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Thoughts of Chairman Phil

"I used to play in your driveway and the housekeeper used to bring us out cookies." This was not an unflattering thing to hear to commence a friendship between a young man from a modest town on the coast and a septuagenarian retired professor from Princeton University.

Phil Ashby lived in my home town of Hoquiam for a time during the early 1920s. The fact that he went on from there to achieve great success in his chosen field—the study of Eastern religions—was the source of no small amount of civic pride. Relating this to a fellow trustee some years ago brought a laugh. Phil's dad had been a minister and the family had lived in quite a number of Washington towns. In other words, lots of little spots in our state could claim the same pride in the achievements of "Chairman Phil." This experience no doubt contributed to his effectiveness and passion for the Washington State Historical Society.

Phil Ashby became chairman of the Society's Museum Committee after the death of former Senator Bruce Wilson in 1991. It was a tough moment to step in. The Society was engaged in the planning phase of a grand scheme to restore Tacoma's prized Union Station and build a needed federal courthouse and construct a new history museum—all on the same site. Not a trivial undertaking. Candidly, many on the Society's board wondered if we were up to the challenge. I'll admit to being among the early doubters.

However, there was no doubt in the mind of Chairman Phil or Dave Nicandri, the WSHS director. Their enthusiasm caught on with the museum committee. It became the committee's task to focus the imagination of the rest of the board and then undertake the work of aligning designers, planners, architects and the wants of all the "partners" and "stake-holders" in a project of citywide and statewide significance. And so was born the phenomenon of the "Phil Ashby Museum Committee Report."

Phil had a sense of humor befitting one who had grown up in a variety of early Washington settings. No doubt his minister father's observations of the manifestations of man's weakness, coupled with the benefits of a fine education, contributed to a succinct ability to sum up folks and situations with a story—a parable. Anyone who thinks Washington could never generate a Samuel Clemens or a Will Rogers never heard one of Chairman Phil's museum committee reports. Most of these reports have been saved. For the sake of tact, though, they will probably rest peacefully until the last of the principals in our adventures in museum building have joined Phil in the great beyond. Enough said, except that in the end the museum building is now going up with the unanimous support of all involved.

Chairman Phil made his last museum committee report in May at the society's annual meeting in Port Townsend. There by grit alone, he told us of his dream-come-true of a splendid museum and the drive it took to make it reality. During a hospital stay the nurses told him that while he had been delirious one night, standing up on his bed shouting, they distinctly heard him say he was beating the drum for the Washington State Historical Society.

Many people have played a part in the fulfillment of the museum project. Phil would be the first to acknowledge that he never wielded a pencil at a drafting board or tapped a nail into place. Others passed the appropriations and led private sector fund-raising efforts. What "Chairman Phil" did was bring us the confidence to undertake something that could all too easily have seemed beyond our reach. Many have contributed in countless ways to the new Washington State History Museum at Union Station; Phil Ashby brought us confidence that it could happen.

—David Lamb, WSHS President
A Half Century in the Practice of Pacific Northwest Historiography

The anxious days before World War II produced many demonstrations of national pride and patriotism in Washington, but none perhaps of more immediate influence than passage of a new law affecting the study and teaching of history in the state. This law, signed by the governor on March 24, 1941, required all public schools, colleges and universities to teach courses in Washington history and government. All elementary and secondary students had to pass such a course to graduate. On the other hand, the new law provided a golden opportunity to enrich the curriculum if properly augmented by materials and training. As a matter of fact, proponents quickly pointed out that it was regional history that was needed—arguing shrewdly that in the beginning there were no state or other artificial boundaries.

The leaders of the Washington State Historical Society, which included professors of history in colleges and universities, quickly recognized their obligation to collect and make available to students and teachers the necessary materials for state history and government. The task fitted in with the Society's traditional obligation to enlighten the public—particularly children—through museum exhibits.

A historical conference, it was thought, might enable the Society to meet its obligations. Thus, in the spring of 1948 the Society called a one-day conference at its headquarters in Tacoma. Some 60 teachers, professors, librarians and others attended, each of the 17 Pacific Northwest states being represented by at least one person. The participants agreed that the first order of business was to establish a regional history syllabus. They also considered development of teaching materials and aids and other matters related to the new law. A second conference in 1949 reaffirmed the regional concept but inconclusively discussed plans to prepare the syllabus. Those in attendance were asked to seek ways and means to obtain agreements among the states of the region to mutually accept certified teachers—in other words, to practice reciprocity.

In 1951 the Pacific Northwest History Conference, then in its fourth year, diverted part of its attention from the syllabus to the text, recognizing that one could not exist without the other. Professor Herman J. Deutsch of Washington State College (which became Washington State University on September 1, 1959) provided guidance when he offered a detailed "Prospectus for the Study of Governments of the Pacific Northwest in their Regional Setting." Seventy-six persons attended the conference, all but a handful from Washington. It is perhaps surprising then that Deutsch, in a meeting of the WSHS Board of Curators (now called trustees), should have called for the Society "to give up a portion of its identity with the conference in order to broaden the base." However, enthusiasm for the principle of regionalism did not extend to sharing it with other states, and Deutsch's motion was defeated.

New hope for attaining regional scope for the syllabus as well as for the conference seemed assured when the board accepted the Montana Historical Society's invitation to hold the 1954 conference in Helena. Important innovations in programming resulted, including a frontier barbecue, scholarly panels, and honoraria for principal speakers. These new features became standard elements in future programs. Director K. Ross Toole also obtained extensive local newspaper coverage, an achievement not even approached at any later time. Yet, the Montana Historical Society failed to become a cosponsor of the conference, as Toole doubted the "flame potential in the conference embers." Nevertheless, his criticism of academic dullness had some effect. The next year the board of curators offered a panel of experts discussing new topics in 20th-century history ripe for research and writing.

Continued dissatisfaction with conference programs led Professors Deutsch and Charles M. Gates, the latter from the University of Washington, to agree in January 1956 "to put a team together to canvass research in progress." Subsequently, Deutsch gathered nine colleagues from Pullman and Moscow for consultation. Their objective was to plan scholarly programs and paper-reading sessions, opportunities lacking for young historians of the region.

The Moscow-Pullman group drew up a formal charter providing for a quasi-independent Council on Regional Historical Research in Progress. The leaders held their organizational meeting in Tacoma at the conference gathering on May 5, 1956. The charter stipulated that the council would participate in the annual conference, cooperating in presenting a program of scholarly papers on Saturday morning. Although the charter did not specify the time and place of the council's business meeting, from the start it took place at the Saturday breakfast. The council, it was thought, would not only attract young, new faculty members at all collegiate levels.
to its membership and participation, but would develop long-range projects in publication, duplication of archival material, and so on.

The inaugural meeting readily adopted the charter as presented. Sixty-five persons attended that meeting, later signing on as members. On that chartering day the conference steering committee granted recognition to the council as a valid organization within the conference. Indeed, the council organizers had already set up a program that was held that day. Soon thereafter, the council's executive committee launched Foreshadow, its semiannual newsletter, as its vehicle for promoting research, publicizing its programs and voicing its concerns.

The 1957 conference brought the first student participation when the Washington State College chapter of Phi Alpha Theta, the national history honor society, arranged an informal discussion of frontier history by three graduate students and conference keynote speaker Walter Prescott Webb. More than 50 conference members abandoned the formal program to listen to the discussion. This might have suggested to conference planners that the way had been cleared to realizing one of the objectives of both the conference and the council, namely to bring history to a broader spectrum of society.

Generous publication of conference proceedings and papers was hardly sufficient, however, to make possible completion of the regional syllabus or to flesh it out with needed teaching material. Earl Pomeroy of the University of Oregon had written privately to Washington compatriots in 1953 that there was a paucity of materials on 20th-century history and that a proposed syllabus for a state history course at Washington State College "was fairly innocent of hypotheses or any constructive principle of unity."

The first significant response to Pomeroy's criticism came not in the form of a syllabus but in a new textbook, Empire of the Columbia, published in 1957. The authors, Dorothy Johansen and Charles M. Gates, presented a broad view of the region and its relationship to the nation, together with a substantial narrative of political and social history through 1917. Unfortunately, the narrative after 1917 proved weak, a reflection of the scarcity of monographic work on recent periods. The bibliography upon which this impressive work was based unfortunately did not appear until the second edition in 1967, but informative footnotes July issue of that year three papers originally sponsored by the Council on Regional Historical Research in Progress. Subsequently, in 1959, 1961 and 1963 the PNQ presented additional conference symposia. Although no further publication of total programs occurred, individual papers have often been made available to the entire historical community through the PNQ, Columbia and other regional journals.

The conference program of 1957 gained additional utility and influence when the Pacific Northwest Quarterly (PNQ) offered in its 1955 issue three papers originally sponsored by the Council on Regional Historical Research in Progress. Subsequently, in 1959, 1961 and 1963 the PNQ presented additional conference symposia. Although no further publication of total programs occurred, individual papers have often been made available to the entire historical community through the PNQ, Columbia and other regional journals.

The 48th annual Pacific Northwest History Conference will be held March 23-25, 1995, in the Tri-Cities. The Northwest Oral History Association's annual meeting is held in conjunction with the conference. For program and registration information, contact Jean Peterson at the Heritage Resource Center, 206/586-0219.
abounded as a substitute. Scholars, teachers and students alike could take heart and sustenance from the work.

The first serious attention to the "Columbia River in History" came during the Walla Walla conference in 1961. The significance of this extensive program reached beyond the river and its basin; the theme represented the first extended consideration of what has come to be called environmental history. The program, a combined effort of conference and council, offered panels that drew experts in engineering, politics and ecology, with women well-represented. Perhaps the most popular session, with at least 100 auditors, dealt with the Columbia as an international resource. The meeting in Victoria in 1981 produced a second set of discussions of the Columbia under the title "The Great Northwest and its Resources." These sessions might well be thought of as forerunners to the work of the present Center for Columbia River History.

The 1973 conference marked the demise of the Council on Regional Research in Progress. It was absorbed into the conference in spirit and property (the latter being a modest bank account). Success had overtaken the council and left it with no special function.

In retrospect, the council and its newsletter might well be thought of as aiding in the maturation of the post-World War II generation of regional historians. The council was a symbol of their desire for authority, the Society—an obscure entity—being only their "sustaining sponsor." The council enabled the young scholars to strike out on their own, seeking new ways to serve history and the public as well as a means to identify their own place in the academic community. For a time they favored the conference with fresh perspectives and ideas.

By the 1970s, however, the next generation of scholars was finding its own inspiration in novel topics to which it brought a fresh surge of energy and creativity. This new crop of historians had the urge and opportunity more often than had their elders to be in tune with the historicist present, often a result of their own experiences with campus radicalism and other protest movements. Numerous papers read in recent years have dealt with highly topical themes such as women’s history and that of minorities. The most striking departure, perhaps, came in 1989 when Dr. Michelle A. Stenchjem (now Dr. Gerber) of Richland revealed her difficulties in gaining access to documents on the operation of the Hanford nuclear plant and attendant medical and environmental problems. Implicit in her report were countless additional topics and problems for other researchers to consider.

The present availability of excellent textbooks, monographs and other teaching materials on state and regional history has made it possible to overcome the criticism of Pomeroy and others a generation ago. Nevertheless, the mission of the Washington State Historical Society and the Pacific Northwest History Conference to support the teaching of local history has hardly been completed. In 1992, for example, Robert H. Keller, of Fairhaven College, warned readers of Columbia that it and the Pacific Northwest Quarterly, two of the best sources of teaching materials on regional history, are not available in the majority of public schools and libraries in the state. In fact, 90 percent of his students, coming from all over Washington and seeking teacher certification, had never heard of the journals before entering his correspondence course. Plans for the Washington State Historical Society to supply back issues of Columbia to such institutions, announced in the Spring 1994 issue of Columbia, represent a commendable first step taken to overcome deficiencies. Will anyone step forward to do the same for the Pacific Northwest Quarterly?

Historians, by the nature of their craft, may stand at chronological peaks of achievement, looking backward and forward at the same time. What has been learned is that our traditional goals are justified, if not yet reached. The conference began as a child of the Washington State Historical Society, but with virtually every stop of this "moveable feast"—from Tacoma to Boise, and Victoria, B.C. to Jacksonville, Oregon, with a northern jaunt to Anchorage—new collegiate and historical society co-sponsors have arisen to assist in carrying on the work, a great sign of strength. In addition, a symbiotic relationship, mutually beneficial, has resulted from the frequent joining of the conference by organizations representing archivists, oral historians and museum experts. Finally, it was most salutary that Phi Alpha Theta should have joined with the conference in 1987 and 1989 (along with oral historians and archivists) since the future of our enterprise will soon be in the hands of its members, the students. One may hope that this relationship will be strongly cultivated by the conference in coming years.

—George A. Frykman

George A. Frykman taught history at Washington State University for 37 years and continues to practice his craft in retirement. He first attended a Pacific Northwest History Conference in 1951 at Tacoma. The present essay is from a luncheon address delivered at the 47th annual conference, in Bellingham, on March 25, 1994.
The Pacific Northwest became the Target of a Japanese Offensive during World War II

By Marc K. Blackburn

Since 1989, the 50th anniversary of the start of World War II, the United States and its former allies have been commemorating many of the events that once dominated the headlines and newsreels, such as when, in 1944, Dwight D. Eisenhower's expeditionary force created a lodgment on the beaches of Normandy in France, and Douglas MacArthur kept his promise to return to the Philippine Islands. Little mention is made of the less dramatic, often unreported efforts of those who fought a campaign off the shores and in the skies of the Pacific Northwest.

