INSIDE
Young men of the Civilian Conservation Corps at work in the Northwest’s national forests
CONGRATULATIONS TO THIS YEAR’S HISTORY AWARD WINNERS!

The Washington State Historical Society is pleased to announce its 2016 award recipients for exceptional contributions to the history of our state in 2015. These individuals were honored at the Society’s annual membership meeting on September 24, 2016.

BARRY GOUGH received the Robert Gray Medal, the Society’s highest award, for a long and dedicated career that includes professorship and both Western Washington University, where he helped found the Center for Pacific Northwest Studies and the Center for Canadian-American Studies, and Whitman College in his native Canada, where he is now emeritus professor of history. His research specialty has been Pacific Northwest maritime history, about which he has written extensively.

ANA KINGS received the Northwest News Network Award for “Douglas of Hartford,” a prize-winning bilingual short story contest that represented the perspectives of the nuclear site in 12 radio pieces, complementary portraits, and a special exhibit at The Beach Museum in Richland, Washington.

MICHELLE HALL, a teacher at Housatonic Middle School in Profors, received the Governor’s Award for Excellence in Teaching History. Michelle’s Leadership of the History Day program has drawn an exceptional degree of commitment, as has her work with many ESL students in her rural setting.

ED CARRIERE, a Spokane elder, received the Peace and Friendship Award. Carrier’s basketmaker, who learned the art from his great-grandmother. He recently has worked in the Field Museum, studying 2,000-year-old baskets, replicating the ancient weaving techniques using the same natural materials, and sharing his knowledge both regionally and internationally.

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DAVID DELBERT KRUGER received the John McCandlin Jr. Award for his article, “The Main Street Spirit of JCPenney: A Department Store Chain in the Downtowns of Washington” in the Summer 2015 issue of COLUMBIA. Kruger is an agricultural research librarian at the University of Wyoming.

SUSAN LONG is this year’s recipient of the Lorraine Wajahn Award. Long has logged over 500 hours at the Washington State Historical Society, volunteering as a gallery interpreter, assisting at special events, and more recently, cataloging artifacts at the WSHS Research Center.

BILL BROOKESON and the SOUTH SOUND NATIVE PLANT SOCIETY received the Jean Richards Award as a member and leader of the South Sound Native Plant Society. Brookeson has devoted many hours of leadership and care to the Dele- McRide Ethnodimensional Garden on the grounds of the historic Lord Mansion in Tacoma, he led public tours of the garden over the past four years and in 2014 organized and led three progressive-gardens tours in Tacoma in conjunction with the History Museum’s exhibit on naturalist David Douglas.
Deaconess Margaret Peppers—A Woman of Courage and Contradictions

By Linda Teresa Di Blase

In the all the years that I have been engaged in research on women in Pacific Northwest history, my subjects have invariably found me, rather than the other way around.

Usually, once the fever of research and writing on a given subject is over, another woman's call rises above the cacophony of voices clamoring for more attention. But one particular woman has captured my attention as no other.

I first encountered Margaret Guthrie Peppers in 1987 while researching the history of the Episcopal Church in western Washington for a book chapter I had been commissioned to write. On the alert for evidence of women's contributions to balance what was sure to be the otherwise masculine focus in this chronicle of bishops and priests, I was delighted to discover some archive files in the Diocese of Olympia pertaining to deaconesses. Beginning in the late 19th century, this was an officially recognized ministry whereby women who felt a calling to full-time church work could engage in Christian education, social welfare, foreign missions, and other “womanly” functions. Female deacons were often in the vanguard of ministries in places where the church previously had little or no presence. Such was the case with Margaret Peppers, who attended the Church Divinity School of the Pacific in San Francisco and in 1918 became a deaconess at the age of 24.

After serving as a missionary for 10 years in the Philippines, Peppers came to the Diocese of Olympia in 1928 as a “rural worker,” a ministry she exercised by driving more than 7,000 miles a year to visit isolated families in western Washington, serving as advisor for youth groups, preparing young people for the rite of confirmation, and generally advancing “women’s work” in the church. She continued these activities for four years until the deepening Depression forced the “women’s work” in the church. She continued these activities for four years until the deepening Depression forced the “women’s work” in the church.

Although the mass incarceration of an estimated 122,000 to 120,000 people of Japanese ancestry (Nikkei) living on the West Coast was ordered, a few efforts were made by representatives of the Episcopal Church to forestall the evacuation. Once it was underway, however, church leaders generally agreed with the notion that it was for the safety of loyal and innocent Japanese people. During late April and early May 1942, when the parishioners of St. Peter’s and St. Paul’s were evacuated to assembly centers along with thousands of others of Nikkei in the greater Seattle area, Margaret Peppers was there. Reportedly, she was the lone non-Japanese assisting with the typical inoculation of the White River area evacuees prior to their relocation to California.

When the congregations of St. Peter’s were sent to the Puyallup assembly center, known ironically as Camp Harmony, Peppers was among a handful of church workers who ministered regularly to Protestant Christians among the camp’s 7,000 residents. At least three times a week she made the 10-mile drive between her home in Seattle and Camp Harmony to provide the evacuees with assistance. Initially restricted to communication only by telephones posted at various gates, she concentrated on performing errands for the incarcerated, whose hasty preparations for evacuation had left them without many necessities. Later, as permits were issued allowing services and Sunday schools to be conducted in specially designated areas of the camp, she became part of a federated Protestant ministry.

One article in the Episcopal parish bishop’s file hinted at the next stage of Peppers’ journey, “Deaconess Margaret Peppers Hopes to Follow Evacuees,” declared a piece in the national Episcopal periodical, The Living Church. It went on to report that the deaconess was seeking federal permission to be “the only White woman to accompany the Puget Sound Japanese-Americans when they are evacuated to inland settlements”—namely, Camp Minidoka to the southern Idaho desert. While there was another non-Japanese woman who came to serve in the Protestant ministry at Minidoka, Peppers was the only Episcopalian woman in the country to voluntarily cast her lot with the incarcerated.

