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COLUMBIA. Never has the name of our magazine resonated with both history and current events as much as may be found in the contents and timing of this issue. My now "customary" reaction on the morning of February 1st was eerily similar to that of September 11th. After first hearing of a startling development on the radio, I turned on the television to learn more. A newswoman, trying diligently to both pass on hard information and fill air time, made a cursory statement: "The Columbia was named after an 18th-century sailing ship." She moved on to a seemingly more compelling point.

The spaceship Columbia was indeed named after an 18th-century sailing ship, but hardly an ordinary one. The ship's full name was Columbia Rediviva—Columbia reborn—and under the command of Robert Gray she was the first American vessel to cross the bar of the Columbia River, the fabled Great River of the West, in May 1792. On this act of naval exploration the American claim to the lands of the Pacific Northwest was laid.

Indeed, it is worthy of note that two of the remaining space shuttles have names of exploring vessels that were the Columbia Rediviva's approximate contemporaries—the Endeavour and Discovery of Captains Cook and Vancouver, respectively.

Though now archaic, "Columbia" was once a favored name and symbol for American Democracy. Indeed, before the Statue of Liberty took on its mythical status as a three-dimensional emblem for the United States, variations of "Columbia" in art, statuary, and song served that role. It was within this context that Gray's ship was so named.

Because of Gray and his vessel, the word Columbia looms large in the history of the Northwest as a region. This you will see reflected in two of this issue's stories, and exceptionally well-written ones at that. Robert Ficken and William Layman, two of our state's most accomplished writers, have graced the pages of COLUMBIA Magazine before but never so fittingly, it seems, in their subject matter.

—David L. Nicandri, Executive Editor
Paddle-Wheeling the Lower Snake River Canyon

By Junius Rochester

Most Pacific Northwesterners know something about the lower Snake River Canyon, a great valley that is entirely within the state of Washington. However, few of us can enjoy this mysterious, historic highway because of its relative inaccessibility. For the past five years I have roamed this canyon as a historian aboard cruise ships, motor coaches, and railroads. The bulk of my trips have been aboard a stern-wheeler called Queen of the West. Many times have I stood on the top deck of that colorful riverboat, describing what I see and talking about the role the canyon has played in our western story.

Come with me now on an imaginary journey up the Snake River Canyon from Sacajawea State Park to Clarkston, Washington, through the rolling Palouse Hills and two major tributaries that feed the river in the canyon. The first is the Palouse River, once named "Drewers' River" by Lewis and Clark for one of the expedition members. This empties near the old Lyons Ferry crossing and is the site of the Marmes Rockshelter archaeological site. The second tributary, the 50-mile-long Tucannon, is a traditional aboriginal highway that meanders north from the Walla Walla Valley. Its name derives from a local root used as a food staple by the Lewis and Clark expedition.

Glancing at the origin of local names helps us appreciate this historic strand. For example, early voyageurs (French rivermen-fur traders) called the 1,000-mile-long Snake River, "La Maudite Riviere Enragee," the accursed mad river. Since the construction of four dams on the Snake in the 1970s, the Frenchmen's name is no longer descriptive. There is some debate about the source of the name "Snake." It likely derives from Sacagawea's people, the Shoshone Indians who lived along the upper reaches of the Snake River. Early white explorers claimed that the Shoshone, or Snake Indians as they were called, painted snake heads on sticks to terrify their enemies. Another possibility: the Shoshone used a snake-like hand motion to signify that they were from a place where salmon spawn.

The name "Palouse" may derive from the French for "grassland," although consideration must be given to the Indian word "Palus," which means "something sticking down in the water," most likely a certain large rock at the confluence of the Snake and Palouse Rivers.

Although the earliest Euro-American visitors, including the Corps of Discovery, rode the downstream rapids to the Columbia River, reservoirs behind the large Snake River dams have resulted in a relatively placid ride, upstream or down.

Our journey begins at the 19-acre, verdant Sacajawea State Park, six miles south of Pasco, Washington, fronting both the Snake and Columbia Rivers. There is an ongoing argument about the spelling of the name of the only female member of the Lewis and Clark expedition—"Sacagawea," according to most scholars, "Sakakawea" in the Dakotas, and "Sacajawea" in dated history books.

William Clark noted in October 1805 that the Indians at this place had "bad teeth," probably from eating salmon and roots covered with gritty sand. Clark also wrote that at this juncture...
The Snake River Canyon has several relatively isolated, tidy riverside parks. These cases provide boat harbors, resotoms, a canopy of trees over picnic tables, RV hookups, and green lawn stretching to the water's edge. Except during high summer, these well-maintained patches have few visitors, a circumstance I have never understood, because canyon weather, except for rare winter storms, is usually mild.

In 1861 Lawrence W. Coe and R. R. Thompson decided to explore the lower Snake River aboard their 125-foot-long steamship, the Colonel Wright. Because the Wright, like all paddle-wheelers of its time, burned a tremendous amount of wood, fuel was in short supply throughout the canyon. Coe and Thompson rigged her with a mast and large "lug" sail to provide extra power.

Despite snagging a ferryman's cable, the Wright churned upriver, passing Palouse Rapids. At Texas/Tucannon Rapids (named for an early riverside town called Texas City), the cumbersome sail was set and the brave boat struggled and steamed its way to the mouth of the Clearwater River, site of today's Clarkston, Washington, and Lewiston, Idaho. The rapids faced by the Colonel Wright have since disappeared. However, today's travelers pass every creek, ancient landslide, valley, and basalt monument seen by the Colonel Wright crew during her exciting maiden voyage.

Lonely farms are sprinkled along the water's edge, many appearing to be isolated on grassy benchland with no egress. To me they look like perfect places to write a book, paint a picture, or contemplate the world at large. Over the hills nestle the small towns of Eureka, Kahlotus, and Starbuck. Nearby, Wawawai, a giant pyramid-shaped river rock, gives the neighboring Lower Granite Dam its name.

Beginning about 30 miles upstream from Wawawai, big-shouldered Palouse hills dominate both sides of the river. Waterborne travelers, surrounded by these hills, sometimes feel that they are in an enclosed, secret world. How were these geological wonders created? Millions of years ago volcanic and plate tectonic action lifted the mountains, causing a series of lava flows to emerge from the fissures. Lava coated the Columbia Plain to a depth of 3,000 feet. The next apocalypse took place approximately 20,000 years ago when 40 or more great floods roared through the canyon at over 60 miles per hour. The floodwaters, released by melting or collapsing ice dams, smoothed and sculpted the jagged basalt. The Snake River meanders through these formations, providing a grand geological show.

After explorers and fur traders had investigated the area, Immigrant Trail veterans in the 1850s and 1860s drifted north and established small wheat ranches in Palouse county. They discovered that the rich soil—a combination of volcanic ash, windblown loess and natural vegetation—nurtured grain crops. And there was enough hilltop precipitation to keep the soil damp. Sowing and reaping, however, were challenging to farmers because of sharp inclines and occasional basalt outcroppings. The next problem was getting wheat to the river for shipment downstream. Farmer ingenuity produced troughs or flumes that carried wheat downhill at great speed. Before baffles were added, bagged or raw wheat smoked (the original "Puffed Wheat") or sometimes exploded at the bottom of the run. Snake River Canyon travelers can still trace hillside scars of the old flumes.

Today's Palouse wheat ranches are corporate and huge, producing both winter and spring crops. The wheat is taken to the river or railroad siding by truck. Instead of the bare hilltops seen by Lewis and Clark, we see wheat fields on the crown of each hill, sometimes green and growing, sometimes golden and awaiting harvest. The bulk of today's Palouse wheat is grown to make noodles, a major Asian export.

Railroads played an important role in the development of the lower Snake River. In 1879 the town of Ainsworth was founded by the Northern Pacific (NP) at the mouth of the Snake River to accommodate white and Chinese construction crews. The Oregon Railway and Navigation Company, the NP's successor, laid
tracks north and south from Ainsworth. Timber for the town's mills was cut in Idaho and floated downriver. The NP sent stonemasons from Minnesota to build railroad bridge foundations while the stones themselves were mined in the Snake River Canyon.

Continuing upstream, we approach Lower Monumental Dam, completed in 1978 and named for nearby Monumental Rock, an ornate basalt wall called “Ship Rock” by Lewis and Clark. The captains thought it resembled a ship's hull. In this area many early travelers encountered rapids and had trouble obtaining fuel and food.

Although passengers now move through treeless acreage, during the spring season green wheat fields and wildflowers—especially large patches of purple vetch—carpet the hillsides. The Palouse valleys are green with shrubbery, hackberry, willow, stubby trees, and pathways to mysterious places on “the other side.” The canyon's hills are blazed with horizontal cattle trails.

After passing the Palouse and Tucannon Rivers, near the small village of Riparia, we gently glide eastward over what was once known as the Texas Rapids. Early travelers anticipated a fearsome ride at this location. Lewis and Clark gave us a description (October 13, 1805): “…very dangerous, about two miles in length and strewed with rocks in every direction, so as to require great dexterity to avoid running against them.” After surviving that ride, the captains entered another four-mile rapid in which the river became “compressed into a narrow channel, not more than 25 yards wide.”

Our next barrier is Little Goose Dam, also completed in 1978. It was named for a large rock that now lies in deep water. Like the other lower Snake River dams, it produces a relatively small amount of hydroelectric power (compared to Columbia River dams). It does not contribute to flood control or irrigation but is important as a transportation link to the upper river. Each of the four Snake River locks lifts watercraft 100 feet. Clarkston (see below), is 740 feet above sea level and 464 miles inland.

Misunderstandings between settlers and Indians in the 1850s caused the United States Army to intervene. Forts were established along the Columbia and Snake Rivers, including large encampments at Walla Walla and The Dalles. Fort Taylor, constructed along the south bank of the Snake near the Tucannon River, figured in one of the clashes between Indians and the military. From this fort Colonel George Wright and his 700 regulars and 200 civilian packers and Indian scouts conducted a retaliatory campaign against a band of allied Indians who a few months earlier had badly mauled Lieutenant Colonel Edward J. Steptoe’s force. Steptoe's ignominious defeat and desperate flight southward toward the Snake under the cover of night was a setback for the army and dispiriting to settlers. Wright’s campaign included the systematic slaughter of some 900 Indian horses near today's Liberty Lake.

Near mile 80 (measured from the Snake River’s mouth), desolate, mid-channel New York Island (once called “Rabbit Island”) lies ahead. Spectacular basalt formations surround the island and a navigational marker directs skippers to the deepest channel. A few miles upstream we pass the Central Ferry site, once called Reform. Today it hosts a highway bridge and park. The area now contains few signs of human activity. In
fact, like much of the trip, this crossroads suggests tranquility and soothing silence.

The subject of dams and salmon is a Pacific Northwest hot topic. Most river salmon are hatchery-bred. Saving the threatened wild salmon, however, has become a central issue among interested parties: Indian nations, sports and commercial fishers, counties, states, tourism interests, environmental organizations, agribusiness, the Army Corps of Engineers, and the Bonneville Power Administration. Some of the problems under scrutiny include the dams (should they be partially opened to allow a free-running river?), pollution, agricultural and logging practices, overfishing in the North Pacific, and the growth of towns and cities. Aspects of this issue frequently arise among modern Snake River travelers.

In October 1805 William Clark wrote about Indian sweatbaths downstream from today's Lower Granite Dam, describing them as "...bathing in a hot bath made by hot stones thrown into a pond of water." A day or so later he again witnessed this activity but added that the bathers descended into a six-foot-deep hole, taking jugs of water with them. Clark observed at this point that Indian "disorders" were few, but they treated almost any illness with the "great use of swetting."

On their return journey in May 1806 the captains treated several ailing Nez Perce along the canyon with "horsemint," "cream of tartar," "flour of Sulphur," "eye water," "onion poltice," and the unpopular (with the men) "portable soup." They also treated Sacagawea's baby, Jean-Baptiste, who was "dangerously ill" with a swollen jaw and throat. A day later several Indians arrived, requesting treatment. Again the remedy of a sweatbath was tried. Lewis describes the scene:

The patient being strip[d]ed naked was seated under this opening in the hole and the blankets well secured on every side. The patient was furnished with a vessel of water which he sprinkles on the bottom and sides of the hole and by that means creates as much steam or vapor as he could possibly bear, in this situation he was kept about 20 minutes after which he was taken out and suddenly plunged in cold water twice and was then immediately returned to the sweat hole.

Lewis later notes that the treatment was successful.

Approaching Lower Granite Dam, Boyer Park is on the right bank. This green and groomed recreational area has everything, including a comfortable boat haven. The dam, completed in 1978, is connected to the park by an asphalt walkway.

After rising to the top of the lock, passengers see flotsam everywhere, most of it from distant Idaho forests. Boards, deadheads, and even whole logs are caught in this dam and periodically removed for reprocessing in upstream Idaho mills. This is also the site of some rare outcroppings of granite.

The federal government utilizes red and white juvenile fish barges, with heavy mesh on the hull, so that fishingers can "smell" their way home in a few years as mature fish. These unusual barges have first priority in the locks (commercial craft are next), transporting fish through the eight large dams on the Snake and Columbia for release on a path to the sea. Does this expensive fish transportation system work? Apparently so, as hatchery fish runs have increased over the past 20 years. The effort, however, has little to do with traditional wild salmon runs.

Silcott Island, at milepost 130, is named for an abandoned town on the south bank of the Snake at its junction with Alpowai Creek. The site was once a Nez Perce settlement led by Chief Timothy and Chief Red Wolf. When the boundaries of the Nez Perce reservation were reduced in the 1860s by the federal government, the Alpowai village found itself isolated. White settlers moved in and the town of Silcott took root. In its heyday the town, named for a former sheriff and ferry operator (1860s), had a trading post, stage stop, and ferry landing.

We know that modern development is around the corner when large hillside homes can be seen west of Clarkston. On our port side is industrial activity. Soon Clarkston proper appears to starboard. Straight ahead the mouth of the Clearwater River shines in the sun, and the buildings of Lewiston march up the distant hills. Bridges over both rivers tie the two communities together. Levees hold back occasional wild waters, especially from the Salmon River to the south, which is unchecked by dams. This is Nez Perce country. With turbulent histories of mining, steamships, army incursions, and wheat growing, the two cross-river cities share a common economy as the eastern terminus of water traffic from the sea.

At this point—139 miles from the mouth of the Snake River—our canyon adventure has taken us through a quiet, almost secret, corner of Washington and also one of the most eye-filling and historic water routes in the western United States.

Junius Rochester is a historian, researcher, writer, and speaker on Pacific Northwest history.
The Influence of H. H. Richardson on the Rebuilding of Seattle, 1889-1894

On October 19, 1889, the Seattle Post-Intelligencer reported an interview with an unidentified Seattle architect who presented a general description of the designs for the city's new buildings under construction following the Great Fire of June 6, 1889. Although Seattle papers regularly discussed the new structures, their descriptions were usually limited to building name, architect, size, height, materials, and construction progress. The October 19 report was a marked departure; titled "Beauty in Bricks," it offered rare insight into the thinking of Seattle's post-fire designers because it featured a longer discussion by one of them of the genesis of Seattle's new business blocks:

Seattle's new buildings are rising on every hand, and the public is for the first time getting an idea of the appearance of the exteriors . . . . It is a fact, however, that in rebuilding, Seattle businessmen have looked more toward making strong buildings than fancy, and have preferred to put their money into extra stories rather than into a profusion of ornament . . . . Almost all of the buildings are of the Romanesque style of architecture, while the heavy, ponderous, unsightly, and inflammable cornice has disappeared entirely . . . . Seattle's architects have followed the example of Mr. Richardson, the great architect of America, in his modifications of the Romanesque style and have applied it faithfully to the requirements of the present time.

