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Every issue of COLUMBIA Magazine has its own history and relevance. Let's take Donna Sinclair's article on the arrest, release and remembrance of Red Heart and his fellow Nez Perce as an example. Sinclair's article began as background research conducted by the Center for Columbia River History, an interagency public history consortium, of which WSHS is a partner, that is housed on Officer's Row in Vancouver. A graduate student at Portland State University, another of the consortium partners, Sinclair was asked to provide additional insight into a hitherto underappreciated chapter in Northwest history, the incarceration of Chief Red Heart at Vancouver Barracks in the aftermath of the Nez Perce War.

The query itself was prompted as a function of discussions conducted within the region by the Society for the purpose of doing advance planning for the Lewis and Clark Bicentennial. The connection? The Nez Perce tribe, whose interest in a potential project in Vancouver was being solicited by the Society and Vancouver Mayor Royce Pollard, noted that for their people Vancouver was "troubled ground" because of the Red Heart incident. The tribe recommended, as a means of reconciling differences and the past to the present, that a veterans memorial service be held on the site of the incarceration. This ceremony, the tribe said, would be worthwhile for its own sake and would also clear the path for constructive discussion of a legacy project for the bicentennial. It was decided that the Society would facilitate the event under the auspices of a grant from the National Park Service's Lewis and Clark National Historic Trail office.

There have been few, if any, moments in my now 26-year career in Washington state history wherein I have witnessed history come alive in all of its power as it did this past April 22nd, when the Red Heart memorial was conducted. Donna Sinclair has supplemented her original documentation with a sidebar article describing the reconciliation ceremony at greater length.

As the Lewis and Clark Bicentennial approaches, we begin to wind down on the Klondike centennial. Elmer Rasmuson, with the research assistance of noted historian and previous COLUMBIA contributor Terrence Cole, presented his article as a talk here at the Washington State History Museum last March. Rasmuson's prepared remarks are reprinted here as he delivered them, but I only wish we had a record of all the private anecdotes and stories he told at the end of his speech. My favorite was the one about the woman who entered a bank in Alaska with a pet beaver on a leash. That was remarkable enough, but when the beaver started gnawing the beam that held up the bank lobby's ceiling, Rasmuson and his staff determined that they had better give this lady extra speedy service for fear the establishment would come crashing down upon them!

—David L. Nicandri, Executive Editor
FENCED IN: Cross-Border Perspectives in Alaska History

By Stephen Haycox

Alaska History is a scholarly/popular journal published semiannually by the Alaska Historical Society. In 13 years, 26 issues, the journal has published three genuinely cross-border articles. Why should there be so few articles in this journal that deal with Canada and any aspect of the relationship between Canada and Alaska? After all, the Alaska-Yukon border, running north-south along longitude 141 degrees west for about 800 miles, crosses terrain indistinguishable on either side.

Arctic Canada looks like arctic Alaska, at least along the Arctic Ocean; and the Yukon River is indistinguishable on either side of the line, as are the mountains. Native populations in both Alaska and northern Canada long ago worked out accommodations with the land that have ensured survival and engendered extraordinary artistic achievement. And the same lack of distinguishing features characterizes the Alaska-British Columbia border; the mountains are virtually the same on either side, and the rivers as well.

Looking from the perspective of border Canada and the northern, especially northwestern, United States, it is easy to assume that this environmental similarity of Alaska and northwestern Canada must translate into experiential, and surely cultural, similarity. But, in my experience, this is not the case. In fact, the political boundaries between Canada and Alaska have functioned also as cultural boundaries. And for historians of Alaska, at least, the cultural boundaries have additionally functioned as intellectual ones.

In his important essay, “The Relevance of Canadian History,” W. L. Morton wrote in 1960 that Canada’s history was formed around four interrelated factors: a northern character, a historical dependence, a monarchical government, and a committed national destiny. Every aspect of this quartet has since been called into debate by Canadian historians, yet as recently as the summer of 1995 in Northern Review, Douglas A. West argued that, with important qualifications, Morton’s paradigm has stood the test of time. Whether or not that is true, Morton’s ideas constitute a useful model for addressing Alaska.

Coastal Alaska is closely tied to Seattle by water transport, unlike the land-locked Yukon.
The first question, it seems to me, is one of intellectual geography: is Alaska part of America? This is not as easily answered as it might seem. With the rest of the American West, many Alaskans chafe at the idea of being part of America. To many, Alaska represents the American past, what America once was, and they resent any exercise of constitutional, political or economic power that seems to bring Alaska within the orbit of the contemporary version. These Alaskans seem caught in an entertaining paradox: they regard themselves as the embodiment of true American values—individualism, freedom, self-reliance—but they can only actualize that embodiment by getting free of, or leaving, America. One of the more colorful folk figures of late was a miner who headed a secession movement in the state.

Perhaps more to the point, Alaska seems ethereal, or at least an anomaly, to many Americans. Why would one want to live there? Admittedly, there is a dearth of good information on Alaska. For one thing, it is difficult to find anything on Alaska in the history books, even amongst the newest reformulations of the history of the American West; and even when it is found, it is often in the form of mythologies rather than facts, as in the mythology of the unpopularity of the Alaska purchase. For another, most Americans regard Alaska as an exotic venue and thus a prospective vacation tour, not unlike Nepal or Iceland—i.e., a curiosity. Partly this is so because there is much confusion about Alaska. Many come expecting to find Dawson, Whitehorse and the Klondike there; still others expect to have to pass through customs to get there, and to find a shortage of staples and necessities. Still others, thinking they'll be in Canada, come looking for mounties, hockey rinks and free health care.

In any case, if Alaska is a part of America, is it a part of the American West, or is it sui generis—a culture unto itself—as so many of its residents seem happy to believe? Dependence on resource extraction, a large percentage of public (i.e., federal) land, reliance on capital development resources (money, infrastructure) from outside the region, conquest by American settlers attracted by resource development, an almost entirely urbanized non-native population, early prejudice toward the native population and their effective forced acculturation, a highly developed historical mythology—all these factors held in common with most of the American West would suggest that Alaska's history should be interpreted by the same rubrics. However, to date, most Alaska historians have rejected this comparison, opting instead for the sui generis theme—i.e., exceptionality.

This brief exploration of the theme of Alaska's exceptionality helps to illustrate the point that cross-border thinking is complicated by what's on either side of the border. There are differences on either side of the Alaska-Canada boundary, and they significantly complicate intellectual discourse across the border. W. L. Morton's paradigm is useful for a dialectic comparison with United States history. The United States does not have a northern character—New England winters to the contrary notwithstanding—though the United States has certainly had a puritanical character; these are not quite the same thing. Historically, the United States has been politically independent and economically so at least through the last half of the 19th and much of the 20th century. The United States was formed in revolution and takes much of its definition from that fact, both in terms of politics and national character. Individualism, personal freedom and economic self-reliance together are the American credo. Adherence to this credo has led to a form of the paradox noted above in relation to Alaska and the American West: Americans talk self-reliance while they ignore and even attack and despise their daily, comprehensive reliance on government support, protection and subsidy; they also ignore the fact and efficiency of the supremacy of federal sovereignty. Their ignoring is part of what has made America great, it has been argued, but also somewhat pathetic, at least in appearance.

Canadians, on the other hand, but equally paradoxically, seem comfortable enough with the idea of reliance on government even though so far they have highly circumscribed...
the supremacy of the federal government. But they do not assume as a matter of course that government is evil and unnecessary. In Canada government is part of the solution; in America, it is the problem. Finally, America, as Canada, is committed to a national destiny, though not necessarily the same one. America's is the maximization of self-determination in a context of equal access to freedom and justice; Canada's is national independence from Britain and the United States, and a highly developed social conscience.

This comparison reveals fundamental differences between the two neighbors. However similar they may appear on the surface, beneath appearances the cultures are substantially different. The most salient aspect of that difference is the American elevation of the ideal of personal freedom above all other values. As new historians of the American West have demonstrated, through much of their history Americans have been bent on conquest in the name of freedom. Freedom has been the justification for expansion and development. Still, contrary to the impression of many of my students when I taught briefly at the University of Victoria, Americans are not really asocial; they just want to be free, and they see red when they perceive that their freedom is being limited. Canadians have not been so bent on conquest or on personal freedom. In the past, I suggest, this and other cultural differences have inhibited cross-border examination of American and Canadian
Cutting the Canadians out of the settlement decision helped the cause of Canadian nationalism.

Cutting the Canadians out of the settlement decision helped the cause of Canadian nationalism.  

history. For a variety of reasons, these inhibitions are, happily, being overcome. However, they still prevail with regard to Alaska. Why is this the case?

In addition to the general cultural differences on either side of the Alaska-Canada border, there are specific historic differences. Despite its land mass, small by Canadian standards but equal to 20 percent of the land area of the contiguous United States, Alaska's focus is maritime. This was almost exclusively the case during the period of Russian colonization. Despite some exploration of the Yukon and Kuskokwim lower basins, the Russians left the interior of Alaska unexamined. In the American period—i.e., from 1867 to the present, economic development and non-native settlement of Alaska have been supported by the maritime transportation link to Seattle. First the San Francisco business community and then, with the Klondike and subsequent gold rushes, the Seattle community looked to Alaska as a vast economic opportunity. Today virtually all non-native settlement in Alaska lives along the coast or the railbelt connecting the coast to the interior. This is because only along that freightway can transportation costs be kept low enough to ensure reasonable access to jobs and amenities. Northwest Canada's connections have been different: they have been by land, both to British Columbia and, because of geography, the prairie provinces. The Alaska Highway is a demonstration of this phenomenon; it was not built to supply Alaska: it could never be cost-effective, nor could it be competitive with coastal shipping. But it has been a boon to the economic development of the Canadian Northwest and northeastern British Columbia, as every British Columbia government has understood. In this sense, Alaska is not remote, while northwestern Canada is. And customs duties complement geography and culture as a separating factor in this context.

These barriers to cross-border communication are formidable, and they are effective. But there are ancillary reasons why Alaska History has not published much that could be labeled "cross-border." The Pacific Northwest Quarterly and COLUMBIA Magazine have manifested a growing interest in Alaska and cross-border issues in the past several years. Alaska History conceivably could do more to stimulate analytical discussion of Alaska's identity and character as well as its relationship to political, cultural and natural environments, by devoting an issue or two to the subject. Northern Review has attracted a number of articles on northern historiography and conceptualization. But one cannot print what one does not have, and attracting material is partly a function of financial realities. Alaska History is a private, nonprofit venture supported by 650 loyal subscribers. Not all of them are going to tolerate what they consider to be an airing of academic linens. Alaska History has done a startling job of keeping its audience. It has done so not by being anti-intellectual or lowbrow, but by establishing a judicious mix of specifically focused descriptive and narrative articles complemented by frequent photo essays and occasional oddments. It has established an estimable reputation, and neither the academic nor the general community of historical readers would welcome its demise. But that border is a defining factor.

I am reminded that when I taught several semesters at the University of Victoria I often visited my grown children living in Bellingham. Every time I crossed the border I had to stop and answer a few questions. Sometimes, if my attitude was lax or the questioner's was unlax, I was asked to answer even a few more. But each time, the border counted for something; it was a reality. So it has been with Alaska, and with Alaska History. And while there are ways to mitigate the cultural effect of that border, before we can do so I suspect we shall have to wait a bit longer.  

For information about Alaska History, contact the Alaska Historical Society, P. O. Box 100299, Anchorage, AK 99510-0299 or call (907)566-1750.

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With the Marriage of Louise Corbin and Robert Walpole, American Wealth Wedded British Aristocracy

At first glance the tale could be straight from the pages of Edith Wharton's The Buccaneers—rich American girl marries into English aristocracy, replenishing the sagging fortunes of her husband and his family while providing her tycoon father with titled in-laws to add luster to the company letterhead. In 1888 Louise Corbin, daughter of Spokane railroad and mining magnate Daniel Chase Corbin, appeared to do just that when she married Robert Walpole, of the illustrious family that had produced England's first prime minister. He was soon to be the fifth earl of Orford, making Louise a countess. Although the actual story of Louise Corbin and Robert Walpole does not quite fit Wharton's fictional mold, it presents a glimpse of a fascinating aspect of Anglo-American social history and connects that history with Spokane.

The British marriage of his daughter is part of the marginalia in the otherwise well-documented business life of D. C. Corbin, who made his money in New York, Montana, the Coeur d'Alene mining district of northern Idaho, and Spokane in a variety of enterprises, including banking, mining, railroad building, real estate, irrigation and sugar beet refining. He
is remembered in the inland Northwest chiefly as the builder of the railroads that "opened up" the Coeur d'Alene and southern British Columbia mines. D. C. Corbin's far-flung activities are described in John Fahey's *Inland Empire: D. C. Corbin and Spokane* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1965).

Born in 1832 in Newport, New Hampshire, Corbin began his business career in Iowa at age 19. From there he migrated to Nebraska, Colorado, Montana and, eventually, Spokane (with a digression of a few years in New York, where he engaged in banking and railroad enterprises with his brother Austin). His daughter Louise had been born in Helena, Montana, in 1867, during the period when her father was engaged in banking and mining ventures with Samuel T. Hauser. She and her younger siblings, Austin and Mary, spent most of their early years in Europe with their mother while their father resided in the United States, primarily in the West. In fact, Europe remained her home from the age of 10 until her death at 42. Soon after Louise's marriage in 1888, Spokane became the principal headquarters of her father's varied business empire and remained his home for the rest of his long life.

Recent local interest in the international Corbin marriage was aroused in March 1996 with the visit to Spokane of Martin Stiles, hall curator and archivist for the current Lord Walpole of Wolterton and Mannington halls in Norfolk, England. He included Spokane on a tour of the United States to gather historical and genealogical information from various American archives containing Walpole material. The present Lord and Lady Walpole had been given the reference to Fahey's book by the Lewis-Walpole Library at Farmington, Connecticut, during a visit there in 1981. The Spokane connection was more recently demonstrated when Stiles moved some hunting trophies at Wolterton and discovered that the stuffed elk and bighorn sheep heads bore the name of a Spokane taxidermy, Withers Brothers.

Stiles included Spokane on his American tour, researching Corbin family history at the Eastern Washington State Historical Society (Cheney Cowles Museum) and the Spokane

BELOW: Wolterton Hall, the largest of Lord Walpole's grand ancestral houses. The extent to which D. C. Corbin's money was used for its restoration remains unknown.

OPPOSITE PAGE: D. C. Corbin with his daughter Louise, the countess of Orford, in 1894, probably during a visit to Washington.
Public Library's Northwest History Room. He interviewed John Fahey and visited the Corbin Mansion (now Spokane's Corbin Art Center). During his Spokane visit, Stiles was able to photocopy archival material, have prints made of photographs, and in return fill some gaps in the Spokane records with copies he had brought from England. Since his return to Great Britain he has added further details to what was already known about the fifth earl's American marriage.

Even with this helpful exchange, personal primary sources relating to the Corbins are still scant on both sides of the Atlantic. Furthermore, many of the family documents relating to the fifth earl are thought to have been destroyed in 1952 during a fire at Wolterton. Some materials may still be dispersed among heirs, and the search goes on to locate them.

On the Corbin side, material in Spokane, Montana and elsewhere is disappointingly bare of family details. John Fahey's exhaustive search for Corbin sources in preparation for his 1965 book brought to light very little of a personal nature about the family. Nevertheless, the exchange of photocopies and photographic prints as well as the interviews occasioned by Martin Stiles's visit add considerably to what is known about Louise Corbin.

Despite her humble beginnings in Helena, D. C. Corbin's oldest daughter was well-positioned to make a distinguished European marriage. After the birth of Mary, the youngest, in 1872, Mrs. Corbin (whose name is given variously as Louise or Louisa), became increasingly ill and incapacitated, eventually requiring a wheelchair. During the next few years, D. C. Corbin set forth with his family on a quest for his wife's health to various spas in the United States. Corbin hated to leave Montana but needed to do so, at least temporarily, for his wife's sake.

Soon after 1876 he took his family briefly to New York, and from there Mrs. Corbin and the children sailed without him to Europe on her continuing quest for health. From that point the mother and children became expatriates, with the children in schools and the mother at various spas. From about age ten Louise was educated in Germany, Italy and France.

Under the circumstances, the Corbin children could not have seen much of their father, but Louise's commonplace book bears this inscription from him: "Be polite to your equals, kind to your inferiors, and always honest and true. Nice, April 19, 1885. D. C. Corbin." Whether or not this maxim proved edifying to his daughter, at least it is evidence that he was with her in Nice in 1885. Other pages from her commonplace book locate her in Florence in 1881, Paris in 1883, Nice and Florence in 1885, and Paris again in 1886.

