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FRONT COVER: Edgar Paxson's 1905 oil-on-canvas painting of Sacagawea captures her realistic bone-weary physical stance and tired facial expression, and, typical of early 20th-century romanticist renderings, shows her in full Indian finery.

The historical record, however, in no way supports that she wore such fancy dress during her tenure as interpreter with the Lewis and Clark expedition. The cradleboard on her back is also depicted inaccurately. These are just two of numerous instances where the facts about this remarkable woman were wrongly romanticized, leading to her popular though erroneous public image. (Courtesy Coeur d'Alene Galleries, Coeur d'Alene, Idaho.)
Prior to the onset of the Lewis and Clark bicentennial era my familiarity with the Corps of Discovery was distant, probably not unlike the typical citizen. That is, I knew the outlines of the story in general but had no specific knowledge of any one aspect of it, least of all what turns out to be the great untold story of the expedition in Washington. Once the legislature asked the Society to plan for the bicentennial I needed to become more conversant with its related history, which led to my reading of the Lewis and Clark journals.

I mention all this as prologue to an observation—that long before the bicentennial, and before Stephen Ambrose and Ken Burns re-popularized the Lewis and Clark story, there existed a cadre of dedicated, effective, citizen-scholars who, without academic appointments and even less compensation, studied the words and landscape of Lewis and Clark to the nth degree and developed thereby incredibly detailed insights into countless aspects of the journey.

One of those individuals—I knew him as “Andy” Anderson—contributes to our pages with an exemplar of this studied approach to history in a commentary on the Sacagawea story. Now that I've gotten the Lewis and Clark “bug” and have started my own research into the history of the expedition in Washington (resulting eventually, I hope, in a small book on the subject), the narrative and landscape discoveries that have motivated people like Anderson for decades impel me as well.

Let me cite just one example. The last Lewis and Clark campsite in Washington—what William Clark referred to as “Station Camp 1805,” though increasingly and justifiably well-known as the “end of the trail” and the site of a famous (and the first western) election—is actually triply significant, as indicated by its somewhat obscure name. It was not until I began deciphering William Clark's sometimes obscure astronomical references with the help of professional surveyors (notably Pat Beehler, a Society member from Tumwater) that it became apparent that no Lewis and Clark camp was as well “fixed” in the universe as was Station Camp. In fact, it was Pat who pointed out to me that the very name of the place is derived from the fact that a “station” is a plot along a horizontal line, in contradistinction to “benchmarks” which denote and define vertical elements in the landscape.

In his journal William Clark was fully working within an idiom of scientific exploration the roots of which are embedded in the Enlightenment and an idiom that to a significant degree was first formulated by the great British navigator Captain James Cook. This man's accomplishments in the history of exploration are also proudly featured in this issue.

Pat Beehler says that what William Clark did at the mouth of the Columbia River was to establish an “observatory.” Note, in the fine detail of Captain Cook’s map of Hawaii, the location of the observatories he established at Kealakekua Bay to see tangible evidence of this connection.

—David L. Nicandri, Executive Editor
THE SACAGAWEA MYSTIQUE: Her Age, Name, Role and Final Destiny

By Irving W. Anderson

EDITOR'S NOTE
The United States Mint has announced the design for a new dollar coin bearing a conceptual likeness of Sacagawea on the front and the American eagle on the back. It will replace and be about the same size as the current Susan B. Anthony dollar but will be colored gold and have an edge distinct from the quarter. Irving W. Anderson has provided this biographical essay on Sacagawea, the Shoshoni Indian woman member of the Lewis and Clark expedition, as background information preceding the issuance of the new dollar.

THE RECORD OF the 1804-06 "Corps of Volunteers on an Expedition of North Western Discovery" (the title Lewis and Clark used) is our nation's "living history'' legacy of documented exploration across our fledgling republic's pristine western frontier. It is a story written in inspired spelling and with an urgent sense of purpose by ordinary people who accomplished extraordinary deeds. Unfortunately, much 20th-century secondary literature has created lasting though inaccurate versions of expedition events and the roles of its members. Among the most divergent of these are contributions to the exploring enterprise made by its Shoshoni Indian woman member, Sacagawea, and her destiny afterward.

The intent of this text is to correct America's popular but erroneous public image of Sacagawea by relating excerpts of her actual life story as recorded in the writings of her contemporaries—people who actually knew her—two centuries ago. Those persons, in describing her character traits, revealed their sincere respect and admiration for her, both during the expedition and afterward.

History has accorded Sacagawea a most novel place in the hearts and minds of generations of Americans. Numerous geographic landmarks have been named for her. Sculptures, monuments and memorials have been placed in her honor. Countless artworks and literary compositions have given her prominence. Those honors testify to her well-deserved place in our nation's history.

Sacagawea was by birth a member of an intermountain Idaho band of Shoshoni Indians known today as the Lemhi Shoshoni. As can best be determined, Sacagawea would have been approximately 12 years old in 1800, which the explorers understood to have been the year she was taken prisoner by a war party of Hidatsa Indians. Her captors had forcibly removed her from her Rocky Mountain homeland and taken her east to a community of Hidatsa and Mandan villages near present-day Bismarck, North Dakota. There, Sacagawea and another captive Shoshoni girl, unnamed in the journals, became the child-wives of Toussaint Charbonneau, a French-Canadian fur trader who lived among the Hidatsa and Mandan peoples.

Her age is based on a reconstruction of it by Captain Meriwether Lewis. On July 28, 1805, at the Three Forks of the Missouri River (Montana), Lewis noted in his journal:

Our present camp is precisely on the spot that the Snake [Shoshoni] Indians were encamped at the time the Minnetarees [Hidatsa] of the Knife R. [North Dakota] first came in sight of them five years since...the Minnetarees pursued, attacked them, killed 4 men 4 women a number of boys, and made prisoners of all the females and four boys. Sah-cah-gar-we-ah our Indian woman was one of the female prisoners taken at that time; tho' I cannot discover that she shews any immotion of sorrow in recollecting this event, or of joy in being again restored to her native country; if she has enough to eat and a few trinkets to wear I believe she would be perfectly content anywhere.

Later, on August 19, 1805, when the party was among Sacagawea's people, Lewis, while compiling a vast record of Shoshoni ethnological information, included tribal marriage practices:

The father frequently disposes of his infant daughters in marriage to men who are grown or to men who have sons for whom they think proper to provide wives...The girl remains with her parents until she is conceived to have obtained the age of puberty which with them is considered to be about the age of 13 or 14 years...Sah-cah-gar-we-ah had been thus disposed of before she was taken by the Minnetarees, or had arrived to the years of puberty.

Applying the discipline of documentary research methodology, Sacagawea's age has been calculated to have been 12 in 1800, "five
years since" from Lewis’s July 28, 1805, journal entry. This is reinforced by the point that she had remained “with her parents” during the buffalo hunt that led to her captivity, denoting that she had not yet “obtained the age of puberty—13 or 14 years.” If 12 years of age in 1800, she would have been 17 when she joined the expedition in 1805, burdened with an infant.

**Given to Her** by her captors, her name—Sacagawea (pronounced Sa ca GA’ we a, with a hard “g”)—derives from two Hidatsa Indian words: saca, meaning bird, and wea, meaning woman. In phonetically spelling her name as she pronounced it to them, the captors followed their practice of “great object to make every letter sound in recording Indian vocabularies.” The officers, who were there in time and place in the presence of their Shoshoni companion, documented her name 17 times, some with “down East” vernacular “ar” vowel variations, but always with a “g” in its third syllable. Captain Clark created the nickname “Janey” for Sacagawea, which he transcribed twice, November 24, 1805, in his journal, and in a letter to Toussaint, August 20, 1806. It is thought that Clark’s use of “Janey” derived from “jane,” colloquial army slang for girl.

Captain Lewis, on May 20, 1805, honored Sacagawea by naming a tributary of today’s Musselshell River, Montana, “Sah cah gah wea or Bird Woman’s River,” providing both the name’s Hidatsa derivation and meaning. Moreover, both captains in their June 10, 1805, long-hand journal entries, transcribed her name in pronunciation form, making clear its syllabic structure by utilizing a comma for an accent mark, viz “Sah-cah-gah, wea.” This confirms that through her Hidatsa conversancy Sacagawea clearly was consistent in her pronunciation of her own name. The Sacagawea spelling and the Sacaga’wea pronunciation, together with the Shoshoni spelling, were standardized in Bureau of American Ethnology literature by 1910.

The captains never spelled her name Sacajawea (pronounced SAC ah’ jaw wee ah). The Sacajawea spelling was created by Nicholas Biddle, editor of the 1814 narrative of the journals, published two years after the Shoshoni woman’s December 20, 1812, death at age 25, while living at Fort Manuel (South Dakota), a Missouri Fur Company trading post where Toussaint was then employed. Biddle, who was unacquainted with Sacagawea’s pronunciation of her own name, retained its Hidatsa “Bird Woman” meaning in his editing of Lewis’s May 20, 1805, entry. For some unexplained reason, however, he altered the explorers’ original longhand “g” spelling to “j,” an aberration that has resulted in widespread pronunciation of the faulty Sacajawea form for nearly two centuries.

Over the years a number of linguistic attempts to decipher the mystery of Sacagawea’s name have been published. Twentieth century “Sacajawea” advocates, in an apparent attempt to legitimize Biddle’s altered spelling of the name, alleged that it is “pure Shoshone,” meaning the equivalent of “boat launcher” or “boat puller.” This interpretation originated in a 1920s letter to the United States Commissioner of Indian Affairs when John Rees, a Salmon, Idaho, shopkeeper and local lay authority on Lemhi Shoshoni cultural issues, offered his version of how the expedition’s Shoshoni Indian woman “received her Indian name….” Rees’s effort was re-published in 1970 by the Lemhi County, Idaho, Historical Society as an essay titled, “Madame Charbonneau.” Here Rees explains that “Sacajawea” was in effect constructed from a etymological interpretation that she “travels with the boats that are being pulled.”

Dr. Sven Liljebjelde, professor of linguistics, emeritus, at Idaho State University in Pocatello, analyzed the word “Sacajawea” in an attempt to trace its origin back to an antecedent Shoshoni form and meaning. He concluded that “it is unlikely that Sacajawea is a Shoshoni word….” The term for ‘boat’ in Shoshoni is saiki, but the rest of the alleged compound would be incomprehensible to a native speaker of Shoshoni.

Certain North Dakota Hidatsa advocates vigorously promote a Sakakawea (pronounced siih KAH KAH’ wee ah) spelling and pronunciation of her name. Analogous with the Sacajawea form, the Sakakawea spelling similarly is not found in the Lewis and Clark journals.

To the contrary, this spelling traces its origin neither through a personal connection with her nor in any primary literature of the expedition. It has been independently constructed from two Hidatsa Indian words found in a dictionary titled Ethnography and Philology of the Hidatsa Indians, published by the Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C., 1877.

Compiled by a United States Army surgeon, Dr. Washington Matthews, 56 years after Sacagawea’s death, the words appear verbatim in the dictionary as “tsa-ka-ka, noun; a bird,” and “mia [wia, bia], noun; a woman.” In a 1950 North Dakota Historical Society publication, Sakakawa the Bird Woman, it is revealed that “…when Dr. Matthew’s Tsakakawia is anglicized for easy pronunciation, it becomes Sakakawa….” the spelling adopted by North Dakota.”

This form, however, contravenes Dr. Matthews’s own explanation: “In my dictionary I give the Hidatsa word for bird as ‘Tsakaka,’ T’s is often changed to S, and K to G, in this and other Indian languages, so ‘Sacaga’ would not be a bad spelling… but never ‘Sacaja’ [for bird]… wea means woman.” On page 90 of Dr. Matthews’ dictionary it is explained that there is no “j” included in the Hidatsa alphabet, and that “g” is pronounced as a “hard g.”

Lewis and Clark history scholars, together with the United States Geographic Names Board, the National Park Service, the National Geographic Society, Encyclopedia Americana, and World Book Encyclopedia, among others, have adopted the Sacagawea form. This author supports the acknowledgment of the organizations listed, that the Sacagawea form of the Shoshoni Indian woman’s name was uniformly established by her literate contemporaries. We owe it, unequivocally, to America’s most famous Native American heroine to correctly spell and pronounce her name.

The explorers arrived among the Mandan and Hidatsa Indian Tribes on the Upper Missouri River in October 1804 and commenced construction of their 1804-05 winter quarters, which they named Fort Mandan. On November 11, 1804, Captain William Clark recorded that Sacagawea’s husband, Toussaint Charbonneau, had acquired both Shoshoni girls through “purchase from the Indians,” and were claimed by him as his wives.
The commanders' recorded progression of latitude and longitude to enable them to understand Toussaint, they called upon the Shoshoni through the medium of Labiche in English, he trained in their application for performing astronomical navigation.

When the westbound expedition reached her tribal homeland, Sacagawea, to her credit, remembered from her childhood general geographic features and river channel conditions encountered while ascending the Jefferson River (Montana), a tributary to the Missouri. Lewis, on July 22, 1805, wrote, "The Indian woman recognizes the country and assures us that this is the river on which her relations live....this piece of information cheered the spirits of the party." Entering the foothills of the Rockies on July 24, 1805, Lewis "feared every day that we shall meet with some considerable falls or obstruction in the river notwithstanding the information of the Indian woman to the contrary who assures us that the river continues much as we see it." On August 8, 1805, while still ascending the waterway, Lewis noted, "The Indian woman recognized the point of a high plain her nation calls the beaver's head...she assures us that we shall either find her people on this river or immediately west of its source."

During the return journey Sacagawea did indeed provide specific travel information that Clark valued in "Steering my course." On July 6, 1806, Clark, while leading a detachment through her ancestral lands to "Camp Fortunate," where the westbound travelers had cached their canoes and surplus supplies, noted that "the buffalo and the Indians always have the best route & here both were joined...The Indian woman informed me that she had been in this plain frequently and knew it well....She said we would discover a gap in the mountains in our direction..." (now Gibbons Pass, Montana), which Clark and his party crossed.

The journals factually reveal that Sacagawea's contributions to the exploring mission were numerous and substantive. Her services as interpreter proved immeasurably valuable when the westbound party, through remarkable coincidence, encountered her brother, Cameahwait, chief of her Shoshoni band. This bond, together with resorting to the interpreter chain of the captains, Labiche, Toussaint, and Sacagawea, resulted in the explorers, on August 17, 1805, successfully purchasing horses that the Shoshoni could spare. Captain Lewis wrote, "We did not ask for either their horses or their services without giving a satisfactory compensation in return." The officers hired a Shoshoni guide, "Old Toby," who knew intertribal trails through western mountain passes in the Rockies and the Bitterroot Range within today's Montana and Idaho. On August 21 Lewis reported, "The guide appeared to be a very friendly, intelligent old man. Captain Clark is much pleased with him."

Sacagawea's presence with her infant assured territorially established Indian nations encountered by the expedition that, as Clark...
recorded at an Indian village on what is now the Washington shore of the Columbia River, October 19, 1805, “The Indian woman confirmed those people of our friendly intentions, as no woman ever accompanies a war party of Indians in this quarter.” The captains praised Sacagawea for her calm presence of mind in salvaging indispensable supplies and records washed overboard during a May 14, 1805, boating accident. And they credited her knowledge of native plants for food and medicinal values that contributed importantly to the sustenance and health needs of the explorers.