By 1944 the latent economic potential of American factories and workshops had awakened from the slumber of the Great Depression, supplying all of the Allied armies with weapons, vehicles and supplies. In the battle of production, Oregon and Washington made important contributions. By 1944, $1.3 billion in defense contracts had been awarded to firms in the Seattle area alone, employing over 100,000 people. If any region in the United States was representative of the "Arsenal of Democracy," it was the Pacific Northwest. Yet, it was their role in the defense industry that made Washington and Oregon legitimate strategic targets during World War II.

Continental Defense

The United States was spared from the destruction suffered by Europe and Asia simply because of its distance from the fighting. However, the threat that the Axis powers posed to the security of the United States was very real. Prior to America's entrance into the war, the army had mobilized and federalized the National Guard, an unprecedented peacetime draft narrowly passed by Congress, Lend-Lease was supplying the British and other friendly powers with war materials, and the United States Navy was escorting convoys through the hazardous waters of the North Atlantic, losing a number of American destroyers in the process.

Unfortunately, these measures failed to deter Japan. The surprise attack on Pearl Harbor was a vivid reminder of how exposed the western

Although their exact location is unknown, these three men are installing an air raid siren in Seattle. The photo illustrates how seriously civil defense authorities took the possibility of air attack.
seaboard was to Japan's aggressive offensive strategy. While the War Department dismissed the notion that the continental United States was threatened by a Japanese invasion, the armed forces had to take necessary steps to calm the fears of the public. In the Pacific Northwest, the United States Army, Navy and Air Corps took steps to defend Washington and Oregon from any air or seaborne threats.

Early in 1942 the lower 48 states were divided into five continental defense commands. The Pacific Northwest came under the jurisdiction of the Western Defense Command. In charge of this vast area was General John L. DeWitt, a veteran of World War I and the army's former quartermaster general. A number of necessary steps were taken in the first six months of the war to reinforce the western region. By the end of February 1942 DeWitt had 250,000 men and 650 aircraft under his direct command. Harbor and antiaircraft defenses were built and manned, aircraft began patrolling the lengthy coastline, and soldiers provided aid to various civil authorities. This included the enforcement of Executive Order 9066, the infamous decree that relocated Japanese-Americans from the coast to concentration camps in the interior of the United States.

DEFENSIVE MEASURES were taken along the major waterways of the Pacific Northwest, notably the Columbia River estuary and the Strait of Juan de Fuca. Anchored by Fort Stevens, coastal defense fortifications at the mouth of the Columbia were reactivated after languishing through the 1920s and '30s. At Fort Stevens much of the older ordnance was scrapped and replaced with more modern artillery pieces and ancillary equipment. Radar, searchlights, antiaircraft and antimo-

motorboat defenses were deployed along the mouth of the river and remote-control mines were laid on the bottom of the Columbia to prevent enemy vessels from venturing east to Portland. Plans were also laid to modernize the hopelessly obsolete fortifications at the mouth of Puget Sound—Forts Flagler, Worden and Casey—by building new coastal defense batteries at the mouth of the Strait of Juan de Fuca. The War Department planned to build three 16-inch gun batteries, two at Cape Flattery and one immediately west of Port Angeles at Camp Hayden, today part of Clallam County's Salt Creek Recreation Area.

In 1943, after the threat of invasion had passed, construction on the batteries at Cape Flattery was halted—only the Camp Hayden emplacement was ever completed. A second line of defense, six-inch gun batteries, were erected at Camp Hayden and on Whidbey Island at Fort Ebey. Antimotoboat defenses were established at
In the hope of preventing a repeat of the Pearl Harbor disaster, a network of civilian volunteer observers diligently scanned the skies over Puget Sound from crude towers such as this one.

strategic locations in the Puget Sound area, including Forts Flagler, Worden and Casey, Port Angeles, Deception Pass and Admiralty Inlet.

As the coastal defenses of the Pacific Northwest were strengthened, other measures were taken to ensure the security of Washington and Oregon. The Coast Guard, with cooperation from the army, established foot patrols along the isolated and exposed coastline.

The navy, aware of the threat that Japan's submarines posed, built an air station at Tillamook, Oregon, and based a squadron of blimps there. The airships patrolled the sea-lanes between Portland and Seattle, hunting Japanese submarines. During the course of the war these defensive measures remained largely untested. However, the Pacific Northwest was touched by the war in a series of incidents that began shortly after Pearl Harbor and continued sporadically until the end of the war in 1945.

Submarine Incidents
In December 1941 submarines of the Imperial Japanese Navy brought the war home to the shores of Washington and Oregon. The operational plan for Japan's Combined Fleet called for the deployment of submarines in Hawaiian waters to monitor the movement of American warships. Twelve Japanese submarines left their base in the Marshall Islands in November 1941 to carry out these orders. Despite the panic that ensued at Pearl Harbor on December 7, the gauntlet of Japanese submarines failed to intercept any units of the American fleet.

On December 10, three days after the surprise attack, nine submarines were ordered to move from their positions off the Hawaiian Islands to the sea-lanes paralleling the West Coast. Vice Admiral Shimizu Mitsuyoshi, commander of Japan's Sixth Fleet, wanted the submarines on route to the West Coast to shell strategic targets in Washington, Oregon and California. Fearful of an aggressive response by the United States Navy, this particular option was countermanded by Mitsuyoshi's superiors in Tokyo. Nevertheless, for three weeks Japanese submarines loitered off the entrance to Puget Sound and at the mouth of the Columbia River, attacking targets of opportunity. Pickings were slim. Only two tankers were torpedoed and sunk; one freighter was damaged. As 1941 came to a close the underwater marauders broke off their patrols and returned home for rest and refit.

For the first six months of 1942 Japanese submarines returned to prowl off the shores of Oregon and Washington. There was no longer any hesitation to shell strategic targets along the coastline. Off Santa Barbara, California, the Japanese submarine I-7 caused a sensation by shelling a refinery. There was no appreciable damage, but the attack heightened the public's fear. The I-26 arrived in the waters off the Pacific Northwest on June 20 and promptly shelled a radio navigation beacon at Estavan Point on Nootta Sound, British Columbia. The next night, at about half past 11 o'clock, the I-25, a sister
ship of the I-26, surfaced off Cape Disappointment, Washington, and lobbed about a dozen 5½-inch shells in the general direction of Fort Stevens.

As shells began exploding around Battery Russell, battery commander Captain Jack R. Wood vainly tried to get the commander of the Columbia River defenses, Colonel Carl S. Dohney, on the phone. The fort's fire control stations determined that the enemy vessel was approximately 19,000 to 17,400 yards away, out of the battery's effective range. (Battery Russell's ten-inch guns could lob a 500-pound shell approximately 16,000 yards.) Despite the excitement of the moment and itchy trigger fingers, Dohney decided to deny Wood's request to open fire rather than expose the various positions at the mouth of the Columbia to the enemy. While one historian contends that the submarine was well within the range of Battery Russell, Colonel Dohney was exonerated by his superiors for keeping the Columbia River defenses silent. Despite efforts to keep the story under wraps, the attack on Fort Stevens caused a sensation in the local press. The I-25 remained off the coast of Oregon looking for targets of opportunity but soon returned to its base in Japan.

Two months later the I-25 resumed its patrol in the waters off the Pacific Northwest for one final mission. The objective was simple: retaliation for Lieutenant Colonel James H. Doolittle's daring raid on Tokyo in April 1942. The I-25 and her 20 sister ships had a small hangar to stow the components of a float plane, and built into the ship's hull was a compressed air catapult to launch the diminutive plane. Armed with a machine gun, the aircraft was capable of carrying a payload of up to 132 pounds, ideal for the I-25's mission. The pilot, Nobuo Fujita, was ordered to drop incendiaries on the forest of southwest Oregon, starting catastrophic fires. Fujita's plane, launched on the afternoon of September 9, 1942, headed east over Siskiyou National Forest. After flying 50 miles into the forest, Fujita released his two bombs onto 2,900-foot Mount Emily, located in the far southwestern corner of the state.

Earlier that day, Howard Gardner, a U.S. Forest Service employee, had spotted Fujita's plane from his fire tower but had failed to identify it as a Japanese aircraft. Not long after Fujita released his weapons, Gardner observed smoke coming from a remote location near his post. While unable to determine how the blaze had started, a fire fighter was sent to the location and the fire was quickly extinguished. Rangers sent to investigate the site recovered some bomb fragments and reported the incident to the local military and civil authorities. There was no record of an American plane flying over Mount Emily that day. Upon further inspection of the site, over 65 pounds of bomb fragments were recovered, including some with recognizable Japanese characters. The FBI was notified, but the authorities were mystified over the bomb's origins. Once again the military and FBI attempted, unsuccessfully, to keep the story under wraps. The news caused a local sensation.

Two-and-a-half weeks later, on September 23, Fujita took off again, this time heading for a target area southeast of Cape Blanco, Oregon. As in the previous incident, bombs were dropped, a mysterious blaze erupted deep in the woods and the fire was spotted and extinguished by U.S. Forest Service personnel. However, no bomb fragments were ever recovered. The I-25 could have launched a third mission over the forests of Oregon, but the weather was deteriorating and antischubmarine patrols were becoming more aggressive. The I-25 returned to Japan, the last vessel of the Imperial Japanese Navy to launch a direct attack on the continental United States in World War II.

The Aftermath and New Attacks
The I-25's departure coincided with a major turning point in the war. In 1942 the United States took the offensive. By successfully blunting Japan's attacks on the sea-lanes to Australia, destroying the elite of the Japanese naval air force at Midway and the Marine Corps' landing at Guadalcanal in the South Pacific, the United States wrested the initiative from the Japanese. As the threat to the continental United States decreased, the measures taken to protect the Western Seaboard were reevaluated. By 1943 the War Department took a calculated risk and largely stripped the regional defense commands of manpower and equipment to meet the demands of the campaigns taking place in the Pacific and Europe. Similarly, the construction boom in fortifications came to an end as many projected coastal defense batteries were canceled and the materials diverted to more important projects.

As military officials began to lean away from continental defense and focus on defeating the Axis powers, a new and unexpected threat from Japan began to appear...
HEADQUARTERS WESTERN DEFENSE COMMAND
PRESIDIO OF SAN FRANCISCO, CALIFORNIA

JAPANESE BALLOON INFORMATION BULLETIN NO. 1

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The information which appears in the numbered paragraphs below is to be read to assembled groups such as school children assembled in groups, preferably not more than 50 in a group and Boy Scout troops.

The Bulletin should be read through twice. After the Bulletin has been read the second time, the person in charge should read Paragraphs 6, 7, and 8 a third time. After the Bulletin has been read, care should be taken that it be returned to the distributing agency from which it was received.

The Bulletin will not be posted on any bulletin boards or transmitted to individuals other than those authorized to receive it from the agency concerned.

1. Army and Navy authorities wish to inform the public that during the past six months a considerable number of Japanese balloons have arrived over the Western part of the United States and Canada. These balloons are white in color, about thirty-three feet in diameter and carry suspended below them a devise which permits them to maintain height and to carry a limited load of bombs. The balloons are launched in Japan and are blown toward the United States by the prevailing winds. The winds, at the high altitudes at which these balloons travel, bring the balloons to the United States in about four days.

2. The bombs are of two types. One is filled with explosives of a type which will start fires, the other is designed to explode and kill any persons in the danger area. The balloons are also equipped with an explosive device which is intended to destroy the mechanism and another explosive which is intended to destroy the balloon in the air after it has dropped its bombs. The balloons are inflated with hydrogen which is an explosive gas.

3. It appears that the primary purpose of the bombs is to start fires in the forests and in populated areas. Secondary purposes include killing or maiming people, some possible effect as a means of destroying airplanes in case an airplane should run into one of the balloons and an effort to spread fear among our people.

4. Although many hundreds of these balloons have already reached the Continent of North America, those which have arrived may well have been sent over for test purposes. Without question, the Japanese are most anxious to obtain information as to the numbers that are successful in reaching our coast and the areas which they reach. For that reason, the press and radio have cooperated loyally and have made no mention whatsoever of these balloons. They have thus contributed greatly to the confusion of the Japanese. It is of great importance that we continue to keep from the Japanese any information which will permit them to base future operations on a knowledge of the results of their campaign.

5. When the robot bombs started falling on England, they found it possible to spread information by word of mouth to their people. This was done so successfully that no word reached the Germans as to the specific area in which the bombs landed or of the damage inflicted.

6. You are being informed about these balloons because they are dangerous. Six persons have been killed. While no other injuries have been inflicted and no other damage has been caused and it is certain that many hundreds of balloons have reached our coasts, it is most important that all of our people shall know of the danger and shall realize that they must not tamper with balloons or strange objects which they find on the ground.

7. Up to the present time the campaign has been minor in nature. In order that its damaging effects may be reduced as much as possible, the following should be done in case a balloon or a bomb is found:
   a. Do not touch it.
   b. Stay at least a hundred yards away and keep others that distance away.
   c. Leave a guard to keep people away from the balloon or bomb.
   d. Report the location of the balloon or bomb to the nearest sheriff or police officer.

8. You are now in the secret. Do not write about it in any letters and do not be unduly alarmed. Let us all shoulder this very minor war load in a way such that our fighting soldiers at the front will be proud of us.
Furthermore, Japan’s aeronautical industry, due to different production priorities and shortages of critical materials, was unable to develop either a strategic bomber or a guided missile with the range and payload required to strike the continental United States. Given these limitations, balloons proved to be a reasonable alternative. Information gathered using weather balloons launched from the home islands indicated that the prevailing winds could carry a payload by balloon from Japan to North America. Given these favorable wind conditions, research and development of a practical balloon bomb was intensified through 1943. The first production models were launched against the United States late in the fall of 1944.

