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Dear COLUMBIA Readers and Friends All:

The spring of 1987 was such an exciting time for the Washington State Historical Society. In March of that year, pursuant to a strategic assessment of the Society’s future by my predecessor Tony King, “we” launched COLUMBIA. I use the qualifying quotation marks because at that time I was merely an applicant to be director and the even more salient truth is that COLUMBIA was an enterprise conceived and executed by John McClelland, then the president of the Society.

John was a publishing magnate and well positioned by education, disposition, and means to pull it off. He was the great benefactor of the Society in those days, but after I was hired in July 1987 (after the second issue had also emerged) John expressed concern, for the first of many such times, about the Society’s commitment to its continued publication after his initial three-year subvention ran out. I tried to reassure John by telling him that as long as I was director we would find a way to keep it going. And indeed we have, now into the magazine’s 25th year of production.

I offer these reflections in light of my decision, no doubt known to many of you but perhaps coming as news to others, that I will be retiring as director of the Historical Society in October. I have always drawn professional sustenance from my association with this magazine, which is to say, I got more out of it as a historian than I put into it as an administrator. In short, I learned a lot and it was fun besides.

Much like John when he turned these pages over to me, it’s time for me to let loose of the reins. COLUMBIA has not been the biggest thing the Society has done during my era, nor the most important in terms of service to the people of Washington—surely the History Museum fills that bill. But COLUMBIA still serves as the emblem for what the Society has tried to become in the last quarter century: reliable, colorful, competent, oriented to stories from all over the state and region—always with the interest of the lay reader of history being paramount.

In closing, let me thank you all, as members, friends, authors, and readers, for your constant interest and support.

Sincerely,
David L. Nicandri
Implications of the 2010 Census

By George C. Scott

Washington became a territory in 1853 and a state in 1889. Over the past 158 years the population has risen from 20,000, half of whom were Native Americans, to over 7 million. Counties have been split—some several times. Walla Walla, once the largest city, was overshadowed by the arrival of the transcontinental railroads at the end of the 19th century. Suburban sprawl from the urban centers has been a chief environmental concern for more than 60 years. The 2010 census confirms that the demographic “center” of the state’s population has moved less than 60 miles in the last 10 years.

Professor Richard Morrill of the University of Washington has mapped the “bivariate center of gravity,” the procedure also used by the Census Bureau to establish the nation’s population center. In 1860 Washington’s “center” was near Longmire in eastern Pierce County. By 1870 it had moved to Bumping Lake near Naches on the eastern crest of the Cascades, and in 1880 to its easternmost drift near the Yakima River gorge between Yakima and Ellensburg. By 1920 “the bivariate mean” had been pulled northwest to the south end of Lake Keechelus in Kittitas County. By 2000 it was a little east of Kanasket and north of Eagle Gorge in Seattle’s Green River watershed. The 2010 census found this center had moved north a little, adjacent to I-90 about 14 miles east of North Bend near the Bandera Airfield.

In 1850, Walla Walla was the largest city in Washington Territory. But when the Great Northern Railroad was completed in the 1880s, it offered one-way tickets from the Midwest to Seattle for as little as $100 to stimulate growth and traffic. The majority got off at the end of the line, thus Scandinavian languages were commonly heard on Ballard’s Market Street through the 1950s. Tacoma soon lost its place as the prime funnel for trade to Asia. Seattle prospered not only as an entrepôt for eastern Washington grain headed for the Pacific Rim but also as outfitter of the Alaska gold rush. Along with the lumber trade to San Francisco and North Pacific fishing, its financial dominance was assured. While the “bivariate” center has moved about and will continue to do so, the functional one is Seattle, as it has been for a century and seems likely to remain.

This year the newly appointed Redistricting Commission will redraw congressional and legislative districts to conform to “one man one vote”—to make them equal in size. The new 10th Congressional District cannot, according to the rules, straddle natural boundaries, the largest of which is the Cascade Range. This suggests significant changes in several others, and potential challenges to incumbents. There will also be a significant centrifugal pull, because Walla Walla in the southeast, Clark County in the southwest (Vancouver and environs) and Whatcom County in the northwest corner have experienced some of the greatest growth. The statistical center of the Evergreen State may be relatively stable, but all else is in flux.

George W. Scott served 14 years as a state representative and senator and has worked as a manager in the public and private sector, in higher education, and as state archivist. He has previously been published in COLUMBIA and is author of A Majority of One: Legislative Life.
When Pablo arrived in Washington, D.C., from Ronan, Montana, in October 1897, he did not expect the fame that awaited him. In the years to come, he would be featured on United States currency, postage stamps, military payment certificates, and even souvenir cards. It is unlikely, however, that Pablo ever truly enjoyed his celebrity—for he was, in fact, a bison living at the National Zoo.

Pablo first became famous when he appeared on the face of the $10 United States Note, Series 1901. Also known as the “bison note” or the “buffalo bill,” this currency note coincided with the Meriwether Lewis and William Clark expedition centennial. Portraits of the two explorers, engraved by George F. C. Smillie, are featured on either side of the bison image. On the back of the note is the allegorical female figure of Columbia, representing “the spirit of the country and American ideals,” standing between two pillars and scrolls. No original documents have yet surfaced explaining why these symbols were chosen or why they were significant to currency designers at the turn of the 20th century.

Pablo was sketched by artist Charles R. Knight in 1901 and engraved by Marcus S. Baldwin. Baldwin himself had attempted to draw the bison for the engraving he was planning, choosing as inspiration an exhibit of the animals at the National Museum of Natural History in Washington. By chance, Knight happened to be passing by as Baldwin was sketching and noticed that the engraver was struggling to complete the drawing. “For once in my life I had my wits about me,” Knight later wrote of the interaction, “so I quickly suggested that [Baldwin] let me do it. To my surprise he rose from his seat, grasped me by the arm and almost shouted, ‘Will you!’” Knight chose to draw the buffalo from life at the National Zoo, and Baldwin rendered the engraving from the resulting sketch.

For years after it was engraved, the source of the bison image was debated. Some believed that it was modeled after the bison in the Natural History Museum that Baldwin had originally attempted to sketch, since the pose was strikingly similar to an animal from the exhibit—a side view of the left flank, the massive head turned to the viewer, rear legs apart and braced as...
if the animal were preparing to either flee or charge.

Others questioned whether Black Diamond, a buffalo from the Bronx Zoo, was actually the model. In a letter dated 1939, Knight insisted that after Baldwin “hustled me over to the Bureau and I was commissioned to do the drawing...I promptly did—from the Zoo specimen.” The zoo noted this distinction on the animal’s specimen card; since then, the bison has been known in some numismatic circles as Pablo, named after its previous owner, Montana rancher Michael Pablo.

The image of this bison, used repeatedly on a variety of products for over a century, came to signify the majesty and excitement of the American West. It was a bold, powerful symbol of a country still wild and unknown. Additionally, the currency note on which it appeared is considered by some to represent anxiety and nostalgia during a volatile time of shifting national boundaries. Viewed as a cultural mirror, albeit a small one, the 1901 bison note reflects underlying societal currents as Americans struggled with concepts of collective identity and an uncertain future at the beginning of the 20th century.

The process of bank note design is complicated, incorporating numerous features to create a foundation for a stable socio-monetary structure. In a monetary system based on paper rather than coin, paper money must be trusted by the citizens and believed to hold some sort of value. A well-designed paper note must possess in order to gain trust, and retain value, is an ability to stay one step ahead of these techniques by incorporating such details as distinctive paper, colored inks, and intricate engravings on one large die.

Also significant to counterfeit deterrence were abstract qualities such as recognizability. If the public was not familiar with a note’s design—what it should look like—then any security features it contained would be worthless. To avoid easy tampering with denomination, images, paper, or other features, the appearance of an authentic note should be “unconsciously photographed on the mind,” according to a 1925 document published by the United States Bureau of Efficiency. Images and symbols on currency, therefore, needed to be familiar to and, in effect, representative of the entire population.

What constitutes “familiar” images and acceptable design standards, of course, changes over time. As technology and cultural trends develop, currency motifs do as well, reflecting aesthetic tastes and technological advances of the period. By the early 19th century, bank note design had evolved from the simple and straightforward to the extremely ornate, with elaborate vignettes, detailed numerals, and other complicated ornamentation befitting the age. Historic people and scenes were popular, as were allegorical figures, mythological references, and symbols of the local economy. Q. David Bowers and David M. Sandman, coauthors of 100 Greatest American Currency Notes, provide a few examples:

A bank in the Midwest might choose a train rolling across the prairie, or a farmer with a team of horses. A coastal bank might pick a schooner. The use of a Washington or Franklin portrait reflected leadership and wisdom. The goddess Justice suggested fair dealing.

These vignettes were aesthetically pleasing and of a style of imagery that the public would recognize, appreciate, and consider to be appropriate representations on notes that acted as the United States’ economic foundation.

The choice of images sometimes went beyond familiarity. It was once thought that historically significant portraits and vignettes could be an educational tool, teaching the public a shared history and, according to Spencer M. Clark, chief of the Bureau of Engraving and Printing, “imbuing [citizens] with national feeling” through pictures that they would see almost every day. In an 1863 letter from Clark to Salmon P. Chase, secretary of the treasury, Clark suggested that

This 1970s military payment certificate and 1922 postage stamp both make use of the same bison image that appeared on the 1901 $10 bill.
perhaps a progression of images starting with “the earliest scenes of savage life, and terminating [with] the advanced stages of civilization…would [illuminate the] history of the country’s progress.” Although this idea was not adopted, it sheds light on the process of selecting components of currency design and, in this case, an effort to promote a national identity. It is often possible, therefore, to glimpse broader values of a historical period by viewing the currency in circulation at the time.

