Of Trains and Stations

Two of the articles in this issue of Columbia highlight the great importance of the railroad in the exploration and settlement of Washington early in the territorial period and then Washington's coming of age as an economic influence near the turn of the twentieth century. Kent Richards adds dimension to the story of Isaac Stevens and the railroad survey that appeared in the Winter 1989 issue of Columbia by detailing our first governor's often difficult relationship with the soon-to-be-famous George B. McClellan. Art Dwelley, a previous contributor to Columbia with a very popular story on the narrow gauge Olympia & Tenino Railroad which appeared in the Fall 1987 issue of Columbia, provides a case study on what the coming of a railroad could mean to a local economy; in this case, Southwest Washington.

Anyone who has been even remotely familiar with the affairs of the Washington State Historical Society of late knows of our plans to build a new exhibition facility next to the historic Union Station in downtown Tacoma. I have been asked, not necessarily in a friendly vein, whether it makes sense for the Society to marry itself, in terms of physical proximity, to such a station, or this one in particular. Indeed, I consider it a perfect match. And not just because having a historic museum in a historic neighborhood makes sense. Union Station is the perfect site, symbolically and in terms of public access, for an institution extolling the significance of Washington's history.

This is not mere hyperbole. Granting that an historical association is desirable for a new building, what site would serve as a sympathetic match for a new interpretive museum? Of the several great epochs or themes in state history, none lends itself to this duty as well as a train station. A modern museum would swamp an Indian long house, a tulee mat lodge or a pioneer cabin. That great symbol of modern Washington, Grand Coulee Dam, dwarfs every other single structure built, or likely to be built, in this state.

The coming of the transcontinental railroads was the watershed development in the history of Washington, bringing with it population growth, markets for natural resources and, along the way, statehood itself. The Northern Pacific's naming of Tacoma as the Pacific terminus of its line and the extension of rail to Puget Sound is the biggest story of nineteenth century Washington. The grand metropolitan train station, railroading's most meaningful symbol, is the perfect structural accompaniment to the new temple of Washington history. And few buildings are a better expression of the idiom than Union Station in Tacoma.

Speaking of railroads, I would like to take this space to publicly acknowledge the support of the Burlington Northern Foundation toward the Society's publication of Abby Williams Hill and the Lure of the West, written by Ron Fields, which was announced in the last issue of Columbia. This book is the finest publication, in terms of its production values, that the Society has ever produced, and we were only able to do it with the support of the foundation.

— David L. Nicandri, Director

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Attitudes Toward the Past

Research into the history of our venerable society, looking to its 100th anniversary in 1991, reveals that organizations of citizens who identified themselves proudly as "pioneers" were coming into being all around the Northwest in the 1890s. By then the young settlers of the 1840s and '50s had become old settlers and it was time, they concluded, to reflect on what had been accomplished and make certain it wasn't forgotten. "The glory of it all" was their approach to the history of their times, wrote Stewart Holbrook, who went on to say it might well have been more appropriate to say "the shame of it all."

Holbrook loved history—made a living writing about it—but he enjoyed being provocative. There was more history to be proud of than to be ashamed of, he knew, but he had sympathy for one of Ben Franklin's remarks that historians relate "not so much to what is done as to what...they believed."

The Burke Museum's splendid "Time of Gathering" exhibit included displays put together by many of the Indian tribes in Washington. The predominant note in many of these was not pride but chagrin—expressions of still burning anger at the wrongs done their forebears by those same pioneers who were inclined to sing of their glories.

The treaties of the 1850s guaranteed Indian fishing rights forever, but now the Yakima tribe is contending in court that so much water is being taken from the Yakima River for irrigation that not enough is left to support the salmon runs. So their rights are endangered. The past has come forward to become a part of the present. Our history was not entirely the record of human progress that the pioneers put forth. But that is not what matters. What does matter, however, is that the bad in history not be suppressed or glossed over to make the pages of the past look good. The truth of history must be fairly evaluated and interpreted. That is happening in Russia and China today. The people who were ensnared in the Communist delusion are learning that Marxism didn't work and that what was long hailed as glorious now stands exposed as a shameful failure.

Edward Gibbon wrote that history is "little else than a register of the crimes, follies and misfortunes of mankind." If he was serious, that is a severe indictment of the published histories available in Gibbon's time. It is not that any more false and distorted history is being rewritten to add the truths that were omitted or overlooked.

This process causes no little pain. Consider the plight of the Russian people. Truth is finally breaking through the myths and distortions used by those in power to deceive, and the Russian people are finding there is little pride to be taken in their history since the revolution of 1917.

Reading about the lackadaisical attitude of so many Frenchmen toward the 200th anniversary of the French revolution, we are tempted to make a comparison to Washingtonians who, as predicted, were not as excited this year about their centennial as perhaps they should have been. But it is not a good comparison. Reviews of a number of new books about the French revolution explain the French attitude. The excesses in terms of sheer human butchery that followed that revolution have by no means been forgotten. And even though it all occurred two centuries ago, it was a time many feel is still not worth celebrating.

Americans are fortunate. Bigotry, racial prejudice, slavery, social injustice and an unnecessary war all are parts of our history to be regarded with some shame. But any examination of that past instills far more pride than shame. Much more was done right than wrong.

The heated happenings of our own history can be reviewed and evaluated and we may feel justified in exclaiming: "Oh, the glory of it all," or, "Oh, the shame of it all." But let us say neither. Instead, say, "Glorious it was most of the time. It is just a shame it couldn't have been better."

— John McClelland, Jr.
The missing log of Gray’s Columbia is brought to light

Lost Log Found

Robert Haswell was 19 when he sailed as third mate on the Columbia in 1787. On the second voyage, in 1791, he was her first officer.

By J. Richard Nokes

The灵感 for the voyages of Gray was the report of potential rich returns from trading sea otter furs procured from Northwest Natives and subsequently sold in Chinese markets. Said report was contained in journals published by the British Admiralty in 1784 of the voyages of James Cook, the English mariner who discovered the Hawaiian Islands and explored parts of the Northwest coast in 1778. Five Boston mer-
Robert Haswell's journal along with those of John Boit, Jr. and John Hoskins were the only primary sources on Gray's second voyage until the finding of the original log.

chants and one from New York read the Cook journals and contributed $50,000 to buy two vessels—the square-rigged Columbia, 212 tons burden, and the single-masted Lady Washington—refit them, and hire crews for a voyage into waters unknown to Americans west and north of Cape Horn.

Robert Gray, 32, a veteran of the naval war against England in the American Revolution, was engaged as captain of the 90-ton sloop. John Kendrick, 47, former captain of a privateer, became commodore of the expedition and master of the Columbia. They sailed on the first of two voyages on October 1, 1787, from Boston harbor and, almost a year later, arrived in Nootka Sound on the west coast of what is now known as Vancouver Island. After amassing 1000 pelts, most of them sea otter, the two ships rendezvoused in Clayoquot Sound on Vancouver Island in late July 1789, where Kendrick ordered Gray to take command of the bigger vessel and take all the furs to China by way of the Sandwich Islands. Kendrick would remain and seek more furs.

Gray and the Columbia Rediviva arrived back in Boston on August 9, 1790, with a cargo of Bohea tea he had obtained in Canton for his pelts. Prominent Bostonians assembled at the home of Governor John Hancock to acclaim this first circumnavigation of the globe by an American ship. The tea was damaged by water but most of the sponsors wanted to try another voyage.

In six weeks Gray sailed again in the Columbia. It is the first 17 months (September 28, 1790, to February 20, 1792) of this second voyage that are covered in the original log recently found in the Library of Congress. Unfortunately, the log stops before Gray and his Columbia shipmates sailed on May 11, 1792 (Boit says May 12), into the legendary "River of the West" that had long been sought as a possible entry to a Northwest Passage. It was not that, but it was a major discovery nonetheless.

Information concerning the possible existence of the original log came as a result of my interest in obtaining information from China on the early fur-trading days. A Chinese-speaking friend, Frances Lau, while in China on a business trip, made inquiry at the National Library in Beijing and the provincial library in Fuzhou in southern China.

Soon came a letter signed by Su Ai-rong, head of the national library's reference section of social sciences, suggesting three books. One, by a "K. S. Latourell," could not be found at usual sources. Being a graduate of Linfield College, McMinnville, Oregon, I remembered my alma mater had a famous alumnus of 1904 named Kenneth Scott Latourette. Could he be "Latourell" and would Linfield have his book? He was and Linfield did. The book, published by Yale University in 1917, provided information on fur-trading. But more importantly, his bibliography noted that the Log of the Columbia was in the files of the U.S. State Department.

An inquiry there, supported by the office of Senator Bob Packwood of Oregon and historian Lewis McArthur, yielded the information that the old files had been sent to the National Archives. From the latter agency came word that what was wanted might be in the Library of Congress. Then came a call from James Flatness, formerly of Tacoma, a graduate of Pacific Lutheran University, and now on the Library of Congress staff, that such a document would be in the National Archives. After hearing the contents of the letter from the Archives, he renewed the search and found the old log within a few days. It had been there, carefully preserved, since 1906.

Among other things, the old volume supported much of the information conveyed in the journals of Boit, Haswell and John Hoskins. It revealed that Gray knew the land on which Nootka and Clayoquot Sounds were located was an island a year before George Vancouver and two Spanish captains proved it by sailing through the Strait of Georgia in 1792. It discussed the medical treatment Gray provided for Nootka Indians in the winter of 1791-92, and of Gray's own illness. It told of the construction of the 40-ton sloop Adventure, the first American ship built on the West Coast. The log provided...
detail on the abortive native attack on Gray and his sailors in Clayoquot Sound and the massacre of three Columbia crew members in British Columbia waters.

Some of the entries of Boit and Hoskins in their journals were almost direct quotes from the original log, confirming that those accounts were written as narratives after the voyage ended.

The backers of the history-making voyage had medals cast in silver and copper for presentation to Indian chiefs and other important officials along the way.

The log for the early part of the second voyage was kept by Chief Mate Haswell. Second Officer Owen Smith began keeping the log October 4, 1791, when Haswell began supervising the construction of a "fort" and the Adventure. Why it ends on February 20 is a matter of conjecture. That is the date of the native attack. On the following day the sloop was launched with Haswell taking command and Smith becoming acting chief mate of the ship. Smith apparently started a new log book and it has been lost.

Charles Bulfinch, the last surviving sponsor of the voyages, in 1838 at age 75, wrote a letter to the State Department conveying the log to its custody. In that letter (contained within the buckram covers of the log), Bulfinch explains that he was directed by President Madison in 1816 to make a copy of the log concerning the discovery of the Columbia River and Grays Harbor. It might be important in negotiations with England over the boundary of the Oregon Country. In part, Bulfinch wrote of the voyages:

That so remarkable was the expedition considered, it being the first attempt from the United States to circumnavigate the globe, that medals were struck, both in silver and copper, bearing on one side the representation of the two vessels, and on the other the names of the owners . . .

. . . The result of the [first] voyage disappointed the expectations of its projectors, the proceeds of the tea not being equal to the cost of outfit and the unforeseen expenses in Canton and elsewhere . . .

On the 7th of May 1792 [on Gray's second voyage] he came in sight of Bulfinch's Harbor [Grays Harbor]. On the [11th], he entered the mouth of a large river, and on the 14th, sailed up the same about fifteen miles. The river he named Columbia, after the name of his ship . . . Captain Gray remained in the river until the morning of the 21st May . . .

Intelligence was obtained from Captain Gray of the discovery of Columbia river but nothing was done in consequence of it until 1816 when Samuel Brown Esq., the principal living owner, after the death of Joseph Barrell Esq., requested the deponent [Bulfinch] to make inquiry of Captain Gray's papers, and to take correct copies of all proceedings relative thereto; and this was done in consequence of President Madison's application to him for information. The deponent accordingly applied to the friends of the widow of Captain Gray; and after some time spent in the search, obtained from Mr. Silas Atkins, a brother of the widow Gray, the original log book of the ship Columbia, while under the command of Captain Gray, from which he made the following excerpts . . .

Charles Bulfinch further deposed that in 1837 Thomas Bulfinch, his son, was directed to research Gray's voyages in the Columbia. Thomas believed that the direct survivors of Captain Gray were dead but he obtained information concerning the voyage from a Mrs. Nash, a niece of the widow Martha Gray, and other sources. (Strangely, the widow and four daughters survived at that time.) Mrs. Nash "was probably possessed of all the papers that related to his command of the ship Columbia, containing minutes of her voyage from Boston to the Straights of Juan de Fuca, in 1791, but stated another log book, which contained the proceedings at Columbia river in 1792, had been used as waste paper, and was entirely destroyed."

The elder Bulfinch, nearing the end of his life, then decided to present this "in perpetuum rei memoriam" of all the evidence he could obtain pertaining to discovery of the River of the West, "being the only survivor of the original undertakers of the enterprise, and having outlived, at the age of 75, all who, as officers or seamen, were engaged in the operations of the Columbia and Washington; which statement may, in future, be important in determining the right of the United States to the honor of the discovery of the river and, consequently to the right of jurisdiction over the country adjacent."

So the mystery of the log of the Columbia remains only partly solved. Just as this fragment and Charles Bulfinch's "in perpetuum rei memoriam" came to light unexpectedly, and as Gray's long-lost chart of the Columbia River was found in London after diligent search by Union Pacific historian Paul Rigdon in recent years (as detailed in his 1975 book Captain Robert Gray's Charts), so may another researcher some day, somewhere, find more chapters in the fascinating history of the Boston Men on the Northwest coast.
Washington

Human Services Come of Age

The “shared experience,” 1933-1960

By Michael K. Green

Human services, as well as public attitudes about those services, changed significantly during the Great Depression and World War II. Before the economic collapse of the thirties, a popular middle class view held that many, if not most, of the destitute were undeserving. When many middle class Americans suddenly found themselves standing in soup lines along with the “undeserving poor,” that attitude began to change. They better understood that powerful economic forces could destroy the hard work and thrift of a lifetime, that new programs in public assistance, unemployment insurance and social security might well be necessary.

Demographic changes also operated to encourage the developing welfare state. The aging population, mass movement from farm to city, and the sharp rise in the number of broken families all created additional responsibilities for social and health service agencies. The Second World War created new categories of problems involving housing, health, racial tensions and disrupted family life; many of these would persist into the postwar era.

The Great Depression

The Great Depression is a watershed in American history. The collapse of the economic system prompted dramatic changes in social and health services. The magnitude of the catastrophe is suggested by unemployment statistics, which in Washington State soared well above the national average of 25 percent. In some small towns along the coast the figure passed 80 percent and for the Seattle/Puget Sound region ranged from 40 to 60 percent. Hunger, misery and anger could be found in every community.

The size of the calamity overwhelmed local efforts to provide relief for the unemployed. Local revenue sources disappeared as property owners walked away from tax bills. Private charitable organizations saw contributions dry up. County governments, with “poor farms” filled to capacity, found no buyers for emergency bond issues. Inevitably, unemployment led to homelessness; families congregated in communities of wretched makeshift shelters often made from discarded packing boxes. These “Hoovervilles” remained pathetic yet colorful examples of hard times throughout the 1930s. Seattle’s conspicuous settlement on the waterfront was filled with unemployed loggers, sailors and fishermen.

The desperation took many forms: angry citizens marched on Olympia; out-of-work loggers started fires in timberlands to “make work” as fire fighters; orchardists burned fruit trees for fuel; ranchers slaughtered livestock to feed coyotes and buzzards. And there were individual tragedies as well. In May of 1934, four-year-old Angeline D’Ambrose died after eating poisonous weeds in her backyard. Her father, a Seattle shoemaker, out of work for a year, had not known how to apply for relief. “I guess my baby was hungry,” he sobbed, “We haven’t had anything in the house to eat for two days.”

The New Deal

As grim as conditions were in Washington, the state still attracted thousands of refugees driven out of the Great Plains states by the collapse of farm prices, drought and dust storms. By 1940 more than 400,000 of these Dust Bowl migrants had moved to the Pacific Northwest. President Roosevelt and New Deal bureaucrats contributed to this exodus by promoting the Northwest in speeches and press releases as a “land of opportunity” or “promised land.” Not every migrant found the promised land. Many settled on marginal cut-over acres and eked out a bare subsistence living. Others wound up as migrant fruit and vegetable pickers. Living in crowded, unsanitary shacks in squatters’ camps, they received little attention until the late 1930s when the Farm Security Administration’s programs reached the region, providing housing, clinics and educational facilities.

This mass migration was an important element in Roosevelt’s decision to concentrate much New Deal spending in the State of Washington. The Northwest, with its scant population and abundance of natural resources, particularly water power, seemed ripe for investment by New Deal planners. Large-scale public works such as the Grand Coulee Dam/Columbia Basin Project would provide immediate work and, eventually, farm homes for many of the displaced refugees. As a result of this assessment, the Northwest received more federal aid (on a per capita basis) than any other section of the country. The New Deal’s Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC), Federal Emergency Relief Administration (FERA), Public Works Administration (PWA), and Works Progress Administration (WPA) gave direct and work relief to thousands of Washington’s unemployed. By 1935 more than
Seattle's waterfront "Hooverville" in the 1930s.