The balloons were marvels of simplicity. Due to a shortage of silk, most of the envelopes were manufactured from laminated paper. Attached to each balloon was a cast aluminum wheel that contained the ballast release mechanism and payload. In order to keep the balloon at the proper altitude on its transoceanic voyage, primitive altimeters would release ballast bags at preset altitudes in response to changes in air pressure. Once the ballast was expended, the balloon would release its incendiaries and antipersonnel bombs. To prevent a balloon from falling into the hands of the enemy, a self-destruct charge would explode, igniting the hydrogen gas in the envelope and, hopefully, destroying the balloon and ballast release mechanism once the weapons were dropped. The Japanese hoped that, even without a guidance system, the bombs would start forest fires, destroy military installations and disrupt life in the United States.

In December 1944 the FBI recovered a set of nearly complete balloons in Kalispell, Montana, and Estacada, Oregon. The remains were immediately sent to Washington, D.C., where a number of agencies attempted to uncover the purpose of the new devices. These and others subsequently discovered were examined and analyzed by the navy’s Technical Air Intelligence Center in Anacostia, Maryland. With help from the General Staff’s Military Intelligence Division, known as G-2, experts were able to deduce from the recovered remains that the balloons were used to deliver ordnance to the continental United States. However, until the spring of 1945 military intelligence could not rule out with any degree of certainty that the balloons would be used to transport chemical or bacteriological agents, spies or antiaircraft weapons across the Pacific.

The danger of this new weapon was its randomness. Without a guidance system balloons could drop their weapons anywhere the wind carried them. This became apparent when the geographic distribution of recovered balloons was charted. Between November 4, 1944, when the first balloon was pulled out of the water off Los Angeles, to July 1945, there were 111 incidents in the Pacific Northwest when actual parts of balloons were retrieved. In western Washington balloons turned up in Gig Harbor, Puyallup, Everett and Chimacum. To the east debris was found in Spokane, Prosser, Ephrata, Toppenish, Colville and Walla Walla. In Oregon debris was recovered in numerous places, including Estacada, Medford, North Bend, Yamhill and The Dalles.

The threat this new terror weapon posed was taken seriously by all parties concerned, civilian and military alike. News reports on balloon sightings and recoveries were censored to prevent the Japanese from determining the success of their bombing campaign. The air force, navy and civil air authorities enacted measures to detect and intercept the balloon bombs before they posed a problem to centers of population and industry. Nevertheless, the two federal agencies that possibly had the most to lose in this air campaign were the sensitive facilities at the Hanford Nuclear Reservation and the flammable timber resources under jurisdiction of the Forest Service and various state agencies.

Determining the possible threats to Hanford was the job of Captain Lyall B. Johnson of the Corps of Engineers, Hanford’s intelligence officer. As newspaper clippings and FBI reports came across his desk telling the story of the balloon bombs recovered in December 1944, Johnson went to work. In January 1945 he alerted his superiors in Oak Ridge, Tennessee, to the possible threat that the balloon bombs posed to the facilities at Hanford. Johnson also made a request of the Western Defense Command’s intelligence officer, Colonel W. H. Hammond, to establish formal channels of communication between Hanford and Hammond’s San Francisco headquarters. Johnson’s request resulted in a flow of up-to-date intelligence summaries, engineering studies and incident reports involving Japanese balloon bombs.

In February 1945 Johnson received information from the FBI on two balloons, one found north of Prosser and another on Saddle Mountain, a peak to the north of the reservation. Given the proximity to Hanford’s boundaries, Johnson investigated the incidents and sent his reports to Oak Ridge. Despite the random qualities of this new weapon, it appears that Johnson thought the balloons themselves would pose no direct threat to Hanford’s reactors.

On March 10 Johnson received a call from Yakima. FBI special agent Roy Woods reported that a farmer 15 miles south of Toppenish had found the remains of yet another balloon. This particular one was destroyed when it brushed against some high tension wires owned by the Bonneville Power
Supposed Flight Path of Japanese Balloon Bombs Found in North America in December 1944 and January 1945
Administration (BPA). This incident appeared no different from previous sightings and recoveries in eastern Washington.

Whereas Johnson dismissed the balloon’s collision with the high tension line, T. N. Stapleton, one of Hanford’s superintendents of protection, had a more telling story to report. When the Japanese balloon hit the BPA transmission line, the impact briefly interrupted the flow of electricity to Hanford’s three reactors and subsequently triggered various safety devices. The nuclear piles producing the uranium isotopes required for the production of plutonium immediately shut down. Two reactors were without electrical power for 10 minutes, another for 68 minutes. However, available records indicate that the safety of the nuclear piles was never in question. Throughout the spring, balloon sightings from antiaircraft batteries ringing Hanford continued to cross Johnson’s desk. However, there were no other serious incidents that threatened the safety and security of the nuclear reservation.

A

S THE SEASONS changed and fire danger increased across the western states, the Forest Service and various state agencies began to seriously consider the threat balloons posed to the region’s abundant forest resources. Unfortunately, the military’s insatiable appetite for manpower affected the Forest Service’s ability to react quickly to fires in the West. However, given the threat that Japanese incendiaries posed, the air force and the army did provide personnel and equipment in a coordinated effort to prevent forest fires. Information centers, manned by representatives from the Forest Service and the military were set up in California and Washington to filter fire information coming from the field and coordinate fire suppression efforts. Reconnaissance aircraft were utilized to supplement the fire-watchers on the ground. A quick-response team of 2,700 troops and 200 African-American paratroopers of the 555th Parachute Infantry Battalion were trained and equipped to fight fires. Thankfully, these elaborate precautions were never utilized. In 1945 there were no forest fires attributed to Japanese balloon bombs.

Costs and Consequences

A

S THE AMERICAN air offensive against Japan intensified in the spring of 1945, the number of balloons recovered fell from a high of 114 in March to a low of 14 in July. Similarly, as sightings and recoveries decreased, the public’s fear subsided and the war drew to a close. Despite the destructive potential that Japan’s fleet and air force represented, the various attacks by submarines, bombers and balloons in Washington and Oregon caused only a limited amount of property damage and disruption. Similarly, the only lives lost during the course of Japan’s terror campaign occurred in May 1945 in Bly, Oregon, when five adults and children were killed after disturbing the explosive devices on a grounded balloon bomb. The only notable material success of Japan’s campaign was the diversion of manpower and equipment to defend the continental United States in the opening and closing months of the war. In other words, the overall impact of Japan’s air and sea offensive against the Pacific Northwest was, at best, inconsequential.

If the military forces of Imperial Japan could be credited with any victory, it was a psychological one. While the weapons that Japan unleashed against the Pacific coast of the United States were not terribly destructive, they did succeed in heightening the fears of the populace. Not since the War of 1812 had the continental United States been subjected to bombardment by a belligerent nation. Until modern times America was shielded from the turmoil of Europe and Asia by distance. Even in 1941 the danger of an invasion was discounted by the War Department. Certain military resources were allocated to the Pacific Northwest in an effort to placate the public’s fears rather than combat an authentic Japanese threat to American security.

In hindsight, it is easy to dismiss these incidents as just little-known facts concerning World War II. However, the public’s fear of Japan’s underwater marauders and airborne terror weapons serves as a reminder of how the war left its mark on the historical landscape. From 1939 to 1945 the capitals of Europe and Asia were subjected to an unprecedented, destructive aerial bombardment. In a world engulfed by war, civilian populations running the production lines were seen as legitimate targets. Historical barriers of noncom-
After the 1844 Oregon Trail crossing and wintering along the Columbia River, five families and two bachelors—31 Americans in all—settled in the Tumwater area on November 6, 1845. One of these settlers was George Washington Bush, whose family included his wife Isabella and five sons.

Bush developed a farm that was considered by his contemporaries to be one of the most valuable and productive in early Washington. His personal qualities of humanity, generosity, hospitality, warmth and charity led him to aid many later arrivals in ways that made their successful settlement possible, winning him tremendous respect and admiration from other pioneers. Bush's role in the decision to establish a settlement north of the Columbia and the circumstances surrounding that decision had significant national and international, political and diplomatic consequences.

It is important to note that George Bush was a black man, a free mulatto, on the western frontier. His story provides a dramatic counterpoint to the all-Caucasian stereotypes of western development and an opportunity for us more clearly to understand the truly complex multiracial reality of American expansion in the 19th century.

Bush's early years are, for the modern student, shrouded in mystery and uncertainty. For example, it is not known exactly when or where he was born. Oral family history provided by 20th-century descendants gives his year of birth as 1779. A prominent pioneer contemporary, Francis Henry, listed it as 1778, but the federal census in 1850, giving his age at that time as 56 and his birthplace as Virginia, makes his birth year 1794. Adding to the confusion, the 1860 federal census gives his birthplace as Pennsylvania and lists his age as 70, which would make his birth year 1790.

Many historians consider this last date most reliable. To accept the family version of 1779 would make Bush 65 years old when he started the journey across the country in 1844. That is, according to some, an advanced and unlikely time of life to accomplish such a difficult task and endure the hardships that the next two decades forced on him. However, the earlier family date of 1779 fits well and consistently with other remarkable improbabilities we know to be true about his life, and thus provides a fitting beginning to his story.

What else do we know of the early Bush years? It is believed that he spent his childhood in Pennsylvania, raised and educated under Quaker influence. Though Bush was a literate man, none of his writings have survived. He is believed to have relocated to Tennessee as a young man and then again to Illinois when he was about 20. There he entered the cattle business, an occupation that is believed to have financed his Oregon trip. Around 1820 he is supposed to have relocated again to Missouri, the place from which he departed for Oregon in 1844. There are few facts documented with certainty that can be fitted between the reference points on this sparse outline.

He is supposed to have gone to the Far West as a young man. His work in the fur trade industry is said to have taken him as far west and north as Vancouver Island, and as far south as the Santa Fe Trail, where he is supposed to have known Kit Carson. Some descendants claim he worked for a time for the Hudson's Bay Company (HBC). There is no specific documentation for any of this.

Family sources also state that George Bush was wounded while fighting in the Black Hawk Indian War and that he participated in the Battle of New Orleans under Andrew Jackson in 1815. We do know that on July 4, 1832, he married Isabella James, a white native of Tennessee, in Clay County, Missouri. This union eventually produced nine sons, five of whom made the trip across the Oregon Trail with him in 1844. His marriage was the source of much of his success, stability and happiness for the next 30 years.

Was George Bush black? It was a key question during an era in which one's race could be the single most important factor in determining one's fate. The answer to this seemingly simple question becomes complex and even controversial. In American culture race has never been a simple issue of biology, legal and cultural factors being at least as important. Little is known about the lives of Bush's mother and father. To sort out Bush's racial status it is necessary to look at evidence supporting both sides of the issue.
There is some evidence that he may not have been black. It is well-established that his mother was an Irish maid in the household of a merchant named Stevenson in Philadelphia during the late 18th century. Racially speaking, it is generally concluded that his father Matthew Bush was black, having been born in India and brought to the United States by Stevenson sometime before 1776. There he married the Irish maid, and George was their only offspring.

Some scholars suggest that Matthew Bush could have been from the West Indies rather than East Indies, given the large African-American population in the Caribbean, but this is only speculation. It was suggested by a great-granddaughter, Mrs. Belle Twohy, that having the dark skin of those from India, Matthew Bush was mistakenly categorized as a Negro by Americans of his generation. This is, in theory, quite possible.

A testament to the imprecision of racial identification in George’s era is the fact that the 1830 federal census in Clay County, Missouri, where he was a resident, George Bush is listed as a free white person.

There is, however, stronger evidence that Bush was black or, specifically, that he was mulatto. Perhaps the most powerful evidence of his racial designation as black is found in how his contemporaries considered and described him. The scant documentary and narrative evidence available is consistent in describing Bush as a mulatto. This includes a statement by John Minto, a fellow member of the 1844 migration who knew Bush well. Minto described a conversation he had on the trail with Bush concerning the treatment of people of color in Oregon:

“Bush was a mulatto, but had means, and also a white woman for a wife and a family of five children. Not many men of color left a slave state so well-to-do and so generally respected.” A more indirect reference is made by Ezra Meeker, a trail pioneer who met Bush at Tumwater in 1853. Meeker observed: “George Bush doubtless left Missouri because of the virulent prejudices against his race in the community where he lived.”

“Crossing the Rockies by Horse and Wagon” is one panel in a five-piece series of paintings created by Jacob Lawrence in 1975. The series was based on the life of George Washington Bush.
Further evidence that Bush was considered black and treated as such by his contemporaries involves the Donation Land Act that was passed for the Oregon Territory in 1850. It stipulated that only whites (males and married females) and "American half-breed Indians" were eligible to receive free land in Oregon.

Bush was so well liked and respected by his white fellow settlers that 55 of them asked the new Washington territorial legislature on March 1, 1854, to petition the United States Congress to exempt Bush from these provisions to the act:

"The Legislative Assembly of the Territory of Washington . . . would most respectfully represent unto your honorable body, that George Bush, a free mulatto, with his wife and children, emigrated to, and settled in, now Washington Territory, Thurston County, in the year 1845 . . ."

On February 10, 1855, the United States Congress passed a special act granting Bush his land claim. Bush neither denied nor challenged his description as a mulatto in these proceedings. It is clear that whatever the biological origins of George Bush might have been, legally his contemporaries considered him a black man, which meant that, in addition to the normal obstacles of frontier life, he would have to surmount the additional difficulties presented by the racial conventions of the 19th century.

When searching for the reason why a man like Bush, evidently with some economic and material comfort, a commodious family life and perhaps advanced age, would choose to tackle the Oregon Trail, his race may provide some insight. A descendant, Emma Belle Bush, told University of Washington graduate student Paul Thomas in a 1960s interview: "I am not sure why George came west in 1844. As far as I know, he was having a hard time in Missouri. People would not sell him anything because they said he was a Negro. That is probably one reason why he wanted to leave there," she said, adding that George was "the roving type of person."

TAKEN TOGETHER, THESE circumstances probably provided his main motivations. The trail outfit Bush assembled included six Conestoga wagons equipped with enough provisions for a year (according to John Minto); he also helped provision two other families for the trip—the Kindreds and the Joneses.

