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Abstracts and articles appearing in this journal are abstracted and indexed in Historical Abstracts and American History and Life. The arrival of the Europeans precipitated a flash flood of new trade goods, new ideas and new diseases among the Plateau tribes. By Laura Peers

The USS Olympia This relic of the Spanish-American War remains afloat, a tribute to the glory days of the “white fleet.” By Bruce Weilepp

Slow Boats and Fast Water A history of trade and transportation on the not-so-friendly Cowlitz River. By Donald Leslie Johnson

The first woman to conquer Mount Rainier’s summit. By Betsy Potts

Outsiders in “the Land of the Free” Aside from having withstood many biases and indignities, Asian Americans in the Northwest have been mistreated by historians as well. By Roger Daniels

“One of My Best Children” Fay Fuller 24 Ethnic ephemera.

A Frank Lloyd Wright house on Chambers Creek in Lakewood. By Donald Leslie Johnson

Additional Reading

Columbia Reviews

Columbia Reviews 46
WE CLOSE OUT our tenth volume of COLUMBIA with this issue, and what I would first like to do is to acknowledge the innumerable and usually complimentary comments that members of the Society share with me about the magazine. As is true with much about the life of the Society, the compliments (and truly the criticisms when they occur) are directed at me, but in the instance of COLUMBIA Magazine, Christina Dubois is truly the person who makes it happen.

Some magazines our size have three people doing the work Chris manages with some part-time and volunteer assistance. That she is able to make each issue so visually interesting never ceases to astound me. When I tell her, after each new issue arrives on my desk, that the one at hand is “the best ever,” she laughs, “Dave, you always say that.” To which I respond, “It’s the truth,” and I’m not the only one who thinks so.

Chris will be going on maternity leave for the next issue, which is kind of a scary thing for me because she makes publishing COLUMBIA Magazine look easy, and assuredly it is not. But we will hope to maintain her standard while she is gone, temporarily, all the while wishing Chris and her expanded family well.

A final note: We offer our usual array of interesting articles and features with this issue, but the survey of the historiography of Asian-Americans in the Northwest by noted author Roger Daniels is unusually topical. The election this fall of the first Asian-American to the governorship of a mainland state, in the person of Gary Locke here in Washington, calls Daniels’s essay into even more sharp relief.

—David L. Nicandri, Executive Editor
HISTORY
COMMENTARY

The Indian Chief and the Wagon Train

By Robert H. Ruby and John A. Brown

But for the efforts of Esther Ross, a small group of Stillaguamish Indians would have been headed for tribal extinction. Ross seems an unlikely person to have led this Indian tribe, having lived the first 22 years of her life in the San Francisco Bay area and been raised a Seventh-Day Adventist. Her link to the tribe was through her mother who was half Stillaguamish. She moved north to Washington with her mother in 1926.

Ross espoused various causes on the tribe's behalf, such as restoration of lands, including ancient burial sites, lost under the 1855 Point Elliott Treaty. Her most important cause, though, was the drive to obtain recognition by the federal government of the Stillaguamish Tribe and to secure the benefits arising therefrom. Her quest took her to many places, including the Washington, D.C., offices of the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) and the halls of Congress where she pursued her agenda so vehemently that officials were glad when she left for home.

Following Ross’s 50-year struggle on behalf of her people, there suddenly occurred an event that brought her quest for recognition to the full attention of the government and the American public. Enter a wagon train. Three horse-drawn wagons of buckskin-clad riders assembled at the International Peace Arch near Blaine, Washington, preparing for a journey to Valley Forge, Pennsylvania, to commemorate the bicentennial of the United States’ declaration of independence from Great Britain. On Sunday, June 8, 1975, the train rolled onto Interstate 5 for the first leg of its 3,000-mile trek.

Neither Ross nor her son and close associate Frank Allen were initially aware of the coming wagon train. When word of it arrived, Allen phoned S. A. “Bud” Lozar, superintendent of the BIA’s nearby Everett agency to inform him that the Stillaguamish leaders planned to stop the train. After the media in Everett and Seattle were informed of this plan, Allen told his mother what he had done. The train was scheduled to reach Island Crossing—where the Stillaguamish tribal office was situated—three miles west of Arlington, Washington, in four days’ time. Prior to the train’s arrival, Alan Stay, attorney for the tribe, and consultant Rod Sayegusa traveled north to Mount Vernon for a Wednesday evening meeting with wagon master Ken Wilcox and other train leaders.

Linda Bryant of the Everett Herald remembers that meeting: “The guys running the wagon train weren’t stupid,” having gotten regional and national media attention because “an Indian tribe—a lowly little nothing tribe with a woman as its chief...is about to stop the wagon train...milking it for all they’re worth.” Bryant went on to explain that Ross said she would not stop the train if its leaders would acknowledge her tribe and its rights to land and recognition.

In all the scurrying about and posturing for the confrontation, Ross was unaware that the Department of the Interior, apprised of the situation by the media, would send Roy Sampsel, special assistant to the secretary of the interior, up from Portland to head off potential trouble at Island Crossing. Sampsel had had dealings with Ross before and considered her a friend. He doubted that she would make an unfriendly gesture toward the wagon train. There was, however, a possibility that she might, having been schooled in activism by Bob Satiacum, a leader in the previous “fish wars” on the Puyallup and Nisqually rivers. Moreover, fresh in the minds of government authorities was the Kutenai tribe’s declaration of “war” against the United States and its September 20, 1974, closing of U.S. Highway 2 in northern Idaho.

In light of these and other Indian activist confrontations, the federal government took the threat of trouble seriously—witness its dispatching Sampsel to Island Crossing. When interviewed by Linda Bryant, Sampsel admitted that the Stillaguamish had reason to voice disenchantment with the federal government: it had taken the Department of the Interior an inordinate amount of time to respond to the most recent Stillaguamish petition for recognition, filed April 5, 1974. According to Sampsel, the department was unprepared to grant recognition at that time since all the necessary information to achieve it was not yet in order. Actually, the sole reason for the delay had been the foot-dragging of Secretary of the Interior Rogers C. B. Morton. Sampsel did tell Bryant that in 30 days an in-house opinion of the petition could be completed and added to the file, including recommendations from the BIA and other area Indian groups with regard to recognition. It would then be a high priority item on the agenda of Stanley Hathaway who had replaced Morton as secretary of the interior.

Bryant recalls that, prior to Thursday, June 12, when the train was scheduled to arrive at Island Crossing, everyone was asking,
"Will they stop the train? Won't they stop the train?" With the sense of drama building, Bryant noticed that Ross "played it like a master," and also that the wagon train personnel were taking the situation seriously. Throughout the night before the train's arrival at Island Crossing there had been efforts to stave off an unpleasant confrontation. Wagon master Wilcox had assured Bryant, "Our position is we're in this project to extend friendship to all people." His words notwithstanding, many people, including those aboard the wagon train, feared that a confrontation could turn nasty.

Two hundred onlookers now gathered at Island Crossing as tension mounted. A patrolman delivered a telegram from wagon train headquarters in Pennsylvania imploring Ross not to block the train's passage, but instead to come to Pennsylvania where Bicentennial people would negotiate with her. Ross had missed the Wednesday evening meeting in Mount Vernon because of the death of her granddaughter in a car accident, and she drove throughout the night to return from eastern Washington and reach the tribal office at Island Crossing before the arrival of the wagon train. Despite her lack of sleep she was unusually composed in the face of what would surely be an emotionally charged encounter.

She was alone in the tribal office when Sampsel came forward to greet her. "Why have you come?" she asked, "I did not send for you." At his greeting she avoided any sign of friendship, ignoring the fact that they were well acquainted. Regarding her inquiry as to why he had not brought "the paper" granting recognition, Sampsel explained that more time was needed to complete the document. Despite her lack of sleep she was unusually composed in the face of what would surely be an emotionally charged encounter.

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"You have our goodwill. We will carry your message back to the people." At this point Ross presented Wilcox with a thunderbird good-luck medallion, which she hung around his neck. Wilcox would remember her as "a sweet, wrinkled little woman, but a fighter." With little fanfare Ross then handed a letter to a rider who, like a pony expressman, was to carry it back east to stir the national press and make its readers aware of her people's quest for recognition.

Before moving on to the nearby Stanwood-Camano Fairgrounds for the night, the train leaders invited Ross to ride with them to Everett in one of their wagons. She turned down the invitation but did promise to visit them on their scheduled arrival in Tacoma. Learning that one of the train leaders was from California, she told him of her early years there and of her graduation from an Oakland high school and attendance at an Adventist school. She then related how a granddaughter of Stillaguamish Chief Jimmy Dorsey had asked her to come north to be Stillaguamish secretary, and finally she mentioned the recent death of her husband Arnold Ross.
There was paradox in her fraternizing with the train members—she was not one to socialize, especially with strangers and especially at such a moment of serious confrontation. Beneath expressions of goodwill she was skeptical of Sampsel’s promise that within 30 days she would hear from the Department of the Interior regarding recognition of her people as a tribe. Shortly after the train moved on she said, “I hold the hammer for my tribe and they will be recognized. I am not waiting no 30 days with promises from Sampsel.”

Bryant provided a fitting epilogue to Ross’s role in the wagon train confrontation:

It was . . . moving . . . because here she was just an old lady in the middle of the road. She had Indian clothing. It was really a moving speech. I remember the emotional impact it had on the crowd that day. There had been all this hoopla . . . and there in the middle of the road was this small woman speaking in a sing-song voice. It was a voice that had great impact at that time. It had suddenly stopped being a circus and for those few moments that she spoke there was this dignity about her that everyone out there had to respect. Up until then it had been a media circus. Even the reporters in those few minutes noticed something in her presence, in her voice, and in her words that commanded respect for who she was and where she was coming from and what she was asking.

Members of the wagon train did not easily forget the Island Crossing confrontation or the plucky little woman who temporarily stayed their journey. On reaching Valley Forge they sent her a telegram announcing their arrival at that shrine of American independence. This gesture was evidence of their regard not only for her person but also for her influence. As Sampsel put it, the train leaders “didn’t panic exactly—let’s just put it this way, they started calling folks at the Bicentennial offices in Washington, D.C. . . . They had images of a great problem. . . . They didn’t know Esther. . . . There was some concern within the government structure because they didn’t know if this would be one of those issues that AIM, American Indian Movement, would decide was a good thing to do.”

The wagon train incident elevated Ross’s status among her activist friends, as well as with STOWW (Small Tribes of Western Washington) and even the BIA agency in Everett. Her dream of an acknowledged, recognized tribe no longer seemed vaporous as she awaited the promised decision on her petition.

Discussing his role in what he termed a singular event, Sampsel said the Department of the Interior was terribly surprised when the incident got the attention it did. He remembered:

I was asked to go up and negotiate [with the tribe] what they would say . . . how they would handle it . . . In the end it turned the protest into an event. Everybody had a good time and the wagon train went on . . . What I tried to do was get the parties together and then tell Esther that I would follow up on it afterwards, . . . I didn’t want this [to get] into a Department of the Interior discussion . . . to make her point through using this vehicle, let the wagon train acknowledge her . . . It was a little bit of conscious strategy on my part.

Sampsel believed that if Ross could get the Bicentennial Wagon Train master to acknowledge the Stillaguamishes as a tribe, then it would be difficult for the Department of the Interior to explain why it had not recognized them.

Historical events have the potential of turning, if not full circle, at least 180 degrees. Where wagon train leaders had sought some way to prevent a Stillaguamish attempt to block their passage, the opposite occurred. Writing in Tacoma’s News Tribune on June 22, 1975, activist Hank Adams noted that the wagon train benefited greatly from the publicity the confrontation generated: “There is little question but that the people in America and elsewhere learned of the Bicentennial through Esther’s ‘attack.’”

While Ross was making the Stillaguamishes known in the court of public awareness, another woman, in a court of law 3,000 miles away, would adjudicate the goal of Ross’s involvement with the wagon train. The Department of the Interior had not kept its promise of a 30-day answer. Following a hearing before the U.S. District Court for the District of Columbia, Judge June Green, on September 24, 1976, filed a memorandum order in Civil Action No. 75-1718, giving the Department of the Interior 30 days to respond to it. On October 27, 1976, Ross received word that the Interior Department had granted the recognition. She had spent many anxious moments during her 16-month wait since confronting the wagon train. Considering the mill-grinding slowness of the federal bureaucracy, she might have been thankful it took no longer.

John A. Brown and Robert H. Ruby have co-authored a number of works on Native American history. Brown is professor emeritus of history at Wenatchee Valley Community College. Ruby is a Moses Lake physician and former member of the WSHS Board of Trustees.

COLUMBIA 5 WINTER 1996-97
Early Europeans saw the Columbia Plateau as a walled fortress, isolated and virtually impossible to penetrate through the Rocky Mountain and Cascade ranges that formed its outer defenses. Fur traders and missionaries saw it as a last frontier, virgin and unspoiled. But this was an outsider's view. To the native people of the region, the Plateau was the center of the world, linked to the four corners of the continent by well-worn paths and a dense social and economic network. In fact, the Plateau was a crossroads for trade, one that became increasingly busy between 1750 and 1850. During this pivotal century, the quickening pace of trade became an uncontrolled torrent, a flash flood of new goods, new ideas and new diseases—an explosion of change, sometimes beneficial and sometimes deadly.

By the late prehistoric era there were two major trade centers on the Plateau: at The Dalles, on the middle Columbia River, and at Kettle Falls, several hundred miles away on the upper Columbia. Members of tribes from across the Plateau and from the West Coast to the Missouri River converged on these sites every year. An astonishing quantity and variety of goods were exchanged at these sites, including dried fish from the Columbia; baskets, woven bags and wild hemp for fishnets from the Plateau region; shells, whale and seal oil and bone from the West Coast; pipestone, bison robes and feather headdresses from the Plains; and nuts and roots from as far away as California. Once traded, many of these goods were exchanged again by Nez Perce, Gros Ventre, Crow, and Shoshone middlemen at centers that included the Shoshone Rendezvous in the central Plains and the Mandan-Hidatsa villages on the upper Missouri. The Plateau was thus a regional center of an extensive trading network through which trade goods readily moved around the entire continent (Figure 1).

**The Euro-American Influence**

After Europeans founded settlements in the Southwest and established trade relations with tribes on the West Coast and northeastern plains, small quantities of European trade goods also flowed through this tribal network. Glass beads, small pieces of woven cloth, and metal goods such as axes, kettles and jewelry came into Indian hands from Russian traders on the coast, Spanish in the Southwest, and British, Canadian and American companies to the north and east. The rarity and novelty of these goods made them highly prized commodities.