The speaker was probably Elmer Fisher, the most prolific of Seattle's post-fire architects. At that time, few of the new buildings had been completed; indeed, most would reach only to the second floor before inclement weather beginning the following month halted construction until the following spring. Many of the larger blocks—the Pioneer Building, the Burke Building, and the New York Building, for example—had not even progressed beyond their foundations and would not see substantial construction until 1890. Still, the Post-Intelligencer was preparing readers for what they would see as the new buildings reached completion. The new city would not look like the one that had been destroyed.

As Fisher suggested, in place of the ornamented High Victorian buildings that had burned, Seattle architects were using the Romanesque style, characterized by strong, simple lines and heavy, solid materials. The interview reflects a shift towards practicality and durability in the rebuilding process.
designing brick and stone structures in the Romanesque Revival style, a mode of design that had emerged following the death of leading American architect Henry Hobson Richardson in April 1886. But the buildings constructed in Seattle should not be understood simply as copies of Richardson's work. The influence of Richardson was critical, but other factors, particularly the city's post-fire building ordinance and the individual backgrounds of Seattle architects, were key issues to the form they gave Seattle's post-fire buildings—many of which can still be seen today in the Pioneer Square Historic District.

When Seattle citizens met on the morning of June 7, 1889, the focus of their discussion was on rebuilding the destroyed downtown district and preventing another catastrophe like the devastating fire of the previous day. On June 8 the Post-Intelligencer reported on page one, “The people of Seattle have decided to rebuild the city in brick and stone. The decision was reached quickly and almost unanimously....” The citizens also endorsed widening and straightening selected streets, raising the grades and creating a permanent, paid fire department. Although this meeting was “unofficial,” over the following weeks and months Seattle’s city government approved ordinances needed to make the citizens’ recommendations have the force of law. Most importantly for the future form of the city, a building ordinance said to be based on those of Kansas City and San Francisco was approved by the city council on July 1, 1889.

The full text of the 70 sections of the new building code appeared in the Post-Intelligencer four days later. Within the city’s commercial district (identified as the “fire zone”) the city now required that walls be constructed of masonry and were to be a minimum of 12 inches thick, but the lower walls of tall buildings increased in thickness depending on height. Interior framing was required to be heavy timbers, not the light wood framing of earlier construction that had burned so easily in the fire. Larger buildings were required to have internal masonry “division walls” so fires could not spread. Other sections of the ordinance prohibited wood cornices, limited the size of bay windows, specified that party walls (walls shared by adjacent buildings) must extend above roofs, and required fireproof roofing materials.

The architectural significance of the ordinance cannot be overestimated. Seattle’s post-fire buildings were required to take on a very different character from those that the fire had destroyed. In place of the elaborate ornamentation of the High Victorian buildings of the years before the fire, Seattle architects would need to find a new approach to design—one that could create architectural character without high cornices, projecting bay windows, and the like.

Of course, not all architects were quick to change. Bucheler and Hummel designed their new Matilda Winehill Block (1889-90) at Commercial and Main with a prominent corner bay window. By April 1890 this was the target of a lawsuit for violation of the new building code. Although it survived this attack, it was the only bay of this size constructed on any downtown building after the fire, and it quickly made the building appear out-of-date; the designers did not receive other significant commissions.

No doubt Seattle's architects would have responded to the influence of H. H. Richardson had the fire not occurred, but the destruction from the fire and the impact of the new building ordinance provided both the opportunity and the impetus for rapid architectural change.

When Seattle architects turned to Richardson’s example in 1889, they joined with their contemporaries across the continent in attempting to continue the architectural movement they understood Richardson to have initiated. Richardson’s architectural achievement was the work of just two decades, but he was seen as personally having redirected the course of American architecture. Born and raised in Louisiana, Henry Hobson Richardson (1838-1886) graduated from Harvard College in 1859. The next year he began studies at the Ecole des Beaux-Arts in Paris, but his attendance was intermittent after his family’s support was cut off by the American Civil War. In 1865 he returned to the United States and the following year opened his own office in New York, where his practice was based until 1878.

The buildings of Richardson’s early career reflect the influence of the contemporary English...
By 1882 Richardson was widely acknowledged as one of the leading architects in America. Contemporary recognition of Richardson's achievement became particularly evident when five of Richardson's buildings were included on a list of the "ten best buildings in the United States," published by *American Architect and Building News* in June 1885, based on a survey of their readers: Trinity Church, Boston, topped the list. Also included were Sever Hall, Harvard, (1878-80); Oakes Ames Hall, North Easton (1879-81); City Hall, Albany (1880-83); and New York State Capitol, Albany (1867-1899). This list predated the masterpieces of Richardson's late career: the Allegheny County Courthouse and Jail, Pittsburgh (1883-88); the Chamber of Commerce, Cincinnati (1885-88); and the Marshall Field Store, Chicago (1885-87)—works that particularly inspired American architects over the next few years.

Richardson's health deteriorated markedly in the later years of his life. Although warned to slow down, Richardson continued his practice at a hectic pace and died April 27, 1886, at the age of 47. Upon his death the control of his office passed into the hands of his chief assistants, who carried on the firm under the name Shepley, Rutan, and Coolidge. Nearly all of the projects that were unfinished when Richardson died were completed under their supervision.

Richardson rose to the peak of his influence at the time of his death. Perhaps, as architectural critic Montgomery Schuyler later suggested, Richardson's death had "extinguished envy." Or it may have been an overwhelming sense of loss that created an urgency to carry on and complete the architectural movement Richardson had begun. Whatever the case, Romanesque Revival soon became a dominant tendency in design across the United States.

Although few Seattle architects were likely to have seen more than a handful of Richardson's buildings, they were aware of his work because it was so widely published. Richardson's later career coincided with the rise of the professional architectural press. The first regularly published architectural journal to achieve national
Elmer Fisher's Pioneer Building (1889-1891), designed for Henry Yesler, shows Fisher's use of Romanesque elements within a Victorian compositional framework.

circulation was the Boston-based American Architect and Building News, which began publication in 1876. Architectural journals in other cities, including Chicago, Minneapolis, and San Francisco, soon followed. Because it was based in Boston, American Architect proved particularly important in disseminating Richardson's work. The journal regularly published images of his buildings in the early 1880s and included them even more frequently in the first years after his death. The journal published illustrations of Richardson's buildings as late as 1895. American Architect even commented on its role in expanding Richardson's influence on American architecture: "Every issue of ours with one of his designs was studied in a thousand offices and imitated in hundreds...." Inland Architect, based in Chicago and widely distributed in the Midwest and Far West, also carried images of Richardson's buildings in the mid to late 1880s.

The impetus to follow Richardson's example was also given theoretical justification. American architect and writer Henry Van Brunt expressed his admiration for Richardson early and often, and after the mid 1880s was a consistent advocate of Richardson's style as the basis for a national architecture. In March 1886 he praised Richardson's "revival" of the Romanesque in an essay in Atlantic Monthly and cited the style's advantages as "an early and uncorrupted type" with "apparently unexhausted capabilities." In his November 1886 tribute to Richardson in Atlantic Monthly, Van Brunt reiterated the promise of Richardsonian architecture and continued to emphasize its potential in subsequent articles. Van Brunt's 1889 Atlantic Monthly article on western architecture ended with a brief discussion of Richardson and cited his influence as the most positive for architecture in the American West. Van Brunt interpreted the historical Romanesque as a transitional style and presented Richardson's architecture as a new beginning, not simply a revival. The Richardsonian mode was thereby opened to experimentation and innovation, an attitude that was a source for the varied character of the Richardsonian designs produced thereafter.

he rapidity with which American architects turned to the Romanesque cannot simply be traced to Richardson's influence. A key aspect of Richardson's work that made it such a good source for architects of the period was the variety of building types it appeared to encompass. The 1880s and 1890s encompassed a time of rapid city building in the West and urban expansion in the East. The growth of cities during that period was accompanied by an increasing variety of building types requiring architectural designs. Richardson was one of the earliest architects to respond to the new building types—e.g., the small town library or the large urban business block. To architects of his generation, faced with a bewildering array of new building types, Richardson's architecture seemed to offer a clear design system that could be applied to most of the tasks they faced. And, the variety of Richardson's buildings offered a range of solutions to the building tasks faced by architects in an urbanizing America.

For business blocks in the burgeoning cities, Richardson offered examples such as the Marshall Field Store in Chicago. Many cities at the time, including Seattle, were adopting new fire ordinances requiring masonry construction in their urban cores. Architects in these cities turned to the Richardsonian Romanesque to solve the problem of the architectural character of the new fire-resistive business buildings as well as to create an image of metropolitan achievement. After the highly ornamented surface treatments that had been typical in the United States in the 1870s and 1880s, Richardson's approach demonstrated how to achieve a powerful architectural image of strength and stability without an elaborate decorative treatment.

For large public buildings the preferred example was the widely published Allegheny County Courthouse and occasionally the Albany City Hall or Oakes Ames Hall. The 1880s and 1890s were a time of significant investment in new public buildings across the United States—particularly county courthouses. Fireproof construction for storage of permanent public records was often the major issue, and masonry buildings were the answer. Richardson's work frequently provided the model for new masonry construction.

Urban and suburban growth in the East and Midwest also required new public buildings on a smaller scale—new libraries, schools, train stations, and similar structures. Here
Richardson’s smaller public buildings provided good examples. As the American public library movement continued to develop, many architects designed small masonry libraries with simplified Romanesque details. Other public buildings received similar treatments, and Richardson’s Harvard buildings proved suitable models for schools at all levels. Similarly, Richardson’s churches, primarily Trinity Church, but occasionally his other church buildings, offered precedents for new religious construction.

It is only for residential architecture that Richardson’s example was less influential. His masonry residence offered useful models for houses for the wealthy only in the very largest metropolitan centers such as Boston, New York, Washington, Pittsburgh, Detroit, Chicago, Minneapolis, and St. Louis. Almost everywhere else, including Seattle, residential construction remained wood frame, and the Queen Anne and “modern colonial” (now shingle style) modes were common, but neither was considered “Richardsonian” in the same way as the masonry Romanesque Revival.

By the mid to late 1880s and early 1890s the published Richardson designs were supplemented by many more office blocks and public and institutional structures by other architects working in the Richardsonian mode. As American architects began to draw upon the precedents Richardson had established and submitted their own work for publication, the pages of the professional journals were filled with “Richardsonian” examples. In 1891 critic Montgomery Schuyler summarized the effect of the Romanesque:

Such an array of buildings in so many different kinds—some admirable, many suggestive, and nearly all in some degree interesting—constitutes at once an impressive demonstration of the extent to which the Romanesque revival has already gone and a promise that in the future it may go further and fare better.

When Seattle architects looked for examples of the “modern Romanesque,” they particularly looked to new buildings in Chicago. In contrast to Boston, Chicago was seen as a western city; its extraordinarily rapid growth as a commercial center in the 19th century provided a model that cities like Seattle sought to emulate. And, the successful reconstruction after the 1870 Chicago Fire was especially meaningful in Seattle after its own 1889 calamity.

Of Seattle’s leading architects in the late 1880s, only Charles Saunders, and later Warren Skillings, had come from the Boston area and were likely to have visited a large number of Richardson’s works. But several Seattle architects made visits to Chicago, as did some of their clients, so they would have seen the many new commercial blocks by Chicago architects as well as Richardson’s Marshall Field Store. By 1889 the fame of Chicago architects was sufficient that Elmer Fisher’s client, Judge Burke, pointed to the example of the Rookery office building by Chicago architects Burnham and Root, and the following year Seattle’s business leaders turned to Chicago’s Adler and Sullivan for the design of the new Seattle Opera House.

Today design that is characterized as Romanesque Revival is often thought to derive entirely from the example of Richardson; however, the emergence of similar work in Chicago cannot be traced entirely to Richardson’s influence alone but reflects the contribution of Chicago architects as well. Because Richardson was responsible for comparatively few commercial commissions, the development of commercial architecture in Chicago that freely interpreted the Romanesque style led many contemporaries to see Chicago architects as key contributors to the development of the “modern Romanesque.” After Richardson’s death the growth of Chicago and the development of its commercial architecture appeared to carry on the design explorations Richardson had begun. Indeed, Chicago architecture of the late 1880s reflects a convergence that proved particularly significant for the spread of the Romanesque mode in the American West.

Thus by 1889, when Seattle architects turned to the reconstruction of Seattle after the June fire, Romanesque Revival had become the leading national archi-
Judge Thomas Burke, Elmer Fisher's client for the Burke Building (1889-91; destroyed), pressed Fisher to base his design on the new commercial buildings in Chicago, particularly the Rookery office building by Chicago architects Burnham and Root.

tectural style. But the idea that architectural development in the period was merely the replacement of the earlier Victorian modes by the newer Romanesque Revival is much too simplistic. Rather, architectural history might better be understood as a "palimpsest"—that is, as a surface written on more than once, the previous inscriptions imperfectly erased and therefore visible to influence later inscriptions.

Seattle architects may have turned to the new Romanesque mode after the fire, but they could hardly have erased their earlier architectural experience.

The Romanesque Revival mode itself was never a unified or singular tendency but always encompassed a variety of directions. Even Richardson's own work was seen by contemporaries as offering multiple points of departure, partly because a single evolutionary direction in Richardson's own work was never evident from illustrations in the architectural journals. After Richardson's premature death the contributions of others, particularly those in Chicago, were seen from Seattle as extending the range of the design approach Richardson was thought to have begun, the "modern Romanesque." As a result, for architects in Seattle—distant from Richardson's office and from the bulk of his work—the Romanesque Revival was open to a variety of responses. In fact, how Seattle architects used the Romanesque mode often depended on the background each brought from early experience in building and design.

When Seattle architects adopted elements of Romanesque Revival design for their new commercial and institutional buildings, they did so in the context of the changes and challenges they faced. In particular, in the aftermath of the June 1889 fire, they faced the demand for an up-to-date architecture that could prevent another such tragedy. The city's new building ordinance mandated masonry construction in the commercial core. Many of the decorative elements of the older Victorian modes (such as elaborate cornices) were declared illegal while other features, although not prohibited, were considered fire hazards. In contrast, the Romanesque style provided a system for organizing a solid and impressive modern architecture of fire-resistive masonry construction. It was to this mode that Seattle architects turned.