Factual information about Sacagawea’s physical characteristics is sparse. Except for Clark’s laconic statement that Sacagawea’s complexion “…was lighter than the other [Shoshoni wife of Charbonneau] who was from the more Southern Indians,” none of her other literate contemporaries left a physical description of her. There is an indelible record, however, contained in the explorers’ journals, and later, in fur trade diaries, that attributes to her exemplary behavioral and character traits that were sincerely respected and admired by her associates.

While drifting down the Columbia River, Clark, on November 3, 1805, recorded that a canoe arrived with a western Shoshoni woman “…whom had been taken prisoner…I sent the Interpreters wife who is a So-So-ne of the Missouri to speak to her…they could not understand each other Sufficiently to converse.” Upon reaching the Pacific, the explorers established a temporary camp, November 16-25, 1805, on the north shore of the Columbia River estuary, which they named “Station Camp.”

Here, on November 20, a Chinook Indian man wearing a robe of “2 sea otters skins” visited camp. Captain Lewis attempted to procure the skins to take on the return journey as evidence of the wealth of high quality fur resources awaiting Americans if a trading post were to be established at the mouth of the Columbia. The Indian exasperatingly refused all offers of trade by Lewis. Clark wrote, “we at length purchased it for a belt of Blue Beads” that Sacagawea gave up willingly in exchange for a “coate of Blue Cloth” carried in the party’s “necessary Stores.”

The captains, on November 24, 1805, manifest their unequivocal inclusion of Sacagawea as one of them. Due to the absence of game and their unprotected exposure to fierce winter storms, both she and York voted equally with all the others in the first known far west, American election, held for the purpose of deciding a location for the party’s over-the-winter Pacific Coast encampment.

Crossing the river, the explorers built their 1805-06 winter fortification on a protected site five miles south of modern Astoria, Oregon, naming it Fort Clatsop for their neighbors, the Clatsop Indians. The fort's living quarters were completed on Christmas day. Captain Clark recorded that, “all the party fixed snugly in their huts…” they shared in the exchange of gifts and the festivities “…of the nativity of Christ…. We gave Tobacco to the men who used it, and to those who doe not [presumably including Sacagawea], we make a present of a handkerchief. I received a present of two Dozen white wenzils tails of the Indian woman.”

While at Fort Clatsop the party learned from local Indians that a whale had become stranded on the beach about 25 miles to the south, at present-day Cannon Beach. Captain Clark assembled some of the men to hike overland to the site of the whale to buy from Indians whale oil and blubber needed to supplement the party’s monotonous diet of deer, elk, fish, and edible roots.

At first Sacagawea was not to accompany the men. Gathering her courage, she voiced her desire to go with them. The officers relented, and on January 6, 1806, Captain Lewis wrote: “The Indian woman was very importunate to be permitted to go, and was therefore indulged. She observed that she had traveled a long way with us to see the great water, and now that the monstrous fish was also to be seen, she thought it very hard she could not be permitted to see either.” (Sacagawea had at that point seen only the tidewater estuary of the Columbia River.)

Upon returning to Mandan, the Charbonneau family was mistrusted out of the expedition on August 17, 1806. Toussaint received a voucher for “500$ 33 1/3 cents” at that time. On March 3, 1807, in a post-expedition action, all the men were awarded congressionally authorized double pay and land grants—the officers, 1,600 acres; the men, 320 acres. Sacagawea did not receive any payment for her services.

Upon August 20, 1806, in a letter he wrote to Toussaint while the homeward bound party was en route down the Missouri, Clark was concise in acknowledging that Sacagawea had not been compensated for duties she had performed. He wrote: “Your woman who accompanied you that long dangerous and fatigueing rout to the Pacific Ocean and back, deserved a greater reward for her attention and Services on that rout than we had in our power to give her at the Mandans.”

REGRETTABLY, A CURIOUS mystique completely envelopes one dimension of Sacagawea’s life story: A dispute has raged for nearly a century with regard to her fate following the expedition, especially events relating to the time and place of her death. With respect to the latter, a popular theory evolved at the turn of the 19th century which purported that Sacagawea died at age 100, on April 9, 1884, and was buried at Fort Washakie, Wind River Indian Reservation, Wyoming. There indeed was a celebrated Native American woman interred at Fort Washakie in 1884, known among her tribe as Porivo and as “Bazil’s mother” by white Indian Service administrators and Euro-American missionaries. But she was not the Shoshoni woman who accompanied Lewis and Clark on their expedition.

Only two antiquarian documents have been found that provide positive identification of the Wind River woman. One, created while she was living, is the inclusion of her name on the “Census Roll of the Shoshone Tribe of Indians, Present at the Shoshone and Bannock Agency, Wyoming Territory November 1st 1877.” The other is her official death record, dated April 9, 1884. Both of these primary documents identify the woman merely as “Bazil’s mother.”

With the advent of the 1904 Louisiana Purchase Centennial, celebrated in St. Louis, Missouri, and the 1905 Lewis and Clark Exposition held in Portland, Oregon, interest in the fate of Sacagawea was aroused nationwide. Through a regrettable circumstance of mistaken identity, the Wind River woman was faultily determined to be the feminine member of the 1804-06 exploring enterprise. The determination was reached through oral history interviews with aged Indians (transcribed by interpreters), and testimonies obtained from persons who allegedly understood Porivo to have been the unacknowledged “Sacagawea” on the reservation during the 1860s-1880s. Collected during the period 1905-1930, 21 to 46 years after the recorded death of “Bazil’s mother,” those recollections, no matter how well-intended, were unsupported by antiquarian written records of any kind that linked her to the intrepid band of explorers.

At age 100 in 1884, the Wind River person would have been 21 years old in 1805, if indeed it had been she who set out with the
expedition. Claimed by her admirers to be the "child captured by the Hidatsa" in 1800, "Bazil's mother" could hardly have been the girl who had not yet "arrived to the age of puberty" in 1800, as Lewis recorded in 1805.

Contravening the Wind River theory are decisive, retrievable written records that trace an unbroken chronology of Sacagawea's life. These conclusively pinpoint her presence at Fort Manuel at the time of her death—December 20, 1812.

In the fall of 1809 the three Charbonneaus traveled downriver to St. Louis, where Clark would provide for the boy's education. Identified in the spring of 1811 by journalist Henry M. Brackenridge as persons who had accompanied Lewis and Clark to the Pacific, Toussaint and Sacagawea, "who had become sickly," were returning upriver on a Missouri Fur Company barge with fellow passenger Brackenridge, Toussaint having become "weary of a civilized life" and taken employment in the fur trade. On December 20, 1812, John Luttig, Missouri Fur Company clerk, recorded in the journal of Fort Manuel, "This evening the wife of Charbonneau a Snake Indian, died of a putrid fever. She was a good and the best woman in the fort, aged abt 25 years. She left a fine infant girl."

No records have been found that establish an accurate date of birth for the girl, later named Lisette. In this regard, however, research over the years, undertaken by medical historians seeking to solve the mystery of Sacagawea's "putrid fever" affliction, offers a plausible establishment of Lisette's entry into the world.

On June 16, 1805, Lewis, while at the Great Falls of the Missouri, expressed the severity of an illness that Sacagawea was then suffering. Lewis wrote that he believed "her disorder originated principally from an obstruction of the menses." This, coupled with the 1811 record that she "had become sickly" while in St. Louis, indicates that Sacagawea was in frail health much of her adult life. The late Dr. E. G. Chumard, in his book, Only One Man Died: The Medical Aspects of the Lewis and Clark Expedition, cites a medical source that influenced him to suspect Sacagawea of suffering from "chronic pelvic inflammatory disease—probably gonorrheal in nature."

During his research, this author has found in an American Medical Association encyclopedia an interpretation of the antiquarian term "putrid fever." The reference to "puerperal sepsis" [child-bed fever]—"offensive smelling lochia, a bacterial infection which originates within 10 days after childbirth may be fatal, if, in addition to other complications, the mother's resistance is low"—equates remarkably with putrid fever. Thus, ironically, Sacagawea's final destiny at Fort Manuel, December 20, 1812, may also date her daughter Lisette's birth on or shortly prior to that fateful winter date.

On March 5, 1813, enemy Indians attacked Fort Manuel, killing 15 white men. Among those missing was Toussaint. It was mistakenly believed that he died also. However, he had escaped the Indian massacre and lived into his 80s, at which point he mysteriously vanished from recorded history. William Clark's confirmation of Sacagawea's death is noted on the cover of his 1825-28 account book, deposited in the Everett D. Graff Collection, Newberry Library, Chicago.

Through the jurisdiction of a St. Louis "Orphans Court," on August 11, 1813—eight months after Sacagawea's death—Clark legally adopted her two children, Jean Baptiste and Lisette. Baptiste was educated by Clark in St. Louis. At age 18 he traveled with Prince Paul Wilhelm of Wurttemberg to Germany, where he became fluent in four languages. Baptiste returned to America in 1829 and earned fame in his own right on the frontier of the American West. He died at age 61, at present-day Danner, Oregon, and is buried there. On March 14, 1973, his gravesite was entered into the National Register of Historic Places, an appropriate recognition for a little-known person whose life represents one of the greatest cultural anomalies of the western frontier. It has not yet been determined whether Lisette lived beyond infancy; the record of her adoption by Clark in 1813 is the last known primary document noting her life.

The gravesite memorial of Sacagawea's son, Jean Baptiste Charbonneau, near Danner, Oregon.

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HE SPIRIT OF Sacagawea rests within a remote, peaceful area of vast prairie grasslands on the Standing Rock Indian Reservation, South Dakota. Extensive archaeological investigations have been made at the grounds surrounding Fort Manuel, but no identifiable grave for Sacagawea has been found. Located near the abandoned community of Kennel, South Dakota, the place of Sacagawea's death is situated in the heart of America's Northern Great Plains. It overlooks the upper Missouri River, downstream from the Hidatsa village where she joined the Lewis and Clark expedition on her march into American history. Awarded as a measure of our nation's enduring respect, the historic site designation of Fort Manuel, where Sacagawea met her final destiny, marks a fitting tribute to a most remarkable Native American heroine.

Sacagawea's factual documented personal worth is proudly achieved by her Fort Hall Reservation, Idaho, Lemhi descendants who "want the world to know that she is Lemhi Shoshoni." They have proposed that a cultural interpretive center be established in her honor within their Lemhi Valley ancestral homeland.

Historian Irving W. Anderson was a Seattle native, a graduate of the University of Washington, and a past president of the Lewis & Clark Trail Heritage Foundation, Inc. His historical research and writings on the Corps of Discovery can be found on the following web site: www.pbs.org/lewisandclark/inside the Corps. Anderson died August 20, 1999, and this article is published posthumously.
The Rustic Furniture Movement & Mount Rainier National Park

BY SARAH ALLABACK

When Hans Fraehnke, a German carpenter, began his first trek through the snow from Longmire to Mount Rainier in March 1916, he probably had second thoughts about the prospects for work up on the mountain. At that time the Paradise Inn resort was in its earliest planning stages, and John Reese’s primitive tent camp provided the only lodging for visitors. But Hans Fraehnke was not interested in mountaineering, skiing or any other winter sports; his trip to Paradise was on business. Even before the inn was complete, Fraehnke was designing unique rustic furniture from native Alaska cedar. His massive tables, throne chairs, clock, piano, and other pieces were hand-crafted in larger-than-life scale.

The furniture was rough yet refined by the skill of an artisan trained in the German apprentice system. Knots, burns and other irregularities in the natural wood were incorporated into the finished designs. Although Fraehnke may have been unaware of contemporary furniture styles, the carpenter’s work satisfied the stylistic requirements of the Rustic Furniture movement, an early 20th-century fashion closely related to the Arts and Crafts movement. Rustic furniture was embraced by some of the most popular furniture makers of the day, including Gustave Stickley and Charles Limbert. For such Arts and Crafts promoters, Fraehnke would have embodied the myth of the unschooled, folk artisan inspired by nature and natural materials. However, the
Rustic Furniture movement was anything but natural. Be that as it may, the interior furnishings at Mount Rainier National Park represent a cultural interest in rustic things that has become characteristic of America's national parks.

**The Rustic Furniture Movement**

Although American handcrafted wood furniture dates back to the nation's beginnings, rustic furniture developed as an artistic movement during the late 19th century. The interest in things rustic was, in part, a response to America's increased urbanization; the percentage of the population living in metropolitan areas rose from under 20 percent in 1860 to over 45 percent by 1910. The growth of cities, improvements in education, and the availability of railroad transportation meant new opportunities for an expanding middle class. Tourist travel, previously confined to the wealthy, was suddenly within reach of ordinary working Americans, and a "back to nature" movement encouraged this new group of travelers to venture forth and experience the benefits of outdoor living. Essays like C. D. Warner's *In the Wilderness* (1878) described the pleasures of camping to a public eager to explore the American landscape. By the turn of the century, dramatic adventure stories like Jack London's best-selling *Call of the Wild* (1901) supplemented travel advice guidebooks.

The romanticized camping and hunting fantasies of wilderness literature came to life in the great camps of the
Adirondacks. During the late 19th century wealthy industrialists established settlements of elegant summer lodges among the forests and lakes of northern New York State. Most famous for popularizing the rustic log building style was William West Durant, whose "chalet-style" Pine Knot camp on Raquette Lake had inspired a small colony of camps by 1881. Interiors featured massive boulder fireplaces, elaborate branch-work balustrades and bark-covered woodwork. Furniture-making was a winter pastime for caretakers of the summer camps. It was considered proper etiquette for craftsmen to build furniture out of whatever they could find on site, preferably a sturdy piece of birch with the bark still attached. According to one historian, the National Park Service buildings designed by architect Gilbert Stanley Underwood for the Grand Canyon, Bryce and Zion in the 1920s would have been perfectly comfortable in the Adirondacks.

The great camps influenced the architecture of national parks, but not until developers and tourists could reach the new wilderness destinations. After completion of the transcontinental railroad in 1869, entrepreneurs had a powerful ally in the promotion of tourism. Not surprisingly, the first hotel developments in the national parks resulted from partnerships between private groups and the railroad. In 1903 the Northern Pacific Railroad combined resources with Yellowstone Park Association, a former subsidiary, to finance the construction of Old Faithful Inn. The seven-story hotel was organized around a central lobby with gnarled wood balustrades, rustic candelabra hanging from log columns, and a stone fireplace containing a "massive wrought-iron and brass clock" custom designed by the architect, Robert Reamer. Mission style lobby furnishings included settees, rockers, armchairs, wingback chairs, tables and writing desks. The dining room currently contains chairs purchased in 1906 from the Old Hickory Chair Company of Martinsville, Indiana. The Old Faithful Inn set a high, and very rustic, standard for succeeding park lodges and mountain resorts.

