Pioneering in the Promised Land

One of the more enjoyable aspects of my job is being able to represent the Society at various public functions, most recently as the speaker at the dedication of the new Tumwater City Hall. Tumwater was the first American settlement on Puget Sound and one of the city’s parks contains a monument honoring that achievement, dedicated in 1916 by the eminent historian Edmond Meany.

On that occasion, Meany spoke of that “unlettered though not unenlightened” Michael T. Simmons, who, along with George Bush and other transplanted Missourians, founded the mother colony of Washington. Tumwater’s motto, “Washington’s First Community,” may be disputed by Native Americans, or residents of Vancouver or Walla Walla. But exaggerated it is not, when one considers that Tumwater was the American base camp for settling in Puget Sound, whence originated the movement to separate “northern Oregon” from the demographic preponderance of the Willamette Valley.

But what brought the pioneers here? The historian John Unruh wrote in his book The Plains Across: “Surely something of formidable proportions must have sustained men who dared to take their families on a 2,000 mile journey described in some newspapers as ‘palpable homicide’ without even assurance, in the earliest period, that the emigrants of the preceding year had been successful.”

Meany, in his remarks of 72 years ago, ascribed, in what had come to be the conventional rhetoric of pioneer picnics, essentially political motivations to Washington’s first American settlers. In his view, Simmons and the others played a role in the diplomatic struggle over the division of the Oregon Country. That the 49th parallel had been decided upon as the international boundary one year after the establishment of Tumwater loomed large in the attempts of early historians to explain the significance of this colony.

Recent investigations have shed more light on the question of motivation raised by Unruh and have identified a rationale for emigration not only more plausible but that today’s Washingtonians can readily identify with—one summarized by the phrase “quality of life.” Read the diaries and letters home written by the pioneers and you will find few references to politics or grandiose visions of America’s Manifest Destiny. Instead these documents show that physical well-being ranked highest as an inducement for migration.

Ravaged by the usual but deadly diseases and wracked by the environmental extremes of blistering summers upon semi-arctic winters, the residents of Missouri and nearby states looked to Oregon as a refuge, the new promised land. The Northwest beckoned with its free and rich land, nurtured by a more healthful and moderate climate. Entire communities transplanted themselves. New Market, Missouri, became New Market, Oregon (later changed to Tumwater).

This history, in an era of modern medicine, may seem distant and, on the textbook page, heroic, but instead it is the stuff of contemporary life. The newest resident of Washington, from points east or abroad, attracted by opportunity and beauty, is as much a part of the “westward” movement as any pioneer.

Gordon Dodds, in his recent history of the Northwest, says all the easy times in Northwest history have come and gone. A generous nature, he argues, has provided much opportunity, but population growth combined with a restructured and more competitive world economy present stern challenges. Indeed, Dodds concludes, Northwesterners have solved the comparatively few difficulties presented in our past with such relative ease that we may be deluded into thinking that present adversities can be easily surmounted.

Even Edmond Meany foresaw this day in 1916. Calling upon his audience to lift up their heads with pride in the achievement of their forebears, he cautioned them, “We are reaping some of the fruits they sought to plant, but are we thinking, acting, and planning so that our heritage will pass undimmed to our children’s children?”

And he challenged them to “press forward, carrying the torch of enlightened progress given us by the pioneers.”

—David L. Niceandri, Director

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How Much Do We Care?

If how much people care about their heritage can be measured by the size and quality of the temples erected to enshrine and display it, then Ohioans, Oregonians and British Columbians are among those who care the most. Washingtonians, by comparison, are among those who do not care enough.

This thought occurred after visits to Ohio and seeing what it has done with its magnificent History Center in Columbus, to Oregon's smaller but comparably splendid history center in Portland, and to the dramatic British Columbia museum just off the inner harbor in Victoria.

Ohio, nearing the end of its second century, decided that something truly grand should be provided to display the rich panorama of its past. Out of this decision came one of the largest and architecturally most distinctive structures in the city where displays and programs are presented in a setting of sheer grandeur with space enough to accommodate comfortably all the schoolchildren, tourists and local citizens who arrive by the tens of thousands.

How many millions of dollars of public funds are invested in this institution we don't know, but the result reflects a great pride in what has been provided. "Oh, you must see our History Center," cab drivers and hotel personnel say to visitors who ask about local places worth seeing. Everyone seems to know where it is and what is there to be seen.

Washington is a new state, not yet quite a hundred years old, and can offer its youth as an excuse for not being as entranced with its heritage as older states are with theirs. But it is not a good excuse and need not be offered if some plans, ideas and research concerning this subject, on the eve of the state's centennial, capture the attention of those in a position to lead and act.

In Ohio it was a governor—James Rhodes—whose likeness in bronze at the entrance identifies him as the one whose interest in Ohio's heritage, coupled with his position of leadership, was most responsible for the History Center. Washington has never had a governor with such interest. The late Arthur Langlie, when I endeavored to solicit his interest in our Society's undertakings, went glum. "Museums depress me," he confided. Imagine! Those who followed him were little different. Our current governor so far has not shown an interest either, but Jean, his wife, is cochairman of the Centennial Commission. Some of her obvious interest in heritage matters ought to rub off inside the governor's mansion.

What does Washington need? Very much, but as a starter it needs to let the State Historical Society's interpretive efforts break out of the restricted confines of its hidden-away museum on Stadium Way and be brought into the open of the Union Station site, on property that the founders of the Northern Pacific Railroad—who also founded Tacoma—would donate for so worthy a purpose if they were around today.

It is too much to expect, probably, that Washington is ready yet to provide for its history as generously as a state such as Ohio has done. But it can do much more than it has. And it should do more now while the Centennial is creating a public awareness, as never before, that Washington has a history that should be known and understood by present and succeeding generations.

A firm of consultants has been retained by the Centennial Commission to make a heritage appraisal and assessment, including attitudes and aspirations of the many who have shown that they care. This effort will culminate in a report that must be accorded a better fate than that of many other state-sponsored studies, which are shelved and soon forgotten due to lack of interest, indifferent leadership or an unwillingness to assign proper priorities for uses of public funds.

This study is being made at the instigation of an arm of the Centennial whose name is descriptive of its efforts—the Lasting Legacy committee. A legacy is something that is handed on, with pride, from one time or generation to another. A legacy that lasts is one of enduring worth and interest—history itself and the relics of it—structure, sites, objects, words—and it is heartening to see a new determination that this legacy shall not be ignored or neglected, or attention to it put off to await the arrival of those who will care more than we.

—John McClelland, Jr.

Ohio's spectacular History Center in Columbus. The upper part, which seems to float, contains four floors used for a library, archives and exhibits. On the ground floor are an auditorium, classrooms, administrative and publication offices, workshops and storerooms.
The Seattle Pantages was the first theater bearing the name of the Greek immigrant, who eventually controlled most if not all the major vaudeville theaters in the Northwest and operated the most important circuit in the country.

Glory Days of VAUDEVILLE

By Nancy Allison Wright
Seattle's block-long Coliseum theater, built by John Considine and opened in 1907, was one of the popular priced vaudeville theaters of the time. Admission was 10 cents.

John Cort's Standard Theatre in Seattle began its existence as a saloon, and also did brief duty as a legitimate theater and as a skating rink.

Seattle in the first decade of the 20th century was a vaudeville center second only to New York City. From this frontier city great vaudeville circuits spread across the country from west to east, and from it three of the biggest names in vaudeville and theater of the times got their start: John Cort, John Considine and Alexander Pantages.

Why did Seattle, a mere toddler among cities, become a trend-setter and leader in the entertainment world? The answer is a simple one—gold. Started in 1897, the Alaska gold rush turned Seattle in a short time from a Northwestern outpost into a booming metropolis. In 1900 the population was 80,000; by 1910 it had reached 237,000. Thousands of speculators, adventurers and fortune hunters flocked into the city, bearing with them a crude vitality, one that found natural expression in the flashing rhythms of variety and vaudeville. Just as the 1849 California gold rush made San Francisco a great theatrical center, so did the Alaska discovery accomplish the same, for a short while, in Seattle.

But the vaudeville boom was not limited to Seattle alone. Spokane with its growing lumber and mining transients displayed a decided taste for the salty vaudeville diet. At times every one of the city's three vaudeville theaters packed them in with two-a-day shows, and major vaudeville circuits played Tacoma, Walla Walla, Vancouver, Bellingham, Longview, Pasco and Yakima, among others.

Washington State vaudeville owes its origins to a colorful, albeit checkered, past. The first entertainers to pass through the territory earned their grub with a fiddle or a guitar. Then professors, as they were called, burst onto the scene, singing, dancing, telling jokes, performing magic tricks and generally creating acts as varied as their talents allowed.
Minstrel troupes followed closely on the professors' heels through the Northwest woods. More sophisticated and diversified, these traveling shows gained instant popularity. Every year from 1864 to 1880 at least one minstrel company visited Seattle, many finding a warm welcome in Henry Yesler's Hall. Local performer Frank Coombs hit the big time in 1902 when he joined the Haverly Minstrel Group out of New York City. (By 1936 Coombs had returned to Seattle as Uncle Frank in “The Children's Hour” radio program over station KJR.)

From minstrelsy's jambalaya of songs, dances, comic repartee, bone-rattling and tambourine-shaking, variety emerged. (The word variety changed to the more elegant-sounding and genteel vaudeville in the late 19th century.)

During the last quarter of the century, Seattle was not a “gentle city,” as Eugene Clinton Elliott in his History of Variety-Vaudeville in Seattle points out. Young and raw; tough, bawdy and noisy; filled with miners on their way to the gold fields and hustlers looking for an angle, Seattle was a place where saloons, dance halls and box-houses flourished.

On a typical evening at about 8 o'clock on the corner of Second and Washington in Seattle's Tenderloin district passersby might have seen this: The doors of a beer saloon on the west side of the avenue swing open and a brass band emerges. Drums roll and a crowd gathers. Three musicians from the rival theater across the street strike up a melody. The audience moves to the trio. “There'll Be a Hot Time in the Old Town Tonight,” responds the brass band. The crowd swarms back. Suddenly the Salvation Army comes marching by, singing a hymn at the top of their lungs to the tune of a popular street melody.

Why the frenzied concert? Two opposing variety theaters are competing for patrons while the Army of the Lord is busking them towards salvation. No doubt the music halls would win the contest, luring them in for a night of raucous entertainment accompanied by lively drinking, the real purpose of the exercise. For it was principally in the sale of drinks that variety theaters made their profits.

IT WAS because of Seattle's Skid Road box-houses that American vaudeville in the West attained Paul Bunyan proportions. Box-houses, so named because their balconies were partitioned off into curtained alcoves or boxes, were essentially saloons with entertainment. After taking turns on the stage or on the dance floor, women performers or “box rustlers” mingled with customers either at the bar or in the curtained boxes, encouraging the sale of drinks.

Box-houses were seldom popular with “respectable” members of Washington's communities. In 1889 the Tacoma City Council passed an ordinance, over the mayor's veto, excluding women from variety theaters. In 1893 the Salvation Army, in league with the Walla Walla's ministers and newspaper editors, shut down the Fountain Theater for improprieties. Seattle, in the grips of reform fever, passed an ordinance in July of 1894 revoking box-hall licenses. In 1899 the Spokane council passed an ordinance closing their box-houses.

King of the box-houses was a big Irishman by the name of John Considine. A teetotaller with a quick temper, Considine in 1901 shot and killed William L. Meredith, Seattle chief of police, in a quarrel over the collection of a slush fund paid by the city's underworld. He was acquitted on grounds of self-defense.

Considine began his career in the 1890s in a Spokane gambling house. Relocating in Seattle about 1897, he reopened the People's Theater. A star attraction there was Little Egypt, who had been arrested in New York for dancing nude at a stage party. Infamous Kitty Rockwell, better known as Klondike Kate, played the People's for two weeks before heading north. Eventually Considine teamed up with Senator Timothy D. Sullivan of New York and developed the first legitimate, popular-priced vaudeville chain in the world.

In 1910 the Sullivan-Considine circuit affiliated with the top-ranking Orpheum circuit. Through this alliance Considine's acts could be billed into every important music house in England or on the Continent and vice-versa. Under such an arrangement English pantomimist Charlie Chaplin appeared at Seattle's Palace Hippodrome, delighting audiences with his feature act “A Night in an English Music Hall.”

ANOTHER IRISHMAN, John Cort, made his mark in the entertainment world with capital earned in Seattle box-houses. By quietly buying up leases of theaters in towns along the Northern Pacific Railroad, Cort came to dominate the Western theater business. He eventually leased or gained control of 1,200 theaters throughout the country.

Cort and Considine were the first theater managers to bring respectability to mainstream variety. Considine went so far as to distinguish, for the first time, between employees hired to entertain and employees hired to push the sale of liquor. When John Cort’s new Standard Theater opened, he announced it would feature special Saturday matinee performances for ladies and children. Then in 1898, when he built the Palm Garden Theater, Cort took a daring step. “No liquor will be allowed in the body of the house,” he declared, “and I shall conduct it so that any lady may visit it with propriety.” But this venture failed and in April 1899, the Seattle Post-Intelligencer advised theatergoers that the Palm Garden had been closed because of poor business. Then in January 1900 the Daily Bulletin advised theatergoers that the Palm Garden would charge no admission and would serve drinks at bar prices in the audience.

Nevertheless, these bids for respectable patronage constituted a significant step in the transition of variety into “polite” vaudeville: they forced managers of other variety halls to follow suit, and they developed vaudeville circuits.

The major contribution of the Northwest to the national theater business was the origin and development of these popul-
smoking in a theater in Spokane, said Lloyd, is "not a joke." It circuit in small towns throughout the Northwest which performers death to its artists financially and near-fatal to them physically. The schedule featured three-night stands badly scattered vaudevillians route information, train fares, set requirements, hotels, tourist sights and local town regulations. To be caught falsely accused of killing Virginia Rappe, an extra. Quentin after 16 years in solitary confinement, Pantages signed you were canceled. As comedian Fred Allen so aptly put it, "The vaudeville actor is part gypsy and part suitcase." Performers paid their own hotel and food bills and most often their railroad fares.

