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Columbia Reviews  

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As the construction phase of the new Washington State History Museum nears completion, the staff and volunteers are making preparations to take possession of the building, move into new offices, and launch the long-awaited public opening of this grand new landmark historical facility. There is an unmistakable air of excitement around the society these days, a feeling of actually being part of the history we all work to preserve and present. Perhaps since its beginning years—over a century ago—there has never been a more thrilling time to be an employee, volunteer or member of the Washington State Historical Society.

While the staff and volunteers are to be commended for their hard work and dedication in the society’s daily operations, a debt of gratitude is also owed to you, the members. Without your continuing support, the Society could not do its work. Your help makes possible our exhibits, educational programs and publishing endeavors. Your contributions toward the capital campaign for the new museum provide a case in point—donations have surpassed all expectation, and your checks are still coming in. Also, your praise of and support for Columbia motivate us to continually work to make the magazine better.

This issue of Columbia features two pieces by WSHS staff members: an essay on Washington’s history by director and executive editor David Nicandri, and a look at the collecting work of Edward Fuller, one of the Society’s early directors—or secretaries, as they were called—by our McClelland curator of Special Collections, Edward Nolan.

We also present articles by two members of our board of trustees: Charles LeWarne’s biographical piece on the man who was governor of Washington for a single day, and Robert Carriker’s recounting of Father DeSmet’s hair-raising crossing of the Columbia River bar. Carriker, who also serves as our book review editor, has himself written a book on DeSmet’s life and work.

Elsewhere in this issue you’ll find Stella Degenhardt’s seasonally appropriate history of how the Mountaineers pioneered downhill skiing and winter sports competitions in the Pacific Northwest. Keith Murray tells the story of irrigation in Wenatchee; and David Brumbach, a former WSHS Special Collections volunteer, discusses George Roger Chute’s work in support of Native American fishing rights.

It is our goal that these stories will provide you with a vivid glimpse into Washington’s past. We invite your comments and suggestions regarding Columbia and its contents. After all, without you, this magazine would not exist.

—Christina Orange Dubois, Managing Editor
The Periodization of Modern Washington’s History

Twice in the last five years I have had a similarly constructed, somewhat fleeting yet challenging discussion with Charles LeWarne. Both occasions revolved around presentations to the Washington State Historical Society’s board of trustees, of which Chuck is a member, about story lines for the Society’s state history exhibits. The first was for the exhibit that opened at the Society’s current headquarters in 1991—“Washington: Home, Frontier, Crossroads.” The second was a preliminary outline for the exhibition that is just now being fabricated for installation in the new Washington State History Museum, to open in the summer of 1996.

Specifically, Chuck questioned the paucity of interpretive content after World War II. In both instances I defended the phase-out at mid-20th century because I could not discern an event, a shift, a phenomenon, a biographical figure, or any other cause more influential in the shaping of modern Washington than the New Deal public works investments of the 1930s and their galvanic transformation during World War II. Yes, I demurred, there was suburbanization and the growth of new high-tech industries, but nothing jumped out as an icon like imagery from the railroad era, the “Timber Commonwealth” (as Bob Ficken termed it) or “Rosie the Riveter” working on a B-17. In fact, I cited Chuck against himself by recalling a favorite passage of mine from his centennial history of Washington, co-authored with Bob Ficken—to wit, the Washington of 1989 is closer to the Washington of 1945 than the Washington of 1945 was to the Washington of 1933, so dramatic had been the changes in that defining 12-year period. Chuck could only respond by saying that Bob Ficken had written that part!

I offered the old bromide, not entirely incorrect, that it takes time to develop perspective, and that the true significance, the defining character of postwar Washington, had not yet revealed itself.

Nevertheless, I was not satisfied; I know Chuck wasn’t. How could we write off more than half of the 20th century? Certainly these years contained some meaning. Earlier in my career I was fond of observing that most museums tended to end their presentations at the end of the 19th century. Our 1991 exhibit’s tableaux on the New Deal in Washington and home front developments was, in a modest way, somewhat innovative for a museum in our state. Still, 50 years were missing. As David Buerge put it when he viewed the madcap assemblage of material culture from the 1950s, ’60s, ’70s and ’80s: “Ahh, the end of history!”

The only glimmer of hope in my own attempts at making sense of state history in contemporary times was to be found in the epilog to Gordon Dodds’s history of the Northwest, published in 1986. Positing the tragedy of living in a region that had relatively few tragedies, Dodds stated that “Northeasterners have historically been too successful. They have mastered their few difficulties with relative ease. Yet their undemanding past may have left them unprepared for the adversities that lie ahead.” And then, somewhat prophetically, Dodds alluded to population growth, environmental pressures, global economic competition, homogenizing cultural forces, and greater public burdens as the problems of the future.

Recall that Dodds wrote this before the Urban Growth Management Act, the spotted owl crisis, or the Columbia and Snake River salmon controversies, to mention just a few difficulties of recent vintage. Perhaps the most provocative of Dodds’s assertions, in the book’s penultimate passage, was this: These self-indulgent Northeasterners, if they do foresee difficulties, have a history that “may lead them to overemphasize their abilities to solve them.”

The crystallizing moment in my search came late last year when I was asked to write an updated entry on the state of Washington for the Dictionary of American History, building upon the original contribution of the esteemed and recently departed Vernon Carstensen. The essential assignment was to describe the salient development in the state’s history since the publication of Vernon’s 1970 entry. That presented an interesting time frame because I came to the state of Washington in 1972. In effect, I was asked to do, as intimated earlier, one of the most difficult things a historian can undertake—evaluate one’s own time.

With Dodds, Ficken and LeWarne reverberating in my mind, I concluded that 1974 was the indicative year for the onset of the modern, by which I mean the current period of
Washington's history. Two events that year served as harbingers of what would prove to be the predominant factor in the contemporary life of Washington.

Host to two previous world's fairs in Seattle—in 1909 and again in 1962—Washington's third fair opened in Spokane in 1974. Significantly, the theme for Expo '74 was the dawning age of environmental consciousness.

More substantively, earlier that same year Judge George Boldt of the Federal District Court in Tacoma issued a landmark ruling in U.S. v. Washington, declaring that the state's Native Americans were entitled to fish at all of their "usual and accustomed places," borrowing phraseology from the original treaties negotiated by Isaac Stevens in the 1850s. The treaties also used language stipulating that the settlers and Indians would fish "in common" with each other, from which Judge Boldt determined that the modern descendants of the Native Americans were entitled to 50 percent of all of the harvestable catch.

No event in Indian-white relations since the original treaty negotiation has superseded this case in significance. More than a century of Native grievances originating in broken promises or outright subterfuge had previously led to a sequence of Indian demonstrations and white counter-demonstrations along the banks of the Nisqually and Puyallup rivers. This agitation, including occasional violent encounters between Indian and white fisherman and officials from the state fisheries department, was brought to a head when the federal Department of Justice joined the Indians in a lawsuit against the state.

Not only were tribal treaty rights reaffirmed by Boldt's decision (and upheld by the Supreme Court in 1979), the 50 percent catch set aside for Native fishermen enhanced the competition among white commercial interests and sports fishermen for a resource now suddenly recognized as being in rapid decline. Signature developments in Washington during the prior 40 years were the telling influence in the making of this story. The numerous dams built on the Columbia and Snake rivers and their smaller tributaries, plus the suburbanization of the Puget Sound lowlands, combined to degrade the environment to such an extent that the once bountiful numbers of salmon and related fish species were markedly lessened.

Expo '74 and the Boldt decision served as more general indicators of the state of Washington's evolving consciousness and political economy. The state's timber stands, which had served as the principal source of industrial employment from the 1850s to World War II, have become an environmental battleground, as had the state's fishery. Concern over the loss of scenic qualities due to timber clear-cutting, combined with the damage to watersheds that such practices engendered, and concern over the spotted owl's survivability have brought conflict to this commercial endeavor as well. In short, per Dodds, the state of Washington, which had heretofore seemed a land of perpetual opportunity, has come upon the consequences of 150 years worth of development. The easy days are over.

No problem appears more intractable than coping with the environmental consequences of Hanford. LeWarne and Ficken, in their Centennial History, argued that the Hanford project during World War II was the most significant development in the state's history. Though that's an arguable assertion, certainly the environmental consequences of the Hanford Project became a major factor in the political and economic life of the state beginning in the early 1980s. In the wake of the WPPSS fiasco and the end of the Cold War, a nuclear crisis of the first magnitude was visited upon the Tri-Cities. However, the state's ecological ethic has proved to be a savior as federal, state and community support for cleaning up the waste left over from 40 years of nuclear production has resulted in what is now the most extensive public works project in the state's history. In fiscal year 1995 the federal government alone will invest $1.6 billion in the clean-up
effort, which is estimated to take decades to complete.

Concurrent with these commercial/industrial setbacks, Washington, since 1970, has developed a sizable tourism and hospitality industry that has surpassed the old staples of logging, agriculture and fishing as a source of private sector employment. An “attraction economy” of skiing resorts, wineries, national parks and modern museums has supplanted the world of “wigwam burners” and purse seiners.

Washington has proved to be an attractive destination for permanent residents as well as tourists. Seattle and numerous other cities in Washington always rank high in the “quality of life” surveys. In 1970 Washington’s population was 3.4 million; today it is 5.2 million. A leading factor in this growth was the huge expansion of the Boeing Company’s airplane production from 1985 to 1990, plus the emergence of a robust high-technology sector led by Microsoft. Despite repeated attempts to diversify our state’s economy after the aerospace busts of the early 1970s and 1980s, the most vital factor in the economic health of Washington still proves to be the Boeing Company’s fortunes. Another indicator of significance, in my view, is the branch campus movement in higher education. Branches of the University of Washington and Washington State University in Spokane, Tri-Cities, Vancouver, Tacoma and Bothell betoken demographic changes, the malleability of human resources in this technological age, highway gridlock, and economic pressure on the middle class.

The one event since 1970 that might best typify this as the environmental epoch was the eruption of Mount St. Helens in May 1980. A natural disaster that killed dozens of people and received international attention, the St. Helens eruption only reinforces the realization that the natural environment serves as a leading factor in shaping the course of human events. But if the “modern,” which is to say environmentally-conscious, era began in 1974, how do we periodize the preceding era?

Putting regional history for a moment into the national and international context, the definable era preceding the present is that from 1942 to 1973: “The American century,” as Henry Luce phrased it, lasted 31 years. The hallmark of the American period, if we can call it that, was its phenomenal economic prosperity and enthusiasm for technology. The bookends for this era are the industrial rebound from the Depression’s depths brought on by wartime demands after Pearl Harbor; the end game was the Arab oil embargo of 1973, which betokened a vulnerability almost unprecedented in living memory. The Boldt decision can be seen as the regional equivalent of the oil embargo and came just months after the Yom Kippur War.

By global standards Americans were rich beyond measure during the postwar period. The troubled era since, it seems to me, has involved coming to grips with shortages. To localize the paradigm: In the Northwest there aren’t enough trees; there aren’t enough salmon; there isn’t enough water; there isn’t enough money. By the latter I mean not only the government’s coffers but those of most households, especially the celebrated middle class.

In that sense, our current fractious political discourse, whether at the national or state level, is emblematic of the tensions brought on by diminished prosperity, more generally brought on by the worldwide equalization of wealth. While this is not altogether bad from a global point of view, it is nonetheless difficult for a “people of plenty” to deal with. The current era, then, is a period of post-industrial metamorphosis whose predominant ethos is that of reconciliation; reconciliation with our history, with our environment, and (more locally) with ourselves as Washingtonians. Since reflection is a somewhat fugitive notion (unlike Lewis and Clark, railroad building, Grand Coulee Dam, etc.), how one tells that story in a museum is no less a challenge.

—David L. Nicandri, Director/Executive Editor
The beginnings of skiing as an organized sport in the Pacific Northwest can be traced to the appearance of a single pair of skis on a winter outing organized in 1912 by the Mountaineers' Tacoma branch. Fifty men and women traveled by train to Ashford and walked or showshoed the snowy miles to Longmire Inn in Mount Rainier National Park. Their aim was simply to enjoy a weekend of hiking, tobogganing, and sliding in the snow. Olive Rand, the person who carried the skis, introduced the sport to a few Mountaineer friends and saw it spread until thousands of enthusiasts now turn out each weekend to enjoy the sport.

At first, skis were not universally welcomed on Mountaineers' trips. Some old-timers derided them as being inferior to snowshoes, and some trip leaders required all participants to come equipped with snowshoes—even refusing to accept responsibility for any member appearing on skis. Over the next several years, however, skis became the choice of many Mountaineers for winter hiking, and skiing became the club's premier winter activity.

The skis were often homemade, and information on downhill skiing techniques was hard to come by. Fastening the solid wooden skis to their climbing boots with leather toe loops and long ankle thongs, enthusiasts labored up the lengthy slopes for the thrill of the run down.

As many as 180 members attended these early two- to five-day outings to Mount Rainier. For the first four winters, they stayed at Longmire Inn, making day climbs to Paradise and higher points. They were the only people then known to visit Paradise in winter. Even after Paradise Inn was completed in 1917, it was open only during the summer. The Mountaineers rented space for their winter outings with the understanding that they would be responsible for their own food and heat.

L. A. Nelson, an early skier and mountain climber who joined the Mountaineers in 1907, wrote of these trips:

Paradise Inn was completed . . . and the Mountaineers at once took exclusive possession for five glorious winter days. We traveled by train to Ashford, walked, or, if opulent, rode by bob-sled at least part of the way to Longmire, where we stayed all night and then walked, making our own trail up to Paradise. Snowshoes were required and only three pairs of skis were carried while the owners oozed up the trail on snowshoes. Our commissary had been sent in on horseback three months before, and cached in a convenient cold storage place, a snow bank.

No heat was in the bed rooms, candles were used, except in the dining room, where oil lamps were a luxury. Our cooks prepared the meals but the men of the party sawed all fireplace wood . . . . The fireplaces were used in the living room, the roof of which was propped up on account of the snow. It certainly was a never-to-be-forgotten trip, music and laughter around the fireplaces; a daily newspaper was published, good fellowship, joy in the outdoor life and appreciation of its beauty abounded. Sometimes the sun shone, sometimes there was a blizzard, but always there was fun and adventure.

The Mountaineers' Snoqualmie Lodge, built in 1914 and originally intended as a base for weekend climbs and social activities,
quickly became the focus for club ski activities.

Those were the days, according to an early skier, "when we 'herring-boned up' and 'ran it straight.'" Paraffin applied to the base of the ski with a hot iron was considered the ultimate for either uphill climbing or downhill running. Ski poles were definitely "for the use of the weak and unfit."

By 1915 Thor Bisgaard, Tacoma Mountaineer and an experienced ski runner, was offering instructions, and soon his star pupil, Norman W. "Norm" Engle, also of Tacoma, was helping instruct. Meanwhile, at Snoqualmie Lodge, veteran Swiss skier Rudy Amsler taught the Seattle group the fine art of telemarks and christiansas. Skiing, which was "destined to expand the Mountaineer membership and all Northwest recreation into almost fantastic growth," was booming.

