bison hides. In 1870, tanning firms experimented with bison hides, and in 1871, they sent out word to the plains that they would buy them by the thousands. This rapid and largely unanticipated emergence of a large market meant that little time was available for ownership rights to emerge. And, because cattle hides were a close substitute, the hide price did not rise as the bison stocks dwindled, and the eastern tanneries continued leather production even as bison were being exterminated. This meant that the value of the bison herds did not increase as the bison stocks were depleted, thus further limiting the incentive to establish ownership of the dwindling herds.

Because the hide market allowed summer hunting when the herds were huge and relatively easy to hunt, the costs of killing were much lower than for robe hunting. Over time, the hunters developed tremendously effective tactics to exploit the bison's behavior in large herds. The development of large-caliber breech-loading rifles further lowered harvest costs and further reduced stocks as the open-access model implies. The chase hunt was soon abandoned, and the "still hunt" came to be the culmination of bison-hunting technique." By this method, a single hunter would stalk a large herd (perhaps several thousand animals) and set up to shoot from a concealed location downwind and within a few hundred yards. Because the bison were not especially wary of humans, a single shooter might be able to kill more than 100 bison in a few hours without moving. One trick was to shoot the "lead" cows before they became nervous and moved the herd. The hunter's partners would come in later to skin the animals and prepare the hides. By this method, a single hunter often killed more than 1,500 bison in a season."



Bison skulls. Original taken at Michigan Carbon Works, Rougeville, Michigan. 1892. Located in the Burton Historical Collection, Detroit Public Library.

If anything, the open-access conditions for the hide market and the northern herd were even more extreme than for the southern herd. By the time railroads and hide hunters reached the bison in the north, the Plains Indians tribes were completely subdued and living on reservations. Just three seasons (1880-81 through 1882-83)

were needed to reduce the bison on the northern plains to less than 100 animals, not counting the 200 in Yellowstone Park. Miles City (Montana) became the equivalent of Dodge City but had an even shorter life as a hide town. In 1882, there were 5,000 hunters and skinners working out of Miles City, which suggests about 1,000 hunters. When hunters arrived in early fall 1883 to hunt again, they simply could not find bison. Thousands of hunters went bankrupt. In Hornaday's words: "In the autumn of 1883 they [the hunters] nearly all outfitted as usual, often at the expense of many hundreds of dollars, and blithely sought 'the range' that had up to that time been so prolific in robes. The end was in nearly every case the same—total failure and bankruptcy. It was indeed hard to believe that not only the millions, but also the thousands, had actually gone, and forever.

(Lueck, Dean. "The Extermination and Conservation of the American Bison." *The Journal of Legal Studies* 31, no. S2 (2002): S609–52.

The Clemens party arrived in Winnipeg, Manitoba a little after noon. They took rooms at the **Manitoba Hotel**.



View of Winnipeg from the roof of the Hotel Manitoba, July 26, 1895. Mark Twain Archive , Elmira College;
<https://nyheritage.org/citation>

"The Manitoba was one of Winnipeg's show buildings," according to a February 9, 1899, editorial in the *Telegram*. "Its imposing dimensions testified to the importance of the prairie capital, as well as the enterprise of the corporation which erected it; and the comfort and luxury which it afforded to the travelling public, predisposed strangers favourably towards the city and made Winnipeg a welcome stopping-off place in the itinerary of tourists."

In an interview published in the *Grand Forks Herald* (July 30, 1895):

This country of yours out here,"he said, "astonished me beyond all imagination. Never

in my life have I seen such fields of grain extending in all directions to the horizon, The country appears to me to be as it were a mighty ocean my conception of it is the same as that of a man who has never seen the ocean before; he sees nothing but water as far as the eye can reach; here I see nothing but oceans of wheat fields, Why it is simply miraculous."

Twain and his party are listed among a total of seventeen out-of-town guests at the Manitoba Hotel, suggesting that this hostelry was bigger than the rival Brunswick (nine guests noted), but smaller than the Leland (twenty-one guests noted), “The paper gives no listing for other hotels, suggesting that these were the only truly “respectable” hostelries in town. All three hotels, together with Fort Osborne Barracks, Court House, Provincial Gaol, and the prestigious Manitoba Club, were located in the city’s central core, according to Alan F. J. Artibise in *Winnipeg, A Social History of Urban Growth 1874-1914* (Montreal: McGill-Queen’s UP, 1975). Presumably, the Manitoba was one of the six hotels which were part of the original twenty-six subscribers to the city’s telephone exchange when it opened in 1881, the other customers being “three private residences, . . . five livery stables, four CPR offices, and the Manitoba Club,” according to Eric Wells in *Winnipeg: Where The West Begins—An Illustrated History* (Burlington: Windsor, 1982).

Sam gave two evening performances, on July 26 and 27, in **Selkirk Hall**, Winnipeg. Formerly located at the southwest corner of Logan Avenue and Stanley Street in Winnipeg, this building was designed by local architects Walter Chesterton and McNichol and built in 1882. It had six retail spaces on the main floor, five along Logan and one along Stanley, while a lecture hall was on the second floor. The space was occupied initially by the St. Andrew’s Presbyterian Church. The building was demolished in 1923.

Fatout writes of the evening lecture appearances on July 26 and 27 and quotes the newspaper for the latter day:

“Winnipeg, despite the heat, turned out large numbers for two rousing nights. To a [Winnipeg] Free Press reporter he made wryly humorous capital of his carbuncle. On the platform, he said, a good thing to have was an alert expression.”

Perhaps I have that naturally, or perhaps it’s the carbuncle. Yet, although we are at present inseparable, we are hardly friendly, and I shall not be sorry...when we part.

Pond: Friday, July 26th Continues:

We had a splendid audience. Mark and I were entertained at the Manitoba Club after the lecture—a club of the leading men of Winnipeg. We did not stay out very late as Mark feared Mrs. Clemens would not retire until he came, and he was quite anxious for her to rest, as the long night journey in the cars had been very



Clara Clemens, Mrs. Pond and Olivia Langdon Clemens seated with two Englishmen standing behind, Winnipeg, Manitoba, July 27 Mark Twain Archive , Elmira College; <https://nyheritage.org/citation>

fatiguing. On our arrival at the hotel we heard singing and a sound of revelry in the parlors. A party of young gentlemen of the reception committee had escorted our ladies home. They were fine singers, and, with Clara at the piano, a concert was in progress that we all enjoyed for another hour.

Pond: Saturday, July 27th.:

We all put down this day as the pleasantest we have thus far spent. Several young English gentlemen who have staked fortunes in this northwest, in wheat ranches and other prime enterprises, brought out their tandems and traps and drove the ladies about the country. They saw the largest herd of wild buffalo that now exists, in a large enclosure. They were also shown the various interesting suburban sights, of which there are more than one would believe could exist in this far northwestern city. Bouquets and banks of flowers of most beautiful colors were sent in. Many ladies called, and all in all it has been an ovation. Mark, as is his custom, did not get up until it was time to go to the lecture hall, but he was happy. Several journalists called whom he told me were the best informed and the most scholarly lot of newspaper men he had found anywhere, and I believe he was correct. There was another large crowd at the lecture, and another and final reception at the famous Manitoba Club. We were back at the hotel at twelve, and all so happy! We are surely on the real road to true happiness.

Winnipeg had appointed a full-time civic gardener to beautify its two principal parks, Kildonan and Assiniboine, through which the young Englishmen undoubtedly drove the ladies, who were also probably shown the Winnipeg Grain Exchange, the University of Manitoba, and Manitoba College. It is interesting to note that Pond specifically identifies the young men as immigrants from the old country, for although the censuses of 1886 and 1901 indicate that just over one-third of the city's population was "English," the number of actual, foreign-born English people in Winnipeg was considerably less. The point is worth raising since Pond, like other American visitors to Canada in the late nineteenth century, tended to confuse first- and second-generation English Canadians, as when, for example, he describes the reporters who interviewed Twain in his room at the Hotel Vancouver on August 17th as "a quartet of bright young English journalists" though both Alfred E. Goodman and Sam Robb were from Ontario.



Minneapolis to Winnipeg

Much of the information about Manitoba is derived from Allingham, Philip V. "Mark Twain in Winnipeg, Manitoba: July 26-28, 1895." *Mark Twain Journal* 36, no. 2 (1998): 2–12.

Returning from Winnipeg, July 28, Mark Twain's party traveled through "that wonderful wheat ocean" and stopped in Crookston, Minnesota. Twain's name is the first in the register of the **Crookston Hotel**.

Sam's notebook: Crookston, Minn., July 29. / Left Winnipeg at 1.20 yesterday [July 28] & came down again through that wonderful wheat ocean — by gracious it is bewitching; there is the peace of the ocean about it, & a deep contentment, a heaven-wide sense of ampleness, spaciousness, where pettiness & all small thoughts & tempers must be out of place, not suited to it, & so not intruding. The scattering far-off homesteads, with trees about them were so homelike & remote from the warring world, so reposeful & enticing.

Pond: Sunday, July 28, 1895.:

We arrived in Crookston on the christening night of the new hotel. Mark Twain's name was the first on its register. We did not get there until after dark and had to remain in darkness a couple of hours until the electrician could get the incandescent lights adjusted in our room. But Mark was in bed ten minutes after our arrival and did not get up until time for the lecture next day. We have travelled all day through an ocean of wheat.



The Crookston Hotel

Pond July 29 Monday:

We have been in Crookston, Minn., all day, where we were the first and especially favored guests of this fine new hotel. "Mark Twain's" name was the first on the register. We are enjoying it. "Mark" is as gay as a lark, but he remained in bed until time to go to the Opera House. This city is wonderfully improved since I was here in 1883 with Mr. Beecher, in 1885 with Clara Louise Kellogg, and in 1887 with Charles Dickens, Jr. The opening of this hotel is a great event. People are filling up the town from all directions to see and hear "Mark," and taking advantage of the occasion to see the first new hotel (The Crookston) in their city with hot and cold water, electric lights and all modern improvements.



Opera House Block

In 1890, the town decided that a new opera house was needed and Thomas H. Bjoin stepped up to make it happen. Bjoin was a former alderman who worked in the livery and machinery business. He decided to erect a building the size of a full block on South Main Street. Designed by J. W. Ross of Grand Forks, North Dakota, the Opera House Block was made of solid brick with brown stone trimmings. Interior frescos and papier-mâché decorations surrounded the boxes, stage, and balcony. Hand-painted sets included a street, garden, horizon, chambers, and prison. The auditorium held 785 patrons between the floor, dress circle, balcony, and boxes. The unique design placed the 56-by-100-foot auditorium on the second floor of the building, allowing room for ground level retail space. Over the years, businesses included a restaurant, furniture store, grocery store, shooting gallery, and saloon.

(MNOPEdia)

Special trains were run for this performance and some of the sleeping cars were left on the sidings to save passengers the cost of a hotel.

Crookston was a small town of 3,992 persons. A horse and wagon picked up the garbage, and twice a week a team pulling a wooden tank of water on wheels flushed down the unpaved streets. The volunteer fire department kept their ladders chained and padlocked to a large tree in front of the Merchant's National Bank, so that the firemen would not have to hunt up the house painter during a fire call.

The hotel itself is a brick structure, three stories and a basement, with all the modern improvements. It has been built by Crookston business men and every dollar of stock was taken in the city. The plans were drawn by Orff & Jarolamen, of Minneapolis, and they include the proposition that every one of the sixty sleeping rooms shall be an outside room. They are all en suite and each provided with bath. The office is directly behind the entrance and is a model of convenience and elegance. The finish is all hard wood and the fixtures massive and finely carved. The bar is the finest in Northern Minnesota. The first floor is tiled in the public rooms. The dining room has a hard wood floor with Wilton carpets in the aisles. An elegant ladies' waiting room, conversation, smoking and writing rooms are conveniently located on the first floor. The basement will contain a barber shop and sample rooms as well as a heating and light plant. The grass plot, twelve feet wide on either side, will contain a fountain.

The total cost of the building is \$40,000. It has been leased to John A. Baker, a prominent hotel manager, formerly from Indianapolis, later from the Grand Pacific, Moorhead. He has furnished it beautifully throughout, and it is at once an ornament and a credit to the city. **(Minnesota Bricks)**

Another travel day, interesting as witnessed by Sam's notebook and Pond's diary: We left Crookston at 5:40 A.M. ; were up at 4:30. Everybody was cheerful; there was no grumbling.

Pond July 30 Tuesday:

This is our first unseasonable hour for getting up, but it has done us all good. Even Clara enjoyed the unique experience. It revived her memory. She recollected that she had telegraphed to Elmira to have her winter cloak expressed to Crookston. Fortunately the agent was sleeping in the express office, near the station. We disturbed his slumbers to find the great cloak, which was another acquisition to our sixteen pieces of hand baggage. Our train was forty-five minutes late. "Mark" complained and grumbled; he persisted that I had contracted with him to travel and not to wait about railway stations at five o'clock in the mornings for late trains that never arrived. He insisted on travelling, so he got aboard the baggage truck and I travelled him up and down the platform, while Clara made a snap shot as evidence that I was keeping to the letter of my contract.



James B. Pond holding cart carrying a seated Mark Twain at 5 a.m. on train platform in Crookston, Minnesota. Mrs. Pond and Olivia Langdon Clemens in background, July 30, 1895. Mark Twain Archive , Elmira College; <https://nyheritage.org/citation>

When we boarded the train, we found five lower berths (which means five sections) ready for us. There was a splendid dining car, with meals a la carte, and excellent cooking. All the afternoon there were the level prairies of North Dakota wheat just turning, the whole country a lovely green; then came the arid plains, the prairie dog towns, cactus, buffalo grass, jack rabbits, wild life and the Missouri River -- dear old friend that had borne both of us on her muddy bosom many a time. It was a great day for both "Mark" and me. The ladies were enthusiastic in proportion as they saw that "Mark" and I were boys again, travelling upon "our native heath".



Crookston to Minot

Heading west across North Dakota they leave the wheat fields and enter "the arid plains, the prairie dog towns, cactus, buffalo grass, jack rabbits, wild life and the Missouri River." Once home to the Plains Indians, now the realm of the Great Northern Railway, the only privately funded transcontinental railroad ever built. No federal grants were used. The caveat lies in just how much influence J.J. Hill exerted in passing federal legislation, such as the Dawes Act of 1887. The Great Northern Railroad is known as "one of the most Indian subsidized railroads in America".

Following the Civil War, hostilities continued with the Sioux until the 1868 Treaty of Fort Laramie. By then, creation of new territories reduced Dakota Territory to the present boundaries of the Dakotas. Territorial counties were defined in 1872, including Bottineau County, Cass County and others. During the existence of the organized territory, the population first increased very slowly and then very rapidly with the "Dakota Boom" from 1870 to 1880.

Because the Sioux were considered very hostile and a threat to early settlers, the white population grew slowly. Gradually, the settlers' population grew and the Sioux were not considered as severe a threat. The population increase can largely be attributed to the growth of the Northern Pacific Railroad. Settlers who came to the Dakota Territory were from other western territories as well as many from northern and western Europe. These included large numbers of Norwegians, Germans, Swedes, and Canadians. Commerce was originally organized around the fur trade. Furs were carried by steamboat along the rivers to the settlements.

Gold was discovered in the Black Hills in 1874 and attracted more settlers, setting off the last Sioux War. The population surge increased the demand for meat spurring expanded cattle ranching on the territory's vast open ranges. With the advent of the railroad agriculture intensified: wheat became the territory's main cash crop. Economic hardship hit the territory in the 1880s due to lower wheat prices and a drought. The territorial capital was Yankton from 1861 until 1883, when it was moved to Bismarck.

The Dakota Territory was divided into the states of North Dakota and South Dakota on November 2, 1889. The admission of two states, as opposed to one, was done for a number of reasons. The two population centers in the territory were in the northeast and southeast corners of the territory, several hundred miles away from each other. On a national level, there was pressure from the Republican Party to admit two states to add to their political power in the Senate. *(Wikipedia)*

July 30: Sam's Notebook: . In northern Dakota; no more wheat; but grass and billowy, rolling, just the Great Plains. Struck the Missouri at Williston D & followed it several hours to Fort Buford, a large post -- 7 p.m. on the border of Montana.

Grand Forks, at the fork of the Red River and the Red Lake River. This was an important trading point for the French and Indian trappers.