Upon completion of her schooling, Louise met Robert Walpole, who was 12 years her senior and nephew and heir to the fourth earl of Orford, owner of substantial estates (including Wolterton and Mannington) in Norfolk, a county in the east of England bordering on the North Sea. This Robert Walpole was a direct descendant of Horatio Walpole, brother of Britain's first prime minister. Prior to his marriage to Louise, Robert was an officer in the Royal Navy, from which he retired in 1876. He was then appointed captain of the First Norfolk Militia, a part-time or "reserve" unit.

SECONDARY SOURCES list Scotland, France or simply Europe as the place where Louise met Robert Walpole. They were married a year later, in 1888, probably in Paris. After a honeymoon in Norway they took up residence at Weybourne Hall, another of the fourth earl's properties in Norfolk. When the fourth earl died in December 1894, Robert Walpole inherited the estates and titles. Louise Corbin thus became countess of Orford and mistress of Mannington and Wolterton halls, both quintessentially English stately homes. They lived mostly at Mannington from 1894 to 1905, moving to Wolterton upon completion of its restoration.

In the absence of personal documents such as her own letters and diaries, it is from contemporary British magazines that one learns the most about the life of Louise Corbin Walpole, countess of Orford.

In its September 23, 1903, issue, The Sketch contains a voluminous supplement entitled "America and the Peerage," in which the countess of Orford figures prominently. It systematically lists the Anglo-American marriages extant at the time, beginning with the highest rank—that of duchess—and descending in order to the numerous baronesses. Finally mentioned but not personally named were the legions of American women who lacked titles themselves but were in
British society by virtue of having married into titled families. That was exactly Louise Corbin's situation for the first six years of her marriage. As an eventual countess, however, she ranked very high indeed and was accorded a large photographic portrait alongside the famous Jennie Jerome, who was Lady Randolph Churchill, mother of Winston Churchill.

Louise IS ONE of seven American countesses listed in the article, along with their wealthy fathers and illustrious English husbands, although for one countess a first husband rather than a father is listed as the source of "her immense wealth." Lady Orford is described in this and other articles as having been "Miss Corbin of New York." For Louise herself there must have been no sense of New York as providing American roots. The fact is that almost all the American heiresses cited in The Sketch are "of New York," and certainly there would be more cachet to being from New York than from Helena. While some of the American heiresses were members of New York's well-established "upper crust," many, like Louise, were from families whose wealth was too new to have purchased them any social standing whatsoever in their native country.

In a section of the article subtitled, "The Delicate Dollar Question," The Sketch does not mince words; in fact, it is less than delicate:

The group of American peeresses ... have more than one claim on the gratitude of their adopted country. Not only have they introduced a brighter and more vivacious tone into Society, but they have brought with them literally millions of pounds sterling.

Such seemingly personal matters as settlements, dowries and "portions" of other couples apparently were discussed unabashedly by ladies over tea and by gentlemen over their port and cigars. Typically, such settlements involved substantial annual allowances. It is impossible to know from sources presently available just how much money Louise Corbin brought to her marriage. No copy of the settlement has ever been found, and the few financial records of Lord Orford's currently in the archives at Wolterton would not lead to the conclusion that D. C. Corbin had endowed his daughter to the degree implied by the article quoted above. Yet no one at the time would have blushed to describe Louise Corbin as an heiress, the oldest child of a very wealthy father who was 58 at the time of her marriage. It was not to be, however, as her father outlived her.

An American perspective is provided by the Marysville, Montana, Mountaineer, reporting on the 1894 visit of Lord and Lady Orford to Louise's birthplace in Helena:

At the time of the marriage of Louise Corbin ... the lady's father was not rated so rich as now. So it was a love match, pure and simple, and a Helena born girl enters the first rank of English nobility, not by reason of her wealth, but because of her natural graces that brought a gallant soldier to her feet.

The article goes on to describe the house where she was born as having been a log cabin, adding to the intended

A studio portrait of Louise Corbin Walpole with her daughter, Lady Dorothy, c. 1903.
Cinderella impression. However, in a lawsuit against his children Corbin stated his wealth in 1889, the year after his daughter's marriage, as being £250,000, not huge by the robber-baron standards of the time, but surely enough to have allowed for a handsome settlement on her, if he had chosen to make one. Corbin was known throughout his life, though, for being cagey about divulging his actual wealth or assets. That there was a marriage settlement is made clear from a 1918 Spokane newspaper article quoting his will:

As to my granddaughter, Lady Dorothy Walpole . . . daughter of my deceased daughter, Louise, Countess of Orford, I make no allowance to her for the reason that at the death of her father, she will inherit . . . by terms of a settlement made by me at the time of her mother's marriage a sum . . . yielding an income of £2,000 per year.

It is hard to imagine that a settlement on future children would be the only financial element of the marriage agreement. There is no way of knowing conclusively unless a copy of the marriage agreement comes to light.

As to the other half of the Mountainer's assertion, that Lord and Lady Orford's marriage was a "love match, pure and simple," again, documents just do not exist to prove the case. In fact, many such marriages were disasters, some failing to achieve even the financial promise on which they were based, as numerous American fathers lost their wealth in the Panic of 1893. This was not the case with D. C. Corbin, who managed to hold onto his railroad interests while others were falling all around him.

Whatever its state of felicity, the marriage of Lord and Lady Orford was cut short by Louise's death in 1909. The only personal reference to it available in the archives at Wolterton is this cryptic note from Lord Orford's estate diary: "This year on May 4th Lady Orford suddenly fell dead in her bedroom. I was on my way to Scotland at the time. She was buried at Wickmere Church on Saturday May 8th at 3 o'clock." Her death certificate states that she died of heart disease. She was survived by her young daughter as well as her husband. A son had died in 1893 at age two. To compound that tragedy, the parents were abroad at the time he was taken sick and were unable to get back in time to see him alive. Lord Orford remarried and lived until 1931.

During her marriage Lady Orford's activities captured considerable attention in society notes. A glimpse of her life is provided by a fairly lengthy profile that appeared in the Gentlewoman, which states that "apart from their fishing and traveling, she is very devoted to music, and during the season, when she and Lord Orford are to be found at their house in [36] Bruton Street [London], Lady Orford does not often miss a night at the Opera, where she has a box, the gift of her father, who comes over from time to time to see her."

Indeed, D. C. Corbin did come for visits, and his name appears several times in the guest books at Wolterton. In view of the gift of the opera box and at least one documented business trip to London, it is likely that coming "over" included visits to the London house as well as the Norfolk estates. At some point before 1903, Lord Orford had sold the London house to D. C. Corbin, thus generating £9,000 for mortgage payments on his estates. Corbin then gave the house to Louise, and at her death in 1909 it passed on to her daughter. Lord Orford's estate diary for 1909 says, "I furnished the house [at Weybourne] from my furniture mostly at my wife's house 36 Bruton Street."

Lady Orford is described in various published sources as enjoying entertaining at dinner parties in her London home. Several menu books, including menus (in French) and guest lists for the London house, remain in the Wolterton archives. At an intimate supper for four on June 30, 1902, "before the opera," she served cold spring vegetable soup, poached turbot "St. Homard," small "timbales" of tongue in aspic, chicken with watercress, asparagus with butter, strawberry ice cream, and anchovy toast. The vegetables may have been sent down from the Norfolk estates. A lunch on June 26, 1901, had an equally ambitious menu and a guest list of 11, including the "American Ambassador and Mrs. Choate," the countess of Selkirk, and other luminaries. In addition, she received many invitations in London. Her social diaries for 1906 and 1907 indicate that she attended royal garden parties and a dinner at Buckingham Palace.

Entertaining at Wolterton was no less ambitious and, of course, involved the overnight or longer stays typical of aristocratic country life. The elegant mahogany dining table, purchased during her time and still in the dining room there, seats 14. Among the names appearing repeatedly on the guest lists, in addition to D. C. Corbin's, were those of her sister and brother-in-law, Mary and Kirtland K. Cutter, Spokane's premier architect. The influence of Mannington, Wolterton and other stately English homes on Cutter's architecture is evident in many houses he designed, including the Glover and Campbell mansions in Spokane. The Cutter marriage ended in acrimonious divorce, and Mary later married a wealthy but untitled Englishman.

The profile in The Gentlewoman goes on to state:

After the London season, Lord and Lady Orford go to Scotland for three weeks or a month, and settle down for the autumn at Mannington, where they are more "at home" than anywhere. Lady Orford, though American born, has entered enthusiastically into county politics. . . . The education of her only child, Lady Dorothy Walpole, who is now fourteen and has a governess at home, also occupies some of her time, and hers is by no means an idle life.
Louise was also “Dame President” of the local Primrose Club, a national organization dedicated to the fostering of British traditions, and was active in a number of charities. She, of course, managed the large household staff typical of stately homes of the time, as well as entertaining the steady stream of house guests evidenced by the surviving guest books.

**TRAVEL AND FISHING** figure prominently in articles about Louise and her husband. In *The Tatler*, November 5, 1902, there appears a notice entitled “A Peeress and her Travels.” It identifies her as the daughter of Daniel Corbin, “a well-known railway potentate of New York,” and states that, upon her marriage, she and her husband embarked on a “globe-trotting tour,” visiting Japan, Ceylon, the West Indies and America. This summary of travels may be compressing several separate trips.

The American portion includes tarpon fishing in Florida, where “they both took eagerly to the sport . . . and captured some huge fish, one of which, weighing 183 lb., was stuffed and now adorns the staircase of Mannington Hall.” These fishing exploits were further chronicled in a book published in 1895 entitled *Sea Fishing*. It includes an essay by Alfred C. Harmsworth in which he invited Lord Orford to contribute a section on his 1894 tarpon fishing experiences. It contains an unidentified photograph of a woman with two immense tarpons, and Lady Orford is cited as “the only woman in the world who has killed two in one day.” Martin Stiles identifies the woman as Louise. This and other photographs of her appearing in British published sources show a robust woman perhaps capable of such a feat.

The Mannington and Wolterton archives also document the presence of Lord and Lady Orford in Montana, Washington and British Columbia in the summer of 1894. The stuffed trophies of elk and sheep, bearing the Spokane taxidermy label, date from this trip. Some undated photographs of Louise with her father in obviously Northwest settings may date from this trip. An article in the *Spokesman Review*, June 15, 1902, describes other travels, including a trip to Spokane.

One woman well known in Spokane will be present at the coronation of King Edward VII, and by virtue of her rank as a British peeress, will have a seat in Westminster Abbey during the ceremony. The woman in question is the countess of Orford, formerly Miss Louise Corbin, and daughter of D. C. Corbin, one of the best known men in Spokane and the state. . . . The earl and countess of Orford visited Mr. Corbin in Spokane in 1898 and at that time made the acquaintance of many Spokane people . . . . The countess’s health was not good at the time, and they made the return journey by way of India and Japan. The countess is now [1902] enjoying excellent health. . . .

In addition, the visitors’ book at Wolterton Hall contains a note in 1903 that “Louise left for America May 25th.” In Lord Orford’s estate diary of that year he mentions: “Lady Orford was in America with her father the greater part of this year. I went to join her in October and returned [in] December,” and later “was in the United States from Oct. 11 until Dec. 23.” Furthermore, her obituary, which appeared in the May 6, 1909, *Spokesman Review*, is subheaded, “Visited here last year.” Thus, in addition to the world travels to exotic places, a number of Spokane visits can be documented.

As mentioned, upon the death of the fourth earl in 1894, Robert Walpole had inherited the titles and estates consisting of several stately homes and 10,000 acres of land. He and Lady Orford soon moved from Weybourne to Mannington Hall and were able eventually to begin the extensive restoration and refurbishing of nearby Wolterton. The actual history of the restoration, including its financing, is difficult to piece together from evidence remaining in the family archives, but its results are notable. Mannington had been built c. 1460 of northern Norfolk flint and added onto at various times but was still basically unaltered in its manorial, moated character. Wolterton, the “new” house, was built in the 1720s of local soft red brick with Portland facing. It, too, underwent several additions but was left unoccupied in 1858 when the fourth earl moved to Mannington.

The fourth earl had been, according to the 1903 article about Louise Corbin in *The Gentlewoman*, “a man of peculiar tastes” who lived as a recluse and neglected his estates. Lord Orford himself says in his 1902 estate diary, “The house had been deserted since my grandfather’s death in 1859. It had also been used as a quarry to take anything from that was required for farms . . . in fact for years it had not only been deserted but destroyed.” It fell, therefore, to the new fifth earl and his American countess to restore Wolterton and make it the family seat.

The present Lord and Lady Walpole reside at Mannington and use Wolterton as the estate offices, library and archives, as well as a venue for special events. These two contiguous estates, located in pleasant, gently rolling countryside just inland from the North Sea, still comprise a 2,000-acre working farm raising sheep and cereal crops. The grounds, which are open to the public in the summer, contain renowned rose gardens, many acres of parkland with miles of footpaths, and wetlands in which birds and native wildflowers flourish.

Wolterton is not the outrageous “pile” that one sees at Blenheim, Castle Howard, Chatsworth or Knole, but a large, impressive stately British home nevertheless, which would have required considerable money to restore, furnish and maintain. A summary from Lord Orford’s estate diaries gives a notion of the sequence and expenditures. In 1896 he got his first estimate for repairing Wolterton. During that year, he had spent £9,000 on the estate, but that did not include any restoration work. The next few years do not mention any
Lord Walpole, earl of Orford, made various attempts to raise money for the restoration of Wolterton Hall, including this 1898 Spokane investment.

restoration of Wolterton, although work he had begun earlier on both Weybourne Hall and Mannington continued. A 1902 entry in his estate diary says, “Sold 3 Soho Sq. which was the old house of ... my mother's people. ... Sold to a builder for £8,000. This year I began the restoration of Wolterton.”

This juxtaposition would lead to the assumption that at least the seed money for the restoration came from Lord Orford’s inheritance rather than from money coming to Lady Orford through her father. The 1903 estate diary mentions payments on the mortgage, including the note that he “paid £20,000 on the death of my mother. I had previously paid off 9,000 from the sale of 36 Bruton St. to Mr. Corbin.”

In 1905, the year Lord and Lady Orford moved into Wolterton, the diary says, “The work had lasted a long time and cost me much money not to mention time and thought which however would have been a pleasure if the money position had been easier.” In that year he spent £12,570 on the house and £1,200 on the stables. That Lord Orford did not regard the money situation as easy is further evidenced by the Latin inscription in the entrance hall at Wolterton, which translates:

After 43 years of neglect and destruction, this house, out of a poor purse, was rebuilt and restored by Robert Horace Walpole, Earl of Orford, in memory of his ancestors, and regardful of the honour of them who created and inhabited it. AD 1902-4.

The sporadic entries in Lord Orford’s estate diaries simply do not account for all the work that was done on Wolterton. His farm and rent accounts show a modest profit each year, and the lord and lady were able to live very well on their estate and in London, as well as to enjoy expensive travels. Apparently there was enough money left over, from whatever sources, to restore Wolterton, although with a purse that was poorer than perhaps Lord Orford had anticipated.

Yet the house and its restoration were notable, even by the standards of the time. In fact, the October 3, 1908, issue of Country Life devoted 11 pages to Wolterton, with lavish exterior and interior photographs. In a photograph of the saloon, an easel holds a large oil portrait of Louise, the only one known to have existed. It was one of the casualties of the 1952 fire.

No one knows to what extent the choices of paint, wallpaper, carpets, furniture, drapes, china, silver and so on reflect Louise’s personal taste. Of course, many paintings, Flemish tapestries, and other objects of great value were already in the house when the fifth earl inherited it; still, Lord and Lady Orford were able to add much, not only to the house and its furnishings but to the improvement of the park and gardens—in short, all that made it into a significant British estate of its day.

WHATEVER THE CONTRIBUTION of Louise’s marriage settlement may have been to the restoration of Wolterton, Lord Orford did not neglect other opportunities to improve his fortunes with the Spokane connection. One small piece of evidence in the Wolterton archives is a stock certificate issued in Spokane in 1898 for 2,000 shares, with a face value of one dollar each, in the Princess Maud Gold Mining Company, capitalized at $1,000,000. This might have been a gift from D. C. Corbin, or Lord Orford may have purchased the stock during his 1898 visit. These mines, headquartered in Spokane, sprouted like mushrooms, but only a few paid off for their shareholders, so it is doubtful that the Princess Maud stock increased the Orford fortunes.