Most importantly, horses from the Spanish settlements in the Southwest were introduced into this network by the Shoshone. When Lewis and Clark arrived on the eastern edge of the Plateau in 1805, the Shoshone told them that it was possible to travel to Indian and Spanish trade sites in the Southwest in just ten days. They had certainly made the trek often enough to know. By the mid-1700s, eastern Plateau peoples, including the Salish (known historically as the Flathead) and Nez Perce, had large herds of horses acquired from the Shoshone, and fur traders arriving on the Plateau in the decade after Lewis and Clark saw horses with Spanish brands. For Indian peoples of the Plateau, as well as of the Plains, horses proved to be one of the two most important goods obtained from Europeans. By the time Jesuit missionaries arrived in 1841, it was clear, as Father Mengarini noted, that horses meant "wealth and life" for Plateau people.

The acquisition of horses was not entirely beneficial. The desire for horses, and the use of theft to obtain them, caused increased warfare. The large herds of fine horses owned by the Nez Perce and Salish made them the target of raids by their traditional enemies, the more numerous Blackfeet. Not only did trade lead to warfare on the edge of the Plateau, it gave the Blackfeet an extra advantage over the Salish. Being closer to British (Hudson's Bay Company and North West Company) traders on the Saskatchewan River and to American traders along the Missouri, the Blackfeet obtained firearms by the mid-1700s and used them to harass the Salish as well as to prevent traders from crossing the Rockies to supply Plateau tribes.

The pressure of Blackfeet raids against Plateau tribes was such that many Pend Oreille bands fled the northern part of their homeland south to the Bitterroot Valley. In April 1842 Father De Smet found the valley above Flathead Lake abandoned by the Pend Oreille. The effects of epidemic disease...
—beginning in the 1780s, when smallpox killed as many as half of the Salish—may also have made the Salish easier prey for their more numerous Blackfoot enemies. Surprisingly, trade occurred even between these enemies. There were formal procedures for establishing a truce for purposes of trade, underscoring the importance and pervasiveness of trade among Indian tribes during these decades.

By the 1790s the Salish had managed to obtain a few firearms through intertribal trade and used them to defend themselves against the Blackfeet. In the first decade of the 19th century the Salish participated more directly in this trade network to obtain firearms, even journeying with the Crow to the great trade fair at the Mandan villages. Salish people were seen there with a Crow party by trader Alexander Henry the Younger in 1806. By 1810 traders working for the Montreal-based North West Company had managed to slip around the Blackfeet and began supplying arms to the Plateau tribes directly.

The role of disease in the complex process of change sparked by trade cannot be underestimated. Along with the horse, the most important "trade good" obtained by Indian people from Europeans was epidemic disease, especially influenza, smallpox and measles.

With no immunities to these diseases, Indian peoples suffered mortality rates of up to 98 percent in repeated waves of epidemics that swept across North America between 1780 and 1870. Mortality varied from community to community: one village might be nearly wiped out, while another that

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**Figure 1. Protohistoric Indian trade networks in the trans-Mississippi West.** Primary trade centers had permanent resident populations and surplus subsistence economies in the form of garden crops for the Southwest and Plains, and fish for the Plateau and Northwest Coast. Permanent secondary trade centers with resident populations are differentiated by the relative volume of trade and density of the host trading population into two levels of significance. Significant impermanent secondary trade centers were at shifting locations. Tertiary trade centers, which usually lacked permanent resident populations, follow minor trading points. Many correspond to trade fairs or subsistence sites. Crossroads or local trade hubs were points of intertribal trade.
was off hunting and remained isolated until the epidemic burned itself out might not have suffered any deaths. Two major smallpox epidemics that swept the Plateau, the first in the early 1780s and the second in 1800, may have reduced Indian populations overall by at least half.

A Coeur d’Alene tradition recorded by De Smet illustrates how closely Plateau peoples linked smallpox and the growing European trade:

... the first white man they saw in their country wore a calico shirt, spotted all over with black and white, which to them appeared like the smallpox.... [they] imagined that the spotted shirt was the great master of that alarming disease, the smallpox, ... that if they could obtain possession of these, and pay them divine honors, their nations would never afterwards be visited by that dreadful scourge.

The Coeur d’Alene traded to obtain the shirt, and then made it part of a medicine bundle. If they hoped to obtain control over the epidemics in this manner, they were disappointed: epidemics recurred in periodic waves throughout the 19th century. Smallpox struck again in 1825; an unknown, deadly fever persisted from 1829-32; there were repeated bouts of influenza throughout the 1830s; a measles epidemic hit in 1847 and yet another smallpox epidemic in 1852-53.

Indirect trade thus wrought considerable changes in Plateau life. The pace of both trade and change continued to accelerate with the arrival of European fur traders in the region after 1800. European trade influences came from all four directions onto the Plateau in this era. The continued vitality of older intertribal trade networks ensured that Spanish influences from the Southwest continued to be felt. From the north, the Montreal-based North West Company pushed past the Blackfeet cordon and established posts on the Plateau by 1809. Arriving both from the Pacific coast and overland after 1810, the Pacific Fur Company established several short-lived forts that laid the foundation for future efforts. From the east, American firms based in St. Louis sent “brigades” of men to trap out the valuable beaver from the Rocky Mountain region, and the British-based Hudson’s Bay Company took over the North West Company’s operations after 1821.

Rise and Fall of the Fur Trade
From 1808 until the late 1840s, the Plateau fur trade escalated. For the Indians in whose territories this European struggle for furs took place, the trade brought a wealth of new goods, foreign peoples and strange ideas.

The first European traders to arrive directly on the Plateau were North West Company men led by explorer-trader David Thompson, who had cautiously inched his way around the hostile Blackfeet. Just a few years after Lewis and Clarke’s party passed through the region and introduced the idea of direct trade with Euro-Americans, Thompson built Saleesh House (known later as Flathead Fort) among the Salish in 1809, followed by Kullyspel House, Fort Nez Perce, and Spokane House in succeeding years. The North West Company’s rival, the Hudson’s Bay Company, had in 1805 been forced by the Blackfeet to retreat north.

On the Plateau, the North West Company was challenged only by the American Pacific Fur Company, which from its base at Fort Astoria penetrated inland and built forts Spokane and Okanogan between 1810 and 1813. These posts were short-lived, but they introduced direct trade to several of the Plateau tribes and thus assisted in laying the foundation for the development of the Plateau fur trade. After the 1821 merger of the North West Company and Hudson’s Bay Company, the latter company began supplying all of the northern and western Plateau tribes.

At these early establishments European trade goods were exchanged for furs trapped by local tribesmen. However, traders found that many of the Plateau tribes refused to trap on the scale desired by the trading companies; being self-sufficient apart from their desire for guns and prestige goods, they had no need to become full-time trappers. This lack of initiative left a gap that was quickly filled by others. By 1810 eastern Woodlands Indians from the Great Lakes region—Iroquois, Cree and Ojibwa (Chippewa)—who had migrated onto the margins of the northern Plains to take advantage of fur trade competition there, heard rumors that the beaver were “as numerous as blades of grass” in the Columbia District. Some of these people left their new homes along the Saskatchewan and Assiniboine Rivers to journey to the Plateau, accompanied by dozens of métis, the children of marriages between fur traders and native people.

These foreigners were encouraged,
and later hired, by trading companies to trap the streams of the Plateau. Some of the newcomers, known as “free trappers,” declined employment with specific trading companies, simply trading their furs to the highest bidder. One of these men is shown on horseback, gun in hand, wearing embroidered moccasins, fringed leggings, and decorated sash and pouch, in Nicolas Point’s sketch “Free Hunter” (Figure 2).

Just as this system of hiring non-local native trappers was developing at North West Company and Hudson's Bay Company posts, it was being used with a vengeance by American firms working their way up the Missouri River toward the Plateau. Between 1806 and 1826 St. Louis-based trading companies employed dozens of Hawaiian, black, Iroquois, Shawnee, Delaware, Cree, and Ojibwa trappers to work the upper Missouri. Many of these belonged to tribes that had been displaced from their eastern homelands by American settlement; their participation in the western fur trade brought Indian cultural influences together from across the continent on a scale far larger than the earlier intertribal trade.

Although forced back to the middle Missouri several times by the Blackfeet, and always in danger of being attacked, the Americans finally made it into the Rockies in the early 1820s. The first Rocky Mountain Fur Company brigade, recruited by William Ashley in St. Louis, trapped in the Rockies in 1822-23. By the mid 1820s, then, the Plateau fur trade was truly an international venture involving Iroquois, Cree, Nipissing, Abenaki, Ojibwa, Orkneymen, Hawaiians, French-Canadians, mètis, Scots, English, American, and the Indian and mètis families of these men.

The use of organized, imported labor to harvest furs met with mixed reactions on the Plateau. The sheer numbers of foreigners were impressive: by 1821 Iroquois comprised one-third of all fur-trade employees in the Hudson's Bay Company's Columbia District, and there were some 600 American trappers and traders in the region in the late 1820s. The fact that the foreign trappers competed with local Indian populations for furs and game was always a source of some conflict. Hostilities between local tribes and foreign trappers occurred regularly between 1810 and 1840. On the other hand, examples of peaceful co-residence and of intermarriage between foreign males and local women are more numerous than examples of assault. Most of the new husbands and their mixed families blended well into Salish society. The major impact of such marriages was greater access to...
LEFT: Figure 3. Northwest Company trade tokens, 1820. Accustomed to a barter system of exchange, native people traded sharply. Fur trade tokens or "money," such as these disks, seemed useless to them—except as decoration.

RIGHT: Figure 4. Shot pouch, eastern Plains Indian, c. 1843. After the introduction of firearms, every man on the Plains—Indian, métis, and white—needed a shot pouch and powder horn. This pouch, collected on the Audubon expedition of 1843, was worn over the shoulder.

LEFT: Figure 5. By the early 19th century, Plains Indian women were making European-style clothing using hide, porcupine quills and beads. This beautifully quilled coat was worn by Robert Campbell of St. Louis, a prominent Rocky Mountain fur trader and company owner.

BELOW: Figure 6. Scottish cap, Plains Indian, mid-19th century. Headaddresses and headgear were important symbols of rank and affiliation for Indian people long before European contact. This visor cap was embellished with feathers and fur by its Indian owner.
wealth in Euro-American goods for the family with a "foreign" relative.

The heyday of American trade in the Rockies lasted from 1824 to 1840. During these years a series of short-lived partnerships and small companies was formed by experienced American trappers, such as the partnership of Smith, Jackson & Sublette and the Rocky Mountain Fur Company. Competition from larger firms with more capital—the American Fur Company and the Hudson's Bay Company—finally ended the American Fur Company and the Rocky Mountain Fur Company. Competition among the major companies; and the rendezvous system waned by mid century. Not all the imported trappers and "mountain men" left the region as the trade wound down. Some signed on with the major companies; others drifted into mining; many simply remained in their trapping territories, home to them by then, and lived as free traders with their Indian wives and families.

**Effects of the Trade on Plateau Indians**

The addition of European goods to the Indian trade and the arrival of European fur traders on the Plateau profoundly affected the lives of tribal people. Horses, guns and epidemic disease provoked immediate and obvious transformations, but there were many other catalysts for change. The importation of new objects, crafts, artistic styles and motifs, and, most importantly, ideas from other Indian tribes and from non-Indian trappers and traders stimulated experimentation. These influences, together with the devastating effects of epidemic disease, made the early 19th century an unsettling but exciting period for Plateau tribes.

From an aesthetic standpoint, European trade goods were quickly incorporated into Plateau clothing, ornamentation and personal artifacts. In the process, these items often acquired uses and meanings different from their original European contexts. Indian women clearly found the new materials exciting and challenging. In fact, the introduction of European trade goods launched a period of unprecedented cultural creativity in which the goods did not so much disturb Plateau societies as elaborate existing forms.

North West Company trade tokens (Figure 3), for example, originally used to indicate the amount of credit an Indian hunter had at the trading post, were pierced and strung like a decorative necklace of shell or clay beads by the family of a Plateau chief. Similarly, imported fabrics and manufactured ornaments could embellish existing features or be used to reproduce decorations in a new medium. For instance, Plateau women continued to cut shirts, dresses, and leggings from the same pattern whether the garments were made from leather or cloth. Traditional geometric painted designs reappeared in a solid field of beads, triangles of red wool cloth replaced painted designs at the neck opening of men's shirts, and tiny squares or circles of cloth surrounded by beads replaced shell ornaments on women's long, fringed hide dresses.

Other changes caused by trade goods had deeper ramifications. The alterations in tribal leadership patterns, set in motion by the introduction of the earliest European goods and accelerated by the incorporation and spread of the horse, were readily and deliberately manipulated by fur traders. In seeking to ensure the loyalty—and the furs—of Indian bands in a competitive environment, traders appointed "trading chiefs" who were favored with presents and special outfits as marks of the trader's favor. Such "trading chiefs" were not always the leaders recognized by band members. A trader might take advantage of intraband rivalries and appoint several "chiefs" for his own purposes. Or he might appoint a younger man anxious to acquire social status before his time.

The position of "trading chief" meant access to wealth. However, the "trading chief" was in effect a position subordinate to and dependent upon the trader rather than one acquired by being highly regarded within the band for competence and good judgment. Wealth did not necessarily bring influence; leadership within the band was still largely based on personal ability. Still, trading chiefs and established leaders alike began to wear the new signs of status and wealth, including chief's coats (modeled after European military coats) and gentlemen's top hats with plumes.

Hats seem to have become especially popular among Plateau men. It is possible that these men viewed European hats as new forms of headdresses, which in tribal society were generally worn only by men in positions of authority. Widely available through trade, hats carried the cachet of the traditional headdress—they advertised to all that the wearer was an important man—but they were far more easily obtained and had no ritual contexts or rules associated with them. Foreign Indians who arrived as fur trade employees often wore hats. The influence of such men and their seemingly unlimited credit at the trading posts may have also increased the association of hats with power and authority.

Commercially manufactured Scottish caps achieved great popularity in the 1840s and 1850s. Point's sketches of Plateau men and Gustavus Sohon's portraits of Salish leaders frequently show men wearing such caps, a telling comment on the absorption and integration of new goods and values into Plateau life during these decades (Figure 6).

Articles of clothing and decorative artifacts made by Indians from across the continent were also brought to the Plateau by fur trappers and traders. American traders, with their decades of experience on the middle and upper Missouri, arrived on the Plateau wearing European-style clothing made and decorated by Dakota, Yanktonai and other Plains Indian women. Robert Campbell's trousers and dress coat—of European cut but made of finely-dressed leather and decorated with quill-wrapped fringes—was standard wear for influential traders on the western Plains, many of whom took Indian wives (Figure 5). This stunning outfit was likely made by a Blackfeet woman.