As the enormous Old Faithful Inn rose among the geysers, the Fred Harvey Company was planning a hotel in Grand Canyon National Park. This prolific early concessionaire of chain restaurants, hotels and gift shops followed the Atchison, Topeka, and Santa Fe Railroad as it headed farther west, leaving "Harvey Houses" along its tracks. Fred Harvey hired a young architect, Mary Jane Coulter, to design Hopi House on the canyon's south rim. The stone and wood structure imitated an Indian dwelling and actually housed Hopi employees. Over the next 32 years Coulter designed eight more buildings in Grand Canyon National Park using a mixture of Indian, Medieval and Western themes to create imaginary but convincing expressions of regional culture. Coulter's Hermit's Rest included tree-stump porch furniture, log chairs, wrought-iron candelabra and a fireplace with a remarkable "face-like" central stone. If somewhat theatrical, her work for Fred Harvey epitomized the effort to market rustic simplicity in national parks. The park service may have been most concerned about preserving the natural environment, but for visitors in search of a civilized vacation, rustic park buildings and furnishings were more a part of the "back to nature" experience than nature itself.

Perhaps the most dramatic railroad-sponsored park development occurred at Glacier National Park. Between 1910 and 1915 the Great Northern Railway Company constructed the Many Glacier Hotel, a network of chalets along the park's
trail system, and Lake McDonald Lodge. Designed in the alpine or Swiss style, the buildings were promoted as rustic outposts in the “American Alps.” Despite heavy timber framing, cedar columns and open lobby space, Lake McDonald Lodge exuded a refined aura with its precise exterior balconies and gingerbread “Swiss” trim. The lobby and porch contained rustic chairs and tables accompanied by mission furniture and Navajo rugs. Hunting trophies were mounted throughout the lobby, along with chandeliers and “lanterns” with Indian motifs.

The early rustic camps and hotels were eccentric buildings, often with furnishings bordering on the luxurious and fantastic. In contrast to such excess, as well as the architectural indulgences of the Victorian era, the English Arts and Crafts movement extolled old-fashioned good craftsmanship accompanied by high moral standards. In America, Gustave Stickley publicized the English movement through The Craftsman, a magazine he edited from 1901 to 1916. The Craftsman adapted the principles of social and architectural reform to an American readership already inundated with wilderness literature and obsessed with its own natural wonders. The Craftsman bungalow was put forth as an ideal representation of the simple, unencumbered life. The sturdy Craftsman homes, imbued with the new athletic, rugged mentality, required appropriately crafted home furnishings. These included the simple pegged furniture pictured in Stickley catalogs and, at least out-of-doors, rustic furniture fashioned from bark-covered twigs and logs. Rustic furniture may not have been quite refined enough for the typical Stickley customer, but its unadulterated wood posts and seats satisfied the movement’s criteria of “truth to nature.”

The Old Hickory Chair Company influenced the work of Stickley and Charles Limbert, another Arts and Crafts designer, possibly providing the inspiration for the use of spindles in mission-style furniture. The Craftsman tolerated rustic furniture as it might a bothersome younger sibling, stating that, although full of “individuality,” the furnishings “should be used only rarely or they will prove annoying.” Despite this patronizing attitude, The Craftsman acknowledged the popularity of making rustic furniture and its “special appeal” to the amateur carpenter. Rustic furniture required less technical skill than more refined styles, its deliberately rough carpentry proving easier for beginners.
Stickley’s use of hickory furniture on Craftsman bungalow verandahs suggests this limited enthusiasm for things rustic. During the early 20th century, when Arts and Crafts furniture was most popular, the two styles were used in conjunction to furnish hotels and homes alike. In Bungalow Magazine (1909), the hickory furniture familiar to hotel guests became prominent on bungalow porches, including “Old Hickory furniture, which coordinated effectively with reed porch shades and Mourzouk cocoa-fiber rugs or Crex wire-grass carpets.” An exotic eastern touch was often added to this cultural mix, as Arts and Crafts designers frequently emulated the appreciation for the wood and woodworking techniques of traditional Japanese architecture.

**A MOUNTAIN RESORT**

Resort development at Mount Rainier began in 1884 when James Longmire built a cabin at a natural mineral springs about six miles inside the current park boundary. Longmire’s enterprise attracted hardy tourists from throughout the region—those willing to make the grueling pilgrimage to the site by horseback or wagon. By the turn of the century it was a popular retreat, with several cabins, bathhouses and a hotel. In 1906, encouraged by Mount Rainier’s new park status, the Tacoma Eastern Railroad constructed the National Park Inn on two acres of property south of the Longmire development. Another hotel, the National Park Inn Annex, the model for the present reconstructed inn, was built by the Longmire Springs Company between 1915 and 1917. Rustic chairs lined the two-story hotel’s front verandah, facing the spectacular mountain view. The visitor clubhouse was crowded with hickory armchairs designed by the Old Hickory Chair Company (now the Old Hickory Furniture Company).

The completion of the road to Paradise in 1915 transformed Paradise Valley into an easily accessible tourist destination. By the following year Stephen Mather, director of the newly established National Park Service, encouraged a group of Tacoma businessmen and park supporters to take advantage of the anticipated increase in tourism. After the incorporation of the Rainier National Park Company, construction began on Paradise Inn. The two-and-a-half story, 100-room hotel was designed by a local Tacoma firm—Heath Grove and Bell—as part of a tourist complex that was to include a tent camp, ski lift and guide house. Early accounts of the building’s construction note the Alaska cedar from the nearby silver fir forest, hewn for the inn’s timber frame, and the massive native stone used in foundation and fireplace.

The first lobby furnishings for Paradise Inn were purchased from Tacoma’s old Stratford Hotel just before the building’s demolition and included leather upholstered wood-frame chairs similar to those offered in Stickley catalogs around 1910. More distinctive furniture began to appear within a year of the inn’s opening. Two massive throne chairs, handcrafted from Alaska cedar, and an enormous cedar table occupied one end of the lobby. These were the first of many rustic pieces built for the inn by Hans Fraehnke. Beginning in 1916, Fraehnke hiked through the snow to Paradise each March for seven successive seasons, staying until November weather made work impossible. Fraehnke built some of his wares at a workshop in Fife, where he also made furniture for local residents.

**RUSTIC ALASKA CEDAR FURNISHINGS**

Among Fraehnke’s earliest pieces for the Paradise Inn lobby were two pairs of throne chairs, one set with a diamond cut-out design in the seat backs and one with a “double wave design.” The chair posts and armrests are unpolished Alaska cedar, grayish in color, but the seats and seat backs are planed and varnished to reveal the wood’s deep golden color and grain. The ends of the posts are also varnished, adding to the rustic contrast between rough and smooth. Fraehnke’s skill as a carpenter is most apparent in the joinery of the seat pieces, which, although fashioned from several cedar planks, appears seamless. The massive lobby tables are 14 feet long and over 5 feet wide. Although the tabletops were
made from tree trunks cut in half, they appear to be a single slab. After construction it took eight men to move one of the tables.

Emphasizing the contrast between natural Alaska cedar stripped of its bark and planed, varnished wood, Fraehnke created highly refined rustic furniture on a scale appropriate to the mountain. Perhaps the most impressive of Fraehnke's designs is the remarkable 14-foot-tall grandfather clock presiding over the Paradise Inn lobby. The clock was constructed in three sections, transported from the Fife workshop by truck, and assembled on site. The top of the clock has a broken pediment design with a central finial culminating in a spherical point. Each side of the top is decorated with an unbroken pediment. The middle portion of the clock opens like a cabinet, complete with keyhole, and once contained the brass works, striker and a 36-inch pendulum.

The upright piano, manufactured by Schmoller and Mueller of Omaha, is a unique example of "rusticating" a traditional piece of furniture. For several years the piano was an ordinary instrument, but around 1919 Fraehnke encased it in a rustic framework of cedar paneling. The main rectangular section is surrounded by natural cedar posts on all four corners. A lid fashioned from three log pieces rolls back to reveal the keyboard. Early photographs of the piano show a small ornamental harp on top of the instrument. A focal point of the lobby since its rustication, the piano was played by President Truman on his visit to the park in 1945.

The hotel registration desk also received a rustic treatment of log sections, varnished beam ends, and pointed cedar posts. A log veneer covers the base of the desk in a vertical pattern reminiscent of frontier architecture. The clerks' windows are divided by cedar posts with triangular wood caps over the tops that give them an alpine appearance. The unique "stump" mail drop (later painted and ornamented with a plastic plant), the cedar mail sign, and stump planter demonstrate the breadth of the carpenter's skill. In the inn's early days "a picturesque desk corner" completed the ensemble.

**OLD HICKORY FURNITURE**

When the inn opened in 1917 the remarkable Alaska cedar furnishings were accompanied by equally distinctive hickory chairs, tables and settees. These rustic pieces were manufactured by the Old Hickory Chair Company, the largest dealer of rustic furniture at the time and suppliers of furniture to state and national parks throughout the country. Founded about 1898, by 1914 Old Hickory advertised handmade rustic furniture for "country clubs, lodge rooms, summer camps, golf clubs, hotels, verandahs, lawns, bungalows, roof-gardens and airdromes," although the furniture was deemed appropriate "everywhere, in all climates and under the most strenuous conditions." Company catalogs and labels featured a picture of Andrew Jackson's head with a rustic chair, suggesting the pioneer character, endurance and patriotism of its namesake.

The process of building hickory furniture was, in itself, an exercise in patience and craftsmanship. During the company's early days, private citizens would cut and gather young hickory saplings in the winter, when the sap was down and the bark closely bonded to the wood. These poles were harvested in lots of about 300 a day, loaded onto horse-drawn wagons, and delivered to the receiving door of the company plant. Pole harvesters were paid between one and three dollars for each 100 poles, depending on the size of the "good straight" second-growth saplings. Once in the factory, the wood was dried in a kiln, treated for insects, and soaked in very hot water. The soaked wood could then be bent around steel molds shaped into the desired furniture components.

After the chair pieces were drilled, fitted and nailed at the joints, the seats and seat backs were assembled. This process involved stripping hickory wood from trees in great 50-pound rolls that were then boiled and cut into strips while still flexible. The sawn strips went through a leather splitter and emerged the required thickness for weaving into seats. Most of the weaving was done by women. In 1914 chair seats and backs featured "stout inner bark," "as strong as rawhide," but by 1931 the 40th anniversary catalog noted that "unless oth-
It: otherwise specified all orders will be furnished in flat reed weaving material."

In 1996 the Paradise Inn mezzanine contained five types of hickory chairs, a settee and two types of tables, most of which probably occupied the main lobby before the mezzanine’s construction in 1925. Other examples of Old Hickory, including several rockers, are scattered throughout the park; the oldest of these may have been rescued from the National Park Inn after the 1926 fire. The inn’s small, reconstructed lobby is currently furnished in a newer line of Old Hickory produced by the Old Hickory Furniture Company, which traces its lineage back to the first recorded hickory chair.

RUSTIC AMBIANCE

When Paradise Inn first opened to the public in 1917, the lobby was lit by jaunty Japanese lanterns alternating with rustic triangular log fixtures. The lanterns were spherical and decorated with Japanese characters and flower borders. Smaller, oval-shaped lanterns hung high among the rafters. The rustic fixtures had traditional light bulbs under each corner and tiny globular bulbs in faux candlesticks above. These (or original fixtures like them) currently hang in the dining room. The Japanese lanterns were replaced with cylindrical parchment shades, probably during the 1930s when the inn underwent significant remodeling. The imagery on the early parchment shades ranged from delicately painted berries and fir trees to bright, dramatic renditions of Indian paintbrush, and were clearly decorated by several different artists. Sometime later the rustic triangular fixtures were removed and additional cylindrical shades installed; these were replaced with reproductions in 1989.

Paradise Inn was the setting for a variety of activities organized by the Rainier National Park Company “to provide for the interest and entertainment” of hotel guests. In 1919 the concessionaire planned nightly programs, including “music, dancing and cards in the big lounge room and balcony of Paradise,” and “campfire talks, moving pictures and lantern slide lectures . . . arranged and carried out in the main dining room every evening.” A group posing during amateur night in 1929 included over 40 participants dressed in elaborate costumes ranging from a climber on stilts and female pirates to sailors and two men in blackface. For decades the Rainier National Park Company struggled to profit from its tourist investments, but the battle against severe weather and promotional hardships finally proved too difficult. In 1952 the company sold out to the National Park Service.

A CONTINUING TRADITION

Two of the park’s original buildings in the rustic style of architecture—the community building (1927) and the administration building (1928)—contain some rustic furnishings, although these were most likely designed for other locations. Both buildings feature the timber-frame, cedar-shingle gable roof and glacial boulders that came to characterize the National Park Service rustic style of the late 1920s and early 1930s. Rustic light fixtures, designed to appear pitted with age, hang from the exposed rafters. The community building was designed as a gathering place for the Longmire Public AutoCamp and continues to fulfill a social role for the park service community. The administration building was the height of modern park headquarters upon its completion in 1930. When this role was superseded by the new administration building in Tahoma Woods (1968), the building continued to house ranger and maintenance offices.

The influence of the rustic style can be seen in modern furnishings throughout the park. Visitors lounge in reproduction Adirondack chairs outside the Henry M. Jackson Memorial Visitor Center and gaze up at the mountain from Old Hickory chairs caned in yellow plastic. The replica of the Longmire cabin includes two built-in pieces of furniture, imaginative models of what might have stood in the earliest park buildings. These and other examples of modern park furnishings clearly demonstrate the continuing importance of the rustic style at Mount Rainier National Park.

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CONTENTED COWS, soothed by music from an electric radio, give better milk. That's according to the Puget Sound Electric Journal, which ran this photo in a 1930 issue to promote the diverse applications of rural electrification.

One of the first farm line extensions in the nation was built near Lynden in 1913 and served 14 farmers. The farmers supplied the poles and dug the holes for the mile-and-a-quarter line. By 1928 Puget Power had electrified about 60 percent of the farms in its territory, compared with the national average of only 3 percent. In 1925 the Farm Power Laboratory was established in Puyallup. Soon many labor-saving electrical products were introduced to farmers, including milking machines, bottling machines, milk coolers, brooders, egg buffers and candlers, soil sterilizers, irrigation pumps, and greenhouses replete with heaters, fans and lighting. As a result, the dairy and poultry industries in Washington flourished.

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Two Episodes from the Life of a Respectable Rebel

C. E. S. Wood

EDITOR'S NOTE
The text of this article is excerpted from Two Rooms: The Life of Charles Erskine Scott Wood by Robert Hamburger, by permission of the University of Nebraska Press. ©1998 University of Nebraska Press.

"With his mien of dandiacal finesse," Charles Erskine Scott Wood sits for a portrait, c. 1900.

By ROBERT HAMBURGER

In the bright illumination of a photography studio, he poses in a heavy melton overcoat. His face is pale. His hair, parted down the center, is flecked with grey, as is his beard. He peers straight into the camera, fine sharp eyes lost in thought; an inward gaze of ineffable world-weariness. Ennui, one is tempted to say; and indeed, there is a fin de siècle aura to his composed countenance: sensitive, intelligent, indescribably sad. His right hand rests gently on a fur robe draped across his lap, delicate white fingers settled on luxurious thick folds. He could be a character limned by one of his European contemporaries: Chekhov or Huysmans, even Wilde.