Then there was the enigmatic lawsuit, filed in Spokane County Superior Court: “D. C. Corbin, Plaintiff, vs. Austin Corbin, 2nd, Louise Corbin Walpole, the Countess of Orford, and Mary Corbin Balguy, Defendants.” These were his own children, and his son Austin had been his business associate for many years. The occasion for the suit was the
death of Mrs. Corbin who, according to the plaintiff, had “died intestate” at Harrogate, a spa in northern England, in August 1900. It is evident from the content of D. C. Corbin’s arguments either that his children were attempting to claim half of his estate on the assumption, based on Washington community property law, that their mother had been half owner of his assets, or that Corbin was launching a preemptive suit of his own in order to “quiet title” (e.g., establish clear legal ownership) to the properties he held. The suit states that the defendants claim to be the owners, adverse to said plaintiff, of an undivided one-half interest in and to the real estate, hereinafter mentioned and described, so acquired and owned by the said plaintiff, as aforesaid, the legal title to which was, on the 5th day of August, 1900, the date of the death of the said Louise M. Corbin, and now is, in the name of the said plaintiff, as having descended to defendants by virtue of the laws of descent of community real property in force in the state of Washington on the 5th day of August, 1900.

CORBIN FOUND IT convenient for the purposes of this suit to list his 1889 residence as having been New York, yet he was very much present in Spokane, enough to be able to rescue the contents of his office from the path of the great Spokane Fire of that August. Although for many years he had spent most of his time in the West, he also maintained an office in New York and, in fact, was not listed in the Spokane Polk’s Directory until 1890. His own memories of his major places of residence seem oddly selective. In a Spokesman Review interview, November 8, 1903, he states: “I was born in New Hampshire. But I’m of the west and northwest, and since arriving at manhood I have lived but little in the east.” However, in the suit of 1900 he claimed that his 1889 assets of $250,000 had been “accumulated in said state of New York.” One wonders about all the money he had made in Montana and the Coeur d’Alene.

At any rate, his stated assets were surprisingly small. He goes on to quote New York law pertaining to married women to his advantage, to wit: “in said state of New York, the absolute power of disposition of said sum of $250,000 [is] entirely free from any claim thereto, or interest therein, by his said wife . . .” and that “no bargain or contract entered into by any married woman in or about the carrying on of any trade or business, under any statute of this state, shall be binding upon her husband, or render him or his property in any way liable therefor.” D. C. Corbin had, between 1889 and 1900, parlayed that $250,000, and whatever else he may have accumulated, into enormous railroad, mining and land holdings, with page after page of the lawsuit listing his Spokane properties. The court document concludes with the argument that Mrs. Corbin, in her lifetime, was not the owner of said real estate, nor any part or parcel thereof, and had no community or other interest in and to the said real estate, or any part or parcel thereof; that the title to said real estate be quieted; that the said defendants, and each and all of them, be forever enjoined and debarred from asserting any claim whatever in or to the said real estate . . . adverse to the plaintiff herein . . .

The lawsuit makes clear that if there had indeed been an attempt on the part of the three children to wrest control of half of his assets from their father, Lord and Lady Orford had been party to it. On the other hand, this suit may have simply been a device for quieting the title and involved no hostility whatsoever between father and children. Whatever the case, it appears that family relations had not been adversely affected by the suit or, if so, they had been mended. It is difficult to imagine Louise spending almost all of 1903 with her father, and Lord Orford joining her in Spokane for over two months, if family relations had been seriously strained. As for son Austin Corbin, he and his father continued as business associates and nearby neighbors in the imposing houses that had been designed by Kirtland Cutter in 1898. Furthermore, in 1911, two years after Louise’s death, Lord Orford took their 22-year-old daughter, Lady Dorothy, on an extended visit to the United States and Canada, and his diary states: “We had Mr. Corbin’s private car through Canada and went to Spokane . . . . This would have been a car from Corbin’s Spokane International Railway, which he had started in 1905 to connect Spokane with the Canadian Pacific. Under an agreement with that railroad, Corbin’s Spokane International car could attach to Canadian Pacific trains and travel anywhere on its rails.

Several very visible evidences of Spokane’s English connection remain at Mannington and Wolterton today. Two of the stuffed elk heads still gaze mournfully from a hall staircase in Wolterton, and a Corbin coat of arms, hastily concocted to join those of the illustrious Walpoles, is rendered in beautiful stained glass in a window in Mannington. It features Louise Corbin’s initials and an American flag. Finally, Lord Orford’s 1903 diary states that he planted “some maples that I grew from seed brought from Spokane, USA.” One of these maples still stands at the edge of Wolterton’s main vista and is known on the estate as the “Spokane Maple.”

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AUTHOR’S NOTE
On a recent trip to England I visited Wolterton and Mannington halls. The hospitality of the Walpoles and the invaluable research assistance of Martin Stiles made this article possible. The author also thanks Spokane historians John Fahey and Tony Barone for information and advice.
THE DELIGHT OF THE PACIFIC

This c. 1910 brochure promoting a "summer sojourn" to the Long Beach Peninsula in Pacific County was included in the recent donation of the Espy family papers, c. 1860-1990. Members of the Espy family have resided in Pacific County since the early 1850s, and the collection reflects their many activities—oyster culture, state and local politics, business endeavors, civic activities, and the accomplishments of succeeding generations in national and international religious affairs. The collection will be available to researchers when processing is completed.
A Treasury of Living History

Spokane’s Campbell House Celebrates Its Centennial

By Lynn Gibson

The elegant Tudor mansion known as Campbell House is one of the inland Northwest’s most lasting and largest artifacts depicting an era dubbed “the Gilded Age.” Restoration of the 19-room mansion on the grounds of the Cheney Cowles Museum is nearly complete and provides a colorful glimpse into Spokane life in the early 1900s. Campbell House is the premier historically restored home in Spokane, open for public tours. Accordingly, museum officials are eager to give visitors the opportunity to participate in its living history. They are adding finishing touches to a 13-year restoration project in time for events that celebrate the 100-year milestone since architect Kirtland K. Cutter designed the lavish abode for mining magnate Amasa Campbell, his wife Grace, and their daughter Helen.

Portly and pompous, Amasa or “Mace” Campbell was one of Spokane’s estimated 16 millionaires of that era and was one of a new aristocracy of families that had acquired, rather than inherited, its wealth. He employed Cutter to design a home to meet the social and business obligations expected for that period. Displaying one’s wealth and social prominence was an important priority among the city’s well-to-do, and Cutter was the renowned architect who would fulfill these expectations.

In 1898 the home was completed and Campbell moved his family from Wallace, Idaho—where he had grown wealthy promoting silver mining properties—to Spokane, a growing city with a population of 35,000. Campbell’s home was neither the most expensive house in Spokane that year nor the most lavish. Instead, the 13,635-square-foot home accurately represents a slice of well-to-do society at the turn of the century.

For the Campbells, Spokane was a step above the mining towns they had known in Idaho. Many of the businesses and homes in Spokane were relatively new. The city was growing and bustling; horse-driven wagons clogged the streets. City government staggered to maintain Spokane’s infrastructure and order while men and women arrived by the hundreds each week, looking for jobs or farms or whatever opportunity offered. The real estate market verged on frenzy.

Wealthy families bought homes on large plots of land, and their social and business acquaintances became the basis for a lavish and leisure-filled lifestyle. A Spokane Blue Book, published in 1902, listed Amasa Campbell among 388 members of Spokane’s “high society.” For those new to social convention, the Blue Book provided instructions on leaving calling cards and other points of etiquette for a burgeoning elite.

Leisure time for the Campbells was spent at dinner parties, recitals, costume balls and theatre engagements. Mr. Campbell invited business associates and friends to his game room where cigars and poker kept the women at bay.

The Campbells generally employed several live-in maids, a cook, a coachman and a hired man. They were considered benevolent employers and kept their hired help longer than most families by treating them well and paying them fairly. During that era, many maids in the region were Scandinavians who had immigrated to America for employment opportunities. Wealthy families treated them, appreciating their meticulous housekeeping. The Campbells were “almost like foster parents,” wrote Iris Nelson, who worked for the family during 1918-19.

Mrs. Amasa B. Campbell

At home
A delicate and proper woman, Grace Campbell managed the household, servants, and the occasional hired help of a seamstress, gardener and laundress. Daily delivery men brought perishable food items to the house. The iceman kept the kitchen icebox and the cellar cool room well-stocked with ice. Aside from Mrs. Campbell's household duties and social obligations, she raised Helen with a focus on perfecting social graces and taught her to be a proper hostess, befitting of finishing school and her coming-out debut.

Amasa and Grace lived in their home for the remaining years of their lives. When Amasa died in 1912, Grace lived there with Helen and enjoyed the home as the setting for Helen's wedding to William Powell in 1917. After Grace's death in 1924, Helen deeded the house to the Eastern Washington Historical and Art Society which remodeled it into a museum and art gallery along with offices. On April 16, 1926, the Grace Campbell Memorial Museum opened to the public to unite the interests of art and history. At that time, walls were removed, a servant's staircase relocated, and sections of the home were converted into a caretaker's quarters. Velvet curtains were hung in the library and dining room, which became a focal point for the early unveilings of Campbell House living history.

In 1959, after nearly 30 years as an art gallery and historical museum, Helen Campbell Powell paid to have the velvet curtains removed to reveal the original surface. Volunteers discovered the Campbells' original drapes in a trunk in the basement and reinstalled them. Adjacent to Campbell House, the Cheney Cowles Memorial Museum was built, allowing museum displays to be moved from Campbell House and set up in the main museum. The complete restoration of Campbell House then began.

For the next three decades historians, curators and concerned community workers matched fabric samples, transcribed oral histories, questioned antique dealers, queried plumbers, analyzed photos, studied historical family documents, contacted living relatives, and researched local history — with the overriding goal to represent the Campbell family, their home, and regional history in as accurate a manner as possible.

In 1960 volunteers came across a roll of original "poppy" wallpaper used in the staircase. Also discovered was the decorator's plan, a significant 15-page "blueprint" for Campbell House designs by decorator William L. Otis. The plan was filled with Otis's descriptions of furnishings and prices, including samples of wallpapers and fabrics.

The Eastern Washington State Historical Society received Helen's diary, written from 1913 to 1917. It describes her life as happy and quite ordinary, and records Campbell family invitations to lake homes, dinners and teas. Of a particular Christmas she spent as a young girl, Helen wrote: "Opened our packages after breakfast. Then went for a walk in the snow. Played charades tonight. It's been a very happy Christmas."

In 1984 sketchy family details were enriched by the discovery of a box of Amasa Campbell's business correspondence under the cellar stairs. Personal letters as well as eight leather-bound volumes of canceled checks and receipts gave historians detailed insight into household expenditures, staff salaries and Amasa's business dealings.

Aside from sheer luck, benevolence played a part in the restoration project. People returned original furniture that they had purchased at the Campbell House auction in 1925. A college fraternity returned the andirons. The Spokane Club yielded a library table. The original dining room furniture was returned by bequest of a family. By 1974, the year of Spokane's World Exposition, Campbell House achieved the honor of being listed in the National Register of Historic Places.

As Eastern Washington State Historical Society celebrates Campbell House's centennial in 1998, the restoration continues. Still to be restored are the covered veranda in the back of the home and the carriage house. Campbell House continually receives the additions of reproduction fabrics, wall coverings and furnishings, while museum staff and volunteers work to bring the house alive through interpretive programming.

Lynn Gibson is a Spokane-based free-lance writer for a variety of newspapers, magazines and internet sites on the World-Wide Web.
Not many folks in Oldtown, Idaho, subscribed to the Seattle Daily Times. Nevertheless, the November 30, 1912, issue that thumped onto the station platform from an eastbound Great Northern train proved to be the best read and most significant in the town’s then-young history. The paper’s front page exclusive, headlined “Rich Idaho Justice Charged With Being Fence For Robbers,” set off seven years of scandal and litigation, ending the career—and ultimately the life—of one of the Panhandle’s most prominent citizens. William Vane, “pioneer and one of the wealthiest residents in Northern Idaho,” could no longer conceal a double life comparable to an earlier Idaho official gone bad, Sheriff Henry Plummer of Virginia City.

Almost nothing is known of Vane’s early life. Even his birthplace is in dispute. This story begins, then, with his arrival in the Pend Oreille valley around 1891, a wiry, self-assured 29-year-old who quickly established himself as no mere homesteader. First, though, he acquired a heavily-timbered claim five miles northeast of Newport, where Indian Creek empties into the river and where Vanes Lake adorns the map today. An accomplished outdoorsman, “he knew every hill, rock, and tree.”

Washington had been a state for two years, Idaho for one, but near-frontier conditions still prevailed where the north-flowing Pend Oreille crossed the state line. The few log structures huddled on the high riverbank received mail and supplies packed in from Rathdrum, Idaho, the most accessible stop on the Northern Pacific Railway. The optimistically-named “new port” served as the jumping-off point for several early attempts to establish steamboat runs to the Metaline mining district just south of the Canadian border and the scattered ranchers in between. Unfortunately, the crude, wood-fired vessels had a tendency to burn to the waterline. Nonetheless, the area showed potential to those with an eye for it. Jim Hill’s track crews were still somewhere in Montana, but his surveyors had been through and Vane, among others, knew profit lay in town site development where the state line, the river, and the Great Northern would converge.

The Panic of 1893 provided opportunity to the bold and the lucky. Rail service reached Newport the summer before seven out of the ten banks in nearby Spokane went to the wall. None failed in the settlement to the north—the first wouldn’t open for nine years—but pioneer entrepreneurs, counting on a boom touched off by the railroad’s debut, instead found themselves strapped for cash and credit. William Vane had cash, at least enough to parlay himself into control of the Newport Mill Company, the only local industry, and, by methods now obscure, ownership of most of the town site.

Whatever and wherever his earlier career, by 1894 William Vane was a force to be reckoned with, beginning two decades of unbroken, if uncommonly litigious, success. According to a later assessment, “litigation was his mania, the chief delight of his life.” There may have been some legal training or experience in his past; in any event,
Vane demonstrated a knack for finding the best attorneys and inspiring their best efforts. Indeed, in Vane v. Towle, an action concerning his conduct as receiver of the mill, his counsel merited a rebuke from the Idaho Supreme Court for his aggressiveness. That likely is just what Vane, if not the three justices in Boise, wanted.

The financial panic lifted, and a thriving community did grow up on the riverbank—in Washington, not Idaho. The Great Northern wanted to develop the town site itself and, refusing to meet Vane’s price for a buyout, finally moved the depot and the post office three quarters of a mile to the southwest to escape his holdings. Shrugging off the blow, Vane shortly set in motion the greatest coup of his career.

By 1902 sawmills and settlers dotted the banks and benchlands all the way from Newport to the Metalines. Two rival town promoters, Joe Cusick, who named his community after himself, and George H. Jones, who memorialized his boyhood river Usk in Wales, wooed the lucrative freight and passenger trade with surprisingly luxurious steamers (Jones’s Columbia and Spokane, the fastest, topped 100 and 140 feet, respectively; Cusick’s Volunteer and New Volunteer emphasized conviviality, earning the nicknames “Old Booze.”) A flotilla of tugs and launches towed lumber and cement and transported sportsmen’s hunting and fishing excursions.

Upon this bustling waterway of commerce Vane trained the heavy guns of a legal dreadnaught, grandly asserting that he controlled the strip of submerged land upon which rested the wharves. Stunned, Jones, who thought he did, fought him all the way to the United States Supreme Court and lost at every level. With nowhere else to build a landing, and owing Vane for years of use while the appeals dragged on, Jones and Cusick sold out to a steamship company controlled by the Great Northern, which itself had no choice but to come to terms with the victor. It’s safe to assume that Vane’s price had not gone down in the decade since the depot’s departure.

Recognizing that their old adversary held the vital gap between their steamboats and their trains, the Great Northern officials made a virtue of necessity and let the shippers pay. Besides making “a contract with Mr. Vane to use his wharfs,” they authorized him to build a spur, tramway, and elevator “down the short ravine to the upper dock, thereby reducing the cost of unloading poles, wood, ties, and other freight from the barges to the freight cars to a minimum,” respectfully reported the Newport Miner. Vane also built a large floating dock and ferry, but had not first bothered to “secure a right-of-way on the opposite side of the river. In case he fails in this a gasoline launch will be used to tow the ferry, and in case this is done he will be able to land the ferry when and where he chooses.” No informed observer would have been inclined to doubt that.

