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The Bellingham Centennial, Local History, and the University

Kevin Allen Leonard

Recently I found myself searching for information for an article about race, gender, and sexuality after World War II. At the center of this article is a person who lived most of her adult life in Oxnard, California. As I pursued information about this topic, I found a local historical journal, the *Ventura County Historical Society Quarterly*, on the shelves of a research library. I pulled a volume from the shelf and leafed through it, scanning the table of contents of each issue. Not finding any articles that related to my topic, I removed another volume from the shelf. After I had examined the tables of contents of more than twenty issues, I concluded that it was unlikely that I would find any articles relating to my topic in the *Quarterly*. Every issue of the journal was filled with articles on nineteenth-century topics. Most articles described either the achievements of the county's "pioneers"—the Anglo-Americans who moved into the area in the second half of the nineteenth century—or the history of buildings that had survived to become landmarks.

My experience with the *Ventura County Historical Society Quarterly* did not surprise me. I have encountered local historians and read articles in local historical journals since I was an undergraduate. Although some local historians in the western United States are interested in the history of their communities in the twentieth century, most local historians seem to be more interested in the nineteenth century. The great, romantic stories of the nineteenth-century West stir the imaginations of many people with an interest in history. Many Americans relish the stories of the voyages of explorers such as Lewis and Clark, the adventures of colorful fur trappers and traders, the arduous journeys of men and women who crossed the continent on the overland trails, the bloody wars between the U.S. Army and the region's Natives, and the construction of the transcontinental railroad. Others faithfully and diligently trace out elaborate genealogies of their

ancestors, pioneer or otherwise. The attraction to the nineteenth century (and in some cases even earlier times) may also be due in part to the dramatic changes that have occurred in the region in the last one hundred years that have rendered the nineteenth century all the more "historical" and even exotic. I think that many local historians are fascinated by what is old. They wonder what it must have been like to live before the streets were paved, before the freeway was built, before the mall was constructed. For many people, old buildings are a link to the past. For many, that past is an antidote, even escape from the turmoil and uncertainties of the present.

Ironically, while some local historians celebrate "history" because of its apparent difference from the "modern" present—a juxtaposition of the complex (or "soft") world of today as an opposite of the simple (or "hardy") world of the past—other local historians highlight the arrival of modern technologies, politics, and cultural trends as a means to connect their locales to the progress of the nation. Their studies have the effect of signaling that their town was not left in the distant pioneer past, but was instead part of the saga of societal and national progress. While this style of history does link local issues to larger historical trends, its focus on "firsts" and exceptions to the rule make it difficult for its practitioners to speak to how the events they describe relate to the lived and everyday lives of most area residents.

Local and academic historians seemingly stand on two sides of a ravine. The former focus on local pioneers and old buildings. Practitioners of local history often have little formal training in the academic discipline of history. Some are not interested in the work of academic historians, because they believe too little of it relates directly to places they know and about which they care deeply. On the other side of the ravine, many academic historians look down upon local historians, usually because local historians' interests seem provincial; they rarely seem to be able to relate the landmark church or school building or the actions of a local pioneer or family member to the larger questions that preoccupy members of college and university history departments.

For quite some time, academic historians focused their stud-

ies on who they deemed “important” and “significant” men in history, usually prominent white political leaders. Obviously few “locals” made it into that pantheon. In the last thirty years, a great many academic historians have come to focus on issues of class, race, gender, and sexuality thereby calling into question the “great man” school of historical study. Yet the debates in which these historians engage and the complex and sometimes obtuse language they use too often, even if unintentionally, alienates nonspecialists and nonacademics (and some academics).

Local historians who are not terribly interested in the work of academic historians thus have a point because many academic historians also tend to ignore the specific, local details that were important to their subjects. For some such historians, for example, workers are simply workers. They are important when they get together to form a union or to strike. But these scholars lose sight of some things that were very important to many workers—the homes and the neighborhoods that they created and inhabited. Academic historians also have a point. Even other local historians might find themselves wondering why a particular building or person deserves the attention of historians.