Starting in 1922, annual ski competitions were organized at Snoqualmie Lodge, and for roughly the next 20 years Mountaineer teams competed, often successfully, with those of other outdoor clubs and the University of Washington.

Meany Ski Hut, the third Mountaineer cabin and the first dedicated to skiing, was ready for use by the winter of 1928. It was situated a mile and a half east of Stampede Pass, and Mountaineers reveled in the area's favorable terrain and easy access by train. Cleared areas around the weather station and under the power line, as well as the open timber slopes, were favorite places—all ideally suited to ski touring, which then dominated the sport.

Each weekend during the snow season parties set out to enjoy the winter wilderness. The 1932 Mountaineer annual lists 21 destinations for "ski excursions" from Snoqualmie Lodge and 16 from Meany Ski Hut. From 1930 to the winter of 1941 the club sponsored the most unusual ski event of all—the popular Patrol Race, from Snoqualmie Lodge over a rough, 18-mile course.

Mountaineer skiers did not restrict outings to the areas around their cabins. At Mount Rainier trips were made to Indian Henry's Hunting Ground, the saddle of Pinnacle Peak in the Tatoosh Range, to Anvil Rock and Camp Muir, and down the Nisqually Glacier to its snout. Skiers went from Starbo Cabin in Glacier Basin to St. Elmo Pass and Curtis Ridge. In the Mount Baker area skiers went to Table Mountain, Shuksan Arm, Lake Ann, Kulshan Ridge, Coleman Glacier, and the Chain Lakes.

O. Phillip Dickert, a Mountaineer climber, skier and photographer, recalled that in the 1930s area skiers flocked to Mount Rainier. Dickert said:

The Park Service accepted skiing and plowed the road as far as Longmire and, later, to Narada Falls. We would carry the skis up and ski from Paradise back to the cars at Narada Falls—and sometimes people would ski all the way back to Longmire.

For the climb up, many used 'skins' (long strips of sealskin on the bottoms of the skis, or canvas tubes on the backs of the skis). But I preferred wax. Klister was the base wax which we applied at home, adding other waxes according to snow conditions. Waxing was quite an art and sometimes didn't work perfectly.
Eddie Bauer was alerted to the commercial potential of recreational skiing while on a Mountaineers’ outing during the winter of 1920-21. His sports equipment stores were soon among the first Northwest retailers to feature ski equipment and clothing.

Individual Mountaineers were soon using skis for spring ascents of the mountains they climbed on foot during the summer. In May 1930 R. B. Sperlin, Ed Loners and John Booth performed a successful ski climb of Mount Baker. In following years Mount Rainier, Mount Adams and a number of other major mountains were climbed on skis, but these were typically by small parties of enthusiasts rather than scheduled Mountaineer trips.

Boots and clothing suitable for climbing were considered equally useful for skiing. Climbing boots, however, were generally fitted with tricouni nails, so skis were protected with a metal plate to reduce wear. Skiers pored over catalogs from Europe and ordered equipment to try out in the deep, often heavy snow of the Cascades.

On the Mountaineers’ winter outing of 1920-21, Eddie Bauer, a Seattle outfitter and sports equipment retailer, realized the business opportunities that recreational skiing offered. Eddie Bauer stores soon stocked skis imported from Europe. Five years later they offered complete facilities for ski service and repair and had embarked on light manufacturing.

By 1924 local sports stores advertised skis as well as snowshoes (skis were much cheaper). Three years later the Out Door Store, on Seattle’s First Avenue, advertised Norwegian hickory skis and Northland skis in ash and hickory, together with ski bindings, poles and wax.

In 1930 Frederick & Nelson proclaimed that its golf shop was ready for the ski season. In 1933 the University Book Store advertised laminated hickory skis for $7.50 a pair, and by 1935 laminated skis were being locally manufactured by Anderson Thompson.

As early as 1927 a Mountaineer Ski Committee was formed to assist in the development of skiing by offering instruction, organizing a series of tests, and sponsoring competitions. Chairman Ernest N. Harris saw the committee’s aim as keeping the club in the position of prominence it occupied among skiing organizations of the Northwest.

A small group of Mountaineers was meeting to study technique and equipment. The group tested almost every article of equipment and clothing listed in the foreign catalogs and discussed its adaptability to Northwest conditions. Several of Seattle’s “progressive” stores kept pace with this group and were “keenly interested in the results of their experiments.”

During the 1930s Mountaineers Wally Burr, Ome Daiber, Hans Grage and Scott Osborn were among those developing ski equipment and clothing for Northwest skiers. Daiber’s Tempo model of ski binding and his “pack-jacket” were especially appreciated. Daiber continued to test and manufacture outdoor equipment, and during World War II he served as a consultant to the U.S. Army on cold weather gear. Osborn was later one of the founding partners of Osborn and Ulland, a long-time Seattle sports store.

Metal “bear traps” replaced leather toe pieces, and heel cables were used to keep the boots firmly on the skis. Metal “guides” on the sides of the skis allowed the bindings to be loosened and the heels raised for climbing, but tightened to the skis for downhill control.

For climbing moderate slopes, a canvas sock was fitted over the tail of the ski, seal skins were strapped on, or wax was applied to the bottoms of the skis.

Joseph T. Hazard, a Seattle schoolteacher and a Mountaineer from 1911 until his death in 1965, noted that the Mountaineers’ last winter outing to Paradise—from December 28, 1929, to January 1, 1930—ended an epoch, for by then the whole North-
Paradise Lodge, at the 5,500-foot level on Mount Rainier's south side. Built in 1930 a half mile west of Paradise Inn, it served a rapidly increasing number of tourists until 1946 when it was torn down and replaced by the present Visitor Center.

West was winter-recreation conscious and there were many resorts and "playfields."

For example, skiing began in the colder and drier snow east of Snoqualmie Pass in 1920 when eight Cle Elum residents became interested in the sport and formed a ski club. Yvonne Prater, in her book Snoqualmie Pass: From Indian Trail to Interstate, wrote that John "Syke" Breskow "served as president of the Cle Elum Ski Club for ten years, during which time Cle Elum was a skier's paradise. The community sponsored numerous events. Chartered trains came from Puget Sound and Yakima," bringing hundreds of people wanting to see or take part in the races, ski jumps, and special contests. Volunteers built a ski jump, and the Northern Pacific Railroad provided a tramway through a mine shaft to a good view of the jumping.

Skiing flourished in Cle Elum until the mid 1930s. When the highway over Snoqualmie was kept open year around, it provided easy access from Seattle to areas at the summit, and people went there instead of to Cle Elum.

Starting in the '30s, the Milwaukee Railroad ran special ski trains from Seattle to the Ski Bowl east of the pass at Hyak (now PacWest) for those skiers willing to sidestep or hike up the slopes. Later, a rope tow was built and the Seattle Times sponsored a ski school there. Hyak also included the largest jumping hill in the area.

At the Mountaineers' Meany Hut, John E. "Jack" Hossack, a Boeing engineer and noted mountain climber and skier, designed a rope tow that was built and operated by volunteers.

Seattle Ski Club members built their cabin above Snoqualmie Pass in 1929. In the mid 1930s thousands of spectators climbed up from the highway to Beaver Lake to watch ski-jumping contests sponsored by the club.

The Washington Alpine Club, reorganized in 1923 from the cooperative hiking club, built a cabin near Snoqualmie Pass in 1931 to serve as a base for hiking and ski-mountaineering trips, later adding rope tows to serve downhill skiing.

The Seattle Parks Department logged a small slope at Snoqualmie Pass and in 1937, on what was known as "Municipal Hill," a rope tow was installed. "The introduction of uphill transportation changed skiing overnight from a spectator sport to a participation sport for thousands," Kay Thoresen wrote in the 50th anniversary issue of The I-90 Skier, published in 1987. The first rope tow had "... grown into 20 chairlifts with a capacity load of 26,000 skiers per hour at Alpental, Ski Acres and Snoqualmie."

Although Mountaineers enthusiastically embraced downhill skiing, there were always members whose first love was using skis to travel through the snow-covered back country and for winter ascents. In December 1941 the club's first ski mountaineering course was started under the chairmanship of Walter B. Little, a mountain climber and skier who later helped to locate Crystal Mountain Ski Area. A companion to the club's climbing course, ski mountaineering featured a mimeographed handbook prepared by club members. The course is still being offered, with annual adaptations for changes in equipment and technique.

The popularity of skis did not eradicate snowshoes from Mountaineer activities, and snowshoeing is alive and doing well, with the club sponsoring both a snowshoe training course and a full and varied program of trips. In the late 1920s a Mountaineer wrote:

Traditionally, the Mountaineers have been pioneers. First, by opening up mountain climbing exploration as a sport, they paved the way to enlarged enjoyment of similar activities by the public. Second, in penetrating Paradise Park in winter and year by year proving the practicability of such an outing, they created the groundwork for the later opening up of the Park.
Special trains carried skiers from Seattle to the Milwaukee Ski Bowl, east of Snoqualmie Pass. For several years, until the first rope tow was built, skiers had to be willing to sidestep to the top of a slope before enjoying an exciting run down.

to winter tourists.

Now, rightfully, our organization assumes and recognizes its leadership in a third field, skiing.

In 1936 another member noted:

Some years ago... practically everything the Mountaineers did on skis was unique in this region and made Pacific Northwest ski history... Where once Mountaineers made their weary way to Paradise and Baker, they now can ride on cleared roads to the doors of the lodges... Once the Mountaineer Ski Annual was alone in its field—now we have special twenty page newspaper supplements, practically daily coverage on the sports page throughout the winter and several magazines devoted solely to our skiing. Some will remember when we pleaded with sporting-goods stores to import just a few of the ski specialties we desired.

The Mountaineers “wrote the book,” both figuratively and literally, on organized cross-country skiing as a sport in the Pacific Northwest. The club published six volumes on the sport during the years 1979 to 1983 and continues to produce updated editions describing ski tour routes and skiing and safety techniques. Today “cross-country,” “nordic” or “ski mountaineering” remain the first love of many skiers. Hundreds of enthusiasts strap on their “skinny skis” while the lines at the chair lift grow ever longer.

The Mountaineers Backcountry Skiing Program includes courses in basic techniques for efficient travel over snow, telemark skiing, ski mountaineering, glacier travel and crevasse rescue. It also offers a winter-long program of trips led by experienced volunteers and any winter or spring weekend may see a party setting out on skis to explore the snowy wilderness just as the Mountaineers did in the second and third decades of this century.

Stella Degenhardt, a Seattle resident and a member of the Mountaineers for over 40 years, presently chairs the organization’s History Committee. This article is excerpted from material being gathered for a forthcoming book on the history of the Mountaineers.
The research collections of every state historical society consist of a wide variety of resources—manuscripts, photographs, maps, books and ephemera. It seems that everyone is aware of manuscripts and photographs as primary sources. Ephemera, however, even though it has always been seriously collected by every major western history research repository, is often overlooked by researchers as a valuable resource.

Ephemera is material printed (usually) for a one-time use and then intended to be discarded. Posters, handbills, flyers, time-tables, tickets, catalogs, junk mail, political advertising, programs and brochures are all examples of ephemera. It is often handed out on the street or at rallies, posted in windows or on telephone poles and walls, and it fills mailboxes during political or bond campaigns. Rarely does it survive much beyond the event.

The Washington State Historical Society, because of the collecting interests of its second director, Edward N. Fuller, began its research collections with newspapers and a large body of ephemera. Long before manuscripts and photographs were seriously sought after, thanks to Edward Fuller's foresight, the Society held a fine collection of late 19th- and very early 20th-century ephemera.

Edward Newton Fuller was born in Boston on December 8, 1824, where he received his early education. His family moved to New Hampshire in 1835, and at the age of 18 he began a lifelong career in newspaper publishing with an apprenticeship at the Dover, New Hampshire, Gazette. For the next 40 years Fuller published and edited newspapers in Massachusetts, New Hampshire, New Jersey, Illinois and Utah. In July 1882 he left Chicago for New Tacoma, Washington Territory, where he edited the Tacoma Weekly News. During the course of the next 15 years Fuller was involved with various newspapers in Tacoma and Puyallup.

Always a student of history, Fuller became involved with the Washington State Historical Society from its founding in 1891. Throughout the Society's early minutes there is evidence of Fuller's influence, particularly in regard to the need to collect newspapers and other printed materials. His career in journalism had awakened in him an appreciation for the value of the printed word both from a historical point of view and also from an understanding of the art of typography. Even before he assumed the leadership of the Society, not only did Fuller collect newspapers from around the state, he also diligently gathered handbills, posters and other ephemera of the day. It was Fuller's outstanding collection of such materials that became the core of the Society's growing collection of ephemera of all types.

Charles Hobart, also a newspaperman, was the Society's first secretary (this title has since been changed to director). At that time the secretary also served as librarian of the organization. In February 1898 ill health forced Hobart to resign. Immediately the board of curators met and appointed Edward Fuller temporary secretary, and in May they made the appointment permanent. Now in full charge, Fuller could undertake to build the Society's collections along the lines of his interests while also fulfilling the collecting mandates of the board.

The Washington State Historical Society had, from its inception, sought to define its collecting scope, and at the March 1892 meeting the board of curators instructed the secretary to:

Issue a circular to the citizens of the State urging them and especially those of early residence to forward to the Society as...
at the October 1894 annual meeting the Library Committee could report that, while small, the library was gradually growing. Additions included “twenty volumes of books, 150 pamphlets and several files of newspapers of the state. The Society was the recipient of 120 pamphlets of various kinds, bound volumes of newspapers, unbound files of newspapers from Mr. Edward N. Fuller. . . .” Already his bias toward the printed word was obvious.

At the October 1896 annual meeting the board adopted a revised set of bylaws that once again stated the Society’s objective to

collect, formulate and preserve in permanent form the traditional, record and object history of the state in all their material branches, in its library, museum and picture gallery. . . . in fact everything attainable in these branches that will note and illustrate the State of Washington in its greatness and grandeur in history . . . all to the end that the accomplishment of these, and the results preserved in the archives of the historical society will afford pleasure and information for the citizen, the visitor, the student, and furnish material for the future historian, and satisfaction to coming generations.

Fuller’s report to the board at the October 1900 annual meeting noted, “We have accumulated a large amount of material which when properly classified, bound and shelved will become valuable as a source of history . . . .” Following the board’s directive, Fuller continued to collect, and the Society’s temporary headquarters in the city hall became convenient for use . . . .

Board member Louis W. Pratt reported at the January 1904 meeting of the

need to preserve historical papers, letters, and other documents that, while of no value now, would be of great value to posterity. Members of the society and others were called upon to contribute to the library anything of historical interest for future preservation. “An act of the legislature passed at the last session has made us the custodian for the state of any documents that would be of interest or help preserve the history of this state.”

