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COVER:While stationed in the Northwest during the 1840s British Lieutenant Henry Warre painted scenes of Hudson’s Bay Company posts and settled communities throughout the Northwest. His depiction of the source of the Columbia River shows the spot near which David Thompson established the first fur post on the Upper Columbia in 1807. Along with Lieutenant Meriwether Lewis, Warre surveyed conditions in the Oregon Country and wrote a report for the Secretary of Colonies just prior to the completion of the Oregon Treaty in 1846. (Washington State Historical Society)
Beacon Rock, an 840-foot volcanic remnant on the Washington shore of the Columbia River, was an important landmark long before Lewis and Clark named it. It has been wrongly described as the world’s second largest monolith (after Gibraltar). Standing alone, its height makes it impressive, but it is not a monolith, being made up of several lava formations.

Henry J. Biddle of Portland bought the rock in 1915 to save it from being quarried. Biddle began to build a trail up the rock in October 1915. Two and a half years and $10,000 later it was completed. Today the climb is neither as dangerous nor as difficult as the first ascents. Handrails have been built along the trail and the bare top is completely protected by shoulder-high guardrails. A series of signs placed along the switchbacks warn the too adventurous climber: “Stepping off the trail—is no joke—you may join—the departed folk.”

In 1931 the rock was again endangered when the United States Army Corps of Engineers started looking for Columbia River jetty material. The heirs of Henry Biddle offered the rock to the State of Washington as a gift, but Governor Roland Hartley turned it down, charging that they were only trying to work a tax dodge.

Preservation of the rock meant a great deal to Sam Boardman, parks engineer for the Oregon State Parks Commission, who had joined the highway department in 1919. His interest in preserving his state’s natural features later brought his appointment as Oregon’s first state parks superintendent. No one could better have come to the defense of Beacon Rock.

Boardman first enlisted the support of E. S. Lindley, secretary of the Vancouver Chamber of Commerce. If no other way could be found, the chamber would care for the park.

He then wrote to J. C. Ainsworth, president of the United States National Bank of Portland, a longtime friend and supporter of parks. Ainsworth was well acquainted with Erskine Wood, one of the Biddle heirs, and was asked to approach him on behalf of Oregon. If a park could be legally created and properly cared for, Mr. Wood was agreeable to deeding the property to the State of Oregon for one dollar. The park property would include several acres across the highway north of the rock to provide a picnic area.

Boardman then went to Henry Van Duzer, chairman of the Oregon Highway Commission, with his proposal and the assurance the rock would be deeded to the State of Oregon. Van Duzer, while enthusiastic about parks, greeted the proposal with something less than a polite reply: “You are crazy as hell.” Van Duzer gave the story to the Portland newspapers, which dealt with it editorially. Such a daring proposal raised protests in Washington, and many of its newspapers accused Oregon of “overstepping her recreational boundaries.”

Wounded by the effrontery of her neighbor and feeling a surge of home-state pride, Washington created Beacon Rock State Park in 1935. By then, Clarence D. Martin had succeeded Hartley as governor and he graciously paid the Biddle heir’s price of one dollar for the rock and a surrounding area of approximately 260 acres.

David L. Weiss, a native Oregonian, is a retired hydrologist with the United States Geological Survey and author of articles on the natural science and history of the Pacific Northwest.
Rock climbing is permitted on the southeast face of Beacon Rock. Over the years the landmark has often been referred to as Castle Rock. The Indians used to call it “Che-che-op-tin,” but the meaning of that name has been lost.

**Visitor Information**

**BEACON ROCK STATE PARK** is 35 miles east of Vancouver on State Route 14 (28 miles east of the junction of I-205 and SR 14). If you are traveling I-84 on the Oregon side of the Columbia River, you can reach Beacon Rock by crossing to Washington on the toll bridge (Bridge of the Gods) at Cascade Locks and driving 7 miles west.

Besides the 4,500 feet of trail up the rock, there are 7.5 miles of other hiking trails and 14 miles of horse trails in the park. The non-hookup campsites provide modern restrooms and hot showers. There are boat launching and mooring facilities as well. A day use picnic area is situated on the north side of the highway.

Park hours are seasonal, April 1 through October 15, 6:30 A.M. to 10:00 P.M., and October 16 through March 31, 8:00 A.M. to 5:00 P.M. The campground is open April 1 through October 15.
evolutionary events in the course of human history do not occur often, but when they do the earth seems to turn at a different rate, the world looks new, and the pace of change quickens. Five centuries ago one of those revolutionary events, one long in developing but dramatic in its unfolding, altered world history through geographical discovery. The dynamic consequences of the European exploration and colonization of North and South America changed the New World as fundamentally as it did the Old. In the new lands the change was measured in technologies and goods introduced, in diseases imported, in cultures disrupted, and in people enslaved. In Europe it was measured in capitalism stimulated, in specie imported, and in politics revolutionized. By whatever measurement, the Columbian discoveries and their consequences qualify as revolutionary and world-changing.

The Encounter between the “discovered” and the “discoverers” created a whirlwind legacy, a legacy that brought a few nations wealth and power and extended well beyond those nations’ aspirations. Some three centuries after Columbus another battalion of discoverers, emboldened by a new science and sailing for commerce, brought the legacy of the Encounter into the waters of the North Pacific. Ship captains pursuing wealth in otter pelts and knowledge about this remote region were the first to inform the outside world about its resources and people. Included on their charts was a great river that flowed from the continental interior and emptied into the Pacific at about the 46th parallel. It was the “Great River of the West,” first identified by Bruno de Hezeta in 1775 and named the Columbia in 1792 by American sea captain Robert Gray. Gray tentatively explored the river’s mouth and later that year British Lieutenant William Broughton charted about 100 miles of the Columbia’s course. These explorations triggered a half century of encounters between Indian and non-Indian peoples on the Columbia that revolutionized the region.

The Columbia is a long and powerful river course. Headed in lakes at the base of the Canadian Rockies and flowing more than 1,200 miles to the ocean, the Columbia cuts through a dozen or more separate natural environments that afforded sustenance and brought wealth to thousands of Native Americans who lived within the circle of its influence. That world, created by the nexus of river, land, and people—a world preexisting the contact between whites and Indians—was rich and complex. Its richness can be counted in the number of tribes and in the variety of peoples who drew strength from the Columbia. From the Sanpoil and Kootenai on its upper courses to the Chinook and Cowlitz of the lower river, the lifeways, language, and material culture of Indian groups were as differentiated as the landscape. On the lower river, from the Cascades to the sea, Indian groups relied on one of the world’s great fisheries and prospered better than perhaps any other native group on the continent. On the Columbia Plateau, through which the river runs in a great basaltic gorge, more sparsely settled Native American tribes sustained themselves by utilizing what the environment offered.

Grasping the importance and dimensions of the Encounter...
ter on the Columbia begins with gaining some understanding of the Native American world that the white intruders discovered there. It was a complex and sophisticated world infused with natural and supernatural forces. Indian people lived in an environment that offered riches but also strained human ingenuity and tested their intelligence and resourcefulness. They struck an accommodation with this nurturing and demanding environment, an agreement that emphasized respect and underscored knowledge. As anthropologist Eugene Hunn has shown, Indians knew their land in its most intimate detail. The taxonomy of plant resources, as reflected in the names Indians gave each species, subspecies, and seasonal variations, describes a complex world with great sophistication. Plant names carried with them descriptions, locations, harvest or germination seasons, and their uses as food or medicines. The names recorded the smallest fragments of utilitarian import, the incidental but crucial characteristics of thousands of plants and other food resources.

Indian society was similarly complex and sophisticated. Relationships in families and village groups on the Columbia rested on a complicated kinship system that emphasized the equitable and respectful treatment of individuals. Those relationships informed Indians' lives nearly as much as their interaction with the natural world did. Behind it all, Native Americans believed in a spiritual world that coexisted and intermingled with the natural world. Human beings and the society they created existed on a cooperative basis with the rest of creation, and that translated into complex rules of behavior between people and people, people and the land, and people and the spiritual world.

For Native Americans on the Columbia the Encounter with whites began long before they actually saw or met them. The precursor was often virulent disease that spread upstream from the coast, shocking and baffling Native Americans as unremediad illness took life after life. As early as 1775, smallpox claimed more than 15 percent of some tribes along the river. Subsequent ravages of smallpox, measles, and malaria decimated most tribes by the 1830s, leaving only a fraction of the population that had existed before contact with whites. By the time Meriwether Lewis and William Clark explored the region in 1805-1806, probably half of the native population had succumbed to disease. It was, as one scholar has described it, an unprecedented holocaust.

Trade was a more benign interaction. It had been the first point and purpose of contact between the sea captains and coastal tribes, and it quickly dominated their intercourse. Through the extensive intertribal trade network, European-made glass, metal, and cloth items were exchanged from tribe to tribe. The central place in this network on the Columbia was The Dalles—"the great emporium" as fur trader Alexander Ross called it—where Indians throughout the Northwest had traded for hundreds of years. Trade at The Dalles was so rich that in 1805, as they came down the Columbia, Lewis and Clark met Indians who thought whites must be living at The Dalles because of the prevalence of
In 1881, Lieutenant Thomas W. Symons conducted the first government-sponsored exploration of the upper Columbia River, which produced detailed charts, colorful descriptions, and an evaluation of navigation on the river.

Trade goods there. The explorers also saw evidence of the trade's penetration into the interior. Near the Walla Walla River the explorers met Indians who had “large blue and white beads [and] bracelets of Brass, Copper,” and later downstream near the mouth of the Deschutes River they encountered Indians with “two Scarlet and a blue cloth blanket, also a Salors Jacket.”

Trade had wicked up the Columbia so rapidly that Lewis and Clark, who were among the first whites to encounter Indians along the river, met the advance legions of their own civilization deep in the wilderness. They took careful notes, recording their observations of existing trade among Indian tribes and the possibility of trade with the United States. They did this in obedience to President Thomas Jefferson’s instructions to study Indian peoples and record “the names of the nations and their numbers” and especially “the articles of commerce they may need or furnish and to what extent.” As James Ronda has brilliantly explained, trade and the potential for trade agreements with Indians became a central element, if not the crucial factor, in Lewis and Clark’s relationships with Native Americans. For Lewis and Clark friendly relations with Indians presaged longer term commercial agreements, making trade itself the principal medium of intercourse between the cultures.

Trade, perhaps more than any other activity between whites and Indians, became the arena of common focus and exchange of information. Native Americans and traders observed each other keenly, drew conclusions from their impressions, and ultimately characterized each other in the process. For decades before Lewis and Clark ventured west North Pacific Coast Indians had called Americans in ships “Boston Men,” reflecting as much the whites’ focus on trade as their geographical origins. For many Columbia River Indians, whites and trade were nearly synonymous.

In trade, whether between the sea captains at the river’s mouth or upriver with Lewis and Clark and the later fur men,
both Indians and whites focused on the exchange. In these instances, the Encounter put individuals of different cultures—one far from his home territory and the other squarely in his native place—face to face, with objects of exchange between them. Individually they assigned value and bargained, taking what they desired and what they could get. White traders commonly expressed gleeful surprise at the high value Indians placed on items that seemed mere trinkets. Indians traded what whites wanted in return for as much in trade goods as bargaining allowed.

Whites often commented on how keenly Indians traded and the hard bargains they drove. But the Indians’ trade practices also confused them. Lewis and Clark recorded that a lively trade between Indians and coastal traders had developed in guns, kettles, wire, fishing hooks, buttons and other items in exchange for animal skins and food, suggesting some equanimity and perhaps even advantage for the Indians. But juxtaposed to this observation Lewis also wrote: “The natives are extravagantly fond of the most common cheap blue and white beads, of moderate size, or such that from 50 to 70 will weigh one pennyweight…for these beads they will dispose any article they possess.” His critique scolds them as foolish even as the explorers considered Indians to be crafty and intelligent traders, full of guile.

David Thompson, the great land geographer and North West Company trader who first met and traded with Indians near the source of the Columbia at Columbia Lake, also critiqued Indian trading. Writing about his experiences among Walla Walla Indians in 1811, he observed that the chief hoped Thompson would “bring [them] arms, arrow shods of iron, axes, knives and many other things which you [Thompson] have and which we very much want.” It was the women, Thompson observed, who wanted “blue beads, rings and other trifles.” Exchanging these items was an assumed part of the costs of trade, to Thompson a necessary but distracting aspect of the process.

If the trade required these involved exchanges, Thompson and other fur traders like Alexander Ross and Gabriel Franchere of the Pacific Fur Company grumbled but accepted it. They focused instead on their objective, acquiring fur pelts—preferably otter, beaver, and fox—which their employers desired. For the Indians trade meant opportunity to exchange anything they had for articles they desired, and that meant guns, metal, brightly hued cloth, beads and more. The trade, seen from the Indians’ viewpoint, looked like the open end of the Horn of Cornucopia. The whites saw it as the narrow end.

But in the case of Lewis and Clark, as Ronda tells us, the explorers were not so focused on trading with Indians as they were in establishing agreements to trade. They sought some basis upon which to build a trade. Among the Mandan and Hidatsa, far to the east of the Columbia, that meant halting war and establishing peace as a basis for trade. On the Columbia, it meant discovering the right articles to trade and finding Indians who were trustworthy in trade. For David Thompson, when he established the first trading establishment on the Columbia River near its source in 1807, the problem was not cessation of war but the arming of friends.

Thompson’s incursion west of the Rockies and his traffic in weapons with his trading partners threatened the balance of power among Indian tribes in the region. Through it all he kept his purpose clear and used any method he could to strike the bargain. Four years later and down the Columbia, Thompson told assembled Indians who were eager for trade: “We had armed all the natives, particularly the Salish and Kootenays, and that as soon as possible we should do the same to all his people, that the way we brought the goods at present obliged us to cross high mountains and through hostile people, that we now sought a short safe way, by which all the articles they wanted would come in safety.”