With his mien of dandiacal finesse, the dreaming melancholy of a waning class—it must be said, the figure he presents approaches self-parody. One suspects he may be too much a "character," too much his own creation. Sitting there, comforted by that fine warm fur, he is a study in self-conscious egotism, a man of paradox: knowing, yet confused; willful, yet oddly passive; an actor of some talent, bored by the role that has become second nature to him; fated, it seems, to strut and fret across his narrow stage—denied the larger life he can imagine but which he fears he will never claim as his own.
Charles Erskine Scott Wood (1852-1944) led an exuberant life that seemed to embrace the entire nation and its times. Wood remembered seeing Abraham Lincoln, he knew Chief Joseph, Clarence Darrow and Lincoln Steffens, and he survived to the dawn of the atomic era. Among his acquaintances he counted Mark Twain, Emma Goldman, Margaret Sanger, Woodrow Wilson, Langston Hughes, Ezra Pound and Ansel Adams. He fought in the Indian campaigns of the Post-Civil War era; represented wealthy businessmen as an attorney in Portland, Oregon; befriended the political and cultural radicals of New York in the early 20th century; and became a central figure among the West Coast artists of the 1920s and 1930s. He was, in short, a man of extraordinarily wide—and often conflicting—impulses and talents. Throughout his life, C. E. S. Wood struggled to reconcile his contradictory impulses. He was outraged by the social and economic inequity that he saw embedded in American life, and he felt driven to speak out for radical change. However, Wood loved living well, collecting beautiful things and entertaining lavishly. By the time he reached middle age, he was deeply in debt. How could he speak his mind while maintaining the backing of the wealthy clients who supported his career as an attorney? What follows are two episodes that show how Wood met this challenge.

In 1898 the United States annexed the Hawaiian Islands and went to war to liberate Cuba and the Philippines from Spanish domination. Debate over imperialism divided the country. The spirit of bellicose territorial expansion found its most rousing advocate in Albert S. Beveridge, a young Republican who trotted out the old rhetoric of manifest destiny from 50 years past to exhort America to seize its Pacific empire. "Have we no mission to perform," Beveridge asked, "no duty to discharge to our fellowman?"

Hawaii is ours; Porto Rico is to be ours; at the prayer of her people Cuba finally will be ours; in the islands of the East, even to the gates of Asia, coal-oil stations are to be ours at the very least; the flag of a liberal government is to float over the Philippines, and may it be the banner that Taylor unfurled in Texas and Fremont carried to the coast.

The spirit of our age makes long liberty possible. That seems to me the song of

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the fool soothing himself with his folly. Has the spirit of our age... swept away all corruption, all selfishness and tyranny—Has it? I call the miners of Pennsylvania and Illinois to witness. I call to witness the Standard Oil Company, the Pennsylvania Railroad, the Sugar Trust, the legislatures of Pennsylvania, Utah, Ohio, Washington, California, Oregon and the United States Senate, and lastly I call to witness the “rebel” Filipinos. Where the rebel Filipinos are today, under the armed heel, your descendants may be an hundred years hence.

“So I am opposed to this imperialism,” Wood continued, “because I believe it is opposed to every element of our natural life, and is but the first step on the old, old race for glory, gain and power—the path by which a few have risen, but the people have gone down.”

Wood reminded his listeners of the simple, inviolable, principle of the Declaration of Independence.

We were born to carry freedom, not fetters. Our boast has been not that we can subdue the feeble nations to an easy vassalage, but that all men are created equal, and there is no just law under heaven, save by consent of the governed. I had rather this young republic of the free never stretched her borders one foot beyond her sea-girt shores and close the boundaries, than that she became mistress of the world by treason to her noble creed. Better that she conquer her own spirit than that she subdue to a sordid harvest the distant savage praying for freedom... .

The argument that we mean well is nothing; so did the Spanish Inquisition. The Filipinos have a right to a government of their own making, though we could give them a better one. Little by little the mask is being slipped aside and the cry for expansion is sounding more and more in one note. Business! Commerce! Trade!

In closing, Wood insisted that it was impossible to impose America’s noble principles on a foreign people without violating those very ideals:

Is it true, or is it not true, gentlemen, that men have a right to life, liberty and happiness; to pursue their own life in their own way, and to have some voice in the law to which they yield obedience? Is it true, or is it not true? If it be true, then the savage has an unalienable right to live in a palm-thatched hut and eat raw fish if he finds there greater happiness, rather than be well housed and fed in the rice fields of the tax gatherer.

... Were I a Filipino and thought upon my long struggle against the Spaniard, the dawn of hope in my breast as I watched coming from the East across the sea the strong Young Giant of the West, the bitterness to find he came with hammer and sword, not to strike off my shackles, but to rivet them faster, I would in my despair put my young ones and their mother in the cane, and I would fight, fight, fight till the sun was blotted from my eyes.

As for Wood’s comfortable life—it had become way too costly. There was the new house to pay for; spas and physicians for his wife Nannie’s delicate health; there was young Erskine’s tuition at Harvard; a constant flow of money for food, clothes, fine art, household help, a gardener; as well as the expense of entertaining Portland’s first families. Wood’s legal practice did well, but not nearly well enough to support his lavish spending. Wood’s financial plight was entirely of his own making. He had come to Portland at a time of seemingly unlimited possibilities; when America had fulfilled its manifest destiny and conditions were ripe for rapid economic development of the Pacific Northwest’s generous endowment of natural resources.

It must have seemed to Wood that it was only a matter of time before his active presence in that new and energetic town would join him to that dream. As a result, he spent his fortune freely, even before it was his. Reality would have to shape itself to his will…. But it did not.

Wood’s investments were primarily in land—and land values depended on irrigation projects, railway construction, new roads and an influx of settlers with money to purchase the land. However, from the mid 1880s until the first decade of the new century, these essential components for growth were hindered
by the general volatility of the American economy. Some people did get rich, but Wood never realized his great expectations.

To a certain extent, Wood's financial difficulties ran parallel to his changing view of American life. As a young man he was imbued with the optimism of his times. He had tied his future to a city that saw itself as the epitome of that hope; yet, over the years, that promised prosperity continued to elude him. He did not blame America for his predicament, but his failure to gain a fortune may have prompted him to look more critically at a national ethos that buoyed itself with visions of ceaseless development and valiant expansion, mandated by providential approval.

It was a dream—Wood was coming to realize this. A dream for people like himself—a nightmare for the Nez Perce, for Filipinos, and for underpaid workers in sweatshops, Pullman cars, packing houses, mines and steel mills. Yet even with his new readiness to speak out against the established order, Wood felt bound to remain within that system to meet his financial obligations. He placed his hopes in Lazard Frères’ enormous land holdings: if he could negotiate a sale and put together the complex legal agreements, he would stand to make a large sum on his commission.

In his Jefferson Day speech he railed against “lust of power or love of wealth and luxury”; but in his urgent pursuit of money, Wood did what he had been doing since he first came to Portland: he joined his dreams to the fortunes of the rich and powerful.

1901, Wood attended a dinner given by the Manhattan Democratic Club on Washington’s birthday. Like the Jefferson birthday banquet three years before, the object of the dinner was to bring warring factions of the Democratic Party back to the fold. All too often, appeals for “harmony” were thinly veiled attempts to silence criticism and to urge party members to unite behind the status quo. Wood, however, seized the occasion to challenge Democrats to discard rhetoric and look honestly at their own hypocrisy. “All sorts of Democrats went to the Manhattan Club last evening,” a New York newspaper reported, “and all sorts of Democracy were preached to them. Most of the speakers had nothing new to suggest, and all of them said that the thing needed was harmony—that is, all of them except Col. C. E. S. Wood of Oregon, who provided the sensation of the evening....”

Even before he spoke, Wood attracted attention:

At the guest table sat a stranger of singular personal appearance, who had been noticed by some of the curious. His head covered with clustering curls, and on his breast a frilled shirt bosom supported by a white waistcoat the cut of which would have defied description, he might have taken the grand prize at a nineteenth century fashion show. He was evidently a man of means, accustomed to refined society, and, as his speech proved, he had command of a cultured and effective style of oratory. But while he sat at the guest table during the dinner he looked like some rare human exotic. Had he not spoken, his striking personality might have been remembered with an impression that he was probably a French poet or an Oriental prince traveling incognito.

Wood called his speech “Democratic Democracy.”

In the seven or eight minutes allotted to me I have a message for you from the West—that land of vast deserts which reach to the rim of the sky, and gigantic mountains whose snow peaks pierce even up to the silence of God. The solitude of the desert and of the mountain begets brooding, and from brooding comes truth. In the breezes of the vast desert there is no taint of restraint, but it whispers thoughts of liberty. The civilization of the West is founded on the lawlessness of the mining camp; and I think it a good foundation. In the West a man has the lawful right to drink when and where he pleases, and the saloon and the theater are as open on Sunday as the church and the school. Each one is permitted to decide for himself whether he will attend the church or the theater. We believe that man has an inalienable right to go to hell and be damned, if he pleases.

I have listened with interest to the speech of one who has made classical the words: “I am a Democrat,” and have heard him and every other speaker urge harmony in the Democratic Party.

As for myself, I do not know whether I am a Democrat or not. I was on the stump in 1896 for Mr. McKinley, and in 1900 for Mr. Bryan, and if these opposite factions of the Democratic Party are to unite, then I must unite with myself.

“I must unite with myself.” It is a striking phrase—bearing meanings no one in that room could have possibly known. It touched on Wood’s personal anguish, his contradictory impulses, the lies brought on by his affairs, the divided life he kept in his two rooms in the Commerce Building. He was unable to unite with himself: to bring his public and private selves together; to live truly, rather than tactically; to do what he wanted to do instead of what life required of him. Wood did not offer the phrase as a personal confession; he uttered it in the context of comments on party unity. But the fact that it cut so close to his own struggle suggests what
this speech and several of his other public addresses from this period meant to him. He had not become the person he wanted to be. Debt, family responsibility and his own deep ambivalence about what he might and might not do made it impossible for him to act freely, with the undivided purpose he yearned for. Even so, he gained access to public forums where, for a short span of time, he could claim his freedom; where he could "unite" intellect, style, artistic temperament and deep conviction; where he could transform himself into the person he wished he could be.

As Wood continued, he jibed at his listeners' charade of unified purpose; he challenged them to examine their slogans and unexamined political premises. Still, his speech was interrupted several times by applause and laughter.

The force of Wood's personal style, his urgent message, his obvious impatience with the clichés of political discussion—all this "provided the sensation of the evening." For the eight minutes he spoke, Wood fulfilled his own imperative: he united with himself.

Continuing; Wood introduced questions that reached well beyond conventional politics: what use do ordinary people have for party unity and political platforms if all this merely serves the interests of a privileged class? How could there ever be true liberty, true democracy, while so much property remained in the hands of so few people?

Everyone seems to recognize that the concentration of such enormous wealth in the hands of very few is a menace to popular liberty, and from it will naturally evolve an oligarchy... I think, looking to the far future, seeking for the living idea which is to make the Democratic Party truly the party of the common people, we must finally face this question of property rights and economic reform...

In conclusion, let me say, that no one echoes more fervently than I the battle cry of Democracy, "That government is best which governs least; equal opportunity for all; special privilege for none"; but I want to understand, and I want to know what you mean, by privilege; and precisely what you are going to do about it; and this is the question which I think the people will want to know.

The SECOND EPISODE, SET TEN YEARS LATER, IN 1908, SHOWS WOOD BOLDLY EXPLOITING HIS STATUS AS A RESPECTABLE MEMBER OF PORTLAND'S HIGHEST SOCIAL CIRCLES IN ORDER TO GET "RED" EMMA GOLDMAN A FAIR HEARING.

In late August 1905, Wood wrote a lengthy entry in his journal which he titled "Rebellion."

I rebel against the suppression of the individual, the lack of freedom and the falsity, the hypocrisy of the smooth successful life. I rebel against all the ideas of sex that it is wicked, low, vulgar, that it is to be suppressed and made little and base... I rebel against the praise of submission to authority and I preach the gospel of rebellion. There has not been one step in the eternal evolution and progress except by discontent and rebellion against authority. Had rebellion stopped a thousand years ago we all would be walking about with iron collars on our necks, absolute and besotted slaves to a few.

I defy Rebellion. I glory in being a rebel and a fanatic. These are only other names for mind progress and earnestness.

However much Wood might celebrate rebellion, these notes on "Rebellion" were written for his private journal. They existed for himself alone. This and other journal entries were experiments with his "self," attempts to find a voice by expressing his true feelings privately: a process that, in time, might bring him from solitary reflection to greater integration in his personal and public life—the unity of thought, feeling and action he longed for.

With increasing frequency Wood did indeed glory in being a rebel, often using mischievous humor. At a party given to raise money for charity, Wood invited Portland's respectable citizens to the gaming tables with a sign urging them to "GAMBLE FOR GOD'S SAKE." At a pre-Christmas charity event, Wood was invited to preside as chairman and to "sit up there and look solemn." Instead, he surprised his audience with a speech reminding them of uncharitable forms Christianity had taken:

Filled with love and mercy as was Christ, there never has been so merciless a persecutor as his church—the rack, the boot, the thumbscrew, the fires of the Inquisition, thirty and a hundred years of bloody war, conversion at the point of the sword or the faggot, literature wiped out, the Dark Ages and the earth running with blood all in the name of the meek and lowly king... whose whole creed was love, forgiveness, toleration.

Wood's penchant for challenging conventional thought left him open to savage attacks. "It is a habit with Mr. C. E. S. Wood to boast that he is 'an anarchist,'" an editorial in The Oregonian began. "That is for stage effect, when he meets the masses," at socialist meetings, or at the people's forum. Mr. Wood is, however, exceedingly fond of the rich among whom his select associations lie. No moth flies more industriously about the arc lights." Wood, The Oregonian continued, was no less than a latter-day avatar of Gaius Petronius, au-
author of the *Satyricon* and director of the pleasures of Nero’s imperial court.

Mr. Wood plainly aspires to be, and surely is, the Petronius, the arbiter elegantiarum, of our local plutocracy... His decision "goes" on all affairs in which our "upper classes" are interested—on duds, music, painting, poetry, quantities, metres, scanions and accents; on architecture, law, hair dressing, perfumes, latest fads in furniture, Browning, literature (Shakespeare and Milton omitted), face powders, chafing-dish specialties, and what not. People who know nothing themselves, who merely have their inherited wealth and nothing else, look to the Colonel. He has a veneer and a smatter that will suffice them. From it and through it he lives, in all the beauty and glory and social advantages of elegant life. But he has side issues, in which he shines also—as anarchy, socialism, free love, impatience under restraints of law and government.

It was easy enough to attack Wood for inconstancy toward both his social class and the causes he advocated, but in reality his social criticism was becoming increasingly frank. Considering the fact that he had to fulfill the daily obligations of his legal practice, he was remarkably productive, a gadfly who brought his views before the public in all kinds of literary forums. In a column for *The Pacific Monthly* he spoke out forcefully on numerous issues including voting reform, women's suffrage, and anarchism. In late 1906 he stepped up his criticism by submitting didactic fiction and lively opinion pieces to Benjamin Tucker's *Liberty: The Organ of Anarchism*. If this was not enough, he also wrote occasional pieces for *Mother Earth*, a radical journal edited by America's most demonized champion of radical causes, Emma Goldman.

Goldman's trip to Portland was a case in point. Prior to her stop in Portland she delivered a lecture on "Patriotism" at the Walton Pavilion in San Francisco. Among other things, she declared that soldiers were hired assassins. At the end of her talk, William Buwalda, a uniformed soldier, rushed to the stage to shake her hand. The following morning, Buwalda was placed under military arrest, awaiting court-martial, for showing his approval of Goldman's un-American sentiments. In Portland, the next stop on Goldman's lecture tour, the outcry against her was overwhelming. When the YMCA and the Arion Society reneged on contracts to rent her halls in which to speak, Wood promptly took up Goldman's cause. He welcomed her to Portland and arranged for her to stay with Kitty Beck, his personal secretary, at her home on Harrison Street.