According to newspaper reports on August 28, 1902, between 10,000 and 15,000 people turned out for this circus. The reports hedged on “Nellie,” claiming only that the “big giraffe [was said] to be the only animal of its kind in captivity.”
The Board had clearly reiterated its mandate to collect and preserve, and found in Edward Fuller an eager, even voracious, collector.

And all the while Fuller had been actively collecting or seeking collections. In August 1902, while querying Northern Pacific Railway General Manager Thomas Cooper about the possibility of the donation of a Northern Pacific property known as the "tourist hotel" to house the Historical Society, Fuller further suggested that:

Arrangements might be made by which your company could deposit in the care of the Historical Society such interesting and valuable articles, objects and miscellaneous railway material as corporations usually care to collect and preserve, illustrative of the resources, productions, scenery and climate of this state, including the historic literature of your line in general and detail, and as far as possible, the published bibliography of the vast country the Northern Pacific has brought into the range of human activity and progress.

Cooper responded promptly that the railway "had in mind another disposition of the tourist hotel property which precludes our considering your suggestion." He failed completely to even mention Fuller's suggestion of the deposit of printed materials relating to the Northern Pacific. Perhaps because the Northern Pacific had by this time moved its headquarters from Tacoma to Seattle, Cooper no longer felt any sense of obligation toward what the railway had once touted as the "City of Destiny."

Fuller recognized the important role that the railroads played in the development of the state, and in an 1896 inventory of his collection he listed "43 current Railroad Literature." He also listed "misc. pamphlets descriptive of territorial lands, time schedules for 1894" of the Northern Pacific, Southern Pacific, Union Pacific, Canadian Pacific and Great Northern railroads.

The inventory included territorial and current pamphlets on Tacoma, Seattle and other smaller communities around the state. He even donated a pamphlet entitled "Abdominal Hysterectomy" by Tacoma physician C. E. Case. Probably because of the collection's great bulk, all of Fuller's inventories fail to list the over 500 handbills, broadsides, brochures and programs that he gathered.

Although in deteriorating health, Fuller continued to collect ephemera from around the city. Of course, he continued to hold newspapers, working daily on organizing and indexing. In early August 1904 Fuller submitted a financial report to the board and on Saturday, August 13, while working in his office at the Society, he suffered an "attack of hernia." He died August 18, ending a long vocation in newspaper editing and publishing and a long avocation devoted to collecting and preserving the historical record.

On August 22 the board adopted a resolution eulogizing Fuller. It expressed the board's gratitude and recognized Fuller's contribution to the development of the Society's collections: "His energies and labors were inspired by love for the work in his charge and by his farseeing conception of its benefits to future generations." Board member Marshall K. Snell noted in a lengthy tribute to Fuller:

I wish to pay my tribute to his pains-taking and unselfish labor; to his zeal in gathering those statistics and making those searches whose value cannot be appreciated by contemporaries but which will doubtless prove of inestimable value to future writers; to the cheerfulness with which he has toiled in this line without adequate compensation or even helpful facilities; and to the man himself, mild, kindly, and most honorable.

Fuller was gone, but his collection remained, a testament to his foresight. Fuller must have been ever mindful of the importance of ephemera because he seems to have gathered it wherever he went. The collection is rich in its variety and breadth. There are gaps—very little from the late 1880s and the mid 1890s—which makes it seem
THE

Chinese Must Go!

Mayor Weisbach

Has called a MASS MEETING for this (Saturday) evening at 7:30 o'clock

AT ALPHA OPERA HOUSE.

To consider the Chinese question.

TURN OUT.

ABOVE: One of nearly a dozen handbills Edward Fuller gathered during the anti-Chinese activities in Tacoma and Seattle in 1885.

TOP RIGHT: Fuller picked up numerous handbills and broadsides issued by real estate dealers offering lots throughout western Washington.

RIGHT: The Klondike gold rush was followed by a series of smaller rushes in other parts of Alaska. This 1901 handbill promotes the Copper River district.

OPPOSITE PAGE: The trip to Nome was lengthy, and steamship lines attempted to sell potential passengers on the comfort on their various accommodations.
ARE YOU GOING TO CAPE NOME

TAKE THE
BEST STEAMSHIP

FOR

CAPE NOME
CAPE YORK AND ST. MICHAELS

THE NORTHWESTERN COMMERCIAL CO.
WILL DISPATCH THE LARGE AND MAGNIFICENT STEAMSHIP

"CENTENNIAL"

ON OR ABOUT

MAY 10, 1900

TACOMA TO CAPE NOME

The "CENTENNIAL" has been in the Government Transport Service for the past year. She is a large and commodious Steamship. Her passenger accommodations will be entirely refitted, including Social Hall, Library, Bathrooms, etc. Free Medical attendance by the Ship's Surgeon. Our rates are no higher than others; our accommodations are unconditionally far superior. GET THE BEST FOR YOUR MONEY. Reservations for passage and berth made now. For rates and other information, apply to

NORTHWESTERN COMMERCIAL COMPANY

CITY TICKET OFFICE
1605 PACIFIC AVE.
COR. 10TH ST., TACOMA.
A. TINLING, Gen'l Agent.

CITY TICKET OFFICE
925 PACIFIC AVE.
COR. 10TH ST., TACOMA.
A. TINLING, Gen'l Agent.
During the late 19th century handbills were often used to recruit agricultural laborers. In both eastern and western Washington the annual hop harvest required a large seasonal labor force. It is likely that some of his collection probably did not survive. However, the mid 1880s, early 1890s, and from 1898 until his death in 1904 are extremely well represented. It appears that after he became secretary of the Society he began to gather in earnest. Indeed, the bulk of the surviving Fuller collection dates from the last six years of his life.

In the earlier periods Fuller saved ephemera relating to the anti-Chinese activities in Seattle and Tacoma, and he preserved a large number of political handbills and local election ballots. In this period we find mainly politically oriented materials. The early 1890s ephemera consists largely of real estate advertisements, mostly for Tacoma subdivisions but also for other areas of western Washington. The last period, from 1898 through mid 1904, contains ephemera of every conceivable sort. There are religious tracts handed out on the street (and so noted), every variety of theater and church announcement and program, posters announcing Alaska gold rush ship sailings (said by one noted present-day dealer to be the finest collection in existence), and flyers and broadsides for wrestlers, psychic mediums and labor organizations. It seems that Fuller saved anything he could pick up or take off of a telephone pole. In fact, a number of posters bear evidence of having been removed from posts or walls, and one has written on it, "Spokane Bill Detached From Walla Walla Electric Pole Sept. 24, 1902." Most pieces have at least year dates written in Fuller's scrawl on them. Fuller seems to have passed no judgments on the causes espoused by the materials he gathered—he apparently just collected it all, somehow knowing that it would one day be of value to historians.

For years the Fuller collection remained in the Society's back rooms, uncared for, crammed in boxes, rolled or folded, and slowly deteriorating. Many individual items were scattered throughout other collections. However, the collection has recently been brought together and archivally housed so that researchers may use it without further damage. It has also been cataloged so that researchers may locate materials through a large number of access points. The collection now receives the sort of use that Fuller once envisioned and that he so hoped for.

After Fuller's death the Society, with three notable exceptions, never seriously gathered ephemera again. Two of the three were "windfall" collections from individual donors. The first was a gift in 1960 by Mrs. Henry Hewitt of her large collection of mainly World War I posters. The second was the donation of 100 circus posters from the late 1930s into the 1960s gathered in Washington by Ernest Jensen and donated by David Sekstrom. The last major collection was built by Society board president Robert Hitchman who made regular additions of anti-war and other protest posters and flyers gathered on the streets of Seattle in the 1960s. He contributed close to 100 pieces of ephemera to what he termed the "Street Literature File." Nearly every item carries the date and circumstances of acquisition written on it in Hitchman's precise penmanship.

Renewed interest in and recognition of the research value of ephemera prompted the Society's Special Collections Division to archivally process, catalog, and properly house all of its ephemera holdings and to once again undertake the serious and systematic collecting of statewide contemporary ephemera. Meanwhile, the Society also eagerly seeks older ephemera to fill in the large gaps. The growth has been phenomenal, numbering several thousand pieces, but there is still much to be gathered as we continue to build on Edward Fuller's rich legacy and inspired foresight in preserving this important record of our state's history.

Edward W. Nolan is the McClelland Curator of Special Collections at the Washington State Historical Society and author of Northern Pacific Views: The Railroad Photography of F. J. Haynes, 1876-1905, as well as several other works on Pacific Northwest history.
HIGHLINE CANAL

Irrigation Comes to Wenatchee

By Keith A. Murray

The Wenatchee Flats, west of the Columbia River and east of Saddle Rock and Castle Rock, must have been a discouraging sight to any would-be settlers before the 1890s. The hills to the south and west showed patches of green bunch grass in the spring, but by July these grassy slopes were burned to a dusty tan. The flatland west of the Columbia was covered with sagebrush and punctuated by huge boulders brought south and scattered by glacial action millennia before.

The native peoples had learned to cope with this forbidding environment over centuries because they found ample water for their daily use in the marshlands at the mouths of small rivers and creeks.
that emptied into the Columbia. Great runs of fish swam in the rivers, and enough wild game grazed in the coulees and canyons that divided the highlands west and south of the Wenatchee Flats to furnish much of their food. They did not try to establish permanent villages on the arid lands between the mountains and the Columbia River.

In any event, the number of Indians living in the coulees and small river valleys of north-central Washington was not great. European fur traders like Alexander Ross or Ross Cox were not interested in farming, and the local Indians did not trade many furs with representatives of the Astorians, the Northwest Company or the Hudson's Bay Company during the first half of the 19th century. For a short time Chinese placer miners panned for gold and built flumes to carry water to their claims, but gold was too scarce even for these hard-working people, and they left their flumes to others. These were still visible as much as two generations later.

The rate of change accelerated after the end of the Civil War. Mineral discoveries in Colorado, Nevada, Montana and Idaho created markets for range cattle, and by the mid-1870s the cattle industry had expanded into what is now eastern Washington. Herds could graze on the open lands of Moses Coulee or Grand Coulee and for part of the year in the higher hills east of the Cascade Mountains. The Indians did not like cattlemen as neighbors, but they tolerated the ranchers with some grumbling. When the cattle were ready for market, they could be herded to mining towns in British Columbia or Montana or the placer mining areas along the Clearwater and Salmon Rivers in Idaho. For commodities other than meat, the mining districts were supplied by mule or pack-horse trains dispatched from such towns as Walla Walla or Lewiston.

The first permanent white settler on the Wenatchee Flats was a Midwesterner named Samuel C. Miller who had tried to make his fortune in California in 1853. He did not become rich, but he earned enough capital to buy a pack train in Walla Walla that carried supplies to the later mines. Pack trains were slow and costly to operate. The miners sought and soon obtained wagon roads between Walla Walla and the Idaho gold fields that were an improvement over mule trails. Soon the pack trains were driven out of business, and Miller moved to the Wenatchee area to try his luck trading with the local Indians. When he reached his flat, sagebrush-covered objective, he found traders already there. As partners, two men named Ingram and McBride had begun trading with Indians at Rock Island but had moved their tiny operation to the Wenatchee Flats. Their chief stock in trade seems to have been whiskey.

On the frontier of the 1870s, selling liquor to Indians was a federal crime. The two traders knew it would only be a matter of time until law enforcement officers came to stop them, so they sold their trading post to Miller and left as quickly as they could. Miller's residence/store was located above the Wenatchee River beside a barely visible road that Sam called Miller Street.

In 1872 Philip Miller, another former miner (no relative of Sam's), arrived in the Wenatchee Flats with several thousand dollars of capital and settled along a tiny creek flowing out of Number Two Canyon below Saddle Rock (the most prominent landmark in Wenatchee). He thought that the creek could take care of any irrigation needs he had. For the first few years he was fortunate, managing to grow hay and some fruit trees that produced "passable wine," which sold well as far away as Ellensburg. Sixteen years later he had about 160 acres cleared of brush and rocks. This he planted in alfalfa.

In March 1877 a congressional act heavily promoted by cattlemen for the modification of the homestead law was signed by President Hayes. Although the cattlemen wanted the law so that they could buy cheap grazing land in arid sections of the Great Plains, Philip Miller realized that he could qualify for land under this new law, known as the Desert Land Act, even though the number of cattle he owned was small. The act provided that anyone in the arid West could be given title to 640 acres additional to his original homestead by an initial payment of 25 cents an acre. If after three years he could prove that he had irrigated a few acres of the new land and was willing to pay an additional dollar an acre, the land was his.
By this time Miller had realized that the creek supplying his homestead was not sufficient for his needs. Accordingly, as soon as he was given temporary permission to use the Desert Land Act, he induced several of his young Pennsylvania relatives to come to Wenatchee and work for him digging a small ditch from Squilchuck Creek to his farm on “Millerdale” Street, only a few miles away. They had little mechanical equipment except horse-drawn scrapers and wheelbarrows, but Miller induced several Indian men to join the crew as hired hands and also hired Jacob A. Shotwell as foreman.

The low mountains south of Wenatchee, which both the Squilchuck and Stemilt Creeks drain, are about 4,300 feet in elevation, and snows are sometimes seen as late as May or even June. Thus, Miller thought that the creeks flowed 12 months of the year. The completed project dramatically increased his crop yields and served as an object lesson to his neighbors that if water could be brought by ditching to the barren land west of the Columbia, they could develop choice farmland as well. Shortly after Miller’s ditch was completed, some of his neighbors dug a parallel ditch, also taking water from the Squilchuck and irrigating new tracts.

In 1891 Jacob Shotwell quit his job as foreman for the Miller property and decided to try fruit farming on his own. He bought land from the Northern Pacific Railroad grant about seven miles upstream from the mouth of the Wenatchee River in a place known as Brown’s Flat. This was on the north side of the river, across from the modern community of Monitor.

Some of Shotwell’s neighbors had tried to draw water from the Wenatchee River by use of water wheels, but this proved unreliable and could not supply enough for farming. Some even tried the laborious method of delivering water to the young orchards with a tank on a one-horse wagon. Shotwell’s land was too far above the river to use such devices. He knew he had to have a ditch with an intake far enough upriver to run the water through a ditch along the side of the hill above him to enable him to irrigate by gravity. In August 1891 he met with two neighbors in Wenatchee, Charles B. Reed and S. T. Sterling, to plan the digging of such a ditch. Frank Reeves, editor and publisher of the Wenatchee Advance, sat in on the meeting as an interested observer.

At first they decided that the job of building a 15-mile ditch was too great for them to do by themselves. They had virtually no money to hire the work done or to buy needed supplies and equipment. They had two things going for them, however. First, although they were not aware of it, the Great Northern Railroad was soon going to run its transcontinental line across the river from their property. Second, Arthur Gunn was moving to Wenatchee.