The train that these families joined was organized around the first of May 1844, about 30 miles west of St. Joseph, Missouri. It was commanded by Colonel Cornelius Gilliam and divided into four “companies.” The Bush group was in the company of Captain R. W. Morrison. The trip across the Oregon Trail itself was difficult—as it was for everyone—but in the context of that experience it was relatively uneventful. In December 1844 the group arrived at The Dalles. There they split up, with most members going on to Washougal, near Fort Vancouver, where they stayed through the summer of 1845. George Bush and the others wintered their livestock

Asahel Curtis photograph, 1909, titled simply, "Bush Place."
near The Dalles and brought them down to Washougal the following spring.

Prior to 1845 the prime location of American influence and settlement in the Oregon Country was the Willamette Valley, south of the Columbia River, with Oregon City as the focal point. The decision by Bush and the other members of his party to settle at Tumwater, north of the Columbia, was a significant departure from the usual pattern of American settlement.

Some historians suggest that this decision played a large part in the eventual British-American compromise that created the modern Canadian border and gained possession for America of the present-day state of Washington.

The presidential election of James Polk in 1844, with his "54-40 or Fight" slogan reflecting a strong desire by many Americans to acquire all of the Oregon Territory, provided the national political backdrop to these events. But it is also true that more local events and personal motives were at least part of that fateful decision to settle north of the Columbia. George Bush, a free mulatto, was traveling west at least in part to escape the stifling racial discriminations of the slave state of Missouri. For him, racial factors were an unavoidable consideration.

In June 1844, only months before Bush's arrival, the Oregon provisional government adopted the Black Exclusion Law—introduced by Missourian Peter Burnett, who had made the migration in 1843. This new law made it illegal for blacks to settle in Oregon Territory. Punishment for violation of this act was 39 lashes, delivered in a public whipping, repeatable every six months until the person departed.

Minto recalled a conversation on the trail in which Bush revealed his apprehensions about what awaited him in Oregon. "He told me he should watch, when we got to Oregon, what usage was awarded to people of color, and if he could not have a free man's rights he would seek the protection of the Mexican government in California or New Mexico."

When Bush reached Oregon and was confronted by Burnett's exclusion law, he was torn by an ironic dilemma. To achieve personal racial security he had to avoid American-controlled portions of Oregon. In 1845 that could be done by settling in the more tolerant regions under English control or by proceeding south into Spanish territory. To settle in the English regions might be self-defeating by contributing to the American acquisition of that area in the contest between England and America for ownership of Oregon. Eventually that could bring him once again under the jurisdiction and oppression of American racial dispositions. However uneasy he may have been about the possible consequences, Bush eventually chose the Tumwater option.

What was life like on the Tumwater frontier? What were the conditions at the early settlement? The first difficulty was getting there. To do so, it was necessary to travel the Columbia River by boat from Fort Vancouver, then go up the Cowlitz River and walk overland on mere foot trails. The approximately 100-mile trip took about 15 days.

The first years in Tumwater were very hard. The party arrived with only the material they could tie on the pack animals or carry themselves. The land was heavily forested, with no roads and little open ground. They had only very crude tools with which to clear the land for crops and construct shelters. In addition, they arrived at the onset of winter. According to Paul Thomas, the first homes were "crudely constructed shelters made of split logs" with bare earthen floors, no windows, and wood "shake" roofs. The beds were made of either planks or stretched animal skins and could accommodate four or five people. Reportedly, more than one family shared a cabin during that first winter.

In the early years settlers had five essential sources of food: the original supplies they brought with them from Fort Vancouver; the natural resources of the region, available through hunting, fishing, and gathering; supplies acquired from the HBC post at Fort Nisqually; provisions given by, traded for or bought from the local native population; and eventually the produce and products of their own developing farms.

Typical of early American settlers everywhere in Oregon, their early success was unlikely, or would have been very difficult, without the support and goodwill of Dr. John McLoughlin, chief factor of the HBC's Fort Vancouver. When they left Fort Vancouver in 1845 the pioneers carried with them a letter of "instruction" from McLoughlin to Dr. Tolmie (the chief factor at Fort Nisqually) to provision the settlers on credit with the supplies they would need.
John Bush, Oregon Trail pioneer and son of George Bush, in front of his Tumwater home, c. late 19th century.

Records indicate that "with it they obtained 200 bushels of wheat, 100 bushels of peas, 300 bushels of potatoes and 10 head of cattle."

These constituted the main elements of their diet that first winter. Records also indicate that the only members of the original party of settlers who did not draw upon this letter of credit from McLoughlin were the Bushes. This suggests that Bush had been able to pay cash for his needs and was better off than the other families at that time.

Food from the local Indian population was also important in those early years. Seafood, such as oysters, clams and salmon, came from native sources. The settlers also acknowledged that it was the native population from whom they learned what they could eat from the forests—things like fern roots, camas and other plants.

The settlers hunted a variety of game, including deer, elk, bear and waterfowl. Eventually they grew their initial crops of wheat, peas and potatoes, but the first yields were very small and most of it had to be saved for the next year's planting. Sarah McAllister, an early settler, recalled that it was nearly three years before they had bread from the wheat of their own land. But by 1850 the settlers had established themselves, and Bush's farm was prospering. That year his farm produced large crops of wheat, rye, oats, potatoes and hops. He also turned out large quantities of wool and butter.

An especially crucial and difficult problem for all settlers was the acquisition of domestic animals for their farms. The Bush family slowly accumulated the necessary stock from a wide variety of sources under difficult circumstances over a number of years. For example, in 1846 Bush took two weeks to ride to Cowlitz Prairie and return with a hen and a setting of eggs from Simon Plamondon, a friend and former French-Canadian HBC employee. Mrs. Bush, through hard work and personal diplomacy, secured the family turkey flock. Their first flock of sheep was acquired from HBC holdings at Fort Nisqually. In 1850 the farm was home to more than 100 horses, cattle, sheep and pigs and 10 oxen, altogether valued at over $2,000.

The protection and preservation of domestic stock in a frontier environment was an ongoing challenge. The dangers included theft by any variety of people as well as predation by the still-numerous bears and cougars in the area. Bush family tradition tells of a 200-pound cougar, or "tiger" as the boys called it, that they killed on the farm in the 1850s after it attacked one of their ponies.

The settlers also had difficulty acquiring many of the amenities of "civilized" life and other necessities of successful settlement. Lewis, the youngest son, was about 12 years old before he had his first pair of shoes. Presumably, he wore Indian-style footwear or went barefoot before that age.

Lewis (left) and Sanford Bush, two of George Bush's sons, on the old Bush farm.
There were other problems that made life on a frontier farm challenging and unpredictable. Weather, for example, could be as great a barrier to success or even survival as any factor on the frontier. Disease was a constant threat to settlers and natives alike. The Tumwater enclave faced a measles epidemic in the winter of 1847-48 and an outbreak of smallpox in 1853.

What developed in subsequent years into a significant concern was the relationship between the incoming American settlers and the resident native population. The Indians had been on good general terms with the HBC for years, and the relatively small number of early American settlers, like the Bush-Simmons group of 1845, did not seriously upset this equilibrium.

This is not to say that relations with the Indians were always smooth or that serious elements of danger did not exist in the early years. Sanford Bush, for example, recalled one occasion when two warring local tribes (with participants numbering in the hundreds) fought all day against each other on the Bush farm but refrained from attacking the settlers. By the 1850s, however, greater strains began to appear in the Indian-settler relationship, due mainly to pressures created by increased numbers of settlers occupying more and more land and thus removing it from traditional Indian uses. This culminated in the Indian War that broke out in 1855-56.

The Bush clan suffered no casualties during these difficulties. Nonetheless, it was not a time or place in which normal agricultural pursuits could be followed, and frontier farm life in the area was seriously disrupted. At one point the Bushes and their neighbors constructed a fort on the Bush homestead to provide protection. The conclusion of the war doomed the traditional life-style of the local tribes and opened the way for further settlement. Bush's prosperity continued to grow with the passing years. By 1860 his holdings had increased to 880 well-cultivated acres, making it one of the largest and most prosperous farms in Thurston County and the territory.

Life at Bush Prairie was not all danger and hard work. There were dances, parties, picnics, holiday celebrations and other joyful events that spiced the social life in the frontier settlement. The Bush homestead became famous for its hospitality and generosity by virtue of the family's treatment of travelers, strangers, visitors and any locals in need of a hot meal or warm bed. If success can be measured by the possession of material comfort, economic security and the love and respect of one's family, neighbors and contemporaries, then George Bush was a most successful pioneer. Just as he had done in overcoming the physical, emotional and environmental challenges presented by the trail and the western farming frontier, Bush was able to defeat the additional societal impediments created by racism.

Two of his most effective aspects were the nature of his personality and the great humanity of his character. In the memorial to Congress seeking to legitimize Bush's land claim in 1854, this testament to both qualities appeared: "He has contributed much towards the settlement of this territory, the suffering and needy never having applied to him in vain for succor and assistance. . . ."

The trail experience typically drained not only the immigrants' physical and emotional resources but also their economic resources. Most arrived at the end of the trail little able to self-supply or afford to purchase the material required to survive the first winter. Nor did many possess the necessities for getting in the all-important first crops the following spring. Many settlers in the area owed their success to George Bush. Ezra Meeker remarked on Bush's behavior in 1852-53 when the large number of new immigrants combined with a small local harvest to create a dangerous food crisis:

"The man divided out nearly his whole crop to new settlers who came with or without money. . . . 'Pay me in kind next year,' he would say to those in need; and to those who had money he would say, 'Don't take too much . . . just enough to do you'; and in this wise divided his large crop and became a benefactor to the whole community."

George Bush died on April 5, 1863. At the time of his death, the United States was consumed by a great internal military conflict that would dramatically revise the place and role of his race within its embrace. He lived long enough to witness the historic Emancipation Proclamation issued by President Lincoln in January 1863, but died before the Civil War ended and the new era of American race relations began.

It is not hard to imagine the satisfaction George Bush must have felt at the time in his life when he could look back on the wondrous role he had played in the seminal events of the 19th century and look forward to the new challenges and opportunities the coming years would offer his descendants and his race. Nor is it difficult to appreciate the legacy that a man with the abilities, character and humanity of George Bush bequeaths to us as we continue to struggle through our national evolution on today's racial frontier.

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IN 1931 HOOVERVILLE shacks were sprouting up near the railroad tracks in Seattle as desperate workers flocked to the city looking for jobs and Salvation Army volunteers ladled soup to the hungry. Photographer Chapin Bowen captured a different facet of the Depression with this portrait of two children gazing into a Tacoma department store window decorated for the Christmas holidays. Bowen titled the photo, “Mother says next year.”

Toys like those pictured above, and many more besides, are now on display through January 22, 1995, in the exhibit titled “Child’s Play: Amusements & Recreation, 1880-1950,” at the WSHS Museum in Tacoma.

The Historical Society gladly accepts donations of prints or negatives of regional historical interest to add to its photograph collection. (Please contact the Society before making donations.) Readers are invited to submit historical photographs for History Album. If a photograph is to be returned, it must be accompanied by a self-addressed, stamped envelope.
Mexicans were present in many of the western mining regions during the 18th century, yet outside of California our knowledge about this group's role in the early mining economies remains unclear. Rodman W. Paul, one of the foremost historians of the western mining frontier, writes that the history of special groups within the mining population of the West is just now developing. He states, "The Chinese and blacks have begun to receive the attention they deserve, [but] the consideration of the Spanish-speaking people, who were always in the mining regions in one capacity or another, has been scattered so thinly that it is hard to get a coherent understanding of what they did."

In the Pacific Northwest the Mexican mule pack system was critical in resolving transportation problems that held frontier development in check. In his early path-breaking study of Northwest mining, William J. Trimble wrote that all problems associated with the mining areas were small compared to that of transportation. Historians Merrill D. Beal and Merle W. Wells, agree that "no single factor played a more significant role in the development of Idaho than transportation."

Still other historians have stated that the study of the opening phases of the mining frontiers, in which the mule pack system marked the first steps, is essential to the proper understanding of overall western development. In the Pacific Northwest the pack train was a catalyst to economic growth because it served as the first dependable means of commercial land transportation. Years after the process of frontier settlement was already well under way, freight wagons and the railroads followed as an alternative means to move materials.

This topic is limited by insufficiently reliable or pertinent historical records, especially those pertaining to the Mexican element of the Northwestern mining population. Beyond newspapers and reminiscences of non-Mexicans, few other records are available. Newspapers are of limited value because they rarely gave attention in their pages to Mexicans and other nonwhite
groups. Personal accounts of the period tend to reduce the Spanish-speaking populations to stereotypes that provide little information for the historian.

Concerning this problem, one person reflected, “Although every ‘Greaser’ might in the Southwest live under his characteristic Spanish prenomen, Juan, or José or whatnot, he automatically became Mexican Joe for the purpose of the Northwest the instant he reached that section.” When first names often can be determined correctly, last names are nearly impossible because “most everybody was called by their first name in those days . . . or by a nickname.” In British Columbia, wrote another, “Men are not known by their real names. You inquire, as I have often, the name of someone, and nobody knows his name, only he is called so-and-so, of such-and-such area.”

The records of transportation history were ephemeral and not collected. Pack train owners in particular, unlike railroad or express companies, were more concerned with debit and credit ledgers and therefore did not keep permanent files on their employees. Moreover, territorial censuses contain only scant information about Mexicans; the shifting population of the period caused many persons to be overlooked.

The transient character of the general population and the short-lived mining companies in the Northwest, as in other areas that experienced similar rushes, also circumscribes this topic. For instance, Walla Walla consisted of seven buildings in 1859, but by 1870 the gold rush had transformed it into the largest city in Washington Territory. In Idaho Territory, Florence experienced such a sudden influx of miners that it also mushroomed into the largest town by 1870. Such growth was not long-lasting, however, because the miners and supporting population remained only long enough to extract the gold. Three years later few persons remained in Florence, and many of the vacant buildings had been dismantled for firewood.