What Thompson and other fur traders wanted was not unlike what all European traders desired. They wanted stable trading conditions and as many advantages as possible in support of their trade. Trading in another’s country, the fur men tried always to control access to their trading partners, as Thompson suggested, and to find the best means to conduct trade. In that pursuit, Lewis and Clark, Thompson, Ross and the other men who had first contact with the Indians on the Columbia preferred establishing relations with one man from each tribe, someone they could identify.
as chief. This desire, whether it be part of negotiations for trade or a matter of war and peace, became a bugbear for whites who wanted stable relations with Indians. The singularity of leadership and especially the authority to speak for all Indians who wished to trade at any opportunity did not exist in Native American cultures. Almost invariably, white traders frustrated themselves in their insistence on chieftain brokers for their ambitious trade, while they continued to grumble and resist the free-wheeling trading practices most Indians used.

The white traders drew their own conclusions, as did the Indians. The opinions that fur men held about their partners in these exchanges on the Columbia, however, disclose a more serious difficulty in the trade and take us deeper into an ambivalence inherent in the Encounter. The acerbic Ross Cox, a Pacific Fur Company trader, wrote that, in his opinion, “the good qualities of these Indians are few; their vices many. Industry, patience, sobriety, and ingenuity nearly comprise the former; while in the latter may be classed, thieving, lying, incontinence, gambling, and cruelty. They are also perfect hypocrites.” Lewis and Clark hurled some of the same epithets at Columbia River Indians, especially those along the lower river.

At The Dalles in 1811 Thompson puzzled at the actions of a party of Indians who tried to block their passage and gouge from them some kind of payment. He told them they were being foolish to threaten his group. “We expressed our surprise that we who had come so far should meet such hard treatment; that we came to supply their wants, and not to kill, or be killed, and if they continued to threaten our lives, they must not expect to see us again.” The game these Indians played baffled Thompson:

We hardly knew what to make of these people; they appeared a mixture of kindness and treachery; willingly rendering every service required, and performing well what they undertook, but demanding exorbitant prices for their services, and dagger in hand ready to enforce their demands... they steal all they can lay their hands on, and nothing can be gotten from them which they have stolen. . . .

It was the stealing that especially bothered the traders. At Celilo Falls on the Columbia Lewis and Clark complained that they had to situate their
camp "for the protection of our stores from thief, which we were more fearfull of, than their arrows." And far up the Columbia at Fort Okanogan, Alexander Ross labeled Indians "a people who delight in perfidy! Perfidy is the system of savages, treachery and cunning the instruments of their power, and cruelty and bloodshed the policy of their country." The basis of trade, these men expected and believed, had to be some measure of honesty. The Indians' theft of trade goods and stores seemed foolishly destructive. Ross and others like him seem to be asking: What is wrong? Why do they act this way? Do they know that this damages, even negates, trade?

For the Indian traders the view was much different. Trade was important to them, but it was less important, much less, than other aspects of their lives. In their exchanges with whites threats, posturing, offers of food, ritual blessings and even theft often intermingled. American and English traders received conflicting messages and drew confused conclusions. Indians seemed to welcome the whites and what they could provide Indians, but they also rejected them by stealing what the whites brought and suddenly altering the rules of the trade. During the cold and damp winter of 1805-1806 at Fort Clatsop, Lewis reflected on his expedition's experiences with the Indians, writing in his journal about the need to caution his men against a too easy association with Indians:

For notwithstanding their [the Indians'] friendly disposition, their great averse and hope of plunder might induce them to be treacherous . . . we well know, that the treachery of the aborigines of America and the too great confidence of our country men in their sincerity and friendship, has caused the destruction of many hundreds of us . . . that our preservation depends on never losing sight of this trait in their character, and being always prepared to meet it in whatever shape it may present itself.

Nearly two years of experience instructed Lewis as he wrote those lines, and he pointedly referred to generations of experience between whites and Indians—"the destruction of many hundreds of us." His commentary pulled in the hard core of a legacy of misunderstanding in the Encounter that often devolved to fear and hatred, even among enlightened observers. What ate at him so thoroughly when he wrote those lines we will never know. Nor will we understand what so bothered Alexander Ross when he warned that an Indian, "even after years of friendly intercourse," would not change but would remain "morose, sullen, and unsociable" and could not "elevate himself to the habits of civilized men."

Ross' words document a cultural distance that can be ascribed to differences in living conditions, appearance, and even sexual customs. Those distances were real, and they kept whites and Indians looking across a cultural gulf. Did white traders see Indian families with understanding? Could Indians have conceived of the shape of white families' lives? Could Indians understand why Ross wondered how Indians could live "squatting, or lying amongst dirt and filth, dogs and fleas" rather than sitting in a chair in a house? The gulf was genuine, but within the circle of trade, where Indians and whites measured each other time and again, the gap also opens a smaller issue. Europeans and Americans understood trade as a full-range activity in which nearly all things could be ascribed value and could be purchased. The conditions of the exchange could vary and the values could fluctuate, but the process itself had to be logical and predictable.

At the heart of the complaints that Ross and Lewis articulated was their objection to what they perceived as capricious behavior by their Indian trading partners. "Perfidy!" Ross declaimed, is the governing characteristic of Native Americans on the Columbia. But for those Indians who Ross castigated, trade was only opportunity to improve their lives, not the context of their lives. The Indians' world focused on relationships between themselves and their environment, between individuals in the group, and between them and the living spirits of their universe.

The Encounter on the Columbia, part of a great world-changing experience, spun a kaleidoscope of consequences that continue to inform us and shape our decisions in private and public matters. The Encounter changed this region, and it would never be as it was before. But in key respects the earliest sustained contact between Native Americans and whites on the Columbia changed the participants less than we might expect. Evaluations that whites and Indians made of each other, images individuals applied in general to members of the other culture, and the expectations each had of the other's behavior suggest that the Encounter encompassed a relatively narrow exchange between the "discovered" and the "discoverers."

The Encounter occurred too often at the sharpest and most circumscribed point of contact. Like a touching at the intersection of two swords, the trading exchange brought whole cultures together to engage in a bargain and a sale. Even a partial overlap of two circles of life, a wider encounter, had little chance. As the fur trade shivered and allowed room for broader contacts between Native Americans and invading whites, Indians and whites learned more about their ways of living. The legacy, a child of revolutionary events, extended itself, continuing to leave its multicultural imprint on this Columbian world.

William L. Lang is director of the Washington State Historical Society's Center for Columbia River History, located at Washington State University-Vancouver. He is author of more than two dozen articles on Pacific Northwest subjects, the editor of Centennial West: Essays on the Northern Tier States (1991), and co-author of two textbooks on Montana history, including Montana: A History of Two Centuries (1991).
Schooners ’n Steamers
Puget Sound Shipbuilding a Century Ago

These days large and small shipyards in Washington and elsewhere around the country are shutting down for lack of business. A hundred years ago the shipbuilding industry was flourishing on Puget Sound. Shipyards in the area turned out 25 vessels in 1888 alone. A January 1, 1889, Tacoma Daily Ledger article included a list of vessels built that year and general comments on the industry.

All of these vessels were, of course, built of wood. The virgin forests surrounding Puget Sound furnished the best of materials, chiefly Douglas fir for planking and decking as well as for the masts of sailing vessels. This species of wood was valued for its strength, straight grain and durability. Moreover, there was a plentiful supply.

Aboard the sailing vessels cotton canvas of various weights was used long before synthetic materials were invented. Using a leather palm, needle and strong cotton or linen thread, sail makers did much of the work of sewing the sails by hand. Such sewing methods are seldom used today, and canvas sails have been a thing of the past since the
The advent of synthetic fibers like dacron and nylon. According to the Daily Ledger's ship-building summary, about half of the vessels constructed were sailers. The others were "little steamboats," as they were called. Some were propeller-driven, while others were side- and stern-wheelers. The engines and boilers were made in shops around Puget Sound or shipped up from San Francisco.

Among the many shipyards on the sound, the Daily Ledger mentions Hall Brothers, which dominated the industry. Isaac Hall established his yard at Port Ludlow in 1873 and later, with his two brothers Henry and Winslow, moved the yard to Port Blakely in 1881. There they continued to build mostly sailing schooners. In 1903 the company bought property at Eagle Harbor and established its plant there, naming the townsite Winslow after one of the brothers, and naming the plant Hall Brothers Marine Railway and Shipbuilding Company. The company built a large marine railway to overhaul and repair both sailing and steam vessels.

In 1916 the company changed hands. James Griffiths & Sons, ship owners and operators in Seattle, ran the facility under the name of Winslow Marine Railway and Shipbuilding Company. Although they continued to construct a few new vessels, the yard mainly did repair and conversion work. One of Griffiths’ enterprises, Coastwise Steamship and Barge Company, bought up many of the retired sailing vessels and converted them into barges used mainly to transport bulk ores. They were tiny things by today’s standards, but they suited the needs of the times and plied the inland and ocean waters with credit to the American merchant marine.

The Mary F. Perley was a typical stern-wheeler, 104 feet long with a breadth of 25 feet. Like most stern-wheelers on Puget Sound, she was suited for operation on the rivers and flats in shallow water and, as the saying goes, “would float on a heavy dew.” Launched at Samish on Bellingham Bay in 1888, she was owned by Perley & Dean and named after Perley’s daughter. The Henry Bailey, another stern-wheeler, was 108 feet long with considerable upper works and a lofty pilot house. This vessel is best remembered for its association with that venerable steamship operator and banker, Joshua Green, who, at 16, arrived in Seattle with his family in 1886. He worked at numerous jobs, first as a surveyor and later as a clerk at Schwabacher Hardware. The little steamboats and the waters of the sound intrigued Green. His friend Bailey Gatzert recommended him to the owners of the Henry Bailey. They hired Green as purser of that vessel, which had a lucrative run between Tacoma and points along the Skagit River.

### Vessels Built on Puget Sound in 1888

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<td>Gig Harbor</td>
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SCH=Schooner STR=Steamer
Green was fond of telling about a nearly fatal accident he experienced while working on board the Henry Bailey. While on the Bailey, he had purchased one of the new double-action Smith and Wesson revolvers and had it out on the deck to practice firing at floating objects. One of the lady passengers asked him to let her fire a shot. When he handed her the revolver, she had difficulty pulling the trigger. The gun went off suddenly, the shot entering purser Green's head just above his eye, and he fell to the deck.

At first they thought he was dead, but the cook brought a bucket of water and a beefsteak, which he fastened over the wound. When the boat docked in Seattle, Green made his way home alone, rousing out his family. Medical examination revealed that the bullet had not penetrated his skull, but had gone out through the top of his head. Green later admitted that it had been a close call.

Joshua Green's job as purser for the Henry Bailey was the commencement of his fabulous career. He soon convinced the captain, chief engineer and mate that they should buy a boat of their own. Adding their notes for $1,250 to his own, he went to Jacob Furth, president of Puget Sound National Bank, and asked for a loan of $5,000 to buy the 100-foot stern-wheeler Fanny Lake and a scow.

Without any other collateral, Mr. Furth lent Green the money, and he and his shipmates were in business. Purser Green's successful operations on the Skagit River and his rise to ownership of a fleet of inland steamboats is practically a Northwest legend.

Another well-known centennial vessel, the SS State of Washington, was built in Tacoma in 1889 and named for Washington's admission to statehood. She was launched on July 12 and made the Tacoma-to-Seattle run, a distance of 25 miles, in 95 minutes—an average speed of nearly 16 knots—remarkable for a stern-wheeler of her day. She was 170 feet long, 31 feet wide, and carried 100 passengers.

The State of Washington had a long and eventful career as a Puget Sound freight and passenger vessel, operating on most of the routes around the sound. Commencing in 1889, she was in continual operation for 24 years until her transfer to the Columbia River in 1913 for service as a towboat. In 1920, while in that service, her boiler exploded, shattering her hull and killing one of her crew. She sank in the river and could not be salvaged.

Another product of the Hall Brothers' Port Blakely yard in 1888 was the three-masted schooner J. M. Colman. She was 157 feet in length, 37 feet broad—about average for the little schooners being built in those days. It seems almost certain, though it has never been verified, that she was named for J. M. Colman, a well-known pioneer who came to Seattle in 1861. The family later owned extensive property, including the Colman Dock and Colman Building.

The schooner Robert Searles was also built by the Hall Brothers Shipyard in Port Blakely. Made in 1888 for carrying lumber, she operated until 1913 when, on a voyage from Astoria to Hawaii, she reached Kahului in a disabled condition and was abandoned to the underwriters. She was later converted to a coal barge in Honolulu.

With the rapid advent of steam power and the demise of sail, the little schooners became history. But Washington continued to build wooden steam vessels in yards from Gray's Harbor to Bellingham.

A native of Seattle, Douglas Egan has been a contributor to a number of maritime and historical publications and is author of Ship Benjamin Sewal (1983).
It seems that almost every event or geographic location has been honored by a musical composition. Thousands of aspiring composers have set their inspirations to music, with varying degrees of success. Around 1915 Edward Thornton and Edwin Dicey, residents of Hood River, Oregon, composed the “Columbia River Highway Waltz” to commemorate the completion of the first paved highway in Oregon, which stretched from Astoria to Hood River.

With your blushing young bride 'long the river you glide.
Oh, Honey how good you do feel.
Take a trip here next summer to Nation's play ground,
You'll never want to leave you will find it so grand.
If you want to be happy, healthy, merry, and gay,
Take a ride with your bride along the great highway.

It never was a big hit.
Starting in 1912, Seattle schools offered progressive kindergarten classes.

By Bryce E. Nelson
Urban public education is a 20th-century institution that was created throughout the United States in the two decades prior to World War I. Many policies (and their institutional shapes) remain as familiar answers to enduring questions: who should attend school and for how long, what should be learned, by whom, and how well, how should schools be funded, who should teach, with what methods, and with what relationship to administration, and what should be done for students not performing up to their potential? But in one additional area where schools today tread lightly, Seattle's progressive era educators confidently asserted themselves—the school as surrogate parent. In the formative years of the Seattle schools, 1901 to 1917, the social welfare and future good citizenship of students was given as much importance as intellectual development.

Seattle's progressive educators were interested in controlling or influencing almost all aspects of a student's life, including things well outside the formal curriculum and school day. The Seattle Board of Education took an interest in a student's welfare from the moment he or she began the walk to school. It did not want students walking through unsafe areas or loitering near morally questionable businesses. It acted aggressively to keep the business community near a school free of undesirable elements. The board's objections to certain businesses ranged from their being "smelly" to "selling cigarettes to students" to being a "rendezvous of undesirable characters." The board wanted objectionable businesses and activities moved because it perceived schools as clean, wholesome institutions and itself as a watchdog.