Pantages reputedly signed acts for the first half of his circuit, then, when they found themselves stranded in Seattle without enough money for expenses home, he would offer them the remaining weeks at a salary cut of 25 percent. Usually they took it. Considine, on the other hand, had a reputation for fairness. It is said he never canceled an act.

"Herbert Lloyd's Vaudeville Guide," published in 1919, gave vaudevillians route information, train fares, set requirements, hotels, tourist sights and local town regulations. To be caught smoking in a theater in Spokane, said Lloyd, is "not a joke." It means a six or ten dollar fine besides a walk to jail.

Vaudeville managers Ackerman and Harris operated a circuit in small towns throughout the Northwest which performers called the "death trail." Appropriately named, the circuit was death to its artists financially and near-fatal to them physically. The schedule featured three-night stands badly scattered throughout the area. It usually took the last half of the week for bookings to scramble to the next date.

Many small, sometimes honky-tonk circuits served Washington's outlying communities. Chewelah Historical Society curator Walt E. Goodman remembers country vaudeville's Toby Shows, visiting small towns in Eastern Washington and the Idaho Panhandle. "The acting was mostly slapstick, but seemed to please the capacity crowds, anxious for any entertainment," he recalls. In 1886 a production from Smith's Comedy Comp'y played in Port Blakely Hall on Bainbridge Island. The show featured "The Wonderful Gymnasts, the Leo Bros. and Conchita, The finest female specialty Artistes before the public."

The Fryxell Opera House in remote Asotin was able to book troupes of musicians, lured there by reports of free-spending gold miners. White Salmon's Alpha Opera House played occasional vaudeville acts. In Silverdale a vaudeville circuit performed at a building once called Jack Emils (now the Stables Tavern), which also did duty as stable, restaurant, card/pool room, barbershop, dance hall and roller-skating rink.

Before the railroad, booking routes followed the waterways, the Columbia River, Puget Sound and main overland trails, north to Olympia from Portland and east to Lewiston from Walla Walla. After the railroad—a boon to all traveling shows—Walla Walla and Olympia became less important theatrically and Spokane and Seattle more.

Between 1900 and World War II more than 25 vaudeville theaters were built in Seattle. The Orpheum, designed by B. Marcus Priteca, master architect for most of the Pantages circuit, was considered one of the most deluxe and beautiful theaters on the West Coast. Previously Orpheum circuit vaudeville had mostly played at the Moore Theater. In 1915 Pantages renovated the old Plymouth Church at Third Avenue and University, turning it into a "decadently fashionable" vaudeville theater.

FROM 1900 to 1910 Spokane, which prided itself on being the "best show town west of the Mississippi," supported three vaudeville theaters. Programs from 1910 and 1912 show Fred Astaire and his sister Adele tripping the light fantastic at the Orpheum. "Mammy"-singing Al Jolson was always a sellout when he hit town.

"If you think this place was tough, wait 'til you play Tacoma," read the sign in hallways outside dressing rooms all along the Pantages circuit. The slogan referred to how difficult it was to make a decent day's salary playing the Tacoma Pantages, 50th member of the Greek immigrant's theatrical empire. If you were good you might earn $16.40 a day and then again you might not, depending upon ticket sales, stage expenses, costs of musicians and stagehands, and other production variables.

Located on the Northern Pacific rail line, Yakima was a one-night show stop before
Seattle. In the 1920s the Liberty Theater in Wenatchee showed five acts of vaudeville on Saturdays. In the 1920s five acts of "associated" vaudeville were also billed at the Columbia Theater in Longview every Saturday afternoon and evening, preceding the regular movie. The Empire Theater in Anacortes was among those that played movies and vaudeville.

Bellingham’s Pantages and Grand theaters presented vaudeville every night and afternoon until March 1909 when the manager of the Grand, owned by Sullivan-Considine, announced a "pecuniary loss" from vaudeville and said the theater from then on would show only motion pictures. The Pantages did likewise.

According to Clark County historian and author Ted Van Arsdol, “All or practically all of the early theaters in Vancouver experimented with vaudeville at one time or another.” In April 1909 the Daily Columbian announced that Dr. Homer, “a scholar of the science of Suggestion,” would be appearing at Hager’s Theater. In May of that year Don Fulan, “the world’s renowned educated horse,” was booked into the Hager.

Animal acts were a perennial favorite with Northwest audiences. In 1910 reptile fans were treated to Swan’s Alligators at Seattle’s Pantages. Appearing at the Majestic in 1912 were Orbasany’s Cockatoos. Mme. FlorD’Aliz dazzled audiences with her performing roosters at the Pantages in 1916.

Virtually all big-name performers played Northwest theaters from 1890 to 1920. Sarah Bernhardt, who once appeared at the old Leschi Park Pavilion in Seattle, made the trip several times. Eddie Foy and the seven Little

Al Jolson could always pack them in no matter where on the Northwest circuit he played.
The first program at the Tacoma Pantages offered a wide selection of vaudeville delights.
Foys were regular circuit artists. Douglas Fairbanks, Jr., John Barrymore, Billie Burke and Fritzi Scheff, who brought her Pierce Arrow on the train with her wherever she traveled, made appearances. In 1908 Will Rogers made the rounds with the Sullivan-Considine circuit. Sophie Tucker was a Pantages favorite.

TWO WEST Seattle girls, June Havoc and her sister Rose, better known as Gypsy Rose Lee, used vaudeville as a springboard to later fame. Child performer Havoc, billed as Dainty June, "sang and danced her way into the hearts of the community," or so said the Daily Times in May 1924 about her performance at Seattle's Moore Theater.

"Vaudeville is here to stay," proclaimed Fred Lincoln, manager of the Sullivan-Considine circuit, in 1906. What Lincoln failed to anticipate 15 years down the road were stresses in the vaudeville empire resulting from its size, its complexity and, most importantly, its competition with motion pictures.

When "talking pictures" appeared in the late '20s it was clear that the curtain was descending on vaudeville. In 1929 the Tacoma Pantages closed. (Renovated, it reopened in 1983 as the Pantages Centre.) The rest of the Pantages circuit succumbed at about the same time. But officially, the 1932 closing of New York's Palace Theatre—vaudeville's home base—marked the end of the vaudeville era.

Gone but not forgotten—the spirit of the professor, minstrelsy, variety and vaudeville live on today in revue and musical comedy. Vaudeville's laughing irreverence for the ways of the world, its vitality and its love of life stand as a lasting legacy to the American theater, due in considerable measure to Seattle and the Northwest frontier.

Nancy Allison Wright is a Seattle freelance writer specializing in history. She acknowledges with thanks the research assistance of Barbara Aydelott and Mark Dempsey, Washington theater historian.
Historical ties with Captain Cook’s Sandwich Islands began two centuries ago.

By J. Richard Nokes
as Grays Harbor, both later discovered by Robert Gray of Boston.

Cook did sight (and name) Cape Flattery, but missed the Strait of Juan de Fuca, which at that time was still a legend. His chart shows a solid line from Flattery to Vancouver Island. Indeed, he expressed doubt that the "pretended Strait of Juan de Fuca" existed at all.

Cook's further explorations took him to Nootka Sound on the west coast of Vancouver Island, which was then believed to be the mainland, and eventually to the waters off Alaska and through the Bering Strait into the Arctic to 71 degrees, where ice blocked his way. Cook's ships sailed back to Hawaii for the winter where, in a tragic encounter with natives, he was killed by natives in Kealakekua Bay on the island of Hawaii. Cook had not found the Northwest Passage, but en route home his crewmen learned that furs procured from the Northwest natives could be carried to China and exchanged for tea, silks, spices and other desirable goods of the Orient.

Cook was the first to voyage between Hawaii and the Pacific Northwest, but others soon followed. By the end of the 18th century scores of other vessels were sailing the route, finding in Hawaii such supplies as hogs, breadfruit and yams readily available to replenish their stores for the nine-week voyage to China.

Word of the potential profit in carrying sea otter pelts and other furs from the Northwest to China did not come out of the Pacific until 1784, although a young American, John Ledyard, who had sailed with Cook, tried to interest European and American merchants in financing a venture somewhat before that.

In 1785 James Hanna, a British sea captain in the Harmon or Sea Otter, sailed from China to the Northwest and back through Hawaii, but little is known of his voyage.

The first mariners to make a real impact on Northwest-Hawaii relations were Nathaniel Portlock and George Dixon in the King George and Queen Charlotte. They arrived in Hawaii March 24, 1786, en route to the Northwest. They cruised the waters around the Queen Charlottes (not then knowing for certain that they were islands) and
The Sandwich Islanders of the 18th century were fond of personal adornment, as were the natives of the Northwest Coast.

Along the Alaskan shore, trading for furs and exploring the coastlines. Their sponsoring company in London had ordered them to plant fur-trading stations, but this they failed to do.

James Colnett, an Englishman who fought against the fledgling American navy in the Revolution, brought his Prince of Wales and Princess Royal to the Northwest in 1787 via Hawaii for the same company, but he, too, was unable to establish trading posts as directed.

Another voyager was a Frenchman, Jean Francois Galaup, comte de la Perouse, a veteran of the French navy in the Revolutionary War. In 1787 he explored much of the Pacific in a perfunctory way. On the Alaskan coast he found what he thought might be the long-sought passage, but it proved to be a dead end. La Perouse cruised rapidly down the coastline, then paused briefly in the Hawaiian Islands. His two ships, the Astrolabe and Boussole, were lost in a storm in the New Hebrides.

Another English trader who has an important place in Northwest history is Charles William Barkley, who sailed under the Austrian flag to avoid the inconvenience and expense of getting a license from the English trading companies. With him from Hawaii came the first native of the Sandwich Islands to reach the Pacific Northwest. She was a young girl named Winee who became the shipboard maid of Barkley’s bride on board the Imperial Eagle (British name Loudoun). When Barkley sighted a great body of water north of Cape Flattery in 1787, Mrs. Barkley wrote that her husband immediately recognized it as the strait that a Greek captain, Apostolos Valerianos, sailing from Spain, claimed to have discovered in 1592. Barkley gave the strait the Spanish name of that Greek captain, Juan de Fuca.

Winee later transferred to the ship of John Meares, another English captain. She died at sea before she could be returned to her native islands.

The first American to sail between the Northwest and Hawaii was Robert Gray, master of the Columbia Rediviva, out of Boston, in 1789. Gray had departed Cape Cod October 1, 1787, as captain of the sloop Lady Washington, 90 tons burden, that was consort to the Columbia, 212 tons, commanded by John Kendrick, who also had overall command. Their sponsors had read the journals of Captain Cook and, with New England shipping in the doldrums after the American Revolution, decided to finance a fur trading venture to the unexplored Northwest and across the Pacific to China.
Led by the wealthy Boston merchant Joseph Barrell, the sponsors bought two vessels and had them outfitted for a three-year voyage to the Northwest and around the world. They were the first vessels flying the Stars and Stripes to round Cape Horn, and the *Lady Washington* was the first ship of any nation to make a landing in what is now Oregon. This was in Tillamook Bay, August 14, 1788, where Gray’s cabin boy, a black from the Cape Verde Islands, was killed by the natives in a fight over a cutlass.

Gray traded for furs along the Oregon and Washington coast and then proceeded to Nootka Sound on Vancouver Island, where he was joined by Kendrick in the *Columbia*. They had been separated off Cape Horn in a storm. While most other trading vessels left the Northwest Coast for the gentler climate of Hawaii in the winter, Kendrick ordered his two ships to stay in Nootka, and in March the *Washington* under Gray went fur trading along the Washington, British Columbia and Alaska coasts. He sailed into the Strait of Juan de Fuca deeper than any ship had yet gone.

In July, Kendrick traded ships with Gray, who took the *Columbia* with a load of nearly 1,000 furs and pieces ultimately destined for China. He arrived at Niihau August 24, 1789, the first American captain to bring his ships to the Hawaiian Islands. Kendrick soon followed.

**WHILE THERE** Gray signed on two Hawaiian youths, Attoo (Altoo) and Opie (Opai). Both were sometimes called “Jack.” They became the first two Hawaiians to circumnavigate the globe. Both sailed to China with Gray, then around Cape of Good Hope to Boston. Opie then switched to the ship *Hope* while Attoo remained with Gray for a second voyage. Both eventually reached their home islands, but once there Attoo refused to remain and sailed on with Gray for a second trip to China where his trail ends. Opie stayed home for a time but then signed on with Vancouver for another voyage in 1792.

Captain James Baker of the ship *Jenny* in 1792 took aboard two young Hawaiian females, Reheina, about 15, and Tymarow, about 20, on a voyage from Hawaii to Nootka. There he turned them over to Vancouver to be taken back to their native
GRAY MADE TWO circumnavigations of the globe, each time calling in Hawaii en route to Boston from fur trading with Northwest natives. On Gray's second voyage the Hawaiian lad Attoo helped his captain avoid a massacre. The Hawaiian youth learned of a plot by natives around Clayoquot Sound to seize the Columbia and murder all hands. Under some duress, he revealed the scheme to Gray, who armed his sailors. They were able to frustrate the attack without resort to gunfire. After more trading, Gray sailed into the harbor that bears his name on May 7, 1792, and into the River of the West May II, naming it Columbia's River for his ship, thereby making the last major geographical discovery of the entire American coastline. With him was the Hawaiian boy Attoo.

