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The Legacy of Bruce Wilson

IT WAS SO IRONIC and doubtless all the more painful. Bruce Wilson, revered by his family, died on Father’s Day. Bruce’s influence extended well beyond his family. Formerly a newspaper publisher from Omak, and state senator representing north central Washington, Bruce long served on the Society’s board of trustees. In this last capacity Bruce was, in many respects, the father of the Society’s present museum program.

And that’s doubly ironic and sad because, as can be seen in this issue’s story on the design of our new state history museum at Union Station and with the forthcoming opening of our new state history exhibit at the current headquarters, the real greatness of the Society’s museum program is just now coming into view.

Bruce’s role in these developments cannot be underestimated. Remodeling the existing museum, making over time-worn exhibits, all the while laying the groundwork for a new facility, required skills that Bruce Wilson, as chair of the Society’s museum committee, seemed to have in profusion. Whenever things got complicated or controversial, Bruce had the knack of forcing issues into their essence and bringing about their resolution.

Indeed, a part of Bruce’s legacy to the Society is the manner by which the Society’s committees operate. Bruce insisted on a substantive role for board members, without diluting the authority of the director or other staff (whom he always called on before a final vote was to be taken). And he always delivered his reports at the full meetings of the board with dispatch, clarity and wit. In this fashion his peers came to emulate him as well.

Bruce had a great sense of history, of course, which was revealed, among other occasions, during a review of WSHS operations conducted in late 1989 by Rachel Tooker of the Minnesota Historical Society. Bruce noted in conversation with her that, from the vantage point of that day, one could see the WSHS of old, the rambunctious WSHS of the present, and the great WSHS of the future; and how rare an opportunity it is for those of us involved in the Society at present to be a part of this transformation.

And now it must be said how fortunate we all were to have had Bruce Wilson on the WSHS team.

David L. Nicandri
July 1, 1991
A Wedding of Function & Fantasy

By Henry Matthews

The Creation of Louis Davenport's Restaurant and Hotel

In the 1870s the name Spokane evoked images of the frontier: Indians camping at their fishing grounds by an awesome cataract, and bold pioneers building rude cabins nearby. Within two decades the city was known for the opulent lifestyle of its principal citizens, whose wealth was derived from neighboring mines.

By the turn of the century Spokane was famous for Davenport's restaurant, an establishment where gastronomic delights were dispensed with impeccable service in elegant and intriguing surroundings. When the Davenport Hotel opened next
door in 1914, it was immediately recognized as one of the world’s foremost hotels. Its proprietor, Louis Davenport, capitalizing on the success of his restaurant, created a place of outstanding comfort and hospitality.

The schemes of financiers and entrepreneurs had made Spokane into a progressive city; but it was artists who gave lasting form to the plans of businessmen. Two such artists, Louis Davenport and his architect Kirtland Cutter, expressed the aspirations of their day. In creating the Davenport Hotel they endowed Spokane with a legacy that outlived the fortunes of the gilded age.

However, of late the survival of the Davenport has been in doubt, and recently it has hung by a thread. Victim of the ubiquitous motel, it was insensitively modernized in the 1950s, wracked by financial scandal in the 1960s, and forced to close in 1985. For five years the “Grand Old Lady” of Spokane lay empty, maintained only by a skeleton staff. Then Sun Hotels International of Hong Kong purchased the hotel and began rehabilitation. The new owners intend to respect its historic character and restore it, as far as is practicable, to its original design. A deciding factor in the sale was the attachment of the people of Spokane to their celebrated hotel. When local funding for a parking structure across the street was not forthcoming, the company halted restoration. Now the city and adjoining property owners are working on a parking proposal. Once more there is hope.

Louis Davenport arrived almost penniless in Spokane in March 1889. On August 18 of that year the downtown area was almost entirely destroyed by fire. When the ashes cooled Davenport was among those who cleared the rubble and debris from the burnt buildings. Soon he had saved enough money to buy a tent, a waffle iron, and a large sign announcing “Davenport’s Famous Waffle Foundry.” On December 8 he opened for business on the corner of Post and Sprague and for a few months plied a lucrative trade in waffles. But in July 1890 he moved into the Wilson Block, a new brick building whose construction he had watched from his makeshift quarters. Here, in a solid structure with more space available, he expanded his menu and provided a comfortable dining room. In this new venture he exploited his genius for service and his ability to satisfy his customers’ desires. He operated at a minimal profit to attract patrons. Once they had experienced his hospitality they tended to return regularly. Soon the restaurant became a favorite dining place.
for travelers and its reputation spread to other cities.

Over the next 15 years Davenport plowed his profits back into the business, constantly improving his facilities and expanding into adjacent spaces. In 1895 it was reported that the yearly outlay on improvements and repairs was "enough to keep half a dozen restaurants looking new." Davenport's partner in the transformation of the restaurant into a showpiece was architect Kirtland Cutter.

Cutter (1860-1939) grew up in Ohio in a well-to-do family. At the home of his great grandfather, Jared Kirtland, a distinguished physician and naturalist, young Cutter acquired a sense of wonder; he also learned to feel at home with the leaders of society. After studying art in New York and Europe, he traveled to Spokane in 1886.

Cutter was determined to become an architect, despite his lack of professional education in the field. His grounding in architecture was through observation during his travels and the study of the latest work published in journals. As money from nearby mining enterprises poured into the city there was opportunity to match his enthusiasm. Talent, charm and personal connections helped him to gain commissions. By 1889 he was constructing mansions for two of Spokane's principal citizens. But it was the destruction of downtown Spokane by fire in August of that year that truly launched his career. As Louis Davenport was clearing the rubble from burnt-out lots, Kirtland Cutter was projecting new buildings for them.

Over the next three decades, most of them spent in partnership with the practical-minded Karl G. Malmgren, Cutter designed a wide variety of styles, from the rustic and picturesque to the formal and classical. His houses were inspired by types as diverse as rambling English cottages, stately southern mansions, and the palaces of oriental potentates. Merely providing for his clients' needs was not enough for him; he used his imagination to offer them delight. He knew very well how wealthy people lived, but wanted to create new heights of pleasure for them in their homes and places of entertainment.

Louis Davenport had a similar approach to his business. It was not enough to serve his customers with excellent food; he felt it his duty to transport them from the humdrum environment of everyday life into a dream world. His collaboration with Cutter, which lasted over 30 years, was fruitful to both men. We do not know which ideas came from the restauranteur and which from the architect—perhaps they hardly knew themselves. They sparked off each other and jointly produced the establishment that evolved from a small restaurant to a great hotel.

When Davenport first opened his restaurant in the Wilson block during the summer of 1890, he had a relatively small room in the center of the block. The next year he added a second room to the west, and in 1893 he expanded into a third on the east side. He now had adequate space, though it was lacking in the architectural quality appropriate to a fine restaurant. That year, perhaps conveniently, the building was damaged by fire. Well covered by insurance, Davenport was able, with Cutter's help, to rebuild, expanding to 17 private rooms and a banquet room, in addition to the main dining room. In 1900, in time for the Spokane Exposition, the restaurant was enlarged yet again and given the form retained until the 1950s.

The sophisticated dining room was not at first matched by an equally urban exterior. Before long, however, Cutter clothed the outer walls in white stucco in a manner inspired by the Californian mission revival. The design was based on the three broad arches that fronted the Wilson block on Sprague Avenue, but at the time of refacing two more arches were added. The longer arcade formed in this way distantly echoes the arcade at the Santa Barbara Mission. The little corner tower, modeled on a church bell tower, became a purely decorative feature. In a city of red brick and granite, Davenport's playful evocation of the mission style was startlingly unique.

In November 1903 Davenport acquired both the Wilson block and the Belle vue block to the south, which contained his kitchens. He had already spent thousands of dollars on improvements with no help from the owners. Now he could plan further architectural triumphs entirely for his own benefit. The two upper floors of the three-story Bellevue block were used by Mrs. Maud Pennington as a boarding house, but they were soon to become the Pennington Hotel under Davenport's proprietorship. Cutter continued the "mission" façade in an even
more spirited manner on the higher block. At the junction between the two structures, where floor levels differed, he placed a high curvilinear gable, while beyond it two smaller gables provided a counterpoint. At the corner of Post Street and First Avenue he built a taller tower surmounted by a cupola and skewed 45 degrees to give a cut-off corner to the block. Cutter seems to have deliberately chosen a theatrical exterior effect as a prelude to a dazzling array of original interior spaces.

It is typical of Louis Davenport’s imaginative approach to running a business that he proposed to build a greenhouse on the roof of the restaurant to “raise all the flowers and hothouse plants which have been such a feature of the restaurant.” Cutter later developed it into a rooftop café with palm trees and other exotic foliage.

In 1904 Davenport and Cutter created a new realm of fantasy in a ballroom above the restaurant known as the Hall of the Doges. This ostentatious room was highly eclectic, but its dominant style was Venetian Gothic. The dance floor was surrounded by arcades opening to spacious aisles where guests could sit at tables. On the upper level the gallery windows imitated those of the Ducal Palace in Venice. The entire room was designed for participation. Those sitting in the low-ceilinged aisles were like observers at a theater, watching the drama of the dancers framed by arches; people in the galleries above could look down from vantage points like private boxes at the opera.

Nearby, on the upper floor, the medieval theme was continued in the Gothic Room, a small banquet room whose ceiling simulated a Gothic fan vault. At about the same time, Cutter remodeled several other spaces. Each was distinctive, but they had in common the use of the avant garde art nouveau style. Just off the main restaurant was a small private dining room known as the Peacock Room, whose vaulted ceiling was painted with a bold peacock feather motif. The design implied motion, as of a breeze blowing through feathers; the eye of each feather was in the form of a heart, pointed upwards to the crown of the vault. On the end walls mural paintings took up the peacock theme again. At the entry stood two tall cylindrical aquaria stocked with tropical fish.

Close to the Peacock Room, Cutter designed a men’s bar in which elaborate wainscoting, decorative panels and murals enveloped the space with rich surfaces. His tour de force was a back bar fixture ornamented with six tapering shafts that spread out like miniature trees bursting with copious fruit. The ladies’ retiring room and Louis Davenport’s private suite in the northeast corner were further examples of Art Nouveau. In both, the broad arched windows were playfully ornamented with leaded glass. In Davenport’s oak-paneled suite a graceful arch spanned the opening between two rooms. Its sturdy oak supports were lightened with curvilinear patterns. The focus of the room was the fireplace of hammered copper flanked by tree-like forms. Other similar decorative devices enriched the doors. Yet, despite the originality of form, the art nouveau ornament did not seem quirky or excessive. The stylishness was tempered with a quiet dignity.

The architectural splendor at Davenport’s was matched by the lavish service. The menu offered epicurean delights at reasonable prices, and the staff anticipated any need of the traveler, businessman or party-goer. One visitor who was thoroughly impressed was Elbert Hubbard, a leading figure in the American arts and crafts movement and editor of an influential journal named The Philistine. In March 1906 he commented enthusiastically on his impressions of...
Spokane as "The Model City of America," and singled out the restaurant for praise:

Davenport's is snug, clean and complete as an ocean liner ready to sail. It contains no ratholes, chuck holes, or unsightly corners. The retiring rooms are dreams in marble and tile. Between the serving room and the kitchen are immense plate glass windows, so the customers can get a look at the kitchen, a place resplendent in copper, nickel and glass, dotted with quick moving men in spotless white . . .

I am told Davenport is a gentleman, low voiced, quiet, tireless, systematic, imaginative, with a patience and persistence like that of Pericles.

The art side of Davenport's restaurant is debtor to Kirt Cutter, a designer and architect, who has keyed Spokane in an artistic way . . . Residences, stores, clubs, banks, proclaim Kirt Cutter's quiet good taste, and his safe, unizzare lines and color schemes.

Davenport has collaborated with Cutter and the result is Davenport's restaurant, the finest thing of its kind in America . . . When a man does a thing well beyond compare, though it be but the making of mouse traps, the world will make a pathway to his door, says Emerson. All trails lead to Davenport's.

As the fame of the fanciful and elaborate establishment spread further afield, it was not surprising that plans developed to build a first class hotel next door. On October 8, 1908, the Spokesman Review announced that Spokane was to have a new 550-room, 11-story hotel, built at a cost of $1,750,000. Although the names of the promoters were still a secret, the article disclosed that Louis Davenport, "whose restaurant has been such a big feature in advertising Spokane," was likely to become its active manager. Cutter still a secret, the article disclosed that Louis Davenport, distinctive architecture," were named as the designers. They had already drawn tentative plans. Construction was to begin in the spring.

Certainly, a reading of the proposal's details suggests the extravagant dreams of Cutter and Davenport. They planned an "Old Spanish design . . . highly ornate and complex." At each corner a tower surmounted with a dome was to rise 185 feet above the street, 35 feet higher than the tallest building in the city.

The architects proposed to focus the hotel on an expansive central lobby with a mosaic floor, lit by a "high-arched cone of art glass, shedding floods of multicolored light." Around the lobby were to be spacious mezzanine galleries supported on stone or marble columns. These would connect with the Hall of the Doges, so that banqueting and dancing could be combined. At the lower level patrons could choose between an elaborate new dining room or the already popular Italian Gardens. Cutter also proposed a large assembly room on the top two floors with the acoustics of a church or a theater. All bedrooms were to have outside light and private bathrooms, an unusual and luxurious amenity in 1908. Water from deep wells under the hotel was to be delivered chilled to every guest room for drinking and was also to be used in an ingenious system for cooling the interior spaces. Consistent with Louis Davenport's philosophy, the new hotel was to be "second to none in the country" in terms of "service, elegance and convenience"; yet the intention was "to have rooms at popular prices."

Two days later a large drawing of the flamboyant design was displayed on the front page of the Spokesman Review and floor plans were printed inside. The richly ornamented central section of the façade seemed to be based on Spanish Renaissance sources, while massive corner blocks stepping forward on either side belonged more to modern America. But at the skyline all was baroque. Curving mission gables, in sympathy with the restaurant next door, were dwarfed by monumental corner pavilions. And the four higher towers with domes shot up three stories above the rest like the minarets of a great mosque. Such opulence would clearly demand enormous investment.

On October 20, it was announced that the new edifice was to be named the Davenport Hotel.

