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*The Great Northern Railway and Corporate Development of the American West*
Claire Strom

This book examines two inextricably linked historical movements in the United States: the westward expansion of the Great Northern Railway and the agricultural development of the northern Plains. Strom explores James J. Hill’s persistent, idiosyncratic attempts to boost the Great Northern’s agricultural production along its rail routes from St. Paul to Seattle.

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John Kendrick

Examining the ideas, political views, and ambitions of an extraordinary navigator, John Kendrick takes us on a voyage across the Pacific via South America, the Philippines, New Zealand, Australia, the Tonga Islands, and North America, chronicling the life of Alejandro Malaspina.

Paper, $18.95

Murdering Holiness
*The Trials of Franz Creffield*
Jim Phillips and Rosemary Gartner

In this fascinating micro-history of the trials and murders of Franz Creffield and George Mitchell, the authors explore the relationships among formal and informal law, gender relations, and religious repression. “Murdering Holiness is the definitive work on Oregon’s first cult. It is thoroughly researched, academically sound and tells an important tale.” – *Salem Statesman Journal*

Dist. for University of British Columbia Press
Cloth, $29.95

Oregon Geographic Names
*Seventh Edition*
Lewis A. McArthur and Lewis L. McArthur

Long considered an essential reference tool, *Oregon Geographic Names* is a comprehensive guide to Oregon place names. Entries list dates when places were first named, reasons for the choice of names, and pertinent background information. This edition is significantly expanded, including over a thousand new entries.

Dist. for Oregon Historical Society Press
Cloth, $60.00
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FRONT COVER: Detail from the front of a 1948 promotional booklet published by the Richland Junior Chamber of Commerce. Part of the Hanford Engineer Works Village is depicted, with alphabet houses in the background and Columbia High School in the foreground. The "village" was a hybrid development with combined elements of defense housing and company towns, but on a colossal scale. (Special Collections, Washington State Historical Society)
A
fter the winter issue of COLUMBIA appeared, I received a very nice note from a member complimenting me on the strategy of composing a Seattle history themed issue. I thanked him somewhat sheepishly, having to admit that at the time we made the article selections it did not occur to me that this might appear to be our intent.

This issue, like the last, contains a variety of topics, but at least in this instance there is a more conscious attempt at developing a theme—exploration.

So far this year we have enjoyed tremendous success at the History Museum's gate with our Beyond Lewis & Clark: The Army Explores the West exhibition. One of the principal messages of this exhibit is that history occurs within a continuum; or more particularly, that there was a history prior to Lewis and Clark and significant consequences in their wake. In Beyond Lewis & Clark we consciously avoided the relatively safe confines of 1803-06 to tell the story of continental comprehension and occupation with a wider lens.

In this issue we are pleased to include an excerpt from the companion book to the exhibition, by the same name, written by the project's principal consultant, Jim Ronda. When Jim was here in February for the opening of the exhibit I joked about how he was the "writingest historian" about Lewis and Clark—a play on the previous characterization by an earlier scholar, Don Jackson, that Lewis and Clark were the "writingest explorers" of all time. Truly, Jim seems to be involved in virtually every major interpretive effort during this bicentennial and we were extremely fortunate that he was able to serve on our project team.

As in the exhibit, in this issue we provide a "prequel" to Lewis and Clark: iris Engstrand's essay about the naturalists that preceded Meriwether Lewis in the region. Like Jim, iris has appeared in COLUMBIA's pages before, and we are fortunate to have a historian of her stature writing for us.

Bob Carriker, whom I like to remind people is the senior member of the COLUMBIA editorial team (our book review editor going all the way back to vol. 1, no. 1), presents in our pages the talk he gave at last year's annual meeting about the educational potential found in a thorough reading of the Lewis and Clark record.

David Chapman is another returning author with an essay from his series on county courthouses—in this instance, a colorful early history of Lincoln County. Modern archivists surely lead a more mundane existence than the pioneering record-keepers. For more on eastern Washington, read Jack Nisbet's fascinating tale of early paleontology in the Palouse.

Lastly, we are pleased to present in this issue Judith Rosenthal's story on Bella Weretnikow, one of this state's first female Jewish attorneys, appearing in conjunction with a major exhibit opening this spring at the History Museum—Family of Strangers: The First Century of Jewish Life in Washington, 1840-1940."

—David L. Nicandri, Executive Editor
HISTORY
COMMENTARY

A Windfall for Educators: The Lewis & Clark Bicentennial

By Robert C. Carriker

Every April I present a "sample" class on the Lewis and Clark expedition to 45 high school seniors who have been admitted to Gonzaga University. They come to campus to see if the school's and their educational goals are compatible, and to that end each prospective student is encouraged to attend two or more "sample" classes. For 50 minutes I use pictures and questions to probe their basic understanding of the Corps of Discovery in an exercise called "Test Your IQ on Lewis and Clark."

The recent good news is that nearly 100 percent of the students admit they have "heard something" about the Lewis and Clark expedition. And a majority acknowledge that the words "Lewis and Clark" are currently associated with the term "bicentennial." That means that some teacher and/or parent has been making the past relevant to the present and/or the students are being informed by some element of the media. But even if the response in any given year would have been reversed—i.e., if almost none of the students had heard of the Lewis and Clark expedition—I would still use the story of the expedition to showcase the kind of multi-disciplinary learning that takes place in a college classroom. The experiences of the captains have extraordinary potential to not only further a person's education but also to encourage learning. And that would be just as true at the elementary and secondary levels as it is at the university level.

Let me illustrate some ways in which the Lewis and Clark expedition can expand as well as elevate a person's history IQ. I will take my examples from the 139 miles of the Snake River that Lewis and Clark traveled for six days in October 1805.

Everyone knows that Lewis and Clark wrote journals. They wrote about 750,000 words between them, and their journals were first edited in 1904-05 by Reuben Gold Thwaites. The modern edition, prepared by Gary Moulton for the University of Nebraska Press, began to appear in 1983 and concluded in 2001 with the publication of volume 13. Volumes 5, 6 and 7 cover Lewis and Clark in Washington—periodically interspersing comments about Oregon—as the expedition navigated the Snake and Columbia rivers. The periods of October 10 through November 25, 1805, and March 23 through May 5, 1806, amount to 416 pages in the Moulton edition of the journals.

In the Lewis and Clark journals it is written that on October 11, 1805, as the Corps of Discovery proceeded on just west of present-day Clarkston, Washington, William Clark "saw a curious Swet house under ground, with a Small whole at top to pass in or throw in the hot Stones, which those in threw on as much water as to create the temperature of the heat they wished."

Clearly, Clark is referring to a sweat lodge. If Clark was "curious," so might be the modern-day student. Maybe. Sometimes. It will take some research to find out. Herein lies a teaching opportunity. At that moment in 1805, Meriwether Lewis was in a "blue mood" and not writing in his journal. Actually, he stopped writing on August 26, 1805, and did not resume his journalistic endeavors—save for 11 irregularly placed comments—until January 1, 1806, a gap of more than four months.

Happily, there are other journal writers who saw what Clark saw—Sergeant John Ordway, Sergeant Patrick Gass, and Private Joseph Whitehouse—though none of them improves upon Clark's observation. But Lewis writes in April 1805 that in addition to the captains there were seven other journal writers—a total of nine. If we have the journals of Clark plus three others, and we know that one of the diarists had died by this time, and we know that Lewis was not writing, that means that there still may be three journals out there waiting to be discovered. Maybe. Keep in mind that since 1953, Clark's field notes have been discovered in an attic desk; a fair copy of Private Joseph Whitehouse's journal, which extended his narrative by almost five months, surfaced in a bookstore, and Lewis's Astronomy Notebook also surfaced. Thus, Clark's short comment on his first full day in Washington has raised questions that require both research and speculation.

Have we now exhausted the possibilities for this simple 40-word entry by seeking out the remarks of three enlisted men?
Fortunately, no. Clark's journal entry is actually expanded quite nicely in the notes of Nicholas Biddle, the man who in 1810 began the process of condensing Lewis and Clark's 750,000 words into a narrative of 150,000 words. When he read certain passages that needed clarification, Biddle would jot down his question and the next time he corresponded with, or was visited by, William Clark, he asked. In this case, Clark gave Biddle a 208-word reply that vastly illuminates the use and construction of a Nez Perce sweat lodge. (See Donald Jackson, editor, Letters of the Lewis and Clark Expedition, second ed. [1978]: 532-33.)

And there's more! In 1893 Elliott Coues, a distinguished scholar who had a near encyclopedic understanding of 19th-century scholarship, reedited the Biddle narrative, and in the process he sometimes extended Biddle's work by adding a descriptive footnote. The Nez Perce sweat lodge is one of those times. (See Elliott Coues, editor, History of the Expedition Under the Command of Lewis and Clark [1893], pages 626-27 for a 334-word "improvement.") The bottom line is that a simple statement by Clark on October 11, 1805, can be supplemented by the journals of three enlisted men plus the research of Biddle and Coues to produce an excellent image of what Clark saw.

Another example of how the Lewis and Clark expedition teaches research skills is the description of the rapids of the Snake River. The men of the Lewis and Clark expedition navigated 139 miles of the Snake River in October 1805 on their passage to the Columbia River. Today the Snake River has been tamed by a series of four dams put into service between 1961 and 1975, but for the Corps of Discovery there was no relief from the turbulent waters. Clark commented on the rapid water in a more-or-less matter-of-fact manner. But the same is not true of the less sophisticated enlisted men. "This river in general is very handsome," confided Sergeant Patrick Gass, "except at the rapids, where it is risking both life and property to pass." Sergeant John Ordway thought the rapids comparable to floating the trough of a mill race. Private Joseph Whitehouse believed the canoes traveled "swifter than any horse could run." The lesson learned is that no episode in the journals is complete without also checking the entries of the enlisted men. Sometimes they do not enhance the text of the captain's entries—as in the case of the sweat lodge. But most of the time they do. To read only the journals of the captains is to get only part of the story.

It is also important to recognize that the captains wrote multiple entries for any given day. William Clark's entry for October 13 states that the men canoed through "a bad rapid for 4 miles Water Compressed in a narrow Channel not more than 25 yards for about 1 1/2 miles." Later he seemed to change his mind and wrote that: "the water is Confined in a Chanel of about 20 yards between rugid rocks for the distance of a mile and a half..." Did Clark revise his mathematical calculation in the middle of a journal entry? No, it was commonplace for the captains to write two journal entries each
day, one a preliminary draft, probably written around the
evening campfire, and the other a more-or-less finished prod­
uct completed during an extended stay. Sometimes the first
draft contains a clearer phrase or more extensive information
than does the final entry. Read them both! And also the
maps. And the periodic “Course and Distance Remarks” in
the journals, which are usually monthly, but can also be at
irregular intervals. Clark noted, for example, that during a
cool morning, on October 14, the expedition navigated oppo­
site a rock shaped “like a Ship.” In his second entry for the
day, Clark called it “remarkable” and “verry large and resem­
bbling the hill [hull] of a Ship...” In his follow-up “Course and
Distance Remarks” on October 16, Clark noted a landmark
“resembling a Ship at a Distance...” And on his map Clark
conferred the name, “Ship rock.” In short, Clark seems very
sure that this rock looked like a ship. He said so four times.

Yet, Washingtonians today know this landmark as Monu­
mental Rock, in Walla Walla County. Who changed the
name on the map? When? Why did the United States Corps
of Engineers name their dam Lower Monumental Dam when,
clearly, the rock is not just monumental, it is shaped like a
ship? Always, always, there is research to be done.

I will stop my examples there—having taken the Corps of
Discovery only four days into Washington. But let me offer
some classroom assignments that showcase ways in which a
study of the Lewis and Clark expedition can introduce stu­
dents to different research techniques.

1) At times both Lewis and Clark make reference to sources
contained in their traveling library—a dozen or so books, sev­
eral manuscripts, and a half-dozen maps that Lewis and Thomas
Jefferson had assembled in Virginia and Philadelphia before
departure. How did Lewis and Clark recognize Mount Hood
and Mount St. Helens, as they traveled down the Columbia
River? Because they had with them copies of published charts
originally prepared by the George Vancouver expedition of
1792! How did Lewis and Clark choose such precise words and
terms to describe the people, places and natural phenomena
that they encountered? Because they had an encyclopedia and
a dictionary and a botanical catalogue with them... and in at
least two instances the captains borrowed enough from their
published sources to have merited being charged with plagia­
rism under the student code of conduct at Gonzaga University!

2) There is a keen difference in the journals between de­
scriptions the captains made of Native American material
culture and the descriptions they made of the cultural traits of
the tribesmen. A good example would be to contrast Lewis
and Clark’s admiration of the canoes crafted by the Indians
with their only grudging respect for the canoeists themselves.

3) Compare the artistic impressions of the captains with
the reality of what bighorn sheep or salmon or California
condors really look like. Sometimes the captains do well,
other times they are so inaccurate as to be misleading.

4) Even if a person’s focus of interest is the outbound jour­
ney of Lewis and Clark (i.e., going west, toward the Pacific
Ocean) know in advance that it is necessary to also consult
the return journey (i.e., homeward bound, going east to St.
Louis) for insights. Lewis and Clark called it “backsighting”
when they used a compass and sextant to map where they had
been in relation to their current position. The same principle
works for modern researchers. For example, on April 27, 1806,
during the return journey, Lewis and Clark stopped for three
days at the village of Walla Walla chief Yelleppit. The chief
proved to be exceedingly helpful by providing the captains
with information about an 80-mile-long Indian trail that ran
overland from the Walla Walla River to the Clearwater River,
thus allowing the expedition to avoid 139 miles of rapid wa­
ter—going against the current—on the Snake River. To pro­
erly understand the foundation of the good relationship be­
tween the captains and the chief, it is necessary to read the
journals of the expedition for October 18 and 19, 1805—the
time of their first encounter with Yelleppit. To consult the
journals in only one direction is to receive only a partial story.

T he Lewis and Clark expedition is a marvelous teach­
ing tool, and teachers have been using it to improve
the educational experience of students for the past
several decades. But with the complete publication of the
journals of Lewis and Clark, and with the almost daily infor­
mation coming out about the Lewis and Clark Bicentennial,
there has never been an easier, more relevant, or more profit­
able time to use the Corps of Discovery in the school curricu­
um. The Lewis and Clark expedition is current news, it is a
national initiative in education, and it is a windfall for educa­
tors because it is diverse, multi-dimensional, and a detective
story in its complexity.

And, best of all, you don’t have to be enrolled in school to
learn about it yourself! Go ahead, get started today!

Robert C. Carriker is professor of history at Gonzaga University, where
he has taught frontier and Pacific Northwest history for 37 years, and
author of numerous books and articles on the American West.
IN THE University of Washington's first Jewish female attorney. In 1900 she received bachelor of arts and bachelor of pedagogy degrees, and in 1901 she graduated with the first class of the University of Washington School of Law. She was admitted to the Washington State Bar on June 6, 1901, and then went to work for a Seattle attorney. This young woman was Bella Weretnikow, Seattle's first Jewish female attorney.

Only a few women in Washington preceded Bella into a career in law. Leila J. Robinson and Mary Leonard were admitted to the Territorial Bar in 1884, Reah Whitehead to the Washington State Bar in 1893, and then Othilia G. Carroll and Bella in 1901. Carroll was one of Bella's law school classmates and the daughter of a federal judge. She married another bachelor of pedagogy degrees, and in 1901 she graduated with the first class of the University of Washington School of Law. She was admitted to the Washington State Bar on June 6, 1901, and then went to work for a Seattle attorney. This young woman was Bella Weretnikow, Seattle's first Jewish female attorney.

Intelligent and highly motivated, she made her dreams come true.