By 1891 it was clear that the Northern Pacific was not going to build any farther west than Coulee City. On December 11, 1889, John F. Stevens, in charge of James J. Hill’s Great Northern survey crews, discovered the Marias Pass route across the Continental Divide, and Hill knew that this would be his route into Spokane and Seattle. If Stevens could now find a reasonably direct western route across eastern Wash-

The Great Northern Railway bridge across the Columbia River at Rock Island, under construction in 1908.
The first wagon bridge across the Columbia River at Wenatchee, under construction in 1908.

In the Fairhaven district of Bellingham you can still see the results of these threats, for local enthusiasts built a small city in hopes that the Great Northern would locate its major terminus on Bellingham Bay.

Hill's business rivals, meanwhile, were so busy squabbling about Seattle waterfront rights and driving the costs of potential bay shore sites so high that, in disgust, Hill threatened to build his terminal in another Puget Sound town.

In the spring of 1892 the railroad had begun building a bridge across the Columbia at Rock Island and had chosen the site of its passenger and freight station on the banks of the Columbia about a mile and a half from the original village of Wenatchee. After it reached the Wenatchee River, the line followed its south bank almost to Mission, which is now known as Cashmere.

In 1892 Stevens reported that by following the Wenatchee River through Tumwater Canyon a crossing could be reached at an elevation of about 4,000 feet.

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Though the road passed Shotwell's property on the opposite side of the river, he knew he would "make it" only if he could dig his ditch, and that would take more capital than he had. What produced the capital probably did not seem like much at the time, but it actually made all the difference in the world. A Spokane banker named J. J. Brown decided to branch out and establish the first bank in Wenatchee when he learned that the Great Northern planned to make this tiny community into a modest-sized city. At the end of April 1892 the Columbia Valley Bank opened its doors in a false-fronted store on Miller Street and sent 26-year-old Arthur Gunn of Walla Walla to be cashier and manager.
If Judge Burke is thought to have been "the man who built Seattle," as his biographer claimed, then Arthur Gunn was the man who built Wenatchee. He originally came to Walla Walla with his father, who had been appointed "General Missionary" in the new State of Washington for the Presbyterian Church. Gunn had worked his way through college as a newspaper employee in Kansas City, then after his graduation became city editor for two years on a newspaper in Joliet, Illinois.

Gunn came to Washington looking for a new opportunity in newspaper work and found it in Kelso, where he started the Kelso Courier. He stayed with this newspaper for two more years, then sold it and moved to Spokane, where he became an employee of Brown's bank. When he sent Gunn to the new Wenatchee bank, Brown kept the title of president but otherwise left Gunn almost completely in charge of the day-to-day operations. Arthur Gunn was a genuine "mover and shaker" and was known as a developer when this was not a term of reproach.

Part of his career reads like something out of a Hollywood Western movie script. At a time when the only means of moving money from Spokane to Wenatchee was in a horse-drawn wagon driven across the dusty eastern Washington plateau with the coin and bills hidden in suitcases under the front seat, there was always the danger of robbery along the way. Most of the time the wagon was guarded by armed men pretending to be "hunting parties," with their loaded rifles thrust beside them into the saddle. Gunn once had to make such a trip alone with no guard.

As railroad construction neared Wenatchee, a temporary rail line was built between the unfinished Rock Island bridge and the new Wenatchee town site. Supplies and workers crossed the Columbia on a ferry not far from the new station. When the bridge was finished the tracks in Douglas County were removed and the line rebuilt between Malaga and the Wenatchee River.

At the same time, Arthur Gunn became local agent for James Hill and the railroad. He persuaded Hill to deed sites near his line to business owners and residents of the old town who were willing to move their buildings near his railroad station.

That was the end of Sam Miller's trading post. All through the summer of 1892 business buildings and homes were pulled across the flats, dodging house-sized boulders on their way. This included the Columbia Valley Bank building. Gunn watched the transformation with interest, though he continued as bank manager at the same time.

On January 6, 1893, the last spike of railroad was driven at Scenic, Washington, though there was not yet a tunnel through the crest of Stevens Pass; the tracks had to use a series of switchbacks to get over the divide. On June 18 the first through train from the Mississippi to Puget Sound left for the West Coast, reaching Wenatchee three days later. This was almost the same day that two business failures in New York set off a stock market crash that plunged the country into the Panic of 1893.

Meanwhile, Jacob Shotwell and his associates had been laboriously excavating their proposed route for an irrigation canal. Like Miller's short Squilchuck ditch, Shotwell's was a success from the start, but it had taken almost five years to complete. When homesteaders on Warner Flat, west toward Peshastin from Shotwell's orchard, petitioned him to extend his ditch toward them, he did so, successfully irrigating a half section on Warner Flat.

The success of these private projects made it clear that desert land could be farmed if irrigation ditches were built on the hills behind the flat slopes toward the rivers below. It was also clear that Shotwell's canal was much too small to irrigate the thousands of acres of land that lay between the new railroad town and the western hills.

Even during the depression, Shotwell approached Arthur Gunn to enlist his help in raising money for an extension of the canal to the east, below the rocky crag where the Ohme Gardens are presently situated. There was a tremendous potential market for water if the Shotwell ditch could be enlarged and its water carried across the Wenatchee River to lands south.

As an agent for James Hill, Gunn felt that he might get some help from his employer. After some consultation, Hill loaned Gunn and Shotwell $1,500 to enlarge the ditch and lay plans for a much more comprehensive irrigation system for the entire valley.

The first result was that Gunn formed the Wenatchee Water Power Company and obtained enough additional funds to buy Shotwell's ditch. The extension of the existing canal to Olds Station was then completed. This small project became known as the Gunn ditch. Like the other, this minor extension proved successful. The next goal was to build some kind of flume or bridge to carry water across the Wenatchee River at an elevation sufficient to allow gravity flow over the entire area.

Area citizens had learned by now to trust Arthur Gunn. Under his management the Columbia Valley Bank was one of only two Central Washington financial institutions between Yakima and the Canadian border to survive the effects of the depression. Even though he knew money would be hard to get, Gunn now made the "Highline" canal project his own special mission.

Gunn resigned his banking position and opened a successful real estate office. He also became manager of the Wenatchee Development Company. This organization, started in 1888, had accomplished little other than the purchase of land in the boulder-covered flatlands at the old town site on Miller Street. With Gunn in charge, it was a different story. Once again he consulted with Hill, who approved of the canal project and agreed to help Gunn do the job as soon as economic conditions improved.

Nothing happened until the depression was over four years later. There were still little more than 500 people living in the Wenatchee area, according to the census of 1900. But like any good promoter, Gunn looked for...
prospective clients or customers wherever he might find them. For example, when a congregation of Dunkard Brethren from North Dakota wanted to escape the difficulties of living in that harsh state during the depression, they sent Elder A. B. Peters to Washington in 1899 in search of a new home. Elder Peters went first to Waterville, which was about the size of Wenatchee and had a generously flowing well for domestic water. Waterville farmers had successfully practiced dry farming in nearby wheat fields.

When Gunn heard that Peters was looking for a place to bring his friends, he rushed to Waterville posthaste and brought Peters back through the steep and narrow dirt road down Corbaley Canyon to Wenatchee as soon as he could get him away. He took Peters to the orchards supplied by the Shotwell ditch, delaying until dusk, the story goes, to climb a small hill and show Peters the potential of the Wenatchee Flats as soon as they could bring water from the Wenatchee River.

In the gathering dark Peters could see the sagebrush and boulders only dimly, while Gunn prophesied a brilliant future for Wenatchee. Peters went again to the Shotwell ditch and then asked Gunn to return with him to North Dakota to tell of his plans for the future. Gunn went and presented his case to the church members. The result was what became known as the Sunnyslope Colony. Three different groups of migrants came over a period of several months. They planted crops and waited for irrigation through some extension and enlargement of the Shotwell ditch system.

The Gunn ditch extension was completed in 1898, the same year that the depression ended. Several hundred acres of land in the Sunnyslope area north of the Wenatchee River were brought under cultivation “with astonishing results.”

In 1901 Laughlin McLean, a former railroad engineer, insurance salesman, cattleman, town site promoter and real estate salesman, moved to Wenatchee and immediately became a major supporter of the Highline Canal. He helped organize a mass meeting of ranchers and businessmen and proposed that an almost forgotten survey of a potential canal route be professionally checked for accuracy. Before the meeting ended those present donated $250 to pay the surveyors’ fee. The surveyors reported that the original surveys made by Shotwell and others were accurate and said that the project was feasible.

Raising capital for a project of this size within such a small, impoverished community was the main problem. Some of the local citizens had second thoughts and denounced it as an over-expensive construction project and the height of folly. But if the Highline Canal was not dug, the alternative was to leave the Wenatchee Flats to its centuries-old sagebrush and boulders. Though the facton favorable to canal construction was not large, it was vocal. This group supported the idea that W. T. Clark of Yakima be hired to find the financing and dig the ditch.

Clark had only recently completed a 26-mile irrigation canal between Selah and Moxee in the Yakima District. That was more than twice the length of the proposed Highline Canal through Wenatchee. The Moxee ditch had been sufficient to water 8,000 acres of land. When a Wenatchee delegation met with him, Clark told them he would build the canal and sell the bonds to pay for it if his chief engineer, Marvin Chase, would also be hired to oversee construction.

Chase came to Wenatchee to examine the proposed plans and found them satisfactory. He returned to Clark with a favorable report. Clark in turn approached Robert Livingstone of Portland, president of the Oregon Mortgage Company, whose funding sources were in Great Britain. Clark estimated the cost of the entire project at no more than $225,000, but that proved to be only about half of the final figure.

When Livingstone demanded as collateral a lien on the property of every farmer who stood to benefit from the canal, they balked. It seemed to the landholders that they were assuming all the risk, and if the canal did not accomplish its goals they would be ruined. Livingstone ordered each user to pay $60 dollars an acre for water rights, and opponents insisted that this was far more than free river water should cost.

Apparently McLean and some of the young Wenatchee businessmen were persuasive, however. With the aid of such men as L. H. Tichenal, F. M. Scheble and John Gellatly, he met with almost every rancher in the valley and got them to agree to the terms of the contracts. When he had enough signatures he announced publicly that construction was ready to begin.

A pipeline bridge was first built across the Wenatchee River to connect the Shotwell-Gunn water with the new construction above Wenatchee Flats. This pipeline was planned as a siphon to make the water flow freely without pumping it up a hill and back to the level it reached on the north bank. Interestingly, this siphon was built by Jacob Miller, the son of Emil Miller who had dug the original Squilchuck ditch to his uncle’s early hay and fruit farm.

As work progressed it became apparent that construction would cost almost double Clark’s original estimate. While Clark had agreed in his contract to complete the work for his original bid, there was obviously concern that he might be forced into bankruptcy, which would have stopped the Highline job abruptly.

As long as funds were available construction continued until the ditch turned toward the Columbia on Ferry Street. In 1904 water flowed through the system from near Dryden to Sunnyslope and across the flats to the Columbia for the first time. Most of the canal was about fifteen feet wide and four feet deep. Even today, over 90 years later, it is still in use.

It was clear to the promoters that the fees collected from the acreage being served were not enough to clear the costs of construction and future maintenance. There was also the problem of what to do with the surplus water at the end of the ditch. The obvious place to
take it was across the Columbia to irrigate new tracts of land in East Wenatchee, which in 1904 was as barren as the Wenatchee Flats had been in 1890.

The Columbia, of course, is a much wider river than the Wenatchee, and to build a costly bridge that only carried a pipeline to an almost uninhabited eastern side was foolish unless it could also act as a toll bridge for new settlers who would use it to bring their harvested crops to the freight cars at the railroad on the west side.

At the end of 1904 W. T. Clark teamed with the ubiquitous Arthur Gunn to get the bridge built. Gunn had not been inactive while the Highline project was under construction. He knew that the young town needed electricity and telephone service. Accordingly, he organized and managed the Wenatchee Electric Light and Power Company, which eventually became part of Puget Sound Power and Light and then was taken over by the Chelan County Public Utility District. Gunn also worked to bring telephones into households and businesses by way of the Farmer's Telephone Company.

Gunn now assumed the position of president of the Wenatchee Bridge Company. His reputation among the townspeople was so positive that he obtained financial support and participation from many local citizens who were thought never to subscribe to anything that did not give immediate monetary profits. The $20,000 needed to float a bond issue for construction of the wagon bridge and pipeline to Douglas County was subscribed in short order. To obtain political and financial help from the state, Gunn ran for office as a state senator in 1904 and served one term in Olympia.

Work began on the bridge in February 1906, and the first wagons crossed the river on January 9, 1908. The cost turned out to be about $125,000, but the increase of revenue from the sale of water rights was enough to make the payments associated with the entire Highline Canal system.

Historian D. W. Meinig notes that Waterville leaders were not delighted with the triumphs of Clark and Gunn and their supporters:

Waterville . . . did [its] best to rally Douglas County opposition to a bridge across the Columbia at Wenatchee; when that failed, they tried to insist that it be a toll bridge instead of free, all in fear of losing the trade of the "southside," the southerly portion of Badger Mountain and adjacent river country.

The effort failed, however. Almost at once Wenatchee businesses began campaigning to make the bridge part of the state highway system. Eventually the state did pay $125,000 (the cost of construction) for the bridge, and tolls were never collected.

To understand the implications of Waterville's failure, one has only to note the census returns for several decades. In 1890 Waterville had 293 inhabitants, Wenatchee around 100. Ten years later the Great Northern Railroad had brought a Wenatchee rail connection with the East and Seattle. Waterville had none. By 1900 Waterville had 482 residents to Wenatchee's 451. By 1910 it was no longer a contest—950 people lived in Waterville, 4,050 in Wenatchee. In 1920 Wenatchee had six times the population of Waterville. Today Waterville has the same number of residents it had 80 years ago—995. Wenatchee has over 22,000.

Keith A. Murray is Distinguished Professor of History, emeritus, of Western Washington University and a former board member of the Washington State Historical Society, 1968-1986.
The door to the crowded assembly room opened and a gray, emaciated figure was escorted down the aisle. Old friends and spectators gasped when they saw the recently robust man who was about to become their governor. At 61 Samuel Goodlove Cosgrove, a wealthy lawyer and farm property owner from the southeastern corner of the state and long active in Republican politics, had come to assume the office he had sought for a lifetime. The formal ceremony would take place in this turreted stone courthouse that served as Washington's capitol building, but celebrations were tinged with apprehension about the health of the new governor.

It was late afternoon on January 27, 1909. Cosgrove had arrived by private railroad car that morning from Paso Robles, California, where he had been recuperating from Bright's disease since his November election. His improved health had permitted the trip north to take the oath of office, but his physical weakness and winter storms delayed the trip. Cosgrove once contended that no formal inauguration was required, that he had become governor when the election was certified. But formalities prevailed. Until his good spirits and improved weather overrode such notions, it was speculated that the oath might be taken aboard his car at the Olympia station.

Outgoing Governor Albert E. Mead and Lieutenant Governor Marion E. Hay met Cosgrove at the station, and he was driven to the capitol in an automobile loaned by wealthy suffragist May Arkwright Hutton of Spokane.