600,000 persons, nearly half of the state's population, had received some type of assistance; often this came in the form of vouchers for groceries and heating fuel.

Relief was the immediate task, but there was an obvious need for permanent reform. The American free enterprise system had fallen on its face. The economic collapse was bad enough, but the social consequences in terms of human suffering were unacceptable. Although many New Deal statutes addressed weaknesses in the economic and social system, one measure was especially significant—the Social Security Act of 1935 which created a national system of old-age insurance financed by taxes on wages and payrolls. In addition, the federal government offered to share equally with the states the care of the destitute over 65 who would not be able to take part in the old-age pension program. The act also created a system of federal-state unemployment insurance and provided funds to the states on a matching basis for the care of dependent mothers and children, the blind, and for public health services.

The Social Security Act was a landmark. The foundation for most subsequent social welfare programs, it has linked, permanently, the federal and state governments in a working relationship to provide social and health services to an ever-expanding list of beneficiaries. No piece of New Deal legislation shows more clearly the sharp break with the individualistic values of the past. Despite its many limitations and omissions, the act reversed historic assumptions about the nature of social responsibility, establishing firmly in law the individual's clearly defined social rights.

State Efforts: Charles Ernst and Governor Martin

Human services in Washington were controlled to a considerable extent by federal guidelines for relief operations and the requirements of the various social security programs. Still, Washington became a national leader in organizing to receive federal monies, and in several instances it provided assistance in excess of federal requirements. Washington was among the first states to pass unemployment compensation laws and to organize for social security pensions; by the late thirties it was widely regarded as having one of the best social security programs. Washingtonians contributed a larger per capita amount in support of state-matching social security efforts than was contributed in any other state.

These achievements were largely the work of two rather remarkable yet dissimilar men. Clarence D. Martin, a very conservative Eastern Washington Democrat, served two terms as governor, January 1933 to January 1941. He appointed Charles F. Ernst, a nominal Republican and Harvard graduate, to head a series of state relief and public assistance agencies. Ernst was appointed director of the State Emergency Relief Administration (SERA) in January 1933. He stayed on to direct the Washington Emergency Relief Administration (WERA), organized in May 1934. Ernst then headed the State Department of Public Welfare (SDPW) from March 1937 to his resignation in November 1940. These latter two agencies are the forerunners of the present Department of Social and Health Services.
Governor Martin came from a background in business (flour milling and banking), and his first address to the State Legislature in January 1933 sounded notes of class fear as well as humanitarian concern:

Democracy, property and capital are safe only so long as our people have a decent chance for honest employment. Nor can we experience progress and reasonable prosperity unless employment is available to those who want to work. Yet today more than 100,000 of our worthy men and women are without gainful jobs, confronted by a Winter of hunger or charity. Most of these men and women contributed to the development, progress, and prosperity of the commonwealth. Many of them contributed youth and risked death in the defense of capital, and would readily respond again. Their patience is remarkable and they are to be commended for their restraint and their consideration of constituted authority. But their hopes, pride and spirit may not stand the strain much longer. It seems to be that neither government nor capital can afford to abandon these people in their hour of darkest distress.

Martin and Ernst were an effective combination. The Governor pursued federal funds with considerable success, while Ernst saw that the funds Martin received got to those who needed help as efficiently as possible. The Ernst years in state public assistance work were characterized by low administrative costs, high employee morale and a constant growth in professional standards. Ernst was particularly effective in recruiting experienced social workers from private agencies and in enlisting the aid of unpaid volunteers. As director of the SDPW he started and expanded a variety of in-service training programs and instituted leaves of absence for special training. Many who took such leaves went to the University of Washington's Graduate School of Social Work which was established in 1934. Ernst organized welfare councils in each county. He encouraged cooperative community involvement in social welfare and public health projects.

Ernst's accomplishments were recognized by his social work peers throughout the country. Washington was regarded as something of a model laboratory, especially for its timely and efficient development of social security programs. Praise for these efforts came from the U.S. Children's Bureau, the National Conference of Social Work and the prestigious Russell Sage Foundation. In June of 1938 Charles Ernst was elected president of the American Public Welfare Association for the second year in a row. Scattered through the WERA records and the Clarence Martin papers at the State Archives are dozens of Ernst memos, directives, position papers and letters. Together, they reveal a sometimes stubborn, totally dedicated and seem-
ingly tireless professional social worker with a keen awareness of the opportunity that was his—a chance to influence, significantly, the future of social and health services in Washington for decades to come.

As successful as he was, Ernst still made some major mistakes and he remained a rather controversial figure until he left office in November 1940. Probably his most serious error, one shared with Governor Martin, was to cut back on relief expenditures during the 1937-39 “Roosevelt Recession.” Reductions in federal spending stalled recovery and added to unemployment. Both Ernst and Martin decided to divert money that would have gone to direct relief to expand the social security programs. The two underestimated the need for relief, and much unnecessary suffering resulted, particularly in Seattle where unemployment had remained stubbornly high. Public criticism of this decision contributed to the departure of both men from public office in 1940.

**Pension Politics**

Forty-seven states and the Soviet of Washington is supposedly the way Jim Farley described Washington politics after a visit in 1936. Certainly Martin and Ernst found their work complicated by the activism which spanned the political spectrum from the far left to the far right. Washington in the 1930s produced a bewildering number of political movements, mostly of the “left oriented” persuasion and deeply hostile to the Martin/Ernst regime. There were Communists, Trotskyites, Socialists, Wobblies, Single Taxers, Technocrats, Townshendites, Pension Unionists and populist-minded Grangers. Efforts to merge these groups produced limited success for the Unemployed Citizen League in the early 1930s, with more tangible results after 1935 in the Washington Commonwealth Federation (WCF) and the Washington Old Age Pension Union (WOAPU or WPU).

Relief and pension policies were naturally volatile issues in the 1930s, and pension politics remained so well into the 1950s. The pension pot was kept boiling by the WCF, a left-liberal and socialist pressure group that operated essentially within the Democratic party, formed in 1937 to lobby for liberalized old-age pensions. With relief declining as a political issue after 1940, both the WCF and the WPU joined forces to secure passage of Initiative 141 in November of 1940. This initiative had the effect of raising pensions to a maximum of $40 per month for a larger number of needy elderly citizens. The measure passed by a margin of three to two and resulted in significant increases for the Old Age Assistance Program (OAA).

Pension groups soon clashed with those who demanded increased state spending for other social programs, especially for education. The tax structure adopted by the state in the 1930s featured several regressive constraints that placed a premium on effective lobbying for limited state revenues. The property tax was restricted to 40 mills, and a state income tax was struck down by the State Supreme Court. The 1935 “Revenue Act” taxes provided most of the state’s revenue. The single most important source was the retail sales tax, which started as a 2.0 percent levy. Extended to food in 1939, this rate has been raised many times in the years since. With severe revenue constraints a political reality, the battles over higher pensions in the late 1940s and early 1950s often found promoters of public schools forced to oppose increased state spending for the elderly.

**Developmental Disabilities and Mental Health**

Developmental disabilities and mental health were largely beyond Charles Ernst’s influence in the 1930s. The state schools for the deaf and the blind in Vancouver, the state mental hospitals, the State Custodial School for the mentally retarded, as well as the juvenile corrective facilities and penitentiary were then under a separate state agency.

While the schools for the deaf and the blind were given generally adequate budgets and made steady progress under qualified staffs during the Depression, the situation was quite different with the mental hospitals and the Custodial School. These institutions were frequently mismanaged, chronically underfunded and always overcrowded. Public as well as legislative attitudes regarding mental illness and retardation ranged from apathy on one hand to fear or loathing on the other.

The State Custodial School at Medical Lake illustrates some of these problems.

The Works Progress Administration sponsored a number of vocational training programs specifically for women. This photograph depicts a typical sewing room. During the years 1936-37, 700,000 garments were produced by nearly 3,000 women employed in 83 centers throughout the state. As well as providing employment for women, the sewing centers produced clothing that was distributed to needy persons through surplus commodity centers.
Founded in 1905 as the State Institution for the Feebleminded, the Custodial School suffered from serious underfunding in the late 1920s and early 1930s. Governor Roland Hartley demonstrated a callous indifference to the needs of this population, and when he left office, the institution was in a state of neglect.

The situation at the Custodial School began to improve in 1934. In January of that year, Charles A. Parker, a former Tacoma grade school principal, became superintendent. On his first inspection tour, Parker discovered appalling conditions. A prison-like atmosphere of rigid silence prevailed. Political favoritism had resulted in the employment of unqualified and incompetent staff. The “principal” of the school department, the wife of the institution’s engineer, had never finished grade school. Her “teachers” not only lacked teaching certificates, but had no college training. The school budget for materials and equipment, $100 per year for the 1,400 children, had not been spent.

Parker went to work. He raised personnel standards, ending political appointments and requiring proper training and certification. He invigorated the educational programs and recreational activities; started athletic teams; expanded the music program; founded Scout troops; and gave individual tutoring to children capable of progress beyond the sixth grade. Though still underfunded and overcrowded, the school stirred with optimism.

Parker and others interested in the plight of the mentally retarded turned their attention to Olympia and the general public. A social consequence of the Depression was a steady increase in the populations of the Custodial School and the state mental hospitals. The 1937 Legislature responded by authorizing the construction of two additional wards and a gymnasium at the Medical Lake facility. Even more important was the decision to build a second custodial school west of the Cascades. Western State Custodial School was established by legislative action in February of 1937. Construction began at the Buckley site in January of 1938 and the school opened in October 1939.

The Children's Benevolent League (CBL) played a crucial role in securing funding for the Buckley school. Founded by James F. Oakley and other parents of retarded children/citizens in 1936, the CBL is the oldest state organization of its kind in the nation. It later became the Washington Association for Retarded Children/Citizens and was instrumental in the establishment of the National Association for Retarded Citizens.

**Private Groups and Volunteers**

The important role of the Children’s Benevolent League underscores that human service is a shared experience. The dominant role of the federal government did not eliminate the need for private charitable groups and volunteer programs. The Great Depression forced these organizations to curtail activities, but most persevered. Among the most important to survive the hard times of the 1930s were the Sisters of Providence, the Children's Orthopedic Hospital in Seattle and the Children's Home Society of Washington.

The Sisters of Providence, under the legendary Mother Joseph, had built a dozen hospitals across the Northwest in the last half of the nineteenth century. In the twentieth century, two of these institutions in Washington—Sacred Heart Medical Center in Spokane and Providence Medical Center in Seattle—achieved national reputations for the scope and quality of their care. National recognition came also to Seattle’s Children’s Orthopedic Hospital. Organized in 1907, it had aided 26,000 sick and crippled children by 1937. Directed and supported by Seattle women, the hospital provided care without regard to ability to pay. The Children’s Home Society, which had served for many years as the most important child placement agency in the state, weathered the Depression and, aided by other family service agencies, moved into its second half century.

The Great Depression stirred the nation’s social conscience. It forced consideration of ways to mitigate or correct the problems of the destitute, homeless and elderly as well as the physically and
mentally handicapped. Public efforts would play a dominant, expanding role, but private agencies and volunteers would retain important responsibilities. This partnership reflects both the nature of our political system and the pluralism inherent in American life.

World War II

The impact of the Second World War on Washington was enormous. The war transformed Seattle into a major industrial center and brought to the city a large number of migrants from every part of the country. Seattle's black population, for example, increased from 3,789 in 1940 to nearly 30,000 by the end of the war. Whites resented the influx, and racial discrimination became a feature of daily life for the black migrants. Racial relations were strained further by the "relocation" and subsequent return of the city's Japanese-American population. The war triggered an economic boom in the greater Seattle area that continued long after. By 1960 Seattle was a city of newcomers. Less than half of its 557,000 residents were Washington State natives.

The war was also a turning point in Hispanic migration to Washington. Wartime mobilization created an acute labor shortage in agriculture as early as the summer of 1941. With the state economy nearing full employment by 1942, growers in the Yakima Valley became so desperate that one hop farm advertised for 5,000 workers. The government's answer was the Bracero Program. Braceros were Mexican nationals allowed to come in as temporary farm laborers. Nearly 40,000 braceros were employed in the Northwest from 1943 to 1947. This program seems to have encouraged the migration to Washington of another Hispanic group. Chicanos, Americans of Mexican descent, began moving into the state from the Southwest in significant numbers by the late 1940s. Whole families made the journey from Texas or other southwest states to work in Washington fields or orchards before returning home. Year-round employment, together with improved social and health services, made it possible for many of these migrant families to become permanent residents. Washington's Hispanics also encountered persistent discrimination.

The war produced mixed results for the state's human services agencies. Unemployment virtually disappeared, and public assistance case loads were sharply reduced. But the labor shortage had serious consequences for state institutions, especially for the mental hospitals and the custodial schools. Lack of qualified staff resulted in residents being "warehoused" with little chance for individual attention or treatment. The shortage of health care workers also created acute problems in Seattle where the ratio of physicians to residents went from one doctor for 600 people in 1940 to one for every 1,400 by 1944. Lacking doctors, nurses and support staff, some hospitals closed off entire wings. During a severe venereal disease epidemic in 1943, Seattle's Health Department was so understaffed that it had to borrow personnel from the United States Public Health Service.

While wartime Seattle struggled to provide basic human services for its rapidly expanding population, the city's financial condition worsened as needs outstripped revenues. Increased spending had boosted state income through the sales tax, but politicians in Olympia did not direct the surplus to where it was most needed. Federal activities and installations also impacted the city adversely, placing a heavy strain on housing. Federal funds for temporary war housing projects helped, but conditions were desperately crowded through the end of the war.

In housing, the potential for racial violence caused real concern. Working behind the scenes in Seattle to defuse the potentially explosive racial issue was an informal organization working out of Mayor William Devin's office. This was the Civil Unity Committee (CUC). Race riots in other cities had shown that the possibility of violence was real. Denied housing and jobs, blacks had taken to the streets in Detroit and New York with heavy loss of life and property. The CUC, composed of volunteers from the business and professional communities, worked quietly and successfully to ease tensions between blacks and whites. The CUC, together with public assistance caseworkers, also was instrumental in easing the return of the Japanese-Americans from their relocation centers at the end of the war. Community cooperation helped Seattle deal with its wartime difficulties, but the war still left a legacy of social concerns that defied solution. Seattle's Central Area emerged after 1945 with many of the problems that faced inner city black communities elsewhere. And in Seattle, as across the nation, women had responded to the national crisis by taking jobs in war industries. They worked long hours on the Boeing assembly lines and in the shipyards. When the war ended, so did their jobs. But this wartime experience encouraged women to think that they could have careers outside the home. Since World War II women have changed the nature of the work place as well as the nature of American society.

Postwar Developments to 1960

The postwar years saw continued economic growth. Washington benefited from the Boeing Company, which accounted for over two-thirds of the employment increase in manufacturing from 1940 to 1949. But economic stabili-
ty did not necessarily mean political stability. There was much turmoil during the state's Red Scare years (ca. 1947-54), with old-age pensions a particularly divisive issue. The Washington Pension Union secured passage of Initiative 172 in the 1948 election, raising the minimum OAA pension to $60 a month. This dramatically increased state spending for the program and outraged conservatives who were already alarmed with the fact that the WPU's president, William Pennock, was an avowed Communist.

Political confusion reigned, too, in the State Department of Social Security where the resignation of Charles Ernst as director in 1940 created a void that a succession of governors could not fill. The state's patronage system certainly contributed to the problem. Governors Walgren, Langlie and Rosellini each gave the position to unqualified political supporters, and the mismanagement in the state's public assistance program remained an unwelcome reality. Only the tenure (1952-57) of George Hollenbeck, who introduced modern management procedures in the Department of Public Assistance, was an exception to this dreary record in the 20 years following Charles Ernst.

This situation should not obscure the fact that there were significant improvements in several human service areas. The federal Social Security Program was expanded through the 1950s and won broad public support. The State of Washington achieved national recognition for its highly successful Non-Disabled Program of vocational training. Started in 1955, this program enabled Washington to lead the nation in the rehabilitation of welfare recipients. Dramatic gains also occurred in the state's mental health field in the mid-1950s. The use of drug therapy enabled institutions treating the mentally ill and mentally retarded to better control their patients or, in many cases, to release them. A greater public understanding of mental health issues was reflected in the formation of parent organizations that lobbied across the state on behalf of the mentally ill and retarded.

Many of the gains made in the mental health and correctional institutions after 1957 were attributable to Garrett Heyns, who was appointed Director of Institutions that year. Ignoring customary patronage dictates in this rare instance, Governor Rosellini conducted a nine-month, nationwide search before selecting Heyns, then head of Michigan's Department of Correction. Heyns justified the effort by securing complete accreditation of all three mental hospitals for the first time in the state's history. Similar progress occurred most notably in expanded programs for the mentally retarded.

Progress was made, too, in the human services' private sector. A major event in the state's medical history was the organization of Group Health Cooperative of Puget Sound in 1945. Bitterly opposed by the King County Medical Society, the cooperative had to wage a protracted legal battle to go into operation. Prominent Seattle Attorney Jack Cluck directed this struggle which culminated in a State Supreme Court decision in 1951. The court ordered the King County Medical Society to end its monopoly practices excluding Group Health physicians. By 1960 Group Health had opened three clinics, had enrollment top 50,000 (today the cooperative serves more than 350,000 members and enrollees across the state).