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From 1942 until the camp closed in November 1945, Peppers engaged in religious education and organized a variety of programs for women as part of the ecumenical Protestant ministry. In addition, she assisted the Japanese American priest who served the 500 Episcopalians in the camp. When he was away to visit families who had been relocated to distant areas in the Midwest and East, the deaconess was left to minister on her own. She was known during her time at St. Peter’s and St. Paul’s as a “second mother” to Nisei girls who were navigating the challenging terrain between Japanese and American culture, so it is easy to picture the well-worn path leading to her office in the camp, which Peppers once mentioned when writing to her bishop.

Until recently, Margaret Pepper’s work for the Episcopal Church and her wartime service to the interned Japanese were all I knew of her. But there is much more to her story, and only a little of it has to do with her subsequent ministry in the Episcopal Church. In the Episcopal Church archives in Austin, Texas, I learned of the period of time leading up to Peppers’ missionary work. When she entered the deaconess training program in 1915, being single was a requirement. It is unlikely, though, that any of Peppers’ fellow trainees possessed such a combination of youth and life experience—she was a 28-year-old widow with a four-year-old child. The full story will probably never be known, but the records indicate that after her husband succumbed to tuberculosis in 1914, Margaret was left penniless. Needing to make her way in the world yet desiring a meaningful vocation, the young widow decided to undertake training for a profession in the church. Her husband’s sister offered to care for the child during this course of study.

As graduation neared, Peppers learned of an opportunity to put her training to use, but it was across the Pacific in the US-occupied Philippines. Did she deliberately seek out a faraway place to escape reminders of a marriage cut short by death? Was she inspired, as were so many of her generation, by the vision of a life of selfless service in the aid of a civilizations? Did she seek adventure and an autonomy that might be difficult for a woman to achieve in early 20th century America? I suspect all of these things were at play, but the
choice was not entirely her own, and it came at great personal cost. When the young deaconess sailed from San Francisco to Manila in 1918, she did so without her daughter, Ruth. Only when I went to the archives and read Peppers’s own account of this period in her life did I begin to understand what happened—how this woman who spent most of her adult life working with children could leave her young child in the care of another. There among the documents pertaining to Peppers’s missionary appointment was the explanation that the family of her deceased husband had agreed to care for and educate Ruth but would contribute nothing if the child lived with her mother in the Philippines. Once, while on furlough in the United States after five years abroad, Peppers tried to reestablish a relationship with her daughter, but by then it was too late.

In a poignant letter written to the Episcopal Church’s Domestic and Foreign Missionary Society Board of Missions a year after she returned to the Philippines, the deaconess recounted that Ruth clearly preferred to remain with her aunt. “I could not take her away no matter how I felt personally,” Peppers explained. “She has been with her aunt since she was two years old and it would have been cruel to separate them now. I can endure such things better than to cause so many others to suffer. I have had but one letter since I left home more than a year ago, but it is better so.” Sometime later the aunt officially adopted Ruth.

After the Japanese internment ended and a diminished number of St. Peter’s parishioners returned to Seattle, Peppers chose to move on. She had been ministering among the Navahos in Arizona for a year when poor health forced her to resign. Three years later, just shy of her 60th birthday, she died in California.

I like to imagine a happy ending to the story of Margaret Guthrie Peppers, the woman who was once called a second mother to the Nisei yet was unable to experience motherhood with her own child. Tracing her whereabouts after she retired as a deaconess, I discovered that she spent her last remaining days living with her daughter in California. Alas, Ruth herself is now dead, and I have yet to find any relatives who knew her mother. But now at least I understand why, when the Japanese of St. Peter’s parish in Seattle were exiled to the desolation of Minidoka, Margaret Peppers had the desire and courage to go with them.

ABOVE: Japanese residents preparing to leave the Puyallup Assembly Center for internment camps in Idaho and California.

LEFT: Deaconess Margaret Peppers followed the St. Peter’s Episcopal parishioners she had served for 13 years to the Puyallup Assembly Center and then to Minidoka in Idaho, where they were interned.

THEY HAD LITTLE IN COMMON: a renowned laboratory scientist, an international trade negotiator, an innovative photographer, a theatrical producer, and an informant in a terrorist bombing. What these five people did share—Rose Ostroff Payne, Ernest Falk, Virna Hanson Haffer, Gene Keene, and Donald Vose, respectively—were childhood roots in a small, isolated, controversial southern Puget Sound village brimming with dissidents and intellectuals.

The village was Home, a turn-of-the-20th-century utopian colony of individualistic, self-proclaimed anarchists who sought to live among one another with as few regulations as feasible. The settlers cleared wooded plots and built hillside homes above the waters of Von Geldern Cove, on Key Peninsula in Puget Sound. Home grew to over 200 residents who lived in private houses but shared a few communal activities and a mutual desire for the good life. They eschewed violence while advocating a potpourri of political, economic, and social ideas, creeds, and practices, and generally tolerated one another’s differences. New settlers came from within the fringe of American radicals. Thus, Home became a bustling community where even the most unorthodox ideas could find expression.

Public skepticism occasionally haunted Home. Neighboring newspapers...
eral colonists celebrated the birthdays of radical heroes and radical achievements, discussed, debated, and admired the greatest minds of the age. Children grew older, many moved away to attend city high schools and colleges, but Falk was among the youngest students ever enrolled at the University of Washington in Seattle, where he encountered at least six more students from Home. All four Allen daughters went to college, a remarkable achievement for women at that time. Rose Ostroff Payne noted that her mother, Ethel Ostroff—“a bit of a feminist deprives of formal education because of the old country attitude toward a Jewish female”—taught her daughters that the route to female independence was to “get an education and be self-supporting.” Education was traditionally considered a path to a better life, but the preponderance of those continuing on from this small, isolated community remains striking.