The next spring another front-page headline declared, “Vane Closes Deal.” His Idaho town site, scorned by the Great Northern, proved essential to the construction of a newly announced independent line, F. A. Blackwell’s Idaho & Washington Northern. That company’s attorneys negotiated the purchase of railyards and a depot site, as well as the waterfront, for the then-enormous sum of $55,000. Even after the sale, Vane continued to be a dominant landowner.

For the first and last time in its history, railroad construction made Newport a genuine boomtown. Once again, though, a panic hit the country, and in the fall of 1907 William Vane, now 45, had a great deal of money when almost no one else seemed to. The fact that he owned houses, lots and buildings in Idaho, not Washington, colored the rest of his life.

“Oldtown was a pretty rough place from 1901 to 1910, when they built the Milwaukee Railroad. The original lumberjacks were single drifters from the Midwest. There wasn’t as much rape then, and legalized prostitution helped keep VD from becoming a problem,” 80-year-old Harold McIntosh reminisced in 1976. Shaky as the dates had become, after seven decades he clearly
recalled the spirit of the times. On the Washington side, Newport was a white-collar town with shade trees and green lawns and aspirations to become a county seat. Step over the line into unincorporated "Oldtown," as did many of the 2,500 men employed at the height of I&WN construction, and one entered the domain of gamblers, saloons and "sporting houses," a great many of which paid rent to William Vane.

The dual community, bisected only by an invisible state line, illustrated the market value of what Daniel Boorstin termed "the federal commodity." As James Doherty, an Oldtown saloon-keeper, testified in 1914 for his fellow businessman:

Q: Were you ever arrested and convicted of any crime, Mr. Doherty?
A: I think I was arrested once for gambling over here. Is that a crime, I don't know whether that would come in that or not.
Q: It depends on which side of the line you are on, there or here.

From its Washington vantage point, the Miner, spokesman for the up-and-coming Commercial Club interests, could pour disdain on "Stella Moore, a remnant of the days of railroad construction work and a denizen of Old Town," upon her death from a drug overdose. But when her heirs and creditors were frozen out of the estate, consisting of "considerable furniture," because William Vane "produced a bill of sale" in court, the report was light-hearted and rather admiring. Business was business, after all.

The Miner's hindsight was much clearer:

It was characteristic of the man that he at all times endeavored to keep straight his business relations with business and public men, so that when in litigation he was able to bring to the court to support him in alibi and questions of truth and honesty the testimony of leading citizens who were honest in declaring that they knew of no evil traits in the man.

Indeed, by the approach of his 50th birthday, William Vane, despite having to deal with some undesirable tenants, was the picture of the country squires he may have remembered from his youth. His home, built originally for a hotel, was the largest in town, but he and his wife and children spent much of the year on "Vane's Island," in the Pend Oreille River, where his 1,400 pear and apple trees produced record yields, "which have proven to be extra good winter keepers and are of fine flavor."

The Bonner County commissioners honored him with appointment as justice of the peace for Newport, Idaho, in 1911. He firmly fined its "denizens of the seamy side of life" and ordered them to leave the state.

His career appeared to reach its apo­

The Big Four Mining Co. has taken over the claims of J. E. Peterkin, located above Freeman's Lake. Local capital controls the stock. Miss Ruby Vane is the secretary and treasurer of the new corporation.

Then, of all things, to be bush-whacked by some Seattle newspaperman!

The accusations in the story were detailed and damning. "Astounded at the large number of disputed shipments," the Great Northern's detectives found evidence of boxcar pilfering somewhere between Troy, Idaho, and
Spokane, then narrowed the investigation to Newport and Priest River, Idaho, seven miles away. A "peddler," W. A. Sloan, had the misfortune to approach one of the railroad's secret agents in a Newport hotel, "and offered some laces for sale very cheap." The agent recognized the lace as part of a missing shipment and countered that he would rather buy some shoes, another item recently stolen. The peddler returned with three pairs. The account continued:

The screws were put on Sloan and he said he had purchased the laces and shoes from William Vane. Agent Davis's investigation disclosed that Vane stood high in the estimation of his townspeople and the community at large in Northern Idaho. He is considered the wealthiest man there.

A search of Vane's home revealed thousands of dollars' worth of goods "identified as part of stolen shipments consigned to merchants in Seattle, Bellingham, Vancouver, and other places." The story concluded:

Despite the flat assertion of the Times, Vane had not been arrested, and never would be, on these charges, Sloan apparently proving a worthless witness. Then, as now, the "false imputation" of a crime was libel. As the weeks passed without action by the Idaho authorities, the newspaper's staff, no doubt cursing their incompetent sources at the railroad, awaited the inevitable. Vane filed suit on January 24, 1913, seeking $250,000 in damages, the same amount the Times had said he was worth.

Many attorneys, looking only at the facts so far, would have advised writing him a check. What the Times had printed about his arrest simply wasn't true and certainly was damaging. The paper's lawyers, led by Frederic Bausman of Seattle (soon to be a justice of the state supreme court) and Sidney W. Rogers of Newport (soon to be county prosecuting attorney) advanced a brilliant, if risky, defense. The Great Northern's bungling investigators had not made the case stick; perhaps they could, retroactively transforming the accusations from false to true.

Waves of detectives swept through the region, as Vane and everyone else in town undoubtedly knew. He could have voluntarily dropped the suit, but "the lust for gold," coupled with his own previous long-shot legal payoffs, predominated. He did lower the damages sought to $50,000, but only after the newspaper was committed to its aggressive defense.

When the trial finally took place in 1915, after two days of testimony and seven hours of deliberation, 11 of the jurors concluded that the paper had not libeled Vane; as the judge had instructed them: "If the Defendant has established by a preponderance of the evidence the truth of the alleged libelous article, then the Plaintiff cannot recover in this action." In other words, Vane hadn't been arrested, but the jurors were convinced he should have been. The Miner reported the outcome cautiously but clearly: "Times Wins Big Libel Suit 11 to 1."

It was the beginning of the end for William Vane.

In its defense of this suit the Times spent several thousand dollars in an investigation of Vane's past, and while much of
the testimony accumulated never was presented to the court, it became public property and made Vane vulnerable to suspicion that eventually brought about his downfall.

Vane's suit against the Times could be rationalized as a calculated risk gone wrong. But his subsequent conduct makes no sense at all. Still rich, if not respected, and still not charged with any crime, retirement to a warmer climate, say Central or South America, might have proved prudent. Instead, Vane strove to carry on his public-and private-enterprises.

All his life Vane had the reputation of standing by his friends; as Newport mayor Mike Fox put it, "He is an awful good man to the poor and helped them." When his longtime homestead neighbor Carl Brink was arrested for stealing a team of horses in Spokane, no one was surprised that "he immediately busied himself with securing counsel for Brink and tried to establish an alibi." (Of course, Brink's homestead, horses and cattle were mortgaged to Vane, but business was business.) On the afternoon of December 12, 1916, Brink's old friend testified that he was with him in Newport on June 20, the date of the theft, "supporting it by a mass of written documentary evidence."

The next morning Brink sent for Charles H. Leavy, prosecuting attorney for Pend Oreille county, prosecuting the case, and said that he didn't want any more people to commit perjury for his sake and made a complete confession, stating that Vane had told him he must steal the horses to get money to apply on his mortgages. A receipt showed that Vane received $200 of the $300 which Brink got for the sale of the horses.

A few hours later, as the court reconvened for Brink's trial, Leavy dramatically filed two new cases, charging Vane with perjury and grand larceny. The new defendant immediately posted $6,000 bond, guaranteed by ex-mayor Fox and his feed store partner, George Torreson. Had the $250,000 somehow melted away? More likely, Vane wanted respectable men publicly demonstrating their support. The cases were set for trial on February 24, 1917. Despite such backing, Vane's blood tinted the waters now, and the sharks swiftly circled around. In January, a singularly inept desperado named Lonnie Easley walked into the post office in Spokane and confessed his role in a three-year-old mail stage robbery near Priest Lake, Idaho. There were two other gunmen, the surprised inspectors heard, and a mastermind—William Vane.

The dime novel plot unfolded further at a federal court hearing on February 7. Vane, an occasional employer, had summoned the 24-year-old Missouri native to a late-night meeting on his island on September 6, 1914. There, he and two recent immigrants from Italy—Joe Bossio and Eugene Naccarato—were "induced to enter a career of crime." To the accompaniment of "considerable whiskey," Vane outlined the plan for holding up the Beardmore mail stage on its way to Coolin. The three hid out on the island until September 8, with supplies and guns delivered by Miss Ruby. In broad daylight, but with faces masked, Easley and his two companions halted the big automobile at a bend in the road, fired three shots into the radiator, and escaped into the woods with the loot—$39 and five watches from the passengers, a few letters and two cans of harness oil from the mail pouch. At a prearranged meeting, Vane took the proceeds and his guns and sent the men on their way without further chit-chat.

Easley claimed fear had made him commit the crime (and, one assumes, not insist on his one-fourth share of the loot):

Q: Now, what were you afraid of at the time you held up the stage?
A: Well, Mr. Vane had claimed to me to be the head of an organized gang of robbers and bad men.
Q: Who claimed that?
A: He did.
Q: When?
A: It would be hard for me to name the times—a good many different times.
Q: Did he tell you he would do anything to you if you didn't hold up the stage?
A: No, he didn't directly say that he would, no, sir.
Vane came on horseback, on Friday or Saturday night, and stayed at our house and brought a bottle of whiskey along with him, and gave a drink to me and my children; that Vane had along with him a Spokesman-Review which gave an account of the robbery; that he read the same to me and the children, and laughed about it. Vane claimed that the account given in the paper was not true, in this, that it was the people who were held up who were nervous, instead of the holdup men.

Vane himself declined to take the stand. This time, found guilty of robbery and conspiracy, no bonds were accepted. The jury reached its verdict on November 23; Vane arrived at McNeil Island Penitentiary on November 28, facing a six-year term.

By now the money really did seem to be running out. "Owing to the financial embarrassment of defendant Vane," his counsel could not perfect a prompt appeal, but at the last minute, after six months, their client was released pending action of the Circuit Court in San Francisco. The respite was brief. The appeal was denied. Defiant to the end, Vane "announced his intention of appeal to the Supreme Court of the United States," the scene of his great victory over Jones 13 years before.

"Fate" intervened. On January 10, 1919, two men reported that Vane had drowned in the Pend Oreille River. The account in the Newport Miner cited a Phillip Nagel who claimed to have been very much affected by the alleged drowning, the story being that while they were crossing the river, Kesler rowing, Nagle sitting in the rear of the boat and Vane sitting in the bow, and carrying a large bundle, the boat struck a submerged pile or deadhead log and that Vane was thrown into the river, his hat being recovered from the water, but nothing more being seen or heard of him.

Despite expressing the official skepticism that Vane had "entered the boat with the two at all," the Miner published an ad from his wife, offering a $500 reward for recovery of the body. Business was business.

For over a week the authorities had no clue to Vane's whereabouts. In that length of time he could have hiked into British Columbia or Montana and eventually sent a mocking, unsigned postcard from almost anywhere. Certainly, most folks had at least some sympathy with his flight; it would be 1924 before he could expect release otherwise.

Once again, Vane had done the unexpected. He had not fled, because to do so would have forfeited, at the least, the $12,000 bond he had posted himself. Kesler confessed that he thought he was hiding out somewhere nearby, determined to convince people that he had drowned rather than escaped. A third confederate unwittingly led officers to an isolated cabin. There, his mustache shaved, made up to resemble an Indian, lay William Vane, peacefully sleeping—"with a high power rifle, loaded and cocked and fitted with a Maxim silencer, in bed with him."

Hustled to the Pend Oreille County jail, Vane resumed life in a cell. The search after the capture had been less than thorough, though, and the next morning, Saturday, January 18, violent convulsions alerted the guards, who found their prisoner partly conscious and writhing in pain. Dr. W. S. Wallace at once diagnosed strychnine poisoning and struggled to save him, but to no avail. A small amount of the white powder was found, loose, in Vane's upper vest pocket.

William Vane's story thus ends as abruptly as it began, with no easy explanation and no comforting moral. Had he been a "bad man" all his life, or had success corrupted an honest homesteader? Perhaps to spare his family further pain, no obituary speculated on just what had gone so spectacularly wrong. His widow, still living in 1931, managed to retain at least some of the real estate, suing a deadbeat tenant for four years' back rent totaling only $379.87. Still, business was business.

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BY DONNA SINCLAIR

THEY DID NOT GO TO WAR

Chief Red Heart's Band and Native American Incarceration at Fort Vancouver Barracks, 1877-1878

JAUNT DOWN HISTORIC Officer's Row in Vancouver, Washington, reveals a city with a distinct heritage. Between the budding elms are several trim refurbished homes named for great military officers—Ulysses S. Grant, Oliver Otis Howard and George Marshall—who served at Vancouver Barracks. To the south stands the restored Fort Vancouver stockade, a reminder of the days when the Hudson's Bay Company dominated the region.

THOSE WHO VISIT the fort and Officer's Row can easily envision brightly scarved Frenchmen, blue-shirted Englishmen, Scottish traders, Hawaiian workers and their Native American trading partners engaged in the everyday business of making money more than 100 years ago. A less likely scene is that of a group of Nez Perce men, women and children being led on a rainy Pacific Northwest day from the tiny jail at the west end of Officer's Row to a nearby outdoor stockade. Built to hold them during the day, the stockade contained this group behind 15-foot-high walls, confined but in the open, unlike the cramped quarters in which they spent their nights from early August 1877 to late April 1878.

For much of the last 120 years, reports of non-treaty bands in the Nez Perce War of 1877 have been colored by white prejudice, cultural misinterpretation and an unbalanced account of events placing Chief Joseph of the Nez Perce into what has been referred to as the "red Napoleon myth." Except for the work of Lucullus McWhorter, historical accounts of the war have typically been one-sided and informed by tales of fear-stricken pioneers, volunteer Indian fighters, and military leaders.

Nez Perce oral history describes another side of the story, a side in which injustice, prejudice, and greed for land and gold intersected with resistance, accommodation and cultural persistence in Vancouver, Washington Territory. Remembrance of the experiences of one group from the band of Red Heart, a respected leader, serves as testament to the many untold stories of Native American strife in the Nez Perce War.

In 1878 General Oliver Otis Howard described the headquarters, Department of the Columbia in Vancouver, Washington Territory—Fort Vancouver Barracks—as "by far the most important because of its favorable location and the ease with which troops [were] brought to and sent from it." As the base of operations for military campaigns against regional tribes from 1849 to 1879, Vancouver Barracks functioned as a site for the imprisonment of recalcitrant Native Americans. From August 7, 1877, until April 22, 1878, the military authorities held 33 Nez Perce Indians as prisoners of war in the guardhouse at Vancouver Barracks. The Thursday, August 9, 1877, issue of the Vancouver Independent reports:

Indian Prisoners—Thirty three Nez Perce Indian Prisoners, men, women and children, arrived at the Post Tuesday evening, under guard of 19 soldiers... The Indian men are all stalwart, swarthy looking fellows, and, no doubt, know the exact turn of the wrist in
Chief Red Heart, shown here in 1906, was captured in 1877 along with 32 other Nez Perce. Though the Indians had committed no crime, the entire group, which included women and children, was imprisoned at Fort Vancouver for eight months.

For more than 20 years the Nez Perce had attempted to avoid conflict. While the Indian Wars raged in the interior Northwest during the 1850s and 1860s, the Nez Perce struggled to maintain their traditional lifeways in the face of white encroachment. The Walla Walla Treaty of 1855 allowed the Nez Perce to maintain sovereignty over nearly 7 million acres in the Pacific Northwest. They retained parts of southeastern Washington, the Wallowa Mountains in northeastern Oregon, and the adjacent part of Idaho, including the north fork of the Clearwater River and channels and bottomlands along the Palouse, Alpowa, Grande Ronde, Wallowa, Snake and Salmon rivers. Various chiefs had sovereignty over permanent campsites along the river bottoms where salmon were plentiful. Less permanent sites along the nearby benchlands and prairies provided access to traditional hunting and gathering grounds where different groups would meet as they traveled toward the Lolo Trail to cross the Bitterroot Mountains for trading and buffalo hunting in what is now western Montana. Groups of Nez Perce, including Red Heart’s band, often camped on Weippe Prairie, near the western end of the Lolo Trail, and also on Camas Prairie, nearly 30 miles to the southwest.