Devils Lake was, historically, a territory of the Dakota people. However, the Sisseton, Wahpeton, and Cut-Head bands of the Dakotas were relocated to the Spirit Lake Reservation as a result of the 1867 treaty between the United States and the Dakota that established a reservation for those who had not been forcibly relocated to Crow Creek Reservation in what is now South Dakota.

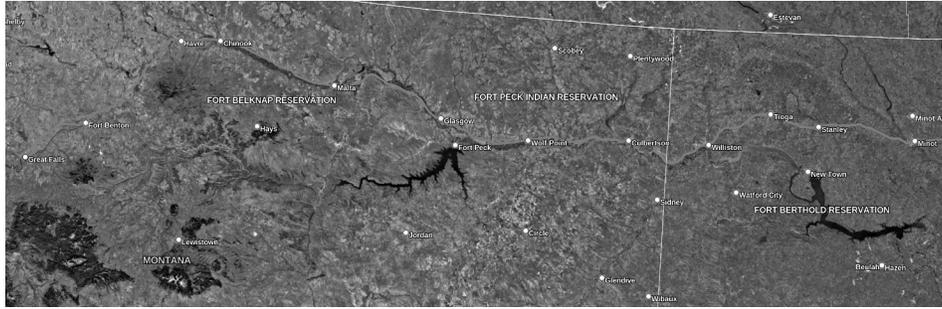


Rugby Junction, promoted as the geographic center of North America.

View of the train tracks and station leaving Grand Fork, North Dakota, July 30.

Minot, created when the Great Northern Railway ceased construction for the winter of 886. When trains arrived, the conductor would announce "Minot, this is Minot North Dakota, prepare to meet your doom." The *Minneapolis, St Paul and Sault Ste Marie*, or Soo Line, a subsidiary of the Canadian Pacific Railway, reached Minot in 1893.

July 31, after some 700 miles Twain's party arrives in Great Falls, Montana.



Minot to Great Falls

Pond, July 31 Wednesday:

Great Falls, Montana,—Park Hotel. Arrived here at 7:30 after a good night's sleep. The interest grows more and more intense as we come near to the Rocky Mountains. It brings back fond memories of other days. Two Brothers Gibson, proprietors of the hotel, drove our party out to Giant Spring, three miles. It is a giant, too. I never saw a more beautiful or wonderful spring. A river fairly boils up out of the ground and the most beautiful deep peacock green color I ever saw in clear water. No one here that knows about the business. No notices in the papers; no one seems to know or care about our coming. The first time there has been no advance sale. Receipts of evening were only \$220.50. We get 70% of that. The largest copper ore smelters in the world are here. The Great Falls are water power enough for all the machinery west of Chicago, with some to spare.

Richard Zacks writes of Twain's meeting with the Norwegian's: “

“Mark” is improving. For the first time since we started he appeared about the hotel corridors and on the street. He and I walked about the outskirts of the town, and I caught a number of interesting snap shots among the Norwegian shanties. I got a good group including four generations, with eight children, a calf, and five cats. “Mark” wanted a photograph of each cat. He caught a pair of kittens in his arms, greatly to the discomfort of their owner, a little girl. He tried to make friends with the child, and buy the kitties, but she began to cry and beg that her pets might be liberated. He soon captured her with a pretty story, and finally consented to let them go. Few know “Mark's” great love for cats, as well as for every living creature.



Mark Twain holding kittens with three children and their mother standing close by, Norwegian shanty town, Great Falls, Montana, July 31, 1895. Mark Twain Archive , Elmira College; <https://nyheritage.org/citation>

Twain felt strong enough to take a long walk with Major Pond out to the Norwegian shantytown on the outskirts of the town. Twain coaxed a pretty little girl into letting him “buy” two of her kittens; the whole exchange was no doubt, a dodge to hand some money (but not charity) to an impoverished immigrant family—four generations of women—living in tarpaper shacks.

The **Great Falls Grand Opera House** was built in 1891 and was dubbed Montana’s most beautiful playhouse. In its lifetime it saw hundreds of play troupes, lecturers, and entertainers. It was the shining pride of the city. Unfortunately, like all things that shine, it began to dull as movies rose in popularity and road shows declined. The Grand Opera House struggled to keep its doors open, and in 1955 it was torn down. The sophisticated dream of an opera house seems to have started with a Mr. John Maguire and prompting from the Great Falls Tribune.

On **Great Falls, MT**: It is thought that around 1600, Piegan Blackfeet Indians, migrating west, entered the area, pushing the Salish back into the Rocky Mountains and claiming the site now known as Great Falls as their own. The Great Falls location remained the tribal territory of the Blackfeet until long after the United States claimed the region in 1803

A recent genetic study confirms that modern Blackfoot people are closely related to those who lived on the land hundreds of years ago. The findings also suggest Blackfoot people descend from a previously unknown genetic lineage extending back roughly 18,000 years ago, when people first populated the Americas—evidence that could bolster their claims to their land and water rights.

Following the return passage of Lewis and Clark in 1806, there is no record of any white person visiting the site of the city of Great Falls until explorer and trapper Jim Bridger reached the area in 1822. Bridger and Major Andrew Henry led a fur-trading expedition to the future city location in April 1823. Alexander Ross trapped around Great Falls in 1824. In 1838, a mapping expedition sent by the U.S. federal government and guided by Bridger spent four years in the area.



Blackfeet tribesman looks out over Glacier National Park, 1910. By Roland Reed.

The Great Falls of the Missouri River marked the limit of the navigable section of the Missouri River for non-portagable watercraft. The first steamboat arrived at the future site of the city in 1859.

The first steamboat to navigate the Upper Missouri River was christened the Yellow Stone, its voyage in 1832 was, according to Hiram Martin Chittenden, a “landmark in the history of the West. It demonstrated the feasibility of navigating the Missouri by steam as far as the mouth of the Yellowstone, with a strong probability that boats could go on to the Blackfoot country.” Fort Union was the final destination for steamboat traffic until 1859, when access was extended upriver to Fort Benton.

... the impact of steamboat traffic on the upper Missouri was not entirely benign. During the first half of the nineteenth century, consumption of firewood by steamboats was, according to environmental historian Andrew Isenberg, “probably the main cause of riparian deforestation in the United States.” A phenomenon that was especially problematic on the sparsely timbered Northern Plains, historian Donald Jackson contextualizes its detrimental effect superbly. Jackson estimates that, on its 1833 voyage to Fort Pierre and back, the Yellow Stone burned “the equivalent of 1,700 oak trees that might have been growing for half a century.” Finally, and most tragically, the steamer St. Peter’s carried an invisible and insidious cargo upstream during the spring of 1837; it spread the smallpox virus from Fort Clark to Fort Union, thus unleashing the benchmark epidemic in Montana history.

(When Steamboats Ruled Montana's Waters)

Politically, the future site of Great Falls passed through numerous hands in the 19th century. It was part of the unincorporated frontier until May 30, 1854, when Congress established the Nebraska Territory. Indian attacks on white explorers and settlers dropped significantly after Isaac Stevens negotiated the Treaty of Hellgate in 1855, and white settlement in the area began to occur. On March 2, 1861, the site became part of the Dakota Territory. The Great Falls area was incorporated into the Idaho Territory on March 4, 1863, and then into the Montana Territory on May 28, 1864. It became part of the state of Montana upon that territory's admission to statehood on November 8, 1889.

The city of Great Falls was founded in 1883. Businessman Paris Gibson visited the Great Falls of the Missouri River in 1880, and was deeply impressed by the possibilities for building a major industrial city near the falls with power provided by hydroelectricity. He returned in 1883 with friend Robert Vaughn and some surveyors and platted a permanent settlement the south side of the river. The city's first citizen, Silas Beachley, arrived later that year. With investments from railroad owner James J. Hill and Helena businessman Charles Arthur Broadwater, houses, a store, and a flour mill were established in 1884. The Great Falls post office was established on July 10, 1884, and Paris Gibson was named the first postmaster. A planing mill, lumber yard, bank, school, and newspaper were established in 1885. By 1887 the town had 1,200 citizens, and in October of that year the Great Northern Railway arrived in the city. Great Falls was incorporated on November 28, 1888.

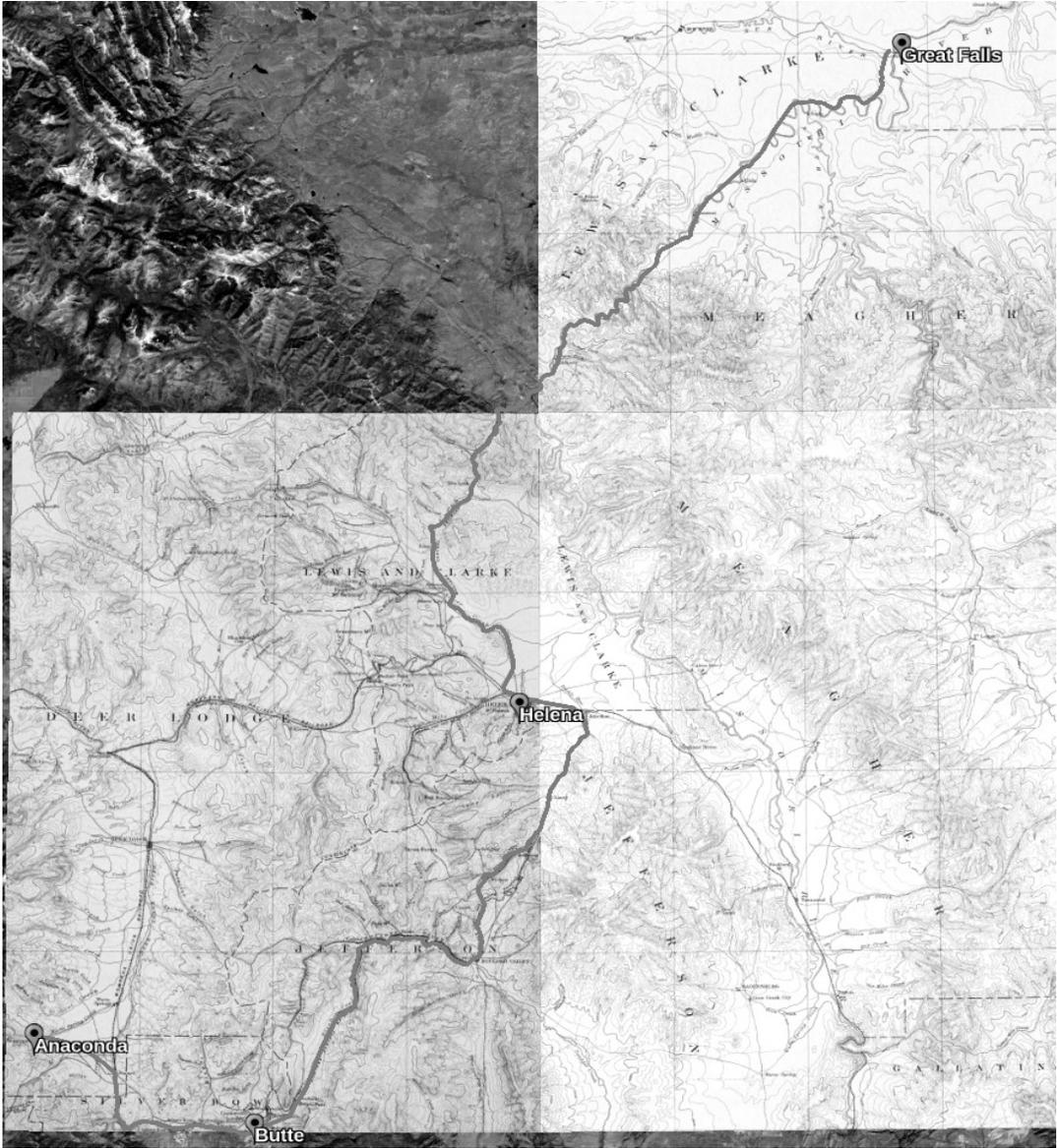


Mrs. Pond holding an umbrella, while looking down to the Missouri River with Clara Clemens, July 31, 1895. Mark Twain Archive , Elmira College; [https://nyheritage.org/citation - information](https://nyheritage.org/citation-information)

Black Eagle Dam was built in 1890, and by 1912 Rainbow Dam and Volta Dam (now Ryan Dam) were all operating. (*Wikipedia*)

OVER THE ROCKIES

Twain's party departed Great Falls at 7:35 am, Thursday, August 1st, 1895. They rode the *Montana Central Railway*, part of the *Great Northern Railroad* owned by J.J. Hill. Hill needed to connect his interests in Great Falls with the mining operations in Helena, Butte and the smelter in Anaconda.



Montana Central Railroad

Pond Thursday, August 1st,

Great Falls to Butte, Montana. We started at 7:35 A.M. All seem tired. The light air and the long drive yesterday told very much on us all. Mark had an off night and was not at his best, which has almost broken his heart. He couldn't get over it all day. The Gibson Brothers have done much to make our visit delightful, and it has proved very enjoyable indeed. Of course, being proprietors of the hotel, they lose nothing, for I find they charge us five dollars a day each, and the extortions from porters, baggagemen and bellboys surpass anything I know of. The smallest money is two bits (25 cents) here, absurd!

James Jerome Hill, primary stockholder and president of the St. Paul, Minneapolis & Manitoba Railway (StPM&M), established the **Montana Central Railway** on January 25, 1886. Few railroads served Montana at that time. But Butte, Montana, was a booming mining town that needed to get its metals to market; gold and silver had been discovered near Helena; and coal companies in Canada were eager to get their fuel to Montana's smelters. Hill had already decided to build the StPM&M across the northern tier of Montana, and it made sense to build a north-south railroad through central Montana to connect Great Falls with Helena and Butte. Another reason for building the Montana Central was Hill's investment in the city of Great Falls. Hill's close friend and business associate, Paris Gibson, had founded the town of Great Falls on the Great Falls of the Missouri River in 1883, and was promoting it as a site for the development of cheap hydroelectricity and heavy industry.

Hill organized the Great Falls Water Power & Townsite Company in 1887, with the goal of developing the town of Great Falls; providing it with power, sewage, and water; and attracting commerce and industry to the city. To attract industry to the new city, he offered low rates on the Montana Central Railway. Surveyors and engineers began grading a route between Helena and Great Falls in the winter of 1885-1886 (even before the company had been incorporated), and by the end of 1886 had surveyed a route from Helena to Butte. Construction on the Great Northern's line westward began in late 1886, and on October 16, 1887, the link between Devils Lake, North Dakota; Fort Assiniboine; and Great Falls was complete. Service to Helena began in November 1887, and Butte followed on November 10, 1888. On September 18, 1889, Hill changed the name of the Minneapolis and St. Cloud Railway (a railroad which existed primarily on paper, but which held very extensive land grants throughout the Pacific Northwest) to the Great Northern Railway. On February 1, 1890, he transferred ownership of the StPM&M, Montana Central, and other rail systems he owned to the Great Northern.

The railroad followed part of the old Mullan Military Road. Egbert Malcolm Clarke had owned property along this road. He had been given the concession for the toll road that had been built along that portion of Little Prickly Pear Canyon Wagon Toll Road. This was later called the Benton Road until 1887 when the Montana Central Railroad obliterated much of it. Clarke was the originating cause of one of the most egregious actions taken by the U.S. Army against Native American peoples, the Marias massacre.

Clarke had been married to Kah Ko Kima, daughter of a Piegan chief. They had six children. He next married Good Singing Sandoval and had five children. It seems that Clarke's death

was actually a family affair rather than a dispute between whites and Indians. Clarke's wife was sister to the wife of Owl Child. Owl Child was a son of Mountain Chief and brother to Big Brave, the last Mountain Chief. While Owl Child was out hunting, it is said that Clarke went over and raped Owl Child's wife. She told her husband but he hid his feelings, instead he took her to Mountain Chief's band then traveled to Clarke's ranch. Mountain Chief knew nothing of the events. It seems Owl Child did not go alone. It is reported that after an evening of conviviality with his Indian friends, Clarke was shot and killed by Eagle Rib, Pete Owl Child and perhaps other Piegans while his son, Horace, was shot in the head. These events were followed by the Marias massacre, or Baker's massacre, or Piegan massacre.

On the morning of January 23, 1870, troops of the 2nd U.S. Cavalry attacked a Piegan Indian village on the Marias River in Montana Territory, killing many more than the army's count of 173, most of them women, children, and old men. The village was afflicted with smallpox. Worse, it was the wrong encampment. Intended as a retaliation against Mountain Chief's renegade band, the massacre sparked public outrage when news sources revealed that the battalion had attacked Heavy Runner's innocent village—and that guides had told its inebriated commander, Major Eugene Baker, he was on the wrong trail, but he struck anyway. Remembered as one of the most heinous incidents of the Indian Wars, the Baker Massacre has often been overshadowed by the better-known Battle of the Little Bighorn and has never received full treatment until now. (See *Blood on the Marias: The Baker Massacre*, Wylie, Paul, 2016)

Twain gave a lecture that evening in **Butte** at **Maguire's Opera House**.