In late December Kirtland Cutter and Louis Davenport set off on a journey to New York, Chicago and presumably other eastern cities to look at the latest developments in hotel design. A number of splendid hotels had been built recently, and they could not have failed to notice that most of them were compactly built. In such grand hotels as the Ritz Carlton in Philadelphia and the LaSalle in Chicago, no more money than necessary was squandered on exterior ornament. They were generally divided like a column into three parts that might be described as a base, a shaft and a capital. The base, consisting of two or three stories, was generally faced in stone and richly decorated in a classical manner. The object was to catch the attention of potential patrons at street level and give an impression of a sumptu-
The Hall of the Doges was designed by Cutter in 1904 in the Venetian Gothic style to create a realm of fantasy for the citizens of Spokane. Generations of them celebrated there on every possible occasion, until the hotel closed.
between the base of Boise sandstone and the ornamental "capital" at the top. Above the massive stone supports that carried arches at street level, red brick piers rose the entire height of the building, emphasizing verticality. Between them the lines of identical bedroom windows on eight floors culminated in tall, arched windows uniting two stories with a decorative flourish of white terra cotta.

The rusticated stone base of the hotel and the design of its upper windows, modeled on those of palaces in 15th-century Florence, gave a key to the new stylistic theme of the hotel. It was described as Florentine, and was intended thus to symbolize the progressive nature of Spokane's civic and business leaders. These men were likened to the wealthy Burghers of Renaissance Florence who, as inheritors of the culture of Greece, Rome and Constantinople, employed art as a symbol of strength. And, following ancient European tradition, the cornice above the second floor was emblazoned with heraldic devices—a closed helmet symbolizing protection; Mercury's staff, with entwined serpents, representing commerce; and, most prominently, a ram's head, standing for "push and determination."

Another perspective rendering demonstrated that the interior had also undergone a successful evolution. The architects had enlarged the atrium and flooded it with light from the sky. This area was surrounded by broad mezzanine galleries supported, like the roof above, on pillars of white Caen stone—the very material of which many French Gothic cathedrals were built. The lobby was conceived as a social focus and a place to accommodate large gatherings and conventions. Here the chosen style was Spanish Renaissance; and again the choice had a symbolic meaning. The patio of the typical Spanish house was considered “wonderfully expressive of the hospitality so characteristic of the Spanish people.” In this open court “the only roof . . . was the vine-covered arbor through which could be seen the southern skies.” In the Davenport Hotel the aim was to obtain the same effect “by massive transverse beams and the use of a Skylight of opalescent glass.”

An ingenious, quintessentially American scheme was conceived to heighten the romance of the styles: a silver light was to move slowly in an arc above the skylight, creating the illusion of the moon moving through the sky. To reinforce the Spanish influence and convey Davenport’s ideals for the hotel, an elaborate system of iconography was developed.

Portrait medallions carved on the beams spanning the huge space evoked the Spanish tradition of honoring ancestors. They were interspersed with national coats of arms; griffins, “symbolic of strength . . . alertness, swiftness and rapidity of execution”; and dolphins, “always associated in mythology with sociability.” The helmet, carved in stone on the exterior, was repeated inside to offer “protection.”

A monumental fireplace gave the lobby a home-like feeling, and a white Italian marble fountain, complete with a cherub and a dolphin spouting water, offered refreshment. Finally, an entire pipe organ provided music at the east end.

Light fixtures were specially designed to add to the opulence of the space. Elaborate bronze lanterns, wall sconces like candelabra, and four huge bronze columns spiralling and entwined with vine leaves produced a soft exotic light. The furnishing colors were generally subtle and subdued.

Surrounding the lobby were ten shops opening to the street and a number of public rooms to suit different moods and occasions. Davenport’s Restaurant, after some remodeling, became the grill room of the hotel, while a new and grander place to dine, known as the Isabella Room, was built off the south side of the lobby next to the enlarged kitchens. Its name was chosen in honor of Queen Isabella of Spain, whose “imagination, confidence and unselfishness” had helped Columbus on his voyage of discovery. Accordingly, its decor was conceived in a Spanish Renaissance style.
Off the west end of the lobby and opening onto Lincoln Street was a room of entirely different character. The Chinese Buffet was intended as "distinctly a man's room," breathing "the spirit of masculinity." But what was offered to the gentlemen of Spokane who wanted to drink in male company was not, as might be expected, something rugged like a typical Western saloon; it was delicate and sophisticated. The light entering the large windows was softened as it passed through screens of latticework and paper.

At mezzanine level yet another national stylistic reference appeared in the Marie Antoinette Ballroom, with its fully sprung dance floor surrounded by upper galleries.

"I consider, first Utility; second, Life; third, Beauty. I place utility first, for the reason that service is the keynote of successful hotel keeping."

Marie Antoinette was credited with restoring classic ideals in French design after the vulgar ornamentation of the previous era. The architects therefore aimed for dignified simplicity and chaste elegance. Decorative moldings on walls, galleries and ceiling beams were enhanced with a color scheme of ivory and French gray. To give a festive touch, plaster medallions of court jesters ornamented the gallery. Three superb crystal chandeliers completed the scene. From the gallery level French windows opened onto a formally planted roof garden with a promenade between shrubs and flowers. Ornate lights were designed to create the effect of a fairyland.

The Elizabethan Room, a smaller banquet room on the north side, divisible into three by folding partitions, added yet another national theme to the collection. Here the dark oak paneling, adorned with heraldic crests, proclaimed that the style was Old English. Ornamental plaster work on the ceiling emulated late Tudor designs, and the furniture, all in oak, was "conscientiously copied after the most famous Elizabethan pieces in existence." Even the solid silver chandeliers were a reminder of the wealth of English country houses.

Naturally, the cloakroom, the ladies' retiring rooms and the beauty salon that opened off the mezzanine were all finished to the luxurious standards of the rest. And, for the men, a well-appointed barber’s shop was provided in the basement. This space, offering a variety of services, was named the Pompeian Room. With its finish of white marble and Pompeian red, reflected in many mirrors, the effect was opulent indeed. The traveler who arrived tired after a long automobile journey was to be offered special attention there. "He may enter the basement all dusty with hands covered with grease and in half an hour be turned out by the barber, manicurist and valet a spick-and-span new man, with pressed clothes ..." The male preserve of the basement also included a Turkish bath and a billiard room with 12 tables.

While the public rooms offered the patron an escape from 20th-century America into a dream world, the bedrooms were intended to be home-like. The aim was "an utter absence of gaudy trappings," arguing that the weary traveler was not very particular whether the bed in which he would "perchance ... dream of home and little ones," was made after the style of Elizabeth or of Louis XIV." The provision of fine mattresses and a restful environment with clean, fresh air were considered more important. The mahogany furniture was generally on simple lines.

There were 406 guest rooms, 370 of which had private baths. In the final design, the bathrooms were not placed on the exterior wall, as proposed earlier, but they were separately ventilated. There were, of course, opulent suites, including the state suite designed for such important guests as presidents of the United States, accompanied by their entire cabinet if necessary, and for senators, governors, movie stars and tycoons. But room prices started at $1.50. There was perhaps an inducement here for the impeccable traveler, rejoicing in the good value of the accommodation, to be a little extravagant in the dining room.

Louis Davenport stated his own priorities in hotel management, perhaps reversing those of his partner Kirtland Cutter: "I consider, first Utility; second, Life; third, Beauty. I place utility first, for the reason that service is the keynote of successful hotel keeping."

Although utility and service were primary, "life," which meant the safety and durability of the structure and all the systems within it, was a close second. The steel frame, encased in concrete, and the hollow tile walls were designed to ensure stability and eliminate the danger of fire spreading through the hotel. As an extra precaution, fireproof doors and sprinklers were installed in the basement. The materials used throughout the building were of the highest quality and unseen by the guests were elaborate means of producing whatever they might need as if by magic. The artesian well, 662 feet deep, produced 400 gallons of water per minute; 20 miles of pipe distributed it to wherever it was required; iced water, available on tap in every room, was distilled and kept continually circulating, insulated by a layer of cork; elevators with silent doors were installed to run smoothly up and down the building; 20 clocks were synchronized by a master to keep perfect time in all parts of the building; a complex vacuum system was installed and maids used mobile carts that even included a desk to keep notes. The 40-ton refrig-
The lobby of the Davenport Hotel thronged with revelers at an unidentified event in 1917. The hotel was at the center of the city's social life and attracted conventions that otherwise would not have come to Spokane.

The citizens of Spokane watched with excitement as the Davenport Hotel neared completion. Popular expectations were constantly raised by press reports of progress under such headlines as “DAVENPORT’S IS WONDERLAND.” In the early evening of September 1, the hotel was “besieged by an admiring crowd.” When the moment came for the doors to open, hundreds flooded in. Despite the press of people, “the service that evening was conducted as smoothly as if the hotel had been open for months.”

During the next 50 years the Davenport was the center of Spokane’s social and business life. It was the gathering place for civic groups, business people, and pleasure seekers. It was the venue for celebrations of all kinds, from graduation dances to weddings. Important visitors were feted in the banquet rooms and huge conventions were attracted that would not otherwise have come to Spokane. One patron described it as “a wonderful palace, where rich and poor, old friends and strangers alike can find not a mere shelter, but instantaneous home.” Almost everyone who lived in the city during that time had memories and stories to tell about the great hotel; so there was real sadness at its deterioration and closing. Now, with restoration in the offing, expectations are rising again. Many Friends of the Davenport (an organization formed in 1986 to work for the hotel’s rehabilitation) are looking forward to the day when the doors reopen and they see the hospitable atrium flooded with light through its glass roof. But this will only happen if there is true commitment in the Spokane community.

Henry Matthews is Professor of Architectural History at Washington State University. Born in England and educated at Cambridge, he has practiced architecture on both sides of the Atlantic. He is currently writing a monograph on Kirtland Cutter that he expects to complete this year.
Utilities and WPPSS Nuclear Plants 4 and 5
By Daniel Pope

ON JANUARY 22, 1982, the Washington Public Power Supply System (WPPSS) board of directors decided to terminate two partially-completed nuclear power plants. With less than a quarter of the work done on each, the agency had already borrowed and spent about $2.25 billion. In 1975, when plans for the projects were taking shape, WPPSS thought this would be the total cost of the two plants. By May 1981, when WPPSS imposed a construction slowdown on these plants (designated WNP-4 and WNP-5), the estimated total costs to complete them were $11.8 billion. Moreover, it had become increasingly apparent that the electricity they could supply would not be needed in the Northwest in this century. In June 1983 a Washington State Supreme Court ruling in effect relieved 88 Northwest utilities of their obligations to make payments on the $2.25 billion. Within a few weeks WPPSS defaulted, creating the largest municipal bond default in American history.

The collapse of WPPSS projects 4 and 5 was perhaps the most dramatic aspect of the WPPSS fiasco. To understand it, we must look back to the early and mid 1970s. It was then that regional power interests took the steps that led them into the morass. What circumstances induced 88 utilities to participate in projects 4 and 5? What choices did the utilities perceive at that time? What influences were brought to bear on them? To answer these questions, we must keep in mind the unique energy legacy of the Pacific Northwest.

A device known as net billing was essential to financing the first three WPPSS reactors. Under net billing, public utilities in the region assigned their shares of the plants’ capabilities to the Bonneville Power Administration; in return, Bonneville would deduct from the utilities’ power bills amounts equal to the sums the utilities paid to WPPSS. Although Bonneville did not have the legal authority to purchase non-federal power, the net billing agreements effectively made the agency the guarantor of WPPSS’ debt for these facilities. In return BPA would get the output these plants were expected to produce. Net billing made the WPPSS plants into regional resources.

H owever, in 1973 net billing came to a halt. The Internal Revenue Service had ruled that bonds issued for any future net-billed facilities would not be tax exempt. WPPSS financing depended upon selling municipal bonds on which the interest would be tax exempt. Without tax-exempt status financing additional net-billed plants would be too expensive. Moreover, the costs that could be net billed were limited by the size of BPA sales to its preferred customers (public utilities that by law had first priority as customers of BPA). With rising cost estimates on the three projects, BPA had run out of net billing capacity.

The curtailment of net billing brought Phase I of the Hydro-Thermal Power Plan to a halt. Yet regional energy planners felt that new generating facilities were needed more urgently than ever. Forecasts indicated severe shortages by the early 1980s if more new plants were not built. A dry winter in early 1973 had required voluntary curtailment of electrical usage that summer, heightening anxieties. The

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first petroleum crisis that year also indicated a need for more electrical energy.

Phase II

In September 1973, the BPA responded with Phase II of the Hydro-Thermal Power Plan. Bernard Goldhammer, BPA's power manager, sought a way for utilities to undertake projects for regional needs in the absence of net billing. Regional utilities met with BPA and negotiated acceptance of the outlines of Phase II at a December meeting that produced the so-called "Treaty of Seattle." BPA intended to enter into "trust agency" agreements with utilities that undertook new projects; with these pacts BPA would arrange to market their output. The plan "involve[d] BPA acquiring power but never owning it."

Phase II strategists hoped that this new effort would induce construction of eight new thermal plants in the next dozen years. WPPSS was among the organizations pledging to undertake construction. In mid 1973, even before the unveiling of Phase II, WPPSS had announced plans to build a fourth nuclear facility that would be operational by 1984. The next spring the Public Power Council, a policy group comprised of public-owned utilities in the Northwest, requested that WPPSS put yet another plant on its agenda. Plant 4 was to be paired with WPPSS 1 on the Hanford Reservation and plant 5 twinned with WPPSS 3 near Satsop. WPPSS and the utilities hoped that twinning the plants in this way would save nearly $400 million in construction costs.

WPPSS soon assented to the Public Power Council's request, but the financing of plants 4 and 5 remained uncertain. Utilities in the region advocated the plants in principle, but would they make the commitment to building them? Between the Public Power Council's endorsement in 1974 and July 1976, when utilities signed participants' agreements for shares of the projects' capabilities, a complex set of inducements and pressures brought 88 publicly-owned facilities into the fold.

In 1983, in the aftermath of the projects' termination, several participants in plants 4 and 5 sued the BPA. The plaintiffs asserted that BPA had seduced them into buying shares of the
PNUCC's load forecasts were fairly accurate through about 1972, but from then on demand grew more slowly than earlier forecasts had predicted.

Even though forecasts were revised downward from year to year they continued to overestimate demand. By 1974-75 the actual winter peak load was 11.1 percent lower than the estimated load. The estimates were flawed in at least two ways: by merely summing the individual estimates, PNUCC failed to take into account overly-optimistic estimates of local growth; and, more importantly, most utilities did not adequately consider the role of price elasticity in their projections, failing to realize how much large price increases might reduce consumption.