Although 7 million acres were ceded to the United States, compared to some other northwestern groups, the Nez Perce fared well. Some Nez Perce aided the army in its campaigns against the Yakamas, Klickitats, Walla Wallas, Palouses, and later the Coeur d’Alenes and Spokanes, but most tried to maintain peaceful yet distant relations with a government that disparaged their religion, despised their physical characteristics and culture, and deprived them of their land. The 1855 treaty specified that no “white man, excepting those in the employment of the Indian Depart-
ment, [shall] be permitted to reside upon said reservation without permission of the tribe and the superintendent and agent... Yet, settlers moved into the reservation territory immediately.

By 1863 gold was unearthed at the confluence of the Snake and Clearwater rivers. The desire for gold and land brought more whites, and before a decade had passed, the newly created Nez Perce reservation was inundated by miners and settlers. A new treaty was devised, excluding from the existing Nez Perce Reservation the Wallowa lands of northeastern Oregon, the Salmon River territory, the downstream Snake River lands, and hundreds of thousands of acres traditionally used for subsistence. A number of Nez Perce leaders, including Chief Joseph of the Wallowa Band and Chief Temme Ilppilp (Red Heart), refused to sign the newly crafted document, which became known as the "Thief Treaty of 1863." More than 6 million acres were ceded for less than eight cents per acre, severely diminishing the size of the reservation. Chief Lawyer, who had been a friend to the whites, signed the 1863 treaty along with 51 of his followers. Under this document, treaty and non-treaty Indians were grouped together, resulting in the ill-fated campaign against "non-treaty" Nez Perce 14 years later and a long-lasting schism between tribal factions. With the government's refusal to consider the claims of the non-treaty leaders to lands outside the boundaries of the "new" reservation, conflict was almost guaranteed.

Between 1863 and 1876, as farmers, stockmen and gold miners invaded Nez Perce territory, the growing white population began to demand resettlement of non-reservation Indians, and the government complied. In November 1876 Chief Joseph's band was ordered out of the Wallowa area of northeastern Oregon and onto the smaller reservation. The band refused to leave, Joseph declaring, "The Creative Power, when he made the earth, made no marks, no lines of division or separation on it... We will not sell the land. We will not give up the land. We love the land. It is our home."

Reflected in Joseph's words was the influence of the Washani religion of the Wanapum prophet Smohalla. He, like nearly all non-treaty Indians, held a common belief in the sacredness of an earth with which the Indians were one. No government had the right to remove the "Nimpau—Real People" from the rolling hills, mossy valleys, bounteous riverbanks, and grassy plains that they called home.

Some Nez Perce had become Christians, and antagonism between them and the non-Christian Indians was deep-rooted. Initial exposure to Christianity came through contact with fur traders, resettled Iroquois, Native American tribesmen who went east to seek the new religion, and both Catholic and Protestant missionaries. But it
was the fragmentation of Northwest Indian culture by disease and an onslaught of white settlers that reinforced Christianity and created antagonism between treaty and non-treaty groups.

The pressure of the alien socioreligious systems and the accompanying seduction of material goods prompted native prophet leaders to advocate maintaining and restoring traditional lifeways. This meant accepting no monetary compensation for land and not residing on reservations. Most renowned of the prophets were Smoholla of the Wanapum tribe in the mid-Columbia region and Skoklaskan of the Sanpoil on the upper Columbia. These religious leaders, known as Dreamer-Prophets, ushered in a 19th-century cult movement among the Indians of the Pacific Northwest that combined native traditionalism with Christianity. Their trance-induced otherworldly experiences stressed a rebirth and resurgence of traditional culture and, consequently, the removal of whites from the earth.

General Howard, a devout Christian, came to abhor these “renegade” Dreamer-Prophets who not only practiced drumming and dancing rituals but also resisted Americanization.

A series of council meetings took place between General Howard and the Nez Percé prior to the forced expulsion from the Wallowa. The government’s goal was peaceful removal of the non-treaty bands. For the Native American leaders who attended, the goal was retention of their homelands. These meetings demonstrate the complexity of intercultural relations and also reveal General Howard’s antipathy toward the Dreamer-Prophets. Among the Dreamers was Skimiah, a medicine man and the leader of approximately 250 people from the “ancient village of Skeinpah” (Cradle Board Place), in Washington Territory. Skimiah had been forcibly imprisoned at Fort Simcoe in 1873, and in April 1877 he was in trouble again. He was accused of trying to organize a group of Indians to join Chief Joseph in revolt. This time Indian Agent Wilbur of the Yakama Reservation took Skimiah to Vancouver Barracks, Washington Territory, where he was imprisoned in the guardhouse. The Dreamer became General Howard’s token prisoner and example at the meetings and councils preceding the outbreak of war.

In one encounter that took place with Agent Connoyer, Ollicut (Chief Joseph’s brother), Smoholla, and several non-treaty Nez Percé on April 20, 1877, Howard declared:

I showed them that Skimiah, a “Dreamer,” leader of a small band near Celilo, was already in the guardhouse at Fort Vancouver, and that his people had come to the Yakama Reservation, and

"The Creative Power, when he made the earth, made no marks, no lines of division or separation on it . . . We will not sell the land."

That this world, doubtless, be the fortune of any other “Dreamer” leader for noncompliance with Government instructions.

Three days later, at Wallula, while meeting with Smoholla’s group, Howard again threatened to imprison trouble-making prophets who adhered to native tradition. Skimiah’s plight, he claimed, scared them, and he used the jailed Dreamer as an example whenever possible. At the First Council, on May 3, 1877, the general reported:

Before dismissing the council, I pay my respects to the two old medicine men, who are evidently the worst malcontents, in fact, the leaders in opposition. They answer me saucily. I then show them plainly that if they persist I will have them arrested, as Skimiah was at Vancouver, and show them that if they continue turbulent and disobedient that they will be sent to the Indian country [Oklahoma].

During the Second Council, held on May 4, 1877, he referred to another old Dreamer of White Bird’s band, “Too-schul-hul-so-te by name—a large, thick-necked, ugly, obstinate savage of the worst type. His first remark was about the law of the earth,” wrote Howard, “that there were two parties to a controversy, and that the one that was right would come out ahead. We answered that we were all children of a common gov’t, and must obey.” At the Third Council, on May 7, 1877, Too-schul-hul-so-te was banished to the guardhouse, “with orders that he remain until all matters were settled.”

Skimiah’s release also became political fodder for General Howard’s self-proclaimed success in Indian removal. On May 30, 1877, with Colonel E. C. Watkins, Inspector of Indian Affairs for the Department of the Interior, General Howard went to Fort Vancouver to interview Skimiah, “... ascertaining that he was now peaceably disposed.” Upon the Dreamer’s release, he was accompanied to Fort Simcoe Agency, arriving on June 8, 1877. There, the “friendly Indians,” Skimiah included, addressed “their wild brethren, and urged them to give up their ‘drumming’ and come join them in the ranks of civilization.” Skimiah, Thomas of Snake River, One-Eyed John, and Colwash, along with their small bands, all agreed to go to the Umatilla Reservation. General Howard, very pleased with the outcome, wrote, “By this short interview we believe we have secured, as residents on existing reservations, at least five hundred (500) heretofore discontented Indian men.” Smoholla and Chief Jatoiah, also present, were not persuaded.

There were others who could not be convinced, and a deadline of April 1, 1877, was set for peaceful movement to the reservation. As winter melted into spring, non-treaty groups considered whether they should leave their traditional homelands. Although some did go to the reservation, the deadline passed with little change. After the se-
ries of council meetings, another early summer deadline—June 15, 1877—was set. Rising tension and the actions of three angry men dissolved any hope of peaceful relations.

Three years earlier, in March 1874, a white settler named Larry Ott killed an Indian named Eagle Blanket. The settler, who had been given permission to make limited use of some fertile land on the east side of the Salmon River, became angry when Eagle Blanket confronted him for plowing an area he was told not to use. Accounts of the incident vary. According to historian David Lavender, Eagle Blanket was throwing stones to stop Ott, who then pulled out a revolver and shot the Nez Perce man in front of four Indian witnesses. Allen Pinkham, a Native American leader and grandson of Elosyskasit (the brother of Eagle Blanket), tells a slightly different tale: Eagle Blanket had some land and a settler (Ott) came along and diverted some water. When Eagle Blanket protested, asking why the Indians should stay on the reservation when all would be taken from them anyway, the settler shot him.

As he lay dying, Eagle Blanket sent a message to his son Wahlitits: “Tell him for my sake, and for the sake of his brothers and sisters, and in fact for the whole Nez Perce nation, to hold his temper . . . and not wage war on the whites.” Unfortunately, although there were witnesses, the four Indian observers would not swear on the white man’s Bible in order to testify, and Ott was released on a plea of self-defense.

For three years Wahlitits heeded his father’s word. But as the impending forced removal drew near, the young Wahlitits, with his cousins Wetyetmas Wahyakt (Swan Necklace) and Sarpsi Ilppilp (Red Moccasin Tops), went looking for Larry Ott. There are conflicting reports of this incident as well, but they all have one common thread—revenge. It was Indian custom to draw blood for blood, and as Wahlitits and his cohorts paraded around the campfire in war regalia that fateful evening of June 12, 1877, a chastising woman accused him of being less than a man: a real man would have avenged his father’s death. These three angry young men then went searching along the Salmon River for Larry Ott, who could not be found. Indian retribution, though, did not have to be confined to the perpetrator of a wrong; the enraged young men killed four other settlers in Ott’s stead.

Thus began the conflict historians have called the Nez Perce War. As treaty Indians headed back to Fort Lapwai to avoid trouble, some of the non-treaty leaders made the decision to flee rather than meet the June 15, 1877, deadline set by General Howard for the forced move out of the Nez Perce country, they found that their homelands had been given away. Fourteen years later, in June 1877, while Wahlitits and his companions roved along the Salmon River, Red Heart’s band, including his wife and children, returned once more from the buffalo country of Montana. This time there was no evading trouble. Their traditional homelands in Idaho were in a state of uproar; Christian pitted against non-Christian, treaty versus non-treaty, and white against red. In 1863 the non-treaty bands had been allowed to stay on their lands, despite the treaty, but by 1877 they could not ignore the government’s threats.

The events leading to the Red Heart band’s prisoner-of-war status began on July 1877, with an unprovoked attack on Looking Glass’s village. Chief Red Heart, at the camp that day, was wounded in the right thigh as a volunteer Indian fighter fired on the village. Oral history and official reports regarding the attack on this village are conflicting. Suspecting that Looking Glass’s band had been furnishing reinforcements to Chief Joseph’s forces and that Looking Glass proposed to join them, General Howard sent Captain Whipple to surprise him. Whipple claimed that he had given Looking Glass opportunity to surrender, but when he refused, “several Indians were wounded in the right thigh as a volunteer Indian fighter fired on the village.”

Among the leaders who neither signed the treaty of 1863 nor participated in the 1877 resistance was Chief Temme Ilppilp, known to the Americans as Red Heart.

Wallowa. In a series of skirmishes beginning with the Battle of White Bird on June 17, 1877, and ending four months later with Chief Joseph’s famous surrender at Bears Paw in Montana on October 5, 1877, non-treaty bands moved toward what they hoped would be freedom.

Troops under Captain David Perry pursued the Indians to White Bird Canyon on June 17. There, the army suffered heavy losses and was driven from the field as the Nez Perce inched toward Montana, hoping to gain asylum with the Crow Indians. Shortly after this battle, General Howard assumed field command of the army and the legendary chase of the Nez Perce over the Lolo Trail and into Montana began. Five bands of non-Christian, non-treaty Nez Perce who refused to sign their homelands away fought against the United States Army. They included the Joseph, or Wallowa, group; the followers of Looking Glass; the White Bird, or Lahmtahma, band; the Palouse segment from the lower Snake River; and the followers of Too-chul-hul-sote from the high mountain country separating the lower Salmon River from the Snake.

Among the leaders who neither signed the treaty of 1863 nor participated in the 1877 resistance was Chief Temme Ilppilp, known to the Americans as Red Heart. Chief Red Heart was an anti-treaty man, “friendly to both sides,” who had been in the buffalo country of Montana at the time of the signing of the “Thief Treaty of 1863.” In 1863, as the band returned from the buffalo country, they found that their homelands had been given away. Fourteen years later, in June 1877, while Wahlitits and his companions roved along the Salmon River, Red Heart’s band, including his wife and children, returned once more from the buffalo country of Montana. This time there was no evading trouble. Their traditional homelands in Idaho were in a state of uproar; Christian pitted against non-Christian, treaty versus non-treaty, and white against red. In 1863 the non-treaty bands had been allowed to stay on their lands, despite the treaty, but by 1877 they could not ignore the government’s threats.

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Peopeo Tholekt, then 22 years old, was also present that day. His account of
the events at Looking Glass’s village were recounted to Lucullus V. McWhorter, author of *Hear Me, My Chiefs* and *Yellow Wolf: His Own Story*. On July 1, 1877, claimed Pepeo Tholekt, an open attack upon a band that was peacefully encamped at its homesite was launched within the bounds of the Nez Perce reservation. It was this attack that jarred Looking Glass into joining the warring bands in their escape attempt.

Chief White Hawk, 12 or 13 years old at the time, gave the following account of the Looking Glass attack and the events that led to the capture of Red Heart's band: White Hawk said that the big camp of non-treaty Nez Perce broke up at Drive-In on the Cottonwood and those who were opposed to war turned toward the Clearwater. The Indians believed the attack was due to the theft of a stallion by young Red Heart, Nenetsukusten, son of Chief Temme Ilppilp (Red Heart), and young Red Coyote of Chief White Bird's band.

Chief White Hawk explained how the group viewed the attack:

_The Indians thought probably it was reported that Looking Glass's boys did the stealing and that was why he was attacked... Looking Glass and his band were left naked, losing nearly all their horses. The two White Bird boys had left his camp before the attack. Red Coyote turned back to White Bird's village, while Red Heart went to Kamiah and did not go to war. Some of White Bird's men had also left the band after the first flight. These, with young Red Heart, were pointed out by Christian Indians and were arrested and sent as prisoners to Vancouver._

Before Clearwater, the Indians had reached Kamiah only to learn that “all their stock, both horses and cattle, had been appropriated by the whites, [so] they decided there was nothing left for them but to join the war party.” There, on the south fork of the Clearwater, July 11-12, 1877, the first major conflict of the war, a two-day encounter, took place. Still, the non-treaties fled toward Montana. Things did not look good for General Howard who faced increasing pressure to rapidly settle the conflict.

Yellow Wolf recalled meeting Red Heart's band at the traditional camping grounds on Weippe Prairie after the Battle of the Clearwater. “Here,” he said, “we found Indians who had not been in the war. They were Chief Temme Ilppilp’s [Red Heart] band.” Plateau bands were often away from their permanent homesites for months during seasonal hunting and gathering rounds. Red Heart's band, said Yellow Wolf, had stopped at Weippe Prairie to avoid any connection with the unrest. “Coming in from Montana,” said Yellow Wolf, “they had only met us there.” They were involved in no murders, council meetings or battles through the spring and early summer of 1877. Yet, Red Heart was southwest of Weippe Prairie on July 1, when Looking Glass's village was attacked; the band must have returned from the buffalo country before their encounter with Yellow Wolf in mid July. Weippe Prairie, located west of the Lolo Trail, is east of Looking Glass's village, away from the reservation.

It is likely that, in light of the Looking Glass attack, the group was unsure whether to return to the reservation or flee with the rest of the non-treaty Indians. When James Reuben, one of General Howard's Nez Perce scouts, came riding into the camp at Weippe Prairie, Red Heart was warned to stay away from him. But the scout went to the chief and said, “It will be best to come on your own reservation. There you will be safe.” Red Heart then decided. “We will go,” he replied. And so approximately 20 of them—“men, women, and a few children,” all non-treaty Indians who had never been in the war and had been absent through most of the conflict—prepared to go to the reservation.
General Oliver Otis Howard. The general faced pressure on all sides to settle the "Indian problem" as quickly as possible.

The day after Yellow Wolf's group left Weippe, Red Heart's band was taken into custody. Lucullus McWhorter asks why Red Heart's band, "if... [they] had any intention of amalgamating with the war party... remain[ed] in camp a whole day after the hostile bands had departed on the Lolo Trail? They had broken camp and were on their way to the reservation when captured." On July 16, 1877, Thomas Sutherland, civilian aide-de-camp to General Howard, reported:

Thirty-five Indians surrendered to our forces to-day, making their capitulation unqualified. They consist of fourteen warriors, and the remainder are squaws and their children. They are all fine-looking people but poorly clad. As a rule they are reticent, and refuse to say anything regarding their past actions or what induced them to surrender besides the want of food... This surrender is looked upon by the officers of our command as the beginning of a general disintegration.

