44th Annual
Pacific Northwest History Conference

APRIL 4-6, 1991
WHITMAN COLLEGE, WALLA WALLA

Permanent Sponsor: Washington State Historical Society
Banquet Speaker: Julie Roy Jeffrey on Narcissa Whitman
Luncheon Speaker: David Stratton

Other conference topics and activities include:
• History of regional wine making, plus a wine tasting presented by Walla Walla Valley Wines
• Sessions on state and local historical societies, Indians, women, dissenters, promoters, Alaska, Vancouver Island, higher education, literature, and other regional topics
• Tour of a wheat ranch • Book exhibits

For more information, contact G. Thomas Edwards, Department of History, Whitman College, Walla Walla, WA 99362.

LOCAL HISTORICAL SOCIETIES
AFFILIATED WITH WSHS
Bainbridge Island Historical Society
Central Washington Agricultural Museum
Challam County Historical Society
Cowlitz County Historical Society
East Benton County Historical Society
Fircrest Civic and Heritage Association
Fort Vancouver Historical Society of Clark County
Fox Island Historical Society
Franklin County Historical Society
Highline School District Museum at Sunnyside
Historic Fort Steilacoom Association
Jefferson County Historical Society
Kitsap County Historical Society
Maple Valley Historical Society
Mukilteo Historical Society
North Central Washington Museum Association
Okanogan County Historical Society
Peninsula Historical Society (Gig Harbor)
Sumner Historical Society
Tumwater Historical Society
Washington Trust for Historic Preservation
Whitman County Historical Society
Wooden Boat Foundation
Yakima Valley Museum and Historical Association

Subscribers Become Members

Readers of Columbia who are not already members of the Washington State Historical Society are urged to join in one of the categories listed; a subscription to Columbia is included. Schools, libraries and historical associations may take advantage of our “subscription only” category for $25 annually.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Price</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Individual</td>
<td>$28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Family</td>
<td>$40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Student</td>
<td>$16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Senior</td>
<td>$25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sustaining</td>
<td>$100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Membership applications should be addressed to:
Washington State Historical Society
315 North Stadium Way
Tacoma, WA 98403
(206) 593-2830
COLUMBIA

The Magazine of Northwest History
A quarterly publication of the
Washington State Historical Society

VOLUME FIVE, NUMBER ONE

David L. Nicandri, Editor
Christina Orange, Assistant Editor
Robert C. Carriker, Book Review Editor
Amy Hines, Design
Christopher Lee, Business Manager
Marie DeLong, Circulation Manager

FOUNDING EDITOR
John McClelland, Jr.

EDITORIAL ASSISTANCE
Edward Nolan, Frank Green,
Elaine Miller, Joy Werlink,
Richard Frederick, Carolyn Simmons

ADVISORS
Robert A. Clark, Arthur Dwelley,
Elaine Miller, Joy Werlink,
Richard Frederick, Carolyn Simmons

OFFICERS
President: Peter Simpson, Port Townsend
Vice-President: Daniel C. Smith, Tacoma
Vice-President: Bruce A. Wilson, Omak
Treasurer: Richard B. Odlin, Tacoma

EX OFFICIO TRUSTEES
Booth Gardner, Governor
Daniel K. Grimm, State Treasurer
Ralph Munro, Secretary of State

BOARD OF TRUSTEES
Philip H. Ashley, Bainbridge Island
Robert A. Clark, Spokane
Priscilla Collura, Seattle
Arthur Dwelley, Tenino
G. Thomas Edwards, Walla Walla
Jean Gardner, Olympia
James F. Hennion, Gig Harbor
John Hewitt, Jr., Tacoma
David Lamb, Hoquiam
Charles LeWane, Edmonds
W. Howard Mindenwatter, Tacoma
W. W. Philip, Tacoma
Doni Pierson, Seattle
James B. Robb, Walla
data-label="image-2"
Rochel. Ruby, Moses Lake
Lewis O. Sueen, Seattle
Wilma Stovler, Tacoma
Michael S. Sullivan, Tacoma
Joseph Talier, Olympia
Charles Twining, Federal Way
Peter von Reichbauer, Dish Pots
Al Williams, Seattle
Robert Wilson, Seattle
Robert C. Wing, Lakebay
Willard E. Woods, Wreatham

Columbia (ISSN: 0892-3094) is published quarterly by the
Washington State Historical Society, 315 N. Stadium Way,
Tacoma, WA 98403; (206) 593-2830. Entire contents © 1991 by
the Washington State Historical Society. All rights reserved.
Nothing may be reprinted in whole or in part without written
permission from the publisher. Editorial contributions: All
unsolicited manuscripts and photographs submitted must include
return postage (in stamps) and suitable packaging to ensure their
safe return. Although reasonable care will be taken with materials
received, no responsibility can be assumed for unsolicited
materials, including photographs. Permission: Please send address
data-label="image-3"
changes to Columbia, 315 N. Stadium Way, Tacoma, WA 98403.

COLUMBIA

THE MAGAZINE OF NORTHWEST HISTORY • SPRING 1991

Sluskin 2
Yakima chief and controversial guide to Mount Rainier.
By Michael F. Turek and Robert H. Keller, Jr.

Trevor Kincaid 8
Washington's premier "omnologist."
By Laurie A. Williams and Griffith H. Williams

History Album 15
Gone fishin'.

José Mariano Mozino 16
Mexican scholar and naturalist extraordinaire.
By Iris H. W. Engstrand

The Impact of the New Deal on the Arts 23
Measuring the success of F.D.R.'s Depression art
projects in Washington.
By David Hecker

From the Collection 31
Federal Writers' Program manuscripts preservation made possible
by federal grant support.

Northwoods Project 32
A modern-day Darius Kinsey documents the timber industry.
By John Tylczak

A Lesson in Skuldugery 38
Political do-gooders and rogues battle it out over Harbor Island.
By Richard C. Berner

Columbia Reviews 46
Recent books of interest in Northwest history.
Edited by Robert C. Carriker

Cover: Sluskin, chief of the Yakima Indians in the early 1900s, was long thought to be Hazard Stevens and P. B. Von Trump's native guide on what came to be known as the first successful ascent of Mount Rainier. In recent years experts have been reexamining the records on this topic. (Asahel Curtis Collection, Washington State Historical Society)
THE SCENE STARTLED THEM. In the late summer of 1915 two federal rangers, Leonard Rosso and Arthur White, had hiked into Yakima Park on Mount Rainier and found about 30 Indians occupying an alpine meadow. According to Rosso and White, the band was “ek[e]ing out an existence in the manner of their kind before the coming of the white man.” In other words, hunting.

The Indians were members of the Yakima tribe, and they called the meadow Me-yah-ah Pah, Place of the Chief. The Yakimas had met there for generations to race horses, hunt, gather food and conduct ceremonies. Me-yah-ah Pah was a native summer encampment similar to southern camps on Klickitat or Pah To (Mount Adams).

Above this alpine meadow Mount Rainier rose nearly another 10,000 feet to dominate the Puget Sound country skyline. Indians west and east of the Cascade range had given the mountain different names, but the most common one was Tahoma, or White Mountain—a Yakima word. The tribe’s winter villages were located southeast of the peak. With the onset of summer and the melting of snow in the high meadows, the Yakimas, Klickitats and other Columbia Plateau tribes would return to Me-yah-ah Pah. Their hunters approached the montane parks through an ancient forest in the Ohanapecosh valley. At 4,500 feet the conifers began to thin and a lush green carpet appeared. If an Indian walked past Me-yah-ah Pah toward Mount Rainier, he would cross Burroughs Mountain to St. Elmo’s Pass, a divide between the Winthrop Glacier to the west and Emmons Glacier to the east.

In this spectacular mountain scene Len Rosso and Art White had discovered the hunters. The two rangers informed the Indians about federal regulations forbidding the killing of game. Using a Yakima woman interpreter, Rosso and White discussed the situation with the Indian leader, an elderly chief named Sluskin. Sluskin showed the two officials a copy of the Walla Walla Treaty that his nation had signed in 1855, 60 years earlier and 45 years before Rainier became a national park. Sluskin insisted that although his people had surrendered much of their homeland by signing the treaty, they still reserved access to traditional hunting, fishing, and gathering areas such as Yakima Park, Me-yah-ah Pah. Uncertain how to respond, the rangers left the meadow, content to merely report their encounter.

Indians Defy Park Hunting Regulations,” exclaimed an article in the Tacoma Ledger on September 10, 1915. The report described a “recent incident” on the eastern flank of Mount Rainier involving Sluskin, the guide for Stevens and Van Trump’s 1870 first ascent of the mountain. The Indian
Chief Sluskin (?-1917) was a young man when the 1855 Yakima Treaty was signed. He told L. V. McWhorter that he led two "Stevens' boys" to the base of Mount Rainier in 1857/58.

1890 and later claimed that she refused assistance from men at difficult spots because "if she could not achieve the goal without their help she would not deserve to reach it."

Often overlooked in this and subsequent literature on Mount Rainier was the important part Indians had performed for early climbs and expeditions. Almost all early explorations were led by native guides. Although mentioned in many of these early reports, the Indian importance to these expeditions was often belittled. To neglect Indian guides in Northwest mountaineering history is equivalent to ignoring Sherpas in the history of Himalayan climbing.

All but one of the pre-1870 attempts on Mount Rainier were led by Indians. Paul Schullery gathered these early accounts in Island in the Sky: Pioneering Accounts of Mt. Rainier, 1833-1894 (1987). Dr. William Fraser Tolmie, in 1833 the first European to attempt an ascent of the mountain, started from his Hudson's Bay Company post with four Nisqually Indians: Lachalet, his nephew Lashima, Quilniash, and an unnamed relative whom Tolmie called "a very active strong fellow." Nuckal-kut, a Puyallup Indian Tolmie believed to be a native of the Mount Rainier area, was also along. The guides and Tolmie followed the Mowich River into the present park and climbed Mount Pleasant, a 6,400-foot ridge northwest of the mountain.

The next known attempt took place in 1852 and involved Robert Bailey, Sidney Ford, John Edgar, and perhaps Benjamin Shaw. This expedition began on the Nisqually River lowlands and ended unsuccessfully at approximately 14,000 feet. The Bailey group's ascent was the only early recorded Rainier climb to make no mention of guide of that famous climb, the paper reported, had been hunting illegally in a national park.

The news provoked considerable interest. On September 19 the Ledger printed another story, "He's Sluskin, The Old Chief Who Guided Stevens and Van Trump in Historic Climb." This account was written by two Yakima residents, A. J. Splawn, former mayor of North Yakima, and Lucullus V. McWhorter, rancher and writer. Following this, on the front page of the Sunday October 24 edition, another headline read "Sluskin Tells Own Story of the First Ascent."

The articles in the 1915 Ledger were not the first to appear concerning climbs of Rainier. Since August Kautz's "Ascent of Mount Rainier" appeared in the Overland Monthly (1876) and Hazard Stevens' "The Ascent of Takhoma" was published in the Atlantic Monthly (1876), a number of articles about climbing on the mountain had captured public interest. In 1885 J. Warner Fobes wrote of his 1884 climb "To the Summit of Tacoma" in the West Shore. George Bayley in the Overland Monthly (1886) added to the mountain's literature with "Ascent of Mount Tacoma," recounting his party's climb in October 1870. In 1890 Fay Fuller, journalist, social activist and mountaineer, became the first woman to climb Mount Rainier. Fuller wrote of her success in
Indian guides. Five years later Lieutenant August V. Kautz, an American army officer stationed at Fort Steilacoom, again reached the 14,000-foot level. Chief Leschi, the Nisqually leader awaiting execution in the stockade at Fort Steilacoom, had volunteered to help. When denied, Leschi recommended that Kautz use the Nisqually River route and employ Wah-pow-e-ty as a guide.

Thirteen years later, Hazard Stevens and P. B. Van Trump made what came to be considered the first successful summit ascent of Mount Rainier.

The 1870 Stevens expedition was led to the snow line by a Yakima Indian named Sluskin who told the whites that his Yakima grandfather had once climbed high on the mountain but turned back due to danger. In October of the same year, following the Stevens and Van Trump climb, pioneer settler James Longmire led Samuel Evans and A. D. Wilson on a successful ascent of the mountain. No Indians joined this climb.

There was no other party on the summit until 1883. Longmire returned to the mountain with George Bayley, P. B. Van Trump, W. C. Ewing, and a Klickitat known as Indian Henry. Sotolick, or Indian Henry, traveled part way with the group before returning home. He led the climbers on a shorter route to the moraine of the Nisqually Glacier. During this expedition Indian Henry engineered a trail leading to Paradise Valley, once again shortening the approach to the mountain. In the same period Allison Brown and a group of Yakima Indians nearly climbed the peak. Noting in his account a large Yakima hunting party, Brown’s story reveals Yakima familiarity with the eastern slopes of the mountain and surrounding foothills.

In 1915 came the Ledger story, complete with Asahel Curtis photographs. The reporter, Soester Anthon, quoted Sluskin as saying he had been the guide for the “Stevens Boy and Boston Man [American].” The article described the route to the glacier and the summit. Anthon quoted McWhorter’s claim that Sluskin had guided Stevens and Van Trump to the “White Mountain” many years ago.

Some doubted that the elderly man caught hunting in 1915 was the same

Experts Disagree Over Who Climbed Mount Rainier First

FOR MANY YEARS HISTORIANS had no reason to doubt that Hazard Stevens and P. B. Van Trump were, in 1870, the first white men to reach the summit of Mount Rainier. In recent years some authorities have come to question this assumption in light of Chief Sluskin’s account.

The unnamed “Stevens’ boys” said by Sluskin to have made the ascent may have been employed by Isaac I. Stevens, the father of Hazard Stevens and Washington Territory’s first governor, who also served as Commissioner of Indian Affairs for the territory and director of the Northwest railroad survey. Perhaps the governor’s men wanted to climb Mount Rainier for the railroad survey, or, as Sluskin recalled the incident, to reconnoiter Indian territory for the purpose of establishing the Yakima reservation boundary. Chief Sluskin told both McWhorter and A. J. Splawn: “The white men told me they went on top of the mountain and looked with glass along Cascades toward Okanogan and British Columbia, Lake Chelan and everywhere. They said, ‘We find lines.’ They told me they set stick, or rock on top of mountain. I did not understand much Chinook, and could not tell if wood or stone. They said, ‘Ice all over top, lake in center, and smoke [or steam] coming out all around like sweat-house.’ ”

McWhorter concluded that they had indeed climbed the mountain and finished their mapping. The 1857 or 1858 date would push back the first ascent of Rainier by a dozen years.