Clark was most likely not the first to promote nationalism through currency, and he certainly was not the last. For example, the design of the Euro, introduced in 1999, needed to be a compromise between the distinctive cultural histories of each country and a cohesive identity of the European Union. Since there was a delicate balance being struck between the past and the future, the images chosen for the new currency were especially loaded with nuance and symbolism. The bridges on the back of the notes, for instance, were meant to represent connection and “symbolize and evoke images of a common history and past, as viewed through the lens of architectural styles, which have cultural significance that transgress European boundaries,” commented authors Jane S. Pollard and James D. Sidaway. The images on these notes were more than pictures—they were visual guides for how citizens should incorporate their distinct heritages into this new united identity.

Similarly, the 1901 bison note can be viewed as a microcosm of symbolic national identity. The choice to feature western and patriotic imagery on an object that would circulate through millions of hands did more than commemorate the significant centennial of the Lewis and Clark expedition—it also suggests a universal crisis of character occurring at that time. In 1890 the Census Bureau declared the western frontier “closed” since the population had reached more than two people per square mile; expansion and settlement had officially “combined to forge a single nation from coast to coast.” This closure incited anxiety and apprehension across the country, for Americans thought they were losing part of what it meant to be American. The buffalo bill—featuring an animal nearly extinct that roamed a frontier no longer open, two explorers who had accomplished their adventurous and heroic task a century before, and an allegorical woman who personified the entire country—suggest an effort to capture a fundamental part of the country’s identity before it disappeared.

At the turn of the 20th century the “Wild West” was all the rage in American popular culture. News from individuals who had “gone west” was infrequent, so those back east were fascinated by the mysterious and mythological frontier. From Kentucky to Connecticut, from Iowa to Brooklyn, people flocked to traveling shows like “Buffalo Bill Cody’s Wild West,” featuring Sitting Bull and Annie Oakley, in order to get a taste of...
what lay beyond the Mississippi River. At these performances, spectators were awed by a veritable circus packed with western themes and characters, both authentic and stereotypical. American Indians participated in traditional dances, erected clusters of teepees, and engaged in mock gunfights with cowboys. There was a hunt featuring live buffalo. Spectators watched dramatic reenactments of Custer’s Last Stand and Indian attacks on wagon trains. Performers demonstrated riding, roping, and shooting. These shows, and other cultural outlets such as dime novels and newspaper cartoons, inspired an obsession with the untamed frontier that lasted for decades. In the words of Dorothy M. Johnson, a writer well known for her pioneer stories, “everything was different then, and it was a great adventure.”

These celebrations of the Wild West were not just a source of entertainment, however. They were colored by a growing sense of panic. From the country’s inception, the frontier had been a complicated force in the construction of what it meant to be an American. It was a safety-valve for overpopulated, pressurized, and uncivil urban areas. It was a liminal space of racial and cultural conflict where the pioneer might forge a new path and dominate all adversaries. And it was a source of unlimited resources and boundless opportunities, available to anyone for the taking. After the frontier was “closed” in 1890 by the Census Bureau, the question on everyone’s mind was: “Now where do we go?”

The resulting anxiety surfaced in many aspects of society besides the Wild West shows. Authors incorporated it into novels, and artists expressed it in paintings. It even influenced politics, as “demands for restrictions in both land law and immigration were followed by imperialist adventures described as efforts to find new frontiers overseas,” wrote historian David L. Wrobel. In 1893 a much earlier historian, Frederick Jackson Turner, famously solidified this mounting current of fear in what has become known as the “frontier hypothesis.” The natural, bountiful, utopian West provided “an opportunity for social development continually to begin over again,” Turner said in a speech from 1896. “Here was a magic fountain of youth in which America continually bathed and was rejuvenated.” It was this romanticized and almost mythological concept that, according to Turner, had been the single most significant factor in the development of American democracy and culture, even more so than slavery or European influence. With its disappearance, the fundamentals of American society were in jeopardy.

As the frontier was closing and apprehension mounting, the bison were vanishing. Before the arrival of Europeans, bison roamed the grasslands of the North American continent from northern Canada and Alaska down into Mexico. Westward expansion and pioneer settlement during the 19th century, however, resulted in widespread slaughter. The National Park Service estimates that in less than 100 years a bison population of millions was reduced to less than 300. This rapid loss may have added to the anxiety of the disappearing frontier. It seems fitting that the bison, a powerful animal native to North America and on the brink of extinction, was chosen as the central image of a currency note during a time when society was simultaneously celebrating the frontier and lamenting its loss.

The bison note was not the only currency issued around this time that reflected a fascination with the American West. A different bison, possibly Black Diamond or one from the Natural History Museum exhibit, was featured on the buffalo nickel minted from 1913 to 1938. This five-cent piece was also known as the “Indian head nickel” for the profile of an American Indian on the front. Lewis and Clark turned up once again on commemorative gold dollars for the 1905 Lewis and Clark Centennial Exposition.

The exposition took place in Portland between June 1 and October 15, 1905, four years after the buffalo bill was released. Officially named the “Lewis and Clark Centennial and American Exposition and Oriental Fair,” it became “an emblem of progress and national expansion,” wrote coauthors Kris Fronsonke and Mark David Spence in Lewis & Clark: Legacies, Memories, and New Perspectives. The event had two themes: first, acknowledgement of the explorers’ accomplishments in expanding the western frontier...
a century before; and second, celebration of the promising future of American technology, science, and economy in the dawning 20th century, especially regarding trade with Asia.

Twenty-one countries participated in the fair, and over 1.5 million visitors attended. Pavilions included the Oriental and Foreign Exhibits, which encouraged the developing relationship with the Pacific Rim (Japan spent a record $1 million on its display). The Manufacturing and Electricity, Machinery, and Transportation buildings displayed the latest innovative technology. The U.S. government exhibit featured a working model of an irrigation project, panoramas of the Grand Canyon and Yellowstone Park to encourage tourism, and naval displays and other demonstrations of military might. The arch over the exposition entrance gates read, “Westward the Course of Empire Takes Its Way.” Everywhere were reminders of progress and prosperity, with all eyes focused on Asia.

Since the frontier of the United States no longer offered unlimited resources and adventures into the unknown, it was as though Americans had gone as far as they could on their own continent and were now looking even farther west. This time, opportunity lay across an ocean rather than a prairie or mountain range.

Instead of fostering anxiety by looking to the past, as the $10 bank note had done, the Lewis and Clark Exposition provided a chance for the country to explore the possibilities of a bright future. It was the promise of a new frontier.

Pablo’s image has been used for more than 100 years on a variety of products other than the buffalo bill. He is on the 30-cent Fourth Bureau Issue postage stamp, Series 1922, which was the first regular issue stamp to feature an animal. Other stamps from this series feature such familiar symbols of Americana as Niagara Falls, the Lincoln Memorial, and several United States presidents. This 30-cent stamp, in turn, was used on a souvenir card for the 1987 Canadian Philatelic Exhibition (CAPEX) that celebrated American wildlife. In the early 1970s, Pablo was printed in vivid blue ink on the back of the one dollar Military Payment Certificates, Series 692. This series, the last ever issued, was used by soldiers in Vietnam between 1970 and 1973.

Pablo’s popularity only continues to increase. In 2003, media mogul and bison fan Ted Turner, who owns a necktie decorated with multiple Pablos, proposed that the buffalo bill be reissued in order to generate funds for the federal government. “If you printed a billion dollars’ worth [of the notes],” Turner said, “they’d go out of circulation almost immediately because collectors would buy them. And you’d create a billion dollars of capital.” Although the Treasury Department politely passed on this idea, there is no doubt that the $10 bison note is extremely popular to collectors, as the value of an uncirculated note today, according to Bowers and Sundman, has gone up to almost $6,000 from $55 in 1960.

The bison engraving sometimes turns up in unexpected places, such as on early-20th-century certificates for Buffalo Mines, Ltd., of Ontario, Canada; the Callensburg Telephone Company, Pennsylvania; the Dillon Stone Company, Colorado; and the Great West Permanent Loan Company of Winnipeg, Canada. Last but not least, Pablo is currently the proud mascot for Buffalo Water Beer of Milwaukee, Wisconsin. Whether due to sentimentality, nationalism, or simply aesthetics, Pablo’s image continues to resonate through many facets of modern culture.

Although Pablo died on October 3, 1914, his engraving has been used again and again for over a century. The image conveys meanings that are simultaneously literal and symbolic, representing both the powerful and magnificent animal native to the continent and ambiguous concepts of apprehension, fear, and conflicts in the construction of national identity. The expression of such emotions on common items like currency acknowledges, and perhaps helps to alleviate, these shared sentiments. As a result, a currency note has the power to reflect culture and society at a given moment in time. Even if he never was able to understand his own celebrity, Pablo embodies a unique period of transition and change in the country’s history and endures as a distinctly American symbol. 

Margaret Richardson is consulting collections manager for the Historical Resource Center, Bureau of Engraving and Printing, in Washington, D.C. (The views, conclusions, and opinions stated herein are those of the author and not necessarily those of the Historical Resource Center or the Bureau of Engraving and Printing.)
One of the gems in the Society’s photographic holdings is the Tom Pomeroy/Western Ways collection of aerial photographs. Consisting of some 124,000 low-altitude aerial images taken roughly between 1953 and 1976, the collection is a treasure trove documenting industrial development in the Pacific Northwest. Created by Western Ways, Inc., an aerial photography firm in Corvallis, Oregon, the collection has been used by historians, model railroaders, environmentalists, and property owners throughout the Pacific Northwest. Because they were taken at low altitude from an oblique rather than vertical angle using large-format film (five by eight inches to nine by nine inches), there is a great amount of detail. The photographer took many images “on speculation,” hoping to sell prints to company owners. As a result, most of the lumber mills and many of the industrial sites in the region are recorded, some at regular intervals throughout the period. There are excellent views of many population centers, both large and small.

