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COVER: The role of Sacagawea on the Lewis and Clark expedition had taken on mythic proportions by the time this music score was published in 1905, the centennial of the Lewis and Clark expedition. It is grandly dedicated, “To the memory of the young Indian woman, Sacagawea, who led [sic] the Lewis and Clark Expedition through the wilderness to the Oregon Territory in 1805.” See related story beginning on page 3. (Special Collections, Washington State Historical Society)
Last winter I had the opportunity to reflect on my 33 years of experience working in state and local history here in the state of Washington. The occasion was the Society's annual heritage conference. Just to show you how times have changed, when I started as an intern at the State Capital Museum in 1972, if I wished to visit Suzzalo Library at the University of Washington, I would allow an hour to drive from Olympia to Seattle. Traffic was a fraction of what it is now, and you could drive 70 mph (legally) in those days. Today, if I were to drive to the University District from Tacoma, I would allow for more than an hour to cover half the distance. The heritage landscape is much changed since then, too.

On the positive side, there is a huge increase in interagency cooperation, and a veritable profusion of institutions and programs that simply were not in existence then, such as the Association of King County Historical Organizations, the heritage caucus, capital grant programs, new museums, this very magazine. On the other hand, regional history's role and visibility in K-12 and institutions of higher education are not nearly as strong as they once were.

The pivotal, transformative period in the intervening years was the state centennial observance, culminating in the events of 1989. Indeed, the successful commemorative modeling since then—the Gray/Vancouver/Malaspina maritime (1992) and Lewis and Clark bicentennial (2003-06); the territorial sesquicentennial (2003), and, coming up, the centennials of both the Alaska-Yukon-Pacific Exposition (2009) and women's right to vote in Washington (2010)—shows that a lesson has been learned: that historic occasions can galvanize historians, communities, and decision-makers to make productive use of the past.

The last of these commemorations could prove to be one of as much enduring value as the state centennial and the Lewis and Clark bicentennial in that it comes into being as a prescribed program of a new interagency consortium dedicated to the promotion of greater understanding of women's history. This effort, I'm pleased to say, will be housed administratively within the Washington State Historical Society. Institutionally, that pleases me a great deal, but no less so than on a personal basis as someone who was born in Seneca Falls, New York, where in 1848 the first women's rights convention took place.

—David L. Nicandri, Executive Director
Twisted Hair, Tetoharsky, and the Origin of the New Sacagawea Myth

By David L. Nicandri

During the middle third of the 20th century historians turned a critical eye toward one of the great themes established on the occasion of the centennial of the Lewis and Clark expedition—the legend of Sacagawea. The mythmaking had reached its apogee in 1933 with the publication of Grace Raymond Hebard’s *Sacajawea: A Guide and Interpreter of the Lewis and Clark Expedition*, which became in turn the principal source for a host of trail guides, encyclopedia entries, textbooks, statuary, films, and popular publications. Though the original “centennial” legend would come unraveled, a new “bicentennial” myth took root late in the 20th century—Sacagawea as the quintessential Native American diplomat.

The essence of the original myth as told by a host of storytellers had Sacagawea guiding Lewis and Clark not merely through her Rocky Mountain homelands but all the way to the mouth of the Columbia River. One account even had the young Shoshone girl showing the carpenters how to make the wheels for the carriages that were to transport the expedition’s baggage on the portage around the Great Falls of the Missouri. Though Lewis and Clark did often refer to several Native Americans as pilots and guides, they only used the term once to describe Sacagawea. Hebard, the ultimate mythmaker, carefully avoided any mention of other Shoshone and Nez Perce guides in order to puff up the imagined role of her heroine.

C. S. Kingston, the first notable critic of the original legend, concluded, “Sacajawea had done nothing to guide or influence the course of the expedition” on its way from the Mandan villages to the Pacific and back to the eastern side of the Rockies. On the upper Missouri, as the expedition entered her native homeland, Sacagawea “had occasionally recognized certain landmarks,” Kingston averred, but this did not amount to advice on which route to take. The genesis of the “Sacajawea as Guide” legend came on the return trip when Clark led a detachment, which included the Charbonneau family, down the Yellowstone River. At the Three Forks of the Missouri, Clark was presented with several possible courses through the mountains to the east that, once passed, would put him on the headwaters of the Yellowstone. In making a selection, as Clark noted in his journal, “The Indian woman who has been of great Service to me as pilot through this country recommends a gap in the mountains more South which I shall cross.” She later also pointed to a road out of a beaver marsh.

Kingston asserted that Clark’s comment about Sacagawea as pilot “is to be understood more as an expression of good natured and generous congratulation than a sober assertion of unadorned fact.” Here the myth buster may have overplayed his hand. More equitably, Gary Moulton states that when Sacagawea discerned a route to the Yellowstone through what became known as Bozeman Pass, she “did indeed act as a guide, as legend has her doing much more extensively.” Nevertheless, when William Clark finally separated company with Sacagawea at the Mandan villages in August 1806, he cited only her services as an interpreter.

Coming after Kingston, historian Ronald W. Taber analyzed the social and cultural context of the early 20th century that made the Sacagawea legend such a powerfully attractive story in the first place. Many of the earliest proponents of the Sacagawea-as-guide myth were activists in the woman’s suffrage movement. Eva Emery Dye, who first popularized the legend in a historical novel published in 1902, was also chair of the Clackamas County chapter of the Oregon Equal Suffrage Association. It was Dye, Taber argued, who conceived the Sacagawea tactic that was to be incorporated into the larger strategy aimed at securing women the right to vote. Sacagawea was foremost among several “strong women of the past” (including Pocahontas, Molly Pitcher, and Susan B. Anthony) who were envisioned as heroines for the movement. In her book, *The Conquest: The True Story of Lewis and Clark*, Dye said she “created Sacajawea” and posed her as “that faithful Indian woman with her baby on her back, leading those stalwart mountaineers and explorers through the strange land.”

The notion of Sacagawea as a woman whom suffragists might emulate in their “efforts to lead men through the Pass of justice” was more fully explicated by Anna Howard Shaw. The National American Woman Suffrage Association (NAWSA) met in Portland in conjunction with the 1905 Lewis and Clark
Centennial Exposition. This was one year before a scheduled statewide ballot on a voting rights amendment to the Oregon constitution. Shaw, president of NAWSA, seized on the virtues and accomplishments of Sacagawea in her address to the convention. She stated:

"At a time...when the hearts of the leaders had well nigh fainted within them, when success or failure hung a mere chance in the balance, this woman came to their deliverance and pointed out to the captain the great Pass which led from the forks of the Three Rivers over the Mountains." Hyperbole of this sort sustained the effort to install a monument to Sacagawea on the grounds of the exposition.

S haw's themes were seconded by Susan B. Anthony, a veritable living legend, and Abigail Scott Duniway, arguably the Northwest's foremost women's rights activist. The men of Oregon—a state, Anthony asserted, "made possible..."—had a chance to reciprocate on "the assistance rendered by a woman in the discovery of this great section of the country." Duniway said Sacagawea was a "feminine Atlas" who helped create "a Pacific empire" for America. Helpful as a rallying point in the short term, the Sacagawea strategy was not in itself capable of carrying the suffragist proposition at the polls. It did provide, however, a lifetime's worth of inspiration for Grace Raymond Hebard. Though Hebard's work, one replete with inventions and purposeful omissions, was in time largely repudiated by subsequent scholars, she gave sufficient propulsion to the notion of Sacagawea dying on the Wind River Indian Reservation of Wyoming in 1884 that this aspect of the early myth still has currency.

Oddly enough, Kingston planted the seed for the second, or modern, Sacagawea myth in his treatise that weakened the first. Crediting the young Shoshone woman as a useful "but not an indispensable" interpreter, Kingston went on to state that her "presence with the white men was of greater importance in that it confirmed the confidence of her people in the good intentions of Americans." Related to the Shoshones, this is indisputably credible, but the sentimentality of the notion has been expanded and much amplified in recent times.

Even Thomas Slaughter, the most critical of modern Lewis and Clark scholars, posited that Sacagawea was "a symbol of peace who distinguished the explorers from a war party." The multicultural sensibility of the bicentennial era has created a market for indigenous heroines.

Much like the original Sacagawea myth that needed a ledge in the documentary record from which to sprout, so does its modern variant—Sacagawea as the "symbol of peace." A century ago, for the suffrage movement in need of model women who could lead men, it was Clark's comment about Sacagawea as "pilot" through Bozeman Pass. The modern legend is grounded in Clark's field note of October 13, 1805, when the expedition was on the Snake River. He observed that the presence of Sacagawea "reconciles all the Indians, as to our friendly intentions..." What Clark had intended as a reflection upon a localized phenomenon has been conflated by scholars and popularizers in this bicentennial era to a generalized role for the entire extent of the journey. In one account an author suggests Sacagawea was brought along precisely because she would be perceived as a goodwill ambassador.

Contrary to modern Lewis and Clark lore that Sacagawea had a calming effect whenever native people saw the expedition, in fact its first appearance in the record is on the Snake River in southeastern Washington. And surprisingly so, because the expedition had encountered only a handful of Indians that day, indeed that whole week. Patrick Gass noted a typical Snake River village consisted of four or fewer lodges. On the day of Clark's famed inscription, October 13, they passed what Moulton's sources attributed to be the largest Palouse village at the mouth of said named river, but Clark himself implies, via a reference to "timbers of Several houses piled up," that the community was temporarily abandoned.

An intimation that Indian diplomacy was coming to the fore can be discerned in Joseph Whitehouse's journal for October 12, the day before Clark mentioned Sacagawea's capabilities as an incipient peacemaker. Whitehouse noted that the tour through the "flat head nation"—i.e., the Nez Perce homelands—had ended. He deduced this from Twisted Hair and Tetoharsky, two Nez Perce chiefs guiding the expedition downstream, who told the Americans that in two more days travel they would "come to another nation at a fork which comes on the St[arboard] Side of the Columbian River." The riverine reference proved to be the main stem of the Columbia, an image of continental geography that had eluded Lewis and Clark until the shocking denouement upon their arrival at the forks.

Clark's description of Sacagawea's prospective role may well have been a function of the same discourse with the Nez Perce chiefs recorded by Whitehouse. The comment about Sacagawea's power to reconcile the newcomers to host tribes appeared on the same page as a map in Clark's field log depicting the shortly expected northern fork. On the 14th, Twisted Hair and Tetoharsky proceeded on ahead to the forks, Clark later recorded, "to inform those bands of our approach and friendly intentions towards all nations."

It is likely that Twisted Hair and Tetoharsky conceived what might be termed the "Sacagawea strategy" and first employed it to effect while the expedition was on the Snake River.
Though the Yakama and Wanapum people who lived near the forks were Sahaptian-speaking like the Nez Perce emissaries, the latter were relatively far from home and recognized the obligation of establishing goodwill before entering the lands of others. They could have done this both for themselves and their new American friends. Twisted Hair and Tetoharsky simply apprised Lewis and Clark of the added value of having Sacagawea with the expedition, and as events unfolded they used the strategy when circumstances called for it. As Whitehouse shows, the rudiments of this were explicaded prior to the expedition’s reaching the forks of the Columbia.

News about the arrival of these apparently friendly newcomers from the east had preceded them. Apash Wyakaikt—alternatively known to the expedition as “We-ark-koom” or the Big Horn chief—who had paced the voyageurs on horseback, joined Twisted Hair and Tetoharsky at the forks and “harranged” the local villagers. Clark’s colloquialism, which sounds more obnoxious to the modern ear than was conventionally meant by the term at the turn of the 19th century, meant that Apash Wyakaikt confirmed the “friendly intentions” of the expedition.