The chasm between local historians and the academic discipline can be bridged. Many of the monographs in social and cultural history that have been published in the last thirty years can be considered local history, in that they focus on events in a single town, city, or neighborhood. The best of these studies, such as Karen Sawislak’s *Smoldering City*, Elizabeth Jameson’s *All that Glitters*, and Laurie Mercier’s *Anaconda*, acknowledge the particular characteristics peculiar to that place while at the same time they place events in that place into a larger context.¹

When I agreed to teach History 491: Local and Regional Community History in the summer of 2003, I decided that I wanted to help students to construct a bridge between the worlds of academic history and local history. I wanted them to use the analytical tools they are encouraged to develop in their history classes to examine sources about a local topic. I wanted them to explore the connections be-

tween developments in Bellingham and events on the regional and national levels. In this endeavor, I was assisted by the course's focus on the Bellingham Centennial. To commemorate the centennial, it made sense to focus more on the last hundred years than on the fifty years that preceded them. Like all local historians, each of the five students in the course had the opportunity to choose a topic of interest to her or him. Some chose topics related to their personal interests. One student who has worked and currently works for a grocery store, for example, chose to write about the history of Brown and Cole Stores and Haggan. Others developed topics that Chris Friday or I had suggested, but they shaped these topics based on what they found compelling as they did their research.

In part because students were studying the history of Bellingham in the twentieth century, and in part because they are students of history in a university (making them in some respects academic historians), their topics did not glorify the actions of a few "founders." Instead, all of the students were interested in how Bellingham residents from a variety of ethnic, cultural, and class backgrounds perceived prostitution, health, the Spanish influenza epidemic, grocery stores, and the freeway. Their articles reflect trends in the discipline of history in the last thirty years to study groups of people (defined by their ethnicity, class, or gender, for example) and cultural and social processes. These trends within the discipline have escaped the interest of many local historians. At the same time, by focusing on Bellingham, I think that these students have kept in mind something that academic historians often overlook—that the people we study care passionately about their local surroundings and everyday, seemingly mundane events.

This course reinforced my belief that academic historians should take seriously local history and that local historians cannot afford to ignore academic history. Fortunately, a relatively small number of students opted to take this course during the summer. The small size of the class made for lively discussions; many students felt free to offer suggestions to their classmates. Also, the small number of students left open many topics to be explored in the future. My prepara-

tion for and participation in the course as well as my reading in western U.S. history and U.S. urban history helped me to identify a number of topics that I believe point to ways for local and academic historians to bridge the apparent chasm between them.

Two large overlapping developments in the discipline of history in the past half century help make the search for such a link possible. The first development was the rise of social history, which emerged in the 1950s, but took hold among historians especially in the 1970s. These academics rejected the "top-down," frequently elitist intellectual and political history of their academic forbearers and used census data, property tax records, and other government information to trace the movements of working-class and middle-class people over time. For a brief moment, academic and local historians shared an intense desire to understand local events. In the era of the U.S. Bicentennial, this made for a potent source of amateur and academic activity fueled by federal and state funding. This kind of data demonstrated to social historians that people moved from one neighborhood to another or from one city to another, and within a place changed jobs often, but not why and not much at all regarding their beliefs or how local issues linked to larger political forces.

By the 1980s, frustrated by only describing what they found, many social historians turned to cultural history to help explain why people took actions and used that to establish the political and social consequences of local actions. This generation of social historians turned cultural historians (and entire new generations of historians since then) are able to examine documents such as newspapers, magazines, books, church bulletins, theater programs, club newsletters, radio programs, and motion pictures in an effort to understand what middle-class and working-class people thought and believed. These kinds of evidence, however, must be examined with great care. It would be misguided, for example, to conclude that audience members accepted uncritically and fully the ideas expressed to them in newspapers, books, magazines, and motion pictures. Cultural history has helped historians to understand what middle-class and working-class people did when they were not working or directly engaged in formal political actions.²

Local historians could pursue a potentially unlimited number and variety of cultural history topics. Indeed, they have, but I urge them to seek out the broadest possible meaning by drawing upon the work of historians who have examined the leisure-time experiences of workers. By doing so, local historians could build on the existing cataloging of local theaters and focus their attention on theatrical productions in Bellingham.³ What kinds of plays did people go to see in Bellingham in the early twentieth century? At mid-century? Later in the century? What were the messages of these plays? How did people respond to the plays? Were there controversial performances that elicited protests in the form of letters to the editor or complaints to theater owners or local institutions that sponsored the plays? Who went to see these plays? Who performed in the plays? For guidance in examining what theater productions can tell us about Bellingham residents at a given point in time, local historians might turn toward Lisbeth Haas's *Conquests and Historical Identities in California*, which includes a chapter on Spanish-language theaters in southern California in the early twentieth century, and Matt Garcia's *A World of Its Own*, which includes a chapter on the Padua Hills Theater in Claremont, California.⁴