Not until 1962 would students of Rainier history begin to give the Sluskin claim credence. Aubrey L. Haines’ Mountain Fever (1962), in which the author cited McWhorter’s article as evidence, was the first published account of the 1857 climb since McWhorter’s article and Splawn’s book, Ka-mi-akin (1917).

Dee Molenaar agreed with Haines, writing in The Challenge of Rainier (1979) that “the ascent by the white men alone was up the Winthrop-Emmons Glaciers to the crater, where they left a cairn. Their accurate description of the crater and of steam vents inside the rim leaves little doubt they reached the top; none of these features is observable from below.” Schullery’s Island in the Sky (1987) also cited McWhorter’s article as evidence that the mountain was first climbed shortly after 1855.

There is much speculation on this topic, but no Indian bureau or railroad survey data has been found to substantiate Sluskin’s story, and the names of the two “Stevens’ boys” remain unknown.
Sluskin who had guided Hazard Stevens. An editorial in the Tacoma Daily News, October 25, 1915, cited an earlier article in the Yakima Republic. The Tacoma editor compared Sluskin's recent story with Stevens and Van Trump's account, pointed out several inconsistencies, and implied that Sluskin had lied. In 1915 Sluskin re-called leading two white men to the mountain amid abundant game and excellent hunting. His supposed route had followed the Tieton Valley, then went up the Bumping River and across the Cascade crest to the White River drainage. Sluskin claimed he had led the climbers around to the south slopes of Rainier. Having no luck with that route, he returned north to ascend Emmons Glacier via the Winthrop.

S tevens' and Van Trump's accounts differ strikingly from this. They include four men, not two, in their party when they met the Indian guide. Lack of game became a serious problem, with Sluskin killing only a grouse and four marmots for food. The Stevens account comes nowhere near the Tieton Basin, the Bumping River, or the White River, but instead approaches Rainier from the west, up the Nisqually. They then left the river to cross the Tatoosh range and reached the base of the peak above Paradise Valley.

COLUMBIA 5 SPRING 1991
**Chief Sluskin: The Indian’s Right to Fish**

"A FEW WORDS DO NOT SATISFY ME. I do not understand about this white man’s way of catching fish. You read this paper. What does it mean? The fish were here before the white man came. He did not create them. All Indians keep all in their hearts—a law of the lights—a naming all foods belonging to the Indians. Man kept on his mind, fish, yah-mas, berries and roots. Woman took on her mind the same way, all kinds of food. We keep it on our minds always. We do not like my laws moved by the white man. They are my own laws, made before white man came. What right has he to kill all my fish? What right has he to tell me not to take fish from our own fish-trap—which you put in the river for both Indian and white man? We want salmon for our food. We can get them only when they are sent up the river for us. We always took the salmon. Why should the white man stop us from our little share of fish? We want rights; the white man wants rights. Do not tell me to become a citizen by the white law! I was brought here by a great power. We own the fish, yah-mas, berries and roots. We get them at certain times and when we need them.

Back here is a great mountain, Tahoma, where it starts the water; the Yakima River. A greater water is below here, the N’che-wanna where the fish come up from the ocean. From Tahoma the water starts cold and clear. This water is to keep the salmon from dying. They cannot live in bad water. The pure water is sent from Tahoma for the fish and for the life of every thing here. The whole earth was created with the law of light and darkness. Laws were given for the Indian. Laws governing the food. When a child is born, it knows these laws—roots and berries. When he becomes a man, he knows how to hunt; how to get fish from the water, how to get yah-mas from the mountains. The law was made with the earth and we keep them on our minds always."

Longmire, a member of the Stevens party. David Longmire wrote to the Tacoma paper that he knew three different Sluskins: The 1870 guide who had drowned at the turn of the century; a Sluskin apprehended by rangers in the park; and a third Sluskin, hanged in 1878 for involvement in the 1878 murders of Lorenzo Perkins and his wife at Rattlesnake Springs, Yakima County.

Longmire’s theory of three Sluskins spurred L. V. McWhorter in Yakima to further investigation. Using two different interpreters, he conducted a series of four interviews with Sluskin the hunter in Sahaptian, the Yakima native tongue. McWhorter hoped to set the record straight and uncover the true story of Rainier’s first ascent. The results were surprising.

"I am thinking of my people,” Sluskin now told McWhorter, “the old people who are no more—and of this country which once belonged to us. I was raised here since the sun was created, and I do not want to speak a lie. You white people, you big men, I know what you are thinking, but you ought to listen to me. You were lucky to come here, but I am sorry for the way you have treated us. You now have all but a little of our land. I wanted everything straight. Governor Stevens was to settle all the troubles, and for this, he called the big Indians to Walla Walla in council. I was there as a boy to care for the horses of Chief Owhi. After the treaty Governor Stevens finished the work [arrangements] and in about four years we were to go on the reservation. "One or two years after this,” the chief continued, “two ‘King George
Men' [Britons] came into Yakima's country. They wanted to know who could go to Tahoma, the 'White Mountain.' [They said,] 'We are Stevens' boys. We came up the river from Walla Walla, and are looking for reservation line made at treaty.'

By the time McWhorter's "Chief Sluskin's True Narrative" had appeared in newspapers and in the Washington Historical Quarterly (1917), the public had little interest in the hunting incident. That Sluskin might have led the first successful climbers to the base of the Winthrop Glacier in 1857 failed to excite the Puget Sound community.

Lucullus McWhorter, however, did not lose interest in the chief or the Yakima role in Rainier history. He continued to meet with Sluskin, becoming a close friend of the hunter, mountain guide, orator, and leader of Indian people. For two years prior to Sluskin's death in December 1917, McWhorter collected the chief's speeches and enough information to write a biography. He also attended Sluskin's funeral and recorded the traditional ceremony.

Until his own death McWhorter spoke out on behalf of the Yakimas, especially for their water rights. He disagreed with the park service over place names, including that of the mountain. When this emotional issue surfaced in Seattle and Tacoma, McWhorter petitioned for the Indian name "Tahoma" to replace Rainier.

In the 1930s, as the park service commercially developed Yakima Park for the motoring public, the possibility of renaming the area arose. Booster forces from Puget Sound, including the influential Asahel Curtis, lobbied for "Sunrise." The Yakima Chamber of Commerce and eastern Washington insisted on retaining the customary name, "Yakima Park." McWhorter pushed for an Indian name, either Me-yah-ah Pah or "Owhi's Meadow" in honor of the Yakima chief murdered during the Indian War. (Sluskin claimed that the grizzly bear claw he wore around his neck was taken from Owhi's body at the time of the warrior's brutal death at the hands of one of Colonel George Wright's soldiers.)

McWhorter's argument for an Indian name, based on historical evidence and the use of Blackfeet place names in Glacier National Park, fell on deaf ears, as did his argument that Sluskin had guided Rainier's first ascent in the 1850s. In an attempt to please both western and eastern Washington, the park service called the tourist development Sunrise while retaining Yakima Park on its maps.

These disputes over Rainier's place names and first ascent, though interesting, remain of minor public concern. The crucial matter today is that in 1915 Sluskin possessed a copy of the 1855 Walla Walla treaty while hunting in a national park. Sluskin knew that for Yakima Indians the 1855 treaty reserved "...the privilege of hunting, gathering roots and berries and pasturing their horses and cattle upon open and unclaimed land."

Sixty-six years after Sluskin met two rangers while hunting in Yakima Park, a similar incident occurred 100 miles to the west. In March 1982 two Quinault Indians were arrested for poaching elk in Olympic National Park. Gregory Hicks and Steven Shale carried no treaty with them at the time of their arrest, but they would use the 1855 Quinault treaty in their defense. It contained the same language as the Yakima treaty concerning hunting and gathering rights on open and unclaimed lands. Although Judge Walter McGovern eventually reversed his initial decision in favor of the Quinauts, many northwest Indians today contend that the issue remains unsettled.

Robert H. Keller is a member of the faculty at Fairhaven College, Western Washington University. Michael F. Turek is a freelance writer. The two are currently co-authoring a book on the history of Native American/National Park Service relations.
acric Northwest students of environmental sciences continually run into the name Kincaid. Perhaps they are researching plankton in Lake Washington. Some of the earliest data that they have to look at was collected by Trevor Kincaid. If a scientist wishes to study the use of biological controls on pest species, he or she will find that the earliest practitioner in the Pacific Northwest was Trevor Kincaid. Aquaculture students discover him referred to as the father of the oyster industry. Alaskan entomologists find a species of bumble bee, then a spider, then a beetle, all bearing the last name kincaidi. University of Washington biology students even study in a hall named Kincaid.

Trevor Kincaid was the University of Washington's first and most influential zoology professor. From his earliest insect collecting expeditions in Peterboro, Ontario, to his last scientific publication 90 years later, his life was devoted to understanding the natural world. Focusing on this man's life reveals baseline data concerning our region's environment as well as the early history of the University of Washington. Kincaid's story is also that of an environmentalist laboring to understand a frontier world caught up in humanity's destiny. Above it all, his story tells of an intensely intelligent man with the courage to devote a lifetime to the child-like question, "Why...?" Why are the snails on one beach different from the snails on another? Why do ants pollinate one bush and bees another? Why is there a fossilized seashore thousands of feet above sea level in the Cascades? Kincaid, with his long list of honors, his audiences before royalty, his dozens of publications, hundreds of graduate students, and a university building named after him, is an example of how far a child can go if he or she loves to chase butterflies and never stops asking "why."

Childhood and Youth

KINCAID WAS BORN on December 21, 1872, in Peterboro, Ontario, the son of a medical doctor. He possessed a phenomenal memory and an insatiable curiosity. At age seven he came into possession of an old microscope and spent hours peering at the miniature world it revealed. Young Trevor worked in a greenhouse and soon learned to identify the characteristics of hundreds of plants. He read Reports of the Canadian Geographic Society from cover to cover, but his reading was not restricted to the natural world. He inherited a love of literature from his mother, Mary Bell Kincaid, and soon was reading Dickens and Scott. Not long after, he explored the classic writers in their original Latin and Greek. He became a publisher himself, helping his older brother print and distribute The Peterboro Star.

Dr. Kincaid was a fine surgeon but a poor businessman. Financial problems forced him to leave Peterboro and set out alone for California. He planned to establish himself and then send for his family. Dr. Kincaid crossed Canada by train and was to take a steamer to California, but Puget Sound claimed him. The natural beauties, growing communities and open opportunity led Dr. Kincaid to settle in Olympia, where he reestablished his medical practice.

By 1889 Dr. Kincaid had found enough financial security to send for Trevor, but the rest of the family would have to wait. Just 16 years old, he set out by train to cross Canada and join his father. The passenger train stopped at Lake Louise, near Banff. The budding...
scientist began to bargain with workmen for specimens of pink quartz. The train pulled out without him. Kincaid had to make arrangements to travel the rest of the way by freight train, but he never regretted crossing the Rocky Mountains perched high above the tracks in a caboose. Once in Vancouver, Kincaid took a steamship to Olympia. There he ate a huge plate of steamed oysters and went to find his father.

**Pioneer Olympia**

Dr. Kincaid had rented the second floor of a dry goods store at the intersection of Main and Water Streets. Comparing the squat, unfinished building to the comfortable home he had grown up in, Trevor knew that he was truly on the frontier. The acres of stump-riddled lots bisected by muddy roads did not unduly depress young Kincaid for there was a great deal of activity in Olympia in 1889. On November 11, statehood came to Washington, and Olympia, the state capital, was at the heart of the excitement. Not only that, but here was a whole new natural world to explore.

Kincaid was disappointed at first to learn that there were few fossils to be found, but the flora and fauna were new to him. Butterfly net in hand, the young man set out to make himself familiar with it.

In Olympia Trevor went to work, not to school. Whether clerking at a hardware store, acting as secretary for a realtor or surveying for the new railroad, he spent his lunch breaks collecting specimens.

The librarian at the state capitol building put Kincaid in touch with several university-educated men. He was invited to join in a study group. Here he found books and ideas to expand his mind. He became aware of men such as University of Washington science professor Orson Bennett Johnson and C. P. Gillette of the University of Colorado. When an insect defied Trevor's attempts at identification, he sent it to one of the university professors. Several new species were discovered this way, and Gillette named one of them, a gall fly, *Diastrophus kincaidii*. Young Kincaid, just 20 years old, was ecstatic. He subscribed to an entomological magazine and learned that eastern scientists were eager to receive specimens from the northwest. Kincaid sent off insects as often as he could afford the postage. Soon he was receiving letters from the east thanking “Professor Kincaid” for the well-preserved specimens.

Having set his heart on a career in science, Kincaid knew that he would need more education; unfortunately, his father was in no position to pay. Trevor took the steamer to Seattle and visited Professor O. B. Johnson. He returned full of enthusiasm for the University of Washington and Seattle's Young Naturalists' Society, where he had been asked to speak. Kincaid, by practicing thrift, managed to save $100. He was preparing to set out for school when a family tragedy threatened his plans. In far-away New York, Trevor's sister-in-law died, leaving his brother Morden with several motherless children. It was decided that Trevor's mother, Mary Bell Kincaid, should go to New York. The only one in the family with enough money to pay for the train was Trevor. When his mother left for New York, his hopes seemed as bankrupt as his finances.

Kincaid knew that many young men worked their way through school by shoveling coal or delivering papers. He determined to go to Seattle and enroll. Visiting his father just after a patient had died, Trevor was able to get a ten-dollar gold piece. Steamer fare from Seattle to Olympia was one dollar. Trevor bought a one-way ticket, put a dollar aside for the price of a return ticket, and set out for the university.

The University of Washington consisted of eight instructors, including President Gatch. The enrollment was approximately 250 students, most of them at the high school or “sub-freshman” level. Campus was on a knoll near present-day Tenth and Union. It was soon to move to logged-off land near Lake Washington. Young Kincaid was disappointed to find that his hoped-for mentor, Professor Johnson, would be unable to teach because of a debilitating case of arthritis. Charles Hill, a University of Michigan graduate, was brought in. The new professor was not nearly as interested in zoology as Johnson was. However, many of Hill's duties involved collecting, preserving and presenting specimens, and he was delighted to find that Kincaid loved this kind of work. Soon Kincaid was an unofficial assistant, even grading notebooks.

