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COVER: Some of the ice harvested in Inland Northwest rivers, lakes, and ponds found its way to city iceboxes, which in turn supplied the refrigerators, or “iceboxes,” of city dwellers. The Stone White Company manufactured its refrigerators from quarried stone, solid oak, and heavy steel. The maid delights the family with a frozen dessert on the cover of this colorful c. 1910 catalog. See related article beginning on page 34. (Courtesy Special Collections, Washington State Historical Society.)
Everest is symbolic. Say the name and you think of the highest, the farthest, the greatest challenge. But I dare say most people never think much of Everest. It's as though the window to that part of their awareness has never been opened.

A few years ago I was flying in an airplane over the Pacific Ocean. The captain announced we'd leveled off 29,000 feet, thirty-five feet below the height of Everest. You could climb the tail, and be as high as the highest place on earth.

So I'm thinking about that as I look down at the ocean, and at the incredible mountains of clouds rising above it. People around me are reading their magazines, and taking a nap. My neck hurts from looking out the window, but I can't stop. I imagine climbing the clouds, testing myself against the peaks and traverses. Places for giants to climb, and I've joined them. Picking my routes, finding handholds on the shifting clouds, at the top of the world.

I'll bet that Mallory climbed the clouds, when he looked up at Everest from base camp, and wondered if he'd ever reach the highest spot on earth. Perhaps he got as high as I am now, but he never lived to tell of it. I know for sure if he was here, he'd be looking out this window.

I'm brought back to reality when the stewardess comes over the loudspeaker. "Please close your windows so we can begin our movie." I'm blown away, I knew it was coming, but still I'm blown away. How can I close the window? I've never seen anything like this. People died to get a view from this height. The stewardess comes back a couple of times, and points to the open window.

I try to tell her about Everest, and the challenge of reaching the highest place on earth. But she isn't buying any of it. So finally I close the window, no longer an explorer, but now a passenger in a black box. The movie has started. It's an adventure film at 29,000 feet. It's actually called "Above the Clouds," and the irony is almost too much to believe. The film is full of real life, I guess. Car chases, gun battles, fist fights. Pretty entertaining stuff.

I later write a letter to the president of Hawaiian Airlines. "How dare we close the windows?" I ask. And I tell him of Everest, and Mallory and Irvine, throw in something about the Wright Brothers, and question whether it's ignorance or fear that keeps our feet locked to low ground.

I'm optimistic that he'll send me a card, a pass to flash at the stewardess next time. A dispensation to look out the window, to dream of high places and a borderless world. But alas, it's a lowest-common-denominator letter that arrives. "For the good of the masses," it says, "The windows stay closed."

We need exhibits like Detectives on Everest to help open some of those windows. To show people the distant edge of the earth, to celebrate and inspire great adventures of all kinds, be they of the mind or body.

I hope this show might stimulate people to look a little farther, to pick their own Everest, and realize that there's no failure in not reaching the summit, but only in failing to take the first step up the hill.

—Richard Frederick, curator for Detectives on Everest
speaking or writing about Abraham Lincoln is a daunting challenge for anyone because, with the possible exception of George Washington, Abraham Lincoln has to be the most venerated American of all time. Indeed, I believe that more books and articles have been written about Lincoln than any other American. In fact, more may have been written about him than any person in history, with the exception of Jesus Christ. In addition, he has been the subject of countless speeches, essays, and plays. He has even been portrayed in motion pictures numerous times. On top of that, just about everyone—including most of you, I’m sure—think that they already know a lot about Lincoln.

My challenge here is to discuss the great man in a way that is accurate and, at the same time, fresh and relevant to the world we live in. As I pondered this challenge, I turned the following question over in my mind: Why is it that this man who, after all, has been dead for so many years, has such a hold on Americans?

Lincoln did not have a long life—he was only 56 years old when he died. We know, also, that Lincoln was born into poverty. His mother died when he was young and he did not get along very well with his father. As we learned in grade school, Lincoln essentially had no formal education. He was, to be sure, a large man, the tallest of all our presidents, but many people thought that he was homely and even a bit crude. Beyond that, by most accounts, Lincoln had a high-pitched, almost falsetto, speaking voice—not a soothing voice like that of actor Henry Fonda who portrayed him on the silver screen.

Lincoln was, of course, president of the United States, but he did not serve very long in that capacity. He held the office only one four-year term plus a mere month of a second term.

Unlike most of our presidents, Abraham Lincoln did not have a particularly distinguished public career before assuming the presidency. His only military service was in the so-called “Black Hawk” War. He even took the unpopular stance of publicly opposing the Mexican War in the late 1840s. The only elective offices Lincoln held before becoming president were an unremarkable seven-year stint in the Illinois legislature and one term in the United States House of Representatives. In 1858, just two years before he was elected president, he lost his second attempt to be elected to the United States Senate.

Finally, during the entire course of his presidency, Lincoln was occupied with the burden of prosecuting a war against the southern states that had seceded from the Union. This war did not go at all well at first and eventually resulted in more American deaths and casualties than any other conflict. In the one-day Battle of Antietam, which took place on September 17, 1862, the Union and Confederate Armies together suffered 23,000 casualties.

I ask the question again—why is it that Lincoln is so revered?

Well, for essentially the same reasons we were taught as children. He stood firmly, some would say stubbornly, for maintaining the Union and he never wavered from that goal, even though he met opposition and criticism from much of the press of the day as well as many in Congress. On occasion, he didn’t even have the full support of his own cabinet members. Toward his goal of maintaining the Union, Lincoln kept after his often timid generals to prosecute the war more vigorously. When he finally found two that would do just that—Ulysses S. Grant and William Tecumseh Sherman—the war came to a swift and successful conclusion.

Although he initially put maintenance of the Union before abolition of slavery, he recognized, as he stated in a speech in Springfield, Illinois, that this nation “cannot endure permanently half slave and half free.” And, as we know, in the midst of that war he issued his famous Emancipation Proclamation, which abolished slavery in the states that were in rebellion.

Lincoln is also revered for his facility with the language. That was a time before presidential speech writers and spin doctors, and presidents wrote their own speeches and letters.
The prose of this self-taught man from the prairies is among the finest in the English language. His Gettysburg address, which most of us had to memorize in grade school, is an eloquent testimonial to that fact. Lincoln’s famous second inaugural address also showed a quality that Americans have traditionally admired—compassion for the vanquished. As historian Richard C. White, Jr., observed in his book *Lincoln’s Greatest Speech: The Second Inaugural*, the president wanted this speech to “lay the groundwork for a reconstruction of compassion and reconciliation.” That is apparent from these famous words in the speech: “With malice toward none; with charity for all; with firmness in the right, as God gives us to see the right, let us strive on to finish the work we are in; to bind up the nation’s wounds, to care for him who shall have borne the battle, and for his widow, and his orphan, to do all which may achieve a just and lasting peace among ourselves....”

Finally, of course, Lincoln’s place in history was assured when he became a martyred president, struck down on Good Friday, 1865, by a bullet fired by John Wilkes Booth in Ford’s Theatre in Washington. While the assassination of a president has always been a traumatic event for our country, the effect of this act was made all the more poignant by the fact that it occurred at the height of Lincoln’s success as president, just a month after he was inaugurated for a second term and five days after General Lee surrendered the Army of Northern Virginia to General Grant.

Let me advance another reason for the affection Americans have for Abraham Lincoln that is, perhaps, not as well recognized. I think it is due, in large part, to the fact that he was, more than any of the 15 presidents who preceded him, the authentic American man of his time—warm, compassionate, witty, and earthy. He certainly differed from many of our early presidents who, as great as they were, had much more of a European manner about them. Four of the first five, including George Washington and Thomas Jefferson, were well-to-do Virginians who had an aristocratic bearing. The two Adamses, John and John Quincy, presidents number two and six, were not men of great wealth, but they were superbly educated and sophisticated men who had seen many of Europe’s capitals before they became president. Most of the other presidents who preceded Lincoln were well educated, and at least three, including Andrew Jackson—the first president to hail from west of the Appalachians—had served as distinguished generals in the army.

Lincoln, though, was unique in that this truly uncommon man seemed nonetheless an average American. He was born in Kentucky on what was then the Western frontier of our nation. As a youth he moved even farther west with his family and eventually settled in Illinois where he became a lawyer. Along the way he picked up what education he could. He could hardly be described as worldly, but rather was seen throughout his life as a man of the people—rough-hewn and plain-spoken—a person with whom farmers, business persons, and just plain citizens could identify. Lincoln was, as we know, noted for his homespun humor, and a lot has been written about that. Much of his humor was self-deprecating, and it contributed to his image as a common man. Abe as a lawyer, of course, knew a lot of judges and they did not escape his wit. Although this story may be apocryphal, he is credited with saying, “The strongest example of ‘regal government’ and close construction I ever knew was that of Judge ______. It was once said of him that he would hang a man for blowing his nose on the street, but that he would quash the indictment if it failed to specify which hand he blew it with.”

Although I think I have been historically accurate about Abraham Lincoln up to this point, I don’t believe I have given you any fresh insight into the life of this remarkable man. That, in my view, is the toughest part of the challenge. In pondering what new information I might give you, it occurred to me that not much has been written about Lincoln’s influence on the area of the nation in which we now live. Although Washington was not a state during Lincoln’s
presidency, the federal Territory of Washington had been created by Congress in 1853. And although Lincoln clearly had bigger fish to fry during the years of his presidency, I thought that he must have had some influence on the course of events out West here in this new territory. We know that he had always been intrigued by the Far West and that as early as 1859 he favored development of a transcontinental railroad from the Midwest to California.

But what about the Pacific Northwest? Although Lincoln had turned down President Zachary Taylor’s offer of the governorship of the Oregon Territory, of which Washington was once a part, he never visited the Northwest. Needless to say, we were a backwater during those war years, and a railroad connecting Puget Sound to the eastern portion of the United States was merely a dream.

As I looked into this, I concluded that Lincoln had a significant impact on Washington Territory—much more than I would have thought. As president, of course, he had the power to appoint territorial governors, and he also had the right to appoint the members of territorial supreme courts. Only the territory’s legislative assembly was elected by its resident citizens.

Lincoln appointed the fourth and fifth territorial governors of the Washington Territory, and they were far different men from most of those who had been appointed by Lincoln’s predecessors. The second and third territorial governors, both of whom were appointed by President James Buchanan, were not at all distinguished. In fact, the only accomplishment of the second governor, Fayette McMullen, was to rid himself of his wife. He arrived in the territorial capital, Olympia, in September 1857, and in the December session of the territorial legislature got a bill through that body granting him a divorce. He then married another woman and promptly left Olympia, returning to his home in Virginia. During the Civil War he served as a member of the Confederate Congress. Buchanan’s other appointee, the third governor, William Gholson, was an ardent “copperhead,” which meant that he was a Democrat who favored peace, believing that the northern armies could not conquer the South. He resigned the governorship on the day Lincoln was sworn in as president, saying that he was “unwilling to hold office even for a single day under a Republican president.”

Lincoln’s appointees were a cut above McMullen and Gholson. His first appointee, William Wallace, was the first governor of the territory to reside in the territory at the time of his appointment. He was a good man but didn’t stay governor for long because he was elected as the territory’s delegate to Congress. He later served as governor of the Idaho Territory. Eventually he returned to live in Steilacoom, where he served as a probate judge until he died in 1879.

Lincoln’s next appointee as governor was William Pickering. The territory’s “war governor” because he served in that position from 1862 until the end of the Civil War, Pickering was a good friend of President Lincoln’s and had served as chair of the

William Pickering, appointed governor of Washington Territory by President Lincoln in 1862.

James Wyche, one of Abe Lincoln’s three appointees to the Supreme Court of Washington Territory.

William Wallace, Lincoln’s first appointee and the first governor of Washington Territory to reside there at the time of his appointment.
Illinois delegation to the Republican Convention of 1860 during which Lincoln received the nomination for president. Interestingly, Lincoln actually offered Pickering his choice of the ambassadorship to England or governor of the Washington Territory. Surprisingly, he chose the governorship. During his term in office Pickering favored development in more ways than one, actually encouraging the shipment of the 300 famous “Mercer girls” from Boston to the territory.

It was not Lincoln's executive appointments, though, that had the greatest impact on the territory—it was his judicial appointments. Lincoln appointed three very fine people to the supreme court of the Washington Territory, a three-judge court of “circuit riders.” By that I mean for most of the year they literally rode around this vast territory on horseback and heard cases as trial judges. But in December of each year they would assemble in Olympia as a supreme court to hear any appeals from those decisions. Apparently, no one was greatly troubled by the fact that one of the three was necessarily called upon to review his own decision in any appeal.

The three judges Lincoln appointed were Ethelbert Oliphant, James Wyche, and C. C. Hewitt. Hewitt was the chief justice and, incidentally, the great-grandfather of Judge Hewitt Henry, with whom I had the honor of serving on the Thurston County Superior Court. The three Lincoln appointees served as Washington Territory's judges throughout the Civil War and into the late 1860s. These men were very different from the judges who had preceded them. Nowhere is this difference more evident than in cases that came before them involving the native people who lived in the territory. The reported cases between 1853 and 1861 show that the territorial judges who preceded Lincoln's presidency had only slight regard for the Indian people. That is most evident in an opinion of the court upholding the murder conviction of Chief Leschi.

You may recall that Leschi was charged with killing Colonel Moses in an ambush on Connell's Prairie. Although the evidence was slim that he actually killed Moses, many people, including a number of United States military personnel, felt that even if Leschi had committed the act, the death came about as a result of war between the whites and the Indians. Therefore, they believed, he should be treated as a prisoner of war and not a criminal. Despite a jury instruction from the trial judge that the jury should acquit if they believed the death of Colonel Moses was due to an act of war, the jury at Leschi's first trial was unable to reach a verdict. A member of that jury was the well-known pioneer, Ezra Meeker. At the second trial Leschi was convicted and sentenced to death. Shortly thereafter, the territorial supreme court reviewed the conviction and tipped its hand early in the opinion as to what Leschi's fate would be. They said:

The prisoner has occupied a position of influence as one of a band of Indians who, in connection with tribes, sacrificed the lives of so many of our citizens in the war so cruelly waged against our people on the waters of Puget Sound.

It speaks volumes for our people that, notwithstanding the spirit of indignation and revenge, so natural to the human heart, incited by the ruthless massacre of their families, that at the trial of the accused, deliberate impartiality has been manifested at every stage of the proceedings.

... It is to be regretted, for the sake of the accused, as well as the future peace of the Territory, that a more summary mode of trial...had not been adopted.

Leschi's conviction was upheld and he was hanged very soon thereafter at Fort Steilacoom.

Contrast the above, from the pre-Lincoln territorial court, with an opinion written for the territorial supreme court by Judge Wyche only four years later in Elick v. The Territory. The facts there were that Elick, an Indian, had been found guilty of murder and sentenced to death. The supreme court of the territory reversed the non-English speaking defendant's conviction because he had not been afforded an interpreter. The court said:

In any other view of the matter, his personal attendance would be a meaningless ceremony and the prisoner tried in violation of the laws and Constitution of the land. The Constitution of the United States is coextensive with the vast empire that has grown up under it, and its provisions securing certain rights to the accused in criminal cases, are as living and potent on the shores of the Pacific as in the city of its birth. In the matter of these rights it knows no race. It is the rich inheritance of all, and under its provisions in the Courts of the country, on a trial for life, the savage of the forest is the peer of the President.

When I read this passage the other day for the first time, chills ran up my spine. This is a terrific passage, particularly when one remembers that this was written more than 30 years before the United States Supreme Court's infamous decision in Plessy v. Ferguson, in which Mr. Justice Harlan wrote, albeit in dissent, that "our constitution is colorblind and neither knows nor tolerates classes among citizens." I wondered, could Harlan have known of Wyche's memorable words, that the Constitution "knows no race," when he penned his famous words?

What a proud legacy for all of us in Washington to have such stirring words in an early opinion of the court from which Washington's present-day courts descend. I don't know if we as judges and lawyers have always lived up to those words, but I hope that we have and that we will. When we do, as we should, we can tip our hat to Old Abe for long ago appointing persons to the highest court in Washington who had the courage to act in a way that has served as a fine example for us all.