George Allen, in an article in the November 20, 1939, issue of the local, self-published anarchist newspaper Discontent, derided public schools where a “lot of foolish restrictions… [were] put upon pupils.” He acknowledged that “the mind of the teacher must direct in the schoolroom, but in that, as well as in national, that government is best which governs least.” He praised “the liberty of thought and notion allowed in our school here [in Home]. A pupil who does not wish to take part in any of the exercises is allowed to remain in his seat, the teacher depending on the interest she can awaken to come join in the class.” He recalled Rose Ostroff Payne: “There were in this small community relatively large personal libraries of literature—books of fiction, economic and social essays, even volumes such as those of Havelock Ellis and Krafft-Ebing on social matters. Many persons living or visiting in this community could be described as “working class intellectuals.” A few were university educated, a lawyer, a forestec, etc.

Instruction was given in art, music, French, German, and vocational training for several summers an art teacher held classes at her waterfront cabin. While a few children were taught at home by their intellectually astute parents, it is quite likely that the quality of education at schools in Home compared favorably with most remote rural turn-of-the-century schools. Trade negotiator and former student Ernest Falk later praised “great advantages to a two-room schoolhouse where pupils were permitted to advance in different fields accord- ing to their capabilities.” He noted that the Allens exerted a “strong influence on a number of people.”

The community was alive with meetings, discussions, lectures, and arguments. Children later recalled heavily laden bookshelves, constant reading by adults, and an alert search for the newest, most current ideas. They were bundled in blankets at an early age and packed off to a neighbor’s living room or to Liberty Hall where their elders expounded on diverse topics. Older children helped fold and deliver copies of colony newspapers that mingled national and international news and opinion amidst liberal diatribe and local gossip. Such visitors as anarchist Emma Goldman, essayist and Boycott arts and crafts community founder Ethel Hubbard, and future communist leader William Z. Foster came to lecture and discuss issues with old friends. Ideas germinated. People eagerly discussed upon topics that would seem different, overly intellectual, impolite, or out of place in more conventional circles. This ferment of ideas surrounded the children’s earliest years. In retrospect, I feel fortunate to have gained in breadth and thought from those individuals,” recalled Rose Ostroff Payne.

This c. 1909 group portrait of the members of Home Colony, taken in the community’s Liberty Hall, includes at least 16 children. Other turn-of-the-century idealistic settlements dedicated to seeking the better life—the perfect society—also dealt with issues of children and education. At the Ferrer Colony in New Jersey, another group of individualistic anarchists provided education in an atmosphere involving creative play, self-reliance, and minimal imposed discipline. Well-educated professional people emerged along with white collar workers and labor organizers; they included an architect associated with Frank Lloyd Wright, a Martha Graham dancer, and the mother of singer-activist Joan Baez. Yet Ferrer’s principal historian, Laurence Veysey, attributed such success to the drive of their immigrant parents as much as to formal education practices.

Around Puget Sound, contemporary communal groups generally followed practices more conventional than those in Home but also produced some remarkable adults. Imogen Cunningham, who spent her earliest years at the Puget Sound Cooperative Colony near Port Angeles, became a renowned photographer and a genuine San Francisco eccentric long before her death in 1976 at age 93. Harry Ault was a teenage journalist and editor at Equality, the socialist colony in Washington’s Skagit County. Later the longtime editor of the Seattle Union Record, he was influential in labor and socialist circles statewide and nationally. Members of the socialist Burley Colony in Kitsap County included the parents of Frank Herbert, author of the Dune novels.

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the appointed bedtime, given by a father who was out until after midnight, having a gaious time; of getting a slap for accidentally dropping a glass and breaking it, while the mother goes scot free when she upset a dishpan full of dishes, breaking several pieces; or getting an ear swipe when unable to hush the cries of little brother or sister, a feat to accomplish which has kept the whole family guessing for months past.

Perhaps Hanson exaggerated the wrongs in conventional society, but he also reflected on broader generational relations. “How far into freedom are we willing to take them with us?” he pondered. “Shall we leave them in their present status and go on, or shall we turn and determined. “Shall we leave them in their present status and go on, or shall we turn and...”

The influence of their Home upbringing can be gleaned from the later lives of several children. When Virna Hanson was 10 years old, a visiting photographer captivated her imagination and stimulated her lifelong career. As a young woman, she moved to Tacoma to attend school, hoping to find opportunities for photography. She eventually established her practice in Tacoma and became a prominent photographer in the community. One woman, Macie Coe, was hurt because her father and his friends were called anarchists. Not so, she protested: they were “peaceful and law-abiding men.” Indeed, they were. But her father did call himself and his associates anarchists, clearly not anticipating the intense disapproval the term would later signify to his daughter.

Virna Hanson Haffer

For as long as I can remember, the community and its atmosphere. Yet, the community. One woman, Macie Cope, was hurt because her father and his friends were called anarchists. Not so, she protested: they were “peaceful and law-abiding men.” Indeed, they were. But her father did call himself and his associates anarchists, clearly not anticipating the intense disapproval the term would later signify to his daughter.

Virna Hanson Haffer

Haffer held one-person shows on both coasts. In 1969 she described her art and techniques along with her personal commentary in a book, Making Photograms. Her own photograms found their way into the permanent collection of New York’s Metropolitan Museum of Art and other repositories. Haffer had served four months in jail for defamation of character after writing a letter to the editor of the Seattle Times, which prompted her to leave her community to attend school. She eventually opened a photography studio in her house, and her portraits were exhibited in international exhibitions. Haffer’s work was widely collected, and she was recognized as an early pictorialist who viewed photography as an art form, rather than as a means to make money. Her own photograms found their way into the permanent collection of New York’s Metropolitan Museum of Art and other repositories. Haffer had served four months in jail for defamation of character after writing a letter to the editor of the Seattle Times, which prompted her to leave her community to attend school. She eventually opened a photography studio in her house, and her portraits were exhibited in international exhibitions. Haffer’s work was widely collected, and she was recognized as an early pictorialist who viewed photography as an art form, rather than as a means to make money.

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and Seattle until 1948, when she became a research associate at Stanford Medical School and began her long career there. She was appointed professor of medicine in 1972. Early on, her central research focus became immunology and hematol-ogy—the study of blood—and revolved initially around work on antibodies that affected white blood cells. Her research proved that different types of white blood cells were present in different individuals. In the early 1960s, when organ transplants were just beginning to open new opportunities in medical practice, that research was directly responsible for facilitating the acceptance of tissue transplants without their rejection by the body. Along with her colleagues, many of whom regarded her as their leader, Rose Payne clearly helped make possible the present era of widespread organ transplants.