By working hard for Professor Hill,

---

*Trevor Kincaid and his six children set out on a collecting expedition.*
joining Seattle’s Young Naturalists’ Society, and throwing himself into his studies, Kincaid gained quite a bit of attention. He was still in desperate need of money, though, and O. B. Johnson came to the rescue. The nearly lame professor hobbed into Trevor’s room and wordlessly dropped a 20-dollar gold piece on the wooden crate that served as a table. Trevor never forgot the favor. Years later, when Johnson was completely bedridden, busy Professor Kincaid often went on collecting trips to procure new specimens for his old benefactor.

Richer benefactors than O. B. Johnson were about to enter Trevor Kincaid’s life. The Young Naturalists’ Society in Seattle counted the sons of many of the city’s wealthiest citizens as members. Most of these wealthy members were interested in natural history as a hobby. They recognized Trevor Kincaid’s unusual gift, as well as his poverty. One day Edmond Meany, a member of the club for years, told Kincaid that Charles Denny had offered a room in his home to the impoverished university student. A few days later Trevor came to the Dennys’ back door with his chest of clothes and specimens, automatically assuming that he would work for his room and board by tending to the furnace and grounds. Mrs. Denny showed him to a large, bright room. She made it clear that there were servants enough to run the house. Trevor was to eat his meals with the family and spend his free time on science.

When the university moved to its new campus in September 1895, Professor Hill asked to have a paid teaching assistant. The request was granted and Trevor Kincaid was hired by the University of Washington for $25 a month. His duties included collecting specimens, washing out scientific equipment, grading notebooks, and teaching the sub-freshman general biology class. This began a teaching relationship that would last for close to 60 years.

As Kincaid advanced through his own courses, he took on more responsibilities as a teacher. He began to publish scientific papers in technical journals. Homer Redfield Foster replaced Charles Hill as science professor. Foster was a solid botanist, but had very little desire to teach zoology. This resulted in Trevor Kincaid, still an undergraduate, becoming the head of the zoology department.

Fur Seal Trip

YOUNG KINCAID’S reputation began to spread outside of Seattle. In 1897 he went with a team of international scientists to the Pribilof Islands to study the fur seals which migrate along the Pacific Coast and west to the Hawaiian Islands. Along this route large numbers of seals were being harvested by Canadian sealers. The slaughter created hard feelings among other sealing nations and, if left unchecked, would have caused the animal’s extinction. The United States, Russia, Canada, Japan and Great Britain sent scientists to study the issue.

Dr. Jordan of Stanford University led the United States team. He chose Kincaid as a junior member. The scientists, aboard the United States Fish Commission’s research vessel Albatross, steamed to Dutch Harbor, Alaska, and then to the Pribilofs. A small group was left on the island of St. George while most of the team went to St. Paul. Kincaid and the St. Paul group set up camp in an old billiard hall in an Aleut village.

When Jordan steamed south to visit St. George Island the men on St. Paul declared a holiday. Jordan returned unexpectedly to find scientific equipment and text books collecting dust in a corner. Card games and billiard tournaments seemed to be the order of the day. Jordan noticed Kincaid’s absence. The famous scientist from Stanford found Kincaid in a small attic laboratory. The University of Washington undergraduate, surrounded by specimens and books while gambling went on below, made quite an impression on Jordan.

Of this trip Kincaid wrote, “It enlarged my concept of the distribution of plant and animal life in the northern section of the Pacific Coast. Association with Dr. Jordan... and others of the scientific staff was full of interest for a young biologist. My collections, as they went into the hands of specialists, brought me to the attention of eastern scientists, and undoubtedly led to my appointment as entomologist to the Harriman Alaska Expedition which took place two years later.” The trip also resulted in an international treaty to provide protection for the fur seals.

Harriman Alaska Expedition

IN 1899 E. H. HARRIMAN, a wealthy railroad magnate, planned a hunting trip to Alaska. At the suggestion of the chief of the United States Biological Survey, Harriman expanded his crew of hunters
to include scientists, artists, taxidermists and photographers. Upon Dr. Jordan's recommendation, Trevor Kincaid was invited to join the expedition as its entomologist. The list of passengers included such notables as John Burroughs, who later wrote a narrative of the expedition; John Muir, naturalist; Louis Agassiz, artist; and Edward S. Curtis, photographer.

On the morning Trevor Kincaid was to graduate from the University of Washington with a Bachelor of Arts degree, he left Seattle aboard the expedition's steamer, the George W. Elder, bound for Alaska. This trip, offering the chance for collection and study, could not be passed up, even if it meant missing commencement.

From Seattle the steamer took the Inside Passage to Sitka, stopping along the way to explore and name Muir Glacier. On the way to Prince William Sound many other glaciers were explored and described. At Farragut Bay Kincaid found a new species of beetle, later named Nebris kincaidi.

The Harriman expedition coasted along the Alaska peninsula to Kodiak Island and engaged in bear hunting. The ship entered Kukak Bay, north of Kodiak Island. Here Kincaid found prints of leaves embedded in sandstone from the Miocene period, a time when the area had a subtropical climate. Moving west to the Shumigan Islands, the expedition split up. Kincaid and five others were left on Popov Island while the rest moved on to Unalaska and the Pribilofs.

Free from the formalities of shipboard life, which included white shirt and tie, Kincaid spent time collecting and documenting the flora and fauna of the island. He extended the known range of Bering Sea life forms by 500 miles. After two weeks the ship picked them up for the return to Seattle.

The voyage home was spent labeling specimens and writing notes. Kincaid's collection included over 8,000 specimens representing about 1,000 species, 344 of which were new to science.

Returning to Seattle, Kincaid found that the University of Washington's library was inadequate for identifying so many specimens. He went to Washington, D.C., and spent the rest of the summer working in the National Museum. Reports of the Harriman expedition were later written up in the proceedings of the Academy of Sciences of Washington, D.C. A final report was published in a 17-volume set, of which two volumes devoted to insects were edited by Kincaid.

The Zoology Department Branches Out

Kincaid graduated in 1899 and was immediately promoted to assistant professor. The years surrounding the turn of the century were full of political turmoil at the University of Washington. Regents and presidents swept in and out with confusing suddenness. Many faculty members became embroiled in the politics, but not Trevor Kincaid. He was polite to all, avoided taking sides, and devoted his energies to students and science. Once a graduate student approached Professor Kincaid and asked what he should do concerning the campus unrest. Kincaid said, "Find an interesting scientific question and lose yourself in it." Following his own advice, Kincaid got lots of work done and made no enemies.

Professor Kincaid became one of the University of Washington's most respected faculty members. His classes were always at peak enrollment. Students enjoyed his humor, humanity, and unsurpassed knowledge. The frequent field trips he sponsored were a delightful change from class work, but these were not holidays. Kincaid believed students had to experience nature to learn about it. They worked hard, dredging up mud from the bottom of Lake Washington to find out what lived in it, climbing hills to collect plant specimens from different elevations and chasing insects with butterfly nets.

Kincaid, calling himself an entomologist, refused to be captured by one
branch of knowledge. He sponsored a course on Northwest Indian culture. This was the first class offered in what was to become the Department of Anthropology. Kincaid’s marine science classes laid the foundation of the College of Fisheries. His comparative anatomy classes led to the founding of the Department of Physiology, a forerunner of the School of Medicine. Through it all he continued to chair the Zoology Department as more and more teachers and classes were added.

Friday Harbor Marine Lab
FROM THE FIRST moment he saw the San Juan Islands, Kincaid knew they were an ideal place for students to study. In 1903 he approached university president Kane for a boat. The professor was granted permission to conduct marine biology classes on the islands, but no funds could be provided. An undaunted Kincaid set out with co-worker Thomas Frye. Near Friday Harbor an abandoned, windowless, doorless cabin had been donated for their use. A group of hardy students, willing to camp out, joined the teachers. They cooked over a beach fire. A scow with a fisherman’s dredge served as their research vessel. The facilities may have been lacking, but there was enthusiasm in abundance. Students and teachers alike felt that the six-week class was too short.

In 1908 an abandoned cannery was donated to the university to house the continually growing collections. In 1909 the old cannery was sold. A short distance from town four acres of new land were donated on the condition that lab facilities be built as soon as possible.

The following winter a building was erected to house research rooms, a lab, lecture hall and stock room. Sleeping quarters were 60 large tents on the hillside which had to be tied to trees to keep them from sliding downhill. Permanent facilities allowed a wide range of classes to be offered. General courses such as marine zoology were reinforced with specialty classes like diatom physiology.

Kincaid, acting as director, and Frye set up a program to invite professors and students from other universities to work at the lab. After several years the visiting professors began making demands concerning the allocation of funds. Kincaid, following his “policy” during times of turmoil, absorbed himself in research. In 1914 he turned directorship of the Friday Harbor lab over to Frye. Frye’s first decision was to dissolve the visiting professor program. The station became an exclusive project of the University of Washington. Kincaid continued to spend many of his summers teaching at Friday Harbor.

In 1922 a special act of Congress transferred a 484-acre military reservation in the area to the university. It became known as the Puget Sound Biological Station. The next legislative session established a marine preserve in the area to protect plant and animal life for future study and enjoyment.

Kincaid’s classes were popular. His students caught his enthusiasm for the natural world and its complex but eloquent solution to the challenge of survival. They went home with curiosity and respect with regard to nature, characteristics that Trevor Kincaid maintained throughout his long life.

Gypsy Moth
IN 1908 GYPSY MOTHS were damaging trees in New England. The pest was spreading. The United States Bureau of Entomology asked Kincaid to travel to Japan and study ways of controlling the gypsy moth, which was apparently being held in check there by natural parasites. Kincaid traveled throughout Japan. He saw forests devastated by the gypsy moth as well as areas where the moth population was held down by parasites. From careful observations and painstaking collections, Kincaid discovered a new species of gypsy moth parasite—a wasp that laid its eggs in the moth eggs. The developing wasps prevented the moth eggs from growing. He sent boxes of the wasps to the bureau to be spread throughout the infested forests.

At a Japanese marine station Professor Kincaid met and worked with Crown Prince Hirohito, a highly trained zoologist. At Hiroshima and Senai Kincaid studied oyster culture. Years later in the Pacific Northwest he implemented the techniques he had learned.

The professor from Seattle continued his studies of the moth in Russia. He traveled from St. Petersburg to Odessa and Ganchesty. He spent six weeks living on a nobleman’s estate studying the moth. While his trip through the forests of Russia greatly increased his knowledge of stages of the infestation, it offered little new information on natural parasitic controls.

Before returning to Seattle, Kincaid traveled through Europe, visiting research labs on the continent and his ancestral home in Scotland.
In 1927 the busy professor was called upon to battle an infestation of earwigs in Seattle. The city council, health department, and county horticultural service had allocated money to study the problem. A voluntary baiting program had been made compulsory; private and public lots had been baited at an owner's cost of $1.25 per 40 square feet. After two years of chaos and controversy, the earwigs had become more plentiful than ever.

Kincaid was finally called to attend a meeting about the problem. To demonstrate the effectiveness of natural predators, he brought a jar of earwigs and a jar of beetles to the meeting. He put a dozen beetles into the jar with the earwigs and passed it around. By the time the jar had circulated the room the earwigs had been devoured. He said, "Expensive baits are never more than a temporary measure and no doubt do more harm than good by killing beneficial insects." The program to spread the beetles was implemented immediately.

Oysters

As a young man in Olympia, Trevor Kincaid watched Indians harvest the small native oyster Ostrea lurida. Over the years, through unlimited harvesting and lack of conservation, the native oyster population almost became extinct. In 1911 and again in 1916 Kincaid was called to Olympia by the federal Bureau of Fisheries to study oyster stocks. He came to the conclusion that the native oyster could not be saved for commercial use. Only by transplanting another species to Puget Sound could the industry survive. While native oysters were delicious, they were small, difficult to raise, and their shells hard to open.

Recalling his trip to Japan, Kincaid suggested the importation of the Japanese oyster Ostrea gigas. Before the bureau could decide, two Japanese men, with the backing of eight compatriot businessmen, bought 600 acres of tidelands. They formed the Pearl Oyster Company of Samish Bay, ten miles south of Bellingham. Mature Ostrea gigas were imported in the hopes that they would prove hardy. When the shipment arrived, most of the oysters were dead. The aquaculturists scattered the oyster shells anyway. A few months later a very active set of spat (seed oysters) was discovered growing on the old shells. The Japanese decided that in the future they would only import spat.

In 1922 the Alien Land Bill and anti-Japanese sentiment forced the Pearl Oyster Company out of business. E. W. Steele bought the company. He changed the name to Rockpoint Company and invited Kincaid out for a visit. Steele captured Kincaid at the very start by asking, "Why...why can't we control the oyster spawning process?" Kincaid spent many summertime hours at Rockpoint. He brought lab equipment and books to study the problem. His enthusiasm infected all of the workers.

The spawning process baffled all attempts at understanding. Oysters were impossible to grow at some places while at other places they flourished. One day in May 1923 Kincaid and Steele were looking at the oysters in sun-warmed waters. Kincaid shouted, "They're spawning!" It suggested to him that the process was triggered by temperature. Later Kincaid proved this to be true. The man was hooked on oysters. For the next 40 years he acted as biologist and consultant for the industry.

Another man interested in oyster culture was Gerald T. Morgan. He sought Kincaid's advice regarding a good location to raise oysters. The professor suggested Willapa Bay. Morgan bought 7,000 acres of prime oyster tidelands. Later Kincaid added another ten acres. As further inducement, Morgan built Kincaid a fully-stocked laboratory in the village of Nahcotta near Willapa Bay.

After determining that temperature triggered the spawning process, Kincaid set about trying to find ways to artificially induce it. Not surprisingly he discovered that nature could do it faster, cheaper and more consistently. Working with nature rather than against it, Kincaid learned to predict when natural spawning would occur. He became so good at it that three weeks in advance he could predict to within 48 hours when spawning would occur. The professor...
found that oysters spawn best in shallow, warm water and fatten quickly in cold, deeper water. He researched their dietary needs, enemies, biology, ecology, and life history, and identified the benign presence of a red protozoan Noctiluca that was being mistaken for the dangerous "red tide." It is no wonder he came to be known as the "father of the oyster industry."

Publications After Retirement

KINCAID TURNED 70 years old on December 21, 1942. He stepped down as head of the Zoology Department and announced his intention to retire. His plans were upset by armed services recruiters claiming many of the university's younger faculty members. Kincaid, offering to help fill in for the missing professors, continued to teach half time. He taught classes in evolution, eugenics, plankton and limnology. He remained at the university in this capacity until 1947, when his plan to retire was made good.