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The first page of Wood's "Rebellion" journal entry. In the privacy of his journal Wood could give vent to inner feelings of frustration and discontent that in later years increasingly found their way into expression in his public life.

Wood's "Rebellion" journal entry.

I rebel against the modern, he violated the laws of freedom and the public—he imprisoned the individualist, I rebel against all the laws of sex, that I am robed and unloved, it is easier. Some more than others, I rebel against the movement for the physical as a mere in life—a physical spiritual. I know and the flesh are one.

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letter to The Oregonian he denounced the YMCA, and he took the press to task for misrepresenting her as an advocate of guns and bombs and violence. Also, he set to work rounding up support among his influential friends, insisting to all who would listen that anarchism was not the issue: the Portland community had violated Goldman's First Amendment right to free speech—a far greater threat to democracy than the supposed danger presented by her lectures.

"Do not be alarmed," Goldman told a reporter, "I have no dynamite in my pocket... Education is the only bomb sanctioned by true anarchism, which stands for freedom in the truest and highest sense."

Goldman went on to express her admiration for America's fundamental ideals and to assert her right to criticize her adopted country's faults. "Anarchism as we teach it does not advocate or tolerate violence, but it does declare for the right of rebellion—a provision widely incorporated in the constitution of this country. When the government becomes too oppressive to a people, they are entitled to rise up and overthrow it."

Wood's public efforts on Goldman's behalf aroused considerable resentment, but neither Wood's family nor anyone else could pressure him to back down. He found Emma Goldman a lecture hall, and at her opening lecture he introduced her. Here is Goldman's account:

[Wood] was a fine looking man of gracious personality, and a libertarian in the truest sense. He had been instrumental in securing the two halls, and he...
was very much distressed that the owners should have backed out. He tried to console me with the assurance that the Arion Society could be held legally responsible, because they had signed a contract for the rental of their hall. When I told him that I never invoked the law against anyone, although the law had often been invoked against me, Mr. Wood exclaimed: “So that’s the kind of dangerous anarchist you are! Now that I have found you out, I shall have to take others into my confidence. I shall have to ask them to meet the real Emma Goldman.” Within a few days he not only introduced various persons to me, but he also inspired Mr. Chapman, one of the editors of The Oregonian to write about my lectures, and the Reverend Doctor Elliot, a Unitarian minister, to offer me his church. He induced a considerable number of prominent men and women of the city to declare themselves publicly in favor of my right to be heard.

After this it was easy sailing. A hall was secured, and the meetings were attended by large and representative audiences. Mr. Wood presided at my first lecture and delivered a brilliant introductory speech... .

The introductory speech that Goldman speaks of was one of Wood’s finest moments. He began by telling his audience that the prince born in India who left his royal estate to labor for the good of mankind, and the Reverend Doctor Elliot, a Unitarian minister, to offer me his church. He induced a considerable number of prominent men and women of the city to declare themselves publicly in favor of my right to be heard.

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"The Resurrection of Wesley Everest" Depicts Labor's Side of the Centralia Massacre

By Mary L. Stough

The Sentinel," a bronze statue of a doughboy from World War I, stands guard in Centralia's George Washington Park. The statue was erected to honor the memory of the four American Legion members who were killed in a "peaceful parade" on November 11, 1919. Ironically, it is only a few yards from the historical mural painted on the former Elks Building that depicts Wesley Everest—a veteran of the same war—who was hanged on that first Armistice Day. The mural is titled, "The Resurrection of Wesley Everest."

John Regan, who owns the former Elks building, was aware that there was no mural depicting this particular piece of Centralia history. He felt it was time labor's side of the "Centralia Massacre" was represented, and he wanted a mural that would tell the story. There were many people who did not want the lynching of Wesley Everest resurrected. "It's no concern of yours," they told him. "It's history." But not history that everyone was willing to face.

Regan contacted Mike Alewitz, a well-known and respected labor muralist. Alewitz had created a mural in Chernobyl where 31 workers were killed in a nuclear accident and 135,000 persons living in the vicinity were evacuated. He had also collaborated with muralists in Mexico and Nicaragua, helping to celebrate the dignity of the workers. Alewitz was a wise choice for the Everest mural project because he knew the history of the Centralia tragedy and understood Everest's fervor and dedication to the goals of the Industrial Workers of the World (IWW or Wobblies). Though comparatively little known, the IWW is still in existence today.

Who was this man, Nathan Wesley Everest, revered by some as a martyr, reviled by others as a murderer? And what were the events that led to the killing of the four legionnaires and the lynching of a Wobbly on that first Armistice Day celebrating the war that was to end all wars?

In 1904 Everest, then 14, was orphaned and sent to live with his great aunt, Mrs. O. B. Westfall, who operated a dairy farm near Portland, Oregon. When he was 17, Wesley decided the life of a logger was more to his liking. The daily wage of $1.84 for a ten-hour day offered him independence if not financial security. He soon embraced the philosophy of the IWW, which included agitating for an eight-hour day, safer working conditions, better living conditions, and no discrimination against IWW members.

Known as an efficient and enthusiastic organizer, Everest was sent from one logging town to another to recruit new members. When he first arrived in Centralia, he was already acquainted with vigilante justice. In Coos Bay, Oregon, he and another organizer had been arrested and jailed, but before the law could take its course, a contingent of 300 businessmen took the two from jail and put them aboard a boat.
They were taken across the bay to Jarvis Landing where they were told to get out and start walking.

As Northwest loggers continued to make demands for safer working and living conditions, higher pay and an eight-hour work day, they were met with implacable resistance on the part of the timber and sawmill owners. Large posters listing the IWW demands were circulated in public places as well as logging camps. Among their demands were "sanitary sleeping quarters with not more than 12 men in each bunk, house ... laundry rooms with shower baths to be installed."

The typical logging camp had a shack containing three tiers of plank bunks extending along the walls, with a wood stove in the middle. Loggers were expected to carry their own bedding which they rolled and tied with a piece of rope. There was no first aid or medical attention available for injuries on the job.

The IWW was aggressive in recruiting and organizing, radical and offensive (to employers) in its literature. The chain of events that led to what has been called the "Centralia Massacre" probably began in 1915 when vigilante action against the IWW first took place in Centralia. Men looking for work and food were run out of town by "special policemen" who helped the authorities rid the town of the Wobblies. The Centralia Chronicle praised the "public-spirited" citizens for keeping the city clear of these people. Centralians mirrored the national sentiment about the Wobbles: they were considered "troublemakers, thieves, liars and bums." According to many newspaper editorials of the day, the IWW intended to destroy America's economic system. They were not entirely wrong—the IWW called for the abolition of the wage system in favor of then-unheard-of, worker-owned businesses.

In May of the year that would see the end of World War I, members of the Centralia Home Guard and Elks marched in a parade to raise money for the Red Cross. The marchers broke ranks in front of the IWW hall and raided it, throwing furniture, records and Wobbly literature into the street and setting it on fire. A desk and phonograph from the hall were auctioned off and the money donated to the Red Cross. The men inside the hall were "lifted by their ears" into a truck, driven out of town where they were forced to run the gauntlet while being beaten with sticks and ax handles.

At a meeting of the Centralia Protective Association in October 1919, a vigilante threat had been made "to handle the Wobbles [the] way they did in Aberdeen. Clean 'em up; burn 'em out." By the first week of November rumors about an intended raid during the Armistice Day parade were an open secret. The Wobblies were very aware of what they could expect based on past experience. This time the IWW members sought legal advice from their attorney, Elmer Smith, and were told that they had the right to defend themselves and the hall. It was the legionnaires who were surprised when the Wobblies did just that. The hostility that had been seething for years between the businessmen, the American Legion and the IWW came to its flash point during the parade. Years of smoldering anger on both sides now became a class war.

All of the marchers had passed the IWW hall except for the Centralia contingent; as they moved ahead to close the gap, the command of "Halt!" was given in front of the hall. The sounds of a door being kicked in were mixed with glass breaking and shots being fired. The hall was raided; the Wobblies defended their hall, and two legionnaires were killed. When Wesley Everest who was armed and inside the IWW hall tried to make his escape, he shot two of the
The goal of “One Big Union” for all workers was often symbolized on IWW posters and stickers as a muscle-bound, larger-than-life laborer.

Now is the Time for Join the I.W.W.

General Office: 2422 N. Halsted
Chicago, Ill.

The goal of “One Big Union” for all workers was often symbolized on IWW posters and stickers as a muscle-bound, larger-than-life laborer.

The goal of “One Big Union” for all workers was often symbolized on IWW posters and stickers as a muscle-bound, larger-than-life laborer.

men who were pursuing him. Now there were four legionnaires dead. The need to exact instant retribution overcame the survivors; Everest was captured and almost hanged before he was taken to jail. That night the power was cut off in Centralia and Everest was taken from the jail there to a bridge over the Chehalis River and hanged.

In the 80 years since the deaths of the legionnaires and the subsequent trial of 11 men for the murder of legionnaire Warren Grimm, the enmity between the American Legion and the IWW has never diminished. There are those who say that the style of art chosen for the “Resurrection of Wesley Everest” is out of sync with the other historic murals in Centralia. It does not depict a historical event but instead provides a jarring symbolic picture of the plight of workers in 1919, offering nothing toward a lessening of tension between the unions, workers and righteously adamant legionnaires who still consider Everest’s fate justly deserved.

Although the artist was knowledgeable about the lynching of Wesley Everest and the outcome of the trial of the accused Wobblies, his mural does not try to portray the events that happened on or subsequent to November 11, 1919. He was directed by the Committee for the Centralia Union Mural Project, which included labor unionists, business people, students, IWW members and retired people, all of whom agreed to name the mural the “Resurrection of Wesley Everest.” It could have been called the “Resurrection of Labor.” The mural memorializes the men who worked in the woods; they were exploited and their labor given no dignity. While some feel that Everest died a martyr to the cause, he is remembered by others as the man who killed two legionnaires on November 11, 1919. The mural committee still hopes that the controversial painting will provide the inspiration for a dialogue without animosity between these two opposing points of view.

Everest is the focal figure of the mural. He is drawn symbolically with his arms raised triumphantly, dressed half worker in overalls and half veteran in a World War I uniform. Black cats are shown as the Wobbly symbol of defiance; a pig representing the profiteers of war is leaning on bags of gold. Angels on the top of the mural are hanging from a long saw—the “misery whip” of the loggers—and below that is a pie denoting “pie in the sky,” the happiness that workers could look forward to when they died.

In the far left of the mural stands a man in dark glasses holding a labor newspaper, the Industrial Worker. The man is Tom Lassiter, a partially blind Wobbly sympathizer who sold labor papers at his newstand. After he was threatened, kidnapped and his papers were destroyed, Lassiter was warned never to set foot in Centralia again.

Across the bottom of the picture flames lick up, consuming workers who are shown as prisoners. As grim as this scene is, the artist is not without a sense of humor. A small volcano emitting a plume of smoke and sporting a pair of glasses was Alewitz’s thank-you to the mural committee’s co-chair, Helen Lee, director of the Evergreen State College Labor Center. He called it Mount Helen Lee!

Centralia continues to inch forward as the millennium approaches. It is now a city severed by an interstate highway. On either side of the freeway, visible to traffic, are clustered factory outlet stores, fast-food restaurants and motels that offer mostly minimum wage jobs. The labor scene today lacks the bitterness and passion that existed in 1919, but the economic situation is not so different for many of the new immigrants from Southeast Asia, Mexico and Central America. And like the earlier European immigrants, they are not always made to feel welcome. Helen Lee, speaking for the committee members of the Centralia Union Mural Project, hopes that the “Resurrection of Wesley Everest” will inspire a look back at history as well as forward toward a just and prosperous economic future for all Centralians.

A retired librarian, Mary L. Stough is currently a free-lance writer living in Olympia. Her work focuses mainly on Pacific Northwest travel and history.
Ninety years ago the Alaska-Yukon-Pacific Exposition, "the World's most beautiful exposition," opened in Seattle. From June 1 to October 16, hundreds of thousands of Washingtonians and visitors from across the nation and around the world passed through the gates into a wonderland of exhibits and delights of the "pay streak." Promoted widely by national railroad lines, the exposition attracted many visitors who came and stayed. The state of Washington experienced a dramatic growth spurt in the years after 1909, due in no small part to the AYPE.

Dozens of ditties, such as the "The Pay Streak March and Two Step," flowed from the pens of aspiring song writers who rose to the occasion by commemorating the event in music. Although no AYPE music seems to have found a place in the permanent popular music repertoire, the Society has managed to bring together an extensive collection of sheet music written at the time, documenting an interesting aspect of this important event.
Cook's Last Voyage

A Fruitless Search for the Fabled Northwest Passage

BY ANTONIA MACARTHUR

When James Cook sailed Endeavour to the Pacific in 1768 there were still a number of outstanding questions left to answer about this vast uncharted ocean. Was there a large land in the south; was New Zealand part of it? What was the coastline of eastern Australia like? Few vessels had ventured into the Arctic Circle, and the Antarctic was an unknown. A northwest passage connecting the Pacific to the Atlantic was still thought possible.

It was later, on his third and last voyage, 1776-80, that Cook finally visited the west coast of North America and sailed into the Arctic Circle in search of this hoped-for northwest passage. Since the 16th century many men had searched for it, spurred on by the tales of Juan de Fuca, a Greek pilot who in 1592 claimed to have found a route from the west coast to the Atlantic.

Cook left England early in July 1776 with orders to sail via South Africa into the Pacific and then to proceed to Van Diemen's Land (Tasmania), New Zealand and Tahiti to arrive on the coast of New Albion (North America) near 45° north latitude, just below Juan de Fuca's supposed strait. He was then to take his ships up the coast to 65° north, carefully searching and exploring any possible bays, rivers and inlets for a way across America.

Nearly two years after leaving England, Resolution and Discovery sighted the coast of what is now the state of Washington. Second lieutenant James King wrote,

This part of the Continent of America has not so far as we know, ever before been seen; for there is no certain accounts of any Navigators being so high as 44° of Latitude excepting Sr Francis Drake and Vizcaino; both these Navigators landed on the Continent in 38° of Lat, both were stopt from proceeding farther to the North than 44, from the rigour of the Climate.

Those on board were now to experience such weather themselves. Cook had time to name Cape Foulweather before the ships were blown off the coast for the next three weeks.

Beating north, Cook named prominent landmarks when they appeared—Cape Flattery—and described the land as fertile, of moderately equal height, and well covered with trees. At 48° north latitude, where geographers had placed the Strait of Juan de Fuca, due to bad weather Cook missed the channel separating Vancouver Island from the mainland and continued up the coast, naming Point Breakers, Woody Point and Hope Bay. At last, on March 29, both ships ran into the safety of Nootka Sound on Vancouver Island. As they were looking for the best location to drop anchor, a great many Canoes filled with the Natives were about the Ships all day, and a trade commenced betwixt us and them, which was carried on with the strictest honesty on both sides. Their articles were the Skins of various animals, such as Bears, Wolves, Foxes, Dear, Racoons, Polecats, Martins and in particular the Sea Beaver, the same as is found on the coast of Kamtchatka. Cloathing made of these skins and another sort made, either of the Bark of a

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tree or some plant like hemp; Weapons, such as Bows and Arrows, Spears etc Fish hooks and Instruments of various kinds, pieces of carved work and even human sculls and hands, and a variety of little articles too tedious to mention. For these things they took in exchange, Knives, chissels, pieces of iron and Tin, Nails, Buttons, or any kind of metal. Beads they were not fond of and cloth of all kinds they rejected.