We can thus see fully how the Nez Perce chiefs’ role and reputation as ambassadors have suffered through history at the expense of the romantic story of Sacagawea. After the fires had been made (the Nez Perce chiefs gathered some willow and reeds to supplement the few pieces of driftwood about), Clark reported that hundreds of men from the neighboring village a quarter mile upstream from them on the Columbia visited en masse. Beating their drums, singing, and dancing by “keeping time to the musik,” the natives formed a welcoming circle of song for an extended time.

On the expedition’s second day down the Columbia below the forks, in the vicinity of present-day Plymouth, Washington, Clark called on a large Indian village. He stated that he “found the Indians much fritened, all got in to their lodges and when I went in found some hanging down their heads, some crying and others in great agitation; I took all by the hand, and distributed a few small articles which I chanced to have in my pockets and smoked with them which expelled their fears.” Then, in a startling and, for William Clark, uncharacteristic passage, he wrote in his field journal: “I am confident that I could have tomahawked every Indian here.”

None of the Indians would come out and smoke with Clark, to the captain’s dismay—that is, until Lewis arrived with the larger party, which included the Nez Perce chiefs, one of whom hailed the native village “as was their custom to whom all we had passed,” Clark reported. Sensing the fear and distress on shore, Twisted Hair and Tetoharsky quickly pointed to Sacagawea in one of the canoes, reemploying a strategy that had worked on the Snake River. In his now-heightened understanding of the Nez Perce technique, Clark reported in his notebook, “This Indian woman...confirmed those people of our friendly intentions, as no woman ever accompanies a war party of Indians in this quarter.”

Donald Jackson once wrote of Sacagawea that her “valor and stolid determination” could not be doubted but her contributions to the expedition had been magnified out of proportion. Such seems to be the case relative to her role as an implied diplomat. Her service in this manner only worked when mediated by Twisted Hair and Tetoharsky.

Historian William Lang has offered two interpretations of this episode with the “Fritened Indians” (a term for the subject village that appears on one of Clark’s maps). This “curious incident,” as Lang calls it, may have represented “either braggadocio or perhaps an unfulfilled but genuine threat.” More likely, Lang argues, Clark was evidencing frustration with the passivity of these Indians. Alternatively, but more speculatively, Lang suggests that life on the Columbia had “begun to take its toll on” Clark. Surely, as Lang writes, Clark’s demeanor was “one of the most mysterious episodes of the entire journey,” and it does beg for explanation.

Just prior to crossing the river to visit the Indian village, Clark shot a crane out of the sky. Afterwards, the frightened Indians believed he and his compatriots “came from the clouds” and were “not men” of this world—meaning, of course, that villagers thought them to be supernatural beings or, in James Ronda’s phrase, “sky gods.” Clark later told Nicholas Biddle, first editor of the expedition’s journals, that this perception was enhanced by the fact that these Indians had never heard gunfire before. Plus, they were amazed at Clark’s ability to light his pipe with a “burning glass.” All of this was explained to Clark by one of the Nez Perce chiefs, “by whose mediation we had pacified them.” With this statement alone, Clark places
Lang's thesis that the troublesome environment of the Columbia Plateau is a necessary framework for understanding the experience of the Lewis and Clark expedition in the Northwest is generally credible. Nevertheless, the idea that an environmental encounter led to a destabilized psychological state for Clark—as evidenced in the present episode—or created a crisis in the captain's self-confidence or self-control is unproven. In fact, there is much evidence, in general and specific to the day in question, to the contrary. To begin with, in Clark's notebook recapitulation he stated that after shooting the crane he crossed the river to the lodges because he could see Lewis approaching the area, implying that his cocaptain could not see the village and was unaware of its existence. Accordingly, and now well-schooled by the Nez Perce chiefs, Clark determined to proceed to the other side of the Columbia precisely because he "was fearful that those people might not be informed of us."

Furthermore, if Clark had desired to present himself as a real or feigned threat, then why, as he stated, was he relieved that the sight of the Nez Perce and Sacagawea gave the Indians "new life" or pleased that he and Lewis "smoked with those people in the greatest friendship?" Albert Furtwangler, in his literary deconstruction of the Lewis and Clark journals, states unqualifiedly that it "was characteristic of William Clark to like Indians and be helpful to them." Ronda, citing Clark's experience as a frontiersman, said the captain was "an acute observer of native life and a confidant of chiefs and warriors.... In ways that are beyond easy explanation, he enjoyed the company of Indians."

Consider, too, Clark's most famous first contact with native people, coming upon some frightened Nez Perce boys when he wandered out of the Bitterroot Mountain wilderness onto Weippe Prairie. To "quiet their fears," Ronda explains, Clark "gave each one several small pieces of ribbon and then urged them with gestures to announce the arrival of friendly visitors to their village." Surely, if a formidable landscape encounter was going to test William Clark's capacity for psychological self-control, emerging from the mountains at Weippe was a likelier occasion for failure.

Lang emphasizes that Clark's notebook did not repeat the phrasing suggestive of how easy it would have been to kill the "frightened Indians," going so far as to say "Clark sanitized his journal entry." Clark may have thought the better of replicating that text, but as he said himself prior to his startling statement, he "took all by the hand" when he entered their lodges, an action that, combined with a few token presents, "expelled their fears." And though the incident with the crane precipitated the extreme reserve on the part of the Indians, Clark, Whitehouse, and Gass all noticed similar behavior by Indians on the river's islands and banks ever since they left their camp at the Snake-Columbia confluence. Gass's specific comments from the previous day that the Columbia River Indians seemed "sly and distant" and Whitehouse's that the Indians living in the gap "hid themselves" prefigured Clark's encounter of the ensuing day.

This phenomenon was not unknown in the history of exploration. The most famous instance involves Captain James Cook’s arrival in the Hawaiian Islands in 1778, during his third voyage to the Pacific. As historian William Goetzmann has written, Cook received a tumultuous welcome at Kealakekua Bay where, "to his bewildermend, he was made a god." Then, in 1811, just six years after Lewis and Clark ventured on the waters of the Columbia, David Thompson had a similar experience at the head of the Rock Island Rapids near present-day Wenatchee. When Thompson's party arrived at the large village of 800 Sinkowarsin people, he was greeted by five men who appeared distressed and confused by the explorers' appearance. Like Clark, Thompson conducted a few rounds with the pipe, which assuaged anxiety, and soon the whole village was invited to gather around. The initial nervousness eventually gave way to excitement and exultation. As historian William Layman has told it, the villagers placed presents of berries and roots before Thompson, "clapping their hands and extending them to the sky."

Indeed, Lewis and Clark themselves had a similar encounter a mere 11 days after the visit with the "frightened Indians." When the expedition surprised a Chinookan village near the cascades of the Columbia, yet another group of natives conveyed the observation via sign language "that they thought we had rained down out of the clouds." This was a pattern common to indigenous people with little or no contact with Euramerican explorers.

The last chapter of Indian diplomacy involving Twisted Hair and Tetchaksky occurred on the approach to the great falls of the Columbia at Celilo. Now in their third week of service to Lewis and Clark, the chiefs reported overhearing some Indians from farther downstream planning to attack and kill the members of the expedition that night in their sleep. This news spread quickly through the encampment.
Clark testified that the corps was "at all times & places on our guard" and were "under no greater apprehention than is common." This view was confirmed by Whitehouse who said the party was alert "but we were not afraid of them for we think we can drive three times our number." Nevertheless, the captains had every reason to trust Twisted Hair and Tetoharsky, and so that evening, when the local Indians departed camp earlier than what Clark thought normal, he saw it as a "Shadow of Confirmation" of what they had learned. Clark ended his journal on a worrisome note. The "two old Chiefs," he said, "appeared very uneasy this evening."

At the break of day on the 24th, the corps' third day in the vicinity of Celilo Falls, Twisted Hair and Tetoharsky apprised Lewis and Clark of their intention to return to their homes on the Clearwater. The reasons were several, but all revolved around the recently developing threat. They told the captains that their people never proceeded farther downstream than the falls and, accordingly, they were unable to converse with the inhabitants of the lower river. In short, Twisted Hair and Tetoharsky asserted that their days as interpreters were at an end.

Truly, the expedition had reached a linguistic divide between the Sahaptian-speaking tribes like the Nez Perce and the Chinookan-speaking people below the falls, every bit as important to an understanding of the peoples of Columbia as the falls were to the physiographic one. This language barrier obviated any prospect of re-employing the Sacagawea strategy utilized with such success upstream, even presuming that the peaceful symbolism of a woman traveling with a party transcended the limits of the Columbia Plateau. Ironically, precisely at the juncture when Lewis and Clark seemingly needed a symbol to prove their peaceful intentions, neither Sacagawea nor any other device sufficed. As Clark phrases it, since "the nation below had expressed hostile intentions against us, [they] would Certainly kill them [the Nez Perce]; particularly as They had been at war with each other." Clark carries this explanation in his notebook text as a direct quote. Associating with Lewis and Clark had now become dangerous to the health of the Nez Perce chiefs.

Lewis and Clark importuned the chiefs to stay with them for two more days with the ostensible purpose of enlisting their aid in making peace with the villagers below. Twisted Hair and Tetoharsky responded by saying they were anxious to return so they could see "our horses." From the way Clark inscribed this text, it is not certain the Nez Perce were fondly recalling their own herd or that left behind by the expedition, in which case they may have been attempting to finesse the captains. As a handy excuse for leaving, the Nez Perce may have been playing on Lewis and Clark's fears in relation to the horses the expedition left behind in the foothills of the Bitterroot Mountains and would need again for the return trip. Whether this concern was invented or genuine, the Nez Perce were nonetheless persuaded to stay two more days. The urgency in the captains' mind was threefold. They had learned that more rough water faced them in short order. Now on guard against native attack, Twisted Hair and Tetoharsky could also form an early warning system. Third, the commanders arrogantly presumed that they themselves could midwife peace between these tribes.

It has been suggested that Clark engaged in great risk in running the Short Narrows below Celilo—a famed incident in Lewis and Clark lore—as an act of bravado in the face of the news from Twisted Hair and Tetoharsky that the party was about to be attacked. Under this theory, Bill Lang argues, the explorers exemplified their courage "to establish their own combativeness both with potential Indian foes and with the environment." However, Clark states forthrightly that the expedition had no choice in the matter, as there was no prospect of a practicable portage around the rocks that created this "agitated gut."

Living up to their self-imposed obligation, Lewis and Clark mediated what was termed a "good understanding" between their Nez Perce guides and the chief of the Wishram village situated in between the Short and Long Narrows. Clark confided in his notebook that "we have every reason to believe... those two bands or nations are and will be on the most friendly terms with each other." The evening ended with Pierre Cruzatte in the spotlight, playing his fiddle, "which delighted the natives, who Shew every civility toward us." This now enlarged community of residents and voyageurs smoked "untill late at night." The festivity of this evening suggests that the fear of an attack had now dissipated entirely. If, in fact, that prospect was ever real, evidence suggests that either Lewis and Clark had somehow forged a temporary peace that allowed them and the Nez Perce to pass, or that the chiefs had been manipulating the captains in their desire to leave the party on equitable terms.