Kincaid was highly respected by students and colleagues, but he had published very little since the 1920s, and nothing at all since 1935. His colleagues would chide him about that. The University of Washington went so far as to hire a stenographer to follow him around and copy down what he said, but nothing could force the meticulous scientist to publish something that was not carefully prepared. The fact of the matter was that Kincaid had been too busy teaching and lecturing to do much writing. This changed when Kincaid left the university. After retiring he began one of the most productive periods of his career, and he did it in a unique way.

Kincaid bought a small manually-operated printing press and several fonts of type. Remembering the skills that he had learned with his brother while publishing The Peterboro Star, Kincaid began to write, print and publish his own books. He named his publishing company Calliostoma after an aquatic mollusk. One of the first books he wrote was his autobiography, The Adventures of an Omnologist. The balance of Calliostoma Press publications were scientific papers. Trevor Kincaid's indelible memory and voluminous collections were rich resources. Papers on beetles, ants, phytoplankton and mollusks were published.

Two papers in particular are noteworthy. At the turn of the century, when the University of Washington was being built on its new campus, Kincaid noticed something strange on the logged-off land. He found a weed, a species of pusillus, that depended upon ants for pollination. Over 50 years later, when he had the time, Kincaid studied the literature and found that the relationship had not been described. He went looking for the weed again and found it, with its ant companions. His paper on the subject opened a whole new chapter on insects and their role in plant pollination.

Kincaid's most influential paper deals with a tiny marine gastropod, the Thais. Professor Kincaid was an incurable tide pool hunter. He knew the locations of hundreds of pools, and went back to them year after year. His trained eye noticed that the tiny Thais snails living in each pool were slightly different. Feeling that he was watching evolution at work, Kincaid meticulously catalogued the snails over several decades before publishing his findings.

Kincaid donated a complete set of Calliostoma publications to the University of Washington Library. His writings are frequently checked out, and several, including his study of Thais, have been requested through interlibrary loan by scientists across the United States and Canada.

A Lasting Contribution

ON JULY 20, 1970, Trevor Kincaid died. It is relatively easy to develop a list of his accomplishments. His collection of Northwest flora and fauna became the foundation of the region's ecology. He set up the University of Washington's Zoology Department, and many of his students became leading scientists and educators. Kincaid's work led to the development of a billion-dollar biological industry, oyster farming. He published numerous influential scientific books and papers. As a pioneer in the biological control of pest species, his wisdom is appreciated by the whole new generation of environmentalists.

Kincaid, easily approached by all strata of society, served as Seattle's "answer man" for biological questions. Newspaper reporters called him for information about zoological curiosities. Gardeners sought his help in controlling blight. Children approached him wondering what to feed a "pet" frog. Clubs and societies of all kinds requested his famous slide shows and lectures.

Whenever he was approached for information, Kincaid gave freely. A story told by Trevor's son Tom illustrates the professor's motivation. After World War II a series of dams were planned in the Skagit Valley. As so often happens, this resulted in litigation. Lawyers and expert witnesses gathered in a small Mount Vernon courtroom. The judge looked around and realized that most of the people were strangers to each other. Before beginning the proceedings he asked each person to stand, introduce themselves and state why they were there. One person represented the commercial fishing interest, another represented the loggers. Power company spokesmen, politicians, reporters, hunters, sports fishermen, and numerous others identified themselves. Finally, a small white-haired gentleman stood and said, "My name is Trevor Kincaid, and I represent the fish!"

In this role, as advocate of the environment, Trevor Kincaid made a lasting contribution to the Pacific Northwest. It is fitting that in 1967 the University of Washington's new science building was named Kincaid Hall. It is to be hoped that future generations of biologists studying in Kincaid Hall will imbibe some of the spirit of the man who claimed to "represent the fish."

Laurie A. Williams and Griffith H. Williams of Bothell are graduates of the University of Washington, and write about fisheries issues and regional history, respectively.
Proprietors of the Virginia Bar in Seattle, William Herdman and John McNamara, turned a bad situation into an advertising opportunity. They posted signs that read "Take the Ferry for the Virginia Bar, a Paradise for Hunters," "Sure Cure for Rheumatism—Mud Baths," and "Hog Wallow Station," protesting the muddy street conditions during the regrade in 1903. The unknown fisherman drew a crowd of potential customers for Herdman and McNamara.

The Historical Society gladly accepts donations of prints or negatives of regional historical interest to add to its photograph collection. (Please contact the Society before making donations.) Readers are invited to submit historical photographs for History Album. If a photograph is to be returned, it must be accompanied by a self-addressed, stamped envelope.
José Mariano Moziñô

Pioneer Mexican Naturalist

By Iris H. W. Engstrand

José Mariano Moziño Suarez Losada received the degree of Bachelor of Medicine from the Royal and Pontifical University of Mexico on April 30, 1787. Thirty years old at the time, Moziño had already distinguished himself as a professor of theology and as a student of philosophy and mathematics. Soon turning his attention to a third field of interest, Moziño began the study of botany at the newly established Royal Botanical Garden of...
Mexico on May 4, 1789, completing the prescribed course seven months later. Undaunted in his dedication to learning, Mozifio immediately joined the Royal Scientific Expedition to New Spain and embarked upon a career that would consume the majority of his time and energy for the remainder of his life. In so doing, the young Mexican scholar joined a group of Spanish scientists who represented a new kind of learning and encouraged the best techniques that enlightened scholarship had to offer.

Factors influencing the flurry of scientific activity in Spain and her overseas possessions during the late eighteenth century were rooted in the whole climate of European thought. The concept of naturalism—the assumption that the whole universe of mind and matter was guided and controlled by natural law—caused men of the Enlightenment to turn with enthusiasm to rediscover their own lands, studying fauna and flora, minerals, and agricultural products, as well as recording the customs and history of native peoples. The new scientists, no longer relying upon ancient authority to establish the truth of long-accepted propositions, broke with the Aristotelian tradition and constructed a system based on direct observation and reason. As these intellectuals searched for the physical and moral improvement of man, their interests shifted gradually from supernatural religion to a natural science separated from magic and superstition. The first issue of the *Gaceta de Madrid* in 1787 proclaimed the eighteenth century "the most scientific of all those composing the extensive epoch of seven thousand years." Subjects discussed ranged from practical inventions and the increase of population to abstract theories of physics and chemistry.

The travel of officials, merchants, and scientists between Europe and the Americas allowed a constant exchange of information. Despite some effort at censorship, ideas of the Enlightenment soon reached Spain's possessions and were distributed among a well-educated group of creoles who desired to participate in the knowledge of European discoveries. The Spanish crown had already encouraged new procedures in medicine by establishing a chair of anatomy complete with dissecting room at Mexico's Royal and Pontifical University in 1768. The Royal Tribunal of the King's Physicians (*Real Tribunal del Protomedicato*), the hospitals, and the Royal College of Surgery also began to investigate what was termed "scientific medicine." When the botanical garden and chair of botany were introduced into Mexico from Spain in 1787, Viceroy Manuel Flores ordered that the university incorporate the new plan of botanical studies into its curriculum even though its teaching methods differed greatly from time-honored traditions.

José Mariano Mozifio arrived in Mexico City at a time when opportunities for learning were expanding. Born in 1757, Mozifio grew up in the village of Temascaltepec, a mining region some 50 kilometers southwest of Toluca in the present state of Mexico. He remained in Temascaltepec, no doubt attending local schools, until the age of 17, when he traveled to Mexico City to enroll in the Seminario Tridentino in 1774. In order to gain admittance with a scholarship, Mozifio had to present evidence of his legitimacy, purity of life, and the inability of his parents to support his studies. He did all this and, with the additional help of his uncle, José Luis de los Rios, a professor of theology at the seminary, received the support he needed to remain at the school. In just two years, José Mariano graduated in philosophy and in two more was examined in scholastic theology and ethics. He showed outstanding promise as a young scholar and accomplished his exams "to the satisfaction of the whole college with general applause." In the meantime
he had married Doña Maria Rita Rivera y Melo Montaño, with whose family he had been staying while attending the seminary.

In 1778 the Archbishop of Oaxaca requested that Mozino's uncle, Professor de los Ríos, come to Oaxaca as official theologian, so Mozino and his bride accompanied Don Luis to the southern city. There Mozino became a professor of philosophy—Catedrático Propietario de Filosofía—in the seminary and also gave lessons in ecclesiastical history. After six years, he tired of life in provincial Oaxaca and returned to Mexico City to study medicine at the university. His wife disapproved of the move and remained in Oaxaca, later complaining that Mozino had abandoned her without support.

While studying medicine, Mozino also took a two-year course in mathematics given by Engineer Miguel Costanzo of the Royal Army. A hardworking and capable student, Mozino was able, at the same time, to be number one in his class at the academy, teach mathematics at the university, and double up on his medical studies. On the basis of an oral examination, he finished his third year in medicine in six months and enrolled immediately in his fourth on October 19, 1786, completing the bachelor's degree the following April.

The course in botany to which Mozino had quickly turned was given by members of the Royal Scientific Expedition sent out from Madrid in 1787. They had been instructed by Spain's King Carlos III to establish field studies and an Institute of Botany in Mexico City. The course was recommended to physicians, surgeons, and pharmacists for the purpose of learning about the curative properties of plants, but its modern methods of instruction were looked upon with little enthusiasm by the "old guard" at the Royal University. Nevertheless, the expedition, because it had the full support of the crown and that of Viceroy Flores, found a suitable site for a botanical garden and classrooms in the Potrero de Atlampa, a short distance from the center of town. They began instruction in May 1788, but flooding forced a change of location to a site adjoining the viceroy's palace on the Zócalo in 1791. There the scientists joined the intellectual community of the Mexican capital.

Mozino demonstrated such an amazing aptitude for botany that the expedition's director, Martín de Sessé, a physician himself, singled out the ambitious Mexican for special assignments. After Mozino's graduation as first in the class, Sessé appointed him to accompany a third major botanical excursion that the Spaniards were planning in the territories northwest of Mexico City. Two previous excursions from 1787 to 1789 had covered areas close to the capital such as Toluca, San
Angel, San Agustín de las Cuevas and Amecameca on the first, and the region between Cuernavaca and Acapulco on the second. These resulted in the collection of approximately 900 species of plants while the artists prepared about 360 illustrations. The third excursion, which extended as far north as Sonora, kept Mozart in the field from 1790 to early 1792. Mozart's wife of 12 years was not impressed; she asked for a divorce.

Sesse wanted to keep Mozart and fellow botanist José Maldonado on the payroll, but could not obtain government funding for their salaries. He therefore requested that the Second Count of Revillagigedo, viceroy of New Spain from 1789 to 1794, appoint the two Mexicans, along with a talented local artist, Atanasio Echeverría, to accompany the expedition of Juan Francisco de la Bodega y Quadra to the Pacific Northwest during the summer and fall of 1792.

The major purpose of the trip was to settle with British commissioner George Vancouver boundary questions that had arisen out of the Nootka Sound Controversy of 1789, but an important secondary goal was to survey the area scientifically and record the history of the native inhabitants. The viceroy agreed.

Mozart and the others departed from San Blas on March 3, 1792, and arrived at Nootka Sound on April 29. They were welcomed at Friendly Cove by Chief Maquinna of the Nootka Indians and Pedro Alberni, commandant of the local presidio—Spain’s northernmost military outpost. After settling in, Mozart decided to study the language of the Indians in order to learn what he could about their daily life and social relationships. He was particularly interested in their class distinctions and noted that the chief, or tais, served as both political and religious leader. Members of the chief's family served as princes or part of a noble hierarchy. All the rest were called meschimes or commoners. Two or three princes always accompanied the chief, who did not work but was expected to make certain sacrifices as part of religious ceremonies. According to Mozart:

*The commoners by their condition are slaves, and only through the goodness of their masters do they at times receive treatment as sons. And since vices increase with desires, and desires increase with the luxuries of sophisticated nations, no one will say that I exaggerate when I affirm that the vices of these savages are few when compared to ours. One does not see here greed for another man's wealth, because articles of prime necessity are very few and all are common. Hunger obliges no one to rob on the highways, or to resort to piracy along the coasts. In addition to the fact that they are very abstemious in their meals, everyone can partake indis-

“A Kwakiutl brave from Queen Charlotte Strait.”
“Map of the interior channels of the Port of Nootka explored in 1790 and 1791 by Don Francisco Eliza and Don Alejandro Malaspina.”

criminately of the fish or seafood he needs, and with the greatest liberty, in the house of the chief.

The uniformity of dress, according to the rank each holds, means that everyone’s cape is safe in the hands of others. The trade with Europeans has allowed them to become acquainted with various things that they would have been better off without forever, conserving the primitive simplicity of their customs.

Describing the physical features of the people of the area, Mozifto indicated that the Indians were of below-average height and that no one was fat. Their heads, he noted, were elongated because babies, shortly after birth, were held with strong bindings in an oblong box that served as a portable cradle. Their teeth were strong and even, their hair long, straight and thick, and their earlobes pierced with copper adornments. They rubbed their bodies with grease and red ochre, which obscured their natural skin tones, and tinted their faces various colors. They dressed in capes woven from beaten cedar fibers and some kind of wool. Chief Maquinna wore “an excellent cape made of many skins of the finest sable, joined together with such skill that much care was necessary to distinguish the seams on the reverse side.

Prior to the arrival of Europeans, the natives of Nootka drank no fermented beverages—only water. Within a short time, however, they became accustomed to wine, brandy, and beer. They accepted whatever was given to them, but had not yet thought of obtaining liquor by trade. They had quickly acquired a taste for coffee, tea, chocolate, and sugar, but did not like milk, butter, cheese, olive oil, vinegar, or spices. They would eat soup as long as it did not contain noodles, liked cooked vegetables with the exception of cabbage, would eat roasts of mutton, beef or deer but not chicken, and preferred salads of lettuce and broccoli only. Beans were their favorite food and they named the dish Tais-frijoles, or “beans of the chief.”

Of particular fascination to Mozifto was Matlox, inhabitant of the mountainous district, of whom all have an unbelievable terror. They imagine his body as very monstrous, all covered with stiff black bristles; a head similar to a human one, but with much greater, sharper, and stronger fangs than those of the bear; extremely long arms; and toes and fingers armed with long curved claws. His shouts alone (they say) force those who hear them to the ground, and any unfortunate body he slaps is broken into a thousand pieces.

It appears a number of demons or supernatural beings plagued the Nootkan Indians; these included the Thunderbird, a huge man living in the remote snow-covered peaks, a variety of headless birds, and a mountain lion that walked backward and killed men with a long lance-like tail.