Established in 1864 as a mining camp in the northern Rocky Mountains on the Continental Divide, Butte experienced rapid development in the late-nineteenth century, and was Montana's first major industrial city. In its heyday between the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries, it was one of the largest copper boomtowns in the American West. Employment opportunities in the mines attracted surges of Asian and European immigrants, particularly the Irish; as of 2017, Butte has the largest population of Irish Americans per capita of any city in the United States. *Wikipedia*

The four-story **Butte Hotel** at 23-31 East Broadway (a parking structure today) was erected in 1892-93, opening in August 1893. It contained 120 rooms, expensive at \$3 to \$5 per night, as street cars "pass the door every 10 minutes," their advertising boasted in 1895. *Butte History and Lost Butte*

When Mark Twain came to Butte in the summer of 1895, his international fame came before him. His August 1 performance at **Maguire's Opera House** on Broadway, where the Leggatt Hotel now stands, was to a receptive audience that more than filled the opera house's 1,100 seats. Twain himself enjoyed the audience, surprised "to find this London-Parisian-New York audience out in the mines." *The Verdigris Project*

Pond August 2 Friday:

To-day “Mark” and I went from Butte to Anaconda without the ladies. We left the hotel at 4:30 by trolley car in order to have plenty of time to reach the train, but we had gone only three blocks when the power gave out and we could not move. It was twelve minutes to five and there was no carriage in sight. We tried to get a grocery wagon, but the mean owner refused to take us a quarter of a mile to the depot for less than ten dollars. I told him to go to — — I saw another grocery wagon near by and told its owner I would pay any price to reach that train. “Mark” and I mounted the seat with him. He laid the lash on his pair of bronchos, and I think quicker time was never made to that depot. We reached the train just as the conductor shouted “All aboard!” and had signalled the engineer. The train was moving as we jumped on. The driver charged me a dollar, but I handed him two.

At Anaconda we found a very fine hotel and several friends very anxiously waiting to meet “Mark.” Elaborate arrangements had been made to lunch him and give him a lively day among his old mountain friends, as he had been expected by the morning train. Fortunately he missed this demonstration and was in good condition for the evening. He was introduced by the mayor of the city in a witty address of welcome. Here was our first small audience, where the local manager came out a trifle the loser. [Evans Opera House]

A little incident connected with our experience here shows “Mark Twain’s” generosity. The local manager was a man who had known “Mark” in the sixties, and was very anxious to secure him for a lecture in Anaconda. He, therefore, contracted to pay the price asked. Anaconda is a small city, whose chief industry is a large smelting furnace. There were not enough people interested in high-class entertainments to make up a paying audience, and the manager was short about sixty dollars. I took what he had, and all he had, giving him a receipt in full. As “Mark” and I were not equal partners, of course the larger share of the loss fell to him. I explained the circumstances when we had our next settlement at the end of the week, hoping for his approval.

“And you took the last cent that poor fellow had! Send him a hundred dollars, and if you can’t afford to stand your share, charge it all to me. I’m not going around robbing poor men who are disappointed in their calculations as to my commercial value. I’m poor, and working to pay debts that I never contracted; but I don’t want to get money in that way.”

I sent the money, and was glad of the privilege of standing my share. The letter of acknowledgment from that man brought out the following expression from “Mark”: “I wish that every hundred dollars I ever invested had produced the same amount of happiness!”

The Butte, Anaconda and Pacific Railway is a short line railroad in the U.S. state of Montana which was founded in 1892. It was financed by the interests behind the Anaconda Copper

Mining Company, (Daly and JJ Hill), and operated primarily to carry copper ore from the mines at Butte, Montana to the smelters at Anaconda, Montana,. Although the company was chartered as a common carrier, it also carried passengers and general freight.



Butte, Anaconda and Pacific Railway

The Montana Union had attempted to block any parallel lines to Anaconda by realigning their tracks in a zig zag pattern through Silver Bow Canyon. They were forced to yield.

Anaconda was founded by Marcus Daly, one of the Copper Kings, who financed the construction of a smelter on nearby Warm Springs Creek to process copper ore from the Butte mines. In June 1883, Daly filed for a town plat for "Copperopolis", but that name was already used by another mining town in Meagher County. Instead, Daly accepted the name "Anaconda", suggested by the United States postmaster of the time, Clinton Moore. When Montana was admitted as a state in 1889, Daly lobbied to have the capital moved here, but it stayed in Helena, a location supported by rival William Andrews Clark. **Wikipedia**

August 3 Saturday – The Clemens party traveled some 60 miles to Helena, Mont. and took rooms at the **Hotel Helena**. Fatout lists a supper speech before the Montana Club. An incident from that supper from James B. Pond's diary:

In Helena (August 3d) the people did not care for lectures. They all liked "Mark" and enjoyed meeting him, but there was no public enthusiasm for the man that has made the early history of that mining country romantic and famous all over the world. The Montana Club entertained him grandly after the lecture, and he met many old friends and acquaintances. Some of them had come all the way from Virginia City to see their former comrade of the mining camps.

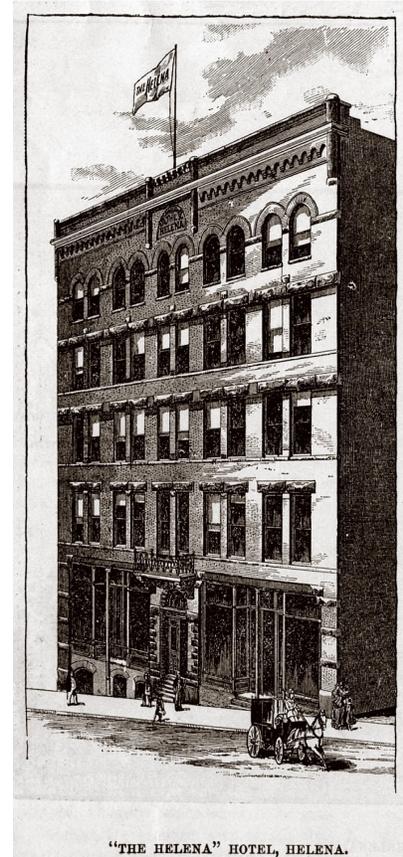
One man, now very rich, came from Virginia City, Nevada, on purpose to see “Mark” and settle an old score. When the glasses were filled, and “Mark’s” health proposed, this man interrupted the proceedings by saying:

“Hold on a minute; before we go further I want to say to you, Sam Clemens, that you did me a d — d dirty trick over there in Silver City, and I’ve come here to have a settlement with you.”

There was a deathly silence for a moment, when “Mark” said in his deliberate drawl:

“Let’s see. That — was — before — I — reformed, wasn’t — it?”

Senator Sanders suggested that inasmuch as the other fellow had never reformed, Clemens and all the others present forgive him and drink together, which all did. Thus “the row was broken up before it commenced” (Buck Fenshaw) — and all was well. “Mark” told stories until after twelve. We walked from the club to the hotel up quite a mountain, the first hard walk he has had. He stands the light air well, and is getting strong.



Pond August 4 Sunday: —

The dry burning sun makes life almost intolerable, so that there has been hardly a soul on the streets all day. “Mark” and I had a good time at the Montana Club last night. He simply beats the world telling stories, but we find some bright lights here. There were present Senator Sanders, Major Maginnis, Hugh McQuade, A. J. Seligman, Judge Knowles, of the United States Supreme Court, who introduced Mr. Beecher in Deer Lodge and Butte in 1883; L. A. Walker, Dr. C. K. Cole, A. J. Steele, and Frank L. Sizer. We have very heavy mails, but are all too tired to open and read letters that are not absolutely necessary to be read.

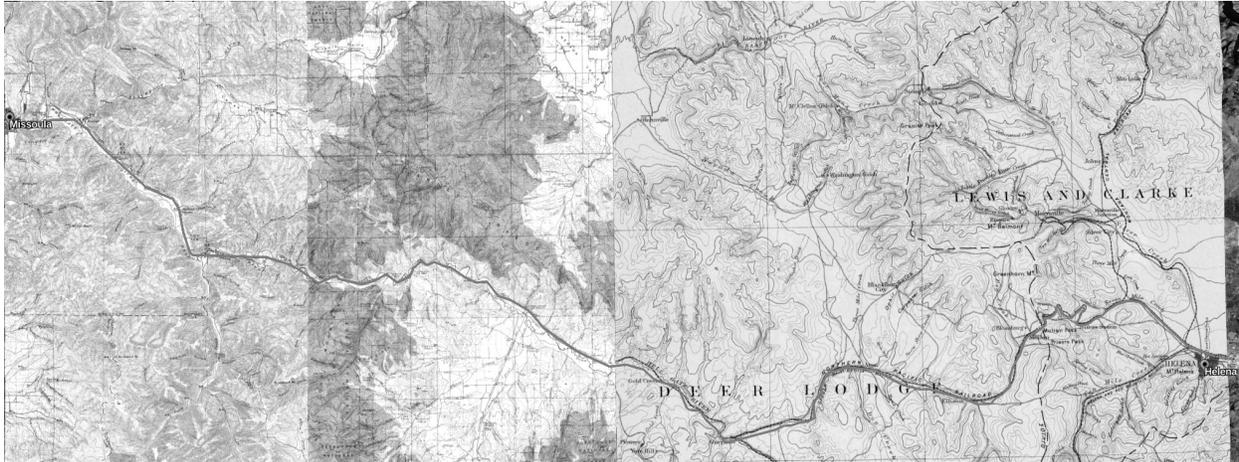
“Mark” lay around on the floor of his room all day reading and writing in his notebook and smoking. In the gloaming Dr. Cole, with his trotters, drove “Mark” and Mrs. Clemens out to Broadwater, four miles. The heat gave way to a delicious balmy breeze that reinvigorated everybody. How delightful are these summer evenings in the Rocky Mountains!.

Helena: By 1888, about 50 millionaires lived in Helena, more per capita than in any city in the world. They had made their fortunes from gold. About \$3.6 billion (in today's dollars) of gold was taken from Last Chance Gulch over a 20-year period. The Last Chance Placer is one of the most famous placer deposits in the western United States. Most of the production occurred before 1868. This large concentration of wealth was the basis of developing fine residences and ambitious architecture in the city; its Victorian neighborhoods reflect the gold years. The numerous miners also attracted the development of a thriving red light district. Among the well-known local madams was Josephine "Chicago Joe" Airey, who built a thriving business empire between 1874 and 1893, becoming one of the largest and most influential landowners in Helena.

In 1885, when the Montana Club was founded Helena was enjoying a sky rocketing boom. Fueled by its position as capital of the state, its proximity to gold fields and silver, lead deposits, and the arrival two years before of the North Pacific Railway which soon quadrupled the population and substantially increased the traffic in goods into and out of the town. In 1888 the town was crawling with millionaires, 50 in all, about 1 for every 250 people. But by the time the Clemenses arrived the town was less opulent. The panic of 1893 had destroyed the boom. Helena never regained its once fabulous prosperity.

East Helena: In 1888, a large lead smelter was built on the banks of Prickly Pear Creek in the Helena Valley by the Helena and Livingston Lead Smelting Company. In 1898, the American Smelting and Refining Company (ASARCO) purchased the 160 acre site. ASARCO operated the smelter until 2001. East Helena grew up around that enterprise. For over a century, the smelter processed 70,000 tons of lead bullion a year, and provided a livelihood for thousands of families. It also produced untold tons of toxic contaminants.

Built in 1889 by Dr. Charles Knox Cole (1852-1920) and William Y. Simonton (1837-1905), the **Hotel Helena** was a solid five-story brick building in the heart of downtown. It was located on Grand Street, which connected Jackson St. with North Warren. Grand Street and all the formidable Victorian buildings on it were demolished in the 1970s during "Urban Renewal".
Helena As She Was



Helena to Missoula

August 5 Monday – In the morning, the Clemens party traveled by train about 100 miles from Helena to Missoula, Mont. Sam’s notebook:

Left Helena for Missoula. Saw in Butte, Dixon & O’Bannon — 27 & 38 years. Helena, Judge Knowles and Tom Campbell — 28 & 32 years.

Beautiful dwellings, green grass & trees. & the gray brown mountains. In H & B saw relatives — 25 years. Fine valley & scenery.

Pond August 5th:

Senator Sanders walked with “Mark” to the station in Helena this morning, while I accompanied the ladies in a carriage. Whom should we meet walking the platform of the station but Mrs. Henry Ward Beecher, on her way to visit her son Herbert in Port Townsend. It was a delightful surprise. Senator Sanders at once recognized her, as in 1883 he joined our party and drove from Helena (then the end of the eastern section of the Northern Pacific Railroad) to Missoula, the eastern end of the western division. We then drove in a carriage with four horses, via Butte and Deer Lodge, and it took four days to make the journey. Senator Sanders travelled the same distance in five hours with us to-day in a Pullman car.

At Missoula we all drove in a “bus” to the **Florence House**, the ladies inside and “Mark” and I outside with the driver. Here we saw the first sign of the decadence of the horse: a man riding a bicycle alongside the bus, leading a horse to a nearby blacksmith shop. At “Mark’s” suggestion I caught a snapshot of that scene.



Florence House

Officers from Fort Missoula, four miles out, had driven in with ambulances and an invitation from Lieutenant-Colonel [Andrew] Burt, commandant, for our entire party to dine at the fort. The ladies accepted. "Mark" went to bed and I looked after the business. We had a large audience in a small hall, the patrons being mainly officers of the fort and their families. As most of the ladies who marry army officers come from our best Eastern society, it was a gathering of people who appreciated the occasion. After the lecture, the meeting took the form of a social reception, and it was midnight before it broke up. The day has been one of delight to all of us. As we leave at 2:30 P.M. to-morrow, all have accepted an invitation to witness guard-mounting and lunch early at the fort.

August 6 Tuesday – In the morning in Missoula Mont., Sam watched the troops drill. Koelbel writes,

"While Mr. Twain was watching the troops the following morning [Aug. 6], an amusing incident occurred. When the band in 'trooping off' had marched past the guard and was counter marching back to the post, Col. [Andrew] Burt said, 'Mr. Twain says in one of his books that there were two things he didn't understand, one is the solar eclipse and the other is the counter marching band.' Twain replied, 'You are right, colonel, on both counts. I haven't solved the band proposition even now, and as for the other count, I was modest before I was born'".

Another practical joke was played on Sam: J.B. Pond's diary recorded:

Two ambulances were sent to the hotel for our party and Adjutant-General Ruggles, who is here on a tour of inspection. "Mark" rose early and said he would walk to the fort slowly; he thought it would do him good. General Ruggles and the ladies went in one ambulance (the old four-mule army officers' ambulance) and the other waited some little time before starting, that I might complete arrangements for all the party to go direct from the fort to the depot. I was the only passenger riding with the driver, and enjoying the memory of like experiences on the plains when in the army. We were about half way to the fort when I discovered a man walking hurriedly toward us quite a distance to the left. I was sure it was "Mark," and asked the driver to slow up. In a minute I saw him signal us, and I asked the driver to turn and drive toward him. We were on a level plain, and through that clear mountain atmosphere one can see a great distance. We were not long in reaching our man, much to his relief. He had walked out alone and taken the wrong road, and after walking five or six miles on it, discovered his mistake, and was countermarching when he saw our ambulance and ran across lots to meet us. He was tired — too tired to express disgust — and sat quietly inside the ambulance until we drove up to headquarters, where were a number of officers and ladies, besides our party. As "Mark" stepped out, a colored sergeant laid hands on him, saying:

“Are you ‘Mark Twain’?”

“I am,” he replied.

“I have orders to arrest and take you to the guardhouse.”

“All right.”

And the sergeant walked him across the parade ground to the guardhouse, he not uttering a word of protest.