Nonetheless, the post-fire buildings of Seattle frequently confound our expectations. The Richardsonian or Romanesque system is sometimes applied inconsistently, and works that are pure examples of the mode are actually few in number. Romanesque elements were sometimes applied with a very non-Richardsonian capriciousness or even arbitrariness. Further, clear and direct relationships between building plans and elevations often are not evident. Commercial buildings often display apparently regular bay systems on their façades (and may even show a knowledgeable response to the commercial architecture of Chicago or Boston), but internally the structure may not be aligned with these bays and the interior organization may appear unrelated to the exterior. Given these inconsistencies yet recognizing that the architects claimed to be following Richardson's example, how is their work to be understood?

Seattle designers in the pre-fire period freely engaged in the inventive eclecticism of Victorian design and drew on a wide variety of historical sources and styles to create their buildings. By the late 1880s these Seattle practitioners were following the national professional architectural journals, which were filled with new Romanesque revival designs. But none of the Seattle architects who were reading these journals in the 1880s had received an academic education in architecture. Nor did any Seattle architects bring experience from leading architectural offices where practice was governed by principles derived from academic training. Thus, although Richardson had had the advantage of an architectural education that involved learning abstract compositional methods and generalized principles for design, this understanding was not available to Seattle architects who only knew his work from the array of interpretations of Romanesque Revival that filled the pages of the professional journals. These images provided a wide range of source material on which Seattle architects were able to draw after the Great Fire.

Victorian design has sometimes been characterized as the "art of assemblage." This approach can be found in the works of
virtually every architect in Seattle in the post-fire period but is easily exemplified in the buildings by that most prolific of Seattle's post-fire designers, Elmer Fisher, who claimed to be faithfully following Richardson's example. Fisher's early commercial works reflected his learning of a fairly typical mid-19th-century "Victorian" compositional approach, which included banded façades divided by flat pilasters and belt courses accented by a variety of ornament. Fisher's post-fire Seattle business blocks reflect his solutions to the requirements of fire-resistant construction and the needs of his commercial clients as well as his response to the Romanesque mode. His most famous post-fire work, the Pioneer Building (1889-91), clearly shows Fisher's integration of Romanesque elements, but his overall compositional approach did not emulate Richardson's. Whereas a Richardson building such as the Marshall Field Wholesale Store read as a single unified block, Fisher's Pioneer Building demonstrated his traditional "Victorian" strategy of dividing building façades with vertical and horizontal elements, creating a gridded effect. The Pioneer Building does feature arched windows, half-round entry arches, small grouped columns, and other conspicuously Romanesque Revival elements, but these are subsumed in a composition that reflects Fisher's previous architectural experience.

Fisher himself indicated the inventiveness and freedom he felt in developing his designs. The hybrid nature of his approach was particularly evident in the Sullivan Building (1889-90, destroyed), a mid-block four-story structure. Its mix of vocabularies—Romanesque round arches and the distorted classical ornament—may seem strange, but this was a deliberate design decision, as Fisher explained in his Post-Intelligencer interview in October 1889: "There is the Sullivan Building. It is of the Romanesque order of architecture with ornaments in the Renaissance style."

One of the more eccentric of Fisher's post-fire buildings was the Starr-Boyd Building (1889-90, destroyed), commissioned by the adjacent owners of two small lots who decided to combine their properties to make a roughly trapezoidal site. The asymmetrically composed façade facing the new Public Square (later renamed Pioneer Place) across from the Pioneer Building was executed in brick trimmed with stone and terra-cotta and was described by the Seattle Times in August 1889 as "after the beautiful Moorish style." The juxtapositions of classical, Romanesque, and other ornament made this the most agitated building of Fisher's post-fire career.

In contrast, Fisher's Burke Building (1889-91, destroyed) possessed a much more coherent design, but this may have been due to the direct involvement of the client, Seattle businessman "Judge" Thomas Burke. Surviving correspondence indicates Burke's involvement in details such as the color and quality of terra-cotta and the choice of appropriate roofing materials. In addition, there are references in Burke's letters to the quality of terra-cotta used in Chicago, suggesting that he was aware in more than a general way...
of the new commercial architecture of that city. Indeed, even in the first announcement of the Burke Building in March 1889 it was compared to the Rookery in Chicago. Thus it seems clear that Burke pushed Fisher in regard to specific aspects of the design. Surviving color images of the building indicate that the color of the terra-cotta and brick were closely matched, allowing the building to read more clearly as a unified composition. While the main entry arch suggested the influence of Richardson, some of the terra-cotta details were more closely modeled after similar features at the Rookery.

Other post-fire Seattle architects also showed Richardson's influence in their work. For example, John Parkinson's Seattle National Bank Building (1890-92, also known as the Interurban Building) offers one of the more sophisticated interpretations of the Romanesque mode in post-fire Seattle. An April 30, 1890, article in the Post-Intelligencer described the project: "The exterior of the building will be Romanesque in style and nothing but pressed brick, stone, and terra-cotta will be used. The corner will be rounded and the whole building will present as fine an appearance as any other building in the Northwest." Parkinson was more than 25 years younger than Fisher, and although he, like Fisher, had come to architecture from the construction trades, he was much less wedded to Victorian convention. The Seattle National Bank Building's Romanesque treatment, particularly the continuous arcade at the first two floors, indicates that Parkinson was closely following the architectural journals. The decision to use Colorado red sandstone at the base rather than locally available stone, which was generally light gray, added to the coherence of this design.

William Boone had been responsible for designing over half of the prominent buildings destroyed by the fire, but by 1889 his position as the city's leading architect had been usurped by Elmer Fisher. Boone's work after the fire was mixed; most of it continued to display his earlier Victorian tendencies with an occasional few Romanesque features, but once in a while Boone showed unexpected brilliance as an architect. His most remarkable post-fire project was initially called the "Seattle Block," but by 1892 it had been renamed the "New York Building" (1889-92, destroyed), the name by which it was known throughout its history. The New York Building was one of the most powerful expressions of the new architecture in post-fire Seattle. Minor changes might have resulted from Boone's visit to Chicago in January and February 1890, but an October 1889 newspaper report included a relatively clear description of the project, indicating that the primary features had been developed prior to this trip.

The building was characterized from the first as "massive," and this evident solidity set it off from virtually all of its Seattle contemporaries. The design appears to have been conceived as a coherent block. Extraneous detail was reduced to a minimum. Above the two-and-a-half-story rusticated stone base rose five floors of brick, with limited stone trim at the cornice. The most remarkable feature of the design was the continuous arcade from the third to the sixth floors on the two street elevations. The continuous vertical piers and recessed spandrels gave a strong vertical expression that clearly recalled works by Richardson and contemporary work in Chicago, but the building appears to have been an original reinterpretation of tendencies evident in those designs. Unlike Fisher, who seems never to have freed himself fully from Victorian conventions, Boone here appears to have transcended the limitations of his background to create a building that incorporated and extended the best design tendencies of the time. In its simplicity, stateliness and repose, the New York Building ranked with the best of Seattle architecture until its demolition in 1922.

The influence of Richardson and the Romanesque was evident not just in the commercial work by Fisher, Parkinson, Boone, and other post-fire Seattle architects, it also affected institutional work as well. The architect whose institutional designs most strongly demonstrate Richardson's influence was Willis A. Ritchie, but his Romanesque revival designs were not to be found...
in Seattle. Ritchie arrived in Seattle in July 1889 without local connections, but he brought knowledge of the most advanced fireproofing technology of the day from his work as the local superintendent of construction for the federal courthouse and post office built in Wichita, Kansas, between 1886 and 1889. Although he was only in his mid-twenties, this knowledge gave Ritchie a competitive advantage in seeking public building commissions in Washington. Between 1889 and 1893 he won the commissions to design six county courthouses across the state. Although his first, the King County Courthouse, Seattle (1889-91, destroyed), was a classical building, his next three courthouses—in Bellingham, Port Townsend, and Olympia—were all Romanesque designs.

Ritchie won the competition for the Whatcom County Courthouse (1889-91, destroyed) in what is now Bellingham with a two-story stone structure that featured an offset tower. The asymmetrical design reflects the continuing influence of “picturesque” composition, common in the Victorian period, that continued to influence many of the Romanesque revival designs published in the architectural journals.

Ritchie’s next courthouse—the Jefferson County Courthouse, Port Townsend (1890-92)—was a massive building praised by the Port Townsend Morning Leader in May 1890: “Taken as the drawing of the building shows, it will certainly be one of the handsomest buildings in this country, and as the architect, Mr. Ritchie, says, it is the very finest piece of architectural work he has ever designed or planned, which speaks volumes for our new Courthouse in style and beauty.” A large brick building with a raised stone basement and details of stone and terra-cotta, the Jefferson County Courthouse was Ritchie’s finest in the Romanesque mode, although his tendency to compose picturesquely is still evident. Its dramatic scale demonstrates the confidence late-19th-century Port Townsend civic leaders had in the future of their community.

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The last of Ritchie’s Romanesque designs was the Thurston County Courthouse (1890-91; altered), a symmetrical building constructed of Chuckanut stone barged to Olympia from the quarries in Whatcom County. On May 15, 1891, the Morning Olympian carried a lengthy description of the building, praising it as “beyond question the handsomest in the State” and describing it as “after the Romanesque in architecture, the style prevailing so extensively in new public buildings in recent years.” The design treatment was particularly disciplined, both in its symmetry and in the relative lack of ornament, allowing the rock-faced stone to read more strongly. After preferring picturesque asymmetry for so long, why Ritchie turned to a symmetrical composition for Thurston County is unknown. In 1901 the State of Washington purchased the building to use as its capitol. It currently houses the Office of the Superintendent of Public Instruction and the state’s board of education.

In 1892 Ritchie moved to Spokane. The following year he won the commission for the largest building of his career, the Spokane County Courthouse (1893-96). The overall form of this structure, with its tall central tower, was clearly derived from Richardson’s Allegheny County Courthouse, Pittsburgh, but Ritchie chose not to use Romanesque motifs and details. His building, executed in light buff brick, features French Renaissance terra-cotta detail and is easily described as “chateauesque.”

Willis Ritchie’s turn away from the Romanesque was not unusual. After 1891 the popularity of the style rapidly declined. Architectural critic Montgomery Schuyler had published essays in Architectural Record and Harper’s Magazine celebrating the Romanesque Revival and speaking of its further development. Yet by 1891 the influence of Richardson’s Romanesque revival had already passed its apogee, although its downward trajectory was not yet widely perceived. Within a few years, however, its decline became apparent to all.

Romanesque Revival can be characterized as a relatively successful national mode of design. Its period of ascendance was brief—in Seattle it was the dominant mode of design for just five years, 1889 to 1893—and even during that period it was strongest only from 1889 to 1891. As the buildings in Seattle demonstrate, the Romanesque Revival mode has often appeared to later observers much more coherent than it actually was in its time. Richardson’s example served as the broad inspiration for America architects, but his work, as understood through publications, never appeared to offer a single direction for development.

As understood by Seattle architects, Richardson’s example presented a new architectural vocabulary that could be absorbed within the framework of the freely inventive design approach that had coalesced in America after the Civil War. How Seattle’s architects used the Richardsonian Romanesque vocabulary varied depending on their backgrounds and their abilities to intuit at least some of the lessons of Richardson’s example, either from Richardson’s own work in publications or from the many published examples of works that applied the Romanesque mode.

After June 1889 Seattle architects faced a situation of rapid change that required new building types and new fire-resistant technologies. Richardson’s Romanesque offered a language of design that allowed them to meet these challenges. Their work often still betrays a preference for the ornamented rather than the unadorned surface, for the emphatically vertical rather than the quietly horizontal, and for agitation rather than repose. Yet in these works there is a sense that the architects were always striving, and at least sometimes succeeding, in making an architecture appropriate to an emerging metropolitan community.

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COLUMBIA 15 SPRING 2003
THERE IS A CITY BEAUTIFUL...

THE TURN of the 20th century witnessed an outpouring of musical devotion to Washington and its cities. Titles such as "I Adore You, Dear Old Washington"; "The Girl I Met and Loved on Puget Sound"; "The Blaine Two-Step"; "Greater Bellingham March"; "Tacoma, the Rose of the West"; and "Seattle, Queen of the West" are just a few of the many musical compositions held by the Washington State Historical Society that extol the virtues of the state.

"Sunny Old Spokane," written by Frank Finney, a draftsman in the Spokane architectural firm of Pond and Booth, and Edward Dorsey, a musician at the Washington Theatre, was published around 1908. Following a couple of florid verses, the chorus bursts forth:

I love all your fertile valleys, I love your rocks and rills,
I love your noble pine trees, I love your grand old hills.
Your river that's dashing and splashing, a paradise to man,
'Neath your blue sky let sleep when I die, in sunny old Spokane.

The piece was dedicated to the 150,000 Club, a group of devoted boosters who promoted Spokane and engaged in "good works," such as fund-raising for the YMCA, an orphanage, playground equipment, and the establishment of the parental school for wayward boys.
The Wanapums, a small Native American band of about 100 people, live in a village by Priest Rapids as they have done since the time of the Ancients. Their lands once covered millions of acres; roots and salmon were plentiful. Their old tule mat village, P'na, stood alongside the rapids until the late 1950s when it was flooded by the backwaters of Priest Rapids Dam. Lands for a newer village of modern homes and a well-used long house were set aside at that time by Grant County Public Utility District as part of their ongoing commitment to promote and perpetuate Wanapum culture. While the dams have altered life immeasurably, many Wanapums work at the Priest Rapids and Wanapum Dams, both licensed to Grant County PUD. Despite enormous changes, Wanapums hold to their traditional ways and sacred teachings; their relationship to the river remains vitally strong.

According to Wanapum teaching, the world has gone through three major epochs. In each instance, the Creator made the world anew. This happened long before the Animal People roamed the land.

In the time previous to our own, the Creator made the Ancient People. He sent Sun Man to the sky and directed him to sit still, warm the earth, and watch his creation. There were no days and nights, no winter, and no hard times. The People had no worries about food. Perpetually bathed in light, they lived in harmony. When villagers felt hunger, they sat in the long house and closed their eyes. Their leader would chant words of power, following which the people would open their eyes and find the finest of foods sitting before them. After eating, all closed their eyes again and the food disappeared.

One day their leader died. No one talked or sang the special songs and, after a time, they were forgotten. Soon darkness fell and the food no longer appeared. Huddled in their lodge with hunger in their bellies and fear in their hearts, the People discussed their plight. One of them finally spoke. He said that they needed to remember the words that the Creator had given to their leader. Sitting together in darkness, a man remembered a word from the song, then another. Line by line, phrase by phrase, the People brought the words and songs forward until they could be sung whole again.

Listening, the Creator took pity yet was angered at having been forgotten. He directed Sun Man to return but only
for part of the day. He told the People they would now have to work. To eat they would need to dig for roots, hunt for game, and fish for salmon. He instructed them to hold a feast of thanksgiving each year when the first roots appeared and the first fish swam upriver.

The Creator then gave the People a commandment: dance and sing that you may remember. If the People did this, the world would continue; if they forgot, the Creator would take Sun Man away for good and all would be left cold to wander in darkness with only lizards and frogs to eat.

At that moment a new world began. One by one, every bird and animal, every root, berry, plant, and tree emerged from its place of darkness into the light.

This story, belonging to the Wanapums of Priest Rapids, offers much. Like all great creation mythologies throughout the world, it resonates transcendent meanings that give added dimension to life. We who share a passion for history find the story particularly inspiring, as much of what we do centers on keeping memory alive.