Kendrick called in the islands four times, foresaw that the fragrant sandalwood he found on Kauai would be a valuable commodity in China, helped the Hawaiians develop a small charcoal industry for the traders, assisted in planting seedlings brought from England by Captain Vancouver, and joined the king of Oahu, Kalanikupule, in winning a battle with the king of Maui, Keao-ku-kulani. Following the battle, Kendrick asked Captain William Brown of the British ship LeBou to fire a salute in celebration. The LeBou did, but one cannon was loaded with ball and grapeshot which pierced the side of the Lady Washington, killing Kendrick. The date was December 7, 1794. His was the first Christian burial in the village of Honorooroo (Honolulu). In 1921, Bruce Cartwright, president of the Hawaiian Historical Society, proposed that a memorial be erected to Kendrick, or a park be named for him. None ever was.

Several of the crew on the Columbia and Washington either jumped ship or were put ashore in the islands and they helped form the first white colony in the islands. In all, 11 whites were on shore when Vancouver visited in 1794.

Two of those men were from the ships of Simon Metcalfe of New York. In January 1790, Metcalfe arrived in the Eleonora and soon was followed by his son, Thomas Metcalfe, in the Fair American. The Eleonora anchored in Olowalu, Maui; the smaller ship was at Kawaihae on the big island of Hawaii. One night natives stole a boat and murdered a seaman of the Eleonora. In retaliation, Metcalfe perpetrated one of the worst massacres in the history of fur trade. He persuaded the villagers to line up their canoes on one side of his ship, then ordered his sailors to pour cannon and musket fire into the canoes. The carnage was so great that the incident was prominently reported in the Boston Centinel some months later. James Colnett, the English captain, in his journal estimated the toll was 500. Other accounts placed the death toll at 100 with many others being wounded by the ship's fire.

The luxurious fur of the Northwest sea otter, much desired by Chinese in the 18th century, was the basis for the beginning of trade across the Pacific and to and from the Sandwich Islands (Hawaii).
After that, the senior Metcalfe sailed to Kealakekua Bay on the island of Hawaii, where one of his boatswains, John Young, was kidnapped by order of Kamehameha. Natives later attacked the vessel of young Metcalfe and killed him and every member of the crew except Isaac Davis, who later joined Young. The two became key advisers to Hawaiian chiefs and kings. The attack on the Fair American apparently was to avenge an insult to a chief and not because of the Olowalu massacre. Both of Metcalfe's ships had just come from Nootka Sound, where the Spanish had temporarily taken the Fair American and tried but failed to capture the Eleonora.

An examination of old records in Hawaiian archives shows that almost every ship engaged in the fur trade in the Pacific Northwest called in Hawaii en route to or from China. Some called both going and coming. Some American captains, like Gray, rounded Cape Horn and sailed up the west coast of America to the Northwest, then crossed the Pacific via Hawaii to Macao and Canton and continued around the Cape of Good Hope home. Most British ships sailed around the Cape of Good Hope and across the Pacific to Hawaii and the Northwest, then home the same way.

Some ships were unable to get a full cargo of sea otter furs in one season and would spend the winter in the warmth of the islands, then return to the Northwest.

The only captain of the era to visit the Sandwich Islands more times than Kendrick was George Vancouver, who was there first as a member of the Cook expedition and then later returned on his own ship for a total of five calls. His influence may have been greater than that of any other ship's captain because he represented the British Crown, while the others were merchant captains. He was able to get Kamehameha to agree to a pact that Vancouver contended ceded the island of Hawaii to England, but the Hawaiian king insisted the pact called only for British protection.

THE AMERICANS soon pushed the English out of the fur-trading business with China and by 1801 nearly all the traders came from Boston. In 1810 the Winship brothers of Boston tried to found a trading post 40 miles up the Columbia and began to erect a fort and headquarters building and plant a garden. Their intention was to use it as their base from which fur-laden vessels would sail for China, pausing to replenish supplies in Hawaii, but a June flood washed away the building and the garden. That setback, plus the hostility of the Chinook Indians, caused the plan to be abandoned. Nathan Winship is credited by some historians in Hawaii with persuading the king of Kauai to meet with Kamehameha, a meeting that resulted in the unification of the islands.

Early traders found that it was possible to take Hawaiian men to the Northwest, either as ship's crew members or as workers in enterprises there, by making agreements with the king. In 1810 those who sailed into the Pacific for John Jacob Astor to engage in the fur trade on the Columbia River tried unsuccessfully to make a commercial treaty with King Kamehameha, but were able to buy food supplies and enlist the services of 24 native men, who were to be paid with $100 worth of merchandise for three years' service and be provided with food and clothing. Most of the 24 were unlucky in the extreme. One was drowned along with several Americans when their ship, the Tonquin, went aground trying to enter the Columbia. He is buried on Cape Disappointment. Twelve of
The first Hawaiian to lose his life in the Northwest was in a ship's boat that capsized while the Astor expedition ship Tonquin was crossing the rough bar of the Columbia River on March 25, 1811.

The others who remained with the ship were slaughtered when the entire crew was killed by Indians in Clayoquet Sound a few weeks later.

Another Astor ship, the Beaver, brought 12 Hawaiians to work at Astoria in the fur-trading post near the Columbia's entrance. They served as unskilled laborers and boat builders, and some went on trading trips into the interior. Two of these were killed by Indians in the Snake River country near a river which subsequently was named the Owyhee, which is the way early writers spelled "Hawaii." Native Hawaiians were referred to as Owyhees as well as Kanakas. A large dam and irrigation project in Oregon is named Owyhee.

In subsequent years many more Hawaiians were brought to the Northwest by the Hudson's Bay Company for service on their vessels and in fur-trading posts. In 1840 the company entered into a contract with Kekuanaoa, governor of the island of Oahu, which allowed 60 men to sign on for three years of duty, but $20 had to be paid to the governor for each one who did not return at the end of the period, unless he had died. These workers were paid wages of 17 pounds sterling per year.

MANY OF THE Hawaiians, unused to the damp climate of the Northwest, did die. When in good health they were good workers. H. H. Hunt built a sawmill 20 miles upriver from Astoria and, through a contract with King Kamehameha, hired five “Kanakas” for $5 a month plus salmon and potatoes for food. They were reported to be “willing and cheerful workers.”

Hawaii's connection with the Northwest extended to regular commercial traffic when the Hudson's Bay Company expanded its activities beyond fur trading. The company built a sizable two-story coral block building with a slate roof on the corner of Fort and Queen streets in Honolulu and called it the Beaver block. A Beaver weather vane adorned its roof.

Through this warehouse passed much of the merchandise from London on its way to the Northwest. It also handled the company's exports to the islands and beyond—salt

This lithograph is from Edmund Fanning's Voyages to the South Seas, published in 1838, and appears to be a peaceful scene, but is entitled: "Natives attack the Tonquin off the coast of Washington State." Such an attack did occur and all on board the Astor expedition ship were slain. The Tonquin was typical of the ships of the late 18th century that opened the trade routes with Hawaii.
salmon, lumber, shakes, wool and hides—and cargoes from the islands—molasses, whalebone, sugar and nut oil. In 1846 Hawaii imported 558 barrels of flour from the Northwest at $6.50 a barrel. Six years later the price had gone as high as $15 a barrel.

The first whaling ships from New England showed up in Hawaiian waters in 1818 and whole fleets of them used its ports, especially Lahaina on Maui, through the rest of the century.

Archer Butler Hulbert, in *The Oregon Crusade*, published in 1935, says that it was through reports of ship captains visiting Northwest and Hawaiian ports that the American Board of Foreign Missions received the first appeals for missionaries to introduce Christianity to the natives in Hawaii and the Oregon country.

So strong had become the Northwest-Hawaii ties by 1853 that the newly organized Democratic party in Oregon Territory, meeting in convention, adopted a resolution saying that the Sandwich Islands were a natural and necessary appendage to the United States. Oregon desired that they be acquired.

The association of the Northwest with Hawaii developed at an accelerating pace from the time of Captain Cook onward. The islands seemed very far away when sailing ships needed at least a month to make the voyage. They were brought much closer when steamships could make the run north or south in a week or so. And now, in the age of jet travel, the trip, for passengers, mail or freight, takes only five hours. This ever-closer relationship resulted in Hawaii ceasing to be an independent kingdom when it joined the United States as a territory in 1900 and the ultimate “connection” occurred in 1959 when the territory was admitted to the Union as a state.

The adventures of Robert Gray are the subject of a book in preparation by Richard Nokes, a retired editor of the Portland Oregonian. This article is based on his researches for that book.
The LONG WAIT for STATEHOOD

Why it took Washington 36 years and Idaho 26 years to achieve their goals.

By Merle Wells

Washington waited 36 years for statehood after it was created as a territory and Idaho waited 26 years. Why did it take so long? Next year are their centennials, coming along belatedly. They could have occurred much sooner had it not been for an unusual set of circumstances involving political considerations on the national scene and prolonged wrangling among those who lived in Eastern Washington and what became Idaho over boundaries and the location of capitals.

The settlers in northern Oregon who petitioned Congress in 1851 and again in 1852 for a separate territory asked only for that part of northern Oregon lying west of the Cascades—now known as Western Washington. But when Congress acted and created the territory, it was not the Cascades but the Rockies that became the eastern boundary. And when Oregon achieved statehood in 1859, Washington’s southern border, instead of being a line extending eastward from the Columbia River along the 46th parallel, was established 280 miles to the south, on a line parallel with California’s northern border. (See map on back cover.)

Thus Washington at one time included the Bitterroot Valley, as well as territory that later became part of Glacier Park in Montana, the area of South Pass, much of what became Wyoming, and all of present southern Idaho. This region of the West was largely uninhabited and parts of it were even unexplored.

When settlers did come, they found that they were under a government whose seat was several hundred miles to the west, reachable only by many days or even weeks of arduous travel by canoe and horseback. Their dissatisfactions soon led them to advocate moving the territorial capital from Olympia to Walla Walla, a proposal not at all acceptable to Puget Sound residents. But their strongly expressed desires for a territorial division that would free them from west-of-the-Cascades dominance turned out as successfully as did northern Oregon’s bid for independence from the Willamette Valley in 1852. Idaho Territory was created in 1863. It was a huge rectangle embracing far too much area, like the original Washington Territory, and the next year, 1864, Montana Territory was created out of northeastern Idaho, leaving in Idaho a narrow northern portion known as its panhandle.

The northern and southern parts of Idaho then began to voice a familiar complaint—they were too far apart. Communication lay somewhere between difficult and impossible. The northerners wanted a change in this situation and the result was a long-running squabble about boundaries and jurisdictions that extended for over a quarter of a century, a battle lengthened greatly by delays of statehood.

North Idaho emerged from this period with a sense of identity separate from that of the rest of Idaho, and Eastern Washington to a great extent found that it could identify better with northern Idaho than with Western Washington. Sectional controversies erupted frequently in the last part of the 19th century and sometimes occasionally after 1900.

Actual settlement east of Walla Walla did not get well started until 1860 when the village of Franklin came into being far down in Washington’s share of the Cache Valley, near Salt Lake. No one in Franklin paid any attention to what was going on in Olympia, and Washington’s territorial administrators never noticed that they had become responsible for a community more than eight hundred miles away. But later in 1860, gold discoveries at Pierce...
created an entirely different situation. A succession of Clearwater and Salmon River gold rushes suddenly resulted in a majority of Washington's citizens being in the far-off mining country. Such a development could not be ignored.

Promoters of Walla Walla rejoiced when Idaho's gold rush suddenly brought population and lucrative business opportunities to their newly settled community. Washington had emerged as an important mining territory in not even two years, with hopes for early state admission by 1862. A greatly enlarged Walla Walla could become the state capital and have a glorious future scarcely anticipated before 1860. Considering that Nevada became a state in 1864 with no more population than an undivided Washington would have had, such a possibility was not totally unreasonable.

Olympia dissented. Even before the abrupt population shift complicated matters in Washington, a Vancouver scheme to become territorial capital had gained a legislative majority. Preserving Washington intact, or even returning it to its original boundaries, would leave Olympia and other Puget Sound communities exposed to disaster. Promoters of Lewiston—a new commercial center established close to Idaho's mines—concurred with Olympia's leaders. They preferred to return to something close to Washington's original 1852 preference for a Cascades boundary between two territories. That way, Olympia could remain the capital of Washington, and Lewiston might become capital of a new mining state or territory, depending upon how fast new settlers appeared.

By 1862, Olympia and Puget Sound leaders felt they could afford to retain a large Eastern Washington farming area as a part of the state so long as they could get rid of all those miners. Actually, after 1862 the danger to Eastern Washington of being outvoted by the people in the mining region had passed, but there was no way for that to be realized. Unaware of how unnecessary their efforts were, Olympia partisans prevailed upon Oregon's congressional delegation—Senator B. F. Harding and Representative John R. McBride—to beat down a Walla Walla plan supported by Captain John Mullan to restore Washington's original boundaries. Under this plan Boise Basin would have become part of a large new territory of Montana, for even Walla Walla's promoters conceded that Washington hardly could expect to retain that important gold rush country.

When they insisted upon giving away all of the northern mining region in 1862, Olympia's partisans were getting rid of fewer than a thousand people. Florence and Elk City would have gone to Montana anyway, so they excluded only 525 miners around Pierce, 276 residents of Lewiston and 158 pioneers around Missoula and Deer Lodge.

But their success created outlandish problems for Idaho. Once Montana’s difficulties were taken care of, in 1864, North Idaho began to agitate for another interior territory that would incorporate Eastern Washington and western Montana as well. Walla Walla responded favorably to such an arrangement, but Missoula (supported by Montana's legislature) preferred to be excluded. Idaho's legislature endorsed the Lewiston-Walla Walla proposal for a new Columbia Territory, but Boise agents quietly sabotaged that kind of reorganization when Congress was ready to consider such a possibility in 1868. A pattern of public support and quiet resistance to boundary reform continued for two decades, with devastating results that had a major impact upon Washington and Idaho state admission movements.