Greater roadrunner (Geococcyx californianus), drawn by Cerda or Echeverria, Royal Scientific Expedition.
Mozifio's five-month stay allowed him sufficient time to gather information for Noticias de Nutka, a 200-page description of the area with a detailed account of the customs, government, economy, rites, chronology, and music of the Indians with whom he had been living. In this work, Mozifio included a history of European voyages to the sound, added a dictionary of the Nootkan language, and classified more than 200 species of plants and animals. Echeverría prepared a number of paintings and sketches of individual Indians, general scenes, fauna and flora. He completed some illustrations that he had left unfinished at Nootka after his return to Mexico City; others were duplicated in the capital by fellow artists from the Royal Art Academy of San Carlos.

Though favorably impressed by Nootka's attractions for the naturalist and ethnographer, Mozifio believed that Spain's official presence there was of limited benefit. He knew that retention of the presidio offered no military or commercial advantage and recommended official withdrawal. Mozifio's comments appear to have had little impact politically, but his Noticias de Nutka was recognized as a valuable study by the few scientists who had access to it. As it turned out, Mozifio's commander, Bodega y Quadra, failed to reach an agreement with Vancouver over the relative rights of Spain and Great Britain in the disputed territory, so an official settlement of the Nootka Sound Controversy—mutual withdrawal—was not forthcoming until 1795.

The Bodega expedition had left Mexico on September 21, 1792, stopping for a time in California. Although specific documentation is lacking, certain studies of plants that were native to central or southern California indicate that Mozifio spent about two months in Monterey and other areas of California. He returned to San Blas, Mexico, in February 1793, and after ten weeks of travel rejoined the Royal Scientific Expedition in the capital.

**Though favorably impressed by Nootka's attractions for the naturalist and ethnographer, Mozifio believed that Spain's presence there was of limited benefit.**

Mozifio and Echeverría set out for Mexico's southeast in April and, by September, had reached the active volcano of San Andrés de Tuxtla. Violent eruptions, which had begun in May, had caused considerable panic among the Indians and convinced the Spaniards as far away as Veracruz that the English were attacking. Mozifio described the Indians' reaction to the eruptions of the volcano and their feelings toward him—a scientist who had come to placate the spirit of the volcano. Even though they were terrified, they wanted to accompany him to the edge of the crater, since they had become convinced they were immortal at his side. Their faith proved helpful to Mozifio when he needed a hand on the steep climb up to 4,500 feet. Following their visit to the volcano, Echeverría returned to Mexico while Mozifio, finally on the official payroll, continued to collect specimens in the Veracruz area until December 1794.

Mozifio spent the next five years collecting and classifying plants in southern Mexico and Central America. He visited his wife in Oaxaca and offered her half of his meager salary, but she was not pleased with the arrangement. At the end of 1799, he returned to Mexico City to lecture at the Botanical Garden, write a number of articles concerning medicinal plants and drug remedies, and correspond with the editor of the Gazeta de Guatemala about the effectiveness of smallpox vaccination. He also edited and enlarged a Spanish version of John Brown's Elements of Medicine that was printed in Mexico in 1803 and studied the effects of various medicinal plants at the General Hospital of San Andrés. Mozifio's final effort in Mexico was a treatise on yellow fever that he was able to expand with new information obtained in Havana on his journey to Spain in 1803.

Royal interest in supporting a costly botanical expedition to New Spain declined steadily during the reign of Carlos IV. Certain members of the court could not understand either the value of such an undertaking or the amount of time a team of scientists needed to complete a botanical survey from Nicaragua to Alaska. Certainly, they reasoned, the two-year extension of
the original six-year contract given to director Sessé was more than enough time to complete any unfinished projects. Despite Sessé's protests, final, unconditional orders from the king in 1802 made the group's departure for Spain imminent, although the Botanical Garden of Mexico would continue as a functioning institution under Vicente Cervantes, its original Spanish director. Mozifio elected to accompany approximately 1,400 paintings made by Echeverría and Cerda.

Joining Sessé in Madrid, Mozifio became associated with the Royal Academy of Medicine and, while pursuing his various projects, served as the academy's president for four terms between 1805 and 1812. Sessé, plagued by poor health, died in 1808 before editing the Mexican flora was completed. Mozifio, then working alone, tried to keep his botanical collection protected and together, but ran into a series of unfortunate occurrences resulting from the abdication of Carlos IV and the occupation of the Spanish throne by Joseph Bonaparte in December 1808. The Napoleonic government actually made an effort to secure publication of the Flora de Mexico, but failed. Under the French, Mozifio became director of the Royal Museum of Natural History and a professor of zoology.

Ironically, the returning Spanish patriots in 1812 branded Mozifio a traitor and forced him to leave Madrid with his manuscripts and paintings in an old handcart.

The returning Spanish patriots branded Mozifio a traitor and forced him to leave Madrid with his manuscripts and paintings in an old handcart.

The herbarium of Sessé and Mozifio preserved in Madrid is extensive, containing more than 10,000 specimens, and shows that Mozifio had begun to organize them in a manner suitable for publication as a flora of New Spain. The illustrations Mozifio left temporarily in Geneva did give Spain some credit by forming the basis for 17 new genera and 271 new species published in de Candolle's Systema and Prodomus published during the 1830s.

Mozifio's manuscript flora of Guatemala lists more than 200 species that were collected in Central America, possibly as far south as Costa Rica. "That Mozifio was a scholar—neither merely a collector nor a menial assistant—is attested by the opinions of his contemporaries and by his surviving reports on his expeditions to Nutka and to the Volcan de Tuxtla in Veracruz," writes McVaugh.

Mozifio commanded Latin and, when in Nutka, learned the language of the natives well enough to serve as an interpreter. His role in medicine must be evaluated in terms of advances made during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Though obviously not a family man, Mozifio was a dedicated scholar who, under a different set of circumstances, could have brought international recognition to Mexico as well as to Spain in the field of botanical nomenclature.

The illustrations, along with those that reached Madrid safely, were to have been used as the basis for engravings in the published results of the expedition. Unfortunately, this was not possible. Until recently, Plantae Novae Hispaniae (1887-1891) and Flora Mexicana (1891-1897), two volumes published in Mexico without illustrations, together comprised almost the sum of the original publication that resulted from the Royal Scientific Expedition. The names of Sessé and Mozifio are listed as co-authors, but, according to botanist Rogers McVaugh, their contributions were quite different. Both were competent scientists, as shown by their existing analyses and descriptions of plants according to the Linnaean method, but Sessé was more involved in administrative duties. Mozifio apparently took charge of Plantae Novae Hispaniae since the entire manuscript, along with various inventories of paintings and accounts summarizing the activities of the expedition, are in his handwriting. These are housed in the Botanical Garden and Museum of Natural Science in Madrid.

The returning Spanish patriots branded Mozifio a traitor and forced him to leave Madrid with his manuscripts and paintings in an old handcart.
Most of the federal art projects emphasized the value of work and the worker. In this mural the mythical Paul Bunyan represents the lumberjack, the central toiler in Washington's forests.

By David A. Hecker

When Franklin D. Roosevelt's New Deal comes up in conversations around Washington, many citizens mention the Blue Eagle (the symbol of the National Recovery Administration), CCC camps, backpacking trails and shelters in the Olympic Mountains and the Armory building in Olympia. Ultimately, the discussion settles on hydroelectric power and the great dams: Bonneville and Grand Coulee. Low electricity rates that fuel our industries are praised for the jobs they bring and the incomes they produce. If, on the other hand, the impact of the New Deal on the arts is mentioned, these less visible accomplishments often receive a much different reaction. The skeptical mumble "boondoggle," but more normally silence is the response.

In fact, some of the New Deal achievements in at least three of the arts are quite visible today in Washington. Murals in public buildings like Ernest Norling's effort in the United States Post Office on Pacific Avenue in Bremerton, the book entitled Washington: A Guide to the Evergreen State (1941) and two University of Washington theatres—the Penthouse and the Showboat—stand as reminders of the impact...
The objectives of these programs were to employ artists, get them off relief rolls and preserve their skills through work in their arts.

of Roosevelt’s programs on artists and citizens alike during the years of the Great Depression. Other accomplishments or records of achievement that are material and accessible in the 1990s are collections of photographs like those of the Federal Theater Project in both the Special Collections Library and the Archives of the University of Washington, and memoirs of the time such as William Cumming’s Sketchbook: A Memoir of the 30s & the Northwest School. Finally, there are unfinished projects of the New Deal era such as manuscript versions of city guidebooks for Tacoma, Spokane and Seattle in the archives of the Washington State Historical Society.

Less noticeable today are the effects of Federal One projects that had their major impact during the 1930s. Unemployed artists, actors and writers received economic relief and a means to continue in their chosen work during the arid years of the Depression. Citizens, especially those in the remote corners of the state, found entertainment and education via these programs. Also, as a reminder and legacy from the past are the political controversies surrounding some of the efforts in various federal programs that in some cases shut down performances or whole projects.

Of all the programs sponsored by the federal government in Washington, the ones devoted to visual representation, the Federal Art Projects, were the least controversial and had considerable support and results even though the mechanisms of administering them were complicated. The New Deal art projects included the Public Works of Art Project (PWAP, 1933-34), the Treasury Relief Art Project (TRAP, 1935-39), the Treasury Section of Painting and Sculpture (Section, 1934-43) and Works Progress Administration’s Federal Art Project (WPA/FAP, 1935-43). The objectives of these programs were to employ artists, including easel painters, sculptors and commercial artists, to get them off relief rolls and preserve their skills through work in their arts. In addition, the intent was to bring art into the midst of average citizens via murals in post offices and other public buildings, and via community art centers with instruction and traveling exhibits.

David McCosh completed “Incidents in the Lives of Lewis and Clark” for the Kelso Post Office, Jacob Elshin painted “Miners at Work” for the Renton Post Office, and Kenneth Callahan plus assistants did ten mural panels entitled “Men Who Work the Ships” for the reception room of Seattle’s then-new Marine Hospital (eight of the panels are now at the Museum of History and Industry). Edmond J. Fitzgerald, Ambrose Patterson, and Lance W. Hart, among others, painted murals in various other public places. A representative example of the regionalist type mural is Ernest Norling’s “Northwest Logging.” Norling stands as a model of what the New Deal
art projects could do for a career in painting. His commissions as a muralist for public projects led to non-New Deal commissions by both private and public purchasers. Norling did a two-panel mural for the Puget Sound Navy Yards Enlisted Men’s Club (now housed in one of the libraries at the installation), murals for homes of Hollywood stars, and, in 1934, President and Mrs. Roosevelt selected his “The Timber Bucker” for the White House. Most of the government-sponsored murals carry themes of the value of work, the worker, community and region. Callahan’s mural panels for the Marine Hospital depict men at labor in heroic scale, a convention of the mural form underscoring the value of the common man, his achievement, and a legacy of accomplishment to be regained.

Robert Bruce Invariarity, Washington State Director of WPA/FAP, required that artists demonstrate need and ability to work in government-sponsored programs. Having done so, artists were employed at a variety of projects including easel paintings and renderings, activities that were designed to preserve skills and produce visual portraits of scenes and objects in the region. Morris Graves and Mark Tobey were two Seattle artists of note who participated. Easel paintings were normally painted at the artist’s home and were assigned on a two-week completion schedule. Drawings and renderings were assigned to aid in completing The Index of American Design, a national project organized to collect representative examples of American design “as revealed in furniture, textiles, ceramics, glass, silver, and other objects of daily use.” Artists worked in transparent watercolor, gouache and pencil, depending on the object to be rendered. In Washington a variety of objects were drawn, including weather vanes, quilts and rocking chairs. William Cumming, in his memoir of the period, recalls noticing artists at the Maritime Building in Seattle, the headquarters of WPA/FAP, capturing likenesses of “handcarved wooden dolls, cast-iron banks, moustache cups and suchlike.”

Another section of the WPA/FAP was the Spokane Art Center. It best accomplished the democratic leanings of the art projects by reaching out to the community with art classes, lectures and exhibits. According to Carl Morris, director of the center, 30 weekly classes were conducted for a variety of people, including children, housewives, laborers, clerks and business women and men. Some of the classes emphasized regional landscape, others concentrated on basic skills in watercolor and oil painting, while a few explored abstract forms as surrealism for the more advanced student. Faculty at the center included Guy Anderson, Hilda Deutsch and Vanessa Helder.

Lectures on a variety of topics were also provided at the center. The topics they addressed ranged from practical to academic. Carl Morris described the extent of the lectures: “For the home designer there are talks on decoration, fabric, color design, and arrangement. For those interested in the history of art, there is a series on the development of art from ancient times to the present day. And for many others there are discussions on innumerable special subjects.”

Besides sponsoring classes and providing lectures, the center also served as a gallery for traveling exhibits sent by the national FAP. Exhibits such as “30 Japanese Color Prints,” “New York Graphics,” and “Lines That Live” were sent to the center from various points around the country, thus allowing citizens of remote cities the opportunity to see exhibits that were normally viewed only in metropolitan areas. The Spokane Art Center had two extension centers, located at Washington State College in Pullman and at the Lewis County Exhibition Center in Chehalis. These centers not only featured the traveling exhibits, but provided judges for local and regional art shows and consulting services to
privately operated art associations.

By the end of its first year in operation the Spokane Art Center alone had 4,000 monthly visitors, a tribute to the center as a focal point for art in the area. The center then fulfilled its democratic role as conceived by the national FAP administration under Holger Cahill's direction. So successful was the center that it became recognized as "one of the best in the country."

Henry G. Alsberg, the national director of the Federal Writers' Program (FWP), provided leadership for this activity in Washington. The primary goal was to create an American guide for the state; the first half was to be a collection of essays on diverse topics from arts to agriculture. The second half was to provide a series of automobile tours of the state. Descriptions of the tours were meant to stimulate the economy and provide footnotes to historical sites, routes and geographical locations. Secondary pursuits of the state project were city guides, local history projects, oral history, folklore and related topics of a historical nature. Like the two central documents of the "search for a usable past" literary movement, The Dictionary of American Biography (20 volumes, 1928-1936) and the History of American Life (12 volumes, 1928-1944), pursuits of the FWP in Washington were meant to bring the achievements of Americans of the past to the attention of citizens of the 1930s as guideposts to recovery and future progress.