After serving for 21 years as a trial and appellate court judge, Gerry L. Alexander became a Washington State Supreme Court justice in 1995, and in 2000 was elected to the position of chief justice.
The Evolving and Misleading Documentary Record of the Expedition Inventory

By Kenneth Karsmizki

The late Stephen Ambrose, one of the widely recognized authors on the Lewis and Clark expedition, once remarked that planning for the physical needs of the expedition was "as much guesswork as...intelligent forecasting." What would Meriwether Lewis and his band of explorers need to cross the North American continent and return? What, how much, what kind, and how wide a variety were all issues that Lewis had to anticipate, plan for, and suffer the consequences of. In retrospect, how well did Lewis do in his "intelligent forecasting" of the expedition's needs?

There is no easy answer since many original documents relating to this subject appear to be lost. Lewis's task of planning for the expedition presented a number of challenges. How many men would go, how far would they travel, how long would it take, and how many trades would be made and presents given to pave their way across the continent? With limited knowledge of the American West there was

Beads were one of the main currencies used in trade, and blue beads were in high demand. A string of faceted "Russian" type beads (background) and round cobalt blue beads strung with dentalia shells are shown in this image.
no sure answer to these questions. What was the solution? Plan, gather new intelligence, modify, reflect, negotiate, and adapt. How to equip the expedition was not a decision that could be made only once—it was made time and time again.

The written record supplies information that at first glance seems pretty comprehensive. We know Lewis divided his equipment needs into seven discrete categories: arms, ammunition and accouterments; medicines; clothing; mathematical instruments; camp equipment; provisions; and Indian presents. There was one other equipment need that Lewis took into consideration—transportation—but that part of the expedition’s logistics was considered separately from the other seven categories. Of Lewis’s seven categories, the most costly was Indian presents. At $669.50, it was just over 30 percent of the total initial expenditure on the expedition’s equipment. This attests to the importance both Jefferson and Lewis placed on Indian relations with regard to the expedition’s ultimate success.

Protocols and Patterns

For all practical purposes the “Indian presents” did often serve the function of gifts to native people the corps met along the trail. But this merchandise also served the purpose of trade when the Lewis and Clark expedition needed essentials such as food, horses, canoes, as well as many nonessentials that simply caught their fancy.

Historian James Ronda explains:

Colonial experience taught that fruitful diplomacy and peaceful relations with native people required the exchange of gifts at each meeting. By the time Jefferson created the Corps of Discovery, gifts were a recognized part of the protocol of Indian diplomacy. To venture up the Missouri without a carefully selected store of goods was to challenge foolishly the river gods.

Knowledge gained during the colonial experience was enhanced by information from individuals who had recently returned from the West. Preferences for certain merchandise and indifference to other items was valuable information exchanged on a regular basis.

Because this was an expedition launched by the federal government, Lewis had access to all government intelligence. He probably gained information from the purveyor of public supplies and the superintendent of military stores, both of whom dealt routinely with Indian goods. Lewis had dealings with both of these offices, which had supplied government trade factories at Tellico (Tennessee) and Colerain (Florida) since 1795, and Detroit, Fort Wayne (Indiana), Fort St. Stephens (Alabama), and Chickasaw Bluffs (today’s Memphis, Tennessee) since 1802.

Lewis also was undoubtedly privy to information from Boston merchants who had more than a decade of experience trading with Northwest Coast Indians. Captain Robert Gray had opened that trade to United States businessmen in 1792, and multiple ships from Boston reached the mouth of the Columbia River every year. The taste for trade goods changed periodically from initial contact to the early 20th century. One study of silver trade goods summed up the standard operation of this trade, “First Nations peoples had repeatedly initiated the patterns they desired, and the suppliers merely responded to the consumers.”

Hiram Chittenden said that underlying the trade was “a keen contempt for the stupid taste of the other.” Lewis
and Clark apparently shared this attitude; all too frequently they acquired something they wanted in exchange for what they described as "articles of no great value." Scholars have also asserted that Indians were mystified by an exchange of manufactured goods that must have been difficult to produce, for furs that were so easy for skilled hunters to come by.

Because of the extensive body of writing resulting from the Lewis and Clark expedition, this issue of trade goods can be explored; but is the complete inventory knowable? We are fortunate to have a number of the original lists Lewis made of his "outfit." In fact, there are letters between Jefferson and Lewis, Lewis and Clark, and Lewis to a variety of officials that document his thinking about what would be needed by the expedition. Receipts from merchants verify where Lewis got some of these provisions and even how they were contained or stowed for the trip.

Eastern Supplies

The National Archives holds some of the supply lists that Lewis wrote out. His initial "List of Requirements" was compiled in the spring of 1803 with the belief that he would be leading a company of approximately ten men across the continent. The number of participants obviously would influence the quantity and possibly even the types of most of the equipment and supplies needed. Some types of supplies, however, would be influenced by other factors. For instance, the appropriate amount of Indian presents needed to be based on the number of tribes and the number of individual Indians encountered—essentially the number of occasions for giving gifts or trading throughout the journey. But the extent of the opportunity for Indian encounters was unknown prior to the expedition's departure. A great expanse of their trail would pass through "terra incognita."

Nevertheless, decisions had to be made and the 1803 list included an estimate of "Indian Presents" needed for the expedition. Lewis's handwriting is legible and the casual observer can read many of the items he identified, such as beads, brass thimbles, knives, pipe toma-hawks, moccasin awls, and wampum, to name just a few. There are 51 entries in Lewis's initial list of Indian presents.

In some cases a type of Indian present was listed more than once. Beads, for instance, appear four times on the list—wampum, red beads, white beads, and yellow or orange beads. Blue beads do not show up on the initial list, but Lewis became aware of the value of the blue bead in trade before he left the East Coast. Regarding blue beads, Lewis noted: "This is a coarse cheap bead imported from China, & costing in England 13 d. the lbs. in strands. It is far more valued than the white beads of the same manufacture and answers all the purposes of money, being counted by the fathom." Historian Donald Jackson points out that, even with the advanced knowledge that blue beads were important in trade, Lewis "underestimated the preference of the Indians for blue over white, took too few blue ones, and lamented the fact in his journal."

Here are some categories that stand out in Lewis's list of required Indian presents. Personal items account for 21 entries. These include adornments, such as armbands, brooches, ear trinkets, beads, finger rings, and wampum. Also included are items of clothing, calico shirts, and garters. And there are toilet articles such as brass and cast-iron combs and vermillion.

Another important group of presents was tools and equipment. Examples of the tools from this initial list include awls, axes, knives, fish hooks, and fish gigs. Some of the tools were for textile working, including scissors, needles, cloth, thread, and thimbles. But in the case of thimbles, their actual use was adornment rather than sewing. The thimbles were invariably used as tinklers on clothing or bags, as hair ornaments, and other decorative elements.

There were items of furnishings such as blankets and brass curtain rings. As was the case with the thimbles, the curtain rings had a purpose other than hanging draperies, given Lewis's specification that they be "sufficiently large for the finger." Blankets served a dual function as clothing and bedding. Lewis initially believed that raw materials were needed for gifts or trade, so he included iron wire, brass wire, sheet iron, copper, and tin on his list of requirements.

In a matter of a few months, during the spring of 1803, Lewis was able to accumulate a wide variety of goods for use as Indian presents or trade. The inventory of goods was supplied by the government's Indian and military departments and a number of Philadelphia merchants, including: George Lawton, Nicholas Lloyd, Thomas Leiper, and Benjamin Harbeson & Son, to name just a few.

As fortune would have it, a list of what Lewis actually purchased back east, as opposed to what he planned to purchase, has also survived. And as might be expected, Lewis's purchases did not exactly match what he initially thought would be required for this expedition. Of the 51 entries on his initial "List of Requirements," about 10 percent did not appear on the eastern "Summary of Purchases." The items that were dropped were brass combs, silver nose trinkets, gunpowder, copper, tin, and vials of phosphorus. Did Lewis decide that these specific items were not necessary or was there some other reason they were dropped?

Although the number of entries in the two lists went virtually unchanged,
The original list of “Indian Presents,” a recapitulation of purchases by the purveyor for Captain Lewis, is one of the few surviving expedition documents held by the National Archives.

Thomas Jefferson medals of three sizes (105 mm, 76 mm, 55 mm) were brought along to honor Indian leaders the expedition met along the way. The exact number of Jefferson peace medals carried by the expedition is unknown.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Indian presents</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>12 Pipe Tobacco</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 oz. Strip, Sheet Iron</td>
<td>1.62</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Pint Flask 47½  ½</td>
<td>94</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1½ Pint Hachauching ½</td>
<td>58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 dz. Iron Comb</td>
<td>3.38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 caty Ind. &amp; Sleeks</td>
<td>1.35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2½ lb. Lead &amp; Shot</td>
<td>3.93</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1½ lb. Lead Clock</td>
<td>8.13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 lb. Sea 8½ No. 7</td>
<td>3.93</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 oz. Bending</td>
<td>2.61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 dz. Boots</td>
<td>1.73</td>
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<tr>
<td>4 dz. Butcher Knife</td>
<td>1.38</td>
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<tr>
<td>12½ oz. Pocket Lining</td>
<td>1.99</td>
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<tr>
<td>15½ oz. Silver 8½</td>
<td>5.96</td>
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<tr>
<td>2½ lb. Ram Casings</td>
<td>1.99</td>
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<tr>
<td>7¼ lb. Straps &amp; Ribbons</td>
<td>3.89</td>
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<tr>
<td>3½ dz. Brass Beats</td>
<td>1.99</td>
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<tr>
<td>6 Paper Small Bells</td>
<td>2.51</td>
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<tr>
<td>160 woot 4½ large 8½</td>
<td>2.25</td>
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<tr>
<td>7½ dz. Brass Beats ½</td>
<td>1.99</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3½ dz. Tin &amp; Brass ½</td>
<td>2.25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1½ dz. Needle Case</td>
<td>1.73</td>
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</tbody>
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BELOW: Thomas Jefferson medals of three sizes (105 mm, 76 mm, 55 mm) were brought along to honor Indian leaders the expedition met along the way. The exact number of Jefferson peace medals carried by the expedition is unknown.
there were 14 types of items on the “Summary of Purchases” that were not on the initial list. These items included bells, brads, corn mills, knitting pins, lockets, needle cases, hatband tinsel, and a variety of other items. Between compiling the first list and making his purchases, Lewis had changed his mind on a number of points. Brass combs had been dropped and ivory combs added. Copper and tin were not purchased but strips of brass were. Knitting pins, corn mills, and needle cases somehow became important merchandise to carry across the continent.

Thus, the cargo intended for Indian presents had evolved from the earliest list to the items actually purchased from eastern merchants. It would evolve again before the Lewis and Clark expedition departed from St. Louis in the spring of 1804.

St. Louis Supplies

It was fortuitous that the Corps of Discovery was forced to winter-over near St. Louis, the heart of the Missouri River fur trade. Opinions regarding what was necessary beyond the frontier were in good supply. Lewis had direct access to Manuel Lisa, August Chouteau, Pierre Menard, and other leaders of the fur trade. He obviously took their advice—his letters verify that he was frequently in St. Louis in search of additional supplies and equipment. In one letter Lewis complained to Clark that his dealings with Manuel Lisa had convinced him that the man was a scoundrel. In contrast, Lewis’s letters often praise the hospitality of August and Pierre Chouteau. These letters also show that Lewis was once again tapping the local resources of the army. All encounters were opportunities to discuss the logistics of the corps’ voyage and, therefore, the expedition’s cargo continued to evolve.

The next glimpse of what Lewis had amassed in his pile of presents and trade goods comes in the form of “Baling Invoices,” which must have been written during the winter of 1803-04 at the Wood River camp in southwestern Illinois. Clark was bagging presents and assigning individual bags of goods to specific Indian peoples he expected to encounter. Bag 13 was intended for the Ponkas. Bag 30 was set aside for the Ottawa or Pawnees. And Bag 33 was prepared for the Maha people. In all, Clark created 15 individual parcels of what he called “Sundries for Indian Presents.” Many bags went unnamed, but Clark expected to distribute them later in the journey, identifying them as “Bales intended for foreign Nations that is those beyond the mandanes.”

An analysis of the “Baling Invoices” for the Indian presents reveals a much different picture than Lewis’s “Summary of Purchases” back east. The Wood River inventory of purchased Indian presents had reached 137 individual types of items. There were dozens of new things added to the inventory that had not appeared in the previous lists. Lewis gathered in a number of new clothing items, including three kinds of breechcloths, artillery coats, chief coats, hats, and leggings.

Analysis of the “Baling Invoices” reveals 15 different types or colors of beads compared to four in the first list. The quantity of beads increased from 30 pounds to 364 maces, 31 bunches, 20 small bunches, and two cards. In addition to the clothing and a vast array of beads, the Indian presents included soldiers’ plumes, Jew’s harps, razors, files, flags, and feather circles. Additions of silver moons, silver drops, and silver Jefferson peace medals reflected a refined taste that was characteristic of the period.

Selected items appear to have increased in importance as Lewis continued to adapt his notion of what would be needed. Back east 500 brooches seemed sufficient. In St. Louis that quantity was doubled. The number of handkerchiefs brought along as presents or trade items increased and now included cotton, silk, and East India muslin handkerchiefs. There were fancy handkerchiefs, pocket handkerchiefs, and bandanas.

The detail to be found in this record is exceptional, but some puzzling questions arise. Why does the list of Indian presents bought back east include six-and-a-half pounds of sheet iron while this item is absent in the Wood River “Baling Invoices”? Brads, brass kettles, corn mills, and fancy floss are listed as eastern purchases but do not appear in the “Baling Invoices.” A total of 2,800 fish hooks were acquired in Philadelphia, but only 488 are inventoried in Wood River. Lewis submitted a receipt from a Philadelphia merchant for fish gigs, but these gigs also do not appear on the Wood River “Baling Invoices,” and there are a number of earlier purchases that are absent from this list as well. What happened to these cargo items?

Brass combs had been dropped and ivory combs added. Copper and tin were not purchased but strips of brass were. Knitting pins, corn mills, and needle cases somehow became important merchandise to carry across the continent.
in the Wood River “Recapitulation.” The inconsistencies between the Wood River “Baling Invoices” and “Recapitulation” go on and on, confounding attempts to know with any certainty exactly what Lewis and Clark carried on their journey.

**Examining the Journals**

Is Lewis and Clark’s cargo, the totality of what they carried, knowable? Or has the historic record left us with a broad-brush picture that blurs upon closer examination. The two eastern inventories, the “Requirements” and the “Purchases,” demonstrate that Lewis’s mind was changing, his thought was evolving. The two Wood River documents confirm that the documentary records, although detailed, have internal inconsistencies. Are there other options for knowing the extent, variety, and quality of the expedition cargo?

There were at least six journals kept on the expedition—those of Lewis, Clark, Floyd, Ordway, Gass, and Whitehouse. A thorough line-by-line examination of these journals yields a considerable amount of data. The journals document the giving or trading of individual items on the lists. In Iowa, on July 23, 1804, tobacco was sent as a present to the Otto and the Pawnee as part of an invitation to come and meet with Lewis and Clark. In Montana during August 1805, a “uniform coat, a pair of leggings, a few handkerchiefs, three knives and some other small articles” were traded to the Shoshone for three good horses. And in February 1806, at Fort Clatsop, Oregon, a sea otter skin was acquired in exchange for six fathoms of blue beads, the same quantity of small white beads, and a knife. All of these particular goods are on the Wood River “Baling Invoices” or “Recapitulation.”