Some of these images are in our online catalog at WashingtonHistory.org and may be searched under client name, location, or by using the search term “Western Ways.” Prints of these images can be ordered online. Research appointments can be made by calling 253/798-5914.

—Edward Nolan
Among Winnifred Olsen’s far-reaching beliefs, there was one overriding philosophy—the idea of fairness and equality for all people. In her resumé she stated, “Most of my life has been devoted to community service, to civic and educational leadership.” She could have added “and minority awareness.”

Born Winnifred Castle in Olympia in 1916, Olsen lived in Olympia her entire life. She graduated from Olympia High School in 1934 and started dating her future husband, Walter Olsen, while a student there. They both went off to Washington State University and graduated in 1938, she with a degree in sociology. That summer they married. The couple had two sons. Olsen was an attentive but busy mom during the early years of her marriage. She helped her husband in his insurance business and became a leader in numerous volunteer activities, particularly with the Parent Teacher Association (PTA).

In 1963 Olsen’s friend Maryan Reynolds, who was the state librarian and chairperson of the State Capital Museum trustees, suggested that she consider taking on a paid position at the museum. Olsen’s assignment would be to direct educational activities, assist with exhibits, and write news releases. She gladly took the job. Though paid as a half-time employee, she often worked full-time. It was while working at the museum that Olsen discovered the fascinating story of Thurston County’s mixed-race pioneer, George W. Bush. The story became her passion.

Olsen began digging for more information about the Bush family, searching territorial newspapers and early Washington history books. She found that Michael T. Simmons, of Irish descent, and Bush, thought to be of Irish and African American descent, had been neighboring farmers in Missouri and traveled together to the Northwest on the Oregon Trail in 1844. They had planned to settle with their families in the Rogue River Valley. When they learned that the provisional government there had passed laws that blacks or mulattos were not allowed to own land and were not welcome in the area, the two families altered their destination and traveled north across the Columbia River, continuing on the Cowlitz Trail to what is now the Tumwater–Olympia area.

Olsen was chagrined that she had lived in Olympia all her life and never learned that a black man had helped lead the first group of settlers there. She began telling the Bush story to visiting school groups and sharing with them Bush family artifacts that had been donated to the museum. Their teachers usually expressed surprise when they heard the Bush story. One Saturday morning in the spring of 1967, Olsen opened the museum early for a bus load of black students from the Seattle Congress of Racial Equality program (CORE), an organization active in Seattle from 1960 to 1971. The students had come to learn about...
George Bush. Olsen showed them original documents and artifacts related to the family. Of particular interest to the students was the certificate that George Bush’s son, William Owen Bush, had won for the “Very Best Wheat in the World” at the Philadelphia world’s fair in 1876.

Olsen’s position at the museum was eliminated in June 1967. This was, at first, a serious blow, because the loss of her job meant that she and her husband, who had recently undergone open-heart surgery, would have no medical insurance coverage. As it turned out, Olsen’s job loss spurred her on to bigger and better things. She is quoted as saying: “How else would I have learned I could write books, do a television series, teach teachers, or organize city-wide events?”

In 1967 politics and culture were changing rapidly in the United States. Racial strife, civil rights, school desegregation, sit-ins, and the more recent fish-ins had been making headlines in the media. Olsen’s philosophical leanings were in tune with the current social and political climate. As a possible job source, she contacted Chester Babcock, second in command at the Office of the Superintendent of Public Instruction (SPI) and a former Seattle school superintendent who had written the Northwest history book then used by most schools in the state. During their discussion, Olsen emphasized the need to make more minority materials available for educators. Babcock agreed that schools were in need of this information and was embarrassed to say that George Bush had not been included in his own book.

Babcock was impressed with Olsen and made an appointment for her to give presentations on Bush and other black pioneers in the state to Seattle and Tacoma school administrators. The presentations covered Indian culture, treaties, and tribal rights as well—topics that were also absent from textbooks then in use. The Tacoma school administration acted quickly, offering her a full-time position “to put minorities into Northwest history.” And that is what she did for the next 16 years.

Olsen started work in the Publications Office of the Tacoma School District in November 1967. One of the first things she did was travel with a school photographer to the Bush Prairie homestead site near Tumwater and to the cemetery where the Bush family is buried. From the State Capital Museum she borrowed and made copies of some of the William Owen Bush materials. With these as illustrations, she began making classroom presentations on the Bush family. After publication of her book Tacoma Beginnings, she wrote and produced a 20-minute weekly program on KTPS, the school district’s television station. The series began with the Puyallup and Nisqually Indians, then covered early explorers and pioneer settlers, and continued up to the present time.

As Olsen’s efforts to bring African Americans into the Washington history curriculum bore fruit, her interest in local Indian culture increased and her work turned in that direction. She brought Indian baskets and carvings into classrooms and talked to many Indian parents and tribal leaders. She attended several summer powwows, met with Indian service organizations, joined the Native American National Education Association (NANEPA), and went to two of the organization’s national conventions.
In the summer of 1969 Olsen wrote a book for third graders, Before Tacoma—What? The Puyallup and Nisqually Indians. A fellow Tacoma teacher, Charles Fay, illustrated the book, which was one of the first local Native American history publications available to teachers. Olsen helped organize the Indian Education Parent Advisory Committee, worked closely with the first Native American education staff, and handled the district’s Title II Indian education grant to select instructional materials for junior high school ethnic studies.

In late summer 1970 Washington’s governor, Daniel J. Evans, established an Indian Affairs Task Force made up primarily of Indian leaders representing Washington’s reservation and non-reservation Indians and urban Indian organizations. The task force titled its report “Are You Listening, Neighbor?” This document dealt with relations between the state and its Indian inhabitants (estimated at over 25,000) and contained Indian views on such topics as national Indian policy (including treaty rights), the clash of cultural, jurisdiction and zoning on the reservations, public assistance, health, education, and housing.

In a broader context, an Indian civil rights movement was gaining momentum across the country and political leaders were beginning to show an interest. The Indian Affairs Task Force report noted that, in an unprecedented message to Congress in early July 1970, President Richard Nixon “renounced America’s traditional Indian policy and declared that white Americans have opposed and brutalized Indians, deprived them of their ancestral lands, and denied them the opportunity to control their own destiny.”

The task force incorporated recommendations throughout the report. One such recommendation, in the chapter on education, stated: “The State Superintendent of Public Instruction and the State Board of Education authorizes academic credit for curriculum in contemporary Indian government, Indian history, and Indian culture. All teachers and counselors would be required to successfully complete courses in Indian culture and heritage.” From that report, Olsen prepared study notes that eventually became the “Think Indian” series.

Conflict over Indian fishing rights had been escalating since the mid-1960s. In the Treaty of Medicine Creek in 1854, the Indian tribes in Washington Territory released their interest in the land but, as stated in the treaty, the “right of taking fish, at all usual and accustomed grounds and stations, is further secured to said Indians in common with all citizens of the Territory.” Increases in population and commercial and sports fishing, coupled with a declining fish population, prompted the State of Washington to begin regulating tribal fishing the same way it regulated commercial and recreational fishing. Members of the Nisqually and Puyallup tribes objected to these actions. Some were arrested for what the state government called illegal fishing in the Puyallup River, the mouth of which adjoins the city of Tacoma. Despite the arrests, the Indians continued to fish.

White sportsmen and Indian fishermen clashed on Northwest rivers and in the federal courts, the sportsmen claiming that Indians were “taking all the fish,” “destroying future fisheries,” and “breaking State Game regulations by ‘netting’ steelhead.” Beginning in 1964, the state’s game and fisheries departments sought court rulings to answer the question: “Were Indian treaties, made so many years ago, still valid?” National attention focused on the fish-ins in March 1964 when Marlon Brando and other celebrities joined Puyallup tribal leader Bob Satiacum in support of tribal fishing rights.

The fish-ins and culture clashes reached a crescendo in 1970 at a fish encampment on the Puyallup River. Using tear gas and clubs, 200 state game wardens and police officers broke up the camp and arrested 60 Indians and their supporters. Present that day was United States Attorney Stan Pitkin. He observed the strong-arm tactics the wardens and police used; nine days later he filed a lawsuit against the State of Washington (United States of America v. State of Washington) The case was assigned to Judge George Boldt of Tacoma.

LEFT: History in the making—a number of Puyallup Indians and their supporters were arrested in September 1970 when they protested the removal of Puyallup fishing nets by state game wardens.

FACING PAGE: Like Olsen’s “Think Indian” classes, this teachers’ in-service offering in Olympia was designed to give educators the tools and knowledge they needed to incorporate Native American studies into their curriculum.
In 1974 Judge Boldt upheld the Indians’ fishing rights. The “Boldt Decision,” as it became known, affirmed that tribes in the state of Washington have a right to catch up to 50 percent of the harvestable resource, and that the State and the tribes must manage the resource as co-managers. In 1979 the United States Supreme Court reaffirmed the decision.

Tacoma School District administrators felt it was of vital importance that the district’s teachers thoroughly understand the situation. It was imperative, they said, that college credit courses be made available for educators to learn more about Indian culture, particularly treaty rights. Olsen was chosen to develop these college courses, which she named “Think Indian.” Each course consisted of 13 two-hour classes and 2 all-day Saturday field trips. There were 12 courses in all, with about 800 teachers participating. Topics covered Indian education, health, job opportunities, the Bureau of Indian Affairs, tribal government, reservation jurisdiction, water rights, fishing rights and, after 1974, the Boldt Decision.