An 11-Year Journey

THE WERETNIKOWS left Russia in the early 1880s seeking better luck and greater opportunities in “America.” It was Bella's birth that pushed her parents even further into poverty. Bella's father, Zachariah, was a Talmudic scholar who devoted himself to his studies. Thus, the support of this small family fell on the shoulders of Bella's mother, Eliza. In order to raise the money needed to pay for the journey to America, Eliza sold their few possessions as well as her own beautiful red hair which she greatly prized. Previously, Eliza had refused to cut off her hair, even though it was the Orthodox Jewish custom for women upon marrying. However, to raise the funds needed to leave Russia, she sold her hair to the shop where she had made wigs as a girl.

The family traveled from Russia to Germany where they boarded a ship bound for New York. After arriving at Castle Garden, the immigrant landing depot on the southern tip of Manhattan Island, they were sent to settle in Winnipeg. In fact, during May and June of 1882 about 400 Russian Jewish refugees were settled in Winnipeg. The Winnipeg newspapers often ridiculed these new arrivals, describing them as idle, useless, and unclean. Nonetheless, many of these early settlers remained in Winnipeg, prospering and founding a vibrant Jewish community that continues to flourish today.

Even in Winnipeg, Eliza and Zachariah Weretnikow's struggles continued. They remained poor, and by 1890 their marriage had ended. Eliza tried her hand at peddling and then opened a small secondhand shop in front of her shanty. Although Eliza could never read or write, she believed very strongly in education for her daughter and insisted that Bella attend public school in Winnipeg. Bella loved school and greatly enjoyed reading. As Bella wrote in her memoirs,

I really loved books, much more than toys or dolls and soon started to acquire a library of my own. This I accomplished by saving tiny silver five-cent pieces, then common in Canada, which I hid under an oilcloth tacked on a shelf in the kitchen back of the store. When I had accumulated a nice little pile of these five-cent pieces, I made a trip to the secondhand bookshop. I was then about seven or eight years old and chief among my collection was a copy of Gibbon's "Rise and Fall of the Roman Empire." I am still at a loss to remember whether it was the binding or the price that was the attraction, as it was not until years later that I was able to read and understand the book.

One can only speculate as to why, after 11 years, Bella's family left Winnipeg by train and moved to Seattle. In addition to the extremely cold winters (which Bella claimed were colder than those in Russia), Winnipeg was in an economic slump, other friends of the family had already relocated to the West Coast, and anti-Semitism still prevailed. About their arrival in Seattle she wrote,

In the year 1893, the entire country, Seattle included, was in the depths of one of the worst depressions it has ever experienced. This was the year we arrived in Seattle. Even the railroad station, a small frame building, where we landed and were met by our old friends from Winnipeg, was a very depressing
From a young age, Bella Weretnikow enjoyed reading and writing. She is photographed here (seated, front right) as a staff member of Pacific Wave (1899-1900), a University of Washington student literary publication.
spectacle. Once it had been painted, but there was little, if any, trace of paint left. It was weather-beaten, dilapidated, and in no way compared to the fine depot of the Canadian Pacific Railroad we had left behind in Winnipeg. Of course, we could not know that plans for the erection of a new station were under consideration at the time. Furthermore, we did not know that the tangled network of short railroad tracks, just in front of the station, and all leading down to the waterfront, would ever mean anything to us. It was all quite bewildering although picturesque... little did we realize that this busy waterfront would become the source of our livelihood and the means of our support. Around this section were all kinds of shops catering to the transient trade, the sailors, loggers, stevedores, and other waterfront workers. Here is where we were soon located, and opened our little store.

A New Life in Seattle

Eliza opened a shop on Skid Road, and by 1894 Bella was enrolled in Seattle’s Central School. She was, however, growing impatient with high school and indicated in her diary that she would try to enter the University of Washington by passing the entrance exams:

I had just passed my sixteenth year when I went out to the University to go through, what I thought, would be a terrible ordeal. I was always small for my age, and perhaps looked even younger than I was, with my hair hanging down my back in long curls. Also, I imagine, being Jewish, I looked very different from the average college girl... I think I must have looked terribly scared, as I was very hesistant about going into the Registrar’s Office. At this juncture, a tall red-haired scholarly looking man stopped and asked if he could help me, and, to me, he was an angel in disguise. As it turned out, he was one of the Board of Examiners. He took me in charge and was of very great help thru the entire series of examinations. He was one of the most famous professors, Edmond S. Meany, teacher, historian, and scholar. He taught American history and specialized in Northwest history. He gave me several of the examinations orally, and the rest were in writing. Perhaps no one was more surprised than I when I found I had successfully passed them all, and became a full-fledged college student.

On September 2, 1896, Bella began her studies at the university. Meanwhile, the Klondike gold rush was bringing prosperity to Seattle, and business picked up in Eliza’s store. A large sign was displayed saying “Alaska Outfitters,” and “We Pay Cash for Gold Nuggets,” and in the front window a pair of apothecary’s scales and some gold nuggets were displayed. Bella kept the shop well stocked:

Being the official buyer for our store, even though still attending the University, I scoured the larger shops on First and Second Avenues. Having exhausted their stocks, I went to the wholesale houses, and bought up all the rubber boots, mackinaws, blankets, pick axes and other available merchandise with which we were doing a phenomenal business. The demand became so great that the supply was never nearly enough.

Even when the Gold Rush quieted down, Eliza’s store apparently continued doing well, catering to the shipping and tourist trades.

Bella evidently enjoyed her years at the university and excelled in her studies. On May 31, 1900, she received her two bachelor’s degrees, majoring in political and social science, with honors in German. Moreover, during her senior undergraduate year, she had enrolled in law school, concurrently completing her final year of undergraduate work and her first year of legal studies.

The “New” School of Law

The University of Washington School of Law opened its doors in 1899 in the upstairs of the old University Building atop Denny’s Knoll. John T. Condon was appointed dean, and a year’s tuition was $25 if paid in advance.
Seattle in 1899. The basic entry requirements included being at least 18 years of age and either passing an examination “in respect to general education” or presenting a diploma from a college or accredited high school. Bella’s transcript shows that her course of study included classes in jurisprudence, contracts, torts, property, agency, pleading, criminal law, procedure, how to find law, administrative law, equity, persons, evidence, private corporations, carriers, bankruptcy, moot court, partnership, damages, and liens. In addition, candidates for a law degree were required to write a senior thesis “of not less than forty folios in length, upon some legal topic selected by the student and approved by the faculty.” The subject of Bella’s thesis was “Community Debt.”

In the days of its infancy, the law school’s doors were apparently open to anyone who could meet the entrance requirements and pay the fees. Bella wrote:

The first class comprised about thirty students, three of whom, myself included, were females. One girl was a teacher of political economy in the Seattle High School, another was reading law in her father’s office, and I was determined to have a career of my own.... The fact that I was Jewish did not seem to have any significance at the time. There was only one other Jewish student in the class, a young man named Aubrey Levy. Also there was one Negro, two Japanese, and a couple of middle-aged politicians who soon dropped out, ostensibly for lack of time. The principal and only full-time teacher was an able lawyer named John Condon. The remainder of the so-called faculty volunteered their services.

John T. Condon was the first dean of the School of Law and its first instructor. Aubrey Levy was from a prominent Jewish Seattle family, a talented musician, and Seattle public schoolteacher. Like Bella, he had received a BA degree from the university in 1900. Levy graduated from the Law School in 1902 and established a successful law practice in Seattle. The female classmates to whom Bella referred were, respectively, Adele Parker and the previously mentioned Othilia Carroll. Prior to her graduation from the law school in 1903, Parker had taught political economy and civil government at Broadway High School. The “Negro” was William McDonald Austin, from Barbados, who graduated in 1902 and practiced law in the Philippines. Jinta Yamaguchi and Takuji Yamashita were the two Japanese law students to whom Bella referred.

While Bella notes the diversity among her classmates, she seems unaware of how unusual it was at the turn of the century for women to attend law school and to enter this male-dominated profession. In fact, while some law schools allowed women to attend, they sometimes were not permitted to participate in the graduation ceremonies; some states refused to admit women to the Bar, and most women found it extremely difficult to find a position as a practicing lawyer. Parker, Carroll, and Weretnikow seemingly avoided these difficulties. On May 29, 1901, thirteen men and two women (Carroll and Weretnikow) received their Bachelors of Law degrees. Shortly thereafter, the class
Marriage to L. N. Rosenbaum

Nonetheless, like many a young woman of her day, Bella’s career was cut short by marriage. We will never know if she had any marital prospects among the eligible men of Seattle, but the way she made the acquaintance of her future husband was most unusual. Some of the Jewish newspapers picked up the story of Bella Weretnikow’s graduation from law school. One of these was the American Israelite, which circulated nationally and carried Jewish news from states across the country. In the June 6, 1901, edition, at the end of a gossip column reporting

**ON EXHIBIT**

**FAMILY OF STRANGERS**

The First Century of Jewish Life in Washington, 1840-1940

Developed by the Washington State Historical Society in conjunction with the Washington State Jewish Historical Society, **Family of Strangers** uses artifacts, photographs, and stories from the 1840s to 1940 to illuminate the richness and breadth of Jewish culture, which has developed across the state. May 24 through December 12.

He was allowed to sleep in the office and was paid the munificent sum of three dollars per week as legal assistant. Here he had an opportunity to study law books and help in the practice of law. After a year or so, he was considered qualified and was given a certificate to practice before the Bar in Tennessee.

Marriage to L. N. Rosenbaum

Notetheless, like many a young woman of her day, Bella’s career was cut short by marriage. We will never know if she had any marital prospects among the eligible men of Seattle, but the way she made the acquaintance of her future husband was most unusual. Some of the Jewish newspapers picked up the story of Bella Weretnikow’s graduation from law school. One of these was the American Israelite, which circulated nationally and carried Jewish news from states across the country. In the June 6, 1901, edition, at the end of a gossip column reporting

In Bella’s privately published memoirs, My Life, written around 1956, this photo is titled, "College Days and Best Friends." Bella is on the right. The identity of the two other young women is unknown.

It must have been my name, Bella Weretnikow, a distinct Russian-Jewish name, that attracted the attention of the Jewish newspapers at the time. It seems they did their best to broadcast the story of a young Jewish girl becoming one of the first women lawyers in the far West. I received many letters of congratulation. One of them was from another lawyer by the name of Lewis N. Rosenbaum of Nashville, Tennessee. He had read the story in the “American Israelite” . . . He sent me a congratulatory message saying that he would be interested in any information about Washington and particularly about Seattle. I must have written some glowing accounts, as very soon he decided to come and see it all for himself."

Like Bella, L. N. Rosenbaum was the child of poor Jewish immigrant parents. His family came from Hungary, settling in New York City around 1897. He dropped out of public school at an early age and headed to Nashville. There, he obtained work in the law offices of Moreau P. Estes. As told by Bella,

Official Records confirm that L. N. Rosenbaum was admitted to the Tennessee Bar Association on March 4, 1901. By 1903 Rosenbaum was living in Seattle, and on February 9 of that year he was admitted to the Washington State Bar. In those days one did not have to graduate from law school to become a lawyer. In fact, at that time in the state of Washington, an individual who “had already been admitted to practice in the higher courts of other states,” did not even need to take the examination for admission to the bar.

On March 19, 1905, Bella and L. N. were married in the home of Eliza Marks (Bella’s mother) at 917 East Jefferson Street. The wedding was officiated by Theodore F. Joseph, the first rabbi of Seattle’s Temple de Hirsch. L. N. eventually left the practice of law as he became increasingly interested in real estate and finance. Typical of many women at that time, Bella gave up practicing law to raise the couple’s five children. Later she would jokingly say, “All these years the only law that I have practiced has been to try to lay down the law to my husband and our family.” Bella and L. N. sometimes lived in Seattle, sometimes in New York. Their marriage lasted 50 years, only ending with L. N.’s death in 1956. Four years later Bella Weretnikow Rosenbaum, Seattle’s first Jewish female attorney, passed away at the age of 80.

Judith W. Rosenthal lives in New Jersey and is a professor of biological sciences at Kean University. Bella Weretnikow and L. N. Rosenbaum were her maternal grandparents.
A Long Road from Palouse Peat Bog to Chicago’s Field Museum

The Palouse Mammoths

BY JACK NISBET

According to Alonzo Coplen, it was simple curiosity that precipitated the great adventure that befell his family in the spring of 1876. The Coplen homestead lay in the eastern reaches of the Palouse Hills of Washington Territory, overlooking Hangman Creek, which bisected a lush valley known by the traditional Coeur d’Alene name of Latah. Several springs were clustered in the wide bottoms along the creek, forming a boggy peat formation where cattle sometimes got mired. Alonzo recalled that the ground shook when he walked across it. One afternoon in May, young Alonzo and his brothers began probing the area near one of the springs with a long pole. The rod hissed down through the green mat of sedges and beyond. On one of the thrusts, it struck something hard. Their interest piqued, the brothers mucked back to the barnyard and attached a large iron hook to the end of their pole. They plunged this implement into the morass, grappled about, and after a time coaxed a large object to the surface. Upon examination it turned out to be an enormous vertebra, far too large for any animal they had ever seen. Back down went the pole hook, and this time an outsize shoulder blade emerged, two feet long and almost as wide.
The Coplen brothers rattled west and south 30 miles through the heart of the Palouse to the settlement of Colfax. Although only a half-dozen years old, its population already numbered over 100 souls, and the town boasted a flour mill, sawmill, two general stores, and two kerosene street lights. Apparently, one of the first things Ben and Lewis did when they arrived on June 26 was find a scale and enlist volunteers to help them weigh and measure their bones. The “horn” they had brought weighed 145 pounds and stretched 10 feet along the outside of its curve. The pelvis tipped the scales at 135, followed by a jawbone (63 pounds) and a shoulder blade (40 pounds). A single small tooth, only half the size of the ones still set in the jaw, weighed 10 pounds.

Some of the onlookers in Colfax that weekend were sufficiently inspired by the exhibit to fire off letters to their favorite newspapers. Mr. J. H. Kenedy, who had helped weigh and measure the collection, pronounced it “the grandest discovery of the age to the geological world” and postulated that the Coplens had unearthed “an animal known to the antiquists as the behemoth.” A correspondent to the Walla Walla Union reported that the pelvis had “an opening through which a man can pass by stooping somewhat.” The same writer used the adjective “mammoth” to describe the bones and knew enough about extinct pachyderms to distinguish its teeth from those of a mastodon. Local schoolteacher James E. Edmiston wondered whether the curved “horn” might be a tusk, and noticed that the tip of the massive jawbone ended in a protuberance that tilted downward, as if to support a snout. His letter to the Portland Oregonian, headlined “THE CENTENNIAL MAMMOTH,” made a symbolic connection between the emergence of the magnificent bones and the celebration of America’s first great anniversary. Using scientific terms like “processes” and “cartilaginous surface,” Edmiston marveled at the perfect half-moon opening of the pelvic girdle, but his letter was not all technical jargon. After recounting the massive thickness of one mandible, he indulged in a little wordplay: “This may be more jawbone than you like to take, but existing facts cannot be avoided.”

With summer’s dust swirling around their wagon, Ben and Lewis ferried across the swollen Snake River and made for the town of Dayton. During their brief stay, an amateur photographer took pictures of the fossil bones. Like the Colfax correspondents, this shutterbug had a keen interest in scientific matters, and as soon as he developed his plates he dispatched...
copies east to Professor James Dwight Dana, the preeminent geologist at Yale University. Dana's *Manual of Geology*, a textbook used by college science classes throughout the United States, included a section on extinct elephants.