As they had done so often before, Twisted Hair and Tetoharsky next proceeded ahead of the expedition to a village.
Proceeding down river below The Dalles, Lewis and Clark came to the village of the “Chilk-luckit-teqaw” (possibly Kluckit) Indians, one of the Wishram-Wasco bands of the Upper Chinookan language group east of present-day Lyle. These Indians would have been, if the Nez Perce chiefs were to be believed, the next candidate tribe presumed to be lying in wait to attack the party. To the contrary, William Clark found, “Those people are friendly.” Clark recalled seeing the chief of the village fishing at the Long Narrows. The explorers were welcomed to land by the gift of fish, berries, nuts, and root bread for breakfast. The hospitality was so impressive that Clark wrote: “we Call this the friendly village.” After buying twelve dogs, four sacks of pounded fish, and dried berries, the expedition “proceeded on.” Compounding this goodwill was the reception granted to the newcomers at the next village four miles downstream. After smoking the pipe with the people of this village of 11 houses, Clark determined that “we found those people also friendly.”

Clearly the Nez Perce warning above Celilo had heightened Clark’s consciousness about equable relationships. But in retrospect, the whole notion of threats from “the nation below” Celilo proved chimerical. First, all the reports were second- or third-hand in nature. Upon close inspection, as Twisted Hair and Tetoharsky had themselves communicated, the Nez Perce did not speak the language of the upper Chinookan people who lived below The Dalles, nor did they travel into their country. In subsequent years the Wishram and other tribes near The Dalles would resist incursions from white fur traders who challenged their pivotal trade position. Indeed, on their return trip up the Columbia the following spring, Lewis and Clark would have a great deal of trouble with the natives in the vicinity of The Dalles. But on balance, the implied threat in the fall of 1805, Jim Ronda asserts, had less to do with Lewis and Clark than “relations between the Nez Perces and the Chinookans.” Though the Nez Perce had a trading relationship with tribes from The Dalles at certain times of the year, there were off-season tensions and occasional raids between the tribes. In conclusion, Ronda submits, the “alleged preparations for an attack on Lewis and Clark may have been rumor-mongering or an effort to justify the desire of the Nez Perce guides to leave the party.”

As for Sacagawea, she was, as C. S. Kingston phrased it, “a young woman of fine qualities.” She has a well-deserved reputation for courage, presence of mind, endurance, inquisitiveness, and industriousness, to say nothing of her obvious competence as a parent. As a genuine historical figure she needs neither legends nor myths, whether as guide or ambassador, to make her a sympathetic figure.

David L. Nicandri is director of the Washington State Historical Society and executive editor of COLUMBIA. This essay is excerpted from a book-length manuscript he is developing: “Far Short of Expectations or Wishes: Lewis & Clark in Columbia River Country.”
IN A FAMILIAR YET FOREIGN LAND

Edited and with an introduction by Cary C. Collins, compiled by Oscar H. Jones

PATHBREAKERS can emerge from collisions between seemingly opposing societies. These rare persons transcend their own circumstances to grasp the advantages and opportunities brought forth by the transforming encounter. Historian Margaret Connell Szasz has described these individuals as “cultural brokers,” those who step confidently between divergent worlds, integrating the cultures and values of both. Puyallup tribal leader Henry Sicade may never have perceived of himself as a cultural broker, but he filled that role in many ways.

Sicade was born in 1866, only a decade following the negotiation of the treaties of land cession that so irrevocably altered the course of Indian history in the Pacific Northwest. His life spanned the years of settlement and assimilation. Despite the obstacles that confronted him as an Indian living in the early 20th century,
Henry Sicade was one of the first students to attend the Puyallup Indian School, later renamed Cushman Indian School. When the school closed in 1920, it was converted into a hospital and tuberculosis sanatorium—Cushman Indian Hospital—shown here c. 1940.

Sicade managed to embrace aspects of non-Indian culture and still retain his Puyallup identity. He aggressively and successfully utilized American institutions as a vehicle to propel himself, his family, and his tribe toward a better life while at the same time preserving and strengthening the cultural traditions of the Puyallup people.

In 1873, just before his seventh birthday, Sicade enrolled in the Puyallup Indian School at Fife, near Tacoma. Seven years later he transferred to the first off-reservation boarding school west of the Mississippi, the Forest Grove Indian and Industrial Training School in Forest Grove, Oregon (now the Chemawa Indian School at Salem). While in Forest Grove he also attended Pacific University and for three years received instruction as a cadet in the university's military training program. However, after contracting tuberculosis he was advised to abandon the moist climate of the Willamette Valley. Heeding that suggestion, he dropped out of school, and signed on as a scout on a horse drive that took him across a large portion of the United States.

In 1887 Sicade returned home to the Puyallup reservation and entered into a new and vital phase of his life. In the ensuing decades, he served on both the Puyallup Tribal Council (46 years) and the Fife City Council. He held important positions with the Puyallup tribal police and judicial systems, worked as road supervisor for the City of Tacoma and as a district committeeman for the Republican Party. Sicade donated land and money so that a community church could be built on the Puyallup reservation, lobbied for the establishment of cemeteries on tribal lands, and acted as a special arbiter in assessments of Indian property. Always a strong proponent of education but at times a sharp critic of the national government's Indian education system, Sicade helped found the Fife Public School System on the Puyallup reservation, and served as director. Moreover, each of his eight children finished high school and several graduated from college, this at a time when Indians rarely pursued higher education.

Even as Sicade was appropriating many elements of the dominant society, he simultaneously championed the protection of native culture. Until his death he labored to keep Puyallup traditions alive. Besides his efforts among his own people, he became well-known in Tacoma for the frequent public presentations he delivered on the history and customs of his tribe. Through selectively combining Indian and Euramerican life ways, Sicade helped facilitate the Puyallups' entry into the modern era while doing his best to preserve the rich heritage of their past.

The following account of events in Henry Sicade's life was prepared in 1936 by Oscar H. Jones who in 1931 graduated from Washington State College (now Washington State University) and was immediately hired as a high school history teacher in Sumner. Sicade lived close by and, as a member of the Pierce County Pioneers Association, gave numerous talks on Indian history. Jones compiled this material and submitted it to Sicade for his approval. The document was then deposited in the archives of Washington State College, where it has remained for the past 70 years. Jones, in preparing the manuscript, integrated Sicade's first-person accounts with his own interpretation of the subject matter. Portions of the text appear to be direct quotations culled from interviews, letters, or articles by Sicade; other sections consist of descriptive narrative by Oscar Jones. This paper, in conjunction with Sicade's other writings (see COLUMBIA, vol. 14, no. 4), expands our knowledge of one of the most influential Puyallup tribal elders.

The original manuscript is housed in Manuscripts, Archives, and Special Collections, Washington State University, Pullman, Washington. The text has been edited for clarity and readability.

* * *

Henry Sicade was born in Lakeview (12 miles south of Tacoma) on February 12, 1866. Two pioneers kept the record of his birth—friends of his father, Harry Bowman and Steve Judson—but these records were destroyed by fire some time ago. Stann, his mother's father, was chief of the Puyallups Indians and other tribes in this vicinity. His grandfather's brother, Smoo'-tass, was elected chief of all natives of northern Washington and a part of British Columbia. He served so well that later he was given the honorary surname, Suss'-away. He was recognized by both the whites and natives as a fair arbitrator in settling disputes and ruled his people in such a way that all of them...
Sicade managed to embrace aspects of non-Indian culture and still retain his Puyallup identity.

revered him as almost a saint. When the French Jesuit missionaries came in the early 1840s he joined them because the Indian religion told of the Great Spirit and the guiding hand that the missionaries seemed to represent. He then traveled up and down the coast preaching to the natives about the Great Spirit who rules over man and nature and succeeded in converting thousands.

Chief Leschi, who was hanged after the Indian war of 1855-56, was his grandmother's brother. Leschi's brother, lui-e-muth [Quiemuth], was murdered in Governor Isaac I. Stevens's mansion in Olympia and nobody was ever apprehended for the crime. Indians suspected of taking part in the uprisings of 1855-56 were usually tried and put to death by prejudiced white courts of justice. Very few Indians were ever given a chance to defend themselves in the makeshift courts.

Henry Sicade's father Charles was a scout for the American soldiers during the 1860s and 1870s, so he had a better opportunity to understand the white men than other Indians of the time. The Hudson's Bay Company representatives in this section aided him greatly in a number of ways. They brought new ideas in farming and took pains to teach them to him.

In every case the members of the Hudson's Bay Company dealt fairly with the Indians, which the Indians appreciated. They were mostly of English and Scottish stock. No land, great or small, was taken from the natives without the consent of the tribal leaders. In most cases bartering was done through the exchange of goods needed by the Indians, such as blankets, cattle, and sheep. In some cases rentals were paid annually for the use of lands with this same type of merchandise. Intermarriage seldom occurred, but when it did, both parties gave consent and the marriage tended to turn out satisfactorily.

Sicade's ancestors originally came from the Six Nations of New York State near Niagara Falls. They were known to other natives as "plains peoples" and were of the roaming type, sometimes traveling great distances to hunt their game. Occasionally they were called upon to fight, and when they did they always gave a good account of themselves. Generally speaking, they were known as the greatest fighters, when necessity demanded, of all tribes. They were, however, a peace-loving group, never the aggressor, but always able to defend themselves when needed. These Indians were characterized by their fair dealings and honesty. They were always good mixers, and when they settled down to live permanently in any one place they soon became outstanding because of their superior intelligence and recognition of honesty. These plains peoples always got the consent of the other Indians when acquiring lands for their own, and it wasn't long until plains peoples were at the head of every tribe from ocean to ocean.

Sicade's ancestors in western Washington had no trouble making a living as the country abounded in plenty of food. The prairies provided many bulbs for food, and in different seasons. Berries were also plentiful everywhere along streams. Swamps and lakes abounded in "wapato" (native potatoes) and another bulb similar to onions but very sweet. These were dried according to the Indian process and they kept well all winter. The Indians were great eaters of berries and fortunately, too, the different kinds of berries ripened at different seasons, according to the heights of the lands. Salmonberries, blackcaps, native blackberries, mountain berries, seashore berries, and huckleberries grew in abundance. The Indians had a special way of preserving these berries, as well as drying them, so that they could be saved for winter use.

Streams contained all the fish needed and then some. Salmon runs occurred at different times in different streams, so the Indians followed the runs. The schedule ran as follows: White River run in June, Puyallup River run in August and September, and the Nisqually River run in November and December. If a certain river fell short on its run at any time, the deficiency would be made up from another river. The different tribes agreed to allow each other to fish their streams when these runs were in progress, and if a stream fell below its usual quota it would be made up on another stream with permission of perhaps another tribe.

Red salmon, steelhead, and tyee were especially suited for a unique Indian process of preserving for winter use. They were partly cooked over open fires (until the juices started to emit) and then hung out in the sun to dry. They were much different from the ordinary dried fish, however, inasmuch as the juices remained in the fish...
intact, protected by the harder shell on the outside. These fish remained fairly soft all winter and retained their delicious flavor indefinitely without ever spoiling. The above-mentioned species were the only ones that would respond to this process and give good results. Dog salmon were perhaps the most commonly consumed of all species since they were present in larger quantities and more easily procured. They were merely dried out in the sun and stored away for winter use. Ordinary trout were seldom caught, but the Indians had a reason for this. They knew that an abundance of trout meant a good run of salmon, so very little fishing for them was ever done.