Speakers included headline makers from the fish-ins like Ramona Bennett, Hank Adams, and Bob Satiacum; plus Bill Jeffries, Governor Evans’s special assistant on tribal affairs, and Mary Hillaire, state vocational education administrator. Among other speakers were representatives from the game and fisheries departments, the SPI Indian education director, and two lawyers from the U.S. v. Washington court case. Speakers differed from course to course, depending on their availability as well as the topics at hand. Feedback on the courses was extremely positive. Olsen especially enjoyed working with the Indian parents who, in the past, had never built positive relationships with their children’s teachers or the school district’s administrators.

In the May 16, 1973, issue of the weekly Tacoma Review, the focus of the “Think Indian” series was described as emphasizing “teacher attitudes, creating an awareness of different value systems and why they exist, being aware of what is happening now and why, breaking down the myths that have existed for years.” In the article, Olsen is quoted as saying, “The course goal is to create better understanding for all—understanding of Indian heritage, Indian culture, Indian values, and other aspects of their life—so that Indians have a better break.”

“We also look at what is in textbooks,” she continued. “This involves soul searching—looking at the material and being on guard not to paint pictures of the Indian from the white man’s point of view. You’d be amazed at some of the things found in textbooks.” According to Olsen, “The most meaningful value of the course is making teachers aware that history is being written and re-written daily—aware that they can’t separate today from the past.”

Olsen felt that planning and directing “Think Indian” was the most important accomplishment of her teaching career. She was confident the classes helped change many of the teachers’ attitudes and feelings about “being Indian.” In addition to all her work on Native American and African American issues during her tenure with the Tacoma School District (1967 to 1983), Olsen became involved in labor union issues. After her retirement in 1983, she was quickly back at work. The Tacoma Longshoremens’ Union asked her to help write the history of the union and their working leadership on Tacoma’s waterfront. She worked with Ron Magden, an instructor at Tacoma Community College. The Longshoremens’ Union Local 23 named her an honorary member for her efforts to help bring The Working Waterfront: The Story of Tacoma’s Ships and Men to press, and the Pacific Northwest Labor History Association cited her as Labor History Person of the Year.

Olsen was also involved in Olympia’s community affairs. She served a term as state president of the American Association of University Women (AAUW), which she first joined in 1938, and wholeheartedly supported the AAUW’s aims of promoting higher education, equal pay, and equal career opportunities for women. In 1985 the Olympia City Council appointed her to a five-year term on the Olympia Library Board. She served on the Thurston County Historical Commission from 1989 to 2008 and became a founding member of the Olympia Historical Society in 2002.

In 1997, 33 years after she first proposed it, Olsen’s dream of having a historical marker built to commemorate George W. Bush’s role in the history of Thurston County became a reality. The interpretive site kiosk now stands on Bush Prairie at 88th Street and Old Pacific Highway, a memorial to one of the first families who settled in the area and, like Winnifred Olsen, made important and lasting contributions to the southern Puget Sound community.
Meriwether Lewis’s

Little Red BOOK

A Pacific Northwest Legacy

By John C. Jackson

CAPTAIN MERIWETHER LEWIS is usually understood as half of an exploration duo whose epic journey linked the United States frontier to the Pacific Slope. William Clark was effectively his second in command. In his 1803 organization of the expedition, Captain Lewis delegated the chore of keeping a record of progress and daily events to Second Lieutenant Clark. Despite sentimentalized interpretations of their relationship, a military chain of command had to prevail. Because Clark was not a talented writer of scientific details, his duty to the journals is generally terse. That arrangement left Lewis free to make observations, recording the new places, plants, and animals they encountered.

When he had time to reflect and the facilities to write, Lewis composed long literate descriptions that may have been intended to become part of a publishable natural history report. Scholars of the expedition have complained that he should have written more. Pacific Northwesterners are lucky that he wrote so much during that trying winter at the mouth of the Columbia. Lewis composed these entries in a small book of 4-7/8 by 7-7/8 inches bound in red morocco. Of its 152 pages, pages 3 to 145 are Lewis’s journal and observations and the rest to page 152 are given to his weather diary. It covers dates from January 1, 1806, to March 20, 1806, and now resides with the American Philosophical Society in Philadelphia.

Earlier in the course of the expedition Lewis kept a fragmented journal of his Ohio River descent until he “left Capt Clark in charge of the Boat” on November 28, 1803. He did not write again until, as a result of Clark’s illness, he had to take command at Camp Dubois on February 20, 1804. Lewis wrote stern detachment orders on that date and again on March 3. It was Clark, however, who recorded details of the first months of the Missouri River ascent. Lewis made a more extensive observation of river hydrology on July 21. He wrote about the flora and fauna on September 16 when he was confined to the boat, probably by a malarial episode. There were no descriptions of negotiations with the native peoples they met and treated with along the way. The party moved into winter quarters at Fort Mandan on November 20.

The suggestion is that Meriwether Lewis was conservative in his writing and unwilling to waste words on what he considered mundane or already known. It was new plants, new animals, or new conditions that led him to uncap the inkwell and flow. Leaving the great adventure that was unreeling before his eyes to Clark’s pedestrian imagination, he reserved himself for more scientific values.
How much of Clark’s writing might have been dictated is difficult to know, but despite the sentimental legend, the two leaders were quite different men.

Gary Moulton, the editor of the latest and most complete compilation of all the field journals, introduces “The Fort Mandan Miscellany” with the note that Lewis was keeping his field observations in special notebooks. Codex Q was zoological material and Codex R was botanical. On March 16, 1805, Lewis recorded the Arikara free- man Joseph Garreau’s description of Mandan bead making. Major work accomplished at Fort Mandan over the winter was sent back to St. Louis in the spring and included two geographical treatises, “Affluents of the Missouri River” (drawn from Clark’s daily record), and the large map he began on February 27. Both officers contributed to the “Estimate of Eastern Indians,” which was compiled from many sources beyond their direct observation.

Lewis may have considered the already traveled Missouri as far as the Mandan villages unworthy of his daily interest. But when they entered the unexplored river above, he became enthusiastic and wrote more extensive entries until August 27. He recorded the brief, linguistically frustrating meeting with Flatheads (Bitterroot Salish) on September 10 but did not write about the exciting descent of the Columbia drainage until November 29 when he left the stalled expedition to find a location for their winter quarters.

A great part of the natural history observations Meriwether Lewis wrote between January 1 and March 20, 1806, were composed on a wide slab desk Joseph Fields had whittled at Fort Clatsop. In his small, precise handwriting—apparently written with a quill pen—Lewis compiled a body of careful observation and analysis. This work represents some of the first insights into the Pacific Northwest’s flora, fauna, and geography. In the American Philosophical Society collection it is cataloged as Codex J. As Moulton points out in his introduction to The Journals of the Lewis and Clark Expedition, it is one of the expedition’s richest accounts in natural history and ethnological data:

Codex J is a detailed record, to March 20, of life at Fort Clatsop, and contains extensive descriptions of local flora and fauna and the life of the nearby Indians, with numerous illustrations. Nowhere else did Lewis devote more time to fulfilling the scientific objectives of the expedition by recording so much.

With time to write and a relatively comfortable place to do it, the gifted naturalist composed more detailed descriptions of new plants and animals than he was able to do while traveling. These pages reveal his compositional talent and personal style, which were both succinct and inspired. There is a good possibility that Lewis thought of those careful observations as elements of an intended masterpiece of scientific description that he would compile at the end of the expedition. Unfortunately, when they returned, President Thomas Jefferson, being short of good men he could trust to administer Louisiana Territory, “rewarded” Captain Lewis with an appointment as governor. That demanding duty left no time to complete the natural history volume, and preparations for publication languished.

When the History of the Expedition under the command of Captains Lewis & Clark to the Sources of the Missouri

Thence Across the Rocky Mountains and Down the River Columbia to the Pacific Ocean, Performed During the Years 1804-5-6 by Order of the Government of the United States was finally published in 1814, its last editor, Paul Allen, greatly reduced the promised “Estimate of the Western Indians.” The tribes best known to the expedition during the winter of 1805–06—the Chinook and Clatsop—had descriptions shorter than the title of the book.

Chinooks reside on the north side of the Columbia at the entrance of, and on Chinnok river. 28 houses, 400 souls. Clatsop nation resides on the south side of the Columbia, and a few miles along the southeast coast, on both sides of Point Adams, 14 houses, 200 souls.

How does that compare with the observations Lewis wrote during that winter? Editors Nicholas Biddle and Allen were producing a trip narrative based on Clark’s daily record. Scientific details only interrupted the adventure and so were largely omitted. What Lewis actually wrote was:

The Clatsops, Chinooks, Killamucks &c. are very loquacious and inquisitive; they possess good memories and have repeated to us the names capacities of the vessels &c of many traders and others who have visited the mouth of this river; they are generally low in stature, proportionably
small, rather lighter complected and much more illly formed than the Indians of the Missouri and those of our frontier; they are generally cheerful but not gay. With us their conversation generally turns upon the subjects of trade, smoking, eating, or their women; about the latter they speak without reserve in their presents, of their every part, and of the most familiar connection. They do not hold the virtue of their women in high estimation, and will even prostitute their wives and daughters for a fishinghook or a strand of beads. In common with other savage nations they make their women perform every species of domestic drudgery, but in almost every species of this drudgery the men also participate. Their women are also compelled to gather this drudgery the men also participate. Their women are also compelled to gather this drudgery the men also participate.

Whites were not strangers here, and Lewis commented on the tribesmen’s fondness for tobacco and lack of interest in “Spirituous liquors” which he took as an indication of the restraint practiced by the English and American sea traders who visited the mouth of the river, arising from their desire to avoid creating trouble. A visit by neighboring Cathlamet Indians made him aware of the active intertribal network that brought wapato from inland to exchange for whale blubber or oil. Trade carried on by the coastal natives found its way to their most distant neighbors.