The region’s cold climate made mining nearly impossible during the winter, further contributing to the transitory character of the population. Every year Walla Walla witnessed a ritual in which men leaving the Idaho and British Columbia mining districts passed through the city on their way to California. In the spring they returned to work their claims, repeating the cycle again the next winter.

Unlike other groups in the mining population, Mexicans generally did not settle permanently in large numbers after the mining activity had passed. Although the causes may not be the same, this tendency has already been noted in studies of California. There, Mexicans seldom established permanent residency because of legal and extralegal practices that encouraged them to leave. To a lesser extent, this was also true in the Northwestern mining areas.
Despite the need for additional information, it is clear that Mexicans introduced the mule pack train system of transportation to the present states of Oregon, Idaho, Washington, Montana and the province of British Columbia during two intermittent gold rushes. The first developed in the Fraser River and Cariboo areas of British Columbia between 1858 and 1860, while the second took place in eastern Oregon, Idaho and western Montana between 1858 and 1866. These discoveries, which coincided with the gradual decline of placer mining in California, caused miners to shift their attention from the Mother Lode to the Pacific Northwest. With the sudden influx of miners from California, a similarity in population, mining methods and institutions central to the mining economy developed between the Northwest and the Southwest. The mule pack train system was one of the institutions that arrived with the miners.

The mule pack system used in the region came directly from the Southwest and Mexico. It was essentially of Moorish design and had been introduced to the Americas from the Spanish region of Andalusia. By the 19th century the Mexicans had honed the system to a high level of sophistication, making it efficient and remarkably well suited to the demands of the Northwestern mining economies.

The Mexican mule, although poorly regarded by the uninformed, was the heart of the system. Unlike its biggerboned counterpart used as a draft animal in the eastern United States, the Mexican variety had been bred exclusively for pack services. Short in stature, between 11 and 13 hands high, and weighing from 700 to 800 pounds, the average animal could carry half its own weight or more on its back. “Pack mules carry the heaviest loads. I saw mules today packed with 400 pounds of goods,” remarked the bishop of British Columbia. This incredible strength, greater than that of the horse or ox, enabled mules to travel long distances and in areas where forage and water were scarce. Their physical ability and small hooves were well suited to the region’s rugged terrain, especially during the fall and winter months when rain and snow made the trails so muddy that transportation was impossible save by foot or pack train. At other times of the year the Mexican mule traveled well over the rock-strewn, dry, alkaline areas east of the Cascades.

Experienced packers valued these mules for other reasons, including an innate understanding described as a "native canniness—a combination of instinct, stubborn caution and intelligence which made them wary of precarious trials and impossible tasks." These qualities made the mules very much a part of the organization of the pack train. They were patient and obedient animals. “Never maltreat them, but govern them . . . with kindness, affection and caress, and you will be repaid by their docility and easy management,” advised another packer.

This remarkable blend of physical characteristics, stamina and intelligence made the Mexican mule a highly prized asset in the Northwest. Until they were bred locally, large numbers of mules were shipped or driven overland to the region from California and Sonora, Mexico, to as far north as British Columbia. In 1859 the Daily British Colonist urged miners to bring more pack animals for the Canadian mines.
because “one great drawback which is experienced both at Hope and Douglas is the want of mules to transport freight. . . . One thousand more mules than are now in the country could be profitably employed.” The Alta California likewise advised miners to include the purchase of good animals among their supplies before departing for Idaho’s Nez Perce mines. As a result, Mexican mules were used almost exclusively for carrying supplies throughout the region.

In addition to the mule itself, Northwestern equipment was patterned in every detail after that used in California and Mexico. The aparejo, or pack saddle, was the central piece of gear, and experienced Northwestern packers selected it over other systems. The superiority of the aparejo, especially over the crosstree method of packing, stemmed from its capacity to carry heavy, odd-sized items safely over long distances without injuring the animal. The crosstree, in contrast, was limited to light non-bulky loads and subject to breakage that rendered it useless.

The aparejo consisted of two leather bags stuffed with dried grass, or “aparejo hay,” and joined at the top to form an arch or gable. It was designed to resist condensation and distribute the weight over the mule’s rib cage and away from its back. Northwestern packers modified the method slightly by substituting moss inside the saddle. The crosstree, in contrast, was limited to light non-bulky loads and subject to breakage that rendered it useless.

In addition to the equipment, much of the work-related terminology and many packing expressions were Spanish. Mexican packers themselves introduced the language of the trade into the region. Later, English-speaking packers adopted much of the Spanish vocabulary. Some words, such as patrón, which was pronounced “patrone,” or manta, which became “manto,” varied little from the original. Other terms, such as corona, which changed to “caronie,” were nearly corrupted beyond recognition by improper pronunciation.

By themselves the mules and equipment were of little value without men skilled in the trade. For this reason experienced Mexican mule skinners were always in demand as craftsmen and commanded high wages by the standards of the time. Packmasters, who were knowledgeable and chiefly responsible for all aspects of the train, earned as much as $150 per month. Those packers who loaded and off-loaded the animals received monthly wages between $100 and $120.

As a prerequisite to employment, the men had to know how to properly secure a load with intricate knots, splices and hitches. They were also expected to act as veterinarians and blacksmiths and had to be capable of estimating, using intuition alone, the safe carrying capacity of a mule.

On the trail a seasoned packer needed to spot and treat an animal suffering from an improperly balanced load without detaining the others. They also had to govern the length of the day’s trip so as to stop at some meadow or creek bottom that would provide good grass for the animals. Packing required a skill that could only be mastered after long experience. The bishop of British Columbia summed up the situation best when he wrote, “There is a great art in packing.”

The early mining economies were complex and placed rigorous demands on the packers and their mules. Many mining camps developed quickly into towns as professional restauranteurs, merchants, sharpers, lawyers and prostitutes arrived on the heels of the first miners. Iron safes, billiard tables, kegs of whiskey, quartz mills, burial caskets, pianos, as well as food, were items that ordinarily went by mule. On one occasion packers even loaded a single animal with a steel casting weighing 667 pounds for a trip from Walla Walla to the mines. In light of these requirements, those men had to be hardy, strong and resourceful. “Having to lift heavy weights sheer from the ground onto the pack saddle, ‘packers’ are very
muscular men, with grand chests and shoulders," wrote an observer. "They have also many savage accomplishments: are good farriers, can accomplish marvels with the axe, a screw key and a young sapling for a lever."

In general a packer’s day started well before sunrise in order for the mules to travel approximately 15 miles in a 12-hour period. During the winter the men risked becoming disoriented in blinding snow and endured much hardship as temperatures dropped to between zero and thirty below. The intense summer heat and wind common in some areas of the Northwest also posed special problems. At Lewiston, packers were on alert during the frequent Chinook windstorms because “both men and pack mules would have to hunt some kind of windbreak or else take a serious risk of having their eyesight cut out by the sharp sand.”

The trail posed other dangers. Although authorities kept criminal activity in check in most of the Pacific Northwest, packers were sometimes robbed of the gold or money they carried. In October 1861, for instance, Hypolito [Hipolito, last name unknown], the owner of a large pack train, was murdered along the trail in Washington Territory. Packers also became caught in the middle of skirmishes between settlers and the Indian population. In southern Oregon during the Rogue River Indian Wars of 1852 and 1855, several Mexican packers traveling in the area were reported killed.

In short, the hazards and duties associated with the packing business required men with skill and courage but with “honesty” as well. In British Columbia, for example, a merchant purchased a pack train which cost $10,000, started for the diggings leaving the whole thing in the hands of a cargadoro [cargador] as I had some business on the way to Lillooet. I left him to proceed on his journey and I would follow at my convenience....” Integrity was not always found among the opportunistic and adventurous mining population; individuals who had this quality plus experience with pack trains were rarer yet. Therefore, Northwestern operators sought out experienced men in California and Mexico.

A packer in Washington and Idaho territories noted, “Quite a few of our packers were Mexicans, brought up from California, and employed on account of this special skill in such work.” Because “Americans” were more interested in mining, they seldom sought out jobs loading the trains. As a result, the majority of packers throughout the Pacific Northwest were Mexicans.

Newly settled mining districts had a critical need for food supplies and other necessities. Beginning in the 1850s, mule trains that had operated in northern California began to operate across the Siskiyou’s into the new mining areas of southern Oregon. Farther north, the Columbia and Fraser rivers permitted boats, especially after steam engines were put to use, to link the mines directly with the peripheral supply depots at Walla Walla, The Dalles and others in British Columbia. But on land, even along the easiest gradient, mules carried most supplies to the Idaho and Canadian mines until the construction of roads permitted limited use of wagons.

Even after the development of roads, pack trains continued to supply the mines because rugged terrain and poor construction often made these routes little more than trails. The Mullan Road, built by the federal government to link Walla Walla and Fort Benton, Montana, on the Missouri River, was barely adequate when completed in 1863. At that time mule trains continued to carry nearly all the freight on the route, and two years later the Oregonian reported that it was still only passable by wagon four months out of the year.

In British Columbia roads were also of limited value for wagons. The Cariboo Wagon Road, the major passage into the interior, was not completed by the Royal Engineers until 1865, when the gold rush had already begun to decline. In the interim years pack trains were the only reliable means of delivering high volumes of supplies to the mines. A traveler described the route from Yale to the Cariboo: “Instead of it being a level road,” he wrote, “they had a rough mountain trail to follow, if it could be called a trail; up precipitous sides, over morasses... the road was so steep that a mule or horse could barely secure a footing.”

Given wagons’ limited value on these early routes, pack trains were critical to commerce in the expanding mining economies. Road conditions and inclement weather notwithstanding, communities relied on a well-organized and regular method of
obtaining supplies. For this reason alone, mule pack trains provided a service that no other mode of transportation could have performed at the time.

From the scant evidence available it is clear that Mexicans packed supplies to every corner of the region. Commencing in the 1850s, they began to establish routes from northern California to as far as the Illinois Valley of southern Oregon. For the most part, however, they were concentrated in British Columbia and the Walla Walla and northern Idaho areas.

Mexicans worked throughout the British Columbian mining districts. They were especially numerous in Victoria, the hub of all activity in the early years of the Canadian gold rush. As testimony to their presence, Spanish was commonly spoken in the city's streets, and Mexican peso and half-peso coins circulated widely. By 1859 New Westminster and other places on the mainland gradually replaced Victoria's preeminence as the mining population headed to the interior.

An Idaho pack mule train about to get under way.

Along the route from New Westminster to the mining area, Hope, Yale, Lillooet, Port Douglas and other communities had a diversity of nationalities, including Mexicans. Hope, according to an eyewitness, was a major staging point for Mexican packers engaged in transporting supplies to the upper Fraser, Similkameen and Kootenay mines. “Aparejos and pack saddles innumerable were piled outside the different buildings...” she wrote. “Sometimes there would be a grand stampede and the pack trains would disrupt, horses [mules] and men could be seen though a misty cloud of dust, madly dashing all over the slope flat. Lassos flying, dogs barking, hens flying for safety everywhere.”

Pack trains served as the lifeline between Yale and merchants in the interior. In 1868 the Examiner estimated that in one week Yale packers had transported 80 tons of merchandise to them. The need for supplies was obvious to this critical observer:

With the influx of immigrants came also the demand for supplies of food, and as nothing but fish or game could be had, of necessity, with these exceptions, every article of food, whether necessaries or luxuries, had to be brought from abroad. The search for gold has, during the four years past, occupied industry entirely. Only a few very few persons have engaged in agriculture; so few indeed, that the total value of agriculture produce for 1861 cannot exceed $20,000.

At nearby Port Douglas the level of packing activity was similar. That same year 14 percent of the town's residents were “Mexican and Spanish,” and many undoubtedly were packers. This was probably also true in other small packing communities.

As in the Southwest, the pack train's success quickly became legendary in western Canada. James Douglas, the provincial governor of British Columbia, was impressed that mules could carry 200 pounds or more and “go all day without food.” He considered them an excellent investment and dispatched buyers to California to purchase additional stock for official use in the province.

A report by the deputy collector of customs at Port Angeles, Washington, indicates the number of pack animals working in Canada. It estimates that during 1868 1,132 mules, valued at
$113,000, traveled overland from The Dalles to the British Columbia mines.

Mules also served elsewhere in the Northwest, especially at The Dalles, Lewiston and Walla Walla. These towns, like those in British Columbia, had a similar mix of nationalities and cultures and were the base of operations for the trains supplying the Canadian, Idaho and Montana mines.

In 1862 the San Francisco Bulletin described The Dalles as an index of the population in the Northwestern country comprised of "Saxon, Celt, Teuton, Gaul, Greaser [Mexican], Celestial and Indian" peoples. The town, estimated to have 1,000 inhabitants by the Daily Oregonian, was "variegated and wide-awake" with packers and miners heading out in many directions. In 1858 a party of 300 miners left The Dalles via Fort Simcoe and Yakima for the Fraser River mines of British Columbia; it included several Mexican pack trains loaded with groceries, liquors, blacksmith tools, and stocks of steel and iron.

Walla Walla also served as an entrepot for Mexicans supplying the distant camps. The town, teeming with merchants, miners and packers, resembled Sacramento during the flood tide of the California gold rush. Along Main Street the hitching rails stood half chewed by the scores of mules that were virtually everywhere. During the winter and spring the heavy human and animal traffic along the town's central business district produced a sea of mud, bringing everything to a standstill. Packers, using 6,000 animals, transported an estimated 5,000 tons of materials out of Walla Walla during an 11-month period in 1862. "Many of the packers were Mexican."