Holding memberships in a cluster of state, national, and international bodies, Payne authored or coauthored over 100 technical papers that pushed forward knowledge of the blood system and immunology. A $2,500 grant from the American Tentative Society, founded by scientists, designated her as one of the “original thinkers whose doubting, forward-looking spirit. His parents and grandparents had been active Chicago anar- chists,” in his mother’s words. Yet young Donald Vose grew up in Home, but he always seemed a loner, an outsider. Bit- terly aware of the radical predispositions of his village and achieved extraordinary results shared by Keene and Vern Snedeker, who wrote the original 1951 Teahouse novel, while the two were stationed together on Okinawa during the occupa- tion of Japan, Keene’s efforts with The Teahouse provided the playwright’s major stage drama, The Teahouse of the August Moon, a world-class, “Broadway-quality” theater city. The Cirque, a theater in the round, opened with Springtime for Henry in a Broadway District building one wintry evening in 1950. Though it survived its earliest weeks on a shoestring, it became a 30-year fixture in Seattle, with occasional variations in format and location. The Cirque introduced the concept of dinner theater in the Northwest and was the city’s only enduring semi-professional theater until after the 1962 Seattle World’s Fair. Offering—over 270 plays—tended toward light comedy and an occasional musical featuring Broad- way and Hollywood stars, some past their prime. The Teahouse of the August Moon was a notable example of literary success shared by Keene and Vern Snedeker, who wrote the original 1951 Teahouse novel, while the two were stationed together on Okinawa during the occupation of Japan. Keene’s efforts with The Teahouse foreshadowed Seattle’s reputation as a significant theater city.

Donald Vose

Parents of Home might well have been proud of these and other children, but one particular progeny was rejected. Son of an ardent anarchist who had long been a comrade of such nation-ally known radicals as Emma Goldman, Donald Vose grew up in Home, but he always seemed a loner, an outsider. Bit- terly aware of the radical predispositions of his village and achieved extraordinary results. Apparently they were very much individuals in the style of their parents. Decades after the utopian settlement of their parents had its final chapter, the story of these chil- dren still resonates.

Perhaps the parents of Home both failed and succeeded. Apparently they wanted their children to truly know and be themselves, to think and act for themselves, to follow their own pursuits, however diverse and where- ever they might lead. They pushed their young out of the nest into a stream of education and a wider world beyond the tiny confines of the vil- lage. Arguably, the parents’ goals were fulfilled when their children became active, participating adults in a larger, diversified society.

A ROOF WITH A VIEW

Sam Hill and his wife pose on the rooftop garden of the Perry Hotel in downtown Seattle in 1909. The photographer, Asahel Curtis, identifies Hill as a cook. In the West, many African American males were restricted to less lucrative work as barbers, waiters, cooks, and elevator operators. The Perry, built in 1907, was a 250-room luxury Tudor revival-style building situated on the southwest corner of Boren and Madison Streets. Part of its charm, as described in advertisements, was its roof garden, with a “commanding view of the Olympics, Cascade Mountains, Mt. Rainier and Puget Sound.” It is unknown whether Hill was there as an employee or a guest. This and other photos in the set make it clear that he wanted to have a record of the visit he and his wife paid to the grand hotel. The Perry was demolished in 2000.

—Maria Pasqualy

ROOSEVELT’S GRAND EXPERIMENT

The Civilian Conservation Corps in the Northwest

By John T. Menard

President Franklin Delano Roosevelt gave his inaugural address to the nation on March 4, 1933. Fresh from a landslide victory in the 1932 election, Roosevelt had a clear mandate to effect change across the nation. The Great Depression had cost millions of jobs. Americans were desperate. They were unemployed or underemployed in unprecedented numbers. The unemployed “face[d] the grim problem of existence,” Roosevelt told America. The primary objective during his presidency’s infancy, he said, was to put the nation back to work and “wage war against the emergency.”

Perhaps it was fitting, then, that Roosevelt gave the United States Army the responsibility of administering the Civilian Conservation Corps. On April 5, 1933, a mere month after his inauguration, Roosevelt, empowered by Congress’s passage of “an act for the relief of unemployment through the performance of useful public work, and for other purposes,” signed Executive Order 6101, calling for the establishment of “Emergency Conservation Work.” Two days later, the program registered its first enrollee, and the first Iconic image of Civilian Conservation Corps members heading off to conquer the Great Depression and, in the process, protect and preserve the nation’s natural resources.
Members received $30 per month, $25 of which went home. They could be no older than 23 years old and no younger than 17. Membership enrolled for a six-month enrollment period, renewable up to three times for a total of two years, provided they worked hard and obeyed the rules. In 1937, enrollments expanded to twelve months.

Initially, enrollees signed up for a six-month enrollment period, menced during January, April, July, and October of each year. Recruitment drives continued throughout the year. The army was tasked with administering the camps; recruiting, transporting, housing, and feeding the enrollees; as well as constructing the camps.

The most important task undertaken in the district was blister rust control. Blister rust is a disease that attacks white pine trees. The spore spreads to the trees via contact with ribes bushes (a subgenus of flowering plants commonly known as gooseberry or currant). It works its way into the bark and cuts off the flow of sap, killing the tree. By 1939 CCC crews managed to protect over 200,000 acres of white pine timber by removing the disease-spreading shrubs. White pine forestry was an incredibly valuable industry during the Depression, and the local communities of northern Idaho closely followed the CCC’s efforts. Other important tasks undertaken in the Fort George Wright District were soil conservation, fire control, fire hazard reduction, and reforestation in the national forests, along with flood control and construction of bridges, roads, campsites, and recreational campgrounds.

Blister rust was especially prevalent in St. Joe National Forest in northern Idaho, the location of CCC Forestry Camp F-188. Camps such as F-188 served as both work relief and education programs for the impoverished youth of the Great Depression. They also instilled in their members the virtues of discipline, pride, and hard work while conserving precious natural resources during a time of great duress for the United States.