It is interesting to compare this commandment given to the Wanapums to those handed down by Yahweh to Moses. Inscribed in stone, future generations had only to see the words to know the commandments. In the Wanapum world view, the important teachings are spoken from memory, carefully passed from one generation to the next. As with other oral traditions, the important teachings are backed by a wisdom that knows we do our best remembering when all the senses are fully engaged. Wanapum spiritual leader Rex Buck, Jr., speaks of them as being written in the heart.

These river places are part of the unbroken lineage of memory that passes through each generation of Wanapum children. Stories and myths such as the one related above are intimately connected with landscapes that form the literal ground of being in cultures based on oral tradition. As such, they are imbued with holiness.

Sing and dance that you may remember—the story’s poignancy is all the more deepened by the particular setting of its drama—Chalwash Chilni—the Sacred Island below P’na at Priest Rapids on N’chi wana, the big river—a river whose original song has given way to one more recent—the song of the working river, the river that lights our nights and powers our days, the song that waters our land and yields great stores of foods for our tables.

Aside from two isolated stretches—above Northport and within the Hanford Reach—it is quite clear when traveling along mid Columbia shorelines that we are looking at river places divided into geographic and economic units. We visit Lake Roosevelt, Wanapum Reservoir, Rufus Woods Lake, and Lake Entiat—all distinct entities, all places created and defined by dams. Sadly, there are now few, if any, who have seen the entire river running wild and free. Memory of the unregulated Columbia flows like the river itself, segment to segment, reservoir to reservoir, each section of river having its own constituency of elders who knew its untamed waters—the rapids, currents, back eddies, and falls—now vanished from our view.

The number of people who recall some of these places is quite small. To claim memory of Rock Island Rapids, inundated in 1931, a person would need to be more than 80 years old. He or she probably grew up near Wenatchee and may have stopped for gas at Picture Rocks Service Station, built in the 1920s along the new road that headed south to Quincy. A number of people may have briefly seen Rock Island Rapids from a Great Northern passenger car window as the train made its way from Seattle or Spokane. I know of only one living person who remembers being on the island and seeing its many petroglyphs. The last person who ran the rapids in a rowboat was Christine Fowler, who died in 1999 at age 96.

The story at Kettle Falls is much different. Ask any longtime northeastern Washington resident, and you are likely to get a story of seeing the falls. Many speak with excitement of watching Indians spear salmon from scaffolds...
suspended precariously over jagged rocks and rushing water. Martin Louie, a Colville Indian born in 1906, once fished from those platforms. Anyone carrying memories of the falls must be getting on in years. Martin passed away in January 2003 at age 96.

Some river places were rarely ever seen due to their remote locations. I have found only a handful of people who remember Box Canyon before it was flooded by the waters of Chief Joseph Dam. To visit this secluded spot along the river required both effort and purpose. Without a motorboat, it still does.

In the absence of people who can describe the unaltered Columbia firsthand, it becomes increasingly challenging to imagine rocks and rapids where none remain. Even before construction of the 14 dams along the main stem of the Columbia, many of its particular places remained unvisited and unknown. This gave rise to river explorer M. J. Lorraine naming his 1924 adventure travel book, *The Columbia Unveiled.*

If gaining a sense of the original river was difficult then, the job is far more daunting now, requiring something of an imaginative leap. For many years it seemed as though the song of the river was lost, such was the need and intensity of moving forward with the great transformations of hydro. Even in the otherwise earth-friendly *National Geographic* we find Maynard Owen Williams in 1941 extolling the benefits of the dams, crediting them with giving us beautiful manmade lakes to take the place of ugly lava chasms.

Firsthand knowledge of the native river can only now be held within the hearts and memories of our elders, indigenous and immigrant alike. Other riverine documentation—fragments of the song, if you will—the collections of maps, reports, and photographs, were placed long ago in boxes that eventually found their way to the recesses of archives throughout the country. A few left published accounts—Lieutenant Thomas William Symons, Lewis Freeman, and M. J. Lorraine—but these books have been largely unavailable, sitting on shelves well behind the story of hydroelectric power, a story that required that none of us look back.

What follows is but a part of the larger song of the river that connects to the Wanapum legend. It is one person's attempt to gather together many fragments. Other people's work has illuminated different sections of the native Columbia, each speaking to broad archetypal themes that teach us how to bring together what is dismembered and forgotten, how to heal that which separates us from the wholeness of Creation. The Wanapum myth brings an essential teaching to the inner sanctuary of our bodies, the place where memory is held most deeply. It mandates that we keep aware of what links us to the sources by which we are sustained.

River philosopher Chester Keller reminds us that the links are organic and personal. For those of us who live within the Columbia's vast watershed, every hour, every day its waters and food play through our cells—literally, the water and land reside in us and we in them.

In January 2001 seven bishops of the Roman Catholic Church issued a pastoral letter that takes our understandings of the river beyond the personal. They wrote that the waters of the Columbia are a revelation of God's presence—a commons shared by all members of the community of life. This underscores what native people have held all along: that the Columbia's waters are sacred and need to be kept pure. To do so can be a matter of life and death. We have only to remember Hanford Nuclear Reservation's legacy to recognize that this is so.

Rock Island Rapids, Nespelem Canyon, and Kettle Falls are three very special river places. By my reckoning, each retains a living presence although they have been flooded for years.

At the base of a basalt cliff 13 miles below Wenatchee, Rock Island Dam can be viewed. Built in 1931, it was the first hydroelectric power project on the main stem of the Columbia. A small part of Rock Island is still visible behind the dam. Our interest, however, is in the part that now lies beneath the waters.

On the river approach to the island, the current quickens at Bishop Rock, four miles upriver. French-Canadian voyageurs would now be tying kerchiefs around their heads and stripping down to essentials. The roar of the rapids be-
coming louder as we enter a dark canyon, the river finally cuts through the basalt of the Columbia Plateau, creating two channels around the large island. Within the channels are many smaller islands, jutting points, and fast currents that tail into back eddies where migrating salmon gather energy to ascend the rapids. Halfway down the left channel Hawksbells Point offers a commanding view of the island and rapids.

In the three-quarter-mile length of the island, the river drops ten feet—slowly at first, but more steeply at its foot where numerous rocks obstruct both channels. Shooting these rapids never failed to produce excitement. Listen to Lieutenant Robert Johnson's account from the 1847 Wilkes expedition:

Shortly after starting in the morning we ran down the Isle de Pierres Rapids. For about two miles the river rushed between lofty islets, against which the eddying waters foamed in their fury. The descent, of course, required all the skill and coolness of the bowman and steersman; the vessel was tossed on the surging waters, with the surf and spray continually dashing over her bows; all at once as if by magic we were gliding along without a ripple on the surface.

Reaching the island itself was risky, requiring a trip through the river's swift current at the head of the rapid. Once there, jagged piles of rock made walking difficult. The experience of being on the island—the powerful river falling fast all around—must have been exhilarating.

Sounds emanating from both channels are heightened by canyon walls catching the low rumble and sending it back. At times stiff winds funnel through the canyon, adding yet another dimension to the island's already magnified presence. By summer the island's rocks generate intense heat, and in winter ice jams sometimes clog the channels.

When the salmon arrived in spring, excitement ran high. Fishing stations were ideally situated throughout the rapids. The village of K'watskin, just upstream at Rock Island Creek, swelled in numbers during these times. It was an ideal place to go for sustenance and reflection, but many traveling to Rock Island held a deeper intent—that of revelation. This required a person to give him or herself over to island presences both seen and unseen. The ethnographies documenting Plateau cultures indicate it meant leaving behind familiar consciousness and entering the shadowy and potentially dangerous world that coexists alongside normally known reality. The seeker might spend several days in a secluded spot on the island. Perhaps after a time of praying and fasting, long periods of wakefulness, and little relief from the sun, he or she might be visited by an animal power or spirit being and thereby acquire special wisdom. Such clarifying, life-transforming moments were deeply personal and provided essential underpinnings for all that might follow throughout a lifetime.

Taking a hammer stone, chisel or paint, the person on occasion gave expression to these moments of profound realization by recording the experience in stone. A new image would thus join those previously left by Ancestors and other relations.

Clustered on the north side of the island close to the river's left channel were hundreds of petroglyph-bearing boulders, many with up to 30 figures.
Among the carvings were elk, deer, sheep, goats, a bear, and smaller mammals as well. One depicted a centipede, another a crawfish. Humans abounded, some standing, some engaged in the hunt, and others with hands raised. A number of images appeared to depict supernatural beings. Not all figures were representational; many bore geometric and abstract designs. Two unique boulders stood apart from the others, one with deep pits and grooves, the other filled with cupules.

The petroglyphs at Rock Island revealed a world of vitality, animation, and story, mirroring the multidimensional life ways of Plateau Indians where human, animal, and spiritual elements in one realm could deeply affect outcomes in the other.

David Thompson, fur trader and explorer extraordinaire, visited the village of K'watchin at the head of the rapids on July 7, 1811. His visit lasted four hours and concluded with the village of 800 lifting their hands in prayer as they saw him off. Two days earlier Thompson was just entering Nespelem Canyon, and things were not so upbeat. As evening approached, it began to rain. Darkening walls rose precipitously from the river. Thompson directed several crewmembers to walk ahead in search of a campsite, but they found only steep banks and wet boulders—no level ground upon which to pitch their cotton tents.

Ignace, the steersman, and several others attempted to paddle the boat down the shoreline in order to meet those who had walked ahead. Suddenly, the current thrust the boat into an overhanging tree that knocked Ignace overboard into the raging waters. The men in the boat immediately paddled into the fast water and rescued him. Once safely ashore they discovered that Ignace had received a severe blow to the head, which Thompson treated by bleeding the wound. Night came, and the rain continued without a lull as the men sat shelterless on the rocks through the long hours of darkness. It was still raining the next morning. From driftwood found along the shores, the men made more paddles to replace those broken the day before.

Soon the boat was tightly packed and launched into the current, which again proved too strong. Thompson gave the order to pull ashore, and the men began unloading their gear for a long and difficult portage. Climbing out of the canyon, one of the crewmen glanced up through the mist to see a large procession of men, women, and children approaching on foot and horseback. They were a welcome sight.

The native people helped Thompson load his supplies onto their horses, and, in another several hours the remarkable entourage arrived at the people's village near the foot of the canyon. They gave him horses, salmon, dried meat, and roots. Grateful for the kindness of these Indians, Thompson was generous in return, giving them tobacco and beads, cloth trim, buttons and rings, as well as 18 hawksbells.

Dropping nearly 30 feet in a four-mile run, the river current at Nespelem Canyon sped along at ten miles an hour, even faster at high water. Jutting rocks tossed the frothing water from one wall to the other, the canyon's constriction forced its waters to rise from 50 to 90 feet above low water level. When the river ran high, the narrow canyon backed up the Columbia's waters nearly ten miles in the direction of Grand Coulee.

Had Thompson run the rapids that day, he would likely have been given even more trouble from Kalichen Rock, a large protrusion extending halfway across the river from the right shoreline. The first challenge confronting river travelers was to avoid being smashed into the rock, as the current directed everything toward it. Kalichen

The now-inundated petroglyphs of Rock Island Rapids revealed a native world of vitality, animation, and story. Early observers counted between 350 and 500 different groupings near the head of the island, some including as many as 30 elements.
Rock's more sinister effect, however, was created by the monstrously huge whirlpool that awaited river travelers once they reached its other side. During high water its reach extended across the entire river. Witnesses reported seeing huge 200-foot trees sucked through its vortex and not resurfacing for half a mile. Here in 1847 Pierre DeSmet helplessly watched the whirlpool claim the lives of five Hudson's Bay Company boatmen. He wrote that once the boat was sucked down not the faintest trace of their tragic fate could be seen upon the river's breast. For those lucky enough to survive its many perils, Nespelem Canyon promised high adventure. Listen to Lieutenant Thomas William Symons's 1881 account:

And so we plunge along swiftly through the rolling water, with huge rocks looming up, now on one side and then on the other. Every stroke of the oar is bearing us onward, nearer Nespelem Canyon and nearer the terrible Kalichen Falls and Whirlpool Rapids. For a few moments the rowing ceases, while brave old Pierre gives his orders to the Indians in their own tongue.

With a shout they seize their oars, and commence laying to them with all their strength. We are rushing forward at a fearful rate, and we shudder at the thought of striking any of the huge black rocks near which we glide.

Now we are fairly in the rapids, and our boat is rushing madly through the foam and billows. The Indians are shouting at every stroke in their wild savage glee. It is infectious—we shout, too, and feel the wild exultation which comes to men in moments of great excitement and danger.

Ugly masses of rock show their heads above the troubled waters on every side. Great billows strike us fore and aft, some falling squarely over the bow and drenching us to the waist. This is bad enough, but the worst is yet to come as we draw near with great velocity to a huge rock which appears dead ahead.

Has old Pierre seen it? The water looks terribly cold as we think of his failing eyesight. Then an order, a shout, backing on one side and pulling on the other, and a quick stroke of the steering oar, and the rock appears on our right hand. Another command and answering shout. The oars bend like willows as the Indians struggle to get the boat out of the strong eddy into which Pierre had thrown her. Finally she shoots ahead and passes the rock like a flash, within less than an oar's length of it, and we shout for joy and breathe freely again.

Symons, DeSmet, and Thompson all began their journeys downriver at Kettle Falls. Here the Columbia rushed over large, slanted quartzite formations straddling the width of the river. During normal flows the river divided into two channels separated by Hayes Island. The shallower east channel narrowed to 50 feet before abruptly turning to join the main river channel. The river dropped 31 feet over two principal falls set only 1,300 feet apart. The upper falls, extending 380 feet from the mainland to Hayes Island, fell from 18 to 25 feet while the lower falls, formed by a large promontory jutting 60 feet into the river, dropped 8 to 13 feet in two parts. Although the total fall between the two remained relatively constant, at high water the lower fall was greater on account of the river's engorgement, which was caused by the jutting reef below.

Beginning in late June and continuing through the fall, huge numbers of salmon arrived at Kettle Falls. Frontier...
artist Paul Kane compared their numbers to large flocks of birds leaping the falls from dawn to dusk with as many as 40 jumping at once. Fishing here was always dangerous, requiring a high degree of organization developed over many years.

The highly respected Salmon Chief, called See-Pay or Chief of the Waters, spearred the first salmon coming upriver and presided over ceremonies honoring the fish's return. As water levels fell, he supervised the placement of large fishing basket traps alongside the rocks where the fish leapt from the water. It was not unusual to find 300 fish in the basket when it was lifted from the turbulent waters.

Fishermen speared and netted up to 3,000 fish in a single day. To prevent large fish from yanking fishermen into the rolling waters, lines were affixed to harpoons so that if a salmon was not landed immediately, the fish could take the line downstream. When a salmon was speared, the pole was deftly turned to fix the harpoon in the fish's flesh. Often, to prevent being pulled off balance, the fisherman threw himself prone on the suspended platform as he worked to land the fish.