Once students got to school they often received some moral instruction. Echoing John Dewey, Seattle's school superintendent Frank Cooper believed that moral instruction went on throughout the day, was "introduced incidentally" and could not be separated from other parts of the curriculum. Moral instruction was neither a formal subject nor religious education. Dewey derided traditional moral instruction as "too goody-goody." Cooper thought the staff was doing a good job of "giving pupils right motives for good conduct," citing the lack of misconduct among pupils while walking to and from school and absence of vandalism on school buildings and furniture or in the toilet rooms as proof of their success.

Progressive era reformers took unprecedented interest in the welfare of the child. For efficiency-minded as well as humanitarian progressives, education was the hope for the future. The existence of large numbers of children who were sick, hungry, ignorant or uncivil had social consequences—which educators wanted to alleviate.

Like its counterparts nationally, the early 20th-century Seattle school system actively promoted good health, nutrition, civil behavior and high moral standards. A constant theme coupled distrust of what students would do when unsupervised by educators with confidence that the schools' formal curriculum and extracurriculum could make a positive difference. Seattle educators tightly controlled the curriculum, denying access during the school day to all outside groups or causes, from commercial photographers to Red Cross to secret fraternities. They aggressively intervened to make school neighborhoods safe, eliminate smoking among students, ban fraternities in schools and discourage sexual immorality. For students who were hungry, dirty, ill, delinquent or dependent, the schools offered a variety of child welfare services, including medical and dental clinics, a morning milk break, bathtubs, social workers, and two parental schools for custodial care of wayward youths. Cooper called the school "the state's chief child welfare agency," and indeed no aspect of a child's welfare seemed beyond school interest.

At the same time, Seattle educators created an extracurriculum so that they could control what students were doing outside the classroom, and could thereby teach some lessons informally through activities. Two examples of such activities were sports and dances. School involvement in these activities was not inevitable, nor was it widely applauded.

Competitive sports were organized in 1904 in elementary and high schools on a club basis, offering competition in football, track and baseball. In the 1909-10 school year, the school board began taking control of this private interscholastic league. Such a transition...
from informal club sports to school-controlled extracurricular sports—with an educational purpose—occurred in most cities in the decade before World War I. In Seattle, the board began paying the salary of the league director, put principals on the league’s board, and began paying high school coaches. District-supported sports meant expense and liability. But more importantly, with school district control of sports, the right lessons and behavior were to be taught and learned.

The Seattle schools also actively promoted in-school sports for adolescent girls. The girls, said superintendent Cooper, otherwise “stood around talking or watching the games of the boys, or engaged in aimless activity of no physical and questionable moral value.” High school gymnasium teachers visited grade schools and successfully taught games and sports to the older girls. The schools also offered free swimming lessons at public beaches. These lessons were especially aimed at girls. The swimming teachers were to be women, because, noted Cooper, “boys generally need but little encouragement in learning to swim; girls much more.”

In addition to sports, dancing became part of the Seattle school extracurriculum. Educators wanted to sponsor school dances in order to teach acceptable dancing styles and enforce proper student behavior. The public, however, was sharply divided over whether dancing was any business of the school. This issue provoked the most public concern, debate and depth of feeling of any school issue before World War I.

In Seattle, dancing emerged as a symbol of how the new middle-class school supporters saw their schools. They wanted their neighborhood schools to look clean and neat, without unsupervised children loitering on the playgrounds. They wanted deviant, delinquent and dependent youth shipped out of their neighborhoods and to the parental schools. They wanted their teachers to be virtuous, dedicated and respected. And they did not want their schools turned into dance halls. In a city with a wide-open, sleazy side to it, Seattle’s new neighborhood gentry certainly did not want their symbol of progress sullied by dances. That young people would dance was bound to happen, but they should do it elsewhere, not at school.

The board could have avoided controversy by stating that dancing was not the business of schools and ignoring what occurred at private
dances and clubs. But educating the whole child meant influencing as much of the young person's environment as possible. Dancing, along with free milk, medical care, school sports, and parental schools, was all part of schooling's larger endeavor to shape literate, healthy and moral citizens. The issue of dancing showed that parents were sharply divided on how to promote a positive moral climate. The district clearly could not speak for all.

Shared authority over morally delinquent youth was most fully expressed in the boys' and girls' parental schools operated by the Seattle school district. The school district, as an agency of the state, was understood to have the legal right to establish a residential school and to compel students to live there. These were residential schools where school-aged youth who appeared headed for delinquency were sent to be reformed. School principals and attendance officers worked closely with the juvenile courts in determining who should be sent to the parental schools. That the schools took responsibility for total care of deviant and dependent children was the logical extension of progressive era confidence in education. A totally controlled environment was an educator's ultimate test of the reforming powers of schooling.

Seattle's educators would also attend to the physical health of children. It was inefficient to have children ill, injured or unaware of how to keep themselves healthy. In 1914 the Seattle school board hired Ira C. Brown, M.D., as its first medical inspector in charge of the reorganized school medical department. Thus began a remarkable period of involvement by the school system with the health of its students.

Dr. Brown's chief administrative task was to supervise the school nurses. The nurses fought communicable diseases, screened students for health problems, made house calls, and taught health and hygiene. Some schools added baths and showers. The presence of school nurses reassured some middle-class parents that the schools actively promoted middle-class standards of cleanliness and health. Cooper claimed the nurses "helped to make the general average of personal cleanliness in the school rooms the same as that in the good homes of..."
The issue of whether schools should sponsor dances created more controversy than any other issue prior to World War I.

Additionally, the nurses were social workers and advocates for poor children. The milk program was another example of the involvement in student health by Dr. Brown and the nurses. Brown examined a number of children referred by the nurses and concluded: "It was not medicine but food that they needed. . . . The remedy was plain to me to be milk, whole milk." Starting in 1915, he attempted to improve the health of "anemic and malnourished children" by using the school as the agency to distribute milk during the daily morning milk break.

Besides supervising school nurses, Dr. Brown presided over a large, well-equipped medical and dental clinic in the old administration building. The justification for running a school clinic was that children who needed medical attention, and who would otherwise not receive it, should be treated at school expense to increase their chances of staying in school, performing their best, and, it was hoped, improving their lives. The school clinic was open every day and was staffed by volunteer physicians and partially paid dentists.

By the time of the American involvement in World War I (1917), the pattern for public schooling in Seattle had been set. Traditional intellectual development coexisted with new social welfare and citizenship goals. From free milk to medical services, parental schools to safe neighborhoods, sports to standards for behavior, the public schools now shared responsibility with parents for the development of the child. The schools made an effort to see that the life-chances of a child would not be significantly reduced by hunger, poverty or poor health. By so doing, the Seattle school district created a new role for itself as surrogate parent, involved in many aspects of a child's life beyond the formal curriculum.

Bryce E. Nelson is an administrator for the Seattle Public Schools and an affiliate Professor of Education at the University of Washington. He is author of Good Schools: The Seattle Public School System, 1901-1930 (University of Washington Press, 1988).
The World's Largest Salmon Hatchery

Construction of the salmon hatchery near Leavenworth, Washington, 53 years ago was no easy task. Eight miles of solid rock excavation from the intake of the canal to the mixing chamber at the hatchery had to be blasted and removed with huge power shovels before the concrete lining could be placed.

This project and two others like it, at Entiat and Winthrop, successfully preserved and restored the salmon runs in the Columbia River system in 1941, after completion of Grand Coulee Dam had placed them in jeopardy. As a result of further human encroachment, the salmon runs are now endangered once again.

—Richard J. Loudon
GOLDEN HARVEST
The Columbia Plateau Grain Empire

By Glen Lindeman

Agricultural exhibit, c. 1920s.
Wheat, oats, barley and other grains have been a staple of mankind for millennia; their intensive cultivation was a primary building block in the development of civilization. Grain was no less important to the Pacific Northwest's early pioneers who depended on it for more than sustenance. Hard cash and coin were rare in the old Oregon Country, and little of it circulated through the frontier economy. Consequently, grain substituted as a medium of exchange in fledgling communities, much as gold dust served mining camps. Recognizing this fact, the Oregon Provisional Government in 1845 declared wheat a legal tender at its market value.

Obviously, such basic agricultural products as grain and livestock were the pioneer's main source of wealth. And, of course, it was the stuff of life. Biscuits, bread and boiled wheat were main foods on the table, and roasted wheat grains, brewed in pots, served as a substitute for coffee. Wheat is a durable low-bulk commodity, making for cost efficient handling, storing and shipping. For the pioneers, it was an ideal agricultural product for selling in distant markets where demand was high.

In the frontier era extensive grain growing occurred on both sides of the Cascade Range. By the late 1800s, though, its main focus had shifted eastward to the Columbia Plateau where growing conditions were excellent. In fact, prime wheat land in the Palouse Hills along the Washington/Idaho border would prove to have a higher per acre yield than acreage in any other major grain-growing region in the nation. Wheat production, in its many facets, profoundly affected the landscape, city and town development, and the very economic and social fabric of the Columbia Plateau.

Settlement of the Columbia Plateau came in a century of "agricultural revolution," when great changes in farming techniques swept through the world's vast grain belts. Homesteaders in the mid 19th century plowed with single-bladed "foot burners," hand-broadcast seed during planting, and harvested with cradle scythes.

In the 1870s and 1880s elaborate horse- and mule-powered machines of amazing complexity and diversity replaced the simpler tools and implements. These newer machines could only be operated by large crews. Ironclad steam tractors, looking somewhat like off-track locomotives, appeared in the last quarter of the 19th century.

Teams of as many as 33 horses or mules pulled great combines over the steep hills.

The heyday of animal-powered technology, however, was yet to come in the 1910s and 1920s, when teams of as many as 33 horses or mules pulled great combines over the steep hills. Gasoline- and diesel-engine tractors and caterpillars took hold in the late 1930s, replacing the dutiful draft animals.

The Columbia Plateau

The great grain belt of eastern Washington overlaps into adjoining parts of Idaho and Oregon. The region's borders are the Cascade Range on the west, the Okanogan Highland to the north, the Bitterroot Range on the east, and the Blue Mountains to the south. The mostly treeless and hilly Columbia Plateau receives 20 inches or less of precipitation on its more elevated eastern and southern portions. Deep, rugged basaltic canyons of the Snake and Columbia river systems bisect the region's high prairies.

The soil of the Columbia Plateau is a large, fine-grained, yellowish-brown, extremely fertile loam ideal for "dryland" wheat farming (i.e., without irrigation). This loess soil apparently was deposited over many millennia by prevailing southwesterly winds blowing across the Cascades and central Washington and Oregon.

Though this region sours in heat and drought during long summers, lush clumps of native bunch grass flourish nearly everywhere. Blue-bunch wheat grass (normally just called bunch grass) is most common, but giant wild rye, Idaho fescue, and Sandburg bluegrass are also present. Beginning about 1725 large bands of Indian horses grazed on the bunch grass plains, especially in the southern plateau and the Palouse Hills. A little over a century later pioneer cattlemen eagerly drove their herds onto this rich range. Incidentally, the name for the famous spotted-rump Indian horse known as the "Appaloosa" came from the expression "a Palouse" horse.

Frequently described as treeless, the Columbia plain actually has some timber such as cottonwood, willow and pine lining watercourses, particularly in the more moist eastern and southern sections as well as in the Horse Heaven Hills of Klickitat County. A comparative shortage of wood posed a problem for pioneers in most areas, however, and families resorted to burning cow chips, sagebrush, and dried wild sunflower roots in stoves. Firewood frequently was hauled from the forested ridges surrounding the Columbia Plateau. Log or sod cabins were rare; more typical were board and batten houses made of lumber cut at sawmills in the peripheral mountains. Fencing a claim could cost as much in time and materials as erecting all the other structures on a homestead combined, including the cabin and barn.

Early frontiersmen never doubted that crops would thrive in the moist flats or "bottomland" next to streams. When gazing upon the boundless dry hills, however, their common farming experience (derived in the much wetter conditions of Oregon's Willamette...
EVOLUTION OF FARMING TECHNOLOGY

The earliest frontier farmers used horses, mules or oxen to pull homemade or imported plows to break or scratch the virgin sod. Thickets of wild rose, knee-high wild sunflower, and, in places, sagebrush proved difficult to eradicate. An early practice was to burn off the native bunch grass and shrubs before the initial turning of the soil. This was the era of the infamous “foot burner”—a single furrow, metal-bladed plow pulled by teams of two and sometimes three work animals. The implement’s wooden framework had a pair of back handles that were grasped by the farmer walking behind. A “foot burner” with a single steel blade also was called a single bottom plow. Double bottom plows (two blades and six horses), triple bottom plows (three blades and eight horses), and occasionally even four bottom plows (four blades and sixteen horses used only on flat terrain) also were utilized, breaking two or three times as much sod as the single furrow plow. The larger implements had a seat for the operator.

The “dryland” farming methods commonly adopted in the Columbia Plateau entailed deep initial plowing followed by frequent cultivation to retard moisture loss by capillary action. Each year fields were tilled as many as six, eight or ten times, creating a “dust mulch” to preserve a maximum amount of moisture in the soil. This remained a common practice until the 1930s when it became obvious that the technique allowed too much wind and water erosion. Even in modern times contour plowing and modern equipment and methods have only partially alleviated erosion problems.

Particularly in the drier areas, the need to conserve moisture and control weeds in fallow ground was critical. This led to the development of the most important cultivator, the rod weeder. Perfected a short time after 1900, the rod weeder consisted of a metal frame to which was attached a square metal rod that rotated just under the surface of the ground, severing weeds from their roots.

Harvest came in late summer and early autumn. In the early 19th century some Indians, fur traders, and other frontier farmers probably threshed grain by the ancient means of flailing. A flail was an implement consisting of a free-swinging stick loosely fixed to the end of another, longer stick that served as a handle. Grain stalks were laid on a flat surface and beaten by hand with the flails. By this slow, laborious means, grain was broken out of the husk. Running horses over cut wheat was another, more common method of threshing.