Indians in this locality used three principal methods of fishing. The primitive Indians carved spears and hooks from bone and used both of these implements as a means of obtaining their fish. Most of the streams are fast-moving with a number of small falls here and there along their courses. If the stream was too large to wade, they used their canoes and moved to a spot under the falls where the salmon could be easily hooked or speared as they jumped. Later on, most of the tribes had a number of traps situated along the smaller streams, and this method tended to simplify their fishing and at the same time increase their supply. These traps were built of a framework of poles set across the stream at an angle of about 45 degrees with a platform built on the downstream side to accommodate the fisherman. Placed against the upstream side of this frame was a woven network of small poles, the mesh so small that the largest fish could not pass through. Submerged in the trap was a large dip net, and the fish swimming back and forth in their prison would soon become entangled in this net. The opening of the net was held in place by a pole hoop which was attached to three poles long enough to reach well above the level of the platform, coming to an apex there and fastened securely. A string from the middle of the net indicated to the operator when to draw the net to the surface.

Deer and elk were plentiful and easily obtained as a source of food supply. They were dried or smoked for winter use and this represented a good part of the winter food. Birds of all kinds could be killed at any time and seemed to increase in number until the advent of the white man. Regular trips were made to the seashore where clams and oysters were obtained. These were dried or cured and lasted for a number of months. While at the seashore some of the Indians engaged in saltwater fishing and their booty was divided among those who dug clams and harvested oysters. The saltwater fish were also cured for later use.

Few real hardships were endured by any of the early natives. It was taken for granted that each had to prepare for himself and his family enough provisions to tide them over through the sometimes long winters. During the harvesting, hunting, and fishing seasons of spring, summer, and fall this fact was always kept in mind. In cases of emergency, however, aid was liberally extended by other members of the tribe to the unfortunate ones who, through no fault of their own, ran short on provisions or lost everything they had.

Scarcade recalled his grandfather’s house, a building over 100 feet long that was divided into a number of living compartments that could comfortably house five families. Many times this house was filled during the winter months by families who would have otherwise suffered from lack of food and shelter. Large homes were typical of Indian life. Sometimes a number of families worked together in constructing a home and all of them lived in the single structure permanently. There were advantages in this arrangement. Usually the homes were long and somewhat narrow, divided off into distinct compartments, one for each family. They were made of cedar split from the larger trees and sometimes hauled long distances to the spot decided on by the families interested.
It would have been practically impossible for one family to construct one of these houses because of the labor problem. The site chosen was usually along a good fishing stream and near good hunting grounds. It was not uncommon for one group of families to settle by a good stream and soon others would follow until finally a small settlement would present itself. The following small settlements originated in this manner: Wapato Creek, Hyloobos, Clark's Creek, Brown's Point, Lakeview, Fern Hill, Spanaway, and there was once quite a thriving settlement where the Tacoma Stadium now stands. All along the Puyallup River little communities of Indian settlements could be noticed. It must be borne in mind that even though they settled in different places they were not so far distant from one another that mutual protection could not be obtained in cases of necessity. They still retained their tribal relationships and were first of all members of their tribe. All movements had to be given tribal sanction.

The Puyallup valley was typical of all western Washington valleys, so the following description could apply to any of them. The first striking change that has taken place in the last 100 years has been the change in the appearance of the landscape. All of the valleys were at one time free from the underbrush and second-growth trees that now obstruct one's views. Only on the hills on each side of the valley were there trees of any sort, and the valley itself was of a swampy nature, low, heavy peaty lands, mostly covered by water a good share of the time. The higher lands were free of trees but dry, and were used for grazing lands. The Pierce County prairies were open from Muck Creek to the Nisqually flats, with a few pine trees near Roy. The forestlands of today that are in places impassable because of the underbrush were then open to travel almost without the need of trails. The forests looked as though some strange power had ridded them of all small trees and other barriers to travel in the wooded sections. Even up to Paradise Valley and Longmire the forests were of great Douglas fir with few small trees and no underbrush that is typical of today.

When traveling, the Indians carried wigwams or tepees with them as temporary housing facilities. These were made from skins of animals and were treated in such a way that they were made water repellant. They could be set up in only a few minutes' time. The Puyallup and Nisqually Indians did very little traveling, and then only when the rivers were low enough to walk along the banks. Communication was handled by signals either through the sounding of drums or smoke signals from fires. These signals would be dispatched a short distance at a time but eventually reached their destination so that those last receiving them would be fully and accurately informed. Seldom were mistakes made.

Probably no groups of people have ever encouraged or put more stress on athletics than the Northwest Indian tribes. Muscular development and athletic skill were the very basis of their existence. Nowhere could the theory of "survival of the fittest" better be illustrated than with these people who constantly lived out-of-doors and competed with nature for their livelihood. Those with the greatest athletic prowess became the most respected and usually the leaders of the group. Competitive matching of skill was very common, not only within the tribes but between the tribes. Regular meets were held by every tribe on the west side of the mountains from time to time in order to determine the best. When these were held they were segregated out in age and size groups so that the competition would be equal. Those not competing would go long distances to see their favorites in action and would cheer them on but never ridicule or cast unfavorable remarks about an opponent. Poor sportsmanship in any contest or meet, by competitors or others, would not be tolerated.

Each year at Paradise a great celebration was held at which time all tribal differences were cast aside and all entered into an intertribal gathering climaxed by an athletic competition to determine the best athletes in the Northwest. From the north, south, east, and west they came to match skill in swimming, running, wrestling, boxing, disc throwing, spear throwing, and accuracy with the bow and arrow. When this event was staged the competitors and their following numbered in the thousands. From time to time throughout the year each tribal chief would call for a day set aside for athletic competition at which time all would look on for enjoyment and the younger ones would acquire the spirit.
they desired for their chief. In these elections as well as others, women and even children rated high by the tests were given the right to cast a vote. Sicade voted for a chief at the age of 14, and was given a life's seat on the council at the age of 17.

The judges at the elections consisted of three men, one representing each candidate and the third was a disinterested individual accepted by the other two. When the votes were counted it was open to the group and they were read publicly. The chief was almost always elected for life, although sometimes they selected one for a term on condition that he make good.

When the United States government took possession of this territory trouble occurred everywhere. Politicians had no respect for the rights of the Indians and many of them lost everything they had, including their homes and personal belongings. When Sicade's parents died he was still a minor and, according to the rule of the day, had no right to own property. His father had labored hard for what he had acquired and as the result of this had maintained a nice home with an abundance of land and a good orchard of fruit trees. The rascally politicians working for the government at the time swindled all of this from Henry. At the age of 17 he made a request to the United States government for lands on the reservation, and his request was granted. They gave him an 80-acre tract on his tribal reservation, and he immediately set to work to make for himself a home that he might be proud to call his own.

Officials from Washington, D.C., with whom he came in contact often remarked about his initiative and industry in developing his land. At this stage he decided to attend the white man's school in Oregon (Pacific University) so that he could better live among the whites. While attending there the United States agent in charge of the reservation assigned his land over to another man on the assumption that Henry had no right to own property since he was not as yet of age. The agent's action was upheld by the commissioner of Indian Affairs at Washington, D.C., so for the second time he was deprived of legitimate land ownership.

Sicade's father settled in the Puyallup valley in the summer of 1869, having moved from the Lakeview section. Realizing that an educational system was paramount if the Indian ever hoped to compete with the white, some of the more aggressive Indians of the day asked for the establishment of a school that Indians could attend. The demand was granted when a day school was established near Tacoma where the Cushman Hospital is now located. Sicade started to attend this school in January 1873. Poor equipment and inadequate teachers were the rule. So poor were the teachers that in a number of ways the students surpassed them in common knowledge of things they were attempting to teach. Facilities were so poor that the sixth grade was the limit, and in most cases the more intelligent students had finished reading and mastering all of the books available before that level of education had been reached.

On February 24, 1880, 18 of the more ambitious Indians left the Puyallup valley for Oregon where they entered the Indian Training School at Forest Grove, Oregon, which was later moved to Chemawa, Oregon. Even by December 1880 some of the group had graduated from the eighth grade. After Sicade's mother died he was forced to return home. He got a job as an errand boy for a general contractor in Tacoma at a wage of one dollar per day. In his association with the building trades he soon became quite an accomplished carpenter and in six months' time forsook the errand boy job for carpentry work at two dollars per day. Eventually his pay was again raised, this time to three dollars per day, and he began to save a little each month for additional education.

In July 1883 he left Tacoma for Tualatin Academy (Pacific University) with the hopes and good wishes of his employer. His funds were very limited, so outside work while attending school was necessary in order to make both ends meet financially. It wasn't long before he became acquainted with a number of pioneers in the vicinity of the school. At this point he became engaged in surveying, working as transit man for several summers during which time they surveyed most of the land in western Oregon. All of his earnings went back into educational channels during the regular sessions. While attending school he worked for farmers in the evenings and early mornings.

Optional military training at Pacific University was granted, so he enrolled and served two years in the infantry division and one year in the artillery. There were 115 recruits altogether, trained by officers from the regular United States Army. All of the supplies, arms, and ammunition were furnished by the government.

All of this taxed Sicade's physical strength to the utmost and eventually led to such a physical state that he was forced to drop from school because of poor health. He was advised to abandon his studies by a pioneer doctor who had come west in 1847 and was recognized by all white pioneers, and a few natives, as the real authority of the day. Those wise words of this country doctor still ring in the ears of Sicade: “No college education will do anyone any good when the health is poor. Go live outdoors, stay outdoors, sleep outdoors, and report back to me in one year. Now do as I tell you—be like your ancestors—and you will live to be of old age as they did.” Sicade now diagnoses his illness at that time as tuberculosis, very prevalent among the Indians who attempted to change their modes of living.

Adhering to the advice of the doctor, Sicade joined up with a group of cowboys at Pasco in the spring of 1886. At that time regular drives herded hundreds of head of livestock eastward. Those who were hired to go along had to be expert handlers who could also break horses. Before the crew was chosen, each was forced to undergo a grueling practical examination in horsemanship. Sicade was a stranger in that region and was put to this test along with the other candidates. He was given the job of advance scout—to precede the herd and arrange for pasture lands—and was entrusted
with a bag of gold with which to pay the range owners in advance of the coming horses. They started out with 600 horses, and by the time they had reached Dakota they had over 1,200.

On this advance scouting trip he encountered not a single Indian who did not willingly offer grazing lands for free. In the Black Hills section of the Dakotas the pasturelands were exceedingly poor at that time and Sicade felt it would be unfair to accept them without giving something in return. Yet, he was forced to beg the Indian chief to accept even $100. He later found out that this money was given to the poorer and more unfortunate members of that tribe.

The horse Sicade rode was an outlaw stallion he had broken some time earlier on a bet that the horse could never be broken. So began a friendship that never ended until the horse was finally sold in the east to an Englishman for the sum of $1,000. The Englishman shipped the horse to England where it was used for breeding purposes. Never once in the long trek across the continent did the horse fail Sicade, and many times he distinguished himself in competition with other horses. Once, some distance out of Livingston, about 40 cowboys came roaring by, yelling at the top of their voices, “Last man to Livingston pays for the whiskey.” Sicade immediately mounted his horse and, with a kind word, commenced to overtake the 40-odd cowboys streaking toward Livingston. In less than six miles he had passed half of them, and before reaching Livingston all of them were trailing by some distance.