Demand forecasts were at the heart of BPA's pressure for new plant construction. In its annual reports and other documents it continually maintained that additional thermal facilities were the region's only hope. In 1974, even before the demise of net billing, Don Hodel (then BPA's deputy administrator) warned preferred customers of supply problems and added ominously:

"You may be thinking that "we don't have to worry about it. We are protected by the preference clause and we will be able to go on buying power from BPA . . . ."

Consider this: In a time of regional shortage the preference clause may not mean very much. For then it may come to a political decision as to who gets the power.

As administrator, Don Hodel said in 1974 that the Hydro-Thermal Program was "about all we've talked about since 1969." Hodel and others were predicting energy shortages in the 1980s even with both phases of the program; without their success the situation would be grave. He showed little sympathy with environmentalists who endorsed vigorous conservation and lashed out at them in a 1975 speech, calling them "a small, arrogant faction of anti-producers and anti-achievers." He labeled them the "Prophets of Shortage," although it was he who was predicting power scarcity.

The significance of Hodel's 1972 warning would not be lost on preferred utilities in the Northwest. For the next several years BPA dangled the threat of a "Notice of Insufficiency" over their heads. This notice would give the legally-required seven years' advance planning time.

By the early 1980s Northwesterners recognized the massive scale of WPPSS's financial problems. This 1983 cartoon shows ratepayers and utilities fleeing the WPPSS 4 and 5 default.
warning to preferred customers that Bonneville would not be able to serve all their needs after a given date. In March 1973 Interior Secretary Rogers Morton directed BPA to give this message to preferred customers informally.

A year later, BPA again told utilities, "Bonneville will no longer furnish its preferred customers' power requirements after July 1, 1983." Because the actual Notice of Insufficiency would require BPA to devise a procedure for rationing its power, apparently the agency wished to postpone official notice until the last moment. In May 1975 Hodel informed the utilities that he would delay issuing the notification for another year. But in the spring of 1976, as pressure for final agreement on plants 4 and 5 financing mounted, Bonneville held a series of meetings around the Northwest outlining its intent to issue the notice. When it was officially sent out on June 24, it was almost anticlimactic. Yet, as one local public utility district commissioner later commented, the notice of insufficiency was "a gun . . . at the commission's head in 1975 and '76."

Bonneville offered inducements as well as warnings in its efforts to encourage public utilities to buy into plants 4 and 5. One such inducement was the indication that it would be able to spread the risk of a "dry hole," an unsuccessful project. Following discussions with BPA about Phase II of the Hydro-Thermal Plan, Ken Billington, Executive Director of the Washington Public Utilities Districts' Association told his members in December 1973:

"It was agreed that no one utility or group of utilities should have to bear losses on a project being built for a regional purpose which does not materialize and which results from factors beyond the control of the involved utility or utilities."

Similar assurances were heard in the following years. Billington indicated in 1975 that BPA's conception of Phase II included "a guarantee in case of possible default." Legally it appears that

in plants 4 and 5 could avoid paying premium prices for the quite ordinary kilowatts they were purchasing. Utilities continued for years to hope for some way to spread the costs and risk of plants 4 and 5; BPA seems to have encouraged these hopes.

Finally BPA, as the largest and most influential player in regional energy policy-making, kept up a stream of assistance and advice to its preferred customers, urging them to move onward with arrangements to participate in plants 4 and 5 and helping them plan the projects' financing. It was BPA, for instance, that in 1975 prepared option agreements for WPPSS and its preferred customers. Preferred customers promised to pay for an option to buy shares of plants 4 and 5 capabilities, and WPPSS then used these contracts to issue $100 million in development bonds for interim plant financing.

When some utilities wondered if their purchases of those shares might be used to cut back on their allocations of BPA power, Hodel quickly wrote to reassure them, "I would not use a customer's participation to place it in a less favorable position than nonparticipants . . . with respect to future allocations of Bonneville power."

Especially for smaller utilities without experience in planning and implementing major projects, BPA's advice was crucial. When a small municipal utility in Heyburn, Idaho, informed WPPSS in 1974 that it did not wish to participate in the plants, the mayor found himself besieged by at least ten BPA executives, including Hodel himself. Despite reservations, Heyburn joined in for a miniscule share of the projects. As one utility official put it, "Bonneville was the godfather. They made the offer; you couldn't refuse."

Bonneville's public response to the seduction suit demands attention as well. Hodel pointed out that in fact at least some of the public utilities had wanted to build nuclear plants themselves without BPA involvement. He also maintained that he had resisted plants 4 and 5 because he had trepidations about their financing. Finally, he
Peter DeFazio. As a young congressional aide, he sued to release the Springfield Utilities Board from its obligation to pay for work on the cancelled WPPSS nuclear plants. Now Oregon's Fourth District Congressman, DeFazio remains an angry critic of WPPSS.

noted that about a quarter of the eligible public utilities in the Northwest had declined to take shares of the projects' capabilities. Bonneville's enticement, he suggested, could hardly have been irresistible.

Hodel was correct in claiming that not all utilities responded to BPA's entreaties. We can see this in a comparison of two different utilities' responses. For Seattle and its utility, Seattle City Light, the projects provoked an extensive debate about nuclear power and energy policy. With two excellent earlier studies available, Seattle's story needs only a brief retelling here.

The City Light Story

Seattle had a unique position among regional public utilities. City Light was by far the largest in the Northwest and it had extensive hydropower generating facilities of its own. Although it had joined WPPSS in 1971, it produced 70 percent of its own power and depended less on BPA energy than the small, non-generating utilities in WPPSS.

Nevertheless, when BPA and WPPSS offered option agreements in early 1975, City Light wanted the right to choose. Predicting a continuing load growth of 3 to 4 percent annually, it asked the city council to authorize purchase of an option on 10 percent of plants 4 and 5 capabilities. Local business interests and media endorsed the proposal and the council unanimously approved it in March 1975. When the
Washington Environmental Council claimed that the matter required an environmental impact statement and sued to block the decision, officials from the utility and the mayor's office negotiated an agreement calling for an extensive analysis by an independent consultant. This became the Energy 1990 study.

A growing drive for citizen participation meant that the Energy 1990 study took place with intensive public scrutiny. A citizens' selection committee took part in choosing an independent consultant group to conduct the study, and a citizens' overview committee monitored the consultants' work. Meanwhile, both the mayor's policy planning office and Seattle City Light itself contained environmentalists who were skeptical of facile assertions that participation in WPPSS was necessary. Crucially, Mathematical Sciences Northwest was the consulting firm chosen for the forecasting component of Energy 1990. Combining environmentalist values with technical expertise, the consultants challenged some of the key assumptions of City Light's nuclear development supporters. Eventually, Math Sciences Northwest's forecast of 1.52 percent annual demand growth was less than half of City Light's 3.7 percent prediction.

The initial Energy 1990 report appeared at the end of February 1976, at a time when regional power leaders were intensifying the drive for participation in financing plants 4 and 5. It laid out seven energy policy scenarios, ranging from aggressive promotion of electricity usage to measures designed to reach a steady state with no growth in demand. The report made clear that investing in more thermal generating facilities was unappealing. "There appear to be no truly attractive central-station generation options available to Seattle . . . ."

In the following months Seattle residents witnessed and, to a surprisingly large extent, participated in an intense debate about the city's energy future. Public hearings began in March and drew testimony and submissions from a wide variety of groups. The city council held a series of briefing sessions on energy policy. Seattle daily newspapers covered the issue regularly and television stations aired specials on it. The Argus and The Weekly, alternative newspapers, ran detailed analyses.

Late in April the citizens' overview committee transmitted its majority and minority reports. Eighteen members signed a statement calling for a vigorous conservation program and recommending "that no new additional generation be initiated at this time." The remaining nine filed a minority report calling reliance on conservation alone a "dangerous energy game" and endorsing City Light's purchase of 10 percent shares of plants 4 and 5 capabilities.

WHEN THE final Energy 1990 report made its appearance in May, City Light Superintendent Gordon Vickery transmitted it to Mayor Wes Uhlman with the utility's recommended course of action: purchase of 5 percent shares in the WPPSS projects and additional investments in hydropower and coal generation. Uhlman accepted the nuclear aspect of the proposal, but added a proviso that participation should be "contingent upon the identification of specific customers which can reasonably be expected to purchase any surplus power which might accrue to us."

City Light's plan had the backing of a power coalition of downtown business interests, labor unions, construction contractors, the city's daily newspapers and the region's private utilities. Perhaps equally predictably, the opponents of nuclear involvement "formed a classic progressive coalition—environmentalists, academics, community councils, the League of Women Voters, People Power, Metrocenter and the Municipal League—the sort of middle-class groups that were coming to exercise more and more power" in Seattle, wrote political scientist J. Gregory Hill. As Hill points out, the pro-nuclear forces were not as invincible as their economic importance might have suggested. Opponents of participation could portray themselves as fiscally responsible moderates backed by technical expertise and objective information. Moreover, they could cast themselves as the legates of the democratic impulses of the public power movement and of City Light in particular. This was particularly true because advocates of nuclear participation had shown that their interests stretched beyond Seattle. The minority report of the overview committee contended that Seattle's energy supplies and responsibilities were linked to the region's, and that the city was obliged to take regional concerns into account in its planning. Late in the debate the regional pressure became somewhat heavy-handed. WPPSS representatives were alleged to have told the city council that "Seattle might be foreclosed from . . . nuclear power from potential additional nuclear plants in the future if the City does not now vote in favor of participation in the current plans . . . ." The anti-nuclear forces replied that WPPSS was attempting to blackmail the city to sacrifice its best interests for others elsewhere.

The city council delayed its vote on WPPSS projects 4 and 5 as long as possible, but the participant's agreement had to be returned by mid July. On July 12 the council voted 6-3 against acquiring the 5 percent shares. They also rejected, 7-2, a proposal for a 1 percent share designed to keep the city's foot in the door for future regional nuclear projects. Seattle was not seduced.
By 1980 plants 4 and 5 had slipped far behind schedule and cost estimates had soared to $9.9 billion, nearly five times the original predictions.

Springfield Utility Board

DEVELOPMENTS in Springfield, Oregon, were far less dramatic and, unfortunately, far more typical of the responses of local utilities to the nuclear bargain. The Springfield Utility Board (SUB) began distributing electricity to the rapidly-growing blue-collar city in 1949. Although in its earlier years it had competed actively for customers against investor-owned Pacific Power & Light, SUB's culture had not developed in the years of bitter public-private utility rivalries during the 1930s and 1940s. Unlike Seattle, there was not much of a legacy of citizen participation or a sense of public power as a progressive crusade.

Even though SUB finally bought Pacific Power & Light properties in its service area in 1975, when plants 4 and 5 were being planned, this public power victory passed with little public attention or excitement. Minutes and newspaper coverage indicate that few if any citizens attended board meetings. Board decisions were usually unanimous, following staff recommendations, and discussion seems seldom to have been more perfunctory. The city's semi-weekly newspaper, the Springfield News, routinely covered board meetings, but reports were as likely to note a decision to purchase a new truck or offer service to a new housing tract as to analyze the board's impending policy choices.

Thus, Springfield signed its option agreement in July 1975 for the opportunity to buy a bit less than 2 percent of the capabilities of WPPSS projects 4 and 5 with virtually no board discussion and no mention in the local press of this action. BPA's announcement of its intention to issue notices of insufficiency was scarcely remarked in the spring of 1976. When it came time in July 1976 for the utility board to sign its participant's agreement for plants 4 and 5, there was slightly more deliberation. At a work session on July 12, SUB General Manager Jack Criswell presented a forecast showing a 14-megawatt deficiency in 1983-84, even with vigorous conservation efforts. Two days later, at the board's monthly meeting, three citizens spoke out against the participant's agreement. One questioned Criswell's demand projections and called for a no-growth energy policy. Another opposed nuclear energy as experimental and noted the unsolved problems of waste disposal. A third announced that he was designing an invention that would generate electricity at a tenth of its current cost; details would soon be announced.

The SUB board nevertheless was resigned to executing the participant's agreement. They saw no alternative if Springfield was to meet its customers' requirements in the next decade. Board members were somewhat reassured by arrangements for short-term sales of any surplus power to the direct service industries, but one noted that he was voting for signing the agreement "reluctantly," and he spoke for his colleagues in this.

Springfield's situation contrasted in almost all respects with Seattle's. City Light owned hydroelectric plants that generated most of its power; SUB was a non-generating utility that relied on Bonneville for all of its electricity. Seattle's population was stable or declining, whereas Springfield's had grown and was expected to continue to increase. Springfield lacked the tradition of citizen involvement and the sense of mission that public power in Seattle had inherited. Moreover, the communities were strikingly dissimilar. Seattle, despite the class stratification to be found in any American city of its size, was in some very real senses a middle-class city; Springfield, less than a tenth Seattle's size, was predominantly a blue-collar mill town. It was unlikely that the environmentalist alliance that kept Seattle out of the projects could be duplicated in the Oregon community.

Ironically, however, although the Springfield community participated somewhat unthinkingly in the birth of plants 4 and 5, it was to play a crucial role in the events leading up to the default seven years later. The early 1980s were troubled times for SUB, along with other regional utilities, and controversy replaced the apparent indifference of the mid 1970s.

THE WOES affecting WPPSS nuclear projects by the end of the 1970s are too numerous and complex to relate here. Suffice it to say that by 1980 plants 4 and 5 had slipped far behind schedule and cost estimates had soared to $9.9 billion, nearly five times the original predictions. Underwriters and institutional investors were becoming increasingly jittery about the bonds for the projects, and interest rates were soaring. WPPSS board members ousted the agency's managing director and replaced him only after an arduous search. A Washington State Senate committee held embarrassing hearings about WPPSS management that summer and, in Oregon, Fourth District Representative Jim Weaver's prolonged complaints against WPPSS grew ever louder.

For Springfield the initial shock of the WPPSS fiasco came through increases in Bonneville's wholesale power rates. The need to begin repayment of bonds on the net-billed WPPSS plants accounted for a large fraction of rising costs. BPA's 85 percent hike in 1979 required an increase to SUB ratepayers of about 17 percent that year and 23 percent the next. When Springfield held hearings on the 1980 residential rate increase, opponents blamed WPPSS. According to
the minutes, "Glenn Sofge ... commented that he felt that if the Utility would quit pouring money into the nuclear projects that the rates would be more reasonable." Another ratepayer, representing Oregon Fair Share, pointedly asked the board if it realized that nuclear power was far more expensive than hydroelectric energy. A member ruefully replied that they were indeed aware of this, but the board nevertheless approved the rate increase unanimously. Only two weeks later, SUB heard that Bonneville anticipated raising its wholesale rates another 50 percent later in 1980.