Lewis observed and carefully described the Indian’s weapons and implements: short, sinew-backed bows and arrows with shafts made of two different kinds of wood that kept the weight forward to make it fly true. When it came to descriptions of household articles, he could not contain his interest, which slipped from ethnography to botany:

"[T]heir baskets are formed of cedar bark and beargrass so closely interwoven...that they are watertight without the aid of gum or rosin...."
At the beginning of the 19th century there were no accredited natural scientists in North America. Inquiring minds like President Thomas Jefferson, Dr. Benjamin Rush, Dr. Benjamin Smith Barton, or Dr. Caspar Winster were educated in other fields and are best described as enlightened amateurs. Yet under their tutelage Lewis had developed an impressive working botanical vocabulary:

The stem of this plant is simple ascending cylindrical and hispded. the root leaves yet possess their virdure and are about half grown of a pale green. the cauline leaf as well as the stem of the last season are now dead, but in respect to it’s form &c. it is simple, crenate, & oblong, rather more obtuse at it’s apex than at the base or insertion; it’s margin armed with prickles while it’s disks are hairy, it’s insertion decurrent and position declining.

At Fort Clatsop, Clark copied the correct terminology verbatim in his own journal. The two captains agreed to make an insurance copy of Lewis’s observations, which Clark repeated in his own record of daily occurrences. Copyists were not unusual in the days before carbon paper and photocopiers, and many of the documents we find so precious now are actually in the handwriting of someone other than the author. Lewis must have been aware of Clark’s deficiencies with a pen, and this provided an opportunity to improve his friend’s education by example. So there are two versions of most of Meriwether’s descriptions, sometimes dated the same day or the next. The example was not all one way; there is a place where Lewis in describing the sodden bracken wrote “firn,” which Clark, despite his usual penchant for imaginative spelling, corrected as “fern.” dough in flavor. Lewis also described the intertribal trade in foodstuffs:

The root of the rush used by the natives is a solid bulb about one inch in length and usually as thick as a man’s thumb, of an ovate form depressed on two or more sides, covered with a thin smooth black rind. the pulp is white brittle and easily masticated either raw or roasted the latter is the way in which it is most usually prepared for use. this root is rather insipid in point of flavor, it grows in greatest abundance along the sea coast in the sandy grounds and is most used by the Kil-lamucks and those inhabiting the coast…..

The most valuable of their roots is foreign to this neighbourhood I mean the Wappetoe, or the bulb of the Sagitifolia or common arrow head, which grows in great abundance in the marshy grounds of that beautiful and fertile valley on the Columbia commencing just above the entrance of the Quicksand River [present Sandy River], and extending downwards for about 70 Miles. this bulb forms a principal article of traffic between the inhabitants of the valley and those of this neighbourhood or sea coast.

Lewis’s botany had a way of taking him far afield and drawing data from any source. The native fruits and berries in use among the Indians of this neighbourhood are a deep purple berry about the size of a small cherry called by them Shal-lun, [salal] a small pale red berry called Sol-me; [bunchberry] a light brown berry rather larger and much the shape of the black haw; [Oregon crab-apple] and a scarlet berry about the size of a small cherry the plant called by the Canadin Engages of the N. W. saa a commis produces this berry [bearberry]; this plant is so called from the circumstance of the Clerks of those trading companies carrying the leaves of this plant in a small bag for the purpose of smoking of which they are excessively fond.

Nor did Lewis overlook the uses of the wild crab apple tree whose wood was so hard that the natives made wedges from it for splitting boards for their houses and firewood, and for hollowing out canoes.

In late February the smelt began to run and Lewis allowed himself a few words of appreciation worthy of any Oregon boy with a hankering for a change of diet. “I find them best when cooked in Indian stile,” he wrote, which is by roasting a number of them together on a wooden spit without any
previous preparation whatever. They are so fat they require no additional sauce, and I think them superior to any fish I ever tasted, even more delicate and luscious than the white fish of the lakes which have heretofore formed my standard of excellence among the fishes. I have heard the fresh anchovy much extolled but I hope I shall be pardoned for believing this quite as good.

The corpsmen recognized Captain Lewis’s interest in wildlife and brought him samples to study.

Charbono found a bird [varied thrush] dead lying near the fort this morning and brought it to me. I immediately recognized it to be of the same kind that I had seen in the Rocky mountains on the morning of the 20th of September last. This bird is about the size as near as may be of the robin.

Another time Privates Shannon and Labiche brought in a wounded vulture which had been feeding on a whale or fish thrown up on the beach by waves.

Lewis believed it to be the largest bird of North America (California condor) and drew a picture of its head.

On the first of March, after dividing the birds into two categories, terrestrial and aquatic, Lewis began a march through descriptions of those he saw, occasionally augmented by his drawings. These latter suggest that he was no John James Audubon.

The quadrupeds of this country from the Rocky Mountains to the Pacific Ocean are 1st the domestic animals, consisting of the horse and the dog only; 2ndly the native wild animals, consisting of the Brown white or grizzly bear (which I believe to be the same family with a nearly accidental difference in point of colour), the black bear, the common red deer, the black tailed fallow deer, the Mule deer, Elk, the large brown wolf, the big wolf of the plains, the small wolf of the plains, the large wolf of the plains, the tiger cat, the common red fox, black fox or Fisher, silver fox, large red fox of the plains, small fox of the plains or kit fox, Antelope, sheep, beaver, common

The corpsmen recognized Captain Lewis’s interest in wildlife and brought him samples to study.

Albert C. Sabin, illustration, Washington State Historical Society

Above: Artist’s rendering of a California condor taken by members of the expedition on the Pacific Coast where it was feeding on a whale carcass.

Facing page: Caw-Wacham: Flathead Woman with Child, oil on canvas, by Paul Kane (1810–1871). This painting depicts a cradleboard with a head-flattening panel, a device described by Lewis in his journal.

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otter, sea otter, mink, spuck, seal, racoon, large grey squirrel, small brown squirrel, small grey squirrel, ground squirrel, sewel, Braro, rat, mouse, mole, Panther, hare, rabbit, and polecat or skunk.

He devoted twice as much space to horses and their origin, which from brands appeared to have been stolen from the Spanish interior provinces. “Whether the horse was orrigenally a native of this country or not it is out of my power to determine as we can not understand the language of the natives sufficiently to ask the question.” However, he foresaw that they would be cheap and indispensable “to those who may hereafter attempt the fir trade to the East Indies by way of the Columbia river and the Pacific Ocean.”

Although Lewis admitted his slender botanical skill was unequal to the description of Sitka spruce, which reached 27 to 36 feet in girth and soared as high as 230 feet, he devoted several days to recording other species, including western hemlock, grand fir, yet-to-be-named Douglas fir, western white pine, and the wind-sculpted shore pine.

After identifying orange honeysuckle, blue elderberry, ninebark, and mountain huckleberry, the scientific botanist returned to salal, the berries of which were much esteemed by the Indians:

Each berry is supported by a separate cylindrical peduncle of half an inch in length; these to the number of ten or twelve issue from a common peduncle or footstalk which is fuscous and forms the termination of the twig of the present year’s growth.

Meanwhile, his soaked elk hunters were pushing through dripping salal and trying to keep their powder and heads dry. There is an amusing image of the Corps of Discovery that is missing in most writings on the subject, which Lewis described without the least bit of tongue-in-cheek:

We were visited today by two Clatsop women and two boys who brought a parcel of excellent hats made of Cedar bark and ornamented with bear grass. Two of these
“We were visited today by two Clatsop women and two boys who brought a parcel of excellent hats made of Cedar bark and ornamented with beargrass.”
estemed and valuable of these robes are made of strips of the skins of the Sea Otter net together with the bark of the white cedar or sil-grass. These strips are first twisted and laid parallel with each other a little distance assunder, and then net or woven together in such manner that the fur appears equally on both sides, and unites between the strands. it make a warm and soft covering.…

The weight of command was on him as he inventoried the remaining stock of trade goods that could be mostly contained in two handkerchiefs. There were also seven robes (blankets), an artilleryman’s uniform coat (his own) and five robes made of one large flag. That was all they had with which to buy horses or sustenance for their return home. As the winter at Fort Clatsop came to an end, his uniform coat went to purchase an Indian canoe.

Altho’ we have not fared sumptuously this winter and spring at Fort Clatsop, we have lived quite as comfortably as we had any reason to expect we should; and have accomplished every object which induced our remaining at this place except that of meeting with the traders who visit the entrance of this river. our salt will be very sufficient to last us to the Missouri where we have a stock in store.—it would have been very fortunate for us had some of those traders arrived previous to our departure from hence, as we should then have had it in our power to obtain an addition to our stock of merchandize which would have made our journey much more comfortable.

Captain Lewis’s notebook was distracted from its ethnographic observations by preparations for their departure. On Tuesday, March 18, 1806, he wrote:

[This morning we gave Delashelwilt a certificate of his good deportment &c. and also a list of our names, after which we dispatched him to his village with his female band. These lists of our names we have given to several of the natives and also painted up a copy in our room. That through the medium of some civilized person who may see the same, it may be made known to the informed world, that the party consisting of the persons whose names are hereinto annexed, and who were sent out by the government of the U’ States in May 1804 to explore the interior of the Continent of North America, did penetrate the same by way of the Missouri and Columbia Rivers, to the discharge of the latter into the Pacific Ocean, where they arrive on the 14th November 1805, and from whence they departed the [blank] day of March 1806 on their return to the United States by the same route they had come out.

Although Lewis stopped writing in his notebook on March 20, rain delayed the departure and the party did not actually get off until the 23rd. The two leaders began a new field journal on the 21st, and as the boats drove up the Columbia, Lewis was still observing and noting birds.