The loser of wagers or contests in those days took it for granted that he had to “set up the drinks for the house.” Very few persons indeed on the early frontier refrained from the drinking habit so the loser usually found fancy with the group. Sicade, however, was and still is, an exception to the rule. He had never tasted a drop of liquor in his life. When he was on the receiving end of the bets, he always took cigars instead of whiskey, and yet never smoked any of them. The cigars were distributed among his friends.

Lawlessness and control by vigilance committee were the order of the day. In every community there existed a vigilance committee to deal out hasty so-called justice to cattle and horse rustlers who were engaged in the ruthless practice of stealing legitimate owners’ livestock. More than once on his trip through Montana and Dakota Sicade witnessed hangings of rustlers who were put to “quick justice” by these committees. Usually they numbered between 40 and 60 members, all accomplished riders and excellent shots.

Once, while in Livingston, Sicade accepted a dare to approach “Calamity Jane,” one of the most notorious outlaws of the day, and the result was one of the most thrilling episodes of his life. Her hideout was on a hill just out of Livingston where she kept at least 60 cutthroat outlaws who engaged in illegitimate raids on towns from time to time. When Sicade neared the hideout he was taken captive and arraigned before the leader, Calamity Jane. They were at that very time getting ready for a raid on Livingston and decided to take Sicade along.

In the raid that followed, every light in the town was shot out. They walked in one saloon after another shooting out the lights and smashing the mirrors in the back bars. At every saloon they enjoyed “drinks on the house” and then continued on their way to another saloon to destroy and devastate. After “the rounds had been made” they returned to the wrecked saloons and paid in gold for all the damage that had been done. The saloonkeeper then set up the drinks for the house and everybody joined in, except Sicade, who took his customary cigars instead of whiskey, and Calamity Jane herself, who reputedly “never touched the vile stuff.” At three o’clock in the morning the “party” came to an end and Sicade was ordered to turn his back on the group and not look back. Since each of the outlaws carried a Winchester rifle on his back and two revolvers on his side, he obeyed the orders even though he carried a six-shooter himself.
At Marysville, Montana, cowboys found enough fenced grazing lands to allow the horses to rest before continuing on the journey. While they were walking into one of the saloons in that town, a tough bully spotted Sicade and remarked to him, "Come on, you Red Skin, and drink with me." When Sicade refused, the man whipped out his revolver and repeated his demands. The bully began to froth and fume and demanded action when Sicade accused him of being the biggest coward in Montana. At least 80 revolvers were offered Sicade when he challenged the bully to a "shootin' match" on the outside. The bully, seeing that he meant business, "set up the drinks on the house," which was customary when one refused to accept anything of this kind.

By the time the drive had progressed very far, all of the hands had become fairly accurate shots, either on the run or standing. At the beginning of the trip the one in charge gave each man all of the ammunition he needed and told them all to shoot birds, rabbits, coyotes, or deer while on the run for target practice. Later, Sicade knew what he meant by this when a good shot and a quick draw oftentimes meant the difference between life and death.

The journey continued on to northwestern Nebraska, then up to Winnipeg Lake via the North Red River, through Baraboo, Wisconsin, and on to Geneva, New York, where the horses were all sold in less than a week. While in the East, Sicade made three trips to Buffalo City and Niagara Falls, crossed Lake Erie to Ontario, stayed for a time in Detroit, saw a good part of Michigan, and returned to Tacoma from Chicago.

In all of his dealings, Sicade has always kept the welfare of his tribe uppermost in his mind. Due to crooked white administrators of the time, Indians were mistreated terribly. Sicade was kept busy demanding justice for his fellow tribal members when they were arraigned before the white courts of justice. Their penalties oftentimes consisted of cutting wood or doing other work on the private property of officials. After constantly revealing these alarming conditions, he was able to stamp most of it out. As a reward he was given a federal government position as a sort of Indian supervisor or councilor.

In this position he saw much that is everything but a credit to the whites. Cheating the Indians, swindling them out of their tribal funds, and making attacks upon the moral code of the natives were quite common. The whites kept planning ways and means of getting him relieved of duty, but Sicade would not be denied. He used his early knowledge of surveying and construction. On road- and bridge-building programs he saw to it that Indians were employed and on a few occasions that only Indians were hired. The worry and strife of the position began to tell on him. When Seattle burned in June 1889 he went there for a rest, resigning his position with the government.

Immediately after arriving in Seattle, however, he was offered the job of finding 5,000 hop pickers for the Snoqualmie district. He accepted this position at four dollars per day with expenses paid. With eight assistants he started out to locate the necessary number of pickers. In this endeavor he covered Oregon, Washington, British Columbia, Alaska, and northern California. There was deposited in the bank $10,000 in his name; this he used to pay his eight assistants, charter trains, boats, or wagons, or use at his own discretion. He worked at this job for three years before returning to the Puyallup valley where he was again offered a job with the federal government as subagent and then as head agent. He refused these offers, knowing that honesty at that time was not appreciated or, in many cases, even tolerated.

For 11 years Sicade was road supervisor for Tacoma and vicinity. During that time he supervised construction of practically all of the roads leading to Tacoma as well as the city streets in Tacoma. This included building a number of bridges.

Sicade helped found the Fife Public School System in 1889 and has been its director since that time. The school now has an enrollment of over 700 pupils supported by common taxation. In the schoolyard is erected a marble commemorative monument honoring Sicade for his long service to the district.

Sicade has enjoyed his work among the whites in the valley and all of them have a great deal of respect for him. At one time he was foreman of a 600-acre farm where he engaged in raising hops as well as running a dairy. At the same time he was engaged in extensive general farming and took an active interest in improving his livestock, which consisted of horses, sheep, and hogs. He became known as one of the best breeders of high-grade livestock in this area and is now an authority in this line of work.

In 1896 he came to live at his present home near Fife and subdivided his other property into smaller units, which he has leased to truck gardeners and dairymen. In 1908 a wealthy pioneer died and left over 700 acres to Sicade. Sicade felt as though the land (very valuable valley land) really didn't belong to him since he was merely willed it, so it was all turned over to charity, with himself as trustee and general manager of it. He has this land leased and the income goes to the support of an orphans' home just north of Kent that houses children of every denomination, color, and creed. Realizing the value derived from religion (not necessarily Indian beliefs) he donated enough land and capital in 1906 to build a community church at Fife to be available to all denominations for their services. The structure still stands on its original site.

As a member of the Puyallup Indian Council he saw to it that two cemeteries were set aside from tribal lands and that $25,000 of tribal money was invested in United States government bonds that draw 4 percent interest annually, the interest earnings to be used for upkeep and maintenance of the cemeteries. Former tribal property has all been centralized with the Council of Puyallup Indians, which controls all tribal affairs. Arrangements were made with the government for the lease of
30 acres of tribal lands located where their school used to be. Cushman Hospital, a government institution, is now situated on this site. The government pays the tribe $750 per month rent for this land, plus the insurance on the buildings.

Sicade has served as arbiter of assessed lands for a number of years, but no one has carried a case to him for settlement. He acted also as appraiser for condemned water systems to be used by Pierce County, and his estimates were so fair that there were no objections offered. He bought most of the right-of-way for the Intercity Company that ran electric trains between Seattle and Tacoma for a number of years. He has at times been called upon by the Chicago, Milwaukee, St. Paul and Pacific Railroad Company, the Union Pacific Railroad Company, and the Northern Pacific Railroad Company to appraise lands and property.

Sicade's eldest son, Charles Stann, was born on January 16, 1898. He served for his country in the World War and is now an electrician in the Bremerton Navy Yard. His daughter Flora, born April 25, 1900, died at Sequim on November 8, 1926, leaving a daughter now 10 years old. When these two children were born, Indian midwives attended to details. His third child, Helen, born August 10, 1904, died during the influenza epidemic in 1918. His other children were Sarah, May 10, 1906; Clara, February 23, 1909; Harriet, April 14, 1911; Henry Jr., July 21, 1913; and Robert, March 10, 1916. Drs. Yocum, Kinne, and Curran attended the latter children at birth. Sicade's wife, Alice Lane, is in good health at the age of 59. She is the daughter of the last chief of the Puyallup Indians, Thomas Lane.

All of Sicade's children have gone through high school. Sarah graduated from the University of Washington after specializing in music. Clara graduated from a business school in Tacoma and has pursued this work since graduation. Henry Jr. has had one year in college plus two years of civil service schooling to prepare himself for government work. He is now in government service in the state of Arizona.

Sicade has traveled extensively. In 1915 he took his entire family to see the World's Fair in San Francisco, and in 1924 he was chosen as an official delegate to attend the Convention of North American Indians at Tulsa, Oklahoma. He has made several trips east to Washington, D.C., as a delegate for Washington Indians to settle their affairs and as a lobbyist to Congress in an effort to change the name of Mount Rainier to the aboriginal name, Mount Tacoma. In his travels Sicade has visited 37 states in all, and in some of these he has carried on extensive studies in personal matters.

Henry Sicade today represents a man of the highest ideals, and he and his family are respected as highly as any white person in the entire valley. He still retains his love of children and occasionally goes out to meetings of the younger folks and delivers addresses about a former age. He learned early in life that the best way to get along with the whites was to be one of them, not compete with them. He has always maintained this spirit toward the white man and has succeeded in holding their respect and admiration at all times. In his own words, "I thank them all, and may the Great Spirit guide and bless them."

SEVENTY YEARS after Lewis and Clark began their epic journey up the Missouri River, Lieutenant-Colonel George Armstrong Custer led the Seventh United States Cavalry from Fort Abraham Lincoln on the west bank of the Missouri River—"Headquarters of the Black Hills Expedition" under his command. The "General" sounded at 7:00 AM, "Boots & Saddles" at 7:50, "To Horse" at 8:00, and "Advance" at 8:10, reported Custer's adjutant and brother-in-law, Lieutenant James Calhoun. Private Theodore Ewert, a chronic grouser who left a vivid account of the expedition, conceded that its departure was stirring:

The companies wheeled by fours into line of march, guidons flying in the breeze, the band playing our battle quickstep, "Garry Owen," the officers dashing up and down the column with an air of importance, the men cheerful and full of chatter, and as we cast our eyes for the last time on Fort A. Lincoln up the valley, we saw the ladies of our command (the wives of officers and men) waving their scarfs and handkerchiefs in sad farewell, and just as we left the last ridge that overlooked the valley the men gave three hearty cheers, whose echoes must have been heard by the anxious women watching us from the fort.

It was July 2, 1874, and Custer was starting out just half a mile south of Lewis and Clark's October 20, 1804, campsite. "The Countrey is fine," Clark had noted in his journal, "the high hills at a Distance with gradual assents." The area teemed with game—elk, goats, and deer—and "great numbers of buffalow [were] swimming the river." The world, as for Custer in 1874, lay all before them. Lewis and Clark saw this site when they camped below the confluence of the Heart and Missouri rivers on August 18, 1806. They were on the last stretch of their epic "voyage of discovery," just over a month out of St. Louis where it had all begun two years, three months, and five days before.
Custer's Black Hills expedition was nowhere near so ambitious in its objectives or the time it would take to realize them. The Seventh Cavalry was back at Fort Lincoln on the 30th of August. But in its own right the 1874 expedition was a logistical marvel, involving over a thousand men and one African-American woman—Aunt Sally, as she was called—a cook.