The Coplens arrived in Walla Walla just in time for the largest Fourth of July centennial celebration in the Inland Northwest, with a crowd estimated at 3,000 to 5,000. After a brass band and glee club performance of patriotic odes, an afternoon parade of “Uniques and Horribles” marched down Main Street, led by a small monkey turning handsprings, marshaled by a man in a gorilla suit, and “gravely followed by a baby elephant.” Somewhere amidst the fanfare, a local photographer discovered the Coplens’ own elephantine display. Within a few days, fresh prints labeled “the biggest ‘horn’ ever taken” and “the biggest jawbone in the country” graced the front window of his gallery.

While news of General Custer’s defeat at the Little Bighorn began to rumble across the countryside, Ben and Lewis made the long wagon trip back to Hangman Creek. A few days later, Mr. Philip Ritz, out collecting grain samples for the Centennial Exposition in Philadelphia, stopped by for a look at “the great unknown bones.” He found the brothers opening up a new pit that was already yielding fossils only four feet below the surface. A pair of tusks looked to be nearly twelve feet long, but only one could be extracted whole. This brought the tusk count to nine, ranging in length from three to twelve feet. Some of them were worn away several inches at the bottom of their curve, as if they had been constantly rubbed on the ground. The brothers had also uncovered a huge skull, but it was too rotten to move from “the black, oozy mud where it was deposited ages ago.”

James Edmiston arrived about the same time, intent on writing a follow-up to his Colfax letter. He peered into the front part of the damaged skull and was able to trace the sockets of the tusks into the brain cavity. The inquisitive Edmiston must have been doing some homework in the weeks since he viewed the bones in Colfax, because he now concluded that the animals belonged to the species *Elephas primigenius*. (This was the name that the scientific community had assigned to woolly mammoths at that time; it would be many years before all mammoths assumed their current genus name of *Mammuthus*, and the creatures found in the Palouse were designated as *M. columbi*, Columbian mammoths). Edmiston remarked on the resemblance of the fossil mammoth teeth to those of living Indian elephants, “particularly in that the ribbons of the teeth are waving and running obliquely crosswise... I can think of nothing better to compare them to than the head of a sucker fish, the top of the head representing the root of the tooth, the mouth the surface that has been used for nipping only.” Wrapping up his letter, he noted that many other people in the surrounding countryside had encountered large bones, and predicted that the area would provide a wide field for geologists.
The brothers peered into its depths but saw nothing unusual. Undiscouraged, they bolted sturdy hooks onto two long poles and began to probe, Coplen-style. It wasn’t long before they hooked onto something solid beneath the sand.

For two days the Donahoes tugged and pulled, constructing a farmer’s arsenal of levers and gantries and calling on neighbors to help. They finally extracted a gargantuan skull that measured 35 inches between the eyes, 50 inches between the ears, and 42 inches from the back of the head to the front of the nose. Even without its tusks, which had broken off during the pulling and tugging, the Donahoes estimated the skull’s weight at 800 pounds. With seven able-bodied neighbors, they tried to haul up the rest of the skeleton, but the task was too much for their grapnels. “We found that would not do, so we started to ditch it,” the brothers reported in a letter to Walla Walla on July 29. “We expect to have it ditched and the bones out in 8 days.”

So another set of brothers found themselves astonished and eager to see more. Another assortment of amazing bones piled up around a spring, and another set of curious onlookers gathered around. “About the time we had most of the bones fished out,” Tom remembered, “here comes a fellow with a band of sheep, headed for Montana. When he saw those bones, he just went wild, mind you. He wanted to trade those sheep, 700 of them, for a third interest in the elephant bones. He had a partner and we said he’d better wait and talk it over with him before he made a deal, but he was dead set on getting in on the fortune from the fossils. He was lucky we didn’t take him up.”

It is hard to say who was the luckier party—the next week a Walla Walla paper reported that the price of sheep had dropped to its lowest level in ten years. But if the Donahoes hesitated to jump at the first offer dangled in front of them, they were not immune to the idea of commerce. Tom told a visitor they were confident they were sitting on a bonanza.

As the Donahoes were hoisting the giant skull from their spring, Ben Coplen rolled back into Walla Walla to show off the bones unearthed by the Coplen brothers belonging to “the extinct American Elephant or Mammoth,” basically agreeing with James Edmiston’s identification. A different opinion was printed the same day by the Eugene City Guard, whose editor had been following reports of the Palouse finds and had concluded that the prehistoric artifacts certainly belonged to a unicorn.

By mid August Ben Coplen, aiming for larger crowds, had arranged free transport for his treasures on a steamboat down the Columbia. When he boarded the steamer at Wallula landing, he had at least one other person along to help heft the massive fossils—according to Alonzo, a neighbor named Bill Bohard had purchased Lewis’s share in the enterprise for a span of horses and a small sum of money. Young brother George probably went along as well. The exhibitors billed themselves as “the Coplen Brothers,” and downstream at The Dalles they found an empty storefront on Main Street in which to display their “Antediluvian Bones.” A local weekly calculated a live weight of 20 tons for the beast, boosting estimated by a factor of four. The article also tackled the mysteries of the fossilization process, musing on the “antiseptic minerals” that must have been present in the spring in order to preserve the bones.

After a week of business in The Dalles, the Coplens showed a touch for public relations by inviting “all the Sabbath School children and their teachers to visit them, free of charge, on this Saturday afternoon.” As the exhibit drew to a close, a local editor offered the visitors a final note of appreciation. “We found the Coplen Brothers very pleasant, and well informed gentlemen,” he penned, “and wish them success.”

Then it was back on a steamer for the ride downstream to Portland, where the Coplens set up their exhibit downtown, charging 25 cents a head. A thoughtful review of the display compared the fossil-laden ground of eastern Washington with Siberia’s frozen taiga, where an entire woolly mammoth had been disinterred recently. The reporter speculated that immense herds of mammoths once must have roamed the Northwest, and, like many a later scribe, questioned the roles of climatic change and early man in the animals’ extinction. Mammoths and climate were also on the mind of physician Philip Harvey, who accepted the loan of several bones from the Coplen collection to illustrate a pair of lectures on the “Great Ice Time” and “The Mammoth & Prehistoric Man.” After examining the excavated remains, Dr. Harvey declared the Palouse animal to be *Bos Elephas columbiae*, the “Ox Elephant of the Columbia.”

The last week of September was county fair time. The Coplens journeyed a few miles west to Hillsboro where they were welcomed as a first-class exhibition well worth patronizing: “A half hour spent in contemplating these monster evidences of the earth’s life, will give anyone a better idea of the world we live in.” Their competition included such attractions as a world-renowned fire-eater, an 800-pound woman, and Montgomery Queen’s Circus, with his Centennial on Wheels and his Aggregation of Transcendental Elegance. There was a display dubbed 100,000 Curiosities, under the command of T. A. Wood, who ran a combination natural history museum and freak show in downtown Portland. Also present was Dr. J. J. McBride, “The King of Pain,” reputedly getting rich on the proceeds of a patent medicine marketed as The World’s Relief. The event’s third day, a prominent local politician showed up to stoop through the pelvis of the unearthed behemoth, but a reporter lamented that the Coplen Brothers were not doing as well as they should. “Their exhibition is something that everyone can remember as food for profitable thought, which is more than can be said of the majority of shows.”

From Hillsboro the Coplens moved on to Salem and a most appreciative audience in the person of Thomas Condon, chairman of the science department at the new state university in
Eugene City. The professor had much to say about the big bones, both in a lecture for the people of Salem and in a subsequent magazine article. Condon, who had looked at many other finds in the Northwest, from the John Day country to the Willamette Valley, was especially impressed with the outstanding examples of jawbones and teeth. In pondering the circumstances under which so many animals could have perished in such a small area, the professor remembered his own experience with a pack horse that had wandered into a small peat bog and almost drowned in the bottomless mire. A mammoth, he extrapolated, could easily have suffered the same fate. “Another and another might follow, and the bones of these animals, thus trapped, remain buried in the oozy mud, thoroughly preserved from decay.” On the subject of man’s intersection with the behemoths, Condon looked to futures studies. “What evidence do they give us on the subject of human activity?” he asked. “A lively interest will ever cluster around every new discovery of these fossils, till this question is definitely answered.”

The Walla Walla County Fair ran during the same week as its Hillsboro counterpart, and numbered among its exhibits the fabulous fossils of the Donahoe brothers. Bill and Tom had rented a booth and hired a “ballyhooer” to bark in the crowds. The ponderous skull provided the main attraction, but the brothers had also wired together two leg bones for full effect, leading one reporter to speculate that the live animal “must have been to sizes larger than the Court House.” When the fair was over, neither Tom nor the newly married William were interested in pursuing carnival life any further, and the brothers sold their collection to a man named Nathaniel Thwing for the sum of $700—about the same price as a herd of sheep.

Mr. Thwing belonged to a group of “traveling agents” who announced plans for a winter tour through California. Thwing seems to have been the primary promoter, and without wasting any time, he booked steamboat passage to Portland. On the way downstream, Thwing demonstrated a talent for hyperbole, exaggerating the measurements of his fossils to outlandish proportions. He had decided to make a detour before departing for California, and he made sure that everyone knew he was headed to Oregon’s centennial celebration, which pundits predicted would attract the largest crowd ever congregated in the state.

When the Centennial Fair opened in Salem on October 10, familiar faces such as Montgomery Queen’s Circus and T. A. Wood’s 100,000 Curiosities were on hand along with two displays of mammoth bones. The Coplens handled their collection personally, while Nathaniel Thwing and a Walla Walla associate named John Hancock shilled for the Donahoe specimens. Although horse racing, needlework prizes, and agricultural machinery garnered the most inches of type in the “Fairground Jottings” that appeared in several local papers, the fossil extravaganza gained numerous mentions. Several notes referred to the bones’ appeal to deep thinkers and scientific types. One such cogitator was a Dr. Davis, identified as “the philosopher of Harrisburg,” who informed a reporter that the bones of the prehistoric brute found in...
Washington Territory had come from the moon when the continent of Africa crashed down after a volcanic eruption.

As the fair came to a close, the “rival big bones men” headed off in opposite directions. Thwing traveled north to Portland, where the Donahoe collection was loaded aboard a steamer to San Francisco for exhibition. The Coplen Brothers, meanwhile, moved south on a tour of the Willamette Valley. By October 20, their “Scrounging Big Bones” were installed in a former hat shop in downtown Albany, and the Eugene City Guard was suggesting another lecture from Professor Condon to welcome the imminent arrival of the Coplen bones in that town.

But somewhere between Albany and Eugene City, Ben’s plans changed. The November 4 edition of the Guard included a succinct and disappointing headline: “NOT COMING.” Ben Coplen was returning to Hangman Creek to continue excavations, and the fossils had been leased to Pacific University in Forest Grove for use in geology classes. George Coplen was among the fall enrollees at Tualatin Academy, the preparatory school associated with Pacific; Ben confided to a visitor the following winter that temporary custody of the mammoth bones had been exchanged for tuition.

In the late fall of 1877, a young fossil collector named Charles H. Sternberg was traveling down the Columbia when he met an army surgeon who told him about the recent discoveries in eastern Washington. Tantalized by the fantastic finds, Sternberg mounted an expedition in January 1878 to explore the Palouse himself. Weeks of wet digging near the headwaters of Pine Creek produced a number of fine buffalo skulls, but no mammoth bones. Sternberg lamented that “the farmer-fossil-hunters had been more fortunate.” He visited both the Coplens and the Donahoes, examined their springs, and concluded that “these swamps should receive careful attention from paleontologists.”

During the next several years, Palouse farmers occasionally pulled outsized bones from bogs and ditches, but no paleontologists arrived to study the promising finds. When Ben left Portland in the fall of 1876, he had announced his intention to continue excavating in preparation for an eastern tour. By 1877, he was remounted and has graced the Field’s grand exhibition of fossil mammals ever since. The second Palouse mammoth finds from the exciting summer of 1876—the beautiful skull and associated parts discovered by the Donahoe brothers on Pine Creek were purchased in 1878 by the paleontologist Edward Cope of Philadelphia and later sold to the American Museum of Natural History in New York, where they still reside today.

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The Land of Opportunity, 1897

In the four decades between 1880 and 1920, the Northern Pacific Railroad and Railway companies were the single largest promoters of Washington. With millions of acres of grant lands in hand, the Northern Pacific sought to increase its revenues by selling these lands and promoting settlement, thereby creating a considerable freight traffic to and from the territory it served. “Washington, the Land of Fruit” is the most colorful of the promotional pieces published by the company. Using chromolithography, the printer was able to achieve a wide range of subtle coloring. Die-cut in the shape of a fruit basket, both the front and back pictured the various fruits to be found in Washington. The inside touted central Washington as a land where there were “no extremes of heat or cold.” Western Washington was the land of “No winter. No cyclones.” And, for everyone, “Opportunities are waiting in Washington. To be plucked by the fruit grower, farmer, dairyman, canner, lumberman, logger, fisherman, and miner.”
The story of the United States Army in the American West is often told in a series of freeze-frames from a Hollywood movie. In quick succession there are images of frontier forts, long columns of mounted troopers, desperate encounters with Indians, all culminating in the obligatory scene of George Armstrong Custer's Seventh Cavalry at the Little Big Horn. For all their importance as cultural icons, these powerful pictures obscure a different and perhaps more important story. For nearly a century—from 1803 until the late 1870s—the army led the way in exploring the West. Soldier-explorers—many of them members of the elite Corps of Topographical Engineers—marched into the West, mapping mountains and rivers, collecting plants and animals, and describing native inhabitants and cultures. Their published reports, maps, drawings, and photographs amounted to a grand encyclopedia of the West.

What began with Thomas Jefferson and the Corps of Discovery led by Meriwether Lewis and William Clark became one of the army's most important and influential missions. No story of the American West is complete without recounting the travels of soldier-explorers like Zebulon Montgomery Pike, Stephen H. Long, John Charles Frémont, William H. Emory, and George M. Wheeler. These are names mostly lost to us now. At best we remember Pike for a piece of Colorado mountain geography. And Frémont—once the nation's beloved "Pathfinder"—is now a dim memory from some nearly forgotten history course. But the journeys of the soldier-explorers shaped the course of America's western empire. Following the traces of their journeys, we track the American journey.

Thomas Jefferson was neither a soldier nor an explorer, but as president and commander-in-chief he sent the army into the West with a compelling mission of exploration. Like his contemporaries, Jefferson believed that exploration began with journeys into the country of the mind. Behind every expedition was a whole cluster of ideas, plans, ambitions, and illusions. For Jefferson those ideas and mental excursions were all wrapped up in reading. While he was a voracious reader and once told John Adams, "I cannot live without books," opportunities for reading were often hard to come by in a busy presidency. But one of those came each summer when Jefferson fled Washington's oppressive humidity and political heat for Monticello's mountain coolness. In the summer of 1802 Jefferson spent time reading and studying two new acquisitions—the most recent Aaron Arrowsmith "Map of North America" and the just-published Voyages from Montreal by Alexander Mackenzie. Voyages from Montreal detailed Mackenzie's searches for an overland water route from Atlantic to Pacific, including his epic journey to the Pacific in 1793. While most of Mackenzie's book recounted his travels, the last pages of the final chapter shocked Jefferson into action. In just a few paragraphs Mackenzie sketched out the dimensions of a new British Empire in North America, a grand domain that swept from ocean to ocean. One sentence summed up Mackenzie's bold Columbia River imperial strategy. "By opening this intercourse between the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans, and forming regular establishments through the interior, and at both extremes, as well as along the coasts and islands, the entire command of the fur trade of North America might be obtained." But Mackenzie envisioned more than a fur
Few things could anger the president more than the possibility of a British occupation of the West. Mackenzie’s proposal touched Jefferson’s deep-seated anti-British sentiments at the very time when tensions with Spain and France were mounting. But most important was Jefferson’s own vision of the West in the future of the young republic. By the summer of 1802 the president was convinced that the nation’s continued political and cultural vitality depended on agricultural settlement in the West. Like many other 18th-century social theorists, he believed that the republican virtues of independence, self-reliance, and civic responsibility thrived best in rural, agricultural settings. Those virtues—and American independence itself—would be in danger should Americans slide into urban, industrial ways. If the British lion seized the West before the American eagle came to nest there, the entire experiment in republican government might ultimately fail. The West was, so Jefferson thought, the nation’s insurance policy. The Lewis and Clark expedition and the march of the soldier-explorers became the galvanizing force behind the Lewis and Clark expedition. His reading in exploration and travel literature convinced him that a successful expedition required a comprehensive set of instructions. In many ways the document he drafted for Michaux was the rough draft of what was prepared a decade later for Lewis. Michaux did not get beyond Kentucky, but the whole venture became part of Jefferson’s education as an exploration planner.