In a related vein, local historians could also examine the history of motion pictures in Bellingham, moving beyond the celebration of openings, a listing of what played in town, and attempts to simply show that Bellingham was somehow "modern" enough to have movie theaters. While such an approach would detail which silent films were shown in Bellingham, it would necessarily ask what the messages of these films were. Did different theaters cater to different audiences? Who went to the movies? What happened when talkies supplanted silent films? Were the messages of talkies different from the messages of silent films? If so, how? How did Bellingham residents respond to various films? Were there films that elicited protests in the form of letters to the editor or complaints to theater owners or elected officials? How were films advertised in the local papers? Did advertisements change over time and why? How did the experiences of Bellingham residents compare with the experiences of other people in

other communities at the same time? For guidance in approaching this topic, local historians might look toward Lizabeth Cohen's *Making a New Deal*, which includes a discussion of neighborhood movie houses, and articles in other local and state history publications, such as *Gateway Heritage* and *Minnesota History*.⁵

In their leisure time some Bellingham residents visited local parks. Most of these are features of the twentieth century and need to be viewed in that context. A local historian could examine why Bellingham's parks were established, how the city's parks were designed, and how local residents used those parks. What were the ideologies that lay behind the founding of Bellingham's parks? Did the founders of Bellingham's parks see the parks as a way to improve working-class residents by exposing them to beauty? Did they see the parks as a means to preserve "nature"? How did these ideologies affect the designs of Bellingham's parks? Did people in the early twentieth century see parks primarily as neighborhood amenities? Or did they see parks as places to which people would drive from homes a considerable distance away? Did park users continually demand more and better parks? Or did support for parks wax and wane throughout the twentieth century? How has the creation of public and private athletic facilities altered public park use? If the call for more and better parks was not constant, how did park users' requests of their public officials change over time? Why might these requests have changed? How did the discourse surrounding parks in Bellingham compare to that in other communities? A local historian interested in parks should begin by reading Aaron Joy's overview of the city's parks as well as books and articles about the history of parks.⁶

In their time off, some Bellingham residents visited local saloons, at least prior to 1910, when Bellingham "went dry." A few years ago, Madelon Powers published *Faces along the Bar: Lore and Order in the Workingman's Saloon*, an important monograph on the cultural history of saloons and drinking. Although Powers based her conclusions on documents from around the United States, her focus was national, and she did not explore in much depth the possibility of local variations in saloons and bar culture. It might be difficult

to accumulate much information about saloons in the period before Prohibition, the material produced by the advocates of Prohibition promises to provide some insight into what happened inside the doors of Bellingham's saloons in that era. There is also much to be done on both the local and the national level dealing with Prohibition and the years that followed Prohibition. What arguments did Bellingham's Prohibitionists make in the early twentieth century? Why did they succeed in 1910 when they had not succeeded before that date? What happened to saloon-goers once their places of leisure were closed down? Did saloon culture disappear? Or was it transformed into something else? Were there many places in Bellingham where people could illegally obtain alcohol? What happened when Prohibition ended in 1933? Did the pre-Prohibition culture simply return? Or did new rituals emerge?

Religion was and is important to many Bellingham residents. While local studies of various church institutions provide a base, a local historian could explore what religion meant to different people in Bellingham at different points in time. What did it mean, for example, to be Jewish in Bellingham in the early twentieth century? Did the meaning of being Jewish in Bellingham change over the course of the twentieth century? What did it mean to be Catholic in Bellingham in the early twentieth century? Did the meaning of being Catholic in Bellingham change over the course of the twentieth century? Did Bellingham's Catholic parishes encourage greater communication across ethnic boundaries? Or did Irish Catholics remain apart from eastern European Catholics and German Catholics? How have those congregations responded to the increasing presence of Latino and Asian Catholics in the last century? What were the topics of sermons heard by Bellingham Protestants in the early twentieth century? This kind of local religious history would move beyond a simple, descriptive chronology of a single congregation. Local historians who are interested in the history of religious culture in Bellingham could begin by reading James P. Wind's *Places of Worship: Exploring their History*, Keith A. Murray's history of several of Bellingham's churches, and some of the books and articles about congregations in other