It is significant to note that the group, having been promised asylum on the reservation, probably intended to go with the soldiers willingly and was then arrested. It is likely that, of the 33 Indians who were sent to Fort Vancouver, most were attempting to return to the reservation, and the others were unwillingly captured. In a dispatch to his division commander on July 17, 1877—the day after the band's capture—General Howard described the "seventeen warriors, including Red Heart, and twenty-eight women and children" who "came in yesterday and gave themselves up." The General later described his initial success in his 1878 Report to the Secretary of War. After the Battle of the Clearwater, he wrote, "twenty-three prisoners, warriors, and 17 women and children were... subsequently secured..." Many of these "warriors" were old men and adolescent boys, and according to Alvin Josephy and to oral history, these "warriors" did not surrender. Rather, they were seized by Howard's troops after being identified as Dreamers and non-treaties by the Christian reservation Nez Perce. Whether the band surrendered or was captured, the subsequent incarceration was favorable to Howard.

Perhaps "securing" these Indians was a defense for General Howard, who faced criticism on all fronts. Easterners misunderstood the western wars, the military administration wanted quick solutions, and fearful Westerners had little patience for the general's seemingly sluggish pace. Howard had promised a speedy resolution to the "Indian problem," and a number of skirmishes had already taken place with little result. Two days before the incarceration of Red Heart's band, the Lewiston Teller blatantly reprimanded Howard, asking, "Does the Gen. Now think he will make short work of it?"

General Howard had, at times, been roundly criticized by the public and the press. "Not knowing what they asked," writes Mark Brown, "they had demanded results which could not possibly be achieved, and then clamored for his removal when they were not forthcoming." The incarceration of Red Heart's band could be construed as limited success. Whether capture or surrender, it is clear from the group's subsequent treatment that they were viewed as criminals. Lucullus McWhorter describes the procession of Chief Red Heart's band to Fort Lapwai:

These peaceable, innocent people were seized and conducted to Kamiah, where their horses, saddles, and other equipment were confiscated, and under a guard of cavalry and mounted Nez Perce scouts they were marched sixty miles on foot through the stifling dust and blistering July heat, to Fort Lapwai... The women, some of them aged, and the children, were the greatest sufferers.

Several reservation Indians were among the prisoners whom the Lewiston Teller reported, "arrived at Lapwai on Friday and their hair cut short (it should have been under the scalp)... were placed in irons." As late as 1926 the Indians still told the story of a young man who had been seized at Kamiah and taken along with the other captives. Although this man was released upon reaching Lewiston, Chief Red Heart and his band were sent by boat to Fort Vancouver Barracks where they were held as prisoners until the following spring.

Altogether, there were between 40 and 60 Native American prisoners at Fort Lapwai during July 1877. Reports of the numbers vary. Emily Fitzgerald, wife of army doctor Captain Jenkins A. Fitzgerald, was at Fort Lapwai when the prisoners were brought in after their 60-mile trek. Her diary reflects the general fear and anxiety of Idaho settlers toward the Nez Perce. "All the Indian prisoners are here, some 60 in all," she wrote in a letter to her mother. Emily Fitzgerald's impression of the Indians was colored by common perceptions toward Native Americans. "They are horrid looking things, and I wish they would send them away." Reverend R. S. Stubbs summed up prevailing attitudes toward Native Americans in the Vancouver Independent as he explained the "Indian situation"—through a "statement of facts" intended to exonerate General Howard's ineffective actions—and the "real problem" in the West, which was...
the "inevitable" influx of white settlers. Wrote Stubbs:

It is so because these Indians are lazy and prefer the life of the butcher to the life of industry; prefer to depend on the rifle and bow and fish-hook and camass spade to the implements of agricultural industry.

Such views were manifest in the attempts to forcibly Christianize and "civilize" Native Americans on the reservation. In addition, misunderstanding of Indian culture justified the American call to settle the West and the incarceration of men, women and children who wanted nothing more than to retain their homes.

"These peaceable, innocent people were seized and conducted to Kamiah, where their horses, saddles, and other equipment were confiscated..."

On August 4, 1877, Emily Fitzgerald watched the 33 prisoners board the steamship Tenino for the journey to Fort Vancouver. The tone of her diary is almost sympathetic:

Yesterday the Indian prisoners were taken away from here down to Vancouver. The squaws seemed to feel awfully about being taken away. Some of them moaned and groaned over it at a great rate. I did feel sort of sorry for them, as parts of all their families are still up here.

When they arrived in Vancouver three days later, on August 7, 1877, the prisoners were placed in the military guardhouse. By August 30, a 15-foot-high stockade was erected to hold the prisoners during the day, while at night they were contained in the small guardhouse. The "corral," according the local newspaper, was "a success."

Conditions were crowded at Fort Vancouver Barracks the winter of 1877, with more companies stationed there than ever before. By December, cramped conditions had turned the chapel into military quarters. The old guardhouse was too small and in such poor shape that, as Christmas approached, plans were made and ground was broken for a larger combined guardhouse, reading room, and chapel. In January a new bake oven was constructed to feed the increased population, and by March, as a new bell tolled in the cupola on the nearly completed building, church services were held in the up-to-date guardhouse. By April it was reported that the lower floor of the new guardhouse "is now occupied," and Chaplain Collins addressed the Nez Perce prisoners. James Reuben, son of a former chief of the Nez Perce and the same scout who had promised Red Heart's group safe escort to Lapwai, translated the chaplain's Sunday sermons into the Nez Perce language.

Very little has been written about the experiences of the Indian prisoners held at Fort Vancouver through that winter and into the wet Pacific Northwest spring. The Vancouver Independent reported that the Indians "dislike confinement." Accounts of other Indian prisoners held at Vancouver Barracks the following year suggest that the men may have been made to work on roads or at other physical labor, while the women may have held domestic jobs such as sewing and weaving. It is also possible that, without the structures in place to accommodate them, they were held inactive in the stockade through the winter. An unnamed infant son of Little Bear and one of the seven Indian women died that fall. The Vancouver Independent reported that the baby's funeral was held in "true Indian style."

By March these fellows whom the local newspaper had earlier reported "no doubt, knew the exact turn of the wrist in lifting a scalp" had become "gentle Nez Perce prisoners... getting fat upon government rations." Skimiah's imprisonment had lasted from April until June 1877, and at least two other Native Americans were imprisoned during the time that Red Heart's band spent in Vancouver—a man named John Reuben and another Indian prisoner brought to the post in October by Captain Spurgeon. Later in the year Indian Agent Wilbur brought in two Native American prisoners who had been accused of larceny. The fate of these unidentified prisoners is unknown.

Negative sentiment toward the imprisonment raged, but not out of a sense of social justice for the captives. The Lewiston Teller, referring to the murders perpetrated by Wahluits and his companions, savagely criticized authorities in Washington Territory for holding and protecting the Indians. Early in the war, associating the capture of this group with the murders along the Salmon River had pacified the public. When the war ended, General Howard wrote to General Sherman asking if the prisoners at Fort Vancouver should be sent to Fort Leavenworth or whether he should keep them until spring and send...
As the sun shone and airplanes hummed overhead, nearly 350 people gathered on the parade grounds of the Fort Vancouver National Historic Site. One hundred and twenty years earlier Chief Red Heart’s Band was released after an eight-month-long incarceration in the nearby guardhouse. Attending the “reconciliation ceremony” were descendants of Chief Red Heart, members of the Nez Perce nation, the mayor of Vancouver and the general public, including the president, director, and many members of the Washington State Historical Society.

Cultural healing and education about tradition, culture and language were the goals of the April 22, 1998, commemoration. The events at Vancouver during the Nez Perce War have been part of the collective memory of the Nez Perce, handed down through generations, recorded in the oral histories collected by Lucullus McWhorter, and preserved in brief bits and pieces in the historical record. The accompanying article, “They Did Not Go to War,” is a result of research performed to document the incarceration. Confirmation of events came from a variety of sources—reports, maps, newspaper accounts, diaries, a survey of the main accounts of the Nez Perce War, and oral histories.

The April 1998 ceremony is evidence of the power of tradition and collective memory. In 1974 a man named Jimmy Earthboy, who used to visit the Bears Paw battlefield, suggested holding a ceremony at the battlefield to put the spirits of the ancestors to rest. Earthboy’s commemoration ceremony began a series of similar events at places like Big Hole and Clearwater, but Vancouver’s was the first healing ceremony related to the 1877 war to take place away from a battlefield.

The four-hour gathering included an empty saddle ceremony, a traditional pipe ceremony, and a circle dance of friendship in which the Native American presence in Vancouver was at once recalled, celebrated and grieved. “Uncle,” Horace Axtell, a braided Nez Perce elder, began the ceremony with the liltmg intonations of a Nez Perce prayer, introductions, and the reading of the names of the jailed Nez Perce.

Preservation of language and tradition was carried on by Wilfred Scott, “Scotty,” of the Nez Perce Tribal Executive Council, who translated traditional practice into the language of contemporary America as he explained to the 350 attendees that veterans of any age, gender and ethnicity could join the circle and pass the two peace pipes, one of which is said to have belonged to Chief Joseph. The pipes went round a circle passing to Jesse Redheart—a descendant of Chief Red Heart and veteran of the Spanish American War—to the mayor of Vancouver, veterans of World War I, World War II, Vietnam, the Gulf War, and several women.

Nez Perce historian Allen Slickpoo announced the tale of incarceration in the empty saddle ceremony. Three riderless horses went round the pipe circle led by three mounted riders descended from the Red Heart Band. Each empty saddle represented those being honored: Chief Red Heart and the male prisoners, the incarcerated women, and a third, especially symbolic saddle, representing an infant who died at the guardhouse during the winter of 1877. As the drums droned a steady beat and his voice rose above the occasional din of passing cars, Slickpoo recited a story of inequity, forgiveness and healing. Another interlocuter between history and memory, Otis Halfmoon, a young Nez Perce historian, related the story of the Nez Perce War to the crowd.

Toward the end of the ceremony a “giveaway” for friendship and to honor the ancestors took place. Mary Wood, descendant of C. E. S. Wood who as a soldier chased the Nez Perce over the Lolo Trail with General Howard, was called to receive a special blanket, an offering of connection between two families. She, in turn, presented a photo of Jesse Redheart receiving a long-promised appaloosa from the Wood family the year before. Five minutes later a call was made by Wilfred Scott: Was there a six-week-old baby boy in the audience to receive a blanket representing the infant who died in Vancouver? As eagles unexpectedly soared overhead, Slickpoo recited a story of inequity, forgiveness and healing. Another interlocuter between history and memory, Otis Halfmoon, a young Nez Perce historian, related the story of the Nez Perce War to the crowd.

For the Nez Perce the name Vancouver is associated with cultural pain and tribal dissolution. The reconciliation ceremony, intended to relieve sorrow and pain, took the Nez Perce and the city of Vancouver one step further in healing relations at this troubled site. In closing, all participants and members of the audience were invited to join a traditional circle dance of friendship. “We hope,” said Wilfred Scott, “that the Great Spirit is looking down upon us, that our hearts, our prayers rise up to him, that we are in Reconciliation.” Side by side, regardless of heritage or status, community members and visitors stepped clockwise to the beat of the drums, shaking the hands of the Nez Perce who circled counter-clockwise creating new bonds, new memories and a new direction for ongoing relationships.
Joseph's band, "in being permanently Chief White Hawk claimed that Red Heart's band, along American communities. For eight and a half months Red Heart's band, along April 22, 1878, to go back to the reservation which had for the most part ignored the history negates it. Yellow Wolf and banished from the rest of the Nez Perce prisoners" should, reported the Lapwai to be engrafted on the tribe on the reservation. General Howard's only fear, he claimed, was "that white men may molest them." According to Mark Brown, the hostility of Idaho settlers had prevented an earlier release. Brown points out that the attitude of Idaho settlers made it necessary to hold a trial with the formality of a military court before the band's release. The trial was set up in December 1877 but did not begin until early the next year. By that time even the treaty Indians were claiming injustice:

[The Chief] James [Lawyer] says that you told James Reuben to tell the Indians if they came in and gave themselves up all would be released excepting . . . [any murderers] and told the Indians, and caused them to come in. We all know, at the time James Lawyer . . . [as well as] the rest of us would have been murdered by the Citizens if there had been any effort to have had the Indians turned loose without a trial.

The time for a trial had finally arrived, but as no charges could be filed, the group was finally released to Captain Boyle on April 22, 1878, to go back to the reservation. The Vancouver Independent, which had for the most part ignored the incarceration, reported on the Indians' release, questioning the "mercy" that saved their lives. These "gentle Nez Perce prisoners" should, reported the paper, have shared the fate of the rest of Joseph's band, "in being permanently banished from the rest of the Nez Perce tribe and their reservation." No evidence exists to indicate that a majority of the group held through the winter of 1877-78 took part in any crime, and oral history negates it. Yellow Wolf and Chief White Hawk claimed that Red Heart's band "did not go to war." As late as 1998 the injustice of this group's incarceration is remembered in Native American communities. For eight and a half months Red Heart's band, along with other Native Americans, were held in cramped conditions until they could be returned to Fort Lapwai.

The new guardhouse at Fort Vancouver continued to be a site for Native American incarceration. In November 1878, Captain William H. Boyle's company was sent to the John Day River area. From there they brought Hackeny, a Dreamer, and seven of his principal men to Vancouver. They were held through the winter. Ted Van Arsdol asserts that whites had threatened to kill the members of the roving band and that once again incarceration was a protective measure. January 1879 brought the capture of 11 Bannocks and Paiutes considered ringleaders in the Bannock Paiute Wars of 1878 and 1879. These Indians were placed in the guardhouse, wore uniforms, and worked on the roads at the post. In May 1879 another 31 prisoners, who had escaped a trek to the Yakama Reservation, were brought to Fort Vancouver in "heavy irons." The new arrivals were put to work with picks and shovels.

In September 1879, 26 men and 12 women and children, escorted by soldiers and an Indian agent, were sent from Vancouver to the Warm Springs, Oregon, Indian Reservation. Another small band of "Sheepeater" Indians joined this group as well. The Indians at the garrison were kept busy with various duties and schooling. During the spring and summer of 1879 Sarah Winnemucca, Paiute "princess" and guide, was appointed as interpreter and teacher for the Indians at Fort Vancouver Barracks. She and women at the garrison instructed the captive women in sewing classes, and Sarah Winnemucca also taught Sunday School. How Red Heart's band fared a year and a half earlier is less clear. They, too, may have wielded pick and shovel and donned uniforms, but there is little record of their experiences aside from brief notes in the local newspaper.

"Chief Red Heart," wrote Lucullus McWhorter, "was respected by all the tribesmen as a man of dignity and honor." He was a leader, like many others, who desired safety and freedom for his people in the midst of a rapidly transforming world. McWhorter set the stage for dispelling common assumptions about Native Americans, creating friendships between cultures, and inviting a new understanding of the history of the West. Greater understanding of the past requires a recognition of injustice and a more balanced account of events.

Perhaps as community members and tourists travel down the tree-lined streets of Officer's Row in Vancouver, Washington, the images they see in the park-like setting will include not only United States military leaders like General Howard but also Native American leaders like Red Heart. In an inclusive history, visions of military battles would be accompanied by the recollection of an innocent group's daily confinement and an infant's funeral held in "true Indian style."

Although we cannot correct the past, we can express the problems in order to set them aside and create greater understanding between cultures, asserts Allen Pinkham of the Nez Perce nation. We can thus build relationships that will be "better for all. "Let's remember these untold stories," says Pinkham. "(Remembrance) is not a question of blame, it is an attempt to alleviate a deeply embedded pain, a cultural pain that affects the very core of Native American society."

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History is filled with interesting anecdotes. These little stories, many of them true, spice up what otherwise might be a dry account. However, too much spice is not tasty, not true, and not history. Such is the case with at least one in a collection of anecdotes dealing with the naming of schools in Washington.

I was a member of a group of about 50 retired teachers doing research on a book called Name on the Schoolhouse, published in 1991 by the Washington State Retired Teachers Association and The Boeing Company. During the compilation of information for that book, I was a guest speaker at a meeting of retired teachers in Sunnyside.