By day's end the Salmon Chief portioned the catch among the families according to rights and needs. As salmon comprised up to one-half of native diets, families needed to procure three to six fish from each day's catch to sustain them throughout the year. Archaeologist/historian David Chance estimated that prior to 1875 fishermen caught a million pounds of salmon annually at the falls.

When fish were running, Kettle Falls was a place of excitement and festivity, drawing more than a thousand people annually. The camps bustled with activity—a rich assortment of families sharing the work of fishing by day and the pleasure of singing, dancing, and gaming at night.

Native Americans and First Nations peoples from both sides of the river gathered on Sunday, June 13, 1941, for a Ceremony of Tears on Hayes Island to honor and grieve for the falls that soon would be inundated by Grand Coulee Dam. Over the course of three days, many spoke to the memory and meaning of the falls. It was a place their people had known since time began—a center of vitality for a life way thousands of years in the making.

The losses felt that week at the falls were legion. It was a particularly sad time for those who had been forced to move their homes to make ready for Grand Coulee Dam. The people reflected and prayed—gone the salmon, gone the favorite places along the river where fish might be caught, gone thousands of acres of food-producing bottomlands and access to root and berry grounds.

Three weeks later, on July 5, 1941, the last traces of Kettle Falls disappeared—the inspiring beauty, the foaming, surging, roaring, tumbling water rushing over rocks, creating mists and sprays of shimmering rainbows in the early morning sun—silenced and covered beneath the newly created lake.
Living memories remain, but not for long. With the passage of time—now 61 years—each story remembered becomes increasingly important because we know that its teller is among the last few surviving who knew this special place.

In the summer of 2001 the North Central Washington Playback Theatre Company visited the Kettle Falls area for the purpose of calling these stories forward. A group of 125 gathered at the Woodland Theater, where actors and musicians listened intently as elders described their feelings and shared their memories of the falls. Following each story, the actors mirrored the story back to both teller and audience.

Newell Wilson, now 85 years old, remembered visiting the falls as a boy of eight. His mother took a photograph that day of an Indian child who later that afternoon lost his footing on the slippery rocks and drowned. Some days later an Indian woman came to his neighborhood looking for the person who had taken the photograph. At first his mother thought she might be in some trouble, but the grieving mother explained that this was the only picture ever taken of the boy and could she see it? After the actors finished, we sat with the story's many dimensions, taking in both its beauty as well as its particular grief, a grief made larger yet by our own personal histories with those we have left behind and the places we have lost.

I have found that to honor these river places now gone from our view it is helpful to breathe in the reality of those losses. We need to feel them, however thankful we may be for the benefits the modern river bestows on us. In doing so, a doorway opens that nurtures deep comfort derived from the knowledge that we can keep the native river alive within us and thereby experience its blessings.

Mr. McKee, an early Bridgeport rancher, used to step out of his door each morning to look for his herd of horses high on the ridges above the Columbia. If he could spot his lead white stallion, "Old Safety," he knew that the rest of the herd was there. Many years later, long after he no longer owned horses, the old man found himself still going outside each morning, scanning the hillside to see if he could spot Old Safety.

High on the ridge near his homestead stood a white rock. One morning Mr. McKee returned to the kitchen, a smile on his face. He reported that he had spotted his horse high up among the cliffs: Old Safety was on duty and all was well with the herd. It was a story that neighbor Wade Troutman was fond of telling his daughter Melba as they drove home to their ranch just beyond Pearl Hill. Yet, with years, the white rock faded. In 1970, to keep the memory alive, father and daughter climbed to the rock and gave it a fresh coat of white paint. Then they, too, could look up from below each day to find Old Safety there again and know that all was well.

I think of this story and remind myself: The river is there, written in the heart. Sing and dance that you may remember.

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BY ROBERT E. FICKEN

FROM THE beginning, Washington settlers bristled over outsider attempts to make them Oregonians. Brows furrowed and tempers flared at the mere mention of "North Oregon," by 1850 the common designation in the Willamette Valley for the country beyond the Columbia River. The Americans south of the river, an angry Olympia resident protested, "have us under the foot and wish to roll us in the dust." Congress appropriated funds for all of Oregon Territory, but the money was supposedly expended entirely in the valley. Puget Sound was denied protection against the Indians and the benefits of the public surveys.

Dispatching a memorial to Washington City to request federal construction of a road across the Cascades, the legislative assembly, which had only two northern members, specified that the route be via Mount Hood, not Mount Adams or Mount Rainier. According to the Olympia Columbian, the first newspaper on Puget Sound, the only acceptable means of redress for such crimes was "A LEGAL DIVORCE FROM THE SOUTH."

Consuming appropriately heavy drafts of alcohol, the citizens of Olympia celebrated Independence Day in 1851 by toasting "the future State of 'Columbia,' North of the Columbia River." Following a general whiskey-fumed discussion of regional problems, those still able to stand and deliver upon their convictions approved a resolution calling for a convention to consider "the propriety of an early appeal to Congress for a division of the Territory." Three days later the superior court session regularly held at the Cowlitz Valley farmstead of English-
Residents of northern Oregon petitioned Congress on two occasions for creation of a new territory north of the Columbia River. They expected the new commonwealth, when formally organized by Congress, to be bounded on the south, and on the east as well, by the great stream. “Does it not seem,” asked a leading advocate of division, “that nature destined the Columbia river to be the dividing line between...two powerful States?” Geographical ignorance, it must be noted, influenced the thinking on boundaries. Columbia Territory supporters believed, at least, that an eastern line along the river “would include within our jurisdiction the beautiful and fertile valley of the Walla Walla.”

Pursuant to the July arrangements, the Columbia Territory convention convened at Cowlitz Landing, a place temporarily known by the wonderfully inelegant name of Warbassport, on August 29, 1851. The 24 delegates represented, in the main, the Cowlitz Valley transportation corridor linking the Columbia with Puget Sound, Thomas Chambers of Steilacoom being the only attendee from the far side of Olympia. Resolving that “reasons too well known to require repetition” justified creation of the new territory, the convention left the drafting of the necessary congressional memorial to John Chapman, a briefly prominent attorney. After asserting that “the inhabitants North of the Columbia River receive no benefit...whatever from the Territorial Government of Oregon,” Chapman turned, unfortunately, to an extended emotional diatribe against the Hudson’s Bay Company. Possibly misinterpreting the document as a declaration of independence from British corporate monopoly rather than from Oregonian political tyranny, Congress sensibly ignored the petition.
Undaunted, especially in light of population growth and economic development on Puget Sound, the Columbia Territory forces tried again in 1852. A planning committee drafted resolutions in advance and encouraged attendance from all parts of the region. Forty-four delegates, including Arthur Denny and David Maynard from Seattle and Loren Hastings representing Port Townsend, assembled at Monticello, in Lewis County, on November 25th.

A single day sufficed for the completion of business. "The only question as to a division of this Territory," keynote speaker Quincy Brooks pronounced, "is of time and manner: when shall the division be made, and... how shall the dividing line run?" Both queries, Brooks responded on behalf of the convention, had obvious answers: "Our wants demand the immediate organization of the Territory of Columbia. and... the Columbia river should be the southern and eastern boundary line."

Planning a follow-up convention for the coming spring, Columbia's friends anticipated no response, positive or negative, from Congress until at least 1854. To widespread astonishment, as Isaac Ebey wrote in May 1853, "the organization took place sooner by one year than we expected." Sentiment south rather than north of the river determined the outcome. Eager to attain statehood, residents of the Willamette Valley realized that Oregon Territory must be substantially reduced in size as a necessary prelude to admission. Congressional delegate Joseph Lane, whose ambitions included becoming senator from the new state, acted in accordance with this reductionist analysis.

Introduced by Lane in December 1852, the measure creating Columbia Territory was already under consideration by the time the Monticello petition was received in Washington City. "Oregon is too large for one... State," the delegate noted in explaining his action to supporters in the Pacific Northwest. A pro-division memorial from Oregon's legislative assembly, asserting that the two sections were "in a great degree distinct communities, with different interests," was presumably a more influential missive than the document supplied by north-of-the-river settlers. Discussing the proposed bill, house members decided that the name should be changed to Washington, thereby avoiding confusion with the District of Columbia. The reasoning defied comprehension, obviously being no improvement in this respect, but the honor extended the nation's first president enhanced the prospects for approval.

Suitably amended, the legislation passed the House of Representatives on February 8, 1853. "The most striking feature in the Bill," the Columbian observed upon learning the news five weeks later, "is the name which is given to our Territory." Despite the patriotic nature of the substitution, the newspaper's editor groused, Washington "met with some distaste among many of our citizens." However, new territorial government north of the river, regardless of the designation, was far better than no division at all. Olympia residents therefore waited, as Isaac Ebey wrote, "on the tip-toe," for senatorial action in the final days of the congressional session.

The Senate approved creation of Washington Territory on March 2, a day prior to adjournment. President Millard Fillmore, completing his own term of office, promptly signed the act. Upon receipt of the first reports from the nation's capital, on April 25, Olympians fired a ragged 100-gun salute from the locally available assortment of muskets, rifles, and pistols.

### Washington Territory

Washington Territory had both a different name and substantially larger limits than contemplated by the delegates to Warbonnet and Monticello. Instead of following the Columbia upstream to the English possessions on the east, the original 1853 boundary left the river at the 46th parallel, running direct to the Rocky Mountains. Upon Oregon's admission to the Union in 1859, expanded territorial limits embraced modern Washington and Idaho, plus Montana and Wyoming west of the Continental Divide.

The borders made no sense—no bona fide settlers, after all, resided beyond the Cascades—except in light of Oregon's eagerness to shed acreage in the interest of becoming a state. The land east of the mountains, moreover, was only nominally part of Washington. Like water flowing downhill in accordance with the laws of gravity, communication and trade followed the Columbia River, making the eastern section of the new territory Oregonian in fact, regardless of map-makers and politicians.

On occasion, as the years passed, settlers and newspapers voiced discontent over the name Washington and urged that a change be made when the territory, which attained its modern-day form in 1863, achieved statehood. Membership in the Union, however, was a long-delayed and, indeed, modestly-supported objective. Journalists might complain, as a Seattle editor reminded his readers in 1875, that "we have already passed nearly 23 years in a state of... vassalage." Washington, another publisher lamented, was "liable to remain a territory for all time to come."

Given the chance to express themselves on the issue via ballot proposals for a constitutional convention, however, the voters rejected admission in 1867, in 1869, and again in 1870 and 1874.

Regardless of the name, Washington's basic and enduring problem was a fundamental lack of cohesion, a schizoid division into contrasting and incompatible climatic and economic zones. "The Cascade mountains constitute the dividing line between the timber and prairie regions," the brazenly unscrupulous territorial-era politician, Selucious Garfield, informed Atlantic Coast lecture audiences. The west side was, as a Garfield contemporary noted in a promotional pamphlet, "emphatically a lumbering district" controlled by investors based in San Francisco. Early on, the east side became an ever-growing granary, an Oregonian hinterland exporting wheat by steamer and then by rail to Portland.
A genuine advance toward statehood depended on territorial unification and awaited the crossing of the Cascades by rail. As late as the mid 1880s Eugene Semple, the next-to-last territorial governor, reported that the only time he left Washington was when traveling between Olympia and Walla Walla or Spokane, excursions requiring a detour through Oregon. Through much of the period the east side was the more dynamic region, easily besting western Washington in terms of economic and demographic growth. By 1880 two-fifths of the non-Indian population resided beyond the mountains, compared to less than a third on Puget Sound. The three most heavily-populated counties, and four of the top seven, were in eastern Washington. Urbanization was more pronounced on the sound, but the interior claimed four of the nine largest towns: Walla Walla, Dayton, Goldendale, and Colfax.

The increasing importance of the east side gave particular force to the central political dynamic of the years between 1860 and 1880. Convinced that their interests were sacrificed and their taxes expended for the benefit of Puget Sound, interior residents demanded—rather than statehood—a division of the territory along the crest of the Cascades. “Insurmountable” barriers of nature supposedly made trips to Puget Sound the equivalent of “undertaking a journey around the world.” Although there was some talk of a union with eastern Oregon, the separation movement focused upon an amalgamation with northern Idaho, Walla Walla serving as the capital of the new political entity. “Nine out of every ten voters” on the dry side of the mountains favored the concept, according to the Union and the Statesman, respectively the town’s Republican and Democratic newspapers. On the west side, public opinion rejected the idea. Constricted by heavy forest, numerous rivers, and generally rugged topography, the small areas of western Washington actually open to settlement and development could hardly stand alone politically and would eventually have to endure reabsorption into the state of Oregon. “None but the most shortsighted territorians,” one journalist argued with respect to this truly horrific prospect, “could allow themselves to take it up for the few immediate advantages it may appear to afford.”

Responding to the challenge, west-siders moved in the late 1870s to secure statehood, taking advantage of the fact that the territorial assembly, which had long failed to reapportion itself, was dominated by Puget Sound’s influence. The legislature authorized the election of delegates under a procedure calculated to maximize western Washington representation. The delegates met in Walla Walla in the summer of 1878 and there drafted a state constitution. The 15 individuals selected, plus Lewiston publisher Alonzo Leland on behalf of the Idaho panhandle, spent 40 working days writing a detailed document that, reduced to essentials, contained three fundamental provisions. The article on boundaries included northern Idaho in the new state, a means of appealing to interior interests. Olympia, however, retained the seat of government. And the constitution gave counties west of the mountains substantial, and for all practical purposes permanent, majorities in both houses of the legislature.
By an apparent two-to-one margin, Washington voters approved the constitution at the polls in November 1878. Properly understood, however, the referendum actually produced only a narrow and sectionally based endorsement. Individuals wrote either "for" or "against" the constitution on their ballots, with a majority of the total votes cast in the parallel election for congressional delegate required to pass the constitution. Since favorable tallies alone truly counted, there was a large fall-off in participation in areas opposed to statehood.

One-fourth of the congressional voters registered no opinion on the constitution and statehood, pro or con. The document was actually endorsed by only 51 per cent of the electorate. Outside heavily Republican Whitman County, two-thirds of the eastern Washington voting population rejected statehood, either directly or by declining to declare an opinion. On Puget Sound, in contrast, two of every three persons casting a ballot expressly supported the constitution. Setting aside Pierce County, the sole tidewater county in the negative column, the proposed state received an astonishing 96 percent approval rating in the 1878 polling, statehood was clearly, as the Walla Walla Union pointed out, a "premature" proposition.

Everything changed after 1880. Sparked by completion of the Northern Pacific (NP) to Puget Sound, first via gravity-defying switchback and then via a long tunnel beneath Stampede Pass, Washington's population mounted from 75,000 to 357,000 during the final decade of the territorial era. Reversing trends of the previous decades, a shift from east to west and from rural to urban got well under way. Seattle, Tacoma, and Spokane became and remained Washington's premier towns.