WHERETHE Meriwether Lewis was a pinched scholar in over his head or a meticulous scientist dutifully recording what he observed in a strange new world cannot be determined from those brown lines bravely driving across the page. Paper was scarce on the Oregon coast and he had a lot to write in the brief hours of daylight.

Lewis conserved his words, hoarding them from daily concerns—like where the next mouthful of dried salmon was coming from or the torture his men endured swimming through rain-soaked salal bushes to surprise an unwary elk. Reading those tiny, carefully considered lines after 200 years gives a sense of the focus and descriptive concentration that drove them. Certainly not the work of a poet or the imagination of a novelist, it was the craftsmanship of a dedicated naturalist carefully compiling the observed facts into a true image of this dripping new world. Two editors trying to cram his words into the mannered pomposities of the early 19th century cobbled together a narrative. At the end of the century publishers of a fuller version of the journals failed to grasp the intensity of the originals. Anything set in type cannot recapture the intimacy of Lewis’s handwriting penned in the dim circle of light provided by a guttering elk-fat candle.

His carefully calculated words and the personal expression behind them were put down in pinched, tiny pen strokes across small pages of precious paper. There were few scratch-outs or changes of mind—no groping for the right word—which suggests that Lewis had already ordered his thoughts in his mind and could let them flow naturally from the quill. Where he learned that self discipline was not evident in one of the first assignments President Jefferson gave him—to evaluate the officers of the national army and suggest who should be retained in service and who should go.

To his credit, Lewis seems more comfortable describing plants and animals in the little morocco-bound book than in deciding the fate of men. He took on the responsibilities of science officer when he assumed command of the Corps of Discovery and never tried to escape his duty. Were there times during his tenure as governor of Louisiana Territory when he took out that journal and recalled the wonders out that journal and recalled the wonders he had seen and described? In searching for the man behind the myth, it is possible to discern a keen sensitivity underlying the words that march so bravely across the pages of that little red book.

Chinook hat, 2003, woven by Karen Reed (Chinook/Puyallup) out of cedar bark and bear grass. Such hats were worn by the Chinook people living along the Lower Columbia when the Corps of Discovery arrived in 1805.
This business card image was originally created by artist Chris Hopkins from his painting titled *Butterflies, Tuskegee Airmen*, which depicts one of the Tuskegee pilots giving the “thumbs up” sign before entering the cockpit of his fighter plane. The Washington State History Museum’s upcoming exhibition, *Black Wings: American Dreams of Flight*, includes the story of the Tuskegee Airmen—the first African American military aviators in the United States armed forces—and other historical African American aviators. This Smithsonian Institution traveling exhibit is on view October 15, 2011, through July 16, 2012. To learn more about this image (#2011.1.107) and additional historical images in the Washington State Historical Society’s ephemera collection, please go to http://collections.washingtonhistory.org/ and type the keyword “ephemera” into the search term box.

—Fred Poyner III

**Tuskegee Pilot**

This business card image was originally created by artist Chris Hopkins from his painting titled *Butterflies, Tuskegee Airmen*, which depicts one of the Tuskegee pilots giving the “thumbs up” sign before entering the cockpit of his fighter plane. The Washington State History Museum’s upcoming exhibition, *Black Wings: American Dreams of Flight*, includes the story of the Tuskegee Airmen—the first African American military aviators in the United States armed forces—and other historical African American aviators. This Smithsonian Institution traveling exhibit is on view October 15, 2011, through July 16, 2012. To learn more about this image (#2011.1.107) and additional historical images in the Washington State Historical Society’s ephemera collection, please go to http://collections.washingtonhistory.org/ and type the keyword “ephemera” into the search term box.

—Fred Poyner III
The LONGEST ROAD
HIGHWAY CONSTRUCTION in Washington has relied on many inspired minds and thousands of strong backs. The North Cascades Highway (State Route 20) is no exception. With the longest history of any cross-state highway in Washington, spanning 79 years from inception to completion, the highway has had as many names as it had planned routes. SR 20 is rich with industrial lore and remarkable personalities. One such person is Dick Carroll, former District 2 engineer.

For 11 of his 35 years with the Washington State Department of Transportation (WSDOT), Carroll supervised 200 miles of the highway leading out of Okanogan County toward the Cascade Range. In 1975 the Wenatchee World published an article titled “King of the Road,” in which he recalled what it was like to live and work on the highway. A career highwayman, Carroll went on to plan and supervise thousands of miles of highway construction in eastern Washington, Seattle, and southwestern Washington. But before Carroll joined the SR 20 team, many others came before him.

In 1893 the Washington State Legislature allocated $20,000 for construction of a “Cascade Wagon Road” connecting the ports of Skagit County to the mineral deposits of the Cascades as well as the resources of the Inland Empire. Much of the route through the Cascades would traverse peaks above 8,000 feet and cross expanses of solid rock. The mineral deposits of gold, silver, and copper were greatly over-estimated, but the mere possibility of these riches aided in procuring funds for the project.

During the summer of 1895 crews blasted rock and made way for a preliminary footpath for men and livestock. Still, after the completion of this would-be route, much of the North Cascades lay out of reach, including the perceived mineral-rich mountains to the north.

Throughout the next 37 years the highway suffered starts and stops in funding. Interest waned until a new vein of gold or copper was discovered. When allocations finally were made available, avalanches, mud slides, or other natural disasters inhibited efforts to continue.

In 1932 the project reached a major milestone. A more northerly route was surveyed. Rather than running west from Twisp to Stehekin and Cascade Pass, the new plan was to head north through Winthrop and Mazama, then west over Washington and Rainy passes. Ike Munson, location engineer for District 2, headed the effort. Munson became a huge proponent of the highway’s completion, making it his mission to see that sufficient funds were made available to finish the project.

The men in Munson’s crew had many natural challenges to deal with as they made their summer camp at the edge of Early Winters Creek just west of Mazama. Mosquitoes plagued them so badly that they worked a good deal of the time with shirts and hats covering their heads. The warm summer of 1933 also brought massive amounts of water down the mountains, turning Early Winters Creek into a rampaging river. This undoubtedly made surveying along the creek by horseback treacherous and unnerving.

Just as it seemed that the highway would finally connect the farmers and ranchers east of the Cascades with the seaports on the coast, progress halted. All resources, including the road-builders themselves, were reassigned to the military. When World War II began, highway construction ceased. The pass through Snoqualmie had already been completed, so with limited money and manpower, it seemed the North Cascades Highway would never be finished.

After the Allied victory, though, Munson was again ordered back to Washington and Rainy Pass, and this time he led a reconnaissance mission of a different nature. Nearing a decision for the final route, the Washington State Highway Commission itself wanted to experience the North Cascades. Munson asked George Zahn, an orchardist from the Methow Valley, to accompany the commissioners and crew. Although Zahn would not become a member of the highway commission for several years (eventually serving as chairman), his passion for the highway was born during that reconnaissance mission of 1956. Zahn dedicated his life to the completion of SR 20, rallying support and funds from various public sources. Due in large measure to Zahn’s campaigning, excitement built on both sides of the Cascades, and planning for the highway went into full swing.
In 1959 construction of a paved highway began at Diablo Dam, east to Thunder Lake. On the east side of the mountains, in Highway District 2, a different kind of road building had been going on. The last of Washington’s pioneer roads was being surveyed and built.

Enter Dick Carroll, construction engineer for District 2. After serving overseas with the Army Corps of Engineers during World War II, Carroll settled in Washington in 1946 and went to work for the highway department. A young husband and father, Carroll began a 21-year career surveying, designing, and constructing bridges and roads in central Washington, and was often away from home. While staying in Winthrop, working on a Methow River bridge, Dick received word of the arrival of his firstborn son Eugene at a Wenatchee hospital. His work on location throughout each winter, often six days a week, was followed by the summer construction season.

Carroll lived out of abandoned schoolhouses, maintenance sheds, tents, and construction camps—wherever the projects were under way. Finding housing and meals for the field crews fell to the party chief. Carroll worked as the negotiator and often arranged with farmers’ wives in remote areas to provide breakfast, lunch makings, and dinner for his crew, sometimes paying as much as two dollars a day per crew member.

Following the 1956 reconnaissance mission, Carroll joined his boss, Munson, on an extended trip to Bridge Creek and Rainy Pass to evaluate the survey work being done by project engineer Fred Walters and crew. Walters was engaged in the ongoing assignment of following the best route over the pass, since that had still not been determined. The survey crew used aneroid barometers to measure elevations. They considered areas for tunnel construction as well as locations likely to experience avalanche.

The crews on Rainy Pass faced some challenges during the summer of 1956. One great difficulty was finding sufficient horse feed in an area made up almost entirely of exposed rock. Also, there were times on the trail, recalled Carroll, when the men encountered hornet and yellow-jacket nests about every quarter mile.

Following completion of the surveying, the location and design work could finally commence. The pioneer road would be a 14-foot-wide path that carved its way through the passes so that drill rigs could determine bridge foundation conditions. Where they encountered rivers and gullies, the men erected timber bridges in this stage of the road, allowing necessary equipment through for the eventual highway construction.

The location/design work began on the east and west sides of the mountains simultaneously. One contract was awarded from Diablo Dam to Thunder Arm, while District 2 began work on the pioneer road beginning at Early Winters Creek and eventually ending at Washington Pass, where their role in the project ended. Each summer season went the same way: crew members followed the snow out in June and worked until snow returned, usually in September. The road construction went on from 1956 to 1967, with 10 east side sections contracted out of District 2.