In the mid 19th century, hand-held cradle scythes commonly were used to cut grain during harvest. With a sweeping motion, the scythe’s steel blade severed swaths of grain stalks, and the attached cradle-like framework allowed the field hands to drop the loose bundles of stalks evenly on the ground, making it easier to pick up for threshing. Horses normally were run over the stalks spread out in the barnyard to complete the harvesting process.

The simpler tools and techniques were discarded for horse- and mule-drawn equipment of various types becoming available by the 1870s. By 1880 the only limitations were transportation costs—it was difficult and expensive to haul farm implements from the East by wagon or sailing ship. Local blacksmiths, artisans, or farmers themselves, of course, custom manufactured much of the needed equipment.

Frontier Agriculture

First plantings of wheat in eastern Washington occurred during the earliest phases of white settlement. Beginning in the 1810s and ’20s, American and British fur traders raised grain, vegetables, fruit and livestock at Spokane House, Fort Walla Walla (originally named Fort Nez Perce), Fort Colvile, and probably other locations. Parallel developments occurred at posts west of the Cascades. Eventually, the Hudson’s Bay Company (HBC) planted extensive gardens along the lower Walla Walla River. The site of one of these farms (near present-day Walla Walla) later came to be called “Hudson’s Bay” by early American settlers.

By 1837 missionaries likewise tilled soil. Marcus Whitman, at Waiilatpu, also near present-day Walla Walla, tried converting free-roaming Indians into sedentary Christian farmers. In this, Whitman and the other early Protestant and Catholic missionaries generally failed. The missions, however, did help prove that crops could thrive east of the Cascades.

Henry Spalding, at the Lapwai (Idaho) mission in 1846, had come to the remarkable conclusion that grain
grew well not only in the moist bottomlands, but also on the dry upland prairies. At that time, almost everyone else considered the plateau to be nothing less than a part of the “Great American Desert.” Spalding was forced out of the region during the Cayuse War (1847-1850), however, and it was left to others to rediscover the fertility of the uplands many years later.

A legacy of the HBC and missionary period was that some Indian groups accommodated basic farming skills into traditional, seminomadic lifeways. Famous Yakima war chief Kamiakin kept gardens near the Catholic mission on Ahtanum Creek in the Yakima country. Timothy, a Nez Perce headman, maintained crops and an orchard at Alpowa Creek on the Snake River. The Spokanes continued cultivating the soil after white traders abandoned Spokane House in the 1820s, and other Indian groups tilled ground elsewhere.

In the early 1860s a series of gold strikes in the mountains of Idaho, eastern Oregon, western Montana, and central British Columbia profoundly accelerated the development of agriculture in the region. The Columbia corridor, from Portland through Walla Walla, was a primary route to the gold fields, which swarmed with at least 20,000 to 25,000 wealth seekers. Commerce stirred to life as the incoming population demanded food and supplies. Newly arrived farmers at Colville and Walla Walla responded quickly, selling foodstuffs in the diggings.

New homesteaders planted the Walla Walla bottomlands while continuing to regard the hillsides and high prairies as too dry for crops. Then, to everyone’s astonishment, some Walla Walla farmers sowed and reaped grain in the rolling uplands. It was probably the most significant discovery in Washington’s agricultural history, but, apparently, the names of the men who did the planting are unrecorded. It is known, however, that one of them sowed 50 acres on hilly terrain in the fall of 1863 and harvested 33 bushels
per acre from the same the following summer. Most settlers continued plowing bottomland for a time, but widespread “dryland” farming of the broad uplands was just around the corner. Farsighted observers now recognized wheat as a new kind of gold, more long lasting and valuable than the wealth of the mining districts which by the late 1860s was declining.

The Railroads Arrive
THE MINES, MILITARY posts and fledgling towns created local markets, but the fact remained that sustained agricultural growth and prosperity could only come when the Columbia Plateau became effectively tied into the national marketplace. Railways were the obvious answer, but little could be done as long as the Civil War exhausted the nation’s resources. Besides, California, because of its relatively large population, had first priority in getting a transcontinental railroad. In the 1860s and into the 1870s Northwest farmers could do little more than wait for the coming of the tracks.

Beginning in the late 1870s nearly 80 sailing ships a year hauled Columbia Plateau grain from Portland to California, the East Coast and England, but high transportation costs cut deeply into small profit margins. It was time-consuming and difficult for the region’s farmers to haul their wheat to steamboat landings on the Snake and Columbia rivers. Hauling grain by sternwheeler down the Columbia to Portland was particularly costly due to the unloading and reloading of freight at the railroad portages around Celilo Falls and the Cascade Rapids.

Farmers’ wishes were answered in the early 1880s when the Northern Pacific and the Union Pacific built separate railways to the Pacific Northwest. Branch lines quickly spread across the Columbia Plateau.

During the next three decades Northwest agriculture expanded and was altogether transformed to a degree unimaginable in the early settlers’ wildest dreams. Not only did railways haul produce out, mainly to Columbia River and Puget Sound ports, but immigrant coaches from the East brought great numbers of homesteaders to stake claims in the Columbia Plateau. Before this time, settlers had come principally from western Oregon. But with the railroads arrived emigrants from the East, the Midwest, Canada, northern and western Europe, and the Pacific Slope.

Urban areas likewise grew rapidly, further stimulating the need for food production. By the end of this remarkable 30-year period Washington’s population in 1910 was 15 times greater than in 1880. Railroad-sponsored propagandists and other regional promoters liked to compare the Columbia Plateau to such famous wheat districts as the Russian steppe, Sicily’s rich volcanic regions or the north China plain.

The Land is Settled
IN THE LATE 1850s and early 1860s homesteading in the Columbia Plateau was focused south of the Snake River in the Walla Walla, Touchet and Tucannon watersheds. The mid 1870s saw the beginning of the great wave of migra-
The coming of the railroads in the 1880s allowed farmers to acquire the latest and biggest farm machines. Draft animals were utilized in all aspects of farming—from plowing to seeding to harvesting. Horses generally were medium sized, of thoroughbred, Clydesdale or Indian pony ancestry. Mules likewise were present, in fewer numbers but with some advantages over horses. Mules would not overheat or over drink on torrid days and generally stood heat better. They worked at a regular pace, were more manageable in large teams, and would not work to the point of collapse. Horses, on the other hand, were often stronger and pulled faster.

Large, self-propelled steam tractors, up to 12 feet high and weighing 15 to 25 tons, were a common (and unforgettable) sight at harvest time, particularly from the 1880s through the first decade of the 20th century. Coal, wood, kerosene or straw burned in their iron bellies, and horse-drawn wagons, mounted with 400- to 500-gallon tanks, fed water to the boilers. The metal lug-wheeled giants could pull plows and other implements across level ground, but did not operate effectively in the steep, hilly terrain of the Columbia Plateau. Thus, the iron monsters never gained widespread acceptance for plowing, but instead found an important niche at stationary threshing sites during harvesting. Separators or harvesters, having no power of their own, were driven by long rubber belts running from the steam tractors.

Headers were common on large acreages. These grain-mowing machines were pushed from behind by horses or mules, thus the standing grain out front was not trampled. Headers cut off about ten inches of wheat stalk and ripe head. A built-in conveyor system then dropped the stalks into special wagons called "header boxes" being pulled alongside. The boxes of these unique wagons were high on the left side, but low on the right to accommodate loading. Filled "header box" wagons proceeded to a threshing station, where self-propelled steam tractors supplied belt-driven power to separators or threshing machines. An efficient pulley system dumped the load from the "header box" into the thrasher. Grain was threshed, bagged in burlap sacks, loaded on wagons and hauled to railroad sidings or steamboat landings.

Harvesting at the turn of the century required large numbers of men and draft animals to operate a wide variety of implements and vehicles. It was an expensive, labor intensive, and complicated process. The implement industry soon developed a revolutionary new machine called a "continual" harvester or "combine," which did cutting, threshing and bagging in one operation, thus consolidating harvesting activities into a single machine.

Combines originally were developed in the 1880s for the flat terrain of the great "bonanza" wheat farms of central California. As early as 1891 the Holt Company of Stockton, California, designed a "sidehill" machine with a leveling device for the rolling Columbia Plateau. Early combines were cumbersome and expensive, however, and a rarity in eastern Washington until about 1906 when new, improved machines appeared. In the 1910s and 1920s they came into wide use, eliminating most of the "old-fashioned" harvest equipment and up to 80 percent of the work force formerly needed at threshing time. Multiple hitching of 24 to 33 horses or mules to elaborate machinery became a striking feature of the Columbia Plateau, to a degree uncommon in most other wheat producing areas. Ironically, the massive self-propelled steam tractors no longer were needed and passed from the scene.

Animal power remained at the forefront of Columbia Plateau agriculture throughout the first third of the 20th century. Something of an anachronism in a modern age, once seen they were a sight never forgotten.
granted alternate sections to the Northern Pacific as a subsidy for building the first, and very costly, northern transcontinental railway. Consequently, the Northern Pacific rivaled the government as a landholder with vast acreage to sell in the Columbia Plateau. Other privately-owned companies dealing in large-scale land speculation were relatively rare.

Economic Maturity

By 1905 the expanding eastern Washington agricultural sector surpassed California as the main wheat district on the Pacific Slope. The Columbia Plateau now was one of three major grain belts in the nation (along with the Dakotas and Kansas). Columbia Plateau grain production had been fully integrated into the American market system and, consequently, now was subjected to the ups and downs of national economic cycles. A prosperous boom period had coincided with the spread of settlement throughout the 1880s, only to be followed by the Panic of 1893 which caused farm prices to plummet drastically. Across the nation, both rural and urban localities came on hard times. The settlement of less desirable parts of the Columbia Plateau slowed significantly during this period, particularly in the Big Bend and the Horse Heaven Hills.

With the return of prosperity at the turn of the century, farming became quite profitable again, though many homesteaders in the drier western sections of the Columbia Plateau still went bankrupt after just a few years. It became clear that 160 acres could not sustain a family in the less fertile Horse Heaven Hills, Big Bend, and western Palouse, where more farmers were defeated than made good. Those who survived consolidated nearby holdings until more successful farms of several hundred acres became common.

It was far different in the fertile arc of the eastern Palouse and the rolling terrain south of the Snake River. Here prosperity was a given, though farms had less acreage than the consolidated holdings farther west. Population densities and the number of towns were significantly greater; the large number of substantial well-built barns and other farm structures reflected greater wealth and abundance. Also, in the moist uplands farmers could plant barley and oats as rotation crops or alternatives to wheat. Oats fed draft animals and barley was used in brewing.

Throughout the Columbia Plateau farmers continued to rely overwhelmingly on wheat as the major cash crop. Wheat monoculture encouraged the adoption of large horse- and mule-powered machines to cover extensive acreages. Work animals pulled cultivators, gang and walking plows, harrows, weeder, drills, hay racks, mowers, binders, headers, wagons, header boxes, sleighs and other equipment being produced by a competitive and innovative American implement industry. After 1900 massive combines pulled by as many as 33 horses or mules became a common sight at harvest time.

Prosperity generally continued unabated into the 20th century and even accelerated with an increase in demand during World War I (1914-18). Grain, bringing high prices, was
sold to England, Italy, the Azores, South America, China, Japan, the Philippines and elsewhere. Prosperity in the Columbia Plateau was at a peak seldom equaled before or since.

Depression Down on the Farm

Following the boom times of the first two decades of the 20th century, farmers looked confidently to the future, but prices fell unexpectedly in the 1920s—a prelude to even greater depression in the 1930s. European agriculture had revived after World War I, resulting in sharp curbs on American farm imports. Consequently, worldwide wheat prices plummeted, a situation exacerbated by surpluses from the American midwest, Canada, Australia, Argentina, and other world grain belts. All sectors of agriculture suffered in this era.

Despite a national and worldwide glut, Columbia Plateau farmers held on, particularly those who used good business sense and were fortunate enough to own good land. Yet, even in the fertile Palouse some farmers were forced out. In Whitman and Walla Walla counties, for instance, there were 15 farms lost in 1921, more than 20 in 1922, and 45 in 1923. Competitiveness and efficiency encouraged consolidation of smaller holdings into large units. The 160-acre farm was outdated, and by 1925 the average wheat grower in Whitman County had expanded his holdings to 414 acres. For some farmers barely managing to hold on through the 1920s, the end came during the Great Depression of the 1930s. In that decade, farm foreclosures continued at the same significant rates as in the early 1920s. Drought played a partial role during this period also, mainly in the Big Bend.

The Modern Era

Full revival came with the greatly increased demand for wheat during World War II, and prosperity continued into the affluent post-war decades. Exports to Third World countries were exceptionally profitable in the 1960s and early '70s. Wealth and progress during this period were at a peak.

Acreage left in summer fallow to replenish the soil was a common sight until chemical fertilizers were introduced in the late 1940s. Since then, the application of modern fertilizers has eliminated fallowing on most farms, and crops now are planted on the land every year. Nitrogen fertilizer, which is the most important nutrient for Columbia Plateau wheat, is literally extracted from the air at commercial plants. Known as anhydrous ammonia, it is produced by combining hydrogen (from natural gas) with nitrogen (from the atmosphere). Special drill-like implements dragged across the fields

The 1910s to 1930s were the heyday of the great horse- and mule-drawn sidehill harvesters.
inject the fertilizer directly into the soil. Such agricultural engineering has made possible harvests of 100 bushels or more per acre.

For more than a century, Columbia Plateau farmers have experimented with a wide variety of wheat seeds to find the types best suited for local conditions and needs. The list is a long one, since experimental strains were constantly adopted. Little Club, of Mediterranean vintage, was introduced early, about 1859, and widely used thereafter. Prominent types used in the late 1800s and early 1900s included Turkey Red (from southern Russia via Kansas), Jones Fife (a New York hybrid), Bluestem and Early Baart (from Australia), Fortyfold or Gold Coin (from New York), Red Russian (from England), Salt Lake Club, Mediterranean Red, Jenkins, Crooked-Neck Club and others. As their names indicate, these wheats originated in the widely scattered grain belts of the United States and the world.

By the 20th century various state and federal agencies, including Oregon State University, the University of Idaho, and Washington State University, began developing and introducing specialized wheat types for the region. By the 1920s, new disease-resistant varieties appeared to counter destructive new fungi. In the 20th century alone a series of 30 or more harmful smuts have invaded Columbia Plateau wheat fields. Black, powder-like smut eliminated grain in the husks and could cause dangerous explosions in combines during harvest. New seed types have been just as quickly developed to thwart the attackers.