Most men, Indian and non-Indian,
I wore shot pouches and powder-horn straps with beaded or quilled decorations such as the ones collected by American artist and naturalist John James Audubon on his 1843 expedition (Figure 4). Through intermarriage with local tribes, foreign fur trade personnel provided a host of such goods and decorative influences to Plateau tribes. One foreign style that proved especially popular was the floral beadwork patterns favored by Ojibwa and other eastern Woodlands Algonquian speakers as well as by métis.

Plateau women admired the highly-decorated pouches with floral designs and eventually copied them.

**Ideological Implications of Trade**

**New Ideas**, as well as horses and horse gear, were brought to the Plateau from the Spanish mission centers of California and the Southwest by Shoshone middlemen traders. Ritual practices and behaviors observed among Franciscan missionary priests, including formal group prayer, chanting or singing hymns, the ringing of bells to call people together for worship, and the use of whips as penance or punishment for sins, all made their way to the Plateau long before missionaries did and were noted by the earliest fur traders between 1805 and 1820s.

These developments occurred simultaneously with the growth in status and wealth of the chief's position, so that chiefs assumed responsibility for whipping wrong-doers and in some cases for leading "congregations" whose early worship services were modeled after what was seen at missions. Lacking familiarity with Christian beliefs, Plateau people merely added Christian forms to their own beliefs and religious knowledge.

Information about Christianity became more readily available to Plateau people in the 1820s and 1830s. One source was the Hudson's Bay Company traders who held formal worship and instruction services. Another was Spokan Garry (Figure 7), a Spokane man who had been sent to an Anglican mission school at Red River (present-day Winnipeg) by the Hudson's Bay Company and then returned to instruct his people. These ideological innovations were later reinforced by the presence of missionized Iroquois, French-Canadians, and other fur trade personnel who married into Plateau tribes and taught their families essential concepts and practices of Christianity. The Iroquois, who were said to sing hymns more often than paddle songs when canoeing, first introduced Catholic hymns and prayers to the Salish and Nez Perce.

That elements of Christianity were so fascinating to Plateau people was no accident. The cumulative effects of the smallpox epidemics, of increased warfare triggered by the horse and gun trade, of changes in social and political organization, and of other, subtler alterations in Plateau life caused by the advent of competitive European trade—all this bred uncertainty and insecurity about the continued efficacy of the supernatural powers that had protected their forefathers. The many material and ideological innovations introduced to the Plateau through trade made the region a fertile seedbed for ideas about the nature and causes of destructive change and about the spiritual powers that seemed to protect the foreigners who came to the Plateau.

By the early 19th century Plateau people were bringing their dead to non-Indian fur traders in the hope that the newcomers would be able to bring the dead back to life. In this "age of death" brought on by epidemic disease, Plateau people practiced "Christian" behavior in the hope that new and powerful supernatural beings would help them restore order and vitality to their world. Prophets appearing among the Plateau tribes foretold the arrival of strange white men with a powerful book who would bring a new religion and change their lives forever. Propelled by the forces of change introduced by trade, the search on the Plateau for supernatural assistance led to an appeal to an imported God.

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The USS Olympia

Commodore Dewey’s Flagship is Still Afloat in Memory and in Fact

By Kenneth L. Calkins

The cruiser USS Olympia was commissioned a little over a century ago, on February 5, 1895. Named for the capital city of Washington state, which had been admitted to the union only six years earlier, the Olympia was one of the United States Navy’s first all-steel warships. Three years later she served as Commodore George Dewey’s flagship at the Battle of Manila Bay in the Spanish-American War. It was from the Olympia’s flying bridge at dawn on May 1, 1898, that Commodore Dewey looked out over the enemy fleet and said to the captain of the Olympia, “You may fire when you are ready, Gridley.” The sound of the Olympia’s guns signaled the American navy’s other warships in the battle area to commence firing. By noon the Spanish fleet had been destroyed.

Although she no longer moves under her own power, the Olympia is still afloat—her brass still shines, her decks gleam, and her guns still menace. A bronze tablet donated by the City of Olympia rests between two of her gun ports. Engraved on that tablet are Commodore Dewey’s famous words to Captain Charles Gridley.

The Olympia was built at the Union Iron Works in San Francisco.
and named for a capital city, as once was customary for cruiser-class navy vessels. Her keel was laid June 17, 1891; she was launched November 5, 1892, commissioned February 5, 1895, and departed Mare Island (San Francisco) in August 1895 for duty in Asian waters. She never returned to the West Coast of America. Therefore, it is safe to assume that the Olympia never visited the state of Washington, let alone the city of Olympia. Olympians and Washingtonians, however, can visit the ship, which is now moored at Penn Landing in Philadelphia. The Olympia has been designated a national shrine and naval museum operated by the Cruiser Olympia Association. Thousands of visitors have walked her decks, visited the naval museum aboard, and had their pictures taken on the only American ship left to have served in the Spanish-American War.

The cruiser is an original—none like her built before or since—straight sides, 344 feet long, 53 feet broad at the beam, and drawing 21.5 feet. (For comparison, the USS Missouri, a 1941 battleship, is 888 feet long with a 108-foot beam and draws 38 feet.) In the 1890s and into the first third of the 20th century, all-steel U.S. Navy ships were painted white, leading to President Theodore Roosevelt's identification of the Navy as the "white fleet." In the early 1900s he sent a good part of the "white fleet" on a tour of the globe to demonstrate the nation's new world power status. The Olympia is the oldest, if not the only, surviving member of the "white fleet." She was powered both by steam engines and two schooner masts with full sails, a design that shows the reluctance of ship architects in the 19th century to place trust in propulsion by engines alone.

In late April 1898, with Commodore Dewey aboard, the Olympia sailed to the Philippines and the Battle of Manila Bay. After the Spanish-American War she served in the Caribbean Sea as part of the Navy's Atlantic squadron. When America entered World War I in 1917, the Olympia patrolled for enemy ships in the North Atlantic between New York and Nova Scotia. She also took part in an expeditionary landing in Murmansk in 1918 as part of an attempt by the Allies to contain the Russian Revolution. After the war she served as a world goodwill ambassador, including a 1920 tour of duty in the eastern Mediterranean during which she brought medical aid to refugees suffering from typhus and smallpox in Regusa, Dalmatia.

The Olympia's last assignment before her retirement in 1922 was one of great importance. On October 3, 1921, she left Plymouth, England, bound for Le Havre, France. There she picked up a casket containing the remains of an American fighting man killed in World War I. His name was "known but to God." The Olympia brought him home where he was buried in Arlington National Cemetery outside Washington, D.C., in the tomb of the Unknown Soldier. In some ways the Olympia had more harrowing experiences after her retirement than she had had while on active duty. To begin with, she was allowed to languish for 30 years in the backwaters of the Philadelphia Navy Yard. Vandals, weather and souvenir hunters did more damage than any enemy guns ever had. Her sister ships of the Spanish-American War's "white fleet" were hauled one by one to the scrapyard until only the Olympia and the Oregon remained. A heroic battlewagon, the Oregon had, in 1925, been floated up the Columbia and Willamette rivers to Portland where she served as a memorial and visitors' attraction.

When World War II began, the War Production Board looked on the Oregon with covetous eyes as a source of scrap metal. President Franklin Roosevelt, a naval history buff and former assistant secretary of the navy, was loath to see the Oregon sacrificed. In a letter to Secretary of the Navy Frank Knox, the president wrote,

"It is with great reluctance that I authorize the Navy Department to turn the USS Oregon over to the War Production Board for reduction to scrap metal. It is my understanding that the department will take immediate action toward the preservation of the USS Olympia as a naval relic of the Spanish-American War period."

President Roosevelt's directive to preserve the Olympia was either ignored or lost in the maze of priorities of wartime jobs. Preservation of the Olympia may have been Roosevelt's understanding, but nobody at the Philadelphia Navy Yard seemed to know about it. She was still rusting away in 1954 when the Navy requested, and Congress granted, that all of the Navy's historic relics except the USS Constitution be disposed of. Those not acquired by private patriotic organizations would be scrapped. The end of the gallant Olympia was in sight.

According to Commander John D. Alden, (USN retired), writing in a 1976 issue of the U.S. Naval Institute Proceedings, the Olympia was saved by a few
The USS Olympia's Silver Service

By Drew W. Crooks

When the USS Olympia was launched in San Francisco Harbor in 1892, absent from the ceremony were officials from its namesake city. Six years later the ship became famous for its role in the Battle of Manila Bay. During the ensuing wave of patriotic sentiment, the New York Daily Tribune noted in September 1898:

It is a custom generally observed for the city or state after which a battleship is named to present a service of silver to the vessel soon after its commission.

That the Olympia did not receive the usual compliment does not reflect on the good intentions of the citizens of Olympia. The capital city of Washington is a small— and far from wealthy—town situated at the head of Puget Sound. . . .

In 1898 Ada Harford, a prominent member of Seattle society, responded to this challenge by organizing a statewide series of plays, dances and benefits to raise money for a USS Olympia silver service. At the same time, Olympia residents collected funds for a bronze plaque for the cruiser.

Commodore George Dewey of the Olympia expressed his thoughts about the lack of civic recognition in a letter to Ada Harford published in the Seattle Post-Intelligencer on January 1, 1899:

I must confess to having felt that the City of Olympia had not done its duty by its namesake. Inasmuch as all the other vessels of the squadron had been in some way honored by the cities from which they took their names, it was an invidious comparison that the largest and best should be undervalued.

This rebuke helped spur both the Olympia and statewide fund-raising efforts to successful conclusions. The Olympia group commissioned sculptor Daniel C. French to create a plaque. Meanwhile, representatives from Everett, Seattle, Spokane and Tacoma reviewed proposals for the silver service. They selected Shreve and Company of San Francisco, whose proposal totalled $8,750.

The California firm went on to manufacture the service with silver and gold bullion from Washington mines. Highlights of the silver service include a statuette of Victory by artist Douglas Tilden and a tray engraved with the names of all the crew members who served at the Battle of Manila Bay.

The silver service from Washington, as well as the plaque from Olympia, were presented to the USS Olympia on its triumphant return to New York Harbor in September 1899. The ship was retired from service 23 years later and its silver transferred to another naval vessel. A movement developed in Washington to bring the silver service back to Olympia.

President Herbert Hoover on June 20, 1930, signed a congressional act directing the secretary of the navy to loan the silver service to Olympia. In October 1931 the set arrived in the capital city, and after several months of occasional public display the City of Olympia presented the pieces to the State of Washington for use in the governor's mansion. The silver is now an honored part of Washington's heritage.

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historically sensitive Philadelphians led by Henry D. Learned and Francis D. Pastorious. Keystone Dry Dock and Ship Repair Company agreed to bring the old ship up to display shape for $168,000, payment of which was to be deferred until the sponsors had had ample opportunity to raise the money. A new organization, the Cruiser Olympia Association, took title to the ship in September 1957. But the battle to save the Olympia was not over.

The Keystone Company did a perfunctory, cosmetic job of restoring the ship. In addition, the company was financially unstable and soon declared bankruptcy. Keystone's creditors sued the Cruiser Olympia Association for immediate payment of the Olympia's repair costs. The Keystone creditors soon realized that their alternative to negotiating a settlement with the Cruiser Olympia Association was to take possession of the USS Olympia, an option that did not appeal to them.

And so in 1964 a new agreement was drawn up. The cruiser association would raise funds both to pay for the Keystone restoration job as well as for further restoration of the Olympia. The project is what is euphemistically called "a work in progress."

No government funds have gone into these restoration costs. Many hours of volunteer labor and money from dues-paying memberships in the association have helped bring back the old ship's glory. The Cruiser Olympia Association can be reached by mail at 211 South Columbus Blvd., Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, 19106, and by telephone at the historically apt 215/922-1898.

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THE COWLITZ RIVER starts on Mount Rainier's southern slope, running wild through Cascade Mountain forests and deep gorges. Today this stretch of river has been tamed, at least in part, by the Mayfield Dam near Mossyrock. One hundred and fifty years ago, however, only the last 30 miles, from the present town of Toledo to the Columbia River, were subdued enough to be useful—subdued but not friendly, as generations of travelers will testify.

The Cowlitz River's 50-foot drop from Toledo to Longview, with its swift current, torturous course and shallow gravel bars, has always made upstream travel slow and laborious. Land transportation, however, was even more arduous during the first half of the 19th century. Whenever possible, Indians and frontiersmen preferred to move their heavy loads by water.

The Cowlitz River was an important link for Native Americans long before the first European explorers arrived. Large dugout canoes full of salmon, camas root, furs and other commodities to be traded among tribes of the Lower Columbia, Cowlitz and Willamette River valleys were paddled, pushed, pulled and poled by hand from one rapid to the next. The first white men to visit the Cowlitz River did so as paying passengers aboard Indian canoes.

Furs and Farms

Responding to British demand for stylish beaver top hats, the Hudson’s Bay and Northwest companies set up posts along the Columbia River to trade for pelts. George Simpson, governor of the Hudson’s Bay Company, made a trip up the Cowlitz in 1828, one of the first white men to do so. Recognizing the political and business advantages of diversification, Simpson’s chief factor (manager) for the Columbia District, John McLoughlin, encouraged several loyal employees to settle on the fertile prairies near the Cowlitz River in 1837. Two years later a Hudson’s Bay subsidiary, the Puget Sound Agricultural Company, established farms on Cowlitz Prairie and at Fort Nisqually on Puget Sound.

The Cowlitz River, already a valuable avenue for the fur trade, took on added importance as both an overland link to Puget Sound and a transportation corridor for the commercial farms along its banks. The increasing traffic was often carried in 30-foot flat-bottomed bateaux. Common to the North American fur trade, these boats were pointed at each end and made of thin wooden boards. Both Indian canoes and the bateaux moved traders and trade goods upstream; furs, grain and beef went down.

Agricultural production on the Cowlitz Prairie was prodigious enough by the 1840s to begin an export trade. The

ABOVE: The Cowlitz Indian canoe was one of the earliest forms of commercial transportation on the Cowlitz River.

OPPOSITE PAGE: The Chester, named after Joseph Kellogg’s grandson, had such a light draft, it was said, that she would “float on a heavy dew.”
Russian American Company in Alaska needed food and the Hudson's Bay Company agreed to supply it. A sailing ship, the Cowlitz, was acquired for the venture, but its namesake river was not especially cooperative. Correspondence between McLoughlin and Simpson in 1845 clearly depicts Cowlitz River commerce by canoe and bateau as expensive and undependable. The solution, both agreed, was a granary (warehouse) where the Cowlitz and Columbia River joined. This simple expedient allowed ships like the Cowlitz to load up quickly without having to wait for the small bateaux to make trips to and from the farms.