Daily Life in a CCC Forestry Camp

Forestry Camp F-188 was stationed at Willow Creek along both sides of State Highway 95 E (now State Highway 6), a few miles southwest of the town of Emida in Idaho’s Benewah County. Construction on the camp began May 5, 1935. A contingent of corps members from Camp F-117 near St. Maries, broke ground on the camp. Barracks and administrative buildings on one side of the highway faced the mechanical shop and garage buildings on the opposite side. According to the official camp history, the men spent their summer fighting fires in Idaho, though it was an uncommonly calm fire season.

On October 20, 1935, the men of F-117 gave way to Company 2524, a brand new unit made up of youths from Ohio. The “Ohio boys,” as they were known, boarded a train making its way through the state and eventually winding up in Fort Knox, Kentucky. There they were separated into two companies, 2524 and 2525, with the men from 2525 disembarking near St. Joe River, presumably at Camp F-120 near Avery, Idaho, while those in 2524 continued on to Willow Creek. The first assignments handed to Company 2524 were the diversion of Cedar Creek to protect white pine trees in the area and the construction of sidewalks within Camp F-188.

The Fort George Wright District and Forestry Camp F-188

The Fort George Wright District of the CCC, headquartered in Spokane, came into being in May 1933. Its domain stretched from Lake Chelan to Libby, Montana, and from the Canadian border to just south of Moscow, Idaho. By August 1933 it had grown to encompass 54 camps containing some 12,000 enrollees—most bailing from the Deep South or eastern states—making it the largest district in the country. By 1938 the district had served as home to 260 CCC companies containing roughly 42,000 members. It oversaw conservation efforts in a number of national forests, including the Kaniksu, St. Joe, Coeur d’Alene, Kootenai, and Colville.
THE CCC NOT ONLY SAW TO THE PHYSICAL AND INTELLLECTUAL NEEDS OF ITS MEMBERS BUT ALSO MADE SURE THE SPIRITUAL NEEDS OF THE MEN WERE ATTENDED TO.

The original roster of Company 2524 included 187 men, including 154 enrollees, 16 assistant leaders, 10 leaders, 5 officers, and a camp surgeon. Discipline in the CCC was tightly handled by camp and district leadership. Serious crimes were referred to the civilian system for trial. Minor offenses, such as insubordination, were judged by the company commander and could result in anything from mere admonishment to loss of pay or discharge from the company. Once established at Willow Creek, the men of Company 2524 followed a set schedule. A typical day at camp went as follows: At 6:10 in the morning the men arose to reveille. Roll call lasted from 6:50 to 7:50, after which they made their beds, cleaned the barrack, and ate breakfast. They worked until 11:45, when the cleaned up and took an hour break for lunch. From 12:45 to 3:45 they worked again, then spent the next hour subject to roll call and inspection. The men ate dinner at 5:00 and received the day’s mail at 5:30. There was a gap in the camp schedule from 5:30 to 9:20, when presumably they were free to engage in leisure activities or attend night classes. At 9:20 they prepared for bed, and the lights went out at 9:30. This routine prevailed Monday through Saturday, with Sundays off.

Like most CCC members, the typical F-188 member came from extreme poverty. One enrollee, George W. Rairden, serves as an excellent case study of the poverty CCC members endured prior to enrollment. The oldest of nine children, Rairden was born August 10, 1918, to farmer Clay Rairden and his wife, Margaret, in Bath County, Kentucky. His schooling ended after eighth grade. Two weeks after his 17th birthday, the 1935–36 winter enrollment.

Religion in the Camps

The CCC not only saw to the physical and intellectual needs of its members but also made sure the spiritual needs of the men were attended to. As district chaplain, Captain Jay M. Gleason was responsible for overseeing the religious functions of all the camps in the district. Born in Illinois in 1881, Gleason served as a chaplain in France during World War I. After the war, he accepted a ministry in Bennington, but left in 1921 and took up ranching near Yakima. In 1932 he was elected to the State House of Representatives, but his political career was cut short when in 1933 he was called up by the army to serve as chaplain of the Fort George Wright CCC District.

Gleason formulated the religious programs for each of the camps and hired clergy to perform the Protestant, Catholic, and Jewish services as needed by the enrollees. He served as the district’s welfare officer, education officer, and public relations officer. He proved to be a sympathetic ear and advocate for many within the district, a fact that is well illustrated in his voluminous correspondence.

In one case, Gleason advocated on behalf of Michael Hudanish, an enrollee who in January 1936 was accused of stealing farm property in September 1934 in his home state of New Jersey. Gleason wrote the prosecuting attorney, asking that the case be dismissed. He cited the amount of time that had passed between when the alleged theft occurred and when the charges were filed, the minimal monetary worth of the stolen equipment ($50), and Hudanish’s good work in the CCC. The prosecutor’s office agreed to drop the charges and wish Hudanish all the best in “avoiding himself of the splendid opportunities which [had] been placed [before him].”

Gleason remained with the Fort George Wright District until the CCC’s dissolution in 1942. As the CCC drew down, Gleason wrote numerous letters of recommendation for district staff. Gleason himself tried to find continuing employment with the Ninth Area District Headquarters, but was unsuccessful in his efforts.

The CCC chronicled its history on both the national and state levels—with its newspaper Happy Days—and the district level. The Fort George Wright District issued two newspapers, The Microphone, circulated within district headquarters, and The CCC News, distributed district-wide. Jay Gleason edited its most esteemed publication, the Fort George Wright CCC District Annual, which covered district-level history as well as the history and work projects of every camp within the district, complete with rosters and photographs. The inaugural issue covered the 1935–36 winter enrollment period.

Leo’s Studio and the Standard Engraving Company, both of Spokane, provided the photography and artwork. The Moscow (Idaho) Publishing Company printed the yearbook and set the price at one dollar. In gratitude for the district’s efforts to fight blister rust, several lumber companies provided pine board covers for the annuals, one issue of which is among the Gleason papers housed in the Washington State University Libraries Manuscripts, Archives, and Special Collections. The annual proved immensely popular, selling
The information gathered on enrollment forms served as the basis for determining which educational programs would be taught in each camp. Over 2,300 copies of its first printing, and the 1938–39 issue received praise from J. J. McEntee, assistant director of the CCC, as a “fine piece of photography,” and an “interesting portrayal of both the Army’s and Technical Service’s part in the Corps.” Through the efforts of men like Gleason, the CCC’s history is well chronicled and its legacy preserved.