Wide reading and personal experience joined hands by the end of 1802 as Jefferson made plans for an American response to Mackenzie and the British challenge. In the long history of Euro-American exploration there were many kinds of expeditions, each with its own set of motives and organizational schemes. Missionaries like the Jesuits made hazardous excursions deep into Indian country, hoping to save souls for the Kingdom of God. Merchants and traders, often representing firms like the Hudson’s Bay Company or the North West Company, worked their way into the American interior in a search for fur and markets. Adventurers straight out of medieval romance made epic quests for cities of gold and lost tribes in the land of El Dorado. Land company surveyors looked west and mapped out farms and towns in the Ohio country. And there were the soldiers like young George Washington who explored and described what are now West Virginia and western Pennsylvania. Experience with George Rogers Clark, John Ledyard, and André Michaux made it clear to Jefferson that solitary adventurers stood little chance of accomplishing complex exploration missions. Jefferson had to decide what model to use as he planned his response to Mackenzie. Would he hire civilian traders based in

OPPOSITE PAGE: Portraits of William Clark (left) and Meriwether Lewis (right), painted shortly after the expedition.

RIGHT: President Thomas Jefferson was the galvanizing force behind the Lewis and Clark expedition. His instructions to the explorers became the blueprint for army exploration missions well into the future.
federally operated fur trading posts lead such a journey? Might his scholarly friends in Philadelphia be willing to venture across the continent?

Faced with this crucial organizational decision, Jefferson fell back on his reading. And the lessons from that reading were plain. The most successful, large-scale expeditions were organized along military lines. This was the age of Captain James Cook and Captain George Vancouver, a time when Great Britain used its navy to map a world empire. And in that enterprise no one was more influential than Sir Joseph Banks. Longtime president of the Royal Society, de facto director of the royal botanical garden at Kew, and informal scientific advisor to the government of George III, Banks was England’s foremost exploration patron. For Banks, voyages of scientific discovery were always in the service of empire. And no private or company expedition could possibly marshal the resources necessary to create what British politician Edmund Burke called “the great map of mankind.” While historians often point to the personal relationship between President Jefferson and his private secretary, Captain Meriwether Lewis, as the origin of the American military exploration tradition, we should not overlook the scope of Jefferson’s reading and thinking. Jefferson read the English exploration accounts, knew about Banks, and made a clear policy decision. The first American exploring party sent into the West would be a military venture. What Banks and the Royal Navy had done for Great Britain, Jefferson and the United States Army would now attempt for the American republic.

Attorney General Levi Lincoln once told Jefferson that what became the Lewis and Clark expedition was an enterprise of “national consequence.” Like Secretary of the Treasury Albert Gallatin—Jefferson’s other trusted exploration advisor—Lincoln understood the importance of placing western exploration in army hands. But it would take more than energetic officers and hard-working enlisted men to succeed at what Jefferson began to call “Mr. Lewis’s tour.” British explorers always set sail with comprehensive instructions, a kind of program based on Enlightenment ideas about direct observation, detailed record-keeping, and careful classification of plant and animal specimens. Jefferson had made an early attempt at preparing such directions for André Michaux. Now Lewis’s journey demanded a far more expansive set of marching orders.

Thomas Jefferson believed that human history could be shaped by the power of the written word. The Declaration of Independence, the draft Constitution for the State of Virginia, the Bill for Establishing Religious Freedom, and the Report on Government for Western Territory are all examples of his effort to use words to change history. The exploration instructions prepared for Lewis in June 1803 fit that category. The document was more than just orders from one visionary president to a dutiful young officer. The instructions became the charter for virtually all federal exploration in the 19th-century West. Because the letter played such a central role in the army’s exploration mission, we should pay special attention to what Jefferson wrote for Lewis. The president drafted a remarkably flexible exploration plan, one that had a single core mission with many secondary objectives. Jefferson summed up that central mission in one sentence: “...to explore the Missouri river, & such principal stream of it, as, by its course and communication with the waters of the Pacific ocean, whether the Columbia, Oregon, Colorado or any other river may offer the most direct and practicable water communication across the continent for the purposes of commerce.” This was the elusive Northwest Passage, Jefferson’s version of a dream that had tantalized explorers and their patrons since the age of Columbus. Jefferson sent his soldier-explorers in search of a water highway; in the following decades other soldier-explorers would march west looking for highways suited to the needs of wagons and iron horses. For Jefferson it was not only a route to the riches of India and China but a passage into the fertile lands of the West. This was, as historical geographer John L. Allen has written, “a passage through the garden.” Once the passage was found it would be the highway linking American farmers to world markets.

But the president did not intend to march his explorers into the West wearing blinders. Theirs was to be a wide-ranging journey of inquiry.

Sir Joseph Banks, for many years president of the Royal Society and a scientific advisor to the Crown, was a great proponent of exploration.
Like his Enlightenment contemporaries, Jefferson believed that truth came from experience as well as research in libraries and laboratories. Explorers made truth by asking questions. While other kinds of expeditions pursued single goals, the Enlightenment approach championed by Banks and the Royal Navy emphasized a broad study of the physical environment and human cultures. Having put the Northwest Passage at the center of the expedition, Jefferson devoted most of the instruction draft to a host of secondary but vital missions.

Ever the literary stylist, the president composed a series of graceful phrases that served to identify and characterize these objectives. The explorers were to describe and map "the face of the country." Expedition journals were soon filled with the most remarkable images of western landscapes as men with East Coast sensibilities struggled to make sense of western realities. Jefferson's travelers were also diplomats and ethnographers, recording "the names of the nations" and acknowledging what William Clark wrote about the expedition's "road across the continent" leading through "a multitude of Indians." Jefferson's instructions contained more questions about native peoples and cultures than any other single topic. After the Louisiana Purchase, Jefferson expanded the expedition's Indian missions to make diplomacy and the presence of a new "Great Father" much more important. And there was the catchall phrase, "other objects worthy of notice"—those objects ranged from astronomy and botany to mineralogy and zoology. All of this was to be written down—"your observations are to be taken with great pains and accuracy"—since knowledge unrecorded could not be shared with a wider world. In retrospect, Jefferson's phrases might be seen as titles for individual volumes in the library of the American West. In future years other soldier-explorers would fill in the outlines and flesh out the chapters.

By the time Jefferson prepared the final draft of instructions for Lewis in June 1803, it was increasingly clear that a successful journey of the sort the president envisioned required more than one officer and a handful of soldiers. Even though the instructions still spoke about a single commander and ten or twelve men, Lewis and Jefferson had already agreed on the necessity of a co-commander and more troops to accomplish so ambitious an exploration program. On June 19, the day before the instructions were formally issued, Lewis wrote William Clark, inviting him to join the journey. What had once looked like a squad heading up the Missouri was rapidly becoming an infantry company on the move.

The recruiting and training of what became the Lewis and Clark expedition is a familiar story. What we call "the Corps of Discovery" was drawn from many different racial, ethnic, and occupational backgrounds. Some were soldiers from frontier companies, and not always the best men from those outfits, as William Clark soon learned. Others were hunters with useful skills but unaccustomed to the demands of military order and discipline. And there were French boatmen who possessed valuable river knowledge but resented taking orders from any but their own leaders. One was York, Clark's slave and a man who struggled with his master for freedom in the years after the expedition. Once Sacagawea and her infant son were added to this company, the Corps of Discovery became as diverse as any American community. But making it an effective military community was no easy task.

The winter (1803-04) at Camp Wood outside St. Louis was the expedition's basic training, a time of frequent insubordination, tough talk, and at least one near-mutiny. The first months pushing up the Missouri provided the expedition's shakedown cruise—weeks filled with unpleasant episodes of grumbling, rule-breaking, desertion, and harsh discipline. But by the time the expedition reached the Mandan and Hidatsa earth lodges in present-day North Dakota, the captains and their senior sergeant, John Ordway, had succeeded in creating an orderly military community, one founded on army discipline and custom and bound together by a shared sense of mission. Uniforms, flags, detachment orders, inspections, parades, drills, messes, courts-martial, and company punishment—all these marked the expedition as part of the military world. What the captains accomplished was something modern soldiers call "unit cohesion." And that unit cohesion would serve Jefferson's travelers well as they headed across the mountains and down the Columbia to the Great Western Sea.

Nothing tested that unit cohesion more than encounters with strange and often unsettling landscapes. Some of those landscapes were human ones as the expedition met, talked, and traded with a wide variety of native peoples and cultures. Others were all about terrain shapes and weather patterns unlike those in eastern North America. With rare exceptions, the encounters with Native Americans were marked by goodwill and even moments of genuine friendship. At least so it was until the expedition reached the Pacific Coast and spent the winter of 1805-06 among the Clatsops and their neighbors. While
native peoples living around the mouth of the Columbia River treated the strangers as one more trading party, Jefferson's travelers viewed those living on the coast with increasing suspicion and hostility. Frustrated by the keen bargaining skills of Chinooks and Clatsops, Lewis and Clark were quick to brand nearby Indians as greedy thieves and untrustworthy neighbors. And difficulties in communication—few members of the expedition learned the Chinook trade jargon—made the cultural distance even greater. Along the Columbia and on the coast, unit cohesion—the powerful sense of community and in-group identity—may have worked against a deeper understanding between Jefferson's explorers and native inhabitants. By drawing in on themselves in a strange place, the expedition may have shut out its neighbors.

But it was not only the human landscape that challenged the Lewis and Clark exploration community in the Northwest. The world of the lower Columbia, especially that volatile environment where the river meets the ocean, was like nothing Lewis and Clark had ever experienced. Here wind and rain mixed with ocean currents and river waves to create a swirl of unpredictable weather and hazardous travel. In mid November 1805 the expedition that had survived blistering heat on the upper Missouri and bitter snows on the Lolo Trail was stranded on the rocky north shore of the Columbia in present-day Washington. What had first seemed an easy sprint to the ocean now bogged down in endless days of rain, high winds, and dangerous river swells. Trapped for nearly a week in a place Clark aptly called "this dismal nitich," getting past present-day Point Ellice seemed almost impossible. Never one to complain, Clark confessed in his journal that these days were "the most disagreeable time I have experienced." And even the quickest look at this infantry company on the move confirmed his assessment. One of the canoes had been shattered on the rocks, food supplies were short, nearby Chinooks seemed wary of the new arrivals, and the explorers' leather clothing was rotting and falling to tatters.

This was a study in frustration. These were the moments that tested the expedition's sense of itself and the ability of Lewis and Clark to make careful decisions and then take appropriate action. With Lewis and a small party already out on a reconnaissance, Clark watched the weather on November 15, waiting for a break in the wind and rain. After a false start early in the morning the weather brightened and the wind slackened later that afternoon. Seizing the opportunity, Clark ordered the canoes loaded for a quick escape from "the dismal nitich." After rounding Point Ellice—what Clark dubbed "Point Distress" or "Blustery Point"—the expedition pulled its canoes up on a "butiful Sand beech." Heading for high ground, Clark established what has come to be called Station Camp. The next day expedition carpenter Patrick Gass noted that "we are now at the end of our voyage, which has been completely accomplished according to the intent of the expedition."

The westbound voyage may have been over, but there was still much to accomplish. The few days (November 15-24) spent at Station Camp were filled with the sorts of duties and routines that had shaped the expedition from the beginning. Station Camp was as much an experience as a place. Once again unit cohesion proved the glue
gether in a new environment. Hunting had always been an essential part of that community. The first day at Station Camp, Clark reported that "our hunters bagged his share of game. Trading with native peoples, and the personal relationships that grew out of such deals, also quickly emerged at Station Camp, though not without some considerable cultural confusion. Nearby Chinooks had years of experience with white merchants in the maritime fur business. But these Station Camp strangers were different. They came from the wrong direction at the wrong time of year and did not seem to understand the rules of exchange. Even before they were settled in at Fort Clatsop, trade became a source of tension and misunderstanding between the Americans and their native suppliers. But there was one sort of exchange that did go smoothly. On November 21, near the end of the Station Camp sojourn, a Chinook man named Delashelwilt and his wife (a woman Lewis and Clark came to call "the Old Baud") brought six young women to establish a camp near where the Americans had built temporary huts. A thriving, intimate trade soon developed, one that followed the expedition when it moved across the river to Fort Clatsop.

Hunting and trade were the daily affairs that marked out the days at Station Camp. But these soldier-explorers needed to do more than merely keep body and soul together. Just as at other camps, the explorers busied themselves with the kinds of scientific pursuits that Jefferson's instructions detailed. There were plants and animals to describe, Indian objects and foods to comment on, and the terrain itself to evaluate. In several long journal entries Clark took careful note of Chinook clothing, baskets, diet, and physical appearance. But nothing occupied him more than exploring, surveying, and mapping the country around Station Camp and toward the ocean. His survey of the Station Camp landscape is a model for the kind of topographic work that Clark did so well. Beginning on November 18 Clark and 11 men undertook an important reconnaissance from Station Camp to the coast. What the explorers did at Station Camp was a microcosm for its life on the way west. Those few days at camp on the Columbia point us to what future soldier-explorers would do as they marched the West and charted the outlines of an emerging American empire.

The Lewis and Clark expedition stands at the beginning of the American exploration of the West. The details of this emblematic journey are so fascinating, it is easy to forget that the expedition was a military company marching on orders from the commander-in-chief and advancing what became the American empire. In 1802-03 Thomas Jefferson made two fundamental decisions with far-reaching consequences. First, he made exploring the West a federal priority. This was not merely a matter of presidential dreams and congressional funds. Jefferson gave the army its exploration mission. That decision was based on expediency—there was no other national institution capable of completing such a mission—and a wide knowledge of European exploration strategies. Second, and equally important, the president did not imagine his soldier-explorers as mere scouts reconnoitering the positions held by rival European powers or potentially hostile native nations. Instead, he envisioned them as thoughtful observers and collectors engaged in a series of extensive surveys, all designed to produce many kinds of useful knowledge. Writing in 1805, Jefferson confidently predicted that future American explorers would be like artists "filling up the canvas we begin." In the years after Lewis and Clark, soldier-explorers would go a long way toward "filling up" the western canvas.

A preeminent Lewis and Clark scholar, James P. Ronda, is H. G. Barnard Chair in Western History at the University of Tulsa and former president of the Western History Association.

Lewis & Clark Undergraduate Symposium

April 24, 10 AM to 4 PM

Tacoma Art Museum and the Washington State History Museum have organized an undergraduate symposium to explore the issues addressed by the exhibitions, Lewis and Clark Territory: Contemporary Artists Revisit Race, Place, and Memory, and Beyond Lewis and Clark: The Army Explores the West. These exhibitions will act as the starting point for topics and discussions that look deeper into the issues and ramifications of the Lewis and Clark expedition of 1804-06.