places.⁸

A number of cultural historians have examined community rituals and celebrations in order to understand the beliefs and values of the community's residents. A local historian could examine such rituals and celebrations in Bellingham, such as the Mount Baker Marathon, the Tulip Festival of the 1920s, the Spring Festival of the 1930s and 1940s, and the Blossom Time Festival of the post-World War II years, and the more recent Ski to Sea. Who created these festivals? Why did they create them? What do these celebrations reveal about the beliefs and values of Bellingham's residents? Did these beliefs and values change over time? A local historian could also look at the character of other civic celebrations, such as celebrations of Thanksgiving, Labor Day, Memorial Day, and Independence Day. What do these celebrations reveal about the beliefs and values of Bellingham residents? Ethnic and religious holidays would also provide suitable subjects for historical research. There are articles in local and regional historical journals from other communities that could prove helpful for local historians interested in these kinds of ceremonies and celebrations.⁹

Cultural history often overlaps with approaches to topics and methods of historical analysis most frequently categorized as social, economic, and political history. A number of topics that are difficult to pigeonhole are available for historians who want to bridge the gap between local history and academic history. Native people have been largely invisible in much of recent local history. Often, local historians in northwestern Washington seem to accept the conventional wisdom that says that Indians were only important in the early years of contact between Natives, Europeans, and European Americans. This "conventional wisdom" rests on many erroneous assumptions about Native peoples—that they did not adapt to European American ways of life, that they did not live in cities, that they did not participate in the "modern" economy that European Americans established in the Northwest. Recent research by a number of scholars indicates that there were considerable numbers of Natives in cities such as Portland and Seattle, as well as Indians who lived on the periphery of these urban-

ized areas. Native peoples, most notably members of the Lummi nation, have always had connections to Bellingham. Some have commuted to work in the city from the reservation. Others have moved from the reservation into the city. For others, Bellingham was the market to which they brought their produce. Historians could use census data, city directories, reports from the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, and local newspapers to explore the contributions of Native people to Bellingham's history and the relations among Native people and Bellingham's other residents. A useful starting point may be Alexandra Harmon's *Indians in the Making*, which examines the experiences of Native people around Puget Sound.¹⁰

The history of work and workers in Bellingham deserves more attention. Since I have lived in Bellingham, there has been a fairly steady debate about the decline in high-wage jobs in Bellingham and Whatcom County. Most people who are dissatisfied with this decline and who want to see local officials attract more of these kinds of jobs to Bellingham argue that in the past many more of the available jobs were high-wage jobs. This argument, it seems to me, draws heavily on unexamined assumptions about the history of workers and work in Bellingham. Although research on this topic could draw a local historian into some contentious political debates, this is ultimately what history should do—it should be relevant to the present. When historians shy away from controversy, they implicitly support those people who argue that history is irrelevant. How many high-wage jobs were there in Bellingham in the early and mid-twentieth century? How much did workers earn for their toil in the coal mines, lumber mills, and salmon canneries? Did they earn enough to support a family? How did these work experiences and wages differ for men and women? Were certain jobs segregated by ethnicity and race as well as gender and if so, why and what were the consequences? Did workers in these industries face seasonal layoffs? If so, what did they do when the mills or canneries were not operating? When did workers in these industries unionize? What kinds of benefits did workers gain from unionization? When did the mills and canneries shut down? Why did these mills and canneries close? Did local officials in Bellingham have

any way to prevent the loss of jobs as lumber mills and salmon canneries closed? A local historian interested in these questions might begin by reading William G. Robbins's work on the lumber industry and the books by Chris Friday and August C. Radke on salmon canneries.¹¹

A relatively new development within the discipline of history is the emergence of environmental history. Some environmental history remains primarily a history of the environmental movement and its impact on public policy. Another important strain of environmental history, however, is effectively local history. It argues that historians must acknowledge that all people have a relationship with a natural environment which they cannot completely control. Most of this kind of environmental history, exemplified by Richard White's *Land Use, Environment, and Social Change, a study of Island County, Washington*, and Donald Worster's *Dust Bowl*, has focused on rural areas.¹² These rural areas have been easier for historians to study because there are already a wide array of sources produced by foresters and agricultural scientists about many of these areas. Recently, however, some environmental historians have begun to study the urban environment with a range of topics for a local historian to explore. It would be valuable, for example, to explore what specific environmental features have meant to Bellingham residents. In addition to viewing parks as more than just sites of leisure activity, local historians also might ask how residents of Bellingham throughout the twentieth century perceived Bellingham Bay? How did they perceive the waterfront? Such examinations force questions of how perceptions of the bay and the waterfront changed over time? Historians need to ask why might they have changed? They need to ask what are the implications, for example, of the 1970s conversion of the older sewage treatment facilities at the mouth of Whatcom Creek into salmon rearing ponds? Some urban environmental historians, such as Joel A. Tarr and Martin V. Melosi, have drawn attention to the wastes produced by homes and industries in urban areas.¹³ How did Bellingham residents deal with the results of urbanization and industrialization? In many cities, anti-smoke campaigns emerged as early as the late nine-