General Orders of June 30 had established the "order of march." The Indian scouts would take the lead, followed by a battery of three Gatling guns and a cannon. Then came the ambulances and wagons, 110 in all, "the latter," according to orders, "when practicable to move in four columns." Next was an infantry battalion, marching in columns of two. Divided into two battalions, one company of the Seventh Cavalry would provide a rear guard while the other nine patrolled the expedition's flanks.

Captain William Ludlow of the Corps of Engineers was assigned to Custer's staff, and a small posse of scientists including Newton Winchell, geologist, and George Bird Grinnell, paleontologist, accompanied the expedition. Science, after all, along with the military objective of finding a suitable site for a new post, had been used to justify the expedition to skeptics who claimed its sole purpose was to invade Sioux lands in search of gold. Two "practical miners" managed to find a place among the expedition's civilian contingent, so judge for yourself.

In a shrewd political move, Custer had recruited the president's son, Frederick Dent Grant, from General Philip Sheridan's staff to serve on his own, presumably as Sheridan's representative since no one could figure why else he was along, though he was a congenial companion whenever a bottle was being passed around.

The band was along as well, of course—Custer could hardly do without its jaunty rendition of "Garry Owen" and such sentimental standards as "The Girl I Left Behind Me." If all worked out as planned there would be evenings in the Black Hills when music would enhance a few idle hours in paradise. Three hundred head of cattle were being herded on a one-way trail drive just in case paradise failed to yield enough wild game and trout for sustenance.

Five correspondents represented papers in New York, Chicago, St. Paul, and Bismarck. They were to fill the pages of the nation's press with first-hand reports of successive discoveries and triumphs that the military planners hoped would exceed even the most overheated expectations. The journalists did not disappoint. In advance, they told the public what the army wanted it to hear: the Black Hills were "unknown," "mysterious," and "unexplored." No white man had ever entered them. The only authentic map of the Black Hills was a blank sheet of paper. And so it went, building excitement and raising expectations.

"The press has praised the Black Hill country to the skies," Calhoun wrote in his diary on June 23: "We are informed in glowing terms 'that it is believed to be, a land of ambrosial luxury—flowing with milk and honey.' In fact so much has been circulated regarding this section of country, that thousands are wild with curiosity—longing to see it."

Their wish would be granted. St. Paul photographer William H. Illingworth had been hired by Captain Ludlow to prepare a set of photographs showing what some reporters had already dubbed "fairy-land." Though only 31, Illingworth was an experienced expeditionary photographer, having accompanied the Fisk expedition from Minnesota to Montana in 1866 with gold again the lure. His professional competence and gifted eye are responsible for the extraordinary visual record we have of the Black Hills expedition, his view of the expedition drawn up in
marching order not least among them. It perfectly expresses the official position voiced by Lieutenant Calhoun: “Our little army has wrought wonders. Acting as one great pioneer corps, it has paved the way for civilization.”

The expedition's commander was a figure familiar to fame. The “Boy General” held the regular army rank of captain in the Civil War but served as a Brevet Brigadier General when he was 23, and then as a Major General of Volunteers. At the age of 25 he earned the rank of Brevet Major General. In 1874 he still signed himself “Lieut. Colonel, 7th Cavalry” or “Brevet Major General, U.S.A.,” and was correctly addressed as “General.” In the Civil War, Custer had attracted attention for leading fearless cavalry charges, with his long cinnamon-colored hair streaming behind him and a red cravat topping off a self-designed uniform agleam with gold. While he fell from those heights of glory after the war, he was not demoted but promoted to the regular army rank of lieutenant-colonel in 1866 and assigned to the newly-formed Seventh Cavalry Regiment. There would always be a colonel over him, but he took effective command of the Seventh in the field and, perhaps rightly, considered it his regiment. In a shrinking postwar army filled with veteran officers who had served at much higher rank, promotion was notoriously slow; Custer was still awaiting elevation to a full colonelcy when he fell on the Little Bighorn in 1876.

The Black Hills expedition had been mounted in part at Custer’s urging. He “has expressed a desire on many occasions to explore the Black Hills, believing that it would open a rich vein of wealth calculated to increase the commercial prosperity of this country,” Calhoun observed. Since the end of the Civil War, Western interests had wanted the Hills opened to white settlement. Despite a treaty signed at Fort Laramie in 1868 granting the Sioux “absolute and undisturbed use and occupation” of the entire area, settler pressure continued to build. In the end it was General Philip Sheridan, commander of the Division of the Missouri, who, in consultation with General Alfred Terry, commander of the Department of Dakota under him, approved a military reconnaissance of the Black Hills. Ignoring critics who said they were caving in to special interests that simply wanted access to the allegedly gold-rich region, Sheridan and Terry took the high ground, citing military necessity. “In order to better control the Indians making... raids toward the south,” Sheridan explained, he “had contemplated for two or three years past, to establish a military post in the country known as the Black Hills.” In turn, Terry, who had been party to the 1868 treaty negotiations, argued that duly authorized government officials had always been permitted entry upon the Sioux Reservation “in discharge of duties enjoined by law.” “I am unable to see that any just offense is given to the Indians by the expedition to the Black Hills.”

Custer, speaking off the record, was more forthcoming. “It is supposed,” Calhoun wrote in his diary, that “in the vicinity of the Black Hills there are vast treasures of immense wealth. That rich mines await the industry of the hard-working miners. That precious metals invites discovery, and that in the bottoms of the many streams, and other parts of this domain, large deposits of gold are to be found.” He had obviously mulled over the subject with his brother-in-law, noting: “General Custer, fully alive to the interests of the Northwest, wishes to see this country for himself.” Custer’s rather flimsy rationale for the Black Hills expedition corroborates William H. Goetzmann’s observation that in America "exploration and science had to serve two ends.... Results from far-flung expeditions into the wilderness frontier, in the view of the emerging cadre of professional scientists, had to make significant contributions to the world’s body of knowledge.... On the other hand, expectant capitalists and the legislatures which supplied the funds for expeditions saw them purely as instruments for practical material progress."

There was one thing more. Custer fancied himself as much pathfinder as Indian fighter. He had led the Seventh Cavalry into the field from Fort Riley, Kansas, in March 1867 on General Winfield Scott Hancock’s 1,400-man expedition to cow the Southern Plains tribes. It proved one vast frustration—the Indians were maddeningly elusive, the expedition’s objectives muddled, and Custer ended up court-martialed and suspended from rank and pay for a year. He was reinstated to command...
before the year was out through the intervention of General
Sheridan and repaid the general’s confidence with a victory over
the Cheyenne on the Washita River in November 1868. His
standing as an Indian fighter soared in some circles, and sank in
others, where his victory was denounced as a massacre of women
and children. Controversy never hurt Custer’s image as a fighting
officer. But what stands out in his service on the Southern
Plains through the spring of 1869 were his long marches—indeed,
gallops—across vast swaths of country, and his carefully
cultivated reputation as a peerless hunter and a man who liked
to lead the way, riding with the scouts, not following them.

Reconstruction duty in Kentucky, even with ample opportu-
nity to savor the pleasures of bluegrass horseflesh, grew
wearisome, and Custer was elated when in February 1873 the
Seventh was reassigned to the Department of Dakota for ser-
vice against the Sioux. Within days of arriving at Fort Rice,
24 miles below Fort Lincoln, which was then under construc-
tion, he was back in the saddle leading his regiment on the
Yellowstone expedition. Mounted to protect the Northern
Pacific Railroad’s surveyors in the contested territory between
end-of-track at Bismarck, across the river from Fort Lincoln,
and a point due west on the Yellowstone River, the expedition
was under the command of Colonel, Brevet Major General,
David S. Stanley. When it struck the Yellowstone, the expedi-
tion proceeded along the river to Pompey’s Pillar, the take-
off point for an unexplored stretch on the proposed Northern
Pacific line. Without independent command in 1873, Custer
chafed at the constraints imposed on him by General Stanley;
in 1874 he was in charge of the expedition and could give his
roaming propensities free rein.

The idea of visiting new country and bestowing names on
the land naturally appealed to Custer, but he viewed himself
not as another Lewis and Clark so much as a plainsman, a
restless soul who liked to see what was over the next hill. He
knew men like Wild Bill Hickok and Buffalo Bill Cody, and
his outburst can still send shivers down the spine. If
Custer had an “O! the joy!” moment in the Black Hills, it
occurred early, on July 25, when he led the expedition into what
he named Floral Valley. In his official dispatch he wrote:

The country was entirely unknown; no guides knew anything
of the route before us…. At head-quarters it was not believed
that I would get through. So strong was this impression, that in
the official order issued for my movement there was a clause au-
thorizing me to burn or abandon all my wagons or other public
property, if, in my opinion such steps were necessary to preserve
life. I could not help but smile to myself as I read that portion
of the order. I had no idea of burning or abandoning a wagon.

This could all be chalked up to conceit. But even critics
like Private Ewert said that Custer was undaunted when it
came to scouting ahead, and as the Black Hills expedition
neared its end, Custer would tell his wife how busy he had
been, “and how hard and constantly I have worked to try and
make the expedition successful. I have attempted to be se-
veral other things besides commanding officer—particularly
guide—since the expedition started.”

The Black Hills expedition, in accordance with General
Terry’s orders, was to reconnoiter the route from Fort Lincoln
to Bear Butte and then explore the area to the south, southeast,
and southwest. Since it had to march 292 miles before it was
even in position to enter the Black Hills proper, getting there
and back was more than half the fun. Of the 60 days the expedi-
tion spent in the field, less than 26 were spent in the Black Hills.
The rest were occupied crossing the prairie and Bad Lands.

The expedition entered the Black Hills from the
northwest on July 20 and exited them heading
cast on August 14. Prior to entering the Black
Hills, the party’s judgment on the country tra-
versed appears to have been mostly negative. Members of the
engineering and scientific party told Lieutenant Calhoun
that “they had formed a very unfavorable impression concerning
this region.” But on the 20th, “their unfavorable opinions
vanished like the ‘morning cloud and early dew,’ and they were
astonished to behold such a sudden change.” Captain Ludlow,
in his official report, confirmed Calhoun’s observation:

The change from the hot, dry, burned-up landscape…was
wonderful. The temperature was delightful; the air laden with
sweet wild odors; the grass knee-deep and exceedingly luxuri-
ant and fresh; while wild cherries, blueberries, and gooseber-
ries abounded, as well as many varieties of flowers. All these
advantages, combined with that of an abundance of pure cold
water, were ours…. On November 7, 1805, prematurely as it turned out, Wil-
liam Clark penned the immortal words: “Ocian in view! O! the
joy!” His outburst can still send shivers down the spine. If
Custer had an “O! the joy!” moment in the Black Hills, it
occurred early, on July 25, when he led the expedition into what
he named Floral Valley. In his official dispatch he wrote:

Its equal I have never seen. Every step of our march that day was
amid flowers of the most exquisite colors and perfume. So luxuriant
in growth were they that men plucked them without dismounting
from the saddle…. It was a strange sight to glance back at the
advancing columns of cavalry, and behold the men with beautiful
bouquets in their hands, while the head-gear of the horses was
decorated with wreaths of flowers fit to crown a queen of May.
Ah, Fairy-land! Custer, for all of his reputation as a flamboyant officer with a flair for the dramatic, wrote prose that was often mannered and stiff. But the Black Hills had freed up the poet in him, resulting in this unforgettable image of soldiers at play in the fields of the Lord. Depression might stalk the land, and politics, as always, were a corrupt mess. But out in Dakota Territory the world was fresh as morning and the prospect of exploring unfamiliar country—and literally prospecting for gold—kept hearts light. In this spirit, the exploration proceeded.