In brief remarks Cosgrove apologized that his condition prevented the customary formal address. He thanked the assembled people for their confidence, called for a local option law on liquor sales, changes in the railroad commission, and amendments to the primary election law. Expressing the hope of a quick return, he noted that the state would be in good hands with Hay as acting governor, and then he headed back to his railroad car.

The following morning Governor Cosgrove conducted slight bits of official business and appointed his son Howard to undertake certain official business, serving in effect as Hay's private secretary. Then Cosgrove began his return to Paso Robles where he would die eight weeks later.
Like many of his fellow citizens, Washington's sixth state governor had a midwestern upbringing. The sixth of twelve children, he was born on April 10, 1847, in Tuscarawas County in eastern Ohio and grew up on a farm in the northwest corner of the state. At 16 he enlisted in a Civil War volunteer regiment, from which he was mustered out in July 1865, having participated in General William Sherman's march to the sea. After a reunion with his family, he upset his father by turning down an offer of 85 acres of farmland in favor of attending college.

Cosgrove entered Ohio Wesleyan University at Delaware, Ohio, in fall 1866. Fellow classmates included several young men who later became politically active in Washington state, as well as future Vice President Charles W. Fairbanks. After interrupting school several times to raise personal funds, he graduated in 1873 with a bachelor of arts degree in the classics. Because college rules required graduates to have middle names, a professor bestowed the name Goodlove upon Cosgrove, which historian Edmond S. Meany implies reflected his general nature.

He embarked on a teaching career and studied law, eventually receiving a master's degree from Ohio Wesleyan. While superintendent of a school district in Cleveland, Cosgrove finished the 1878 high school graduation ceremonies by calling to the platform a 19-year-old class member who had been his student. Before the surprised assemblage a local minister married the couple. Zephorina Edgerton Cosgrove raised the couple's three children, engaged in church and charity work and civic undertakings, and outlived her husband by over 40 years.

Shortly after their marriage the Cosgroves journeyed west, first to an unsuccessful mining venture in Nevada and then to San Leandro, California. After a year they moved farther north to the small farming community of Pomeroy in southeastern Washington. Surrounded by rolling hills, the town had been settled several decades earlier and platted by Joseph M. Pomeroy in 1878. A raucous stop on an established stage route between Walla Walla and Lewiston, Pomeroy acquired railroad access and in 1881 became the seat of newly established Garfield County. Here Cosgrove opened a law office, began to purchase surrounding farmland, and entered into civic affairs.

Abundant opportunities existed for a successful lawyer in the rapidly growing town. Cosgrove became a member of the first city council, a trustee and Sunday school superintendent of the local Methodist Episcopal Church, and the first commander of the county post of the Grand Army of the Republic. As his political circles widened, he campaigned for Republicans in elections near and far, and regularly attended territorial and state conventions of his party.

In spring 1889 Cosgrove was elected as a delegate to the convention that would create a constitution for the aborning state, the only delegate who later became governor. He came within 15 votes of being selected for convention president and served on a number of committees: military affairs, appointment and representation, convention rules, and state, school and grant lands.

Over the next 15 years Cosgrove assumed active roles and responsibilities locally and statewide. Elected mayor of Pomeroy for five one-year terms during the 1890s, he took credit for giving the city a sound financial basis during a national depression. He served on the local school board as well. He was also active in farmers' efforts to secure lower railroad rates and chaired a Walla Walla meeting protesting the practices of large companies.

Meanwhile, Cosgrove became commander of the Grand Army of the Republic for Washington and Alaska, and in 1895 he was elected to the third highest position of the national organization. He rose to state leadership and national participation in the Independent Order of Odd Fellows and continued to campaign for Republican candidates. Such activities enabled him to travel frequently through his own and other states, meeting political leaders and others, making speeches and acquiring a wide range of acquaintances that would lead eventually to political success. During these years Cosgrove continued a lucrative law practice. He owned large parcels of farmland in the Palouse Hills, though he himself did not actively farm, and he dabbled in mining ventures.

It is said that when the young Cosgrove turned down his father's offer of a farm, he voiced his ambition to become governor of a state. He pursued this objective throughout his adulthood. His biographer contends that Cosgrove "cherished the desire to be governor from the time Washington achieved statehood." In some respects this seems a naïve goal for the
Cosgrove was known throughout the state by party regulars and citizens alike, and he had fewer political enemies than most of his contemporaries.

Cosgrove traveled the state in 1892, acknowledged as a potential gubernatorial candidate. The *Everett Times* called him the "strongest man now in the field" as it praised his personality and general popularity, his youth, and perhaps most important, his distance from older political rings and commitments. Citing Illinois and Indiana candidates who campaigned as "Private Fifer" and "Private Chase," the Times suggested, "Why not start a Boom in Washington for Private S. G. Cosgrove . . . ? He is an able man, a fine lawyer and would make a capital governor."

Other western Washington newspapers gave his visits warm coverage; the slightly cautious South Bend paper commented that "he will receive a cordial support from this part of Washington." Suggestions that the 1892 Republican nomination should pass to an eastern Washingtonian were ignored when John H. McGraw of Seattle was nominated and elected.

Four years later Cosgrove was a less serious candidate, although there was some activity on his behalf, and a few newspapers, including the loyal *Everett Times*, spoke in his favor. But the tide was swinging toward the Populist movement, and Cosgrove stepped aside. Nevertheless, one Populist editor and former Democrat acknowledged that "if a Republican has any chance of election . . . Cosgrove would be found mixed up in none of the dirty, disgraceful things that have made this State a byword as the chief home of the boodler in all this broad land of ours."

It was indeed a Populist year. P. C. Sullivan, weak Republican candidate and a Tacoma attorney long active in the party, was defeated by Democrat-Populist John Rankin Rogers. The new party also swept Cosgrove's bailiwick where he lost a bid for Garfield County's legislative seat by 23 votes (443 to 420) although he carried Pomeroy solidly.

In 1900, with enthusiasm for Populism waning, Cosgrove declared his candidacy in late March. He was known throughout the state by party regulars and citizens alike, and he had fewer political enemies than most of his contemporaries. He enjoyed good press statewide, even though he lacked the solid base or party machine of some other state leaders. A likely first choice among only a few convention delegates, he could become the second choice of many or a strong compromise candidate if the convention deadlocked. It was a position he would parlay to success eight years later aided by a new feature, the direct primary election.

In 1900 the convention system still existed; party leaders organized machines and lined up convention delegates. Under such conditions, Cosgrove's prospects seemed to rest on a possible deadlock between the contentious forces of United States Senator John Wilson and rising star Levi Ankeny. But when Wilson captured the neighboring Whitman County delegation—allegedly by promising to deposit state funds in the Colfax bank—Cosgrove's regional support eroded. Cosgrove chaired the state convention and was selected as a presidential elector, but the gubernatorial nomination went to Wilson's choice, J. M. Frink. By November Governor Rogers had dropped his Populist designation and was reelected as a Democrat.

Governor Rogers' death a year later made Republican Henry McBride governor. Cosgrove supported McBride in 1904, but the Republican convention was divided among factions and over opposition to McBride's proposal for a railroad commission. Railroad forces and western Washington delegates ended McBride's chances, and the surprise nominee was Albert E. Mead of Bellingham. Yet again, Cosgrove was not without honor. He chaired the convention and was a delegate to the national convention, where he voted for former college classmate Charles Fairbanks for Vice President.

Cosgrove's strength of character and party loyalty, along with his resiliency, or perhaps an
uncommon ability to maneuver among political factions, once again displayed themselves. He supported Mead as candidate and then as governor. Mead’s hometown newspaper accorded Cosgrove “a good share of the credit” for swinging eastern Washington to Mead.

Mr. Cosgrove is a pacificator, not a belligerent; he is an organizer; not a revolutionist. He does not abuse; he does not assail; he does not give the lie direct. Having a rare gift of eloquence and a profound knowledge of men and affairs, he is able to accomplish results where others fail.

For all this, the Bellingham Herald praised Cosgrove for warning delegates that they had “been unduly inflamed by the cry of the ‘railroad lobbyists’” and for urging party harmony. Cosgrove did not go unrewarded: Mead appointed him to the University of Washington Board of Regents.

Other McBride supporters were less willing to embrace the new governor or accept the dominance of railroad interests in their party. To them the greater issue was whether large corporations or the people would govern the state. The old Populism was being supplanted by a new Progressivism, and insurgency was growing within the state party as it was nationally. Even under the new governor and legislature, political concerns about pork-barrel trade-offs led to the creation of a commission authorized to fix rates and establish some supervision over railroads.

The events of 1904 and mounting disgust with the convention system combined with other reformist tendencies to put in place the framework that would allow Cosgrove’s election four years later. Small groups of political reformers were focusing on two major reforms, direct legislation measures and the direct primary election. Clubs were formed in various parts of the state to agitate for these reforms, and such well-established organizations as the State...
No law could have been better tailored for Cosgrove. He may have lacked a powerful machine, but he had few enemies and was potentially everybody’s second choice.

essentially, the Direct Primary Law removed the power of selecting party candidates from political leaders and conventions and gave it to the voters. At the primary elections held in September of each election year, a candidate had to receive at least 40 percent of the vote to become the party candidate in November. But voters also marked second choices. If no candidate had 40 percent, the first and second place votes for each would be added together and the person with the largest total would become the party candidate.

No law could have been better tailored for Cosgrove. He may have lacked a powerful machine, but he had few enemies and was potentially everybody’s second choice. As early as August 1907 he was on the campaign trail renewing acquaintances and cementing relations with party loyalists and ordinary voters all over the state. He sparred with his friend Governor Mead (“Mead and I are trying to persuade each other to retire from the race”), and resolved to campaign “without saying a word against men cherishing the same political aspirations as I do.” He visited each of the state’s (then) 37 counties and attended conventions of influential organizations. A likeable man with a “jolly” personality and a sense of goodwill toward all, he made many friends and few enemies.

Thus he occupied a comfortable middle ground between his more extreme opponents. Former governor Henry McBride angered party leaders and powerful interests when he supported certain reforms and fought for a railroad commission. Although he sought to be viewed as favoring local option on prohibition, his supporters included the Knights of the Royal Arch, the acknowledged spokespersons of saloon and liquor interests. Incumbent Governor Mead, by contrast, was associated in the public mind with railroad interests and supported by the powerful Anti-Saloon League. Cosgrove could steer a middle course. Early in his career he had fought the farmers’ fight against inequitable railroad rates, and yet party conservatives regarded him as safe. He was more successful than his opponents at conveying a moderate stance on the liquor question as he favored local option by county.

Diehard Mead supporters could not give their second place votes to McBride any more than McBride supporters could give theirs to Mead, but both factions could accept the popular Cosgrove as their second choice. In McBride’s home county, for instance, the Seattle Times favored the former governor but nevertheless acknowledged that if Cosgrove “were to be nominated for Governor of Washington, no man nor woman would ever have to blush for any act that would occur under his administration.” Moreover, although most large city newspapers supported McBride or Mead, Cosgrove was favored by many smaller journals.

The results of this first election under the Direct Primary Law confirmed the Cosgrove tactic and appeal. McBride edged Mead in first place votes, 33,507 to 32,357, while Cosgrove’s 25,519 votes made him a distant third. But the second place votes altered the picture. Cosgrove won 32,148 votes of those for an overall total of 57,667, well above Mead’s total of 49,402 and McBride’s 47,594. It was a remarkable situation: most everyone’s second choice defeated two more powerful politicians.

But few voters were aware of a personal and dramatic struggle that was taking place behind the scenes. Cosgrove had begun his campaign a vigorous man, one eager and prepared for the challenges ahead. A Seattle newspaper described his activities:

Into every little town and big city in the state he went, traveling day and night . . . missing sleep and meals, always meeting people, shaking them by the hand, asking them to vote for him. He was looked upon as a joke, but he kept at it.

He was 60 years old and hale and hearty . . . It was an ordeal that would have prostrated even a younger man, but the old soldier stuck to it for ten months.
Four decades after Cosgrove's death, residents in the small town of Pomeroy undertook to memorialize their most prominent citizen. When he was an officer in the Grand Army of the Republic, Cosgrove had been instrumental in placing a statue of a Union soldier on the Garfield County courthouse lawn. Representative of a generic Union soldier, the statue was patterned after a young Marine from Spokane who had lost his life to aid a comrade. But time was not kind to the statue, and by 1951 the face had become eroded. Judge E. V. Kuykendall, other locals, and members of the Cosgrove family sought to replace the face with that of the governor. Funds were raised, but efforts to have the work done by a Spokane metal fabricator were unsuccessful.

Meanwhile, the body of the statue also began to erode, and Kuykendall considered replacing the entire statue with a bust of the governor. He turned to Dr. Avard Fairbanks, a prominent University of Utah sculptor who had just completed a statue of Marcus Whitman for the rotunda in the national capitol in Washington, D.C. Fairbanks agreed to make the casting for a minimal fee, and appropriate photographs and sketches were sent to him. Correspondence over many years reveals delays and confusion. An increasingly prominent Fairbanks became busy with assignments in the United States and Europe while a frustrated Kuykendall wondered if the Cosgrove statue would ever be completed. He encountered continued promises and evasions. "I have never met with such utter frustration on any project," an aging Kuykendall wrote Cosgrove's grandson. "It seems he has sidetracked our project for other more remunerative jobs."

Members of the Cosgrove family sought a return of their donation to the project, especially following the death and estate settlement of Myra Kinnear, the governor's daughter. Pomeroy citizens who took over the project from an ailing Judge Kuykendall were told that the bust had been completed but was missing and had apparently been stolen. Finally in midsummer of 1981, more than 30 years after the project was begun, the sculptor's son visited Pomeroy and then recounted the remarkable story of the bronze sculpture:

There is an interesting history to this particular bronze casting. At the time that my father was in Walla Walla arranging with the committee for the Statue of the Statue of Marcus Whitman, he met Judge Kykendall [sic] who commissioned the portrait of Governor Cosgrove. It was completed to the Judge's satisfaction and a cast was made at Roman Bronze Foundry. It was delivered to Salt Lake City, but some problem and delay occurred and the financing had not been met. It was stored, and about that time the Judge died. Later someone broke into the storage area and stole the crated portrait. Some years passed and it was offered for sale in a public market at a fraction of its true value. An acquaintance of the family recognized the portrait to be the work of my father and purchased it, later notifying him. They were surprised to find that they had bought a stolen masterpiece. Nevertheless, he rewarded them for the return by giving them two other fine pieces of his statuary in porcelain. They were pleased to have something to show in their home. The portrait was very large for the average living room.

The heroic bronze portrait is now available and is suitable for placing on the grounds of the courthouse.

The bust was indeed shipped and installed on the pedestal that had once held a Union Marine. Later the Kinnears and the Pomeroy Kiwanis Club placed a plaque on the pedestal honoring "Samuel G. Cosgrove, 1847-1909, 7th Governor, State of Washington 1909, State Commander Grand Army of the Republic." The plaque further indicates that the names inscribed on the pedestal are those of Civil War and GAR veterans.