But there are numerous items that were given as gifts or in trade that did not appear on the eastern or Wood River lists. In January 1806 Clark attempted to buy a small sea otter skin from some Clatsop Indians who visited Fort Clatsop. Clark offered his watch, a knife, a handful of beads, and “a Dollar of the Coin of U State.” The watch and coin were not on any list of trade items. At about the same time Lewis gave Coboway, a Clatsop, a present of “a pair of satin breeches with which he appeared much pleased.” On February 28th Pierre Cruzatte exchanged his capote for a dog that the party would eat. In March 1806, Lewis traded his “uniform laced coat” and some tobacco for a canoe. Many of these items—the laced coat, satin breeches, watch, and coin, for instance—were personal possessions and so not part of the Wood River inventory of Indian presents. But they nevertheless became presents and trade goods during the course of the expedition.

**While They Were on the Coast**

Lewis and Clark had hoped to encounter a trading vessel at the mouth of the Columbia River. When the inventory of trade goods reached its lowest level, the expedition was able to supplement its stores on at least a small scale by using the Indians themselves as a source of trade goods. On April 24 Clark wrote in his journal that “we Sold our Canoes for a few Strands of beads.” Those beads may have been used the next day to purchase “five dogs and some wood” from the Pish-quit-pahs. Lewis and Clark acquired a gun and more beads on other occasions, and these were added to their store of trade goods. Other exchanges that resupplied the inventory of trade goods undoubtedly went unrecorded in the journals. These phantom transactions compound the problem of determining precisely what the complete inventory of the expedition’s Indian presents consisted of.

Incomplete references to trade or gifts are also not helpful. All too often, however, entry after entry reports simply “the natives demanded high prices,” “bought five dogs,” “bought some wappeto,” “obtained one Sea Otter skin,” “procured 5 dogs and a few Wappato.” Nowhere in the journals are the specific goods exchanged by the expedition in those particular transactions identified.

A thorough reading of the journals, however, can reveal details that at first might seem to have been left out. For instance, in March 1806 Lewis records in his journal that he was visited by Coboway, who “presented us with some Anchovies which had been well cured in their manner.” But this entry does not indicate what Lewis gave in exchange for the anchovies. In a second and separate entry for the same day Lewis records that this particular exchange cost the expedition “twisted wire to ware about his [son’s] neck” and “a par of old glovs which he was much pleased with.” It is frequently the case that a second entry in Lewis’s or Clark’s journal will supply detail that the first entry did not. Sometimes the daily journal entry of Ordway, Gass, or Whitehouse embellished on the brief record of the trades made by the expedition, adding an item or two that Lewis or Clark had omitted.

In the final analysis, then, the complete inventory of Indian presents and trade goods carried and used by the expedition is not entirely knowable. However, it is possible to get closer to a complete cargo list than has previously been compiled. A database is being constructed based on a line-by-line examination of all of the journals. Soon that list might be as complete as the historical record will allow. Also, by the spring of 2004, that list of words will be juxtaposed against their material culture equivalent. An exhibit will open at the Columbia Gorge Discovery Center that recreates the cargo itself. Not only the Indian presents, which would be interesting enough in itself, but the whole cargo will be recreated based on Lewis’s seven discrete categories: arms, ammunition and accouterments; medicines; clothing; mathematical instruments; camp equipment; provisions; and Indian presents.

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The Great Renton Flood of 1911-12

Western Washington has long been known for its wet, rainy weather, and Renton is no exception. Rarely, however, does the weather become so bad as to be considered life-threatening. On the other hand, Renton’s citizens have developed a close relationship with the rivers that run through the area, celebrated today by annual Renton River Days events. But the relationship between human beings and water became strained to the breaking point in the fall of 1911.

At about half past eight on the morning of Sunday, November 11, 1911, Renton residents were awakened by the ringing of church bells. This was typical for Sunday, except that on that day, church attendance had nothing to do with the ringing. Instead, the bells heralded a potentially life-threatening situation, announcing a day of terror for Rentonians living in the lower parts of the city. A dam situated 28 miles up the Cedar River appeared to be failing. Its reservoir held 11 square miles of water.

Although Renton’s citizens had experienced wet seasons before, the dam had always held and was considered safe. Rentonians living on the low-lying farms near today’s Southcenter Mall were accustomed to having the ground become so saturated with rainwater that minor flooding in basements would occur. No one, however, was prepared for the swiftness with which the great flood of 1911 arose. That year, November was heralded by a heavy snowfall followed by an unseasonably warm “Chinook” wind. This problem was compounded by heavy rainfall, all of which brought an overwhelming amount of water to Renton’s three nearest rivers and Lake Washington.

The waters of the Cedar, Black, and Duwamish rivers began to overflow their banks. At the high-water mark, and for a long period after, a person could easily travel from Renton to Kent via rowboat.

Renton’s citizens knew of the terrible things that happen when rivers run wild and tension in Renton grew rapidly with every inch the river rose. In the latter part of the 19th century whole cities had been wiped out by floodwaters, with one

Above: Looking down from the safety of Renton Hill, Renton’s residents watched in horror as their town quickly gave way to the rising Cedar River. This view shows the winding Cedar cutting through the middle of town and spreading across the marshlands that are now occupied by the Boeing Company’s plant.
enormous flood killing hundreds of people in Johnstown, Pennsylvania, in 1889.

As the danger increased, disaster plans were put into effect. Word quickly spread that if the dam could not hold, a siren at the Renton coal mine, affectionately called "Calamity Jane," would sound and church bells would ring. Several people with binoculars were stationed on the brow of the hill above the Denny-Renton brick plant. Their job was to signal watchers at the first sign of trouble. The watchers, who were positioned on the roof of the railroad depot would in turn notify the different groups in charge of ringing all the bells in the city. It was decided that the coal mine siren would be blown at intervals of one half-hour if the dam was still holding. If the dam appeared to be failing, a constant thirty-minute blast would be sounded. Johnny Bevan, a coal miner, handled siren duty all afternoon, giving the appropriate signals as ordered by Lew Jones, the mine superintendent.

According to a first-person account, the siren's "shriek could run up and down five octaves and raise the hair up on the back of your neck." At one point the siren was accidentally sounded. Contemporary accounts describe panicked residents abandoning their homes in tears, fully expecting to give up everything to the raging waters. One resident recalled a group of men who were moving a piano when the first whistle blew. At that point "they just dropped it and ran."

The Seattle Post-Intelligencer reported that there were " stampeding horses, barely held in control by their struggling drivers, sons carrying their old mothers on their shoulders, women with bundles on their heads dragging their children behind, while baggage-laden fathers followed." Couriers came streaking down through the valley on horseback, shrieking, "Run to the hills, the dam is about to break! Run for your lives!"

Unconvinced of the danger, many ignored the sirens and went back to sleep. The Renton Herald later reported that J. W. Edwards, the day marshall, and Jack Stewart, the night marshall, "worked heroically all night long to warn all that they could reach." Since few telephones had as yet come into use in the area, a door-to-door search was conducted by the marshalls to make sure that everyone got to higher ground.

By about two in the morning a long line of struggling, terrified refugees tramped along the streets leading up Renton Hill. The real crisis came some six and a half hours later, and by that time a significant number of individuals who had heeded the false alarm decided that the dam was not about to break after all. Some even came down from the safety of the hills and returned to their homes, mistakenly assuming that what little water damage they had received in the initial deluge was to be the worst of the day.

The situation soon deteriorated. Adventurous citizens decided to view the rapidly swelling torrents from Renton's many bridges. Even the bravest did not stay long, however, as the bridges quickly clogged with driftwood and debris. Although the massive logjam beneath it made the Road Bridge appear in danger of collapse, it survived the disaster intact. Ironically, most of that bridge's damage occurred when officials dynamited the obstruction.

Stories of personal valor during the crisis are many. The local paperboy, Reedy Millhuff, son of W. S. Millhuff, bravely carried out his duties, riding his pony to North Renton numerous times over a bridge that was in imminent danger of collapsing. On Monday morning those people able to return to their homes found their newspapers waiting in their boxes.
Pioneer Bakery, situated on Third Avenue and owned by Fred Freyman and his wife Caroline, remained open even in the face of rising waters. Freyman stuck to his post, making and baking bread for the homeless families, and refused to budge although several people urged him to leave. His brave wife waited in the store, passing over loaves of bread at the regular price of five cents apiece until they were completely sold out and every case was empty. Then they went right back to baking more....

Even the telephone switchboard operators remained on the job until the floodwaters knocked out the wires.

In this terrible situation the city's entire population seemed to come together to help each other make it through the growing disaster. Mayor Wood and doctors Adolf Bronson and Charles Dixon ignored the danger to themselves and used their automobiles to transport dozens of refugees out of harm's way. After witnessing an unidentified Italian man carry his sick wife from the corner of Wells and Fourth all the way up Renton Hill on his back during the first alarm, Jack Martin decided to lend a helping hand. During the final alarm he drove back down into the danger zone and conveyed the woman over to the Reverend W. W. Edmondson's Presbyterian Church where she was given a hot drink and plenty of food. The church remained open all night for the relief of the growing crowd of frightened refugees. Hot meals were served throughout the night, and two breakfasts were prepared for the departing guests in the morning.

The day marshal's son also showed great bravery. The younger Edwards boy harnessed a team of horses to his wagon and began the task of transporting people from the flood-ravaged north end. On his final trip out of the disaster area he reportedly carried a wagonload of five women with him, all in a dead faint from fear and exhaustion. The rising water eventually made it impossible for him to urge his horses back into the murky, newborn lake to look for more survivors.

Great concern was shown even for the welfare of animals. One family was observed bringing their cow and ducks with them to higher ground. Another man came near to losing his life when he attempted to ride his horse to safety along Williams Street. The flood had washed out the road, and both horse and rider were carried away with the torrent. Luckily, they were rescued near the Great Northern Pacific Railway Bridge where a large whirlpool had formed, and a section gang was able to pull them both to solid ground. Even if residents had to flee their homes without their clothing and possessions, they never failed to carry with them their household pets, be they kittens, ducks, dogs, or birds.

Oddly enough, Seattle actually "dried out" as a result of Renton's soaking. As the top timbers of the reservoir's dam collapsed, they undermined the bridge at Landsburg, a short way downstream, with its pipeline that fed water to Seattle. So the Great Seattle Drought followed the Great Renton Flood—Renton had more water than it could handle while people in parts of Seattle were filling bathtubs with rain and spring water to drink. Private merchants began to sell potable water for five cents a gallon, and Seattle's mayor encouraged people to save the runoff from their downspouts.

To those people caught in the worst flood in Renton's history, it must have seemed as if the nightmare would never end. Thankfully, the floodwaters ceased to rise later that night and began to slowly recede over the next few days. The dam that so many feared would completely collapse and destroy the city held together. It was damaged, and the topmost timbers gave way, but a catastrophic collapse was averted.
Flood-weary residents who came down from the safety of Renton Hill found their cellars filled with dirt and debris. Besides the many private dwellings, businesses and even city streets had to be cleared of mud and wreckage before life in Renton could return to normal.

One survivor remembered looking down into the churning river in our basement and seeing everything that was loose floating up near the ceiling. What a frightening experience that was and what a mess to clean up when the waters receded. We had to wash hundreds of jars of fruit and jelly that we had put up for the winter, and wring out or throw away the mud-caked garments that had been caught in the muddy waters. It took us weeks to clean out the big old Monarch range, the cupboards, and the coal chute.

Miraculously, no lives were lost during the ordeal and most of the injuries sustained were relatively minor.

The first thing the citizens of Renton decided to do after the flood was tackle the problem of the rivers. The initial meeting of Waterway District No. 2 was held on December 14, 1911, in the office of local lawyer Paul Houser. Lee Monohan, J. C. Marlowe, and Thomas Dobson were named commissioners of the project, and Doctor Dixon and Paul Houser sponsored the digging of a new channel. By the summer of 1912 the commissioners reported that a channel 80 feet wide and more than 2,000 feet long had been dug through the city. This construction effectively ended the threat of major flooding to the downtown areas of Renton. The waterway district remained active until July 1956 when it ceased to exist as a legal entity.

The Black River, which also contributed to the great flood of 1911, is no more. It ceased to exist around 1916 when work on Lake Washington caused the water level to drop and cut off the river's source. This eliminated a large part of the former threat from flooding.

The Duwamish, which is a section of the Green River that was renamed as it passes through Tukwila, was a contributing factor because it received backflow from two other waterways. The problem was solved when those rivers were dredged. Though the Duwamish was straightened a bit, its course remains basically as it was and its level stays relatively low.

Few homes still stand on what was once the flood plain. That area is now filled with car dealerships and shopping malls. Traveling through Renton today, it is hard to imagine how the flood could have happened. North Renton contains businesses and stores, all with adequate drainage systems to carry away excess rainwater. The Cedar River now travels down through the city in a well-constructed channel, and a beautiful walkway lines its banks. Over a period of 20 years the Sunset View Garden Club planted 275 rhododendrons and azaleas along the Cedar’s banks, thus both beautifying and strengthening them against erosion. Many people enjoy walking or riding their bicycles next to the slow-moving waters. Rarely does Renton get the kind of heavy rains in winter that could cause the river to overflow.

While there is no longer any serious threat that the entire city of Renton will be flooded again, we do well to take a lesson from the events of that wet winter of 1911. Mother Nature cannot be disregarded with impunity.

Tom Monahan is an aide at the Renton Historical Museum. This is an edited version of an article that originally appeared in the Renton Historical Quarterly.
Happy New Year!

Every New Year’s Day for 20 years, from 1871 to 1891, Seattle pioneers Henry L. Yesler, Bailey Gatzert, and Moses R. Maddocks hired a carriage and footman and went calling on their many friends and acquaintances. At each home they visited they left a novel greeting card adorned with a photograph of the three, a monogram of their initials, or a bit of humorous verse. On January 1, 1890, they left their 19th annual card. Cards from other years were inscribed with such greetings as: “Please don’t suspect us if you miss any of your silverware. It was those other fellows that took them. We were too well raised;” “The same old trio, and prettier than ever;” “P.S.—We take nothing stronger than whiskey;” and “We are not the fathers of our country nor of anything else.” While the humor is marginal by today’s standards, the sentiment remains the same: Happy New Year to all of our friends!
The Pioneer Instinct is strong and difficult to explain. Why would any well-educated family leave a comfortable home, a prosperous law practice, an accepted place in the community, the cultural advantages of a large city, and good educational opportunities for the children to travel over 14,000 miles to live in a log cabin in the wilderness?

William Strong, the third of seven sons of the Reverend Henry Pierce Strong and his wife Laura, was born in 1817 in St. Albans, Vermont, and graduated from Yale with honors in 1838. For the next two years he was principal of a small academy in Ithaca, New York, during which time he met and married 17-year-old Lucretia Robinson. Her mother's ancestors had come to America from England on the same ship that had brought William's ancestor, Elder Strong, in 1630. The couple moved to Cleveland where William taught school, acquired a legal education, and in 1840 was admitted to the bar. For the next nine years he practiced law, raised a family, and became active in the community.

William Strong's pioneer instinct was aroused in 1849 when President Zachary Taylor offered him a three-year appointment as one of the first three justices of the Supreme Court in the new Oregon Territory. The government provided transportation to Oregon on the United States storeship Supply, a three-masted sailing vessel that took the family from New York, around Cape Horn and on to San Francisco. From there they sailed aboard the United States sloop-of-war Falmouth to Astoria, arriving on August 13, 1850—a trip of seven months.

The Strongs, including two young sons—Frederick (five) and Curtis (two)—were accompanied on the trip by the new governor of Oregon Territory, John P. Gaines, his wife, and two teenaged daughters. Other passengers were William's brother James and the new secretary of the territory, General Edward Hamilton. Judge Strong later described the trip as "unspeakably tedious." But it was more
than that, for the Strong and Gaines families suffered tragic losses during the trip. At their first stop, in Rio de Janeiro, the Strong’s son Frederick and the two Gaines daughters caught yellow fever and died.

When Judge Strong arrived in Oregon he was assigned the district that spread north from the lower Columbia River to the Canadian border, and from the Pacific Ocean east to the Rocky Mountains. This vast area of 150,000 square miles contained over 8,000 Indians and 1,000 whites. By comparison, the city of Cleveland, the Strong’s previous home, had a predominantly white population of 16,810 in 1850.