A brisk and friendly trade was soon under way.

Glad to be on land again, the crewmen were eager to explore, bargain for sexual favors, and gather fresh foods; they were also busy repairing the ships. The armourer and his crew set up forges on shore to make and mend the ironwork, and the cooks and their mates set up the portable ovens to bake fresh bread. The astronomy tents were erected and delicate equipment cleaned and checked, while work parties collected wood and searched for fresh water to refill the large water casks in the hold of each ship. The crew fished with lines and cast seines, shot birds for the pot and set up a brisk trade in furs with the natives. Few would have left Nootka Sound without a fur pelt among his goods, for otter skins in China were worth between £20 and £30 each—a considerable amount to an able seaman whose salary was just over £15 a year.

Both ships needed repairs, especially Resolution. Just four weeks out of Plymouth Cook had discovered, above:

Hunting the walrus, referred to by Cook as “Sea Horses,” in the ice floes of the Arctic. Cook explored both the American and Asiatic shores of the Pacific Ocean but could not find an ice-free route to the Atlantic.

Right:

Chart of the Sandwich Islands, including “Owhyhee” (Hawaii), with an inset of “Kara-ka-kooa” (Kealakekua) Bay where Cook set up a group of observatories and was later killed.

Left:

“An Offering before Capt. Cook in the Sandwich Islands,” by John Webber.
The Ship exceedingly leaky in all her upper works, the hot and dry weather we had just past through had opened her Seams, which had been badly Caulked at first, so wide that they admitted the rain Water through as it fell and there was hardly a Man that could lie dry in his bed; the officers in the gunroom were all driven out of their cabins by the Water that came thro' the sides.

This was due to the incompetent work carried out during her refit in England, which left Resolution plagued with problems for the rest of the voyage.

Nootka Sound, with its plethora of easily available timber, provided the ideal spot for repairs. David Samwell, the surgeon's mate aboard Resolution, wrote in his journal, "We now found the Head of our mizen mast so much damaged that the mast was judged not to be trustworthy & was so much decayed as not to admit of being repaired without shortening it too much, upon which it became necessary to have a new Mast, & luckily this Country produces plenty of Fir to supply us not only with a Mizen Mast but with a Mainmast did we stand in need of one.

Besides engaging his crew in repair work and the gathering of water and wood, Cook sent the ships' boats out regularly to look for evidence of a north-west passage and to chart Nootka Sound. The men enjoyed rowing 30 miles or more a day, and a young midshipman named James Trevenen put his thoughts to verse:

No! rather I'll think on that happier season,
When turned into thy Boat's crew
without rhyme or reason,
But proud of that office we went a marooning,
And pulling against tide, or before the wind spooring;
Sometimes a shooting, and sometimes surveying,
With pleasure still watching, with pleasure obeying
Through gulf, creek and inlet our jolly boat forcing,
As if the old Devil himself had been coursing . . . .

After four weeks, with refitting and victualling completed, they left Nootka Sound on April 26. Storms again
Rebirth of the Endeavour

UNDER CONSTRUCTION for six years in Fremantle, Western Australia, a full-size sailing replica of the HM Bark Endeavour was commissioned in April 1994. After her maiden voyage sailing in Cook's wake up the east coast of Australia and to New Zealand, Endeavour set sail in October 1996 on her first round-the-world voyage. To date she has visited South Africa, Britain, the east coast of North America, the Panama Canal, the Galapagos Islands and Acapulco, and this year she will be voyaging along the West Coast from San Diego to Vancouver, British Columbia.

Building Endeavour

The ship is as close to the original vessel as research could verify. She also incorporates a minimum of modern equipment for navigation, safety and health.

Cook's Endeavour was built of oak, but as this was not available in the sizes required, a Western Australian hardwood called Jarrah was used, together with Douglas fir, Oregon pine, karri, blackbutt, sheoak and other local woods.

Eighteenth-century fastening methods—large iron bolts rivetted over plates—were copied and planking was fastened with trunnels (wooden nails). Thousands of iron fittings were needed, and a blacksmith shop was set up to make everything, including the lanterns and the firehearth (stove). Handmade decorative carvings were extrapolated from the drawings done by young Sydney Parkinson on the original voyage, and the ship was painted with modern paints matched to 18th-century colors (but without the lead base).

Endeavour is ship-rigged as the original, and after mathematical models of the rig were tested using both traditional and modern ropes, prestretched manila, polyester and polypropylene were selected—all of which weather down in color to look like original hemp. Over 700 wooden blocks, deadeyes, hearts, cleats and belaying pins were handmade, and her sails are of Duradon, a man-made material that looks, handles and feels like original flax. All bolt ropes, reefing points, clews, and so on are worked into the sails by hand.

Below decks Endeavour is fitted out as an 18th-century museum, the officers living in the original cabins (with only 4'6" headroom) and the captain having James Cook's original cabin and great cabin. The crew eats and washes below in what was originally the hold, but they sling their hammocks on the mess deck and work the ship in the original way, relaxing at the mess tables, on the weather deck, or wherever they can find a little peace and privacy—difficult on a ship built of oak, but as this was not available in the sizes required, a Western Australian hardwood called Jarrah was used, together with Douglas fir, Oregon pine, karri, blackbutt, sheoak and other local woods.

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The National Maritime Museum of Britain describes the ship as the best replica ever built. In keeping with its status as a floating museum, the ship's interior is finished with replicas of period furniture, fixtures and personal items. Charts and specimens from Cook's voyage have been reproduced.

After his return to England in 1771, Captain James Cook wrote that Endeavour was seaworthy and safe, thoughts that are strongly endorsed by Captain Chris Blake and his 20th-century crew aboard Australia's Endeavour replica.

After voyaging up the west coast of America and Canada, visiting 15 ports this year, the ship will leave Vancouver, British Columbia, in October to sail across the Pacific, via Hawaii, Fiji and New Zealand, to her home port of Sydney, Australia, in time for the 2000 Olympics. During this time volunteer crew will join her to gain sea time, work on refit in New Zealand and learn how to handle an authentic 18th-century rig. Endeavour will continue sailing in the wake of her original 18th-century sister for many years to come, educating and creating value as she goes.

For information on where to see the ship or how to sail with her, visit the HM Bark Endeavour Foundation's web page: www.barkendeavour.com.au; send e-mail to: crewman@ibm.net; or call 619/223-9477.

Endeavour Visits Gig Harbor

The replica of HM Bark Endeavour will visit Gig Harbor in September 1999 as part of its West Coast tour of North America. The bark's two other ports of call in Washington are Westport (August 6-8) and Port Townsend (September 7-12).

Endeavour will arrive in Gig Harbor on September 22 and be open for tours, above and below decks, September 23-26, 10 A.M. to 6 P.M. Tickets can be purchased dockside.

For information on the Endeavour's Gig Harbor visit, contact the Gig Harbor Peninsula Historical Society by phone: 253/858-6722; or e-mail: ghphs@harbornet.com.
drove both vessels out of sight of the coast until Cape Edgecumbe, and on May 12 they sailed into a large inlet which Cook named Prince William Sound. Here they explored for a week and then pushed north, visiting and charting Cook River and Cook Inlet. The weather now closed in for three weeks, and in appalling conditions they followed the Alaska coast and the Aleutian Islands, in constant danger of shipwreck. During heavy fog on Thursday, June 25, the ships nearly grounded on the northern point of Unalaska Island. Cook wrote,

The Weather was so thick that we could not see a hundred yards before us, but as the wind was now very moderate I ventured to run. At half past 4 we were alarmed at hearing the Sound of breakers on our larboard bow; on hearing the lead found 28 fathom of water and the next cast 25; I immediately brought the ship to with her head to the Northward and anchored in this last depth over a bottom of Coarse Sand, and called to the Discovery who was close by us to anchor also.

Samwell takes up the story:

About half past 5, after it clearing up we saw with Terror and Surprise the imminent Danger we had so narrowly escaped, we found ourselves in a Bay at the distance of about a Mile from the Shore, off the middle of which we saw two Rocks which we had passed so near in the Fog, going at the same time before the Wind at the rate of 3 Knots an Hour.... That we should have come so well off considering the Danger we had run was astonishing to every one.

Charles Clerke, commander of Discovery, noted more cryptically, "Very nice pilotage, considering our perfect Ignorance of our situation." A week later, naming Cape Prince of Wales at the most westerly known point of America, Cook sailed through Bering Strait into the Arctic Ocean.

Early in the afternoon of August 17 at 70° north latitude they saw the Arctic ice pack for the first time, and Cook noted, "The sight of a large field of ice left us in no longer doubt about the cause of the brightness of the Horizon we had observed." As they sailed along the ice field, the situation again became critical. The ships were in shoaled water on a lee shore and the wind was driving them onto the ice pack. Frustrated, but with no other alternative, Cook took the ships back into the open sea and spent the next four days beating back.

The freezing weather took its toll on ships and men, and Cook ordered heavy fursnought trousers and jackets to be issued to the crew as protection against the cold. Reliant as they now were on salted provisions, the ice pack provided much-needed fresh food in the form of hundreds of "sea horses" (walrus). Although some of the crew who had already sailed with the whaling ships to Greenland said that these were inedible, sea lions were killed for food whenever possible, "and there were few on board who did not prefer it to salt meat. The fat at first is as sweet as Marrow but in a few days it grows rancid unless it is salted, then it will keep good much longer, the lean is coarse, black and rather a strong taste, the heart nearly as well tasted as that of a bullock." Every part of the sea lion was used. They ate the flesh, melted the fat to burn in the lamps, used the hide in the rigging, and during leisure hours decorated the tusks and teeth with scenes. Nothing was wasted.

For the next two months the ships tackled back and forth across the Arctic between the American and Asian coasts, looking for a way through the ice pack without success. Cook continued naming—Icy Cape, Burney's Island (now Kolyuchin Island), Cape Darby, Point Denbigh, Pinnacles Island—and he paid his respects to explorer Vitus Bering, whose charts he was using: "In justice to Behrings Memory, I must say he has delineated this Coast very well and fixed the latitude and longitude of the points better than could be expected from the Methods he had to go by." Great praise from the master chart maker himself.

With winter fast approaching and having had no success at finding a northwest passage, Cook left the ice pack on September 16 and anchored at Samgoonoodha, Unalaska, 17 days later. Repairing, watering and wooding continued as usual. One day an Indian named Derramoushk brought a note with a highly seasoned salmon pie, a present from some Russian fur traders. Cook sent John Ledyard, his American corporal of marines, with a present of a few bottles of rum, wine and porter, and three Russian furriers returned to visit. During their dinner in the warmth of the great cabin, they shared their local knowledge and charts of the area with Cook and his officers.

On October 26, with winter closing in, Cook decided it was time to leave the Arctic and return to the Sandwich Islands, which he had briefly visited for the first time on his way to America. It was there that he was killed on February 14, 1779, at Kealakeku Bay, Hawaii.

During his 11 years of sailing the Pacific, James Cook pushed all the known limits—reaching farther north into the Arctic and farther south into the Antarctic than had anyone before. He undertook three long sea voyages, charting and navigating with great accuracy, assisted by the latest equipment and the first chronometers on the second and third voyages. He was the first explorer to stay for any length of time on the islands he mapped for Britain—living with and studying the people, their agriculture, language, customs and way of life. The care and concern he showed for all people, including his crews, was outstanding until ill health and exhaustion ran his temper short on his last voyage. James Cook's Pacific voyages have rightly earned him the reputation as one of Britain's greatest explorers and navigators.

Antonia Macarthur has worked for the past 17 years in restoration or replication research for historic ships including, for the last 10 years, the Endeavour replica. Currently the ship's historian and curator, she has written numerous articles and a book, HM Bark Endeavour (Harper Collins, 1997).
Fighting the Cement Trust

W. Lon Johnson & the 1920 Carlyon Road Bill

"If my district is to be penalized because of my opposition to the so-called 'Carlyon bill,' I want to know it," W. Lon Johnson bitterly demanded of James Allen, Washington state's supervisor of highways. In 1922, two years after the Carlyon road bill fight, Senator Johnson, from rural Stevens County, insisted on knowing why the state Highway Board had decided to delay funding of a key section of Highway 22 in his district. He was suspicious of the board's decision, particularly after Senator Philip H. Carlyon, Johnson's nemesis in the state senate, had become an unofficial member of the board. Allen ignored Johnson's charge and blamed the fate of the Stevens County road on the state's $3 million budget deficit. But that failed to convince Johnson who knew all too well that the political dynamics of the state did not favor rural communities, particularly those in eastern Washington. Johnson also knew that his reputation as a political independent, his exposure of the cement trust and its ties to the political elite in the state capital in Olympia—led by Carlyon—had won him many supporters among the voters in the state as well as many powerful enemies among the old guard in the state legislature who viewed him as a maverick.

In 1920 the cement manufacturers in Washington, allied with political bosses who dominated the state legislature—led by Senator Carlyon from Thurston County—sought to control road construction in the state. Johnson championed the fight for fair competition and defeated the cement trust's effort to gain a six-year, $30 million road-building monopoly. He led a grass-roots campaign against the Carlyon road bill, which was overwhelmingly defeated by the state's voters when the bill was placed on the ballot as a referendum. His success exposed the cement trust in Washington, preserved fair competition in road construction bids, and saved citizens an additional $11 million in interest payments that was embedded in the Carlyon bill.

The controversy was an example of the political struggles in state legislatures across the country regarding funding and prioritization of road construction with the advent of the automobile during the first several decades of the 20th century. Within the context of Washington state history, the debate over the Carlyon measure fostered a division between communities geographically—east side vs. west side—which remains an important dimension in state politics to this day.
But most importantly, the Carlyon road bill fight illuminated an intersection of the antitrust movement of the Progressive Era from the early 20th century and, at the same time, a reaction against Progressivism in favor of a "pay as you go" system of building roads that advocated a reduction in state spending. This fiscal caution reflected the conservative nature of the 1920s.

Born in Spokane, Missouri, in 1882, W. Lon Johnson moved west in 1903, a young man who dreamed of striking it rich in Alaska. After arriving in Seattle, instead of continuing north, Johnson settled in the eastern part of the state. He taught grade school for several years and in 1908 began his legal career as clerk for the Superior Court in Stevens County at Colville. While studying for the bar exam, Johnson made a name for himself in the region as a hard-slugging star outfielder for the Colville baseball team. In early 1912 he passed the bar exam. That May Johnson entered the political arena when he attended the Stevens County Republican convention and was elected to represent the county as a delegate to the state meeting at Aberdeen.