Public Keynote Lecture

Gary E. Moulton
"Lewis & Clark: Pictures on an Expedition"
April 24, 6 PM

In conjunction with the Lewis and Clark Undergraduate Symposium, Tacoma Art Museum and the Washington State History Museum will host a public keynote lecture at the History Museum by Gary E. Moulton, Thomas C. Sorensen Professor of American History at the University of Nebraska, Lincoln, and editor of the 13-volume set, The Journals of the Lewis and Clark Expedition. His lecture will focus on the categories in the journals that portray graphic images: maps, flora and fauna, and images of people and cultural elements.
Crossroads of the Enlightenment in the Pacific Northwest

By Iris H. W. Engstrand

Two botanists, one Mexican and one Scottish, brought together through the international language of science, met face to face during the summer of 1792 on Vancouver Island in present-day British Columbia. The first, José Mariano Mozino, arrived as part of the expedition of Juan Francisco de la Bodega y Quadra to Nootka Sound in April of that year. The second, Archibald Menzies, was chief naturalist for George Vancouver, the British commissioner sent to settle a boundary dispute in the Pacific Northwest that had been brewing between Spain and England since 1789. Both men, although little known outside of scientific circles, stand as significant contributors to the botanical knowledge of the North Pacific Coast and are true representatives of Enlightenment thinking.

International cooperation among scientists of the 18th century transcended political and commercial rivalries. In Great Britain documents in the archives of the Linnean Society of London, the Royal Society, the British Museum, and Kew Gardens complement the materials found in the National Museum of Natural Science, the Royal Botanical Garden and the Naval Museum in Madrid. All, among other depositories in France, Switzerland, Mexico, and the United States, hold letters, diaries, and catalogues featuring discussions, descriptions, and drawings of New World fauna and flora and some analyses of mineral possibilities. For all, the intellectual climate of rationalism brought about fresh, vigorous inquiry into the known world—the observable fundamentals of natural history.

The British had been actively supporting scientific discovery for more than a century before Vancouver's 1792 voyage into the Pacific. On November 28, 1660, 12 men interested primarily in astronomy and mathematics met at Gresham College in London to found a society that would meet weekly to discuss topics of scientific interest. At the time of its second royal charter in 1663, the group became known as the Royal Society for the Improvement of Natural Knowledge and began to sponsor publications. In 1665 appeared the first issue of Philosophical Transactions, the oldest scientific journal in continuous publication in England and perhaps all of Europe. Famous early members included Sir Christopher Wren and Isaac Newton. By 1780 the Royal Society had found a home at Somerset House under the presidency of Sir Joseph Banks, who remained in office until his death in 1820. Banks, who accompanied Lieutenant James Cook's first expedition (1768-71), had worked with Menzies at Kew Gardens and warned his fellow botanist that he might face some difficulties under the captaincy of George Vancouver.

Another contributing factor to the advancement of scientific knowledge resulted from the activities of Swedish botanist Carolus Linnaeus in Stockholm. Linnaeus set out to organize all known plants—first by their class, then by their order, genus, and species. As the basis of his classification he took the presence and character, or the absence, of distinctive reproductive organs. In his Systema Naturae, Genera Plantarum, Classes Plantarum (1738), Philosophia Botanica (1751), and Species Plantarum (1753) he built up his system of classification which, though somewhat artificially contrived, achieved almost immediate acceptance throughout Europe. Perhaps his Swedish nationality allowed the Linnean system to be more readily accepted by the intensely competitive scientists of England, France, Austria, and Spain. After Linnaeus's death in 1778, his library and botanical collections were bought from his widow by James Edward Smith who with others founded the Linnean Society of London in 1788. Pehr Loefling and Pehr Kalm, students of Linnaeus in Sweden, promoted his mentor's works in Spain and traveled on separate expeditions to the Americas between 1748 and 1754.

By the late 18th century, as Spain's empire stretched from the tip of South America to Alaska, scientific investigation became an important goal of the Bourbon monarchy. Practical inventions and curative plants commanded the attention of scholars at home and abroad. Preparations for the visit of Spanish scientists to the North Pacific had begun during the 1780s when the
ministers of Carlos III formulated plans for two major exploratory expeditions—the around-the-world voyage led by Alejandro Malaspina and the Royal Scientific Expedition to New Spain. These efforts would eventually carry out detailed investigations of the North Pacific Coast in 1791 and 1792. Among the personnel of these expeditions were several naturalists who would survey, identify, and classify according to the Linnean system all the fauna and flora of Spain's overseas possessions. These ambitious undertakings were begun with the full support of the Spanish crown.

The Royal Scientific Expedition to New Spain was created by decree of the Crown on October 27, 1786, under the direction of Dr. Martin de Sesse, an Aragonese physician living in Cuba. While serving in the Spanish army under Bernardo de Galvez during the American Revolution, Sesse conceived the idea of a botanical expedition. When he learned that his former commander had been appointed viceroy of Mexico, he solicited the help of Casimiro Gomez Ortega, director of the Royal Botanical Garden in Madrid, to establish an Institute of Botany in the viceregal capital. When he learned that his former commander had been appointed viceroy of Mexico, he solicited the help of Casimiro Gomez Ortega, director of the Royal Botanical Garden in Madrid, to establish an Institute of Botany in the viceregal capital. When he learned that his former commander had been appointed viceroy of Mexico, he solicited the help of Casimiro Gomez Ortega, director of the Royal Botanical Garden in Madrid, to establish an Institute of Botany in the viceregal capital. When he learned that his former commander had been appointed viceroy of Mexico, he solicited the help of Casimiro Gomez Ortega, director of the Royal Botanical Garden in Madrid, to establish an Institute of Botany in the viceregal capital.

Sesse and others sent out to New Spain from Madrid in 1787 were joined by Jose Mariano Mozino and Jose Maldonado, both natives of Mexico, who attended classes in botany given by the Spaniards.

The members of the Royal Expedition, especially director Sesse and pharmacist Vicente Cervantes, had been instructed by Carlos III to establish field studies and classes in botany utilizing the Linnean system of binomial nomenclature. The course was recommended to physicians, surgeons, and pharmacists for the purpose of learning about the curative properties of plants, but it was looked upon with little enthusiasm by the Royal University since its own methods of instruction were quite different. Nevertheless, the expedition, which had the full support of the Crown and that of Viceroy Manuel Flores in Mexico, eventually found a suitable site for a botanical garden and classrooms adjoining the viceroy's palace on the Zócalo in 1791. There the scientists joined the intellectual community of the Mexican capital.

Mozino, a physician, demonstrated such an amazing aptitude for botany that Sesse, a doctor himself, singled out the ambitious Mexican for special assignments. After Mozino's graduation as first in the class, the director appointed him, as well as Jose Maldonado—described as an "anatomist"—to accompany a third major botanical excursion that the Spaniards were planning in the territories northwest of Mexico City from 1790 to 1792. It proved difficult to obtain funding for Mozino and Maldonado's salaries, so the second count of Revillagigedo, viceroy of New Spain from 1789 to 1794, appointed the two Mexicans and a talented local artist, Atanasio Echeverría, to accompany the expedition of Juan Francisco de la Bodega y Quadra to the North Pacific during the summer and fall of 1792. The major purpose of the trip was to meet with British commissioner George Vancouver to settle the boundary questions arising out of the Nootka Sound Controversy of 1789. The three men departed with Bodega y Quadra from San Blas, Mexico, on March 3, 1792, and reached Friendly Cove at Nootka Sound on April 29.
Mozinó, although traveling to the North Pacific as a botanist, was truly a universal scholar. A former professor of ecclesiastical history and theology in Oaxaca, he had just received his degree from the School of Medicine at the University of Mexico when he enrolled in classes at the new Institute of Botany. Mozinó's appointment to Bodega y Quadra's staff made it possible for him to continue as an official member of Spain's Royal Scientific Expedition and, after his four-month visit to Nootka Sound, to prepare Noticias de Nutka, a thorough and comprehensive survey of that area's history, ethnography, botany, and zoology. Mozinó also prepared a vocabulary of Nootkan words and, with Maldonado's help, compiled a catalog of more than 400 species of plants, animals, and birds. Echeverría sketched numerous general scenes and individual species of fauna and flora.

Mozinó described the topsoil of the Nootka area as having "very little thickness." This could be "recognized without the slightest difficulty because it began to be formed by the decomposition of mosses and other tender plants just a few centuries ago." He commented that it was almost impossible to penetrate the island's interior because of its deep gorges and thick underbrush. The natives inhabited only the beaches; the mountains were populated mainly by bears, lynxes, raccoons, weasels, squirrels, and deer. Mozinó was "barely able to see a woodpecker, a hooked-bill sparrow, two hummingbirds, and two larks." He also saw a number of "white-headed falcon, yellow-speckled falcon, sparrow hawks, crows, herons, geese, sea gulls, and so forth."

When Vancouver arrived, the naturalists were joined by Scottish botanist Archibald Menzies, who commented in his journal that Mozinó, Maldonado and Echeverría were a part of a Society of Naturalists who were employed of late years in examining Mexico and New Spain for the purpose of collecting materials for a Flora Mexicana, which they said would soon be published, and with the assistance of so good an artist it must be a valuable acquisition.

Menzies, coincidentally, came from a background of interests similar to Mozinó's. Although his first love seems always to have been botany, he also studied for the medical profession. After leaving home, Menzies journeyed to Edinburgh to study medicine at the university and, as a botany student, entered the Royal Botanical Garden where his elder brother William worked as a botanist. Menzies collected plants on a tour through the Highlands in 1778 but continued his medical studies. He then became assistant to a surgeon at Carnarvon and finally joined the Royal Navy as assistant surgeon. In 1790 the British government appointed him to accompany Vancouver as official naturalist on board the Discovery; and when the official surgeon became ill Menzies took his place.

Menzies, who had formal instructions to investigate "the whole of the natural history" of the countries visited and to classify all trees, shrubs, plants, grasses, ferns, and mosses by their scientific names, was pleased to join the Spanish scientists Mozinó and Maldonado. The three collected plants together and compared notes on local fauna. Mozinó described the berries and fruits eaten by the natives and mentioned that "the flowers and fruit of the wild rose haw, the silver weed, the tender stalks of the angelica, the leaves of the lithosperm, the roots of the trailing clover, and the scaly onion-like bulb of the Kamchatka lily" were the vegetables that God had provided for these people to correct the alkaline imbalance created by eating too much seafood. Menzies, on September 4, 1792, observed a number of native women digging in a meadow in "search of a small creeping root" found to be "a new species of Trifolium (Jimbratium, wild clover)." Menzies noted that until that moment they had thought the women in all their digging had been searching for "the Sarane or Roots of Lilium Camachatoensis, which we know they collect and use as food here...."

The meeting between Bodega y Quadra and British commissioner George Vancouver failed to settle the rights of Spain and England in the Pacific Northwest. Despite a most cordial relationship, the two men could only agree to refer the controversy back to Madrid and London. Bodega y Quadra, with Mozinó, Maldonado, and Echeverría, departed from Nootka for California on September 22, 1792. They joined Dionísio Alcalá Galiano and Cayetano Valdés, as well as the artist José Cardero in Monterey and spent three months working on materials gathered in the North Pacific area. They also examined the natural resources of the local area while Echeverría sketched an excellent likeness of the California valley quail and several other birds. Few written records have been found documenting their botanical work.

Vancouver set sail from Nootka three weeks later and met Bodega y Quadra in Monterey on November 25 after a brief stop in San Francisco. The Spanish naturalists again accompanied Menzies on some botanical excursions. During the English visit, Bodega y Quadra compared some longitudes calculated by Alejandro Malaspina with those of Vancouver. By early January all reports were completed and preparations were made for their departure. Bodega y Quadra, on the Activa, with Lieutenant William Broughton on board, and Vancouver, on the Discovery, sailed on January 14. Vancouver parted company with the Spaniards on January 20, heading for Hawaii, while Bodega y Quadra sailed for San Blas, arriving in the Mexican port at the beginning of February 1793.
Mozifio, Maldonado and Echeverría, escorting Broughton, proceeded directly to the capital. Their English companion continued on to Veracruz to seek passage across the Atlantic and deliver Vancouver's reports to London. When they reached Mexico City, Mozifio worked on his lengthy Noticias de Nutka. Though fascinated by Nootka's attractions for the naturalist and ethnographer, Mozifio was realistic in assessing Spain's official presence there. He believed that retention of the presidio offered no military or commercial advantage and recommended official withdrawal. Mozifio's comments appear to have had little impact politically, but his Noticias de Nutka was recognized as a valuable study by the few scientists who had access to it.

Royal interest in supporting costly botanical expeditions to the Americas declined steadily during the reign of Carlos IV. Certain members of the court could not understand either the value of such undertaking or the amount of time a team of scientists might need to complete a botanical survey from Central America to Alaska. Certainly, they reasoned, the two-year extension of the original six-year contract given to director Martín Sesse and the Royal Scientific Expedition was more than enough time to complete any unfinished projects in New Spain. Despite Sesse's protests, final, unconditional orders from the king in 1802
made the group's departure for Spain imminent, although the Botanical Garden of Mexico would continue as a functioning institution. Mozifio elected to accompany Sessé to Madrid to edit the manuscript materials and gain support for a new *Flora Mexicana* based on their collections and the approximately 1,400 watercolor paintings and pencil sketches made by Echeverría and others.

In Madrid, Mozifio became associated with the Royal Academy of Medicine and, while pursuing his various projects, served as the academy's president for four terms between 1805 and 1812. Sessé, plagued by poor health, died in 1808 before editing of the Mexican *Flora* was completed. Mozifio, then working alone, tried to keep his botanical collection protected and together, but a series of unfortunate occurrences disrupted his plans.

Even though the Napoleonic government then in power in Spain did not support the *Flora*, it did not stand in the way. Nevertheless, when the French withdrew in 1815, the returning Spanish patriots branded Mozifio a traitor and forced him to leave Madrid with his manuscripts and paintings in an old hand cart and head for the French border. As a result, the expedition's work became scattered. Mozifio finally received permission to return to Spain, but he died in Barcelona in 1820. Some 2,000 paintings, plus some of his personal effects, remained in the possession of Dr. Rafael Esteva, his attending physician. These paintings, recovered years later, now form the Torner Collection in the Hunt Institute of Botanical Documentation at Carnegie Mellon University, Pittsburgh.

The herbarium of Sessé and Mozifio preserved in Madrid is extensive, containing more than 10,000 specimens. It shows that Mozifio had begun to organize them in a manner suitable for publication as a flora of New Spain. Certain illustrations Mozifio left temporarily in Geneva during his exile did give Spain some credit by forming the basis for 17 new genera and 271 new species published in De Candolle's *Systema Prodonus* during the 1830s.

Archibald Menzies, after experiencing some difficulties with Vancouver, including a near court-martial, returned to England and published several articles in the *Transactions* of the Linnean Society of London. He prepared a "Description of the Anatomy of the Sea Otter" with Everard Home that appeared in the Royal Society's *Philosophical Transactions* in 1796. He also continued the study of medicine and obtained the MD degree at Aberdeen University in July 1799.

Although Menzies was a generous donor of the collections made during his voyages, his specimens were not described and recorded for many years. When Friedrich Pursch was writing his *Flora Americae Septentrionalis* (1814), he concentrated his attention mainly on the collection of plants made by Lewis and Clark from 1804 to 1806. Menzies, therefore, was not credited for a number of species that he had seen and collected ten years before.

Menzies, like Mozifio, did not receive the immediate recognition he deserved—not for lack of dedication but for circumstances beyond his control. Both scientists, however, have become much better known in recent years and are now able to occupy their proper place in current literature both in the Americas and in Europe.
While the physical character of our contemporary suburban landscape is traditionally attributed to a post-World War II housing phenomenon, the roots of our suburban ideal lie much deeper. Ebenezer Howard's late-19th-century Garden City concepts, as well as the "communitarian" experiments of the 1930s, are the most obvious precedents. As we scrutinize World War II-era defense and war housing projects, however, it becomes clear the degree to which a shifting economic base spurred by defense manufacturing, in conjunction with a mobile population and modern community planning concepts, created the framework for modern suburban development.