*The plaque err. Cosgrove was the sixth, not the seventh, state governor.*

COLUMBIA 29 WINTER 1995/96
Lieutenant Governor Marion E. Hay served as acting governor and succeeded Samuel Cosgrove in March 1909.

A week after his victory, the governor-elect headed for the sunnier climate and hot springs of Paso Robles, hoping to build up his energy and strength.

But extensive travel and speaking engagements weakened him. Just after the Republican state convention in May 1908, Cosgrove took sick and returned to his Pomeroy home to recuperate. An old kidney problem recurred and Bright’s disease weakened him, severely diminishing his power of speech. Opponents who realized he was not well remained unaware of the illness’s severity, largely because his son Howard maintained the campaign at its vigorous level.

Indeed, Howard Cosgrove was the force that truly elected his father governor. His knowledge of his father and his ability to speak in the parent’s behalf made him invaluable. Born in 1881, Howard had received his law degree from the University of Washington in 1904 and entered his father’s law practice, also joining in his political endeavors. Howard conducted correspondence, answered questions, parlayed comments, organized clubs and letter campaigns, and compiled lists of potential supporters and their likely views on major issues. It was arguably the first modern, well-researched and organized campaign aimed toward winning popular approval.

Recognizing that King County with its large population was a key to victory, Howard moved campaign headquarters to the Seattle area. Eventually the candidate himself was able to venture to Seattle for an assault on westside voters. He spoke of a “square deal” for the people and grew as a viable candidate. The September win, then, resulted from a combination of circumstances: a popular candidate who offended few; a direct primary law that favored such a man over more extreme candidates if there were more than two in the race; and the modern, canny campaign instincts and efforts of the candidate and his son.

In a strongly Republican state, the primary victory virtually assured success in the November general election. Cosgrove returned to Pomeroy in mid September and at a rousing reception delivered an enthusiastic speech to his townsfolk. But the man had come home, not to further a campaign against the lackluster Democratic candidate John Pattison, but to recuperate. Howard maintained the campaign with strong support from outgoing Governor Mead. The candidate concentrated on regaining his health while making a few preliminary plans for his administration.

Expressing loyalty to those “friends” who had supported him, Cosgrove intended to appoint supporters to office. Yet he expected to retain those qualified heads of state institutions that he believed were being well run, and he promised to keep his hands off the institutions of higher education. With efforts to remove controversial University of Washington Professor J. Allen Smith fresh in his mind—Cosgrove was a University regent—he stressed that appointments would not be based on efforts to hire or fire specific persons.

By 1908 Washington was clearly back in the Republican fold. Cosgrove carried every county except Pattison’s own—neighboring Whitman County—and the margin there was narrow. But his personal health was not improving. A week after his victory, the governor-elect and his wife headed for the sunnier climate and hot springs of Paso Robles, California, hoping to build up his energy and strength. By now observers and supporters were apprehensive about his ability to assume office and, if he should, when and how.

The state constitution left unclear who would succeed to office if the governor-elect was incapacitated. Would Mead continue in power until Cosgrove took office, or would Lieutenant Governor-elect Marion E. Hay take the job? In any case, how would appointments be handled? Both Mead and Hay assured Cosgrove that they...
desired to cooperate with him. When Howard Cosgrove reported that Mead and Hay had agreed on a friendly court suit to determine who would be acting governor, both principals quickly denied it. In one of his final appointments, Mead demonstrated his spirit of cooperation by sending Pomeroy lawyer M. G. Gose to the state supreme court.

Rumors from California brought conflicting accounts of Cosgrove's condition. Early in December Howard indicated that his father was not expected to live more than 48 hours, but he recovered. Then several days after the intended inauguration date, preparations for the trip north by private railroad car were undertaken and Samuel Goodlove Cosgrove was sworn into office as Washington's sixth governor.

Immediately following the inauguration, legislators met in concurrent session to grant the new governor an indefinite leave of absence; Hay became acting governor. Cosgrove returned to his railroad car where only family members and close friends were allowed to visit. That evening family members, but not the governor himself, attended a subdued “housewarming” at the recently completed and still unfurnished executive mansion; Olympia matrons had loaned furniture for the festivities. The following morning the ailing Cosgrove rose from a couch to meet with newspaper correspondents and showed “the old Cosgrove humor and fire” in a ten-minute interview, much of it centering on his health.

Bits of business were conducted. Cosgrove made known certain wishes for the conduct of the office and appointed Howard as his personal secretary with the authority to sign certain documents. The governor signed two relatively minor bills dealing with the insurance commissioner's office. Significant questions arose over appointments. Harry E. Gilham of Seattle was appointed to the board of control, replacing Matt L. Piles who had resigned at Howard Cosgrove’s request; Kelso shingle manufacturer A. E. Cagwin filled a long-vacant position on the state tax commission; and J. L. Mohundro of Seattle became a bank commissioner. Several other officeholders were retained in their positions. A minor dispute was rumored between Cosgrove and Hay concerning appointments of two superior court judges. A report circulated that although Hay had originally promised to honor Cosgrove's wishes in making appointments, he felt that he was released from any such obligation and would follow his own inclinations once the governor left the state. Thus some jobs, including the highly controversial post of Adjutant General of...
He could eat little more than malted milk and admitted "the outlook is not favorable for me to make a good harvest hand... [but] I am much encouraged over my recovery."

Early on February 2 an exhausted Cosgrove arrived in Paso Robles to resume his special diet, rest and baths in the hot springs. He wrote a friend that the trip north had been tiring: "I returned to this place completely collapsed... My strength is just beginning to return. I am improving quite rapidly, but my weight is down to 105, with a sheet around me." He could eat little more than malted milk and admitted "the outlook is not favorable for me to make a good harvest hand." But he also wrote, "I am now very much encouraged over my recovery."

Late in March his physician was enthusiastic about the patient's condition; there was "no question" but that the disease had been overcome and Cosgrove would be able to "get down to work. He is naturally anxious to return to Washington as soon as possible, but realizes the necessity of remaining here for some weeks. The governor is now confident that he will soon be fully recovered." Visitors had different impressions, one commenting that Cosgrove was out of touch with events taking place in the legislature back home.

Indeed, much was happening in the state capital at Olympia. Even though Lieutenant Governor Marion Hay was entering state government with few political associations, he plunged into activity, forming ties with many Republicans who would soon make up the progressive wing of the party. He used his power as presiding officer of the senate to fire a longtime clerk, appoint friendly committee chairs, and restrict the activities of lobbyists.

As acting governor, Hay moved to become more than a mere caretaker and to put his own stamp on the office. He retained some experienced administrators rather than replace them as Cosgrove had intended. Critics, including the Seattle Times, denied that he had full authority as governor. But these arguments became moot after a surprise telegram announced that Samuel G. Cosgrove had died in the early hours of March 28.

Mrs. Cosgrove and close friends arranged to bring the body north by train the next morning. Cosgrove's son and daughter and Marion Hay scurried south to meet them in Oregon; Hay's absence briefly produced yet another acting governor—Secretary of State Sam Nichols. Hundreds of people viewed the open casket in the capitol rotunda, and condolences came from across the nation.

At a memorial service former governors, legislators and old friends were honorary pall bearers. "The floral offering exceeded any seen in Olympia since the death of Governor Rogers [eight years earlier]. The most elaborately beautiful piece was a floral chair four feet in height, composed of roses and lilies, resting on a mount of violets. This piece was emblematic of the Governor's empty seat and was... the offering of the State officials." As Cosgrove had wished, burial was in the Masonic cemetery in Olympia, a city where he had never lived.

Members of the Cosgrove family moved to Seattle. Howard became a prominent Seattle attorney and, like his father, a University of Washington regent. He died in July 1936.

Ironically, Samuel G. Cosgrove, who served but a day as governor, is one of only three governors to be honored with statuary. After spending his adult life in a quest for the office, he was elected only because of a short-lived primary law that counted second place votes. The circumstances of his health prompted a unique struggle concerning the constitutional role of transition between an ailing governor, his predecessor and his successor. It is a story unique in the history of governorships of this or any state.

AUTHOR'S NOTE

The above article stems from material gathered for a book on Washington's governors being written with three other authors. The author also wishes to thank Neil and Quest Keatts of the Garfield County Museum, Pomeroy, Washington, for their assistance.

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¹ A full statue of Washington's second governor, John Hart, McGraw, stands in the center of a downtown Seattle intersection, and one of the third governor, John Rankin Rogers, was erected in front of the Old Capitol Building in Olympia.
Survival in the Yukon required a certain spirit of innovation, as shown by these two Klondikers mixing their morning hotcakes in their gold pan. Perhaps a mixing bowl wasn't included among the ton of supplies they probably brought to the Yukon, or maybe they lost it on the long trek north. In any case, it's doubtful these men went home millionaires. Of the 100,000 adventurous souls who traveled to the Yukon seeking gold from 1897 to 1899, fewer than 4,000 actually found any, and only a few hundred found enough to be considered rich.

—Karen Larsen
This portrait of Father Peter De Smet shows the determination that made him such an irrepressible traveler.

Father Peter De Smet Crosses the Columbia Bar

BY ROBERT C. CARRIKER

This article is excerpted from Father Peter De Smet: Jesuit in the West by Robert C. Carriker (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1995), with permission of the publisher.

The Society of Jesus—an organization of Catholic men commonly known as Jesuits—ordered Father Peter De Smet to go west in 1840 to evaluate the Oregon Country as a possible new missionary field. Three times during the 1830s the Missouri vice-province of the society had received appeals for missionaries from Rocky Mountain tribes, most notably the Flatheads, but the Jesuits were slow to react. In the report following his first journey to the Pacific Northwest, De Smet urged his superiors to make up for lost time and immediately establish a mission in the Oregon Country lest Methodists like Jason and Daniel Lee convert all the Indians. Accordingly, in 1841 De Smet, assisted by five other Jesuits, returned to the Oregon Country where he established St. Mary’s Mission in the Bitterroot Valley not far from present-day Missoula, Montana. Back in St. Louis again in October 1842, De Smet presented a bold plan to his superiors. He must go to Europe, and there, in a suitable Catholic environment, he would raise money and recruit men for the Rocky Mountain mission.

The outpouring of interest in the Indian missions that De Smet received on the Continent during 1843 quite amazed him. Not only did he raise 145,000 francs (approximately $26,500) in cash and supplies, a princely sum for those days, he also received an audience with Pope Gregory XVI, enlisted eight Jesuit volunteers to the missions, and persuaded six Sisters of Notre Dame du Namur to establish a convent and school in the Oregon Country.

Inasmuch as his authority now extended over numerous persons and several tons of supplies, De Smet decided it would be more economical to charter a ship directly to Fort Vancouver than to cross the Atlantic Ocean and then make an exhausting overland voyage from New York to the Three Forks of the Missouri River. The captain of the brig Infatigable agreed to make the two-ocean voyage to the Columbia River for 18,000 francs ($3,300) as long as he could take along additional paying passengers and supplies; De Smet agreed.

The Infatigable surged into the billowing, stormy North
Sea on January 9, 1844, wrote De Smet, "like a spirited steed released after long being held in check." The ship shuddered, pitched and rolled so continuously that before long De Smet's entire cadre lay incapacitated with seasickness. De Smet likened one of his priests to a green parrot, "clawing at benches, chairs, and the shoulders of passengers" as he made his way to the upper deck where he could, with relief, pay his tribute to King Neptune. The Atlantic Ocean, like the North Sea, remained tempestuous all the way to Cape Horn, the most southerly tip of South America, much to the regret of De Smet and his associates.

Foul weather continued even when the ship had passed into the currents of the Pacific Ocean. For days on end gale-force winds pushed against the vessel with mast-bending force, severely testing the skill of the captain, the courage of the passengers, and the obedience of the crew. "The waves rose in pyramids around us, and masses of water torn off by the fury of the wind were hurled upon us in floods and filled the deck with foam," De Smet recorded in his journal; "The peril was great." As an afterthought he commented, "A tempest is truly a sublime spectacle: the description is infinitely more agreeable than the reality. If there had been less of the frightful about it, probably I should have enjoyed it more." Happily, the danger diminished as the ship proceeded up the coast of South America, and during the first weeks of April the captain even permitted landings in Chile and Peru. After

AFTER STUDYING THE ROCKY shoreline from a distance, the captain steered his vessel out to the open sea to spend the night. That evening De Smet paced the deck alone praying the rosary. Several times he stopped and peered across the open water to Cape Disappointment, wondering about the wisps of smoke he saw arising from campfires on shore. "This sight filled my soul with indescribable emotions," he mused in a moment of deep introspection.

Captain Charles Wilkes, whose United States Exploring Expedition vessel Peacock confronted the Columbia River in 1841 and lost, stated that few navigators have "the hardihood to attempt its entrance except under the most favorable circumstances." Lima, however, the captain set a course directly for the Columbia River, a destination he reached on July 28.

Sighting the Oregon Coast after seven months at sea greatly cheered the passengers. Within a short time, however, all joy on board the Infatigable turned to despair. In order to enter the estuary of the Columbia River the ship would have to pass over the churning tides of the Columbia River bar, "the seven-fanged horror of the Pacific," as some mariners called it, and the captain of the Infatigable now confessed that he had been unable to obtain a chart of the Columbia River before his departure from Antwerp. He therefore knew nothing specific about the entrance to the river. The sailors on board knew by heart the names of the ships that had wrecked on the treacherous bar at the mouth of the river, not the least being the Peacock, Captain Charles Wilkes's flagship for the United States Exploring Expedition. After the Peacock ran aground in July 1841, Wilkes surveyed the entire length of the bar in another ship, reporting depths as shallow as 25 feet on one end and as deep as 78 feet on the other. Without a chart, the captain of the Infatigable did not know which end of the bar to skirt, north or south, in order to reach the estuary.
It would be necessary to be placed in the same position, to understand fully what were then our feelings. Our hearts palpitated with joy as we gazed on those boundless regions, over which were scattered so many abandoned souls—the young, the aged—dying in the shades of infidelity, for want of missionaries; an evil we were about to alleviate, if not for all, at least for a great number.

About ten o'clock the next morning the captain decided to approach the bar. Enormous breakers made him rethink the idea. About that time several passengers on the middle deck observed a demonstration of the distant northern shore; it appeared to be several men firing rifles. This alarmed the crew, and the captain, too, so he tacked about and spent the night in the less threatening open sea. On the morning of the third day the captain brought the Infatigable around again, this time hoping to estimate the depth of the water across the bar by calculating the velocity of the breakers. The captain himself took station at the topmast, but regrettably he could see nothing upon which a sound judgment could be made.

"But just then, when everything seemed desperate," De Smet recalled, "a ship was espied in the distance, in Baker's Bay, making towards Cape Disappointment, and hope sprang up again at once in all hearts. 'Let us see how they come out, then we can go in by the same way,' was the unanimous expression." For an hour the possibility seemed real, as the captain followed the ketch with his spyglass. Then the vessel suddenly dropped out of sight. Next the captain sent the ship's second officer and four volunteers to reconnoiter the mouth of the river in a small boat. The bobbing craft disappeared as it approached the bar and did not return to the ship that night.