Further testimony to the presence of Mexicans in Walla Walla is provided by local newspapers that regularly printed the names of persons with mail to pick up at the Wells Fargo Express office. Among those individuals listed in 1862 were Federico de la Rosa, Don Sr. Reyes Rivas and José Manuel Victorino, presumably all packers.

Mexicans and their animals also congregated in other towns, such as Lewiston, strategically located along the trade routes to the interior. In 1862 Lewiston was a bustling community with a population of nearly 1,000 persons. The San Francisco Bulletin counted 91 businesses, including "two express offices, two newspaper depots, three drugstores, two jewelry stores, seven attorneys, nine doctors, six hotels, 25 liquor saloons, ten gambling establishments and 20 places whose names might put the paper to blush."

The newspaper's correspondent estimated that weekly aggregate sales amounted to between $150,000 and $200,000. Since Lewiston and the immediate area produced nothing, packers were indispensable to the town's commerce because, as one writer pointed out, "The Idaho country was even more dependent upon other regions for supplies than California had been ten years before. There were no settlements of any kind, and every ounce of flour and bacon had to be brought up the Columbia River to Wallula, the river landing for Walla Walla, and then packed in by mule train or on the backs of the miners themselves."

A traveler provided a different look at the volume of business conducted by Lewiston merchants. In 1862, when she arrived at "Craigslist at Lewiston, we found 500 men and much freight and hundreds of mules waiting to cross over to the town. We were told that we must wait a week for our turn."

Mexicans were a key element in Lewiston's business community, especially in the firm of Grostein and Binnard, one of the largest pack train carriers in the Pacific Northwest and owned by two Poles, Milford Binnard and Robert Grostein. However, Mexican "associates" such as Camilo [Camilo] Urzina, age 42, and Ignacio Romero, age 32, actually operated the trains.

Several other important Lewiston-based commercial houses employed Mexicans in one capacity or another. However, in contrast to the Southwest, few Mexicans in the Northwest owned trains. Ramón Resse [Ruiz], age 52, who operated as an independent carrier, for example, was a rare exception. The majority never managed to accumulate the necessary capital to purchase an outfit. Lewiston packers Antonio Yáñez, age 18, Leandro Teodoso, age 55, and José Montejo, age 53, all continued as hired hands until the mule trains were replaced by freight wagons.

The scale of packing activity in British Columbia, Washington and Idaho suggests that the mule trains and their Mexican operators were part of a significant commercial venture on the developing frontier. The pack train itself required a sizable capital investment that excluded most individuals, especially the Mexicans, from ownership. Until ranchers began to breed stock locally, "good mules" sold for as high as $400 each in Walla Walla, making them valuable and closely guarded property. Under such circumstances even military animals were not always safe. In January 1863 the army reported 70 mules, worth between $14,000 and $17,000, stolen from Fort Walla Walla. The San Francisco Bulletin commented, "It is dangerous to be safe" in Lewiston, and, "If you have a mule you must take it to bed with you." Nearer to California, in Jacksonville, Oregon, animals were not as valuable: they were more plentiful and could be purchased for half as much.

In addition to the value of the animals, the equipment (aparejo, corona, etc.) cost approximately $80 per mule. Therefore, the purchase of a fully equipped pack train of 25 mules, excluding the value of the cargo and the packers' salaries, required an initial outlay of as much as $12,000.

The amount and value of the freight moved by the mule trains further illustrates that packing was incipient capitalism at work. Firms advertised in newspapers promising timely delivery of large volumes of supplies to distant locations. E. T. Dodge and Company, of Port Douglas and Lillooet, advertised...
in the British Colonist that it was capable of shipping as much as 250 tons of goods per month. Similar notices appeared in the Walla Walla Statesman and other newspapers.

Goods delivered by pack train exhibited high and unstable prices because they generally passed though a chain of middlemen before reaching the trains. At the point of delivery the mule operator, guided by the "universal custom" of doubling the original price, then sold to the consumer. In British Columbia, for example, a speculator could purchase $15,000 worth of merchandise in Victoria and sell it in the Cariboo for $70,000.

One person characterized mining as an activity in which the men involved in commerce with the mines, not the miners, were the ones who made the fortunes. The high value of supplies meant that a pack train, once in the market area, was worth a considerable amount of money. At 1862 prices, the five tons of flour carried by a 25-mule train was worth $10,000 upon arrival at Lewiston. When the investment in the animals and equipment was added to the cargo, the train's value would have been an impressive $22,000. That same year, just 30 miles away at Orofino, the price of tobacco and bacon was ten times the price of flour.

As businessmen, pack train owners kept a constant watch on prices at the mines, which normally increased in the winter when travel was difficult and fell during the summer months. The law of supply and demand was simple because, as an observer commented, as long as there were miners the need for supplies was constant because "miners must eat and drink to live." Any delay of the train along the route or an influx of additional miners in one area could cause prices to soar instantly. Accordingly, pack train operators took steps to guarantee quick delivery of all types of cargo to the shelves of waiting merchants anywhere in the region.

The inextricable link between pack trains and mining towns suggests that this former institution was a vital part of the early Northwestern mining economy. Even though mule transportation may seem slow and antiquated by today's standards, to the people that depended on it, such technology represented a sign of progress on the early frontier. One turn-of-the-century historian described the packers as enterprising men and an important social element in the borderlands. But they served as more than a catalyst for economic growth; they also participated in the actual settlement of the region.

In British Columbia Mexican packers became permanent and respected residents once their livelihood ceased to be profitable. For example, Jesús García went to Canada via Sonora and California in the 1860s. After many years of transporting stores to the interior, García settled with his family in the Nicola Valley. In 1871 he preempted 323 acres and built a home in Merritt. When he died in 1916 his estate was worth an estimated $100,000 and included several thousand acres of land. García is remembered in that area as a pioneer and civic leader and is honored by a street bearing his name.

Like García, Manuel Barceló, another Canadian pioneer, was also Mexican-born. During California's gold rush he drove a herd of cattle overland from Texas and then moved to British Columbia. Barceló spent many years as an employee of the Hudson's Bay Company, packing from Fort Hope to Similkameen and Kootenay until 1873. He then preempted and settled on 300 acres near Cawston in the Nicola Valley. He constructed and operated the area's first flour mill.

Jesús K. Urquides, born in Sonora of Mexican parents, was representative of Idaho's Spanish-speaking community. He emigrated to California during that state's gold rush and then moved to Walla Walla in 1863. One year later Urquides began a successful lifelong career as an independent packer in Boise. He transported everything, including whiskey, stamp mills and ammunition for the military. Like operators in other parts of the country, Urquides carried rails for the construction of the areas' first railroads, which eventually sealed the muleteers' fate. In his own way, Urquides helped initiate the early development of Idaho. He was not alone. The 1880 federal census for the Idaho territory lists many other Mexicans who continued to reside in Lewiston and other communities after the high point of packing had passed.

Although several histories of transportation and frontier development in the Pacific Northwest have been written, they have overlooked or treated too superficially the Mexican presence. It is true that not all packers in the Pacific Northwest were Mexican, nor did they all remain in the region after commercial packing ended. However, because of their long experience and special skills in operating trains in California and Mexico, Mexicans migrated to the Northwest and proved to be instrumental in establishing the first successful commercial land transport system there.

Even when Mexicans were not directly involved in transportation, their particular skills, knowledge, equipment and language of the trade had an undisputable effect on the early stages of frontier development. They were men of courage, endurance and expertise—genuine pioneers by any standard—and they responded to the challenges of their day by setting the wheels of progress in motion in the Pacific Northwest.

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EDITOR'S NOTE
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Lewis & Clark's Water Route TO THE Northwest

The Exploration That Finally Laid to Rest the Myth of a Northwest Passage

BY MERLE WELLS

Discovery of an overland water route to Puget Sound or the mouth of the Columbia River kept several prominent explorers—Alexander Mackenzie, Lewis and Clark, and David Thompson—busy for more than two decades beginning in 1789. Although Samuel Hearne's Coppermine River exploration in northern Canada had totally discredited any possibility of an Arctic Ocean commercial route by 1772, interest in some kind of Northwest Passage from Europe to Asia survived for another generation. Searches for an interior water route across North America continued until Lewis and Clark returned to St. Louis in 1806. At last they could report with complete assurance that any further hunt for an upper Missouri portage to any upper Columbia destination would prove unproductive.

With their negative disclosure, Lewis and Clark had accomplished their primary purpose, in a reverse sort of way. Thomas Jefferson's instructions required them to ascertain where navigation of the Missouri and Columbia rivers converged in a
(presumed) short, convenient portage. Their industrious pursuit of a good transcontinental water route had directed their entire expedition along an ultimately impracticable line. In so doing they removed all chance of finding a workable transcontinental line. In sum, the vaunted Lewis and Clark expedition had been unknowingly designed for failure.

Nevertheless Lewis and Clark certainly succeeded in defining what was needed for transcontinental travel westward to Pacific Ocean ports. Rather than a riverine passage, an acceptable overland road would become essential. Again, this was precisely what their explicit instructions, focused on an imaginary boat passage, had prevented them from finding.

Upper Missouri exploration had attracted Lewis for a great many years, so any opportunity to gain United States government funding for such an enterprise was more than welcome. His long-term objective had been to ascend the Missouri River drainage to its western source. President Thomas Jefferson, who had inspired Lewis to such an overwhelming ambition, insisted that scouting out western Missouri navigable waters (and their Columbia contact) should control all route decisions. Considering that Lewis had shown less than total enthusiasm for turning up an imaginary Missouri-Columbia ship canal, he may have had more than a slight suspicion that such a project was dubious, at best.

A decade before Lewis set out, Alexander Mackenzie had completed a much more difficult task of transcontinental exploration farther north. He had to cover a great deal more distance before he located an impractical route. Mackenzie's extension of Canadian exploration had led to some very interesting findings.

This drawing of a white salmon trout, or coho salmon, along with its detailed description, occupies a whole page in Clark's diary entry of March 16, 1806.
In 1789 Mackenzie descended a truly impressive northern river that went on a lot farther than he preferred to go. In his search for a Pacific coastal port in a region (modern British Columbia) that Captain James Cook had already examined, Mackenzie noticed that he was getting very much farther to the West without having struck salt water. That was a bad sign. He also noticed that he had reached a land of perpetual summer sunshine—even at midnight—so he could no longer take astronomical observations of stars to tell just exactly how far west he was getting. His Mackenzie River system, with a total length of 2,635 miles, terminated in an Arctic outlet too far west to do him any good.

Four years later Mackenzie returned to explore an obscure river connection (later named for Simon Fraser) to his Mackenzie system. That drainage would have taken him to an ocean outlet more to his liking, but the Fraser River descended through a frightful canyon. Following sound advice from his Indian consultants, he cut directly westward overland to the coast rather than follow the Fraser River south to its mouth. In this fashion Mackenzie proved that no practicable water route for transcontinental traffic existed north of a Columbia River outlet, where its existence had been suspected since 1775.

Long before Mackenzie's venture, Coronado and his followers noticed that, aside from lacking seven cities of gold, Kansas did not offer convenient river approaches to Pacific destinations. These findings left no option, aside from upper Missouri possibilities that Jefferson sought to pursue. Even there, French exploration had already cast doubt on the chances of finding a viable river access to a good western river drainage. French fur hunters had discovered in 1742 that powerful bands of the Snake tribe controlled access to much of that land. Anyone wanting to continue west of the divide needed assistance and guidance from that group. The Snake Indians were Sacajawea's people, and she happened to know just how easy a time they would have paddling boats over Lemhi Pass. So Lewis and Clark consulted further with Sacajawea's Snake band concerning their objective.

Many Boise Shoshoni moved over a lot of territory after they had found as good a transcontinental route as they could have, their failure resulting from their inability to move their river expedition fast enough to get through to a superior route in time to use it.

Another more difficult problem with any upper Missouri route did not escape Lewis's attention. Blackfoot resistance to any intruders—a point that gained notice in his accounts—made that route impractical for early trappers anyway. So, together with important geography lessons, Lewis and Clark learned some disappointing information about Indians that fur hunters soon confirmed. Altogether, their claim that they had disclosed as good a route as geography allowed—even though

[Lewis and Clark's] industrious pursuit of a good transcontinental water route had directed their entire expedition along an ultimately impracticable line.

Jefferson, Lewis and Clark, and their journal editors clearly followed a wise course in not overemphasizing any search for a fictitious Rocky Mountain water crossing. Hardly anyone would have been attracted to that kind of approach anyway. In evaluating Lewis and Clark's exploration, which undoubtedly has provided a national treasure of ethnological and other scientific information, an allowance must be made for their attempt to follow a water route. But misdirected wandering is inherent in any genuine exploration through difficult country. If they had been lucky enough to learn that they should have left the Missouri route near present-day Helena, they could have gone directly to Missoula and anticipated David Thompson's practical and more advantageous Pend d'Oreille course. Saving a lot of time, they could have realized a more useful objective than the Lolo Trail. Returning to St. Louis many months earlier, they would have omitted a thousand miles or more of exploration. However, in return for hearing about a much better route two years sooner, those who benefited from their eventual reports would have learned a great deal less about many interesting western areas.

As matters worked out, Thompson discovered a way to get through northern Idaho's rugged terrain within four years of Lewis and Clark's misfortune. Stuart followed by finding South Pass and passage through southern Idaho in 1812. Satisfactory routes for commerce and emigrant traffic from St. Louis and Missouri River terminals to Washington that had eluded Lewis and Clark thus were discovered long before they came into general use. Even so, a great deal of other useful information came from Lewis and Clark's transcontinental exploit.

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JOSEF SCAYLEA'S career in photography has spanned nearly 60 years. A lot can happen in 60 years; in fact, an experienced photographer like Scaylea will tell you that a lot can happen in 60 seconds or less! A perfect photograph can disappear in the blink of an eye, the tilt of a face away from the camera, or the slightest movement of light on rippling water. These are moments noticed and considered by an artist's finely tuned eye. When an image everlasting can be created on film in 1/500th of a second, such moments are crucial.