After arriving in Astoria the party traveled up the Columbia River in a large bateau paddled by Indians, heading for Oregon City, the capital of the territory. The first night they stopped at a small cove near the Chinook Indian village of Cathlamet. The Strongs found the place so beautiful that they decided this would become their new home. In the interim they accepted the hospitality of Chief Factor Peter Skene Ogden of the Hudson’s Bay Company at Fort Vancouver.

After Congress passed the Donation Land Act of September 27, 1850, William filed his claim for the allowed 640 acres in Cathlamet. Five months later they built their log cabin on a knoll overlooking the river. When they moved in, they were the first white family in what was to become Wahkiakum County. Besides the Indians, their only neighbors were James Birnie and his Indian wife Charlotte who had ten children and fifteen Indian slaves. Birnie was the manager of the local Hudson’s Bay Company trading post.

Two months later Lucretia Strong gave birth to another boy. Charlotte Birnie assisted Lucretia in this latest birth and as time went by helped her adjust to her new surroundings. The two became like sisters, supporting each other as their families grew. Charlotte was the daughter of a French voyageur and a Kootenai Indian princess and, unlike other Indian women married to white men, she “ruled the roost” in her house. Observed William Strong, she “borne herself with all the self-assertion of an English dame of long pedigree.”

William’s duties as a Supreme Court justice were twofold. He, with the other two judges, acted as an appellate court and thereby ruled on territorial law. Each judge also acted as a circuit or trial judge in his assigned district, an arrangement that required a great deal of travel. The appellate court met in the capital of the territory, originally Oregon City and then Salem, a four- or five-day trip from Cathlamet. The court sessions lasted several weeks.

Judge Strong held his first court on November 12, 1850, at the home of John Jackson in Lewis County, ten miles south of what is now Chehalis. He recalled:

The attendance of jurors and witnesses were quite large, and as I understood at the time, composed all the white settlers in that section of the county. Probably there were twenty men, some of whom came seventy miles to attend court. My means of travel was in the Hudson’s Bay Company boat up the Cowlitz River. It took about three days to go up; and I have been five days going up the river for thirty miles with a good Indian crew, and have come down the same distance with two Indians in a canoe, in five hours a few days afterwards.

William’s frequent and long absences from home placed a great burden on Lucretia. She had led a sheltered life and had no experience in maintaining a family home in the wilderness. She was home alone with her two small children much of the time during those first two years. My grandfather, Thomas Strong—William and Lucretia’s third child—once described Cathlamet in 1850 as “one of the loneliest places on earth.” He went on to say,

In the winter nights the wolves howled within hearing of the little log house, and the young women of today, fearful of a mouse, would not have thought it a cheerful sound. With wolves on one side and an Indian village on the other, the bravest of women might have felt a little timid.

During her first year in Cathlamet, Lucretia was somewhat of a curiosity to the Indian women in the village. From time to time, unannounced and at any time of the day, two or three Indian women would arrive at the log cabin, slowly open the door (without knocking), walk in quietly, and stand silently. When pressed to stay, they would look around, chatter a bit, and then sit on the floor and watch
Lucretia at whatever she was doing. They whispered among themselves but kept their eyes on Lucretia every minute. They stayed until politely asked to leave, which they did without hesitation.

Over time the Indian women began to look to Lucretia for help in every kind of trouble. She was particularly concerned about the sick Indian women who were, according to custom, driven out of their village into the woods to take care of themselves as best they could. On more than one occasion Lucretia would take food and medicine. Not knowing the exact nature of the illness, she would place the food and medicine on a tree stump and retreat a few yards. Soon the Indian woman would cautiously emerge from the woods and begin to eat. Then the two would have a nice chat, “with several yards of pure air between them.” The demand for Lucretia’s help was continuous, and the back porch of the Strong house was lined with Indians almost every morning with “olallies” (berries) to sell, with duck or geese to dispose of, or with some tale of woe or sickness to tell.

William was aware that his wife could not handle all the chores of raising a young family and caring for the house by herself while he was away. He found a solution in a woman named Wahkeenah. “Most beautiful” was what her name meant in English, and beautiful she was. Judge Strong met her during a trip to Yakima where he was holding court. She was a bright, pretty young Yakama Indian girl of perhaps 15 or 16, the daughter of one of the chiefs. William was so impressed with her intelligence and neatness, to say nothing of her beauty, that he asked if she would consent to come live with his family and help his wife around the house. She accepted the invitation and William began negotiating with her father. The price was equivalent to what he would have paid for an Indian slave girl (about ten Hudson’s Bay blankets, which in turn sold for about five dollars each).

Wahkeenah made quite an impression when she arrived at the Strong’s cabin. She was dressed in the usual summer costume, one that disclosed rather than concealed her beautiful figure. This was her normal dress, and with her simple native modesty she saw no impropriety in it. Lucretia felt otherwise and immediately altered one of her own dresses for the girl to wear. Wahkeenah’s presence in the Strong household made quite a difference, and she stayed for several years. She was cheerful and charming, easily learned the household duties, and was a great help to Lucretia.

Indian slavery was commonplace in the Oregon Territory during the 1850s, even though the practice had declined significantly after Euro-Americans began arriving in the late 1840s. The Strongs had little concern about the slaves owned by their neighbor, James Birnie. He treated them well, and they did their work, lived peaceably, and seemed content with their circumstances. But the human sacrifice of slaves in the burial ceremony of deceased Indian chiefs was difficult to tolerate.

Judge Strong came face to face with this situation in 1852 during his journey home after holding court in the northern part of his district. He stopped at an Indian village, planning to spend the night. There he found the Indians mourning the death of the head chief’s son. A slave boy, about ten years old, was tied to a stake awaiting the ceremonies. He was to be slain to accompany the chief’s son to the “spirit land.” William took pity on the boy and arranged to buy him for five blankets and an ornament he wore on his watch chain. At the burial the Indians broke the ornament, placed the fragments on the breast of the little chief, and burned the blankets. When William left he took the boy with him.

The two arrived home at suppertime. The boy was seated at the table and given a large plate of food. He ate it quickly, and they filled the plate again. This happened three or four times. At last the child said something to Lucretia that she could not understand. Judge Strong’s brother James, who had learned the Chinook language, was asked to interpret. What the boy was asking, in a plaintive voice, was, “Must I eat all this?” As a slave, he always ate anything and everything that was given him because he never knew when he would get his next meal. Assured that this was not now the case, he was greatly relieved. According to William, he turned out to be “a good and faithful boy, a firm believer in the white man’s food,
and a true and devoted Christian." He remained with the family for eight years.

By now the little log cabin was getting very crowded, so the Strongs decided to build a new home. With the help of James Birnie's slaves and lumber Birnie supplied from a mill he owned across the river, they built a fine, one-and-a-half story house with a shake roof and plenty of room, "one of the first nice homes to be built in Cathlamet." It was completed just in time for the birth on March 17, 1853, of son Thomas.

March 1853 also saw the birth of the new Washington Territory. Pressure had been building for over a year to separate the area north of the Columbia River from the rest of Oregon Territory. Judge Strong's courts were overcrowded; he could not handle all the cases in an expeditious manner and believed a separate territory with more judges was necessary. The Oregon territorial legislature was also in favor of the idea. The lawmakers felt there was a better chance to gain statehood status if the territory was reduced in size.

As a result, Judge Strong became unemployed. His term had expired, and he was not appointed to the new Washington territorial court because the Democrats were now in power. His three-year term had been challenging. As a circuit rider he had to travel long distances and to improvise courtrooms wherever he could find them. Reference law books and published decisions were not available; he had to make decisions promptly, with little time for deliberation. Keeping order in the court was also a problem, but his brother James, acting as his court clerk, solved that problem by placing a pistol on the table in front of him whenever trouble arose.

In an interview with historian H. H. Bancroft, Judge Strong related: "The principal business of the court was not largely of a commercial character. It was such as you would find in a new country. There were a great many homicides. I think I tried some eighteen homicidal cases, and most of them arose from disputes about land under the donation law. There were also other cases of assault, and a few of a commercial nature." Many matters were simply routine. It has been suggested that Judge Strong did not find his work intellectually challenging.

The loss of employment compounded William's financial woes. As a judge he was paid $2,000 per year but had to pay his own expenses, and remittances from Washington, D.C., were frequently delayed. Just prior to leaving New York in 1850 he had been adviser by Samuel Thurston, Oregon's first delegate to Congress, to take "merchandise not money" to Oregon because it would be more valuable. At Thurston's advice he bought sidesaddles, playing cards, New Orleans brown sugar and clay pipes. He sold these items through the Hudson's Bay Company store in Vancouver when he arrived and made a handsome profit. The judge later remarked, "Had it not been for these ventures, I could not have survived the first winter in Oregon." Now, with the loss of work, a new house and extra children and Indians to feed and clothe, he was in trouble again.

William tried to find legal work, but there was little demand for his services in this sparsely settled area. He and his brother did some surveying work, but there was not much demand for this either. In the meantime, his account payable at Birnie's store rose to $1,073, the largest of the store's 35 accounts. The family garden and the abundance of fish and game helped sustain them during this difficult time.

With the emergence of Washington Territory, its first governor—Isaac Stevens—asked William to become one of three commissioners charged with drafting new laws for the territory. The legislature unanimously approved the appointment of Strong and two others (Chief Justice Edward Lander and Justice Victor Monroe) on February 27, 1854. The Democratic newspaper praised the selection (even though Strong was not a member of the party) but bemoaned the fact that they were being paid only $3.00 per day for their efforts. When the final work was presented to the territorial legislature, it was found to be in the hand of "Judge Strong."
Following this effort, Governor Stevens asked Strong to act as his legal advisor and counsel, in effect performing the duties of an attorney general, which he did on a part-time basis for several months.

While William was away life went on as usual for Lucretia and the children, but one day a "great event" occurred. A Euro-American couple settled in the Elokoman Valley, just two miles away. The Indian trail through the dark, thick forest across a ridge that divided the two women did not deter them from making frequent visits. But this trail did carry its dangers. One day Lucretia was walking along with two of her children when a large cougar suddenly appeared about 40 yards ahead of them. The cougar stood still, eyeing them intently and slowly swinging its long tail back and forth. Its ears were pulled back, and it was purring ominously.

Early pioneers had been told that the best way to handle this situation, assuming they did not have a gun, was to stand very still and wait until the cougar went away. Lucretia followed her motherly instincts instead. Gathering the children around her to present a more united and larger foe, she calmly looked the cougar in the eye and moved slowly toward it. The strategy worked. The cougar curled its lips and bared its teeth, but then it slowly moved back and disappeared into the brush. Lucretia later said that this was the only thing she could think of to do.

This same trail produced a challenge for Wahkeenah. One day as she was returning home from picking berries, darkness overtook her and she began to hear wolves howling in the distance. They seemed to be coming her way, so she decided to climb a tree and wait. Seven large mountain wolves soon appeared under her tree. Wahkeenah, as usual, carried a revolver when she went into the woods. She shot what she thought to be the leader of the pack, but they would not go away. So she decided to spend the night in the tree, amongst the owls. The next morning the wolves were gone, but in their place was a panther. Panthers can climb trees easily. Wahkeenah knew that if she stayed out on a limb the panther would climb up and spring on her. She had only two shots left in her gun so she decided that her best chance was to stay close to the trunk and shoot the panther in the head when he came up. Up he came. She waited until he was almost upon her and then shot him dead through the eye.

More and more settlers were coming to the Pacific Northwest during the early 1850s, and conflicts with the local Indians were an increasing problem. Fierce fighting broke out in eastern Washington during attempts to negotiate treaties, and the Indian Wars of 1855-56 began. West of the Cascades the tribes were more peaceful, but volunteers were called out to ensure the peace. William Strong felt the call and volunteered. He was assigned command of a National Guard cavalry company stationed at Fort Vancouver.

To keep matters under control west of the Cascades, friendly Indian tribes were gathered around the fort. One day a rumor spread that the Cowlitz Indians were planning to "slaughter the whites." This rumor proved to be false, but the Indians feared the whites would attack them first and fled for their lives. Captain Strong and his company were sent out to bring them back. Occupants of the fort fully expected a big battle. Instead, Captain Strong was able to convince the Indians that they would come to no harm and that they should return to the fort. Rifles were shot into the air in celebration of the agreement. These shots were heard around
the area, and word was passed back to Fort Vancouver that a battle had taken place.

Those left behind in the fort were disappointed and angry when they learned that no fighting had occurred. Some of the women in the crowd that gathered upon the guardsmen's return accused Strong and his men of cowardice and presented the captain with a red petticoat for the company's banner. Strong accepted the banner with strained dignity and said it would be carried into future action. At that point a tall, lanky man made an insolent remark and drew a bowie knife. Strong could restrain himself no longer. He rushed the man, dodged a swipe of the knife, took him to the ground, and began beating him. Strong's troops pulled him off, and the company rode away. The women later apologized and asked for return of the petticoat. Strong and his troops refused; it was their flag, and they would use it.

Battle Ground, Washington, was named after this "battle that never was." Interestingly, 135 years later, in 1990, the students of a new elementary school in Battle Ground voted to name their school after "Captain Strong," in recognition of his peace negotiations with Chief Umtuch (of the Cowlitz tribe), after whom a neighboring school was named.

Despite the continuing influx of white settlers during the 1850s, some of the Indian traditions continued on, as William's brother James discovered one day. He was gazing out on the river and noticed two Indian boys paddling rapidly along the shore. They soon pulled their canoe up into the woods, returned to cover their tracks and disappeared. Out of curiosity James followed them and discovered them hidden in the hollow of a tree. They told him that they were slaves, that their master had died, and that they were to be put to death to serve him in the next world. James took the boys to his house and hid them in the attic.

Soon four Indians came paddling up the river, closely examining the shore. They spotted where the boys had landed and headed into the woods to find them. Before long the four appeared at James's door, demanding return of the boys. "They belong to the chief," the men asserted. James offered to buy them. They refused and drew their knives. James then drew his pistol, and the bargaining began. They finally agreed to sell the two boys for ten blankets apiece, a rather high price in those days. The Indians accepted this price based on James's argument that 20 blankets would allow the dead chief to buy new slaves when he got to the spirit land—an argument that was backed by the persuasion of a formidable looking six-shooter.

Out of curiosity, James attended the chief's funeral the next day. Five of the blankets were cut into strips and wrapped around the chief's body. The body was placed in a canoe coffin, along with some of his belongings. The remaining blankets were placed in a pile with other property of the chief's and burned. The Indians believed that the smoke would waft all the burned things to the dead chief in the spirit land, including the slave boys if they had not been rescued.

A fourth son had been born to the Strongs in May 1856. After his service in the Indian Wars, William Strong was again without a job. Public service had been his mission when he came to Oregon, so he now turned to politics, running for the legislature in 1856. He served as a representative from Wahkiakum County for one session and then ran for Congress, a race he lost. In 1858 a vacancy appeared in the Supreme Court of Washington Territory. President James Buchanan appointed him to a three-year term as an associate justice, doubtless upon the recommendation of his good friend Governor Stevens.

A N EXAMINATION OF court records reveals that most of the cases appealed to the court were about minor property disputes and money matters in moderate amounts. The case load was not heavy—three in 1858, seven the next year, and ten in his final year. William was ready to move on when his term expired, on December 22, 1860, thus ending his career as a public servant. It had been a notable one and he was highly praised for his work.

Strong’s attention returned to Cathlamet to a family that had grown. The four sons were now 12, 9, 8, and 5 years of age. In addition, they now had their first girl, Ellen, born in March 1860. Before long, a sixth child came along—another girl—Caroline, who was born in December 1861. The Strongs truly had a "full house."

William was more successful at attracting legal clients as the area and his reputation grew, but the prospects of earning sufficient income to support his large family were dim. Furthermore, the children would soon need greater educational opportunities, and both he and Lucretia were growing tired of the inconveniences of rural life. Finally, in December 1862 they decided to make a break from their Cathlamet homestead and moved to Portland.

Strong quickly attracted clients in the growing city and developed an extensive law practice. Before long he was forced to restrict his practice so that he could tend to the legal work of the Oregon Steam Navigation Company, one of the largest businesses in the area at that time. He remained their general counsel for many years, until the company was sold in 1879. He then slowly turned over his private law practice to two of his sons. During this period Lucretia devoted her time to raising the children and finally had time to do her beloved church work. She died in 1884 at age 61.