July 31, Saint Ignatius's feast day in the calendar of the Society of Jesus, dawned bright and clear on a calm ocean. Twenty-one years earlier De Smet, then a mere scholastic, had celebrated the feast day of his society's founder by ceremoniously scooping a spade full of dirt from the foundation of Saint Stanislaus novitiate in Florissant, Missouri; this day he and his fellow priests prayed five Masses, asking their patron to grant them safe passage across the Columbia River bar. After Mass most everyone scanned the waves looking for the dory carrying the second officer. When it finally appeared in the distance, "Our hearts beat hard; all were divided between hope and fear," De Smet confided, "All awaited uneasily the word which was about to decide our fate." The mate reported that close to midnight he found the passage; it seemed to have at least five fathoms of water and no other obstacles. The captain only needed a moment to digest the news before deciding to make a run at crossing the bar. He knew that sometimes ships sat off the Columbia River for a month waiting for a suitable opportunity to cross and this might be his best chance.

Taking command of the tiller, the captain unfurled all the sails and piloted the Infatigable directly toward the vortex of crashing waves. A serious attitude gripped the crew and passengers on the swaying ship, most of whom stationed themselves at the rail of the forward deck; the sisters, however retired below to pray. As the Infatigable lurched toward the point of no return, the waves crashing on the reef parted to reveal two clear channels in the brownish green water, one veering to the north toward Cape Disappointment, and the other easing toward the opposite shoreline in the direction of Cape Disappointment.
Detail from the Wilkes survey chart of the Columbia River's mouth. The captain of De Smet's ship had to cross the Columbia bar without the aid of a chart.

Clatsop Spit. The captain instructed his navigator to set a course for the southern shore.

De Smet remembered the next few moments in intimate detail for the rest of his life. A sailor tied himself to the outside of the vessel and began to measure the water's depth by casting a lead weight at the end of a line.

The sounders had several times reported seven fathoms—soon six fathoms was heard—after that five then four and one half—presently four, and so it went, always growing less. Each cry was a shock that oppressed our hearts, and at the repeated cry of three fathoms all countenances were visibly discomposed, for that was the vessel's minimum draft; several of us thought that it was all over, that the ship was about to strike... Soon the cry of four fathoms caused something of a revival of joy. But of the five miles of the bar we had as yet made only three. Suddenly a cry of 'three fathoms' plunged us again into consternation—at the cry of two and one-half fathoms I felt, as it were, annihilated. I expected to see the anchor let go, and then a mad scramble for the boats.

But neither the anchor nor the lifeboats let go from the Infatigable, and the captain held his course. The next cast of the lead showed four fathoms, then five, and from that moment on the depth of the water beneath the Infatigable increased at every plunge until the cry of "no bottom" allayed all fears on board. Steadily the ship made its way into the wide, protected estuary of the Columbia River and set its anchor in Youngs Bay.

Later that afternoon, while the passengers and crew celebrated their triumph, a canoe carrying a dozen Clatsop Indians and a white man pulled alongside the Infatigable and requested permission to come aboard. Using sign language, the Indians told the ship's officers that no previous ship had crossed the bar using the uncharted southern channel. James Birnie, superintendent of the Hudson's Bay Company post at Astoria, clarified the matter. When the Indians alerted him to the presence of a ship offshore, he said, he crossed the estuary to Cape Disappointment and attempted to illuminate the proper side by using fires, flags and guns; but apparently the Infatigable chose to ignore his advice. To the contrary, De Smet hastened to explain, "We had indeed observed all these signals, but seafaring makes people suspicious; it was feared that it was some ambush of the Indians, desirous of capturing the vessel," and therefore the captain favored the southern side. While the captain believed that luck carried his ship across the untested side of the Columbia River bar, De Smet was sure that Saint Ignatius had guided the ship to the estuary with divine power.

Robert Carriker is a Professor of History at Gonzaga University, where he has taught frontier and Pacific Northwest history for 29 years, and has written three books on the American West.
This turn-of-the-century canned salmon label provides colorful documentation of one of Washington state's most important industries. The Society's Special Collections include labels from other significant regional products such as apples, pears, rhubarb, and cedar shingles. These labels not only document the industries for which they were created, they also demonstrate the arts of the printer and the advertising graphics designer. Our history is documented in many ways—manuscripts, printed books, photographs, and ephemera like the can label above.
George Roger Chute's 1938 study of the Northwest halibut fishery strongly supported Native American fishing rights and practices—but it was never published!

By David M. Brumbach

Kwakiutl woman preparing halibut for drying.
or centuries Native Americans from Neah Bay to Alaska had harvested large quantities of halibut, but a serious depletion of the resource began with the coming of the white fishermen in the late 1880s. And by the early years of this century there was clearly a crisis. In 1923 concern for the fishery resulted in Canada and the United States forming the International Fisheries Commission (often called the International Halibut Commission). That same year the two countries agreed to limit the halibut season and the size of the catch. In 1935 R. H. Fielder, chief of Fisheries Industries for the Federal Bureau of Fisheries, invited George Roger Chute to come to Seattle to research and write an economic report on the North Pacific halibut fishery. Chute's assignment was part of an ongoing effort to better understand and conserve the fishery.

Roger Chute was born in southern Minnesota but spent his childhood in eastern Washington, first in the Yakima Valley at Outlook and then on a farm along the Columbia River between Wallula and Burbank. In 1925 he graduated from Stanford University with a degree in economics. To help pay his way through college he worked for the Bureau of Fisheries, collecting data along the Mississippi River system and the Gulf Coast. After graduation he held jobs with the Federal Bureau of Fisheries Industries for the Federal Bureau of Natural Resources. While working for the state of California he conducted an investigation into trawler fishing off the Pacific Coast, and his lengthy report helped bring about new regulatory legislation. When not in government employ, Chute served in the merchant marine and wrote for the New York Fishing Gazette. For about three years he was editor and part owner of a California-based journal, West Coast Fisheries. Chute's knowledge of fisheries, as well as his journalism skills, indicated that he was the right man to write a report on the halibut industry.

However, Chute was not one to stick to a narrow task. Instead of limiting his study to economics, he decided to write a general history of the West Coast halibut fishery. He believed that this was necessary in order to place the economic aspects in a proper context. He also felt that, because government publications were so often poorly written, the general reading public usually ignored them and, therefore, they had little or no effect. Relying on his journalistic skills, he determined to write an interesting and informative report.

Over the next several months, following a practice he had used while doing his trawler research, Chute set about gathering information from those who were directly involved in the fishery. Altogether, he interviewed about 80 men, many of whom had worked in the commercial halibut industry from its beginnings on the West Coast in the late 1880s, including Native Americans, ship's captains, railroad personnel, and packers. Once he became convinced that available secondary sources were incomplete and often inaccurate, he used the eyewitness accounts to form the foundation for his study. Because so many of his informants were old men, Chute saw this study as probably the last opportunity to tell the story of the halibut fishery in the words of its earliest participants.

What gives Chute's halibut study special interest is his emphasis on Native American aspects of the fishery. He spent a great deal of time getting to know coastal Indians from Washington to Alaska and making himself familiar with their fishing practices. One of his most enduring friendships was with Elliott Anderson of Neah Bay, the last surviving member of the Ozette tribe. In fact, the two men corresponded over a period of several years. Anderson and several members of the Makah tribe told Chute how important the halibut fishery was to their way of life. Roger came to appreciate the fact that the Indian halibut fishery was highly developed and had been far greater than most whites realized. He explained to his superior:

"Most whites entertain the absurd notion that halibut fishing was begun by white immigrants to the West Coast. The idea is almost universal. It is entirely unsound. The Indians had a highly developed fishery, vestiges of which remain even now. . . ."

Halibut Commission, the International Fisheries Commission of the United States and Mexico, and California's Department of Natural Resources. While working for the state of California he conducted an investigation into trawler fishing off the Pacific Coast, and his lengthy report helped bring about new regulatory legislation. When not in government employ, Chute served in the merchant marine and wrote for the New York Fishing Gazette. For about three years he was editor and part owner of a California-based journal, West Coast Fisheries. Chute's knowledge of fisheries, as well as his journalism skills, indicated that he was the right man to write a report on the halibut industry.

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The Starr was built in 1912 for the San Juan Fishing and Packing Company. After 1922 she carried the mail between Seward, Alaska, and the Aleutians. Chute collected numerous photos of the halibut fleet.

Chute understood that, though extensive, the Indian fishery had not depleted the resource. As an expert in fisheries he explained that the Indian harvest actually "was a benefit in that it prevented the fish population from increasing beyond the food supply, and maintained the available stock in a fat and healthy condition." When white fishermen arrived, however, they simply stripped banks of the fish and then moved on to new grounds. "As early as 1893 the sailing vessels undertook difficult voyages to reach undepleted areas, and the quest continued for a quarter century."

Chute also learned that, in depleting the halibut off Cape Flattery, white fishermen had deprived the Makahs of one of their main sources of food. Because their homeland was unsuitable for agriculture and poor in natural resources, the Makahs had always depended on the ocean for their livelihood. Furthermore, they insisted that the white fishermen were acting in violation of an 1855 treaty with Governor Isaac Stevens that guaranteed them rights to the Cape Flattery banks. The Makahs wanted these restored "as a sort of marine reservation, that will enable a continuance of their natural mode of living." They further charged that attempts to obtain copies of the treaty had been in vain and thus they had been unable to prove their claim. One of the Makahs shared with Chute his tribe's oral tradition about the council:

We all agreed to keep the peace as we always before had done, but we told him that we must always have the halibut bank, and he [Stevens] agreed that it should never be taken from us, but was to remain ours forever... We always shall claim that bank, which has been ours all through history, and shall insist that it should be returned to us, as was promised by Governor Stevens in solemn treaty council.

Chute believed that his findings about the scope and importance of the native fishery would strengthen the claims of the Indians for a restoration of their treaty rights. And, in fact, one of his reasons for wanting to put the Indian testimony in a government report was the hope that this would give their claims official status.

Chute planned to include photographs in his study, many depicting Indian aspects of the fishery. One who helped him obtain such photographs was George T. Emmons. Over a period of many years Emmons had collected a vast amount of material about the coastal Indians, becoming the authority on the Tlingits. But it was not until 1991 that his research was...
Roger Chute was an avid hunter and fisherman.

THE CHUTE COLLECTION

A RECENT ADDITION to the Special Collections of the Washington State Historical Society, a collection of George Roger Chute's papers are now available for the first time. The collection is relatively small, but the diversity of its material makes it a valuable resource to a wide variety of researchers. There are some personal letters, mostly to family and friends. Other correspondents included several Native Americans, Lucullus V. McWhorter, Click Relander, and Secretary of the Interior Harold L. Ickes.

Also in the collection are Chute's research and journal articles about fisheries off southern and Baja California, as well as his extensive investigation into the early days of the North Pacific halibut fishery. Notes on Northwest Indian and pioneer lore that he compiled during the last 30 years of his life make up another important part of the material. Next are articles he wrote for local newspapers.

And, finally, there are scores of photographs depicting various aspects of the fisheries, Native Americans, and many of the places he traveled. It should be noted that these include only a small fraction of the pictures he took during his life. In the years following his death in 1977, and before the Historical Society acquired the collection, many hundreds were sold to private parties.

Because he became so involved in his research, Chute failed to meet the deadline for completing his report. He asked for an extension, arguing that his study was too important to rush to completion. When at last he did finish he was frustrated to learn that the bureau's editorial board decided not to publish his report because it was too long. He was convinced that the board had underestimated the importance of his work, as he somewhat immodestly explained to a friend:

"The Bureau (or, better say, the sub-chief concerned) balked on the report because of its size. What he wanted was a short, terse, dry, statistical digest. I produced a voluminous work containing conversation, explanations, and all of the color and side-lights necessary to make the thing read 100 or 200 or 1,000 years from now... I have given a permanent place in the history of the fishery to the men who founded the fishery and developed it. No work such as this ever before has been produced by any writer or investigator.

Over the next few months several of Chute's friends (with his encouragement) wrote to the commissioner of the Bureau of Fisheries urging publication of the report, but to no avail. One who closely followed the progress of Chute's halibut study was Lucullus V. McWhorter. McWhorter is best remembered as a leading advocate of Indian rights in the Yakima Valley and as an authority on Chief Joseph and the Nez Perce war. When he learned that Chute's report had been shelved, McWhorter suggested that its pro-Indian stance was the real reason why the government refused to publish it. He thought that the federal authorities would find it inconvenient to acknowledge the fact that Makahs had treaty rights to the halibut banks off the coast of Washington.

McWhorter may have had a point, and perhaps there was reluctance on the part of the federal government to take seriously Indian treaty claims. But one must also admit that there were other factors that influenced the decision to shelve Chute's report. In the first place, the bureau did not have the money to publish everything that was submitted to it each year, and Chute's report was book length. Moreover, in 1930 the International Halibut Commission had published a history on the beginnings of the West Coast halibut fishery. Although Chute had included some original research in his report, it is possible that the editorial board concluded that it did not have the funds to publish another history so soon after the first.

Because the bureau would not include his study in its annual report, Chute tried to get the press at Stanford University to accept the manuscript. The editor told him that it had no market value, but went on to suggest that he might reconsider were Chute to eliminate all of his interview material. Nowadays, there is such a strong appetite for oral histories that this reaction is almost inconceivable. Although not compiled into a book.

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a trained historian, Chute was careful and precise in gathering his information. One acquaintance described him as "sincere, energetic, and a demon for accuracy." A draft of the unpublished study, as well as the interview transcripts, are now in the Chute Collection at the Washington State Historical Society.

It is important to note that Chute was not a crusader or conservationist in the sense that we think of today. He was politically conservative and held Roosevelt and his New Deal in contempt. He came to his convictions about Native American fishing rights through his work as a government investigator. But as a civil servant he did not have an effective forum from which to advance his views. The result was that most of his findings went unpublished, and he remains virtually unknown to most scholars of both fisheries and Native American history.

Whether or not Chute's report would have made a difference for the Makahs' claim to the halibut bank off Cape Flattery is impossible to say. It is clear that in 1938 a desire to honor treaties with Native Americans was not high on the national agenda. And it was not until 1952, some 14 years after Chute completed his study, that the Makahs filed a claim against the federal government for their halibut fishing rights. After seven years of litigation their case was dismissed. Finally, in 1986 the federal government recognized that the Indians of northwest Washington did indeed have legitimate treaty claims and granted them a special allocation of halibut. In 1987 additional allocations were granted to Indians with treaty rights within Puget Sound.

Halibut drying racks on Vancouver Island, c. 1895. In the 1930s Chute visited Neah Bay, Vancouver Island and the Queen Charlottes. His visits convinced him that the government was ignoring Indian treaty rights.