On July 26 William Illingworth perched his tripod and camera on a rocky promontory above Castle Creek valley and created a masterpiece—Western exploration's most thrilling photograph. Two strategies suggest themselves in portraying exploration. One can frame the subject from the explorers' perspective as they scan the country ahead. An artist at mid century, Thomas M. Burnham, did exactly that in painting "The Lewis and Clark Expedition." The area behind the two explorers is washed in the light of knowledge, while the area before them is cast in deep shadow. It is the dark mystery that they must penetrate, shedding light as they go. Illingworth favored a different strategy. He adopted the perspective of the uninvaded hills, observing the explorers' advance. He showed the expedition's wagon train snaking its way through the valley below—a serpent invading Paradise. Of course, that was not his judgment. His is the perspective from on high, God's view, the magisterial gaze. Capturing it involves a sleight of hand, of course, placing the photographer in advance of the explorers, though evidence of how Illingworth managed this trick can be seen in the valley below where close inspection reveals his spring wagon with its precious cargo of glass plates and chemicals, awaiting his return from the heights. In the full image one can even see his developing tent on the rocks to the left. But such details need not spoil the illusion. Illingworth's photograph fairly shouts, "Heeeere's Custer!!" Is there a finer picture anywhere illustrating the idea of exploration?

On July 31 several of the expedition's officers enjoyed a sparkling good time, a moonlight-and-magnolia moment in the Black Hills. The abstemious Custer was away from camp doing his pathfinding, climbing Harney's Peak five miles to the east with a small party of dedicated explorers. They had "great
difficulty” in making the ascent, but enjoyed the view from its crest, “the highest point in the Black Hills,” Custer noted. There, “we drank the health of the veteran out of compliment to whom the peak was named”—General William S. Harney, in short, and presumably with water on Custer’s part.

The Big Party was back at camp. The enlisted men whiled away the long summer day playing a game of baseball—a genuine Black Hills “first,” including a dispute over the umpire’s impartiality. Afterward, some of the cavalry officers hosted a champagne supper. A tarpaulin was spread under the pines, a box of cigars passed around, and bottles of champagne—at least one per person, Illingworth’s photograph shows—uncorked.

The gentlemen had become “rather ‘boosy’ before ten o’clock p.m.,” Private Ewert observed; a reporter added, “The whole party were pretty well hobbled.” Since Company H’s captain, Frederick W. Benteen, was among the revelers, the H Company Glee Club provided musical accompaniment, then was sent to disturb the “peaceful slumbers” of a correspondent who had turned in early. The reporter repaid the quartet’s rendition of “Come Where My Love Lies Dreaming,” “Dinah’s Wedding,” “Vacant Chair,” and “Under the Willows” with two bottles of whiskey, which, Ewert assures us, were gone before morning. Custer’s group did not straggle back from Hamey’s Peak excursion until one o’clock in the morning. By then, no doubt, all the revelers were enjoying their “peaceful slumbers.”

I do not mean to minimize the expedition’s hard work of clearing deadfalls, climbing mountains, and locating paths into the Black Hills’ park-like valleys. Custer’s party was so late getting back to camp from Hamey’s Peak because the return, Captain Ludlow reported, “was a struggle against almost every possible obstacle—rocks, creeks, marshes, willow and aspen thickets, pine timber, dead and fallen trees, steep hillsides and precipitous ravines.” Perhaps having heard once too often that the Black Hills expedition was just an extended picnic, Private Charles “Chip” Creighton tartly remarked, “We had what you might call a picnic, with nothing to do but cut down trees and build roads.”

In the opinion of most participants, however, it was all a grand picnic. Illingworth’s views of the various camps in the Black Hills seem less martial than Arcadian fantasy fulfilled—including his pictures of the “permanent camp” (August 1-5) in Agnes Park, named after a Custer family friend. From here, exploring parties fanned out to the south and southeast, one under Custer himself, and near this camp the prospectors, panning on French Creek on August 5, confirmed earlier reports. There was gold in the Black Hills, “in small, yet paying, quantities,” to quote Custer’s report. Private Creighton put his own spin on matters:

I was detailed to accompany prospectors as one of a guard. This was a fine trip if you think looking for gold is fun. Try it sometime for your own enjoyment. Dig a hole four or five feet deep through gravel and sand until you come to what is called “bed-rock,” then you commence to wash the gravel, and after having worked all day, you find no gold. If this doesn’t satisfy you, repeat the process the next day and perhaps you will succeed in finding, by extra hard work, gold paying from four to five dollars; the next day nothing, and so on. It is fun if you like it, and it’s fun if you don’t.

Still, fun it was. The monotony of garrison duty over summer had been avoided, a relief to officers and men alike. Soldiers hunted the abundant game (no buffalo, however) and fished in crystalline streams; the trout rose readily to the fly. Even Private Ewert allowed that Agnes Park “is as near faultless as nature, unassisted by human hands, could make it.” Everything considered, the 1874 expedition was a success. “In entering the Black Hills from any direction, the most serious, if not the only obstacles, were encountered at once, near the outer base,” Custer reported. “This probably accounts for the mystery which has so long existed regarding the character of the interior.” Many natural features now bore names—Custer’s Gulch, Custer’s Valley, Custer’s Canyon, Custer Park. Like that veteran whom he toasted on July 31, Custer even had a mountain named in his honor, Custer Peak.

No picnic would be complete without a group photograph, and Illingworth obliged. On August 13 the officers and scientific men posed in camp on Box Elder Creek at the eastern edge of the Black Hills, with Custer lolling in the grass and his Arikara scout Bloody Knife seemingly standing guard over him. With that formality out of the way, it was time to head home. Wrote Custer:

Nearly every one [was] loath to leave a region which had been found so delightful in almost every respect. Behind us the grass and foliage were clothed in green of the freshness of May.
In front of us, as we cast our eyes over the plains below, we saw nothing but a comparatively parched, dried surface, the sun-burnt pasturage of which offered a most uninviting prospect both to horse and rider.

Custer's prose was again pitch perfect, evoking the contrasting images of the West as garden and the West as desert. By extension, the expedition's departure from the Black Hills on August 14 could be considered an expulsion from a western Eden. Certainly, leaving the hills marked the end to the summer's idyll. Now the soldiers were impatient to be home.

**The Black Hills expedition's return to Fort Lincoln on August 30 was triumphant but in striking contrast to its departure when the soldiers rode away with guidons snapping and the wagons in perfect formation.** Now the caravan looked more like an army in retreat. Illingworth made a wonderful photograph of the returning expedition, bedraggled, certainly, but displaying the unmistakable swagger of success. And Elizabeth Custer provided such a good description of their arrival at Fort Lincoln that you can see in your mind what she saw with her eyes:

> When the day of their return came, I was simply wild with joy. I hid behind the door as the command rode into garrison, ashamed to be seen crying and laughing and dancing up and down with excitement. I tried to remain there and receive the general, screened from the eyes of outsiders. It was impossible....
>
> When we could take time to look every one over, they were all amusing enough.... Many, like the general, had grown heavy beards. All were sun-burnt, their hair faded, and their clothes so patched that the original blue of the uniform was scarcely visible....
>
> The boots were out at the toes, and the clothing of some were so beyond repair that the officers wanted to escape observation by slipping, with their tattered rags, into the kitchen-door. The instruments of the band were jammed and tarnished, but they still produced enough music for us to recognize the old tune of "Garryowen," to which the regiment always returned.
>
> By and by the long wagon-train appeared. Many of the covers had elk horns strapped to them, until they looked like strange bristling animals as they drew near. Some of the axles were brought to us as presents. Besides them we had skins, specimens of gold and mica, and petrified shells of iridescent colors, snake rattles, pressed flowers, and petrified wood. My husband brought me a keg of the most delicious water from a mountain-stream. It was almost my only look at clear water for years....

In his reminiscences of service in the Seventh Cavalry from 1872 to 1876, Lieutenant Charles Varnum devoted a single paragraph to the Black Hills expedition since nothing startling had occurred. "We marched west to the Little Missouri river & south to the Belle Fourche, then entered the hills near Inyan Kara peak, and passed through the hills emerging near where Rapid City, S.D., now is," Varnum recalled. "We were gone sixty days & marched about 1200 miles in all." Private Creighton summed things up even more succinctly: "Without any particularly exciting events, we arrived back at Fort Lincoln...."

All things considered, predictions were right: the Black Hills expedition had proven a pleasant summer's excursion. A simmering garrison feud between two enlisted men did result in a fatal shooting, and two other soldiers died of natural causes. The fact of Sioux ownership of the Black Hills had been confined to a few distant glimpses and one close (but largely peaceful) encounter on July 26 with a five-lodge hunting party of 27 Sioux from the Red Cloud Agency in Nebraska. The Hills were terra incognita only to whites; for the Sioux who regularly travelled through them, they were simply an extended backyard. Smoke signals were seen and interpreted as dire warnings of impending hostilities, but none materialized. Anticipated dangers proved as ephemeral as the smoke. The biggest Sioux problem Custer encountered that summer was preventing his Arikara scouts from butchering the Sioux hunting party on the 26th. One of the Sioux was apparently wounded by a Santee scout when he chose to part company with Custer's column, but the general could fairly claim after his return: "Some thought I courted an engagement [with the Sioux]—such was not the case, and I congratulate myself and the country on the return of the expedition without bloodshed."

For Custer, the big news that summer was that "at last" he had "killed a grizzly after a most exciting hunt and contest." On August 7 he finally bagged his bear—or so he claimed. Private Ewert insisted it was just an old cinnamon, not a grizzly, and doubt remained as to which member of the hunting party shown in the Illingworth photograph actually fired
the fatal shot. “Colonel Ludlow, Bloody Knife, and Private Noonan are with me in the group,” Custer wrote his wife, since “we constituted the hunting party.” But, he added, “I have his claws.” To the victor belong the spoils. That was Custer’s bear.

Of course, scientific knowledge had been augmented in the process of getting Custer his trophy. Bill Goetzmann is not unkind in assessing the fruits of the Black Hills expedition, but clearly its scientific work was compromised by haste and mixed motives. In contrast were the reports issued in the wake of the Newton-Jenney expedition to the Black Hills the following year—a nearly five-month exploration mounted at the instigation of the Interior Department to determine “with accuracy whether the ‘Black Hills’ country does, or does not, contain valuable mineral deposits.” Its final report, Goetzmann writes, “compared favorably with anything ever done by government explorers.” Too, the 1875 expedition reflected a shift already under way from military reconnaissances like Custer’s to “academic-oriented” civilian ventures “staffed by experts from Eastern and national institutions.” The age of the pathfinder in army blue was drawing to a close.

FINALLY, GOLD HAD been discovered in the Black Hills in 1874 in quantities sufficient to make newspaper headlines and start excursionists outfitted with pick axes, shovels, and pans on their way to Dakota, in further violation of Sioux treaty rights. Wishful thinking propelled them, since, as Captain Benteen observed, on “our summer picnic to the Black Hills of Dakota,…monstrous little of the root of all evil” was actually found. Nevertheless, “reports of having gotten such fabulous quantities, turned about half the West loose, searching for their share of the golden content of the Hills.” The Indian scouts who in 1874 interpreted the smoke signals they observed as portents of trouble ahead had only to wait two years to see their prophecy fulfilled.

OPPOSITE PAGE: Custer with his grizzly, Bloody Knife on the left and Captain Ludlow on the right, August 7, 1874.