teenth century, although smoke abatement ordinances did not become widespread until World War II. Did Bellingham residents ever complain about odors, fumes, or smoke emanating from the industries along the waterfront? If so, did public officials ever act to restrict certain kinds of land uses? Did Bellingham residents become concerned with the quality of water in Bellingham Bay and Lake Whatcom? Was there any public support for sewage treatment or restrictions on the dumping of industrial wastes into the bay or lake before state and federal water quality legislation was enacted? Another historian could explore the debates about Bellingham's growth. Was there a movement to restrict the city's growth into surrounding areas? If so, when did such a movement emerge? Did the movement have any success in restricting or managing such growth?

In addition to these topics that I think reflect at least a few significant developments within the academic discipline of history, the articles that follow were written by the Western Washington University students were part of either a special local and community history course I taught in the summer of 2003 or a senior thesis seminar. The articles published here as well as their work in the classrooms even if unpublished suggest other directions in which future research might go. Christina Claussen's article on Bellingham's sanitariums and Melissa Mabee's about the Spanish influenza epidemic of 1918-1919 both indicate how much value there is in future explorations of the history of health in Bellingham. A local historian might want to explore changing notions of public health in the city. Who had the power to decide who or what constituted a threat to public health? How did Bellingham residents respond to other epidemics, including HIV/AIDS? Local historians interested in public health might want to begin by reading Nayan Shah's study of public health discourse in San Francisco.¹⁴

Stephanie Reynold's work for the class about prostitution, which did not appear in this volume, opens the door to studies of sex and sexuality in Bellingham. These topics can be difficult to explore, because there is not a large quantity of readily accessible sources about these topics. The work of some recent historians, however,

particularly Sharon Ullman, John Howard, and Peter Boag, suggests that these topics are not impossible for historians to explore¹⁵ Police arrest records, criminal court records, and the records of groups that advocated a change in public policy could allow local historians to draw conclusions about Bellingham residents' perceptions of sex and sexuality at different points in the twentieth century. Did reformers' concern with prostitution continue beyond the Progressive period? Were there other efforts to police sexual behavior in Bellingham? For example, did reformers express any concern about a decline in sexual morality in the 1920s and during and after World War II, or again in the 1970s and late 1990s, as they did in some other communities?*

Robert Wayne Parker's article suggests to us that we need to think more carefully about how women engaged formal political institutions and how they entered into the workforce. We should not assume that workers, men or women, experienced wartime labor markets in the same way across the country or in the region. Hence, his evaluation of Bellingham in relationship to Elizabeth Faue's study of Minneapolis models how local historians can utilize other works to assess their particular locale¹⁶.

Jessica McDaniels's class paper and James V. Hillegas's article suggest a number of topics that might be characterized as spatial or geographic history. Jessica's paper indicates that businesses such as the Haggen grocery store moved out of the central business district as people moved into neighborhoods farther from downtown. Other local historians could examine other dimensions of this process. What kinds of other businesses moved from downtown? Did they move simply because their customers were moving away? Were there business owners who decided not to move? If so, why did they decide to remain downtown? How did different groups of Bellingham residents perceive the central business district? How did changes in transportation affect the central business district? Historians interested in pursuing these topics might begin by reading Lizabeth Cohen's important article about the development of regional shopping centers.¹⁷

The preceding paragraphs describe only a few of the many possible topics that local historians could pursue. I would like to en-

courage amateur local historians and academic historians to continue to work together in bridging the divide between them. In preparing this essay, I discovered that the university library does not own copies of important and helpful guides for local historians, such as most of the series of books published by the Association for State and Local History.¹⁸ I have remedied this situation by asking the library to purchase these books. I will continue to encourage Western students in my courses to consider local history topics, and I will continue to steer them toward valuable sources of information, such as the Center for Pacific Northwest Studies, the Bellingham Public Library, Whatcom Museum of History and Art, and the members of the Whatcom County Historical Society. I would also like to extend an invitation to amateur local historians who are not Western students to enroll in a local history course through the SPAN program the next time one is offered.