Walla Walla, for nearly 20 years the territorial leader, was by 1888 barely a quarter of the size of Seattle. Together, the fast-growing cities on Elliott and Commencement Bays had more residents than the combined total for the 15 largest communities, Spokane included, on the other side of the Cascades. With wheat now exported from Puget Sound and lumber shipped to interior markets, the debate over division, an enduring issue since the first prospectors went up the river to the Nez Perce diggings in the 1860s, concluded on the basis of mutual economic interest. "If there is any animosity existing between the people on either side of the mountains," the Walla Walla Statesman announced in abandoning a longcherished goal, "it exists solely in the minds of a very few." Admission to the Union awaited only the right combination of political forces in the nation's capital, namely Republican control of the executive branch and of both houses of Congress.
On behalf of unity and statehood, west-siders agreed to abandon the 1878 constitution, a document despised beyond the mountains as detrimental to the interests of the interior. Puget Sound leaders also endorsed the annexation of northern Idaho, before, upon, or after admission. Other questions, however, defied resolution, even for the common good. "Our people were not consulted in the naming of the Territory," the Seattle Post-Intelligencer (P-I) reminded recent immigrants unfamiliar with an ancient grievance. Although no territory had ever been admitted under an altered name, agreement was widespread on the need for a change. The problem was in settling upon the nature of that change.

Wasting no time, the NP, supported by a corps of lobbyists in private business and public life, suggested that the state be named Tacoma, after the preferred Commencement Bay designation for the great mountain of the Cascades. The nomination made sense in a certain cynical way, for the NP, to a considerable extent, literally owned the territory. Well over seven million acres of public land, much of it valuable forest or tracts suitable for agriculture, had passed into the firm's possession courtesy of the federal land grant process.

At least one congressional delegate, the ubiquitous Selucious Garfield, received a railroad stipend while ostensibly serving the territory in Washington City. Other delegates depended on railroad campaign financing. While employed as surveyor general and then for two terms in the governorship, Elisha Ferry promised, "for the sake of 'auld lang syne'," to advance the company's interest at every opportunity. Officeholders of both parties wrote railroad executives to complain if they were somehow neglected in the annual distribution of passes. A few miles upstream from bypassed and soon extinct Yakima City, the NP designed North Yakima as a prospective new capital, displacing Olympia in a logical commingling of governmental and corporate enterprise.

Countering the NP, Tacoma's enemies offered a variety of alternative replacements for Washington. Rainier, the name for the mountain favored everywhere but on Commencement Bay, briefly appeared to be an appropriate compromise, but was rejected for patriotic reasons. "It would be absurd," said one critic, "to alienate the name of the Father of his Country from Washington Territory and bestow upon it that of an English Lord who never saw any part of America." Columbia, that holdover from the days of Warbassport and Monticello, garnered considerable support, particularly among old-timers. Some commentators called for the adoption of one of the "many smooth and pretty Indian names" not associated with the railroad. Others suggested that another of the country's major historical figures be honored, with Abraham Lincoln and Daniel Webster among the qualified choices. Walla Walla campaigned for Marcus Whitman, the martyred missionary, a nomination ignored elsewhere in the territory.

Seeking advice from the general public, the P-I asked its readers in May 1888 to submit their preferred names for the prospective state. Most of the nearly 700 participants in this early attempt at poll-taking favored Washington. A smattering of votes were cast for such variants as Washingtonia, Washingtona, George Washington and Martha Washington. Reflecting the biases of Elliott Bay residents, only 19 P-I subscribers indicated a preference for Tacoma. Among persons submitting a second-place ballot, Columbia drew the greatest support.

Across the territory the practical choice, given the broad division of opinion regarding the other options, was between Washington and Tacoma. Hostility toward Commencement Bay and the NP, rather than any great regard for the current name, worked against change. By the time of the 1889 constitutional convention, moreover, genuine and truly serious economic issues—the disposition of public lands, the future of the invaluable tidal tracts fronting seacoast communities, the regulation of railroads and other corporations—preoccupied the state's founders. Washington survived by default in much the same manner that Olympia remained the capital. In the latter case, the west-side drafters of the relevant constitutional provision provided that any replacement must secure a majority vote of the electorate. Olympia won at the polls in 1889, but only because its two rivals, Ellensburg and Yakima, could not agree among themselves for one or the other to drop out in the interest of producing a combined east-of-the-mountains tally.

The unhappiness over Washington's name reflected a preference for geographically certain and secure borders, for a territory and a state that made sense to its residents. The Columbia convention delegates of 1851 and 1852 certainly conceived of the great river as providing appropriate limits. Just enough agricultural acreage was retained beyond the mountains, they believed, to serve—once roads were constructed over the Cascades—as a hinterland for the dominant settlements on Puget Sound. In an early instance, however, of a major trend in Washington history, outside events and ambitions—in this case the work of Oregonians—determined the course of regional development. And following another long-complained-of tendency, distant and unthinking decision-makers in the nation's capital imposed a place name as well as unwanted borders on an unwitting populace. The "other" Columbia became the "other" Washington. Poorly-received and unhappily-maintained, the designation stuck, largely because the potential replacements were championed by communities unwilling to accept a new name that might benefit an urban competitor.

A Tourist’s View of Spokane, 1908

Spokane was a young city in 1908, having been laid out in 1878 as Spokane Falls and adopting the name Spokane in 1890. Pictured above are tourists George and Minnie Walter Roup on their honeymoon from Asotin County. Posing behind them is George’s brother, Howard Roup, an engineer on the Northern Pacific Railroad. The NP had reached Spokane in 1881.

Both George and Howard Roup were elected state senators in later decades, George from Whitman County and Howard from Asotin County. George’s term was short, for the governor appointed him superintendent of the Monroe Reformatory where he served for seven years in the 1930s. Howard was a senator for 20 years. The Asotin County Courthouse honored him by closing during his funeral.

—Juanita W. Therrell

The Historical Society gladly accepts donations of prints or negatives of regional historical interest to add to its photograph collection. (Please contact the Society before making donations.) Readers are invited to submit historical photographs for History Album. If a photograph is to be returned, it must be accompanied by a self-addressed, stamped envelope. For information on how to purchase a photo reproduction of the above image(s), or others in the Society’s collection, contact Elaine Miller, research librarian, at 253/798-5915 or emiller@wshs.wa.gov.
Tourism began in earnest in the United States during the 1840s. Improved transportation in the East had made travel easier. Resorts sprang up that catered to the wealthy, but they were eventually brought within the range of the middle class. Traveling short distances for weekend excursions became a favored activity. Travel destinations and real estate sales have always relied on one important feature: location. In the mid-19th century, the area around beautiful Spokane Falls on the Spokane River did not have location in its favor—the lack of transportation facilities in the area made pleasure travel impossible for any but the hardy adventurer. The river was unnavigable at the falls, and major transportation routes such as the Mullan Road passed at a distance of five miles. The falls were at times a full week's journey from Walla Walla, the nearest city, and while people passed through on the way to somewhere else, few stopped.

In 1862 a mule train set up camp on the banks of the river near the falls. One member of the party described the river as rushing past in an irresistible torrent, with a roar and a force that made the rocky walls tremble. The muleskinners spent

The Spokane
Tourist Experience
in the Late
19th Century

By Nancy A. Bunker
the night under a widespreading pine tree, the sound of the falls charming them to sleep. The only accommodations were the ground and stars.

Permanent white settlement began near the falls in 1871. A post office was established in 1872, and a small sawmill began operation a year later. In 1873 the small settlement boasted three or four families and several single men. When James Glover and J. N. Matheny rode into the village in May 1873 they were invited to spend the night in an unoccupied and roofless log cabin where they threw their bedrolls on the dirt floor. Despite the rough accommodations, Glover stated that he “went to sleep with the roar of the falls in my ears, and I had a comfortable and restful night’s slumber.”

Glover proceeded to purchase squatter’s rights to the land on both sides of the falls and set in motion a plan to help Spokane Falls grow. The sawmill was enlarged, and a small trading post was established. By the end of 1873 it looked as if the town was on the cusp of becoming a major destination. But the collapse of the Northern Pacific Railroad that same year precipitated a national depression, and Glover’s land investment gamble seemed destined to fail.

Though the next four years saw little growth in Spokane Falls, Glover persisted in his dream and the town slowly grew. Visitors were invited to bed down in the hay in Glover’s barn.

The first lodging house in town was Doc Masterson’s, a rather rustic hotel that opened in 1877. Guests slept in the loft, accessible by ladder, on buffalo or bear skins thrown on the floor. This sleeping area was called the corral and a space could be rented for 50 cents a night. At the Western House, as it was called, after a meal of salmon and bear or deer, the host would tilt back his chair, put his feet on the table, and enjoy a smoke with his guests. The lodging was crude, but it was a favorite of the cowboys and miners who passed through the area.

Typical frontier fashion, the people of Spokane wanted a hotel of some stature. Together with a railroad, a grand hotel promised to put any town on the path to future success. A regular stagecoach route was established between Spokane Falls and Colfax in 1879, with a stop at the new California House, which opened the same year with eight rooms on the second floor and a loft room that was also called the “corral.” Rates were six dollars per week for room and board, or single meals for 50 cents. This is usually listed as the first hotel in town and certainly was the first one built for that purpose. The California House was a landmark in early Spokane, and it continued to grow over the next decade until it boasted 102 rooms.

Not to be outdone, the Western House was remodeled and refurbished, and under new ownership the following ad was placed in the local paper. “We are now prepared to accommodate the traveling and resident public in a first-class manner. Tourists will find this a pleasant home while stopping in the city.”

The railroads had a large stake in the settling of the West, but they also profited from the many travelers who were on a quest to experience the great
outdoors. By promoting the romance and history of the West the railroads increased interest in transcontinental travel. Spokane was able to reap the benefits of a successful western railroad promotion.

New hotels sprang up to accommodate the sudden growth. By 1888 Spokane Falls boasted 18 hotels. That number rose to a high of 33 five years later, before the Panic of 1893 forced many of them to close and the number dropped down to 21.

Northern Pacific trains often arrived at night. A Montana journalist described the following scene at the Spokane station in 1888.

> The various hotels were well represented with runners and free busses, and above the din of escaping steam, the unloading of luggage, and the excitement attendant, can be heard the yells of the runners, who red in the face, appeal to the stranger to try the merits of their respective hotel with as much fervor as if the hotels were in need of more guests, when in fact, all of them are overflowing.

Whether tourists were traveling in private palace cars or the lowliest of emigrant coaches, they were able to find guides to help them experience the countryside as it passed. Printed guidebooks often contained embellished histories and descriptions of each western town the train passed through. "The tourist, loving the wild and picturesque, can spend days and days in the enjoyment of this delightful region." The guidebooks also served as geographies of the new areas to a nation with little understanding of the western states and territories.

Eastern travel magazines were joined by such northwestern counterparts as West Shore and The Northwest. Illustrated promotional literature and the growing hobby of picture postcard collecting also influenced American travel.

By the 1890s the tourist industry had developed new travel features. These included package tours, special excursions, and group rates. Day excursions were developed to "see" a certain area in a short time frame. Special tourist tickets with "free-to-wander" clauses allowed multiple stops and delays in a trip, allowing for sight-seeing and day excursions.

Colorado and California both moved to the forefront of major tourist destinations in the western United States by the 1890s. A cross-country sight-seeing tour almost always included one or both states. Yellowstone was formed as a national park in 1872 and became a busy tourist mecca for the West. Spokane concentrated on attracting tourists who planned to include Yellowstone on their itinerary.

Spokane was advertised in travel literature as a home base from which the tourist could take day trips to enjoy the scenery and recreational opportunities of the surrounding area. Elizabeth B. Custer described the journey northward from Spokane in 1891 in a Harper's Weekly article. Having left the bustle and noise of the rapidly growing city,

> the engine, after some wheezing, brought us to the summit of the divide—over seven hundred feet above Spokane—and here lay a peaceful green lake, with pretty pebbly beach and clear water, reflecting and turning into a rich chrome the disfiguring yellow-pine buildings which are beginning to frighten away the loon, for which this little sheet of water is named.

Spokane Falls attracted the appreciation of tourists. Numerous accounts compared the falls of the Spokane River to Niagara Falls, for example:
The train rolled into the well-lighted streets of a cheerful looking town, and the guard called out "Spokane." By good luck, I went to a hotel just below the falls which gave the city its name, and where I enjoyed from my room a view different from, but strongly reminding one of, the great cataract of Niagara. To the music of these waters I slept joyously, if I may be allowed the term, and waked the following morning with a feeling of exhilaration to commence my quest.

Tourists who passed through Spokane often traveled on to northern Idaho. Coeur d'Alene Lake was a popular destination frequently described in great detail in many of travel brochures and articles. In a New York Times article one tourist described rising early to see the sun come up over the lake. He likewise recorded his amazement of the number of trout swimming therein.

A second group of tourists traveled for the recreational opportunity to catch the fish previously described. Hunters and fishermen flocked to the new wilderness to enjoy the frontier through the collection of wildlife trophies. Spokane became known as an excellent area for the sportsman. From the banks of the Spokane River "at any point within one hundred yards or twenty miles, trout of large size, and fine flavor may be taken." One publication described Spokane as a paradise for those who love the sport of rod and gun:

The river swarms with delicious, gamey [sic] trout and to catch them does not require more of a journey than five hundred yards from the principal hotel in town. In season, the river and lakes nearby, afford rare sport for the duck hunter, while deer, prairie chickens, pheasants, and grouse abound in the plains and wooded hills close by.

The healthiness of travel was touted in 19th-century publications. Many Victorian-era city dwellers of average means led a sedentary existence and this was doubly true for women whose clothing and expected life-style did not allow for any outlet of physical activity. A journey to the West allowed travelers both male and female to achieve well-being through exercise and fresh air. Activity and mental stimulation undoubtedly added to the success of the journey, alleviating health problems.

Nearby Medical Lake was a popular destination for health seekers beginning in the early 1880s. In 1883 a tourist from Springfield, Illinois, spent $58.85 on his rail fare and $16.00 for a week at Medical Lake, which included board, bath, blankets, and clothing.

Most tourists to the West followed a standard circuit or tour and stayed only a few days in any one location. There were a number of side trips and sight-seeing tours that could be added to tour packages. Some visitors marveled at the diversity of culture offered in Spokane. George Dodson wrote the following description of Spokane to his wife:

It is a perfect show to a tenderfoot to watch the people on the street. At any time you look you can see from ten to fifteen "cayuse," that is Indian ponies, going full tilt [with] an Indian or cowboy on their back. This place is full of Indians, there being several Indian Reservations near here... But to see the
View of the upper falls of the Spokane River from the north shore just below the Howard Street Bridge. Before the river was harnessed the sound of the falls could be heard four miles away.

different kinds of people it is surprising, ... nearly everyone rides horseback here, [you may see] the hardest kind of looking Indians and cowboys with leather pants and a big 45 revolver buckled on their side and right alongside of them may be seen an Elegant looking lady and “gent” on splendid looking horses both dressed to kill. The gent dressed with velvet riding coat and stiff hat, buff colored knee pants with riding boots and whip; the lady with an elegant riding suit and silk hat. On the walks are dozens of Chinese, Canadians, “English, you know,” in appearance, German, French, Irish, and last but not least Americans, and everybody seems to be as busy as can be.

Many tourists to the region felt an urgency to see it all before it was gone. They encouraged others to come and view the sights soon because civilization was taking over the natural areas of beauty. One who expressed this idea most eloquently was Elizabeth Custer:

I felt that I would like to go on a pilgrimage through our Eastern States, and beg people to hurry out here before all this interesting country is levelled [sic] off, smoothed down and made tame and commonplace. Think how weary we get of those beaten paths at home, and there is yet time to see some isolated and wild country. But a few years, I fear, will find all the individuality of this wonderland departed, and traffic and bustle penetrating to every distant corner of the Territories.