Another example of citizen involvement in medical progress was the expansion of the Seattle Children's Orthopedic Hospital whose history highlights the role of women in volunteer human services work. When Mrs. J. W. Clise and her friends started Children's Orthopedic in 1907, they launched a remarkable effort that would enlist thousands of women in Seattle and across the state. In 1953 the hospital opened its new $5,000,000, 200-bed facility in the Laurelhurst area. Governed by a 30-member women's board of trustees, the hospital was supported by an exceptional program of more than 16,000 women volunteers in 530 separate groups throughout Washington. During 1956 more than 500 volunteers worked each month within the hospital. That year this network of women's guilds raised $420,000 for the hospital. By 1957 Children's Orthopedic had cared for 93,000 children, more than half treated without charge.

So it was that by 1960 Americans could look back on several decades of human service progress. The Social Security Act had become an integral part of our political and social system. Medical science had produced wonder drugs and vaccines that conquered tuberculosis and polio. There had been the notable achievements of mental health and vocational rehabilitation. But just over the horizon loomed ominous threats. In 1960 who would have imagined the current drug crisis or AIDS epidemic? And who could have predicted the devastating changes in the American family that by 1988 saw a soaring teen pregnancy rate and 25 percent of American children living below the poverty level. Challenges facing the human services community would be greater than ever.

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On December 18, 1920, boys lined up at the barbershop in back of Scoeby's Cigar Company on Pacific Avenue in Tacoma. Barbers John Pavolka, Ed Solberg, Henry Hinz and others display their tonsorial expertise on these young customers while those in line apprehensively wait their turn. Perhaps the boys' mothers sent them for haircuts to spruce them up for the Sunday School Yuletide pageant or grandmother's Christmas dinner. Or maybe they are so stoically bearing the ordeal to make a good impression on old St. Nick.

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.
As most Washingtonians know well, the Evergreen State has had an enduring and varied relationship with Alaska, its far northern American cousin. George Vancouver, for example, explored and made meticulous charts of the southern Alaska coast during the same expedition of 1792-94 on which he mapped the sound named for one of his officers, Peter Puget. The Vancouver expedition, on which Joseph Whidbey also served, named many prominent Alaskan landmarks, including Cook Inlet, where present-day Anchorage is situated.

The great Klondike gold rush usually comes first to mind when Washingtonians think of Alaska. Word of the great strike became credible when the steamer Portland docked in...
Seattle on July 17, 1897, to the cheers of 5,000 people crammed onto Schwabacher's Dock. Miners on the ship were carrying not the "ton of gold" which the Post-Intelligencer trumpeted in its first story of the event, but, in fact, two tons of the precious metal. Thanks to the ingenuity of Erastus Brainard, hired by the Seattle Chamber of Commerce to boost Seattle as the only outfitting port for would-be Argonauts, Seattle became Alaska's link to America and the world. During the gold rush era, and ever after, the route to Seattle would be Alaska's life-line, and Seattle would be the supplier of whatever Alaskans needed to make life possible and bearable on the "last frontier."

In 1909 the Alaska Bureau of the Seattle Chamber signaled the importance of the northern territory to Washington and the west by staging the Alaska-Pacific-Yukon exposition on public lands northeast of Lake Union. In addition to a spectacular midway, there were displays of Alaska gold and demonstrations of totem pole carving by Tlingit and Haida Indians, and of blanket tossing by Eskimo dancers. The event was held on the grounds of the University of Washington campus.

Two classic statues were created for the exposition: one of George Washington and the other of William Henry Seward, the purchaser of Alaska. The Washington statue stands today overlooking 15th Avenue East on the west edge of the plaza adjacent to the Suzzallo and Odegaard libraries. The Seward statue stands west of the 15th Avenue entrance to Volunteer Park. In part, the inscription on the latter statue commemorates Seward's long service to his country, culminating in "his purchase for them of the Territory of Alaska on March 30, 1867." An annual Alaska Day picnic in the park provides an opportunity for former Alaskans to reminisce about Washington connections with the North. When they do, a subject sure to arise is the first round-the-world airplane flight, made by four flimsy bi-planes and eight aviators in 1924, starting and ending in Seattle and involving Alaska in an unforgettable way.

That historic venture which bound Alaska even closer to Seattle had its origins in the desire of visionaries in the American military to persuade their superiors, the public and the Congress that air power would be significant in the country's future. Although some primitive craft had been used in World War I, "aeroplanes," as they were usually called, were still regarded as curiosities with little practical application in substantive affairs. What was needed was something spectacular to capture the public's imagination and to expand its vision of what the airplane could do. So the services planned a series of important "first" flights to demonstrate the capability and potential of the machines.

In May 1919, a Navy NC-4 Curtiss Flying Boat completed the first transatlantic flight. The trip took three weeks and went by way of Long Island, Nova Scotia and Newfoundland, then south to the Azores and thence to Portugal and England. Three planes started the trip, but only one was able to finish. Despite that shortcoming, the flight dispelled whatever fears existed about long air machine trips over water which, while dangerous, were shown to be possible. The next year the U.S. Army Air Service undertook a major continental long-distance summer flight from New York to Nome, Alaska. Flying only by day, over thousands of miles of rugged terrain, without navigational aids or adequate maps, the famed "Black Wolf" squadron made up of four DeHavilland DH-4 bi-planes experienced no difficulty whatsoever on the 12,000-mile odyssey. The trip lasted from July to October. Other long-distance flights followed, including a trip by Lt. James Doolittle from Florida to California with just one stop for fuel at New Orleans, and the first transcontinental non-stop flight in May 1923, from New York to San Diego. The press covered these exploits with the degree of seriousness and attention hoped for, and in so doing helped to set the stage for the biggest exploit of all, a flight around the world.

A global circumnavigation was a greater challenge than any of the flying firsts which preceded it. In addition to having to operate over long stretches of water with no navigational landmarks, many portions of the journey would be in areas characterized by unpredictable, often fierce weather. Meticulous pro-
visioning would be necessary, particularly for the North Pacific and, later, the North Atlantic portions of the trip. Additionally, since no aircraft engine made at the time could be depended upon to run continuously for so long a distance, extra engines and other spare parts as well as fuel, oil and other necessities would have to be stock piled along the projected route. In addition, diplomatic clearances had to be arranged. In all, the enterprise was a mammoth undertaking.

Remembering the Navy's experience in flying the Atlantic, when only one of three craft which started the trek was able to finish, the Army decided to send a fleet of four planes on the round-the-world venture. The route chosen was to begin at Seattle and proceed northward up the Pacific Coast to Alaska, then around the Gulf of Alaska and along the Aleutian Islands to Attu, across to the Kurile Islands and Japan. From there the planes would fly to Hong Kong, Bangkok, Rangoon, Calcutta, Baghdad, Constantinople, Vienna, Paris and London, culminating in a difficult westward crossing of the North Atlantic to Boston and then across America back to Seattle. It was a breathtaking saga just to contemplate considering the primitive machines and lack of experience which characterized the world of aviation in 1924.

Planners chose Seattle as the start of the historic flight because one of the important questions of the time was whether aviation would be possible along the mountainous terrain along the Northwest Coast and in Alaska's inclement conditions. While officials did not anticipate undue problems, credible proof could be provided only by flying the route. Additionally, Col. Billy Mitchell, among others, already had taken Army leaders to task for their failure to appreciate the significant role Alaska would play in America's aviation future. A connecting flight from the continental U.S. would demonstrate the Army's capability to attend to Alaska, should the need arise.

The plane chosen for the epic circumnavigation was a modified version of a tested and trusted torpedo plane which had been developed for the Navy by what was then a new concern in California, the Douglas Company. The open-cockpit craft, powered by a single 450 hp Liberty engine left over from World War I, was designated the DWC, for Douglas World Cruiser. It could be fitted with either wheels or pontoons, as the need required.

Chosen from hundreds of applicants to fly the historic mission were, in the first of the four ships, Maj. Frederick L. Martin, a signal corps instructor, with Sgt. Alva Harvey, an experienced pilot, as mechanic. In the second was Lt. Erik Nelson, a veteran of the Black Wolf flight to Nome, with Lt. Jack Harding as mechanic. Lt. Lowell Smith piloted the third plane, with Lt. Leslie Arnold as mechanic. And Lt. Leigh Wade and Sgt. Henry Ogden manned the fourth. Symbolic of four “corners” of the country, the planes were christened Seattle, Chicago, Boston and New Orleans. Maj. Martin was selected to command the group.

The pilots tested their craft in Santa Monica and then flew them to Seattle where they made final preparations for the trip. After several unplanned delays, they took off on April 6, 1924, equipped with pontoons for the first portion of the flight and bound for Prince Rupert, British Columbia, 600 miles north.

Today such a venture would be followed continuously, as was the 1987 flight of the aircraft Voyager which circled the globe without refueling. But the four planes of the first round-the-world flight had no radios, and in 1924 long distance radio communication was still in its infancy. There was telegraph communication between Alaska's coastal cities and Seattle via submarine cable, but there was no way to monitor the flight and crews between stops on their itinerary. Each day, then, journalists in America's major cities waited anxiously by the telegraph machines for news to be flashed from towns which the planes had just left or those awaiting their arrival.

As it developed, the trip to Prince Rupert was a harrowing one. Soon after passing over Victoria, the planes encountered rain and fog. To keep their bearings, the pilots decided to fly up the “inside passage” between Vancouver Island and the mainland. But to be able to make out the coast they had to descend until they were only a few feet over the water. Navigation under these circumstances meant taking care not to confuse the main waterways with inlets and estuaries which might dead end in high mountains. At the same time, ships and fishing boats were a problem. More than once the planes had to veer sharply to avoid steamers which appeared suddenly out of the mist.
...the planes encountered wind and snow and had to fly low along the beach.

After eight hours of flying, however, the planes appeared over Prince Rupert just before dark. All seemed well until one plane came in too steeply and drove the propeller into the water, breaking it. Fortunately, an expert carpenter was found who was able to fashion an acceptable replica and, after several days' delay, the planes took off on the second leg to Sitka, halfway up the Alaska panhandle. Again, however, the planes encountered heavy fog, accompanied this time by snow. In addition, the wind blew strongly from the west. These were hardly ideal flying conditions for small, open-cockpit planes, with the pilot obscuring the view of his navigator in a separate seat a few feet behind. The myriad islands of the panhandle region looked alike from the air and it was difficult to maintain a constant heading against the stiff wind using the simple compasses which were the only directional instruments aboard. The men persevered, however, and after a difficult three hours and twenty-two minutes, all four planes landed safely in Sitka.

During the night, however, the pilots were awakened with bad news. To avoid their banging against the pier, the planes had been anchored in the middle of the bay. But the anchors proved inadequate and the planes broke loose. One threatened to crash on the beach while two appeared headed out to sea. A powerful Forest Service launch was able to save them, but only after eight hours of effort.

To make up some of the lost time, the pilots decided to skip Cordova, and instead fly on to Seward on the Alaska Gulf coast 100 miles south of Anchorage. There was no question of attempting to fly across open water out of sight of land in the face of the storms then surging across the Gulf. Instead, the planes would follow the east shore of the Kenai Peninsula. By now the aviators were more used to Alaskan coastal conditions. Even so, the first part of this leg was also very difficult. Again the planes encountered wind and snow and had to fly low along the beach line to keep their bearings. At one point, one of the planes flew close enough to the one ahead to get caught in its propeller wash and was almost driven into the sea. But by the time they reached Prince William Sound along the north Gulf coast, the weather cleared and the remainder of the trip to Seward was quiet.

The Alaska Railroad connected Seward with Anchorage, Alaska's largest city in 1924 with a population of 2,000. Many residents had boarded a special train for the 100-mile trip south to Seward to see the historic flight. The skies at Seward were nearly clear and the Anchorage Times described the historic event: "the sight was impressive, and sent a patriotic thrill through the hundreds of spectators who gave the aviators a typical Alaska welcome." The crowd waited in impatient anticipation through the morning as rumors circulated that the planes weren't coming. Finally, in mid-afternoon a radio ship at the entrance to Resurrection Bay sent word that the planes had been sighted. "At the first sight of the formation as it sped past the town, silhouetted against the majestic mountains," the reporter wrote, "the crowd stood in stunned amazement." He continued:

As the four cruisers swept in battle formation up Resurrection Bay and soared like gigantic birds over the harbor which makes a curve at the foot of this thriving little city, the gathered hundreds were awe struck by the importance of the occasion, and it was not until after the flag-cruiser Boston hit the water at 3:11 that the crowd broke into tumultuous cheers... in a royal welcome.

The faces of the fliers showed exhaustion as they climbed from their machines, the reporter wrote, but they seemed to catch the electric mood during the speeches at the banquet in their honor. The crowd was disappointed when the fliers retired early in anticipation of a 5:00 A.M. wake-up call.

The Douglas World Cruisers at Seward, Alaska, on April 15, 1924.
Such happy moments were few, however, and on the morning of April 15 the planes left Seward on what would be the first days of the most severe trial for the aviators. Their next stop was to be Chignik, on the south shore of the Alaska Peninsula. There they would take on fuel and supplies delivered earlier by the Navy, and go on to Dutch Harbor at the beginning of the Aleutian Island chain. Again the weather was far from ideal, but with overcast skies and light rain it was tolerable. Yet problems magnified. Newspapers the next day proclaimed with alarm: "Major Martin, Army Globe Flier Missing: Lost on Chignik Flight: Last Seen on Alaska Coast!"

The plane had been seen descending rapidly toward a bay shortly before the flight reached Chignik. Unknown to the rest of the world, the engine in Martin’s machine had begun to spray oil over the pilot and his mechanic on the flight from Seward, so they had landed immediately. Inspection revealed a “dollar-sized” hole in the bottom of the crank-case. They were in Portage Bay, near the small native fishing village of Kanatak, where they spent a cold, uncomfortable night. The Coast Guard ship USS Hull had been sailing along the peninsula and was diverted to search for the downed plane at the first word of trouble. The cutter happened upon the plane in Portage Bay the following morning. The ship towed the plane the short distance to the village, where Martin and his mechanic, Alva Harvey, waited for the new engine being brought from Unalaska. Several had been stored there for just such a contingency. Meanwhile, the other three planes flew on to Dutch Harbor.

Martin and Harvey were delayed at Kanatak for 10 days, first by replacement of the engine and then by stormy weather. Impatient to continue, Martin finally took off in a blinding snow storm on April 26, barely managing to clear a high hill beside the bay. He flew the short distance on to Chignik, where he landed safely.

The Anchorage Times commented on the implications of the mishap. “It is unfortunate the accident happened at all,” wrote the editor, “and doubly so that it occurred on Alaska shores.” “But Alaska cannot be blamed for the elements,” the writer continued, “which are not controlled by Alaskans, nor yet even by bureaucracy.” Yet, the long wait as well as the bad weather did not augur well for the future of Alaska aviation. While Martin and the world waited, Carl Ben Eielson, Alaska’s original pioneer bush pilot, sent word of his confidence that the world flight would continue and that aviation would go forward.

Waiting out the severe weather, Martin and Harvey finally were able to get away from Chignik on April 30, two weeks after going down in Portage Bay. But again they had to fly into rain, and before long there was more bad news, for Martin and his mechanic would not be heard from for 12 agonizing days! On May 1, the Anchorage Times carried a banner headline: “Government Institutes Search for Air Cruiser: Major Martin, Army Globe Flier, Believed Lost on Alaska Coast!” The reading public was plunged into gloom by the report; “Diligent Search Along Alaska Coast by Land and Sea Fails to Find Trace of Martin,” read one headline on May 2. On May 3 the Army ordered the other three planes to continue westward from Unalaska, and one Alaska paper wrote of mirages, common in the hills behind Chignik, which might have contributed to whatever disaster had befallen the aviators. Day by day Alaskans, the nation and the world waited. One paper wrote of the “Supreme Sacrifice” made by the brave airmen.

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Times reported that two different parties had seen Martin's plane headed for the Bering Sea or north coast side of the Alaska Peninsula. And the commander of one of the many vessels searching at sea professed optimism that the fliers would be found. But on May 7 there was "No Trace," and the next day, "No News of Missing Men." On May 10 the remaining fliers reached Attu at the west end of the Aleutians, and the telegraph was ominously silent on the fate of Martin.

Then, miraculously, on May 12, the Anchorage paper ran its biggest headline yet on the story, echoing headlines in papers all across the U.S.: "Nation rejoices in safety of two daring airmen." Missing for nearly two weeks, Martin and Harvey had walked out of the wilderness of the Alaska Peninsula at the Port Moller cannery on the north shore of the Alaska Peninsula, having hiked 10 days after demolishing their plane on the side of a mountain. They were tired and hungry, but otherwise unhurt.

The significance of the survival of Martin and Harvey for aviation and for Alaska was immense. The treacherous weather had done its worst, and yet the men were safe. Once again there could be hope for the future of flying, not just in the world but particularly in Alaska. "They've played their part," editorialized the Anchorage paper. But the editor was now certain there would be other aviation projects in Alaska's future, and he predicted a time when Seattle and Anchorage would be connected by regular commercial flights. In a few short days the future of aviation had gone from highly problematic to confidently predictable. In the meantime, Martin and Harvey returned to the States on a Navy ship.