I reviewed school name history in the lower Yakima Valley and thanked the local member of the research committee. She was Ruth Wear, a vigorous and productive researcher who at that time was 92 years old. Someone in the audience asked if I had heard what happened to the Washington School near Sunnyside. I said that Miss Wear had told me the school was closed, sold to a farmers' Grange and later lost to fire.

"Yes, but did you hear how it was burned down?" said the man in the audience. And he went on to tell me and the others about how the local firemen had hired the old school for a dance. They had decorated the gym with bunting on a winter's night and left the building with a fire burning low in the wood heater used to warm the room. Some bunting came in touch with the hot stovepipe, and the resulting fire burned down the former school.

"You mean to tell me that the firemen burned down the school?" I asked with doubt in my voice.

"That's what happened," he answered. Miss Wear had not heard this story before either. But no one in the room, some of whom had lived in the community for many years, contradicted the story.

"I've got to get that anecdote in the book," I said. And I did, barely in time for the printer's deadline.

A week after I had approved the final galley proofs, I was guest speaker at a meeting of retired teachers in Colville. The lady across the table from me at lunch had formerly taught at Washington School in Sunnyside. She and her husband lived within view of the school. Her husband was master of the Grange when Washington School had become a Grange hall.

So I advised her that I had recently heard an interesting story about how the school had burned. As I told her the story, I could see her look of disbelief. The firemen story was not true. She knew that the fire was caused by a faulty chimney flue because her husband had built the fire to warm up the room for a pre-wedding supper.

The account of the demise of Sunnyside's Washington School appearing in Name on the Schoolhouse is wrong. I hope the firemen story is the only wrong anecdote in the book.

The experience should have soured me on historical anecdotes forever. But just because one turned out to be fanciful doesn't diminish my taste for a good story. Following are stories about other school names in Washington. If they aren't all true, they should be. Perhaps some of the readers of this article will be able to correct any anecdote they find in error.

The story of how the Rosehill School of Mukilteo in Snohomish County got its name is especially dear to me. The school was built in 1893 at the site of a treaty signed in 1855 by Territorial Governor Isaac Stevens and Indian tribal leaders, a step toward ending the Indian Wars of the 1850s. By 1905 Mukilteo's schools served a population of almost 600 in fairly equal parts white, Japanese and Native American. The Japanese had been imported to work in the Crown Lumber mill. Mukilteo teachers tutored Japanese adults and children in English after regular school hours. As an expression of appreciation, the Japanese parents landscaped the school whose grounds were overrun with wild roses. From the landscaping, the school took its name: Rosehill. It burned on March 18, 1928. A new school built on the site retained the Rosehill name. In 1973 the school was converted to a community center.
The first Rosehill School of Mukilteo was built in 1893. Destroyed by fire in 1928, another Rosehill School was built in its place.

Many schools in Washington have been named for former United States presidents, especially Lincoln, Washington, Jefferson, Adams and Roosevelt. Lincoln School, in the Yakima County town of White Swan, however, was named in about 1910 for another Abe Lincoln, a Native American pawnbroker in the nearby town of Toppenish. Not too much is known about this Abe Lincoln. It is believed that he was well-off, if not wealthy, and that he gave financial support to the school that bore his name. The school, built on Indian reservation land, no longer exists.

Research on the Abe Lincoln School of White Swan also was done by Ruth Wear of Sunnyside. Another school researched by Miss Wear, this one near the town of Grandview, eventually was named Waneta, a phonetic rendering of Juanita. The school was built for the children of black coal miners who had been hired in the early 1900s as strikebreakers at the mines near Roslyn in Kittitas County. After the miners’ strike was settled, the black miners were dismissed. Some of them moved back to the South with their families; others took up farmland in the Yakima Valley.

These black families built a school for their children, a building they originally called Sage Valley School. The name was later changed to Waneta, named for the infant daughter of a school board member, according to one source. Today the old school is a private residence.

Like Lincoln School of White Swan, the name of Adams Elementary School in Pullman also had nothing to do with a former American president. It was named by its principal, a former first grade teacher, so that his first graders could easily learn to spell and write the name of their school.

On the other hand, Washington School in Centralia not only was named for our nation’s first president but also for the state, and for the founder of Centralia. He was George Washington of Virginia, the son of a black slave and a white English woman. He was raised by white foster parents, Mr. and Mrs. James Cochran, who were friends of his mother.

The Cochrans and their foster child George started west in 1850. They finally settled in the Oregon Territory, some
75 miles north of the Columbia River. After the area became part of Washington Territory in 1852, the Virginian stood to lose his land to white settlers because, as a mulatto, he was ineligible to file for a donation land claim. The Cochran's filed the claim and later deeded the land over to George. Centralia's city park and library are today on part of that land claim.

Other schools named for African Americans include three named for Martin Luther King, Jr. (Vancouver, Seattle and Yakima), and one each named for George Washington Bush (Tumwater), and George Washington Carver (Everett). So far, only one school in Washington has been named for an Asian American: Wing Luke School of Seattle, named after a Seattle city councilman killed in an airplane crash.

Members of the Washington State Retired Teachers Association have studied the origin of Washington school names, past and present, and came up with both expected and unexpected results. As expected, most public schools are named for the towns whose children they serve. The majority of Catholic schools are named for saints, the most common being St. Joseph. The most frequently used public school name in the state is Washington. There have been at least 25 Washington Schools. Second most popular, with at least 20 schools, is Lincoln. Third is Jefferson, and tied for fourth with six school names each are Theodore Roosevelt, Marcus Whitman and, surprisingly, James Garfield. President Garfield served as a functioning president for only three months in 1881 before being shot by an assassin.

Some of the more unusual school names discovered by the researchers were Flour Mill School and Balky Hill School (both in Okanogan County). It is believed that Balky Hill School was named for a nearby hill road so steep it caused horses to balk. And there was Deadman's Bluff School (near Othello in Adams County), also called McManamon School, named after a cowboy who, while tending a herd at night, rode his horse over a cliff. Other school names are more self-explanatory: Smelter (Everett), Gravel Pit (Boulevard Park in King County), Mill A (Skamania County), New Oklahoma and Quakersville (Chelan County), Little Kentucky (Lewis County), and Camp 7 (Klickitat County). There was a rural school in Okanogan County named for a breed of pigs (Poland China); another school near Kelso named for a breed of chickens (Shanghai).

Rainier Beach High School in Seattle was originally named Samuel Gompers High School for the founder of the American Federation of Labor. But local union leaders wanted the Gompers name reserved for a vocational school. So Gompers eventually became the name of a vocational program at the Edison Technical School, which no longer exists.

While many schools in Washington have been named for former presidents, many others were named for farmers who donated school land, for regional and local politicians, business leaders, military heroes, writers, artists, scientists,
Henry Ford never visited the Renton school named for him in 1929, but he did send the school board a portrait of himself to hang in the new building.

explorers, pioneers, teachers and religious leaders. Among the professions, more schools are named for educators than for any other group. There also are schools named for school bus drivers, custodians and school cooks. Artz-Fox School of Malton was named both for a custodian-bus driver, Louis Artz, and teacher Mary Fox. Wyer Memorial Field of the Rosalia School District was named for Neal Wyer, bus driver-mechanic and custodian. Taylor Elementary School of Steilacoom was named for Harriet Taylor, school cook.

Besides Abe Lincoln, mentioned earlier, regional Indians have also been popular as sources of Washington school names. Chief Kamiakin, a Palouse Indian who led the Yakama tribes in the 1850s Indian wars in Washington Territory, has had his name given to at least four schools. Sacajawea, the Shoshone teenager who served Lewis and Clark as a guide and interpreter, has had her name on six schools in Washington. Chief Leschi, a Nisqually Indian who was hanged in 1858 for a murder he almost certainly did not commit, has his name on two schools. Chief Sealth (Seattle), Chief Untuch (Battle Ground), Chief Joseph (Richland), Chief Moses (Moses Lake), Chief Garry (Spokane), Jerry Meeker (Tacoma), Judge James Phillips (Aberdeen) and Paschal Sherman (Omak) are other prominent Native Americans for whom schools in Washington have been named.

The retired teachers found that school names are selected in various ways, but most school names come from or through members of school boards. Such was the case in Renton in 1929 when a new school construction project ran out of money before it was completed. As it happened, another two thousand dollars was needed to finish the school. Someone on the school board suggested that if Henry Ford were advised that the school was to be named after him, his philanthropic juices might be stirred to provide the money. A letter was sent to Mr. Ford informing him that the new Ford School would be opened as soon as the school board could rustle up another couple thousand dollars.

It wasn't long until the board received an envelope from Henry Ford. It contained a photo of Ford, suitable for framing, and nothing else. Nevertheless, when the school was finally finished the board members named it for Henry Ford.

A few school names are actually mispellings. Star School of Columbia County, for example, was named for the Starr family. Thorsby School of Tukwila was named after the Thorndike family. Because of Colville's tradition of naming schools for people involved in the area's historic fur trade, Aster School of Colville is presumed by local school personnel to have been named either for John Jacob Astor or for Astor Street outside its doors. Why the school's name is spelled A-s-t-e-r is not recorded.

The Shine School of Jefferson County was named for a mail carrier's horse in 1912. The horse's name was Cheyenne, but the mail carrier, who was delegated to name the school and post office by the townspeople, was no good speller.

Logan School of Centralia is not misspelled, but its namesake has been misplaced. That is, up to this date no one has found any record of the school's namesake, despite the fact that his photograph hung in the hallway until the earthquake of 1949. Logan School was named for the residential district in which it is situated. That district was named for Mr. Logan, whoever he is.

Of the thousand school names researched by the retired teachers, the most unusual might be the Pig Liver School of Okanogan County. Among longtime residents of this agricultural community, the old school name doesn't even rate a raised eyebrow.

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EDITOR'S NOTE

The following remarks were given by Elmer Rasmuson at the Washington State History Museum on March 12, 1998, in conjunction with the exhibition, "Golden Dreams: The Quest for the Klondike."

In the Alaskan interior, where the sole industry was mining, gold dust banking, devoid of any federal regulation, was hazardous at best.

Alaska's first bankers were seldom expert in methods of high finance, but they all knew the weight of a sack of flour and a bag of beans. In the 1870s and 1880s there were no established banks within 2,000 miles of the Yukon River, so the traders themselves had to become their own bankers to stay in business. As was true in bankless societies elsewhere around the world, the early traders and merchants of Alaska found it necessary to provide banking services, such as granting credit, holding gold on deposit for customers, giving small loans, investing in griststones for prospectors, and even producing their own money in the form of trade tokens, in order to sustain local commerce. Traders such as Leroy Napoleon "Jack" McQuesten never kept banker's hours, but they financed every major aspect of the frontier economy.

McQuesten was legendary among the old-time miners for his generosity and easy credit, which helped many men survive from one winter to the next. The pioneers of the Yukon lived one step ahead of starvation, and without McQuesten's faith that many of his slow accounts would one day pay off, few miners in the 1880s and early 1890s would have ever had enough to eat. McQuesten financed the building of Circle City in 1894 and 1895, making it the leading mining camp in the Yukon Valley before the Klondike strike. According to an official history of the Alaska Commercial Company, everyone in the entire Circle City region owed money to McQuesten at one time or another. "Failure to find a record of indebtedness on the Company ledger," the history states, "indicated that any person for whom inquiry was made was not and had not been in that section of Alaska."

An often-told story typified how McQuesten operated. One day a miner just in from the creeks came into McQuesten's store at Circle City, proudly carrying a poke of gold dust he had taken out of his claim. He intended to pay off his debts in full, and as he opened the bag he asked Jack how much he owed. McQuesten said, "Seven hundred dollars."

"Seven hundred! Hell, Jack, I've only got five hundred. How'm I goin' to pay seven hundred with five?"

"Oh, that's all right," McQuesten said, "give us your five
hundred and we'll credit you and let the rest stand till next cleanup."

"But, Jack, I want some more stuff. How'm I goin' to get that?"

"Why, we'll let you have it as we did before."

"But, damn it, Jack, I haven't had a spree yet."

"Well, go and have your little spree, come back with what is left, and we'll credit you with it and go on as before."

Of course, when the miner finished making the rounds at the hot spots of Circle City, his gold was entirely gone. Nevertheless, when he left town, he had a new outfit on credit from McQuesten's store. One can imagine that he swore to himself as he headed back toward the creeks that come next year he would pay big-hearted Jack all $1,200 he now owed him, even if he had to give up his spree.

The mining industry started to expand as hundreds of placer miners crossed Chilkoot Pass to the Yukon mining camps of Fortymile and Circle City in 1894 and 1895, and the need for banking facilities in Alaska was greater than ever. The major outfitting port in southeastern Alaska for Yukon-bound miners was Juneau, and already two brothers—one a dentist and the other a photographer—had realized the need for a bank there. On March 1, 1894, Henry and Joseph Harrison opened the Bank of Juneau, the first bank in Alaska.

The Bank of Juneau could boast of having one of the first telephones in Juneau—the bank's phone number was a single digit—"2." But Alaska's first bank was not destined to have a long or glorious existence. Within two years the Bank of Juneau had failed and both of the Harrison brothers were in jail. An investigation revealed the Harrisons' "peculiar methods" in handling their depositors' money. The brothers were arrested on charges of embezzlement.

The failure of any business can cause untold personal suffering, but the failure of a bank can destroy an entire community. Like a church or a democracy, a bank can only survive when people have faith in the institution. It is no coincidence that many banks constructed in the 19th and early 20th centuries were built in the classical style of Greek and Roman temples, the oldest structures in the western world. Permanence, stability and customer confidence are the bank's most valuable assets. When depositors have confidence in a financial institution, it can weather almost any difficult circumstance. But when people lose faith in the future, the survival of the bank and the community itself can be at stake.

Many early Alaskan banks would disappear, along with the entire communities in which they were founded, but the short-lived Bank of Juneau had an enduring legacy. Shortly after the bank suspended operation in February 1896, Juneau merchant B. M. Behrens purchased the "large hall safe" of the closed bank. Behrens was the owner of one of the biggest wholesale and retail general goods stores in Juneau. He knew how valuable a bank could be to the community and to his own business, and a few months later, without fanfare, he added a line to his newspaper advertisements: "For the accommodation of our many customers we are doing a banking business."

In the merchant banking era in Alaska, which lasted until the territorial government began regulating the banking industry in 1914, there was no clear distinction between what was and was not a bank. Because of banking's vital importance to the entire economy, the banking industry has traditionally been more closely regulated by government authorities than any other industry. But this was not the case on the Alaskan frontier, where banks operated beyond the reach of any government supervision. No bank examiners ever looked at the books of the Bank of Juneau or at the records of any of the other banks in the territory (except for two national banks) that operated in Alaska before 1914.

In Alaska at the turn of the century, a businessman could theoretically open a bank as easily as a barber shop. A

Having purchased the hall safe from the recently defunct Bank of Juneau, B. M. Behrens introduced banking services as a sideline to his mercantile business.
banker needed only a pencil, a ledger book, and a sign that said, "Bank." He didn't need a license or a charter or even any capital as long as he could find enough trusting depositors to get started.

B. M. Behrens was the first and most successful independent Alaskan merchant to start a bank as a sideline to his mercantile business. The two functions worked admirably together under one roof. A customer could borrow money in one corner of the Behrens establishment, and spend it all on tools, hardware, clothing, wallpaper, paint and groceries before leaving the premises. Behrens's method was far more profitable than opening a bank as a separate firm. Following his method, many of the first and most successful banks founded in various Alaskan communities would be operated out of the back of mercantile stores.

B. M. Behrens was just beginning his banking career in the summer of 1896 when gold was discovered far to the north of Juneau on the tributaries of the Klondike River. The Klondike gold rush of 1897-98 would revolutionize nearly every aspect of life in Alaska, including the banking business. The millions of dollars in gold discovered in the Klondike district brought tens of thousands of prospectors into the Yukon River basin in 1897 and 1898, starting a decade of unprecedented development.

By the time Alaskan placer gold production peaked in 1906, ten years after the Klondike strike, Alaska and the Yukon Territory had produced more than $200 million in gold—worth in current terms about $5 billion—almost all of it by pick and shovel. The massive output of gold from the Yukon Valley and the increase in the population of Alaska made banking services essential. Along with the other trappings of modern civilization—such as post offices, newspapers, saloons and schools, banks spread across the north. Many of these pioneer banks were as fleeting as the gold rush itself. The Bank of Teller incorporated in 1901, but apparently it managed to stay open for little more than two months before going out of business. The Northern Trading and Banking Company in Dyea claimed to have a capital stock of $100,000 in 1898. It was called "one of the substantial firms of Dyea," despite the fact that its only office was a big wall tent filled with merchandise. Charles Fechheimer, president of the bank, advertised his place of business as the "Big Tent." President Fechheimer quietly folded up his "Big Tent" about the same time as the entire city of Dyea folded in 1899.