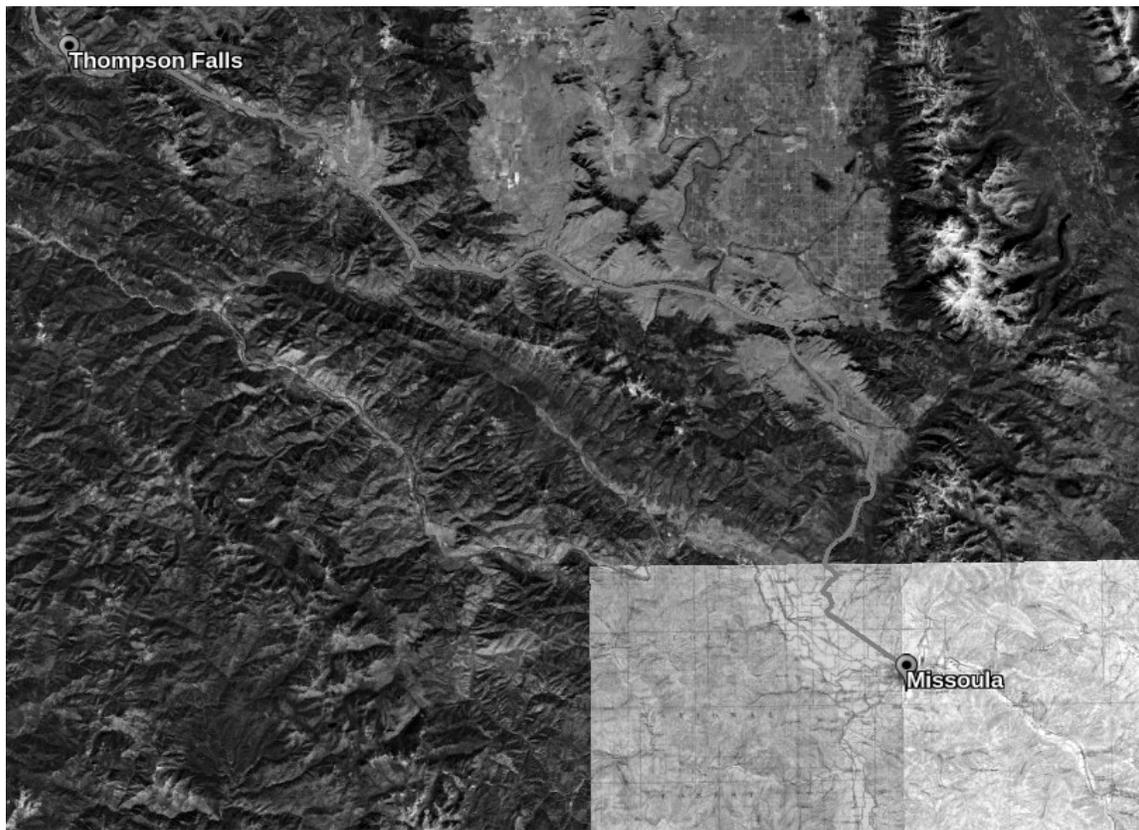
Immediately Lieutenant-Colonel [Andrew] Burt and the ambulance hurried over to relieve the prisoner. Colonel Burt very pleasantly asked “Mark’s” pardon for the practical joke and invited him to ride back to headquarters. “Mark” said:

“Thanks, I prefer freedom, if you don’t mind. I’ll walk. I see you have thorough discipline here,” casting an approving eye toward the sergeant who had him under arrest.

The garrison consisted of seven companies of the Twenty-seventh United States Colored Regiment. There was a military band of thirty pieces. Guard mount was delayed for General Ruggles’ and our inspection. The band played quite a programme, and all declared it one of the finest military bands in America. We witnessed some fine drilling of the soldiers, and learned that for this kind of service the colored soldiers were more subordinate and submissive to rigid drill and discipline than white men, and that there were very few desertions from among them.

It was during his stay in Missoula that Sam wrote in his notebook of Negro soldiers who weren’t supposed to sing “the Star Spangled Banner, but Burt ordered these to be taught & they can sing it. / The band all colored but leader. Made beautiful music.”

OVER THE CASCADES



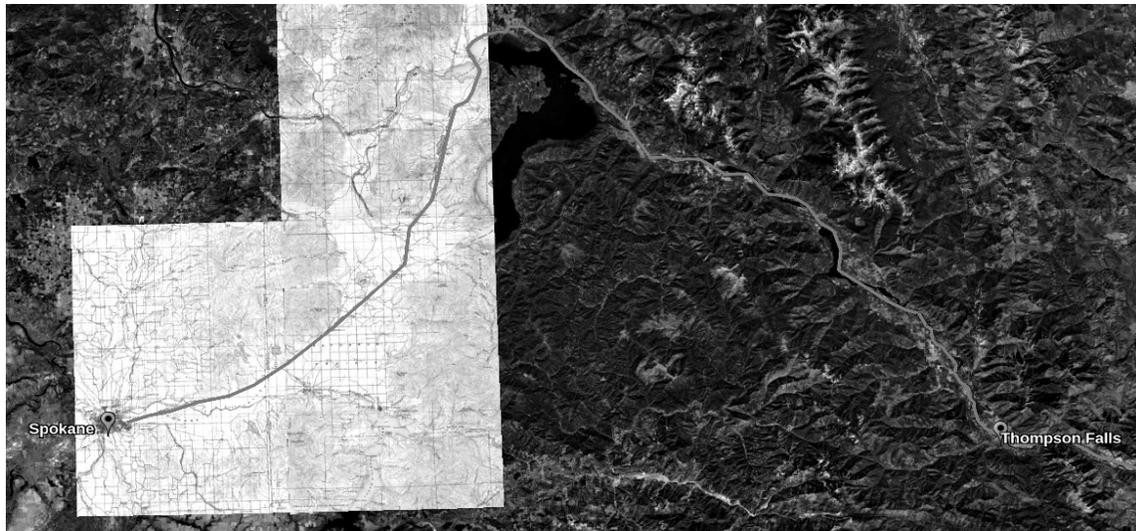
Northern Pacific from Missoula to Thompson Falls

August 6th, Twain's party departs Missoula and travels 150 miles to Spokane on the Northern Pacific railway. This particular train had two special cars attached carrying the newly appointed receiver for the bankrupt railroad and the Supreme Court judge who had appointed him. Twain did not join them.

By 1887 the **Northern Pacific**, like many U.S. roads, was living on borrowed time. Henry Villard returned to the board of directors. Though offered the presidency, he refused. However, an associate of Villard dating back to his time on the Kansas Pacific, Thomas Fletcher Oakes, assumed the presidency on September 20, 1888. In an effort to garner business, Oakes pursued an aggressive policy of branch line expansion. In addition, the Northern Pacific experienced the first competition in the form of James Jerome Hill and his Great Northern Railway. The Great Northern, like the Northern Pacific before it, was pushing west from the Twin Cities towards Puget Sound, and would be completed in 1893.

To combat the Great Northern, in a few instances Villard built branch line mileage simply to occupy a territory, regardless of whether the territory offered the railroad any business.

Mismanagement, sparse traffic, and the Panic of 1893 sounded the death knell for the Northern Pacific and Villard's interest in railroading. The company slipped into its second bankruptcy on October 20, 1893. Oakes was named receiver and Brayton Ives, a former chairman of the New York Stock Exchange, became president. For the next three years, the Villard-Oakes interests and the Ives interest feuded for control of the Northern Pacific. Oakes was eventually forced out as receiver, but not before three separate courts were claiming jurisdiction over the Northern Pacific's bankruptcy. Things came to a head in 1896, when first Edward Dean Adams was appointed president, then less than two months later, Edwin Winter.



Northern Pacific from Thompson Falls to Spokane

Ultimately, the task of straightening out the muddle of the Northern Pacific was turned over to John Pierpont Morgan. Morganization of the Northern Pacific, a process which befell many U.S. roads in the wake of the Panic of 1893, was handed to Morgan lieutenant Charles Henry Coster. The new president, beginning September 1, 1897, was Charles Sanger Mellen. Though James J. Hill had purchased an interest in the Northern Pacific during the troubled days of 1896, Coster and Mellen would advocate, and follow, a staunchly independent line for the Northern Pacific for the next four years. Only the early death of Coster from overwork, and the promotion of Mellen to head the Morgan-controlled New York, New Haven and Hartford Railroad in 1903, would bring the Northern Pacific closer to the orbit of James J. Hill.

(Wikipedia)

Twain's party passed the site of the "starvation winter" of 1883-1884, and on through the Flathead Indian Reservation. Past the town of Arlee, named after the Salish leader who moved a small group of his people from the **Bitterroot Valley**, a "conditional reservation" according to the 1855 Hellgate Treaty, to the Jocko Agency, later known as the Flathead Indian Agency, a few miles south of the town of Arlee. This forced move stemmed from the efforts of a congressional delegation led by future president James Garfield to negotiate Salish removal from the Bitterroot Valley. The Indians of Arlee have a celebration that happens to fall on the

fourth of July. The earliest evidence of an attempt to hold a Fourth of July Powwow was in 1891. In the 1890s, however, traditional Indian dances were illegal under Bureau of Indian Affairs rules, and the Indian police and Flathead Indian Agent Peter Ronan used the threat of U.S. Army intervention to break up the dance. The Bureau of Indian Affairs found it difficult to argue that it should be illegal to celebrate the Fourth of July, though for a time government attempts to suppress traditional dances forced the tribes to hold them secretly. (**Arlee Pow Wow**)

The second Indian Agency on the Blackfeet Reservation was built in 1879 at **Old Agency**, at the bend in the Flathead River. Agent John Young moved the buildings from Upper Badger Creek with help from the Blackfeet Indians. Both men and women dug cellars, hauled stone and mixed mortar. The women covered the exterior with lime from Heart Butte. The Indians called it "Old Ration Place" after the government began issuing rations.

The "Starvation Winter" of 1883-1884 took the lives of about 500 Blackfeet Indians who had been camping in the vicinity of Old Agency, the result of an inadequate supply of government rations during an exceptionally hard winter.

In 1894, after the Great Northern Railway had extended its tracks across the Reservation, the Agency moved to Willow Creek at the present site in Browning.

Before the railroad arrived the lower Clark Fork River valley was very quiet, traveled seasonally by the local Salish and Kootenai peoples and then by the occasional fur trapper and adventurer following on the heels of David Thompson. Steep mountains, rain, snow, and river rapids made travel challenging. Camps were temporary, used only for berry picking, camas digging, fishing and hunting. They then moved on. Originally a railroad town on the Northern Pacific, the North Pacific Railway reached Heron in 1882. Within a year Heron had about 400 residents, 3 stores, 6 saloons, 2 hotels, 2 restaurants and a town water system. In January 1884 Heron's first post office was opened. In September the first school district was created. By October 1888 the water source for the steam engines dried up and the railroad terminal moved to Hope, ID. The post office closed before Thanksgiving and Heron was almost wiped from the map. People left in droves. A few stubborn folks hung in here and eventually a new wave of immigrants arrived, lured by out of region promoters. This cycle repeated itself many times over the decades. Heron has been rebuilt and reinvented numerous times. Lured by the promise of something better, homesteaders, farmers, trappers, miners, loggers, business owners continued to arrive. Some endured. Many moved on when the extolled riches never materialized or were burnt up in the frequent fires or lost to the spring floods.

(www.heronmontana.com)

The region had been explored by Meriwether Lewis of the Lewis and Clark Expedition during the 1806 return trip from the Pacific. The river is named for William Clark. A middle segment of the river in Montana was formerly known as the Missoula River. The river was also referred to as the Deer Lodge River by Granville Stuart. David Thompson used the name Saleesh River for the entire Flathead-Clark Fork-Pend Oreille river system.

For most of the first half of the 19th century the Clark Fork river and surrounding region was controlled by the British-Canadian North West Company and Hudson's Bay Company. In the

mid-19th Century the Clark Fork River wound through the valley where cattle had replaced bison. This was when Conrad Kohrs purchased a ranch from Johnny Grant that is now called the Grant-Kohrs Ranch.

Since the late 19th century many areas in the watershed of the river have been extensively mined for minerals, resulting in an ongoing stream pollution problem. Most pollution has come from the copper mines in Butte and the smelter in Anaconda. Many of the polluted areas have been designated as Superfund sites. Nevertheless the river and its tributaries are among the most popular destinations for fly fishing in the United States.

Today, the Clark Fork watershed encompasses the largest Superfund site in America. As a mega-site, it includes three major sites: Butte, Anaconda, and Milltown Dam/Clark Fork River's Milltown Reservoir Superfund Site. Each of these major sites is split up into numerous sub-sites known as Operable Units. Remediation and/or restoration of these sites is ongoing.

(Wikipedia)

In the early 1800s Native American tribes traveled through the area. The fertile valley was used for wintering their ponies, harvesting salmon, and holding great councils. Mountain men, trappers, surveyors, and map makers were soon to follow. White settlers began their movement into the valley in the late 1860s. During the decades to follow farming, ranching, and lumbering would flourish in the valley. The Northern Pacific Railway arrived in 1881-1883 and the town began to increase in size and importance. Businesses flourished and eventually the name was shortened to Horse Plains and finally to Plains. (www.waymarking.com)

Although they did not realize the significance of the area, the route traversed was where the massive ice dam of Lake Missoula had been 15 to 17,000 years previous. The dam was a lobe of the Cordilleran Ice Sheet that came down Purcell Valley. The lake is believed to have covered 3,000 square miles and the dam possibly 2000 feet high. The ice dams broke periodically and at that time the Clark Fork River carried more water than the combined flow of all of the streams of the world: The Missoula Floods, also known as the Spokane Floods or the Bretz Floods, would rush down the Clark Fork and the Columbia River, flooding much of eastern Washington and the Willamette Valley in western Oregon. After the rupture, the ice would reform, recreating Glacial Lake Missoula. During the last deglaciation it is estimated that a cycle of flooding and reformation of the lake lasted an average of 55 years and that the floods occurred several times over the 2,000-year period between 15,000 and 13,000 years ago. There is evidence of at least twenty-five massive floods, the largest discharging 13 times the Amazon River. Estimates for the peak flow rate of the largest flood include 17 cubic kilometers per hour and range up to 60 cubic kilometers per hour. The maximum flow speed approached 80 mph.

It has been estimated that the oldest of the Pleistocene Missoula floods happened before 1.5 million years ago. Because of the fragmentary nature of older glaciofluvial deposits, which have been largely removed by subsequent Missoula floods, the exact number of older Missoula floods cannot be estimated with any confidence.

Twain's party arrived in Spokane that night, at 11:30, and put up at the **Spokane House**.

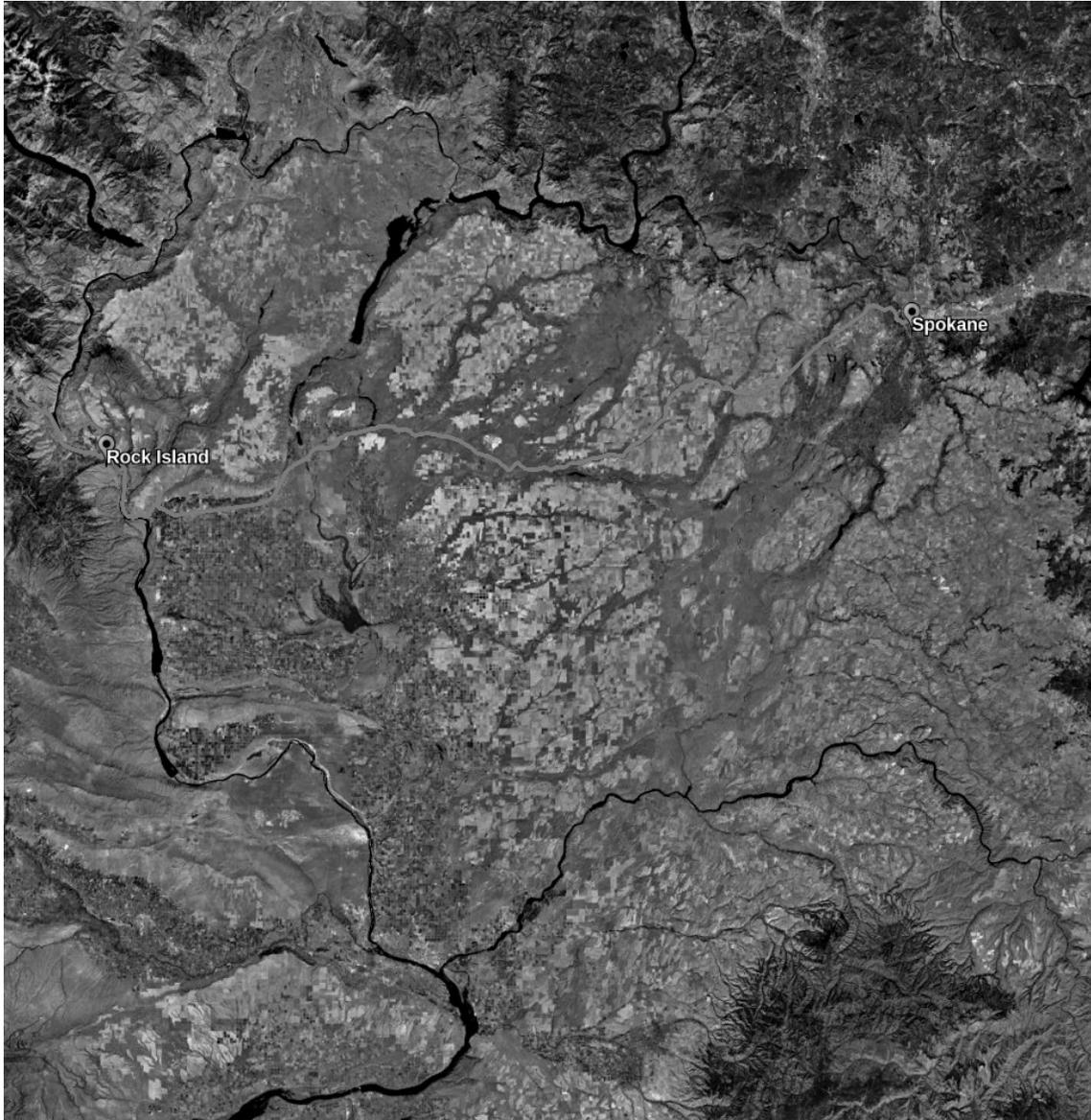
He gave a lecture at the **Spokane Opera House** on the 7th and spent the 8th touring the economic disaster zone that Spokane had become. In his notebook he wrote: “See squaws prowling about back doors & windows begging & foraging — a nuisance once familiar to me”

Clara treated the hotel guests to a Chopin nocturne and they departed that night at 11:30.