By early 1981 Springfield's attention began to turn to plants 4 and 5. WPPSS, hoping to stabilize its cost of capital and maintain an adequate cash flow, had proposed a "balanced financing program" to the participants' committee that represented the 88 utilities. This would permit WPPSS to borrow some of the funds it needed in the short and intermediate-term markets instead of issuing long-term bonds for all its borrowings.

When this new program came before SUB in April 1981 for discussion, it encountered opposition from two board members. They realized that short-term borrowing would hasten the day when SUB would have to raise its rates to repay creditors for plants 4 and 5. A motion to reject the program was tabled, but the board decided at its May meeting that it could not make a decision without "much more information as to the need for the plants and the feasibility of the Balanced Financing Proposal."

The Sinking of WPPSS

LESS THAN THREE weeks after SUB postponed its response to the program, WPPSS sank deeper into the quagmire. Faced with new cost estimates of $23.9 billion for all five projects and $11.8 billion for plants 4 and 5, WPPSS on May 29, 1981, placed a virtual moratorium on construction of the last two plants. Additionally, the PNUCC's forecast, completed earlier that spring, showed a sharp decrease in projected load growth throughout the coming decade. The gap between the 1980 and 1981 forecasts for 1990-91 was greater than the entire projected output of plants 4 and 5, calling into question whether these plants would be needed after all.

Springfield responded to the construction slowdown ambivalently, endorsing a six-month moratorium on construction of the last two plants. Additionally, the PNUCC's forecast, completed earlier that spring, showed a sharp decrease in projected load growth throughout the coming decade. The gap between the 1980 and 1981 forecasts for 1990-91 was greater than the entire projected output of plants 4 and 5, calling into question whether these plants would be needed after all.

Springfield responded to the construction slowdown ambivalently, endorsing a six-month moratorium by a four-to-one margin but continuing to hope that the plants would be completed on schedule. Despite SUB's desire to see the projects restarted, the series of jolting rate increases made the utility wary of any financing measures that might require it to begin debt pay-

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could or should be maintained. One member, Byron George, had by October 1981 decided that "only termination of the projects would be acceptable." While General Manager Steve Loveland still preferred mothballing the plants to terminating them, SUB was not willing to contribute to the mothballing costs unless expenses could be spread beyond the 88 participants. The participants themselves had begun to quarrel, and one board member reported that the participants' committee that advised WPPSS on the projects "has turned into 88 separate bodies looking out for their own interests."

Both the board and its critics were well aware that the participants' agreement signed in 1976 contained a "hell or high water" proviso. The debt obligations would have to be paid even if the plants were never built or operated. And the agreements specified that if the projects were terminated, repayments would start a year later. Any plan that would keep the projects going would doubtless require accelerated payment of the existing debt in order to reassure future lenders; yet canceling the plants would force Springfield to start repaying its share of the bonds.

To the angry ratepayers who crowded into the board's meetings, it was intolerable to suffer hefty rate increases for plants 4 and 5 with nothing in return.

The legal case became more complex. The Oregon Supreme Court reversed Judge Woodrich's rulings and held that the Oregon utilities' participant's agreements to be ultra vires and hence void. This case, DeFazio v. WPPSS, was to be the first of more than a score of legal actions related to WPPSS. In a roughly comparable verdict in June 1983, the Washington State Supreme Court ruled in Chemical Bank v. WPPSS that Washington participants had no authority to enter into agreements for the purchase of project capability and that their agreements were also void.

Meanwhile, the DeFazio suit moved toward trial in Lane County Circuit Court. Fair Share organized a march of about 500 protesters on the SUB headquarters in February. The legal case became more complex. Three small municipal utilities intervened as plaintiffs, while two municipal and four public utility districts entered the case as defendants. When the case finally went to trial in late September 1982, there were more than 16 attorneys in Oregon Circuit Court Judge George Woodrich's courtroom.

In a series of rulings that fall, Judge Woodrich upheld virtually all of the contentions of DeFazio and the other plaintiffs, and declared the Oregon utilities' participant's agreements to be ultra vires and hence void. This case, DeFazio v. WPPSS, was to be the first of more than a score of legal actions related to WPPSS. In a roughly comparable verdict in June 1983, the Washington State Supreme Court ruled in Chemical Bank v. WPPSS that Washington participants had no authority to enter into agreements for the purchase of project capability and that their agreements were also void.

Shortly thereafter WPPSS defaulted. It mattered little that in March 1984 the Oregon Supreme Court reversed Judge Woodrich's rulings and held that Oregon utilities did have the authority to enter into the participants' agreements. By then the projects were finished. The lawsuits had only just begun.

AUTHOR'S NOTE: An earlier version of this article was presented at the Western History Association meeting in Tacoma on October 14, 1989. I wish to thank William Robbins, Paul Pitzer and David Nicandri for valuable comments and editorial suggestions.

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During the heyday of railway travel in the 19th century, railroads issued complimentary passes to many special groups—clergy, emigrants, land seekers, refugees, businessmen, government officials, and Indians traveling to and from Indian agencies. This Northern Pacific Railroad pass, originating at the Fort Simcoe Agency on the Yakima Indian Reservation in central Washington, was good "for one Indian." On the reverse are listed several interesting restrictions that seem harsh by today's standards. The pass could only be used for transportation on "the platforms of baggage, mail and express cars of passenger trains," and only the "portions of freight trains as conductors may designate." Platforms were at either end of the cars, usually open to the weather. Apparently pass holders were not allowed to ride inside the cars. No baggage privileges were allowed and the pass was void if presented by anyone other than an Indian.

This rare piece of Americana is a recent addition to the Washington State Historical Society's growing collection of unusual ephemera.
The Promise of Greatness

Public Historical Education in Washington has taken a giant step forward with the selection of an architectural firm and a building concept for the Washington State Historical Society's new museum at Union Station in Tacoma. Upon the museum's completion in 1996, Washingtonians will have a window to the past that shows the entirety of the state's history: all peoples, regions, and epochs. They will see history as adventure: cultural diversity, bold exploration, community building, and the pursuit of the American Dream in this land of promise.

The design proposed by Charles W. Moore and Arthur W. Andersson emerged from the most important architectural competition in the state since the 1911 competition for the capitol group in Olympia. The design nourishes the dream of providing the excitement of the best science museums, the urbanity of the best art museums, and the scholarship of the best historical museums.

The New Washington State History Museum

By Bruno B. Freschi

ABOVE: Model of the Moore/Andersson design for the new Washington State Historical Museum to be built adjacent to Union Station. The base model of the Museum's surroundings was made by Andy W. Scale Models, Vancouver, B.C.
The Architectural Challenge

ONE INSIGHT DROVE the process: the new museum of the Washington State Historical Society is a public building on one of the most prominent sites in the state. Planners—the Society's board and staff members of the state departments of General Administration and Community Development, leading political figures at the state, city and federal level, concerned citizens, and architects—quickly came to believe that the museum's new building should proclaim that history is important and accessible to all. They also recognized that the site embodies much of the state's history: a classic railroad station, warehouses, a waterway linked with the Pacific, a new federal courthouse, downtown buildings, a large sports arena, and views of Mt. Rainier. They believed that the museum should contribute to the emergent urban environment.

The architects' challenge, then, was to leave two landmarks—the existing station and the new museum—where they had found only one. In architectural language, public institutions and especially museums carry a responsibility in expression. The creative discourse of a museum design is an ideological as well as aesthetic choice. The building is an icon of the community, and not captive to any one style, period or generation. The word icon is meant to reflect such a building's quality of timelessness. The new Washington State History Museum should be the historical museum of the 21st century.

The World's Best Design Talent

MUSEUMS ARE NOTORIously difficult to design. Roofs leak, coat rooms are too far from the front door, light fades paper, elevators are three inches too small for some vital artifact. Public buildings can be too bulky for their sites, too small, so assertive that they insult their surroundings, or so quiet that their surroundings overpower them. Knowing these truths, the planners of the new state history museum decided to apply the world's best design talent to the problem.

To attract the best, the Society decided to hold a formal design competition. The State paid four architectural firms $35,000 each to produce conceptual designs of the new museum, and hired a jury to choose the best. Traditionally, the competitors spend far more than their honoraria in producing conceptual designs. If the Society had hired an architect without a competition, it would have paid about the same amount for conceptual design services.

To prepare for the architects, the Society rigorously reexamined its intentions and, with the help of San Francisco architect David Robinson, translated them into a formal program document describing the building's desired functions. The Department of General Administration and the Society jointly selected architect Bruno Freschi as the professional advisor, whose function it was to assure the fairness and efficiency of the competition process. Freschi designed Vancouver's Expo '86 and is dean of the School of Architecture and Planning for the
Thirty architects from eleven states and six countries responded in December 1990 with formal proposals.

State University of New York at Buffalo. He initiated a series of meetings with the press, the public, and other interested groups to shape the details of the competition.

On Freschi's recommendation the Society invited by advertisement all Washington architects to enter the competition, and invited by letter 48 architects who had built public cultural facilities (especially museums and urban landmark sites), had demonstrated the ability to work with public and community-based clients, and whom their peers had recognized for producing works of international stature. Thirty architects from eleven states and six countries responded in December 1990 with formal proposals describing their qualifications, including portfolios of previous work. The Society's board of trustees, aided by the professional advisor and staff of the Society and the Department of General Administration, reduced that number to the four competitors. Evaluation at this stage included extensive telephone contact with staff members at some of the existing buildings designed by the architects under consideration.

Four Great Architects

THE FOUR FIRMS that were chosen to compete are among the premier firms in North America. Thomas Beeby, of the Chicago-based Hammond Beeby and Babka, is dean of the Yale School of Architecture. He and his firm designed the new Chicago Public Library and a wing of the Art Institute of Chicago. Arthur Erickson, of Vancouver and Los Angeles, received the Gold Medal for Lifetime Achievement from the American Institute of Architects in 1986 and designed the Museum of Anthropology at the University of British Columbia. Michael Graves has designed several museums—including the new Whitney in New York—and the Portland Building in the Northwest. Charles W. Moore received the AIA Gold Medal for Lifetime Achievement in 1991. He is former dean of the Yale School of Architecture and former department chairman at the University of California (Berkeley), and has taught at Utah State, Princeton and the University of California (Los Angeles). He is currently on the faculty of the University of Texas at Austin. Moore has designed art museums at Williams and Dartmouth, the Beverly Hills Civic Center, and a chemistry building at the University of Washington. Moore's partner Arthur W. Andersson has designed everything from furniture and houses to churches and towns. The two men have worked closely together since the early 1980s.

"The Jury Met the Challenge"

ACCORDING TO THE RULES of the competition, the Society's board of trustees promised to accept the jury's decision or else cancel the competition altogether. The jury's task was to pick the design that offered the greatest promise of development into a fine museum.

With the help of their consultative and staff advisors, the board of trustees selected seven jurors. The jury elected as its chairman former
Governor and Senator Daniel J. Evans. The other members were: Virginia Anderson, director of Seattle Center; Peter Q. Bohlin, architect, Wilkes-Barre, Pennsylvania; Joseph Esherick, architect, San Francisco; Douglas S. Kelbaugh, architect and chairman of the Department of Architecture, University of Washington; Allan Temko, architectural critic for the San Francisco Chronicle; and David L. Nicandr, director of the Washington State Historical Society. Four of the jurors are architects or architectural critics; four are also Washington residents.

Each competing firm submitted a model, drawings, and documents including a rationale for their design and cost estimates. Technical consultants evaluated these submissions for cost, ease of construction, functionality as a museum, and faithfulness to the urban landscape and its landmarks.

The seven jurors toured the new museum's site and then met at the Washington State Historical Society for two days, May 1-2, 1991, to evaluate the four anonymous project submissions (each scheme was identified only by a code letter). Self-driven to reach a consensus, they viewed the models, drawings, and other materials submitted by the competitors, read the technical evaluations, and discussed the submissions thoroughly. The jury's performance was among the best in the professional advisor's extensive experience. Not only did the jurors make a significant choice, but they were able to do so with intellectual rigor, sensitivity and good humor.

The museum committee of the Washington State Historical Society Board of Trustees approved the jury's unanimous selection on May 3, 1991. The full board gave its approval on May 4, 1991, and the winning design was announced later that day to an enthusiastic assembly of members, press and public at the annual meeting marking the Society's centennial.

A Design that Sparkles

As is customary in competitions, the jury wrote a formal report collegially with the professional advisor's assistance. Excerpts from its discussion of the design by Moore/Andersson follow:

The design concept submitted by Moore/Andersson addresses a primary objective of the competition with unusual elegance and restraint: the new museum sensitively displays respect for Union Station through the strong rhythm of arches and vaults executed in substantial, complementary materials. The lofty vaulting, in the long tradition of railroad structures, creates an implied extension of the station without diminishing its presence.

While extending the statement of Union Station, the Moore/Andersson design also completes the Pacific Avenue urban "room" begun by the warehouses across the street.

The design adds closure to the room and dignity to the streetscape. The entry arch located on axis with S. 19th Street establishes a focal point for that important street bisecting the proposed University of Washington branch campus. The jury anticipates that the dilemma posed by the need to balance design elements appropriate to pedestrian scale with the demands for a monumental museum façade will be further addressed during the design process.

From I-705, arguably the gateway to Tacoma, the design reads well for viewers passing at high speeds. While the connecting link to Union Station deserves, in fact demands, additional study, the strong architecture of the main building presents a legible statement of grandeur without being forbidding.

The main entry poses considerable promise and opportunity. The well-scaled outdoor public room establishes a necessary separation from Union Station while creating a cordial sense of place shielded from noise and weather. The circular amphitheater gracefully turns the entrants' processional path to the museum and establishes a thoughtful relationship to the station. The covered walkway to Union Station is less successfully developed. It should be simplified and reduced in height to reveal the sandstone beltcourse on the station façade. The jury strongly recommends that the courthouse link to Union Station be reconsidered to equally respect the same beltcourse. Joint effort is required to achieve balance and to better reveal the east façade of Union Station. A joint landscape strategy should be developed to unify the entire Union Station site, especially on the eastern edge.