Ultimately, we can only bridge the perceptual gap between local and academic historians by understanding and appreciating what we do. We must all ask what are motivations for doing history are and look honestly at the personal, public (professional and social), and cultural forces the drive us to examine the past. Knowing more about ourselves and our fellow practitioners should help us get past mutual visions of the "other" group as either esoteric or parochial. Unbridgeable divisions only cut us all off from the most substantive reason to do history—to shed light on who we are as well as who we have been.

ENDNOTES

1Karen Sawislak, *Smoldering City: Chicagoans and the Great Fire, 1871-1874* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1995); Elizabeth Jameson, *All that Glitters: Class, Conflict, and Community in Cripple Creek* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1998); and Laurie Mercier, *Anaconda: Labor, Community, and Culture in Montana's Smelter City* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2001)

2See Roy Rosenzweig, *Eight Hours for What We Will: Workers and Leisure in an Industrial City, 1870-1920* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1983), Kathy Lee Peiss, *Cheap Amusements: Working Women and Leisure in*

Turn-of-the-century New York (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1986), and Mary Murphy, *Mining Cultures: Men, Women, and Leisure in Butte, 1914-41* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1997).

3 E. Rosamonde Ellis Van Miert, *Old Hotels of the Bellingham Bay Cities: The Byron, the Leopold, the Henry, the Bellingham (Towers)* (Bellingham, Wash.: The author, 1998).

4 See Tony Stasiak, "Stage Presence: Bellingham Theatre Guild Celebrates 75 Years of Plays," *Bellingham Herald*, "Take Five," 25 September 2003, 3; Lisbeth Haas, *Conquests and Historical Identities in California, 1769-1936* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995); Matt García, *A World of its Own: Race, Labor, and Citrus in the Making of Greater Los Angeles 1900-1970* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2001); and Kathryn J. Oberdeck, "Contested Cultures of American Refinement: Theatrical Manager Sylvester Poli, his Audiences, and the Vaudeville Industry, 1890-1920," *Radi- cal History Review* 66 (1996): 40-91.

5 See Lizabeth Cohen, *Making a New Deal: Industrial Workers in Chicago, 1919-1939* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 120-129; Julie A. Willett, "'The Prudes, the Public and the Motion Pictures:' The Movie Censorship Campaign in St. Louis, 1913-1917," *Gateway Heritage* 15, no. 4 (1995): 42-55, and Cynthia A. Hanson, "Catheryne Cooke Gilman and the Minneapolis Better Movie Movement," *Minnesota History* 51, no. 6 (1989): 202-216.

6 See Aaron Joy, *A History of Bellingham's Parks: A Historical and Photographical Tour* (Bellingham: A. M. Joy, 1999); Galen Cranz, *The Politics of Park Design: A History of Urban Parks in America* (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1982); Terence Young, "Social Reform Through Parks: The American Civic Association's Program For a Better America," *Journal of Historical Geography* [Great Britain] 22, no. 4 (1996): 460-472; Julie A. Tuason, "Rus in Urbe: The Spatial Evolution of Urban Parks in The United States, 1850-1920," *Historical Geography* 25 (1997): 124-147; Peter C. Baldwin, *Domesticating the Street: The Reform of Public Space in Hartford, 1850-1930* (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 1999); and Andrew J. Schmidt, "Pleasure and Recreation for the People: Planning St. Paul's Como Park," *Minnesota History* 58, no. 1 (2002): 40-58.

7 See Tony Stasiak, "3-B: Boom to Bust," *Bellingham Herald*, 25 September 2003, C1; Elaine Frantz Parsons, "Risky Business: The Uncertain Boundaries of Manhood in the Midwestern Saloon," *Journal of Social History* 34, no. 2 (2000): 283-307; Thomas J. Noel, *The City and the Saloon: Denver, 1858-1916* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1985); Perry R. Duis, *The Saloon: Public Drinking in Chicago and Boston, 1880-1920* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1983); and Elliott West, *The Saloon on the Rocky Mountain Mining Frontier* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1979).