Pond:

As we have a day here, the ladies have overhauled and repacked their trunks. I think there is no occupation that has the fascination for women when travelling as the unpacking and overhauling of large travelling trunks. They go at it early miss their luncheon and are late to dinner and yet show no signs of fatigue. ...

Another incident here. Our ladies dressed their best for dinner and outshone the receiver's excursionists who occupied most of the great dining hall. Mark didn't see it as he never comes down to dinner. I know I saw it and enjoyed a feeling of pride I just felt and knew I was envied by the men at the other tables. Clara Clemens is a beautiful girl. As we passed out of the dining room into the great parlor she sat down to the Chickering grand piano and began playing a Chopin nocturne. It was in the gloaming. Stealthily, guests came in from dinner and sat breathlessly in remote parts of the boundless room listening to a performance that would have done credit to any great pianist. Never have I witnessed a more beautiful sight than this sweet brunette unconsciously holding a large audience of charmed listeners. If it was not one of the supreme moments of her mother's life who saw and heard her then I have guessed wrong. It was an incident forever fixed in my memory.



Channeled Scablands

They boarded the Great Northern railroad again and headed west. This is a land of abandoned erosional waterways, streamless coulees with empty cataract cliffs and plunge basins, potholes and deep rock basins, all eroded into the basalt of the gently southwestward dipping slope of the Columbia Plateau.

The pattern of dry stream ways; a plexus, an anastomosis; totally unlike any other drainage pattern on earth. A debacle was demanded to explain this landscape, the volume of which would fill normal stream valleys to overflowing. These great floods spilled over former divides, eroding their summits to complete the new network.

Associated with the enormously enlarged drainage ways were similarly huge mounds of stream gravel; great river bars. Huge stream-rolled boulders occurred in these bars. The boulders were

obviously plucked from the columnar basalt bedrock by the high-velocity currents. The term valley would not suffice for the abandoned rock-bound former waterways; channels, and the entire composite; the "Channeled Scabland."

The total area involved was 18 townships wide by 22 townships long (approximately 15,500 sq miles). This seems to call for a return to "Catastrophism", a discredited theory harkening to Noah's flood. But this was no such flood and was never caused by a month of rain. This flood, or rather series of floods can be traced all the way to the Willamette Valley, south of Portland, Oregon, wherein is found a river delta of 200 square miles. Caused by the bursting of ice dams across what is now the Clark Fork of the Columbia River system in the Idaho panhandle. A lake of 3,000 square miles containing 500 cubic miles of water, half the volume of Lake Michigan. The dams are thought to have been 2,000 feet high.

The Channeled Scabland, A Guide to the Geomorphology of the Columbia Basin, Washington

Harrington, Washington: Back in 1880, Lincoln County was known only as "a howling desert". However, the Harrington, Furth, & Robinson firm saw that the soil, glacial loess and volcanic ash, was fertile and could be used for farming. So in 1882 they bought the land that would later make up the town of Harrington. It was in the same year that the Northern Pacific Railway Company looked into stretching their rail lines through the area. In honor of W.P. Harrington, this land was given the name "Harrington". One year later people first inhabited the town. The first store was opened by Edward Willis and Charles Billings. The next year, the post office was opened by Edward Willis who assumed the role of the first post master. Soon after in 1884, the black smith shop and the Pickell Hotel were established and two years later, the first saloon opened. In 1892, the farming community had its first grain bins that came along with the Great Northern Railway Company tracks running down the middle of town. Within the next two years, the town grew as the railroad continued construction on its railways. Then the Hotel Harrington opened. The main street was established and made the city come more alive, and there was a two- room school house built, along with a drug store, stables, meat market, barber shop, two hotels, four general merchandise stores, drug store, bank, and furniture stores. By the year of 1890, the town was booming!

Wilson Creek: Indians roamed the area around Crab and Wilson Creek in search of food during the summer months. John Marlin and the Urquhart Brothers settled the area in the 1870s. Lt. Tom Symons established a military road from Fort Walla Walla to camp Chelan West of town in 1879. The railroad came in 1892. Wilson Creek became a division point with an eleven stall roundhouse. Zack Finney started the first school in 1892. Wilson Creek's school opened in 1894. The immigrant train came through in 1901. Also during that year the town was platted. Finally the town was incorporated in 1903. Crab Lake was drained in 1909.

Ephrata: The region was known at the turn of the century for the great herds of wild horses that roamed the land. Horse trading was an important element of the local economy, and Ephrata served as the staging area for the horse round-ups. Historically, the settlement of Ephrata is quite recent. There was no known settlement until 1886, just three years before

Washington attained statehood. The horse rancher Frank Beezley was the first to settle near the natural springs, thus the area was known as Beezley Springs.

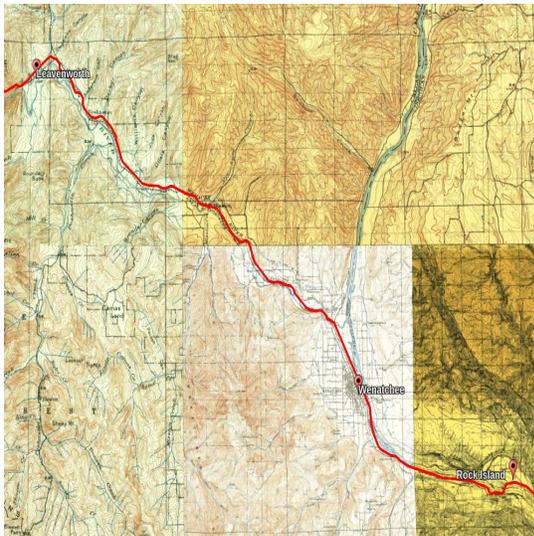
Rock Island: The Rock Island Railroad Bridge was originally built in 1892 for the Great Northern Railway and was the first bridge to span the Columbia River. The site was chosen at Rock Island, Washington for being the shortest distance between the banks of the Columbia River in Washington State. In 1925, it was decided to strengthen the main span in anticipation of increased traffic and heavier trains by reinforcing the structure with an additional outside truss frame.

Wenatchee: “The Great Northern Railway and the Wenatchee Development Company Build a New Town”. Although located as a mid-point between Spokane and Seattle, the Wenatchee Valley was largely inaccessible because it is surrounded by mountains. Despite topographical limitations, the City's great potential as a productive agricultural region and business center did not go unnoticed. With this vision in mind, a group of Seattle businessmen formed the Wenatchee Improvement Company in December 1890 to acquire property and build a town. In early 1892, the Wenatchee Development Company, in close consultation with the Great Northern Railway, surveyed and platted the present site of Wenatchee.

On May 6, 1892, this plat was filed with Kittitas County (Chelan County had not yet been created), and lots were placed on the open market the same month. Within five days, \$100,000 worth of property was sold. By the late 1890s, Wenatchee was growing considerably and the need for a new county became clear. Ellensburg was the Kittitas County seat, but was separated from the Wenatchee Valley by a range of mountains. It proved inaccessible during

the winter except via Spokane or Seattle by railroad, making it difficult for Wenatchee citizens to make the trek to Ellensburg for business purposes. The state legislature created Chelan County in 1899, carving it out of the existing Kittitas and Okanogan Counties.

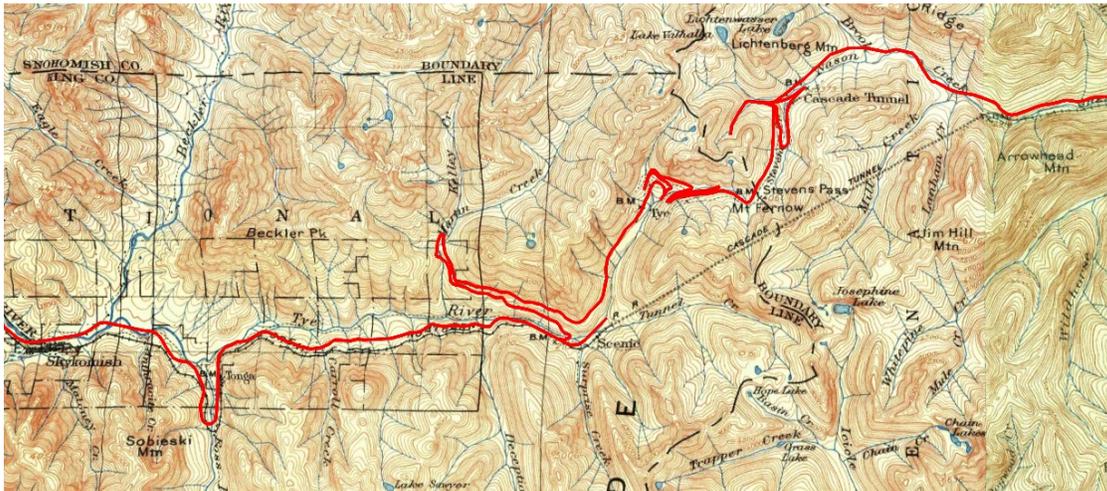
(www.wenatcheewa.gov)



Rock Island to Leavenworth, Washington

The morning of the 9th found Twain's party in **Leavenworth, Washington**. The train, with an additional engine, drove up through Tumwater Canyon to a point where the eastern portal of the first Cascade tunnel would be located.

In 1889, the Great Northern Railroad leased trackage rights through the **Tumwater Canyon**. In



Switchbacks over Stevens Pass



Mark Twain at window of the locomotive, The Great Northern, while conductor climbs aboard, August 8 or 9, 1895. Mark Twain Archive , Elmira College; <https://nyheritage.org/citation>

the agreement, the GN was required to maintain it, but the right-of-way remained the property of the CR & TN (*Chumstick River & Tumwater Northern Railroad*) . Included in the agreement was the stipulation that any changes made would allow the CR & TN to use the Tumwater Canyon, resulting in a rather strange, but not all that uncommon, three rail arrangement. As engineering techniques improved, the Great Northern was able to do away with the switchback and tunnel method employed by the CR & TN, replacing it with track that had a maximum 2.2% grade. In 1929, with the opening of the Great

Northern's Cascade Tunnel, the line through the Tumwater canyon was electrified.

An additional engine was added to the rear of the train and Twain was allowed to ride with the engineer along the switch backs over Stevens Pass and down to the site of Wellington. Wellington was the western portal of the original Cascade tunnel and the site of one of the most disastrous avalanches in railroad history.

Stevens Pass is named for John F. Stevens, an engineer in the employ of the Great Northern Railway. He had located the route the railway took over the Rockies, Marias Pass, and he had found the route over his eponymous pass. Not an ideal route but workable and James Jerome Hill had little time to waste.

There were three different attempts to establish an acceptable route over the Cascades. The first route, the path Mark Twain and company traveled in 1895 required eight switchbacks, sharp curves, steep grades up to four percent, and a crew of 3,000 men working 12 hours a day for two years to complete. The final spike was driven on January 6, 1893. Mark Twain traveled this route August 8, 1895 riding the Great Northern Railway from Spokane to Seattle. He rode on the engine with the engineer, who was delighted.

Soon after the Great Northern reached Seattle, much of America suffered the Panic of 1893. It was devastating to many established businesses but proved a boon to the new businesses along the line. JJ Hill had been very busy extending the advice of Horace Greeley, continue on west. This helped provide a renewed supply of labor to develop, among other places, Skykomish Valley, just west of the switchbacks.

Earlier transcontinental railroads had employed cheap Chinese labor, upsetting unemployed whites, resulting in the Chinese Exclusion Act of 1881, a federal law barring Chinese from entering the United States to work on railroads. Hill had been negotiating with the Japanese, he wished to sell them U.S. goods and import silk and tea. It is also possible that he was able to procure cheap Japanese labor, although this is not documented. The 1900 census mentions 47 Japanese workers in Wellington and Martin Creek but it does not mention the town of Nippon. Whether a town was located for mining or for the railroad, they all had sawmills. There was a definite local market for lumber but JJ Hill knew there was a much bigger market in the east. Hill knew he could only make money if he could fill his freight cars in both directions. In addition to products from the Orient, he recognized that the Great Northern could transport lumber east on cars that would otherwise travel empty. He convinced his friend and neighbor Frederick Weyerhaeuser to look to the west with him.

Even after construction, the railroad remained labor intensive. The large crews needed to build the line became large maintenance and snow removal crews. The route over Stevens Pass was hardly ideal, with eight switchbacks and sections of track above 3,000 feet in a serious snow belt. Snaking railcars in eight-car units up and down the switchbacks required crews working around the clock.

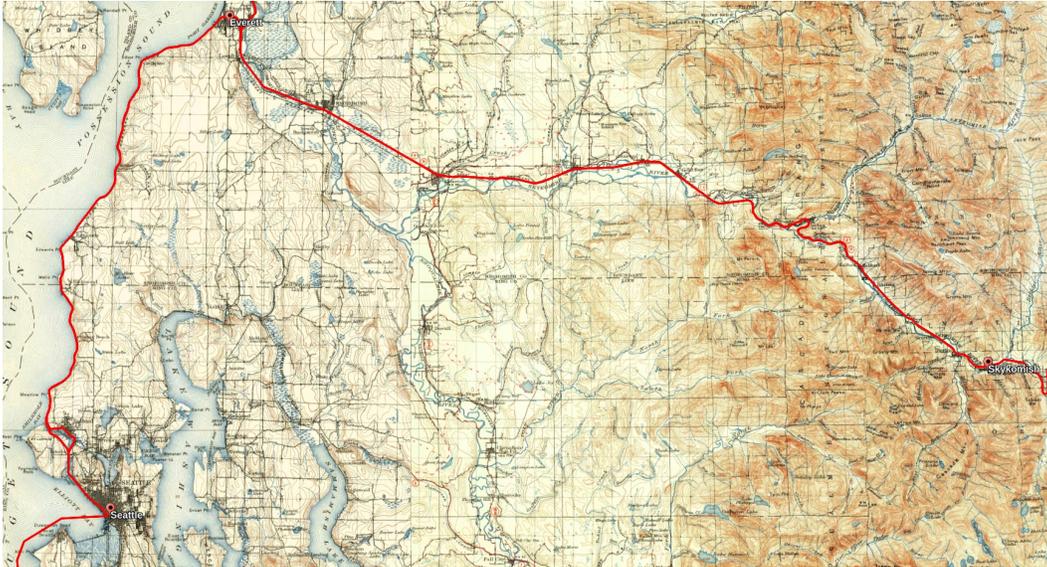
Work began on the first Cascade Tunnel in 1897 and was completed in 1900. It relieved the railroad of the switchbacks but brought its own set of problems, particularly the exhaust from the steam engines causing several deaths in the tunnel and numerous close calls. By 1909 the tunnel had become electrified and electric engines pulled the trains through the tunnel. But the line was still in dangerous snow country.