Another innovation of recent decades has been the planting of dry peas and lentils as alternate crops in the Palouse uplands. In the 1960s this successful development resulted in the Columbia Plateau producing more than 90 percent of the nation's peas and lentils.

Agricultural trends, however, are ever cyclical, and after four decades of unprecedented prosperity, the wheat industry once again faced depression in the 1980s. The root cause of the modern agricultural crisis is a familiar theme—overproduction resulting in falling prices and low demand both nationally and worldwide.

But Columbia Plateau farmers are resilient. Their acreage is among the best in the world, and they know an upturn inevitably will come. Today, their huge rubber-wheeled tractors and self-contained combines roll inexorably over all but the steepest inclines. Despite this fabulous mechanization, ghosts of the horse and mule days remain—weed-strewn corrals, abandoned water troughs, and name plaques above empty stalls such as in the Heilsberg barn, west of Colfax, where “Daisy,” “Blackie,” “Andy,” “Flossie,” “Floria,” “Pearl,” “Bill,” “Fanny” and “Charlie” formerly bedded down in the cool summer evenings, munching oats after long days in the sun-washed fields.

Glen Lindeman, a fifth-generation Washingtonian, is editor of the Washington State University Press in Pullman.
Spanish Settlement on the Northwest Coast

CONFLICT on the PERIPHERY

The Spanish settlement of Friendly Cove, Nootka Sound, provided but one backdrop to the ongoing conflict between Great Britain and Spain. Above, Maquinna, Nootka Indian leader, entertains in his house in 1792. Guests include Englishman George Vancouver and Juan Francisco de la Bodega y Quadra of Spain. From a sketch by Atanasio Echeverría.

By Robert G. Whitlam
E UROPEAN CULTURES IN conflict established a context for initial European and Native American contact and European settlements on the Northwest Coast. The Spanish military outposts were at Friendly Cove, British Columbia, and at Neah Bay, Washington, known respectively as Santa Cruz de Nuca and Núñez Gaona. Contact occurred as a result of the European competitive exploration of the Pacific Northwest, the economic and political competition of the sea otter fur trade, and conflicting European territorial claims during the late 1700s.

Competition between Spain and England spanned centuries. In the Pacific Sir Francis Drake raided ports in South America and attacked Spanish galleons in the 16th century. The Spanish Armada was sent against England in the same century. By the mid 1700s Spain's empire in the New World was being successfully challenged by other European powers. England seized Havana during the Seven Years War. Spain lost claim to all land east of the Mississippi River under the Treaty of Paris (1763).

Along the Pacific Coast reports of Russian settlements in the north and rumors of planned British voyages precipitated Spanish reactions. Spanish authorities in the New World received orders to take preventive measures against all nationalities, strengthen their outposts, and organize expeditions to explore and establish possession along the Pacific Coast.

Spanish Exploration

In 1774 JUAN PÉREZ commanded the frigate Santiago out of San Blas, New Spain (today's Mexico), on its northward voyage of exploration to establish Spanish possession and assess the extent of foreign settlements. He first sighted land—and people—at the northern end of the Queen Charlotte Islands on July 18 and by August 8 was anchored off Nootka on the western shore of Vancouver Island. On the morning of August 9 Pérez prepared to land to take possession. However, a sudden shift of weather forced the Spanish to cut their anchor line and remain offshore. They were still able to trade with the Native people. Perhaps it was on this occasion that several silver spoons, later acquired by Captain James Cook, were obtained.

The "Spoon Incident" figured significantly in later British-Spanish disputes over sovereignty. Since Pérez was never able to land on shore, erect a cross, and bury a bottle containing a document of possession, the spoons were the only empirical evidence of Spanish presence prior to the arrival of Captain Cook.

Pérez's failure to land necessitated the 1775 expedition of Bruno de Hezeta and Juan Francisco de la Bodega y Quadra in the Santiago and the Sonora. On July 13 the ships approached the Washington coast near Point Grenville. The next morning Hezeta and a party including 20 armed sailors landed and erected a cross of possession. North of them Bodega y Quadra sent a party of six ashore from the Sonora to refill water casks, gather

Chart of Friendly Cove in 1791, prepared for a Spanish book on the exploration of the Northwest Coast.
it was the rise of the sea otter trade that gave great economic importance to the Pacific Northwest and Nootka in particular. It was furs that ultimately drew ships, traders and soldiers to establish permanent settlements.

Cook's crew had success in selling the sea otter furs in China. Publication of the fact in 1784 set off a rush of traders to Nootka. By the late 1780s numerous traders from England and the youthful American nation were sailing to Nootka for furs. Along with these traders, the established Russian posts in Alaska were of obvious worry to the Spanish.

The viceroy of New Spain bluntly stated:

We should not be surprised if the English colonies of America, republican and independent, put into practice the design of discovering a safe port on the South Sea [Pacific Ocean] and try to sustain it by crossing the immense land of this continent above our possessions of Texas, New Mexico and the Californias. . . . Obviously, this is a feat that would take many years, but I truly believe that as of now we ought to try to elude its effects, all the more when we see that now we are threatened by the probes of Russia, and those that can be made by the English . . . .

[The goal of a Spanish expedition] is none other, as I have already insinuated, than that we beat the Russians in taking possession of the Port of San Lorenzo or Nootka, pretending, if these or other foreigners arrive, that we already formally occupy it, and in order to assure our permanence a commandant and respectable body of troops go about on shore, with missionaries, settlers, cattle, and other auxiliaries proper to such enterprises.

The Spanish were not the only ones making plans to occupy Nootka. At the same time, English trader John Meares and his associates were organizing a colonizing expedition setting out from Macao. The subsequent march of events between the England and Spain produced the Nootka Controversy and the threat of war between the two nations. (See Tovell, Spring 1990 Columbia and Nokes, Fall 1990 Columbia.)

Santa Cruz de Nuca

ESTÉBAN JOSÉ MARTÍNEZ, in command of the Princesa Real and the San Carlos, landed at Nootka on May 5, 1789. Shortly thereafter he commenced his construction efforts to establish a Spanish settlement. His men began building structures on an island facing the entrance to the cove and on the land around the cove itself.

Fort San Miguel was built on the island, terraced to create emplacements for the battery of cannons. Structures to provide shelter for the troops manning the fort were later constructed. A second fortification named “Baluarte de San Rafael” was built along the south side of the settlement.

European intrigues created a backdrop for the small Spanish expeditions haltingly making their way up the Pacific Coast.

The Sea Otter Trade

ALTHOUGH GEOPOLITICAL rivalries may have been reflected in the Spanish-British competition in the Pacific, firewood and cut a topmast. No sooner had they landed than “300 warriors” emerged from the underbrush. They attacked and killed the Spanish.

As the Sonora quickly prepared to retreat from the anchorage, several canoes of Indians approached the ship offering articles in trade. Bodega y Quadra, who had just witnessed six of his men being killed, was extremely suspicious of their behavior. When the Indians tried to climb aboard, the Spanish fired their muskets and swivel gun, killing six or seven Indians. The survivors retreated in their canoes to a safe distance. Such was the first morning of Spanish possession of the Pacific Northwest.

European intrigues both at home and in the New World created a backdrop for the small Spanish expeditions haltingly making their way up the Pacific Coast. Spain provided aid to the Americans during their Revolution, hoped to drive the English from the Gulf of Mexico, and conspired with the French to regain Gibraltar.

The Sea Otter Trade

ALTHOUGH GEOPOLITICAL rivalries may have been reflected in the Spanish-British competition in the Pacific,
to defend it from seaward attack. On the land in the cove, buildings were erected to house troops and supplies and to shelter a bake oven and blacksmith shop. Construction of an infirmary and quarters for the commandant, officers and friars were then undertaken and gardens laid out.

The summer of 1789 was an active one for the Spanish in the Pacific Northwest. However, it was not their labor alone that built the settlement—29 Chinese workers from aboard the seized English vessel Argonaut also participated.

Despite their progress toward building suitable quarters for a winter occupation, orders from Mexico required the settlement contingent to return to San Blas. The Spanish left Nootka at the end of October.

This abandonment was short-lived, though, because Spanish officials were in agreement on Nootka's strategic importance. Under the command of Francisco de Eliza in the frigate Concepcion, with Salvador Fidalgo in the San Carlos and Manuel Quimper in the Princesa Real, the Spanish again set sail for Nootka on February 3, 1790, with orders to occupy and fortify it. This time the Spanish detailed Captain Pedro Alberni, with a company numbering 75, to man the fort. This expedition of about 250 men arrived on April 5 and immediately set about reconstructing Fort San Miguel and mounting 20 cannons. In addition to building barracks, storehouses, outbuildings and a main administrative office that would serve as officers' quarters, they dug wells and established gardens.

A wide variety of produce was introduced. Alberni meticulously sowed rows of each variety at staggered intervals to establish the best planting times. Successful crops included barley, potatoes, beans, cabbage, onions, garlic, turnips, beets, carrots, spinach, squash, artichokes and parsley. Wheat, corn, chickpeas and tomatoes failed to ripen. Nootka also had the first domesticated animals on the Northwest Coast: cows, goats, sheep, pigs, chickens and turkeys.

Spanish Place Names on the Northwest Coast

By Lucile McDonald

Renewed interest in the presence of early Spanish explorers on the Pacific Northwest Coast prompts one to notice the many names on today's maps that are a heritage from the Spanish voyages. They number at least 70 between Northern California and Prince William Sound in Alaska; about half are in British Columbia.

The first name the Spaniards left was Estravan Point, on the west coast of Vancouver Island, in 1774. That was the year Juan Pérez sailed the frigate Santiago toward the mouth of Nootka Sound, intent on going ashore to take possession of the land for his king.

A wind arose, his anchor dragged, and there were too many Indians around for comfort, so he departed in haste, leaving as a souvenir of his visit the first name of his pilot, Esteban José Martínez, on the southern tip of land at the mouth. He called the channel San Lorenzo, but Captain Cook changed that a few years later. Pérez also lost out in naming Mount Olympus in Washington, which he sighted and christened Santa Rosalia. The British altered that, too.

The following year the Santiago sailed north again, in company with the tiny schooner Sonora. The expedition was commanded by Bruno de Hezeta, for whom Hezeta Head in Oregon is named (though the spelling was altered). Hezeta, a native of Bilbao, led the first group of white men to set foot on the Washington coast, going ashore south of Cape Greeneville and performing the act of possession. He left no name there except Bucarelli Bay for present-day Greeneville Bay.

Hezeta narrowly missed landing on the map again at the mouth of the Columbia River, which Robert Gray entered, named and claimed in 1792. On his homeward voyage, Hezeta wrote in his log for August 17, 1775:

The afternoon of this day I discovered the great bay that I named Assumption, whose shape is shown on a chart that I intended to insert in this diary. . . . Having arrived flanking it at 6 o'clock and the frigate being between two capes, I sounded. In front were rapids and whirlpools made by the currents . . . it was difficult to keep away from the most northern cape. . . . The currents and expanse of waters have made me believe this is the mouth of a large river or passage to some other sea.

Hezeta was unable to explore the opening because so many of his crew were ill with scurvy that he could not spare any to man a longboat and examine the waterway. The names he left did not survive (San Roque for Cape Disappointment and El Frondoso for Point Adams on the Oregon side), but for a long time the opening was identified on Spanish charts as Entrada de Hezeta (Hezeta's Entrance). This naval officer went on to become a lieutenant general with 52 battles to his credit by the time he retired.

Another of the earliest names on the coastal charts is the Strait of Juan de Fuca. According to a book published in 1625, an elderly Greek mariner, Apostolo Valerianos, contacted British dignitary Michael Lok in Venice in 1596 and told him that he had discovered a great waterway on the western side of North America four years earlier. He said he was known to the Spaniards as Juan de Fuca. Since Spain had done nothing more to explore his great passage, Valerianos beseeched the British queen to finance an expedition so that he could look farther into it. He colored his account with the mention
of gold, silver and pearls in the new country viewed during his passage through the strait.

The story was published, but the financing never materialized. The Greek went home to his native island of Cephalonia and died there. Though his claim never was corroborated, some skilled navigator, Lopez de Haro was a dependable cartographer. This was a rare talent, nurtured in the pilot school in his home city of Cadiz. It later brought him promotion to the rank of commander and many hydrographic and geographic assignments.

Quimper, born in Peru, reached the Orcas and Guemes islands (taken from the viceroy of Mexico's long name), Sucia (for dirty weather encountered), Matia (a later contraction of Mal Abrigado, poor shelter), Patos (ducks), Saturna (in British Columbia, a contraction of the boat's name, Santa Saturnina), Eliza Island (for the commander) and Rosario Strait (a contraction of Our Lady of the Seaman's Rosary). On Eliza's way back to sea the bay at Port Angeles was christened in honor of Our Lady of the Angels.

The Strait was entered several times by Spanish vessels between 1790 and 1792. Each expedition left names on its course. The Princesa Real in 1790 was the first to visit the Washington side. She was commanded by Manuel Quimper, with Gonzalo López de Haro as pilot. Thus we have Lopez Island and Haro Strait. Quimper Peninsula, upon which Port Townsend is located, was so named in the 19th century. Besides being a rank of naval lieutenant. He was a capable man, well liked by his superiors and his crew. In 1791 he made a noteworthy voyage, having been assigned to deliver the Princesa Real to her new British owners in the Orient.

Two more ships, the San Carlos and the Santa Saturnina, left names on the strait in 1791. We owe to their commander, Francisco de Eliza, the christening of the San Juan Islands on June 24, the birthday of Saint John the Baptist. It was the day on which an exploring party sent out by Eliza returned to his anchorage after cruising through the archipelago. Investigative expeditions in the area that summer netted the following additions to the map:

- ' ,/..'" • ; ', . )~ ~- :. ~ / '.'.,,. ,
- The story was published, but the mapmakers placed his strait on their charts at 47 degrees north latitude.
- In July 1787 Captain Charles Barkley entered a large waterway at the same latitude. His wife, who had accompanied him in the British trading ship Imperial Eagle, wrote that he "immediately recognized it as the long lost strait of Juan de Fuca ... and gave (it) the name of the original discoverer ... placing it on his chart." He wrote on his map "De Fuca's Entrance."