The three remaining planes pushed on from Attu and, once out of Alaska, things went much better. On May 13 they flew 900 miles to Japan's Kurile Islands, south of the Kamchatka Peninsula in Siberia. Along the way they made a brief stop in the Commander Islands to verify their position, angering the commandant of a Soviet Army battalion stationed there who told them in clear terms that they were not permitted to land.

For the rest of the trip papers around the nation kept meticulous track of the expedition; bulletins usually made front page news. Day in and day out, all through May, June, July, August and finally September, the progress of the venture was charted fully and promptly. In Japan the crowds were the largest ever recorded; the long trip over the China Sea was troublesome because there were no American vessels in the area and the planes were out of contact for more hours than expected. Flying over French Indochina, one plane lost an engine and had to land in a clearing in the jungle. A new engine was carried from Saigon by ox-cart 100 miles. The pilots were reported to be awed by the temples and other wonders of Rangoon and Bangkok. Crossing over India, an Associated Press reporter stowed away in one of the ships, greatly endangering his life, but amusing the aviators. Flying between Calcutta and Karachi, the New Orleans developed engine trouble, but made it to the destination airfield. Crossing Persia, all three ships were threatened by sandstorms. The landing in Constantinople was uneventful, but later in Paris on July 14, Bastille Day, tumultuous crowds, foreshadowing Lindbergh's welcome, rushed the planes. In London the Americans met with the wife of a British pilot who had been inspired by the American example to attempt a solo round-the-world flight and who was at the time down with his plane somewhere in the west Pacific. He was found later, safe but unable to continue.

Leaving Scotland, the fliers decided to cross directly from the Faroe Islands to Iceland over 300 miles of open water. The Atlantic portions of the trip had been considered the most problematic, for the planes would be flying against seasonal storms. But these legs of the flight went well with one exception. On the way to Iceland the engine of the Boston simply quit. The pilot landed safely on the sea and waited. The other planes flew on, not realizing Boston had experienced difficulty. Upon arriving in Reykjavik, one returned to search for the missing plane and found it bobbing calmly only 10 miles from an American Navy cruiser, which was alerted via a note dropped by the plane's mechanic. As the ship's crew attempted to lift the plane out of the sea, the Boston was bashed against the side of the vessel and damaged beyond repair. The remaining two planes were ordered to fly on from Iceland.

Now there arose a different sort of problem. The Navy had not expected the planes to get as far as the North Atlantic and had decided against sending ships with fuel and spare parts through the ice-choked sea to Fredericksburg in Greenland, where the planes would go after Reykjavik. Realizing what was at stake, the Navy quickly dispatched a vessel which arrived at virtually the same time as the planes. After refueling, the fliers...
crossed to Newfoundland and back to North America, their arrival generating another round of banner headlines in the nation's papers. There were anxious moments on the flight from Newfoundland to Boston when the planes became lost for several hours in fog over Maine. They eventually arrived safely, however, to a wild welcome. Then it was on to New York City and Washington, D.C., where President Coolidge was kept waiting for three hours due to fog.

There followed a triumphal tour across the country, including a stop at Wright Field in Dayton, Ohio, to honor Wilbur and Orville Wright, and ceremonies at Chicago and New Orleans, namesakes of the two remaining planes. A stop was made also in Santa Monica before flying to Seattle to conclude the flight officially at the Sand Point field in Seattle on September 28. The crews had flown over 27,534 miles in 175 days, making 73 stops along the way. They had been in the air on 66 different days, flying an actual total of 351 hours and 11 minutes. Their average speed was 76.36 miles per hour.

The round-the-world flight was highly significant in aviation history. Even though it provided no technological innovations, it did constitute a psychological breakthrough, for it offered proof that there were no mechanical or human barriers to long-distance endurance flying. Moreover, the aviators had flown in the severest conditions over inhospitable terrain and over water without radios and with only compasses to guide their course. But most importantly, they circumnavigated the globe, earlier than perhaps advisable, accomplished it successfully and without significant mishap.

The significance of the flight for Alaska was somewhat less clear. Seattle, the only one of the planes to crash, was destroyed in Alaska. That Maj. Martin and Sgt. Harvey were not killed or seriously injured was fortunate at least, if not miraculous. Lt. Lowell Smith, commenting on the Alaskan conditions the pilots had encountered, suggested that Alaska was unfit for aviation and that the route across the Pacific would likely use Hawaii rather than Alaska as an airway to the Orient. The next year three Navy planes would attempt the first flight to Hawaii, with two of them landing successfully. It would take a decade to establish regular air service between Seattle and southeast Alaska, even though Alaskan newspapers had predicted that such service would begin much sooner.

In fact, Alaskan commentators chose to interpret the round-the-world flight very positively. The Juneau Daily Alaska Empire editorialized that the flight was "the most marvelous achievement in the history of aviation to date—a feat of importance paralleling that of Magellan.” The men had faced "treacherous gales, and violent rains and blinding blizzards, more encountered in the Alaska regions than elsewhere." Yet they had persevered. The editor of the Anchorage Times indicated that those interested in developing aviation as a commercial enterprise should be gratified. The flight had shown that the Pacific and the Atlantic no longer were barriers to aviation development.

The aviators received many honors for their record-setting enterprise. Upon landing in Seattle, they were presented with a telegram from President Coolidge and congratulatory letters from Secretary of State Charles Evans Hughes and Secretary of War John Weeks. The French Minister of War also sent a telegram. Seattle citizens staged a huge celebration in Volunteer Park. Already in August, while the planes were preparing for the trip from Scotland to Iceland, some Alaskan entrepreneurs had gathered a fund to commission an appropriate monument to the round-the-world achievement. On September 30 it was unveiled at Sand Point Naval Air Station. Speakers included Washington’s Senator Wesley Jones as well as Gen. Patrick for the Air Service. Senator Jones dedicated the monument "to tell all ages of the successful flight" and "the wonderful accomplishment of the American fliers." In addition to remarks by the successful pilots, Maj. Martin told the crowd that because he had not completed the flight, he did not consider himself entitled to speak, but he was proud to be a part of the enterprise and thought it heralded an expanding and promising future for long-distance aviation. Maj. Gen. Charles Morton, representing President Coolidge, said the "fine sportsmanship" with which Maj. Martin and Sgt. Harvey had accepted their disappointment at failing to complete the flight was "worthy of the best traditions of the service.”

At the appropriate moment the Alaska monument to the round-the-world flight was unveiled. It consisted of a bronze half-globe about three feet in diameter, made of Alaskan copper and tin, with the northern hemisphere shown in relief, surmounted by two large eagle wings. The half-globe was placed on a granite shaft eight feet high.

Today, the Alaska monument stands at the entrance to Seattle's Sand Point Naval Air Station where the flight began and ended. It is the only monument in Seattle to note this epic event which not only advanced the development of aviation but strengthened the psychological and physical connection between Alaska and Washington. Today, nearly all passenger traffic in and out of Alaska is by air, mostly originating and terminating in Seattle-Tacoma International Airport, which is perhaps the most fitting memorial to the courage and skill of the first Seattle-Alaska fliers.

Stephen Haycox is a professor of history at the University of Alaska—Anchorage.
By Kent D. Richards

The Young Napoleons

The United States in the middle third of the nineteenth century was an ideal time to be alive for a young man of intelligence, energy and ambition. These characteristics were shared by a goodly number of Americans, but few could claim a greater portion of talents than Isaac I. Stevens and George B. McClellan. Each was undoubtedly ambitious, intelligent and energetic. It is equally certain that each had an ego that negated their more positive characteristics. This combination of great talent and flawed character led contemporaries to label each as a "Young Napoleon."

McClellan and Stevens were the products of well-to-do families. The former was born in Pennsylvania in 1826, the son of a prominent surgeon and teacher. Stevens, born eight years earlier in North Andover, Massachusetts, descended from a long line of prosperous farmers and mill owners. Both distinguished themselves at the United States Military Academy which, in the 1830s and 1840s, was beginning to make its mark as a training ground for military engineers. Stevens graduated first in a class of 31 in 1839 and McClellan second of 59 in 1846. Both were tested in the crucible of the Mexican War where they served with the command of General Winfield Scott on his march from Vera Cruz to Mexico City. The young lieutenants' peers included Robert E. Lee and P. G. T. Beauregard in a distinguished cadre that won numerous brevets (honorary advances in rank) and the praise of the commanding general. After the cessation of hostilities, these officers returned to the often demanding but prosaic duties of the peace time military. Stevens resumed his pre-war task of constructing fortifications on the East Coast and then won assignment to the Washington, D.C. office of the Coast Survey. McClellan served as an instructor at West Point and participated in an exploration of the sources of the Red River in the Southwest.

In 1853 Stevens received appointment as governor of the new Washington Territory. At the same time, Congress authorized a series of transcontinental surveys to ascertain the best railway route across the continent in the forlorn hope that the political deadlock created by the clash of sectional interests would be broken by the clear topographical superiority of one of the alternatives. Stevens lobbied hard for appointment to the northernmost of these routes, which would survey the territory between the 47th and 49th parallels from St. Paul to Puget Sound. He saw the Vancouver Barracks, including "officer's row" which still stands, looms above the Hudson's Bay Company's Fort Vancouver in this lithograph from a drawing by Gustav Sohon prepared for Stevens' report on his explorations.

Isaac I. Stevens, George B. McClellan and the Cascade Mountains Route
railway survey as the best way to begin his duties as governor and superintendent of Indian affairs for the Union's newest territory. The survey would provide valuable geographic, scientific and topographic information, enable contact and preliminary negotiations with Indian leaders and, with luck, bring a transcontinental railroad which would fill the new territory with the one commodity it desperately needed—settlers.

Stevens was well qualified to head up the survey, but one touchy point was his resignation from the army to accept the governorship. General Joseph Totten, the head of the Corps of Engineers, had suggested to Secretary of War Jefferson Davis that leadership should go to someone still in the Corps and privately put forth the name of Captain George McClellan, still on duty in Texas. Stevens assured Davis that many of his former colleagues would have no hesitation at serving under him, and the Secretary made the appointment.

McClellan was beset by a myriad of problems that quickly dampened the early enthusiasm of the would-be pathfinder.

In one of his first acts, Stevens, to the consternation of Totten, requested that McClellan be assigned to command the western portion of the survey which would have responsibility for locating passes in the Cascade Mountains while Stevens made his way west with the main party. Totten professed acquiescence if the two divisions were created as separate commands, but Stevens countered that the route was of a piece and had to be under one command—his. When Davis supported Stevens, Totten backed down. The general told Stevens that he possessed all of the military and engineering talent as well as the enterprise and energy to successfully carry out the survey. But Totten felt compelled to add, "With your zeal for command, which is laudable and natural, you should understand how McClellan would feel," and the general asserted, "I hope he will receive the credit due to him."

McClellan's low opinion of the survey, Olympia, Washington Territory, indeed the entire West Coast, is vividly portrayed in this excerpt of a letter from the future general to his mother, dated November 24, 1853.

We have to pass the winter at Olympia on Puget's Sound, a flourishing city of some ten to twelve houses—fine prospect that. In addition I have to start again for the mountains as soon as we reach there—a trip of perhaps three weeks—in the rain & mud until we reach the Mts & then snow—I shall only take 1 or 2 men & a couple of Indians with me. As I never saw a snowshoe

A least initially, Stevens' perception appeared more accurate. McClellan had known Stevens in Mexico and each respected the other as an able fellow officer (Stevens called him the "gallant McClellan"). He jumped at the opportunity to escape dreary duty on the Texas frontier. In fact, McClellan had asked for transfer to Oregon even before he learned of Stevens' offer, which warned that the work would be "arduous," but which also held the promise of building reputations for all involved. After accepting the challenge, McClellan told a friend that he looked forward to the survey with pleasure and, "I would not miss it for a great deal."

Competition for engineering and scientific personnel for the four transcontinental surveys was intense and was further complicated by Commodore Matthew Perry's expedition to Japan and ventures setting out for arctic exploration. Stevens' presence in the nation's capital and his personal acquaintance with many of the leading scientific and military personnel in the country put him in a position to secure much of the available talent. For the western party Stevens hired Lieutenant Johnson Kelly Duncan as McClellan's second in command. J. K. Duncan, an artillery officer, was, like McClellan, a native of Pennsylvania and a graduate of the Military Academy. When he made the appointment, Stevens noted that Duncan was "a strong friend" of McClellan.

Duncan immediately departed for Fort Vancouver (Columbia Barracks) to begin gathering men and supplies for the coming summer's expedition. For all parties speed was the order of the day as Congress had set January 1854 for completion of the work. The ever optimistic Stevens promised to meet or beat this deadline. While Duncan worked with Ulysses Grant, among others, to assemble the necessary supplies, McClellan journeyed to the Northwest in a light-hearted mood suggested by his query to a friend in the East whether he wanted "a live grizzly or a tame Indian chief"
brought back as a present. His spirits sank upon arrival at the former Hudson's Bay Company post. In addition to Duncan, McClellan found Lieutenant Rufus Saxton, whom Stevens had ordered to outfit a supply train that would travel to the Bitterroot Valley to rendezvous with and resupply the main survey party arriving from the east. The meager supply of horses, mules and related equipment (such as pack saddles) at the isolated frontier post might have been adequate for one party but not for two. Duncan had brought the scientific equipment with him, but shortages in the East prevented the purchase of some of the more desirable models, and the rigors of the journey took its toll on that which was acquired. McClellan took inventory of what he had available and gloomily described the inventory as one very good sextant; two chronometers—one worthless and one indifferent; one surveyor's compass—also indifferent; barometers, hydrometers, and thermometers, all in various stages of disrepair. The best news was the availability of two good Schmalcalder compasses.

McClellan was later known for his skill at organizing armies of upwards of 100,000 men, but he found that problems of organization in the wilderness created "annoyances beyond imagination." He predicted, "I shall be as pleased as a child with a new toy when I get started!" On July 18 the party of 66 men, 73 saddle and 100 pack animals left Fort Vancouver. Included were Lieutenants H. C. Hodges and Sylvester Mowry, the latter serving as meteorologist, and civilian scientists George Gibbs and Dr. James G. Cooper. Gibbs, a lawyer attracted west by the lure of gold, was by inclination an ethnologist. He, as much as anyone of his generation, would engage in careful examination of the languages and culture of the native peoples in the Pacific Northwest. Cooper, a physician, was by inclination a naturalist. Equally as distinguished as Gibbs, he later became widely known for his work in California. The remainder of the party was composed of about equal numbers of enlisted men and civilian packers.

J. K. Duncan, in addition to serving as second in command, filled the roles of astronomer, topographer and draftsman. His talent in the latter capacity led to his becoming the unofficial artist of the party (Cooper also contributed some sketches, of which at least three survive). His work combined with that of Gustav Sohon, an enlisted man with Saxton's supply party, and John Mix Stanley, a member of Stevens' eastern division and the only official artist with the survey, produced a remark-

able collection of illustrations that in many, if not most, instances are the only visual record of the persons or events they depict. This is particularly true of the sketches of Indian leaders made by Sohon and Duncan.

The initial portion of McClellan's trek which took him north to the Lewis River and then east to the south of Mt. St. Helens and Mt. Adams is hard to track with any more than approximate accuracy. McClellan preferred to use Indian names, or what he thought were the Indian names, to designate geographic features; most of these were later supplanted by other names. In 12 days the survey party covered only 78 miles over a route that was at some points rough Indian trail and at others no trail at all. The rugged terrain lacked grass and the heavily laden pack animals weakened.

McClellan was beset by a myriad of problems that quickly dampened the early enthusiasm of the would-be pathfinder. Some of the civilian crew proved unreliable, including one who forged McClellan's name to drafts. Ordered to leave, he appropriated a revolver, and the party had to pause while a detail set out after the miscreant to retrieve the government's property. The unreliable equipment naturally made it difficult to chart their course with precision. An added difficulty arose from numerous forest fires that cast a thick cloud of smoke over the landscape, making it impossible to get fixes on the major mountains or to take celestial readings that could be used to calculate longitude. It was even hard to determine the general direction the party should take. McClellan noted, "Guides we took as we could find them; for even among the Indians there were none who knew more than a small portion of the country." Despite the smoke, clouds of mosquitoes plagued the men, and hordes of large horseflies drove the animals to distraction. Even the pack saddles began to deteriorate. McClellan called a halt while Duncan went back to Fort Vancouver for some old army saddles someone remembered seeing in a storeroom.