In March 1910, the most disastrous avalanche in U.S. history occurred at Wellington. Ninety six people died when an avalanche crashed into a stalled train. In 1929 the Great Northern Railway completed the construction of the second Cascade Tunnel, 7.8 miles long and still in operation. This tunnel had disastrous effects on the town of Leavenworth, bypassed by the new route.

Twain's party continued down the slope to Martin Creek and through the horseshoe tunnel. then down along the Tye Creek, through Skykomish and on to Seattle, Washington.

THE PACIFIC NORTHWEST

Pond: *That night [in Spokane] at 11:30 we went aboard the sleeper on the Great Northern Road. Everything was in readiness for us. The next day was one full of interest as we rode over the Rockies on the zigzag road, travelling over thirty miles to make seven . 'Mark ' rode on the engine, greatly to the delight of the engineer.*



Skykomish to Seattle

Pond, here, mistakes the Cascades for the Rockies, or perhaps they were considered the same in those days. They crossed the Cascades, on the switchbacks, in about two hours. It took six more hours to reach Seattle.

Native Americans were pretty much gone from the area, the Treaty of Point Elliott was one of the major instruments in their removal and confinement in reservations. Some did, however, retain fishing rights. The Treaty of Point Elliott of 1855, between the United States government and the nominal Native American tribes of the greater Puget Sound region, was one of about thirteen treaties between the U.S. and Native Nations in what is now Washington. The treaty was signed on 22 January 1855, at Point Elliott, now Mukilteo, Washington, and ratified 8 March and 11 April 1859.

Occupation of land by European-Americans began in earnest from about 1845. By and large, Native leaders were willing to sell their land, with no clear concept of what such sales entailed. They did reject proposals for relocation away from Puget Sound country. Signatories to the Treaty of Point Elliott included Suquamish and Dwamish Chief Seattle and Territorial

Governor Isaac Stevens. Representatives from Snoqualmie, Snohomish, Lummi, Skagit, Swinomish, and other tribes also signed. The treaty established the Suquamish, Port Madison, Tulalip, Swin-a-mish, and Lummi reservations. The Native American signers included: Snoqualmoo and Sno-ho-mish Chief Patkanim as Pat-ka-nam, Lummi Chief Chow-its-hoot, and Skagit Chief Goliah. The treaty guaranteed both fishing rights and reservations. Reservations were not designated for the Duwamish, Skagit, Snohomish, and Snoqualmie peoples.

The First People of the **Skykomish Valley**, called the Skykomish, were an extended group of families for whom the river was named. The treaty created a single reservation at Tulalip (northwest of Everett) for the indigenous peoples living along the Snohomish, Skykomish, and Snoqualmie rivers. That was the beginning of the end for the Skykomish People for there are no people left who identify themselves as purely Skykomish. Seven village sites existed between present-day Monroe and Index at the time of white contact in the 1850s. Easternmost was the village near the confluence of the south and north forks of the Skykomish River.

Here the members of the Skykomish group were called the fern people, in an area with an average of about 100 inches of rain per year. A large potlatch house was located here in a permanent winter village. Elders of the tribes that settled at Tulalip told anthropologist Colin Tweddell that "The Index people were the genuine Skykomish tribe, rather wild; they would come up in canoes and suddenly be gone, hidden in the rocks.

The Town of Index is a riverside hamlet in the shadow of 5,979-foot Mount Index in Snohomish County. It is hemmed in by the north fork of the Skykomish River to the south, and by a steep granite cliff, the Town Wall, to the north. The area was home to the Skykomish People before European immigrants came to mine the mountains and log the forest. The granite wall was to become a large quarry in 1904. Thus mining, logging, and quarrying defined the town's prosperity early in the twentieth century. At its height in 1905, the town's population reached 500, with perhaps a thousand more in the surrounding area. With the loss of mining, quarrying, and logging in the 1930s, recreation was to become the prime means of employment.

On April 25, 1893, Amos Gunn platted the Town of Index. His hotel and packing business had prospered, and he was selling lots from \$25 to \$50 each. According to his daughter Persis, "The population had grown to 500, ... a tent hospital had been established and ... that year my sister, Lena Gunn, taught the first school in a room of a private home". Hopes were high enough that Gunn platted one street exceptionally wide at 100 feet to accommodate an expected rail line to go over Cady Pass. The line never was built.

In July 1893 the Gunn hotel burned to the ground, spreading fire to every other building, excepting the train depot. A new Hotel Index was built with a small store included. However, two sources of revenue were ending -- the main line of the Great Northern Railway was finished and the financial panic of 1893 halted many mining efforts in the Silver Creek area.

Monte Cristo was no longer reached via Index since a new route had been opened 11 miles north along the South Fork Stillaguamish River.

In a 1959 interview Luther Gunn remembered, "'94 was hard times. Oh yes, it was hard times ... because so many men were out of employment with their work finished". By 1898 the discovery of the Copper Bell and Sunset copper mines ended those hard times. Index was booming, with 800 to 1,000 prospectors coming and going at one time or another. R. Frank Niles came in 1899 to print the Index Miner, a four-page weekly paper published by Charles W. Gorham of Snohomish. Niles recalled:

"Index was in the throes of a wild mining boom. The town was crowded with prospectors, men working on some of the mines being opened up and the usual riff-raff and promoters and grafters. ... The one hotel had men sleeping in the hallways and wherever there was a chance to lie down. "While the boom was at its height, new buildings were being started, new mining companies were announced, and mines located every day; many of these 'mines' had not the least trace of minerals. ... The most ambitious mine was the Sunset, six miles upriver from town. It was owned by a bunch of farmers from the big marsh between Snohomish and Lowell. They ... proved a flop as miners. They built a tram road to Index, including a bridge across the Skykomish, and then started shipping ore to the Everett smelter. ... that did not pay the expense of sorting it. They soon went broke and the mine shut down, and the boom -- what was left of it collapsed. It is hard to imagine what a gloomy dejected town Index became overnight when the bad news hit". Although The Index Miner trumpeted: "What Butte is to Montana, Index Will Soon be to Washington", all that remained in 1901 was a small-scale granite quarry east of town, a general store, two saloons, an assay office, a drugstore, and a single sawmill that had been constructed to saw ties and bridge timbers for the new railroad.

Coming to town by river, as pioneers did in many Snohomish County communities, was never a possibility for Index settlers. The river was too swift and hazardous for navigation by steamboat. Early pioneers came by horse on rough trails until the Great Northern Railway was completed in January 1893. Then transcontinental trains and two locals called "Dinkies" provided reliable transportation. The depot was literally at the center of the community.

Monroe was once the site of the Great Northern Railway's botanical gardens where fresh flowers for their passenger trains were once grown. Each day these flowers would be loaded aboard the Western Star for distribution throughout the system so that each dining car passenger might have fresh flowers with their meal.

Snohomish was founded around 1858 by Emory C. Ferguson, E. F. Cady and others. It was originally known as Cadyville, but changed its name to Snohomish City in 1871. The name Snohomish comes from the name of the dominant local Native American tribe, whose meaning is widely disputed. One of the first inland cities in the Puget Sound region, Snohomish was built where a planned military road connecting Fort Steilacoom and Fort Bellingham was set to cross the Snohomish River. The road, proposed in the wake of the Pig War, was intended to be

built far enough inland to be safe from British naval attacks. Although the road was never completed, Snohomish quickly became a center of commerce in the expanding region.

In 1861, Snohomish County separated from Island County and the Village of Snohomish was voted the county seat. It remained so until 1897 when the county seat was relocated to the larger, yet much newer neighboring city of Everett, Washington after a controversial and contested county-wide vote.

The land on which **Everett** was founded was surrendered to the United States by its original inhabitants under the 1855 Treaty of Point Elliott. Permanent settlement in the area by European descendants started in 1861 when Dennis Brigham built a cabin on a 160-acre claim on the shore of Port Gardner Bay. Over the next several years a handful of settlers moved to the area, but it wasn't until 1890 that plans for platting a town were conceived.

On September 1, 1890, Henry Hewitt filed a bond on the north end of what was to become the Everett town site, beginning the process of acquisition that would become the Everett Land Company later along with Charles L. Colby and Colgate Hoyt.

In October 1890, the Hewitt-Colby syndicate decided to name their industrial city after Everett Colby, the fifteen-year-old son of investor Charles L. Colby, who had displayed a prodigious appetite at dinner. Everett Colby in turn was named for orator Edward Everett.

On November 19, 1890, the Articles of Incorporation for the Everett Land Company were filed, with Henry Hewitt Jr. as president. Everett was officially incorporated on May 4, 1893, the year the Great Northern Railway came to the town. Both Hewitt and the Rucker brothers had speculated that James J. Hill would make the town the terminus of his railroad. However Hill continued the railroad along the shore of Puget Sound to Seattle. Although it succeeded in building the city, the Everett Land Company was a failure for its investors. The outside investors withdrew, and the Company's holdings were transferred to a new company controlled by Hill. The Ruckers, who helped broker the deal, stayed in Everett and became leading citizens of the young city.

The area now called **Ballard** was settled by the Duwamish Tribe after the last glacial period. There were plentiful salmon and clams in the region. The references say that before non-Natives arrived, the group living around Shilshole may have been in decline due to a "great catastrophe". The remaining dozen or fewer families were evicted by non-Natives in the mid-19th century. One source suggests that the decline of the Shilshole dwelling Salish might have been due to raiding from Natives from farther north (Queen Charlotte's Island) and these raids also alarmed non-Native settlers. The last member of the Shilshole native group- "Salmon Bay Charlie"-was forcibly removed to allow construction of the Hiram Chittendon Locks.

The first European resident, homesteader Ira Wilcox Utter, moved to his claim in 1853. Utter hoped to see a rapid expansion of population but that did not happen, so he sold the land to Thomas Burke, a judge. Thirty-six years later, Judge Burke, together with John Leary and railroader Daniel H. Gilman, formed the West Coast Improvement Company to develop Burke's land holdings in the area as they anticipated the building of the Great Northern Railway along the Salmon Bay coastline on the way to Interbay and central Seattle.

The **Seattle and Montana Railroad**, incorporated March 7, 1890, operated as a subsidiary of the Great Northern. Twain's party would have merged onto this line at or near Everett. It ran to Ballard and continued east, crossing Salmon Bay in the vicinity of the future Chittendon Locks. The bridge was a large curved wooden trestle located near 14th Ave West. This first wooden trestle, known as Bridge #4 would eventually have a swing span installed in the middle to accommodate water traffic.

Seattle had become the western terminus of the Great Northern railway, reaching the city in 1893. Four transcontinental railways jostled for position along the waterfront. Japan's Nippon Yusen Kaisha shipping line contracted with the Great Northern in 1896 to begin regular steamship service between Seattle and Japan. J.J. Hill soon had his own ocean liners, the Minnesota and the Dakota, carrying passengers and goods from Smith Cove to China, Japan and the Philippines.

Pond:

We transferred at Seattle to the little 'Greyhound of Puget Sound' - The Flyer- said to be the fastest steamer in the world. 'Mark' sat on the deck of The Flyer watching the baggage-smashers removing our trunks from the baggage car to the truck which was to convey them to The Flyer, and exclaimed : ' Oh, how I do wish one of those trunks were filled with dynamite and that all the baggage-destroyers on earth were gathered about it, and I just far enough off to see them hurled into Kingdom Come ! '



Mark Twain sitting aboard the steamboat, Flyer, near the dock in Seattle, August 8, 1895. Mark Twain Archive , Elmira College; <https://nyheritage.org/citation>

Flyer was the first vessel ordered by the Columbia River and Puget Sound Navigation Company, which already controlled the fast sternwheeler *Telephone* on the Columbia River, and on Puget Sound, the then new and fast sternwheeler *Bailey Gatzert* as well as the express passenger boat *Fleetwood*.

Flyer was built at the Johnson shipyard in Portland, Oregon of Douglas fir cut in Oregon and prepared for construction by prolonged storage in salt water. Unusual for an express passenger boat, *Flyer* included a dining room, which eventually contributed to her great popularity.

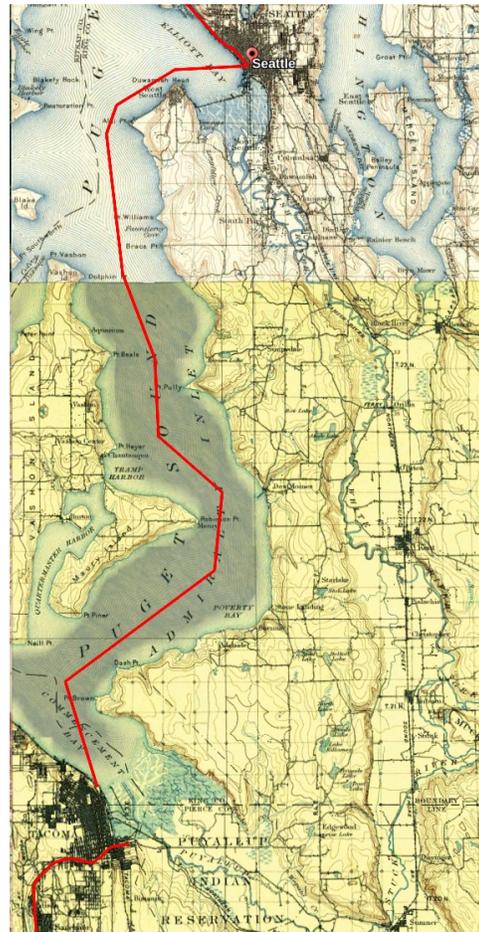
Flyer was designed to be the fastest propeller-driven vessel in the Pacific Northwest, and was very fine-lined, that is, tall and narrow.

Captain Scott was so proud of his new ship that he rode on her as she was launched into the Willamette River. This proved to be a mistake. Neither boilers nor engines had been installed in *Flyer* before launch, and without their weight deep in her hull to act as ballast, she simply flopped over in the water, and Captain Scott had to exit by climbing out a window.

After that, another hull was built around her with the hope of making her a little less top heavy, but this was imperfectly sealed, so water sloshed around in between the hulls for the rest of the vessel's operational life. Surprising this did not affect the *Flyer*'s speed, although she did acquire a permanent list to port, or at least the hint of a list.

Once finally completed, the company sent *Flyer* to Puget Sound and brought *Bailey Gatzert* around to the Columbia River to run with the *Telephone*.

Flyer was originally a wood burner, consuming 24 cords of wood during every day of operation. Her firebox could hold two cords of wood at once. In 1906, she was converted to oil fuel, and was considered to be fuel-efficient, burning an average of 61 barrels (9.7 m³) of oil on a daily basis.



Seattle to Tacoma

Flyer was placed on the run from Seattle to Tacoma. Her first master was Capt. Harry K. Struve (1866-1924), and her first pilot was Capt. Henry Carter (1858-1930). The run was 28 miles (45 km) long one way, and Flyer routinely completed it in less than 90 minutes. This was the beginning of many years of successful timely service, so much so that the Flyer's advertising slogan became "Fly on the Flyer".

The future successful career of the Flyer was almost ended at midnight on June 14, 1892 by fire. This started when Flyer was taking on wood for fuel at the Commercial Dock in Seattle. Suddenly fire broke out. Within five minutes the fire had swept through the vessel. The fireboat Snoqualmie and all available units of the Seattle fire department, under Chief Gardner Kellogg, responded to the fire. They were able to get the fire under control before serious damage was done to the hull or machinery. However, all of the vessel's upper works were destroyed. Flyer was quickly rebuilt and returned to service by the end of the summer of 1892.

Flyer ran an average of 344 days a year, and was considered highly reliable by the population. In 1908 it was calculated that Flyer had completed enough trips from Seattle to Tacoma to go around the world 61 times, and had carried over 3,000,000 people, more than the population of New York City at the time, and this without serious injury to any passenger. This does not mean there were not accidents. Over the years, Flyer was involved in a number accidents, collisions and fires, including some serious ones which threatened the lives of those on board her or other vessels:

Pond, Thursday August 8th (continued):

We arrived in Tacoma at five o'clock, and have sumptuous apartments at The Tacoma, a grand caravansery built by the Northern Pacific Railroad Company. The 'receiver' is an old friend of mine, formerly a contractor on the Northern Pacific Railroad. I also found another old friend in C. H. Prescott- one of the prosperous. He is local 'receiver' of the Northern Pacific Railroad, the highest distinction a man can attain out here. This is another overgrown metropolis. We can't see it, nor anything else, owing to the dense smoke everywhere.