Having grown up on a farm in Connecticut, Scaylea was convinced that there must be an easier way to make a living than the way his parents did it. He first became interested in photography as a way to capture the beauty of the New England countryside. "I was inspired by this beauty," he said, "and I thought, what to do about this? Suddenly, photography came to mind. I sold my first published picture in 1934 to the Roto section of the Hartford Courant for three dollars and a big credit line. . . . That's when the bug hit me. . . . I was soon doing work for the State of Connecticut. . . . then Life. . . . and Look magazines."

Scaylea's life was drastically changed when America entered World War II in 1941. He served in the Army Air Force and did aerial reconnaissance photography in the South Pacific. While stationed in the Pacific Northwest in 1942, he impressed the editors at the Seattle Times with his photographic skills. After World War II, he went back to Connecticut for a time but found he preferred the Pacific Northwest. In 1947 he returned to Connecticut.

ABOVE LEFT: Josef Scaylea.
OPPOSITE: "And This, My Son, is Man...," 1972. Doe and fawn, Renton, King County.
In 1993 Josef Scaylea donated over 350 of his original photographs to the Museum of History and Industry (MOHAI) in Seattle. From this collection, MOHAI produced the award-winning exhibit “Josef Scaylea: Our Northwest.” A portion of that exhibit will be on view at the Washington State Historical Society Museum through February 26, 1995. This specially edited selection of 45 photographs from “Our Northwest” is available to venues throughout the region. A condensed version is on view at the Governor’s Mansion in Olympia through mid 1995. For more information, call MOHAI, 206/324-1126, or the WSHS Museum, 206/593-2830.

Scaylea’s working methods were unique for his time. He knew what he wanted and how to get it. In less than three years he was promoted to chief photographer. He was given great freedom by most of his editors and took full advantage of the opportunities available to him.

“The Rock Island Dam fascinated me,” Scaylea recalled. “I was there with a reporter, Lucile McDonald, and said I gotta get a picture. She said ‘we’re late for our appointment.’ We were on an assignment to cover a lady in Wenatchee who had a hobby of carving peach pits into little sculptures, so I said, well, I’ll only be a few minutes... I was there about an hour, the light had to be just right, and she was one furious reporter. ... I wasn’t easy to work with, believe me! ... When you see a good subject, you’d better get it ... it may not be there the next time around or you may not have the same feeling for it.”

Scaylea relished the fact that he was not tied to a desk. Jim King recalled how everybody around the newsroom used to say, “Where is Joe?” "Has any-
ABOVE LEFT: Mary Kiona, a Cowlitz Indian, was 107 years old when this photo was taken in 1957.


LEFT: Seattle's Skid Row, 1957.

body seen Joe? ‘I haven't seen him for weeks!’ He was the first photographer I knew who had the freedom of time . . . and an understanding by editors, some of whom are difficult to convince, that this is what Joe needed and this is what the newspaper needed: give him the time to get the picture he's after.”

“Joe was energized,” said Emmett Watson, longtime respected columnist for both the Seattle Times and the Seattle Post-Intelligencer. “Joe was basically an artist . . . a producer; he really did work. You can't complain if a man's producing; it isn't like they're turning
Regarding recurrent themes in his work, Josef Scaylea asserts that he has taken thousands of photographs of “subjects that had meaning 100 years ago and will have meaning as long as there is life on earth.” The persistence and stubbornly positive attitude of this unique photographer have carried him far during his lengthy career. He steadfastly continues to take photographs in the pictorial tradition. He focuses on archetypes and thus offers his audience the comfort of continuity and the reassurance of timeless beauty.

Yet, this artist with an eye for immortality is keenly aware of the rapid, inexorable pace of change in his beloved Northwest. Sometimes, he says, “progress destroys the great subjects.”

We people have the power to make choices, though we often struggle with those decisions and are occasionally humbled by the sometimes volcanic power of our Northwest environment. But we must make our choices wisely, for as Josef Scaylea’s work shows us, the changes in just one lifetime can be of dramatic and profound consequence.

Howard Giske has been professionally involved in photography since 1969. He is currently Curator of Photography at the Museum of History and Industry in Seattle.
MOUNT TACOMA will be the skiing center of America in five years and one of the outstanding spots for the sport in the world in a decade." So trumpeted the Tacoma News Tribune at the conclusion of the United States Olympic Trials and National Championships in April 1935. Although the events, injuries, winners and losers had made the headlines for days, the newspaper carefully avoided referring to the mountain in Rainier National Park as Mount Rainier, even though the United States Board on Geographic Names had officially recognized the name of Mount Rainier in 1917. Old habits die hard!
The Snoqualmie Indians as Hop Pickers

Hop harvesting was a family affair among the Indians, with fathers cutting down the vines, mothers picking the pods and children assisting according to their abilities.

Puget Sound Indians Discovered Seasonal Farm Work as a Means of Striking a Balance with Changing Times
During the period of white settlement, Indians in the Puget Sound region faced serious threats to their survival. Not only were their settlements usurped, but their traditional forest and prairie resources were gradually diminished by the encroachment of the whites. This predicament was especially dire for such "off reservation and landless Indians" as the Snoqualmie Tribe.

Ironically and fortuitously, the settlers' enterprises provided the Indians with essential supplements to their dwindling traditional economy. Whites looking for a cheap and plentiful labor supply employed Indians in logging and agriculture. The Indians, while continuing to hunt, fish and gather as much as their curtailed circumstances would allow, were able to earn wages through work in the sawmills and on the farms of their new neighbors.

As early as the 1840s, with the Puget Sound Agricultural Company and other experiments of the Hudson's Bay Company, Indian workers were used in farming with varying degrees of success. Some found it difficult to adapt to totally foreign tasks and, at that time, lacked economically compelling reasons to do so. However, with the passing of the years and the influx of substantial numbers of settlers drawn to donation land claims, Indians of necessity became more eager to supplement their livelihood with wages from white agriculture, and the settlers increasingly depended on Indian labor. Nowhere was this symbiosis more evident than in the involvement of Indians with the hop farming industry in the Puget Sound area. Although local tribes as well as Indians from other parts of the Northwest were involved in hop work, the focus here is on the Snoqualsmes.

The beginnings of hop growing at Issaquah in the 1860s contributed to what Clarence Bagley referred to as the Puget Sound "hop craze" of the 1880s and 1890s, making western Washington one of the major hop growing and exporting regions of the world. The Snoqualmie, Issaquah, Puyallup, Auburn and Kent areas were the center of hop production until the local industry failed in the late 1890s. From its conception to its demise, the success of the hop-growing industry depended in part on Indian labor, particularly that of the Snoqualsmes.

In order to trace this development, it is helpful to review the traditional life of the Snoqualmie people who inhabited the Snoqualmie River valley between the present cities of Monroe and North Bend. They lived in community longhouses approximately 100 to 150 by 50 feet, constructed of large cedar logs used for posts and rafters and split cedar boards for walls and roofs. From 50 to 100 individuals inhabited these community households, with one or more longhouses comprising a Snoqualmie settlement. Each community included a five- to ten-acre garden for raising camas bulbs, a staple food that potatoes, introduced by European traders, later replaced.

As white settlers moved into the area, they coveted the spacious clearings of the Snoqualmie settlements and...
Many Snoqualmies became increasingly dependent on the seasonal field work to supplement what they were able to garner from their traditional hunting, fishing and gathering.

It was much easier to force the Indians off the land than it was to clear the virgin forest for farms. Protected by the presence of a small but powerful show of soldiers and gunboats on Puget Sound, settlers were able to frighten local Indians from their aboriginal villages. The displaced Indians could only watch as their homes, tools, weapons, food supplies and ceremonial artifacts went up in smoke. Devastated by diseases, alcohol, war and now loss of property, the Snoqualmies became refugees.

Watson Martin, an aged Snoqualmie leader who remembered this period from his childhood, testified in a legal deposition in 1927, "We were just tramping around; we didn't know where to go." When burned out of their longhouses, they loaded up their traditional portable summer cattail mat houses and settled wherever they could find food and work. Some migrated east of the mountains; some drifted into white settlements; some remained in isolated pockets on their aboriginal land. Many eventually formed entirely new settlements as they sought alternate modes of survival.

A few years after settlement of the Snoqualmie Valley, whites began to move into the Issaquah Valley and to clear the forest for agriculture, principally with the idea of establishing hop farms. Some of these early farming families, such as Jack Bush, George Tibbetts, Laush Wold and Bob Wilson, hired local Snoqualmie Indians to clear the land for their proposed hop plantations. Later, these farmers depended on the same Indians to assist in the labor-intensive growing and harvesting of the hop crop and continued to employ them for the next three decades. In turn, as subsistence resources decreased, many Snoqualmies became increasingly dependent on the seasonal field work to supplement what they were able to garner from their traditional hunting, fishing and gathering. The wages they earned enabled them to buy staples such as sugar, flour and coffee, and tools such as steel knives, saws, axes and traps. They were also able to continue such traditional cultural activities as potlatching and bone gambling games.

The need to be closer to the hop farms led several Snoqualmie families to move to the eastern shores of Lake Sammamish, settling along the small streams that emptied into the lake—ready sources of fresh water and fish. Here they constructed small single-family homes with hand-hewn timbers and dirt floors. They later added a large ceremonial longhouse into which they moved for four to six weeks in the winter to hold religious observances and conduct tribal affairs. Because the Euro-Americans' contagious diseases had previously spread unchecked among the extended families living in long-
All members of an Indian family, starting at about five years of age, participated in the hop harvest. Babies strapped on cradle boards accompanied their mothers to the fields...

houses, this longhouse was not used as a year-round communal dwelling.

Bessie Craine, a local Issaquah historian, refers to this lakeside settlement, unprepossessing even by pioneer standards, as the “shacks and hovels at the head of the lake.” Because the Snoqualmies had made their annual fishing trips to the lake and had hunted and foraged in the surrounding area long before the arrival of the Europeans, it was easy for them to combine their traditional food ways with work on the hop farms. Thus the Lake Sammamish Snoqualmie community was able to survive for several decades, sandwiched between the relatively untouched lakeshore and the increasingly settled Issaquah Valley, because they devised a workable balance between traditional subsistence, intensive gardening and seasonal hop work.

By 1868 the Lake Sammamish Snoqualmies were well established in the hop fields a short distance from their new village, managing their time so as to integrate the farm work into their subsistence cycle. In the spring men plowed the fields while women cut the hop roots apart and planted the cuttings. During the summer men hoed the hop plants while women tied them up and started the runners up the poles. At harvest time the whole family picked the hops into cedar baskets woven by the women. Men did as little picking as possible, preferring to pull down the hop poles so the pickers could reach the pods, carry the baskets to the hop sheds and box the hops.

A visit to the large Snoqualmie Hop Ranch proved to be a scenic outing in the Cascades, with first hand participation in farm life, nature trails and fishing excursions.

All members of an Indian family, starting at about five years of age, participated in the hop harvest. Babies strapped on cradle boards accompanied their mothers to the fields and were seldom removed from the cradle boards during working hours, even for nursing. With a pointed stick fastened to the bottom, the cradle board could be stuck upright into the ground, enabling the mother to squat down beside the child to nurse.

The largest farm, owned by Peter and Laush Wold, had 50 acres under hop cultivation, just southeast of where the Issa-
quah Shopping Center now stands. The valley crop was taken by boat to Lake Union, thence by ship to San Francisco where much of it was exported to supply British breweries.

Eventually the need for labor exceeded the local Indian supply. When the railroad was completed, farmers shipped their harvest out of the valley in rail cars and, in turn, transported additional workers into the valley. The resulting mixture was not always peaceful. Indian hop pickers came from as far away as eastern Washington and British Columbia. In order to avoid conflicts among this diverse Indian population farmers assigned each tribe to a separate camping area.

White pickers from Seattle also joined in the harvest, occasionally resulting in delayed school openings until after the hop harvest. At one point, 37 Chinese workers were brought into the valley to pick hops on the Wold farm. Indian and white workers, fearing the loss of employment, joined forces to attack the Chinese camp one night and fired their guns into the tents, killing three Chinese and wounding three others. Snoqualmie tribal accounts of this episode suggest that the two lakeside Indians who accompanied the whites “were fighting to protect their families’ income from foreigners.”

The center of Snoqualmie prairie hop growing was Meadowbrook, now on the eastern outskirts of the town of Snoqualmie. In 1882 the Hop Growers Association was incorporated, ultimately farming 1,500 acres, 900 of which were under hop cultivation. Here the industry continued to flourish for the next 12 years, bringing prosperity to the region. Hundreds of Indian, white, and Chinese workers flocked to the upper Snoqualmie Valley Hop Growers Association farm at the height of the season, with non-local Indian workers coming from as far away as Oregon, eastern Washington and, according to Clarence Bagley, arriving from British Columbia by war canoe.

A. J. Moffat, a one-time farm manager and oral informant of Bagley’s, recalled that Indians would accept wages only in silver, some of which was used to gamble on horse races and card games. These migrant hop workers lived in long buildings divided into one-room family quarters with furnished bunks, benches, tables, cook stoves and firewood.

By 1889 the large hop farm became such an attraction that owners built a hotel, no longer standing, to accommodate the tourists from Seattle who arrived by horse and buggy to watch the harvest. No doubt the horse races, regularly held at the farm, were also an attraction. Furthermore, visitors who wanted to hunt or fish during their stay could hire Indian guides at five dollars per day.