Inexperienced management of the state's FWP, an inadequate supply of good writers and a lack of state agency support, coupled with severe political wrangling, were sources of the projects' inability to accomplish anything beyond the primary goal of a state guidebook. Henry Alsberg appointed a series of state directors, beginning with R. W. Lahr (October 1935), James W. Egan (December 1935 to September 15, 1938), and finally Ann Windhusen. The first director was interim only; Egan had difficulties in getting acceptable copy to editors in Alsberg's office in Washington, D.C., and in obtaining sponsorship for local guides for Spokane, Seattle and Tacoma. Miss Windhusen suffered (apparently groundless) charges of hiring and protecting communists within the writers' project.
The turmoil created by the allegations against the project brought primarily by State Senator Mary Farquharson caused the project to lose, regain and again lose its sponsorship by the Washington Planning Council. These developments forced Henry Alsberg to send two editors from his office to supervise the editing of the guidebook. After considerable difficulty and pleas to several state organizations, the project was finally able to get the Washington State Historical Society to sponsor the text. The damage the accusations of communist infiltration did to the FWP left it finally with cartons of manuscript copy on three city guides, interviews with pioneers, special studies on journalism, women and ethnic groups as well as the text of *The Labor History of Pierce County*.

Washington: A Guide to the Evergreen State was the only significant publication of the FWP in the state. The guide itself was a collective effort of the state's staff, the two editors from the Washington, D.C. office of FWP, hundreds of volunteer consultants, and O. B. Sperlin, then Acting Director of the Washington State Historical Society. The result was 687 pages of essay, photograph, illustration, statistical data and tour guide. The emphasis in many of the essays was on the efforts and achievements of men and women in all fields of work, including government, education, religion, agriculture, business, sports and the arts. The extent of the natural resources of the state, the contributions of American Indians and pioneers are also recorded to give a positive overview of the state to tourists and armchair travelers alike. Given the difficulties the writers' project experienced, it is noteworthy that the text was well received upon its publication in late 1941. Even today the guidebook provides ample information for readers to obtain a basic understanding of the state's background and information enough to begin travel of the state's backroads.

Although Washington State's Federal Theatre Project (FTP) felt some repercussions from political controversy, it was much better managed and more successful in completing its objectives than the FWP. Harry Hopkins, head of the national WPA, appointed Hallie Flanagan as national director of the theatre.
Glen Hughes, as Director of the School of Drama, arranged to have the Showboat and Penthouse theatres constructed on the University of Washington campus.

project. Hopkins inspired Flanagan to use her position to bring theatre to the broad cross-section of Americans, especially those in remote areas. He, of course, agreed with the primary goal of employment for actors, stagehands and stage mechanics, as well as directors and playwrights; but he also served as ambassador of theatre as democratic art. Flanagan added her own view that a living theatre must be contemporary and deal with timely issues. The result was the "Living Newspaper" series that included such national productions as Chalk Dust, a play denouncing red tape, conformity and vaudeville companies, a Tacoma-based unit, and a Negro repertory company. These units staged a variety of productions at various locations during three seasons beginning in 1936 and ending in 1939. The main company provided "Living Newspaper" productions such as Power, a play promoting public power projects, and A Third of a Nation, a play about housing, as well as more traditional offerings like Tomorrow's a Holiday and Counsellor-at-Law. Most of these performances were directed by Clarence Talbot or Edwin G. O'Connor at the Metropolitan and Moore theatres in Seattle.

The children's, vaudeville and Tacoma-based companies also produced numerous plays during the three seasons. Katinka Goes to Town and The Clown Prince were two well-received plays performed by the children's unit. These productions, as well as others, were directed by Harry A. Pfeil. The vaudeville units—the Dixie Minstrels, the Hill Billies and Musical Comedy Company—gave a large number of performances to thousands of people, including CCC camp workers, over the tenure of the federal theatre. They staged these productions both on the road and in Seattle and Tacoma theatres. The Tacoma-based unit put on original plays by area playwrights. These plays, directed by Clarence Talbot during the 1936 season, included Men at Work by George Bolton, Spring Afternoon by W. A. Kimball and All My Life by George Milton Savage, Jr.

The Negro Repertory Company (NRC) was also quite successful during its existence in Seattle. Florence and Burton James directed and produced most of the NRC plays at their theatre, the Repertory Playhouse, on University Avenue near the University of Washington. The Jameses succeeded in getting the NRC added to the Federal Theatre in Seattle even though two others, Joseph Jackson, a member of Seattle's Urban League, and Frederick Darby, a labor union worker and aspiring actor, had failed to get it established in an earlier proposal. The NRC put on 15 productions between 1936 and 1939, including Noah, Stevedore, and Natural Man, a dramatization of the John Henry legend.

The only sour note in its otherwise successful run of plays was its fourth production, Lysistrata. This play, which appeared destined for a long run judging by advance ticket sales, was closed down after one performance by Don Abel, state supervisor of the WPA, because of improprieties. It appears that fear of controversy already plagued the Federal Theatre Project. Nonetheless, this incident of censorship was the only major difficulty the NRC had with controversial subject matter. There were minor flaps carried on by Seattle's press about the main federal theatre's production of Power. Otherwise, the NRC escaped interruptions of its rigid discipline in public high schools; Triple-A Plowed Under, a critical work about the Agriculture Adjustment Act; and Turpentine, a social play that dealt with the problems of the southern labor-camp system. These viewpoints, plus the realities of unemployment, led to a broad variety of productions across the country, including melodrama, vaudeville, children's plays and classics like Shakespeare's tragedies.

Flanagan appointed Glenn Hughes as regional director of WPA/FTP for the Northwest. The results, in part, were seven theatre units located in the Puget Sound's central region: one main dramatic unit, a children's and three
productions even after the Jameses resigned because of frustration with administrative details. Subsequent productions of the NRC were staged at other Seattle theatres.

Productions were not the only accomplishments of the New Deal in Seattle's theatre activities. Glen Hughes, as Director of the School of Drama, arranged to have both the Showboat and Penthouse theatres constructed on the University of Washington campus. By using WPA labor and a combination of university funding and student body loans, Hughes was able to orchestrate the opening of the respective theatres in 1938 and 1940. According to Hughes, many notable plays were produced at the Showboat, including Charley's Aunt, Pygmalion, Kismet, and The Tempest. Likewise, Hughes noted that many successful productions were staged at the Penthouse, like Ladies of the Jury, Holiday, and Accent on Youth.

Hughes supervised two additional theatrical projects. One, an activity using skilled woodcarvers, was directed by James Hicken. Models of theatres such as the Theatre at Delphi, the Japanese Noh, and The Globe were constructed. These models were particularly useful during the late 1930s to teachers and school children who viewed them. The other project, the one that went unfinished, was directed by Howard Grant. The objective of this historical research project was to catalog all of the professional drama activity that had been staged since the beginning of theatre in the state of Washington. Using the combined collections of newspapers at the University of Washington, the Seattle Public Library and the State Library at Olympia, the team of researchers, using headings such as Variety and Vaudeville, Theatrical Syndicates, Individuals and Companies, set out to accomplish this recording task. The results are contained in several filing cabinets located in the Special Collections Library at the University of Washington.

The uncompleted theatre history project, the controversy over the Negro Repertory Company's production of Lysistrata, and minor debates carried on by Seattle's press over a few of the "Living Newspaper" productions were minor setbacks compared to the overall achievement of the total project. According to data compiled by Hallie Flanagan, Washington's Federal Theatre Project employed a maximum of 181 individuals in May 1936 and a low of 87 in June 1939. These few persons staged 885 performances over the three seasons, with a cumulative attendance of 288,161 citizens.

Whatever the immediate shortcomings or successes of the three federal projects during their tenure in the depression years, the impact was significant and lasting. Political prob-
### WPA Artwork Still in Existence

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Kent</td>
<td>U.S. Post Office; wood sculpture, three panels, inlay: “From Far Away,” by Zygmund Sazeевич (1941).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Renton</td>
<td>Highlands Library at 2932 N.E. 12th St.; mural: “Miners at Work,” by Jacob Elshin (1938).</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Other evidence of continuing government influence in the arts can be seen in the extensive art and humanities programs fostered by the Washington Commission for the Humanities, especially in its showcase activity, the “Inquiring Mind” series. Annual Governor’s awards for the best literary works produced in the state and the Centrum projects at Port Townsend, which are partly sponsored by grants from state agencies, also give notice to an ongoing commitment to government support and encouragement of the arts.

Finally, strong local and state government laws supporting the arts started with the Port of Seattle Commission’s funding of art at the Seattle-Tacoma Airport in 1969. This action was followed in June 1973 by Seattle’s One Percent for Art Ordinance. This law established an arts commission charged with purchasing and installing art equaling one percent of all funds going into construction of public buildings for the City of Seattle. In the same year, King County passed a similar statute. The State of Washington followed with a law requiring that one-half of one percent of any appropriation for public buildings must be spent on art. These laws have resulted in the purchase and display of many works of art around the state, thus fostering and legitimizing the role of public art.

Only part of the credit for these current actions can be ascribed to the model provided by the New Deal projects of the 1930s. Private groups such as Allied Arts, PONCHO, Corporate Council for the Arts, and Friends of the Humanities, to name a few, have played a significant role in raising funds and urging legislation for the arts and facilities for the performing arts. Perhaps the current cooperation between the public and private sectors points the direction for future support of the arts in Washington.

David A. Hecker is Professor of Social Science and Humanities at Olympic College in Bremerton.
In the 1930s the expressed purpose of Franklin D. Roosevelt’s New Deal, Works Progress Administration and Federal One Art Projects was to provide economic relief to unemployed writers, artists and actors through federal sponsorship of highly visible public art projects and performances. Unfortunately, many of these Depression-era projects are no longer publicly visible or accessible.

The Washington State Historical Society, with federal grant support from the National Historical Publications and Records Commission, will soon help rectify this by preserving a large quantity of deteriorating unpublished manuscripts. These manuscripts, which document Washington’s economic, social, political and cultural conditions in the first third of the twentieth century, comprise the key sources used in the publication of Washington: A Guide to the Evergreen State (Binfords and Mort, 1941).

While the original intent of the many writers, field collectors and editors associated with the massive compilation of historical data was undoubtedly to preserve the information for future generations, the sad fact is that much of the information is rapidly becoming illegible. The physical condition of the paper has significantly deteriorated due to the internal chemical reactions caused by exposure to light, heat and related environmental contaminants, as well as the poor quality of the original paper employed during the 1930s by the Federal Writers’ Program.

The long term preservation of the information will be accomplished by its conversion to archivally produced and stored microfilm and fiche. This will extend the useful research life of the information for several hundred years. An added benefit will be increased public access to the collection. Copies of the microfiche and the accompanying printed collection guide will be made available to libraries throughout the Pacific Northwest. Presently the collection of manuscripts is only available to the limited number of researchers able to visit the Washington State Historical Society in Tacoma. The microfilm project is scheduled for completion in May 1992.
My goal for this project has been to visually document the relationship Washington’s timber industry workers share with their environment in a way that creates a link with the work that Kinsey and others initiated over 100 years ago. Too much has changed, of course, to produce mirror-like reproductions of the photographs that grace the walls of the general store in Doty, a diner in Snoqualmie, the bank in Darrington, or any number of small community libraries. Work once undertaken by logging crews that numbered in the 30s is now done by half a dozen men. Similarly, sawmills that once employed over 100 men have been mechanized with lasers and computers to run efficiently with a crew of no more than 25.

The past 20 years have indeed brought changes to the timber industry that our grandfathers could never have anticipated. We are all familiar with many of the economic trends, environmental concerns and technological advances that have contributed to these new times. What many are probably less familiar with is the impact that these conditions have had on the men and women who labor in that industry. It is to them that this documentary project is dedicated.

John Tylczak, a native of Shelton, is a freelance photographer and graphic designer with a Master’s degree in Social History.

RIGHT: Lance Lamb, Bohemian Timber Company, near Snoqualmie, King County.
IN THE FALL OF '86 some friends and I took on a weekend logging job up near Sumner. It was on an old homestead, so most of us stayed in the farmhouse on Saturday night.

One clear, cold morning as we were filling up our saws, a faller named Dave got into his story about how he was going to get killed cutting timber. He said that he would be dropping about five in a row, just like dominos, and a little one would kick out and nail him. A green skidder operator who was working with us looked at Dave and said, "----- it, just take 'em down.

I'd pretty much forgotten about the incident, and the next Saturday night Dave and I went to town and got drunker than hell. On our way back to the farmhouse, about three in the morning, Dave started in again about his impending death. I tried to calm him down and told him I frequently had similar feelings that I was going to die sometime very soon, but the feelings always seemed to go away. He thanked me and became very quiet.

A couple of weeks later I was back logging on a yarder when I heard that one of the experienced fallers that worked for Dave's dad had been killed in the woods. It was a long, troubling day for me not knowing who got it. At the end of the day I learned that it was Dave who had died. It happened exactly as he had predicted. Dave was 24 years old.

—Dan Bourgault, Shelton

Ed Johnson,
Simpson Timber Company,
Shelton, Mason County.
Ellen Williams,
trim saw operator,
Cedarville Timber Products,
Whatcom County.

THE NORTHWOODS PROJECT

I'VE BEEN DROPPED three times while working on the passline. The first time, I was coming down out of a tail tree. Somehow the passline came loose from the butt rigging on that one. The two fellows on the ground grabbed the line and must have slowed me up a little. I hit on a leaning tree about 12 feet from the ground and rolled off onto a sloping bank.

The second time, I was coming out of a tree. I had a new man running the donkey and the strawline brake was very touchy—either on or off. I was above the guylines and was lucky that I wasn't astraddle one of them. I went by like they weren't even there, and then he dogged the brake.

The third time, I was going up a tree to take out some blocks. I had the passline on the haulback. I just got to the buckle-guys and was reaching out to push myself by them when suddenly they weren't there anymore. I had a new man running the donkey that time, too, and he was watching me instead of the drum. The passline wrapped to one side and piled off the drum. I was picking me a place to land in a pile of skyline at the bottom of the tree when I came to a halt. I had dropped about 20 feet. He reversed the drum and tried to get the line back on, but couldn't do it. The man running the donkey ran down to a house about a quarter mile away to get some help. While hanging there, I tried to swing into the tree and climb down. I could get over to it, but couldn't get my rope around quick enough to hang on. When help returned, they were able to tie the passline to another wrap on the drum and get me back on track. For about a month afterwards you could count every link of that pass chain across my back.

—Dal Jacobs, Port Angeles
I worked one time for a contract cutter out on the Peninsula. Like most fallers, we couldn’t get the timber on the ground fast enough for the rigging crew.