Stevens County Republicans unanimously supported the progressive wing of the party and therefore Teddy Roosevelt. Republicans at the state convention, like party members in states around the nation, split their support between President William Howard Taft and the more progressive Roosevelt. Johnson supported Roosevelt and in June traveled to Chicago to attend the national Republican convention and participate in the formation of the "Bull Moose" party. This splinter movement divided the Republican vote, and eventually the Democratic nominee, Woodrow Wilson, became president.

After the convention Johnson returned to Colville to begin his law practice. There he helped create an organization to support Roosevelt for president. In August Johnson and several citizens formed the Progressive Republican Club of Stevens County. The club's purpose was to identify and support progressive candidates for state office.

In 1918 Johnson, still a progressive Republican, challenged the Democratic incumbent, C. R. McMillen, for the state senate seat from Washington's fifth district, which included Stevens and Pend Oreille counties. During the campaign Johnson championed the right of those in military service to have access to the ballot box, supported the adoption of a national prohibition amendment to the United States Constitution, and urged the ratification of the women's suffrage amendment. He declared that women

Asahel Curtis took this photo as part of a Pacific Highway series for the Portland Cement Company in 1923.
"should no longer be deprived of the right to participate fully in governmental affairs..." And Johnson, despite America’s involvement in the Great War, wanted the state to continue highway construction. He noted that the larger counties in the state had practically completed their contracted highway projects, and he urged that the road programs in the smaller counties "should not remain dormant during the duration of the war..." In November Johnson defeated McMillen, 1,990 votes to 1,632.

In January 1919 Johnson traveled to Olympia to attend the 16th legislative session. He quickly gained a reputation as an independent, tough, fiscally conservative state senator. While Johnson worked with his party to restore capital punishment, he soon challenged the leading Republican state senators by opposing a major pork-barrel project—armory construction. His colleagues proposed building five armories. Two of the armories were to be in the western part of the state—one at Everett and the other at Aberdeen. Another armory was slated for Wenatchee while the other two would be built at Walla Walla and Colfax. The bills appropriated between $100,000 and $125,000 for construction of each armory.

In 21 days the legislature and the governor quickly approved construction of the armories at Everett, Walla Walla, and Aberdeen. Johnson tried to curtail their construction but could not defeat the projects. Thwarted in his attempts to block the legislation, Johnson introduced some pork of his own—a proposal to build a $100,000 armory in his home town of Colville. He stated that he forced the senate’s hand to determine "whether the armory appropriations are politics or necessary constructive work."

The senate quickly defeated his bill, 28 to 12, but also promptly abandoned attempts to appropriate funds for the armories at Wenatchee and Colfax. The Seattle Post-Intelligencer praised Johnson’s tactics, declaring that "pork cures pork." The editor applauded Johnson for saving the taxpayers several hundred thousand dollars and for preventing a "legislative conspiracy for a division of the taxpayer’s money among certain sections of the state." In his next legislative battle, over the Carlyon road bill, he took on the cement trust in the Pacific Northwest and drew fire from the political powers in the state.

With the advent of the automobile, and Henry Ford’s assembly line-produced Model T, it did not take long for Americans to recognize the need for "good" paved roads. In 1906 New York became the first state to use its money to build roads, which resulted in the construction of the Bronx River Parkway. Ten years later Congress passed the $75 million Good Roads Act, the first federal appropriation for highway construction, mainly to support improvement to postal roads. Between 1917 and 1929 Washington state received $12.4 million in federal aid.

Inevitably, with large sums of federal and state funds at stake, politics entered into the picture. As road building and automobile manufacturing dramatically increased in the United States, state legislatures argued about how to raise funds and where roads should be built. In 1919 Oregon became the first state to place a tax on gasoline to fund road construction. State legislatures across the country, including

*In eastern Washington citizens needed paved roads yet voted against Carlyon’s referendum because most of the money raised would be used on the west side of the state. Evergreen Highway, Mabton Grade, Yakima County, 1918.*
Washington, hotly debated issues involving road building.

In June 1918 Philip H. Carlyon, a dentist by trade who presided over the state senate, spoke before the Thurston County Good Roads Association. He proposed construction of a statewide system of “Hard Surface Trunk Line Highways,” to be financed through state bonds. In a speech filled with patriotic fervor, Carlyon called on citizens to “commence designing our victory employment machinery and have our ‘liberty motor’ running. He proposed that a state referendum be presented to the voters on issuing $30 million in bonds to build “hard roads” at an expenditure of $5 million for each of the six years. Carlyon argued that it was no longer sensible for the state legislature to continue the “pay as you go” policy in construction of state roads. His plan called for the state highway commissioner to make all appropriate decisions on “routes, [the] time and manner of constructing the roads, [and] style of pavement selected.”

On February 21, 1919, Carlyon introduced his plan in the senate. On March 3, when the bill reached the floor, Johnson focused his attention on section two. That section outlined the choice of materials from which to build the state’s highways, including “Portland cement concrete, bituminous concrete, asphalt, brick, wood block, stone, or other material equally permanent and durable, not less than eighteen feet in width.” A key phrase required that the roads would rest “upon Portland cement concrete base of a minimum thickness of five inches.” No matter what surface the state highway commissioner chose to use, that surface had to lie upon five inches of concrete. Johnson recognized that Senator Carlyon’s bill guaranteed the cement road builders a tremendous advantage when contracts for highway construction went to bid.

Immediately after Carlyon introduced the bill, Johnson went into action. He struck at the heart of the bill’s monopolistic nature. Johnson proposed inserting, after the word “base,” these words: “or such other durable and suitable base as the highway commissioner may require.” His motion failed.

Five days later the Carlyon road bill made its way from the senate to the house for final approval. Despite his objections to the bill, Johnson voted for it. Answering his critics, who took him to task for that contradiction, Johnson declared sarcastically, “Upon roll call I voted for the measure and stated I was opposed to it but believed if the people desired a bond issue of $30,000,000 and were willing to pay $11,000,000 in interest before the bonds would be retired they should be given that privilege.”

Johnson returned to Colville after the legislative session adjourned and began to build a case against the Carlyon road referendum, which he declared was “no more or less than a trust measure, pure and simple.” In October, after recovering from a serious automobile accident, he launched a statewide grassroots opposition movement to Senate Bill 240. He appealed to Grange organizations and community groups around the state, including the Eastern Washington Highway Association in Spokane, to defeat the measure when it came up for a referendum vote in November 1920. For the Pomona Grange, at Meyers Falls, Johnson drew up a resolution which the members endorsed. Copies of this resolution passed from Grange hall to Grange hall around the state to educate the public about the monopolistic cement trust, and the hidden costs embedded in the Carlyon bill, most notably the $11 million in interest costs that would accrue.

Johnson suspected that the Washington cement industry was behind Carlyon’s bill in order to create a concrete road-
building monopoly in the state. His suspicions seemed more likely after he read press reports of a United States Department of Justice investigation into the cement industry in Oregon. He sought information from the Portland office of the Department of Justice. Barrett Goldstein, the United States District Attorney, replied that he was indeed engaged in a case against the Oregon Cement Company for violation of antitrust laws. Goldstein wrote Johnson that, on October 27, 1916, a grand jury had indicted 16 officers from 9 different cement companies in Oregon, California and Washington for "attempting to monopolize the trade of cement in interstate commerce." The companies, Goldstein wrote, "fix[ed] arbitrary prices for cement and divide[d] the states they were to serve." The officers of the California and Washington companies pleaded guilty and received $2,500 fines. The Oregon Cement Company officers pleaded not guilty and their trial ended in a hung jury. Goldstein commented that, so far as he knew, corruption, price fixing, and antitrust violations still existed along the Pacific Coast.

On Friday, November 17, 1919, Johnson spoke before the Eastern Washington Highway Association. Armed with Goldstein's damaging information, Johnson outlined the provisions of the bill and then proceeded to lambaste it as "unfair and in some respects vicious." He criticized Carlyon's proposal to raise the $30 million in bonds and argued that the existing levy for public highway funds and automobile license fees over ten years would raise the same amount for highway construction as the Carlyon bill proposed. Johnson made it clear that he did not oppose building roads and stated that "hard surfaced trunk lines are essential." He simply believed that Washington citizens should not pay the additional $11 million in interest for road construction. Johnson recommended to continue the "pay as we go" approach to highway construction.

In his speech Johnson exposed how the cement trust, through Carlyon, sought to monopolize state highway construction. He reminded the audience that the Senate had defeated his amendment to consider all road surfaces. Then he noted that the American Road Builders’ Association had unanimously recommended "against the adoption of an exclusive type of foundation for trunk line highways." Johnson also stated that the price of cement and labor costs had risen "out of proportion to the cost of production" and that bids
for concrete paving had increased on average from $15,000 per mile to $25,000 per mile in two years, suggesting that the money the Carlyon bonds raised might not be enough to pay for the proposed road construction under the bill. He also played east-side versus west-side state politics, pointing out that $25 million of the $30 million the bill would raise was designated to pay for construction of west-side highways. Clearly communities in the rural parts of the state did not benefit from Carlyon's plan.

At the end of his speech Johnson dramatically revealed the information he had received from Barrett Goldstein about the existence in Washington state of "a combination of cement companies for the purpose of fixing prices." Johnson proceeded to read key portions of Goldstein's letter to the audience, and then concluded:

The taxpayers of this state should not allow any combination to fix prices, whereby they will not receive value for the money expended. Competition alone will prevent such an arrangement and without competition, which is eliminated by the "Carlyon Bill," the best results cannot be obtained. It is wrong in principle and wasteful in effect.

Word of Johnson's attack on the Carlyon road referendum spread across the state. Letters in support for his efforts poured into his office from around the region. Gilbert Duckworth, a farmer from Deer Park, praised Johnson as a "true representative of the people of Stevens County." Duckworth assured Johnson that his fight against the cement trust was being watched. "Take a good healthy 'swing' at them," Duckworth said, "like you used to do at my inshoots."

Johnson found himself in the middle of a major political controversy, which he relished. He wrote to George Lamping, a colleague in the senate, that in his speech before the Washington State Good Roads Association he "had the pleasure of showing Senators Carlyon and [Oliver] Hall the measure they were advocating so vigorously ... had been conceived, born and daddled [sic] by the cement trust of this state...." Johnson added that, when he read the United States district attorney's letter, "you should have seen Senator Hall go to cover."

On March 13, 1920, the Carlyon forces shot back. At a joint meeting with the McLean and Alert Granges near Olympia, Carlyon urged them to support the referendum, which the grangers did in a joint resolution. At this meeting a rumor surfaced that Johnson worked for the blacktop interests in the state—meaning that he was also tied to special interests.

But Johnson soon had a dramatic opportunity to defend himself and to attack Carlyon and the cement trust. On March 22, 1920, during an "extraordinary session" of the legislature, called to ratify the women's suffrage amendment to the United States Constitution, Johnson rose in the chamber, "on personal privilege," to defend his honor and chastise his critics for the malicious charges that he was a "blacktop agent."

He declared that he had "never at any time been retained as representative of any road building material concern and would not accept any such employment." Nor would such an accusation silence him: "If the cement trust believes that, by a campaign of falsehood, individuals who are opposing this measure can be clubbed into submission, it is wrong." After urging those who opposed the referendum not to be afraid to express their opinions, Johnson explained his arguments against the referendum before a full senate chamber.

Johnson's address to the senate had the desired effect. Senator Harve Phipps proposed a resolution, which passed, that "Johnson's conduct as a senator of this state and as a representative of the people has been above reproach." The resolution freed Johnson to make any charges he sought against the referendum and admonished his political opponents for their innuendos and allegations. The confrontation was reported in newspapers across the state. This publicity gave Johnson the opportunity to attack the road bill, embarrass his rivals, and promote himself as an independent politician not afraid to challenge monopolistic trusts.

Throughout the spring and summer Johnson wrote numerous letters to the editor that were published in various newspapers across the state. However, it was in the Spokane Spokesman-Review that Johnson found his biggest platform from which to oppose the Carlyon bill. Nearly every day the paper ran a story, editorial or letter to the editor that criticized the referendum and debated the issues. Average citizens and prominent community leaders voiced their opinions regarding the controversy. The Spokesman-Review, in particular, highlighted cases in California where roads built with cement in that state were falling apart. "California Pays Dearly for Highway Mistakes," ran one headline, "Waste Big Sums On Cement Road," and "Better Go Slow With Concrete Highways" the Spokesman-Review declared. Yet some of the most sensational and explosive headlines ran after a meeting of the Washington State Good Roads Association (WSGRA) convention, held at Everett in August 1920.

In the Everett high school auditorium an overflow crowd of more than 500 people gathered to listen to the much anticipated debate over the Carlyon bill. Johnson, who was not a member of the organization, was not asked to speak. Nor was it likely that Johnson would have been invited considering that Senator Carlyon apparently had organized the debate. Carlyon shrewdly chose the members of his panel, as three of the four others who spoke, besides himself, were from eastern Washington. This certainly gave the im-
pression that not everyone from eastside communities was opposed to his bill.

Carlyon opened the debate declaring his general support for the measure but turned the floor over to C. H. Shields of Seattle to present the details of his road bill. Shields argued that the Carlyon bill would save money on tires and gas if the state had hard-surfaced roads. He further contended that the state needed to keep pace with road building in California and Oregon to boost the tourism trade in Washington. In the end, however, Shields resorted to malicious attacks against those who opposed the Carlyon bill. He implied that people from eastern Washington communities had unsophisticated provincial attitudes and lacked a "vision of the future."

The first person to speak against the bill was N. W. Durham from Spokane, who vigorously declared that the debate should be over the method of paying for highway construction. "That is the issue before this convention—not whether we want good roads. Of course we want good roads." Durham argued that when the bill was first proposed it was presented as an employment measure for soldiers after the war, which was no longer necessary. And, Durham added, veterans he talked with viewed the Carlyon road bill with disdain. As one veteran told Durham, "They seem to think that after we have come from the bloody fields of France, that the beauty of the state of Washington would be paid to the returning soldiers when they put a pick and shovel in our hands and put us to work upon the highways." Besides, the veteran argued, the $12 million in interest could be used to "pay every dollar of the bonus that the soldiers of this state are asking."

The proponents of the Carlyon bill quickly responded. Senator Oliver Hall from Colfax accused Durham of being unduly influenced by the Spokesmen-Review, and Harry L. Olive of Spokane charged the paper with being biased and spreading lies. But it was Charles McKenzie, a former banker-turned-road-contractor from Colfax, who made the most sensational charges. He played to the fears of an audience made a "horrible bugaboo about the $42 million...tend[ed] just a little bit towards Bolshevism."

Durham vehemently defended his patriotism, declaring, "Nothing that I have said could by any fair interpretation lay me open to the accusation of leaning to Bolsheviki [sic] arguments." In defense of free speech, Durham stated that it was his right to "lift my voice and to use my pen as I see the right," to openly debate "the questions of the public moment."

Carlyon, in closing the debate, defended his program by spinning a humorous yarn that broke the tension in the auditorium. He criticized the "pay as you go" plan, estimating that it would take over 18 years to pave the same 1,252 miles that his bill would lay in 6 years. And the money raised using the old method would be enough to pave only about 76 miles in 6 years. At that rate, Carlyon said, "Whitman County, for instance, would be paved in 76 years; Lincoln County would be paved in 460 years; Columbia County, in 780 years; and Stevens County," saving Johnson's home district for last, "in 1,450 years." The audience burst into laughter and applause, which obscured the swift motion and second on the question of the association's support for the Carlyon bill.