The typical World War II defense housing project was constructed in proximity to a defense manufacturing or military facility. These were undertaken by "community builders" like William J. Levitt, who consolidated land subdivision, construction, and sales into one enterprise. Alternately, they were constructed with public funds and intended to be used eventually for public housing. By contrast, the Hanford Engineer Works Village (now Richland, Washington) was constructed at an isolated location as part of the highly secretive Manhattan Project and was designed as a sizable, permanent, federally-owned company town. Today extant homes, commercial buildings, and public spaces, overlaid by nearly 60 years of use and alteration, continue to embody characteristics associated with large-scale postwar housing developments. Various factors—including geographic isolation, secrecy, and urgency, in conjunction with expeditious and opportunistic decision-making—served to shape the Hanford Engineer Works (HEW) Village, a truly nuclear community.

In early 1943 the Manhattan Engineering District (MED) of the United States Army Corps of Engineers selected Hanford, Washington, as the site for World War II plutonium production facilities. E. I. Du Pont de Nemours & Company of Wilmington, Delaware (DuPont) was hired to construct and operate the HEW industrial facilities as well as create a new village to house the company's operational employees. On January 23, 1943, a meeting held at the DuPont headquarters was attended by officials of DuPont and the Corps of Engineers where General L. R. Groves outlined the federal government's land acquisition

By David W. Harvey & Katheryn Hill Krafft

The Hanford Engineer Works Village

City of Richland, HEW Village, 1944—alphabet homes in the background, Columbia High School in the foreground.

Shaping a Nuclear Community
policy for the project. He reported that the agricultural hamlets of Hanford, Richland, and White Bluffs, including 50,000 acres of farmland, were to be immediately acquired so that a 625-square-mile secret facility could be created.

The project site was selected, at least in part, due to its isolation from any population center. From the outset, the planning of the HEW complex was based on the realization that surrounding Columbia Basin communities would be able to supply living facilities for only a tiny portion of the necessary construction and operations personnel. It would therefore be necessary to rapidly develop temporary housing for thousands of construction crew members and plan and construct a permanent village to house the production workers and their families.

The Corps of Engineers selected the southwestern portion of the project area, the site of the small agricultural town of Richland, to establish the new “village.” The original townsite of Richland had been established in 1906 during a period of accelerated irrigation development and land promotion. It had a population of approximately 250 people within its incorporated limits when, in February and March 1943 all of the privately owned property was acquired by condemnation. The old townsite comprised roughly one-third of the land needed to create the HEW Village. This was a rural community with a civic and commercial center situated along the old county highway and a scattered pattern of residences, established farms, and fruit orchards. DuPont officials noted that the “land when irrigated was productive but many of the farms had been taken over by the irrigation district during the Depression through the inability of the owners to pay their water rentals.”

Richland was selected as the new village site because of its proximity to the major processing areas at the northern end of the nuclear reservation. Although it was an established community, it was considered sufficiently distant (15 to 30 miles) from the production facilities for security and safety purposes.

In early March 1943 DuPont and MED officials contacted Gustav A. Pehrson, a Spokane architect-engineer, and asked him to furnish the engineering and architectural services required to create the village. After considerable hesitation and negotiation, Pehrson contracted with DuPont to provide services that would include the preparation of complete plans and specifications for the disposal; electric power distribution; as well as streets and sidewalks. He began work in mid-March and was required to prepare the plans and specifications for the initial duplex house type within one week. Architectural plans and specifications for the design of village housing for 6,500 residents (and intended to expand to serve 12,000 residents) had to be completed within two and a half months. Pehrson’s staff reportedly grew from “two men and a girl” to over 350 architects, draftsmen, and engineers. He established an office in Pasco and continued to operate an office in Spokane at the Old National Bank Building. Construction of the HEW Village began with the earliest housing units in late April. The first unit was completed in late July, and work continued under intense pressure until early 1945. The project was not considered complete until June 1945.

Pehrson was a Swedish-born architect who is credited with the design of hundreds of buildings in Spokane and the Inland Empire from 1913 until his death at the age of 85 in 1968. During his long career Pehrson developed the well-deserved reputation of having an unyielding temperament for hard work. He began his Spokane career with the venerable firm of Cutrer & Malgren (who coincidentally was also a Swedish immigrant) and served as the project architect for the design of the Davenport Hotel. After a falling-out with K. K. Cutter in 1916 Pehrson established his own firm and continued as Louis Davenport’s architect for several decades. During the 1920s and 1930s he operated a diverse architectural practice, designed numerous highly regarded commercial and residential projects, and gained regional fame.

By 1943 Pehrson was clearly among the most well-known and well-established architects practicing in the Inland Empire. The creation of the HEW Village fits into what was a lifelong pattern of industrious devotion to the challenges of financing, designing, and constructing architecture. There is no record of any prior involvement by Pehrson with Federal Housing Administration or Defense Housing projects during the late 1930s or early 1940s. He was reportedly involved with the design of aircraft hangars at Geiger Field (now Spokane International Airport) immediately prior to assuming this project. His selection by military and civilian officials for this highly secretive and complicated project appears to have
been based on both his reputation for hard work and his familiarity with and appreciation for the terrain and climatic conditions in the Columbia Basin.

In August 1943, after the earliest house types were well under construction, DuPont requested that Pehrson prepare a report describing the general features of the HEW Village. The "Report on the Hanford Engineer Works Village" was modeled on a similar report prepared for the Clinton Engineer Works Village at Oak Ridge, Tennessee, which was simultaneously under construction. Pehrson's lengthy report documenting the prior six months of work was submitted in November 1943. It described the existing conditions at the townsite, the background and basis for the design of the entire village, and identified the problems encountered in the process.

THREE PRINCIPAL PROBLEMS faced the village planners, designers, and construction workers. First, as a war project to be completed quickly, important aspects of the project had been finished prior to the involvement of architects and site planners. Most difficult was the fact that a great deal of information about the project and its purposes could not be revealed to them. The architect-engineer, surveyors, and planners knew only the barest essentials about the project. According to Pehrson’s November 1943 report:

The reason for the location of the site was not divulged, although the specifications precluded the possibility of locating the work near any existing town of a size sufficient to accommodate the people required ... the planners could not weigh any of the sociological or ecological factors involved. Under the circumstances, they were without information as to the anticipated future use, ownership, administration, economic or industrial base of the village, or the probable population shifts after the war. In the actual laying out of the site, therefore, many important decisions were deferred to those with more thorough understanding of the scope and objectives of the project.

Second, while the planners were aware that the village was intended to house people working at HEW (and those employed in the administrative area), standard information about the intended population was very limited. The initial analysis of housing requirements was made by the army and DuPont and was based on several incorrect assumptions regarding the utility of the existing housing accommodations (within and outside the village site) and the actual required plant, construction, and village work force population. The number of plant employees and family members, the anticipated total village population, the number, sizes, and costs of the required housing units and the related village retail, commercial, and community needs fluctuated throughout the design process. The anticipated village population of 6,500 grew, with a final building schedule based on an actual village population of nearly 16,000.

In addition to these factors, G. A. Pehrson was simultaneously pressured by DuPont to provide good quality housing for their employees and by the military for an economical approach that would provide only the most basic and minimal forms of housing. Debates ensued regarding the inclusion and utility of basements, fireplaces, and enclosed porches, and brought about frustration and ultimately compromise for both Pehrson and the DuPont officials.

The village was initially designed to house only HEW operational personnel and their families.
However, its construction was ultimately expedited for the purpose of making a portion of it temporarily available for housing construction personnel and their families. It differed from earlier New Deal era housing projects, planned towns or communities that typically had the advantage of proximity to populated areas for supplies, equipment, and personnel. Prior New Deal era planned communities or resettlement towns were typically established to house low-income families. The HEW Village however, was a rather unusual company town constructed in a state of urgency and secrecy at an isolated location. Thus, according to a 1945 DuPont report, “due to its size, unique nature and remote location, there was little in the way of precedent upon which to draw. Speed of construction was paramount so that in most cases only a minimum of study could be given to the various problems and questions arising before arriving at decisions or determining policy.”

While the Village was created in response to a wartime emergency, its planning reflected to some degree the democratic and environmental attitudes of earlier “communitarian” planners. The design attempted to follow the existing land contours and sought to preserve the existing shade trees (cottonwoods, willows, and black locust trees) and old fruit orchards. The same quality of materials and construction were used in all dwellings. Yards were large and as uniform in size as feasible, and the site plan included generous amounts of “greenbelts,” or open space and common areas.

The village plan was neighborhood oriented with a predominantly curvilinear street system. Neighborhood streets and main arterials were designed to accommodate bus travel to and from HEW and commercial areas within the village. Some streets terminated in cul-de-sacs, and instead of garages the plan included parking courts or car compounds. The former provided convenient off-street parking and connected the residences via a network of courtside walkways.

Following utopian “garden” communities, the plan for the village separated residential, commercial and industrial areas from one another by the use of greenbelts or open space. Pehrson noted that plans existed for an “abundance of open green spaces running into the center of the town, with tree-lined parkways dividing the town naturally into neighborhoods, providing pleasant and safe walks for students going to and from school.” There was already a fine park along the Columbia River “with wedges of greenery and trees coursed by irrigation canals fringed with trees and shrubs...the answer to a town planner's dream. There could be no better guarantee against tedium, no better guarantee of open air and space to play.”

All of the house types in the original village plan were wood-frame construction with concrete foundations and basements. They were constructed in wall sections which were then raised into place in a production-line method. Much of the framing lumber was high-quality Douglas fir that had been harvested from the 1929 Tillamook burn in Oregon. Complete mills, shops, and concrete plants were set up on-site. These factors contributed significantly to the speed, low cost, and uniform quality of construction.

Eight different house types and floor plans were used to create a total of 2,500 permanent housing units. The majority
were duplexes, although single family homes that varied in size and construction cost were also an essential part of the village plan. The intent was to achieve a mixture of income levels in each of the neighborhood districts. Despite these intentions, specifications called for higher cost houses to be given more favorable locations, concentrated in the district nearest the Columbia River. Indeed, the majority of the duplexes were concentrated in the western portion of the town, with a greater number of single family homes situated east of the old County Road (now George Washington Way), and nearer to the river.

The generous spacing of all dwellings was recommended due to the low cost of land and high degree of fire danger during the hot, dry summers. Each residence typically included an ample backyard. To reduce monotony (and increase privacy) houses were placed at an angle to the street; higher two-story houses were placed at the middle of the block while at the ends of the blocks, lower units were set back, in order to achieve an “open” feeling at the street intersections.

Potential flooding from the Columbia River was of concern to the planners. There had been a record flood overflowing the river banks in 1894, and large areas of the original Richland townsite were seriously impacted. It was decided that a uniform minimum first-floor elevation of 360 feet above sea level, four feet above the townsite’s flood level, would be used for all residential buildings.

Pehrson’s design for the village took into consideration the existing highway and road system and the presence of 185 existing residential, commercial, and community buildings. It was initially estimated that 75 of the existing buildings could be retained, reconditioned, and converted for residential or commercial use. Pehrson’s work involved the examination and assessment of these settlement-era structures. This aspect of the project proved to be time-consuming and discouraging because incorporating existing buildings and structures into the village plan caused several problems. Some of the residences had electricity but few had sewers and indoor plumbing, and water was mainly from individual wells. Pehrson determined that “these conditions naturally affected the adaptability of the dwellings to modern use.” Many of the properties were found to be either of questionable quality and unsuitable for continued use, difficult to incorporate into the layout and infrastructure of the village plan, or too expensive to modernize and bring up to the standards required by DuPont and the Corps of Engineers. Thus, only 26 of these structures were ultimately retained for use within the village.

Pehrson expressed dismay with the requirement that they utilize even those nineteen residences and seven commercial facilities. “The difference in the materials used, the general appearances of the structures, and the necessity of accepting them ‘as they are’ hampered site planners and will influence the total effect of the commercial center as now planned...the current buildings are conspicuous and so prevent the effect from being as harmonious as the planners had hoped.”

Ultimately, the layout for the HEW Village took into consideration the natural and the cultural landscape of the old townsite and other features within the general vicinity. The designs of the new house types were also based on the architect’s observations of the existing older residential structures. Not surprisingly, Pehrson observed: “Their orientation, their use of screen porches shaded by vines and trees indicated to the site planners the expression of the need by the former residents of shade and as great a degree of air circulation as possible.”

The creation of the HEW Village involved the planning and design of four distinct residential neighborhood districts and a central business district, as well as the design of commercial, community and administrative structures of all kinds and functions and their related utility and sewer systems. However, only the residential building designs that significantly defined the character of the village are worthy of close scrutiny, in an effort to understand both their design criteria and social implications.

The final housing plan prescribed dwelling types typically identified by “unit” letter. These basic housing types were organized by the number of bedrooms (one, two, three, or four) and the related cost of construction. For nonresidents identified as “transients,” or individuals waiting for assignment to other dwellings the housing plan called for the construction of the Transient Quarters, initially referred to as the Clubhouse. For persons without family members, there were dormitories for women, the “J” units, and for men, the “K” units. The Corps of Engineers initially anticipated the need for only six women’s dormitories and twenty men’s dorms. In fact, there proved to be a substantially greater number of single women than single men in the operational workforce and seventeen women’s dormitories and eight men’s dorms were actually provided.

One-bedroom units were initially planned in eight-unit apartment buildings (Type “I”), similar to the familiar row house. Because there was sufficient land area and a desire to avoid “the psychological hazard in a too-cramped plan,” the row house type was limited to only the one-bedroom unit. In the final analysis, the Type “I” was entirely eliminated from the housing plan and prefabricated individual one-bedroom units were built.

The two-bedroom units were provided in a duplex—Type “B” plan. Three-bedroom units were provided in the duplex—Type “A” plan as well as three different plans for single family residences, Types “E,” “F,” and “H.” Four-bedroom units were provided by three separate plans for single family residences, Types “D,” “G,” and “L.” These housing types each had a basic plan; however, some variation was achieved by using different exterior cladding materials, altering the mass, or flipping the plan of the building and altering the roof form.

The duplex houses (Types “A” and “B”) were the basic housing types within the village. The Type “A” was a two-story
The Type “F” and “H” units were each single family house types designed to be constructed for under $6,000. The Type “F” was a two-story form, nearly square in plan, that included three bedrooms on the upper floor level. Pehrson noted that as “a version of an old and much admired plan, it offers every possible utilization of space and advantage of orientation.” It was indeed economical in space and construction cost, and is clearly based on the “American foursquare,” a highly popular house type dating back to the mid-19th century. Every room could be cross ventilated and while the standard living room/dining alcove was provided, a large kitchen, by HEW Village standards, was also included. In exterior appearance the architect found the form rather “boxy,” thus he utilized a side gable roof form with wall dormers. The finishes again fit into the village palette and included the exterior wainscoting treatment, quite similar to the Type “A” duplex. The other lower-cost single family unit was the Type “H.” This three-bedroom unit was clearly similar to the individual unit plans of the Type “B” duplex. The one-story form, side gable plan, and exterior finishes were very similar. The living room/dining alcove, rear stair configuration and storage space remained essential elements. A “Colonial” paneled door with fluted trim surround was provided in order to give this unit type some individual distinction.