Threatened by Walla Walla's designs to return to Oregon—a plausible arrangement, since Oregon was only six miles away, and Walla Walla's transportation connections were closer to Portland than to Puget Sound—Lewiston's civic leaders deferred their agitation for a new interior Columbia Territory. Their new suggestion for boundary reform simply would have returned the narrow strip of North Idaho to Washington. They anticipated that Washington then could be divided so that Lewiston finally would gain its own interior Columbia Territory—a project that still might succeed if Walla Walla resisted any more inducements to rejoin Oregon. Some Olympia leaders were hesitant about accepting North Idaho back into their territory. But so long as this did not cause Washington to be divided, they felt that North Idaho partisans by then offered no serious threat to the political dominance of Puget Sound. The projected Northern Pacific Railway project promised to bind Washington and North Idaho together, although its initial destination was to be Portland.

North Idaho's campaign to achieve any kind of boundary adjustment failed again in 1874. John Hailey, Idaho's popular congressional delegate who represented Boise interests, quietly torpedoed Lewiston’s boundary plan even though it had solid northern support. Northern Idaho was then granted a two-term congressional delegate who had gained Idaho legislative endorsement for a Columbia Territory proposal almost a decade earlier. But instead of trying to resurrect that project, Lewiston's boundary reformers eagerly endorsed a conflicting proposal. Walla
Walla promoters dusted off their 1862 plan to get Washington admitted as a state, and Lewiston's ambitious developers reversed their 1862 interior territory preference to join in advocating it. For more than a decade, then, Lewiston voters continued to display their unanimity for the admission of Washington and North Idaho combined as a state.

For more than 20 years after 1864, no one in Lewiston surpassed Alonzo Leland as a proponent for North Idaho boundary reform. As a Portland surveyor, attorney, newspaper editor and anti-slavery leader for a decade prior to Idaho gold discoveries in 1860, Leland had gained invaluable experience in political warfare. He specialized in fighting Salem, Olympia and Boise combines that opposed his own community's interests, and had no trouble in identifying suitable occasions to engage in battle. Few politicians came even close to matching his talent for selecting issues that he could support with excellent, irrefutable reasons—but ones that were doomed to failure when they should have succeeded.

After he arranged to have North Idaho participate in Washington's constitutional convention at Walla Walla in 1878, he served as a delegate in that small, select body. He declined an offer to serve as temporary president in convening Washington's constitutional assembly but went on to serve as a committee chairman and to have substantial influence in preparing the application for admission as a state that would include North Idaho. But some of the delegates wondered why an Idaho attorney was so active in their convention. Leland and his Lewiston associates got a 96.4 percent North Idaho constitutional ratification vote—decidedly more than Walla Walla was able to deliver in Washington. But Congress declined to respond to the appeal of the Walla Walla convention and so Leland had to mark up a fourth major failure in his efforts to join North Idaho to Washington.

Undiscouraged by successive setbacks, North Idaho voters continued to express their overwhelming preference for a new territorial boundary. When Idaho's one...
The Idaho panhandle and Eastern Washington had so much in common that a new territory, to be called Columbia, was proposed in 1865.

The boundaries of Washington Territory established in 1859 when Oregon became a state are shown on a map on the back cover of this issue.

In 1886-88 political leaders succeeded in getting a bill approved in Congress merging North Idaho (shaded area) into Washington. This bill was not signed by President Harrison and in 1889 Washington, Idaho, Montana and the Dakotas all were admitted as states, ending 36 years of wrangling over political boundaries in the Northwest.

territorial congressional delegate reflected Boise interests and objected to the Washington-North Idaho state admission project, the northern group held an 1880 referendum to express support for returning their section to Washington—a proposition that prevailed by an almost unanimous vote, 1,208 for and two against. Even though 31 voters abstained from recording their preference, a more solid endorsement would have been difficult to obtain. Boise’s two North Idaho friends could be tolerated as political pariahs because they had no influence anyway. But no one else had enough strength to get action in Congress just then.

State admission plans ran into trouble regardless of what territory sought recognition. Close attention was being paid to national political hazards in admitting new states, and Washington’s application for admission, with or without North Idaho, encountered an unanticipated obstacle early in 1882. Dakota, with a large population, failed to gain Senate acceptance just then because its Yankton County had incurred congressional displeasure for having repudiated an issue of railroad bonds. After rejecting Dakota, Congress was reluctant to approve Washington-North Idaho. Idaho’s congressional delegate still was complaining about such a plan anyway, but he scarcely needed to.

Then, after 1882, an even more serious blockade terminated all state admission prospects for six more years. Republicans controlled the Senate. Dakota and Washington were Republican territories. But the House in 1882 went Democratic and continued so until 1888. The Democrats had learned an important lesson in 1876 that they did not forget. That year they agreed to admit Colorado—a Republican territory where voters then voted against a Democratic presidential candidate who otherwise would have won. After 1882, the Republican Senate rejected Democratic territories and the Democratic House of Representatives turned down Republican territories. North Idaho’s goal of rejoining Washington now had to be accomplished.
Dakota abruptly was transformed into two Republican states, rather than one, as originally was projected.

prior to state admission. It almost happened. But, as always, Boise intervention defeated the effort.

Until 1882, Idaho had a long, unbroken record of voting Democratic. So after 1876, an Idaho state admission campaign would have been futile. Then, during a year of national Democratic triumph, Idaho switched and voted Republican in 1882. That shift resulted partly from a southeastern anti-Mormon campaign and partly from a Republican decision to support North Idaho's desire to rejoin Washington. Such a promise turned out to be totally empty, because Washington-North Idaho had no chance for congressional approval—nor did any other territorial proposal at that time.

When Idaho's Republicans renewed their Washington-North Idaho admission pledge in 1884, however, they exposed southern Idaho to a more serious hazard. In order to regain power in 1884, Idaho's Democrats had to give northern voters a better offer. They brought back John Hailey—who had beaten down North Idaho's application for a return to Washington in 1874—as their congressional candidate. Because of Hailey's well-known opposition to any kind of boundary reform, the Democrats had to guarantee that North Idaho would be allowed to unite with Washington prior to state admission. Hailey won by a narrow margin and held to his campaign promise. He got his Democratic House colleagues to pass legislation transferring North Idaho to Washington Territory, February 24, 1886. Then on April 10, Senate Republicans cheerfully adopted a Washington-North Idaho admission act unacceptable to House Democrats. A syndicate of Boise Republicans, who had carefully refrained from endorsing any-
such a consolidation might have made Boise capital of Nevada—an attraction that somehow lacked appeal.) Even though he got little southern Idaho encouragement, he went ahead with his plans. Just before Congress adjourned in 1887, he got his old Senate colleagues to go along with his scheme.

Senate approval for Hailey's legislation to transfer North Idaho to Washington, however, provoked successful retaliation in Boise. As always, whenever loss of North Idaho threatened to occur, Boise leaders got busy and combated any such action. In this emergency, Governor E. A. Stevenson, who had gone along with an 1867 legislative endorsement for dividing Idaho and letting Lewiston become part of Columbia Territory, no longer tolerated such a loss. An appointee of President Grover Cleveland, he had more strength than a Republican such as Senator Stewart could muster. Cleveland went along with Stevenson's pleas not to act upon Hailey's and Stewart's bipartisan legislation to release North Idaho to Washington. Without Cleveland's approval, Stewart's program collapsed and southern Idaho could avoid any such action. In Congress, Governor E. A. Stevenson, who had gone along with an 1867 legislative endorsement for dividing Idaho and letting Lewiston become part of Columbia Territory, no longer tolerated such a loss. An appointee of President Grover Cleveland, he had more strength than a Republican such as Senator Stewart could muster. Cleveland went along with Stevenson's pleas not to act upon Hailey's and Stewart's bipartisan legislation to release North Idaho to Washington. Without Cleveland's approval, Stewart's program collapsed and southern Idaho could avoid merger with Nevada. Lewiston and Moscow victory celebrations gave way to shock when word of Cleveland's decision intruded upon their celebration. North Idaho had been swindled again. Dubois undertook a yearlong campaign to generate sentiment for Idaho admission, with at least partial success in North Idaho. Scarcely anyone preferred Stewart's Nevada offer, but traditional North Idaho partisans of Washington saw no point in abandoning their campaign. In Congress, though, Dubois prevailed upon a unanimous House Committee on Territories to preserve Idaho intact. In a decisive report, February 29, 1888, Idaho was assured of state admission without North Idaho.

A successful resolution of both Washington's and Idaho's state admission campaigns emerged from national, as well as territorial, election results in 1888. All of them went Republican, with a House of Representatives so evenly balanced that Congressional Republicans had to admit new Republican states as fast as they could in order to deal effectively with Democratic opposition to their management of Congress. Dakota abruptly was transformed into two Republican states, rather than one, as originally was projected. Washington had no trouble whatever in qualifying as a Republican state in 1889, but any more consideration of including North Idaho had to be abandoned. Montana—long a Democratic bastion—was transformed into a Republican state, and Idaho and Wyoming were admitted with unexpected haste. With barely more than 62,000 people, Wyoming was awarded statehood that had been denied to Dakota with ten times that number in 1888.

Most important for Eastern Washington was stabilization of an unsatisfactory state boundary less than 20 miles from Spokane. North Idaho felt still greater outrage, but had to accept what had become an inevitable disability.

Along series of Olympia and Boise victories, gained under adverse circumstances, accounted for Washington's failure to reclaim North Idaho during two decades of battle over territorial boundaries. Olympia partisans had no way of anticipating that their 1862-63 effort to rid Washington of their Idaho mines had become entirely unnecessary, even before they managed that difficult achievement. Had they been willing to accept congressional restoration of Washington's original boundaries, some awkward problems still would have become evident by 1864. Lewiston, Pierce, Missoula, and even later Butte would have remained in Washington. Boise, or some nearby mining town, would have become capital of Montana (as present southern Idaho would have been known), while Virginia City most likely would have managed to become capital of some new territory—perhaps with Montana's present boundaries—in 1864. Florence, Elk City, Mount Idaho and later Grangeville would have had to stay with Boise in a clumsy Montana configuration that still would have had unsatisfactory boundaries. A minor adjustment, involving only a small strip of territory and very little population, might subsequently have been achieved.

Pacific Northwest geography was far too complex for there to be any easy solutions for territorial boundary problems, but if Congress had been foreseeing enough to adopt Western Washington's original 1852 proposal for a modest new territory lying entirely west of the Cascades, boundaries for the inland area would surely have been far more satisfactory than the ones that were adopted. Putting Washington's eastern boundary at the Rockies rather than the Cascades created an ungovernable area and led to the long period of turmoil before boundary lines could be finally established, and preventing Washington and Idaho from becoming states long before they did.

Merle Wells is the former director of the Idaho Historical Society and former Idaho State Historic Preservation Officer. This prolific author of many historical accounts of Idaho and the surrounding areas is widely considered the dean of Pacific Northwest history.
TIMBER HISTORY

In WATERCOLORS

On these pages are a sample of authentically detailed paintings from Timber: A Watercolor History of Logging in Western Washington. The artist, Robert Chamberlain, was once a logger and grew up near Tenino, in the midst of logging and lumbering country. These and others of his paintings will be on exhibit in the State Historical Society museum in Tacoma from August 5 to December 3, 1988.

Chamberlain served in the Korean War and afterwards studied art in Seattle. He started his art career as a designer and illustrator for forest products publications. He began painting Timber in 1980. His work has been recognized in numerous juried shows and is displayed in a number of private and historical museum collections.

Trucks were introduced to woods operations after World War 1 and proved to be more economical than railroading. One of the earliest trucks, with solid rubber tires, is shown here crossing a deep ravine on a wooden trestle.

Steam power came to the woods, taking over much of the heavy work from horse and bull teams, in the 1880s when the donkey engine and wire rope were invented. The vertical boiler generated steam to turn the drums that pulled logs in to the landings. The cable was pulled back to the scene of tree felling by a small cable run through a block or pulley attached to a stump. John Dolbeer is given credit for building the first donkey engine in 1881 in northern California.
California provided a market for Northwest lumber from the very beginning, and ships were built by the hundreds over the years to haul lumber south. Many were small, like the Claremont, and could get along with sails if their steam engines failed or ran out of fuel. Rigged in this manner they were called "steam schooners."

Railroad logging began in Cowlitz County, hauling logs out of the hills to waterfront landings, a far quicker and more efficient means than skidding them down the slopes with bull teams. The No. 13 Baldwin Mallet saddle tanker, shown in this painting crossing a trestle over the Wynoochee River in Grays Harbor County, was a 19th-century development, like the even more powerful worm-gear-driven Shay.

Water power turned the wheels of the original grist mills and sawmills in the Northwest. In this painting Chamberlain shows the large-diameter overshot wheel that generated enough power to saw big old-growth logs. The first saws were of the up-and-down variety, hence the slip to haul logs onto a carriage above ground.
THE YEAR U. S. GRANT SPENT IN WASHINGTON

Separated from his family, the 31-year-old army captain was not happy at Columbia Barracks

By Charles G. Ellington

Captain Ulysses S. Grant, in full dress uniform, photographed around the time he was assigned duty in Washington Territory.
Early in his army career, Ulysses S. Grant, then a captain, was assigned to duty at Columbia Barracks, formerly Fort Vancouver, as part of a contingent sent to the Northwest to protect white settlers from Indians growing increasingly hostile because of encroachments on their homeland. His family remained in Missouri. Grant's experiences during the time he was in the Northwest are related in chapter 4 of The Trial of U. S. Grant: The Pacific Coast Years, 1852-1854, by Charles G. Ellington (Glendale, Calif.: Arthur H. Clark, 1986). This chapter, slightly edited, is reprinted here by permission of the publisher and author.—Ed.

The Fourth Infantry left Benicia, California, September 14, 1852, in the Columbia bound for Oregon Territory. The regiment was ordered to spread its force over Northern California and Oregon to establish posts and protect the settlers. Grant called the ship "a nice little steamer that is perfectly sea-worthy." As it turned out, seaworthy she was, but seasick proof, she was not.