This museum design offers the promise of lofty internal space which can respond well to the practical needs of changing museum exhibitions. Although the gallery spaces are shown as discrete, separate rooms, the clear-span vaulted structure presents the oppor-
Building Moore/Andersson’s design will be made easier by unique resources available to the Washington State Historical Society.

The opportunity for greater flexibility of enclosed rooms as well as an open and free plan to meet the requirements of a dynamic museum. This promise of flexibility should be further developed in the design process to come. The architects should also consider the inclusion of outlooks, balconies, and loggias on both the street and water sides of the building.

The limits of time and funding imposed by this competition understandably leave some elements of the design not fully resolved. The jury believes that decisions about interior circulation . . . should be critically reviewed with the exhibit designer and museum staff . . .

With all the remarkable strength of the entry space, some issues deserve special attention and refinement. The path of the entering public must be clear and less encumbered. Non-exhibit functions, such as the cafe and bookstore, should be better integrated. A more strategic location of the auditorium, to facilitate off-hour access, should also be developed. And, most importantly, these public spaces must be built of substantial and enduring materials which are reflective of the prominence of the museum and its location.

Finally, the architects, board and museum staff are urged to retain their commitment to constructing this facility with the same quality with which it has been conceived. The thoughtfulness of the exterior design should be experienced as real, inside and out. Construction materials and design detailing must have integrity and durability, creating a beloved monument for generations to come.

In summary, the jury is delighted to recommend to the board of the Washington State Historical Society the firm of Moore/Andersson as architects of the new Washington State Historical Museum. The design presented offers grandeur in a restrained scale, respectful sensitivity to Union Station and neighboring industrial buildings, urban sensibility, and the potential for exciting exhibition spaces. In short, this design sparkles with promise and opportunity.

Three Other Exceptional Designs

ALL FOUR COMPETITORS amply demonstrated that their reputations for design excellence have been well founded. Having unanimously selected the Moore/Andersson design as the best, the jury commented on the others (here presented in alphabetical order).

The jury called Arthur Erickson’s project “an aesthetically and technically ambitious design.” A bold glass superstructure recalling Mount Rainier would have surmounted an underground museum topped with a park. Neutral exhibit spaces would have combined with a grand concourse under the glass. Although the jury found it at odds with the existing urban environment, it might have become a landmark on its own.

Michael Graves’ design resembled the Moore/Andersson entry in very broad terms: a long building running along the site with restaurants, shops, and a monumental gate grouped around the axis of South 19th Street. The jury described it as “a beautifully presented, strong, gutsy building, in its general plan clear and well organized. An interesting use of brick and copper recalls the strong materials of Union Station without mimicry.” While the building was more complicated than Moore/
Andersson’s, “the dramatically scaled loggia and entrance court create a clear focus for South 19th Street and the University of Washington campus to be developed to the west.”

The project submitted by Hammond Beeby and Babka (Thomas Beeby, design director) “displayed a worthy interest in the integration of arts and crafts with architecture, in the romantic tradition of the great railroad and national park hotels of the Pacific Northwest.” It would have been a large wood-faced structure, taller and bulkier than Union Station, and the jury considered it more suitable to a rural than an urban area. Sophisticated mechanical systems and imaginative spaces would have linked its interconnected buildings.

Achieving the Promise of Greatness

BUILDING MOORE/ANDERSSON’S great design will be made easier by unique resources available to the Washington State Historical Society. The project manager is the Division of Engineering and Architectural Services, within the Washington State Department of General Administration—supervisor of dozens of large construction projects. The museum’s design is so simple and coherent that it minimizes opportunities for costly mistakes in detailing or construction. The architects make a point of their willingness to modify design elements as needed. The local architectural firm associated with Moore/Andersson is Olson/Sundberg Architects of Seattle, which has experience with new museum construction.

Most important of all, public support for the new museum is high and growing. Since the Washington State Historical Society operates as both a non-profit organization and an agency of state government, it has the stability that public funding provides as well as some of the flexibility inherent in private sector funding. Support from the City of Tacoma, which donated the museum site to the Society, has already brought the project forward to the design stage.

Every other Western state or province has a central focusing interpretation of its own history. Immediately accessible from Interstate 5, the new museum in Tacoma will promote increased educational opportunities for Washington citizens of all ages and be a magnet for visitors from elsewhere.

The museum will offer a comprehensive and dramatic portrayal of Washington history. The design offers a chance to invest in the future by investing in the past. As the jury’s chairperson, Senator Evans commented that the Moore/Andersson design “provides the widest opportunity for development into a distinguished home for Washington State history.” The architects and the Society intend to seize this opportunity.

Bruno B. Freschi was the professional advisor for the Washington State Historical Museum design competition. This article is based on Freschi’s reports to the Washington State Historical Society—abridged, summarized and amplified by Society staff.
He never saw the Columbia, never even got close. But Henry David Thoreau, that leafy wizard of eastern woods and rivers, read everything he could lay his hands on about the great River of the West. He listened to the Columbia's voices and once exclaimed, "What a piece of wonder a river is." We have had our river philosophers: Mark Twain, Woody Guthrie, John Wesley Powell and James Dickey. With them we have gone up the Hudson, down the Mississippi, and across the wide Missouri. With them we have marched the Platte, run the thundering Colorado, and eyed the flecks of yellow glinting in the south fork of the American. But it was Thoreau, that great explorer who hardly ever left home, who can teach us a river philosophy. This is what he said about the worlds of rivers: "rivers are "emblems" of our deepest longings; rivers are the waters of prophecy, telling us who we are and what we might become; rivers carry us into the interiors of continents; exploring rivers we explore ourselves; rivers are "the constant lure . . . to distant enterprises and adventure."

Prompted by the river philosophers, we need to think again about rivers and cultures in America. Too often we see the river as something running through places, not as a place itself. We need to let the river occupy more space in our imagination. We need to let the Columbia River, any river, be what it is—a place fixed in time and space. There is a tension, a peculiar contradiction in this. We tend to envision place as a fixed point. Rivers seem to us like threads, running through the fabric of places. We imagine rivers as highways to or through the places of our dreams. Perhaps now we need to integrate land and water by thinking about river worlds. This is what the trendy might call an ecosystem or a piece of the biosphere. Let's be simpler and say that the air, earth, fire, water and all the creatures therein make a river world.
So far this discussion has been properly metaphysical and appropriately vague. But how do we come to understand river worlds? Where do we stand to witness the powerful complexity of the Columbia River worlds? A little more than a century ago, our greatest river thinker, Mark Twain, asked the same question: How could he come to terms with his past on the Mississippi and bring it alive for a present audience. Twain's answer came in his *Life on the Mississippi*, a book filled with haunting beauty and restless energy. His advice: plant yourself somewhere and from that vantage point watch the river's procession of people and events, dreams and schemes. For Twain there were three lookout points—the town of Hannibal on the Mississippi, the pilot house on the Texas-deck of a river steamboat, and on the raft with Huck and Jim. Twain puts us there and we see the world of the river in all its changing moods, all its fearsome moral complexity.

Where shall we plant ourselves to see the sweep of cultures, the currents of change on the Columbia? We might settle in the Clatsop village of Nehahketuk on Point Adams. We might join Lewis and Clark off the beaten track at Fort Clatsop. Or we could put in at Astoria and watch the change from fur to fish, and on to tourism. But considering the whole range of human experience in this river world, there seems only one logical place—The Dalles, that extraordinary fracture point in river world geography and cultures. Imagine a series of snapshots taken there beginning in 1800 and running to the beginning of our century. Each photo might reveal awesome, sometimes disturbing changes wrought by waves of white outsiders, new goods, and powerful technologies. Those photos might reveal the eternal continuity of the river. Taken together, they would comprise a portrait of the Columbia River world.

In 1800 The Dalles was a place of extraordinary activity and human enterprise. Here, where the river roared through the Long and Short Narrows, was the center of a vast trade network. What anthropologists have since come to call the Pacific-Plateau system involved exchanging huge quantities of dried salmon for other food and trade goods. Stretching from the Pacific Coast to Nez Perce homelands and linked to the Missouri River Indian villages by way of the Shoshoni Rendezvous, the network joined Chinookan and Sahaptian-speaking peoples in an intricate set of personal and economic relationships. Through the trade system flowed not only fish, wappato bread, buffalo robes and European goods, but also games, songs and stories.

*LEFT: "Crown Point," one of Cleveland Rockwell's many spectacular views of the Columbia River worlds.*

A family of the Wishram tribe, which lived on the north bank of the Columbia River at The Dalles. For many years before Euro-American encroachment, The Dalles was the center of a vast Native American trade network.

Geography, in the form of a dramatic narrowing of the Columbia at The Dalles and the resulting creation of ideal fishing stations, conspired with climate—warm, dry winds blowing up the gorge—to make the Indian villages around the Long and Short Narrows, in William Clark's words, "great marts of trade." The Wishram Indians lived on the north bank of The Dalles: the Wasco occupied sites on the south side of the river. Although trading and fishing took place from Celilo Falls down to The Dalles, the most intense bargaining was done at the main Wishram village. When Lewis and Clark visited the village in late October 1805, they found some 20 large wooden plank houses, each holding three Wishram extended families.

What no visitor could miss were the towering stacks of dried salmon. Clark estimated that there were 10,000 pounds, pointing up the vast quantities of goods exchanged throughout the system. Trading took place from spring through fall during the major salmon runs, with most activity reserved for the fall season. During September and October dried fish and roots were freshly prepared and in abundant supply. To The Dalles trade fair came nearby Yakimas and Teninos as well as more distant Umatillas, Waleus and Nez Percé. Local Sahaptians brought to The Dalles food products, including meat, roots and berries. At the trading places Wishram brokers exchanged those items for dried salmon and European cloth and ironware. Distant Sahaptians, especially the Nez Percé who had access to the plains, brought skin clothing, horses and buffalo meat. Less interested in fish than their Columbia cousins, the plateau people were drawn...
to The Dalles in search of European goods, especially metal and beads.

Centered at The Dalles and with one arm stretching east, The Dalles system also reached west down the Columbia to the coastal Chinookans. The Pacific people brought to The Dalles a variety of European goods obtained from maritime fur traders, as well as indigenous crops. Guns, blankets, clothing, and the prized blue beads—all came up to The Dalles. Heading upriver in their graceful canoes, the lower Chinookans also transported wappato roots to be pounded and made into a tasty bread. Once at The Dalles, Chinookans traded for dried salmon, buffalo meat and valuable bear grass used in making cooking baskets and the distinctive Northwest Coast hats.

The full flavor of a rendezvous at The Dalles must have been an unforgettable experience. The smell of drying fish hung in the fall air, and clouds of fleas and gnats hovered everywhere. At peak trading times some 3,000 Indians gathered for the rituals of bargain and exchange. But those festive fall days promised more than a redistribution of wealth. Here native people met old friends, made new ones, and heard the latest news. Gambling, socializing, and sporning for the opposite sex were all essential features of the trading days. Fur trader Alexander Ross, who saw The Dalles system before it was swept away by disease and white invasion, caught the spirit of those high times. "The Long Narrows," wrote Ross, "is the great emporium or mart of the Columbia and the general theatre of gambling and rouquer.

Standing at The Dalles, any visitor—Indian or non-Indian—could see the visible signs of so vast a trading system. What was not so readily apparent in this river world was power and politics. On the Missouri, Teton Sioux bands gained and exercised power by controlling goods moving up and down the river. Upper Chinookans such as the Skilloots did not have the military power possessed by the Teton, but they were willing to resort to force to protect their accustomed place as middlemen in the trading system. Just how far Indians from The Dalles to the Cascades would go to defend their place in the network would be revealed in 1812 and 1814, when river Indians fought pitched battles with fur traders for passage on the Columbia. Such was the contest of cultures as bearded strangers began to push and paddle into the Columbia River world.

With the arrival of Euro-Americans the very meaning of The Dalles and the river world began to change. Native people saw that narrowing of the river as a convenient meeting place, a grand market center. To them, The Dalles meant opportunity. Euro-Americans, whether merchants, traders, miners or settlers, looked at The Dalles and saw a barrier, a challenge, something to overcome, a portage around. In the late 1820s, as the Hudson's Bay Company expanded its operations under the leadership of Sir George Simpson and Dr. John McLoughlin, the "Honourable Company" ran a flotilla of native toll keepers at The Dalles. During the winter of 1829-30, The Dalles saw its first non-Indian trading post, a temporary Hudson's Bay Company affair put up to meet a brief American challenge.

RIGHT: Inset on the "Map of the Oregon Territory," based on the findings of the United States Exploring Expedition commanded by Charles Wilkes, dating from 1841. This unusual cartographic perspective looks east and upriver. Note the description upstream from the Cascades of gale winds in the summer. Near present-day Hood River, Oregon, this same phenomenon has spawned the wind surfing craze popular along that stretch of the river.
But these merchant comings and goings did not immediately alter the fundamental character of The Dalles and the river world. It was still a world of business, whoever the brokers and whatever the mode of exchange. The past is never absent from the present. The traders' world began to shift in the mid 1830s with the Protestant missionary invasion of the river world. The evangelical rush to save Indian souls and the Reverend Samuel Parker's reconnaissance of mission fields ripe for harvest are familiar stories. In March 1838 The Dalles witnessed a new kind of visitor, one who traded in spiritual coin.

The Wascopam Methodist mission brought permanent white settlers, plough agriculture, new building styles and an ideology that mixed evangelical Christianity and expansionist American nationalism. What the mission families brought were social and economic tools and techniques that would set in motion a transformation of The Dalles and the river world. Within a year there were five acres of wheat, potatoes and assorted vegetables.

When Joseph Drayton and a party from the United States Exploring Expedition visited The Dalles in early July 1841, there were signs of both old ways and new. The Methodist Mission, now three families strong, boasted two log and board houses, a small barn, and a scattering of outbuildings. The settlement's irrigated fields offered crops of wheat and potatoes. But The Dalles still represented a native world, the world of fish and trade. Recalling London's great fish market, Drayton called The Dalles "the Billingsgate of Oregon". Indian horses and fish drying racks were everywhere. They were constant reminders of a world on the brink of profound change—change toward the river world of the mission settlers with their books, board houses and potatoes.

It is easy to think of the 1840s as the Age of the Oregon Question and migration to the Willamette Valley. But we can get lost too quickly in the tangles of great power diplomacy and quick generalizations about the Oregon Trail. Seeing it from The Dalles' perspective, how was the river world changing? When John Charles Fremont's expedition came to The Dalles in November 1843, there was the obligatory mention of the Narrows. But for Fremont—ever the agent of empire—what counted was the mission settlement. Substantial buildings, a school and cleared fields filled his vision of the Columbia. Looking at the landscape and Fremont really meant the landscape—he had this to say: "The valley [carries] the cheerful and busy air of civilization, and had in our eyes an appearance of abundant and enviable comfort."