While a granary at the mouth of the Cowlitz solved the Hudson's Bay Company's supply problem, an influx of American settlers to the area north of the Columbia created new difficulties. Although the Hudson's Bay Company did everything in its civil power to keep the immigrants south of the river, farmland in the Willamette Valley was becoming overpopulated, and many pioneers turned their wagons north. The Americans followed existing trails along the Cowlitz, moving overland to the Puget Sound country. Gradually the trails were widened into muddy roads.

In 1846 England relinquished its claim to the territory between the Columbia River and the 49th parallel. Although Oregon became a territory of the United States two years later, transportation through the Cowlitz region changed...
very little. Travelers with money and no wagon generally went by horse or stage from Olympia south to a point on the river known as Cowlitz Landing. Here arrangements could be made for a canoe trip downstream to the Columbia River where passengers switched to a steamboat to reach the metropolis of Portland.

By 1851 traffic along the Cowlitz was busy enough to justify regular service. Messeurs Warbass and Townsend placed an ad in the July 5 Portland Oregonian stating:

The subscribers having the mail contract for the Cowlitz River are prepared to carry freight and passengers to and from Cowlitz Farms; leaving Fox's on the Columbia every Monday morning, and returning leave Cowlitz Farms on Wednesday morning.

EARLY ECONOMIC development in the Northwest was driven by a series of gold rushes, first in California, then Idaho and British Columbia. Both lumber and agricultural commodities were in great demand during the 1850s, and north-south inland traffic grew, bringing greater demand for transportation through the Cowlitz Valley. By 1853 Warbass and Townsend had competition from other operators. Flatboats large enough to carry wagons were built. It took three days and eight to ten expert Indians to bring a large bateau or flatboat up to Cowlitz Landing.

The Landing or Warbassport, as it was sometimes called, was a small boom town at the time. Two hotels and several saloons catered to the constant stream of humanity going to and from Puget Sound. Cowlitz Landing was the site of a convention held at the Clark Hotel in 1851 for the purpose of petitioning Congress to divide the Oregon Territory at the Columbia River.

Enthusiastic Entrepreneurs

As with most forms of transportation in the 19th century, it was inevitable that steam power would be applied to the difficult job of ascending the Cowlitz River. The financial demands and risks of the steamboat business, however, were considerable. Early efforts to climb the Cowlitz by steam were tentative and experimental. According to pioneer Peter Crawford, the first two steamers to enter the river were the Black Hawk and Major Redding in 1852 and 1853, respectively. Although both boats were driven by propeller and thus not well adapted to shallow rapids, the Major Redding managed to reach Plomondon's Landing, a distance of about 40 miles from the river's mouth.

The first local efforts to start a steamboat operation proved unsuccessful. Neither the Cowlitz River Steamboat Company (1854) nor the Cowlitz River Steam Navigation Company (1859) was able to compete effectively with the bateau operators. In 1863 a third corporation, the Monticello and Cowlitz Landing Steamboat Company (MCLS) was chartered. A 96-foot steamboat hull began to take shape on the riverbank between Monticello and Freeport. This “homegrown” effort was supervised by Oliff Olsen, former bateau operator and steamboat deckhand. After having her machinery installed in Portland, the diminutive steamer Rescue made a trial run to Cowlitz Landing in February 1864 under the command of Captain Levi White. Soon she was making regular trips between Portland and Cowlitz Landing.
The local entrepreneurs were soon to discover, however, that operating a steamboat line on the Cowlitz had more hazards than navigating a swift, rock-strewn river. Competition appeared in the name of the Oregon Steam Navigation Company (OSN). Predatory and competitive by nature, OSN sent the steamer Express up the Cowlitz in direct opposition to the Rescue. MCLS tried to sue the OSN on the grounds that MCLS had been granted a six-year monopoly on the Cowlitz by the Washington Territorial Legislature. MCLS lost the case, the court finding that OSN ran between Washington and Oregon, making it an interstate operation that could only be regulated by Congress.

A CLASSIC "STEAMBOAT WAR" ensued. MCLS chartered the steamer Cowlitz for the Cowlitz River run and sent the Rescue and Julia up the Columbia River to harass OSN in the Cascades. OSN retaliated by dropping the Portland-to-Monticello fare to as low as 25 cents. In 1866 the MCLS was forced to sell the Rescue to OSN, which continued to operate her on the Cowlitz run. In 1871 OSN withdrew from the Cowlitz entirely and sold the little Rescue to Joseph Kellogg.

As soon as OSN regained control over steamboating in the Columbia Basin, regular service on the Cowlitz route deteriorated. Local entrepreneurial spirit again surfaced with the incorporation of the Cowlitz Steam Navigation Company in 1867. This time the vessel, built at Rainier, Oregon, was a somewhat less ambitious 68 feet in length. Christened the Rainier, she made her first ascent to Cowlitz Landing in October 1867. Enthusiasm for the new operation died quickly, however, due to irregular service. A major flood in December destroyed most low-lying structures along the Cowlitz. The Rainier was reported to have broken a shaft during the catastrophe but was back in service by spring. Unlike her predecessor, the Rainier stayed within the Cowlitz stream, connecting with the OSN steamer John H. Couch at Monticello.

Kelloggs on the Cowlitz

REGULAR STEAMBOAT SERVICE on the Cowlitz River halted in 1868 when the federal government seized the Rainier for carrying passengers without a license. The following decade,
However, brought improved transportation for travelers wishing to reach Puget Sound. Better roads brought through stage service to the Olympia-Monticello route. The stage, in turn, was displaced by completion of the Northern Pacific Railroad's line from Kalama to Tacoma in 1873.

Oddly, the completion of a parallel railroad was not the end of Cowlitz River steamboating. In fact, the most intensive period of maritime activity on the river had only just begun. A new operator, Joseph Kellogg, brought back regular steamboat service to the Cowlitz by focusing on local business rather than through traffic.

An experienced capitalist and steamboat pioneer, Kellogg had been active in the Willamette Valley since the 1850s. His People's Transportation Company held a near monopoly on Willamette and Tualatin River business until he was bought out by Ben Holladay in 1870. Displaying a flair for sharp business, Kellogg created a new company, Willamette River Navigation, to compete with Holladay. By the late 1870s Captain Kellogg was ready to close out his numerous Willamette Valley enterprises and look for new opportunities.

Although the completion of a railroadd to Puget Sound was a great boon to long-distance travel, it did little for farmers on Cowlitz Prairie. The growing city of Portland was a natural market for their produce, grain and fodder crops if dependable transportation could be found. Joseph Kellogg saw an opportunity to fill this need and incorporated Joseph Kellogg and Company to build the sternwheeler Toledo in 1878. The Portland-built steamer was 109 feet long, had a 22-foot beam (width) and was powered by cylinders measuring 10 by 48 inches. This double-decked vessel began regular service the following year under the command of Joseph's son Orrin. Other members of the Kellogg family were active in the company, including Joseph's brother Jason and son Charles.

Free from the ruinous (and unprofitable) competition of the Willamette Valley, the Kellogg family was able to develop a benevolent monopoly on Cowlitz River transportation that would last until World War I. Finding that their new steamer was capable of safely reaching a point on the river two miles above Cowlitz Landing, the Kelloggs chose to bypass the old settlement and create one of their own. Orrin Kellogg purchased an acre of riverbank from settler Augustine Rochon. Rochon's wife Celeste is credited with naming the future town site during a dinner to celebrate the sale. Gazing out a window she noticed the steamer's name and chose to christen the site "Toledo."

By 1881 the Kelloggs had constructed a large warehouse on their acre of riverbank, and other businesses soon settled nearby. Warehouse space was essential to the operation of steamboats on a river like the Cowlitz. Even with a regular schedule in effect, it was not always possible for the boat to reach Toledo during periods of low water. This situation usually occurred each year in the late summer and early fall.

The last major obstruction to cross on the upstream trip was Ingersoll Bar. When the river level started to drop each summer, this shallow area would prevent the boat from reaching Toledo, thus forcing passengers and freight to unload at the old Cowlitz Landing.

The hazards of running a steamboat on the Cowlitz included not only shallow water but stumps and logs that became imbedded in the river bottom. It quickly became clear to the Kelloggs that holing a boat on one of these snags was expensive. The removal of snags, on the other hand, was also expensive. Having proven the Cowlitz navigable, the Kelloggs started looking for help to maintain its navigability.

On March 3, 1879, the 45th Congress, on the recommendation of Captain Orrin Kellogg, appropriated money and directed the secretary of war to "cause examinations or surveys, or both, and estimation of cost of improvements proper to be made at the following points, namely: ... the Cowlitz River, Washington Territory, for purposes of ascertaining the cost of removing snags and other obstructions."

Robert A. Habersham of the United States Army Corps of Engineers was sent to survey the Cowlitz. Habersham reported that the river's obstructions included five bars, two rapids, and numerous snags and drift piles. Since many of the bars appeared to have been created by driftwood piles, the removal of these piles would alter the condition of the channel, necessitating a later survey before further improvements could be made. According to Habersham, the interested parties (Kellogg and company) asked only that the snags and drift be removed, thereby allowing full use of the available water depth. Major George L. Gillespie of the Corps of Engineers' Portland Office recommended that $5,000 be expended the next year for removal of driftwood accumulations as far upstream as Cowlitz Landing and that $2,000 would be needed for channel maintenance every year thereafter. Congress appropriated $2,000 in 1880, and a total of 325 snags, 122 overhanging trees and 2 sunken scows were removed that fall.

In 1881 a new steamer, the Joseph Kellogg, was built at
Portland for its namesake owner. A handsome 127 feet long, the Joseph Kellogg was light and fast. She started running from Portland to Freeport (across from Kelso) on a tri-weekly schedule, with occasional trips to Toledo when the river level would allow.

Business on the Kellogg Portland-Kelso-Toledo route continued to be brisk throughout the 1880s. In 1889 Joseph Kellogg had a third boat built. At 135 feet the Northwest was the largest vessel in the Kellogg fleet. A classic West Coast steamboat, the Northwest was, by all accounts, both efficient and modern. With her engines installed she drew only 12 inches of water, and her staterooms were illuminated by electric lights.

Although schedules on the Kellogg line were maintained whenever possible, the Kellogg captains were known for their flexible service. The boat would stop for any farmer who put out a flag, and produce buyers were often on board to facilitate business. Passenger connections with the railroad were made at Kelso, Castle Rock and Olequa for those bound for Puget Sound or Portland. Many Portland-bound travelers preferred the all-water route, however, as the fare was much lower than by train.

Traffic on the Cowlitz River slowed after 1890. The Toledo was sold in 1891 to the Woodland Navigation Company for service on the Lewis River. Navigation improvements on the Cowlitz continued, with the total amount of money expended reaching almost $20,000 by 1893.

Mining activity near Mount St. Helens brought life back to the Kellogg line in 1897. Service to Toledo, which had been cut back to once a week, returned to the old tri-weekly schedule. That summer Joseph Kellogg ordered a new steamboat from the Supple yard in Portland. Intending to extend service through the dry periods, Kellogg designed a steamer of even lighter draft than his Northwest. The new boat was named Chester, after Orrin's son, and measured 101 by 21 feet. Chester Kellogg would later recall that his grandfather's last boat "held the distinction of being the lightest draft boat ever built, as she drew only six inches when built. It was jokingly said that she could run on a heavy dew."

The idea of building a light-draft boat for year-round service was not new to the Cowlitz River. In 1892 a competitor, Captain Frederick Lewis, brought his 70-foot steamer Messenger from Portland and started running the upper river as far as Toledo. The next year Lewis returned with a proposal to build and operate two sternwheelers, a large one for the lower river and a smaller one to reach Toledo. Although many shippers expressed interest in the scheme, there was not enough business at the time to support two steamboat companies. The Messenger eventually withdrew, leaving the Kelloggs in control of the Cowlitz River trade.

The first decade of the 20th century was a busy and prosperous period for the Kellogg Transportation Company (a new name for the Joseph Kellogg Company). In 1908, the Chester carried 21,634 tons of
Cowlitz rose rapidly during rainy periods, but also fell lower than ever during the summer dry spells. Following a disastrous flood in the winter of 1906, Congress appropriated $15,000 for improvement of the Cowlitz and Lewis Rivers. Although this money was clearly intended for dredging, there was some disagreement about where to dredge and how much river bottom to remove. After numerous delays, work on the project started in the spring of 1911. The dredge Cowlitz started on the lower river near Castle Rock, proceeding downstream at a rate of 75 to 100 feet a day. The Cowlitz was back at work the following year, this time starting from Toledo and working downstream. Jettyes were built out from the river bank at each bar to restrict water flow and increase its speed. This current, it was hoped, would keep gravel from building up in the channel and help maintain the depth without further dredging.

The hope of creating a year-round navigation channel on the Cowlitz was not to be fulfilled. Low water during the late summer of 1913 was said to be as low if not lower than ever before. Even the light-draft Chester had difficulty negotiating the lower river without grounding.

Decade of Decline

While many folks along the Cowlitz were watching the river bottom, other more significant changes were taking place. Automobiles began to appear and with them interest in improved roads. In fact, the Chester was employed in 1912 and 1914 to move materials for the new Pacific Highway. Farmers on Cowlitz Prairie soon discovered that trucks were a cheaper and more convenient way to get their products to market. Freight tonnage arriving at the Kellogg warehouse in Toledo dropped off rapidly during the 1910s. In 1916 there was plenty of water in the Cowlitz, but service to Toledo was discontinued in July for lack of business. The Chester made her last trip to Toledo in the spring of 1917. In need of repair, the little steamer was tied up at Kelso and sank during the following winter. Early in 1918 the Kellogg Company leased the steamer Oregona and made several trips as far as Cowlitz Landing. Toledo saw its last steamboat in April. The Pomona arrived at the Kellogg dock, loaded oats and barley, and returned downstream under the experienced hands of Arthur Riggs and Orrin Kellogg.

Today upstream travel on the Cowlitz is possible with a jet-boat. Commercial navigation, however, ended with the last steamer. The river is usually quiet now, showing little evidence of its active maritime past.

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Tri-weekly service to Portland and bi-weekly trips up the Cowlitz to Toledo were features of the Kellogg line during its peak in the 1880s.
"Too many Christmas trees everywhere," lamented one Puget Sound pioneer whose cabin probably stood in the shadows of towering firs. Yet the Christmas tree was the centerpiece for pioneer community Christmas celebrations usually held in a church or meeting hall and attended by hundreds coming from miles around. Pioneer trees were decorated with strings of Oregon grape, salal, popcorn, gilded pine cones and lit with candles. Gifts were hung from the tree and distributed to all.