The Type “D,” “E,” and “G” units were each single family dwellings initially designed to be constructed within the under-$7,500 construction cost range. Later in the project the Type “L” was added within this category. In a conscious effort to follow a “democratic principle,” these houses differed in “quantitative” rather than qualitative ways. They utilized the same quality construction materials and techniques, incorporated the same essential spatial features (living room/dining alcove, storage space and relationship to the out-of-doors). The designs primarily differed in the quantity of bedroom (four) and bathroom (two) space. It was assumed that many of these houses would be occupied by the “more permanent executives upon whom certain socio-business demands are made.” Thus, substantially fewer of these house types were indeed constructed. A conscious effort was made to lend variety, however subtly, to the use of these standard plans by varying the exterior cladding materials between shake siding and horizontal wood siding and alternating the mass or plan orientation. In the case of the Type “E,” the roof form also varied between a straight gable and a hipped gable.

Traditional architectural forms and elements were consciously used within the housing designs to provide villagers with a sense of normalcy and continuity. The architectural character of the HEW Village fits within the modern 20th-century “Minimal Traditional” stylistic category. These residential designs reflect the form of traditional eclectic designs that gained broad popularity in the 1920s as Tudor and Colonial Revival styles but with only minimal decorative elements. This Minimal Traditional style was commonly constructed between 1935 and 1950 and has its roots in Depression-era forfeitures as well as the modern International Style that favored efficiency and the unornamented wall surface. A lack of ornament, simplified building forms, intermediate roof pitches, as well as close eaves and rakes distinguish all of the village house types. The one-story and one-and-a-half-story houses with dominant front gables suggest the Tudor cottages popularized in the 1910s and 1920s. The two-story houses are loosely based on well-established traditional Colonial plans and house types.

The design criteria upon which the HEW Village house types were based indicate that serious consideration was given to the comfort and varying sizes of relocated families, the occupational and social-related needs of executives as well as less
senior employees, and the opinions and needs of relocated housewives—all in conjunction with a predominantly “democratic” approach. There was an equally overriding need to maintain high morale. Perhson stated:

High morale cannot be achieved by crowding skilled and veteran workers into inadequate dwellings. Neither can it be predicated upon salary, position, or caste distinction. No village can eliminate such distinctions entirely for it is the American tradition to aspire to executive status, and where such men locate will undoubtedly be considered favored territory; but insofar as the planners could arrange these matters, all types of houses were scattered throughout the project.

During the latter stages of the establishment of the HEW Village the Army Corps of Engineers recommended that DuPont consider the possibility of using prefabricated housing within the village. The Operating Department and Design and Construction Divisions within DuPont selected a prefabricated housing model used at a War Housing project in Knoxville, Tennessee. These prefabricated house types had originally been designed for the Tennessee Valley Authority. Thus, the village plan was expanded to include one-bedroom, two-bedroom, and three-bedroom prefabricated houses that could be constructed for DuPont at a significantly lower cost than the Pehrson-designed houses. A total of 1,804 prefabricated units was approved for construction and situated in the southwestern portion of the village. As already mentioned, the one-bedroom apartment buildings, Type I, had been deleted from the original plan and fewer Type “B” duplexes were constructed than originally anticipated. The design of these houses, with flat roofs and without traditional form or architectural character, placed in a repetitious pattern and concentrated in one district, deviated significantly from Pehrson’s plan for the village. However, the necessary housing was provided more expeditiously and economically.

After August 6, 1945, the purpose of the Hanford Engineer Works became well-known. The village continued to provide housing and community needs to workers involved with plutonium production. The post-World War II era brought additional growth and the planned homogeneous expansion of the original village plan. By 1950 the population of Richland had grown to almost 22,000, and hundreds of additional houses, based on G. A. Pehrson-designed house plans, had been constructed. Between 1957 and 1960 the entire town, including the individual houses, commercial and community buildings, and administrative facilities not directly involved with the Engineer Works production or operation, was sold to the town residents and business owners. While the creation and establishment of the village had been one of the largest undertakings of this kind in the nation, the sale of the town was reported to be the largest single-package real estate transaction in United States history. Over the subsequent 40-plus years, the homogeneous character of these residential properties and their neighborhoods has been gradually modified and changed to suit private ownership and individual taste, reflecting broader changes in American society.

The Hanford Engineer Works Village was shaped by a peculiar mixture of military austerity, business concerns, economic opportunism, and democratic and environmental ideals filtered through communitarian and public works projects and overlaid on a settlement landscape. It was considered a “step above” its sister atomic cities of Los Alamos and Oak Ridge. Here, a mobile population found lucrative employment in a highly secretive defense manufacturing mission as well as comfortable middle-class housing. The Hanford Engineer Works Village provided a respite from the harshness of the surrounding desert and the strict military atmosphere at Hanford. One recognizes in this nuclear village the essential framework of our modern suburban communities.

David Harvey has lived in a “Q” house in Richland for the past ten years. Since 1993 he has been senior research scientist/historian for the Pacific Northwest National Laboratory, which is operated by Battelle for the United States Department of Energy at the Hanford nuclear site; and he has been active in numerous local and state historical societies and preservation boards. Katheryn Hill Knuff was born in Richland and raised in a “Q” house. Since 1974 she has been involved with a wide range of historic preservation, rehabilitation and cultural resource management projects, currently serving as landmarks coordinator for the King County Historic Preservation Program.
The morning of August 3, 1895, dawned hot and dusty in Sprague, the busy seat of Lincoln County. Most of the town’s 3,000 citizens made their living from the Northern Pacific Railroad, and these busy employees arose and went to work in due course. Sprague’s main thoroughfare, chockablock with brick and wooden frame buildings, quickly bustled with pedestrians. The street ran at the bottom of a shallow eastern Washington valley, and comfortable homes of the town’s residents dotted the low hillside rising above the business district.

Shortly after sunrise a blast-furnace wind began to blow off the hot, dry scablands outside of town. As the day progressed, the gusts picked up heat and intensity, and at one point it blew with such force that a wooden structure was overturned on the...
tracks outside town. As bad luck would have it, precisely at noon, a fire broke out in a blacksmith shop on the outskirts of town and quickly spread to the feed and chop mill next door. From there, the conflagration jumped from building to building with a speed and intensity that dismayed everyone. Whipped up by the fierce winds, the flames advanced with lightening speed until nearly the entire town was ablaze. In a matter of minutes the fire had consumed the railroad offices and train yard and reduced everything to smoking ashes. The wind funneled down through the little valley and swept the flames ahead of it until the entire business district was ruined.

More than wood, brick, and mortar had been destroyed that fateful August afternoon, for the flames had also taken away Sprague's preeminence in the county. The town's citizens would soon learn that the blaze had robbed them of their chief means of livelihood. As one contemporary newspaper ruefully put it, "The destiny of Sprague and the history of Lincoln County was changed by the careless use of fire in a dingy little blacksmith shop on a windy day."

Sprague had seen much controversy and even violence before, as had all of Lincoln County. In fact, it would be fair to say that no other county had encountered more antagonism in its birth than Lincoln. It was something of a miracle that it was formed at all and an even greater wonder that it survived. Like most parts of the Columbia Basin, the area around Sprague was slow to become established. The land was a little less fertile and a great deal drier than more desirable properties in other parts of the territory. Still, the area was largely empty and land values were cheap, so in the final decades of the 19th century settlers began to arrive in increasing numbers.

Early in 1880 a man by the name of Harker settled near what is now Davenport. Apparently beguiled by neither the landscape nor the solitude, he soon departed, but Harker had at least become the area's first temporary inhabitant. It was not until John Nicholls took up Harker's claim that a real community was born. Nicholls built the first structure in the embryonic town. It was a combination store, house, post office, and hotel. Later a saloon opened nearby with the prosaic name of "Bob's Place."

There was a large spring surrounded by cottonwoods near the center of the settlement. Because of this grove, the post office took the name Cottonwood Springs. It was to this sleepy community that an energetic homesteader named J.C. Davenport came in 1882. He wanted to start a town, and he was not impressed with Cottonwood Springs, so Davenport decided to build his own community. This new settlement took shape on the higher land south of Cottonwood Springs, and it eventually included five buildings, including a store, warehouse, and saloon. Unfortunately, Davenport's village burned to the ground shortly after he had completed it. Perhaps because its residents aspired to the higher levels of civilization that had been attained in the recently destroyed community, Cottonwood Springs now decided to change its name to Davenport.

While Davenport was climbing in population and prestige, a rival town to the south was growing even faster. Sprague had begun as a humble sheep-shearing center in the 1870's, but this activity was quickly superseded by the arrival of the railroad. Henry Villard's Northern Pacific Railroad had swept into eastern Washington in the 1880's and immediately became a powerful economic and political force in the region. The company founded or appropriated towns, established governments, and ran things pretty much as it chose for a long time. Sprague was only one of a number of communities taken over by the railroad or named after an NP executive, and the town owed both its existence and its prosperity to the railroad. Like a delicately balanced house of cards, the NP had carefully built up the region until the bosses had it looking the way they wanted. The Northern Pacific's purchases of land, buildings, and politicians had cost them a great deal, and they were loathe to change things.
came to view the county seat as its own turmoil, and with such midwives trouble was sure to follow.

Overjoyed at having unexpectedly nabbed the temporary county seat, Davenport set about cementing the arrangement. The first courthouse was a modest wooden frame building put up by the grateful citizens and rented to the county for ten dollars a month. Here the officers of Lincoln County met for a year, and during that time Davenport came to view the county seat as its own particular possession. Sprague, however, had a different idea.

The first real election for county seat was slated for November 1884, and from the start feelings in the two rival towns ran high. The area around Davenport had been growing steadily in population, but Sprague boasted a citizenry of between 600 and 700 souls. When the campaign finally got under way, it was described as "hot and furious." Thanks to a temporary loophole, women were entitled to vote at the time, and few people, male or female, failed to cast their ballots. When the results were canvassed, Sprague received 1,256 while Davenport polled a disappointing 819. The bitterness and disappointment in Davenport were almost palpable when the results were finally known, and many prominent citizens in the defeated town immediately raised the cry of fraud.

Despite the threat of lawsuits, the commissioners declared Sprague the winner and new county seat. They made sure that the whirligig of time had finally spun around to the railroad town's side. Meanwhile, Davenport fumed in rage at the way Sprague had engineered its victory, and the town's citizens were in no mood to hand over the county records graciously. Almost at once Davenport hotheads seized the papers, determined not to let them out of town.

"An armed mob has taken possession of our county records and refuses to deliver them to the proper county officers," read the angry telegram sent by the commissioners to territorial officials. But before any legal settlement could be effected, the situation escalated in seriousness. Suddenly the roads leading into Davenport from all directions were lined with men carrying muskets, revolvers, and Winchesters, all determined to keep the courthouse where it had always been. The city fathers urgently sought an injunction that would invalidate the election, but meanwhile the potential for bloodshed appeared to be great.

Davenport dug in and readied itself for the long-anticipated attack from Sprague. For three long weeks men guarded the courthouse, some defenders even dug trenches on the hillside below the courthouse and threw up breastworks. Everyone figured that if they could hold out until the injunction was obtained, Davenport would be able to keep the county seat. But as the days dragged on and news from the lawyers turned bad, one by one the members of the little militia returned to their homes.

This was what Sprague was waiting for, and a company of about 180 men armed to the teeth left the railroad town headed for Davenport. They were determined to return with the county records at any cost. "It was," as one of the party later admitted, "no summer picnic that we were on." At the head of the column of solemn and determined men was Sheriff John Cody, cousin of Buffalo Bill Cody. He directed the men to dig trenches at various places along the route in case they had to stop and defend themselves from attack on their way back.

Martin J. Maloney, leader of the Davenport forces, saw the Sprague contingent approaching town, but with so few men at his disposal there was little he could do. Still, there were a few armed men on either side of the little creek that ran through town, and as the Sprague militia rode up to it, an angry Davenporter shouted out that the first man foolish enough to cross the stream would "have his anatomy full of button holes." Fortunately, this proved an empty threat, and the men continued across in deadly earnest.

At last Cody and his crew came to the flimsy wooden courthouse containing the county records, and there they found two men on guard. These sentries were quickly overcome and the group proceeded, no doubt well aware that they were in the sights of many a rifle at that very moment. Sheriff Cody knocked on the door, and a large man with a rifle in his hand opened the door a crack to see who was there. In the next instant, the door went down with a crash and the defender was looking into the muzzle of Cody's six-shooter. The Sprague troops
quickly gathered up the records, loaded them into a small wagon, and left as soon as possible. As they filed out of town, the men must have reflected on the potential for bloodshed that had been so narrowly avoided. The trip back to Sprague was thankfully uneventful.

Once the records were safely stored in their new home, Sprague became the county seat in fact, and as such it needed a courthouse. The commissioners accordingly rented a brick building on the corner of Second and B Streets at a cost of $35 a month. Leaving nothing to chance, they also hired a guard to protect the records in case Davenport citizens decided to pull a counter-raid. No such action took place, however; the Lincoln County seat was home at last.

Sprague's citizens were soon making plans to house the newly reacquired seat of government. In May 1886 a contract was awarded to Chris P. Nygard to construct a new courthouse. This would be a three-story, red brick structure designed to sit on a low hill overlooking the business district. Work proceeded quickly, and just six months later—in November 1886—the commissioners accepted the building and moved in with their offices and records. The total cost of the brick Romanesque structure was around $10,000. It was an expensive outlay but well worth the price since it finally gave a permanent home to the government of Lincoln County.

For nearly a decade Sprague continued to be the economic and political heart of the county. From time to time diehard Davenport supporters put up desultory campaigns to get the county seat back, but no one paid much attention. The railroad was in Sprague with its offices, shops, and railroad roundhouses. Although a spur line eventually ran to Davenport, Sprague's supremacy was assured. There had been a few hints that the NP was looking elsewhere for its headquarters, but nothing serious. Once again, in 1895, Davenport had begun another attempt to regain the county seat, but again nobody paid much attention. Sprague's future as the home of county governance seemed secure. Then in August of that year everything changed.

A person looking out the third-floor window of the Lincoln County Courthouse could have viewed the disastrous fire as it raged from one end of town to the other with horrifying thoroughness. Since it was far enough removed from the scouring flames, the courthouse was one of the few buildings that survived. Although the courthouse was undamaged, its fate, too, was sealed on that hot and windy day.

After the railroad yards had been destroyed, the Northern Pacific reconsidered its position. There was no real reason to rebuild in Sprague when Spokane had a business community that was mushrooming in importance. The executives decided to move out of the little town. This, as a local historian noted, "was a blow harder than the fire."

Results of this new disaster were apparent almost immediately. Before the fire Sprague had boasted a population of around 3,000; after the fire only 400 remained. "Sprague," wrote Davenport's Lincoln County Times with perhaps a little swagger, "is practically a deserted city today, with no hope of recovering her lost population or regaining her commercial standing." Now it was time for Davenport to make its move. Suddenly the election to move the county seat had taken on new life. With Sprague in ruins, Davenport easily won. The victorious city was under no illusions about its win. The Times put it clearly: if it had not been for the destruction of its rival, there would have been no victory. "Experience shows us that the voters do not take kindly to county seat changes, no matter how necessary the change or how good the inducement."

On December 15, 1896, Davenport went to Sprague to fetch the records back. There were no threats, violence, or armed guards this time—Sprague was finished as a community and everyone sensed it. Still, it took three railroad cars to hold all the official effects, and they...
For some ten years the seat of government in Lincoln County was housed in this three-story structure in Sprague.

were three days in getting to their new home. As was to be expected, county officials were temporarily housed in various offices around town. By Christmas the newspaper reported that the county officers were “all very comfortably ensconced in their new quarters this week.”

Shortly after the new year arrived a number of prosperous Davenport citizens paid $6,000 cash into the county treasury and deeded a block of land on which to construct a fine new courthouse. Soon the commissioners advertised for bids on a new building, and on March 1 the construction contract was awarded to Fred Baske. “He is a townsman,” explained the Times, “a competent workman [who] will employ home labor, and it is believed that he will do honest and faithful work.” Baske promised to erect a stately courthouse for a little over $12,000. Since there was no mention of an architect, it is safe to assume that Baske handled the design work himself.