It was this landed vision—one that Fremont did so much to promote—that set loose a great rush of humanity bound for the Oregon Country. That migration, with all its rippling consequences, enveloped The Dalles. Emigrant families tied up at the place and, after the construction of the Barlow Road, pressed on by wagon to the Willamette country. If St. Louis was the gateway to the West, The Dalles quickly became the gateway to the Northwest, jumping-off place, provisioning point, rest stop—The Dalles became all those things. Nathan Olney's log store was just one sign of things to come.
come. The emigrant invasion meant conflict with native people, conflict that brought two companies of the Regiment of Mounted Riflemen. Garrisoned at Camp Drum, later called Fort Dalles, the troops were a visible sign of American dominion. The post's barracks, storehouses, stable and sawmill gave tangible expression to a growing American presence. As at The Dalles, so elsewhere—the river world was becoming part of the American empire.

That empire meant politics—the creation of Wasco County and the platting of The Dalles city. It meant the coming of a capitalist, profit-driven economy based on intensive agriculture, stock raising, provisioning the emigrant trade, and portaging around the Narrows and Celilo Falls. The portage road was soon choked with traffic as oxen, mules and horses strained against their loads. When census takers came to count heads in 1860, the tally sheets showed 7,340 residents at The Dalles. And the whole river world was about to be jolted by a gold rush.

The business of The Dalles had always been business, whether the merchants traded fish for buffalo or sold goods to emigrants. There was a kind of underlying continuity that linked native past to the American present. But the Clearwater River Gold Rush of the early 1860s shattered that continuity once and for all. Gold strikes in the upper Clearwater country meant boom times at both The Dalles and Walla Walla. One historian of the California Gold Rush called his book The World Rushed In. And that is just what happened at The Dalles. Law and justice broke down at The Dalles city in early 1862 as a stampede of miners and hangers-on surged into the river world. And for a moment there was mob rule. Once order was restored The Dalles became a major provisioning and trans-shipping point. Dreaming of a monopoly on the Columbia, the Oregon Steam Navigation Company now made bumper profits, as freight and passenger rates soared.

In the spring of 1863 work was finished on a portage railroad. Its locomotive, properly named after riverboat captain and master entrepreneur John C. Ainsworth, now whistled in the age of the iron horse. A decade and a half later, the 14-mile Dalles and Celilo Railroad boasted 3 engines, 46 freight cars and 2 passenger cars—all valued at $700,000. Gold rush prosperity sparked a Dalles building boom, as solid stone and brick shops, homes, schools and churches filled the familiar grid that marks so many American settlements. In the full bloom of enthusiasm, work began on a branch of the United States mint, and local entrepreneurs talked confidently about starting a woolen mill.

For better or worse, the Columbia River world was not part of the larger American world—a place where boom and bust ruled the day. And gold proved a flash in the pan. The census of 1870 told the dismal story of a boom gone bust and booster promises turned sour. The Dalles city population had shrunk to 942, the buildings at Fort Dalles were empty, the mint building stood half-built, and the proud industrial experiment, the Wasco Woolen Manufacturing Company, slid into bankruptcy. Only the busy shops of the Oregon Steam Navigation Company promised some economic relief.

In fact, what brought The Dalles a measure of security and prosperity was the revival of the diamond vision that had so captivated Fremont and the Oregon emigrants of the 1840s. At the end of the 1870s, as Indian resistance finally collapsed, a land rush south of The Dalles and across the river in the Swale renewed the area's vitality. What gold could not provide, grain would. By the turn of the century The Dalles had become the very image of a late Victorian American city. Symbols of arrival were everywhere: an electric light system, well-stocked shops, and an impressive opera house. The 1910 census put it all with numerical precision: 4,880 residents busy at everything from machinist and druggist to housewife and school teacher.

In 1805 The Dalles symbolized a river world linked by trade
and great merchant fairs. Now, a century later, the trade was in grain and the network was steel rails, telegraph wires and steamboat routes. This is not the story of progress, but of cultural variation and technological innovation—all within the limits set by the river. As the river defined the original native people, so it would come to define the new natives, whether those new natives were soldiers or farmers, railroaders or wind surfers.

So we have come full circle. River worlds are as changing as the river itself. How shall we begin to understand those profound changes? We need the historian's backward glance, the geographer's sense of space, the archaeologist's grasp of objects, and the folklorist's sensitivity to the spoken and remembered word. What remarkable and telling things we might set side by side: wappato bread and biscuit tins; dried fish and sides of beef; elk skin shirts and woolen long johns; plank houses and opera houses. Or perhaps we might summon for a curtain call the cast of characters in this drama of river worlds. Traders—both Indian and white—and soldiers, missionaries, emigrants, boatmen, housewives and teamsters. The cast was and remains as varied as the American experience itself.

Imagine the sounds of the river world: conjure up a soundscape. We need to hear again, if only through the ear of the imagination, the roar of the river through the Narrows, the voices of fishing folk and traders, and the shouts, songs, stories and laughter of trading days. What now blows only in the wind of memory are the whistles of steamboats and locomotives, the singing whine of the flanged wheel on the steel rail. Hear again the creak and groan of overlander wagons and the crack of a driver's whip as a wagon and 12-horse hitch roll into town. Would that we could screen out the sounds of Union Pacific freights and diesel 18-wheelers on Interstate-84. Then we might catch the sounds of more distant times.

Some 60 years ago Woody Guthrie, the poet laureate of the Columbia, wrote the anthem of this river. "Roll on, Columbia" is one of a handful of American songs that transcend time and place to reach us all. With Guthrie we might ask: what rolls on the Columbia, and what roles does the river play in our shared past and common future? The river world, a living place, is a spark to the imagination. "To live by a great river," writes John Haines, "is to be kept in the heart of things." We always come back to the river—that energizing, life-giving force. We are drawn to it, and somehow feel uncomfortable when away. We may dream dreams in dry places, but it is the river world that has come to be the emblem of our deepest, most enduring experiences. A river journey may be into the heart of darkness, or it may be our deliverance. What a wonder a river is. Roll on, Columbia.

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“Allen’s on the Greenwater—Valley of the White River”

As this photograph clearly illustrates, the early pioneers adapted a
number of fishing technologies originally developed by the Northwest Coast Indians.
The two gentlemen in this photograph, entitled simply “Allen’s on the Greenwater,”
are employing a traditional Native American method, widely used by many of the western
Washington Indians, of harpooning fish from the banks of a relatively fast-moving river.
A small homestead, complete with a mature vegetable garden, is clearly visible
in the background. The river in the foreground is identified on the original print as the
“Greenwater.” The Greenwater River flows into the White River near the present-day
campground of Greenwater, along the Pierce/King County boundary.

The photographer, Charles B. Talbot, was best known as a Northern Pacific Railway
draftsman and architect. He designed the Northern Pacific Headquarters Building in Tacoma.
Talbot, who traveled widely in the Cascade Mountains, may have taken this photograph
in 1895 during one of his many forays into the Cascade foothills.
HE DREAMED OF FAME AND FORTUNE, but in the end John Kendrick, the Massachusetts sea captain who led the first American expedition to the Pacific Northwest two centuries ago, died in obscurity on a far Pacific island, heavily in debt.

Historian Frederick W. Howay wrote that "as a commander of an expedition [Kendrick] was a complete failure." His second in command, Robert Gray, once wrote that he was happy to be free of him after their ships were separated by storm.

Nevertheless, Kendrick deserves a page in Northwest history. He led a two-ship flotilla around Cape Horn, the first time American ships had traversed it, and supervised the first year of activity in the North Pacific. He befriended the natives and won courteous treatment from the dominant Spaniards. He survived hurricanes, typhoons and Indian attacks. But he made wrong decisions on too many occasions. With him good luck was ever elusive.

In the aftermath of the American Revolution merchant shipping from the Atlantic seaboard was in the doldrums. England and even the late allies Spain and France would yield none of their trading advantages to the Yankees. The pinch hurt, especially in the maritime-minded New England states.

In the summer of 1787 a group of affluent Bostonians, joined by one New Yorker, decided to risk their capital on a desperate gamble: an attempt to inaugurate a fur trade between the unknown Pacific Northwest and China. The possibility of such a trade they had noted in the journal of British sea explorer James Cook's expedition along the Northwest Coast in 1778.

Said Joseph Barrell, the chief stockholder in the fur enterprise, "There is a rich harvest to be reaped there by those who shall first go in." He was joined by Samuel Brown, John Derby, Charles Bulfinch and Crowell Hatch of the Boston area, and by John M. Pintard of New York. Barrell invested $14,000, while the others put in $7,000 each. They acquired two vessels, the Columbia (renamed Columbia Rediviva after her refit) and the Lady Washington.
To command the expedition into the remote Pacific Ocean and serve as master of the larger vessel, the Columbia, the sponsors engaged John Kendrick, about 47 years of age, of Wareham, Massachusetts. Kendrick had vast experience at sea and had shown his courage as a soldier in the French and Indian War. He had served on a small whaling ship and captained several privateers during the American Revolution. A man of stout, muscular build and usually affable nature, he was married and had six children.

As second in command and master of the smaller vessel, the owners picked Bostonian Robert Gray, 32, a native of Tiverton, Rhode Island, and a bachelor. He, too, was an experienced seaman and had served either in the Continental Navy or on privateers during the Revolution. Where Kendrick was a dreamer and schemer, and was seldom in a hurry, Gray was pragmatic, hard-driven, and often impatient with Kendrick’s dilatory tactics.

The Columbia was the key ship. She was of 212 tons burden, 83 feet long, three-masted and square-rigged. She mounted ten six- and nine-inch cannons. The Lady Washington was of 90 tons burden, mounted with several small swivel guns and probably one six-inch cannon. As consort she would be small enough to probe small inlets where natives with sea otter and other pelts might be found.

Kendrick got his ships underway from Cape Cod on October 1, 1787, and headed for the Cape Verde Islands off the coast of Africa to replenish supplies. He ordered, among other things, 140 goats, several head of cattle, 3 hogs and 3 sheep. He dallied in the islands for 41 days, at least partly because the ships had been improperly loaded in Boston. Gray later advised the owners that he thought the stay was 36 days longer than necessary.

Robert Haswell, 18-year-old third officer on the Columbia, turned out to be no friend of Kendrick’s; his writings of the voyage may be one reason historians have given Kendrick bad marks for leadership. Haswell wrote that ill will existed on the ship almost from the start of the voyage. When they reached the Cape Verdes, two officers—the chief mate and the surgeon—left the ship, and a third officer—the astronomer—disappeared at sea soon after. One of the officers wrote that he had gone insane.

But Kendrick seemed to have great rapport with the crew, which was one of Haswell’s complaints. Kendrick, he said, sympathized with his “people” to such an extent that he provided them with “licure” and the crew was often intoxicated.

In the Falkland Islands Kendrick had more trouble with his officers. He suggested staying at anchor there until the next good weather season below Cape Horn. Gray and others objected. Gray even suggested that he would be willing to take the Lady Washington around the Horn alone if Kendrick would give permission. Kendrick finally agreed to depart.

The two ships became separated in a hurricane south of Cape Horn and, in accordance with Kendrick’s written instructions, Gray sailed on north. Again in accordance with those instructions, he sailed close to the Northwest Coast and so encountered what is now the state of Oregon at Tillamook Bay on August 14, 1788. Thus fate in the form of adverse weather provided Gray, rather than Kendrick, with the opportunity to lead the first recorded landing of white men on Oregon soil.

The Columbia suffered such damage from the storm that Kendrick put in to the Spanish-held island of Juan Fernandes off the Chilean coast, where he won the sympathy and assistance of the Spanish commander Blas Gonzales, even though the commandant at San Francisco had ordered Kendrick’s ship to be seized. Three years later, after hearing that Gonzales had been punished for assisting the Americans, Kendrick wrote to Thomas Jefferson, secretary of state, asking that President George Washington be urged to intercede with the Spanish government on Gonzales’ behalf.

As the Columbia arrived in Nootka Sound off Vancouver Island (then believed to be part of the mainland), Kendrick lost two sailors to scurvy. They were not Boston men, but had signed on at the Cape Verde Islands.

Kendrick ordered the two ships to remain at
anchor in Nootka Sound for the winter. Gray objected. It was usual for Spanish and English ships to leave the Northwest for the winter, and Gray thought it would be advantageous to sail to China for more trade goods. But Kendrick's plan turned out well. In the spring, before traders of other nations returned, he sent the Lady Washington south on a trading expedition. Had bad weather not intervened during this trip, Gray might have further explored the Washington-Oregon coastline. He ended up turning back while still off the northern Washington coast. But he did, that spring of 1789, venture some 50 miles into the Strait of Juan de Fuca, and he obtained many sea otter and other pelts before running out of iron chisels, which the natives desired for weapons and tools.

The Columbia remained in Nootka Sound that spring and summer, and historian Howay complains that Kendrick sailed not a mile to trade. But he did establish a new base at Mawinna (Kendrick Inlet) and built a structure used as a forge on the shore. There his smiths pounded out chisels from their iron supply. This was the first American "base" on the West Coast.

Gray returned to Nootka from his northern expedition in midsummer of 1789 with his ship in disarray after running aground. Kendrick's crew and Spanish sailors who had arrived helped put the Lady Washington to rights. During this time Kendrick became friends with the Spanish commander, Esteban José Martinez, and even had him on board the Columbia as an overnight guest. The Yankees thus avoided the wrath of the Spaniard who seized two British ships and arrested their officers. That so-called "Nootka Incident" almost led to war between England and Spain before the latter had to yield her claim to exclusive rights on the Northwest Coast.

The Lady Washington and the Columbia moved 33 miles south of Nootka to Clayoquot Sound. There, on July 28, 1789, Kendrick made a decision that puzzled the ships' owners and future historians—he ordered Gray to take command of the Columbia and sail her with all the furs to China by way of the Sandwich Islands (Hawaii). Kendrick said he would take the Lady Washington along the northern coast on another cruise for furs.