The newly built Columbia arrived on the Pacific Coast in October 1850. Originally intended for the mail service between San Francisco and Oregon, she was used occasionally on the Panama run between 1851 and 1854. The medium-sized steamer had three decks and three masts. On the main deck Columbia had a 70-foot dining saloon with staterooms on each side. The lower cabins aft and forward could accommodate 150 passengers.

The whole company, including Grant and some of the Columbia's officers, became seasick on the voyage. Grant reported that the "trip from San Francisco [was] the roughest that I have ever experienced.... The wind blew for three days most terrifically."

Grant looked forward to duty at Columbia Barracks and hoped "that I will be as much pleased with Van Couver as I am with ... Calafornia." Five days after leaving San Francisco he saw Astoria, Oregon, a town, he said, of about thirty homes clinging to the side of a hill covered with tall trees. Grant wrote to Julia, his wife, that he had seen Astoria on maps and read about it, but it wasn't much, except for its location at the mouth of the Columbia with custom house and post office.

In anticipation Grant wrote, "I have no doubt but I shall like Oregon very much. Evry one speaks well of the climate and the growing prospects of the country. It has timber and agricultural land, and the best market in the world for all they can produce. Every article of produce can be raised here than can be in the states; and with much less labor, and finds a ready cash market at four times the value the same article would bring at home."

By 9 p.m., Sunday evening September 19, the Columbia was moving up the broad river and her passengers expected to be at Columbia Barracks by breakfast the next morning.

Columbia Barracks (Fort Vancouver) was located on the north bank of the Columbia River in what is now Southern Washington, about six miles from Portland.

Columbia Barracks (Fort Vancouver) was located on the north bank of the Columbia River in what is now southern Washington, about six miles from Portland. For a quarter of a century the fort had served as headquarters and main depot of the Hudson’s Bay Company operations west of the Rocky Mountains. The stockaded fur-trading post was the economic, political, and social hub of the Pacific Northwest.

As American settlers began to flow into the Oregon Country in the 1840s, heading for the Willamette Valley, British-owned Fort Vancouver was a major stopping point. Here were the only adequate supplies of food, seed and farm implements in the Northwest.

The treaty of 1846 between the United States and Great Britain established the 49th parallel, just above Puget Sound, as the southern boundary of Canada. In 1849 a U.S. military reservation was created adjacent to the old fur-trading post and gradually the English were eased out.

Companies L and M of the First Artillery commanded by Brevet Major J. S. Hatheway arrived on the Columbia River in May 1849. The army established a tent camp on the well-cleared space on the slope above the Hudson’s Bay stockade, leased a few buildings, and called the post Columbia Barracks. When Capt. Rufus Ingalls, assistant quartermaster of the Pacific Division, arrived he erected several permanent structures to serve as winter quarters. What is now called "The Grant House," made into a museum, was one of them. It is a large two-story dwelling, originally built of logs, with siding added in the 1870s. Ulysses Grant did not actually live in "The Grant House," but rather in a handsome house nearer the river. He did, however, frequent "The Grant House" since it was regimental headquarters.

Columbia Barracks, with its carefully laid out officer’s row and parade grounds, overlooked the river about a mile up a gentle slope. It was truly an inspired location for an army post. Spruce and fir were everywhere, Mount Hood was awesome in the distance with its snow cap much of the year, and the broad Columbia was as pretty as any river in America.
Ulysses

Columbia Barracks was designated Fort Vancouver in July 1853. Vancouver Arsenal was established in connection with the post in 1859, and the name was changed to Vancouver Barracks in April 1879. The Hudson's Bay Company hung on until 1860 when it moved its depleted stores to Vancouver Island, British Columbia. As its officers departed, they turned over the keys to the small army contingent. By 1871 the United States had paid Great Britain $650,000 in settlement of the Hudson's Bay Company claim for the value of Fort Vancouver.

The Indians on the lower Columbia lived in small, family villages. They had no reason to move around like their brethren on the plains because everything they needed was close at hand—salmon, game and native foods such as camas, wapato and acorns. When they did wish to travel they used their dugout canoes on streams and lakes. These Indians were peaceful, living without territorial disputes; only when one family group tried to enslave another did fighting break out. The Indians were important to the economy of the region because they collected furs and exchanged them with Hudson's Bay Company and other traders, for items they wanted: blankets, tobacco, trinkets and guns.

After his arrival Grant filed a report with the Pacific Division's chief quartermaster commenting on Indian affairs. He pointed out that there were a few Klickitats in the vicinity of Columbia Barracks and an occasional Cowlitz or Dalles tribal member passed through. Captain Grant wrote that all of these Indians were "easily controlled and altogether too insignificant in prowess & numbers to need much care or attention, and even this poor remnant of a once powerful tribe is fast wasting away before those blessings of civilization whisky and Small pox."

Grant was impressed with the Hudson's Bay Company's overall treatment of the Indians. He saw the company paying for Indian labor, teaching them how to farm and to herd, andcharging fair prices for good merchandise. During his stint on the Columbia, Grant saw the Indians dying "off very fast...acquiring the vices of the white people...[and] also their diseases. The measles and the small-pox were both amazingly fatal." Years later he remembered the good company doctor who established a hospital for the Indians close by Grant's residence. Nearly every patient he treated recovered, Grant recalled.

The army's visiting inspector wrote in his 1854 report: "There are no Indians near [Fort Vancouver] of consequence in a military point of view.... There is nothing here to be feared from their warriors."

The troops that landed with U.S. Grant at Columbia Barracks on September 20, 1852, numbered almost 300. By November 1853, their numbers were down to 118 because of dispersals throughout the Pacific Northwest. In spite of his keen interest and excitement with the new surroundings, Grant was feeling low and blue. He had received no letter from Julia except one written before she knew the regiment had departed from Governors Island—more than two months and thousands of dangerous miles past.

By early fall Captain Grant had settled into Columbia Barracks routine. He liked Oregon Territory even though it was frightfully expensive. He was particularly pleased to report to Julia that he had made $1,500 in a partnership with the headquarters' sutler (storekeeper), Elijah E. Camp, and expected to make $5,000 his first year. Grant's financial roller coaster, up and down, had begun. It turned out that the partnership with Camp made only paper profits, never realizing a true gain. On October 7, his spirits were so high he even dared to hope that Julia and the children would be joining him early in the coming year.

Before the end of October 1852, Grant had taken a river steamer up to the army's post at The Dalles where he spent a week. Fort Dalles, 90 miles up the Columbia, had been established several years earlier to be of assistance to the large number
of settlers who were streaming into Oregon on the overland route. One company of 69 men, under the command of Brevet Major Alvord, was posted there.

Enthusiastic investor that he had become, Grant purchased cattle and hogs at The Dalles for "speculation," and a handsome and spirited horse for himself. He rode his horse back to Vancouver down the bridle trail along the south side of the river.

Through no particular fault of the principals involved, a conflict of authority arose between Grant, regimental quartermaster, and Capt. Thomas Lee Brent of Virginia, post quartermaster. Perhaps a commander more skillful than Lt. Col. Bonneville would have solved the problem but disagreement continued for seven months until Brent eventually was transferred. The arrangements that were made left Ulysses Grant free to concentrate on outfitting survey parties. When Brent departed, Grant took over his assignments as well.

Between October and December 1852, Captain Grant kept busy with his duties and continued to attempt to add to his capital. Grant lived with Ingalls, Brent and three clerks at "Quartermaster's Ranch." This imposing house was prefabricated in New England and shipped in sections around Cape Horn to become the first permanent building at Vancouver. It was located about 400 yards west of the stockade, near the river, and was the best building on the post. Grant considered it the finest home in Oregon Territory, and it probably was. The attractive building had high ceilings, a broad porch on three sides, and two stories, and it stood apart from other army structures erected later. Lt. Col. Bonneville had to put up with a log house that had rough floors and chinked cracks while the quartermaster's house became Columbia Barracks' social center.

Rufus Ingalls and "Sam" Grant had not seen each other for seven years. Friends since they roomed together at West Point, they became even closer companions at Vancouver. They took long horseback rides together, remembered their school days, played cards, and entertained visiting survey officers in the evenings. Ingalls and Grant became known as the post's most notable characters and their card games, for small stakes, became legendary. Ruf, years later, told how Sam "astonished his brother officers by his clear, luminous descriptions" of the fighting in Mexico. Others were impressed with Grant's memory of small battle incidents and his thoughtful critiques of his commander's strategy and tactics. Quartermaster's Ranch was a lively place during the rainy evenings of fall and winter and a genial atmosphere prevailed.

It appeared that Columbia Barracks was positioned properly to become a permanent post and that the Fourth Infantry might be stationed there for years. Grant was convinced that he must settle down, make some money, and bring his family out to this pleasant environment.

When Captains Grant, Ingalls and Wallen heard that ice was selling for outrageous prices in San Francisco, they cut and loaded 100 tons aboard a sailing schooner, including the captain as a partner. After several months the captain returned with no money, but a sad story. Winds were against him, the ice melted and other ice ships from Alaska grabbed the business. The officers lost their investment.

Grant rounded up cattle and pigs for shipment to San Francisco where Wallen was to sell them. "We continued that business until both of us lost all the money we had," recalled Wallen, but when he returned to Vancouver, Wallen owed Grant three or four hundred dollars which he could not pay until later. Another disappointment.

Grant was forced to take several weeks' sick leave in early December to recover from a nasty cold that would not give up and brought on severe cramps. "I have suffered so much that I walk like an old man of eighty," he wrote. Captain Grant did not recover quickly and was forced to spend time indoors on toast and tea. He wrote Julia that he had suffered terribly from cramps in his legs and in one hand. If he could just keep dry, Grant wrote to his wife, he could get back on his feet. It was the rainy season and he was continually wet and cold, but he was well cared for by Private Getz and his wife Margaret. Maggy had been the Grants' servant at a previous post and her efficiency and loyalty to Grant made him "envied by evry body that comes to the house." The Getzes were like members of Grant's family and there was much mutual respect between them.
Grant was forced to take several weeks’ sick leave in early December to recover from a nasty cold that would not give up and brought on severe cramps.

Grant leased a tract of land from Mr. W. Nye about a mile from the post. With Captains Wallen, Brent and McConnell, about 100 acres was cleared and fenced in order to plant potatoes and oats. Grant purchased two sickly horses that had worked their way across the plains the previous summer. Under his expert care they recuperated rapidly and became a good team for plowing the farm. With his horses Captain Sam broke the ground while his partners did the planting.

Ulysses continued to send financial reports to Julia. “If I collect all that is due me...there is about eighteen hundred dollars.” He did admit that one officer “had sacrificed his word” on a $200 loan. Grant had failed to obtain written confirmation of the advance and the debtor had disappeared in San Francisco.

Grant labored on his farm and noted that for those willing to work hard Oregon was the best “place I have ever seen...Timber stands close to the banks of the river free for all. Wood is worth five dollars per cord for steamers. The soil produces almost double any place I have been before with the finest market in the world for it after it is raised...beef gets fat without feeding...[and] chickens [sell for] one dollar each.”

As the eventful year of 1852 drew to a close, Ulysses realized that Julia and the boys could not join him. For the first time he concluded that he would prefer to get out of the army than continue the separation. Grant’s best hope for seeing his family lay in obtaining his long-anticipated promotion and receiving orders for Washington, D.C., to straighten out old accounts. Already he loved the West; if Julia, Fred and Ulysses, Jr., were with him on the Pacific Coast, he wrote his wife, “I wouldn’t care to ever go back.”

As 1853 began the young captain was grossly agitated with the mails. He could not accept delays of two months for each letter. He missed Julia terribly and was increasingly heartsick with longings to see his little boys. Grant’s mood became as blustery as the weather. “It either rains or snows here all the time,” he wrote on January 3, “so I scarcely ever get a mile from home, and half the time do not go out of the house during the day.” He was feeling better physically, however, and reassured his wife that he was well and was heavier than ever before. Grant even reported a minor adventure when he and Ingalls were the first of that season to walk over the frozen Columbia River.

As the weather moderated Ulysses’ spirits rose. He hoped to finish plowing his farm soon, he believed Columbia Barracks to be the best station in Oregon, and he thought that when he was promoted to a company commander he could return to the East and bring his family back with him to the Pacific Coast. Grant wanted to command a company at Vancouver but he suspected that he might have to go to a more primitive post.

Grant wrote Julia further financial details in mid-February. He did not wish to send any money home at that time because he needed every dollar for seed to plant potatoes, oats, and vegetables on his farm. He was upset that Camp, who owed him $1,500, was living prosperously and giving no sign of beginning payments on his note.

By March 4, Ulysses was tired and sore from his manual labor on the farm but almost all of the planting was in, and he and his partners were looking forward to a future payoff. But he was pressed for cash; even though others owed him over $2,000, the obligations did not become due for six to eight months. Grant saw financial hard times until the fall of 1853.

Captain Brent’s transfer meant more commissary routine for Grant, and he was worried about how to balance his professional and his outside interests and still earn the income he needed so desparately. But he believed that Brent might return East to pick up his family and Julia could return West with the Brents. Ulysses still hoped that the long separation might be ended, but he was concerned that his promotion might take him from Vancouver, a good family post. “If there was any prospect of my being promoted to one of the companies [here]...I would be delighted to have you here. There is not a more delightful place in the whole country.”

As spring approached Grant continued his physical work in the fields. He found that he could do all the plowing and furrowing himself and was surprised that he could do it so well. “I never worked before with so much pleasure,” he wrote his wife, “because now I feel sure that every day will bring a large reward.” Also he found time to manage a wood-cutting operation with his own horses and wagon, and prepared to enter the general draying business. He believed that by fall he would reap substantial profits from his ventures, promising never again to get into debt. Ulysses was worried that his impending promotion might send him to Humboldt Bay, where no family quarters existed.