By the turn of the century trees were common in every home and by the Great Depression logging companies and independent entrepreneurs were shipping our evergreen wealth to brighten living rooms nationwide. The truck pictured here prepares to transport its load of 1,080 trees from Redmond on November 30, 1931.
er thick, ankle-length bloomers flapping wildly in the wind, a Tacoma schoolteacher stood atop Mount Rainier. Until now, no woman had scanned the “miles of mountains forming one great circle round the horizon” from the 14,410-foot summit. In late afternoon on August 10, 1890, 19-year-old Edwina Fay Fuller took pride in achieving the goal she had “always dreamed of and feared impossible.”

As Mount Rainier National Park approaches its centennial in 1999, Fay Fuller deserves more than passing recognition as the first woman to reach the summit. Her life in Tacoma exemplifies a heady spirit in the rapidly growing young city between the late 1880s and the early 1890s. Taking on the wilderness visibly dominated by Mount Rainier became a popular pastime for the region’s adventurous men. By joining four of them for a successful two-day ascent, Fay bucked the social customs of her time. Her published account drew fresh attention to the mountain and to mountaineering, particularly for women. More importantly, her enthusiasm led her to gather and publish all the earlier written accounts she could locate in a series of feature articles. Both Fay Fuller’s feat and her commitment to collect those accounts contribute to Mount Rainier’s rich human history.

In the summer of 1890 Seattle was furiously rebuilding following a devastating fire the previous year. Thirty-five miles to the south, the city of Tacoma enjoyed a bustling economy. The terminus of the Northern Pacific Railroad in Tacoma proved a boon to both business and early tourism. When climbing parties embarked for Mount Rainier from points north or south, they frequently boarded the train for Yelm and Yelm Trail. Twenty years earlier, in 1870, the first two climbers had reached the summit. By 1890 about two dozen men had succeeded. A woman had yet to demonstrate that she possessed sufficient strength and endurance to make it all the way.

A climbing party invited Fay to accompany them in 1887, insisting that she turn back at 8,500 feet. Only age 17 when she accepted this condition, she believed she could climb higher. And she longed for a second chance.

Piecing together what is known about Fay Fuller, the spread of the infectious “mountain fever” close to her backyard, and her friendship with Philemon Van Trump—one of the first to conquer the summit—helps to explain why she set her sights on Rainier.

Fay was 12 years old when in 1882 she moved with her family from Chicago to Tacoma in what was then Washington Territory. Her father, Edward N. Fuller, who would dedicate his later years to the Washington State Historical Society, became editor of the Evening News. The family moved into a house on St. Helens Avenue, and Fay enrolled at the new high school. In 1885 she became one of its first nine graduates. The 15-year-old soon began teaching locally at Longfellow School. In an interview in 1950 Fay claimed that she also taught at Rosedale on Henderson Bay on the Kitsap Peninsula, a day’s trip by steamer from Tacoma’s downtown dock.

On the threshold of womanhood in the Victorian era, yet inclined toward physical challenges considered off-limits for her gender, Fay found herself among the many Tacomans sharing a great enthusiasm for climbing. Ascents and near ascents of Mount Rainier whetted the appetites of adventurous souls. Those who engaged in or discussed the growing pastime spoke increasingly of the contagious mountain fever. Philemon Van Trump, had already visited the top twice when asked in 1888 to accompany the popular naturalist John Muir. Van Trump wrote: “Though my business and my wife being without help really made it a dereliction of duty for me to leave home, they soon

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Fay's decision to teach conformed to the conventional career choice for young women; her free-time activities did not. Leonard Longmire of Yelm was a member of the party in Fay's 1890 ascent. A teenager when he first climbed the mountain, he reminisced in 1933 about his early days as a guide and provided firsthand insight about Fay's character. He recalled her as a pioneering woman ahead of her time in the Pacific Northwest. She and a small group of young Tacoma women organized for "healthful exercise," calling themselves the Women's Guard; their calisthenics and rifle drills undoubtedly stirred gossip among local residents. Longmire also remembered Fay raising eyebrows by riding horseback like a man, rather than sidesaddle, and by sporting bloomers instead of a woman's proper riding habit. And, according to Longmire, she became the world's first woman "harbor master" in Seattle.

Such unconventional activities suggest an independent thinker who endured criticism from townspeople concerning her boldness. Little is known about Fay's mother, Augusta Morrison, whose father was mayor of Portsmouth, New Hampshire, at the time she married Edward Fuller. Any attempt by Augusta to influence her daughter likely failed, for nothing suggests that Fay attempted to curtail her self-reliant ways. The "quiet young girl with demi-blonde hair, a square, firm chin, and pleasing features and manner," and who preferred physically demanding adventures, emerges as a strong-willed individual who might use personality and persistence to further her cause.

When in 1887 Fay accepted an invitation to climb Mount Rainier with the constraint that she return to camp at a specified elevation, the experience proved both exhilarating and frustrating for her. It tested her endurance, allowed her to travel with and learn from seasoned hikers, and fueled her ambition to return: "Having climbed the mountain . . . to an altitude of 8,500 feet, [I] knew the pleasure in store . . . It was a great disappointment, and one that made me resolve that some time I would go as high as possible, but hardly daring to hope what that might mean." She would need the patience to wait three more years.

Accelerated improvements along and near the popular Yelm Trail and wagon road in the late 1880s helped to spread the mountain fever. Clearing, widening and grading the trail and creating switchbacks eased the first leg of travel by horseback toward Rainier. Several simple lodgings promised basic comforts along the way. Discovering mineral springs in 1883 and summering there with his family, James Longmire and his son Len built log dwellings and rough bathhouses after snow crushed the first within a year or two. By 1888 their cabin and those of two others, along with a few barns, provided shelter.

Improvements over the next few summers pushed onward and, literally, upward. In 1890 the Longmires, with assistance from a number of Indians, started the first road to Longmire Springs, which they completed in 1891. Their efforts included a small log hotel at the springs, contributing much to "open and maintain a proper trail into
Paradise Valley" for early vacationers. Another key improvement was Longmire's log bridge, which spanned the Nisqually River at the foot of the switchbacks. Built shortly after John Muir's ascent, the new crossing assured dry clothes, a safer, swifter journey and a psychological lift to parties setting out from Yelm. Fay described this crossing as hazardous for rider and horse in the days before the bridge, the water carrying "huge boulders, continually roaring and rolling from the glacier."

Not long after Fay's 1887 attempt aborted at the snow fields, she must have determined to be alert for another opportunity. To keep in peak physical condition she probably arranged to exercise with the Women's Guard whenever time permitted.

With her father in the newspaper business and her family living on "D" Street near downtown Tacoma by 1888, Fay had ready access to climbing accounts. She would not have missed Van Trump's report in the Daily Ledger soon after descending Mount Rainier that summer. When he, A. C. Warner (the first to photograph from the summit) and Muir left footprints on the mountain top, they caused excitement to ripple throughout the region, and a camp soon bore the latter's name.

Fay and Van Trump seem to have become friends, though the origin of their acquaintance is unclear. He and Edward Fuller may have known one another, or Fay may have met Van Trump through his daughter Christine, who was a student at Yelm where Fay briefly taught. The seasoned mountaineer spoke to Fay's class and invited her to his family camp. Through such outings Fay increased her knowledge of Mount Rainier, reaffirming her goal to go "as high as possible."

Opportunity knocked in the summer of 1890 when the Van Trumps asked Fay to accompany them on an excursion to the mountain. Favorable weather had blessed the region with an early climbing season; a number of parties formed to discuss strategy, plan equipment, acquire a guide and establish a starting date.

That Fay was determined to seize this opportunity must have been clear to the Van Trumps and others who gathered in Yelm the evening of August 3rd. Eleven-year-old Christine's presence signaled a casual climb. A glance at Fay's equipment and clothing, however, proved both her serious intent and the fact that she had been given advance notice to pack with a purpose. Riding astride a horse as she headed toward the Nisqually River bridge and through forested Pierce County, Fay wore an outfit unimaginably cumbersome compared with today's lightweight and layered approach. Her dressmaker had sewn a thick blue flannel, ankle-length bloomer suit covered with a long coatdress. Lined pockets in her blouse held personal items. One Tacoma's comment about Fay echoed Victorian "shock at the thought that her mother would let her wear such an 'immodest costume.'" "In order to get the benefit of the sun," Fay hairpinned a straw hat to her upswept hair. Sturdy footwear for women was nonexistent, so she purchased heavy calfskin boys' shoes to lace over wool stockings. She carried blankets and an alpenstock (walking stick) crafted from a curved shovel handle by a Yelm blacksmith, with a spike driven into the end. Goggles plus a charcoal mixture spread on her face as a sunscreen rounded out her equipment.

The highlights of Fay's climb draw heavily from the article she published in Every Sunday, her father's Tacoma weekly, shortly after her descent. From mid-morning of their Yelm departure on August 4 to their return on the 19th, the trip took over two weeks.

Horses carried the party toward their destination for nearly three days. Fay detailed the relative ease of this portion, appreciating prairie, woods and comfortable sleeping accommodations. They crossed the Nisqually River bridge and headed toward Nisqually Glacier. Fay reported that a "good wagon road has been made over the first twenty miles, which greatly eases the trip."
That first evening, 18 miles from Yelm, they paused at Indian Henry's farm to eat a meal cooked over an open fire. Fay referred to Henry as a "smart old Klickitat who ... owns a very valuable farm." Two more parties soon arrived, among them the four men Fay would later join in her final ascent.

Refreshed by a good night's rest in Indian Henry's barn, the party continued 14 hours by horseback along a winding path beneath dense forests of grand old cedars and firs and "across chattering brooks, where the tin cups strapped to our backs came in use." They slept on another fresh bed of hay the second night, this time in the barn of the Kernenahan family, which had recently moved to this isolated location from Tacoma. Muir had used these accommodations when he approached Rainier by the same route two years earlier.

Riding more than 11 miles the third day, the group arrived at Longmire Springs. Here in 1883, on their descent from the mountain, James Longmire, George Bayley and Philemon Van Trump had discovered and explored some mineral springs. Crossing the bridge that Longmire had recently built over the Nisqually River near the foot of its glacier, members of the party re-adjusted their packs before covering a steep hill on foot. Another hour brought them to a paradise composed "of the greenest grass, prairie firs, and myriads of flowers." They bedded down at nearby Camp of the Clouds and took time the next day to collect and press wildflowers, marvel at the area's beauty, and set up a comfortable camp.

Well aware that she was still not guaranteed a summit attempt, Fay prepared to make her move. When members of a Seattle party passed hers at Paradise Valley and camped at an elevation 500 feet higher, they soon saw a lone young woman striding toward them. What then transpired is known only through Fay's report—and one's imagination. "Visiting and talking with these parties," said Fay, "I found several anticipated trying the ascent. They made me happy when they kindly invited me to join them." It is safe to speculate that she got herself invited. And if her outfit created a stir in the city below, spending the night in their camp before setting out with the all-male party must have set tongues wagging.

Four fit young climbing partners accompanied Fay Fuller for the final portion of the challenge. At age 24, the Reverend Ernest Smith had recently

The climbing foursome, left to right: W. O. Amsden, Len Longmire, Fay Fuller and E. C. Smith. On their way to the summit in August 1890, Smith's three-foot mercury barometer broke as he prepared to make an observation.
arrived in the Pacific Northwest as the new Unitarian minister in Seattle. He was the climbing party’s leader. William Amsden, a photographer who had captured the first photographs on top of Mount Baker, also represented Seattle. He carried an 8x10 camera and glass lenses. Len Longmire of Tacoma, who had not yet turned 20, would begin two decades as a summit guide the following summer. Robert R. Parrish had traveled to Yelm from Portland with the sole purpose of conquering Mount Rainier.

The final two-day climb began on August 9, and Smith wrote that the group started out equipped with “goggles and dark veils.” They were a “rough-looking set, but prepared to camp out in the snow three days if necessary.” Several mishaps occurred that afternoon. Ground glass important for Amsden’s photography broke, yet he found he had “glass pieces enough for focusing” and managed to capture the sweeping panorama from Camp Muir in the lingering light. When Smith’s three-foot mercury barometer broke, he announced, apparently in good humor, that his mission had shifted from work to pleasure. Finally, when Parrish missed in tossing his pack to safe ground, he could only watch it careen over the edge of a crevasse. But the fivesome had safely weathered the day. Now, with evening coming, they stretched tents over their alpenstocks and awaited the dawn.

After a fitful sleep they arose at half past four in the morning to find streams frozen and their canteens dry. A bit of chocolate plus a few raisins and prunes sufficed for breakfast. Crossing ledges and slippery slopes proved tedious, particularly an icy 50-foot portion. Here Smith chiseled steps with his hatchet. Along the most treacherous ledge at Gibraltar (a high cliff christened by climbers in 1889), Fay permitted herself to be secured by a rope between two men in front and two behind. This narrow shelf had to be navigated before the sun’s warmth loosened the rocks.

Len Longmire credited Fay for not wanting to concede anything that might make her appear soft. He recalled that someone offered her a hand at an especially dangerous place. “No thanks,” she replied, “I want to get up there under my own power or not at all.” Thin air near the top slowed their pace to a few steps, a pause, then a few more steps. Twelve hours after their day began, they reached the icy crown of Mount Rainier.

The five hikers scanned the horizon. The wind howled; the day was already cooling. Clouds prevented a full vista, but a partial view was reward enough. Fay described the world of white at the summit with deep emotion. “It was a heavenly moment,” she wrote. “Words cannot describe scenery and beauty, how they could speak for the soul!” On viewing the night sky through a steam cave roof along the rim of a crater, she could watch the “stars and meteors...and hear the awful avalanches roaring down the mountain sides. . . . It is all God’s music, the sounds being grander than the sights.” A later report in the San Francisco Chronicle captured the hostile weather at 12,000 feet: “the wind blew a hurricane over the snow and blue-green glacier.”

Before beginning their descent they left a few items in the nearby crater as proof of their adventure: a sardine can containing their names, a brandy flask and a tin cup.

For her first major climbing feat, Fay carefully itemized her equipment, clothing and food supplies. The latter included “dried beef, fried ham, cold boiled eggs, sardines, bread and butter, extract of beef, cheese, chocolate, dried
peaches, raisins and prunes," plus some brandy and a flask of whiskey. Having spent a sheltered but near-sleepless night in an ice cave, Fay told of her companions bathing their feet in the whiskey. Such details would interest future climbers.