Education in the Willow Creek Camp

George Spinning served as the educational adviser of Camp F-188. Though he copiously documented the inner workings of the CCC, he left no known records of his own life. What little is known about him has been gathered via historical US Army records and conversations with his living descendants. During World War I, Spinning labored as a private in the 32nd Spacne Squadron, which was part of an army project dedicated to producing high quality timber for use in military aircraft. In addition to his service in the army and the CCC, Spinning was an avid gardener, a school teacher, and home builder.

Personnel records from Companies 252 and 229 indicate that the majority of enrollees had not completed their grade school education or attended college. Challenged with ensuring the enrollees’ well-being, the CCC made education one of its highest priorities.

Possibly due to the extreme winter weather that sometimes came to the Fort George Wright District, it appears that education was ramped up during the fall and winter months. A memo found in George Spinning’s files, which had been addressed to all district educational advisers, provides insight into the Fall–Winter Program, 1937–38, but also clarifies the CCC’s educational efforts in general. The objectives of the education program were to “help each enrollee discover his own aptitudes and abilities”; as far as possible, “fit each enrollee into the type of camp experience from which he will profit most”; cooperate with technical staff “to help assure each enrollee of the greatest educational values inherent to the work he does”; and “organize such educational opportunities as will best develop each enrollee’s employability and civil effectiveness.”

According to this memo, Spinning was to interview each enrollee entering F-188. An “English Usage Test” and other applicable placement tests were applied when advisable. The information gathered on enrollment forms served as the basis for determining which educational programs would be taught in each camp. Illiteracy was one of the most frequent charges for life after the camps. In addition to learning about themselves engaging in their own form of higher education, Spinning’s letters reveal that a fire broke out sometime late that month and the camp had to be hastily jury-rigged to continue functioning properly. The kitchen was moved to the canteen, and the recreation center served as the mess hall. The camp procured replacement tables from the Fernwood Community Club. Spinning was happy to note that the men worked “willingly on the fire,” there had been “no griping,” and they had “won the admiration of the entire overhead.”

Although Camp F-188 ran with military efficiency, mishaps did happen. In April 1937, disaster struck the education program of Camp F-188. Spinning’s letters reveal that a fire broke out sometime late that month and the camp had to be hastily jury-rigged to continue functioning properly. The kitchen was moved to the canteen, and the recreation center served as the mess hall. The camp procured replacement tables from the Fernwood Community Club. Spinning was happy to note that the men worked “willingly on the fire,” there had been “no griping,” and they had “won the admiration of the entire overhead.”

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Vocational skills, enrollees received instruction on how to draft resumes. Enrollees were advised to include basic information such as their gender, age, contact information, education, and work experience, plus their marital status and family situation.

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headquarters two dozen spiral notebooks and blank certificates. Further highlighting the strict budgets inherent in the CCC, Spinning requested 12 “automatic pencils” and reimbursement for the cost of educational materials charged to the company, which came out to just over $24.

Despite its tight budget, F-188 put great effort into educating its young members and teaching them skills that would serve them well after they left the CCC. In addition to academic and vocational training, the men received personal enrichment, and their field trips provided them with new experiences.

End of the CCC Experiment

The great CCC experiment came to a close in 1942 following the United States’ entry into World War II. The skills and knowledge acquired by the CCC enrollees proved invaluable to the war effort. J. J. McEntee, who by now had risen to the post of national director of the CCC, had great faith in the wartime abilities of the CCC men. He proclaimed: “[T]he men of the CCC will be specialists in a dozen [noncombat] fields...as vital to the carrying on of conflict as firing a rifle or machine-gun.” And indeed, an estimated 90 percent of the 3 million men who served in the CCC later served in the US military during World War II. Men who had once built roads and bridges in the forests now built them in combat zones; transport truck drivers became troop truck drivers; camp cooks became mess sergeants; CCC men were experienced in first aid. During the CCC’s initial implementation, opponents of the program criticized the CCC as too militaristic, and there was some merit to this claim; the rigid discipline instilled in camps proved useful as the CCC men, along with the rest of America’s youth, headed off to war.

Fort George Wright and all other CCC districts, received the order to cease operations on June 30, 1942. President Roosevelt had hoped to keep the CCC alive, but the growing demands of the war brought about its demise. The program left a legacy that has spanned decades, serving as an inspiration for President John F. Kennedy’s Peace Corps and President Lyndon Johnson’s Job Corps. As exemplified by the Fort George Wright District and the experiences of the men in Camp F-188, the CCC educated and employed a large segment of one generation. Guided by the likes of Jay M. Gleason and George T. Spinning, it served as a rite of passage for these men, many of whom had not completed high school or been away from home before. The CCC, through its conservation efforts, helped protect America’s natural resources and preserve them for future generations. Moreover, through its various programs, it instilled discipline, pride, and hard work in its members. The young men whose motto was “we can take it,” proved, indeed, that they could.

John T. Menard, a graduate of Washington State University, received the Gilder Lehrman History Scholar Award in 2015. He has a long-standing interest in the regional history of the Civilian Conservation Corps.

The landscape of western Washington was once dominated by huge, ancient western red cedar (Thuja plicata) trees, some 220 feet in height and over 1,200 years old. After the onslaught of logging during the last half of the 19th century, only the giant stumps of these monarchs remained. Because the wood at the base of the tree was uneven in grain and not as marketable, the stumps were 10 or more feet in height. As pioneer farmers occupied the land, they blasted and burned most of the stumps. Once in a while a stump was put to use—converted to a storage shed, the occasional residence, or an archway. Few of them remain today.
In 1886 a fine new volume with “Prison Record No. 1 Pacific County” embossed in gold on its spine was purchased by mail order at the direction of the Pacific County commissioners from George D. Barnhardt and Company in St. Louis. It is formidable looking, even after all these years. The leather-bound book measures 16 inches high, 11 inches wide, and weighs eight pounds. Its endpapers are marbled, and its 160 preprinted pages weigh nearly a pound, even after all these years. The single iron cell was still in use. The prison book tells us that Schuldrup was 32 years old, six feet two inches tall; he had light hair, blue eyes, and a fair complexion; and his arrest involved an assault with a deadly weapon.