The party passed by Red Mountain (in present Skamania County), from which Duncan, on one of the clearer days, was able to view Mt. Rainier and several sharp needle points to the south of the peak. Below Red Mountain they examined Indian Race Track, a gathering point for area natives which included a cleared track for horse races. Upon reaching the Klickitat River, McClellan correctly determined that they had not gone through a pass but merely a pocket between the mountains. He observed that the mountains contained poor timber and nothing else that would "tempt settlement and civilization." Moving out of the mountains to Toppenish Creek and then on to the Yakima River, McClellan saw even less that im-

(Continued on page 26)
Of the three artists associated with Isaac Stevens' railroad survey, the least known if not entirely forgotten figure was Johnson Kelly Duncan, one of George McClellan's lieutenants. Duncan graduated from West Point in 1849 and after service in Florida against the Seminoles was assigned to the western division of the northern railroad survey. His artwork, rendered in the field during the summer and fall of 1853, has never been exhibited in its entirety and is published here in Columbia for the first time. The Duncan drawings are in the permanent collection of the National Anthropological Archives of the Smithsonian Institution.

Duncan's art can be differentiated from that of the two other survey artists, John Mix Stanley and Gustav Sohon, in several ways. In his drawing of "Nelly-Ya-ki-ma Child; Granddaughter of Ow-hi" cedar baskets Duncan was the only one to attempt depicting native material culture.

More substantively, Duncan prepared sketches of native women, a tendency that stands in stark contrast to the male/chieftainly bias of Sohon and Stanley. (Sohon's drawings, in the collection of the Washington State Historical Society, were published several years ago by the Society in Northwest Chiefs: Gustav Sohon's Views of the 1855 Stevens Treaty Councils.) Indeed, Duncan even sketched a young girl, Nelly, granddaughter of the prominent Yakima Chief Owhi.

In addition to his sketch work in Eastern Washington, Duncan drew a picture of two Chinook Indians, Sni-nu-wit and Ya-ka-tow-it, probably encountered in the vicinity of Fort Vancouver.

"Cedar Bark Baskets—Klick-a-tat"
Duncan also made a sketch of “Joe,” a “cross” between the Nisqually people of Puget Sound and the Yakima; an intimation of family relationships that would take on some importance to the American settlers in the winter of 1855 when the so-called Yakima War spread across the mountains.

However even-tempered Duncan’s drawings of native women may appear, his drawings of Yakima Chiefs Owhi and his son Qualchan seem completely infused with the psychology of inter-racial tension that was reaching yet another crescendo when McClellan and his men trooped across the Columbia Plain in the summer of 1853. In that regard, compare Duncan’s characterization of Owhi with that of Sohon’s more balanced view sketched at the even more tumultuous occasion of Isaac Stevens’ Walla Walla Treaty Council in 1855. Owhi and Qualchan met a sad fate at the hands of the sadistic George Wright in the concluding phase of the so-called Spokane War of 1858.

Duncan, also credited with the design of the territorial seal (and, incidentally, the logo of the Washington State Historical Society), resigned his army commission in 1855 to become superintendent of government construction in New Orleans. He later became chief engineer for the Board of Public Works in New Orleans. Despite a northern birth, his proximity to the Southern mind caused him to join the Confederate Army, for which he commanded coastal defenses around New Orleans. He died of fever in 1862. — David L. Nicandri

LEFT: “Ow-hi—Chief of the Yakimas”

“Joe”—Cross between Ya-ki-ma and Nisqually Tribes

“Qual-chan—Son of Ow-hi”
pressed him. He mused, "To what useful purpose this country can be put is difficult to imagine."

In the Yakima Valley he visited the Oblate priests at their Ahtanum Mission and met with the Yakima leaders Kamiakin and his brother Skloom. These men were wary of white intentions, a concern unalleviated by McClellan's talk of whites passing through their country. He said nothing of permanent settlers, honestly believing there was no inducement for them to come to the east side of the mountains. Kamiakin did profess his friendship, sold the party cattle (at a high price), and provided a guide up the Naches River to examine its feasibility as a pass over the Cascade Mountains.

By this point McClellan's animals were in sad condition. He made a decision to send a party over Naches Pass to the army post at Fort Steilacoom to requisition fresh mules and additional rations. While he waited for their return, a thorough exploration of the east side of the mountains was conducted. He found the grade steep with the prospect of many bridges, cuts through solid basalt, and tunnels. McClellan predicted, "It seems doubtful to me whether I shall ever ride down the valley of the Naches [sic] in a railroad car." At the end of August the party returned from Fort Steilacoom with few provisions and no mules. McClellan sent half his men back to Fort Vancouver with the horses and pushed on with the remaining men and the mules. He explained, "I must do so at all risks in order to carry out my orders this fall—at least as far as the Cascade Range is concerned."

The Indians touted Naches as the best pass, but Father Charles Pandosy of the Oblate Mission declared Snoqualmie far superior. Thus, McClellan crossed the ridges into the Kittitas Valley and pushed up the Yakima River to its headwaters. Encouraged by the expanses of the lower valley, he continued until September 7, when his party reached the divide at Yakima Pass near present Snoqualmie Pass. They climbed a peak 2,000 feet above the pass to make observations, but again smoke impeded visibility. McClellan and George Gibbs examined the west side for several miles and then retraced their steps to explore lakes Keechelus, Kachess and Cle Elum. McClellan thought this route across the mountains the best of the possibilities he had seen, but cautioned that an examination of the west side was necessary before a final determination could be made. With the benefit of hindsight, McClellan has been criticized for not conducting that examination himself. But a survey of the west side of the Cascades was not part of his orders, and he feared, for good reasons, that there was little enough time to continue the survey and make the rendezvous with the eastern party before winter set in.

**A Famed Encounter**

LATER IN LIFE, Hudson's Bay Company trader Angus McDonald reminisced about his short but famed encounter with Isaac Stevens and George McClellan at Fort Colville in 1853:

I was in charge here in 1853 when Governor Stevens met here. I had full instructions as to the hospitality and the discretion of it entirely trusted to myself. The Governor had ample credentials from the east crossing the Rocky Mountains by the Hell Gate defile. McClellan met him here with an escorting party from Puget Sound. I had fifty imperial gallons of extra rations to entertain the gentlemen. McClellan drank but little. The Governor was rather fond of it and laid back about ten on the first night to sleep the darkness out. His last words that night were "Mac this is powerful wine." All hands had been steeped during the day and found the grass and their blankets the best way they could. As all the party had disappeared McClellan began to sip the juice of the vine more freely and we sat on the old sofa together, as closely as space allowed. Having to undergo the hospitalities of the day to all hands, I felt my grog inviting me to go to my blankets. But I was well trained to that splendid brandy and in prime of life too, and hard to make me give in at it. Suddenly the General put his arm around my neck and whispered in my ear "Mc, my proud father too was at Culloden," and he quietly slipped down off the sofa to the floor. I soon made the sofa an easy place for him and he and the Governor snored the night till daylight. This spree has been spoken of, God knows where not . . .

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1 Hell Gate defile is near present day Missoula, Montana.
2 Culloden, in Scotland, was the scene of the famous battle of 1746 wherein the fate of "Bonnie Prince Charlie" and the Stuart restorationists was sealed.
After turning up traces of gold in early August, the party had been ripe with rumors of impending riches. To settle the issue McClellan allowed Duncan to lead a party of men to prospect the tributaries of the upper Yakima River, a venture McClellan characterized as a “wild goose chase.” He was correct; traces were found, but not in paying quantities, and McClellan could refocus his men’s attention on the survey work. The Kittitas Valley did provide a different kind of bounty when McClellan was able to enlist the aid of Ow-hi, chief of the Yakima band in that region, who supplied provisions and horses, and personally led the surveyors over the Wenatchee Mountains. Ow-hi and other natives told McClellan that there were no additional mountain passes until well north of Mt. Baker. McClellan moved up the Columbia River to the Okanogan River, where he set up camp at the old fur post at Fort Okanogan. He thought the Methow Valley promising, and that route was explored until it proved narrow and rugged. They then struck north as far as Lake Okanogan, turned back down the Columbia River, and moved east to the rendezvous with Stevens at Fort Colville. McClellan arrived there one day before the governor.

Both [men] were ambitious and did not take criticism easily; it was a classic clash of two large egos.

Angus McDonald, the Hudson’s Bay Company agent in charge at Fort Colville, had laid in an extra ration of 50 imperial gallons of wine and brandy for his American guests. Over the next several days the two leaders partook freely, but neither had the endurance or capacity to win his approval. Nonetheless, he sent them off on October 21 with a keg of cognac “to cheer the hearts of the members of all parties.” A council of Stevens, McClellan and Lieutenant Andrew Jackson Donelson, who joined them from a survey of Clark Fork and Lake Pend Oreille, determined after vigorous arguments by McClellan and Donelson that it was foolhardy to attempt a complete crossing of the Cascades that winter. They pointed to the poor condition of the animals (Donelson had just lost 20) and the disastrous shape of the scientific equipment. Stevens wrote at that point, “I was unwilling, after so much labor and fatigue...to assign the gentlemen to duty, when they did not have confidence in their means.” He ordered the party to start moving to Fort Vancouver via the Walla Walla Valley and the Columbia River.

However, as Stevens rode on ahead of the main party, the snows of Eastern Washington vanished in the mild Walla Walla Valley. He sent a message back to McClellan holding out the prospect of 20 fresh horses if he was willing to traverse Naches Pass. His lieutenant predictably responded that he saw no purpose to running a line over that pass at that time of year. Stevens would not give up. He wrote again hinting that another survey leader, Frederick West Lander, might be willing if McClellan would give him the proper instructions. McClellan, increasingly exasperated by Stevens’ persistence, told him it was not worth the risk as they already knew that Naches Pass was not suitable for a railroad no matter what additional information was found. He told Lander to go after turning up traces of gold in early August, the party had been ripe with rumors of impending riches. To settle the issue McClellan allowed Duncan to lead a party of men to prospect the tributaries of the upper Yakima River, a venture McClellan characterized as a “wild goose chase.” He was correct; traces were found, but not in paying quantities, and McClellan could refocus his men’s attention on the survey work. The Kittitas Valley did provide a different kind of bounty when McClellan was able to enlist the aid of Ow-hi, chief of the Yakima band in that region, who supplied provisions and horses, and personally led the surveyors over the Wenatchee Mountains. Ow-hi and other natives told McClellan that there were no additional mountain passes until well north of Mt. Baker. McClellan moved up the Columbia River to the Okanogan River, where he set up camp at the old fur post at Fort Okanogan. He thought the Methow Valley promising, and that route was explored until it proved narrow and rugged. They then struck north as far as Lake Okanogan, turned back down the Columbia River, and moved east to the rendezvous with Stevens at Fort Colville. McClellan arrived there one day before the governor.

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As McClellan, Donelson and Lander followed in Stevens’ wake down the Columbia River, they had leisure to gossip and reflect. It appeared to them that they were being asked to take the risks and that Stevens would grab the glory. McClellan now chafed at being under Stevens’ supervision. After he found it impossible to carry out the governor’s orders to dispose of some animals at The Dalles, McClellan fumed, “I will not consent to serve any longer under Governor S unless he promises in no way to interfere—merely to give me general orders and never say one word as to the means, manner, or time of executing them.” McClellan remained on the coast during the winter and was sent out from Olympia by Stevens to conduct a survey of Snoqualmie Pass from the west side. He demurred that he had never seen a snowshoe in his life and did not anticipate any pleasure in using them. After getting as far as Snoqualmie Falls and peaking at the western approaches to the pass, he returned to Olympia and was able to make his escape in March to accept an assignment in Europe.

It is easy to exaggerate the differences between McClellan and Stevens, or to criticize McClellan for timid and dilatory actions. Much that has been written along these lines has occurred because of McClellan’s later prominence. It is tempting to see the seeds of Civil War failures in the Cascade Mountains survey. However, both men agreed on the general purposes of McClellan’s assignment to survey the
The railroad survey's official artist, John Mix Stanley, prepared a sketch that was the basis for this, the only known image of Fort Okanogan in north central Washington.

Cascade Mountain passes during the summer and fall of 1853. Despite numerous difficulties, McClellan carried out his task and correctly identified Snoqualmie as the superior of the passes. This was contrary to the prevailing opinion that Naches or perhaps a pass near Mt. Baker would prove best. Differences between the two men arose for three reasons. First, each was tired and testy from the arduous efforts of a long season of exploration. Secondly, neither was very comfortable under the command of the other (or of anyone else). Both were ambitious and did not take criticism easily; it was a classic clash of two large egos. Finally, Stevens viewed the survey as part of a grand design for the exploration and settlement of the Pacific Northwest. His natural energy and enthusiasm knew few bounds because he believed the survey was the first important step in a larger plan. In his view, nothing should be left undone that could contribute to the ultimate goal. McClellan had no such stake in the region. His was a temporary assignment to be carried out in good faith and to the best of his ability, but he saw no reason once the basic task was completed to redouble his efforts and begin again. It should be noted that Stevens consistently praised McClellan's survey work and quibbled only about details such as McClellan's comments about the worthlessness of the interior.

Despite the bickering at the end, the western portion, as indeed the entire survey, was a great success. Stevens and his lieutenants had made the work more than just a reconnaissance for a possible railroad route. It was a geographic, topographic, geologic survey which included assessments of animal and plant life, climate, soils, terrain and the native inhabitants. On the western portion George Gibbs made major contributions with his "Report on the Indian Tribes of Washington" and another on the geology of the central portion of the territory. Dr. Cooper proved an indefatigable collector of specimens. And J. K. Duncan, in addition to his other duties, left an unexpected series of sketches including those of Owhi and his son Qualchin. Neither Stevens nor McClellan had any reason to be other than proud of their survey work in 1853. Before they began only the major features of the vast territory had been identified. When they had finished, all but a few details were known to the entire nation.

Stevens and McClellan made their mark in civilian life during the remainder of the 1850s. Stevens served as governor and then territorial delegate from Washington until the start of the Civil War. McClellan left the army in 1857 to work as a civil engineer and to become president of the Illinois Central Railroad. When the Civil War began, both men volunteered. Circumstances led to Stevens serving under McClellan's command during the early years of the war, a fittingly ironic footnote to their earlier sojourn in the Pacific Northwest.

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Historical Access to the Hanford Record

By Michele A. Stenehjem

The study in which I have been engaged is an environmental history of the Hanford Nuclear Reservation, 1943-1960, with a focus on the public policy questions which have been raised by the "coming to light" of the evidence in the "Hanford Historical Documents" in the last three and a half years.

First, some background. In February 1986, as the result of an extensive Freedom of Information Act (FOIA) request filed by two public interest watchdog groups, the U.S. Department of Energy (DOE) released approximately 19,000 pages of environmental monitoring reports, letters, office memoranda, construction reports and other documents which had been generated at Hanford from the earliest days of its selection as the United States' largest defense weapons production complex in 1943. These documents, many of which were formerly classified, also concerned the operating history of Hanford from 1944 to the present. Immediately, using references cited in the footnotes of these documents, another huge FOIA request was filed, and in April 1987 20,000 more pages of early Hanford documents were released. Since that time approximately another 2,500 pages have become available as the result of smaller FOIA requests, some of which I have filed. Consequently, as of this time we have approximately 41,500 pages or about 1,600 separate reports and items which are collectively referred to as the "Hanford Historical Documents." Other FOIA requests and administrative appeals are pending at this time and new such requests are being generated almost weekly by those of us who are following the paper trail.

The 41,500 pages now available, combined with an assiduous search for other documents never classified but buried unnoticed in the archives of the U.S. Public Health Service (USPHS—now the Environmental Protection Agency), the Bureau of Reclamation in Ephrata, Washington, old medical journals found in the Washington State Library in Olympia, and the exhaustive use of oral history subjects throughout the United States, allow us to study the history of the Hanford Nuclear Reservation in more depth and with more real understanding than any other nuclear facility in the world. Now that we know some of the right questions to ask, the oral history subjects as well as reviews of the unclassified USPHS documents have become even more valuable.

Moreover, the Hanford experience has prompted public interest groups, teams of investigative journalists and environmental organizations in almost every area of this country containing a nuclear facility to file FOIA requests, ask questions, demand access to historical records and attempt to leverage out the story of what has been done in what I might call "local sacrifice zones" in the name of national security. So, we can expect to hear and read more about environmental contamination and health effects near sites such as Savannah River, South Carolina; Rocky Flats, Colorado; Fernald, Ohio; The Idaho National Engineering Laboratory near Twin Falls; the Knolls Atomic Power Laboratory near Schenectady, New York; and others in the production chain.

I began my research into the environmental history of Hanford in 1987. A principal question for a long time was: should I begin to write and speak knowing that there is much more information yet to come out and that my work may need major revisions and/or additions as new material is released; or, should I wait until "everything" or at least a great deal more information is available? This, I think, is a fundamental question with which historians and archivists struggle. After all, we don't know what we don't know until new research brings it out. But to me it seemed important at least to begin the process of getting the story of Hanford's radioactive contamination of the environment out to the public in order that more scholars might get interested, file FOIA requests and join in the search for new information.

It seems to me that another advantage of beginning to tell
this story is that it raises the level of discourse about the pollution and problems to an academic plane rather than allowing it to remain in the realm of quick, once-over, journalistic accounts. I want this story told from the perspective of thorough, meticulous, exhaustive scholarly research, and not by a few journalists who fly in to Richland, Washington, for 48 hours, collect inflammatory statements from both sides of the issue, dash off very sophomoric pieces of writing and fly out. However, my primary reason for wanting to do this research and tell this story is not really to count up how many thousands of radionuclides were discharged from Hanford—during which years and through which environmental pathways of contamination—although certainly these facts are part of the body of historical evidence. Also, my purpose clearly is not to point a finger of blame at various chemists, physicists, managers and other officials at Hanford as if they were personally liable for doing harm. Nor is my purpose to frighten anyone who lived in the Columbia Basin during the 1940s and 1950s about radiogenic illnesses and health effects to which, tragically, they may be susceptible.