Ollie Moses Wilber, a Snoqualmie Indian born in 1897, asserts that even after the decline of the major Puget Sound hop industry in the 1890s about 100 Snoquals mies still worked in the remaining Meadowbrook fields, hoeing weeds, winding the growing hop runners around the tall poles and picking the mature pods. These upper Snoqualmies lived a short distance from the hop farm in two traditional community longhouses much as their ancestors had done for centuries. They, like the Lake Sammamish Snoqualsmes,
Hop picking was hot, grimy, back-breaking work, but it was important to the Indians because it supplemented their ever-decreasing subsistence resources.

Continued to hunt, fish and gather roots and berries in addition to doing seasonal work in the hop fields.

Two factors contributed to the decline of the hop industry in the Puget Sound area. The rapid expansion of hop production in western Washington eventually contributed to a world glut, resulting in erratic price drops. And in 1890 the fields were struck with an infestation of hop lice. The double disaster caused most farms to fail. By 1900 all but a few of the Hop Growers' Association fields had been plowed under. Some farmers lost their land to other hastily adopted forms of agriculture. Ezra Meeker, referring to the plunge in prices, told Clarence Bagley that "he went to bed wealthy and woke up a pauper." Even so, a few hop farmers held on, and Ed Davis (1880-1987), an honorary Snoqualmie chief, recalled that 50 to 60 Snoqualsies were working in the few remaining hop fields until 1906. By this time a new, lice-resistant strain of hop was discovered and grown east of the mountains.

The Snoqualsies adapted to this new challenge by forming a seasonal harvesting crew under the leadership of Jerry Kanim, who served as their chief from the early 1900s until his death in 1956. Chief Kanim contracted with berry farmers in LaConner and Conway to harvest their crops of blackberries, strawberries, raspberries and loganberries. During the summers the Snoqualsies continued, as much as resources allowed, to pursue their traditional food ways: picking and drying berries, catching and smoking salmon, and drying clams. Some Snoqualsies continued to work the hop harvest in the Yakima Valley until World War II. In early 1940s the job market was sufficiently opened to Indians because of the shortage of workers caused by the war. By then, subsistence resources were so severely depleted that the Snoqualsies were forced to abandon their seasonal harvesting and subsistence living in exchange for full-time employment.

Kenneth Tollefson has taught courses in anthropology at Seattle Pacific University since 1965 and published articles on the Duwamish, Snoqualmie, and Tlingit tribes in several professional journals. These three tribes have honored him for his work among them by extending tribal membership to him through adoption.
Stirring the Juices—
More on Lizzie Ordway

I found the spirited discussion of Lizzie Ordway in the Fall 1994 issue of Columbia very invigorating. Nothing stirs the juices like a good argument.

I was recently re-reading my copy of Early Schools of Washington Territory by Angie Burt Bowden (Lowman and Hanford, 1935). Mrs. Bowden, herself a former teacher, interviewed a Virginia Hermann in 1933. According to the information she gathered, Mrs. Hermann, under her maiden name Virginia Hancock, had been elected superintendent of Jefferson County schools in 1880. If that information is accurate, Mrs. Hermann may have been the earliest female county school superintendent in Washington Territory, earlier even than Lizzie Ordway’s tenure as Kitsap County school superintendent.

I think it is quite credible that a school superintendent in those early days was also a classroom teacher. At first Miss Ordway had only five schools to supervise, the largest having an enrollment of 34. In fact, being superintendent was probably a supplemental job to the real job of teaching school.

Miss Ordway says, in a letter dated September 14, 1881, which she signed as “Superintendent of Schools, Kitsap County,” that she took over the Port Gamble School teaching job when the teacher unexpectedly left. The letter is cited in Mrs. Bowden’s book.

In smaller school districts even today it is not uncommon for the superintendent to teach classes. Sometimes he or she may also drive the bus, fire up the furnace, and, as a summer job, paint the schoolhouse.

The disagreement over whether Miss Ordway was “elected” or “appointed” to office may be explained as follows: First, she ran for the office; then, having received the most votes, she was appointed to that office. According to one source, the Seattle Post-Intelligencer opposed Miss Ordway’s candidacy by saying editorially “It may be a good joke to put a woman in nomination, but I do not regard the office of school superintendent of so little importance as to vote for a woman at the polls.”

May I add that I love Robert Ficken’s wicked tongue but I would not want ever to be its target. His story on the real Oregon Trail was deliciously tart.

Ken Calkins
Olympia

Additional Reading

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

The Snoqualmie Indians as Hop Pickers


Lewis & Clark’s Water Route to the Northwest

Josef Scaylea


Balloon Bombs and Submarines


Supply Line to the New Frontier

George Bush of Tumwater
"The overland emigration of 1846 to California and Oregon was self-willed, contentious, and cantankerous. It was also large, sprawling, energetic, confused and confusing. ..." Thus does Dale Morgan describe his subject: the first-hand accounts of travelers who crossed the plains to Oregon and California by wagon in a landmark year of this epic westward movement. This work is really three things: a history, a selected and edited collection of primary sources, and a commentary on those sources. Reprinted from the original 1963 Talisman Press publication, this edition makes available again a classic in overland trail literature that has long been out of print. Morgan sought out and brought together resources from libraries and special collections all over the country that could only be found by extensive research and a first-hand examination of materials.

The two volumes include the text of entire diaries, personal letters and accounts printed in contemporary newspapers. The first volume is composed of Morgan's 150-page introduction and nine diaries. This initial overview of overland trail history traces the emigration back to its beginnings in the summer of 1840. The work seeks, in part, to let the travelers tell their own stories; thus, the inclusion of first-hand accounts in the introduction is especially useful in setting the stage for the reports that follow. The diaries vary in length, but all are too brief to merit publication as individual items. Original spellings are preserved, and the selections represent a variety of destinations and circumstances.

The second volume is a collection of personal letters, written by emigrants, many of which were printed in newspapers from St. Louis to New York. The press was a major source of information about the emigration, including the route, the hardships and descriptions of what lay to the west. The published letters are important because of the wide audience they reached as well as the impressions they made and, thus, how they impacted the westward movement. These letters are more literary than the diaries and show more reflection. They seek to persuade and advise rather than just record events. An interesting perspective in this collection comes from items that appeared in Oregon and California papers, reflecting news that the emigrants brought with them from the east.

Thirty years after these volumes originally appeared they still represent a valuable resource and a work of considerable scholarship on the part of Morgan, who died in 1971. The copious notes in both volumes assist readers in understanding and interpreting the documents and provide biographical and background information about the writers whenever possible. It is noteworthy, however, that the perspective we have been given is a totally male view. None of the many diaries and letters written by women pioneers were included. Fortunately, we can find these in more current collections, including Covered Wagon Women: Diaries and Letters from the Western Trail, edited by Kenneth L. Holmes (1984); Women's Diaries of the Westward Journey, by Lilian Schlissel (1982); and Hol' for California: Women's Overland Diaries from the Huntington Library, by Sandra L. Myres (1980). Much more has been done to document the emigration since Morgan's early work appeared. Merrill Matter's Platte River Road Narratives (1988) is an example of an extensive, current bibliography that identifies and describes emigrant diaries, letters and other resources.

Carol Hammond is a librarian at Arizona State University-West. In addition to speaking and writing about women on the overland trail, she has traveled most of the Oregon Trail, including sections in Washington.

The Triumph of Tradition
The Emergence of Whitman College, 1859-1924
Reviewed by John C. Scott, O.S.B.

Tom Edwards has written a candid and intelligent volume dealing with the emergence of Whitman College. While explaining the establishment and character of the college in its early decades, Edwards, a long-time Whitman College history professor, forthrightly depicts the school's frustrations and failures along with its achievements. Edwards analyzes cultural, social and economic as well as academic aspects of his school's initial decades. Stephen B. Penrose's 40-year term as president (1894-1934) clearly made him the school's pivotal leader. Penrose's joy and the many challenges he faced in building an eastern-style liberal arts college in rural southeastern Washington make for fascinating reading. Penrose had to be not only a careful administrator and a dedicated teacher but a fund-raiser as well. This latter responsibility was a critical function, for debt would long plague the young school. Whitman College had connections with and received support from various bodies and individuals related to the Congregational Church, but it also had to continuously seek additional support from local and national benefactors. When Chicago editor Oliver P. Nixon energetically promoted a national movement to publicize the achievements of Dr. Marcus Whitman, he received the ardent assistance of President Penrose, who understood that such admulatory attention to his school's name sake could only help the school.

Penrose's early success in building a "diverse and talented" (but much overworked) faculty soon earned Whitman College a regional reputation. The college's long-serving president and its long-suffering faculty willingly gave a considerable amount of their time to disciplining, advising and guiding students. At a time when education was considered in loco parentis, assisting the students' character development and supervising their deportment were thought to be vital aspects of the college's mandate.
Sports and literary societies were both prominent on campus. School spirit was eagerly promoted by Penrose, and a Greek system (then, as now, controversial) was introduced. The president believed that, to survive, Whitman must become a regional institution. A plausible but unsuccessful attempt—"the Greater Whitman plan"—was made in that direction between 1907 and 1912. "To make Whitman the Yale of the Northwest," the school was freed from denominational ties while still being described as a "thoroughly Christian" institution. This step was taken to broaden regional support and make Whitman eligible for grants from national foundations.

In the final chapter, which covers the post-World War I years, Edwards discusses the school's problems of recovery, recognition and challenge. In a way, those same terms characterize the entire history of Whitman College as portrayed in this fine study. May Edwards's follow-up volume be as compelling and insightful.

John C. Scott, O.S.B., is Professor of History at Saint Martin's College in Lacey. He is a former president of the college and author of the school's forthcoming 1995 centennial history.

Mourning Dove

Mourning Dove, the pen name of Christina Quintasket, is best known as the first Native American woman to publish a novel, Cowgwa (1927). A member of the Colville Confederated Tribes of eastern Washington, she spent most of her life struggling to make financial ends meet while pursuing her education. An assortment of pages containing memories of her youth among the Colvilles, essentially between 1885 and 1900, were found and acquired by Erma Gunther. She, in turn, passed them on to Jay Miller, then an assistant director of the D'Arcy McNickle Center for the History of the American Indian at the Newberry Library in Chicago. First issued in 1990, this new reprint is produced as an economy-priced paperback.

The autobiography is divided into three sections: "A Woman's World," "Seasonal Activities," and "Okanogan History." The first portion describes the familial and tribal duties, customs and roles of the Colville female. She explains in great depth the many ordeals a woman must endure in marriage, motherhood and often widowhood. The second section tells of the annual migration of Mourning Dove's tribe at the time of the "Choke Cherry Moon" (in August) to the fishery at Kettle Falls and of the many ceremonies and rituals that were involved with the change of the seasons. Many of these events are viewed with a youthful eye, providing the reader with a light-hearted outlook. Quintasket's final portion reviews the history of the four members of the Okanogan tribal group: the Colvilles, the Sanpoils, the Lakes and the Okanagans. Especially interesting is her recounting of the severe winter of 1892, the floods of 1893, and the Euro-American assimilation of many families in the tribe.

Mourning Dove is packed with intriguing information to help bring the reader to a better understanding of the Colvilles and Pacific Northwest tribes in general. It will also challenge the reader, because it is chronologically difficult to follow. Another concern that readers and researchers alike might raise about the autobiography is that all the spelling and grammatical errors in the original manuscript have been corrected by the editor. These alterations not only take something away from the personal nature of the book, but they also detract from its validity as a primary source. More importantly, however, this autobiography provides authentic explanations of many Colville customs, traditions and spiritual beliefs.

Kate Branson is an independent historian with a graduate degree in public history from Portland State University. She has done work for the Oregon Historical Society.

Current & Noteworthy

By Robert C. Carriker, Book Review Editor

The Oregon Historical Society Press has recently produced a series of three books on Joel Palmer (1810-1881), an Oregon Trail pioneer and early superintendent of Indian affairs, that go together like a set of Russian nesting dolls.

First there is An Arrow in the Earth: General Joel Palmer and the Indians of Oregon, by Terrence O'Donnell (Portland: Oregon Historical Society Press, 1991; 345 pp., $24.95 cloth), which documents the bloody turmoil experienced by Oregonians in the years between 1847 and the conclusion of the Bannock War in 1878. O'Donnell calls the period a five-act tragedy, with Joel Palmer as the central character. O'Donnell used portions of Palmer's travel diary as part of the future general's biographical introduction. The full journal, then, becomes doll number two.

Palmer's Journal of Travels Over the Oregon Trail in 1845 was first published in 1847 and subsequently reprinted twice in the 1850s after it gained a market as a guide book. Reuben Gold Thwaites reissued the journal in 1906 as volume 30 of his Early Western Travels series. Now Jim Renner and Karen Bassett have written a new introduction for the journal, though they wisely kept Thwaites' footnotes for their facsimile edition (Portland: Oregon Historical Society Press, 1993; 311 pp., $14.95 paper). Six months of simple entries by Palmer are followed by several useful lists: necessary supplies for emigrants, a vocabulary of Net Perce and Chinook words, and a table of distances on the Oregon Trail. Perhaps the most interesting event in the entire journey took place when Palmer and Sam Barlow blazed a 130-mile overland trail around the south side of Mount Hood.

That 33-day episode has been isolated from the journals and now comprises A Sight So Nobby Grand: Joel Palmer on Mount Hood in 1845 (Portland: Oregon Historical Society Press, 1994; 46 pp., $6.95 paper), or doll number three. John Palmer Spencer has written an excellent introduction and his own footnotes, thus offering up-to-date topographical information and a more modern perspective than Thwaites' annotations. It took a century for Joel Palmer to be noticed by historians—prior to these recent publications, the only important work on Palmer was a 1950 doctoral dissertation at the University of Oregon. But now he has three books, the last two nesting inside the first. Individually, any one of these books on Palmer is worthy of placement in a personal library; together they form a unique and interlocking triumvirate.
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<td>CORPORATE PATRON, $1,000</td>
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<td>PATRON, $500</td>
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<td>SUBSCRIPTION, $26 (Schools, libraries &amp; historical organizations)</td>
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