Several observations show for the first time a woman mountaineer's perspective. Steam rising from the crater appeared to boil "like a row of tea kettles." Of the men's appearance near the summit she wrote: "The gentlemen's mustaches were frozen like ice." Fay recalled great difficulty in mastering the steps carved in the 50-foot "solid wall of ice" by the Reverend Smith with his hatchet. She found that the distance between the steps suited a man more than a woman, especially one wearing a "long full-skirted coat" over a hot and bulky bloomer-suit. Finally, she recounted with amusement Smith's attempts to cook at that altitude.

Fay's article described in a straightforward manner the cold, fatigue, hunger, thirst and blistered faces the group experienced. She pronounced the charcoal-and-cream sunblock a failure and acknowledged suffering intense pain: lips, noses, and almost "all our faces swollen out of proportion, eyes sore, wrists peeling."

A number of historians credit Fay Fuller with an achievement beyond her personal mountaineering conquest. Her decision to find and publish other firsthand accounts of Rainier ascents is her legacy on the eve of Mount Rainier National Park's centennial. Her keen journalistic sense and eagerness to climb do not fully explain why she penned her adventure and sought similar stories of others. Did she consider these feats history-in-the-making and want to secure a place for herself? Her newspaper-editor father likely encouraged her and offered access to publication. These news-worthy articles whetted recreational appetites to try the Cascade's highest peak and increased momentum to include it in a national park.

In reaching Rainier's summit in 1890 and again in 1897 with the Mazamas Club of Portland, Fay dispelled any doubt that she possessed adequate stamina. She opened a door for others of her gender, especially her students in Yelm. Her words echo that spirit: "I expect to have my example followed by a good many women."

After becoming social editor for Every Sunday, Fay took a position as the first woman newspaper reporter for the Tacoma Ledger. This assignment sent her throughout the city. Covering "the waterfront, equity court, the markets," she told an interviewer upon returning to Tacoma in 1950, "I walked miles from one end of town to the other, holding my skirts out of the dust and mud." She also worked for newspapers in Pendleton, Oregon. One reporter observed that she had a "nose for news." Fay claimed herself "one of the boys."

After covering the world's fairs in Chicago and St. Louis, her journalistic career eventually took her to Washington, D.C. In June 1905 she married Fritz von Briesen in New York City. A few years her junior and an 1895 Harvard graduate, he practiced patent and trademark law. They lived for many years on New York's West 57th Street. Fay died in 1958 at the age of 88.

Betsy Potts is a Tacoma-based free-lance writer and photographer and a member of the Tacoma Landmarks Preservation Commission.
Asian Americans have not fared well in the hands of Pacific Northwest historians. Hubert Howe Bancroft (1832-1918), a noted historian of the Pacific Coast, can be surrogate for several generations of writers. Of Chinese he wrote in 1890 that, “The color of their skins, the repulsiveness of their features, their undersize of figure, their incomprehensible language, strange customs and heathen religion … conspired to set them apart.” For several generations Pacific Coast historians largely provided variations of Bancroft’s racial and ethnic biases, but we need not be concerned with them here. While few were as frank about their biases as Bancroft had been—many of them were advocates of “scientific” history—they tended to justify what was done to Asians while at the same time saying very little about them.

This began to change in the 1960s. Here are parallel passages from two scholarly books, the first published in 1948 and the second in 1976, which illustrate the nature of that change. In his *Farthest Frontier: The Pacific Northwest* (1948), Sidney Warren writes in his discussion of territorial Idaho about “the Chinese who had infiltrated into the area to serve as cooks and laundrymen and as gleaners of what the white miners considered exhausted gold veins…” In his 1976 history of Idaho, F. Ross Peterson writes, “An interesting aspect of Idaho gold mining is that by 1870 over one-half of Idaho’s miners and one-third of the territory’s population were Chinese. The Orientals purchased claims from the less-patient whites and worked them long after the original owners had left.” Warren not
only used pejorative language—whites migrated to Idaho while Chinese “infilt­rated”—but he had the ecology of Chi­nese employment all wrong. Most Chi­nese turned to providing services only after they had been driven from the mines by whites.

Contemporary historians of the Pa­cific Northwest no longer denigrate Chinese and other Asians and usually give accurate accounts of the persistent discrimination and violence that Asian Americans were subjected to until legal discrimination ended during the civil rights era of the 1960s. But what these historians write about Asian Americans tends to be what I have called “negative history”—that is, history that largely recounts what was done to these immigrant peoples and their descendants rather than what they themselves have done. This kind of writing makes Asian Americans objects rather than subjects of history. Of the modern state histories of the Northwest, Gordon Dodd’s bi­centennial history of Oregon has the most detail about individual Asian Americans and their accomplishments, while the most disappointing is a history of Washington that mentions no Asians by name and does not even refer to the process by which most of the state’s Japanese Americans were packed off to internment camps in Idaho, Cali­fornia and Wyoming.

The intent here is not to trudge through those works, volume by vol­ume, to point with pleasure or disdain at what each does or does not say about Asian Americans. The fact of the mat­ter is that what Rose Marie Wong says in her 1994 history of Portland’s Chinatown—“very little has been writ­ten on the history of Oregon’s emigrant Chinese settlement or Portland’s first Chinatown”—could be applied to most of the Asian American experience in the Pacific Northwest. One is struck, for example, after looking through index after index, by how often one sees the entry, “first white woman in—” and how rarely one sees “first Chinese woman in—” or “first Vietnamese woman in—.” The one is a part of the canon of western history while the others, presumably, are not.

It would be easy to fill many pages complaining about what hasn’t been done, but it would be nei­ther interesting nor profitable to do so. Instead, these pages relate some­thing about a few Pacific Northwest Asian Americans who don’t usually get into history books, focusing on mem­bers of the two oldest groups—Chinese Americans and Japanese Americans.

Although there were a few Chinese in the New World in the early 17th cen­tury, numerically significant Chinese migration did not occur until the 1849 gold rush. Not long after that Chinese began moving north and east from Cali­fornia. According to the 1870 census, there were over 7,800 Chinese in the Northwest, with nearly 2,000 in Montana, and nearly 4,300 in Idaho Terri­tory where they comprised over a quar­ter of the population. This is the highest incidence of Asians ever recorded in any mainland state or territory. Most of them, and those in neighboring states, were searching for gold, and ways were soon found—legal and otherwise—to drive them out of most mines.

Because most other Americans, red
or white, treated the Chinese with contempt when they did not brutalize them, we know very little about the vast majority of these people, except that more than 90 percent of them were men. Few left records in English, and what records existed in Chinese were often discarded as being worthless.

They were, after all, in Bret Harte's phrase, only "heathen Chinee." Harte's experience was in California and Nevada, but it was the same, or worse, in the Northwest. Here is a piece of folklore doggerel collected in Seattle, Washington; Jacksonville, Oregon; and Florence, Idaho—all places that had significant Chinese populations. Some find it humorous, but it accurately reflects where the Chinese stood in the frontier pecking order. It was probably sung thus:

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ABOVE: Seattle's Fifth and Main on December 20, 1910, showing what the original caption writer called "oriental businesses" left standing after clearance for the right-of-way of the Oregon and Washington Railway.

RIGHT: Chinese-American entrepreneur Chin Gee Hee in his Seattle office, 1906. An important labor contractor and importer, he later returned to China with capital raised in America to build and operate a railroad in China.
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Old John Martin Duffy was judge of the court.
In a small mining town in the West;
Although he knew nothin' 'bout rules of the law,
At judging he was one of the best.
One night in the winter a murder occurred,
And the blacksmith was accused of the crime;
We caught him red-handed and gave him three trials
But the verdict was "guilty" each time.
Now he was the only good blacksmith we had
And we wanted to spare him his life,
So Duffy stood up in court like a lord
And with these words he settled the strife.
"I move we dismiss him—he's needed in town."
Then he spoke out these words, which have gained him renown:
"We have two Chinese laundrymen, everyone knows—
Let's save this poor blacksmith and hang one of those."

Although the incident described is clearly apocryphal, John R. Wunder has demonstrated in a series of articles that justice for Chinese in the Northwest was very difficult to obtain, especially in cases involving trial by juries from which Chinese were excluded. Chinese defendants fared somewhat better in federal courts, however.

No atrocity better illustrates the kind of "justice" Chinese immigrants received in the Northwest than the little known "Snake River Massacre" of 1887. In terms of "body count," it was worse than the much better known massacres in Los Angeles (1871) and Rock Springs, Wyoming (1885). Thirty-one Chinese miners were robbed, murdered and mutilated by a white gang in the isolated Hell's Canyon gorge in Oregon. Although the identity of the killers became known—one turned state's evidence and three were actually brought to trial—none was convicted. Clearly, folklore's Judge Duffy had real life counterparts. The leading authority on this massacre, Professor David Stratton, illus-
1943-44, Rose Hum Lee, a Chinese-American sociologist, interviewed old-timers in her home town of Butte, Montana, as part the research for her University of Chicago doctoral dissertation. The Butte Chinatown was once the biggest east of the Rockies: in 1880, 21 percent of the town's 3,363 residents were Chinese. A steep pattern of decline followed in Butte; by 1940 the 88 Chinese left in Butte were 0.2 percent of the city's population.

Like almost everyone else drawn to Butte, it was mining that attracted the Chinese. But in 1883 the Montana Territorial Supreme Court ruled that all mining claims held by "aliens ineligible to citizenship"—that is, Chinese or other Asians—were void. Many Chinese then left, but others stayed, often entering service trades, particularly laundries and restaurants that catered to the general population. When the anti-Chinese movement leaders in Butte set up a boycott and established picket lines around Chinese businesses, the owners pooled their money and hired a prominent Caucasian attorney. They won their case and, as one of the businessmen remembered exultantly,

We won the lawsuit after many hearings. When the Six Companies in San Francisco heard of the decision, they said, "The Butte Chinese are the smartest anywhere in the United States." We had no idea we would win...but if we had not, none of us would be here today.

There is much of interest in Lee's work, but her interviews with "the oldest woman in Butte's Chinatown" are the most fascinating. They comprise one of the few firsthand accounts we have of the life of an upper class Chinese-American woman of the period:

When I came to America as a bride, I never knew I would be coming to a prison. Until the [1910-11] Revolution I was allowed out of the house but once a year. That was during New Years when families exchanged...calls and feasts. We would dress in our long plaited, hand-embroidered skirts. These were a part of our wedding dowry brought from China. Over these we wore long-sleeved short satin or damask jackets. We wore all of our jewelry and put jeweled ornaments in our hair. The father of my children hired a closed carriage to take me and the children calling. Of course, he did not go with us, as this was against the custom practiced in China. The carriage waited until we were ready to leave, which would be hours later, for the women saw each other so seldom that we talked and reviewed all that went on since we saw each other. Before we went out of the house, we sent the children to see if the streets were clear of men. If we did have to walk out when men were on the streets, we hid our faces behind our silk fans and hurried by...

The women were always glad to see each other; we exchanged news of our families and friends in China. We admired each other's clothes and jewels. As we ate separately from the men, we talked about things that concerned women. When the New Year festivals were over, we would put away our clothes and take them out when another feast was held. Sometimes we went to a feast when a baby born into a family association was one month old. Otherwise we seldom visited each other; it was considered immodest to be seen too many times during the year. After the Revolution in China, I heard that women there were free to go out. When the father of my children cut his queue [pigtail] he adopted new habits: I discarded my Chinese clothes and began to wear American clothes. By that time my children were going to American schools and could speak English, and they helped me buy what I needed. Gradually the other women followed my example. We began to go out more frequently and since then I go out all the time.

Despite what is usually said about the uniqueness of the Asian-American experience, her story is in many ways typically American: an immigrant woman is helped in acculturating to American life by her children who have been molded in the public schools.

During the Exclusion Era, 1882-1943, while the Chinese presence in the Northwest and in the nation as a whole shrank in both absolute and relative numbers, the Japanese-American presence grew. After most Chinese immigration had been cut off in 1882, thousands of Japanese immigrants came to the Northwest. The Japanese-American population grew steadily in the region until 1940. By that time there were nearly 20,000 Japanese Americans in the Northwest, some two-thirds of them native-born American citizens. Nearly 15,000 lived in Washington, another 4,000 in Oregon, while just over 1,000 lived in Idaho. Two years later there were some 10,000 Japanese Americans in Idaho, most of them former Washingtonians confined in the Minidoka internment camp. Since Japanese came in this century and a few pioneers are still alive, it is easier to hear their voices. And although many Japanese-American historical documents and artifacts were destroyed in fear and anger after Pearl Harbor, the lives of the Japanese pioneers can be much more easily documented than those of their Chinese predecessors.
by 1940 it was largely composed of family units, although there were still 123 males for every 100 females.

In many ways Japanese did well in Seattle. By the end of the 1930s most Japanese-American families there were at least in the lower reaches of the middle class and were excelling in education. In 1937, for example, when Seattle had nine high schools, Nisei, second-generation Japanese Americans, were valedictorians in three and salutatorians in two of them. But, as Quintard Taylor has shown us in a stunning essay, it was always clear that whites held the upper hand. Nisei high school and college graduates had to take jobs within the ethnic economy or leave the region to get appropriate employment.

Many of the Seattle Nisei were a feisty bunch. In 1921 a congressional committee investigating "Japanese immigration" visited the city and heard from, among others, 17-year-old Nisei schoolboy James Sakamoto. In his testi-
mony he seems typically American—cocky and bright; in fact, many of the community elders thought his performance disgraceful. Here is part of a colloquy between the teenager and a Colorado congressman:

Congressman: Well, you know that you are claimed as a citizen by Japan and also by the United States?
Sakamoto: I don’t care. I was born here.
Congressman: Is it your intention to remain an American citizen [or] be a Japanese citizen?
Sakamoto: Why should I not remain an American citizen? I was born here, and why should I go back there? This is my home.

Congressman: You intend to remain an American citizen?
Sakamoto: Well, nobody is going to stop me.

And no one did stop him. Sakamoto remained an American citizen until he died in 1955. But neither his citizenship nor the aggressive brand of Americanism he espoused in his newspaper, the Japanese American Courier, prevented his wartime removal and detention along with most other Seattle Japanese-Americans.

The Japanese Americans of Hood River led a very different kind of life. Hood River is the center of a secluded
valley with 1,400 fertile acres of pear and apple orchards. One of the Northwest's most prosperous Japanese-American communities evolved there. By 1940 it had 462 residents recorded as "Japanese" during the census—162 of them immigrants, what Japanese Americans call "Issei," and the other 300 their American-born children. One of the latter, Minoru Yasui, a son of the leading Japanese-American family, bragged to a friendly Portland newspaperman in 1940: "Today the Japanese of Hood River County produce an annual crop of $500,000. This includes 90 percent of the country's asparagus, 80 percent of the strawberries, 35 percent of the pears and 20 percent of the apples."