Captain Grant started growing a beard when he left California. In his first letter home headed “Washington Territory” (Congress had divided Oregon Territory in March 1853), he
reported that his beard was several inches long. Except for short periods later in his life, the beard stayed and changed Grant's appearance dramatically.

Between May 15 and June 14, 1853, Ulysses was away from Columbia Barracks. He was ordered to Benicia to testify in a court-martial that was canceled at the last minute when the accused officer resigned. Grant checked in with his friends in San Francisco the Stevenses, the Gladwins and young Mr. Dodge, all formerly of Sackets Harbor. Also, he visited Knight's Ferry for another pleasant week with the Dent brothers. From San Francisco he expressed again his loneliness to his beloved Julia: "My dear wife it is very hard to be separated from you so long but until I am better off it cannot be helped. If I can get together a few thousand dollars I shall most certainly go home."

While in San Francisco he made some arrangements "to do a considerable business, in a commission way." One large firm, from which he purchased flour and other army supplies, asked Grant to report on commodity prices in the territories. Prices were so unstable that the San Francisco merchant believed early notification would allow him to ship articles that would reap sizable profits. The company would furnish the merchandise, Grant would sell it, and the profits would be divided. Also, while in San Francisco, Grant and a partner purchased barrels of pork for delivery to Vancouver. They were priced higher up north and the enterprising young captain was confident of clearing about $600.

With several other officers including Captain Wallen and Thomas H. Stevens, Grant took out a one-year lease for some space in the old Union Hotel in San Francisco for $500 a month. They planned to convert the area into a private billiard room and club, and sell memberships. There were so many unattached males around that the idea appeared feasible. But, alas, the hired manager departed with the officers' funds so the venture failed.

When Grant returned to Columbia Barracks, he found that disaster had struck. The unpredictable river had wiped out his hard labor and his hopes for a good return on his farming efforts. All of his grain, onions and corn and most of the enormous potato crop was ruined. His wood business was in disarray because of the flooding. He caught another severe cold, but had to keep busy outfitting survey parties directed by the new territorial governor, Major Isaac Stevens, including one that had Capt. George B. McClellan as a leader. Because of these duties, Grant had no time to dwell on his severe financial loss. He did think about resigning from the army but promised Julia to "weight the matter well before I act."

Captain Grant occasionally crossed the Columbia to ride down to Portland or Oregon City on the Willamette River. Oregon City was larger than its neighboring village and was the trading and cultural center of that area. Grant, sometimes accompanied by one of his fellow officers, enjoyed the ride and the change of scenery. The Hudson's Bay Company's former chief factor, 6-foot-4-inch Dr. John McLoughlin, the "Father of Oregon," had retired in picturesque Oregon City.

Grant was surprised one day in Portland when the sheriff of nearby Washington County attached his army mount just as he got off the boat from Vancouver. Adams & Company, a large territorial wholesaler, through their agent Richard E. Wiley, had filed suit in the District Court against Quartermaster Grant for $1,200. Grant accompanied the sheriff to see Wiley, where arrangements were made to satisfy the debt, which was official army business. Court records note that the suit was dropped in August 1853.

The Hillsboro, Oregon, newspaper recounted in 1900:

**U. S. Grant Sued Here**
Default and Judgement for $1200 Were Taken
The Famous Soldier's Horse Was Seized
But He Paid the Debt and Went His Way
Strange as it may appear the case was overlooked by the papers of that day and the fact that a man who was afterward elected President was once sued in an Oregon court has never before been made history.

In late June 1853, Grant, spirits up and optimism soaring, wrote Julia that "every thing that I have undertaken, as a speculation, has proved profitable. I have though been unfortunate in some respects...the result of high waters!" He explained that the portion of his potato crop that survived should bring high prices because of the shortage. But again he was disappointed: the only potatoes sold were to Grant's own mess. Grant reported to his wife, "I have spoken of speculations so much that the subject is becoming painful...I told you...of all the downs of all I..."
have done. (Before I had never met with a down.) Since that I have made several hundreds in speculations of various sorts. In groceries which I do not sell, and which are not retailed. I have now a large quantity of pork on hand which is worth to-day ten dollar pr. barrel more than I gave for it...."

After the potato disaster, Grant hired Sergeant Sheffield to buy up all the chickens within 20 miles of the post. Captain Sam and his friend Wallen tried again and charted a small boat to ship the chickens to San Francisco. Sadly, nearly all the fowl died on the voyage and again the two captains lost their entire investment in that venture.

No one would argue with Capt. Wallen's conclusion: "Neither Grant nor myself had the slightest suggestion of business talent. He was the perfect soul of honor and truth, and believed everyone else as artless as himself."

Grant's debts stayed with him a long time. On June 28, 1855, from Missouri, Ulysses wrote Wallen a promise to pay $300 resulting from "our unfortunate San Francisco speculations." Ten years later, on December 29, 1865, Lt. General Grant sent Wallen a check canceling the debt. Thus did Grant live with his obligations, in contrast to the many who forgot their debts to him.

With all of his financial troubles and his loneliness, it should be noted that Grant's experiences at Vancouver were not all adverse. He was among friends he enjoyed, and in a location that was, except for occasionally excessive rainfall, delightful. And, after all, he and his companions were high-spirited young soldiers away from the normal restraints of civilization.

Primitive though the area was, a little theater blossomed. Drum Major Elderkin recalled that there was "excellent dramatic talent" available, and that he and his wife Mary were active members of the troupe that played a number of Shakespearean pieces and others, including "Golden Farmer, Jemmy Twitcher in England!" On September 6, 1853, Grant probably of order."

Unknown to him, Grant's promotion to full captain in the regular army was effective on August 9, 1853. Secretary of War Jefferson Davis ordered him to "proceed, without delay, to join your company at Fort Humboldt, California." Now Ulysses' worst fears were about to be realized. Fort Humboldt had no family quarters, was remote, and was commanded by an officer who did not like Grant.

Grant reported in at Fort Humboldt on January 5, 1854, and did not visit the Northwest again until he became president. On April 11 he wrote his resignation from the army at the age of 32. It took him until August to reach home in Missouri where he was reunited with his family. He remained there until he re-entered the army with the outbreak of the Civil War.—Ed.
years before statehood and only six years after Edison's discovery.

As the newly appointed Northwest region agents for the company that Edison had the foresight and good judgment to found—Edison Electric Light Company, which evolved into today's giant, General Electric Company—Mitchell and Sparling arrived in Seattle ready to sell lamps, dynamos to supply the electric power, and all the necessary wire, switchgear and related equipment, together with the design and installation of complete systems. Though each was only 23, they were well prepared for the task. Both graduates of the U.S. Naval Academy, they had served two years at sea during which Mitchell pursued his special interest in making experimental installations of electric lights to improve both the efficiency of work and the comfort of living in the dark compartments of a ship. When he was discharged from active duty in a major navy cutback, Mitchell attended a postgraduate course in electrical engineering being conducted by the great Thomas Edison himself in New York City. The favorable impression Mitchell obviously made resulted in his appointment as Edison's Northwest agent.

This ability to instill confidence in others carried over to customers and community leaders in his new business territory. It enabled Mitchell to make rapid progress in introducing a growing number of early Pacific Northwest residents to the wonders of electric service. His first system covered a small portion of downtown Seattle in 1886. A small hydroelectric plant was built in Spokane the following year. Over the next 15 years he organized and built systems in Tacoma, Portland, Bellingham and many smaller towns in Washington, Oregon, Idaho and British Columbia.

MITCHELL was not alone in pioneering the use of electricity in the Northwest. The appeal and varied applications of incandescent lighting and electric motors were far-reaching and other competitors were soon drawn into the region. But as more uses for electricity were found, a growing list of problems emerged—technical, operational, financial, political and legal—for which prior industrial experience was of only limited benefit. Many of these problems would test this new industry for years to come—some to the present day. A look at the way many community electric systems developed reveals the sources of such challenges.

The first requirement for an electric system was a source of primary power to drive the dynamo (generator). In the mid-1880s lumbermills typically had steam boilers fired with wood waste and steam engines to turn the saws and drive the head-rig log carriages. It was relatively simple to connect a dynamo with the
Two young agents of Thomas Edison introduced his new invention to the Northwest.

WASHINGTON LIGHTS UP

By Robert C. Wing

THE LONG ERA of kerosene-lamp and candlelight dinners in Washington homes began to end when two quite young and enterprising men came West with a new invention just over a century ago.

The invention was Thomas Edison's most useful—the incandescent light bulb. The men were Sidney Z. Mitchell and F. H. Sparling. The year was 1885, four

For many years the skyline of Seattle was lit brilliantly by this moving sign over the headquarters at Seventh and Olive of the Seattle Electric Company, one of the many early independent utilities later merged to create Puget Power.
same steam engines. The added investment and operating costs were quickly offset by the additional profit from the extended hours of operation made possible by the electric lights. (One of the older exhibits in the State Historical Society's museum displays a crude dynamo identified as being the first in the state—installed by the Hanson and Co. sawmill in November 1882.—Ed.)

Typically a housing area (often company owned) was located adjacent to a sawmill. A power line would be extended from the mill, tree-to-tree or building-to-building along the main wagon road so that each house and bunkhouse could have an electric lamp. This same pattern was repeated in the villages adjacent to coal mines and food processing plants throughout the territory.

SO ATTRACTIVE was the electric light as a substitute for the candle or the kerosene lamp that demand for more was never-ending. And very soon the interruption of service when the mill shut down at night or on Sunday was not acceptable. Of course, in those locations where a source of water power was readily available to drive the dynamo, the hours of service were not limited. However, investing in a hydroelectric plant on a stream subject to wide seasonal variations in flow was not attractive to mills with year-round operation. Also, the initial Edison direct-current dynamos were incapable of delivering power over any great distance without unacceptable line losses.

As the load grew along with the demand for ever-better service and main-

Electric power production and use reached a zenith with the building of the Columbia River dams, beginning with Rock Island, built by a private utility, and followed by Bonneville, Grand Coulee and others built by the federal government. In this picture President Franklin Roosevelt views the construction scene of Grand Coulee from the back seat of an open car on October 2, 1937.
Sketch of the first power installation at Snoqualmie Falls. Only a small dam was needed to create an adequate head for power since the natural drop was so great. The underground installation began operating in 1899 and is still producing power.

tenance, the production and delivery of electric service as an ancillary function of the village lumbermill or coal mine lost what little attraction it may ever have had. One by one these village electric systems were reorganized as independently owned electrical utilities—and the previous problems were compounded.

Each utility company needed a franchise to place and operate its distribution lines along the town streets. That permit process, often involving competing applicants, frequently became a new focus of political gamesmanship. New owners quickly learned they had gotten into the most capital-intensive of all businesses—more dollars of investment were required per dollar of new revenue than in any other manufacturing enterprise. And credit was not readily available. Even Thomas Edison demanded cash payment for all system components. Clearly, success required keeping the system as fully utilized as possible—certainly more than was required for electric lights used only a few hours at night and in the morning.

In cities large enough to support a streetcar system the need to broaden the base of utility business was met by substituting electric power for horsepower. The incentives to make this change were immediately available in such hilly cities as Seattle. There the one-horse car had proven impractical and the cost of oats to fuel a two-horse car had made operations unprofitable at the nickel fare riders expected. In March 1889 Seattle became one of the first cities in the country to have the new electric transportation marvel. Similar improvements followed soon after in Tacoma, Bellingham and Spokane, and later in Olympia, Yakima, Everett, Centralia, Walla Walla, Aber-
dean and several other cities.

Initially these streetcar systems were not started as coordinated municipal transportation systems, but rather as individual enterprises (12 or more in Seattle alone) intended to encourage the sale of suburban real estate developments. At first each of these lines had its own small steam power plant and its own narrow customer market, and interline "transfers" were not offered. Then came the national financial panic of 1893 and nearly all of these small streetcar lines went bankrupt. But soon the solution to the problems of the financially weak and inefficient systems was found in network consolidation.

OTHER technological developments brought on even broader consolidation of municipal streetcar networks, together with the growing maze of independent city and milltown light and power systems. In 1884 Nikola Tesla, an eminent European scientist, emigrated to America and became an associate of Edison. He developed the multiphase alternating current method of generating and transmitting electricity, an innovation that greatly lengthened the distance power could be transmitted economically. But Edison and Tesla parted company over serious differences concerning the safety of using alternating current. Then Tesla caught the attention and the financial backing of George Westinghouse, thus beginning the great and beneficial competition with the General Electric Company which emerged from Edison's activities.

The practicability of long-distance power transmission made possible the tying together of previously isolated systems, thus improving both the reliability of the power supply and the efficiency of the generating capacity in covering peak load and "standby" requirements. And for Washington there was a double advantage. It was now possible to reach out to many remotely located potential hydroelectric power-plant sites and bring the electricity in to the centers of load.

Responding to this new opportunity, Charles H. Baker, a young engineer who had come West from New York to work on the railroads, designed and built the first major hydroelectric plant in Washington at Snoqualmie Falls. This unique plant, located in a rock cavern beneath the cataract, was completed in 1898. It was later enlarged, but the original part of the plant and equipment are still delivering the originally rated capacity today. It was Baker's initial intention to merge all the bankrupt streetcar companies in Seattle and replace their worn and inefficient steam-driven generators with the power supply from his Snoqualmie Falls plant. Although competitors led by Sidney Mitchell frustrated Baker's scheme, he still managed to sell his Snoqualmie hydro power to local distribution systems from Tacoma to Everett.

BAKER AND Mitchell and nearly all other entrepreneurs in this budding electric utility business all agreed that consolidation of the many small isolated electric systems into a few fully integrated networks would provide better service at lower cost to customers. The consolidation process started as early as 1888,
Life Without Electricity
By James R. Warren

Until I was seven years old, my family lived on a ranch eight miles north of Goldendale, Klickitat County, Washington. There, among the pine-clad Simcoe Mountains, life was enjoyable for my brother, my sister and me. I'm not sure our parents found it so.