Instead, the very heart of my purpose in pursuing this research is to examine and raise debate about the ways in which public policy decisions about atomic (or nuclear) matters are made in the United States. To me, the study of Hanford's history raises fundamental questions about American democracy. Chief among these questions is that of secrecy and national security versus the individual's right to have access to basic health and safety data in order to make his or her own choice—as an individual or as the head of a family—about what levels of risk to choose to accept or move away from in living and working in a contaminated environment. In other words, how is the decision made and who has the authority in this democracy to choose not to inform atomic workers of prime child-bearing age or perhaps already the parents of small children, in 1949 for example, that an experiment has been carried out which has released 5,500 curies of radioiodine (I-131) in 24 hours in a huge cloud surrounding the Tri-Cities, knowing that I-131 concentrates in the thyroid, especially the thyroids of children, infants and fetuses, and that it can be inhaled directly or ingested through the milk of cows and goats which eat forage vegetation on which the radioiodine has settled? Or, for example, how is the policy decision made not to inform farmers in northern Franklin County, Washington working the wheat harvest in August and September 1954 that an accidental release of radioruthenium (Ru103 and Ru106) has occurred, knowing that these crops will proceed to market and that particles adhering to the crops and the soil will remain radioactive for a year? How is it that we developed in this country a technology so new, so secret, so little understood by the public, so technical, so unregulated, that incidents of these types could and did occur and nowhere did any law or policy require that the public be informed?

Other salient public policy questions raised by the study of the history of Hanford are as follows:

- What are the limits of federal authority?
- What is the role of local and state governments? How informed should they be and how much should they participate in policy decisions regarding federal activities within their borders and jurisdictions?
How, in this nation, do we regulate or supervise new technologies? What happens to scientific peer review when all of the pertinent data from an emerging science is classified?

Should there be federal liability for past damages done to civilians or military personnel who were exposed to radioactivity?

Is a population which lives near a major atomic defense production site actually living in a combat zone?

If, in the 1940s and 1950s, the Hanford Reservation needed to pollute in order to produce, should the government have bought up huge buffer zones around this installation, prohibited farming, ranching, hunting, fishing and recreational water use, and brought in all food by truck and train? Who should have made that decision?

Finally, how and by whom are decisions made in the United States about what is “best” for all of us?

These are the issues central to my study of Hanford. Based on an application which stressed these issues I was awarded in August 1988 a nationally competitive research grant from the American Association for State and Local History to support partially the research for my book on Hanford. (This grant was also partially funded by the Washington State Historical Society in cooperation with the East Benton County Historical Society.)

Access to the Hanford record is unquestionably difficult, even when documents are not officially classified. Many key reports are still classified and FOIA requests are denied on the basis that if you know how much radiophosphorus was in the tissues of Columbia River whitefish in 1957, for example, you may be able to deduce or extrapolate from that information the production levels of the reactors lining the river at that time! The production and power levels of the reactors, even as far back as 1944, still are classified as secret. Revealing those figures, I have been told by the DOE as recently as January 1989, “could reasonably be expected to cause damage to the national security.”

In terms of unclassified information, the Hanford Historical Documents themselves, in their entirety, are available at only one public location, and that is the DOE Public Reading Room in Richland. This facility is a small, noisy place which closes each day for a lunch hour and is not open evenings or weekends. It has one table, one microfiche machine and one copy machine. The staff of one person, due to constraints of time and money, I am told, will perform no document searches for other, unclassified reports which are referenced or partially cited in the Hanford Historical Documents, although she will perform such searches for employees of the DOE and its contractor companies. As an independent researcher, I have been told that such reports are “available in the public sector,” and I have been on my own in terms of writing to:

- the Office of Scientific and Technical Information, in Oak Ridge, Tennessee;
- the National Technical Information Service, in Washington, D.C.;
- the DOE headquarters archives in Washington, D.C., which has a perfect record of never locating a single item I have requested;
- the U.S. EPA’s Risk Reduction Laboratory in Cincinnati, Ohio, and the EPA’s Kerr Environmental Laboratory in Ada, Oklahoma;

The “300 Area,” including the general production administration offices, research and experimentation site and metal fabrication buildings, is shown in this aerial view of Hanford taken in 1946-47.
• the DuPont Corporation headquarters in Wilmington, Delaware (DuPont was the company which built Hanford, along with the Army Corps of Engineers);
• and many other locations.

Often I have waited six to ten weeks for answers to my letters; often I am charged by the page for long reports of which I only need to see a few pages; and sometimes I receive no reply at all. I think that the information access problems which I have experienced in this study with reference to unclassified materials go deeper than simply causing inconvenience and delay for me, and I think that they are rooted in a DOE administrative philosophy which is based on more than budgetary concerns.

To begin to grasp the attitudes which prevail at the DOE in Richland today, one important factor to consider is the tradition of seclusion and secrecy in which the whole Hanford endeavor has been carried out ever since its inception. The very location of the Hanford Reservation was chosen, in part, because it was remote and isolated. Safety concerns governed this decision. We learn from the records of the Manhattan Engineer District, available at the National Archives, that by late 1942, as the basic atomic and chemical experimentation work which eventually led to plutonium manufacture was being developed, the principal scientists involved in the Manhattan Project—scientists such as J. Robert Oppenheimer and Enrico Fermi—became "duly impressed by the evidence of intense radioactivity in the separation process, a fact that subsequently contributed to the Military Policy Committee's decision in December to shift the plutonium production plant from" its planned location in Clinton, Tennessee, to a more "remote" location. When asked to take on the job of constructing the Hanford complex and begin the manufacture of weapons grade plutonium, Walter S. Carpenter, the president of DuPont Corporation at that time, insisted that "due to the unknown and unanticipated hazards" of the process, the plants be located outside of the populated East Coast corridor.

After the construction of Hanford in early 1943, the endeavor was kept so secret that even the Joint Chiefs of Staff were not told about it. The State Department was not informed until shortly before the pivotal Yalta Conference held among the top leaders of the allied nations in February 1945. Congressional representatives and senators, including Harry Truman, who wanted to investigate the secret Army construction project during World War II, were contacted individually by Secretary of War Henry Stimson and told not to proceed with their investigations. Even after Truman was elected Vice President in November 1944, he was not informed about the Hanford project and, in fact, he was not told until President Franklin D. Roosevelt had died on April 12, 1945. Likewise, potential investigations of the secret endeavor by the American Federation of Labor and by several major newspapers were called off as the result of personal interventions by Secretary Stimson. Similarly, state and local selective service boards, courts and civic leaders were kept in the dark, as were railroad inspectors from the Bureau of Explosives, and stockholders of the companies and subcontractors involved in constructing Hanford's equipment and plants.

Everything about the Hanford enterprise was listed as coming within the restricted clauses in the wartime Code of Fair Practices, and even the amounts of beer and food consumed by the construction workers on the huge site were classified, so that enemy agents could not guess the scope of the project by the size of the work force. Newspaper editors throughout the Northwest were contacted in 1943 by Manhattan Project officials and asked to "cooperate...by not asking questions...or speculating in print" about the vast and mysterious structures being erected in the south central Washington desert. In 1944, Lt. Milton Cydell, a former Seattle Times reporter, was recruited by General Leslie Groves, head of the Manhattan Project, briefed confidentially and assigned to travel throughout the United States, meeting
The purposes of the Hanford endeavor were also kept secret from most of the engineers and all of the construction and support personnel who worked there. The wife of Franklin Matthias, the Army colonel in command at Hanford during World War II, has recalled that, even among the few high-level officials who did understand the plant’s mission, the “famous HEW [Hanford Engineering Works] line... was ‘I can’t tell you!... and ‘don’t say anything to anyone!” Another wartime wife has recounted, “At first we housewives had an almost overpowering curiosity, which was soon replaced by complete indifference to the whole thing... You soon learned to ‘see no rumor, speak no rumor, hear no rumor.” A DuPont production manager at Hanford has told me that “we were forbidden to keep diaries or private notes. When we left the job, all our files and working papers were left behind.”

Recruiting firms scouring the country for manpower for the badly understaffed project were told to be vague as to location and job description. Once on site, work was kept compartmentalized and construction drawings “were broken down to disclose as little as possible.” So-called “termination interviews” conducted by Hanford’s placement office revealed that lack of knowledge about the work they were doing engendered so much frustration among some employees that it caused them to quit. Likewise, a chemist who went to work for the Health Instruments Division (the environmental monitoring section) at Hanford during its earliest years emphasized the highly secretive manner in which all duties on the project were carried out. He told me in an interview of his experiences when he was assigned to work with Hanford’s chief health physicist, Dr. Herbert Parker. Parker called him in and said, “Never use the words uranium or plutonium here!” Uranium was called “base metal,” and plutonium was called “product.” There were many other code words, he recalled.

After the atomic bombs were dropped on Hiroshima and Nagasaki, Japan, on August 1945, newspaper and radio reporters descended in a swarm on Richland, but they didn’t learn much. Manhattan Project chief Groves authorized the press a limited tour outside of the production area fences of the Hanford site and a basic explanation of atomic theory was issued in a special government document entitled “The Smyth Report.” However, Groves prohibited any “discussion of process, production, or the employment of the Atomic Bomb.”

During the ensuing 10 years, the Hanford Reservation underwent three major expansions. Throughout the Cold War, silence and secrecy continued as a way of life in Richland, a town where people simply never talked about their work. Another early Hanford chemist has told me, “The town and plant were ruled authoritatively by the company... Secrecy prevailed. It was not discreet [sic] to speak of what was going on—even if one knew legally or guessed what was happening. The indiscreet [sic] were shipped out of town.”

Recently, I organized a round-table discussion in Richland among several veterans of “Camp Hanford” and anti-aircraft battalions which protected the weapons production facilities at Hanford from 1950-60. This was a domestic military base, operating in peace-time. The men told me how they were assigned to anti-aircraft duty “out West,” and were sent from Ft. Bliss, Texas, where they had trained, to Ft. Lewis, near Tacoma, Washington. From Ft. Lewis they were conveyed to Hanford, still without being told anything about where they were going or why. Actually, these men found me very amusing and roared with laughter when I asked, “Well then, when you got to Hanford, were you given a tour or briefed?” “No ma’am,” they answered, “the Army told us nothing!” They were driven out to forward bunkers amidst the sand and sagebrush, where the 120mm guns and Nike missiles were placed. On alert every time an aircraft came near, still they were told nothing. “Well,” I asked them, “what did your officers say when you asked them questions about the mission?” Again they exploded with laughter. “Questions!” they said, “Are you crazy! We never questioned anything the Army told us to do!” The two officers present in my group around the table merely scowled. Again, this discussion emphasizes my point about the tradition of secrecy.

When incidents of gross environmental contamination occurred, Hanford’s managers, chief health physicist Parker and Atomic Energy Commission officials would exchange a flurry of correspondence about how to handle “the public relations problem.” In the case of the 1954 raddurhenium releases, Herbert Parker stated in an internal memo: “Nothing is to be gained by informing the public... Not all the residents will be as relaxed as the one who recently was quoted as saying, ‘Living in Richland is ideal because we breathe only tested air’... The [public] relations problem will be a severe one.”

The amounts of radiation released from Hanford between 1944 and 1955 add up to the largest public exposure from any U.S. nuclear facility in the atomic era.”

From 1954 through 1966 an ongoing debate was conducted among the few scientists and officials who did have access to the classified data concerning radioactivity levels in Columbia River fish. The questions of possibly closing popular sport fishing areas near the Hanford Reach of the river came up for discussion repeatedly. By 1960, radioactive contamination levels in Columbia River whitefish muscle tissues were so high that the consumption of just one pound of whitefish flesh per week could bring an adult human to the maximum permissible concentration level for radiophosphorus (P32). The situation for local duck flesh was the same. Yet, Hanford chief health physicist Parker repeatedly advised that closing public fishing and hunting would frighten the public and damage...
Hanford's public reputation. "The possibility of damage exists," he stated in an internal document reviewing radioactive pollution in the Columbia River. However, he believed that the conceivable hazards were "overshadowed by the public relations effect... The relations situation is always potentially dangerous, and it will be severely taxed if and when actual restrictions... on sport fishing are recommended."

In 1957 Hanford scientists completed a secret report on the potential problems associated with opening the Hanford Reach to commercial barge navigation. Barge crewmen, they acknowledged, could be at risk from drinking raw river water along the way. Should they recommend the issuance of orders restricting water use for drinking purposes? Their secret report concluded that such restrictions would cause "little inconvenience... However, public relations might suffer from such restrictions." Clearly, this was not a group of decision-makers which placed a high value on openness.

Ironically, in July 1950 the Atomic Energy Commission issued a specific promise of open disclosure in a public report to Congress. "Basic science should be free," stated the AEC, "except where it is directly related to weapons." At that time, the Commission pledged that it would maintain a sunshine policy on all data and knowledge which did not pertain to "weapons information, including design, production and stockpiles... the use of atomic energy for industrial purposes... or [any facts which would] help the atomic energy program of a potential enemy." Did these criteria include the classification of thousands of pages of environmental monitoring reports? One might think not, but in actual practice the answer is yes. The AEC and officials of Hanford's operating contractor, the General Electric Corporation (GE), combined this pledge of open disclosure with continual, repeated public assistance reassurances that the operations at Hanford were totally safe, well-controlled and harmless, with the result that few, if anyone, among the public doubted that the Columbia Basin was safe.

In February 1986, the first 19,000 pages of Hanford Historical Documents were released. Less than two months later, in mid-April 1986, the world's worst nuclear accident (of which we are aware) occurred at Chernobyl in the Soviet Union. In the flurry of investigations which followed, it came to the attention of the press and the public that the graphite containment system on the Soviet reactors was the same as the safety system of the N-reactor, the last large-production reactor operating on the Hanford site. A
panel of safety experts known as the Roddis Panel, because it was headed by nuclear utility expert Louis H. Roddis, was formed by U.S. Energy Secretary John S. Herrington. This group was directed to examine the safety systems on N-reactor. Later in 1986, the Roddis Panel recommended the shutdown of this reactor in order that safety modifications could be installed. N-reactor did shut down in January 1987 and it has never restarted. In February 1988 the U.S. DOE placed this unit on "cold standby," precipitating an economic crisis in the Tri-Cities. This situation has made research even more difficult. In a community facing possible economic collapse, research which may be perceived as critical of the town's chief industry certainly is not fully welcomed. It is hard for such a community to look at scholarly research in a fully objective light.

At the same time, following the release of the first 19,000 pages of Hanford Historical Documents in 1986, the Washington State Department of Social and Health Services called in an M.D./epidemiologist from the federal Centers for Disease Control in Atlanta, Georgia, and asked him to compute a preliminary, possible dose range to which the population of the Columbia Basin may have been exposed in the 1940s and 1950s. Together with Oregon and the Indian Health Service, Washington State also empaneled the Hanford Health Effects Review Panel, a group of experts asked to review and comment upon the radiation doses and releases which were disclosed in the Hanford Historical Documents. In October 1987, after more than a year of study, this panel issued its recommendations. At that time, Dr. A. James Ruttenber, panel member, stated that "the amounts of radiation released from Hanford between 1944 and 1955 add up to the largest public exposure from any U.S. nuclear facility in the atomic era." Among other things, the panel called for two large studies to be carried out.

Now, after much negotiation, disagreement, posturing and several false starts, these two studies have begun. The first one, known as the Hanford Dose Reconstruction Project, is funded by the DOE and carried out by the Battelle Pacific Northwest Laboratories in Richland. The study derives its independence and its academic credibility from the fact that it is overseen and directed by a technical steering panel of experts from universities and state agencies around the country who are experts in various fields such as epidemiology, hydrology, health physics, statistics, radiation biology, geography and other disciplines. The aim of this study is to establish statistical bands of probability for radioactive emissions. For example, and this is just a hypothetical example, this study might conclude that if you were an adult female living in Pasco, Washington, there is a 60 percent chance that you were exposed to X (amount) curies of radioarsenic in your drinking water in 1952. Again, I must emphasize that this is only a made-up example. No conclusions have been reached by the dose study as yet.

The other study which has begun recently is funded by Congress and carried out by the federal Centers for Disease Control. (As of this time, the CDC is accepting proposals from various epidemiological teams which are bidding to undertake this study on a contract basis.) This project is a health effects study, the aim of which in its first and current phase is to look at the incidence of thyroid disease in selected locations in Eastern Washington. Thyroid disorders, especially hypothyroidism, thyroid nodules and thyroid cancer, are largely radiogenic in nature and can be traced to the presence of I-131 in the air and food chain. I have been employed as a part-time consultant for the CDC and have been engaged in historical records searches in school districts in Benton, Franklin and Walla Walla counties in Washington.