Members of the Spokane delegation, led by L. H. Brown, immediately demanded to be recognized by the chair of the convention and protested that proper procedures had not been followed. Brown argued that a vote could not take place until the Resolution Committee had reported on its study of the Carlyon measure to the convention. The chair of the convention and president of the WSGRA, J. J. Donavan, a timber mill operator from Bellingham, ruled that the committee was a part of the whole convention and allowed the motion to go forward to a voice vote. The ayes drowned out the nays. While those opposed to the measure voiced their vote, the Spokesmen-Review reported, the western Washington delegates hooted and hollered at the representatives from the east side, which spun the convention into a turmoil.

Eastside delegates demanded a roll-call vote. R. L. Sparger, former president of the WSGRA shouted, "You are doing something wrong; you are doing something that you have never done before. It is not right." And a member of the Stevens County delegation noted that as many as 100 people had left the hall in the confusion, including many from his delegation; he demanded that the secretary place into the record that the delegates from Stevens County would "take no part in this vote." And finally, L. H. Brown, from Spokane, asked the secretary to enter into the record that the Spokane delegation formally protested the "high-handed tactics in steamrolling through the endorsement." To placate the eastern delegates, Donavan ruled that those who had left the convention could return in the morning to record their vote. But the damage had been done—the association was divided. The final tally was 224 in favor of the Carlyon bill and only 37 against.

Charges of undue influence from trusts—cement or asphalt—had only been lightly hinted at during the debate. But on the second day of the convention, after the Spokesmen-Review and Seattle Post-Intelligencer reported sensational allegations that the backers of the Carlyon bill had dangled $40,000 in advertising money for rural newspapers that supported the referendum, Saturday's meeting erupted into bit-
ter accusations and caustic remarks between members and officials of the association.

On August 19 the Western Newspaper Association (WNA), an organization that sought advertising dollars for rural community newspapers in the region, had sent a telegram to all of its Washington state members. The telegram made it clear, despite the efforts of the manager of the WNA to clarify his intentions, that those newspapers who supported the Carlyon bill would receive a substantial amount of money if the paper accepted advertising from the bill’s supporters. The telegram read: “Carlyon bill is to be voted on in November. Will you support bill or refrain from definite stand? This will mean big business to you at [the] present time or time to come.”

Ironically, it was a member of the WSGRA who had exposed the scandal. Fred L. Wolf, editor and owner of the Newport Miner, the hometown paper of the seat of Pend Oreille County in eastern Washington, was outraged that the supporters of the Carlyon road bill sought to unethically influence the press. Wolf had reported the contents of the telegram from the WNA in an interview by the Spokesmen-Review on August 20, and the story was picked up by a Seattle paper a few days later, just before the WSGRA meeting. Wolf wondered where the money came from and charged that a special propaganda committee had been personally authorized and created by the president of the WSGRA—J. J. Donavan—without the authorization of the association members, to direct a publicity campaign promoting passage of the Carlyon bill. “This hits me deep,” Wolf declared, speaking before the convention. “I’ve been in the newspaper business 30 years and I have yet to sell my editorial endorsements.”

Donavan stood before the association members and tried to defend his reputation. “I know nothing of a cement trust; I know nothing of a blacktop trust,” he declared. “I want to see this state get the very best return for its money that is possible.” Donavan criticized Wolf for airing the matter in the newspapers and admitted that while a special executive committee had been created, it had been approved of by the WSGRA at the organization’s meeting in Yakima the previous year. But Wolf produced a copy of a letter Donavan wrote to C. H. Shields—who had regularly campaigned with Carlyon around the state in support of the road bill—authorizing Shields to establish a publicity committee.

Donavan had no choice but to admit that Wolf’s accusations were indeed true. He recognized that the association had been badly divided by the Carlyon road bill, particularly by the manner in which the campaign had proceeded. “I will add,” Donavan stated at the end of the WSGRA meeting, “that it is my desire to heal the breach which seems to have arisen between eastern Washington and western Washington.” Clearly, the battle over the Carlyon road bill bitterly divided communities in the state. Thus the battle in 1920 for good
During the 1920s the automobile industry became big business, fueling the economy as well as the need for better roads. Western Auto catalog cover.

roads played a significant role in creating a wedge between the eastern and western regions of the state that still remains.

As the 1920 November elections drew near, Johnson conveyed to Frank Guilbert, president of the Eastern Washington Highway Association, his apprehension that the efforts to defeat the referendum might fail, particularly in the wake of the WSGRA meeting. Guilbert told Johnson not to worry. On election day Guilbert’s optimism held true. Washington voters soundly defeated the referendum 191,783 to 117,425. Interestingly, 8 of the state’s 18 westside counties voted against the measure, including the state’s two most populated counties, King and Pierce. Johnson’s message had definitely gotten through. On election day Johnson wrote Guilbert that he hoped a victory would “destroy the efficiency of the machine he [Senator Carlyon] has so cleverly been operating and manipulating for several years past.”

Johnson, however, found that his victory over the cement trust and powerful members of the senate did not come without a price. During the next two legislative sessions, in 1921 and 1923, Johnson found that many of his proposed bills did not make it out of committee, and when they did his measures were soundly defeated on the floor. In addition, his request for a seat on the Rules Committee was blocked by Carlyon and Hall. And road construction on Highway 22, which was designed to connect various communities in Stevens County, came to a standstill as the state Highway Board, under Carlyon’s influence, decided to delay funding of that road.

Johnson’s defeats did not go unnoticed in eastern Washington. The Newport Miner reported that Johnson’s stance on several measures put him at odds with a majority of the senate. The Miner also noted that some legislators accused Johnson of proposing measures purely to further his own political ambitions. To answer his critics, Johnson, three weeks after one of his resolutions was defeated, announced his retirement from the Washington state senate.

Rumors quickly surfaced, however, regarding Johnson’s future political ambitions. Some news reports said that Johnson would soon be on the federal Circuit Court of Appeals. But one of the reasons Johnson decided to retire was that his work in Olympia limited the amount of time he could devote to his expanding law practice. His political reputation for toughness attracted many clients who sought that same quality in their attorney, particular among mining companies in the region. Yet rumors of Johnson’s higher political aspirations were not unfounded. In 1924 Johnson successfully ran for lieutenant governor.

As for road building in Washington, the new Roland Hartley administration adopted the “pay-as-you-go” program promoted by opponents of the Carlyon road bill. Despite the fact that more and more state citizens owned cars, there was a strong conviction to reduce state government spending. Through the remainder of the decade Hartley maintained a conservative road-building program. Only the Great Depression and the new administration of Governor Clarence C. Martin, a Democrat, renewed highway construction in the state, but this time as a relief measure.

Johnson’s fight against the Carlyon road bill illustrates several important historical themes. The controversy is a case study of the highway construction debates that surfaced during the rise of the automobile age in the United States in the 1920s. It further illuminates the intersecting themes of the antitrust movement of the Progressive Era and the conservative nature of the decade. And lastly, Johnson’s fight against the cement trust, backed by the power brokers in the state legislature, demonstrates the growing complexity of Washington state politics and the political struggle to create crucial transportation routes for rural communities.

Stephen W. ChARRY received his doctorate in history from Washington State University in 1997. His dissertation examined, primarily, W. Lon Johnson’s defense of the mining industry in pollution litigation in the Pacific Northwest, in addition to his political career. For the past five years ChARRY has taught history at Central Washington University in Ellensburg as an adjunct professor.
Filling in the Blanks

You probably would like to get rid of some of the question marks from the D. Ellis Willes article in the Summer 1999 COLUMBIA. I submit two for your consideration.

Page 35, column one: "The best route for a Pacific Rail Road is from Duluth, Minnesota across to Puget Sound...." It seems to me that Asa Whitney surveyed such a route about 1845. Rev. Willes likely knew about it as the local newspaper was beating this drum. The Northern Pacific Railroad Company started laying rails at Duluth on August 15, 1870.

Page 37, column one: "...When the Pacific Rail Road is opened we shall become the entrepôt of that great China and India Trade with our country, England and Continental Europe." To save you the trouble of finding the exact meaning, entrepôt (1758)—"an intermediary center of trade and transshipment." That fits the situation like the famed glove.

—Donald B. Robertson
Menlo Park, California

Additional Reading

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

The Sacagawea Mystique

The Journals of the Lewis and Clark Expedition (12 vols. to date), ed. by Gary E. Moulton. Lincoln & London: University of Nebraska Press, 1983—.


C. E. S. Wood


Anything but Natural


Centralia’s Union Mural


Cook’s Last Voyage


Fighting the Cement Trust


The series begins with 24 documents, printed in chronological order in two sections: “Early Explorers” and “Fur Hunters.” There are rare letters, Lewis and Clark items, Niles Weekly Register newspaper accounts, and obscure sources such as Daniel Fott’s “Letters from the Rocky Mountains [1824-1828],” printed in the Philadelphia Gazette and Daily Advertiser in 1826-1827. Volume one (of four now in print) contains a complete chronological listing of all 712 items from the combined Wagner-Camp-Becker bibliography of 1982, as well as an alphabetical listing of all authors. The table of contents for the entire series completes the book. There is no index. Readers will have to buy volume eight to have this. The books are handsomely printed by the Arthur H. Clark Company of Spokane, whose own tradition of printing collections of source materials on the West is now a century old and is best associated with the series, Early Western Travels (32 volumes, 1904-1907).

William Swagerty is professor of history at the University of Idaho. He is a well-published and highly respected scholar in the field of the American fur trade and exploration, and he has also curated museum exhibitions.

**Northwest Women**

An Annotated Bibliography of Sources of Oregon and Washington Women, 1787-1970


Reviewed by Mildred Tanner Andrews.

Karen Blair’s bibliography is a valuable resource that identifies more than 700 published books, scholarly articles, and reference works on the history of Oregon and Washington women. As the first work of its kind, the book includes descriptive annotations of each entry, along with a detailed index. It will enable researchers to locate hard-to-find sources about diverse subjects including homesteaders, missionaries, suffragists, canner workers, artists, mothers, businesswomen, and many others. References are from both urban and rural areas, including notable and unsung women from various racial, ethnic, socioeconomic and religious groups.

Blair claims to have “recorded the title of every published book, scholarly article, and important reference work published before 1995 that addressed women’s roles in Washington and Oregon history.” She notes that she has excluded sources in languages other than English, unpublished oral history transcriptions, works of fiction, and primary sources. I would caution the researcher that Blair’s bibliography is not as comprehensive as she claims and that some valuable published books and scholarly articles that meet her criteria are missing. That said, I am grateful for this long-awaited volume that will hopefully inspire new works on Northwest women’s history. In addition to providing an overview of work that has been done, it will help researchers to identify undocumented topics that remain to be interpreted by future historians.

Mildred Andrews is the author of six books and numerous articles on Northwest social history. She has a doctorate from the University of Washington and lives in Seattle where she specializes in historical research, writing and education.
North American Exploration
Vol. 3 of 3: A Continent Comprehended
Edited by John Logan Allen. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1997; 621 pp.; $70.
Reviewed by David L. Nicandri.

Exploration is among the handful of historical topics that are perennially popular, though it has its ebbs and flows. There was a crescendo of interest in the early 1980s within the scholarly community of western historians and it would seem that Stephen Ambrose's spectacular success with Undaunted Courage, conjoined with the upcoming bicentennial of the Lewis and Clark expedition, will rekindle the field.

The present volume, the final in a series of three, edited by the eminent geographical historian John Logan Allen, provides a sound basis for future "exploration" of the topic. Following the first volume, A New World Disclosed, and the second, A Continent Defined, this final volume covers at considerable length the geographic investigation of North America during a period that one of the volume's contributors, William Goetzmann, has previously described as the "Second Great Age of Discovery." Best associated with its prototypical exponent, Captain James Cook, the focus of this age within its North American context was the final pursuit of the ancient dream of a northwest passage through or over North America and a more careful delineation of the interior and northern (i.e., Arctic coastal) limits of the continent.

The contributors pulled together by the editor include some names that are well-known to the history of American exploration—James Ronda on the "Age of Jefferson" (mostly an explication of Lewis and Clark), Richard Bartlett on the great surveys of the post-Civil War era, and the aforementioned Goetzmann. But by far of most interest to the casual or perhaps even the expert student of exploration are the essays on the search for knowledge of Canadian geography. Allen himself makes a significant contribution to our understanding of the fur trade's informal processes of discovery north of the 49th parallel. His essay and that by W. Gildes Ross on "Nineteenth-Century Exploration of the Arctic" are the best of the group. In the latter, the prelude, context and aftermath of the loss of the Captain John Franklin expedition are exquisitely put forward in the simplest and most coherent manner I have ever read.

But be forewarned. The maps provided by the publisher in this volume are terrible. The type and cartography are minuscule. How time-consuming but worth the effort for the armchair explorer.

David L. Nicandri is director of the Washington State Historical Society and a frequent media commentator on Pacific Northwest exploration.

Current & Noteworthy
By Robert C. Carriker

While it's true that books published in conjunction with exhibitions organized by the Seattle Art Museum can be expensive, in most cases they are worth the price, especially for those who missed viewing the exhibition in person. Native Visions: Evolution in Northwest Coast Art from the Eighteenth through the Twentieth Century has recently closed at SAM, but the book by the same name, prepared by associate curator of Native American art Steven C. Brown (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1998; 244 pp.; $70 cloth, $40 paper), has a limitless future. Brown's point is that Northwest Coast art is a flexible medium and the bowls, masks, boxes and weavings that make it unique are constantly being reinterpreted. For proof he offers sharp, detailed photographs (by Paul Macapia) of 160 objects, each of them chronologically grouped to show evolutionary changes. This is a bold, handsome book.

For 55 years Jacob Lawrence, celebrated Northwest artist and professor emeritus of art at the University of Washington, has placed his pen-and-ink drawings on exhibition, either in a museum or in book form. In 1969 Lawrence paid tribute to an important childhood influence, Aesop's Fables, when he prepared illustrations for a book that was published the following year. Recently University of Washington Press has reissued the original book, graced it with a new design and type, and upgraded it from 18 fables to 23. Lawrence first sketched Aesop's Greek morality tales using humans. He later replaced people with members of the animal and insect kingdoms and in the process achieved memorable results (Aesop's Fables, illustrated by Jacob Lawrence. Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1997; 55 pp.; $18.95). Clearly, this is no children's primer.

*Witch of Kodakery: The Photography of Myra Albert Wiggins, 1869–1956,* by Carole Glauber (Pullman: Washington State University Press, 1997; 160 pp.; $42 cloth, $28 paper) is a nicely balanced biography supported by abundant illustrations. Myra Wiggins began her professional career as a photographer in 1891 and continued through 1929 when her most prolific years drew to a close. In that span of time she earned her reputation as a photographic pioneer by hard work and creativity. Winner of more than 50 awards for excellence, Wiggins's portfolio includes landscapes, portraits, family life and travel scenes. Glauber writes a strong, sensitive biography and wisely includes 70 original photographs. As is the case with the previously mentioned Native Visions, the show at the Portland Art Museum has already closed, but Glauber's photo-biography will be treasured for a long time to come by those who have, and have not, viewed the exhibition.

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North Central Washington Museum Association
Northwest Chapter of the Oregon-California Trail Association
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