My partner and I had split up on this particular unit so that we could cover more of the wet, fog-covered ground. With his superior experience and speed at laying ‘em down, he took claim to the long, sweeping flat and left the hogback to me.

About halfway up the ridge I came upon a nice 60-plus-inch hemlock—a real “doneker!” Well, throwing caution to the wind and not bothering to “sound” it, I started facing it up. About halfway through a humboldt, she bound up solid. With my “Mac” still at an idle, I grabbed my 075, sunk it in to the hilt to cut the McCulloch free. Then the 075 bound up! Back at it I went, with an exasperation that blinded me to what was happening.

Finally freeing both saws, I turned aside to catch my breath before I finished taking that old hemlock down. Suddenly there was an ominous popping sound. Huge cracks, opening from the roots, reached all the way up the side of that old tree. Above my cut she was nothing but a hollow, green-branched snag.

With a lump in my throat about the size of an oil jug, I grabbed the two saws and darted to my feet. Around me echoed the fearful noise of the snag’s earthbound descent. With my stomach in a knot, I started to scramble up the hill in the hope that she would fall the other way. I could feel the bark and rotten wood mushrooming out at my heels. Finally, with a terrible crash, the top came over onto itself. Alive, I bucked out what good was left in that old snag and called it a day.

—Michael Snyder, Forks

An exhibition of photographs from this project is at Grays Harbor College in Aberdeen March 1-28. It is scheduled to appear at Shoreline Community College in Seattle July 23-September 13. Further scheduling information on this touring exhibit is available through the William G. Reed Public Library in Shelton.

Photos by John Tylczak.
IN THE MARCH 1912 CITY ELECTION, a number of forces converged that critically affected Seattle’s future. One gathering storm was the newly formed Port of Seattle and election of its three commissioners. Triggering concern for the city’s waterfront was the prospect of a shipping boom once the Panama Canal was completed. Trade with the east coast of the United States and South America, Great Britain and Europe would thereby be facilitated.

In seeking harbor improvements in preparation for this moment the Seattle Chamber of Commerce and its rival Seattle Commercial Club had joined with traditional municipal ownership advocates in promoting legislation to establish port districts. While Seattle’s port was foremost in their minds, all of the state’s ports would be included in such legislation. The railroads, which dominated the waterfront, had frustrated other business interests by refusing to make improvements. That these diverse groups backed State Senator George F. Cotterill and City Engineer Reginald H. Thomson in framing the port bill for the 1911 legislative session is a measure of their frustration—both men, as devotees of municipal ownership, had traditionally served as whipping boys for the chamber and Alden Blethen’s *Seattle Times*. Cotterill, as mayor, would become the latter’s special target, culminating in the 1913 Potlatch Riot, which Blethen prompted.

Each of the port commissioners also was a proponent of municipal ownership. General Hiram M. “Chittenden” had recently resigned as district engineer for the Army Corps of Engineers after shepherding legislation for the Lake Washington Ship Canal through a veritable minefield of conflicting interests (canal work had just formally begun on September 1, 1911). Robert Bridges had served as land commissioner concurrently with populist governor John Rogers, had been a union organizer among the coal miners, and was an avowed socialist. Charles E. Remsberg was a Republican, a judge, and a business man partial to municipal ownership. Chittenden commanded so much respect that he ran unchallenged, becoming president of the commission and primary formulator of the commission’s plan for harbor development.

Another factor was the “City Beautiful” movement headed by the Washington chapter of the American Institute of Architects. This group had finally succeeded in establishing a Municipal Plans Commission, presided over by R. H. Thomson. Their principal goal was a “Civic and Administrative centre.” After rejecting the candidacy of John Olmsted (whose firm designed the city’s parks, playgrounds and boulevards in 1903) in favor of Virgil Bogue, a utilitarian clone of Thomson’s, the body gave Bogue free rein to develop his “comprehensive” plan for the city’s future premised on a population of one million. The focus was to be on a civic center and harbor development.

Stirring the Port Pot

THE DECEMBER 3, 1910, issue of the *Town Crier* included an article by C. C. Closson entitled “The Bush Terminal—A Lesson for Seattle.” New York City owned its waterfront, and had constructed docks, warehouses and an extensive array of support facilities, many of which were leased to private enterprise. The Bush Terminal system occupied 300 acres of concrete and steel piers, warehouses that could be adapted for manufacturing and jobbing use, switch yards, and so forth. The terminal was served by

**A Lesson In**

COLUMBIA 38 SPRING 1991
50 railroads and 40 steamship lines, all integrated in such a fashion as to provide direct delivery to individual tenants. Seattle had none of these amenities. Recent years had witnessed the steady development of an industrial district in the Duwamish delta area, extending southward from the tide flats that had been reclaimed by soil excavated from the west side of Beacon Hill. Owners of railroads entering the city from the south joined the chamber of commerce in promoting this development. The Harbor Island site lay in Elliott Bay at the mouth of the Duwamish.

Overlapping into this complex pattern was the city council's September acceptance of the Bogue Plan for inclusion on the March 5, 1912, ballot. Vital to the plan was relocation of the civic center from the Pioneer Square area northward to the Denny Regrade sector near the south end of Lake Union. (Thomson had been in charge of the regrading, leveling the hills that impeded commercial traffic and building construction.) This guaranteed opposition from south end real estate interests in the established government buildings area.

Part of Bogue's comprehensive plan had been the creation of a great central harbor with diverse facilities and conversion of Lake Union into an industrial lake. It was the Harbor Island part of the Bogue Plan that downtown business interests liked. They wanted it completely developed by private capital after seed money had been provided through issue of municipal bonds. The chamber of commerce, in looking at Harbor Island terminals, saw "promise [of] an early impetus to the commercial and industrial growth of the port." It prophesied coastal supremacy for the city.

This ebullience would lead the chamber to make itself foolish before the end of the year. In effect, the chamber and specific interests within it were attempting to narrow...
"Civic center group, looking south on Central Avenue." According to the Bogue Plan, Central Avenue would originate at the central rail terminus to be located at the south end of Lake Union.

the base from which profits were to be derived just after having uncharacteristically joined forces in the community at large to get approval for port facilities that were partly municipally owned.

Gentlemen's Agreement

ONE OF THE FIRST TASKS of the newly elected port commissioners was to draw up comprehensive plans for the harbor's development. To start with, the voters had given them $750,000 toward canal work, $600,000 for work on the Duwamish waterway, $50,000 for the Cedar River, and $25,000 for a "city dock." With Thomson now acting as port engineer, the commissioners planned a three-million-dollar facility. Instead of choosing to submit that large a bond issue for voter approval, they elected to build only one of the piers costing but $500,000. Voter confidence was expected to follow the pier's successful completion; then they could get the entire project done in due time.

Moving conservatively and deliberately, Chittenden wrote to the Bush Terminal Company and to other ports for information. His Bush letter was received by R. F. Ayers, a vice president for advertising. Ayers replied to Chittenden in October 1911, adding to the general information that a Charles Fenn was interested in getting some Eastern capital together for developing Harbor Island. Ayers followed this letter with another, telling Chittenden that Fenn probably preferred Tacoma—a sure way of stirring up the competitive spirit on Puget Sound. This was fabrication. Chittenden did not respond. But rumors began circulating in Seattle that a "Bush" type of terminal might get built at Harbor Island—the seed had been planted a year earlier by the Town Crier. Scott Calhoun, now the port's legal counsel, became enthusiastic, and told Chittenden that he wanted to check out the rumors in New York. To get Chittenden's approval, he had Alden Blethen join in their meeting on December 25, 1911. Chittenden consented, but on condition that Calhoun make no commitment on the port's behalf, while reassuring the Bush representatives that the port would not interfere with the Bush plans for Harbor Island.
Unknown to Chittenden, however, were the prior negotiations Calhoun had undertaken involving dedicated opponents of municipal ownership: Thomas Burke; chamber of commerce president J. D. Lowman; and J. S. Gibson, president and general manager of the International Stevedoring Company. So, when Calhoun arrived in New York, he met with the “New York parties” and consummated an agreement; the three Seattle men noted above endorsed it. It would commit the port to a five-million-dollar bond issue and to construction of facilities for the private developers.

When Calhoun returned he arranged a meeting with Blethen on January 26 at the chamber of commerce, at which time an explanation of the “gentlemen’s agreement” (later, “tentative agreement” was used interchangeably) would be given. To overcome the port commission’s resistance to accepting the agreement, Blethen coordinated publicity with Scott Bone of the Seattle Post-Intelligencer; the city was greeted on the morning of January 27 with the headline “GREAT TERMINAL FOR SEATTLE . . . .” On page two Calhoun elaborated on the front page coverage by explaining what it all meant for Seattle’s future prosperity at the expense of San Francisco’s. The Times followed in the evening with more of the same, uncharacteristically supporting a bond issue for a public improvement: “The project will involve a bond issue. But more than half the amount . . . will immediately be spent to begin the construction of a BUSH TERMINAL ON HARBOR ISLAND . . . . The Bush people have made their proposition. The matter is now in the hands of the newly-created Port Commission.”

This statement was an outright falsehood. Ayers was the only “New York party,” and he no longer worked for Bush because Seattle businessmen had contributed $25,000 to his support while he barnstormed for public approval of the project. At a large meeting at the chamber on January 28, Calhoun denounced the commission for foot-dragging and resigned as its legal counsel to work with the Ayers group.

Chittenden, in the meantime, had responded to the well-spring of sentiment that was building for port improvements by increasing the original bond request from half a million to two million dollars. Now he chose to add two propositions amounting to five million dollars. He worded the bond proposal so that, if the Ayers group could not raise their own personal bond, the port could invalidate the partnership with Ayers. Blethen and Ayers could not force Chittenden to change the wording.

Only Robert Bridges, of the three port commissioners, campaigned directly against the Harbor Island project. The Town Crier charged Bridges with being “the most dangerous factor in the opposition to the terminal plans.” By this time the focus of the coming election had shifted almost completely away from the Bogue plan to the Harbor Island issue.

Thomson decided to remind Burke that he was not a law unto himself. After receiving a message from Thomas Burke, who was still in New York, that the “terminal proposition must be adopted substantially as agreed upon,” Thomson responded on February 7. First, he said, the state constitution limits the lease of harbor lands to thirty years; second, it also prohibits the lending of credit to a “private institution,” thereby invalidating the provision for seven years of free rent. And, Thomson added, the “demand that all construction shall be done by the Fuller Construction Company, who shall be paid cost plus ten per cent [violates state statutes requiring competitive bidding].” He reminded Burke that, as to a subway to Harbor Island, this was a city matter, not within the port’s jurisdiction. Thomson concluded: “Now, Judge . . . . this proposition has, from the beginning, been put up to the Commission as a strong arm proposition . . . .”, leaving Burke gasping at Thomson’s impudence, no doubt.
The Showdown

The Bush Terminal supporters became temporarily unsettled when it was rumored that Irving Bush had not been involved in any of the negotiations. And while the Town Crier conceded that the Ayers group need not be the only one to build the terminal (the port might even be allowed to do it), the Times opposed this pusillanimousness by standing rigidly by the Pacific Terminal Company—as the Ayers group was now called. Blethen contended that “no one can question the ability of the Pacific Terminal Company” with its array of “respectable business men,” financiers and other experts.

Amidst great fanfare, Ayers arrived in the city on February 20 to sign the agreement that Calhoun had negotiated; appropriately, the chamber building was the site of the scene. The terminal forces remained undampened even by Irving Bush’s announcement on February 24, in the Town Crier, that his company “has no connection with the terminal enterprise of Mr. Ayers; that no arrangement has been made for the interchange of traffic with the proposed Seattle terminals, and that Mr. Ayers was in the company’s employ less than two years, in charge of certain lines of advertising.” The Town Crier took the same defensive line as the Times, asserting “such men as J. D. Lowman, Scott Calhoun, Joseph Blethen, and William W. Chapin, after careful investigation in New York City, satisfied themselves of the responsibility of Mr. Ayers and his associates and financial backers.” However, the weekly tempered its defense by advising Ayers to “clear up the situation, [otherwise] it will be far better to vote against all [harbor] propositions.”

As election day approached, the Municipal League plaintively pleaded for a “Square Deal for Bogue Plans.” Chittenden, in the Municipal News, argued that such a plan would save the city money in the long run; moreover, the plan was only “directive in character,” not “mandatory,” as its opponents had characterized it. Since development toward a population of one million would occur, it should be orderly and need only be implemented by stages, though he felt the tract for the civic center ought to be acquired as soon as possible. In the same February 24 issue, the News quoted from an article in Harpers Weekly that Seattle had an opportunity to avoid the “predicament that hampers New York.

In the March 2 issue of the News Chittenden published a critique of the Ayers plan beginning with the statement that the company itself would not operate the facilities but would lease operations. He explained that the “company is to have a free hand to exploit the leasehold for its own profit; that it is to pay no taxes on the property; that there is no guarantee that the company will spend the $600 million it says it will; and its insistence on a substantial deferral of rental payments might even prove illegal.” The port president added a warning that if the company failed, the port district would have to assume its financial obligations; it might even go to one of the great transportation companies by default because Ayers had offered no “security.” He concluded by claiming that there was no proof that the Ayers plan was superior to that of the commissioners.

As for the “Bogue Plan,” it had practically slipped from view by the time March 5 rolled around. A survey of newspaper coverage dramatically shows this. The Times front page carried a large sketch of the terminal area; beneath it followed an article under the column heading “Terminals Plan Endorsed by Leading Business Men.” Ayers was quoted as saying that whichever Puget Sound port acquired the terminal would control 50 percent of the trade—industrialists would desert to Tacoma if the port went there. No reference to the Bogue Plan is on page one, and it is a painstaking effort to find one elsewhere.

Like the Times, the Post-Intelligencer front page featured a terminal sketch in two parts, illustrating the boom to follow if the five-million-dollar Harbor Island bonds were approved, and an onsetting depression if they failed to pass. The Post-Intelligencer duplicated the Times’ “Tacoma horror” story, but added the fear that land values would drop when Seattle workers departed to Tacoma. Interestingly, the Post-Intelligencer contributed the thought that “Harbor Island will remain in the hands of private individuals at an exorbitant figure.” The article was furnished by the chamber of commerce. The Post-Intelligencer chose neutrality on the Bogue Plan.

The Seattle Star carried no reference to the Bogue Plan on page one, but it did urge voters to vote “no.” The Star claimed an “eleventh hour surrender” by the Ayers promoters, quoting the group as conceding to the mounting criticism, and to suspicion of the tentative agreement, saying, “We don’t care who builds the terminals . . . . The port commission [is] free to do as it pleases in case the bonds carry.” Chittenden finally had agreed to support the Harbor Island bonds on condition that the Ayers group would make this concession.