More details of Schuldrup’s unfortunate circumstances emerge from Justice Griswold’s court ledger, a hardcover notebook with preprinted lines and page numbers, in which he entered case notes. According to the ledger, Markus Schuldrup had first appeared before the court on Sunday, April 11, charging one Don Ross with breach of the peace. He told the justice that Ross had threatened Schuldrup and his wife by shooting a gun, causing them to fear for their lives. Griswold immediately issued a warrant for Ross’s arrest and subsequently heard the case in his courtroom in the Pacific County Jail at Oysterville, Washington Territory, on the authority of M. S. Griswold, justice of the peace. The prison book tells us that Schuldrup was 32 years old, six feet two inches tall; he had light hair, blue eyes, and a fair complexion; and his arrest involved an assault with a deadly weapon.

Arrests mirrored the social anxieties of the times—problems with alcohol-related misadventures during Prohibition, deserters and draft-evaders during the Great War, women from men during the years when the single iron cell was still in use. Although examination of the prison record book gives but a cursory view of life behind bars a century and more ago, it is a compelling window through which to view those on both sides of the law in Pacific County.

On Thursday, April 13, 1886, Norwegian native Markus Schuldrup had the distinction of being the first person listed in the fancy new logbook. He was booked into the Pacific County Jail at Oysterville, Washington.

In all, 591 prisoners are listed in this book. The blanks, when filled in, provide fascinating reading. As one pages through the book, it becomes apparent that the entries reflect the changing concerns and attitudes of Pacific County citizens as the years progressed. Arrests mirrored the social anxieties of the times—problems with immigrants at the turn of century, alcohol-related misadventures during Prohibition, deserters and draft-evaders during the Great War.

Frequently those crucial blanks on the right-hand page, which would give at least a cursory understanding of the rest of the story, have been left blank. Unless the case merited the attention of the press or resulted in a trial, with the attendant court records, the prison record provides the contemporary reader with as much frustration as fascination. Some of the information is probably incomplete because of the circumstances under which a prisoner was logged in and out of jail. Perhaps more time for jotting down the details was available at the beginning of the process. Later, once justice had been served, it is possible that the jailers, like their prisoners, were eager to put the experience behind them, forgoing the most timely opportunity to complete the record keeping.

Not every county prisoner was entered in the pages of “Prison Record No. 1 Pacific County.” At times, prisoners were housed in private homes—perhaps that of the sheriff or his deputy. Later, when the county seat was moved to South Bend, the county sometimes rented that city’s jail to relieve the crowded conditions at the county lock-up. This was especially useful in separating prisoners who might have been in collusion or in separating women from men during the years when the single iron cell was still in use.

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M. S. Griswold, “A Man of Parts”

Miles Standish Griswold arrived in Oysterville in the 1850s, shortly after its founding. He was a Harvard graduate who had turned down a professorship there in favor of going to sea. Landing in San Francisco, Griswold took a job as cook aboard an oyst-...
In the early 1900s, Mary Fraser, wife of a British diplomat, wrote a captivating account of her time living in the Methow Valley, on the eastern slope of the North Cascades. This new Shafer Museum edition, edited by Peter Donahue and Sheela McLean, includes archival photographs and extensive footnotes on the people, places and events depicted.

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The Memoirs of Mary Bard

By Peter Donahue

Retrospective Reviews

The Egg and I

By Mary Bard, c. 1956

F
ollowing the general pattern among first-born siblings, Mary Bard appears to have been a responsible, organized, task-oriented individual. At least, that is how Betty MacDonald, her famous younger sister, describes her in Anybody Can Do Anything (1950), her memoir of Depression-era Seattle. Bard, however, was not as formidable as her sister believed. In her own three memoirs—The Doctor Wears Three Faces (1949), Forty Odd (1952), and Just Be Yourself (1956)—we see Bard, with patience and good humor, fumbling through marriage, middle-age, and motherhood as best she can. Mary Bard (1904–1972) was the oldest of five children born to Darius and Sydney Bard. The family lived in Colombo, Mexico, Hidalgo, Montana, and, finally, Seattle’s Laurelhurst neighborhood as Darcie, the elder father, pursued his career as a mining engineer. When he died suddenly in 1919, Sydney was left to care for the children on her own. It was of her in the Seattle Times notes how, through every change of fortune, she “faced life with the unbroken serenity and fortitude of a Buddhist priest.”

In 1926 Sydney moved her brood to a dairy farm in the Chimacum Valley on the Olympic Peninsula where, coincidentally, Betty MacDonald and her first husband later attempted to run the chicken farm famous in The Egg and I (1945). While living in the Olympic Peninsula, Mary helped support the family by giving dance lessons in Port Townsend. She had learned to dance in Seattle from Mary Ann Wells, who founded the ballet department at the Cornish College of the Arts. The dairy farm eventually failed, forcing the family back to Seattle, where Mary began working at an advertising agency. This is where Bard picks up her story in The Doctor Has Three Faces. Suffering from the flu, she reluctantly visits the doctor’s office, where she meets a handsome young physician. “The next morning I put the research department to work finding out about Jim,” she says, and discovering he’s unmarried, invites him to dinner. In quick succession, they marry, honeymoon on Vancouver Island, and move into a house near the hospital on Seattle’s “Pill Hill” where Jim works. From there, Bard must adjust to living with a husband who is forever on call and forever spending medical jargon. Each chapter, in fact, opens with an epigraph from the Civil Textbook of Medicine to signal its focus from obstetrics (having their first child) to acmeid dermatitis (the same child getting too much sun). Throughout the book, Bard tolerates her husband’s quirky patients and bonds with a group of doctors’ wives who call themselves the Neglected Ones. These friends gather regularly to raise funds for Children’s Hospital and support one another, as when one of them is diagnosed with terminal cancer.