William did not want to be remembered as a "pioneer," but he was one. After his death on April 10, 1887, at age 70, one newspaperman wrote in praise of his work and added, "Our pioneers are falling so fast that we get almost daily reminders that in a very short time none will remain."

Retired banker and financial advisor Harry M. Strong is a great-grandson of William and Lucretia Strong and author of "T. F. McElroy: Pioneer Publisher of Washington's First Newspaper" (COLUMBIA, Summer 2000).
The Heyday of
Ice "Farming" in the
Inland Northwest

By Eva Gayle Six

Between 1885 and 1925 in the Inland Northwest the strawberry harvest of June, the hay harvest of July, the potato harvest of September, or the apple harvest of October could fail in any given year. But always dependable was the two-week January harvest of ice from ponds, streams, rivers, and lakes. It was the delight of children looking ahead to the next summer’s ice cream, a reliable food storage aid for housewives, a dependable extra income for communities near rail spurs, and a major industry for some cities. In 1901, for example, 27 companies that kept men working year-round harvesting ice for the summer and fuel for the winter were collectively the largest employers in Spokane.

Family Icehouses

We can surmise that as soon as homesteaders had the basic survival needs under control, perhaps in the mid-1880s, someone suggested enhancing the summer’s table with well-stored butter and cream and, if a hand-crank ice cream maker could be acquired, the queen of all desserts. An ice storage facility would be built and large quantities of ice blocks stored for summer use. The most primitive storage space would be underground, much like a root cellar. This was inconvenient and inefficient in every way, and soon was replaced by above-ground storage. The Farm Journal, much used by homesteaders for how-to situations, recommended merely a 12-foot by 12-foot pen of boards with strong posts on the outside, leaving a smooth inner surface. Sawdust was spread two or three feet deep over the bottom, around the edges and over the ice, and even without a roof the ice usually lasted through August if the pen was strategically placed in the shade on the north side of trees and buildings.

Some icehouses were as simple as a woodshed, with the only insulation being sawdust piled on the ice. Some early icehouses were made of logs, which provided good insulation. Most family icehouses, however, were double-walled with about six inches of sawdust insulation between the two walls and above the ceiling. More sawdust was heaped over the ice blocks and sometimes placed between layers of blocks; this, of course, was replaced annually. Sawdust would be washed off the ice as it was removed for use. An icehouse torn down on a Pend Oreille County ranch, then about 70 years old, showed that the sawdust was in perfect condition except for a few places where the neglected building had developed holes in the outer wall that allowed moisture to seep in. Sawdust is a highly flammable substance, and that quality lasts a long time too; the old Hazelwood Creamery in Spokane burned in 1974 when pipe removal ignited the insulating sawdust.

One son of a careful butter manufacturer reports that his mother was particular about the kind of sawdust used; resinous white pine and spruce, she found, could taint the butter, even though it was wrapped and stored on a higher shelf of the icebox before being delivered to her customers. Almost any old sawdust, however, could store ice cream except for a few times harvested on skates. For others, caulking books or a few nails hammered from the inside out sufficed for safety. In the spirit of cooperation common in homesteading communities, each family would take the amount it believed it needed and haul the ice home to its icehouse. Hayden Lake, Idaho, and Newnan Lake, Washington, followed this pattern. The Tacoma Creek community in Pend Oreille County did the same, but frequently conditions were favorable for a second crop, which would be loaded at the railroad spur and sold to commercial houses. If the crop was better in one
community than another, ice might be sold to reduce shortages. In 1918 the harvest on the Pend Oreille River at Newport, Washington, failed to last the unusually hot summer; Newport bought one freight car load from Ione, Washington, and two from Blanchard, Idaho.

In towns the proliferation of private icehouses was not common. More likely, there were two major icehouses. One would be a commercial venture, harvested with as many family members as could be mustered and a few temporary employees. An icehouse, similar in construction to the family ones but bigger, would hold larger amounts of ice to be sold during the summer. One man from Ione remembers being sent as a boy with a rough-jolting steel-wheeled wheelbarrow about twice a week for the family’s ice. The job was not over when he reached home: the ice was very difficult to handle with large, awkward tongs, and the big block had to be cut

ABOVE: After the ice was scored, this cutter "plowed the ice." Each successive blade was two inches longer than the last. The tool was usually horse-drawn.

RIGHT: Ivar Luhr, Pend Oreille County, c. 1925, putting up ice—a must for the shipments of fish eggs and trout he sent off from 1923 to about 1930. Note the handsaw and the tongs on a block of ice at left.

BELOW: At Medical Lake the Glasgow Ice Company used a hand-turned windlass to raise the ice from the lake on a conveyer belt and horse power to transport it to the icehouse.
into pieces and put in the high top of the icebox. To break it, he put the ice in a gunny sack and used a double-bladed axe, making sure to keep it flat so as not to cut the sack. He would have welcomed the delivery routes that were available only in the larger cities, where the iceman would not only deliver a block of ice but place it in the icebox, all for about ten cents a delivery.

Another common practice was for the major employer in a town to keep an icehouse with ice available for the use of employees and their families. In Metaline Falls the Lehigh Cement Company diverted employees from other work during the ice harvest to fill two icehouses, one for the employees and one for the railroad. Similarly, Ione’s Panhandle Lumber Company encouraged men on their shifts to keep the frozen millpond tended until harvest time, and then fill an icehouse where they could find treats for their families in the summer.

Businesses with ample needs might keep their own icehouses. In 1897 each of three hotels in Newport, Washington, had a "splendid" icehouse to assure ice cream all summer for customers.

**Commercial Icehouses**

Industrial applications called for a much larger icehouse. One built at Pasco in 1913 for the Northern Pacific Railway Company was of reinforced concrete and measured 483 feet in length by 94 feet in width and 62 feet in height. As early as 1892 the Great Northern Railway had an icehouse with a capacity of 800 tons in Ainsworth at the junction of the Snake and Columbia Rivers. Three commercial icehouses at Loon Lake in Stevens County had a collective capacity of 20,000 tons. Lewiston, Idaho, had a 40-ton house in 1905. Melder Lake at Blanchard and Cocolalla Lake in Bonners County, Idaho, had two of the largest. The Northern Pacific bought 35,000 tons of ice and 65 cars of sawdust in 1911 to take care of the fruit crop the following summer; Cocolalla provided most of that ice, shipping it for storage to Pasco. Silver Lake, near the town of Medical Lake, was a major ice field. Post Falls, Idaho, harvested 160 tons in 1906. Troy, Idaho, was able to put up a second crop in 1909; it was a lucrative product, costing $2.50 a ton to store and selling for as high as $20 a ton.

Such major ventures supported significant numbers of employees. In 1916 the Hazelwood Company employed 125 men to cut and store ice at Blanchard, harvesting 50,000 tons at the rate of 2,000 tons daily. The Cocolalla Icehouse used 300 men in winter and 100 in summer; they kept bunkhouses for 100 men, two blacksmiths and two cooks. Like any harvest, the need for temporary laborers could be a boon to homesteaders, loggers, and others with flexible winter schedules.

Home delivery in the city of Spokane began in 1884 when a man named Jones started an ice business and hauled the commodity around in a wheelbarrow. By 1889 the city required 10,000 tons—far too much for a single wheelbarrow—so wagons and horses did the work. Spokane in 1902 used 14,000 tons a year; it disappeared at the rate of 10 tons a day in the winter, with consumption going to 100 tons a day in summer. The greatest user in the city was the Hazelwood Creamery, at 1,000 tons a season.
integrity of the iceman was important. The Star Ice Company's advertising brochure of 1902 declared that "ice is a necessity these days and it is essential that it should be pure and that the people should receive full weight."

Towns with large enough houses to ship major crops were North Powder, Oregon; Colville, Loon Lake, Mabton, Colfax, Dayton, Walla Walla, Wenatchee, White Salmon, Connell, Kennewick, Elberton, Clarkston, North Yakima, Sprague, Camden, and Thorp in Washington; and Hayden Lake, Blanchard, Cocolalla, Lewiston, Troy, Boise, Nampa, and Pocatello in Idaho.

If there was a shortage of ice it was not usually caused by a sparse harvest but by a summer of excessive heat. In 1920 towns and cities throughout the Northwest, including Seattle and Portland, needed help. They turned to the Inland Empire when reserves of artificial ice couldn't meet the need, but there weren't enough railroad cars to move the amount needed from such places as Blanchard, Idaho, or Republic, Washington.

Clear Blue a Foot Deep

While it is true that there was ice to harvest every winter, quantity and quality did vary. Two weeks of clear, cold weather was ideal for the biggest harvesting operations; as with most harvests, ideal weather seldom lasted as long as it was wanted.

Least reliable was ice from rivers and streams. Some years it could be superb and in those years it was the preferred product; but rising and falling of the water combined with varying temperatures made it unusable most years. In such seasons, old dependable ponds and lakes became the source. When the major rivers were dammed, river ice was no longer available, but ponds and lakes would still serve. The Middleton family, on the edge of the Pend Oreille River, much preferred to gather from the river at their feet; but when the river didn't cooperate, they took teams and sleds three miles uphill to Babbitt Lake where there was always thick ice in the higher and smaller body of water that didn't have a rapid flow to disrupt the freezing process. Even with all the extra work, the ice was still worth gathering.

Those serious about their ice prepared for the harvest for several months. Weed cutting tools were brought out in the summer to keep the harvesting area weed-free. Those who cut ice for the Panhandle Lumber Company's lumber camps, however, were not so fastidious, and weeds frozen into the ice could be regarded as garnish, or simply ignored. The best ice resulted when temperatures were coldest, so good practice kept the ice cleared of snow all winter, lest the snow insulate it and make it less hard and clear. Homesteaders and small operators used ordinary shovels or made wooden pushers to move the snow off the area to be harvested. Big operations used teams of horses to pull V-shaped drag boards, the same process by which roads were snow-plowed. Ice from well-tended plots of still water produced the coveted "clear blue," the hardest, longest-lasting, and most eye-pleasing ice.

Homesteaders most strapped for labor sometimes merely packed snow into blocks and insulated it by the same methods as those described above. It was good enough for the kids' ice cream and would probably last through the Fourth of July. Patrons of the railway dining cars, however, expected and usually got the "clear blue" year-round. In between was the variable ice that resulted from hard work and careful storage, and whose character could be a topic of dinner conversation.

The depth of ice appropriate for harvest differed from locale to locale. Two inches of ice was safe for humans to walk on, though a thickness of six inches was needed if horses were involved, according to Scribner's Lumber and Log Book of 1910. Some cutters felt they were ready if they had 6 or 8 inches of hard ice.
Most went to work when the blocks were 11 to 14 inches deep. In frigid eastern Montana 36 inches was not unusual, but the weight of very deep ice required different logistics in cutting and lifting. A unique bay upriver of LeClerc Creek on the Pend Oreille River sometimes produced ice 30 inches thick, which was harvested for the Panhandle Lumber Company’s icehouse and could be stored for up to four years to obviate the work of yearly harvest. The White Salmon Dressed Meat Company put up its own 100 tons of ice in 1909 when the Columbia River froze all the way across, 6 inches deep.

**Doing the Job**

The foreman of the ice harvest needed his meteorological acumen as much as did a farmer or a seaman. A sudden thaw could bring devastation. Heavy snowfall brought extra work in clearing the ice. Soft ice was dangerous, and so was heavy fog. Most harvests took place in late January or early February; the earliest record found was December 11, in 1919, an anomaly that probably provided some unexpected Christmas money to seasonal workers. The latest harvest was in early March.

Commercial operations in which horses were involved brought their own side industry. At Cocolalla Lake, 60 horses were used, and the necessary barn and smithy were provided. Two blacksmiths were employed through the winter, nailing on spiked shoes for traction. According to the Spokane Spokesman-Review, mishaps with horses were serious but not deadly. While a man can climb out of a hole in the ice, a horse must be towed to the main body of ice and choked until his struggles fill his lungs to their full air capacity. That makes him float high and boards are shoved under him. He also is much lighter while the faucet is turned off his windpipe and he is easily rolled up the plank. (The horses) finally become accustomed to the operation and able to "fake" a choke.

Again, no deaths are recorded.

The first step of the harvesting process was to do the final clearing of the ice. Then, a plowing device was used to cut deep grooves in the ice to mark the cutting lines. Here the foreman had to become a geometrician because in the commercial icehouses the precision of the blocks’ edges meant not only more efficient storage but better insulation. Harvesting began at the greatest distance from the shore. After an auger or bit made an entrance hole, a horse-and-man team would precisely mark the ice using a plow-like blade with an attached glide, first in one direction, then perpendicularly to the first marks. Next came a cutter, often horse-drawn, with graduated teeth to make deep cuts into the scored ice; each successive cut would be a couple of inches deeper than the last. This step was referred to as "plowing the ice." Next, men would follow the cuts and cut out the blocks with ice saws, which closely resembled crosscut saws from the lumbering trade but with coarser teeth. A team of horses would be on each side of the saw to pull it through the ice. Early on, a channel of up to 10

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**Electronic Refrigeration**

By 1908 Spokane home delivery had graduated from wheelbarrow to horse and wagon. The horses wore winter shoes spiked for traction.

BELOW: The upstart Electro-Kold Company used a machine perfected in 1922 by L. J. Kimmel of Newport, Washington, to help bring an end to the home delivery of ice in Spokane.
feet in width was cut so that ice blocks could be floated toward the shore. If severe cold attacked during the process, keeping the channel open at night provided an additional job, often given to teenagers who welcomed the wages and the excuse to stay up all night.

At first cut, the chunks of ice would be about 10 feet square and weigh 150 to 200 pounds. These cakes, when free and bobbing in the water, were grabbed with large ice tongs and pulled out by horses. Another practice was to cut the large blocks down into smaller cakes, about 2 feet by 3 feet. A man with a needle bar about 10 feet square and weighing 150 to 200 pounds was required. The blocks were cut down into smaller cakes, about 2 feet by 3 feet. If he was skilled enough, a cake would pop out of the channel and these cakes could be skidded up a ramp.

If the product was being sold directly to a railroad, a car might be waiting on a spur and the ramp would go directly into the car. The loading chain was a conveyor belt powered by turning a steel windlass, a large drum with spokes and cables. The conveyor belts, sometimes two cakes wide, were submerged in the lake at one end and entered the icehouse or railroad car or went onto a sled at the other end. The belt entered a railroad car near the top; ice was directed down chutes to the lower levels, and the car gradually was filled. A very skilled "switchman" was desirable inside the icehouse or boxcar so that ice went into the right spot and did not crash into an unwary worker.

**How Much and What For**

The major uses of ice appear to have been for fruit shipment; ice for homes, restaurants, and saloons; meat shipment; and storage of dairy products and beer. In 1920, 50 to 70 tons daily were used to ship head lettuce from Seattle to eastern and southern markets. When supplies ran short during an unusually hot summer, ice was sought from inland icehouses. While it was not a common practice, a large ranch in eastern Montana used ice to create a year-round water supply for all daily household needs. It was the task of the hired man to keep a barrel stocked with ice that would melt for cooking, dishwashing, drinking and bathing. Summer shipments of fish eggs and trout from hatcheries required a good ice supply. Bob Yorke's private hatchery in Pend Oreille County had a log icehouse for packing ice for summer fish shipments from about 1923 to 1935.

The shipment of fruit from the West with ice began in 1895. Ignazio Allegretti, the inventor of the refrigerator car, brought one to Walla Walla to demonstrate its use and to launch a test. For demonstration to local fruit growers, the car was loaded with pears and held for five days; it was then consigned to the Atlantic coast. In 1901 A. L. Porter of Lewiston, Idaho, according to the Spokesman-Review of June 23, "inaugurated an innovation in marketing fruit that some shippers think is destined to almost revolutionize fruit shipping in the northwest." He designed a "refrigerator" that held 50 boxes of cherries and shipped as one unit—cherries and ice inside. His marketing experiment resulted in his selling the refrigerated cherries for eight dollars a box, compared to three dollars a box for unrefrigerated cherries.