**Chart of the Strait of Juan de Fuca, drawn in 1791, which includes Núñez Guana (Neah Bay), named by Manuel Quimper in 1790, and Nuestra Señora de los Angeles (Port Angeles), named by Francisco de Eliza the next year.**

**THE STRAIT WAS ENTERED SEVERAL TIMES BY SPANISH VESSELS BETWEEN 1790 AND 1792. EACH EXPEDITION LEFT NAMES TO MARK ITS PASSAGE. THE PRINCESA REAL IN 1790 WAS THE FIRST TO VISIT THE WASHINGTON SIDE. SHE WAS COMMANDED BY MANUEL QUIMPER, WITH GONZALO LÓPEZ DE HARO AS PILOT.**
In 1792 the Spanish sought to establish a settlement that would control the strategic entrance to the Strait of Juan de Fuca.

Maps and drawings of the Spanish settlement at Nootka indicate the major features and structures. The exact number of structures is subject to debate, but maps indicate about ten.

Sketches by artists accompanying the Spanish and English expeditions present us with a visual record of the community. Most notable is the commandant’s house, a two-story Spanish Colonial structure with pitched roof and second-story porch. A guardroom was at one end of the first floor, with the kitchen and servants’ quarters taking up the remaining space. Upstairs were the dining hall and a number of small rooms for the commandant and officers. The walls were reportedly whitened with lime made from crushed and burned shells.

Núñez Gaona

While the Spanish were establishing themselves in Nootka, Manuel Quimper and Gonzalo Lopez de Haro were dispatched to explore and map the Strait of Juan de Fuca. They departed Nootka on May 31 with a crew of 41, including 9 soldiers. They spent the summer exploring and mapping the shoreline areas of present-day Esquimalt Harbor, Victoria, and the southern shore of the strait including Discovery Bay, executing the formal act of possession along the way.

On July 24 Quimper anchored in Neah Bay and on the following day sent armed men ashore to fill water casks. While the Spanish ships were anchored in the bay, many canoes came from the settlement at Tatoosh Island to trade pelts and foodstuffs. The strained relations between the Spanish and the Indians were evident the next day when a contingent of Spaniards went ashore to wash their clothes in Village Creek. Quimper wrote one version of what happened:

At 8 a canoe of Indians came close to where the men were washing, who at 9:30 we noted were yelling and running after two small canoes which had come up after the other. I immediately sent the other canoe, armed, to the assistance of those on land. A little later it came back with a soldier wounded in the head, the result of having strayed away from the other men and gone into the woods to eat salmon berries and other fruits. The Indians, aware of the fact that the rest could not give him proper help, came up to him, pretending friendship and giving him the same fruit which he craved so much.

When they saw him off his guard they advanced on him, took away his cutlass and gave him several blows with it on the head. As he sought to defend himself they fired some arrows at him until he fled, one of them striking him in the face.

Despite this incident, the Spanish continued to trade with the Indians for a few more days. Quimper received word that the Indian who had assaulted the soldier had been punished.

On Sunday, August 1, 1790, at two in the afternoon, Quimper performed the formal act of possession. With his men assembled he went through the ritual of possession that included erecting a cross, moving stones, slashing at vegetation and walking about without opposition, burying a bottle containing the document of possession at the foot of the cross, firing volleys of muskets, and giving prayer. Afterward, they undertook to chart the bay. By August 3 Quimper had set sail for Monterey and, ultimately, San Blas.
infirmary, a bake oven to supply biscuits for visiting Spanish vessels, and a garden and livestock.

Fidalgo anchored at Núñez Gaona on May 29, 1792, weeks after Captain George Vancouver had entered the strait on an expedition that would result in the first mapping of Puget Sound. For the location of the settlement Fidalgo chose an area at the west end of the bay where Quimper had taken possession two years before. The crew cleared a musket-shot-wide perimeter around the fort site to discourage native attacks. The palisade for the fort extended to the mouth of the creek for an assured fresh water supply. When the Spanish vessels Sutil and Mexicana with Alcalá Galiano and Valdés anchored at Núñez Gaona on June 6, the artist Caradero sketched the construction in progress. This was the first European settlement in the contiguous United States west of the Rockies and north of San Francisco, and, per force, the first in the state of Washington.

There is some confusion about the number and character of the buildings and features of Núñez Gaona. John Boit's Columbia log notes that there were about ten houses, several gardens and a cross, whereas Joseph Ingraham wrote that the settlement consisted of only a few huts and a fair-sized garden. Fidalgo stated that he constructed the barracks and other necessary structures such as a bakery, kiln and blacksmith's shop. Warren Cook suggests the roofs were thatched with grass and, atop the barracks in the center of the settlement, four cannons were mounted. Besides the gardens, corrals were made to hold cows, sheep, goats and pigs.

Tensions between the Spanish and the Indians remained high, with Fidalgo ordering a cannon fired at dusk and
Southern portion of Friendly Cove on Nootka Sound as it looked in the summer of 1791. From a José Cardero sketch redrawn by Fernando Brambila.

dawn to signal that natives were not to approach the settlement at night.

The tension erupted into violence on July 2. On that afternoon Fidalgo's first officer, Antonio Serantes, reportedly went into the woods and failed to return by nightfall. The next morning a search party of 20 armed men, some with dogs, failed to find him. Fidalgo ordered that the cannons aboard the Princesa Real be fired at two approaching native canoes. The volley killed all the occupants except a boy and a girl. The Spanish later found Serantes' body, stripped of clothes and weapons, in the underbrush. Fidalgo's actions were sternly reprimanded at each succeeding level of government, all the way to Madrid, for exacting punishment without establishing the identity of the guilty party.

The future of Núñez Gaona depended upon negotiations between Vancouver and the Spanish representative at Nootka, Bodega y Quadra—the same man who, 17 years before, had lost six men on the Washington coast. The two were unable to agree on how to implement the Nootka Controversy terms of settlement reached by England and Spain, and the matter was referred back to their respective governments for further negotiation. Since the Spanish were not forced from Nootka, Núñez Gaona became expendable.

In a message delivered by Ingraham when he arrived from Nootka in the American brigantine Hope on September 25, Bodega y Quadra ordered Fidalgo to abandon the settlement and return to Nootka with the materials and animals from Núñez Gaona. By September 29, having loaded their supplies aboard the Princesa Real, they sailed for Nootka, abandoning what they had taken four months to build.

The Spanish remained at Santa Cruz de Nuca for three more years, formally abandoning that settlement on March 23, 1795, under the terms of the Third Nootka Convention.

Post Spanish Descriptions

Following the Spanish abandonment of both Santa Cruz de Nuca and Núñez Gaona, American and British vessels visited the sites. The most famous description of Santa Cruz de Nuca is that of blacksmith John Jewitt, who was captured and enslaved by the natives after they had attacked and killed the crew of the Boston, an American ship, in March 1803. Jewitt wrote:

The [native] village is situated on the ground occupied by the Spaniards, when they kept a garrison here; the foundations of the church and the governor's house are yet visible, and a few European plants are still to be found, which continue to be self-propagated, such as onions, peas, and turnips, but the two last are quite small, particularly the turnips. . . .

In his narrative of the 1841 United States Exploring Expedition, Charles Wilkes recorded:

Neah Harbor is but a small indentation in the coast, which is partly sheltered on the northeast by Neah Island. It is the position where the Spaniards attempted to establish themselves in 1792, and which they called Port Núñez Gaona. The remains of an old fort are still to be perceived and some bricks were found that were supposed to have belonged to it.

Some years later, in 1859, James Swan resided at Neah Bay and wrote:

Colchote [the Makah chief] then spoke of the ancient Spanish settlement at
THERE HAS BEEN no professional archaeological study of the Spanish occupation at either Nootka or Neah Bay. Investigations at Nootka have focused on the Native American occupations associated with the Spanish presence and have uncovered few artifacts associated with the Spanish fur trade. Aside from Swan’s antiquarian exploration of the ruins of Núñez Gaona, Edward Friedman’s limited archaeological testing of the Native American component in 1976 has been the only excavation at Neah Bay.

Other than the single illustration by Cardero and passing references in the logs and manuscripts of Fidalgo and the British and American fur traders, there are no data on the size, configuration and spatial arrangement of the individual structures of this first European settlement in Washington.

Except for information on brickmaking, no data exists on activities carried out at the settlement. Independent archaeological data is not available to address the issues of settlement structure and functioning or to compare with archival records to assess their degree of accuracy. Archaeology might be able to answer the questions posed by the incomplete archival record.

There are a few known existing artifacts from Núñez Gaona. During James Swan’s collecting expeditions for the Smithsonian Institution in 1865 he sent two bricks he had obtained from the fort. They are still in the collection. The Washington State Historical Society also has two bricks from the site, obtained prior to 1917. The bricks are fragmentary, measuring approximately 13x12x3.5 centimeters. They have smooth reddish-orange surfaces with vesicles and a dark gray core. This is the only tangible evidence we have so far of the Spanish occupation on the Olympic Peninsula.

While there has been much scholarly attention on the impact of European contact upon Northwest Coast societies, there has been much less study of the specific Spanish influence. There are, however, some intriguing possibilities. During the height of the fur trade and the English and Spanish explorations of the Northwest Coast, scientists and other trained observers described native societies, customs and material culture. We are, however, hard pressed to find a description of a native fort. Yet Hermann Haeberlin and Erna Gunther, in their classic ethnography of the Indians of Puget Sound, state that many old villages were surrounded by walls.

Gibbs’ first report on the Indian tribes of Washington notes:

The Sound Indians, but more particularly those on the Straits of Fuca, sometimes fortify their dwellings by stockades made of heavy puncheons twelve or fifteen feet high, set in the ground, and strengthened by large posts and cross pieces. These were loop holed, and calculated very well to serve even against muskets.

Wilkes, commander of the United States Exploring Expedition that visited Puget Sound in 1841, observed on Whidbey Island:

The Sachet tribe are obliged to provide for their defense against the more northern tribes, by whom they are frequently attacked. . . . For protection against these attacks they have large enclosures, four hundred feet long, and capable of containing many families, which are constructed of pickets made of thick planks, about thirty feet high. The pickets are firmly fixed into the ground, the spaces between them being only sufficient to point a musket through. The appearance of one of these enclosures is formidable, and they may be termed impregnable to any Indian force; for, in the opinion of the officers, it would have required artillery to make a breach in them.

Northwest Coast societies have always been the exception to anthropological generalizations about hunting and gathering peoples. Their complex art, hierarchical social structure and large permanent villages are more characteristic of agriculturally based societies. To this list should be added their forts—forts that are not noticed by Vancouver, Quimper and others during the 1790s, but are noted with a high degree of respect by Wilkes and his officers in 1841.

Is it possible that the fortification at Núñez Gaona served as a model for people along the Strait of Juan de Fuca who were already excellent woodworkers, experienced in building large structures and skilled in the art of war? This is a question that could be readily resolved through archaeological study.

AUTHOR’S NOTE
I would like to thank Dr. Barry Holt for his pioneering archaeological research interest in the Spanish settlement at Núñez Gaona. Appreciation is extended to Deborah Wood of the Smithsonian Institution and to David Nicandro and Darrel Thiel of the Washington State Historical Society for locating the artifact collections from Núñez Gaona.

Robert G. Whitlam is State Archaeologist for the Office of Archaeology and Historic Preservation in Olympia. He is contributing author to Built in Washington: 12,000 Years of Pacific Northwest Archaeological Sites and Historic Buildings (1989).
Some murders take longer to solve than others. A widely publicized case, titled “Lady of the Lake” by the press of the Olympic Peninsula, started in December 1937. It ended when the murderer disappeared following his parole from the Washington State Penitentiary at Walla Walla in 1951, 14 years later.

This story became of interest to the North Olympic Peninsula law enforcement, medical professionals and the general public when on July 6, 1940, a rope-trussed fully clothed woman’s body was found by fishermen floating in Lake Crescent, west of Port Angeles. For the next 18 months Sheriff Charles Kemp, his deputy Carl Kirk and Clallam County Prosecuting Attorney Ralph Smythe attempted to identify the body. An autopsy determined the victim had been strangled before being thrown into the lake.

The remains were deposited on the floor of the garage at the Christman Mortuary in Port Angeles for examination by Dr. Irving E. Kaveney, medical student Harlan McNutt and Wilbert Stikes, the undertaker’s assistant. The face was unrecognizable, having been exposed to the water movement and the inhabitants of the lake. The body was wrapped in two blankets. As piece by piece, the disintegrated cloth was pulled away, there lay, white as marble, the body of a woman of about 35 years with auburn hair. She was fully clothed, except for shoes. What had once been a green wool one-piece dress was mingled in twisted remnants with the debris of the blankets, one gray and one black. All were tied and knotted with hemp rope, from which a few tail-like sections dangled as if a weight had broken away.

Regarding the almost odorless condition of the remains, Dr. Kaveney commented, “I never saw a corpse just like this one before. The flesh is hard, almost waxy. She must be nearly as large as when she went into the water. I’d say she is about 5 feet, 6 inches in height and that she weighed about one hundred-forty pounds when alive.”

Obviously, the flesh was not the usual flesh at all. As Sheriff Kemp said: “It’s more like a statue. The flesh has turned to some rubber-like substance.” Dr. Charles P. Larson, a capable pathologist from Tacoma, stated, “Saponification,” when he viewed the corpse. In other words, the body had turned to soap. Dr. Larson explained, “The lake has strong alkalis which work on the fatty substance of the flesh and, with a purely chemical reaction, turned the body into soap.” The water’s extremely cold temperature also contributed to the body’s preservation. But still—who was this woman? Who killed her? How did the body get into Lake Crescent? For two months the body was kept in the morgue; then it was buried, without a name, in the pauper’s section of the Clallam County Cemetery.

As time passed questions arose. Through two exhumations Sheriff Kemp extracted a partial six-tooth dental bridge from the mouth of the corpse. Then, it was thought, identification could be possible. With this as the only tangible clue, Sheriff Kemp sent circulars depicting the bridge to dental societies and journals as well as law enforcement agencies all over the country. The circular asked that the information be passed to dental personnel in their respective areas.