In Forty Odd, Bard faces perimenopause, which she discreetly refers to as “C. of L.” (Change of Life). To combat becoming one of the “Four F’s”—fat, frustrated, foolish, or forlorn”—she launches various self-improvement projects, from Finnish spa treatments to a Great Book club to outdoors adventuring. One of the most poignant passages occurs, however, when a friend is hospitalized for alcoholism and Bard and her social group realize how much their drinking has increased as they have settled into middle age. At last she turns to spawning salmon for an analogy (and warning) about her middle life crisis. Perhaps Change of Life was Nature’s way of saying, “This is your last chance—either brace up and produce a valid reason for your existence—or melt into neurotic oblivion. As far as I’m concerned you’ve spawned and you might just as well die.” So she buckles up and moves forward with her life.

Having survived turning 40, Bard turns her attention to parenting in Just Be Yourself—which, in this case, means leading a Brownie troop for her three daughters. She obtains the official den mother’s guidebook and does her damnest to abide by it. She puts up with 10-year-old Phyllis, her daughter’s officious friend, whose pronouncements on what “My mother” or “My father” would do drive her crazy. She also accepts the help of capable Mrs. Blake and even recruits hobby Jim to lend a hand. By the end, in addition to selling plenty of cookies, she successfully graduates the older “Tenderfoot” girls to full-fledged Girl Scouts.

Mary Bard’s memoirs, in the words of a Seattle Times reviewer, are “amazing and unassuming.” They’re also rather odd. Bard recounts experiences that occurred in the mid-1930s to mid-1940s, yet they seem to occur out of time, apart from history. The author makes no mention, for instance, of the Great Depression or World War II. Similarly, the memoirs tend to be place-less, containing only a few passing descriptions of Seattle and the Puget Sound area. In effect, Bard creates the kind of insular domestic idyll that Betty Friedan, in The Feminine Mystique (1963), would soon expose as ultimately oppressive to women. The books today cannot be read without this critical perspective.

Nonetheless, in her own day, Mary Bard enjoyed a fair measure of success. She had the support of her sister Betty, who dedicated the Egg and I to her: “To my sister Mary who has always believed that I can do anything she puts her mind to.” In return, Bard dedicated The Doctor Wears Three Faces to Betty: “To my sister Betty, who egged me on.” In the match-up of wits, though, Betty’s was far more biting. Thus, in 1935, The Doctor Wears Three Faces was made into a movie called Mother Didn’t Tell Me, starring Dorothy McGuire and William Lundigan. In addition, Bard published a series of popular children’s books featuring the adventures of step-sisters Olivia and Co. Best Friends (1953), Best Friends in Summer (1960), and Best Friends in School (1961). Until her death in 1970, she lived with her husband on Vashon Island. O.

Peter Donahue is co-editor of Seven Years on the Pacific Slope, about the Matzov People from 1905 to 1915, published by the Shaker Museum.
An instructor and school superintendent seven months of the six-and-a-half-day tour of the park’s natural wonders, including fed, and guided thousands of Victorian-era tourists during a national phenomenon of vacationing.

Montana and settled in Bozeman to serve as superintendent lowstone and Priest Lake regions was undertaken.

Taken together, these works provide a heightened awareness of Park camping and touring facilities complete with many com —a relatively novel experience for vacationing Americans at the turn of the 20th century. In

William Wallace Wylie incorporated his Camping Com —an author and educator, a lover of wilderness and the West, and a sort of second-generation pioneer of one of America’s most complex and important landscapes. The guidebook Wylie wrote detailing the park, plus his ability to harness both the Department of the Interior and the wilderness of Yellowstone, helped the park evolve into the fully accessible yet stunningly natural entity it is today.

Priest Lake remains a wild place today in many ways. As Smith and Weitz describe, the lake was once a favored Native American settlement, with brutal winters discouraging all but the hardest Euro-Americans from permanently settling in the area until the 1930s, at which time homesteaders, prospectors, and speculators —followed by loggers—all tried to tame the natural resources and wilderness of the Priest Lake area, with varying results.

Industrial capitalists of the era found the extensive amounts of timber in the region too expensive to extract, a circumstance that allowed the idyllic beauty of the lake to be preserved. Concurrently, the conservation movement and its leaders, such as Gifford Pinchot, argued for the permanent protection of such beautiful and wild places, and in 1897 President Grover Cleveland enacted the Priest River Forest Reserve. This measure served to expand federal influence within the region while also increasing tension between public and private lands.

As Smith ably points out, the effect of logging in the 1910s had a tremendous impact on Priest Lake. The clear-cutting of the lake’s impressive white pine forests and the expansion of summer recreation went on unabated until a series of devastating wildfires tore through the region in the mid 1920s.

This calamity initiated an intense shift in the management of the natural and economic resources of Priest Lake. Work under New Deal-era programs like the Civilian Conservation Corps focused on fire suppression and conservation efforts leading to a rebirth of the lake’s recreational facilities and expanded growth of a permanent population after electricity was made available to residents in the 1940s. Post-World War II growth in the area led to improvement of roads and public infrastructure, as well as construction of schools and medical facilities. Readers might get the sense from Smith and Weitz’s writing that Priest Lake was and remains a colorful place that was hard fought and won by the battles of history.

In addition to being entertaining and engaging reads, these works are thoroughly researched, ably written, and accessible to a range of audiences. Students and residents will find both to be useful as treatments of the social and environmental history of the Mountain West. Although Denary is a descendent of Wylie’s, she does an admirable job of separating kinship and anecdotal history from the sources she has compiled. Likewise, Smith and Weitz balance local stories with documented and archival source material. Maps detailing the historical development of Priest Lake through time prove especially helpful for the non-regional reader.

Robert E. Krause, since 2013, the Historic Preservation Planner for the Maryland-National Capital Park and Planning Commission in Upper Marlboro, Maryland. His doctorate is from the University of Mississippi, and he has working experience in Virginia and Florida.
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