Different cuts of ice were used for different purposes. Blocks were best for shipping fruits and vegetables; crushed ice was best for meat and fowl. Ice supplies in railroad cars were replenished at a chain of icehouses stretching across the country.

As with any large industry, complications in the ice business affected others. In 1900 the price of ice to Spokane's butchers jumped from an average of $3.75 a ton to a range of $8.00 to $13.50 a ton. The Butchers Association of Spokane was "up in arms" and claimed that butchers would be forced to raise the price of meat or go out of business.

**The End of the Craft**

The invention of manufactured ice did not by itself bring the end of the harvesting of natural ice. Ice manufacturing began as early as 1850 in the East, and in 1900 an ammonia compressor was brought to San Francisco for shipment of ice up and down the Pacific coast. But the cold winters of the Inland Northwest made the harvesting of natural ice more cost-effective until manufacturing methods were improved.

In 1922 L. J. Kimmel of Newport and Spokane perfected a machine by which he could use electricity for refrigeration. His Elektro-Cold Company was the largest company of its kind in the West, distributing its product in 11 states. The growth was very rapid; Elektro-Kold sold 50 machines in 1923 and 506 machines just two years later. The Spokesman-Review in 1926 predicted that "icemen will become as conspicuous as long-haired women and lakes won't have to raise a crust each winter to make the season's supply of ice cream and keep it firm, fresh, and soothing."

A new "artificial ice plant" was built in Spokane near Felt's Field in 1925; it could produce 75 to 100 tons daily. With this production year-round, the harvesting of ice was on its way out.

**T**here were some holdouts. The head of Spokane's Broadview Dairy, which used 40 tons of ice daily, told an interviewer in 1925 that harvested ice was cheaper and less trouble than any attempts to manufacture it. Too, he believed that horses were a cheaper and better delivery method than automobiles since they could learn the route and move to the next home while the iceman took ice into the first house.

The final blow for small-town and rural icehouses was usually determined by the coming of electricity, through the 1930s and 1940s. The last businesses to use harvested natural ice were sportsmen's lakeside resorts. Several continued in Idaho and Washington into the 1960s. Numerous fish camps in British Columbia still use it. For them, family labor supplies outperform costly manufacture or transportation and storage of ice supplies. The romance is worth something, too.

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Eva Gayle Six led the nine-year project (1991-1999) to develop Metaline Falls School by architects Kirkland Cutter and S. Michael, focusing mainly on Pend Oreille County and northeastern Washington.
A PIONEER IN NATIVE PLANTS

By Christine Colasurdo

In 1934 Erna Gunther took up a fountain pen and carefully printed on the inside cover of a gray, nondescript notebook: "Should this ever be found, please notify the address above. This book is of great value, but only to the owner." The young researcher could not have been more wrong. As one of many field books filled with fascinating details on Northwest native cultures, the little book contained the beginnings of a pioneer text that would remain popular long after its author had passed away. First published in 1945 by the University of Washington Press, Gunther’s Ethnobotany of Western Washington has remained a classic reference for plant enthusiasts for more than five decades.

After one revision and seven reprintings, the book now stands as a precious glimpse at how early Northwest Coast peoples regarded indigenous trees, shrubs, and wildflowers. It is through this book that readers today know how 19 different tribes—from the Klickitat Indians along the Columbia Gorge to the Lummi near the Canadian border—used more than 100 different species of plants. The slender book explains how rosehips were chewed by the Klallam as a breath freshener, and how soapberries were whipped by the Makah into a delicious, frothy dessert. Within its 50 pages readers are plunged into a not-so-distant time when sword ferns were tied together to form mattresses, spruce roots were plied into watertight baskets, and camas bulbs were dug up from vast meadows every spring.

Surprisingly, Ethnobotany of Western Washington was not written by a botanist; it was written by an anthropologist who preferred chamber-music concerts to wilderness treks and whose green thumb was never tested beyond a few house plants. To understand how a woman with a penchant for Mercedes-Benz convertibles wound up writing about snowberries and willows, one must enter into the wide-ranging world of Erna Gunther, a world as tiny as a miniature handmade basket and as immense as any 19th-century explorer’s journey around the globe.

Gunther was born November 9, 1896, in Brooklyn, New York, of immigrant parents. Gunther’s mother was a teacher from Strasbourg, France, and her father had emigrated from Wiesbaden, Germany, to work as a diamond merchant in New York, importing and exporting jewelry. A single child, Gunther learned French from her Alsatian grandmother as well as German from her father. She began her academic career at Barnard College, where she received a bachelor’s degree in English in 1919. After working for a summer at the American Museum of Natural History, Gunther entered Columbia University to study under anthropologist Franz Boas. Her schoolmates included Margaret Mead, Ruth Benedict, and Leslie Spier, whom she married upon graduating. In 1920 Gunther completed her master’s degree in anthropology from Columbia University.

Encouraged by Boas, Gunther moved west with her husband to what seemed to her “sheer wilderness” to conduct field research on the Northwest Coast tribes. As the “father” of American anthropology, Boas had studied several Northwest cultures in the late 1800s and was well aware of their magnificent but little-known art.
In 1922 Gunther gave birth to her first son, Robert, then joined the University of Washington faculty in 1923 with her husband who, along with Edward Sapir, was studying the Wishram Indians of the Celilo Falls area on the Columbia River. Soon after—even as Gunther gave birth to her second son, Christopher, in 1926—she started her doctoral work on several Puget Sound tribes, including the Snohomish, Snoqualmie, and Nisqually. Boas had given Gunther a set of field notes written by anthropologist Hermann Haeberlin, who had died with his studies unfinished. The notes, written in “little address books in German script in pencil,” as Gunther would later recall, provided the starting point for her future life’s work. Gunther not only translated Haeberlin’s notes but took up where he had left off, completing her doctorate from Columbia University in 1928. By that time her sons were two and six years old, her husband had left the University of Washington for a post at the University of Oklahoma, and her elderly parents had just passed away.

In 1929 Spier was offered the directorship of the Washington State Museum, located on the campus of the University of Washington. Headed for the South Seas, he turned it down and recommended his wife instead. Gunther accepted the position of acting director, but by 1930 found herself divorced, a single parent, and solely at the helm of a tiny, disorganized museum sailing straight into the Great Depression. It didn’t help that the field of anthropology was itself in its fledgling years and women were far from recognized as either intellectuals or leaders.

Gunther was a small woman of enormous talent. Standing only five feet two, she refused to be intimidated by any circumstance, whether it was playing basketball as an undergraduate or working full-time as a single mother. She divided parenting duties with her ex-husband by sending their older son Robert to live with his father. The younger son, Kit, was brought along to the museum as well as to Indian ceremonies and dances. To this day Kit recalls his mother’s parenting style with fondness. “She never condescended to me as a child,” he remembers. In contrast, Gunther had to tolerate sexist condescension from her male colleagues, some of whom occasionally asked why she wasn’t “home cooking.” Such insults failed to dampen the young director’s determination. Instead, she plowed her way into academia, gaining professional clout through her scholarship and distinct combative style.

Her former student and friend—painter and paleobotanist Wesley Wehr—recalls Gunther’s verbal audacity. “She had a tongue that could lay people flat. That was why it was a pleasure to be with her. You always knew exactly where you stood.”
Gunther applied the same sort of exactitude to her work, whether it was cataloguing collections, amassing copious notes from her native informants, or teaching—all of which she began doing with gusto in the 1930s.

It was Gunther's belief that museum art should be as accessible as possible to the public, and that the more Northwest native culture was understood the better it would be appreciated by whites. To that end, Gunther not only worked closely with several Northwest tribes, she spoke about them to whomever would listen—scout groups, women's clubs, fraternal societies, school groups, church groups, even television watchers who tuned in to her 1950s show, "Museum Chats." At the Washington State Museum, she created educational kits that were sent to hundreds of schools, where students could handle replicas of native tools and baskets.

Native basketry was one of Gunther's primary passions. She wrote her 1920 master's thesis on Alaskan Tlingit basket makers' designs. The first of many items Gunther collected for the Washington State Museum were baskets, and her knowledge of how they were made was unparalleled except by the basket makers themselves. She also owned a small collection of native baskets, which were mostly given to her as gifts.

It was perhaps her interest in learning how baskets were made that led her to research Northwest plants. In the late 1920s Gunther became friends with Ada Markishtum, a Makah basket maker from Neah Bay. Along with her husband Luke, Ada Markishtum had lived through a period of great change for her tribe, when traditional ways were being destroyed and families ripped apart by white acculturation. During this same period, the Northwest's native vegetation had likewise suffered a similar upheaval, with the cutting of vast coniferous forests and the arrival of non-native grasses and other weeds. Gunther's predecessor, botanist George Neville Jones, had described this "Caucasian Invasion" as a catastrophic event on the scale of the Ice Age. Gunther herself was disheartened by the disintegration of entire cultures before her very eyes, noting:

In starting out, the bright hope of discussing the relationship between a people and their normal environment led me on, but I soon realized that the environment had changed too much . . . . Fifteen years ago I talked with old men who knew that bows were made of yew wood but had never used one seriously. A few had made them of commercial lumber as tourist souvenirs. Many an old woman wished she could dig camas for a meal but instead she cooks navy beans, or macaroni.

When Gunther met the Markishtums, she was impressed by the couple's relatively intact knowledge of indigenous flora and fauna. The two women became such close friends that Gunther's son Kit came to regard Ada as a second mother. The three adults, along with Kit, walked through the woods near Neah Bay and talked about the cedars and firs there, or the birds darting through the shadows, or the wildflowers in bloom. Ada would show Gunther which plants were used for each different kind of basket, and how they were harvested and prepared. Non-native species like foxglove were easy for the Makah couple to point out because they had witnessed the plants' arrival within their lifetime. Gunther was distressed that such valuable native knowledge was being lost. Consequently, by 1930 she resolved to compile a comprehensive survey of how local tribes used indigenous plants. That year, she began collecting specimens and inquired about their character, use, and value to 19 different Washington tribes living west of the Cascades, an area that seemed geographically discrete. With help from Luke and Ada, she was careful to obtain the entire specimen, roots and all. She also collected specimens during the season in which the plants were historically harvested.

It soon became apparent that she would not be able to complete the task alone, so she solicited the help of botanist George Neville Jones, anthropology fellow
Roger Ernesti, and biologist Martha Flahaut, a close colleague from the museum. Jones and Flahaut helped Gunther identify her specimens, and Ernesti assisted her with fieldwork. Gunther also hoped that she would be able to encourage a botanist to author the book, but by 1940 she realized that she herself would have to complete it. Fleshing out her own scholarship with information from other scholars’ research, Gunther listed each plant by its Latin name and how it was used. In 1945 *Ethnobotany of Western Washington* was published as volume 10, number 1, in the University of Washington’s *Publications in Anthropology* series. In the preface Gunther acknowledged that the compilation was far from complete and expressed the hope that “in some years a supplementary paper may be prepared.” Unfortunately, although Gunther authored many other important works after 1945, a comprehensive revision of *Ethnobotany of Western Washington* was not among them.

Ironically, despite its incompleteness and flaws, the original paper was so popular that by 1970 editors at the University of Washington Press decided to reissue it as a book. Gunther added illustrations, corrections, and appendices but little else. Even so, the 1973 edition has remained in print for almost three decades and is currently in its seventh reprinting.

The longevity of *Ethnobotany of Western Washington* may be due in part to Gunther’s preservationist scholarship at a crucial time when Northwest native cultures were being threatened by disintegration. Historically, native people had relied on their tradition of oral history to preserve tribal knowledge and customs. But the handing down of oral information had already partially disappeared by the time Gunther had met the Markshums, making the scholar’s attempts at preservation invaluable.

Her strategy in compiling the book was as systematic as she could make it, given that she was not a botanist. For each entry, Gunther provided the regional Indian name of the locality where it was collected. Various uses—whether for food, tools, or medicine—were listed.

Gunther also added research by contemporary ethnobotanists such as Ernst Stuhr and Albert Reagan to support or expand the informants’ statements. She also delved into the journals of Archibald Menzies and Lewis and Clark. (David Douglas’ journals were inaccessible, being published later in the century.) She also tagged each of the book’s specimens with a fact sheet regarding its origin and use. Each specimen was mounted, dated, and numbered, with the site where it was collected. Specimens were catalogued and kept in the Washington State Museum’s herbarium until 1938, when they were transferred to the University of Washington’s Department of Botany herbarium. To this day, approximately 100 of Gunther’s specimens can be found in the herbarium where soil still clings to some roots, chlorophyll still greens some leaves, and the huckleberries of one *Vaccinium* species are still dark blue.

Although Gunther lacked formal training as a botanist, she was no stranger to indigenous plants when she began *Ethnobotany of Western Washington*. Her 1920 master’s thesis on Tlingit baskets had introduced her to spruce roots before she had even come west to see the tree itself. In 1925 she had already published an extensive study of the Klallam Indians, a small tribe dispersed along the Strait of Juan de Fuca. Although some 19th-century reports estimated the Klallam population as high as 11,500, when Gunther conducted her research in 1923 the tribe’s members totaled only 296, most living in villages along the northeast tip of the Olympic Peninsula.

Forced to give up their land in 1855, the tribe fought for more than a century for federal recognition, receiving it in 1981 as the S’Klallam Tribe. In her study, Gunther recorded exactly which plants were harvested by the Klallam women, where and when they were harvested, and how the women dried and stored the foods. In addition, she coauthored in 1930 *The Indians of Puget Sound*, in which she recorded the different preferences of the coast and inland tribes—as, for instance,
the Nisqually’s dependence on acorns—and how they traded with each other for each tribe’s specialty. Other preliminary research was also derived from her 1928 doctoral dissertation, *A Further Analysis of the First Salmon Ceremony*. In this intriguing study—an expansion of a 1926 article published in *American Anthropologist*—Gunther looked at how tribes from California to Washington conducted their ritual harvest of the first spring salmon, a harbinger that usually signaled salvation from winter starvation. Through this study Gunther observed the respect Northwest Indians had for the plants and animals upon which their lives depended. For instance, when a Kwakiutl woman cut the roots of a young cedar tree she prayed,

*Look at me, friend! I come to ask for your dress, for you have come to take pity on us; for there is nothing for which you can not be used, because it is your way that there is nothing for which we cannot use you, for you are really willing to give us your dress. I come to beg you for this, long life-maker, for I am going to make a basket of lily roots out of you. I pray, friend, not to feel angry with me on account of what I am going to do to you, and I beg you, friend, to tell your friends about what I ask of you. Take care, friend! Keep sickness away from me, so that I may not be killed by sickness or in war, O friend!*

As with her other works, the First Salmon Ceremony is haunted by a foreknowledge that much of what the author is writing about will disappear within her lifetime. Gunther knew that as with their use of native plants, the American Indians’ elaborate ceremonies regarding the harvest of first fruits and meats would be subject to cultural disarray and change. Ironically enough, it was this ceremony of first fruits—widespread throughout North American tribes—that had partly instigated the American holiday of Thanksgiving centuries ago.

Gunther also helped the people she had studied and befriended. According to her son Kit, Gunther was “very distressed by what she witnessed in terms of native peoples’ rights.” At one point in her academic career she traveled through Washington, Oregon, and British Columbia to lecture on “The Concept of Race” and “How to Resolve Racial Differences.” She attended conferences regarding Indian relations, and argued that white IQ tests were culturally biased. In the 1950s she helped establish the Congress of American Indians. Like many others who knew Gunther, Wesley Wehr believes that she was “ahead of her time in terms of understanding the injustices done to Indians. She was a powerful, healthy force in the community.” She was also ahead of her time in recognizing the extent to which Northwest Indians managed their salmon runs, camas meadows, and huckleberry fields. Her research remains as a reminder today of how much native people inhabited and manipulated what early white explorers considered “untouched” wilderness.