Construction of the new courthouse began almost at once, and soon the graceful building rose on a hill overlooking Davenport. Baske had decided to use cream-colored bricks instead of the usual red. This gave the structure a pleasing pastel look as it was set off from the brilliant green of the lawn and surrounding trees. There were echoes of the Richardsonian Romanesque style in the arched windows and the stonework highlights, but this heaviness was largely offset by the delicate cupola that arose from the center of the roof.

While Baske was working on his courthouse, things were not going well in Sprague. A halfhearted attempt to rebuild the town was made, but it never really took off. Property values plummeted, and the once-busy railroad town withered away to a mere shadow of its former self. Finally, in July 1897, the former courthouse was sold at public auction to one R. K. McPherson who wanted to turn it into a Methodist college. Sadly, the property that had been built at a cost of $10,000 went for a paltry $300. When the college failed, the building was sold to the Catholic church, which used the old structure for St. Joseph’s Academy until it closed in 1965. The once noble seat of Lincoln County was then sold for salvage and demolished in 1966.

The new courthouse in Davenport had a happier fate. It was accepted right on schedule on August 1, 1897, complete with its own water well and a wrought-iron fence atop a sturdy rock wall. An elegant porch and central heating system to replace the old wood and coal stoves were added in 1907 when the building underwent remodeling and updating. Soon after, the courthouse was nearly doubled in size with an extensive addition on the north side, but the most obvious feature from this time was the elegant, classical porch that covered Baske’s arched basalt entryway.

There have been a few minor changes down through the years. In 1918, for instance, the iron fence that had enclosed the grounds was taken down and donated to the war effort. During another war, plane sighters sat up in the cupola straining to see Japanese bombers winging over eastern Washington. For the most part, however, the alterations have been minor, and the beautiful courthouse remains largely as it was back in 1897 when it was first presented to the people of Lincoln County.

Today, Davenport in a busy little rural town of about 1,600 people. It is hard to imagine anyone in the peaceful county seat marching off to defend the courthouse or inflicting mayhem on fellow county residents. Nevertheless, in December 1995 fire—the old nemesis of Lincoln County—made another appearance when a blaze “of suspicious origin” succeeded in burning much of the courthouse’s second floor and damaging its roof. Fortunately, a move to rebuild and restore the lovely old structure was begun almost at once, and today the building is just as beautiful and more structurally sound than ever. The citizens of Lincoln County have much to be proud of when they contemplate their courthouse. The battles fought by their grandparents are in the past, but the visible sign of their victory resides in the beautiful cream-colored structure that still stands on the hill above town.

David L. Chapman has written books and articles on bodybuilding photography, sports history, and Northwest history. When he is not researching Washington’s courthouses, he teaches history and social studies in the Seattle area.

AUTHOR’S NOTE
I would like to acknowledge the valuable assistance provided by Verna Johns and the Lincoln County Historical Society.
Shoney Tribute
That is such a nice tribute to Shoney in the Winter 2003-04 issue. I knew a lot about Shoney, but I learned more from your article. I am forever grateful to him for all the time he spent helping me. We had a very close, supportive relationship following that.
—Robert H. Ruby, Moses Lake

Correction
We inadvertently left out quotes and an attribution in Allyson Purpura’s History Commentary, “Ways of Knowing,” in the Winter 2003-04 issue. The sentence on page 3 should have read:

“By putting regions on a map and native words on a list, explorers laid the first and deepest foundations of colonial power. By giving ‘proof of the scientific nature of the enterprise, they exercised power in a pure, subtle form—as the power to name, describe, and classify.” (Fabian 1986:24)

Also, Additional Reading for the Purpura article (on page 46) was incorrectly listed under “The Contingencies of Exploration.”

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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.

The Palouse Mammoths


Bella Weretnikow


Captains West

José Moziño & Archibald Menzies

Hanford Engineer Works Village


Lincoln County Courthouse

Family of Strangers
Building a Jewish Community in Washington State
By Molly Cone, Howard Droker, and Jacqueline Williams. University of Washington Press, with the Washington State Jewish Historical Society; 416 pp., $45 cloth.
Reviewed by Richard Berner.

The first three “waves” of migration are outlined chronologically in this book: Central European “pioneers” (1853 in Washington), eastern Europeans (1880-1920), then Sephardics from the Mediterranean (1902-1920). Typically of urban background, but with little capital, the immigrants from Central Europe found niches in the region’s infrastructure. Between 1860 and 1890 Jewish partnerships, linked by family relations, thrived in Seattle, Tacoma, Spokane, Port Townsend, Aberdeen, Bellingham, and elsewhere. San Francisco was a primary source for branching out—e.g., Schwabacher Brothers in Walla Walla and Seattle. In religion the pioneers were of the Reform persuasion. From them, primarily, Seattle became the “center of State Jewry.” Some of the mercantile firms established then still exist today.

Jews from Eastern Europe—most of them impoverished, from rural backgrounds, suffering, and living in ghettos—responded to the prospects in an industrializing United States; they quickly outnumbered the first wave. Those with job skills found a market for them while others took available unskilled jobs. Some started secondhand shops before engaging capital in firsthand stores. The gold rushes helped accelerate this process. Culturally, this wave was Ashkenazi; in religion, Orthodox.

Sephardic pioneers settled Washington slowly; in 1902 two Jews from Marmara, Turkey, arrived by happenstance, soon greeting a fourth in 1904, thereafter followed by relatives. Most found manual labor jobs, but two started a fish business that steadily expanded, enduring into the 1950s. Speaking a strange dialect, Ladino (Judeo-Spanish), and Orthodox in religion, they found assimilation difficult.

A fourth wave, fleeing Nazi Germany, arrived during the late 1930s, followed after World War II by Holocaust survivors. These were predominantly middle class, well educated, often with professional backgrounds. The fact that preparations among Jewish organizations and sympathizers were in place for their rescue aided their assimilation. In the process, “they helped revitalize Jewish life in the state and added to Washington’s cultural and intellectual life.”

Seattle Jews were concentrated in the Yesler-Cherry Street area before World War II, but thereafter they migrated to the sparsely settled Seward Park area and joined the general exodus to the nascent suburbs of Mercer Island and the east side of Lake Washington, taking with them their synagogues and Hebrew school, symbolized by Mercer Island’s Jewish Community Center of Greater Seattle.

About a third of the volume under review is devoted to the development of religious institutions and their fragmented relationships, defined largely by their ethnic and cultural origins. Parallel attention—though more brief—is given to other Jewish communities, particularly those in Tacoma, Spokane, and Bellingham. Photographs in abundance convey a sense of community that nicely complements the text. The index is woefully deficient, and more attention to consistency in the use of forenames would have removed occasional doubts. This volume is a good introduction to the state’s Jewish history; its heavy dependence on the ongoing Jewish Archives program at the University of Washington Library points the way for future, more scholarly, studies.

Richard Berner is the author of a number of books on Seattle’s history.

The Last Electric Trolley
Madrona & Denny-Blaine Seattle, Washington, Neighborhoods

Gone But Not Forgotten
Abandoned Railroads of Thurston County, Washington
By James Hannum. Thurston County: Hannum House Productions, 2002; 256 pp., $34.
Reviewed by Matthew Malinowski.

We can all remember the neighborhoods where we grew up. Wherever they are in the United States, each has certain unique features or notable historic or cultural aspects. The author of The Last Electric Trolley discusses several aspects of the Madrona & Denny-Blaine neighborhood, including how the influences of religion, race, politics, economics, and the passage of time have melded to make the neighborhood what it is today. Residents have a tremendous amount of pride in their neighborhood—past and present. The author interestingly explores the roots of the neighborhood all the way back to the pioneers. The mix of explorers and settlers, each encountering natives, created the way of life in “young Seattle” as Arthur A. Denny sought to fulfill his dream of the town as a railroad terminus. As the metropolis prospered, the Madrona & Denny-Blaine neighborhood grew with populations, parks, religious groups, culture, and commerce. Several waves of African-American pioneers and immigrants from Asia also had a
hand in its formation. Junius Rochester has provided readers with an interest in urban development and the communities of western Washington with a vibrant history.

The importance, prominence, and efficiency of railroads in Thurston County is the central theme of *Gone But Not Forgotten*. Until the 1930s transportation depended largely on railroads. This book seeks to reconstruct and historically document information about the network of logging line railroads in Thurston County. The author’s research is extensive and the presentation of prose, reproductions of original maps, sketches, drawings, and photographs—both historic and modern—is effective. Over 40 railroad companies are presented and noted in this book. Three notable railroads come in for more discussion: the Northern Pacific Railroad, the Oregon and Washington Territory Railroad Company, and the Union Pacific.

The detail covered by the author includes the origin, expansion, and impact of these railroads. One appendix extends the coverage to the configuration and utilization of rail service to the original Olympia Brewery; another is an abstract of logging railroads with all or part of their “rights-of-way” in Thurston County; and a third is a statement about four railroads in Thurston County for which there is no documentation located to date. Those with an interest in engineering or the growth of industry and commerce, as well as anyone intrigued by urban development and planning, will surely obtain useful insights from this book. It is a wonderful record of an era now passed.

Matthew Malinowski received his university education in the state of Washington. He is currently an administrator at the University of Pittsburgh.

Current & Noteworthy

By Robert C. Carriker, Book Review Editor

The news surprised everyone, especially the director, editors, and employees of the University of Idaho Press. After 32 years of publishing, the University of Idaho Press closed for business on a Monday in late February 2004, and university officials announced to the public on Tuesday morning that it would not reopen. Administration officials pointed to the press’s $385,000 operating deficit and a decline in state funding. Until 2003 the press had been partially subsidized by the university, but that ended in 2004. Opponents of the closing noted the losses to scholarship and the university’s prestige.

Each year University of Idaho Press produced eight to ten new titles. A statement by the American Association of University Presses, solicited by the Spokane Spokesman-Review (February 25, 2004), said that university presses are “designed to produce and disseminate research and scholarship. They’re serious publishers with high standards. They’re committed to regional publishing of the type that doesn’t get done by a lot of commercial houses.” A review of three recent titles from the press proves the point.

As previously noted in some detail in COLUMBIA, among recent Lewis and Clark bicentennial books, Sharon Ritter’s *Lewis and Clark Mountain Wilds: A Guide to the Plants and Animals They Encountered in the Bitterroots* (Moscow: University of Idaho Press, 2002; 315 pp., $19.95 paper) is “at the head of the list as far as natural history in the Pacific Northwest is concerned.” (COLUMBIA 17/3:46.) Ritter is a research coordinator for the United States Forest Service in Hamilton, Montana, but her work garnered support from the Idaho Department of Transportation and funding from the national Lewis and Clark Commission. Research. Scholarship. High standards.

In the mid 1980s Linda Lawrence Hunt, a Whitworth College professor, read a Washington State History Day Contest essay that spurred her interest. Learning more, she began to research and write the story of two Spokane women, mother and daughter, who walked through parts of 14 states as they made their way across the nation to New York City in 1896. If they could leave Spokane with just the $5 in their pockets that an anonymous doubter required, and reach New York City in seven months, they would earn a $10,000 cash prize. Hunt’s synopsis of the tale first appeared as “A Victorian Odyssey,” in COLUMBIA 9/2:33-48. But after working with University of Idaho Press editors, Hunt wrote the full story of the wager in *Bold Spirit: Helga Estby’s Forgotten Walk across Victorian America* (Moscow: University of Idaho Press, 2003; 200 pp., $16.95). The book is now in its fourth printing, and was named a “Top Ten Breakout Book” for university presses in 2003; CNN featured it; and Hunt received numerous end-of-year book awards. Research. Scholarship. High standards.

*Common Courage: Bill Wasmuth, Human Rights*, and Small-Town Activism by Andrea Vogt (Moscow: University of Idaho Press, 2003; 243 pp., $16.95), focuses on in the never-say-quit attitude of former Catholic priest Bill Wasmuth of Coeur d’Alene, Idaho. Wasmuth confronted the neo-Nazi movement after they bombed his parish rectory in 1986. His courage galvanized all of northern Idaho and eastern Washington to resistance. He initiated hate crime legislation, and with the help of Morris Dees and the Southern Poverty Law Center, he bankrupted one racist group in Hayden Lake, Idaho. Wasmuth died in 2002, but with the presence of this book in libraries across the nation, his struggle will not be forgotten. Vogt is a northern Idaho native, a Fulbright Scholar, and an investigative reporter. Once again: research, scholarship, high standards. That is the definition of regional publishing.

The reviews of these books should have been placed on the obituary page of COLUMBIA.
The Lewis & Clark Bicentennial is upon us, and Historical Society programs and events are in full swing to commemorate this important historic milestone. Most recently we opened the exhibition, Beyond Lewis & Clark: The Army Explores the West, at the History Museum in Tacoma. The opening event was an unprecedented success! We hosted nearly 500 members and friends, including members of Tacoma Art Museum, for an educational, and entertaining evening.

Tacoma Art Museum, the History Museum's neighbor to the north, is also presenting a Lewis & Clark related exhibit called Lewis & Clark Territory: Contemporary Artists on Race, Place and Memory. Now through June 6th, Historical Society members receive free admission to Tacoma Art Museum. Be sure to take advantage of this special offer the next time you are in the neighborhood. Our members also receive half off one admission to Northwest Trek, where you can see the types of animals Lewis and Clark saw on their expedition 200 years ago. Just present your WSHS membership card at either location to receive these great benefits!

We have several exciting programs coming up, including a film premier, lectures, book-signings, and a Lewis and Clark symposium. Hold onto your Explore It! newsletter or the mailing wrapper of your COLUMBIA Magazine, both of which outline these exciting programs over the next few months.

Thank you for your ongoing support of the Washington State Historical Society. We have planned many opportunities for you to become involved the Lewis & Clark Bicentennial over the coming weeks and months, and I hope to see you soon.

—Brenda Hanan, Membership Coordinator
The Corps of Discovery finally reached the long-sought Columbia River in the autumn of 1805. Volume III continues the cartographic reconstruction of the explorers' trek as they set out from the Snake-Columbia junction, October 18, 1805, on the final leg of their journey to the sea.

In addition to intricately mapping the Columbia's great rapids, desert and rain-forest shorelines, spectacular mountain gorge, and broad estuary, Volume III also outlines the significant discoveries recorded as they returned eastward in 1806 through the broad Columbia, Marias, and Yellowstone watersheds and concludes when the Corps of Discovery, long given up for dead by most Americans, paddled up to the St. Louis waterfront on September 23, 1806, to an arousing reception by the local population.

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Lorane A. West

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Through her portraits, West poses intriguing questions about the effects of prosperity and gives Americans a glimpse of themselves that may both surprise and challenge.

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By D'Arcy Jenish

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BEYOND LEWIS & CLARK
The Army Explores the West
By James P. Ronda

The exhibition by the same name, organized by the Washington State Historical Society, is one of the most ambitious interpretive projects of the Lewis and Clark Bicentennial. The book, a companion volume to the exhibition, offers a corrective vision of the history of the Lewis and Clark expedition. The nearly exclusive attention paid to Lewis and Clark of late has cast the broader pattern of army exploration in the West into obscurity. In this volume James Ronda places the Corps of Discovery within the larger perspective of Enlightenment-era science and empire-building and establishes how the Jeffersonian model of exploration endured to varying degrees via other army expeditions. In this regard, particular attention is paid to the pivotal figure in the evolution of the "Army in the West"—John C. Frémont—and other notable explorers, including Stephen H. Long and Isaac I. Stevens. In a path-breaking interpretation, Ronda even places the pre-Little Big Horn exploratory ventures of George Armstrong Custer within the paradigm established by Lewis and Clark’s initial foray.

120 pages, 30 illustrations (including 11 maps), and bibliography; $14.95, paper.
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