We enjoyed pure, cold water, hand-pumped from a well and carried in buckets. Baths were taken in a big tub filled with water heated in the iron reservoir attached to one end of our large wood cookstove. When washing clothes, mother, even on hot summer days, heated water in an oval copper boiler atop that stove and scrubbed them clean on a corrugated washboard. After hand rinsing, the wash was squeezed through a hand-wringer (don't catch the buttons) and hung outdoors to dry. I remember wash days especially well because I was expected to keep the wood box full.

The pressing of clothes was accomplished by manipulating heavy irons heated atop the stove. These were called "sad irons." I thought that they were so named because that was how the woman must have felt who had to use them. Later I discovered "sad" was an old term for "heavy." The baking of bread called for hand kneading and a two-fisted rolling pin. Eggs were scrambled with a hand-twirled beater. On cooler days and nights, the old cookstove did double duty—heating the kitchen and cooking the meals.

When we moved to town in 1935, life changed. We had electric service. Now appliances of all sorts could be powered with tiny motors. Our home could be heated from a central furnace. The old icebox soon gave way to an electric refrigerator. Now, to list the electrically powered devices we utilize each day is a telling exercise.

Come to think of it, I can come up with no better example of a modern miracle than the simple act of flipping an electric switch.

The article below is excerpted from the Summer 1987 issue of Portage, the quarterly of the Museum of History and Industry.

AN ADDITIONAL force for consolidation was provided when the state legislature in 1911 created the Public Service Commission. Under its charter the commission substituted state control of rates and service standards for the maze of local regulatory efforts.

Amid these consolidation moves—and the attendant, highly politicized local franchising procedures—there arose in some quarters a strong sentiment for public ownership of electric utilities. The first notable moves in this direction occurred in Tacoma as early as 1893. Over the next 60 years the tussles between public and private ownership advocates provided some of the most hotly contested political battles in the state's history. The result is today's geographic patchwork with municipally owned systems in Seattle, Tacoma, and several smaller cities, Public Utility Districts covering many counties, and investor-owned companies serving the three most populous counties plus many other cities and counties.

All of this competitive effort to bring reliable economical electric service to more people was really driven by the ever-increasing demand for more. Electricity has powered the giant second wave of the industrial revolution. In the home it has brought relief from most of the physical burdens once included under that now discredited term "women's work."

The abundant supply of low-cost hydroelectric power encouraged the establishment of high-load industrial processes, particularly aluminum smelting; similarly, "all-electric" homes raised residential electricity usage to the highest levels in the nation. The resulting exploitation rate of Washington's hydroelectric resources has repeatedly exceeded forecasts. The U.S. Geological Survey as early as 1928 showed Washington leading the nation in total potential hydro power
with 18.9 percent, capable of generating 11,225,000 horsepower. Only about 5 percent of the potential was reported as developed at that time. The report pointed to the enormous investment in industrial development needed to justify full exploitation of the potential, and reported the average annual absorption rate to be only 50,000 horsepower. The inference was that full development of the potential hydro power would not be needed for two centuries.

The building of the first power dams on the Columbia—Rock Island, Bonneville, and then the giant Grand Coulee—were ridiculed at the time by those who confidently predicted that such enormous amounts of power would never be needed. But they resulted in the lowest-cost power in the nation and the use of it grew so rapidly that in a mere 40 years—by 1968—almost the full water power potential of the state had been utilized. The Columbia was completely harnessed and the only falling water not now turning turbines is on streams too small or too environmentally valuable to be diverted through powerhouses.

At present Northwest power plants produce a surplus, which is marketed outside the region over long-distance power lines. When that surplus is needed at home, and more still, we will have to resort, as in the beginning, to fossil fuels or, if the political climate changes, to controversial nuclear reactors.

Robert C. Wing is a past president of the Historical Society of Seattle and King County and is a member of the board of the State Historical Society. A retired senior vice president of Puget Sound Power and Light Company, he is the editor, with Robert C. Cumbow as associate editor, of A Century of Service—The Puget Power Story, and author, with Gordon Newell, of Peter Puget, a biography of the British naval officer for whom Puget Sound was named.
The house that Governor Stevens built was not of mansion proportions, but was so identified because the governor resided there. Many years later the state provided a genuine mansion for the governor on the capitol campus.

**ORIGINAL GOVERNOR'S MANSION**

By a vote of two (Hartley and Clausen) to one (Savidge) it wasn't preserved

By Norman Johnston
A 1879 artist's drawing of a bird's-eye view of Olympia shows the deteriorating frame structure of the territorial capitol, and just a block or so to the northeast, at the corner of Main and 11th streets, three small houses which, despite their unpretentiousness, were at the center of Washington's earliest and perhaps first historic preservation confrontation. For one of the houses was the Isaac Stevens mansion, a house built by the first governor of Washington Territory for his young family. It was not large enough to qualify as a real mansion but was so called because the governor lived there.

The governor acquired the land sometime after his 1853 arrival in Olympia. In orthodox pioneer manner he cleared his acreage “of the great trees covering it and two hundred feet additional land on every side of the block,” planted a vegetable garden and dug a well. By 1856 the house was ready for his wife and four children and began sheltering a succession of families of varying prominence: two governors, a territorial survey general, army officers, a judge and, in later years, tenants of less celebrated status.

As architecture it was modest enough. No log cabin, it had instead faintly American Colonial antecedents; with frame construction of milled lumber, its principal two-story rectangular block faced north to 11th Street. An adjoining wing to the rear, with gabled roof, was at a right angle to the street. A shed-roofed “piazza” or porch extended along the full front of the house. Siding was of lapped boards, probably painted white originally. That and its guttered cornices and facia boards at the gabled ends and symmetrically located shuttered windows gave a certain refinement to the ensemble.

The mansion’s decline began with its acquisition by the state in 1919, part of the consolidation of properties being acquired to expand the site for the new state capitol group, by then in the process of development. Olympia’s original plat had included a nearby 12-acre site for a territorial capitol, a typical ploy by newly founded Western American communities to express confidence in future development. This acreage proved inadequate when the State Capitol Committee began to plan, not a single building, but a group of buildings for the capitol.

Thus on March 30, 1919, the Daily Olympian noted that the capitol committee had authorized $17,000 for the purchase of the adjacent Stevens property. Since there were no immediate plans for site development, the house in subsequent years was rented to a succession of tenants and the consequences of neglect and deterioration were soon apparent. Only brief mentions of the mansion occur in capitol committee minutes. When a tenant asked the committee to repair the furnace, he was told to repair it himself. The setting of a revised rent figure ($30 a month) and a request for an indefinite lease extension (refused) were among the few entries through the mid-20s.

Meanwhile time was catching up with the mansion. This was hinted at by Clark V. Savidge, member and secretary of the capitol committee, in a letter to a Mrs. Lyman of March 17, 1926, a current tenant who had requested the indefinite lease. He indicated the committee would allow her continuing occupancy “until such time that they decide to grade the grounds, which is not likely to take place until some time in 1927.”

Shortly thereafter the first note of a preservation theme was sounded in a letter to the committee from a figure prominent in the old building’s history: Kate Stevens Bates, a daughter of Governor Stevens who had lived in the house. She had married James H. S. Bates and was still living in Olympia in 1927 when she wrote the committee that improvements to the capitol grounds called for the mansion’s removal and begged that this not be done. She asked for its retention as a “historic spot” and memorial to her father. The committee in the following two months received a number of other similar petitions for preservation.

The plan retained the mansion on the grounds but moved it somewhat westward to make room for a sunken garden and diagonal approach to the capitol group.
importance of the building but nevertheless observing that its present location so seriously interferes with the general design of the Capitol grounds as a whole that we believe nobody would have any hard feelings about it being moved, providing a suitable site could be found.

We have given this subject considerable thought and study and many sketches have been made in order to determine the most suitable site from the point of view of its location in tving into the general design of the grounds. We propose that it should be moved from its present location in a westerly direction and the front door of the house brought on axis of the flower garden planned.

By that spring completion of site clearance and grading were underway, and further vacillation on the mansion's future could no longer be indulged.

at the northeasterly entrance to the Capitol grounds.

This location we recommend gives it a wonderful setting, a fine background for the flower garden, and a most pleasing outlook from the house across the garden.

Now then is the time to definitely decide this very important detail, and at the same time an architect should be selected for the purpose of restoring the house when it is moved to its new location; an architect should be selected who would have the sympathy of its preservation and the spirit of its restoration, to bring it back to the condition it should hold as a reminder to the present and future generations as the home of the first Governor for the State [sic] of Washington.

But doubts continued. There was uneasiness in the committee and in the testimony before it by the secretary of the Olympia Chamber of Commerce as to the design compatibility of the mansion in any location on the campus. The deteriorated physical condition of the structure also posed troublesome questions. The governor even reported a rumor questioning whether Governor Stevens had really lived in the house at all—this in spite of the testimony of Stevens' own daughter who had herself lived there with her family! But probably it was expediency that finally prevailed; this could well be the inference drawn from the committee minutes of July 19, 1929:

The chairman announced that they had been in communications with the Regent and some of the other members of the Daughters of the American Revolution and that they had sanctioned the destruction of the Stevens house. After considerable discussion the members present agreed that, owing to the decayed condition of the building and the lack of a proper place to put it, that it would be necessary to tear it down and Mr. Creelman was directed to give orders to have it dismantled. Mr. Creelman left the room and in a few minutes returned and reported that the work had started. (Emphasis added.)

The work may have started but so also did the uproar over the committee's decision. The Daily Olympian reported on the following day:

Crashing timbers were the first indications Olympia townpeople received Friday night that the Isaac I. Stevens mansion was being destroyed. Inquiry revealed that the decision to remove completely the old style Colonial mansion where the first governor of the territory of Washington made his home, was reached at a meeting of the capitol commission [sic] Friday afternoon.

Foremen at the scene of the wrecking declare the problem of destroying or restoring the building has delayed work on the grounds at least ten days and at the first possible moment after the decision was made, the wrecking was started. Huge trucks with building hooks were ripping through the sides of the old building Friday night.
Notified of the decision of the capitol commission, Mrs. Bates expressed regret that the building should be destroyed. "Its historical value would lie, partially, in its decayed state and only a few timbers would make it really safe," was Mrs. Bates' statement. Mrs. Fred W. Agatz, regent of the Sacajawea [Olympia] chapter [of the D.A.R.], and several other representative members of the chapter agreed with the commission that the decayed state of the building made it impractical to preserve as a landmark.

Soon, the Daily Olympian in another column recorded the following:

**Destruction of Stevens Mansion Not Sanctioned**

Mr. James H. S. Bates hereby announces that the capitol commission [sic] has misunderstood his wife, Kate Stevens Bates, in supposing she consented to the wrecking of the old governor's mansion. She knew nothing of it until the order for the wrecking had been given and partly executed. By an accidental oversight she was not consulted in time. She did not object when the governor called and consulted her because it was then too late to do so.

In justice to Mrs. Bates, this should be made plain to all, and is hereby done. Such is all there is to the matter.

It is even reported that Mrs. Bates was uncertain if Governor Stevens, her father, ever lived there. That, again is an extreme error.

JAMES H. S. BATES

These initial press reports were quickly followed by a rash of others in the same vein. The subsequent minutes of the state capitol committee record the considerable squirming its members underwent in contemplating the consequences of their precipitate action. For July 29 the report is as follows:

**GOVERNOR HARTLEY:** It would appear from these minutes [for July 19 and 20] that I arbitrarily destroyed the so-called Governor Stevens mansion. That, you all know, is not true. We all agreed. You have to go back further yet. Mr. Savidge went away and left things in Mr. Clausen's hands and mine. We agreed on all these things, Mr. Clausen and I...

Only here it is revealed that the decision to destroy had not been taken by the full membership of the committee but when Mr. Savidge, its one outspoken advocate for preservation, was absent from the meeting.

He [Savidge] said whatever we did was okay. Mr. Clausen asked,—well, he said, we ought to talk to the Daughters, and I tried to get him to go talk to the Daughters, but he rather wished me to, and I consented to talk to the Board of Regents of the D.A.R. who had...
charge of the affair in a way, having had a good deal to do about it. I proceeded to calm them on the telephone.

One of them was away from the city.

There were two here. They came to my office and we went over the whole situation as to the Governor Stevens home. They agreed with me absolutely and I put to them the proposition that Mr. Clausen and I had agreed upon, namely that this house not being placed on the land where he lived when he was Governor, and a question as to whether it was his home when he was Governor, that was all taken into consideration, the further fact that the house was rotten, the sills, so you could stick your fingers in them. The brick in the fireplace, the contractor said so himself, that he could pull them to pieces with his fingers, and he sits right here now. It was well understood that the whole building would have to be rehabilitated and rebuilt. The high school students of the high school here had been in the habit of going in that house and eating their lunches and tearing around in there, and it was entirely gutted and torn to pieces inside; the stair railing and the spindles that led to the rail were torn down and scattered throughout the house. The house was a wreck. The contractor said it could not be moved without being further bolstered up and we knew that ourselves. There had to be new sills under it and new studding and new roofs and new doors and new casings to windows and all that, and we considered it carefully. Mr. Clausen and I agreed it would be a great mistake to undertake to rehabilitate and replace the house.... We tried our best to get Mrs. Bates. We couldn't get hold of Mrs. Bates that evening [in which destruction began], but we got her early in the morning and I drove to her house. I put the same proposition before Mrs. Bates and her husband.... She thought it best. Her husband joined her in the sentiment. I came back and reported, and we agreed here that that was a good job. It may not be in your minutes, but this is the truth I am stating to you.... Now I want that in the record to correct the stories told and that have gone into the press for the purpose of prejudicing the people against the Governor in this matter.... This is going to be history and it is going to more history as things are developing. There is acrimony entering into this thing, and there should be none. [Mr. Clausen and I] were pleased that we had solved this proposition to the satisfaction of those most interested, and as I have stated I think it ought to be stated so there....