Partly because of her prodigious reputation, Gunther remained active long after she abandoned her directorship of the Washington State Museum in 1962 and her faculty position at the University of Washington in 1966. Anticipating mandatory retirement in 1968, Gunther left the university in protest over the renaming of her old museum as the Burke Museum, as well as its new building, formally dedicated in 1964. Gunther believed that renaming the entire museum after wealthy donor Caroline McGilvra Burke’s husband, Thomas Burke, was inappropriate because Burke had amassed his wealth through real estate and other “exploitive” practices. But Gunther was overruled; the new museum became known as the Thomas Burke Memorial Washington State Museum. Despite losing such a battle, Gunther pushed on. As Wehr explains, “Ema didn’t have a soggy karma or time for self-pity. She never fossilized. Even after leaving the university she plunged into all sorts of new things.” In 1966 she began teaching in the Geology and Anthropology Department at the University of Alaska and became the department’s chair in 1967.

Upon returning to Seattle in 1969 she began what her colleague Viola Garfield
termed a “very active retirement.” In 1970 she was awarded the Washington State Arts Commission Governor’s Art Award and in 1971 received the Captain Robert Gray Medal from the Washington State Historical Society. In 1972 she was commissioned by the Whatcom Museum of History and Art to catalog the basket collection of her colleague, Melville Jacobs, who had recently died. Soon after, she began translating the diaries of Johan Adrian Jacobsen, a German naval captain who traveled the Northwest Coast from 1881 to 1883. The result was the handsome book, *Alaskan Voyage*, published in 1977 when she was 81 years old.

Her friendships with her native informants lasted to the end of her life. When the Burke Museum honored her with a reception in 1981, advance notice spread quickly among the coastal Indian communities. Although they were not officially invited, members of several tribes arrived en masse to sing and dance for Gunther, who had begun to suffer from Alzheimer’s disease.

At the reception, museum officials announced the creation of the Erna Gunther Ethnobotanical Garden to commemorate the museum’s director of longest tenure. Completed in 1984 with help from the Seattle Garden Club and other groups, the rectangular plot in front of the museum contains 36 species of indigenous plants, with signs explaining how the plants were used by local tribes. Visitors to the small garden may smile at one of the more curious descriptions—that of western trillium, whose cooked bulb was pounded into a love medicine that was “either rubbed on the body or put into the food of the intended lover.” Near the trillium is a clump of bunchberry dogwood, whose bright red berries were eaten raw by some tribes.

When Gunther died on August 25, 1982, she had plans to help edit the autobiography of Mourning Dove, a Colville Indian woman and novelist. She also had plans to write a book on the ornithology of Northwest tribes and translate an 1876 book of Indian stories gathered by a Catholic missionary named Petitot. This lifelong intellectual passion was commemorated in a poem by Gunther’s grandson-in-law, Fredric Matteson, who witnessed the scattering of her ashes over Puget Sound:

You were an anthropologist not used to measuring satisfaction in others but knew the family tree
the outer branches settling over distant
Salish villages, the tribal people lost in your
study, your astute charm and careful indifference
What made a day in your mind was information
 gathering under the soft lead of a cedar pencil
the correct placement of a miniature grass basket
on a shelf in a room exhibiting what’s left
of a Tlingit sunset, sly stained with cranberry
You are made lighter in our minds, lifted by your son’s hands over this late August tide the push
and pull of the Sound a give and take of
information shared only for one purpose: to better understand what we have lost in the translation
in our rush to become human.

Outdoors writer Christine Columbu is author of *Return to Spirit Lake: Journey Through a Lost Landscape* and *Golden Gate National Parks: A Photographic Journey*. Born and raised in Portland, she retains vivid memories of the Portland Art Museum’s Pacific Northwest Indian collection, which Erna Gunther originally helped catalogue and display.
Grafton Tyler Brown (1841-1918) is generally acknowledged to be the first professional African-American artist in the American West. Born in Harrisburg, Pennsylvania, he moved west in the 1850s and worked as a lithographer in San Francisco. He eventually owned his own business, painting in his spare time. In 1882 he moved to Victoria, British Columbia, and became a full-time painter, exhibiting his work to great acclaim. He moved again in 1886 and opened a painting studio in Portland, Oregon, which he operated until 1889. Brown ultimately moved to Minnesota, where he worked as a draftsman for the City of St. Paul until his death.

Brown is best known for his landscapes. He painted most of the well-known Northwest peaks. His business stationery advertised his views of Mount Hood, Mount Tacoma (Mount Rainier), Mount Baker, and Mount Adams, along with scenes of the Columbia River and Puget Sound. The above view (oil on canvas, 16" by 26") is typical of his landscapes in that it depicts the grandeur of nature with a small reminder of human activity represented by the Indian canoe and strolling couple at lower right.

A comprehensive exhibit of Brown's work is currently being organized by the California African American Museum. This exhibit will go on view at the Washington State History Museum in late 2003.
The Development and Growth of Fraternity “Row” at the University of Washington

When the Greeks Came Marching In

By Norman J. Johnston

The University of Washington’s Greek Row is a unique phenomenon. Rarely on university campuses does one find that the coincidental decisions locating individual Greek letter fraternities and sororities end up creating such a compact and cohesive development as one finds at the UW’s Seattle campus. How, then, can one account for this circumstance? The University District’s history explains it.

What has come to be known as the University District (or U,District) was once a heavily forested area initially obtained by the United States government in 1855 by treaty with the Native Americans. Like all land in the western United States, it was subsequently surveyed to become part of the national grid with its regular townships of six-mile squares. That grid would establish such key U,District north-south and east-west alignments as today’s 15th Avenue Northwest and Northeast 45th Street, thus determining major development patterns.

The district’s portion of the grid was established to the east and south by the shores of Lake Washington and Portage Bay, precluding any adjoining urban development in those directions. Then there was the district’s platting development, which at the turn of the century was still in its evolutionary stages. Private raw land purchases had in the 1870s and 1880s established substantial ownerships north of 45th Street and west of 15th Avenue, while similar purchases had been made north of 45th Street and east of 15th Avenue. Subsequent platting—the laying out of streets and lot lines—was piecemeal, beginning south of 45th Street in 1890 and north of it by 1903. The southerly portion of development served the somewhat disheveled little village known rather informally as Brooklyn. Polk’s Seattle City Directory noted the village’s entirely residential character in 1890, but by 1895 its development included two boarding houses, two builders, a dairy, dressmaker, drayage company, grocer, landscape gardener, meat market, and a real estate office. In 1891 it had been annexed by Seattle, the two being connected by a streetcar line possibly the following year. But all this modest activity was confined to ownerships south of 45th Street and west of 15th Avenue. Land to the east of 15th and north of 45th, much of it Pope and Talbot’s—the lumber people—was denied any availability for potential development and thus its future remained an unknown.

A bright new future, unexpected and dazzling, began to emerge for the former village of Brooklyn with the purchase of today’s 15th Avenue Northwest and Northeast 45th Street, thus determining major development patterns.

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by the state in 1894 of the whole remaining portion of the township east of 15th and south of 45th for the new campus of the University of Washington. Construction began almost immediately; its first building was occupied and classes began in the autumn of 1895. Now known as the University District, the area suddenly had a powerful new neighbor with its faculty, staff, and especially its students, all of whom had needs for shelter and sustenance, which the district was quite willing to accommodate. Shelter would be a key service. While the university had in 1899 constructed both a men’s and a women’s dorm, there was still a need for additional student housing, which Polk’s listing of two boarding houses in the district no doubt reflected.

There was, however, a somewhat different variation of student housing that would soon arise on the university’s periphery—i.e., the Greek letter fraternities and sororities. The “Greeks” began founding national chapters as early as the 1830s in this country, and by the end of the century they were a familiar facet of American college life. There had been Greek letter scholarly honoraria earlier, Phi Beta Kappa of 1776 being the first, but they had no housing pretensions. The essence of these new fraternities and sororities was social rather than scholarly, offering its invited members not only food and shelter but also promise of a lifelong association as well as small-group bonding within the larger college community as an antidote to its relative anonymity. It was not, however, until the university occupied its new Seattle campus that its attractions were perceived by Greek national groups.

The influx began rather slowly: Sigma Nu (ΣN) arrived in 1896, after which there were no national chapter foundings that century. A slow but steady growth followed, with Phi Gamma Delta (ΦΓΔ, Fijis) in 1900, Beta Theta Pi (ΒΘΠ, Betas) and Phi Delta Theta (ΦΔΘ, Phi Dels) in 1901, and in 1903 Sigma Chi (ΣΧ), Kappa Sigma (ΚΣ), Gamma Phi Beta (ΓΦΒ, Gammas), and Delta Gamma (ΔΓ, DGs), the latter two being the first sororities. Others followed, and by 1910 there were 24 national Greek letter fraternities and sororities with chapters at the University of Washington. This momentum continued into the early 1930s, after which there were only occasional new foundings—the latest in 1997—67 in all.
And here lay the dilemma—where to locate those houses? This was a question both of convenience and rank: easy access to the University of Washington campus, plus appropriate connotations of architectural style to enhance the organizations' status and attract new members. But as the Greeks began their inroads into the social patterns of the university, they came to realize that their choices for housing locations proved rather limited. Both to its east and south the campus was edged in large part by Lake Washington and Portage Bay (soon to be augmented by the Montlake Canal). To the west of campus there already existed a community, mostly residential, with some commercial development that provided existing housing possibilities for temporary acquisition but was unpromising for more ambitious and long-range plans and rather removed from the campus.

That left only the 40 unplatted acres of land north of campus as having any future Greek Row potential. Sprawling from 15th east to the future alignment of 20th and north to 50th, the land was owned by the Puget Mill Company—timbered but otherwise empty. So the earliest Greek letter houses, having no other choice, mixed in with the rest of the district west of 15th, and by 1908 had loosely scattered themselves into the residential community, a mix-up of private residences and the Greeks. All that, however, was at last to change when in 1906 Puget Mill harvested its timbered acreage and laid it out with streets and lots as University Park Addition.

Once the addition was available, the Greeks soon recognized its potential and rose to the occasion. Kappa Sigma was the leader, making the move in 1909 from its Brooklyn and 47th Street address to a site just above 50th on 18th Avenue. That was relatively remote, but the direction was prescient of the future. In the following years other Greeks made successive eastern moves to reinforce the trend, so that by the 1910s the evidence was overwhelming that the University Park blocks were the place to be, and the closer to 45th and the campus the better. In all this 17th Street was to have particularly high status. At one time called University Boulevard and foreseen as a segment of the tree-lined length of the Olmsted Brothers' 1903 Seattle Park Plan, it held a special attraction for the Greeks, which their subsequent years of site selection were to
reinforce. The Row’s high point of development was reached in 1931, by which time its blocks had made room for 61 chapter houses, two-thirds of that number being south of 47th Street and east of 16th Avenue. The development that followed simply reinforced that pattern, resulting in the remarkably compact and cohesive cluster of Greek-letter organizations in one area. Changes that have taken place since the 1930s have been after World War II—mainly expansion of existing structures and sites to accommodate larger memberships and their increased number of cars.

Today, UW’s Greek Row includes 43 active and two inactive chapter houses, 33 (or 73 percent) situated west of 16th Avenue and south of 47th Street. If you include the houses immediately north of 47th Street and facing it, the proportion of Greek houses west of 16th Avenue reaches 89 percent.

Having found their sites, what sorts of architectural visions have motivated the Greeks in their search for housing, identity, and prestige? Like the locations themselves, their decisions demonstrate phases of choice over the years. Despite often sketchy or even missing documentary evidence, four phases can be clearly identified that reveal a sequence of prevailing architectural taste. The first phase, roughly the years 1896 through 1909, was more likely one in which the various Greek chapters rented or possibly bought existing houses. The 1904 Beta house on upper 14th Avenue (later to become University Way, or “The Ave”), with its Victorian exuberance, was eventually superceded in 1907 by a classically columnar structure (more pretentious and still on 14th but closer to the campus) in which the Betas remained for some 16 years. The Phi Delts’ turreted mansion of the same era—more of a Classic Box in style—was also on 14th, its yard backing up to the still forested Puget Mills property. Both houses represent the sort of prevailing residential practices conventional for that early turn-of-the-century time and place.

The bulk of houses of that era, however, were simply variations on the Classic Box, familiar wood frame construction. Their architects are unknown, but it is probable that they were builder-designed and built, employing standard and sometimes even prefabricated construction and design practices. The fate of all these early houses was usually one of eventual replacement, often involving their destruction as commercial activity supplanted them increasingly in the U-District.

A second phase of architectural development emerges in the years prior to and during World War I—for our purposes here, 1911 through 1919. These are years in which there was a great deal of activity—houses being built in the developing University Park Addition, many for the Greeks. Both the Pijis in 1911 and the Sigma Chis in 1913, moved into new houses that remind one of what might have been found at a private resort on Cape Cod—substantial, comfortable, permanent, and big. The Great Gatsby would have felt right at home. Unfortunately, no record was discovered as to whom their architects might have been. But from appearances, since many of the houses of the era remained more modest in scale and ambitions, Classic Boxes were still much in evidence.

There were during this decade, however, an almost equal number of houses of more than average design ambitions. Some of these had picked up an enthusiasm for classicism as found in the Georgian or Colonial Revivals, earlier adopted by the Betas. But these design inspirations were used now for
the first four houses that would in due course become the more or less permanent Greek Row partners of the present day: houses for Delta Kappa Epsilon (AΣΦ, 1914), Kappas, now Delta Tau Delta, TKE, Sigma Nu (1916), Delta Tau Delta (ΔΤΔ, Delts, 1917), and Theta Delta Chi (ΘΔΧ, 1917). The design success of the 1909 Alaska-Yukon-Pacific Exposition and its heady classicism must surely have helped activate this classical approach. Others, however, responded to the Tudor/Collegiate Gothic Revival, heretofore unprecedented in the Row's residential construction.

The example set by the university, with the adoption of Collegiate Gothic as its official architectural style, was the seal of approval that encouraged this direction. For the first time there is some sense of who had design responsibility for at least four of the houses. The first one was also the Row's most innovative (and still is): Sigma Nu, the work of Ellsworth Storey and the Row's first and only house to suggest the influence of Frank Lloyd Wright and the Chicago School in its architectural design. Storey's is a much respected Seattle architectural career. Harlan Thomas, who also built a substantial architectural career in Seattle, was head of the UW's Architecture Department in the 1930s and architect for the Deke house. Rather curiously, the designer listed for the Delt house is Puget Sound Bridge & Dredging Company (perhaps an alum was a draftsman there). Otherwise, those who designed the rest of what must have been a considerable body of Greek Row work in these years remain unknown.

The years 1920 to 1939 were the phase during which there was an unprecedented surge of new Greek Row construction, establishing the environmental personality that we find in the area today. To the four houses from the previous period, this phase added 37 new structures, an economic outpouring that would run into thousands of dollars.

Architects and their practices now became a matter of record. The firm of Stephen-Stephen & Brust of New York City were authors of the monumental Alpha Sigma Phi (ΑΣΦ) house of 1920. In 1929 Mellor & Meigs of Philadelphia with J. Lister Holmes of Seattle designed the handsome Collegiate Gothic interpretation for the Fijis, replacing their earlier house on the same corner. And George V. Russell of New York City, in association with Albertson, Wilson & Richardson of Seattle, created the design for the house by 1931 sheltered Phi Kappa Psi (ΦΚΨ). But most of the Row's work went to Seattle architects as principals, a survey of their names revealing many familiar in the profession: Bebb & Gould's houses for Delta Chi (ΔΧ, 1922) and Delta Delta Delta (ΔΔΔ, 1924); Stuart & Wheatley's houses for Sigma Alpha Epsilon (ΣΑΕ, 1924) and Chi Psi (ΧΨ, 1926); Edwin Ivey's 1927 house for Alpha Delta Phi (ΑΔΦ); J. Lister Holmes's Sigma Chi (1928); J. T. Jacobson's 1928 Lambda Chi Alpha (ΛΧΑ); R. C. Reamer's Phi Kappa Sigma (ΦΚΣ, 1928); J. R. Niven's Phi Delta Theta; Lionel H. Fries' Alpha Tau Omega (ΑΤΩ, 1929, now the Deke's); Harlan Thomas, already noted, who also designed the Kappa Kappa Gamma (ΚΚΓ) house of 1930; William J. Bain and Lionel H. Fries' for Kappa Delta (ΚΔ, 1930); and Theta Chi's (ΘΧ) design by Walter Lund (1931). But the most prolific Greek Row architect was Seattle's Arthur Loveless whom city records show designed new houses for Beta Theta Pi (1922), Alpha Delta Delta (ΑΔΔ, 1923), Zeta Psi (ΖΨ, 1927), Zeta Tau Alpha (ΖΤΑ, 1929), and possibly Alpha Xi Delta (ΑΞΔ, 1925). The work of all these architects and that of others during this phase was for the times characteristically eclectic. Except for Storey's Sigma Nu, this new work was entirely traditional but on the whole a quality effort.