More than six months later, in Faulkton, South Dakota, Dr. Albert J. McDowell came across the picture of the gold bridge work. He had performed that work for a young red-haired woman then known to him as Mrs. Hallie Spraker. He contacted Sheriff Kemp, and the “Lady of the Lake” became Mrs. Hallie Illingworth.

In 1936, Hallie Latham Strickman had married Monty Illingworth. Although disagreements were frequent, they lived together in Port Angeles until her disappearance in December 1937.

According to later testimony, Illingworth, who had moved to California, said that during their marriage his wife frequently threatened to leave him. Therefore, when she disappeared, he figured she had done just that.

Authorities worked diligently, having the assistance of Hollis B. Fultz, a special investigator from the State Attorney General’s Office. Their efforts conclusively linked Monty Illingworth to the murder. He was found living in Long Beach, California, with his self-described, common-law wife, Eleanor Pearson, also a former Port Angeles resident. Upon request, California Governor Culbert L. Olson signed extra-
dition papers on November 19, 1941. Sheriff Kemp himself went to retrieve Illingworth for trial, the spectacular features of which overshadowed all other news for several weeks.

A long list of witnesses testified at the Illingworth trial that the couple fought incessantly during their brief marriage and that physical violence occurred often between them. Apparently, Hallie thought her husband paid too much attention to other women. The jurors also heard testimony from Harry Brooks, owner and operator of the La Poel Resort at the west end of Lake Crescent. He stated that in December 1937 Monty Illingworth entered his store to borrow a length of rope. Illingworth told him the half-inch rope was needed to tow a disabled beer truck. The rope was never returned. Dr. Larson, a Tacoma pathologist, testified that his laboratory tests of the pieces of rope found around the victim's body and the rope still in Brook's possession were exactly the same pure hemp fiber, strand count, twist and size.

**ILLINGWORTH'S DEFENSE ATTORNEY** Joseph H. Johnston was unable to counteract the skillful presentation made by prosecutor Max Church, who showed that all the clues found on the soap-like body pointed accusingly to Illingworth as the killer. In addition, the detailed investigatory activity and timing work done by Mr. Fultz bolstered the verdict of second-degree murder. Monty Illingworth was convicted on March 5, 1942, by visiting Judge H. G. Sutton from Kitsap County and sentenced on March 20 to life imprisonment at Walla Walla State Penitentiary. With good behavior, however, Illingworth was paroled on January 10, 1951. Soon after his release he disappeared, never to be seen again.

Harriet U. Fish is a Pacific Northwest author, historical researcher and illustrator, with 15 books to her credit, including Law Enforcement in Washington State: The First 100 Years, 1889-1989 (1989).
Public Service

Your book reviews in *Columbia* are a real public service, including your mention of county history in the Winter 1991-92 issue.

The Fort Vancouver Historical Society of Clark County has accumulated some 300 articles on local history in its 32 annual volumes of *Clark County History*. Our 1991 issue carries 14 articles, totaling 120 pages, with emphasis on a maritime theme. The theme for 1992 will be Indians. The 1993 and 1994 issues will observe the 150th birthday of Clark County, the oldest county in Washington. It was authorized by the Provisional Government for the Oregon Country at Champoeg on June 27, 1844.

Gus Norwood, President
Fort Vancouver Historical Society of Clark County

A Neglected Resource

*Columbia* is a magazine I truly look forward to each quarter. Prompted by the "Henry Carter" article in the Winter 1991-92 issue, I'd like to take this opportunity to call the attention of your readers to a generally neglected historical source: the federal court case files we have here in the National Archives—Pacific Northwest Region. While these records are often a mixed bag where actual courtroom procedure is concerned, a check of the case Sarah J. McClure v. The Preferred Accident Insurance Co. (Case No. 669 in United States Circuit Court, Western District of Washington, Northern Division, filed May 1898) disclosed copies of four photographs of Mount Rainier with the unfortunate Professor McClure's route marked, as well as depositions by eight persons from the Mazamas who were along on the climb. The climb is described in detail. It seems Mrs. McClure was Professor McClure's mother and the beneficiary of his accident insurance policy. The company refused to pay off, claiming he was negligent.

The case was removed from the King County Superior Court to the federal court by the defendant, under the "diversity" clause. That theme for 1992 will be Indians. The 1993 and 1994 issues will observe the 150th birthday of Clark County, the oldest county in Washington. It was authorized by the Provisional Government for the Oregon Country at Champoeg on June 27, 1844.

Joyce Justice
Seattle

Additional Reading

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

**Columbia Encounter**


**School as Parent**


**The Great Tozier Heist**


**Lady of the Lake**


**Golden Harvest**


**Conflict on the Periphery**


The greatest treasure the Washington State Historical Society museum ever had was lost, or stolen, or both, depending on how the strange circumstances concerning its departure are viewed. At the time, 1909, viewed from Tacoma, it was theft; but in the rival metropolis of Seattle it was simply a legitimate removal.

The treasure consisted of the largest, and possibly the best, collection of Northwest Indian art assembled up to that time, numbering thousands of objects. It was entrusted by the man who acquired it, piece by piece, Captain Dorr Francis Tozier, to the Ferry Museum of Art (which later merged with the historical society) in 1900 because that newly established institution was the only place on Puget Sound capable of caring for and displaying so vast an accumulation. After a distinguished early career in the Revenue Service, during which he received a gold medal from France for rescuing the crew of a wrecked French vessel in the Gulf of Mexico, Tozier was sent to the Northwest with the United States Revenue Cutter Grant to enforce maritime laws, intercept
When Tozier made it plain that the collection had to be sold, some Tacomans wondered if enough money could be raised locally to keep it from being taken away.

smugglers and answer calls of distress. The assignment gave Tozier the opportunity to put the Grant into remote rivers and harbors where natives were as eager to trade the things they made and used as their forefathers had been to trade fur pelts. He became imbued with collecting fever, realizing that his was a rare opportunity to bring out from the wilderness, to be seen, preserved and appreciated, the elements of a civilization that was rapidly being superseded by that of the white settlers.

In his zeal to collect Tozier and some of his crew members sometimes were less than scrupulous. In 1902 a British Columbia constable reported that when the Grant was in Uclulet, whiskey was used to trade for “curios” and that crew members had gone into Village Island Reserve when no one was there and walked off with a much-esteemed item, the head gear worn by Inikitson, the chief dancer.

In an interview after he retired Tozier told of a visit to Friendly Cove on Vancouver Island, where he offered a chief 20 dollars apiece for 12 large ceremonial figures. The chief turned down the cash, but offered one figure for a bottle of whiskey. When Tozier said he had no liquor, the chief thought he was bargaining and offered all 12 figures for one bottle. Tozier returned to the village the next year (perhaps with some whiskey this time) and found that the chief had died and all of the totem figures had been burned upon his death.

Tozier learned to carry trade items on his trips. One of his prized acquisitions was a carved ivory snow-knife. Its owner, a woman, would not take cash for it, but couldn’t resist a red dress he happened to have.

Home port for the Grant was Port Townsend, and by 1900 Tozier's collection, dominated by many large baskets, was getting so sizeable that he realized it was more than he could keep at home. He heard about the new museum in Tacoma and went to secretary W. H. Gilstrap, offering to let him have custody, but not ownership, of the collection. Subsequent events indicated that Gilstrap probably was to undertake sales from the collection and receive a commission. Meanwhile, the Ferry Museum's curators welcomed the opportunity to fill some of the vacant space they had been assigned in the Pierce County Courthouse with a massive array of native American material never before seen by the local people.

Some scarce money was spent to prepare for the Tozier collection—as much as $2,000, according to Gilstrap. A new floor was laid. Walls were painted a “light cream color.” Glass cases with adjustable shelves were designed and built. And two long table cases to display small articles and carvings were provided. More than 2,000 baskets were put on display under glass. Totems, masks and carvings were hung on the walls. Furs and clothing were placed in cases lined with red cloth. Mats were hung from the ceiling.

The collection was the making of the Ferry Museum, and Gilstrap was so delighted that he was able to find funds to publish a small pamphlet. The pamphlet had a checker-weave cedar bark cover tied up with a buckskin thong that was decorated with one “genuine Hudson’s Bay trade bead.” Entitled Arts and Crafts of the Totem Indians, each copy was signed by D. F. Tozier under the statement: “The objects illustrated in this book were in actual use by the natives when obtained by me.”

The booklet is all pictures, except for a short introduction whose language suggests that Tozier and Gilstrap expected to use it in making sales. It proclaims that the collection, “representing the expenditure of thousands of dollars and many years of work,” contains 10,000 articles, including 2,500 baskets, representing some 30 tribes. Also in the collection were 100 stone chisels and axes; carved pipes of stone and jade; 200 stone hammers; boxes; fish dishes; harpoons; duck spears; arrows; war clubs of bone, copper and stone; knives of copper, ivory, shell and iron; ancient medicine and cooking stones; 1 large racing and 1 war canoe; wood and stone images; cedar bark rope; and beaded gloves and slippers.

The collection also included “twelve mammoth totems, weighing from six hundred to twenty thousand pounds,” representing an Indian religious art form becoming scarce because of the success Christian missionaries were having in
getting the natives to abandon "their former religious rites and superstitions."

The collection was described as being three times as large as a similar one in the Smithsonian Institution (principally Wilkes expedition material) and in a Seattle newspaper article in 1904, four years after it was taken to Tacoma, the collection was said to be "practically unknown except in Tacoma and to the immediate friends of the owner."

It was not unknown to other and larger institutions interested in native materials, however, including the Smithsonian and the Field Museum in Chicago. When Tozier made it plain that the collection had to be sold, some Tacomans, including Gilstrap, wondered if enough money could be raised locally to keep it from being taken away. A letter went out to various museums around the country from Dr. W. M. Smith of Tacoma containing price quotes so high they indicated his intent may have been to discourage potential buyers. In his letter he stated that Tozier had offered to sell the collection to Tacoma "at practically what it cost him. This is a very large sum for citizens to raise and I fear we will lose it." He went on to say that Captain Tozier had made him his agent to sell the collection if it couldn't be kept in Tacoma. He said the price was $250,000, payable in 20 years with interest at 3 percent and with $50,000 to be paid at the time of sale.

One who wanted the collection very much, and said so, was G. Dorsey of the Field Museum. He wrote to Gilstrap saying Field would buy the collection if it could be bought for a reasonable sum. "I am the only one in the country in a position to purchase it as the other museums do not have sufficient funds," he stated, and asked, "what is the lowest cash price?"

Another institution, the British Columbia Provincial Archives, sent its representative to Tacoma to inspect the collection. Stewart Culin, representing the Brooklyn Museum, went to Tacoma twice and wrote disparaging reports about most of what he saw. He described the Ferry Museum as
As captain of the U. S. Revenue Cutter Grant, Dorr Francis Tozier (right rear) visited many tribal settlements along the Northwest Coast. During his travels he collected with unmatched zeal.

disorganized, badly maintained and a general hodgepodge of unrelated items.

But no sale took place, and the years went by, causing Tacoma to take an increasingly greater proprietary interest in the dominant holding of its museum and raising hopes that perhaps no buyer would ever be found and the Ferry Museum would keep it all. Tozier had retired and moved to Los Angeles, telling Gilstrap that he hoped Tacoma would keep the collection, but that he couldn’t take less than what he estimated it cost him—$35,000.

In 1909 several Seattleites pondered the situation of the Tozier collection and concluded that there was money to be made from it. They organized what was called the Washington State Art Association and convinced Tozier that it was a serious buyer and would pay his price of around forty thousand dollars. But it would have to be an installment sale with very little down. Tozier trusted them and accepted the down payment.

When the sale was announced Tacoma, predictably, was incensed. Just previously Seattle had attempted to take over the Washington State Historical Society. Now, apparently, it wanted the Ferry Museum, too. Tacoma could not match the offer to Tozier, but was unwilling to yield. This defiant attitude led the purchasers to expect trouble when they went to Tacoma to pick up the collection for transport to Seattle.

Thirty workmen were recruited and sent to Tacoma on the interurban on the morning of October 9, 1909. Earlier, the Northern Pacific had been asked to provide five freight cars to carry the material. The freight agent, a loyal Tacoman, let it be known that even if the cars were loaded he couldn’t say when they would be moved and that the freight rate would be high. This led the Seattle group to charter a Puget Sound steamer, the T. W. Lake. It was moored in the Tacoma harbor, ready to receive the Tozier collection, which weighed as much as 60 tons and required 11 large horse-drawn vans to move it down the hill to the waterfront in one day.

When G. L. Berg, one of the organizers of the Art Association, arrived at the Ferry Museum early on October 9, a Sunday, he was told that an injunction to prevent him from removing the collection had been requested. If so, it was not acted on, and the men Berg brought with him set to work packing the material in boxes. Gilstrap was there and by then had become reconciled to the collection being taken away after Berg assured him that he could keep enough of the baskets to satisfy the museum’s claim for costs in connection.
A burly workman took hold of Gilstrap, who was described in press reports as "aged," pushed him into his office, and locked the door from the outside.

with the collection's custody. Tozier, Berg was told, had agreed to this. It amounted to about three thousand dollars.

During the day a small crowd gathered outside the courthouse and there were cries of protest: "They are moving the Ferry Museum to Seattle!"

In mid-afternoon the workmen started taking the screws out of cases containing the baskets that Gilstrap said were not to be taken. Berg was summoned. He said he had changed his mind. They were going to take it all. Gilstrap was outraged and began to protest. He was vociferous and loud. Then, on Berg's instructions, a burly workman took hold of Gilstrap, who was described in press reports as "aged," pushed him into his office, and locked the door from the outside. When Gilstrap continued to yell, the transom over the door was slammed shut so that he could not be heard. By then the street was deserted and no one could see him through a window, waving in protest.

Only after the last item in the collection had been boxed up and sent to the deck of the T. W. Lake was the key turned and Gilstrap allowed out of his office. He had cooled down but little and went immediately to the Tacoma Ledger office, where he told the story that made the next day's lead headline on the front page: "HOLD CURATOR PRISONER DURING RAID ON CURIOS—Gilstrap Overpowered by Thirty Brawny Men."

Tacoma banker P. C. Kaufman noted: "This is another example of the so-called Seattle spirit. It reminds me of the totem pole controversy. . . . A committee of business men left Seattle one dark night and stole a big totem pole from one of the islands. The totem pole was placed in Pioneer Square where it remains today."