In terms of information access, the existence of the dose reconstruction and CDC studies has facilitated a more open information policy at the DOE in Richland, although I must say that the door is open only a crack. The very presence of outside experts and the highly visible position of Hanford as the first defense weapons production facility to be studied in such detail has seemed to make the DOE feel a sense of accountability. At this time, the DOE seems to realize that its decisions and policies are and will continue to be subject to credible, fair, scientific peer review. In this case, I see history playing one of its most valuable roles—that of directly and visibly helping to shape present policy and make our democratic system of checks and balances, of fairness, honesty and dignity and value of each member of the public, stand stronger and work better. To me, living in Richland now and watching these studies, as well as my own research, unfold, is as exciting and riveting as being present at the Lincoln/Douglas debates of 1860! At this time and in this place, I am very proud of the history profession.

Editor's note—This essay is based on a talk given by the author at the Pacific Northwest History Conference in Moscow, Idaho, in April 1989.

Michele Stenehjem holds a Ph.D. in history, she presently runs her own historical research consulting firm in Richland, is chief historian with the federal Centers for Disease Control’s Hanford Thyroid Morbidity Study, and has a book in progress on the history of the Hanford site.
The following letter is from the Washington Territorial Documents Collection. Lt. George H. Derby wrote it aboard the steamer *Multnomah* to his friend and pioneer ethnologist George Gibbs. He comments on the disappearance of his instruments and his desire to employ Gibbs to follow a railroad route proposed by Secretary of War Jefferson Davis. Gibbs had worked on the northern railroad survey conducted by Isaac Stevens in 1853.

Derby, a topographical engineer, was on the Pacific Coast from 1849 to 1856. He wrote humor under the pseudonym John Phoenix and was very popular in his day. He influenced later writers, including Samuel Clemens. The letter is otherwise interesting because of its illustrations.
Steamer Multnomah.
June 30, 1856.

You everlasting dog gonad eternal Gibbs,

What in the name of the bloody thunder have you been & gone & done with my instruments? Here I have got orders to join the Coast Survey and go to Washington City and you have been & had Withers send my instruments & other property over to the Sound, when I have got to turn them over by the arrival of the next steamer or the one after that or some time before long & this dog blasted steamboat keeps rattling so I can't fully express my indignation. What in the—How the—,...—dam!—!!! You had better send them back most d—d quick. You perceive by the plate the effect produced by the discovery of their absence.

If you will immediately leave Olympia & with a pocket compass come down by land & with one or two men examine & report on that route recommended by Davis, and not take more than a fortnight to do it, you can get $8 per day out of me & expenses. You must start quick though for I expect to be off certainly in a month or 6 weeks. You'd better do it George—I think it is necessary as many persons are in favor of this route & some attention should be paid to it, if only to demonstrate the superiority of the line selected. Send back any plunder-er, you d—d old blunderer.

I told Withers in taking my property you're now meddling with matters entirely beyond your compass. You had better act on my offer immediately, may get that 22.35 besides.

Your sincere friend,
G. H. Derby
THE TIE THAT BINDS
The Northern Pacific Railroad in Cowlitz County

By Arthur G. Dwelley

The building of the Northern Pacific Railroad's line from Kalama to Tacoma in the early 1870s had a major impact both on Cowlitz County and on the Puget Sound region as a whole. It was the first major transportation construction north of the Columbia River and an important key to the growth of the western half of the state.

Cowlitz County had always been a part of the link between the Columbia and Puget Sound, with the Cowlitz River a most important factor prior to the building of the railroad. Travel from the Columbia northward naturally funneled up the river valley, over the highlands between the Cowlitz and Chehalis valleys and then across the prairies to the Sound. It had been an established trail long before the white man and was quickly recognized by early fur traders as the easiest route between the two areas.

For a time the Hudson's Bay Company was forced to look for other routes to the Sound after one of their fur parties massacred a small Cowlitz Indian band and alienated them to the point that the river route was considered too dangerous for use. In 1824 an expedition under James McMillan sought an alternate route from Astoria to the Sound via Willapa Bay, Grays Harbor, and the Chehalis and Black rivers. The Chehalis route proved impractical, however, and on the return trip McMillan decided to chance the Cowlitz route. He was delighted to find the Indians cooperative and apparently willing to forget the earlier incident. From that time the Cowlitz Valley would become a regular route both for the Hudson's Bay Company and later pioneers.

The first railroad surveys through the Cowlitz were made in the 1850s by Captain George McClellan in conjunction with an Army railroad survey to study the practicality of a continental railroad from the Mississippi Valley to the Columbia. Heading the survey party was Isaac Stevens, the first Governor of Washington Territory. McClellan felt that the Cowlitz was the most practical route for a railroad from the Columbia and was not very enthusiastic about the prospects of bringing the railroad across the Cascade Mountains to Puget Sound. Stevens, on the other hand, felt strongly about a cross-mountain route as the shortest and best.

The entire idea of a northern transcontinental railroad line, including the opinions of Stevens and McClellan, was put on hold as the United States divided in the Civil War, which saw McClellan rise to command the Union Army of the Potomac for a time and become a presidential candidate. Stevens died leading his regiment at Chantilly. It was not until the late 1860s that the idea of the northern railroad was reborn.

It took a considerable amount of congressional lobbying and political maneuvering to obtain approval for the project. Scandals associated with the Union Pacific road made it hard to finagle government financing. However, as finally approved, the Northern Pacific managed to procure extensive land grants along the proposed rights-of-way, subject to completion of sections of the line. Along with railroad construction bonds, the land would be sold to help finance the project.

The land grant, which did not become fully operative until rails reached the Pacific, made the completion of the Columbia-Puget Sound line a priority for the Northern Pacific. Accordingly, this shortest section of the railroad was completed far ahead of the transcontinental link. Railroad activity came to the Cowlitz when Northern Pacific survey parties arrived in the area in 1869. Captain John F. Kidder and Captain Isaac Smith split the survey, with Kidder doing most of the work through the Cowlitz Valley and Smith taking the section from Olympia south to Pumphrey's Station (Olequa).

Actual preparations for construction began in late 1869, and in 1870 the small steamboat stop at Kalama was chosen as the site to begin building north from the Columbia. Thus began the first building boom and major jump in population for Cowlitz County where only 730 people had lived the year before and whose total population had grown by just 24 citizens in the previous decade.

Olympia's Washington Standard of January 1, 1871, noted: "1,200 persons are camped upon the ground (at Kalama) and
buildings are being erected as rapidly as materials and labor can be procured. The railroad company is building on 2,000 feet of frontage for wharves, buildings for offices, boarding houses and residences.” The same story also noted that while the land title remained with the railroad no liquor saloons or gambling houses would be allowed.

The railroad wasted no time in selling its land, and the first day’s sales in February of 1871 totalled $60,000 worth of lots out of 2,000 platted. The Washington Standard noted a week later that “the rush of purchasers is unabated.” That same month Captain Kidder had completed establishing the line from Kalama to the Toutle River and Colonel Ward was in charge of locating the right of way from the Toutle River to the Newaukum.

In February the first shipment of construction laborers, 20 white men and 67 Chinese, came into Kalama on the steamer Idaho. It was reported by the Washington Standard that a total of 2,000 Chinese would be brought in from San Francisco in squads of 250.

Progress in Kalama was indicated in February with the laying of cornerstones for two churches, and in May when the Kalama Beacon hit the streets—the first newspaper in Cowlitz County. In a few short weeks Kalama had far surpassed Cowlitz County’s former metropolis of Freeport (population 300).

By mid-1872 railroad construction was going full speed, with 300 Chinese working on grading and rock trains rip-rapping along the Cowlitz. Bids for clearing 40 miles of road were called for in August. The Kalama Beacon commented: “By the 1st of September the road will be ready for track laying and sufficient iron for 40 miles is said to be here and afloat for this port. The locomotives are shipped and will be here in a few days…”

In September the Northern Pacific had decided to do its own clearing and grading as all bids had come in too high. The same month the Kalama Beacon crowed that Kalama, not Portland, would become the major port on the river. The actual construction of the railroad drew attention from the regional press. The Washington Standard was excited about the route having progressed as far as Grand Mound Prairie in November, allowing trains to make an 18-mile run north from Kalama. (The rails were not moving fast enough, apparently, because material for the Toutle River bridge was being taken upriver by steamboat.)

In December 1871 passenger cars were being built for the Northern Pacific at the Oregon and California Railroad plant in Portland and shipped up the Cowlitz River to Kalama. The Beacon reported that the bark Ritual was in the river with a locomotive on board and predicted rail travel would be available for 25 miles by the first of the year. By early May of 1872 a railroad station had been established at “Crawford’s,” where Peter Crawford later platted the town of Kelso. It is interesting to note that the rail line’s route was on the opposite side of the river from the old trail and stage routes on the lower Cowlitz and bypassed Monticello and Freeport, the only other settlements of any size in the county.

By mid-1872 railroad construction was going full speed, with 300 Chinese working on grading and rock trains rip-rapping along the Cowlitz. A steam sawmill was busy sawing timbers for the Cowlitz River bridge at Olequa and several smaller spans. Railroad ties were selling for 21 cents each. Filing also was needed in large quantities and both de-
With the coming of the railroad the population of Castle Rock increased threefold between 1870 and 1880. The first Northern Pacific railroad depot is in the foreground of this 1890 view of Castle Rock.

mands were pumping money into the local economy. Later, the railroad company would advertise for cord wood for its locomotives at $1.90 a cord. Wages for white workers on the railroad were $2.00 a day for laborers and $3.00 for carpenters and mechanics, while Chinese workers were paid only $1.00 a day. Ships coming to Kalama were having problems with their sailors jumping ship to work on the railroad.

An example of the need for lumber is found in a description of the “long bridge” at Olequa from the Olympia Courier: “The bridge is to be a Howe truss, two (connected) spans 160 feet each... requiring 96,000 feet of lumber... The bridge will rest on three solid wooden piers, the center and largest to be at the base 23 by 63 feet—58 feet high, about 48 feet above the high water mark—this pier alone will have 230,000 feet of the best fir lumber, to be firmly dovetailed together. The size of the other piers will not be as large as the center one. The total cost of the bridge and piers will be $40,000.”

The railroad provided some of the first major opportunities for the economic diversification of Washington Territory. With farm labor getting about half the rate of railroad workers, it was difficult to keep workers “down on the farm” once they found out about the railroad pay scale. But track and bridge crews also gave the local agricultural economy a boost by buying all sorts of farm produce. The Beacon reported that provisioners supplied 3,000 pounds of beef in two days to the contractor’s boarding camp at Pumphrey’s. The provisioners also had a full line of Chinese goods, according to the Beacon, as the Chinese took care of their own meals and did not eat or bunk with the whites.

One of the state’s first labor strikes occurred in 1872 when the railroad bridge carpenters went on strike, asking for a raise from $3.00 to $3.50 a day. The strike failed after a few days and the crews went back to work at their former wage. It would not be the last labor problem the railroad would have.

Following the railroad were portable saloons, prostitutes and gamblers, always operating within a few miles of the “front” of the track. Often an annoyance to railroad bosses interested only in keeping their crews working, these establishments were as much a part of railroad building as were rails and ties.

The importance of the Columbia-Puget Sound railroad to early Washington residents may be hard for a person of today to understand. With freeways on which one can drive the distance from Kalama to Tacoma in two hours, it’s hard to believe the same trip was at least three to four days of hard and uncomfortable travel in the era before the railroad. The trip up the Cowlitz River was perhaps the easiest, with transportation available by steamboat or Indian canoe. From Cowlitz
Landing (Toledo) across the highlands and into the Chehalis Valley was a miserable, muddy trail unanimously detested by all who traveled it. Stagecoach travelers often had to walk or help pull the coach through mud holes; riding horseback was not much better. Accommodations along the way were notoriously poor. “Hardbread’s,” near present-day Castle Rock, was famous for serving hardtack three meals a day, according to the eminent Washington pioneer Ezra Meeker. Sleeping accommodations were a spot on the floor among whoever happened to be traveling on the trail. The Kalama Beacon predicted in 1872 that Pumphrey’s Hotel in Olequa would likely suffer where “heretofore, all travelers had to pay toll.”

Because of the transport problems, freight rates also had been high between the Columbia and the Sound, and ocean commerce had been favored for supplies. San Francisco was a major source of all types of merchandise and equipment for Puget Sound ports. The availability of lower rail freight rates would allow markets for products of the lower Columbia and Cowlitz area to compete in the fast-growing Puget Sound area.

By early spring of 1872 railroad crews were moving 60,000 yards of earth in an area referred to as “the Big Cut.” According to the Beacon, “Sledge and drill music will most likely be played all summer.” A steam drill was later acquired and helped speed what had been a strict-ly sledge and drill operation. Rail progress also was slowed when several miles of track bed were washed away in seasonal flooding north of Kelso.

By summer, trains were running daily from Kalama to just south of the Olequa bridge site. Undoubtedly, the first railway excursion in Washington Territory and Cowlitz County took place in July when 537 people rode the train from Kalama to the end of the track and back. The passengers rode on four flatcars quite likely pulled by the Minnetonka, the little locomotive used extensively in the construction of the Pacific Division and on early sections of the transcontinental line. The Minnetonka survives today, having seen considerable use as a logging locomotive after it was sold by the Northern Pacific. In recent years it was again acquired by Burlington Northern interests and refurbished for display purposes.

The coming of the railroad was considered a great boon by almost all the residents along the route and most donated or sold right-of-way at bargain rates to the Northern Pacific. Kelso founder Peter Crawford not only was generous with his land but had to move his house out of the path of the rails. His wife Zillah was understandably upset over the disruption, but Peter soothed her by reminding her that when the railroad was completed she would be able to visit relatives in Vancouver and Portland much more often. Land was a potent factor in the railroad’s plans and the NP did not hesitate to take advantage of the public’s enthusiasm.

Agricultural and timber land was offered for sale along the right-of-way, some of it advertised before the Northern Pacific had gained legal title to the land. Farmable land was sold at prices from $2.50 to $7.00 an acre, with 10 percent down and 10 percent a year for the first three years and 15 percent to be paid from the fourth to the seventh year. Interest was seven percent annually. Timberland prices were negotiable. 

The policy of the Northern Pacific was to sell its lands to promote settlement, development and local business for the railroad. Inducements like these Northern Pacific brochure advertisements flooded the Eastern cities and most of Europe, extolling cheap land and easy payments.
These bonds, issued in financial centers of the United States and Europe, were used to pay off a mortgage of $100 million that would finance railroad operations. The mortgage was underwritten by the banking house of Jay Cooke, which became the sole recipient of Northern Pacific Funds.

The steam ferry *Tacoma* transported this train across the Columbia River from Goebel, Oregon, to Kalama, Washington, in 1885.

According to a Northern Pacific brochure, "The policy of the company is to sell all its lands cheap and on easy terms... to promote settlement, development, and a large local business for its road." Considering that the railroad fell heir to 23,000 acres of land for every finished mile of road as a grant from the government, their generosity loses a bit of its luster.

In October 1872 the rails reached Tenino in Thurston County and stopped there for a time when a financial panic cut off funds and the Northern Pacific’s broker, Jay Cooke & Co., went into bankruptcy. With the possibility of losing its land grants if the line wasn’t completed to salt water on Puget Sound by December 31, 1873, the company’s board of directors and even its contractors came up with enough money to push the construction on to Tacoma where the last spike was driven on December 16, just 14 days before the deadline. A last-minute strike by track crews was settled with IOUs, some cash and even some tokens good at a Tacoma general store.

By January 1, 1874, the Pacific Division of the Northern Pacific was moving passengers and freight between Kalama and Tacoma on a regular schedule. But this traffic was cut off from any connecting lines. Passengers and freight were carried to Portland from Kalama by steamship. One of Washington Territory’s early newspaper editors, Elbridge Morse, made the trip from Tenino to Kalama in the mid-1870s and commented that it took three hours, with another two to three hours on a boat, to reach Portland. The rail fare was five dollars and the steamship to Portland was one dollar one way. At Tacoma, connections to other points on the Sound were also mostly by steamship.

Railway stations were few in Cowlitz...
At the time of this schedule, with the Cascade Division nearing completion, the Pacific Division was becoming less important. Instead of making the seven-hour trip from Portland, travelers from the east would be able to come directly over the mountains to the Sound.

County, but in the early years of the line farmers and others could flag down a train at any point. Flag stations and platforms were located at several points along the railroad, including "McDonald's," 38 miles north of Kalama.

For 10 years the Pacific Division would remain unconnected to any other railroad with national connections. A 26-mile extension from Tacoma to coal mines at Wilkeson was finished in October 1877, and the Olympia & Tenino line was completed in August 1878 to link the territorial capitol to the railroad. In 1883 the Northern Pacific transcontinental line was completed and a section built from Portland to a point opposite Kalama on the Oregon side of the river where trains were ferried across to complete the final link-up between the East and Puget Sound. A branch line to Vancouver was built in 1902-03 which opened March 3, 1903. This link later became the main line when a railroad bridge was built across the Columbia at Vancouver in 1908, eliminating the ferry at Kalama.

Completion of the transcontinental line across the Cascades in 1887 lessened the importance of the Pacific Division as transcontinental commerce came directly to Puget Sound from the Midwest and the East. The Pacific Division line was still of immense importance to Southwest Washington, however, as it was a vital element of the logging and lumber business. In the days before extensive roads and logging trucks there were only two ways to move logs from the woods to the mill—by water or rail.