By this date the number of Classic Boxes had almost disappeared (they had usually been houses for the smaller of the Greeks) while eight new Georgian/Colonial Revival houses were added. But, following a trend anticipated earlier, a reinforced design enthusiasm was established with the addition of 23 houses designed in a range of interpretations of Tudor/Collegiate Gothic Revival, a tendency that had emerged tentatively in the preceding period and reached full flower in this one. On the other hand, there still were houses more independently inspired. Some, for example, used elements in various ways from the California Mission style—stucco exterior walls, perhaps some tile roofing or trim, and detailing that broadened the design vocabulary beyond what was ordinarily being employed on the Row. These include Chi Psi, Phi Kappa Sigma, and Zeta Tau Alpha (all noted above) and Kappa Alpha Theta (ΚΑΘ, 1925, architect unknown).

From 1940 on, the basic ambience of the UW's Greek Row had been firmly established, both as to its perimeter and its visual personality. What few projects there were, such as several new houses and some face-lifting and expansions of those preexisting, were insufficient to alter what was already in place. As a generalization, however, there was one significant design change: the addition of modern architectural design to the architect's palette. This was partly due to the changes in the profession itself but also raw construction economics, which precluded the expense of traditional designs.

Though the impact of Modern-style architecture coming to
the Row was insufficient to establish any comprehensive presence, the reality is what presence it managed was on the whole obtrusive rather than congenial. Alpha Delta Pi (AΔΠ, 1950), Sigma Phi Epsilon (ΣΦΕ, 1953), Kappa Sigma (1958), and Alpha Epsilon Pi (ΑΕΠ, 1958) are all harshly modern, uncompromising in their indifference to the Row's traditions. It is no coincidence that each was created in the 1950s, an architectural decade that stirs little sentimental nostalgia.

Some of the additions to older houses of this period are similarly obtrusive: Delta Chi's of 1967 or that of 1962 at the Phi Delta Theta house. On the other hand, some of the more obvious damage of their additions has at least been softened. The south extension of the Beta House, heavily 1950s in origin, has, along with the Loveless structure, recently been given a comprehensive overhaul and new front entrance on 17th that is a welcome neighborly gesture. The Gamma Phis and Thetas have similarly reworked earlier face-lifts in recent years to their advantage. And there have been some new houses added to the Row or an addition sufficiently major to alter its earlier role in the Row's urban scene. Alpha Chi Omega (AXΩ) in 1958 moved to a new address on 17th and into an austerely modern house by John Graham; its façade remodeling in 1998 softened it toward something more Southern Colonial. The same could be said of their Gamma Phi and Theta 17th Street neighbors to the south, both having also indulged in some recent face-lifting drawn from the same inspiration. Alpha Gamma Delta also made a move, going in 1955 across the street to their new house, which for that decade was a comfortable if uninspired addition to the Row. The Row's most substantial addition in this period was the house for Delta Upsilon (ΔΥ, DUs, 1966) by the late Paul Thiry, who had previously done a house for Phi Mu (ΦΜ, 1953). He was one of the most distinguished graduates of the UW's Department of Architecture, and the house he designed for the DUs, with its handsome reinforced concrete-framed design independence, nevertheless demonstrates how architecture of our times can be a positive contributor to the urban scene. It is the most substantial work remaining of Thiry's career association with the university. Major additions to existing houses were also made in this period, that for Kappa Delta in 1957 by Bain & Overturf. Their design follows closely the precedent of the original 1930 building by Bain and Pries, but one can regret the loss of open space that the house's original setback had given the street scene. A somewhat similar circumstance occurred when the DUs recently added a wing to their L-shaped house plan to make the plan a U, but again following closely the design approach established by the original building.

The bulk of design and construction on Greek Row in the building phase following World War II was primarily composed of additions and remodels, efforts to accommodate the larger memberships of the time—and their cars—and to face-lift the house so that the chapter could maintain or improve its position in the Row's pecking order.

The history of Greek Row at the University of Washington has revealed a trend toward an increasingly consolidated built environment. Denied a full spectrum of choice by the original circumstances of the U-District, with its topographical and developmental dictates, the Greeks in their initial search for sites settled for what was left. By happy coincidence, though, this proved to be a rather brief frustration when the clearing and platting of the land due north of the campus created an environmental vacuum that they were eager and able to help fill.

The force of circumstances in the Row's subsequent years and the Greeks' individual actions evolved not toward dispersal but consolidation, the Greeks having chosen an emphasis on common identity, close personal relations, and attachment to traditional and sentimental concerns. The UW's Greek Row, typical of the genre and expressing those values, chose a concentration of preferred locations and built environment. As such it reflects not just their search but the search we all share to achieve togetherness, identity, and belonging through place in a world and time where such goals can be frustratingly elusive.

Norman J. Johnston is professor emeritus at the University of Washington, an architect, and author of books and articles on aspects of environmental history, including the campuses of the University of Washington and our state capitol.
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—Brenda Hanan, Development Manager

Additional Reading

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

Lewis & Clark's Indian Presents


"Tough Times at the Bad," James P. Ronda. We Proceeded On (May 2002).


A River Ran Through It


Renton: The First 100 Years. Kent: King County Journal, 2001.


A Pioneer Judge & His Family


January Harvest


Erna Gunther


When the Greeks Came Marching In

This informative volume should be of interest to the general reader as well as students and travelers to the area. The book was collaboratively produced by representatives of the Port Gamble S’Klallam, Skokomish, Makah, Quinault, Hoh, Elwha Klawall and Squaxin Island tribes who together make up the Olympic Peninsula Intertribal Cultural Advisory Committee (OPICAC). Each chapter is devoted to one of these tribes and was authored by culture and heritage specialists as well as other tribal members.

Though contributions differ considerably in form and content, nearly all discuss tribal relationships to land, cultural and political histories, present-day economic activities, heritage programs and current issues. In addition, most chapters suggest opportunities for visits and make note of dates of significant celebrations or pow wows. There are suggestions for additional reading at the conclusion of each tribe’s entry. The book features a number of compelling photographs and territorial maps drawn from both tribal and nontribal archives. Though authors note indebtedness to anthropologists such as Ema Gunther and William Elmendorf for certain information, the narratives abound with stories from elders as well as commentaries on contemporary life from other tribal members.

This is an inviting and accessible book that will be useful in public school classrooms. Educators have had few materials available to them with which to teach the history of Washington tribes and the relationship between Indian nations and state and federal governments. Pre-packaged lessons often convey the message that Indian cultures and people exist in an exotic past and are not participants in today’s world. Students are taught to distinguish generalized pre-contact traits of coastal and plateau people but do not learn about the unique differences between and among tribes and their traditions. The history of significant encounters between Indian people and non-Indian people is largely ignored. A book such as this one goes a long way toward helping both Indian and non-Indian young people understand culture, history, and heritage as well as the political space sovereign tribal people occupy today. Though Ruby and Brown’s A Guide to the Indian Tribes of the Pacific Northwest is more geographically inclusive, it is an encyclopedic reference book. It lacks the voice and depth of this effort. However, because Native Peoples is the work of people from nine reservations with different languages and traditions, the book does not have the thematic contextualization, flow, and structural integrity of, for example, Landscape Traveled by Coyote and Crane, a 2001 collaboration between anthropologist Rodney Frey and the Coeur d’Alene Indians. Landscape similarly explores the relationship of tribe to place and traditional culture. Its narrative attends to the disruptive effects of European contact and the people’s adaptive strategies. These same strategies are evidenced in Native Peoples though the account is fragmented because of the multiple authorship. However, OPICAC’s commitment to increase public understanding of its constituency’s cultural heritages and identities is clearly furthered by the publication of this book. Editor Wray, an anthropologist with the Olympic National Park, provides readers with a good introduction and a useful bibliography.

Harvest Wobblies
The Industrial Workers of the World and Agricultural Laborers in the American West, 1905-1930
By Greg Hall
Corvallis: Oregon State University Press, 2001; 288 pp., $34.95.
Reviewed by James B. Hunt.

This insightful history of agricultural labor union activists in the West provides important lessons about union work life, organizational strategies and problems, and the union’s experience with political and social repression. The reader learns that the “Harvest Wobblies” were most effective in maintaining the strength of the umbrella organization, the International Workers of the World (IWW), in the face of governmental repression during World War I and the 1920s. Yet, the harvest workers union became a victim of its own unwillingness to adapt to new social and economic realities.

The solidarity of riding the rails as well as the threat of being thrown off the train was one of the union’s most significant recruitment strategies. When migrant workers began to drive their automobiles to the fields in the mid 1920s, the union was left without an effective recruitment tool. Organizers became divided over their own penchant for ideological factionalism and practiced an unwillingness to reach out to ethnic and minority workers such as Hispanics and African Americans. For these reasons, rather than as a result of governmental or cultural repression, the harvest workers union—the Agricultural Workers Industrial Union (AWIU)—traveled the “road to oblivion” during the 1910s and 1920s.

The author—Greg Hall, adjunct assistant professor of history at Idaho State University—recounts the appalling record of governmental and popular attacks on the civil liberties of IWW members, including the Harvest Wobblies. One would think it was this climate of oppression that brought an end to the union. Hall argues that the union survived this period of repression and that membership actually grew in the early 1920s. As a matter of record, membership suffered huge losses in 1924 and 1925 due to a factional split from which it never recovered. Hard-core ideological rigidity rather
than governmental repression was a major reason membership declined from a high of 15,217 members in 1923 to 1,538 members in 1926.

Hall's book is a contribution to the abundant literature on IWW history. There are lessons here for the labor union historian and the activist. The author provides a full account of the Harvest Wobblies' story, thorough mastery of the secondary literature in the field, as well as deep use of primary archival sources, oral interviews, government documents, and contemporary imprints. His writing is clear and interesting.

The organizational structure of the book provides a comprehensive yet focused approach to the problems of the rise, development, and eventual decline of the AWIU. Hall's contribution compares well in its thoroughness of research, critical insight, information, and analysis with the works of Melvyn Dubofsky, Philip S. Foner, and Carlos A. Schwantes. This modestly sized volume, which has heft in both research and analysis, is a worthy addition to collections on Western history as well as the library of the general reader interested in labor history.

James B. Hunt is a professor of history at Whitworth College in Spokane.

**Landscape Traveled by Coyote & Crane**

The World of the Schitsu'umsh (Coeur d'Alene Indians)

By Rodney Frey


**Recollections from the Colville Indian Agency, 1886-1889**

By Major Rickard D. Gwydir


Reviewed by Richard S. Grimes.

**Recollections from the Colville Indian Agency, 1886-1889**


Reviewed by Richard S. Grimes.

Much of the historical literature regarding North American Indians has focused on the Great Plains, northeaster woodlands, and the Southeast. The two books under review go against the grain and concentrate on the Columbia Plateau culture area of the Pacific Northwest. **Landscape Traveled by Coyote and Crane** and **Recollections from the Colville Indian Agency, 1886-1889** complement each other and together they significantly broaden the scope of Native American studies.

Rodney Frey, a specialist in native oral traditions, has constructed a rich cultural and historical view of the Schitsu'umsh, or Coeur d'Alene, Indians who to this day live on ancestral lands in north Idaho. Frey demonstrates how the tribe's physical landscape—from the western edge of the northern Rocky Mountains to Spokane Falls—essentially a land of rivers, mountains, lakes, flora, and fauna, is intertwined with Schitsu'umsh oral tradition, religious ceremony, kinship relations, and world views. This relationship of humans to the landscape is reciprocal, and the vitality is maintained through oral traditions and by teachings. These teachings, are, writes Frey, "models for behaving in the world."

Frey also illustrates how this sacred nexus to the landscape has helped the Schitsu'umsh overcome the challenges presented to them following Euro-American contact in the early 19th century. As a consequence of this meeting, their people suffered epidemics, the excesses of commercial trade, missionization, pollution from industrial mining, and government allotments that whittled down the land holdings of the tribe. Through powwows, memorial giveaways, and jump dances, the Schitsu'umsh are reconnected to the landscape and reunited with their ancestors and "the Animal Peoples." In short, they are made whole again.

Make no mistake. This is not an Indian history of misery, despair, and tragedy. Frey contends that the Schitsu'umsh are not in a "temporal and spatial void" and in fact are a resilient and adaptive people willing to integrate alien institutions into their core values. From the early 19th century, when they adopted the horse, which enabled them to venture into the buffalo hunting grounds of the Blackfeet and the Crows, to today, when the tribal nation operates an RV park, a medical center, a golf course, a conference hall, and the lucrative Coeur d'Alene Casino, the Schitsu'umsh have displayed an ability to grasp change. These innovations are viewed by the Schitsu'umsh as "New Gifts" from the landscape. Frey's multidisciplinary approach uses anthropology, native oral tales, and western history and makes this interpretation of how the landscape has defined, shaped, and perpetuated the Schitsu'umsh people all the more reliable.

In **Recollection**, Kevin Dye has edited the memoirs of Major Rickard D. Gwydir, an ex-Confederate soldier from Kentucky who became the United States Indian Agent to tribes on the Colville Indian Agency. This short text focuses on oral tales and legends of northeast Washington as told to Gwydir by Indians and frontiersmen, plus his personal interactions with tribesmen.

Gwydir was not trained as an ethnologist as was, for example, George Bird Grinnell, so he chooses to retell the stories he heard as a novelist would—in the style of James Fenimore Cooper. Storytelling is Gwydir's strong suit, as is evident in the long tale of the "Adventurous Brave," an exciting story of warfare between the powerful Similkameens of the Cascades and their mortal enemies, known as the Shuswaps. Gwydir's keen observations are also apparent when he discusses the jealousy that the dreamer-prophet Skolaskin of the Sanpoils exhibited toward Chief Joseph and his band of 130 Nez Perces when the latter were paroled from Indian Territory in 1886 to the ancestral land of the Sanpoils. The book also contains two reports by Gwydir to the commissioner of Indian Affairs regarding the Colville Agency. This is the first edition, and the press run is limited to 500 copies.

Richard S. Grimes teaches American Indian History at West Virginia University. He has authored several publications and is currently writing a tribal history of the Delaware Indians during the American Revolution.

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And talk about making history, the 1.6-mile Tacoma Link light rail system will begin operating between downtown Tacoma and the Tacoma Dome Station in fall 2003.

For more information about Sounder and the new Tacoma Link, visit our display at the Washington State History Museum Train Festival. Or go to soundtransit.org.
DETECTIVES ON EVEREST

THE 2001 MALLORY & IRVINE RESEARCH EXPEDITION

SEPTEMBER 7, 2002 to APRIL 6, 2003

WASHINGTON STATE HISTORY MUSEUM
1911 Pacific Avenue
Tacoma, WA 98402

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AFFILIATE ORGANIZATIONS

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Ballard Historical Society
Central Washington Agricultural Museum
Bigelow House Preservation Association
Clallam County Historical Society Museum
Columbia Gorge Interpretive Center
Couplet County Historical Society
East Benton County Historical Society
Edmonds-South Snohomish County Historical Society
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Everett Masonic Historical Society
Ferndale Civic and Heritage Association
Foothills Historical Society
Fort Lewis Military Museum
Fort Nisqually Association
Fort Vancouver Historical Society of Clark County
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Fox Island Historical Society
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