Spokane, not being a major destination on the major tourist routes, required greater promotion to make travelers aware of the city and its tourist facilities. In the last three decades of the 19th century the town had blossomed from a population of 10 to nearly 30,000 residents. Through it all, Spokane recognized the importance of providing for its visitors. Businesses were able to expand and new employment opportunities were realized. Travelers were some of the greatest promoters of the town by the falls, and their legacy helped to build a city.

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When mention is made of the role of the locally organized, part-time citizen serviceman in American history, most people, historians included, think of land-based forces from the minutemen of the Revolutionary War to the National Guardsmen of Desert Storm. Few think to include sailors prior to the Cold War as part of the centuries-old tradition of weekend warriors.

At the turn of the last century citizen sailors known as the naval militia played a significant but now largely forgotten role in the development of the modern United States Navy. In the period from the early 1890s to World War I, 22 coastal and Great Lakes states, plus Missouri, the Territory of Hawaii, and the District of Columbia all developed naval militias. The states of Oregon and Washington were slower to organize naval militia units than were California and states of the Northeast and Great Lakes regions. However, interest grew in the Pacific Northwest as tensions increased with Spain and Canada, and as the population expanded, particularly in the Puget Sound area. In the years from 1898 to 1917, units were organized from Bandon, Oregon, to Everett, Washington.

By the eve of the United States' entry into World War I, citizen sailors on the Northwest Coast totaled over 6 percent of the country's naval militiamen, while residents of Oregon and Washington constituted only 2 percent of the national population. These statistics reflected a growing naval consciousness between the years 1906 and 1915, when the percentage of enlisted men joining the navy from the two Pacific Northwest naval militia states doubled. The histories of the two state militias are often intertwined. In particular, their combined training cruise to Hawaii in 1914 illustrates some of the problems that arose as the United States began the sustained development of a naval reserve.

International tensions and the extended range of naval gunfire from the late 1880s to the mid 1890s contributed to the formation of naval militias in states on the Atlantic and Pacific coasts. The United States was involved in international disputes in the Pacific, which raised concerns about the inevitable vulnerability of the West Coast to naval attack. The nation became entangled with the Germans over Samoa, the Hawaiians over the removal of their queen, the Canadians over fur seals off Alaska, and the Chileans over the death of two sailors and the assault and arrest of 67 others from the USS Baltimore. There was also concern about the presence of European naval powers in the Caribbean Sea and the Gulf of Mexico as revolution developed in Cuba and canal projects moved forward in Panama and Nicaragua.

As the United States rushed toward war with Spain, Oregon was the first to...
form a naval militia unit. A week before the formal declaration of war, prominent citizens in Portland and Astoria organized units of company size, and a week after the declaration of war another was organized in Portland. As in other states, funds were provided for uniforms, weapons, and equipment, and each of the three companies, called divisions, consisted of 4 officers and 39 enlisted men. They came under the direction of the state adjutant general and in the tradition of the militia since colonial times, officers were elected by the men. Like most National Guardsmen, they were unpaid volunteers who were only compensated when they left their jobs to train for one or two weeks a year.

Unlike many of the older state naval militias, the citizen sailors from Oregon were not called into federal service during the Spanish American War. The size of the battalion peaked at 155, then declined to 130 at the turn of the century. Its relatively small size undoubtedly contributed to Oregon’s inability to secure one of the navy’s older ships as a training vessel. By 1901 the unit’s failure to procure a training ship of its own ultimately affected morale and retention. Training ships were “armories” the sailors could call their own, as opposed to the sometimes inhospitable and crowded drill halls of the National Guard. A training ship allowed the citizen sailors to obtain more realistic training on weekend cruises. Without a training ship naval militiamen had to wait a year for a one- to two-week stint on a cruiser or gunboat of the regular navy.

By 1902 the Oregon Naval Militia had the rare experience of being disbanded. Numbers and morale had fallen, inspection ratings declined, and Congress failed to provide the additional monetary support that was expected. The adjutant general ordered the dissolution to take effect on May 13, 1902. Those men whose enlistments had not expired were transferred to the Third Infantry Regiment of the Oregon National Guard. But in 1910-11, while tensions mounted with Japan and Canada in the North Pacific, the disbanded militia was reestablished, support from the federal government improved, and additional state naval militias were formed.

In 1911 the Oregon Naval Militia secured one of the first vessels of the modern steel navy as its training ship—the protected cruiser USS Boston. The Boston with armor covering only its lowest decks to protect its engines and magazines, was over 3,000 tons and nearly 300 feet long. It had been in service on the Pacific since 1891, and was attached to Commodore Dewey’s squadron at the time of the Battle of Manila Bay. The vessel had been out of commission at the Puget Sound Naval Shipyard for four years before it was sent to Portland where it remained for another four years as the headquarters and training ship of the Oregon Naval Militia. The historic vessel carried a normal complement of 284 men, which meant that it had more than enough space to combine the units from Portland to Coos Bay, 225 in all, together with six sailors (gunner’s mate, electrician, quartermaster, bosun, water tender and seaman) from the regular navy who resided on the ship as caretakers and instructors. In addition to the ship and sailors, the navy furnished clothing for the naval militiaman and two uniforms for the band, a level of federal generosity not evidenced among all the other state naval militias. However, the pleasure of the militiaman in securing a training vessel was dimmed by the fact that the Boston was an old ship. The steel-hulled Boston, when first commissioned in 1887, carried sails to economize on fuel consumption. Although it had been modernized by 1911 and the masts used to carry lookouts rather than sails, it lacked facilities to train the sailors with the latest equipment. Warship technology in the early years of the 20th century advanced rapidly in fire power, gunnery training, engine design, and electronics. As navies entered the era of dreadnoughts, battle cruisers, submarines, destroyers, and aircraft carriers, the outdated Boston was not wanted for long cruises. The United States Navy wanted reservists to train aboard more up-to-date vessels. In June 1912 the weekend sailors trained aboard the armored cruiser USS Maryland, which had entered service in 1905. They steamed along the West Coast, learning how to work the ship and its guns. The naval militiamen also demonstrated that they could conduct themselves without incident during liberties in San Francisco and Venice, California.

By the end of 1913 weekly 90-minute drills were held on Tuesdays for the men and an additional two hours of schooling was provided on Fridays for the officers. That year they had been getting ready for a two-week cruise aboard the recently
completed armored cruiser St. Louis, and a three-week cruise aboard its sister ship, the Milwaukee, projected for 1914. In 1913 only 42 percent of the enrolled naval militiamen arranged to leave their jobs to take the cruise, but the following year 88 percent were aboard for what would be for many a once-in-a-lifetime visit to exotic Hawaii.

The Washington Naval Militia, formed in 1911, drew most of its membership from around Puget Sound. The majority of the citizen sailors came from the port cities of Seattle and Tacoma, which by 1910 had surpassed Portland in combined population by 134,000. Soon after the Washington unit was organized, a division formed in Aberdeen-Hoquiam.

Ready access to the Puget Sound Naval Shipyard was of benefit in securing training ships. The Washington Naval Militia obtained several, but they too turned out to be older vessels. The first was the USS Concord, which, like the Boston, was one of the first ships of the steel navy and a participant in the Battle of Manila Bay. The Concord was a 1,710-ton vessel that had little to offer as a training ship but served as headquarters, armory, and meeting hall for the unit until mid-June 1914, when the ship was transferred to the Coast Guard and served as a quarantine ship at Astoria.

For training cruises the Washington unit obtained Coastal Defense Monitor No. 10, the USS Cheyenne. The 3,225-ton warship carried two large 12-inch guns that were expensive to fire, and its low freeboard meant that in reasonably heavy seas the Cheyenne’s decks were under water most of the time. It was of limited usefulness as a training ship, and in 1913 it went across Puget Sound to the naval shipyard to be used, more appropriately, as a submarine tender.

The Washington unit’s next and most notable training ship was the 1,010-ton steel-hulled, sail- and steam-equipped gunboat, the USS Vicksburg. The ship was used for a weekend training cruise in mid-August 1913. Commander William B. Allison, writing for the unit, stated, “It would be difficult to get a ship better adapted to train the Naval Militia than the Vicksburg.” That year it was lent to them, and, combined with their Puget Sound location, offered many opportunities for weekend training cruises.

The Aberdeen-Hoquiam division, with its easy access to the Pacific Ocean, sought their own training ship. From 1913 until late 1916 that group of militiamen trained on the 155-ton torpedo boat, the USS Fox. However, the navy sought to expose the reservists to living and training conditions on larger vessels, and arranged to make cruisers and battleships available at least once a year for more extended cruises.

In 1913, the light cruiser Galveston, which had been in reserve at the Puget Sound Naval Shipyard, was put into service for a ten-day cruise that took the Washington Naval Militia to Ketchikan, Alaska. The prospect of such a cruise resulted in a high turnout of reservists—some 18 officers and 226 men. This represented a 72 percent increase in the normal ship’s complement, and additional space had to be found to billet them all. The reservists were willing to learn, and the regulars were willing to teach. The only major problem developed when the men of the engineering division found that the combined heat and physical effort required to stand watch (shovel coal) in the engine room was overly taxing. Though men from the other divisions volunteered their assistance, it was not the kind of duty they expected, and the engineers had scant opportunity to learn how to handle the wide variety of guns aboard the ship. Despite the crowded conditions, many drills were held and the cruise was enjoyed by officers and men.

On July 1, 1914, the cruiser USS Milwaukee, with a reduced complement of 361 officers and men, steamed into Puget Sound to take aboard 225 officers and men from the Washington unit and 198 officers and men from the Oregon unit for a three-week training cruise to Hawaii. The Milwaukee was a relatively new, 9,700-ton heavy cruiser put into commission in 1906. Designed for a full complement of 673 men, the training cruise exceeded the authorized complement by over 100 men, a situation that would create tension under the best of circumstances. But conditions worsened, largely due to the quality of the Milwaukee’s crew.

Since April of that year hostile relations had existed with Mexico. When ships, sailors, and marines were sent to occupy Vera Cruz, additional ships had been placed in service. Sailors were scarce and, according to Commander Allison of the Washington Naval Militia, the Milwaukee was a very slack ship with a substandard crew: “A crew that was made up of men from Prison Ship and Detention Barracks and recruits who have only learned how to slight their duties.” In addition, Lieutenant Commander Mark St. Clair Ellis, the ship’s executive officer and the man in charge of working with the militias, was reported to be on his way toward retirement, contentious by nature, unsympathetic to the purpose of the cruise, and derelict in his duties. Meanwhile, Joseph Reeves, the captain of the vessel, appears to have been oblivious to the deteriorating situation.
From Commander Ellis's comments and behavior it was evident that he held the naval militiamen in low regard. There was confusion in finding berths for all the men to be billeted, as well as an insufficient number of hammocks. They were assigned berths about the ship, frequently in such a mixed fashion that it became difficult for their officers to find them. Opportunities to drill the men were insufficient, and what drills they managed were constantly being interrupted.

Unit cohesion and learning deteriorated when men were assigned to teams composed of regular crewmen and militiamen from their neighbor state. The problem was compounded by some of the regular officers and crewmen who regarded their instruction of naval militiamen as extra duty or punishment. Duties were assigned to militiamen without any prior determination of their competence to handle such tasks. Even worse, many of the militia officers were assigned redundant tasks and got in each other's way.

Extra uniforms were brought aboard for the militiamen but could not be issued until so ordered by Commander Ellis. Despite repeated requests from naval militia officers, and Ellis's own comments about the dirty uniforms of the militiamen, he did not issue such an order until the cruise was nearly completed. He saw to it that the men had ample opportunities to clean the ship but held no fire, collision, or abandon-ship drills—exercises that were standard on such cruises.

Upon arrival in Honolulu the militiamen experienced 16 hours of dirty work filling the ship's bunkers with 1,250 tons of coal. Complaints about that task, however, were mostly related to the tradition of having the ship's bands play while the men worked; some militia sailors disliked their music. In addition to the Milwaukee's band, the naval militiamen of both states had brought their bands. Commander Ellis required that all three participate, but as the coaling extended from late evening into the early morning hours, it was suggested that he rotate the bands. He either liked loud music or so detested the militiamen that he required all three bands to continue without relief. That order resulted in many bruised and cracked lips, making it impossible for them to perform on the return journey.

After some rest the men were given 48 hours of shore leave to enjoy the Honolulu area. An account written about two militiaman from Oregon related that they appreciated their time off the ship as they walked about the city and climbed the hills. They enjoyed meals that differed from the heavy bean diet they appreciated their time off the ship. At one point a militiaman's hammock disappeared and he was told to borrow one from a sailor on duty. That night, when the sailor came off duty and found his hammock missing, he attacked the sleeping militiaman, breaking several of his teeth.

The petty officers and regulars now had better relations with the militiamen, but most of the regulars were new recruits who provided no assistance and were often charged with picking fights. Militia officers and men had items "abstracted" from their sea bags. At one point a militiaman's hammock disappeared and he was told to borrow one from a sailor on duty. That night, when the sailor came off duty and found his hammock missing, he attacked the sleeping militiaman.

Units about the trip noted that sight-seeing was a common activity and many of the men went surfing. Some of the citizen sailors from both militias had enough money to pay for tour rides in automobiles. Those who became addicted to pineapples and failed to adequately rinse their mouths became more appreciative of the plight of the sore-lipped bandsmen. Nine men failed to return from liberty by the time the ship sailed: two from Oregon, three from Washington, and four from the regular crew.

The return voyage was something of an improvement because the naval militia executive officers finally had an opportunity to speak with Captain Reeves. Opportunities were now afforded for gun drills, but the men did not get enough target practice to be of practical use. Militia officers were finally given the responsibility of standing watch on the bridge. However, the ship's regular "Officer of the Deck" was also on the bridge to provide assistance if needed; otherwise he remained silent.

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At the end of the voyage, once the naval militiamen had left the vessel after anchoring at Tacoma, they were ready to "let bygones be bygones" and started to raise a departing cheer for the Milwaukee. The cheer was cut short when men aboard the cruiser showered them with potatoes as they sat in the cutters.

Reports by officers from both states plus a journalist assessed the cruise as a failure and a waste of money. They noted that cruises were supposed to serve as a recruiting tool for both the naval militia and the regular navy, but the voyage to Hawaii and back had the opposite affect. It became necessary for
the more experienced militiamen to point out repeatedly that neither the cruise to Hawaii nor the behavior of the Milwaukee's crew was typical. Recommendations from the leaders of each militia urged that their unit not be put on the same ship with another state militia. If problems between the two groups compounded the problems with the ship's crew, they were not detailed.

However, the Oregon unit did indicate that most of the problems with the regular crew involved the men from Washington, many of whom were new recruits. It was recommended by officers from both states that future cruises be made aboard their own training ships and that new recruits not be accepted into the naval militia so close to cruise time. The Washington militia's weekly training schedule was evidently not as intense as the Oregon militia's. However, officers of both units wanted more time to educate recruits in naval practices and customs before taking them aboard a United States Navy vessel.