Chute came to his convictions about Native American fishing rights through his work as a government investigator. But as a civil servant he did not have an effective forum from which to advance his views. . . . Most of his findings went unpublished.

Chute's halibut study was only the beginning of his enduring interest in Native American issues. During the 1950s and '60s he focused his attention on many inland tribes, and became especially concerned about the salmon runs on the Columbia River. In his view the problem was twofold. First,
there was a blatant disregard for Indian fishing rights. Second, the poorly constructed fish ladders at the hydroelectric dams on the Columbia were destroying the fishery. In one newspaper article he put forth the Indians' claim that white fishermen who took salmon at the Columbia's mouth were committing larceny because the salmon runs belonged to the Indians. Furthermore, they stated that blockading the river with dams was an additional violation of their treaty with the federal government. Chute himself was convinced that the fish ladder at Bonneville Dam was a disaster, as he explained in a letter to a friend: "You couldn't find EVEN ONE old time professional fish wheel man on the lower Columbia who couldn't have built the Bonneville ladder better... The so-called biologists in federal and state employ are responsible for the destruction of the fish."

In that same letter Chute insisted that the mistakes could be corrected so as to accommodate the returning salmon. However, he pessimistically concluded that nothing would be done, that the federal government would pay off the Indians, and that Columbia River salmon would become extinct.

Over the years, Chute developed a close personal relationship with Click Relander, a newspaper man from Yakima and a leading advocate for the Wanapum people. The two men shared their research and encouraged one another to write. They often attended Indian ceremonials, and both had deep friendships with native peoples. Relander particularly appreciated Chute's insights about the Columbia River fisheries.

In addition to his concern about Native American fishing rights, Chute was also keenly interested in Indian legends, collecting a great many. He intended to someday publish an anthology of these stories. But if Roger Chute had one critical flaw, it was his wanderlust. Whenever he could, he traveled. In fact, he visited Mexico and Central America more than 30 times, made many trips to Canada and throughout the United States, went to the South Pacific at least three times, and to Europe once. It was his travel more than anything else that prevented him from becoming a published author. He did pen occasional articles for local Washington newspapers, but like many others he was seduced by the love of doing research and had not the discipline to write.

As an advocate for Northwest Native Americans, Chute stands alongside fellow Washingtonians Click Relander and L. V. McWhorter. It was precisely such amateurs who were in the white vanguard of those defending Native American rights. Their research and friendships taught them to respect the culture and history of their Indian neighbors. All three men were painstaking and patient researchers, skilled at conducting oral interviews and convinced of the importance of the photographic record. They would not accept the seeming intent of the federal government to either forget or shunt aside the Native Americans. They were insistent in their demand that native peoples be accorded justice and the chance to live as they wished.

To be candid, Chute's legacy is less than that of his two friends. He left behind no great book and a considerably smaller archive. Nonetheless, his research and writings are a useful supplement to a wider study of Northwest Native Americans, especially in regard to the matter of tribal fishing rights. Now that his papers are available in the Special Collections of the Washington State Historical Society, perhaps Chute will, at last, realize a measure of the recognition that eluded him during his life.

David M. Brumbach holds a doctorate in American history from Washington State University. In 1992-93 he organized the Chute papers for the Washington State Historical Society. He is currently organizing a set of papers for the National Archives office in Seattle.
Anti-Immigration War

"The Battle of Wapato," as the subhead noted (Columbia, Fall 1995), concerned actions of the Ku Klux Klan, the American Legion, the press and the Yakima Valley Japanese Americans in the 1920s. But it was only one of many nativist and anti-immigration waves. This one reached a crescendo during the period of economic distress after World War I, engulfing Japanese and Japanese-American farmers on the West Coast and elsewhere in the United States.

What a terrible story of hatred! How must their descendants feel to be reminded that not just wartime fervor targeted them for ouster, I wondered as I read. On reflection, I realized that all of us immigrants are burdened with similar historic memories, perhaps not all as sharply limned.

The long histories of Irish, Italian, Jewish, Chinese, Hispanic and other immigration from Europe, Asia and the Americas confirm that the welcome of the Statue of Liberty is qualified and rarely holds during periods of economic distress. This also proved true for African Americans and Native Americans who migrated from the South to northern industrial centers starting in World War I, increasing in pace after World War II.

Hostility toward those among us who may be different in looks or language had historical roots going back to the anti-immigrant Know-Nothing Party of the 1850s and even earlier as African Americans and Native Americans can attest. Nor is it a purely American phenomenon, as daily headlines from Bosnia demonstrate. Upward mobility has been an amelioration in this country, but it often has been easier for particular individuals than for groups from which they emerged.

Ben W. Gilbert
Tacoma

For our limited-vision readers, Columbia is available in an enlarged print version. Contact the Columbia office (206/597-4227) to request a copy.

Additional Reading

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

**The Mountaineers**


*The Mountaineers,* annual publications for the years 1912 to present.


**A Passion for Collecting**


**The Highline Canal**


**Samuel G. Cosgrove**


**The Seven-Fanged Horror of the Pacific**


**Chute on Halibut**


Robert Carriker undertook a biographical study of Father Peter John De Smet because, as he notes, "The two best efforts to write a critical biography of the Jesuit priest were never completed." In light of the fact that both would-be biographers died before completing and publishing the results of their research, Carriker could only hope to be luckier than his predecessors. The end result is a compact work of 244 pages chronicling De Smet's life and work.

Born in 1801, De Smet came to America from his native Belgium at the age of 20. His instant attraction to Indians became an abiding passion. After his formal training De Smet arrived in St. Louis in May 1838 to assume his first assignment among Smet's life and work.

Other priests and lay helpers while he continued traveling about the inland Northwest. His fascination with Indians discovered these natives to have "possessed a dark side, one so abiding passion. After his formal training De Smet arrived in Belgium at the age of 20. His instant attraction to Indians became an abiding passion. After his formal training De Smet arrived in St. Louis in May 1838 to assume his first assignment among Potawatomi Indians at Council Bluffs. Carriker writes that De Smet discovered these natives to have "possessed a dark side, one so profound that he could not overcome it no matter how diligently he worked." He could tolerate their idleness, gambling, polygamy and superstition, but not their drunkenness from the flagrant whiskey trade. He left at the close of 1839, returning to St. Louis.

Not discouraged, he established missions among Flatheads and other tribes in the inland Northwest. His fascination with Indians put his priesthood in jeopardy when he went against the wishes of the Father General in Rome by returning to the Flatheads. The Father General felt that he had already "spent too much time with the Indians." Rome's rationale for disciplining him was that, although he had established the western missions, he had neither performed ample sweat labor to sustain them nor tended to mission management. De Smet left the missions to the care and nurturing of other priests and lay helpers while he continued traveling about the country. Periodically he returned to Europe to collect funds, some of which were from his own interest-bearing inheritance. He poured these funds into his Indian missions, drawing further criticism from the Church, which believed the monies were needed elsewhere.

Complaining of "undisciplined white pioneers," De Smet expected the federal government to correct the problems brought on by the slaughter of buffalo in the 1840s. The decimation of the buffalo herds upset the power balance, resulting in intertribal turf conflict. Whites, wrote De Smet, had so "significantly altered intertribal relation from the Missouri River all the way to the Rocky Mountains ... [that] when [Indians] lost these resources on their own lands they either coerced their tribes into altering their hunting patterns, or worse, violated traditional boundaries."

On the other hand, he did not see that his conversion of Indians to Christianity was itself a factor altering these intertribal relations. The Indians regarded the ministrations of the Christian mantra as protection from violence, giving them magical power to assert aggressive action over their rivals. With such beliefs, Flatheads "taunted neighbors and enemies alike... with the clear intention of invading the land of their allies, the Crows... [and] in doing so they would upset the delicate balance of power existing among the Crows, Flatheads, Nez Perces and Blackfeet." Writes Carriker, "Now it seemed his religious instruction actually contributed to tribal divisiveness."

Carriker's book makes for easy, enjoyable reading, and the absence of footnotes will please those distracted by them. Carriker has produced a book that makes a valuable contribution to the literature on De Smet, a man who helped shape the history of the intermontane West and Great Plains.

Robert Ruby, a former member of the Washington State Historical Society Board of Trustees, is a Moses Lake physician and co-author, with John A. Brown, of numerous books on Native American history.


Reviewed by Robert C. Carriker.

Not discouraged, he established missions among Flatheads and other tribes in the inland Northwest. His fascination with Indians put his priesthood in jeopardy when he went against the wishes of the Father General in Rome by returning to the Flatheads. The Father General felt that he had already "spent too much time with the Indians." Rome's rationale for disciplining him was that, although he had established the western missions, he had neither performed ample sweat labor to sustain them nor tended to mission management. De Smet left the missions to the care and nurturing of other priests and lay helpers while he continued traveling about the country. Periodically he returned to Europe to collect funds, some of which were from his own interest-bearing inheritance. He poured these funds into his Indian missions, drawing further criticism from the Church, which believed the monies were needed elsewhere.

Complaining of "undisciplined white pioneers," De Smet expected the federal government to correct the problems brought on by the slaughter of buffalo in the 1840s. The decimation of the buffalo herds upset the power balance, resulting in intertribal turf conflict. Whites, wrote De Smet, had so "significantly altered intertribal relation from the Missouri River all the way to the Rocky Mountains... [that] when [Indians] lost these resources on their own lands they either coerced their tribes into altering their hunting patterns, or worse, violated traditional boundaries."

On the other hand, he did not see that his conversion of Indians to Christianity was itself a factor altering these intertribal relations. The Indians regarded the ministrations of the Christian mantra as protection from violence, giving them magical power to assert aggressive action over their rivals. With such beliefs, Flatheads "taunted neighbors and enemies alike... with the clear intention of invading the land of their allies, the Crows... [and] in doing so they would upset the delicate balance of power existing among the Crows, Flatheads, Nez Perces and Blackfeet." Writes Carriker, "Now it seemed his religious instruction actually contributed to tribal divisiveness."

Carriker's book makes for easy, enjoyable reading, and the absence of footnotes will please those distracted by them. Carriker has produced a book that makes a valuable contribution to the literature on De Smet, a man who helped shape the history of the intermontane West and Great Plains.

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Nathaniel Wyeth's Columbia River Fishing and Trading Company, and Henry Klassen's examination of the HBC's activities in southwestern Alberta. This reviewer, whose interests are distinctly midwestern, found special merit in William Hunt's report on the origins of Fort Union, and Rhonda Gilman's sketch of Henry Sibley and the American Fur Company. But whatever one's interests, The Fur Trade Revisited will be a gratifying and oft-quoted read. Congratulations to the publisher for not only preserving the rich legacy of a great conference, but also for bringing an extensively illustrated, 500-plus page product to market for under $40.

Dr. Paul L. Haben is superintendent of the Fort Union Trading Post National Historical Site, Williston, North Dakota, and author and editor of several books including Fort Union Fur Trade Symposium Proceedings (1994).

So Far From Home
An Army Bride on the Western Frontier, 1865–1869


In the months immediately following the conclusion of the Civil War, young men like Captain James Gilliss eagerly accepted postings at remote frontier posts; they had little choice if they wished to keep alive their hopes for a military career. Their wives, on the other hand, usually faced the prospect of relocation to the West with diminished enthusiasm. Not so Julia Stillwagan Gilliss, a bride of but three weeks in October 1865 when she joined her husband on a two-ocean voyage from the Hudson River to the Columbia River.

Datelining her letters during the next three years from Astoria, Fort Vancouver, Portland, The Dalles, Fort Stevens, and Camp Warner, Julia amused herself and, at the same time, kept her family in Washington, D.C. informed of her adventures by writing a steady stream of clever and insightful letters. Though not disinterested in political and racial matters within the ranks of the military at these remote locations, Julia mostly reported to her parents, sister Annie and brother Eddie about the everyday ironies and oddities of life in the developing Pacific Northwest. Her almost-weekly missives are filled with illuminating, even sophisticated, comments on fashion, food, games, travel, scenery and social activities.

Julia's remarkable family letters remained unread by outsiders until 1943 when her son transcribed them. Today that transcription, plus some sketches and another Gilliss manuscript entitled "Army Life in the Sixties," is in the possession of the Oregon Historical Society. So Far From Home is ably edited by Priscilla Knuth, a former editor of the Oregon Historical Society Quarterly, and contains a map, illustrations, notes, sources and an index. It is highly recommended.

Eleanor R. Carriker co-edited An Army Wife on the Frontier (1975) and occasionally reviews books on Northwest topics.

Current and Noteworthy
by Robert C. Carriker, Book Review Editor

Exploring Vancouver: the Essential Architectural Guide, by Harold Kalman, Ron Phillips, and Robin Ward (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1994; 296 pp., $19.95) is exactly that—essential. Dividing western Canada's greatest city into 14 areas, the authors offer lively commentary and revealing photographs to illuminate the architectural, historical, cultural or social significance of 534 entries. Well-known landmarks are cleverly balanced with lesser-known hidden treasures in this pocket-sized volume, and all are easily located using keyed maps. Streetscape strollers as well as architectural historians will appreciate the guide to architectural styles, the index and the glossary of terms.

Jeffrey Karl Ochsner takes a biographical approach to architecture in his edited volume entitled Shaping Seattle Architecture: A Historical Guide to the Architects (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1994; 416 pp., $40 cloth, $19.95 paper.) Ochsner profiles 45 influential architects and firms and 20 other Seattle members of the American Institute of Architects. Their words are given additional impact by the use of 529 photographs. The book is visually exciting yet scholarly. Six appendices honor 80 additional architects with thumbnail sketches, list extant buildings mentioned in the text, name non-Seattle architects who designed major Seattle structures, and offer advice on how to research the city's architectural past.

If a person wished to concentrate on the work of only a single Seattle architect recognized in Ochsner's volume, one could do no better than to embrace Carl F. Gould: A Life in Architecture and the Arts by T. William Booth and William H. Wilson (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1995; 240 pp., $40.) Gould came from New York to Seattle at the age of 34 in 1908, and from then until 1939, when he died, he helped shape the modern image of Seattle with his dynamic designs for public buildings and, especially, the University of Washington campus. His biography, unlike his modest private life, is glamorous and oversized; it is also richly adorned with 298 illustrations of his work. The text, however, is appropriately sensitive and insightful.

Clearly, historic photographs are a necessary ingredient to properly contemplate Seattle's architectural heritage. Mary Randlett's contemporary photography adds yet another dimension to Seattle's visual panorama. Her work appears in two delightful publications: Art in Seattle's Public Places by James Rupp (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1993; 320 pp., $19.95) and Seeing Seattle by Roger Sale (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1995; 224 pp., $14.95). Both authors—one an attorney and the other a professor of English—write spiritedly, interesting prose descriptions of Seattle, but the 300-plus images Randlett provides for Rupp and the 56 for Sale are, frankly, what make each book worth owning.

Address all review copies & related communications to: ROBERT C. CARRIKER, DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY, GONZAGA UNIVERSITY, SPOKANE, WA 99258.
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