Another short-lived bank was the First Bank of Skagway, whose original office later became "Soapy" Smith's Saloon. The bank opened in the "howling wilderness" on the site of the city of Skagway on December 21, 1897. "From that date to the present," the Skagway News reported in 1899, "the First Bank of Skagway has been a pillar of financial strength and aid in building up the city." But the pillars began to crumble as the gold rush boom ended, and two-and-a-half months later the First Bank of Skagway closed with outstanding debts of $15,000-$16,000.

The first banks in most Alaskan communities were generally one of either two basic types, depending on the local economy. The banks in coastal cities such as Juneau, Dyea, Skagway, Valdez, Cordova and Seward—the outfitting centers for miners bound for the interior—were most commonly "merchant banks" like B. M. Behrens' bank in Juneau, while the banks in the placer mining camps such as Dawson City, Nome, Fairbanks and Iditarod were independent banks that specialized in buying gold dust.

The merchant banks were typically operated by the leading merchants in each town as an adjunct to their mercantile stores. Sam Blum explained that merchant banks such as his in Valdez and Cordova were important because "in most Coast towns of Alaska the conduct of a Bank alone is not profitable .... " Deposits in Alaskan banks were small, and the unsettled conditions on the Alaskan frontier meant that good customers for bank loans were hard to find. "It is my judgement that with very few exceptions money cannot be loaned safely in proportion to deposits by Banks in Alaska," Blum
said in 1912; “hence it follows that Institutions conducting simply a Banking Business, cannot earn sufficient returns on the Capital invested to justify their existence.”

Finding good loans was a constant challenge for Alaskan bankers. Prospectors were gamblers by nature. Placer mining was a risky investment unless the banker knew the claims on the creeks as well as the caliber of the men with whom he was dealing. Bankers could not afford to be caught up in the speculative fever that seemed to affect everyone who ventured near a mining camp. “The problem,” as one early banker in Dawson City said, “was to draw a sane dividing line between courage tempered by wisdom and common sense, and courage without either.”

Banks make money by lending money and taking calculated risks. But when the risks were too great, a cautious banker had to say no and look for income elsewhere. The answer to the dilemma, as Behrens, Blum and other Alaskan merchants saw it, was to combine merchandising and banking under one roof and adopt the slogan of one Skagway trader-banker: “Everything bought and Sold,” or the Valdez Bank and Mercantile Company, which claimed to be “Universal Providers,” and “Dealers in Everything.” With no clear dividing line between banks and other businesses, any business could in fact be called a bank. A general store that sold everything wouldn’t be complete without its own banking department.

Unlike the merchant banking houses in Alaska’s coastal cities, the “gold banks” in the mining camps made most of their profits from assaying and purchasing gold dust, not from selling groceries and dry goods. Banks were especially important in gold mining towns because they dealt in the raw product that was the lifeblood of the entire community; gold dust.

Usually the bank was one of the few places where a miner could get a fair price for his gold dust. Before the establishment of banks, mining camps normally used gold dust as money because not enough coins or currency, known as “cheechako money,” was available. Every miner carried a poke of gold dust, and every store had a gold scales, but these scales were seldom accurate. Trade dust used in normal transactions was often adulterated, and the losses due to honest accidents could be sizable. But fraud was an even bigger problem. The saloons and gambling houses were especially notorious for their unique system of weights and measures when it came to a patron’s gold dust.

The custom was to hand over your poke and turn the other way, as it was impolite to watch the transaction too closely or to suspect that the bartender might have his thumb on the scale. It was a sobering sight to prospector William B. Haskell when he saw his fellow Klondikers “liquidate” their debts at the bars of Dawson City.

There were innumerable ways that have become legendary of making sure that the “take-off” was a worthwhile sum. By the end of the day the sawdust on the floor would be a rich claim if the weigher casually spilled a pinch or two of gold dust during each sale. Long fingernails could rake up a fortune, and if the man at the scale kept his fingers wet with beer, he had the Midas touch. Jack “Doc” Kearns, who later was the manager of Jack Dempsey, claimed that when he was learning the trade of weighing gold in Nome, Wilson Mizner taught him a valuable grooming trick; he allegedly used syrup as a hair tonic, and if he ran his fingers through his hair often enough he would have a nice pile of gold dust by the time he took his next shampoo. “Mizner was a wonder at the business,” Kearns said. “He could make a pair of scales do anything.”

Even if a magician was not working the scales, it was not easy for some men to keep track of how much they were spending when dust was the only money in circulation. In the
early days of the Klondike the claims were so rich and bags of gold dust so common that the gold seemed to have little value. "Gold dust is not quite so cheap there as sawdust," one man said of Dawson City, "but in the sense of being trifling and unimportant, it is the cheapest thing in town." An English journalist visiting the Klondike in 1898 believed that most miners had a total disregard for money because they used gold dust as their medium of exchange. "When the currency of the country becomes notes or gold coinage," he predicted, "it will be very different, for then they will be able to note, if they care to, what they spend."

Naturally, the establishment of a mining camp bank threatened the unscrupulous merchants, saloon owners and speculators who made extravagant profits by dealing in gold dust. Both the Canadian Bank of Commerce and the British Bank of North America opened branches at Dawson City in 1898. The Canadian Bank of Commerce purchased $2.3 million in gold during the summer of 1898 and issued nearly $2 million in currency in Dawson in 1898-99. The paper currency was so much better than gold dust that most of the money in circulation in Nome in 1899, before the establishment of any local banks, was Canadian money from the banks of Dawson, brought down the Yukon by miners from the Klondike. "Gold dust is a most miserable and unsatisfactory medium of exchange," the Nome News explained on November 11, 1899. "With a good bank in the community we would be saved the trouble and annoyance caused by the use of gold dust, and the bank notes in circulation would be those of our own country." By the following summer several banks had opened in Nome, including the Bank of Cape Nome, which had shipped in by steamer "a complete banking outfit, including $200,000 in coin and currency."

Gold extraction in Alaska peaked in 1906 when more than 50 million ounces were produced. By that time the richest bonanzas had been discovered and in 1907 placer gold production began a gradual decline, which lasted for many years. Naturally, as the volume of gold decreased, so did the number of banks. This inevitable contraction of both the economy and the banking industry following the 1896-1906 gold boom forced government authorities to finally regulate banking institutions in Alaska.

The weakest link of the Alaskan banking industry was in Fairbanks—E. T. Barnette's ill-fated Washington-Alaska Bank, which collapsed in 1911, wiping out $1 million in deposits. Barnette, an ex-convict from Oregon and the founder of Fairbanks, allegedly embezzled vast sums. The wreck of his bank shocked business and political leaders alike and made them realize that the lack of government supervision in the banking industry threatened the economic future of Alaska.

In the wake of the Barnette scandal, bank examiner Richard B. Goodhart, from the Office of the Comptroller of the Currency, concluded that the gold dust banks of the interior would always be inherently unstable and desperately needed regulation. As risky as gold mining could be, banking on gold was an even greater gamble. "The country has no agricultural or manufacturing resources, and mining is the only industry," Goodhart said, "Therefore, banking in Alaska, with the exception of some of the Coast towns, will always be more or less hazardous."

When the first Alaska legislature met in Juneau in 1913, Governor Walter A. Clark explained in his opening message that Alaska was lacking many "elementary provisions of law" that were taken for granted in "every other civilized territory in the world... Among the first in importance is a law for the supervision of banks and banking..."

The Territorial Banking Act that the legislature passed in 1913 ended the era of freewheeling merchant banking in Alaska and brought all of the banks in the territory under government regulation for the first time. The act defined what banks in Alaska were and were not. No longer could a bank be just another department in the back of a mercantile store or a gold dust exchange; no longer could a bank be treated just like any other business. Alaska law recognized for the first time the unique role that the banker—whether he was selling gold or selling goods to gold miners—played as the keystone of the entire economy.

Elmer Rasmuson served as chief executive officer of the National Bank of Alaska for 30 years, retiring as director emeritus in 1989. Terrence Cole is chairman of the History Department at University of Alaska Fairbanks.
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Albert Furtwangler has undertaken an ambitious task. His work analyzes the “Speech of Chief Seattle,” allegedly given by Seattle in the 1850s along the Seattle waterfront. The problems? First, there exist no contemporary accounts of the speech, only a report given years later by Henry Smith who claimed to have been there and taken notes. Smith claims to have used those notes and his diary in his column some three decades later, but no such materials have ever surfaced. Second, there are no sources that place Smith at such a speech or even mention a speech at all. Finally, Furtwangler desires to go beyond questions of the speech’s authenticity and address the points made in the speech—whether uttered by a Native American or not.

Furtwangler acknowledges that traditional source criticism has little to go on. With only Smith’s account in the Seattle Sunday Star of October 29, 1877, to go by, it is nearly impossible to check the veracity of Smith’s account by traditional historical methods. Thus, Furtwangler’s conclusion that the speech in question is substantially different than other, undoubtedly genuine speeches of the chief is telling. The speech stresses the claim that natives and whites have little or nothing in common. This is inconsistent with Chief Seattle’s known friendship with the pioneers.

Furtwangler traces how the speech has become the latest manifesto for environmentalism, having been “rewritten, mutilated, and rehashed beyond recognition to attain its current renown.” Writers, Hollywood producers and activists see what they want to in the speech, proving the author right when he labels the speech a “reflextipo for environmentalism, having been “rewritten, mutilated, and questions of authorship.

Despite the speech’s dubious authenticity, Furtwangler uses it to pose a question to modern audiences: given the times, the people involved, and the vastly different ways the two peoples interpreted the world around them, is it even possible that the tragic demise of the Native Americans could have been averted? Could we have made better decisions than, say, Isaac Stevens, resource-based pioneers, or blue-coated soldiers? Don’t bet on it, concludes Furtwangler. The book ends by raising as many questions as it answers. But with such tangled and thorny issues, that might not be such a bad thing.

Michael McKenzie is associate professor of philosophy and religion at Liberty University in Lynchburg, Virginia.
Wayne Morse
A Political Biography
by Mason Drukman
Reviewed by W. Clinton Sterling.

Wayne Morse, former United States senator from Oregon, is remembered by most people, if at all, for casting one of only two dissenting votes on the Tonkin Gulf Resolution in 1964. In his day, however, Senator Morse had a reputation for fierce and honest independence—a maverick’s maverick. In an attempt to revive Morse’s reputation, Mason Drukman has written this lively and eminently readable political biography.

After earning a law degree and a doctorate in the law, Morse landed on the faculty of the University of Oregon law school, where he quickly rose to become dean. In the 1930s, concurrent with his academic responsibilities, Morse assisted the federal government by arbitrating labor disputes arising in West Coast ports, gaining renown for fairness and results.

In 1944 Morse launched his political career by defeating an incumbent conservative senator in the Republican primary and then winning the election. In the Senate he immediately established a record of dogged independence, seeking accommodation with neither party. He supported both the Cold War and the United Nations; he helped temper the anti-union Taft-Hartley bill; he supported President Harry Truman on the firing of General Douglas MacArthur; and he opposed the China lobby. He also opposed the creation of a Columbia Valley Authority, effectively killing any chance of creating a unified river management system, modeled on the Tennessee Valley Authority, for the Pacific Northwest.

These positions and others found support and opposition in both camps, but also respect. A combination of political skill and luck returned Morse to the Senate for three more terms, keeping him a fixture in the institution for over two decades. Along the way he switched parties, achieving re-election in 1956 as a Democrat. By career’s end he was acknowledged as a master legislator. In particular, his success in crafting and passing Great Society education legislation has had a lasting influence.

Drukman frames Morse within his times and silhouettes him against the issues and politics of the Pacific Northwest, the nation and the Senate. A lengthy chapter on Morse’s tempestuous relationship with Richard Neuberger, his junior colleague in the Senate, is helpful in exposing Oregon politics of the period, especially the rise of the Oregon Democratic party. A chapter on the Vietnam War helps put Morse’s opposition into perspective.

The book does not add to what is already known about Morse’s milieu. Nonetheless, this balanced and perceptive reading of the man is long overdue. Drukman’s narrative powers, use of numerous photographs, and organization makes his book accessible to the interested general reader while his inclusion of copious endnotes and source materials should make it useful to the scholar.

Robert M. Carriker was born and educated in the Evergreen State. He is an assistant professor of history and director of the public history program at the University of Southwest Louisiana.

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Summer Historical Society
Tatopish Historical Society
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Walla Walla Valley Pioneer & Historical Society
Washington Trust for Historic Preservation
Whatcom Museum of History and Art
Whitman County Historical Society
Wooden Boat Foundation
Yakima Valley Museum & Historical Association
REMEMBERING MEDICINE CREEK

The complicated and dramatic story of the signing of the Medicine Creek Treaty and its aftermath will be explored in "Remembering Medicine Creek," which opens October 17, 1998. The National Archives in Washington, D.C., has agreed to allow the actual treaty to travel to Tacoma for the duration of the exhibit. This is the first time a treaty signed in Washington has been on exhibit in the state. The 5,000-square-foot exhibit will be rich in artifacts and audio-visual material.

Accompanying the exhibition will be a retrospective of the artistic legacy of artist/historian and State Capital Museum curator emeritus Del McBride who died recently. He worked with watercolors, gouache and casein in a variety of styles, but in his most dramatic works he used Indian motifs in a contemporary abstract style. A descendent of both Indian and European American treaty signers, McBride participated in the development of "Remembering Medicine Creek" and loaned artifacts from his own collection for the exhibition.

McClelland Award Winner

Michael Vouri, a park ranger at the San Juan Island National Historic Site, recently received the John McClelland Award for the best COLUMBIA article of 1997. Michael’s article, "Raiders from the North," examined conflicts during the 1850s between the increasing European American population in Bellingham Bay and Native American groups around the Pacific Coast.

TO OUR READERS

Correspondence and calls regarding COLUMBIA's contents should be directed to the COLUMBIA editorial office at the WSHS Research Center, 315 North Stadium Way, Tacoma, WA 98403, 253/798-5918 (fax 253/597-4186). Membership inquiries and address changes should go to the WSHS Membership Office, at the Washington State History Museum, 1911 Pacific Avenue, Tacoma, WA 98402, 253/798-5902 (fax 253/272-9518). To find COLUMBIA ONLINE, look up the Society’s website at www.wshs.org. Visually impaired readers can request an enlarged-print edition of COLUMBIA by contacting the editorial office, as can members who would like to return their unwanted back issues of the magazine for distribution to Washington schools and libraries.

Additional Reading

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

Fenced In


Spokane's English Connection

The Buccaneers, by Edith Wharton (completed by Marion Mainwaring). New York: Viking, 1993. (The original novel was published posthumously and incomplete in 1938 by D. Appleton-Century Company.)

A Treasury of Living History


Over the Line

History of Pend Oreille County, by Tony and Suzanne Schaeffer Bamonte. Spokane: Tornado Creek Publications, 1996.

They Did Not Go to War


Truth or Fiction?


Risky Business

COMING SOON!

YEAR

COLUMBIA index

AN INDEX TO THE FIRST TEN VOLUMES OF COLUMBIA: THE MAGAZINE OF NORTHWEST HISTORY IS SCHEDULED FOR PUBLICATION THIS FALL. THE 48-PAGE INDEX WILL BE AN INDISPENSIBLE TOOL FOR RESEARCHERS, TEACHERS AND STUDENTS OF WASHINGTON AND PACIFIC NORTHWEST HISTORY. ONLY A LIMITED QUANTITY OF INDEXES IS BEING PRINTED. YOU CAN RESERVE A COPY NOW BY SENDING YOUR CHECK OR MONEY ORDER FOR $7.00 ($6.00 + $1.00 FOR POSTAGE, HANDLING AND TAX) TO:

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Your Membership in the Washington State Historical Society Helps Preserve a Unique Cultural Legacy

As a WSHS member you have the satisfaction of knowing that your contribution is helping to support the preservation of our state's unique, multifaceted heritage. Here are some other benefits of membership*:

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<th>History Highlights newsletter</th>
<th>Free museum admission</th>
<th>Store and research discount</th>
<th>Event notices</th>
<th>Admission or parking passes</th>
<th>Recognition in COLUMBIA</th>
<th>Name or plaque</th>
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