The two major weeklies, the Argus and Town Crier, smothered any references to the Bogue Plan with their coverage of the Harbor Island bond propositions. The latter claimed the commissioners had not dealt fairly with the “people,” and asserted that Calhoun had been given power to negotiate a contract during his New York mission. The Argus displayed oval portraits of Alden Blethen and Scott Bone with Harbor Island in the background. Its two-column editorial conceded that, although five million dollars was a lot of money, it would be wisely spent; besides, the property would revert to the city in 60 years. The editor added, “The
The Municipal News opposed the Harbor Island bond proposition on grounds that it was too big to be considered without more careful deliberation, and the pressure to have them approved cast doubt on the project.

On March 5 voters overwhelmingly approved all eight of the Port of Seattle bond propositions, totalling $8.1 million. The Bogue Plan was resoundingly defeated by a margin of over 10,000 votes, carrying no wards. In contrast, park bonds passed by a margin of almost two to one. The latter behavior was probably emotionally linked to the neighborhood psychology wherein the elementary public schools acted as the core of social cohesiveness; the parks were but a natural adjunct, while the extravagant civic center idea ran counter to this sentiment.

The bond issue for acquisition of both the Hebb and Cushman sites for City Light carried the day, and the city charter was amended to give the port commission power to control waterfront streets. This election also marked the political reincarnation of
Hiram Gill; he lost the mayoral race to George F. Cotterill by only 799 votes.

Chittenden set the tone after the bonds had passed by assigning top priority to condemnation proceedings at Smith’s Cove. He announced that “the Commission is not in any way committed to the plan as proposed by Ayers and his associates . . . . [But it is] conceded that the [gentlemen’s] agreement will not be seriously considered. The Commission is unanimously against it.” Port Engineer Thomson resigned. He had opposed the Harbor Island propositions and now wanted no part in the work of implementation; besides, he yearned for the fresh air of Strathcona on Vancouver Island.

Chittenden’s Triumph

THE TIMES AND POST-TELLIGENCER kept the pressure on the commissioners to sign a contract with the Pacific Terminal Company. Finally, one was signed on August 23, 1912, over the strenuous objection of Commissioner Bridges. He contended that, since the company had not yet signed articles of incorporation, it had no legal standing; it was a company without assets, and it was not an operating company. Chittenden, however, had a different strategy, one that depended upon the ultimate default of the company. By Ayers’ inability to raise a surety bond, Chittenden proved to be correct; he then took steps to invalidate the contract. Then he prepared measures for the June 1913 election that asked the voters to cancel the two Harbor Island bonds he had added in 1912, and substituted a new three-million-dollar bond to develop the East Waterway and Smith’s Cove facilities. Voter disillusionment with the stealthy maneuvering of the Ayers promoters, combined with their undiminished enthusiasm for harbor development, led to approval of

Chittenden’s adroit, cool-headed actions. All of this exacted a price on his already failing health, and he had incurred the hostility of Bridges, who then proceeded to gain the presidency of the port commission himself. Chittenden would retire in 1915, and eventually oppose Bridges when the latter tried to get voter approval for a belt line railroad in 1916.

Interestingly, after the voters authorized the transfer of funds from the Harbor Island project following the failure of the Ayers group, it was learned that the steamship companies had preferred the East Waterway terminal site all along, but they had been shut out by the Ayers supporters. They chose to remain silent during the controversy, but were happy with the outcome. Reflecting their approval, the Railway and Marine News also switched its support to the East Waterway choice of the commissioners.

Earlly in 1914 the port commissioners announced that two cold storage plants were to be built, one for apples and the other for fish. The latter was to provide local fishermen with an alternative to the monopolistic pricing of the private plants. The private owners railed against these “visionary plans,” and filed a taxpayers’ suit to block sale of the bonds; the state supreme court ruled in favor of the port in 1915. Frustrated by the seemingly pointless number of railroad switches required to get cargo to and from the ships, and by the financial expense incurred, the port commissioners first appealed to the State Public Service Commission in 1914 to force a rate reduction. The railroads were accused of charging nine dollars for switches to the port docks, and only three dollars to the private ones. And, when the railroads refused to establish a “common-user” line between Smith’s Cove...
and Salmon Bay, the commissioners filed a suit before the Interstate Commerce Commission. The railroads chose to agree rather than face ICC hearings. However, implementation came only after the end of the belt line controversy that extended from 1915 to 1917; each bond issue for the belt line was rejected by the voters.

With the Bogue Plan rejected by the voters in March 1912, and the Port of Seattle bonds thunderously approved, there remained one disputed item: siting of the courthouse. Was it to be at Fourth and Blanchard or at Third and James? Lacking confidence in resubmitting a bond issue to site the building at Third and James, the county commissioners met with Mayor Cotterill to discuss his proposal for a joint county-city building. Tentatively agreeing, they co-opted A. Warren Gould of the pro-Bogue forces to design the building, a strictly commercial type, without "civic center" linkage. Gould was excommunicated from the American Institute of Architects soon after.

The pro-Bogue group formed the Seattle Civic Center Association to combat this project. Charles F. Gould had expressed disbelief at the April 10, 1912, meeting of the American Institute of Architects that the voters had really rejected the kind of civic improvements represented by the civic center part of the Bogue plan. The new association was sufficiently influential that it persuaded the commissioners, on October 1, to submit both locations to the voters in November. After a heated one-month campaign, during which the association lambasted the south end "monopolists" while neglecting to point out that $950,000 would not nearly cover the cost of construction, the voters overwhelmingly favored the Third and James site, 35,768-16,565. Construction began in June 1914.


To pump up voter adrenalin, Tacoma rivalry could always be used ... and it was.
Upon his retirement in 1972, Norman Best attended college classes in political economy and labor history. What he found taught in the classroom did not accurately reflect the "reality of the workers' world," and so he set out to write a memoir of his 48 years of work in the Pacific Northwest and California in order to illuminate that reality.

With a personal philosophy that includes tenets of the Golden Rule, Jeffersonian democracy, and Karl Marx's view of the working class—his so-called "ideological lineage"—the author recounts a lifetime of work based on the pursuit of industrial democracy.

A Celebration of Work details Best's attraction to the Communist Party during the Depression (and his subsequent estrangement from it following the war), his years as business agent for Local 86 of the International Association of Machinists in Spokane (and his eventual disillusionment with that union's Grand Lodge leaders), and incidents of corruption he witnessed in the highway construction contract system.

Repeatead encounters with an "antidemocratic philosophy" among international union leaders led Best to the conclusion that it was "a general impersonal force, unseen like gravity, that pulled union representatives towards the company's position." This unseen force, according to Best, is the capitalist system and its overwhelming profit motive, which undermined attempts at a democratic union movement in the United States in the postwar years.

Best's account of his years at work in a variety of settings offers insights regarding the workers' pursuit of control over the workplace and over their unions. Through one man's reminiscences about nearly five decades of industrial employment and union activism, we see that workers usually know more about improving the quality and efficiency of their jobs than does management, and that union locals can address workers' needs better than their internationals.

Labor historians will see that this book fits squarely into the framework of the "new" labor history with its focus on workers' concerns for conditions on the shop floor. For general readers interested in the decline in American industrial capacity and the growing disaffection for labor union activism, Best's memoir offers fresh perceptions. This retrospective point of view is a remarkably compassionate one, infused with warmth and humor. Given its emphasis on the dignity inherent in a job well done, Norman Best's work is indeed what the title proclaims: a celebration of work.

Sarah Sharbach teaches American history in Seattle while completing her doctorate at the University of Washington.
Dreamer-Prophets of the Columbia Plateau: Smohalla and Skolaskin.
Reviewed by Thomas E. Connolly, S.J.

With this publication the prolific writing team of Dr. Ruby and Professor Brown has completed a seventh book dealing with Pacific Northwest Indian history. As readers have come to expect, Ruby and Brown have made an exhaustive review of published literature and Bureau of Indian Affairs reports and letterbooks to piece together the background, life, teaching, and reactions against two well-known religious personalities of the Columbia River tribes: Smohalla from Priest River Rapids near the Yakima Reservation, and Skolaskin from the San Poils on the Colville Reservation.

Dramatic changes were taking place for Pacific Northwest tribes during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries: epidemics of smallpox swept across the Columbia Plateau; the introduction of Christian teachings by Hudson Bay Company employees further dislocated the authority of traditional chiefs and medicine men; awesome natural disasters occurred, such as an eruption of Mount St. Helens and a great earthquake that partially dammed the Columbia River; the liquor trade increased; and the United States Army persistently sought to confine disparate bands on centralized reservations. Smohalla and Skolaskin, who came from villages scarcely 300 miles apart on the Columbia River, were central to the Indian reaction to these changes. Both men were crippled, neither was a chief or medicine man healer, and each underwent experiences of dying and travelling to another world. Additionally, both Smohalla and Skolaskin combined aboriginal and Christian teachings in the messages and then resisted the new ways of the whites, promising that something dramatic would happen to return the world to the Indians.

These were tumultuous times, yet the authors seem to have overemphasized the similarities between the two "dreamer-prophets," to the neglect of the great differences in the full content of their teachings and the vastly different results of their work. Click Relander's classic account of Smohalla's religion, Drummers and Dreamers, recently reissued by Caxton Press, has the feel of one who was a close friend and confidant of the Indians. On the other hand, Dreamer-Prophets has the feel of those who scrutinized written sources instead of sharing with those who still practice the ceremonies and beliefs of Smohalla and his contemporaries.

Readers should also remember that the legacy of Smohalla remains today a growing source of spiritual strength and identity to certain Pacific Northwest reservations while Skolaskin's efforts seem to have disappeared without a trace. Still, the authors present a view of change that is valuable for readers unfamiliar with the world of dream-recounting prophets.

Father Connolly, a graduate of the University of Wisconsin, has been a Catholic missionary-priest among Pacific Northwest tribes for 23 years. He is author of A Coeur D'Alene Story (1990) and editor of A Saga of the Coeur D'Alene Indians (1990).

Current and Noteworthy
By Robert C. Carricker, Book Review Editor

Exploring Washington's Past: A Road Guide to History by Ruth Kirk and Carmela Alexander (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1990; 556 pp., $35 cloth, $19.95 paper) may be the most interesting and useful history guidebook on the Evergreen State ever produced. Written as a handbook for the casual tourist, the authors know how to tease, cajole, and entice windshield historians off the interstate and onto back roads. If there are historical sites and treasures in Washington not catalogued in this volume it will be news to the 113 historians, museum directors, archaeologists, librarians, and professors who assisted the authors with their expertise. There are nearly 1,000 capsule entries here for communities from Altoona to Zillah, each alphabetically listed within eight natural travel regions. If you get lost anywhere in the state, just grab Exploring Washington's Past, check the index for names of people, places, industries, or events on any sign you can see, and, presto, an entry will tell you where you are and how it came to be so. Numerous sidebars expand on some of the most important historical figures, ethnic groups, and social movements identified in the text. There are also 50 road maps and more photographs than this reviewer cared to count.

If the maps contained in Exploring Washington's Past do not satisfy you, seek out Washington: A Centennial Atlas by James W. Scott et al. (Bellingham: Center for Pacific Northwest Studies, Western Washington University, 1989; 115 pp., $44). The difference between this volume and James W. Scott and Roland L. De Lorme's Historical Atlas of Washington (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1988; see review in Columbia Vol. 3, No. 1) is as clear as the difference between the color and black and white maps contained within the covers of the respective publications. The newest atlas is also in a large 11-by-17-inch format, contains graphs and photographs, and has more than 360 "cartographic illustrations."

Finally, if a person wishes to write his own field guide, atlas, or, for that matter, family, community, or regional history, Discovering Washington: A Guide to State and Local History by Keith C. Petersen and Mary E. Reed (Pullman: Washington State University Press, 1989; 87 pp., $9.95 paper) should be required reading. This well-prepared "how to" book can assist everyone from the published scholar to the modest beginner. Note especially the annotated list of state records and the bibliography of books on Washington history, both of which are especially illuminating.

Address all review copies and related communications to: Robert C. Carricker, Department of History, Gonzaga University, Spokane, WA 99258.
Rodeo Nostalgia

Congratulations on "Let'er Buck" in your Summer 1990 issue. Well do I remember meandering Wilson Creek, for Luke Munz (my pal) and I had dammed the damned thing up for a swimming hole when "they" came along and changed its course. The original "road" down the hillside? I worked on that, too (or got in the way of others).

Tribute should be extended to Harry Anderson (rodeo president) and Lou Richards (arena boss) for their efforts.

Anyway, congratulations to you and Michael Allen for an interesting—and nostalgic—article.

Willard G. Rublin

Shelton

Additional Reading

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

José Mariano Moziño


Sluskin


A Lesson in Skuldugery


The Impact of the New Deal on the Arts


Trevor Kincaid


At the turn of the century, the Sahaptin-speaking people who lived along the Columbia River in what is now eastern Oregon and Washington were hunters and gatherers who survived by virtue of a detailed, encyclopedic knowledge of their local environment. This study, based on collaboration with an elder, focuses on Sahaptin ethnobiology and the role of the natural environment in their lives and beliefs. Hunn incorporates Sahaptin dialect in the text and offers invaluable information from published and unpublished sources, the kind of material that can only be collected by long-term apprenticeship with knowledgeable elders. Unusual for its depth and perspective, and a first for the region, this study makes an important contribution to Northwest history and anthropology.

384 pp., 73 illus. • Clothbound, $30.00
ABBY WILLIAMS HILL and the Lure of the West

is an enthralling look back into the pristine landscapes of the American West at the turn of the century. Hired by the transcontinental railroads to produce canvasses for exhibit at several World’s Fairs, Hill produced the single most important collection of Western art extant in the state of Washington. Author Ron Fields follows Hill’s travels through the scenic wonders of the West’s national parks.

120 pages. 57 illustrations, including 32 color plates. Hardbound. $29.95 (includes member’s discount, sales tax and shipping to addresses within Washington). For out-of-state and VISA or MasterCard orders, call 206-593-2830.

“A beguiling sketch of an unconventional and artistically talented woman....

“The book must be read and the paintings pondered to get the full flavor of this remarkable woman and her work.”
—Oregon Historical Quarterly

“This is a handsomely printed, readably written, scholarly based work that will captivate readers.”
—Columbia Magazine