That he made such a cruise is known from the records of other ships that encountered the sloop. Captain John Meares of England went even further. He wrote in his 1790 journal that in the autumn of 1789 the "sloop Washington" sailed clear through to the Strait of Juan de Fuca, proving that Nootka and Clayoquot indeed were on a large island. Other captains jeered and historians such as Howay have discounted Meares' report (see "Patriot or Scalawag? Columbia, Fall 1990). Kendrick eventually followed Gray to China. On his Hawaiian stop for supplies he noted the stands of fragrant sandalwood on Kauai, and left three sailors with the mission of harvesting a supply that Kendrick later could carry to market in China. By the time he returned, his sailors had abandoned the project and two of them had sailed away. He tried again, leaving three more sailors on a later visit to the islands, but as far as we know he never profited a nickel from sandalwood trade, although others—including the royal
family of Hawaii—did. Kendrick had the vision; others reaped the profit.

When he arrived in China in January 1790, Kendrick seemed in no hurry to market his furs. At anchor in Lark's Bay, Macao, he sought the advice of Gray, who was at Whampoa near Canton. Gray advised Kendrick to remain where he was and an agent would be in touch with him. Kendrick busied himself with converting the sloop into a brig (some authorities say brigantine—they are similar and the two terms were used interchangeably in those days). The brig would be two-masted and square-rigged, and probably more seaworthy. The venture was costly, and Kendrick went heavily into debt, converting to his own use some $8,000 from the sale of furs consigned to him by the Spaniard Martinez, and borrowing $3,000 from a friend, British captain William Douglas of the Grace.

While in Macao, Kendrick was arrested and ordered from the city for unknown reasons. He also suffered from a fever and nearly died.

Eventually Kendrick disposed of most of his cargo of nearly 500 pelts in Macao and in March 1791 sailed for Japan, where the Lady Washington became the first American ship to visit. He had hoped to market his remaining 200 pelts on the southern Japanese island of Ieshima but failed and had to return to the Northwest with them.

Kendrick was not one to give up, though. He crossed the wide Pacific at least four more times with cargoes of furs, stopping on each occasion in the Sandwich Islands. In 1793, at the age of 53, Kendrick decided while in China to make one more voyage in an attempt to recoup his fortune before returning to Boston. He visited the Northwest Coast that summer but failed to fill his hold with furs, and wintered over in Hawaii. Returning once more to the Northwest, he presumably did complete his cargo. He arrived in Honolulu harbor about December 2, 1794, the first American captain to drop anchor in that particular port, near two English ships, the Prince Le Bo and the Jackal.

John Kendrick, Jr. and Solomon Kendrick accompanied their father on the voyage that left Boston in 1787 for the Northwest Coast of America, as shown in this listing of the crew members of the Columbia Rediviva and Lady Washington.

The English, under Captain William Brown, imported Kendrick to join them in a battle on the side of the Oahu ruler against a rival Hawaiian ruler. This Kendrick did, according to one authority, and his side was victorious. In celebration, the English and American ships exchanged cannon salutes, a common courtesy in those days. But one English cannon containing a charge of ball and grape crashed into the Lady Washington, killing Kendrick and possibly some of his sailors.

Kendrick was buried on the Honolulu waterfront, but no one today knows the location of his grave. Bruce Cartwright, president of the Hawaiian Historical Society in 1922, wrote that Kendrick should be honored by some kind of memorial in Hawaii, but none has ever been given.

### 1787

**Memorandum of Monies Paid on the Ship Columbia, [September 27, 1787]**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Articles</th>
<th>Amount</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Robert Gray</td>
<td>Jno. Maud</td>
<td>£3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Simon Woodruff</td>
<td>Jno. B. Corbis</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Davis Coolidge</td>
<td>Miles Greenwood</td>
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<td>Robert Haswell</td>
<td>Saml. Thomas</td>
<td>£10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Richard Howe</td>
<td>James Hamilton</td>
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<td>Jno. B. Treat</td>
<td>Paul Brownwell</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jno. Barber</td>
<td>John McCay</td>
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</tr>
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<td>Phillip Capps</td>
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<tr>
<td>Wm. Bowles</td>
<td>John Nutting</td>
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<td>Jno. Annis</td>
<td>Joshua Dinsdale</td>
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<td>Nathan Arnold</td>
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<td>Cath[en]i[e] Grays</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Robert Green</td>
<td>Bill for [e]stjd</td>
<td>£8</td>
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<td>Joshua Hemmimway</td>
<td>Thomas Thaxon</td>
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<td>Josiah Dodge</td>
<td>Jno. Smith</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thos. Foster</td>
<td>Geo. Glover</td>
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<td>A[bra]h[am] Waters</td>
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<tr>
<td>James Mackie</td>
<td>Ditto advance Wages</td>
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<tr>
<td>Andrew Newell</td>
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<tr>
<td>Jabez Westerwal</td>
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<td>Cr. Capt. K. for the above</td>
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<td>Solomon Kendrick</td>
<td>Ballance in favor of Owners</td>
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<td>James Crawford</td>
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<td>£21</td>
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<td>Thos. Jeffrey</td>
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Cr. Owners of Columbia and Washington £185
Cr. Captn. Kendrick for Advance Wages as per Receipts £163
Ballance in favor of Owners £21
Captain John Kendrick converted the sloop Lady Washington into a two-masted vessel of brig design while in Macao in 1790-91, and thereafter sailed her as his own vessel several times across the Pacific Ocean. There are no known plans for the original Lady Washington. This artist’s concept was done by Ray Wallace for Grays Harbor Historical Seaport of Aberdeen, which constructed a replica that now sails in Northwest waters.

While Gray was circumnavigating the globe and making discoveries of value to his nation, Kendrick was at least showing courage. In a storm in the South China Sea the Lady was dismasted and tossed on her beam ends. Nevertheless, Kendrick managed to rescue 30 Chinese sailors whose junks had gone down in the storm. He also fended off an attack in force in 1791 on his small ship in the Queen Charlottes. Through his personal bravery he overcame an attack by a native chief who thrust a dagger into his body. The blade missed vital organs and Kendrick heaved his attacker over the side. His sailors then overcame the other natives. Kendrick’s bravery is recounted in a song written by one of his crewmen, “The Ballad of the Bold Northwestman, An Incident in the Life of Captain John Kendrick.”

Kendrick had great dreams. One of them, according to a friend, was to reverse the currents in the Atlantic Ocean; another was to dig a canal through Mexico to connect the oceans. He purchased several tracts of land in exchange for guns, gunpowder and other small items from Chief Maquinna and other chiefs on the Northwest Coast from Nootka Sound to Clayoquot, and drew up regular deeds. The chiefs made their “X” marks, and members of the crew of the Lady Washington signed as witnesses. He filed the original deeds in China with, supposedly, the English consul, and sent copies to Thomas Jefferson, then secretary of state. The copies still exist, though the originals have disappeared.

Joseph Barrell, the chief sponsor, tried to market these lands in Europe, but there were no takers. Kendrick had hoped that the properties might some day be of benefit to himself, to the owners, or to the United States. But all, apparently, were in country that became British territory.

Gray married Martha Atkins of Boston in 1794, and they had four daughters and a son who died at age six. The daughters in 1846 helped their mother and Kendrick’s survivors to petition Congress for a pension or lands in Oregon. Congress failed to act on the petitions.

John Kendrick was not the only member of the family “lost” as a result of the Northwest expedition. Two of his sons sailed with him on the Columbia in 1787. One, John, Jr., converted to Catholicism while in Nootka Sound and joined the Spanish Navy, where he later became Juan Kendrick, captain of Spanish ships. The other, Solomon, sailed to China and Boston on the Columbia in 1790, and later became an officer on the Jefferson. He died in an Indian attack on his small vessel, a consort to the Jefferson, in the Queen Charlotte Islands.

While John Kendrick never entered the great River of the West discovered by Gray in 1792, his son Solomon, aboard the Jefferson, made the trip in 1793.

In the end the Boston sponsors gained little, if anything, from their far-seeing enterprise, largely because Kendrick never paid them a farthing either for the furs he sold in China or for the Lady Washington, which he asserted was his own ship after its conversion to a brig. Like Kendrick, the little Lady Washington never returned to Boston. Some years after Kendrick’s death, she went down in a storm, either in the South China Sea or the Strait of Malacca.

J. Richard Nokes, retired editor of The Oregonian, has written Columbia’s River: The Voyages of Robert Gray, 1787-1793, soon to be released by the Washington State Historical Society in connection with the bicentennial observance of Gray’s entry into and exploration of Grays Harbor and the Columbia River in 1792.
Treaty or Non-Treaty Status

By Daniel L. Boxberger and Herbert C. Taylor, Jr.

As Indian agents and Indians have painfully been aware for a century and a third, all western Washington Indians are divided into two categories—treaty and non-treaty tribes.

Those in the treaty category had almost all of their land taken away from them in return for the certain emoluments, rights and privileges granted by the federal government. Tribes in the non-treaty category lost all of their land and received nothing from the federal government.

The ramifications of the "Boldt Decision" have emphasized this division into de facto first class and second class citizens. It is a bit bemusing to discover that some Indian "tribes" who signed treaties are classified as non-treaty tribes, and even more intriguing to find that some tribes never present at a treaty negotiation are treaty tribes. The opening curtain for this tragi-comic farce occurred in Oregon before the creation of Washington Territory.
There remained in 1851 some 50 Clatsop, mostly French-speaking, clustered about what is now Seaside, Oregon; the Skilloot and other bands had almost entirely disappeared.

In early August 1851 Anson Dart, Superintendent of Indian Affairs for Oregon Territory, caused the Lower Chinookan tribes to assemble at Tansey Point for the purpose of “extinguishing Indian land title” and to move them onto reservations. In order to make any sense of these negotiations and of those which followed on the Chehalis River in 1855, it is necessary first to understand that there were no longer any functioning Lower Chinookan socio-political units for the reason that there were almost no surviving Lower Chinookan people.

In 1851 there remained 185 souls in the seven settlements of the Lower Chinook (including Chinook proper, Shoalwater Bay Chinook, Kathlamet and Wahkiakum, but excluding Clatsop and Skilloot). This contrasts with the estimate of a Chinookan population of 5,000 at the onset of contact, circa 1790. There remained in 1851 some 50 Clatsop Indians, mostly French-speaking, clustered about what is now Seaside, Oregon; the Skilloot and other bands had almost entirely disappeared. Thus, in the span of one generation, the Lower Chinookan people had suffered a population decline of 90 percent or more. Most of that decline occurred during the “Cole Sick-Waum Sick” or “intermittent fever” epidemic that ravaged the aborigines of the lower Columbia River, Shoalwater Bay and the Cowlitz River from the late 1820s to the mid 1830s. But sharp population decline had begun before that time and continued steadily thereafter.

A Quileute family photographed by Samuel Morse ca. 1897-1903. The Quileutes were overlooked during the Grays Harbor treaty negotiations because the United States government had been unaware of the tribe’s existence. They were, however, included in the subsequent Treaty of Olympia.
Between August 5 and August 12, 1851, all of the several Lower Chinookan tribes, bands and/or villages had made their “X” marks on a series of treaties. Dart reported that he succeeded in negotiating Treaties with ten tribes or bands...of Indians. In these treaties there is ceded to the United States all of the country from the north side of Shoalwater Bay [some 20 to 30 miles north of the mouth of the Columbia River] extending south on the Pacific Coast more than 100 miles, and extending over 60 miles up the Columbia on both sides; embracing a tract of more than 3,000,000 acres...[This] was to cost $91,300, payable at the rate of $8,980 per year. Of the total, $14,750 were to be paid in money; the remainder in clothing, provisions, and cooking utensils.

As an example of treaties negotiated with what became western Washington tribes, consider the treaty Dart signed with the Wahkiakum tribe on August 8, 1851. That document called for the cession of all Wahkiakum territory. The treaty provided that the surviving Wahkiakum people might continue to occupy the houses in which they then lived, that they might continue to fish on the Columbia River and two small streams, and that they might cut timber for fuel and building. An annual annuity of $700 for a period of ten years was stipulated. Eight adult males “X”-ed the treaty—presumably this was the total adult male population; the total population of the village of Wahkiakum in 1851 was set at 20. One of the “X” marks was that of Sku-mahqueah (Skomokawa), who will reappear as an off-stage disembodied voice at the next treaty attempt.

Dart, however, was not able to implement a major directive of his distant masters in the District of Columbia—to remove all of the western Oregon Territory tribes east of the Cascades. A better example of unknowing and uncaring bureaucratic fatuity would be difficult to conceive—the proposal was to move the Indians not only to a different environment but to an utterly different ecological adaptation and life-way, surrounded by vastly more numerous and warlike enemies.

Dart had realized from the outset that this part of his task was hopeless. Only during the negotiations did he realize that he could not persuade the Lower Chinookans to leave their villages and burial grounds. Nor could he persuade them to agree to annuity payments beyond a ten-year span.

Dart came to understand their stark reasoning: “Fully aware of the rapidity with which, as a people, they are wasting away...they could not be persuaded to fix a time beyond ten years to receive all of their money in exchange for their lands.”

The immediate result was that each group was allowed to retain a minute parcel of land surrounding their village, including burial grounds and a few clamming and fishing grounds. But the United States Senate refused to ratify these treaties and all of the Lower Chinookan tribes became “non-treaty Indians.”

For the Chinookan-speaking groups living south of the Columbia there were to be further treaty negotiations, but these cease to be germane. The survivors living on the north bank were summoned to a second treaty conference in 1855, a result of the division of Oregon Territory two years earlier to create Washington Territory. Isaac I. Stevens was appointed territorial governor and Indian agent. This ambitious and indefatigable young man was under instructions to “extinguish Indian land title” in all of Washington Territory. Between Christmas Eve 1854 and January 31, 1855, in the several
When the Semiahmoo learned that a "Medicine Line" had been drawn at the 49th parallel and that the Americans ruled south of that line while the British ruled north of it, they moved their homes north.

Isaac I. Stevens, first governor of Washington Territory and superintendent of Indian Affairs from 1853 to 1857. Stevens negotiated ten treaties in Washington Territory, five of them in western Washington. This sketch was made following Stevens' death in 1862 during the Civil War Battle of Chantilly.

Gibbs made at the treaty grounds list the Lummi and Samish. It appears that the line listing these two groups was dropped in transcribing the final draft of the treaty. The Lummi got a reservation; the Samish did not. In 1987 the federal government decided that the Samish were subordinate to the Lummi and therefore not entitled to recognition as a separate and distinct tribe. The case is presently on appeal.