8 James P. Wind, *Places of Worship: Exploring their History* (Walnut Creek, Calif.: AltaMira Press, 1997); Keith A. Murray, *Centennial Churches of Washington's "Fourth Corner"* (Bellingham: Center for Pacific Northwest Studies, Western Washington University, 1985); Samuel Claude Shepherd, *Avenues of Faith: Shaping the Urban Religious Culture of Richmond, Virginia, 1900-1929* (Tuscaloosa, Ala.: University of Alabama Press, 2001); Norton B. Stern, "Santa Ana, California: Its First Jews and Jewish Congregations," *Western States Jewish Historical Quarterly* 14, no. 3 (1982): 248-256; *The American Catholic Parish: A History from 1850 to the Present*, ed. Jay P. Dolan (New York: Paulist Press, 1987); *Urban American Catholicism: The Culture and Identity of the American Catholic People*, ed. Timothy J. Meagher (New York: Garland, 1988); *A Church of Many Cultures: Selected Historical Essays on Ethnic American Catholicism*, ed. Dolores Liptak (New York: Garland, 1988); *Material Culture and People's Art among the Norwegians in America*, ed. Marion John Nelson (Northfield, Minn.: Norwegian-American Historical Association, 1994); Stephen J. Shaw, *The Catholic Parish as a Way-Station of Ethnicity and Americanization: Chicago's Germans and Italians, 1903-1939* (Brooklyn, N.Y.: Carlson, 1991); William F. Hartford, *Working People of Holyoke: Class and Ethnicity in a Massachusetts Mill Town, 1850-1960* (New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 1990); and Carol K. Coburn, "Ethnicity, Religion, and Gender: The Women of Block, Kansas, 1868-1940," *Great Plains Quarterly* 8, no. 4 (1988): 222-232.

9 See John Bodnar, "Commemorative Activity in Twentieth-century Indianapolis: the Invention of Civic Traditions," *Indiana Magazine of History* 87, no. 1 (1991): 1-23; David Glassberg, "Public Ritual and Cultural Hierarchy: Philadelphia's Civic Celebrations at the Turn of the Century," *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* 107, no. 3 (1983): 421-448; Audrey C. Shalinsky, "Indian-White Relations as Reflected in Twentieth Century Wyoming Town Celebrations," *Heritage of the Great Plains* 21, no. 2 (1988): 21-34; April R. Schultz, *Ethnicity on Parade: Inventing the Norwegian American through Celebration* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1994); and Ellen M. Litwicky, "'Our Hearts Burn With Ardent Love For Two Countries': Ethnicity and Assimilation at Chicago Holiday Celebrations, 1876-1918," *Journal of American Ethnic History* 19, no. 3 (2000): 3-34.

10 Alexandra Harmon, *Indians in the Making: Ethnic Relations and Indian Identities around Puget Sound* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998).

11 See William G. Robbins, "Labor in the Pacific Slope Timber Industry: A Twentieth-century Perspective," *Journal of the West* 25, no. 2 (1986): 8-13; Robbins, *Hard Times in Paradise: Coos Bay, Oregon, 1850-1986* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1988); Chris Friday, *Organizing Asian American Labor: The Pacific Coast Canned-salmon Industry, 1870-1942* (Philadel-

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15 Sharon Ullman, *Sex Seen: The Emergence of Modern Sexuality in America* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997); John Howard, *Men like That: A Southern Queer History* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1999); Peter Boag, *Same-sex Affairs: Constructing and Controlling Homosexuality in the Pacific Northwest* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003); and Gary Atkins, *Gay Seattle: Stories of Exile and Belonging* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2003)

16 Elizabeth Faue, *Community of Suffering and Sorrow: Women, Men, and the Labor Movement in Minneapolis, 1915-1945* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1991).

17 Lizabeth Cohen, "From Town Center to Shopping Center: The Reconfiguration of Community Marketplaces in Postwar America," *American Historical Review* 101, no. 4 (1996): 1050-1081.

18 Some of the books that the WWU library does not own are Ronald E. Butchart, *Local Schools: Exploring their History* (Nashville, Tenn.: American Association for State and Local History, 1986); Gerald A. Danzer, *Public Places: Exploring their History* (Walnut Creek, Calif.: AltaMira Press, 1997); K. Austin Kerr, Amos J. Loveday, and Mansel G. Blackford, *Local Businesses: Exploring their History* (Nashville, Tenn.: American Association for State and Local History, 1990); Wind, *Places of Worship*.

*(Editor's note: see "Brothels of Bellingham: A Short History of Prostitution in Bellingham, WA," by Curtis F. Smith, WCHS, 2004)