Here in Tacoma the ladies are to remain and rest, while 'Mark and I take in Portland and Olympia.

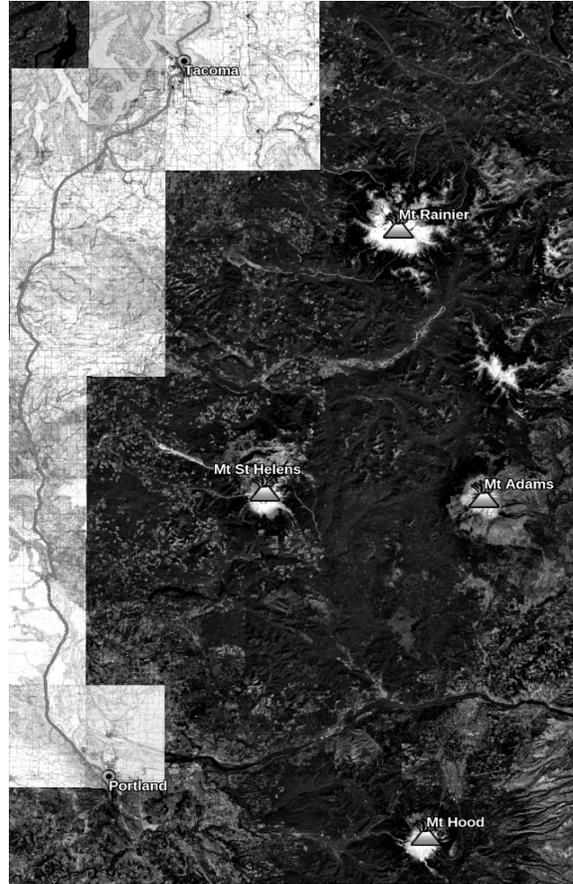
Pond Friday, August 9th , Portland , Oregon .

At Tacoma early this morning Mr. S. E. Moffett, of the San Francisco Examiner, appeared . He is ' Mark's ' nephew and resembles his uncle very much. On his arrival ' Mark ' took occasion to blaspheme for a few minutes, that his relative might realize that men are not all alike. He cursed the journey, the fatigues and annoyances , winding up by acknowledging that if everything had been made and arranged by the Almighty for the occasion , it could not have been better or more comfortable, but he ' was not travelling for pleasure,' etc.

The city of **Tacoma** and surrounding areas were inhabited for thousands of years by Native Americans, predominantly the Puyallup people, who lived in settlements on the delta. In 1852, a Swede named Nicolas Delin constructed a sawmill powered by water on a creek near the head of Commencement Bay, but the small settlement that grew up around it was abandoned during the Indian War of 1855–56. In 1864, pioneer and postmaster Job Carr, a Civil War veteran and land speculator who hoped to profit from the selection of Commencement Bay as the terminus of the Transcontinental Railroad, built a cabin and later sold most of his claim to developer Morton M. McCarver (1807–1875), who named his project Tacoma City, derived from the indigenous name for the mountain.

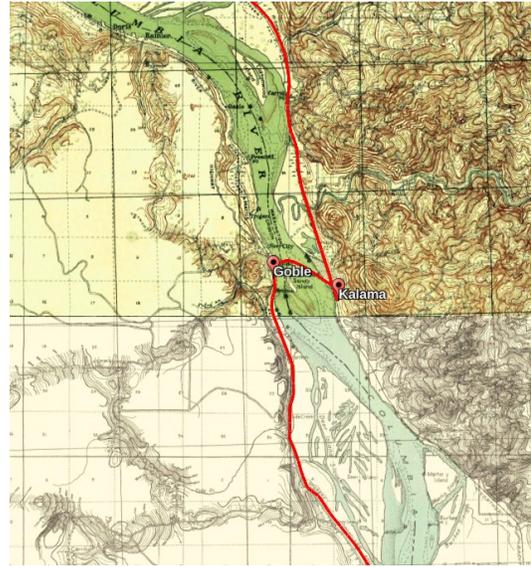
Tacoma was incorporated on November 12, 1875, following the merger of Old Tacoma and New Tacoma on January 7, 1884. Its hopes to be the "City of Destiny" were stimulated by selection in 1873 as the western terminus of the Northern Pacific Railroad, thanks to lobbying by McCarver, future mayor John Wilson Sprague, and others. The transcontinental link was effected in 1887, but the railroad built its depot on "New Tacoma", two miles south of the Carr-McCarver development. The two communities grew together and joined. The population grew from 1,098 in 1880 to 36,006 in 1890. Rudyard Kipling visited Tacoma in 1889 and said it was "literally staggering under a boom of the boomiest".

The Northern Pacific line from Tacoma to Kalama began service January 5, 1874 and included runs between Portland and Kalama by steamboat on the Willamette and Columbia Rivers.



Tacoma to Portland

Kalama was entirely a Northern Pacific railroad creation. It was unofficially born in May 1870 when the Northern Pacific railroad turned the first shovel of dirt. Northern Pacific built a dock, a sawmill, a car shop, a roundhouse, a turntable, hotels, a hospital, stores, homes. In just a few months in 1870, the working population exploded to approximately 3500 and the town had added tents, saloons, a brewery, and a gambling hall. Soon the town had a motto: "Rail Meets Sail". Recruiters went to San Francisco and recruited Chinese labor, who moved to their own Chinatown in a part of Kalama now called China Gardens. The population of Kalama peaked at 5,000 people, but in early 1874, the railroad moved its headquarters to Tacoma, and by 1877, only 700 people remained in Kalama.



Kalama and Goble

On October 9 of 1884 - Northern Pacific puts the world's second largest ferry, the 338-ft. Steamboat Kalama (later renamed Tacoma), into service. The steamer was brought out from New York by the American ship Tillie E. Starbuck, her manifest showing the ferry-boat to consist of 57,159 separate pieces. She was put together at Portland and launched May 17th by Smith Brothers & Watson, and was handled on her trial trip by Capt. E.W. Spenser. She was first christened the Kalama but is now known as the Tacoma. Capt. George Gore was placed in command of the steamer, with Charles Gore, chief engineer. The Tacoma's dimensions are: length, three hundred and thirty-eight feet; beam, forty-two feet; depth, eleven feet seven inches; engines, thirty-six by one hundred and eight inches."

The trains are loaded in their entirety (engine and cars) onto the three-track ferry and taken across the river. It transported trains across the Columbia from 1884 until 1908. Sometime between 1891 and 1893 the Oregon slip was moved from Hunters to Goble.

Pond, August 9th, Continued:

He and I reached Portland on time, 8:22, and found the Marquam Grand packed with a waiting audience and the sign ' Standing Room Only ' out . The lecture was a grand success. After it 'Mark's ' friend, Colonel Wood, formerly of the United States army, gave a supper at the Portland Club, where about two dozen of the leading men were entertained for two hours with ' Mark's ' story-telling. They will remember that evening as long as they live. There is surely but one ' Mark Twain .

The **Portland Hotel** (or Hotel Portland) was a late-19th-century hotel in Portland, Oregon, that once occupied the city block on which Pioneer Courthouse Square now stands. It closed in 1951 after 61 years of operation.

The **Marquam Grand Opera House**, a five-story structure adjoining the Marquam Building, opened in 1890 and was demolished in 1922. An early manager was future Portland mayor George Luis Baker. The opera house, later known as the Orpheum and the Baker Theatre, opened to highly complimentary reviews. A Portland newspaper, The Oregonian, called it "one of the neatest theaters of the west." Another review offered higher praise: "The Marquam...will eclipse all other such buildings in the northwest. It yields the palm to only one on the Pacific coast, the grand opera house in San Francisco, and that only to a small degree as regards size." But critics were not as complementary when describing the Marquam Building.

Pond Saturday, August 10th , Portland to Olympia:

" Smoke, smoke , smoke ! It was not easy to tear ourselves away from Portland so early. The Oregonian contains one of the best notices that ' Mark ' has had. He is pleased with it, and is very jolly to-day.

They depart Portland at 11 am the next day and traveled to Olympia.

The site of **Olympia** has been home to Lushootseed-speaking peoples for thousands of years, including Squaxin, Nisqually, Puyallup, Chehalis, Suquamish, and Duwamish. The first recorded visit by Europeans was in 1792 when Peter Puget and a crew from the British Vancouver Expedition charted the site. In 1846, Edmund Sylvester and Levi Smith jointly claimed the land that now comprises downtown Olympia. In 1851, the U.S. Congress established the Customs District of Puget Sound for Washington Territory and Olympia became the home of the customs house. Its population steadily expanded from Oregon Trail immigrants. In 1850, the town settled on the name Olympia, at the suggestion of local resident Colonel Isaac N. Ebey, due to its view of the Olympic Mountains to the Northwest. The area began to be served by a small fleet of steamboats known as the Puget Sound Mosquito Fleet. In 1896, Olympia became the home of the Olympia Brewing Company, which brewed Olympia Beer until 2003.

The **Olympia Opera House** (or Olympia Theater) was built in 1890 by Washington Standard publisher John Miller Murphy and featured the latest developments in theater construction. The theater had electric lighting, a seating capacity of 1,000, and several lounges and refreshment opportunities. At the time it was built, it was adjacent to the Swantown Slough and the foot of Budd Bay , the trolley went by the opera house, providing easy access for local citizens as well as visiting legislators and lobbyists. Over its 30 years of existence some of the biggest national names played here, including John Phillips Sousa, Mark Twain, and others, as well as numerous local performers. It was torn down in 1925.

The **Tacoma Opera House** Company commissioned a group of architects to design an office and theatre block in downtown Tacoma. At this time, Tacoma was experiencing a building boom. It began shortly after the Northern Pacific Railroad first reached Tacoma in 1883. Chicago theatre architect James M. Wood designed the Tacoma Theatre. Wood was assisted by local architect August F. Heide (1862-1943). The architect who had a hand in the theatre design was John Galen Howard (1864-1931). Galen had previously worked in Los Angeles (1887-1888) and would later return to the East Coast after Tacoma. Howard also worked with Sydney Lowell, who completed the larger building's interior design. Others involved in this portion of the project were Moore and Clark, (building contractors), Spierling & Linden (interior decorators), Thomas Moses (scenic artist), Charles H. Smith (stage carpenter) and the Peterman Manufacturing Company (manufacturer of the carved woodwork).

Pond: "Monday, August 12th, Tacoma, Wash. -The Tacoma.

"I had trouble in settling at the Opera House [Olympia]; the manager is a scamp. I expected trouble, and I had it. "The Tacoma Press Club gave ' Mark ' a reception in their rooms after the lecture, which proved to be a very bright affair. ' Mark ' is finding out that he has found his friends by the loss of his fortune . People are constantly meeting him on the street, at halls, and in hotels, and telling him of the happiness he has brought them-old and young alike. He seems as fresh to the rising generation as he is dear to older friends . Here we met Lieutenant-Commander Wadhams , who is executive officer of the Mohican, now in Seattle harbor. He has invited us all on board the man-of- war to dine to-morrow, and we have all accepted.

They are both back in Tacoma on the 12th and the entire party in Seattle on the 13th.

Pond:

'Mark ' had a great audience in Seattle the next evening. The sign ' Standing Room Only ' was out again. He was hoarse, but the hoarseness seemed to augment the volume of his voice. After the lecture he met many of his friends and admirers at the Rainier Club. Surely he is finding out that his misfortunes are his blessings . He has been the means of more real pleasure to his readers and hearers than he ever could have imagined had not this opportunity presented itself.

By the 14th they are in Whatcom, an area that will become Bellingham.

Whatcom is the original name for the city of **Bellingham**, the new name derived from the bay on which the city is situated. George Vancouver, who visited the area in June 1792, named the bay for Sir William Bellingham, the controller of the storekeeper's account of the Royal Navy. Prior to Euro-American settlement, this was in the homeland of Coast Salish peoples of the Lummi and neighboring tribes. The first Caucasian settlers reached the area in 1854. In 1858, the Fraser Canyon Gold Rush caused thousands of miners, storekeepers, and scalawags to head north from California. Whatcom grew overnight from a small northwest mill town to a bustling

seaport, the basetown for the Whatcom Trail, which led to the Fraser Canyon goldfields, used in open defiance of colonial Governor James Douglas's edict that all entry to the gold colony be made via Victoria, British Columbia.

Coal was mined in the area from the mid-19th to the mid-20th centuries. It was Henry Roeder who had discovered coal off the northeastern shore of Bellingham Bay, and in 1854 a group of San Francisco investors established the Bellingham Bay Coal Company. The mine extended to hundreds of miles of tunnels as deep as 1200 feet. It ran southwest to Bellingham Bay, on both sides of Squalicum Creek, an area of about one square mile. At its peak in the 1920s, the mine employed some 250 miners digging over 200,000 tons of coal annually. It was closed in 1955.

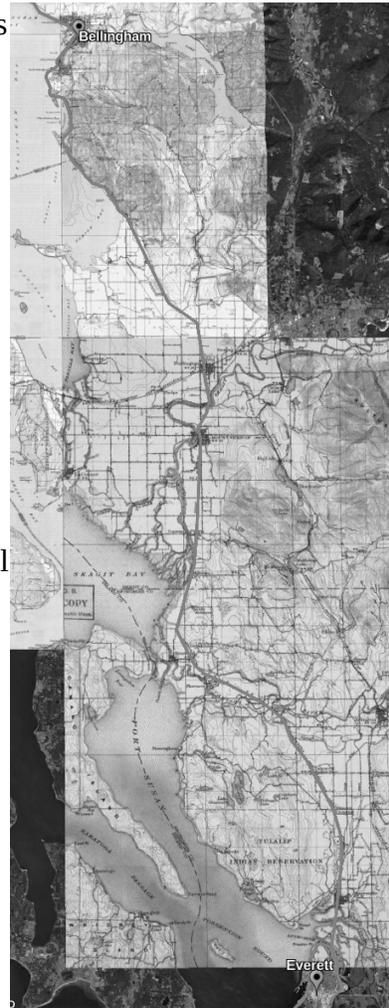
Bellingham was officially incorporated on November 4, 1903 as a result of the incremental consolidation of four towns initially situated around Bellingham Bay during the final decades of the 19th Century. Whatcom is today's "Old Town" area and was founded in 1852. Sehome was an area of downtown founded in 1854. Bellingham was further south near Boulevard Park, founded in 1853; while Fairhaven was a large commercial district with its own harbor, also founded in 1853.

Twain had a bad cold and his throat was in poor condition, but he lectured at the Lighthouse Theater, the fourth floor of a building with no fire escapes.

Twain's Notebook: Aug. 14. Left the ladies there with Sam Moffett, & Pond & I came on to / New Whatcom. Such a fearful hoarseness I could scarcely talk. We stopped at a fine hotel in Fairhaven, & went over in the trolley. Reception — the line stood, I moved along it.

These 2 towns are in effect one — & it makes a large one. But they are melancholy, for the boom is passed, & they have slumped. They have a trade by sea with the Orient for their fine lumber, & they will come up again....

In some of the towns, besides the public gambling, they used to have big whore-signs, "Dolly," "Mattie," &c, & the whs sitting under them. The signs remain, but not the women.



Everett to Whatcom

Pond: Wednesday, August 14th , Seattle to Whatcom.

‘ Mark's ' cold is getting worse (the first cold he ever had) . He worried and fretted all day ; two swearing fits under his breath, with a short interval between them, they lasted from our arrival in town until he went to sleep after midnight. It was

with great difficulty that he got through the lecture. The crowd, which kept stringing in at long intervals until half-past nine, made him so nervous that he left the stage for a time. I thought he was ill, and rushed back of the scenes, only to meet him in a white rage . He looked daggers at me, and remarked :

‘ You'll never play a trick like this on me again . Look at that audience . It isn't half in yet. ’

‘I explained that many of the people came from long distances , and that the cars ran only every half hour, the entire country on fire causing delays, and that was why the last instalment came so late . He cooled down and went at it again. He captured the crowd . He had a good time and an encore, and was obliged to give an additional story.

On the 15th, they are in Vancouver. Because of bad health and other delays, they remain in Vancouver until August 20th, arriving in Victoria around midnight. There he gives two lectures and a speech at a supper club.