Of course, prior to the coming of the railroad pioneer loggers were limited to water passage. The Pacific Division opened up miles of forest adjacent to the line to profitable logging. As the Northwest timber industry grew, logging railroads branched out into new areas previously unreachable. While the Cowlitz, Toutle and other Cowlitz County rivers provided waterways for logs, the railroad offered a much wider scope to the industry.

It is interesting that steamboat traffic on the Cowlitz was not adversely affected by the railroad and continued to serve Toledo and upriver farmers into the twentieth century. According to John McClelland's Cowlitz Corridor, this area was just a little too far away from the railroad to make shipping by rail economical. The convenience of the steamboats to those along the river beyond Oakes was tempered only when low water limited service. Highways, not railroads, ended the steamboat era.

The Northern Pacific Railroad has been a major player in Cowlitz County history, literally sparking it to life in 1870 and continuing to be an important factor over the years. The NP gave the county a number of firsts—including the honor of being the site of the first railroad construction in Western Washington, founding the first county town of more than 1,000 population, the first railroad excursion, and possibly the first labor dispute of its early history. Rail transportation remains today an important and healthy component of the Cowlitz County economy.

Arthur G. Dwellley is the publisher of the Tenino Independent and a member of the Society's board of trustees.
The McCURDY CASE

Probably millions of prayers with the words "grant us" waft daily towards the heavenly kingdom. Historians and museologists will surely account for a good portion of such petitioners. But if obtaining grants isn't feasible for some immediate but important objective, let it be known that much can be done in the old American manner, "on your own" or a joint venture of "owns."

Three protagonists shared in the "McCurdy Case," all involved with the Jefferson County Historical Society. Dixie Romadka, Director of the society's Port Townsend Museum, knew of the 450 treasured glass-plate negatives stored in the cool archives. Jim Hermanson, photo buff, accomplished historian and past president of the society, was also aware of them. Ted Yearian, avid photographer, master developer and close friend of the museum wanted to see and, if possible, work with the negatives. The trio examined the collection, and Ted took some to his studio to painstakingly print. The pictures' quality of depth and clarity and the time period were so outstanding that the three agreed, "Here is an impressive display in the making!"

And indeed it was! The original pictures were the work of a native son, a pioneer Northwest historian with a name known well on both sides of Puget Sound. On the Olympic Peninsula side, this man was James G. McCurdy, while his equally well-known and historically versed son, Horace McCurdy, has been prominent as a business leader, marine historian and museum benefactor in Seattle.

The elder McCurdy was attracted to the sea, but the effects of infantile paralysis at age three made such an active life impossible. This was compensated for by a quick and seeking mind with many mastered interests. A self-educated man, McCurdy was fond of contributing his writings on the Pacific Northwest to leading magazines of the time, and his book *By Juan de Fuca's Strait* is an excellent history. Beginning his banking career at age 15 as errand boy/janitor for the First National Bank of Port Townsend, he rose to its presidency in a career spanning 57 years.

He taught himself photography, becoming one of the first photojournalists and illustrating his own articles. Working with masters of the deep sea steam tugs, he tutored them in the art, thus fostering the collection of many photographs of the magnificent sailing ships.

Writing of his father, Horace McCurdy stated, "Ships were his greatest love, and one of my earliest memories is of his waking me and taking me out to see a great, full-rigged ship..."
ghosting into Port Townsend Bay under full sail. 'That,' he told me, 'is one of the most beautiful fabrics ever built by man.'

The images he captured proved his love of ships, of family and friends, and of the Olympic Peninsula. His favorite model was his son Horace, who donated the plates to the museum and greatly assisted in identifying the collection.

These pictures are models of clarity and subject matter, showing Port Townsend at the turn of the century to be, in its manner, elegant. When people went to picnics they wore their Sunday best. At clam bakes the men wore suits and the women dressed with hats and parasols, a far cry from the casual jeans and bandanna garb of the modern "Nor'westerner."

The three historians basked only a short time in the exciting quality of light and detail of these first few developed images. Then it was time to do what museum people do by nature...find the means of sharing with their public. In a museum that has never had (nor asked for) a grant, Dixie looked for and acquired (with the blessing of the board) some extra funds—a whole $300. Not much, but coupled with the skills and energies of the three prime movers and others who quickly became devotees of the project, it proved sufficient.

Dixie, Jim and Ted culled 30 of the best plates from the archival sources. Ted then almost literally disappeared into his darkroom for weeks. As prints trickled back to the museum, Dixie made photocopies and sent them to Horace McCurdy in Seattle for identification. Dixie re-worked the scheduling of other displays, gathered up the required materials to effectively mount the show, and enlisted the aid of museum librarian Cecelia Mueller, who is skilled at mounting and framing. Suddenly it was time to send out the invitations and news releases.

At the opening night reception, with members and guests from a variety of places and callings, the McCurdy photographic exhibit was declared a rousing success and, moreover, an important addition to history. That it was conceived, planned and executed in only six weeks' time with only a pittance of money and the arduous labor of a few inspired people is a tribute to those persons. It is also proof that an excellent idea can be turned into a vital display within the structure of any historic group willing to apply the required effort.

William Romadka (husband of Dixie) is chairman of the Port Townsend Preservation Committee. The McCurdy photographic exhibit was on view in Port Townsend until September 1989 and is available to interested exhibitors. Call the Jefferson County Historical Society at (206) 385-1003 for more information.

Anna McCurdy, Lizzie Bailey, Fred Bailey and James McCurdy having a picnic lunch (ca. 1894).
Nelson boldly asserts that in the Progressive Era “the neighborhood grade school played an important part in Seattle's transformation from a rowdy frontier town full of transient single men, to a home-owning, settled, middle-class city.' The school system, including well-designed high schools, was vital largely because Frank B. Cooper, who served as superintendent from 1901 to 1922, had a vision that won the support of board members, teachers, parents, students and the public. "Cooper envisioned," Nelson states, "urban grade schools as small, humane places where staff really knew the children and their families; and grade and high schools as places to make all children and adolescents literate, knowledgeable, and civil."

To attain his vision, Cooper constructed neighborhood schools, kept class sizes small, revised the curriculum so as to combine the liberal arts and practical courses, established night schools for adults and hired dedicated teachers. He spoke meaningfully about the curriculum; for example, in evaluating the goals of eighth grade American history, he stated: "The school that turns out pupils long on dates and facts and short on interest in history and in the relation of events has failed signally."

Nelson aptly summarizes the type and role of teachers and board members, which "guarded jealously the time for instruction." Assuming a parental role, the system taught "student health, morality, citizenship, and civility." The First World War had a great impact upon the city's schools, including controversy over military training, teachers' salaries, patriotism, history textbooks and board member Anna Louise Strong.

Unfortunately, the end of the war did not mean that the schools continued to progress. The 1920s was a period of educational squabbling and hurtful retrenchment. Cooper resigned and the system, like so many others in the nation, "now followed the dictates of scientific, efficient management." Nelson clearly shows that a superintendent of vision, like a college president, can win board support and improve schooling. This well-researched and well-written study makes a major contribution to the region's cultural history. Those currently involved in the critical task of improving our region's public schools should study this stimulating book.

Dr. G. Thomas Edwards is a professor of history at Whitman College in Walla Walla, Washington. His most recent publication is Experiences in the Promised Land: Essays in Pacific Northwest History (1986).

Washingtonians: A Biographical Portrait of the State.
Reviewed by Shanna Stevenson.

"E lectric" may be the only way to describe this book, which includes such widely divergent figures as Bruce Lee and Narcissa Whitman.

Editors David Brewster and David Buerge have brought together 89 biographies in Washingtonians, sponsored by the 1989 Washington Centennial Commission. Brewster, editor and publisher of the Seattle Weekly, and Buerge, a Seattle historian and author, selected biographical essays written over the past seven years by a number of well-known Northwest writers.

Roger Sale sets the tone for the book in the introduction when he writes that "people prefer history that is biographical, anecdotal, colorful, personal and romantic." If that is so, this book should be a people pleaser since it delivers just that.

This substantial, album-format, paperback book is divided into three chronological sections. Each section has seven to ten major biographies interspersed with shorter personality sketches from a variety of sources, which tend somewhat to interfere with the flow of the book.

"Creators," the first section, characterizes what the editors call the "romantics" of Washington's past, ranging from George Vancouver to Asa Mercer. Nancy Wilson Ross' particularly insightful look at Mary Richardson Walker, the pioneer missionary, is the highlight here.

The second section, "Visionaries," is a "Who's Who" of Washington's leading families, from Dorothy Bullitt to the Boeings. Curiously, Woody Guthrie, by no means part of the establishment, is also included.

In the final part, "Contemporaries," Brewster's stable of writers lights up the pages of the book with entertaining profiles of modern Washingtonians. Among the best are James Halpin's engaging portrait of Jacob Lawrence and Roger Downey's lively portrayal of the "Gadfly of Shelton," Henry Gay.

Each biography is illustrated by a portrait of the subject. The editors also include a list of works for further reading, acknowledgements and index. The book is clearly intended for popular enjoyment rather than scholarly reading.

Despite the somewhat lopsided representation of the western part of the state, readers should be able to catch the flavor of Washington past and present by sampling this wide-ranging biographical collection of the state's icons and luminaries.

Shanna Stevenson is a preservation planner for Olympia and Thurston County, and the author of a number of local historical publications.
The Washington Centennial Commission, with financial support from the Weyerhaeuser Company, sponsored this handsome volume, profusely illustrated with black-and-white photographs, replicas of postcards, color paintings and maps. The editors divided the volume into three sections, namely "The First Washington Era," "From Frontier to Urban-Industrial Society," and "The Modern Era." The editors introduce the volume by grappling with the question of what distinguishes Washington from all the other states and gives them the state's spectacular natural environment which includes the mountains and water of the coast and "the vastness of its interior spaces." The range of outdoor activities of its residents reflects the opportunities the state's varied environments offer. With a population of 4.1 million in 1988—about that of the Boston metropolitan area—it is a thinly inhabited state spread out over 68,000 square miles, equal to the size of the six New England states.

With a sense of place established, the editors have written sparkling essays giving the reader fine summaries of Washington's colorful history. They correctly observe that geographical isolation shaped the course of Washington's early history because the North Pacific region, "for longer than most temperate areas of the world...remained beyond the reach of Europe and the rest of America." Captain James Cook's ships reached the North Pacific coast in 1778 and crew members exchanged trinkets with the Indians for sea otter pelts. Crew members discovered that these casually acquired furs were worth a fortune in Canton, China. "Publication of the expedition's official records in 1784," the editors state, "gave the Pacific Northwest a clearly defined place in European imperial and commercial systems for the first time." The subsequent story is a familiar one, but freshly told. Traders arrived, and later settlers, and Native Americans suffered from the impact. There are stories of railroad building, the development of water transportation, and accounts of the region's rich natural resources such as fish, timber, wheat and coal.

The editors give a fast-paced account of Washington's social, economic and political developments, concluding with a segment of "history in the making." The editors suggest that "a new Washington economy is emerging to overshadow the state's traditional reliance on extractive industries, notably timber." This new economy contributes tourism and high technology to the traditional mix. The editors might also have mentioned the important role education is serving in furnishing the state with a highly trained labor force. All in all, this is a fine volume and should find a place on the bookshelves of all those who are even marginally interested in Washington history.

Dr. Claus-M. Naske is a professor of history at the University of Alaska—Fairbanks. Among his many publications are six books on the history of the state of Alaska.

Bibliographic listings usually strive to be all inclusive, lining up in alphabetical order everything known to have been published about a subject. These are both useful and interesting and they can be lengthy, as in the case of regional history. The standard such work for Northwest history is still Charles Wesley Smith's Checklist of Books and Pamphlets Relating to the History of the Pacific Northwest...published in 1909 and subsequently revised. It tells where each of some 11,000 listings can be found in a number of libraries. It remained for George H. Tweney of Seattle, bookman and collector of Northwest Americana, to assemble as a contribution to the observance of Washington's Centennial, not a new listing of all the press outpourings before and after Smith, but of 89 works among the 11,000 that can be considered most important, distinguished or possessing other qualities that cause them to stand out among the many others.

His bibliography is therefore a kind of Centennial roll of honor—one work for each year of the twentieth century—with a publication cutoff date of 1959. It is patterned, writes Tweney, after The Zamorano 80, a selection of distinguished books of California published as a guide for collectors by the Zamorano Club of Los Angeles in 1945. Washington 89 was sponsored by the Book Club of Washington.

Collectors of Northwest Americana will accept this bibliography as a guide, as does this reviewer who upon receiving it hastened to his files to see how many of Tweney's selections are in his own library. To have all 89 would be satisfying indeed.

What makes Tweney's work particularly interesting as well as useful are the descriptions and comments about the books listed and the 15 photocopies of title pages of the rarest volumes.

The book's superlative design, typography and print make it fully worthy of sponsorship by an organization devoting itself to excellence in the field of books and literary endeavors.

John McClelland, Jr. is a former president of the Washington State Historical Society and Founding Editor of Columbia Magazine.
Neah Bay Bricks

May I add a postscript to Mr. Gamboa’s excellent article on the Spanish explorations which appeared in the fall issue of Columbia?

The bricks he mentioned were brought to Neah Bay when Lt. Salvador Fidalgo attempted to found a settlement in 1792 and were never intended for building a house; they were for construction of a bread oven, forge and chimneys. The structures that went up followed the Mexican coastal style with peaked roofs of swamp grass. One contemporary picture exists showing Spanish vessels at Neah Bay and in the distance two such buildings, their steeply sloping roofs seemingly reaching to the ground.

The Makah Indians, when visited by George G. Wilson in 1859, showed him the remains of a barricade which they said had been an old fort “built by the French.” (He recorded this in his diary.) Nine years later James G. Swan visited the same spot, seeking traces of the Spaniards. He combed the tall salmonberry thickets and mouldering shell deposits but encountered nothing except a few bricks, Indian fish hooks and stone chisels. When he questioned the oldest Indians they disagreed on what had been there. One insisted a brick house surrounded with a palisade, another said a wooden house with a brick chimney and a third said there had been no house at all, that the Spaniards landed bricks and building materials and went away before they could erect anything.

All of them were wrong, for John Boit, who was there in 1792 in Captain Gray’s Columbia Rediviva, wrote in his log that the village consisted of “about ten houses and several good gardens.” Joseph Ingraham, master of the brig Hope, described the settlement in his log the same year as “a few huts and a tolerably good garden.”

Fidalgo’s own report stated that immediately upon arrival he cleared away trees near a small stream (Village Creek), built a shed and erected a house for a bakery and an oven, roofing the building with grass. Then followed construction of corrals for cattle and a fortification with six mounted guns. After that he planted vegetable gardens.

The reason that the bakery and oven were of prime concern to him was that the new port was to be equipped to supply bread for any government vessels in the vicinity.

Lucile McDonald
Bellevue

Centennial Bookshelf

Regarding your “Centennial Library” feature in the fall issue, your readers may be interested to know that the 1989 Washington Centennial Commission, in cooperation with WSU Press, has published the “Centennial Bookshelf,” a pamphlet of over 300 annotated listings of books that illuminate various aspects of Washington State’s heritage. The “Centennial Bookshelf” includes a section on books sponsored by the 1989 Washington Centennial Commission; a special section of 100 outstanding books about Washington State as recommended by Washington historians, authors and scholars; and a comprehensive listing of over 200 other books.

The pamphlet is available free of charge. For further information or to request a copy, contact the commission at (206) 586-0374 or write “Centennial Bookshelf,” 111 W. 21st Avenue, Olympia, WA 98504.

Maureen Craig
Washington Centennial Commission

Additional Reading

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

The Tie that Binds


Washington Human Services Come of Age


Lost Log Found


The Young Napoleons


Historical Access to the Hanford Record


The McCurdy Case


The First Flight Around the World


The Changing Pacific Northwest: Interpreting Its Past
edited by David H. Stratton and George A. Frykman
ISBN 0-87422-020-3 paperback $15.95
Essays concerning crucial social, political, and economic events in the emergence of a regional society in the Pacific Northwest.

Discovering Washington: A Guide to State and Local History
by Keith C. Petersen and Mary E. Reed
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ISBN 0-87422-059-9 paperback $9.95
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by Pulitzer Prize-winning historian William H. Goetzmann
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ISBN 0-87422-025-4 hardbound $25.00
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Panoramas of Promise: Pacific Northwest Cities and Towns on Nineteenth-Century Lithographs
by John W. Reps
ISBN 0-87422-017-3 paperback $14.95
Utilizing forty detailed drawings, eight of which are in color, the author adds a new dimension to the understanding of urban development and town planning in the last century.

Peoples of Washington: Perspectives on Cultural Diversity
edited by Sid White
Sponsored by the 1989 Washington Centennial Commission
ISBN 0-87422-067-X hardbound $24.95
Essays by Esther Mumford, Carlos Gil, Clifford Trafzer, Gail Nomura, Richard Scheuerman, Sam Solberg, and Pat Matheny White celebrating the state's cultural and ethnic diversity.

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