Contrary winds prevented the Lower Puyallup tribe from reaching the appointed treaty grounds until the afternoon of December 26, 1854. The negotiations had begun on Christmas Eve and concluded on Christmas Day. Stevens handled the situation with administrative aplomb. He decided that the Lower Puyallup would be treated in every way as having been present and having "X"ed the Treaty of Medicine Creek, except that their distribution of presents would be delayed since he had exhausted his supply on Christmas Day.

Situated immediately south of the Makah on the Pacific Coast, the powerful Quileute tribe could by no stretch of cartographic fantasy be regarded as geographically part of "southwestern Washington." They had been omitted from previous treaty negotiations because the United States authorities were blissfully unaware of their existence.

These and other lacunae were ignored when Stevens reported that he had "extinguished Indian land title in all of western Washington," save for the southwest quadrant to which he now turned. They were to represent Stevens' one clear failure.

Between February 20 and 24, 1855, there were assembled 370 Indians and 14 whites to negotiate a treaty to "extin-
guish Indian land title" at the point a few miles up the Chehalis River from its mouth at Gray's Harbor, where the town of Cosmopolis now stands. These 370 were the representatives of a total of 843 Indians. That 843, in turn, were all that remained of the Lower Chinookan tribes, including the Chinook proper, the Wahkiakum, Skilloot and Shoalwater Bay Chinook; the Cowlitz; the Lower Chehalis, including the Copalis, Humptulips, Wynoochee, Satsop and Shoalwater Bay Chehalis; the Upper Chehalis or Staktamish; and the Quinault, including the Queets band.

These Indians were expected to give the Americans title to all land along the Pacific Coast south of the Makah to the Columbia River, and all lands in the western interior east to the crest of the Cascades, south to the Columbia and north to the drainage of Puget Sound. Missing from the treaty grounds were the Taidnapam of the Upper Cowlitz (of whose existence the Americans had just learned and wished that they had not), the Klickitat of the middle reaches of the Columbia (of whose existence American officials were well aware but preferred to ignore), and the Quileute, including the Hoh (of whom the officials were unaware).

The proposed Treaty of Grays Harbor failed—although all of the preceding treaties had been concluded—because Stevens was attempting to move all of the southwestern Washington Indians into Quinault territory. Stevens was adamant on this score for a variety of interlocking reasons:

1) The United States Senate had refused to ratify the Dart treaties of 1851 primarily (so they said) because they did not provide for removing the Indians from any area which the whites then wished to settle. Stevens was determined that his treaties should be ratified.

2) The Lower Columbia River, Shoalwater Bay and, to a lesser degree, Gray's Harbor were areas coveted by whites—the Quinault area was not.

Stevens made clear in his opening speech that he wanted the Cowlitz people to continue to work for the whites as canoe and portage men on the Cowlitz River and that he wanted the Chinookan and Chehalis people to continue to work for white entrepreneurs as oystermen in Shoalwater Bay (then by all odds the most lucrative export trade Washington had), but he did not want Indian villages in those areas.

3) Stevens was honestly concerned to protect the Indians from white depredation and drink insofar as that was compatible with his orders.

4) Stevens was on record as "determined to break the ascendancy of the Hudson's Bay Company." Article 12 or

The large area of southwest Washington is not covered by treaty. As a result, many tribes in this area are not recognized by the federal government or do not have the same treaty-protected rights that other western Washington Indians enjoy.
The concern of most of the tribes present was not with a tomorrow that would not come for them, only slightly with a bitter present, but rather with their ancestral burial grounds.

13 of every western Washington treaty attests to this as well as Stevens' own comments. Moving the Indians to the Quinault area would take them as far from the Hudson's Bay Company posts at Fort Vancouver and Cowlitz Prairie as could be done.

Equally, however, the Indians were determined not to remove to a territory of sworn enemies who spoke an alien language and desert their own homes, fishing streams and, above all, their burial grounds.

In every other way the Indians wanted to "sign." They wanted the presents, they knew they could not resist the whites and they wanted to placate Stevens—this is made abundantly clear in the minutes of the Treaty Commission. The speeches went on for many pages. The governor's response was that the Great White Father knew best and would select one spot for them all. At long last, as was proper since Stevens was but a young man, a young Wahkiakum spoke:

A young Indian on behalf of Skemauque (Skomokawal), the head Chief of Wahkiakum (who was sick and could not come). The old man told him to come up here and say that he wants to die on his ground. All his children lay there and he wanted to be buried there too. Wanted the two creeks by his house where the Salmon came, would give up all the rest.

The concern of most of the tribes present was not with a tomorrow that would not come for them, only slightly with a bitter present, but rather with their ancestral burial grounds.

The treaty negotiations at Gray's Harbor were a failure, but they did lead to a subsequent treaty with the Quinault and the Quileute. The Quinault tribe was the only one present that had indicated willingness to accept the treaty all along. The reason for this is clear. All of the other tribes present had objected to removal from their homes. The proposed treaty would have guaranteed the Quinault people continued use of their hunting, gathering and fishing areas.

The Quileute were not invited to the Gray's Harbor negotiations for a good reason. None of the Americans on the treaty commission had known of their existence. It was during a break in those negotiations that George Gibbs (acting secretary of the treaty commission) overheard a conversation between a Quinault and a Quileute guest of his. The conversation was being conducted in Quileute. Gibbs could not understand the conversation and recognized that the language belonged to a different linguistic stock than either the Salishan or the Chinookan. All of the tribes present at Gray's Harbor spoke languages of one or the other of these linguistic stocks. Further, Gibbs recognized that Quileute was related to Chemakum, the language of the remnant of a tribe in the Port Townsend area. Learning that the Quileute guest lived on the Pacific Coast north of the Quinault people, Gibbs deduced the existence of a hitherto unknown tribe whose territories lay to the south of the Makah and north of the Quinault, bounded on the east by the Olympic Mountains and on the west by the Pacific Ocean.

To salvage what he could from the debacle of Gray's Harbor, Governor Stevens had the rejected treaty rewritten in such a way that the Quinault, the Quileute, and their respective bands were presented as the Indian "signators," and the lands they held, or were presumed to hold, were described as the area involved.

These last arrangements were made in haste because spring had come and Stevens was anxious to begin negotiations with the tribes east of the mountains as soon as snow melt rendered them feasible. Stevens assigned to his aide Michael Simmons the task of explaining the altered treaty to the tyees of the Quinault and Quileute people at the village of "Chief Tah-ho-lah," the leading Quinault tyee. This assignment was accomplished by Simmons on July 1, 1855. Stevens himself did not sign the treaty until January 25, 1856, while in Olympia. This curious circumstance explains the validity of two dates in two different years in the official version of the treaty, as well as why Governor Stevens' final treaty is usually referred to as the "Treaty of Olympia."
Reviewed by Blaine Garvin.

Western history is frequently criticized for being an isolated idiom. In this well-illustrated book Brian Dippie makes numerous links to broader themes in American intellectual and cultural history via George Catlin and a handful of his contemporaries, all of whom are closely associated in the popular mind and scholarly world with that most fundamental of Western themes, the Indian.

For instance, Dippie characterizes Catlin as a Jacksonian man, the artist-entrepreneur. Contrary to the commonly held view, both then and now, that the famed artist was inspired by an altruistic concern for the “Vanishing American” (a subject which Dippie has explored earlier), Catlin was very much the capitalist. He conducted a life-long quest to profit from his painting forays and, like many a businessman since, concentrated much of his effort on securing a government subsidy for his work, in this case after the fact. Because he was an artist, Catlin’s many campaigns to secure Congressional patronage in a partisan age throw revealing light on American attitudes toward the arts in the mid 19th century.

The other members of the cast in this fascinating tale of art and politics are the encyclopedist Henry Rowe Schoolcraft, and artists Seth Eastman, Thomas McKenney, and John Mix Stanley. Catlin is the book’s organizing figure—the narrative connection—around which other chapters are built. The Schoolcraft-Eastman intrigue is exhaustively detailed, but is not compelling in itself. On the other hand, the chapter on Stanley is the first modern and easily accessible treatment of an important, if relatively obscure, Western artist. Stanley plays prominently not only in the larger terms of Dippie’s book (for he too tried to get Congress to buy a gallery of Indian portraits), but also in the early history of Washington. Stanley barely missed the fate of the Whimans in 1847, and he was the official artist of Isaac Stevens’ railroad survey of 1853.

Dippie’s enduring accomplishment in this book will be his cataloging of the workings of long-forgotten instruments in the dissemination of popular culture: traveling portrait galleries, Indian troupes, panoramas, illustrated travel narratives, ethnological encyclopedias, and special edition prints. In Dippie’s pages we are present at the creation of the romance and myth of the West.

David L. Nicandri is the director of the Washington State Historical Society and a frequent commentator in the field of Western art.

Blaine Garvin is an Associate Professor of Political Science at Gonzaga University. An active scholar, one of his principal research and teaching interests is the modernization of state government.

COLUMBIA 46 FALL 1991
Educating for Service:
Pacific Lutheran University, 1890-1990.

Creating the People's University:
Washington State University, 1890-1990.
Reviewed by Dale E. Soden.

The centennial celebrations of several colleges and universities in the Pacific Northwest have occurred during the past year. Among the more notable are Washington State and Pacific Lutheran universities. Both institutions have commissioned historians from their own campuses to write scholarly accounts of their respective development over the past century. Philip Nordquist traces the story of Pacific Lutheran from its beginnings in Parkland, Washington, just south of Tacoma, to its emergence in 1990 as the largest private educational institution in the region and the largest Lutheran university in North America. George Frykman details the development of WSU from its roots as a small land-grant college in the 19th century to its current status as a comprehensive research university with distinguished programs in the humanities and social sciences as well as the natural sciences. These are two well-written histories of important institutions which, in their own way, mark the increasing importance of the Pacific Northwest as an intellectual and cultural region within the United States.

Nordquist's narrative focuses on the problem of survival; he vividly describes the efforts of midwestern Norwegian Lutherans who came to the Pacific Northwest to establish an institution of higher education. From people like Bjug Harstad and Nils Hong to events such as the PLU band's playing "A Mighty Fortress Is Our God" on the slopes of Mount Rainier in 1896 to mark the beginning of classes, that first generation struggled to keep Pacific Lutheran alive. In fact, several other regional Lutheran colleges failed. Yet, perseverance hardly translated into prosperity. The financial difficulties proved so overwhelming that it was not until 1940 that the college achieved four-year status. From presidential politics and faculty accomplishments to athletic success and student life, Nordquist weaves an engaging narrative, even documenting gold-seeking in the Yukon in the 1890s as a method to supplement campus coffers. Students of social history will appreciate the attention paid to campus life and the evolution that has occurred from a time when chapel was required and smoking and dancing prohibited to the late 20th century in which co-educational dormitories are the rule rather than the exception.

George Frykman's history is the third in a series of works commissioned for the university's centennial. The other two histories focus on athletics and student life. Frykman focuses on the interplay between presidential administrations, state legislatures, and faculty politics. As a land-grant college, Washington State's mission was "to teach such branches of learning as are related to agriculture and the mechanic arts." Occasional tension with the University of Washington, as well as political maneuvering by state legislators, is integrated into Frykman's analysis of the development of Washington State University into a major institution in the West.

At first glance it appears that these are two remarkably different institutions. The one was established by Norwegian pietists for the purpose of educating students for service, not the least of which was the ministry. The other focused on providing help for farmers and other people who would need the mechanical arts. Yet, reading these books back to back, which I highly recommend, reveals some unexpected insights. Both historians provide additional evidence that, in fact, administrators and faculties at both institutions formed a vision of higher education during the late 19th and early 20th centuries that focused on the importance of building character, rather than merely training students to be expert in a particular field. One might not be surprised to find this at PLU, but Frykman also shows how strongly Washington State's early presidents, such as Enoch Bryan, articulated a vision that character and not knowledge is the highest objective. For example, Bryan argued in near-religious terms that Washington State's faculty should direct itself to the molding of "an inward spiritual grace."

Just as striking is the change in educational philosophy at both of these institutions as the century progressed. Like their counterparts both public and private throughout the country, WSU and PLU strove to raise their standards of academic excellence and to hire the best scholars and teachers. At WSU this sometimes created tension in terms of the evaluation of a faculty member, particularly one who was an effective teacher but who was less successful with scholarly research. At PLU the problem surfaced increasingly with regard to religious identity. By the late 1970s the desire to hire faculty who were more importantly first-rate teachers and scholars, regardless of their Christian faith, had begun to change the nature of PLU's character and, as a result, it also generated controversy over the school's identity and mission. Only 54 percent of the PLU faculty surveyed in 1988 indicated they belonged to a church. Nevertheless, Nordquist writes, "The institution is also academically stronger than it has ever been. Perhaps that is all one can hope for at a Lutheran university."

Dale Soden earned his doctorate at the University of Washington. He is an Associate Professor of History at Whitworth College in Spokane and author of that school's centennial history, A Venture of Mind and Spirit (1990).

Edited by Robert C. Carriker
Kudos

I just received the Summer 1991 issue. My compliments—a nice selection of articles and a very attractively designed magazine. Thank you!

John Pound
Seattle

Bow Posts?

In the Summer 1991 issue of COLUMBIA on page 33 in the third line we read, "cutting four bow posts . . ." They didn't cut posts in the bow—they cut posts into which the long timbers were slid.

COLUMBIA is much more to my taste than was Pacific Northwest Quarterly, which got away from our area and became a vehicle for the horrible "publish or perish" mentality.

And thanks for putting on the "Enlightened Voyages" exhibit.

J. J. Dillon
Seattle

Bodega y Quadra

May I take issue with a statement in Donald Cutter's excellent article on the Spanish explorers, Alcalá Galiano and Valdés, in your summer issue?

Dr. Cutter wrote that Juan Francisco Bodega y Quadra "expired in Mexico City on March 26, 1794, the result of overwork, overexposure to the cold of the Pacific Northwest, and despondency motivated by the horrible "publish or perish" mentality."

I know that his health problems began much earlier, probably in Mexico, many months before he awaited the arrival of Vancouver at Nootka on Vancouver Island. After the latter's arrival late in August 1792, Bodega y Quadra left the Pacific Coast port of San Blas for Mexico City, a doctor went along with him on the long journey that ended in his death. It is true that he was without funds at the time—the government owed him considerable pay that had not been paid.

Lucille McDonald
Bellevue

Additional Reading

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

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Seduced and Abandoned?


The Promise of Greatness


John Kendrick


Treaty or Non-treaty Status


River Worlds


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