Vancouver BC

Archaeological records indicate the presence of Aboriginal people in the Vancouver area from 8,000 to 10,000 years ago. The city is located in the traditional territories of the Squamish, Musqueam, and Tseil-Waututh (Burrard) peoples of the Coast Salish group. They had villages in various parts of present-day Vancouver, such as Stanley Park, False Creek, Kitsilano, Point Grey and near the mouth of the Fraser River. Europeans became acquainted with the area of the future Vancouver when José María Narváez of Spain explored the coast of present-day Point Grey and parts of Burrard Inlet in 1791. Francis Drake may have visited the area in 1579. The city takes its name from George Vancouver, who explored the inner harbour of Burrard Inlet in 1792 and gave various places British names.

The explorer and North West Company trader Simon Fraser and his crew became the first known Europeans to set foot on the site of the present-day city. In 1808, they travelled from the east down the Fraser River, perhaps as far as Point Grey. The Fraser Gold Rush of 1858 brought over 25,000 men, mainly from California, to nearby New Westminster (founded 14 February 1859) on the Fraser River, on their way to the Fraser Canyon, bypassing what would become Vancouver. Vancouver is among British Columbia's youngest cities; the first European settlement in what is now Vancouver was not until 1862 at McLeery's Farm on the Fraser River, just east of the ancient village of Musqueam in what is now Marpole. A sawmill established at Moodyville (now the City of North Vancouver) in 1863, began the city's long relationship with logging. It was quickly followed by mills owned by Captain Edward Stamp on the south shore of the inlet. Stamp, who had begun logging in the Port Alberni area, first

attempted to run a mill at Brockton Point, but difficult currents and reefs forced the relocation of the operation in 1867 to a point near the foot of Dunlevy Street. This mill, known as the Hastings Mill, became the nucleus around which Vancouver formed. The mill's central role in the city waned after the arrival of the Canadian Pacific Railway (CPR) in the 1880s. It nevertheless remained important to the local economy until it closed in the 1920s.

The settlement which came to be called Gastown grew up quickly around the original makeshift tavern established by "Gassy" Jack Deighton in 1867 on the edge of the Hastings Mill property. In 1870, the colonial government surveyed the settlement and laid out a townsite, renamed "Granville" in honour of the then-British Secretary of State for the Colonies, Lord Granville. This site, with its natural harbour, was selected in 1884 as the terminus for the Canadian Pacific Railway, to the disappointment of Port Moody, New Westminster and Victoria, all of which had vied to be the railhead. A railway was among the inducements for British Columbia to join the Confederation in 1871, but the Pacific Scandal and arguments over the use of Chinese labour delayed construction until the 1880s.

Pond: Thursday, August 15th, Vancouver, B.C. -The Vancouver.

' Mark's ' throat is in a very bad condition. It was a great effort to make himself heard. He is a thoroughbred-a great man, with wonderful will power, or he would have succumbed. We had a fine audience, a crowded house , very English , and I think ' Mark ' liked it. Everything here is English and Canadian. There is a rumor afloat that the country about us is beautiful, but we can't see it, for there is smoke, smoke everywhere, and no relief. My eyes are sore from it. We are told that the Warrimoo will not sail until Wednesday, so I have arranged for the Victoria lecture Tuesday.

Pond Friday, August 16th, Vancouver.

Our tour across the continent is virtually finished, and I feel the reaction . ' Othello's occupation gone . ' This morning 'Mark ' had a doctor , who says he is not seriously ill . Mrs. Clemens is curing him. The more I see of this lady the greater and more wonderful she appears to be. There are few women who could manage and absolutely rule such a nature as ' Mark's . ' She knows the gentle and smooth way over every obstruction he meets, and makes everything lovely. This has indeed been the most delightful tour I have ever made with any party, and I wish to record it as one of the most enjoyable of all my managerial experiences . I hardly ever expect another. 'Mark ' has written in a presentation copy of *Roughing It* :

Here ends one of the smoothest and pleasantest trips across the continent that any group of five has ever made . '

' Mark ' is better this evening, so we shall surely have a good lecture in Victoria.

Pond Saturday, August 17th, Vancouver.

We are all waiting for the news as to when the Warrimoo will be off the dry dock and ready to sail . ' Mark ' is getting better. I have booked Victoria for Tuesday, the 20th . " Mark ' has lain in bed all day, as usual, spending much time writing. Reporters have been anxious to meet and interview him, and I urged it . He finally said : ' If they'll excuse my bed, show them up . ' A quartet of bright young English journalists came up . They all had a good time , and made much of the last interview with ' Mark Twain ' in America, as it was . ' Mark ' was in excellent spirits . His throat is better .

Pond Monday, August 19th .

We are at Vancouver still , and the smoke is as firmly fixed as we are in the town . It is bad. 'Mark ' has not been very cheerful to -day. He doesn't get his voice back. He and I took a walk about the streets , and he seemed discouraged , I think on account of Mrs. Clemens's dread of the long voyage, and because of the unfavorable stories we have heard of the Warrimoo . We leave Vancouver, and hosts of new friends , for Victoria, B.C. , and then we part. That will not be easy, for we are all very happy. It makes my heart ache to see 'Mark ' so downhearted after such continued success as he has had.

Pond On August 20th

...the boat for Victoria arrived half an hour late . We all hurried to get on board, only to be told by the captain that he had one hundred and eighty tons of freight to discharge, and that it would be four o'clock before we left. This lost our Victoria engagement, which I was obliged to postpone by telegraph . ' Mark ' was not in condition to relish this news, and as he stood on the wharf after the ladies had gone aboard he took occasion to tell the captain, in very plain and unpious language, his opinion of a passenger-carrying company that, for a few dollars extra, would violate their contract and obligations to the public . They were a lot of somethings, and deserved the penitentiary. The captain listened without response, but got very red in the face. It seems the ladies had overheard the loud talk. Soon after ' Mark ' joined them he came to me and asked if I wouldn't see that captain and apologize for his unmanly abuse, and see if any possible restitution could be made . I did so, and the captain and ' Mark ' became quite friends.

We left Vancouver on The Charmer at six o'clock, arriving in Victoria a little after midnight.

Victoria B.C. is the capital city of the Canadian province of British Columbia, located on the southern tip of Vancouver Island off Canada's Pacific coast.

Named for Queen Victoria, the city is one of the oldest in the Pacific Northwest, with British settlement beginning in 1843. The city has retained a large number of its historic buildings, in

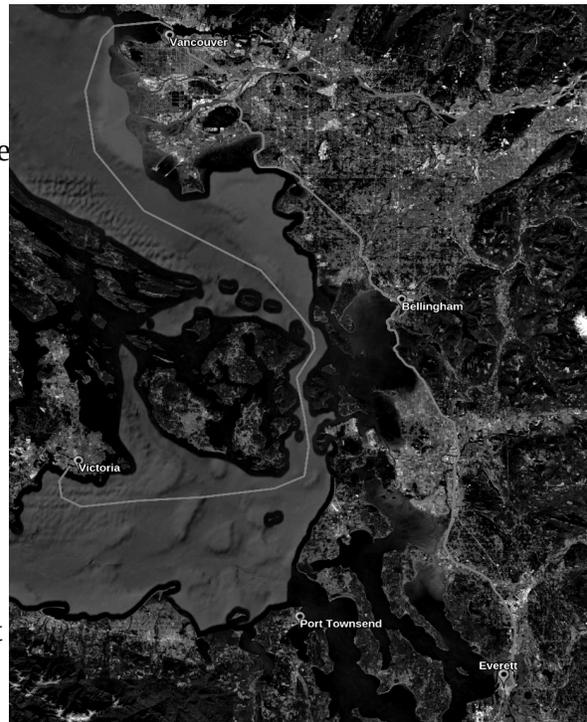
particular its two most famous landmarks, the Parliament Buildings (finished in 1897 and home of the Legislative Assembly of British Columbia) and the Empress Hotel (opened in 1908). The city's Chinatown is the second oldest in North America, after San Francisco.

Prior to the arrival of European navigators in the late 1700s, the Greater Victoria area was home to several communities of Coast Salish peoples, including the Lekwungen and the Saanich peoples.

In 1841, James Douglas was charged with the duty of setting up a trading post on the southern tip of Vancouver Island. Upon the recommendation by George Simpson a new more northerly post should be built in case Fort Vancouver fell into American hands. Douglas founded Fort Victoria on the site of present-day Victoria in anticipation of the outcome of the Oregon Treaty in 1846, extending the British North America/United States border along the 49th parallel from the Rockies to the Strait of Georgia.

In 1843, a Hudson's Bay Company trading post was erected on a site originally called Camosack meaning "rush of water". Known briefly as "Fort Albert", the settlement was renamed Fort Victoria in November 1843, in honour of Queen Victoria. The Songhees established a village across the harbour from the fort. The Songhees' village was later moved north of Esquimalt in 1911. The crown colony was established in 1849. Between 1850–1854, a series of treaty agreements known as the Douglas Treaties were made with indigenous communities to purchase certain plots of land in exchange for goods. These agreements contributed to a town being laid out on the site and made the capital of the colony, though controversy has followed about the ethical negotiation and upholding of rights by the colonial government.

When news of the discovery of gold on the British Columbia mainland reached San Francisco in 1858, Victoria became the port, supply base, and outfitting centre for miners on their way to the Fraser Canyon gold fields, mushrooming from a population of 300 to over 5,000 within a few days. Victoria was incorporated as a city in 1862. In 1862 Victoria was the epicentre of the 1862 Pacific Northwest smallpox epidemic which devastated First Nations, killing about two-



Everett to Victoria B.C.

thirds of all natives in British Columbia. In 1865, the North Pacific home of the Royal Navy was established in Esquimalt and today is Canada's Pacific coast naval base. In 1866 when the island was politically united with the mainland, Victoria was designated the capital of the new united colony instead of New Westminster – an unpopular move on the Mainland – and became the provincial capital when British Columbia joined the Canadian Confederation in 1871.

In the latter half of the 19th century, the Port of Victoria became one of North America's largest importers of opium, serving the opium trade from Hong Kong and distribution into North America. Opium trade was legal and unregulated until 1865, when the legislature issued licences and levied duties on its import and sale. The opium trade was banned in 1908.

In 1886, with the completion of the Canadian Pacific Railway terminus on Burrard Inlet, Victoria's position as the commercial centre of British Columbia was irrevocably lost to the city of Vancouver. The city subsequently began cultivating an image of genteel civility within its natural setting, aided by the impressions of visitors such as Rudyard Kipling, the opening of the popular Butchart Gardens in 1904 and the construction of the Empress Hotel by the Canadian Pacific Railway in 1908.

Pond Wednesday, August 21st, Victoria, B.C. -The Driad

‘ Mark ’ has been in bed all day ; he doesn't seem to get strength. He smokes constantly, and I fear too much also ; still, he may stand it. Physicians say it will eventually kill him .

We had a good audience . Lord and Lady Aberdeen , who were in a box, came back on the stage after the lecture and said many very nice things of the entertainment, offering to write to friends in Australia about it. ' Mark's ' voice began strong, but showed fatigue toward the last. His audience, which was one of the most appreciative he ever had, was in great sympathy with him as they realized the effort he was obliged to make, owing to his hoarseness .

Twain lectured at the **Victoria** theater, which was reportedly associated with the **Driad Hotel**. It was built around 1885 with an Italian-style facade and had a capacity of 800 patrons. The theatre complex was built alongside the Driad House Hotel, and its upper floors even housed hotel rooms as an annex to the hotel.

The **Driad House** was a large, square, and compact brick building, 4 stories in height, surmounted by a tower, from which there was a panoramic view of the city and country. This hotel had, on the ground floor, spacious parlors, dining rooms, and a very commodious and handsome bar-room. The bed-rooms were 60 in number, with ample accommodation for 90 persons. The Driad was celebrated for the excellence of its cuisine. *-1882 Victoria, BC Directory*

From Allingham, Philip V. "Mark Twain in Winnipeg, Manitoba: July 26-28, 1895." The Aberdeen's had been in Toronto at the same time as Twain's tour. Although they did not meet then, the Toronto Free Press, wrote of the concurrence:

Another celebrity who made that same page of the Free Press was Lady Aberdeen, wife of the Canadian Governor-General, the Queen's representative in the self-governing Dominion. While the paper was praising Twain as "inimitable," it was criticizing the Governor-General's lady "for Familiarity With Servants." Just as Frankland gently rebukes his wife for doing in Wilkie Collins' *The Dead Secret* (1857), she is chastised for shaking hands all round with the male and female domestic servants. "Canadian society" (that is, the elite of Toronto, Ottawa, and Montreal) was apparently upset by Lady Aberdeen's "unseemly interference with households where she is a guest." The Marchioness of Alberdeen and Temair had accompanied her husband, John Campbell Gordon, First Marquess of Aberdeen and Temair, to Canada in 1893 upon his appointment as Governor-General. Thus, in 1895 she had been over two years in the country. Her strong social conscience caused her to embroil herself in political crises from 1894 to 1896, although Twain as a visitor would probably not have been aware of these. What the nineties of the next century would term a women's rights activist, Lady was instrumental in founding both the National Council of Women and the Victorian Order of Nurses. As the American author was departing Winnipeg for points south, their Excellencies the Governor-General and the Countess of were leaving Regina on their private railway car "Victoria" for Qu'Appelle "to meet the Indians."

Pond, August 21st continued:

A telegram from Mr. George McL. Brown says the Warrimoo will sail at six o'clock to -morrow evening. This is the last appearance of ' Mark Twain ' in America for more than a year I know, and I much fear the very last, for it doesn't seem possible that his physical strength can hold out. After the lecture to-night he expected to visit a club with Mr. Campbell, who did not come around . He and I, therefore, went out for a walk. He was tired and feeble, but did not want to go back to the hotel. He was nervous and weak, and disappointed, for he had expected to meet and entertain a lot of gentlemen. He and I are alike in one respect : we don't relish disappointment.

Pond Thursday, August 22d.

We are in Victoria yet. The blessed ' tie that binds ' seems to be drawing tighter and tighter as the time for our final separation approaches . We shall never be happier in any combination, and Mrs. Clemens is the great magnet. What a noble woman she is ! It is ' Mark Twain's ' wife who makes his works so great. She edits everything and brings purity, dignity, and sweetness to his writings. In ' Joan of Arc ' I see Mrs. Clemens as much as ' Mark Twain . '

Friday, August 23d, Victoria.

'Mark ' and I were out all day getting books, cigars , and tobacco. He bought three thousand Manilla cheroots [this is known to be an exaggeration] , thinking that with four pounds of Durham smoking tobacco he could make the three thousand cheroots last four weeks . If perpetual smoking ever kills a man, I don't see how ' Mark Twain ' can expect to escape. He and Mrs. Clemens, an old friend of ' Mark's ' and his wife, now living near here, went for a drive, and were out most of the day. This is remarkable for him. I never knew him to do such a thing before.

The Warrimoo arrived about one o'clock . We all went on board and lunched together for the last time. Mrs. Clemens is disappointed in the ship. The whole thing looks discouraging, and our hearts are almost broken with sympathy for her. She tells me she is going to brave it through, for she must do it. It is for her children . Our party got out on the deck of the Warrimoo, and Mr. W. G. Chase, a passenger, took a snapshot of our quintette . Then wife and I went ashore, and the old ship started across the Pacific Ocean with three of our most beloved friends on board. We waved to one another as long as they kept in sight.

Before sailing ' Mark Twain ' wrote a letter to the editor of the San Francisco Examiner, from which I quote :

Now that I reflect, perhaps it is a little immodest in me to talk about my paying my debts, when by my own confession I am blandly getting ready to unload them on the whole English- speaking world. I didn't think of that — well, no matter, so long as they are paid .

Lecturing is gymnastics, chest-expander, medicine, mind healer, blues destroyer, all in one. I am twice as well as I was when I started out. I have gained nine pounds in twenty-eight days, and expect to weigh six hundred before January. I haven't had a blue day in all the twenty-eight . My wife and daughter are accumulating health and strength and flesh nearly as fast as I am. When we reach home two years hence,we think we can exhibit as freaks .

MARK TWAIN.

Vancouver, B.C. , August 15, 1895.



Mark Twain, Clara Clemens and Olivia Langdon Clemens aboard the S. S. Warimoo, standing behind sign that reads, "Notice: All Stowaways will be prosecuted at Honolulu and returned to this port by. By Order," August 23, 1895. Mark Twain Archive , Elmira College; <https://nyheritage.org/citation>

August 23, Friday, Sam, Olivia and Clara depart Victoria B.C. on board the R.M.S. Warrimoo, bound for Australia and a journey around the world.

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