The following year Yasui was the first Nisei graduate of the University of Oregon law school, but less than a year later, on March 28, 1942, he was behind bars in Portland's Second Avenue police station. He was there because he had deliberately challenged the 8:00 PM to 6:00 AM curfew that the army had promulgated for all persons of Japanese origin—the army liked to phrase that "aliens and non-aliens alike"—on the West Coast. Yasui just could not believe, as one who had studied and practiced law, that American courts would uphold such an order against American citizens; he soon learned otherwise. He was convicted of curfew violation in Oregon's federal district court; his conviction was sustained by the Ninth Circuit Court of Appeals and, what was particularly galling to Yasui, the Supreme Court never formally ruled on his case, even though he was the first Japanese-American to test the constitutionality of the government's wartime restrictions on Japanese-American citizens. Instead, he was relegated to a footnote in Seattleite Gordon Hayashi's more celebrated case.

Hood River became infamous after November 29, 1944, because the local American Legion post had removed the names of 16 Nisei soldiers from the "honor roll" on the east wall of the county courthouse. A little over a month later one of those men, Frank Hachiya, was killed in action and awarded the Silver Star. When Life and other magazines publicized what the Legion post had done, a critical furor erupted and the names were restored a few weeks later.

But a partially successful campaign to keep Japanese Americans from returning to their former homes in Hood River went on for months; only 40 percent of the prewar population returned there, as opposed to nearly 70 percent for Oregon as a whole. Min Yasui, for example, resettled in Denver. A tanka—a traditional form of Japanese poetry—written by Mrs. Shizue Iwasaki may be translated:

He was kind to us before  
But now—the shopkeeper  
Nervously refuses to serve us.

Most of those who returned to Hood River were able to put the pieces of their interrupted lives together. A few years ago, in the mid 1980s, a Hood River Sansei (third generation Japanese American), Professor Linda Tamura of Willamette University, began tape-recording interviews with the surviving Hood River Issei, including her own grandparents. Her maternal grandmother, born in 1897 in Hiroshima, came to the United States as a picture bride in 1916. Of the traumatic 1945 return from Minidoka, she recalled:

In spite of rumors of intense discrimination, Papa was determined to return no matter what, because our son Sat was there. Almost everyone we knew discouraged Papa, warning that strong anti-Japanese feelings made our return much too dangerous. But Papa was determined to return, so my daughter and I had no choice but to accompany him. We were one of the first to leave, so our friends warned us to be careful. We were so frightened! I jumped at every sound! Even at night, I did not sleep well. We were not afraid of anyone in particular—it was just a general feeling of insecurity. Whenever we saw a stranger, we were suddenly alarmed for we did not know what to expect.... As it turned out, nothing really happened, and we were grateful.

When Linda asked her grandmother to characterize her life experience, Asayo Noji spoke for her generation:

Issei have gone through extremely difficult times. Everything in this country was different—from language to food to manners. . . . Surviving. . . . and having raised our children, those difficult times are now in the backs of our minds. There are those who were able to withstand the rigors of difficult times, and, of course, there were those who were not. I would say that when we immigrated here, Issei were determined to work hard and succeed. They were probably driven by a desire not to tarnish the Japanese image. We had come from so far away that we wanted to give our best efforts.

Their children, grandchildren, great-grandchildren, and great-great-grandchildren are now accepted in American society to a degree that was unimaginable half a century ago. And, to be sure, the first generations of later-arriving immigrant groups from Asia have much less overt hostility to face, and, at the moment, no discriminatory legislation to endure. But they, like all immigrants, are outsiders in a country where everything—or almost everything—is different, and, like all persons of color, they live in a society in which the inarticulate major cultural premise is that "normal" people are white. Asian-American Northwesterners in the foreseeable future will surely not meet the intensity of prejudice that their predecessors endured, but they will doubtless encounter both overt and covert discrimination, even if existing policies continue.

Roger Daniels, Charles Phelps Taft Professor of History at the University of Cincinnati, has written widely about immigration in general and Asian immigration in particular. His most recent work is Prisoners Without Trial: Japanese Americans in World War II (New York: Hill & Wang, 1993).
Among the Society's recently acquired materials documenting Southeast Asian and Pacific Island immigrants in Washington are eight issues of the *Philippine Seattle Colonist*, 1926-27, and three dozen informal photographs of mainly Filipino men enjoying group activities and outings, c. 1926-39. Special Collections has also added a number of posters and handbills documenting activities in the Lao, Vietnamese and Cambodian communities in western Washington.

If you have related materials you'd like to donate to the Society, please contact the Curator of Special Collections at 206/798-5917.
A FRANK LLOYD WRIGHT HOUSE IN LAKEWOOD

By Donald Leslie Johnson

The initial phase of modern architecture owed much to the creative ideas and designs of American architect Frank Lloyd Wright (1867-1959).

His influence and original architecture continued throughout a long and at times controversial career. In the 1930s his work had become well known to the general public. By the 1950s he had attained celebrity status in Japan and most of the Western world.

Wright’s early practice was centered in Chicago, with occasional work elsewhere. His highly innovative designs attracted national attention in 1908 as a result of an extensive article in the national periodical Architectural Record that included a theoretical essay. This in turn prompted much interest among European architectural circles. With the publication in Germany of four monographs in 1910-11 about and by him, Wright’s architecture and philosophy became a fulcrum about which Europeans developed their ideas for modernism in the 1920s.

Immediately after the Japanese military surrender, Chauncey Leavenworth Griggs contacted Wright to determine if he wanted the venerated architect to design his house. The converse was also to be determined: did Wright want Griggs as a client? Eventually they came to an agreement, but Griggs was not Wright’s first Northwest client.

Sporadic relations with people and places in the Northwest region began early in Wright’s professional career. In 1890, at age 23, as a draftsman in the Chicago office of Dankmar Adler & Louis Sullivan, Wright heard talk of Sullivan’s and Charles H. Bebb’s visits to Seattle where they looked after what became an ill-fated opera and apartment house project.

It was in 1908 that Wright’s first Northwest commission came to hand. It was the site layout and design of buildings for a summer recreational community near Darby, Montana. He was also asked to design a new town to have been called Bitter Root for a location just north of Stevensville, Montana. Of approximately 54 individual designs for these Montana locations, only 12 houses (cabins, really), a lodge and a hotel were built; three are extant.

At about this time, Wright’s personal life began taking on characteristics of a soap opera or fictional novel. He and his lover, Mrs. Mamah Cheney, left their families to share a life of “free love.” They escaped to Europe in 1909-10, returning to live on his family farm a short distance from Madison, Wisconsin. The murder of Mamah, a volatile relationship with another woman (1914-27), his sojourn—perhaps self-imposed exile is more apt—in Japan, and a resulting loss of private architectural work in the United States were just part of his wilderness years.

During this rather depressing period Wright obtained a second commission in the Northwest. It was to design a riverside veterans memorial park and recreational scheme for

ABOVE: Exterior photograph of the Chauncey Griggs house in Lakewood taken during the late 1950s with the shore of Chambers Creek in the foreground.
Frank Lloyd Wright at Taliesn West.

Wenatchee, Washington. The proposal of 1919 was designed by draftsman Rudolph Schindler during one of Wright's extended residences in Japan.

Recovery from those turbulent years began in 1928 after Wright married a young divorcee from Montenegro and Georgia (in the Caucasus), Olgivanna Hinzenberg. Together they planned a revival of his career and concentrated on his public persona. One result was his Autobiography in 1932, another was a school of apprentices. These young, aspiring architects paid to work for Wright who had no commissions and needed the money.

One contribution to this renaissance came fortuitously. Walter R. B. Willcox, head of the architecture department at the University of Oregon, invited Wright to mount an exhibition on the Eugene campus and talk about his theory of architecture. At Wright's request Willcox arranged a venue with his counterpart at the University of Washington, Harlan Thomas. In 1931 a lecture was presented concurrently with each of what became large exhibitions in Eugene and Seattle. Both events were grandly received.

Wright's next commission in the region was a result of these travels. George Putnam, the honored Salem, Oregon, newspaper publisher and editor of the Capitol Journal, commissioned a new plant. The proposed building of 1932 was a radical response to the client's needs and a landmark design in the course in modern architecture, prescient in structure and application of all-glass exterior walls for transparency and parallax. But the pragmatic editor was unimpressed. More to the point and typical of most in business, he was struggling with the economics of the Great Depression. It affected Wright, too, but with an aggressive promotional campaign other commissions came his way. By the late 1930s his return to national and international prominence was secure. Then came World War II.

Wright did not obtain new commissions in the greater Northwest until after the war ended in 1945. They came from clients in Bliss, Idaho (an art studio), Corvallis and Wilsonville, Oregon (houses), Whitefish, Montana (a medical clinic), and the Puget Sound: four houses—two on the waterfront and two in forest clearings. The story of Wright's initial reintroduction to the region revolves around the first of these four houses, that for Tacoma Chauncey Griggs.

The presence in Tacoma of the Griggs family dates back to the late 19th century. From Connecticut, Michigan, and the battlefields of the Civil War, "Colonel" C. W. Griggs was involved with forestry in and around Wisconsin, as an entrepreneur in Minneapolis, and in service as a Minnesota legislator. In pursuit of further financial ventures he participated in the development of the Northern Pacific railway in Washington and related land dealings. He became a leader in founding Pacific Northwest forest industries, in particular the St. Paul and Tacoma Lumber Company, and in introducing sustainable timber farming. These family connections were to influence young Chauncey Griggs in deliberating over a program for a new home.

Griggs attended a private school in California and Yale University. He was an avid skier and mountaineer. One of his business ventures in the 1920s involved installing the first ski lifts at Mounts Rainier and Baker and at Snoqualmie Pass. During the 1939-45 war he refused commission in one military branch to volunteer as a private in the mountain troops training at Camp Hale, Colorado.

For a number of years Griggs and his wife Johanna had attempted to obtain a house design. In 1942 they purchased land with a wooded and shady clearing beside Chambers Creek in Lakewood. A couple of local architects had been approached, but whatever their contribution, they did not satisfy. In November 1945 Lieutenant Griggs of the 10th Mountain Division, stationed in San Francisco, approached the prestigious Bay Area office of Wurster, Bernardi and Emmons. He wanted to obtain the architectural services of William Wurster who at that moment was elsewhere. Partner Theodore Bernardi offered a design, an Italian Renaissance-styled villa, as Griggs remembered, which did not please.

In Bernardi's office Griggs was rummaging through some architectural magazines when "all of a sudden" he saw a photograph of a house that he "liked." It was the Goetsch-
Winkler house at Okemos, Michigan, completed in 1939 and often published since. Bernardi told him it was by Wright and, well, why not contact him? Leaving the office, so his story goes, and while riding the down elevator, Griggs decided to telephone immediately; he called from a lobby phone booth. The conversation went something like this:

"Hellooo..." Griggs identified himself and asked to speak with Wright. "Hold the wire please, I'll see if he can talk to you." Fifteen minutes later the same voice said, "Wright speaking." Griggs went along with the ruse, told his story of failing to find an architect to provide a proper design, and mentioned what happened at Wurster's office. With this there was a pause, then, "Well, you just went from bad to Wurster, didn't you?"

As a follow-up, on November 21, 1945, Griggs wrote Wright repeating his plans, saying in part that he preferred walls of concrete block and cedar siding. After a number of telegrams and notes of arrangement, Griggs finally made connecting flights to Phoenix in March 1946. One of Wright's staff picked him up for the car trip northeast of Scottsdale to the pediment on which Wright's manor, Taliesin West, spread across a desert landscape.

Daily rituals at Taliesin intrigued Griggs, as did some of the more serious banter. He was to recall not only pre-breakfast Bach chorales, as he put it, but over lunch verbal attacks by Wright, an outspoken passivist, and his acolytes about the unwarranted "American invasion of Japan." Griggs was still in uniform.

At any rate, Griggs made his needs known: a single sloping roof with its back to the cold, rainy northwesterly winds; morning sunshine in rooms; views of Chambers Creek from all rooms; a formal dining area; concrete block walls, cedar siding (1x18 inches), a car bridge and a swimming pool. And they wanted to begin construction in two months.

Political differences were put aside. "You know, I'm going to design a house for you because I don't have any houses in Washington state," said the venerable artist, adding, "This house isn't for you. It's to teach those architects up there how to make a house!" Griggs recalled the moment: "He was so arrogant you couldn't believe it! But there was a little touch of humor in it."

It is noteworthy that Griggs did not approach Wright out of a shared philosophy or some other intellectual premise or high purpose. In some circles Wright promoted not only pacifism with a strong anarchic bent but a vaguely defined communalism, imprecisely linked to decentralization of government, where villages would abound, all self-controlled by
self contentment. Indeed, such ideas were antithetical to Griggs's family traditions. It would appear that Griggs liked at least one of Wright's houses and wanted one similar to it, no more than that.

On the other hand, during the five days he spent observing Taliesin's communal life (with the Wrights at high table, of course) and the architect's nodding entourage, Griggs may have found sympathy for some philosophic aspects, or didn't care one way or another. His retrospective comments suggest the latter.

In any event, with but a few other small commissions, Wright was able to complete preliminary architectural plans by mid-April. Armed with questions, Griggs made a quick return visit to Taliesin late that month. Satisfied, he paid Wright the full preliminary drawing fee of $300 on May 8. With that, their mutual legal obligations ended.

When Griggs commenced building the house it was on the basis of the preliminary, very incomplete plans. He persisted in asking Wright via mail a series of detailed questions throughout most of 1946. Replies were understandably difficult to obtain simply because there was no contract nor any construction specifications.

When construction began, Griggs acted as contractor, subbing various trades. The footings were complete in July 1946. But Griggs balked at the cost of building the natural stone walls as Wright had suggested. Then came the predictable rains; construction halted. On site were footings, foundations, and seemingly endless yards of pipe for underslab heating. Griggs persisted with questions and informed Wright of decisions made. But Griggs dithered; for the exterior he wanted log slabs, then half-rounds with the bark exposed, then 1x12 cedar, then peeled poles. Soon both parties became silent.

After more than a year, in March 1948, not having heard from Griggs and still in need of work, Wright asked about "the status" of the house. The reply was that the $40,000 house as requested had blown out to an estimated $75,000. There was no mention that construction had halted. Silence continued.

It was not until January 1953 that Chauncey and Johanna resumed building the house. Chauncey had been "selling so much cedar wood to the Japanese," he told Wright, that he felt "rich enough to think of building again!" He was eager and offered some new ideas for changes to the plans. Wright cagily suggested another personal visit to Taliesin West, no doubt with a view to initiating a contract for working documents. Griggs did not take the bait.