The first stretch awarded on the east side was a four-mile piece beginning at Early Winters Creek that provided the first access to the area other than on foot or horseback. Following weeks of rising transportation time and cost for the crews to commute by horseback from Winthrop to Mazama each day, the highway department built a labor camp near the start of the pioneer road. Indian Creek, just west of Early Winters Creek became a suitable first camp for the project. Progress on the road was steady as the men accustomed themselves to camp life, working and living with their team for ten days and returning home for a four-day stretch. Carroll, with a young family at home, lived in Wenatchee and worked out of the District 2 headquarters. He spent time in camp with the men each summer but also moved ahead, doing further reconnaissance on horseback and conducting tours with press and government officials. He sometimes brought his

LEFT: The dotted line in this map shows the last and most difficult section of Highway 20 to be built.

BELOW: The state transportation department has designated the North Cascades Highway as Scenic Byway No. 9. Indeed, it boasts some of the most breathtaking views of any state route.
son Eugene on pack trips, providing the ultimate summer camp experience for the youngster.

When it became impractical to work out of Indian Creek, camp was moved west to Cutthroat Creek as the pioneer road made its way to Washington Pass. “The Cutthroat camp was probably one of the most comfortable of the early camps,” Carroll noted. One resourceful crew member, Tom (Sonny) Martin, a former army demolition expert and paratrooper, earned high status in camp when he produced an old GI immersion heater that provided hot water. When Martin installed plastic hoses upstream, the fresh water supply in camp became plentiful. He also created a shower using a 55-gallon drum and made camp furniture with skillful use of a chain saw.

Each time the men went home for their four days off, the highway department employed camp watchers to look after the equipment and livestock and ward off any curious or hungry bears. After one such break, the men returned to find the camp completely devastated, but rather than finding evidence of marauding bears, they found the kitchen, tents, and Coleman lantern riddled with bullet holes. “The Project Engineer suspected that this may not have been factual since he found the garbage pit about half full of empty booze bottles,” Carroll commented in 1972.

Mazama rancher Jack Wilson acted as wrangler, providing the pack animals and horses each time the equipment and men needed to be moved. Wilson had established a working ranch at the confluence of Early Winters Creek and the Methow River after arriving from San Francisco with his wife Elsie in the late 1940s. Together the Wilsons built six cabins, a stock barn, a garden, and a small lake. The property the Wilsons developed became a popular destination—however difficult to reach—for fishing, hunting, and back-country tours, and still serves visitors the world over. The ranch’s hospitality had become renowned by the 1960s. It is said that what is now the small fishing lake on the property was once the highway department’s gravel pit during road construction.

By 1963, contracts on the pioneer road had been completed, but the exact placement of the road over Rainy and Washington passes was still uncertain. The engineers would often trade their pack animals and long treks into the mountains for efficient helicopter missions, either transporting men and equipment or conducting location and design work. Just before Ike Munson’s retirement, construction engineer Dick Carroll and pilot Al Platt made a day trip to locate avalanche sites. They took off from Wenatchee, making a stop along the way to pick up Munson from a golf course near his home in East Wenatchee. Once back in the air Carroll suggested to his companions that it might be wise to return to Munson’s home and collect three pairs of snowshoes for the mission. After doing so, the men made the flight to Washington Pass in clear and sunny conditions, landing on Kangaroo Ridge.

Once the men identified avalanche sites and observed the route from the ridge, they set off for another spot on the pass. Just after lifting from the ground and having gained only 600–700 feet in elevation, the helicopter lost engine power and crash-landed into the ridge. Fortunately, men and machine were intact but the crew now faced the task of getting down the mountain. Carroll knew their location and, after setting out markers that would tell the rescue crews they were “OK,” the trio made a late start through the snow, down the mountain.
Hairpin curve approaching Washington Pass from the east on the North Cascades Highway. A wayside overlook allows this view of the Liberty Bell group of peaks.

toward Cutthroat Creek. “We had a standing agreement [in the highway department] that we would not start search and rescue until 24 hours had passed,” Carroll noted.

As darkness approached, a weather disturbance moved in and temperatures dropped below freezing. The men thought they had best find a place to spend the night, keeping in mind the 24-hour policy. None of them was a smoker and so none carried matches; they had no water either. They were comforted, though, by the fact that there were several pilots on the highway crew who could potentially make the rescue—an upside of the post-war era. The Civil Air Patrol, the State Patrol, and the Chelan County Sheriff’s Department were alerted. Carroll’s wife Betty, when contacted by the Wenatchee World, said, “You should see my eyes. No sleep last night. This is one of those things where you think everything is all right but you’re not sure.”

AFTER A LONG, cold night under a fir tree, dressed only in light clothing, the men continued their descent, hoping they would soon be spotted. They owed their rescue to the piloting skills of the department’s Don Horey, who located the sign they had left at the crash site and followed their snowshoe tracks down the mountain. Horey’s crew dropped a food bundle down to the men, and as the trio enjoyed their ham and cheese sandwiches, rescue crews set off on foot to retrieve the unfortunate campers. Aside from the exposure the men had suffered, all were well. “I didn’t get upset until I saw the body bags on the rescue sleds,” Carroll recalled. Later that year, when he returned to conduct further location work, Carroll found his sunglasses under the tree where they had spent that long, cold night.

Following Munson’s retirement, Buzz Mattoon took over as district engineer with just as much passion for the project as his predecessor. The construction went on, as did the press junkets and safaris for government officials. Carroll recalled one such trip made with the governor, highway commissioners, and their entourage in 1966. He shepherded Governor Dan Evans and about 20 others, plus 30 horses and 20 pack mules, from Silver Star Camp to Ross Lake while acting as camp cook, packer, wrangler, and jack-of-all-trades. Several journalists made trips with Carroll over the years in an effort to pique public interest. These included Hugh Blonk and Wilfred Woods of Wenatchee and Bruce Wilson of Omak (who later became a state senator).

While the construction phase of the highway had been under way for several years, in 1968 the first automobile crossing was made by Governor Dan Evans, who led a Jeep caravan along the impressive route. Asphalt followed, with construction finalized four years later to allow for the grand opening on September 2, 1972. Again, Evans led the way as 15,000 people crossed the state that day on Highway 20. Evans was not actually the very first person to cross the newly opened highway. The now-infamous Ted Bundy, then employed by Evans’s reelection campaign, was the first to cross the Cascades on Highway 20 as the governor’s limousine driver.

Bianca Benson is the daughter of Eugene Carroll and granddaughter of Dick Carroll. A photographer by trade, she has lived on both “sides” of Washington and marvels at the state’s natural beauty. This article is dedicated to the memory of Betty Carroll, who passed away in 2011.
Girls ’n Guns

Members of a Tacoma girls’ rifle team, sponsored by the Allen Motor Company, relax atop a Hudson sedan on an afternoon in 1930. The National Rifle Association, through partnerships with schools and colleges, promoted the establishment of rifle clubs at the turn of the 20th century. By 1930 these clubs were well established across the nation. Lincoln, Clover Park, and Stadium high schools had highly rated teams in Pierce County. This picture was taken by Tacoma photographer Marvin Boland, whose commercial work forms part of the Historical Society’s photographic collection.

—Maria Pascualy
THE MEMOIRS OF BEATRICE COOK

By Peter Donahue

"I am a fishwife...." With this simple avowal, Beatrice Cook (1900–1980) launches her tale of being married to an unrepentant “fishin’ fool”—a tale that spans two memoirs, Till Fish Us Do Part (1949) and More Fish to Fry (1951), and takes readers on an extended fishing trip through Puget Sound and the San Juan Islands.

In Till Fish Us Do Part, young Bea arrives in the Northwest in the mid 1920s after falling in love with and becoming engaged to Bill Cook, a Seattle physician attending a medical conference in her hometown of Chicago. She knows nothing about her new home—"The state of Washington was just a half-inch pink square on the map"—and even less about fishing. This all begins to change when her soon-to-be husband presents her with a wedding gift of hip-length rubber boots and two fishing poles—“one for salmon, one for trout”—and they take off to the San Juan Islands for their honeymoon. From that point on, the author learns more about fishing, and what it means to be married to a zealous fisherman, than she could ever have suspected living in the Midwest. Along the way, she also learns what it means to be a Northwesterner.

In terms of fishing tactics and technique, Till Fish Us Do Part serves as well as any manual one could buy at Cabela’s. On her first outing with her husband, Cook learns to put live herring on a triple-hook setup, shorten her cuddyhunk line to avoid snagging eel grass, work the drag reel to keep her fish from throwing the hook, coax the catch in to be netted, and rap it on the head with a lead pipe to stop its thrashing. “I’ve never been so excited and mad and glad all at once in my life. Never,” she exclaims as she admires the eight-pound silver salmon she’s landed.

Salmon are the featured performers in Till Fish Us Do Part. She quickly learns the difference between king and silver salmon as well as their migration patterns, feeding habits, and relation to the tides, currents, and shoals. Just as important, she learns how to cook them. She receives instruction from their guide—the curmudgeonly old sot Cappy Bill—on how to steam a whole salmon wrapped in seaweed and buried in sand laid over a bed of coals, and then serve it on slabs of driftwood. (In More Fish to Fry, she learns from another island denizen how to smoke a salmon after it’s been filleted, pressed between cross-hatched branches, and propped over an open fire.)

However, not long after the honeymoon, the thrill and romance of fishing fade. She’s left at home caring for her newborn and, as she says, “nursing my peeve of loneliness, well on the way toward being a fishing widow.” Only when her husband takes her down the Skagit River on a drift boat to face the challenge of steelhead fishing is her interest restored. Yet, over the years, this interest continues to ebb and flow.

By the end of Till Fish Us Do Part, Orcas Island has become their second home—"where peace rolls in with the tide and people have time for kindness"—leading the family to buy a piece of beachfront property on the island and begin building a house with the help of a local carpenter. Indeed, the people and places associated with fishing in the San Juans are what Beatrice Cook finds most appealing.