The Post-Intelligencer began its report the next day with this statement: "Under circumstances which, they say, fully demonstrates an envious spirit on the part of residents of Tacoma and in an utter lack of magnanimity on the part of the officers of the Ferry Museum, officers of the Washington State Art Assn. last night removed the Tozier collection from Tacoma and transported it to Seattle."

There it was put in storage while the association undertook to rent space for a gallery. The location it found was a good one—at Fifth and Union in the downtown area—and there some of the Tozier collection was exhibited. But the Art Association turned out not to be much, if any, more affluent than the Ferry Museum. In 1912 there was a mismanagement of funds investigation and Captain Tozier revealed that payments to him were not being made. He had not received anything more than the $1,500 initially paid. Meanwhile, published estimates of the value of the collection had risen to $60,000.

Commissions amounting to $3,600 had been paid to two persons in connection with the sale, and Tozier brought suit against the Association for $5,000. The suit did not go to court, however. In the confusion over ownership of the collection, the University of Washington began insisting that it go to the museum located on the campus, where it would be "beyond the reach of speculators and envious rivals."

In 1916 the Art Association gave up and went into receivership. Title to the collection then went to the Seattle Land and Improvement Company, headed by Fred E. Sander, a collector of landscape art and president of the board of the defunct art association.

The collection had been downgraded in value to $25,000. Indian collections were out of favor or fashion by that time and some few who patronized the gallery in Seattle described the Tozier material with the word often used by those unappreciative of the relics of history—"junk."

By 1917 the Museum of the American Indian—Heye Foundation was assembling in New York City what was to become the preeminent collection of Native American material in the nation. Its president, George G. Heye, collected with a zeal that matched that of Captain Tozier. And he was wealthy. He had agents out looking for additions to his museum and one of these, George E. Pepper, learned that the Tozier collection was still unsold in Seattle. He didn't want it all, but he arranged the purchase of a major portion of it, except for baskets, after the museum's attorneys had determined that the title to the collection had been settled.

Tozier had never been paid, and his widow possessed the notes that had been given to her husband when the 1909 purchase was made and the collection removed from the Ferry Museum. Sander paid Mrs. Tozier $22,500 and cancelled the notes.

Parts of the collection not sold to the Heye Foundation were purchased eventually by other parties, including the Thomas Burke Museum, on the University of Washington campus. One of the carved house poles was purchased from a dealer in recent years by John Hauberg of Seattle, who subsequently gave it to the Seattle Art Museum.

The Ferry Museum, which in 1931 became a part of the Society, was not mortally wounded by loss of the Tozier collection. The captain was not the only collector and the museum has accumulated other scarce Indian items over the years. Today the Washington State Historical Society has an especially large and good collection of Indian basketry.

John M. McClelland, Jr., a member of the Washington State Historical Society's board of trustees for many years and a former president, is author of Window to the Past: The Washington State Historical Society's First Century (Summer 1992), from which this article is excerpted.
Built in Washington
12,000 Years of Pacific Northwest Archaeological Sites and Historic Buildings.

Building Idaho
An Architectural History.
Reviewed by Rory T. Cornish.

To a transplanted Londoner the majestic landscape of the Pacific Northwest continues to be a subject of endless wonder. So too is the rather eclectic collection of architecture in the region. From the great cities, such as Portland and Seattle, to the small communities amidst expansive farmlands, a social historian is presented with a constant reminder of human regional endeavor. The local architectural development of the region is the main topic of these two rather different books.

In considering the many interesting aspects of the state's architectural heritage, Built in Washington concentrates rather too much on Spokane and Seattle. In the chapters on the "Merchants of Main Street" and "Washington at Home," for example, what happened to such places as Walla Walla, or Ellensburg, or Yakima? Of course, not everyone's favorite building could be included in a work of this length; still, Built in Washington remains a rather incomplete work. Another problem with this general introduction to the subject is to gauge exactly for whom the book has been written. For even a general reader the text will all too often seem like merely a vehicle for the many illustrations. Though many of these are interesting in themselves, few readers will find such passages as "communities are groupings of structures inhabited by residents who are united in a common residence" particularly enlightening. The authors conclude with the very laudable notion that an increased awareness of the local heritage will "inspire a sense of social responsibility." Consequently, they add, an "understanding of history is a necessary part of everyone's education." But if this book is intended to stimulate interest, to "inspire" a keen awareness of the state's architectural history, the concluding bibliography, which carries no annotation, remains disappointing.

Building Idaho, a product of the research of Jennifer Eastman Atterbery, an architectural historian, is a very informative and readable work that should stimulate further investigation into the topic. Concentrating on the post-1860 developments within the state, Atterbery's main thesis is clear: If Idaho failed to produce any original styles of its own, its familiar styles are, nonetheless, the products of transplanted traditions constantly transformed by local craftsmen and adapted to local materials. If not a regional architecture in the true sense of the concept, the buildings of Idaho have become regionalized.

Following is a very informative section in which material, strategies for shelter, and the builders themselves are considered. The text examines various periods of development. Each self-contained chapter is well researched, ably footnoted and helpfully illustrated by annotated photographs and floor plans. The chapters entitled "The Rural Landscape, 1880-1920" and "Classicism in a Progressive Age, 1902-1920" are particularly noteworthy. Atterbery should also be complimented on her useful and important annotated bibliography.

Building Idaho illustrates well the growing concern for local conservation. In 1969 the executive director of the Boise Redevelopment Agency was asked which historic buildings would be preserved downtown, and he reply, "What historic buildings? Nobody told me there were any historic buildings in Boise." Those days are gone. Let us hope that as the Pacific Northwest continues to grow, its regionalized architecture is not only preserved but also appreciated.

Rory Cornish received his Ph.D. in American History from University College in London and is author of a biography of George Grenville. He is Visiting Assistant Professor of History at Whitman College.

The Journals of the Lewis & Clark Expedition
Volume 7, March 23-June 9, 1806.
Reviewed by Jerald W. Holcomb.

Gary Moulton's edition of the Lewis and Clark Journals richly rebuilds the detailed framework needed to illuminate our 20th-century interpretations of the now distant discoveries of the expedition. With the publication of Volume 7 of the original journals, Professor Moulton continues to advance the understanding of what the Corps of Discovery achieved. Most importantly, his work has revived the Jeffersonian ideal for the expedition as an integrated whole: an expedition not just of geography and politics, but also of science, linguistics and culture. Moulton's use of scholars from scientific and cultural disciplines is a significant reflection of the original path that Jefferson laid out for the expedition.

Volume 7 covers the expedition from its Fort Clatsop departure on March 23, 1806, up the Lolo Trail from Camp Chopunnish on the Clearwater River. Even though most of the return route was familiar to the captains and their party, there were several significant discoveries and occurrences during this period. The party encountered the previously missed mouth of the Multnomah (Willamette) River; Lewis' dog, Seaman, was stolen and recovered, an
overland route between Walla Walla and the Snake River was followed; and the captains provided medical treatment to the Nez Perce at Camp Chippewa. Although the expedition was favorably impressed with the Nez Perce, encounters with other tribes along the Columbia added to the darkening image the captains were forming of the Native Americans along the route.

While scholars will find Professor Moulton's volumes necessarily invaluable, anyone interested in the Great American Adventure will find Volume 7 both interesting and enlightening. With the Lewis and Clark bicentennial on the horizon, we eagerly await the completion of this 11-volume edition.

Jerald Holcomb has degrees from Butler University and Purdue University in Indiana, where he has taught for 20 years. The Lewis and Clark Expedition is his area of specialization.

**Seattle 1900-1920**

*From Boomtown, Urban Turbulence, to Restoration.*


Reviewed by Greg Powell.

It is easy to forget that your hometown has a significant history, that numerous events and people came together at opportune times and contributed to the current economic, political and cultural landscape. For those living in present-day Seattle, Richard Berner's Seattle 1900-1920 provides a jarring reminder of the Emerald City's roots.

According to Berner, if you want to understand Seattle, you have to look carefully at a particular block of 20 years around the turn of the century. In this capsule of time, Berner works much like an archaeologist, piecing together information from many archival sources—newspapers, government documents, maps, photographs, demographics—into a finely woven narrative with many intertwining plots. The coming of the Great Northern Railroad, police corruption, the quest for public electricity, the influx of ethnic groups, the ups and downs of the labor movement, the growth of the University of Washington, controversy over the Lake Washington Ship Canal, the General Strike of 1919, the Everett and Centralia massacres, and prohibition—all are addressed in this volume. Perhaps the dominant theme of this period is the public ownership movement, which had an impact on every segment of Seattle society, including private businesses, organized labor, the clergy, the professions, politicians, and women's organizations. All united in their efforts to fight absentee ownership of the city's utilities and waterfront.

Behind all these events are people and politics. Berner is at his best when analyzing the political dynamics and the human forces that contributed to economic and public development. His Seattle story has many protagonists. Some of the more interesting tales describe the public relations campaign of University of Washington President Henry Suzzallo, the explosive journalism of Seattle Times publisher Alden Blethen, Mayor George Cotterill's prohibitionist antics, the municipal ownership advocacy of J. D. Ross, and Anna Louise Strong's revolutionary activism.

Berner's analysis of the role played by the newspaper media in Seattle politics is a consistent motif throughout the book. The editors of the six Seattle newspapers during this time were a feisty bunch. They were unashamed of their partisan views or of publishing opinions that today would be considered libelous. Berner's way of looking at Seattle through the eyes of the media aptly reveals the heart and soul of the city.

Greg Powell is Associate Director of the Washington Commission for the Humanities and editor of Humanities Today.

**In the Shadow of the Mountain**

*The Spirit of the CCC.*


Reviewed by Dick Clifton.

Probably the most successful of Franklin D. Roosevelt's New Deal programs to lead the nation out of the misery of the Great Depression was the Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC). Roosevelt envisioned the CCC as a means to protect our national resources through conservation projects while providing employment to the young men of the country.

Edwin Hill was one of those youths. His first-hand account of life during the Great Depression sets the stage for his enlistment in the CCC on July 9, 1936, at the age of 17. The camp at Hard Labor Creek State Park near Rutledge, Georgia, was his first home away from home. Hill gives a vivid account of what it was like to be suddenly thrust into a camp of 200 enrollees and of the variety of experiences he encountered. He also expresses the pride he felt in knowing that 25 of the 30 dollars he earned monthly was automatically sent home to help his family.

Hill left the CCC to drive a lumber truck, but in a few months he was again unemployed and re-enlisted for what would eventually be four consecutive six-month hitchs. When asked where he would like to serve this time, he replied, "Where is the farthest camp you can send me from here?" Vancouver, Washington, he was told, and thus he came to live in the "shadow" of Mount Adams and Mount St. Helens.

Like so many CCC boys, Hill found the Northwest to his liking. He met his future wife and was married while at Camp Skamania. After a tour in the army he took up permanent residence in the Yakima Valley. In the Shadow of the Mountain not only records one man's experience in the CCC; it includes the experiences of a number of other CCC "alumni" and descriptions of a representative number of camps in the Pacific Northwest. The book is well organized and historically accurate, contains 43 illustrations, and is a good review of the benefits the CCC provided to its participants. Many say today that "it was the best time of my life."

Dick Clifton recently retired as Supervisor of Interpretive Services for the Washington State Parks and Recreation Commission.
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Russell Helgeson, Spokane
Anne W. Hepp, Des Moines
Shinsuke Hirai, Seattle
Jane Barfoot-Hodde, Olympia
K. F. Horner, Longview
Leo Horrigan, Pasco
Arnold Hudlow, Connell
Pearl Iles, Olympia
Jessie B. Jackson, Soap Lake
Lee Johnson, Marysville
Elizabeth B. Kelley Foundation, Tacoma
Jeannette R. Kirschman, Tacoma
J. M. Lancaster, Tacoma
Mr. and Mrs. Charles Lane, Gig Harbor
L. James Larsen, Vancouver
Lillian V. Larsen, Tacoma
Wes and Nancy Lematta, Camas
G. L. C. Limoges, Tacoma
Alice McFadon, Tacoma
Mary C. McKeever, Tacoma
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Applications for membership should be addressed to:
Washington State Historical Society
315 North Stadium Way
Tacoma, WA 98403
(206) 593-2830
## FACT SHEET
### The New Washington State History Museum
### A Campaign for Exhibits

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Project Developers</th>
<th>Washington State Historical Society</th>
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| Project Architects | Moore/Andersson, Austin Texas  
Charles W. Moore, Principal |
| Local Architects   | Olson/Sundberg, Seattle, Washington |
| Project Manager    | Washington State Department of General Administration’s  
Office of Engineering and Architectural Services |
| Exhibits Designer  | Herb Rosenthal & Associates, Inc., Los Angeles, California |
| Location           | Bounded by South 21st Street, Pacific Avenue and Interstate 705  
in Tacoma; adjacent to the restored Union Station |
| Project Budget     | $35.8 million |
| Size               | 100,000 total square feet  
• 66,000 square feet for galleries, lobbies and offices  
• 34,000 square feet for mechanical, electrical, corridors and public facilities |
| Features           | 22,000 sq. ft. permanent exhibit on Washington history  
10,000 sq. ft. of topical and temporary exhibit space  
226-seat auditorium  
Cafe  
Educational, classroom and resource facilities,  
including docent and volunteer work space  
Exhibit preparation areas  
Museum gift shop |
| Property Acquisition Financing | $30.8 million  
State of Washington and City of Tacoma |
| Exhibits Design Financing | $5 million – private donor capital campaign |
| Groundbreaking      | 1993 |
| Substantial Completion | 1995 |
| Public Opening      | 1996 |
WASHINGTON STATE
HISTORICAL SOCIETY
315 North Stadium Way
Tacoma, Washington 98403
(206) 593-2830

ADMISSION FEES:
Adults ....................... $2.00
Seniors ..................... $1.50
Youths (6-18) ........... $1.00
Family Groups .......... $5.00
Children (under 6) ... FREE
WSHS Members....... FREE

MUSEUM HOURS:
Public Hours
Tuesday - Saturday
10 A.M. - 5 P.M.
Sunday
1 P.M. - 5 P.M.
Administrative Hours
Monday - Friday
8 A.M. - 5 P.M.