However, Griggs's ideas for design changes were offered after the fact of their implementation. Since no contract existed, the lumberman had contacted local architect Alan Liddle after having seen one of Liddle's houses portrayed on the cover of the February 1953 Sunset magazine. He asked Liddle for advice vis-à-vis construction costs. The stone walls were the crux—if 8x8x16-inch concrete block were substituted, there would be a savings of about $19,000.

Griggs decided in favor of this return to his original specification of block and cedar walls, but only after he and Liddle had visited the Wright-designed Ray Brandes house in Issaquah, Washington, constructed of coral-tinted block and naturally tinted timber. Brandes was a contractor and the two men talked offhandedly about Brandes building the Griggs house. In November 1955 Griggs mentioned the change of materials to Wright who thought it was okay, adding that Griggs had been "very patient."

Construction documents were prepared and some subtle

ABOVE: Exterior perspective of Wright's proposal showing a stepped sloping roof with a carport at left.

OPPOSITE: This 1950s view shows the gallery decorated for Christmas. The dining area is around the corner to the right of the fireplace. Note the exposed wood trusses. Interior wall paneling throughout the house was selected by the Griggses.
changes made, much as they would have been done by Wright had he been asked to proceed. In all instances Liddle carefully and sensitively followed Wright's concept, preliminary plan, and the odd roughed-out detail. Exterior walls not of block were finally sheathed with 12-inch beveled cedar siding that on the end walls ran parallel with the roof slope.

Liddle had just entered private practice in 1953 in the Lakewood and Tacoma areas. In the years to follow he received many design awards, taught design at his alma mater, the University of Washington, and was instrumental in establishing the practicalities of historic preservation in the south Puget Sound area. When he obtained the Griggs commission he was barely out of architectural school and graduate study at Eidgenoissche Technische Hochschule in Zurich where he had studied under the eminent art historian Steigfried Giedion. Liddle’s one and only personal contact with Wright had been in 1951 when Wright was in central Europe to lecture and open an exhibition of his work then mounted in Zurich. Liddle tells the story like this:

Wright was scheduled to give a lecture to students of the hochschule. He entered, cape flowing, walked to the podium, surveyed the inflated 19th-century Romanesque revival interior of the lecture theater for some moments and, with a sweeping gesture said: “Everything I believe about architecture is contradicted by this room.” The octogenarian architect turned and walked out. School professors hastily followed, reminding him of a promise to present a lecture. After some persuasion Wright agreed and returned to the podium where he informally answered a few questions. It was a type of teasing typical of Wright.

While in Europe Liddle had come to appreciate modern Finnish architecture. He loved their application of materials in a natural manner, of houses created with intimacy yet casual openness and an effortless relation to site. These were the characteristics Wright had embraced early in his career and, for the most part, carried forth. So it is not surprising that Liddle faithfully followed the master’s design.

The Griggses moved into their new house around Christmas 1954, nine years after Chauncey had first contacted Wright. Their house is unique within Wright’s oeuvre. Basically the plan is typical in that the central position of the kitchen acts as a fulcrum to overlook the dining space and lounge which face the creek. There the typicality ends.

Wright seldom used a completely L-shaped plan. (In this instance it has no resemblance to the compact Goetsch-Winkler house that Chauncey had so admired and, it should be noted, was the basis for the Brandes house in Issaquah.) The kitchen position allows supervision of a children’s play space or large “gallery,” which is not typical, nor are the 15-foot-high glass walls in the gallery and lounge. More usually the kitchen/dining/lounge spaces had a more direct and intimate relationship. Eventually the gallery displayed a few landscape paintings. Placing bedrooms, including the so-called “sanctum,” in line off a gallery is also uncharacteristic but met the Griggses’ program.

Perspective drawings indicate how Griggs’s lumber may have been used. In all instances it was to be applied in ways atypical of Wright’s career. Eighteen-inch-wide vertical cedar slabs were indicated in one drawing. Narrow half-round pealed logs for a continuous roof, as Griggs had requested, were shown on a couple of drawings. In the end a stepped roof was built much as shown in Wright’s preliminary sectional drawing. At one time 1x12-inch beveled cedar siding was to continue under exposed roof overhangs: most peculiar. As built, the roof is covered with cedar shingles (added later over roll asphalt), with cedar siding laid parallel to the roof line. Wright’s drawings of the proposed exterior therefore showed characteristics that were unconventional of his work.

On one preliminary perspective drawing Wright wrote that the design was of a “Northern Timber House.” Perhaps he wished to suggest a regional response, but the roof shape and use of native wood and stone was Griggs’s idea. So Wright did not unilaterally respond to the geographic and social region as a matter of architectural or more general social or political philosophies. Rather, he met the lumber merchant’s specific requests relevant to siting, plan arrangement, building materials and overall appearance. This is not to infer that the Griggses in a sense designed the house. On the contrary, they supplied a clear program that in reply required artistic and technological expertise.

Liddle’s resolution looks very much like Wright’s original drawings. It needs to be mentioned that Liddle’s own designs for other clients are somewhat different from those offered by Wright. The Griggses were fortunate in finding a second architect of such sensitivity, one willing to modestly submerge his own design attitudes. Of the house as finished, Wright, who knew of Liddle’s role, has said that it “turned out to be one of my best children and, like all fine children, it is somewhat illegitimate.”

The correct attribution for the Griggs house is Wright and Liddle, architects.

Donald Leslie Johnson is adjunct associate professor of architectural history at the University of South Australia. He has published books and articles about American and Australian architecture and Frank Lloyd Wright. As an outgrowth of a series of articles, he is currently working on a book about Wright and the development of modernism in the Pacific Northwest.

AUTHOR’S NOTE
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Additional Reading

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

Trade and Change on the Columbia Plateau


The USS Olympia


Slow Boats and Fast Water


Fay Fuller


The Story of Mount Rainier National Park, by C. Frank Brockman. Mount Rainier Natural History Association, 1940.

Outsiders in "the Land of the Free"


"One of My Best Children"

"Frank Lloyd Wright's Contribution to Wenatchee's Riverfront Park," by Donald Leslie Johnson. Confluence 3 (Summer 1986).


Forgotten Trail is an ambitious compilation of mostly primary sources and personal accounts about the various attempts to navigate, explore and establish commercial activities in the region immediately east of the Columbia River during the 19th century. It provides a fascinating glimpse into the beautiful but sometimes harsh environment early travelers encountered as they ventured onto the Columbia Plateau.

The author, trained as a naturalist with the U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service, has chosen many accounts that illustrate the rather daunting physical landscape that spread before explorers. Early fur trade company representatives, for example, note the desolation of seemingly endless miles of sagebrush, sand and massive basalt towers that they encountered in the mid-Columbia. The basin’s earliest inhabitants, the Native Americans, were well-adapted to the challenges of life in the Columbia Basin. Alexander Ross, a clerk with the Pacific Fur Company, relates in an 1811 diary entry how he observed four Walla Walla Indians north of present-day Pasco who caught, cooked and ate a breakfast of fish before fur traders could even get their water to boil. Other accounts tell of friendly relations between whites and native people during the first half of the 19th century. But by the mid 1850s tensions between the two heightened as a result of increasing numbers of settlers streaming into the region in search of gold and grazing land. Anglin covers these transitional years well, usually including political and military background to give proper context to his story.

The book concludes with two highly revealing narratives. The first is a candid and colorful report of a Wilson Creek newspaperman’s ride with “The Last Grand Roundup,” an end-of-the-frontier event in 1906 that drew nationwide attention. A rancher named Al Soper concocted a plan to round up several thousand wild horses and ship them to North Dakota and Montana for sale to livestock dealers. A. A. McIntyre followed the “buckayros” for a week as they roped and herded the animals out of the Saddle Mountains and the Frenchman Hills; his story is one of cowboys pursuing a fading lifestyle in the West.

The last chapter is a previously unpublished account of an excursion with Billy Curlew (Kul-Kuloo), a chief of the Moses band of the Confederated Tribes of Colville Indians. Curlew toured his homeland with Colville Reservation forest supervisor Harold Weaver in 1946 to record the chief’s memories of life with the Sinkuiwe tribe. He gave information about the customs and practices of his people under Chief Moses, pointing out numerous sites they had occupied, some of which were subsequently flooded by the Columbia Basin Project. This narrative is of great historical importance as one of the few primary sources on a major mid-Columbia tribe.

With 22 maps, 21 historic and contemporary photographs and additional drawings to supplement the text, this volume will undoubtedly become an important reference work for historians and residents of Washington.

Aleta Zak is the education coordinator for the Adam East Museum & Art Center in Moses Lake.

Shaping Spokane
Jay P. Graves and His Times
Reviewed by David Kingma.

In this aptly titled book readers interested in the urban development of the American West will find a concise, useful addition to a growing bibliography of similar case studies. John Fahey’s Shaping Spokane is local history at its best—thoroughly researched and annotated, thoughtfully written and illustrated, and adequately indexed. Fahey’s interest in the history of capital development in the Inland Empire is apparent from the first few paragraphs, and he relates this aspect richly nuanced, as one fully comfortable with its idioms and strategies. He clearly writes as a resident, too; events are not abstracted from geography, but consistently connected to familiar landscapes and landmarks. And though he features the endeavors of Jay P. Graves, other prominent citizens also receive enough attention for an engaging, well-rounded story.

The Panic of 1893 marked the beginning of Graves’s rise to wealth and prominence. Not yet large enough to be overextended, neither did his enterprise lose big; instead he “drifted into mining” to compensate for slumping real estate values. The Boundary, British Columbia, mines he promoted turned up winners, afforded him a modest capital base, honed his management skills, established his local entrepreneurial reputation and, most importantly, provided an introduction to major players like James J. Hill. The depression was also a social leveler, speeding entry for risers like Graves into positions of civic prominence. Like others, Jay Graves purchased tracts of potentially valuable real estate while they were still cheap; unlike others, he owned a streetcar company to secure the property’s development and avidly engaged landscape architects to sculpt its appearance. In great measure Spokane’s South Hill is his legacy—graceful, curvilinear boulevards, spacious parks, stately homes on generous lots, and magnificent verdure.

The year 1910 marked an end to Spokane’s early building boom and the beginning of Graves’s “changing fortunes.” Streetcar companies could no longer direct local development in the age of automobiles; his regional rail lines failed to profit, and repeat performances in mining were not to be. His 700-acre model farm, “Waikiki,” on the Little Spokane River, gradually proved too expensive to maintain, and Graves spent his waning years in a comparative modesty.

Readers interested in biography or regional historiography may find this book frustrating. Fahey’s contention that Graves sponsored
the relocation of Whitworth College as a means to market his properties is weakened by the fact that we learn almost nothing of his personal life, let alone whether or not he was a dedicated Presbyterian. Also, his tantalizing references to the relationship between Graves and Hill are not consolidated into a focused picture of how eastern power brokers and local mid-level entrepreneurs mutually shaped western urban development, and why they needed each other to do it.

David Kingma is archivist for the Jesuit Archives of the Oregon Province of the Society of Jesus at Gonzaga University.

**People of The Dalles**

The Indians of Wascopam Mission

by Robert Boyd

**Celilo Tales Wasco Myths**

Legends, Tales of Magic and the Marvelous

by Donald M. Hines

This summer has seen the appearance of two publications on Indians of The Dalles of the Columbia River, until now a subject largely overlooked for book-length treatment. The primary incident bringing to fruition Robert Boyd's *People of The Dalles* was his unexpected but fortunate 1977 discovery of previously overlooked writings from the pen of Methodist missionary Henry Perkins whose papers, fragile from age, had been left uncared for in a box in the basement archives of Tacoma's University of Puget Sound. Boyd recognized the papers as a gold mine of ethnohistory on The Dalles natives. Having yet to attain his doctorate in anthropology, he immediately knew what he wished to do with the information but postponed work on the papers until the time was right for him. The wait was well worth it, for from this material Boyd has crafted an excellent treatment of the Perkins ethnohistory.

Combining the Perkins material with ethnographical reports of other missionaries, as well as with ethnographic data of anthropologists, Boyd reconstructs an account of The Dalles Indian culture in the first half of the 19th century. He writes of its rituals and ceremonial, its spirituality, its relationships within family and village, peregrinations of its peoples, and their daily lives. Boyd also discusses cultural progression resulting from Euro-American influences during a period of accelerating change.

Boyd's *People of The Dalles* points up the importance and validity of early missionary reports. He puts great emphasis on Perkins's candid observations of Indian culture and admits that missionary writings fill holes where anthropologists' studies are not clear or lack detail. Boyd writes:

To this writer's knowledge, Perkins's descriptions of naming and ear-boring rites among Dalles-area Indians are the only ones from the nineteenth century. . . . Perkins is the only one [missionary or anthropologist] who mentions the tool, a bone needle [for boring ears and nasal septums]. The Wascopam Mission papers preserve what is undoubtedly the most complete description of the Winter Ceremonies—the major religious events—of The Dalles area Indians. . . . Perkins's account [of guardian-spirit belief] is one of the best in the ethnographical literature.

Since Boyd's book is not the story of the Wascopam Mission and its missionaries as such, it will suffice to note that in Perkins's papers and writings appear in extensive appendices along with Oregon mission manuscript sources and their locations. There are also biographical sketches of Euro-Americans, mostly missionaries, as well as those of prominent Indian leaders. The scant notes in the book are compensated for by extensive references as well as an index and engaging illustrations and maps.

Upper Chinookan-speaking Wascoes and Wishrams and Sahaptian-speaking Tenino Celilo neighbors (whose descendants live on the Warm Springs and Yakama reservations) have hitherto escaped the pens of historians and anthropologists who previously wrote more about Plains and Plateau tribesmen. That should change now that the subject of other Indians, in this case those of the lower Columbia River, has captured the attention of not only Boyd but of Donald M. Hines. *Celilo Tales* comes naturally for Hines, having received his doctorate in Folklore and American Studies at Indiana University, Bloomington. Furthermore, he has a resume of about ten published books dealing with Pacific Northwestern tribal folklore.

Besides the 47 stories in this book, gleaned from three informants, there are guides for students of folklore and notes citing comparative versions of similar stories of the region's tribal lore. There are also biographical sketches of the three informants, background information to the narratives, an index of motivations behind the behavior of protagonists and antagonists, selected readings and a bibliography. The few illustrations, however, have little specific relation to the stories. Were they provided for interest, such was unnecessary since the stories have merit in themselves. The additional information Hines provides will benefit scholars of folklore yet not distract those interested only in a pleasurable and entertaining read.

Granted, Boyd's book is an academically professional presentation; yet, it is a facile and interesting work for general readers of Indian literature. Readers of popular works will not be overwhelmed by the sophistication of either book. Both should please anthropists in institutions of learning while minimizing neither the knowledge nor the pleasure of the reading public.

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