These people and places become the centerpiece of More Fish to Fry. Cook introduces readers to Gramp Anthony, the game warden who teaches her the wonders
of ratfish-liver oil and starfish fertilizer; Lew Dodd, an avid beachcomber whose findings clutter his cabin; Nestor Nordstrom, a hunter with a taste for venison, aka, “hillside salmon”; and “Speed,” a slow-moving fisherman known for his uncanny knowledge of the local fishing grounds. Ben Paris, the legendary Northwest sportsman, and Al Ulbrickson, the University of Washington crew coach, also make appearances. When an island resident demonstrates an unorthodox knot to one of her boys, Cook remarks that it was “a little thing, but it was so typical of the casualness of Northwest people. We are no servants to custom…. Customs are made up as we go along to suit our moods and fancies.”

The family tools about the islands in a 16-foot motorboat christened the Nun-Yet. They frequent Waldron Island as well as Sucia, Patos, Jones, Yellow, McConnell, Cliff, and Skipjack islands. They dodge driftwood and navigate the various channels, and more than once have to reckon with stormy seas. As with most islanders, they also rely on the ferry, which Cook likens to “a serene and overweight dowager,” to reach the mainland. Yet, wherever they go or whomever they meet, the prevailing theme of their lives remains fishing—especially for Cook’s husband, Bill, whose cry of “Fish on!” resounds throughout Till Fish Us Do Part and More Fish to Fry.

Cook went on to publish Truth Is Stranger Than Fishin’ (1955), a well-researched romp through the history of fishing that includes a humorous tribute to the wife of Izaak Walton, the 17th-century English author of The Compleat Angler. She also published two guidebooks of, respectively, Seattle and the San Juan Islands. Eventually, she and her husband moved permanently to Orcas Island, where she devoted herself to raising funds, books, and even lumber to establish the island’s first library. Today, the stern board of the Nun-Yet is displayed at the Orcas Island Historical Museum, reminding visitors of Beatrice Cook’s contributions to the island’s literary and piscatorial past.

Peter Donahue teaches English at Wenatchee Valley College at Omak in the Okanogan Valley.

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

The Buffalo Bill


Winnifred Olsen


Meriwether Lewis’s Little Red Book


The Longest Road

“Highway History: The 1933 Road Survey through the Northern Cascades,” by David Keller. COLUMBIA: The Magazine of Northwest History 18 (Summer 2004).
The U.S. Forest Service in the Pacific Northwest
A History

Reviewed by William D. Rowley.

In 1890 the clanking sounds of busy lumber mills along the shores of Puget Sound promised a bright future for the Pacific Northwest. Literature depicting those heady days stressed back-breaking work in the woods, tugboats pulling huge log tows, and ever-proliferating lumber mills. Gerald W. Williams, longtime historian for the United States Forest Service (USFS)—now retired—goes far beyond the romance of the Northwest’s logging and lumbering literature in the book under review. His carefully-defined topic follows the development of the Forest Service’s Region 6 (Oregon and Washington) as the pioneering force in a mission to bring federal resource management to almost 25 million acres of the public domain. He begins the story with the presidentially-designated forest reserves under the Department of the Interior’s General Land Office in the late 1890s, the 1905 transfer of the reserves to a new Forest Service within the Department of Agriculture, and from there moves through a century of events in Region 6’s administrative and policy history into the 21st century.

This is not an easy historical research and writing assignment. Williams, however, brings to the task a career’s experience in forest planning as well as a stint as national historian for the Forest Service in Washington, D.C. He and the Forest Service—at both the regional and national level—can take pride in the positive and balanced messages in this volume. Here the reader will find a sober yet enthusiastic telling of the trials and triumphs of regional Forest Service policy and administration.

From 1905 onward, according to Williams and official Forest Service policy statements, the service sought “scientific management” of all forest resources. Among those resources was forage for stock animals. This important discussion notes that prior to World War I grazing commanded the most attention from forest rangers and returned more revenue to the Forest Service than did timber sales. The years up to the stock market crash in 1929 emerge as a custodial period or the “white hat era,” followed by almost two decades of national emergencies. First, the Great Depression required the Forest Service to play a major role in the deployment of the Civilian Conservation Corps and to permit generous use of forest resources, some of them contrary to the rules of “scientific management.” After Pearl Harbor, the Forest Service responded to demands for increased use of forest resources for the war effort and aggressive fire suppression. Much of the remainder of the century saw the region’s energies devoted to “getting out the cut” to meet the long postwar boom in the economy, especially in housing.

Production to serve economic expansion did not go unopposed. The rise of environmental concerns, ranging from the dangers of pollution to the need to protect wilderness, prompted Congress to pass legislation—the National Environmental Policy Act in 1969, Endangered Species Acts, and Forest Policy Management Act—that threatened to hobble enthusiasts in the Forest Service and the timber industry. The result was a clash of cultures, both within and outside the Forest Service, until the end of the century. Clear-cutting, the spotted owl, fire policy, and concerns about ecosystem management and the protection of salmon spawning habitat in forest streams sparked bitter controversy over the region’s multipurpose administration. Through all of this, the Forest Service struggled to survive as “the good steward” of the Pacific Northwest’s forest resources. The exhausting battles produced speculation about the future of the Forest Service. According to Williams, that future holds surprises that may include transfer into the Department of the Interior or into a new Department of Natural Resources.

A native of Tacoma, William D. Rowley teaches at the University of Nevada, Reno, where he holds the Grace Griffen Chair in Western History. He is widely published in the field of forest policy and reclamation.

Today Harry P. Cain is an obscure figure. If he is remembered at all it is as a Tacoma mayor and United States senator. In those two roles he achieved some prominence, but his career includes other highlights that are also deserving of recognition. C. Mark Smith does a creditable job of giving Cain his due in this very readable, interesting, and overdue biography.

Harry Cain was born in Tennessee to a prominent southern conservative family, but early in life he moved with his parents to Tacoma. As a young man he worked for the Bank of California on various business development activities and was involved in civic organizations. In 1938 he was asked to organize Tacoma’s Jubilee Celebration to commemorate 50 years of Washington statehood. The success of that effort brought him recognition, popularity and, in 1940, the Tacoma mayoralty.
Tacoma at that time had a commission form of government with no strong mayor. As a consequence, commissioners tended to protect their power bases and resented upstarts. Cain’s efforts at self-promotion—he walked the length of the nearly completed Tacoma Narrows Bridge and also started a weekly radio show—alienated them. Still, he had some successes: he started the Home Defense Council of civilian volunteers and worked with the military to eradicate vice (an issue for nearby Fort Lewis). His colleagues blocked other efforts, like the one to start a Tacoma Housing Authority.

After the attack on Pearl Harbor, Cain was one of only two West Coast authorities to oppose interning Japanese-American citizens. He answered the call to military service and half a year later was assigned to military governance, where he made his mark assisting dislocated civilian populations in Europe. In 1941 the Republican Party recruited him, while still serving overseas, to run for the U.S. Senate against Warren Magnuson. As a soldier he was not allowed to speak on issues; in the end, Magnuson won. In 1946 Cain ran again. In that Republican year he won easily and was expected to enter the Senate as a liberal Republican. Instead, he became a dogmatic ultraconservative and gained a reputation for unpredictability, unwillingness to compromise, and willingness to take stands unpopular in Washington. For example, he supported the Taft-Hartley bill, alienating labor; opposed building a strategic bomber fleet, alienating Boeing; and opposed prominent Washingtonians for government positions. When 1952 rolled around, he lost his seat to Henry M. Jackson in what was otherwise a good year for Republicans.

Perhaps more relevant to our time is what came next—appointment to the Subversive Activities Control Board, a quasi-judicial forum for organizations to challenge their inclusion on the Attorney General’s List of Subversive Organizations. It was expected that, as a former Senate reactionary and close friend of Joseph McCarthy’s, he’d be a hardliner in pursuing subversives and security risks. Instead, Cain defended the unfairly accused; he became convinced that fixation on “loyalty” and “reliability” was interfering with civil liberties and that unproven allegations and smear tactics were adversely and unnecessarily impacting lives and reputations. When he decided to speak out publicly—the so-called “Cain Mutiny”—he was rebuked for not being a team player and for getting involved in issues outside of his formal responsibilities. He kept it up anyway and helped effect a change in the political climate. In the end Cain resigned after meeting with President Dwight Eisenhower.

The last two decades of Cain’s life were spent in Miami, Florida, where he got involved in local civic affairs, helped run some Republican campaigns, and served on the Dade County Commission, where he had some success as an early supporter of public smoking bans and gay rights. He refused to sign a loyalty oath.

How did a progressive mayor become a reactionary senator and then a civil libertarian? It is an interesting question that is not completely or satisfactorily answered by this book. Maybe it can’t be. C. Mark Smith is not a professional historian and it occasionally shows. By providing an unbiased view of Cain, explaining the issues, and providing background he comes as close to answering that question as anyone. The book also includes two appendices, a chronology, 30 pages of endnotes, and a bibliography.

W. Clinton Sterling is senior reference librarian and assistant professor of law at the Gonzaga University School of Law in Spokane.
When the American Legion attacked the union hall in Centralia, Washington, on November 11, 1919, it was the first time in history the union men fought back, leaving four soldiers dead. Innocent and unarmed, union man Eugene Barnett stood in the window of the hotel next door, a witness who could not be allowed to talk. “We know you had nothing to do with this,” the prosecutor said, “but unless you keep your mouth shut, we’re gonna send you up.” Laws, beliefs, and lives were transformed by Barnett’s determination to do what he believed was right...tell the truth. This is the story of Eugene Barnett.

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