MR. CLAUSEN: I endorse everything the Governor has said.... We have got no proof that Governor Stevens ever lived in that building. It wasn't in harmony with the surroundings and all that; it was a dilapidated building.... I think we did a good thing.

GOVERNOR HARTLEY: Now, Mr. Savidge we acted for you. You skipped out.

MR. SAVIDGE: I didn't skip out. I done [sic] just what

you would do lots of times, if a meeting was called and you couldn't get to it, you would do just as I did. I had no thought that the Stevens mansion was coming up, but my position had been stated to you. I wanted to preserve the building. I had that morning gone to the engineer and selected a place, but I said in the final end, if the Daughters of the Revolution withdrew their request, if we have the withdrawal from the Daughters of the Revolution all right. If we haven't my vote stands....

The Olmsted Brothers' plan for the capitol campus, 1928, showing the proposed new location for the Stevens house.
Well, as I say, the building is down. I wanted it preserved and I shall always feel badly because it was not.

**GOVERNOR HARTLEY:** It wasn't down at the time Mrs. Bates was seen. She gave her consent and her husband joined her in it. Now, mischief makers since have misrepresented to Mrs. Bates and I wouldn't blame her... but that is the work of emissaries of Satin [sic], who are trying to make trouble in connection with this affair... I have no regrets and no apologies. I have worked here night and day to try to do the right thing. Is there anything further?

**MR. SAVIDGE:** I am sorry it is gone, but I haven't said anything about it, have I?

**GOVERNOR HARTLEY:** I move we all stand up and shake hands on it, that it is all right.

**MR. SAVIDGE:** I won't say that it is all right. I will shake hands on it that there are no hard feelings in the Committee. I haven't said a word about it.

**GOVERNOR HARTLEY:** That is all right then. (Whereupon the members of the Committee stand and shake hands.)

**But it never would be right, in spite of the committee's hand-shaking and efforts to alter the record in their favor.** The day following the above meeting the Daughters added their own postscript to the matter in a September 30 newspaper item headlined "D.A.R. Condemns Capitol Action" and including the letter they had received in September 1927 from the committee advising them of its intention to retain the mansion. The piece closed with the printing of the Sacajawea Chapter's resolution condemning the committee's action "in tearing down this historical building without giving those interested time to plan for its removal or restoration." A more contemplative note was struck by the following editorial dated August 1, 1929:

**Bust of Isaac I. Stevens by the late James Wehn.**

**Historic Shrine Is Destroyed**

The destruction of the old Governor Stevens mansion is to be regretted. It had become a landmark in the community of more than passing interest. There was history and romance attached to it. No character, since the beginning of settlement of the Puget Sound country, has a greater place in the hearts of the people than has Isaac I. Stevens, first governor of the territory. It is to be regretted and, greatly so, that the building could not have been preserved because of the historic value and pioneer sentiment.

**Of the three-man committee,**

only Savidge was a consistent advocate for the Mansion's salvation. Governor Hartley and C.W. Clausen, state auditor—remained irresolute.

What citizen of this town has not, with pride, called the attention of visitors to this old governor's mansion, and recited some historical anecdote in connection with it. The building is gone, but this sentiment and pride will live in the hearts of the people, and some day a replica will be built that some tangible object may be at hand to keep alive the sentiment of pioneer days and be a basis around which the romance of early times may be woven.

Had the public been advised of the intention to destroy this building there is no doubt but funds would have become immediately available with which to move it to different grounds and provide a place for it where it would have been restored in all its furnishing and remain throughout all time a historic shrine in the hearts of the people of the state.

Doubtful it is, in spite of the editorial's aspirations, that any replica of Governor Stevens' mansion ever will be built—or even that there is any vestige of sentiment and pride for it in the hearts of the people, for whom the memory of the mansion is only to be found in the historical files and records on which this article is based. But a certain wry satisfaction can be gained in recognizing that what proved to be the climate for such an arbitrary action by state officials in 1929 would be considerably more unlikely now in light of our contemporary enthusiasm for historical preservation. Perhaps the fate of the Stevens mansion is one of the roots of the enthusiasm.

**Norman J. Johnston** is Professor Emeritus in the College of Architecture and Urban Planning at the University of Washington and has written numerous articles and books on environmental history.
**Company Town:**
Potlatch, Idaho, and the Potlatch Lumber Company.

Reviewed by Mary Murphy.

Peterson is at his best when revealing the complicated process of management decision making and the impact of executives' personalities upon the company and the town. The decision to build a company town was debated at length. Executives who believed a controlled town was the best way to attract and keep a work force that was sober, family-oriented, nonunion and white—preferably northern European—finally prevailed. While Potlatch was under the management of William Deary and Allison Laird the town bore the rule of benevolent paternalism. With the death of Laird in 1931 and the merger that created Potlatch, Idaho, and the Potlatch Lumber Company which was, for years, the operator of Idaho’s largest sawmill, plus the town of Potlatch, a company-planned, -owned, and -administered community that was home to the mill’s workers and their families.

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Peterson’s portrait of Potlatch verges on the idyllic. He acknowledges the control that the company exerted selecting workers, dictating where they could live, policing the morals of residents, and imposing a homogeneity that took on almost comic form, as in one woman’s recollection of parties where all the women looked alike because they had their hair done at the town’s one beauty parlor where everyone was given the same hairstyle. But the dark side of company management pales beside the provision of churches, school, gymnasium, library, a well-stocked, fairly run company store, and support for a panoply of clubs and lodges that the company judged essential for the maintenance of a productive work force. Perhaps because dissenters were driven out of Potlatch we hear little from those who did not like living in a managed community.

Company Town has much to recommend it. Residents of the region will find a loving, evocative tale of the land and its communities. Historians will find a model of local history, a study of corporate development and boom and bust communities, and a dispassionate assessment of a 20th-century company town.

Mary Murphy is director of the Butte-Silver Bow Public Archives in Montana. She is the coauthor of Like A Family (1987) and wrote a chapter in Armitage and Jameson (eds.), The Women’s West (1987).

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**The Forested Land:**
A History of Lumbering in Western Washington.

Reviewed by Lawrence Rakestraw.

The “forested land” is that part of Washington west of the Cascade Mountains. The forest is Douglas fir, western hemlock, and western red cedar. Ficken describes use of the forest from early Indian times through logging days to the development of huge corporations, large landholdings, and gigantic mill and wood operations. He ends the story in 1941. This is a logical terminus, for after the war, Oregon became the major center for timber production, and a variety of socioeconomic changes occurred. In both time and space, Ficken has picked a logical unit for his scholarly study.

The book is a remarkable piece of scholarship. As a writer, Ficken is equally at home in the business office, with accountants figuring how to maximize profits; in the woods, with the woods boss planning feasible logging shows; and with the company forester, planning for the future. He gives appropriate attention to all aspects of lumbering operations, from land fraud and land taxation through labor disputes and party politics to the study of individual lumbermen and companies. He has utilized business records, particularly those held by the University of Washington, and has mastered the secondary sources. The photographs are well chosen to supplement the text.

The book is particularly valuable for students of this era. Scholars are producing a large number of studies of individual corporations; Charles Twining’s studies of the Weyerhaeuser company and Ficken’s study of Mark Reed are good examples. What this book does is to place the individual studies in historical perspective so the reader can shift with ease from the particular to the general.

Lawrence Rakestraw is Professor Emeritus of Forestry and of History at Michigan Technological University. He now lives in Portland.

This important reference work is the first in a series of books sponsored by the Washington State Folklife Council. Folklorist Robert E. Walls has spent years compiling and annotating this listing of theses, papers, pamphlets, books, and articles from journals, magazines, and newspapers. "Anything relating to the traditional expressions and way of life of ordinary Washingtonians, past and present, was considered," he writes, "and the most valuable of those sources were selected."

Over 2,100 citations fill this volume, ranging from classic folklore texts to albums of Stan Boreson accordion tunes. Eighty percent of the listings are annotated. Works on Native American cultures predominate, but many other Washington State ethnic cultures (Anglo, Scandinavian, German, Jewish, black and Asian) are represented through research of their language, music, legends, food and drink, games, festivals, and arts and crafts. Figuring importantly is a large body of literature on occupational folklore—the folkways of Washington State fishermen, farmers and ranchers, miners, and, especially, loggers. An appendix by Washington State Folklorist Dr. Jens Lund lists significant recordings of folk music.

While this work is aimed at Washington State folklore, it naturally crosses academic disciplines and state lines and becomes, at times, a bibliography of Pacific Northwest studies. Many of the sources listed are scholarly works, but others are written for lay readers. Walls admits his annotations are "more descriptive than evaluative." Since the listings are alphabetical, the thorough subject index will prove most useful to researchers.

Robert E. Walls is quite correct when he writes that the Bibliography of Washington State Folklore and Folklife is "the most comprehensive listing of materials which describe Washington's folk cultures" yet to appear. Every library in the region should possess a copy, and so too should every serious scholar of the history and culture of Washington State and its peoples.

Dr. Michael Allen, a native of Ellensburg, teaches American history at Deep Springs College of California, where he is presently researching rodeo and rodeo cowboys. His book Western Boatmen: Ohio and Mississippi Rivermen and the Myth of the Alligator Horse is forthcoming from Louisiana State University Press.

Current and Noteworthy

By Dr. Robert C. Carricker, Book Review Editor

The University of Oklahoma Press recently issued paperback editions of three notable books in the Civilization of the American Indian Series. Two of the three volumes are by Robert H. Ruby, M.D., of Moses Lake and John A. Brown, Professor Emeritus of History at Wenatchee Valley College. Indians of the Pacific Northwest: A History (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1988; 304 pp., $17.95) was originally published as a coffee-table-style book in 1981 and The Chinook Indians: Traders of the Lower Columbia (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1988; 400 pp., $13.95) was authored in 1976 but has been out of print for more than a decade. The third volume is Indian Legends from the Northern Rockies (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1988; 368 pp., $9.95) by Ella E. Clark, who was Professor Emeritus at Washington State University in 1966 when her collection of oral traditions dealing with a dozen tribes in Idaho, Montana and Wyoming was first published.

The Life of Emily Carr by Paula Blanchard (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1987; 352 pp., $19.95) is a recent biography of one of Canada's most gifted painters and writers. Born in 1871 in Victoria, British Columbia, Carr attended art schools in Europe but returned to the British Columbia coast to practice her craft. In succeeding years she built an international reputation with her paintings of native villages, carvings and totems set against a backdrop of the mighty forests of the Pacific Northwest. After more than seven years of research, Paula Blanchard views Carr in her context, as a woman who overcame severe social and gender stereotypes to achieve the recognition she deserved.

Norward J. Brooks, Seattle city comptroller, has put together A Guide to the Archives of the City of Seattle (Seattle Municipal Archives, Office of the Comptroller, Seattle, WA 98104; 234 pp., $8.00). The Seattle Municipal Archives were created in February 1985 after more than 115 years of neglect had made Seattle's valuable municipal records virtually unusable. This guide is designed to facilitate access to archival records by city planners, scholars, students, community historians, genealogists and others interested in the development of Seattle and its municipal government. It contains nearly 600 record series descriptions and a 2,300-term subject and name index.

Dr. Michael Allen, a native of Ellensburg, teaches American history at Deep Springs College of California, where he is presently researching rodeo and rodeo cowboys. His book Western Boatmen: Ohio and Mississippi Rivermen and the Myth of the Alligator Horse is forthcoming from Louisiana State University Press.
The great federal scandal of the 1920s was given the label "Teapot Dome," the name of a large government oil field that the secretary of the interior in the Harding administration was convicted of using to enrich himself and others. "Teapot Dome" became household words and at least two early service stations in Washington sought to profit by the name familiarity. One was at a sharp bend in the Pacific Highway at Toledo, in Lewis County, just across the Cowlitz River bridge from the town. The other was the one pictured here, from the State Historical Society collection, which identifies it as being in "Dalton," a name that doesn't appear in the place names directory. The year was 1925, the license plate shows, and the sign on the overhang has a picture of a teapot with the word "Dome" after it. The large sign just says "Teapot Service Station." The station had one hand-operated gasoline pump dispensing "Red Crown Gasoline." Water was available from a barrel hanging on a roof support. No pavement. Crates of cantaloupes suggest that the proprietor might have bartered produce for gas. A sign says "scrip accepted." A poster on the barrel advertises a motorcycle event featuring Edmund Derry.

Readers are invited to submit historical photographs for History Album. Columbia will pay $25 for each photograph published. If a photograph is to be returned, it must be accompanied by a self-addressed, stamped envelope.
Captain Kendrick reports on island discoveries, Indian attacks and the fur trade.

Captain John Kendrick, a companion in exploration and trading with Captain Robert Gray (see "The Hawaiian Connection," page 10), was sent into the Pacific to trade, not explore, but did make discoveries in which he took considerable pride.

This is made evident in a letter dated 1791 sent from Macao to "a gentleman" in Boston that was published in the Salem Gazette, August 28, 1792.

The short letter contains considerable news, but was carried without a headline on an inside page of the Gazette. It reports an attack on Kendrick's vessel by natives of the Northwest and tells of his claims to discovery of seven islands in the South Seas which were not on any charts he possessed, although a French ship which arrived in Macao was claiming discovery of three of them.

An unusual report on the fur trade reveals that China at that time had imposed an embargo on fur imports. Americans were not being allowed to sell furs brought from the Northwest to China, nor were the British, and as a consequence cases of sea otter skins were being carried on to London where, apparently, the price was not favorable to the traders.

Columbus 49 Fall 1988
This map was produced in 1860 just after Oregon was admitted as a state, with a large section removed and added to Washington Territory. The rainbow borders were added later to the map published by S. Augustus Muchell Jr. in the Clerk's office of the District Court of the U.S. for the Eastern District of Pennsylvania. (See story and other maps, Page 18.)