The unsuccessful training voyage did not harm the subsequent careers of either Captain Reeves or Commander Ellis. Ellis's retirement was delayed and he stayed in the navy through World War I, commanding the naval base in Charleston, South Carolina. Reeves went on to command the USS Oregon and other, older battleships through World War I; after the war he became commander of the navy's first aircraft carrier, the Langley, and eventually retired in 1945 at age 74, having attained the rank of vice admiral.

The unsatisfactory cruise ultimately impacted all naval militia cruises. According to The Official History of the Washington National Guard, the adjutant generals of both Oregon and Washington passed along their recommended reforms to the Navy Department and new instructions for naval militia cruises were soon issued. They required that the United States Navy's captain of the vessel turn it over to the commander of the militia unit making the cruise, relieving the captain of all responsibilities except those of instructor and advisor. The result was that militia officers and crew gained more experience in commanding and manning large naval vessels.

Training cruises with two state units on one warship were not uncommon. They frequently took place among naval militias from states on the East Coast and sometimes involved men from three states. Yet, while they sometimes had problems with hostile or indifferent naval officers, their relations with the regular crewmen never revealed anything like the hostility the citizen sailors experienced aboard the Milwaukee.

In January 1917 the cruiser was brought too close to Samoa Beach on Humboldt Bay while attempting to assist a submarine that had run aground. The Milwaukee also ran aground and became a local attraction around Eureka, California. When efforts to refloat the heavy cruiser failed, it was abandoned and broken up in 1918.

For most of the year gun training for naval militiamen was generally confined to rifles, machine guns, and small caliber, quick firing guns. Their exposure to larger naval guns took place on vessels of the regular navy during annual one- to two-week sea cruises.

Thomas C. Buckley is an associate professor of social science and history at the University of Minnesota.
Lincoln Article Too Short

As always, I enjoyed the latest “Columbia.” Chief Justice Alexander’s article about Lincoln was great. It was too short and the enjoyment ended too soon. Also, I hoped that it would examine the impact of Lincoln’s railroad grants on the Pacific Northwest.

—Jim “Holly” Hollingsworth

Keeping Their Memory Alive

My dad, Commander Edward S. Stevens, United States Naval Reserve, was with Destroyer Escort #422, Douglas A. Munro, from its commissioning until the end of World War II. He began his tour as executive officer and ended up as the skipper. Dad died in 1999, and amongst his things was a letter from Douglas Munro’s father, with whom Dad corresponded during the war.

I am so pleased to be able to learn more about the young man for whom Dad’s ship was named, and especially to know that the article was written by someone who knew Doug Munro. I am happy to know that this young man is remembered by his state and his community. Dad marched in Memorial Day parades from the war’s end until his death—his final march was at the age of 89. He marched so that we would always remember those who did not return home.

Thanks for keeping such an important memory alive.

—Karen Jorgenson, Phippsburg, Maine

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Additional Reading

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

After the Fire


River of Memory


Columbia, Washington, or Tacoma?


Just Passing Through


Militiamen to Hawaii


“Oregon Naval Militia.” Quarterdeck Review (Astoria) 12, no. 4.
The Lewis and Clark Journals
An American Epic of Discovery
By Meriwether Lewis, William Clark, and the Members of the Corps of Discovery
Edited and with an introduction by Gary E. Moulton

"What makes this single volume of journal selections more powerful than its contemporaries is the use of other corps members’ diaries to provide further details about the journey. . . . This book will bring the expedition alive to a new generation of readers."—Library Journal
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Standing Up to the Rock
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Plateau Indians and the Quest for Spiritual Power, 1700-1850
By Larry Cebula

Fusing myriad primary and secondary sources, historian Larry Cebula offers a compelling master narrative of the impact of Christianity on the Columbian Plateau peoples in the Pacific Northwest from 1700 to 1850.
$49.95 cloth

University of Nebraska Press - www.nebraskapress.unl.edu - 800.755.1105
Esther Ross: Stillaguamish Champion
By Robert H. Ruby and John A. Brown
Reviewed by Clifford E. Trafzer.

For over half a century, Robert H. Ruby and John A. Brown have researched and published numerous books addressing the history of American Indians of the Pacific Northwest. Included are biographical works on Chief Moses, Smohalla, Skolaskin, John Slocum, and Myron Eells. They now offer a book on Stillaguamish leader Esther Ross. Born to Angelina and Christian Johnson in 1904—a unique combination of Norwegian and Stillaguamish heritage—Esther became the most important advocate of the Stillaguamish people. Her people once controlled a vast landscape encompassing the northeastern sphere of Puget Sound. In time, they lost nearly all their land but not their native identity. Ross guided the Stillaguamish from 1926 until her death in 1988. She relentlessly and doggedly urged her tribe to reorganize politically, and she became their guiding light, leading the struggles to gain federal recognition, compensation by the Indian Claims Commission, and treaty rights guaranteeing Indian fishing.

Ruby and Brown provide a well-balanced biography of Ross, exposing her faults as well as her accomplishments. Ross was a hardheaded, hard-driving leader who usually refused to take no for an answer. Yet, she listened and learned from others, particularly through the historical studies of Nels Bruseth, the political opinions of Herbert Holdridge, and the legal work of David Getches. She also listened to tribal elders, particularly those from her husband's tribe, the Lummi. Ross worked to preserve the burials of her people and fostered a larger cultural revitalization through the protection of remains and grave goods. She also worked tirelessly to protect aboriginal and the treaty rights of her people to take fish at all usual and accustomed areas. The Stillaguamish fought the Fish Wars and were party to the landmark 1974 decision of Judge George Boldt. Esther Ross led her people during the conflict and the rocky aftermath, using the Fish Wars as a way to unify her people and, at the same time, enhance economic, political, and cultural opportunities for the Stillaguamish.

Ross played a role in American Indian history in Washington state and Washington, D.C., often taking her causes directly to the nation's capital. She cooperated effectively with the National Congress of American Indians and other native organizations. She fought bureaucrats, politicians, and other Indians, and she resisted adversaries by traveling through or around them. The book allows readers into Esther's world, one that was filled with familial, tribal, state, and national politics. It offers a microcosm of Indian history during the mid to late 20th century by focusing on tribal recognition, claims, termination, and self-determination. Esther's life speaks volumes about personal, cultural, and tribal sovereignty. Anyone interested in women's history and Native American History, particularly that in the Pacific Northwest, will find this book of value. It is a rich presentation of a unique native leader who contributed significantly to her tribe and region.

Clifford E. Trafzer taught at Washington State University when he coauthored Renegade Tribe: The Palouse Indians, which received the 1986 Washington Governor's Writer's Award. He is currently professor of history at the University of California, Riverside.

In Full View
A True and Accurate Account of Lewis and Clark's Arrival at the Pacific Ocean
By Rex Ziak
Astoria: Moffitt House Press, 2002; 230 pp., $34.95.
Reviewed by Allan Wesselsius.

Pacific County, Washington, historian Rex Ziak has researched and published the book that finally clarifies many of the misconceptions that past authors have written about the 30 days that the Lewis and Clark expedition spent at the mouth of the Columbia River before they established a winter encampment. From November 7 to December 7, 1805, the Corps of Discovery spent a month on the lower Columbia River trying to reach the Pacific Ocean and then seeking a suitable location for winter quarters. The author's intimate knowledge of the Columbia River estuary and his scholarly approach to the study of the Lewis and Clark story has produced a volume of information on the controversial matters dealing with their arrival at the end of their mission.

Filled with maps and photographs, the book is meticulously referenced with supportive evidence for an accurate interpretation of the events that changed history. The use of old navigational charts of the Columbia River and modern satellite photographs help the reader follow the corps' movements and understand the changing weather patterns that influenced their exploration. The book not only includes information relative to the Lewis and Clark expedition, but also the history and environment of the Pacific Northwest around the mouth of the Columbia River.

Step by step Ziak leads the reader through the many harrowing events that led the expedition to their triumphant success and then determined their decision to winter on the Pacific Coast. Charts and graphs help explain the effect that tides, river currents, and weather had upon the winter conditions as the corps struggled to survive in the harsh conditions. The author is also very frank when speculation and conjecture are required to fill in the blanks where the captains' and corrs'sen's journals do not provide the information necessary for a conclusion on several unanswered questions concerning the expedition. The credibility of the information provided in this publication is enhanced because the author does not allow prejudices to influence his
conclusions. Ziak lets William Clark tell the story, then he provides the modern reader with the facts to clarify the corps’ experience.

Just in time for the bicentennial observance of the Lewis and Clark expedition, this book is a must for historians and students of Pacific Northwest history. It will be a valuable source of analysis for Students of Lewis and Clark scholars regarding a small segment, but one with crucial historical impact, of America's most celebrated journey.

Dr. Allan Wesselius, a Centralia veterinarian, is a member of the Lewis and Clark Trail Heritage Foundation. His four-part series in Columbia on Lewis and Clark place names in Washington appeared in volume 15 (2001).


In three parts, each with chapters and subheadings, the story unfolds: internment of Japanese-Americans, the growth of Boeing, the role of women in the work force, and the emergence of a new problem: traffic. Labor activity and union leaders, like Dave Beck and Harry Bridges, are prominent in the Seattle story, but so too are the activities and leaders of the University of Washington, the Seattle Chamber of Commerce, the Seattle Housing Authority and the Washington Pension Union. Mayor William F. Devin dominates local politics. Warren G. Magnuson and Albert F. Canwell come in for a lot of comment because they link Seattle with national issues. But always their affairs are placed in context with the voice of the electorate in city elections. The author chose excellent illustrations—he is an admirer of photographic historian Paul Dorpat and it shows—and there is a serviceable index. Fifty pages of end notes also serve as the book’s "shadow" bibliography.

It is good when assessing Seattle to reflect on a subchapter title where Berner asks the question: Is Seattle a microcosm of the nation? Maybe, but more likely it is unique to itself. One thing is for certain. No other city, save possibly New York and Chicago, has had its 20th-century history as closely chronicled as Seattle. What sets Berner’s work above similar efforts by other cities is the depth of his research in primary sources. The Manuscripts Collection, Archives, and Special Collections divisions of the University of Washington Library are principal contributors to this series on Seattle, but Berner also dug deeply into documents at the Seattle Public Schools, the City of Seattle Archives, Seattle Public Library, Boeing, the Regional Branch of the National Archives, and the Museum of History and Industry. Most impressive of all, the research hit high gear when Berner consulted with nationally recognized historians Richard Kirkendall, Jane Sanders, and Roger Daniels. No Pacific Northwest history collection in any state library should be without this volume.

Sharon Prendergast has been a Spokane librarian for more than 40 years. She is currently assigned to the Gonzaga University Special Collections and Archives.

SEATTLE TRANSFORMED
World War II to Cold War
By Richard C. Berner
Reviewed by Sharon Prendergast.

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From our earliest youth most of us have been cautioned at one time or another by our elders not to talk about religion in polite conversations. Doing so might offend someone. Happily, that restriction no longer applies. Today scholars in all fields, but historians especially, recognize that history without an examination of religion is, well, the orange juice commercial used to say: "like a day without sunshine." Far from being reluctant to approach the subject, historians in the 21st century are eager to examine the religious roots of communities, individuals, and institutions because of the insights such a study provides. Patricia Brandt, a retired librarian from Oregon State University, and Lillian Pereyra, a retired history professor from the University of Portland, are following the trend and have jointly written a valuable book on 150 years of Oregon history with a focus on Catholic issues.

The archbishops of the Portland Diocese take center stage for much of the volume. But there is also good coverage of the Catholic influence on health care and education for all of Oregon. The bibliography is especially worthwhile, probably the influence of Patricia Brandt. Since there is at present no bibliography of Catholic history in the Pacific Northwest, the manuscript and printed sources, both primary and secondary, listed here are useful and appreciated. Washington has benefited from the voluminous research and writing of Jesuit historian Wilfred P. Schoenberg, S.J., plus some individual efforts such as Abundance of Grace: The History of the Archdiocese of Seattle, 1830-2000, edited by Christine M. Taylor (Strasbourg, France: Editions du Signe, 2000), but thus far the Evergreen State does not have the same kind of synthesis that is produced by Adapting in Eden. The book under review reads well, is timely, and shows evidence of strong research.

Eleanor R. Carriker is coauthor of three books on Jesuit missions and missionaries and the compiler of thousands of pages of archival documents on Catholic history.

Address all review copies and related communications to:
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COLUMBIA 45 SPRING 2003
little by little our membership community is growing. This is a challenge in an environment where every day more and more cultural organizations are competing for members. The Historical Society’s membership, currently at about 3,000, is a measure of community support. Members provide invaluable advocacy and revenue to keep our organization strong. Growing our membership is more important than ever as the Society, like other state-funded agencies, faces serious budget cuts. This year earned revenue—a great portion of which comes from membership fees—must cover 30 percent of our operating costs.

We thank you for your loyalty and want you to know how much we appreciate your membership. While each of us can only do so much, we hope you will consider upgrading your membership level when you renew. Every dollar makes a difference and allows us to continue our work. If you cannot upgrade—or even if you can—please also consider inviting a friend to join our community of members. I am confident that if you value the quality programs and services the Society provides—like COLUMBIA The Magazine of Northwest History and members-only events and exhibit openings—like-minded friends will be glad you told them about us.

We are “stepping up” our membership program by improving and increasing communication efforts and offering more programs and events. By doing this we hope you will get more involved and get to know us better—we want to get to know you, too. In that vein, please take note of these upcoming events:

We recently celebrated the opening of the exhibition, 1001 Curious Thing: Tales from Ye Olde Curiosity Shop, at the History Museum in Tacoma. In the new tradition we started with the Lewis and Clark program kickoff event, we hosted a lecture by exhibit curator Kate Duncan and offered some curious and strange activities for all ages to enjoy.

Saturday, April 26, is a date to remember. That is when the exhibit, Vanishing Logger: An American Profession in Transition, opens at the History Museum. There will be a members-only reception that evening featuring a lecture followed by light refreshments and conversation. Expect to find more information about this event in your mailbox in the very near future.

Thank you again for all that you do for us. If you see me or our director, David Nicandri, at a Historical Society event, be sure to come over and introduce yourself. We always look forward to meeting our members and expanding our community of friends.

—Brenda Hanan, Development Manager
The time is November 1945. An autumn evening finds Jack Elkins before a large gathering of townspeople clamoring to hear about his experiences. Jack is unable to talk about what happened during his three years in Japanese prison camps. Standing up to the microphone, he whispers barely ten words to the audience, then sits down—and tries for the next half-century to forget.

Author Bob Wodnik has masterfully compiled the stories of several World War II prisoners of war into a non-fiction historical work with the feel of a novel. Readers glimpse the unrelenting physical agony and mental anguish of these young heroes as they struggle for survival, and then, following years of captivity, make the difficult and awkward return to civilization.

Intertwined throughout these gripping descriptions are letters hoarded by a hotel night clerk in Everett, Washington, that weave a picture of hometown life, as well. The patriotism, the rationing, the blackouts, the missing loved ones, all altered those left stateside, and provide insight into a generation of Americans.

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