RIGHT: The Black Hills expedition on its return, August 1874.
Coda: Leaving One's Mark

Among the many things Bill Goetzmann has taught us about exploration, perhaps the most important is that exploration is a cultural performance. It involves programming: "It is purposeful. It is the seeking. It is one form of the learning process itself." Such a seemingly literal activity—measured in miles and degrees of longitude and latitude, and involving a chronological progression that makes it ideal for narrative treatment—is, Goetzmann has pointed out, preeminently an act of the imagination. Let me end with a little imagining myself.

I cannot say that I have ever found a single direct reference by Custer to Lewis and Clark, and even if there is one, it seems fair to conclude that he was more interested in the future—in what he could accomplish out west—than in the past. Explorers leave their names—and sometimes literally their mark—upon the land. Donald Jackson, who wrote the standard book on Custer's Black Hills expedition, was best known as an expert on the Lewis and Clark expedition. In commenting on the often ephemeral nature of cartographic fame, he once noted that of 148 names Lewis and Clark registered on the map of present-day Montana, only 27 have survived. One of them is Pompey's Pillar, named in honor of Sacagawea's infant son (Jean Baptiste, called Pomp or Pompy by Clark). Everyone familiar with the Lewis and Clark story will recognize the name of the pillar and its significance.

It was there to be discovered in 1873 when General Stanley's Yellowstone expedition camped across the river from Pompey's Pillar on August 15. Stanley had decided on a layover, and the next morning several hundred men from his command, including troopers of Custer's Seventh Cavalry, were washing their clothes and bathing in the Yellowstone when a small party of Sioux dashed around the pillar and opened fire. Caught literally with their pants down, the soldiers stampeded in panic, creating what Stanley in his official report termed a "ludicrous" sight. He could afford to be amused since no one was hurt, though Sergeant John Ryan of the Seventh Cavalry recalled that one bullet passed through his independent, month-long exploration south and east of Travelers Rest, inscribed his name and the date July 25, 1806, near its top. Today that inscription is the only surviving evidence of the explorers' passage through the West.

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No confirmation exists that Custer at this time crossed the Yellowstone to inspect Pompey's Pillar on the other side. I like to imagine that he did, and that he studied William Clark's inscription. The next year he would be in charge of his own exploring expedition, and leaving his mark was on his mind as well. On July 11, more than a week before entering the Black Hills, Custer stepped into a cave covered with Indian pictographs and grandly designated it Ludlow's Cave in honor of his chief engineer. It was hardly a cave at all, Private Evert snorted, just a "rent in the cliff... forty-five feet deep," but it attracted those eager to leave "a momento of their visit."

"Several of our officers scratched their names and rank on the stone wall at the entrance," Lieutenant Calhoun noted in his diary, "so that the redskins may find the names of some who left civilization to pay them a visit and explore an unknown country." One hears in this an echo of Clark's journal entry at Pompey's Pillar (or Tower, as he styled it): "The natives have ingraved on the face of this rock the figures of animals &c. near which I marked my name and the day of the month & year." Adding history to an evidently prehistorical register was irresistible. It is unclear whether Custer personally felt the same urge at Ludlow's Cave, but on July 22 a small party climbed Mount Inyan Kara at the western edge of the Black Hills and near its summit Custer—or perhaps a grateful Captain Ludlow—inscribed the words "G. Custer" below the year "'74." Again, there is no evidence that Custer had William Clark's precedent in mind, but it adds a compelling symmetry to our story.

Now let me round it out. A cavalryman on the Sioux expedition in April 1876 was reprimanded by Lieutenant James Bradley of the Seventh Infantry for carving his name on Pompey's Pillar over the "k" in Clark. His defence: "Be Jases, it's a dam lie anyhow, for there wuz niver a white man in this country sixty years ago." Nevertheless, he and his fellow soldiers had "been busy all day transmitting their names to posterity by carving them in the soft sandstone" of the pillar. So much for human vanity. A month later George Armstrong Custer would lead the Seventh Cavalry from Fort Abraham Lincoln to help crush the Sioux. He was about to pay the price for his Black Hills expedition and all it had precipitated. Lieutenant Bradley, as commander of the scouts for Colonel John Gibbon's column, on June 27 would be the first to set eyes on the "appalling sight" of Custer's "entire command in the embrace of death" on a ridge above the Little Bighorn River not far from Pompey's Pillar.

Left behind at Fort Lincoln, Elizabeth Custer anxiously awaited word of her husband. On July 6 she learned she was a widow. So she packed her belongings, gave away Custer's beloved hunting hounds, and on July 30 left Fort Lincoln for good, turning her back on the West that had claimed his life. She was 34, the same age as her husband when, brimming with excitement, he had led his expedition into the Black Hills and there encountered a magical valley "whose equal I have never seen." Elizabeth Custer died five days short of 91. She never remarried.
Alert and curious to the end, she would have read about Calvin Coolidge's summer vacation in the Black Hills in 1927 and seen photographs of him in Deadwood on August 4 sporting a feather warbonnet after he was adopted into the Sioux tribe and given the name Chief Leading Eagle—Wamble-To-Ka-Ka, according to a local paper (make of that what you will; the New York Times rendered it Tokaha). Comfortably seated in the presidential box, Coolidge watched a program that included a reenactment of Custer's Last Stand before boarding the train for Custer, built on the site of the camp in 1874 where enlisted men played baseball, officers sipped champagne, everyone fished, and miners close by would make the first confirmed discovery of gold in the Black Hills.

In turning her back on the West in 1876 and crossing the Missouri from Fort Lincoln to Bismarck—a boat trip she always dreaded—Elizabeth Custer passed near the camp that Lewis and Clark had made on August 18 on their return journey 70 years earlier. They had encountered rain and violent winds since bidding farewell the day before to Sacagawea, and 19-month-old Pompy. Clark had been moved enough at their parting to offer to take the "butifull promising Child" with him to St. Louis and raise him "in Such a manner as I thought proper." Pompy—Jean Baptiste Charbonneau—would die in 1866 after living a life no novelist could have conjured up, including an education in St. Louis under the patronage of William Clark; a stint in Europe with Duke Paul Wilhelm of Wurttemberg; periodic visits to the Indian villages on the lower Missouri; a fur trade interlude that took him to a rendezvous on the Green River; experiences with John C. Fremont and Alfred Jacob Miller's Scottish patron, Sir William Drummond Stewart; service as a guide with Stephen Watts Kearny's Mormon Battalion on its march to the Pacific during the Mexican War; a little California dreaming that encompassed the Gold Rush; and a trip north "to familiar scenes" when gold was discovered in Alder Gulch, Montana.

Captain Clark's Pompy lived life large, but Pompey's Pillar stands as the one enduring monument to exploration's most touching story. I hope George Custer saw it and with a finger traced William Clark's inscription.

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The World's Speedway

In front of the seashore town [of Long Beach, Washington] is a level stretch of sand which begins at the fishing rocks about a mile to the southward and stretches as far north as the entrance of Willapa Bay, an unbroken and matchless speedway of hard sand...forming a driveway and racetrack over twenty-five miles long." Thus the Union Pacific Railroad describes the Long Beach peninsula in this c. 1925 brochure. In contrast, the State of Oregon was at that time diligently purchasing coastal properties for a system of state parks that would preserve the pristine beauty for the citizens of the state. The brochure text goes on to say, "The vacationist who loves the quiet of solitude and the beauties of the great-out-of-doors is easily satisfied," while every page contains photographs of racing motorcycles and automobiles. Ah, man and nature living together in harmony!
The Saga of Spokane’s Runic Rock

BY JAMES FINLEY

I was a Viking old!
My deeds, though manifold,
No Skald in song has told,
No Saga taught thee!

—Longfellow’s “The Skeleton in Armor”

During the summer of 1926 Spokane became the focus of considerable controversy when a set of painted symbols on a boulder north of town were declared the work of 11th-century Vikings who had left them as a memorial of a bloody skirmish with Indians. Preposterous? Many thought so, but the sensational story ignited interest all over the country as it buzzed along the wire services. Instantly, the eyes of the nation were trained on Spokane’s “runic rock,” the city’s odd new claim to fame.

The rock paintings themselves had been known for decades prior to the suggestion of nonnative origins. The boulder they adorned sat upon property purchased in 1888 by Robert McKinley, reportedly a city man who had fled the East Coast looking for new opportunities in the wild Northwest. He came with his wife and child to Washington Territory, homesteading north of Spokane on a tract of land just below the Five Mile Prairie bluff, near what is now called Indian Trail Road.

The McKinleys built a log home and planted fruit trees near a stream that trickled from a spring at the base of the bluff. (McKinley gave the spring the odd appellation “Mother of Noxage” because of its unpleasant iron taste.) Next to the spring sat the large basalt boulder, 50 feet long and 50 feet tall, which looked to have tumbled in some remote time from the cliff above.

The rock had a peculiar look: it was positioned so that its basalt columns ran horizontally. Approaching them from the west, one saw their hexagonal caps all jointed together, looking like the carved stones of an ancient wall. When McKinley discovered that one end of the great boulder was marked with reddish yellow symbols—what archeologists call pictographs—he figured they were old Indian symbols, and he planted an American flag atop the rock to suggest to visitors that the paintings should be respected and not destroyed in the reckless pursuit of souvenirs. He guarded the site well, even forcing a neighbor who was using the ground nearby for a hot-house, to stop marking the rock with chalked warnings of “keep out.” Several times McKinley invited the Indians who lived in a nearby encampment to decipher the symbols, though evidently they could not. “Secret,” was all they would tell him.

For the next 40 years the McKinleys lived contentedly in the shadow of their painted rock, operating a ranch on their homestead while to the south the city of Spokane expanded into a major population center and the economic hub of the Inland Northwest. By the mid 1920s Spokane had a population of about 100,000 and the city limits stretched almost to the McKinley property line. One day in early July 1926, Mrs. Margarete Amundsen Reynolds, a member of the Northwest Historical Society,
called at the McKinley home asking to see the rock paintings. How she knew of them is uncertain, but it is likely they had been registered with the society (other similar sites had been located along the Indian Trail Road and had received attention over the years).

The McKinleys complied with Reynolds’s request, always interested if someone might be able to decode the mysterious markings. However, they could hardly have been more surprised when, once she had examined them, Reynolds announced her theory of their origin: She believed they were not Indian at all but Norse runic symbols—evidence of a pre-Columbian Viking expedition to the Pacific Northwest. Having been a student of runes for years, Reynolds claimed to recognize many old Norse characters among the indecipherable markings.

Was it possible, the McKinleys wondered, that a party of medieval Norsemen really had stepped foot on this ground and left such a record? Reynolds and the McKinleys decided not to break the news by themselves. Before going public with the story, they consulted with Reynolds’s esteemed colleague, Professor Oluf L. Opsjon of nearby Dishman, for further verification. Opsjon, after studying the symbols, concurred with Reynolds in her opinions but offered an even more exciting theory. Opsjon not only agreed that Norsemen had visited the spot but whether or not he had ever been affiliated with a college or any other institution remains a question. Despite his uncertain credentials, Opsjon was immediately hailed by the paper as an “expert,” and anything he had to say about the rock paintings was instantly deemed newsworthy.

Physically, he couldn’t have looked the part any better. A photograph from the period shows us a stocky sexagenarian in a three-piece suit with an inquiring if somewhat distrustful stare, high Scandinavian cheekbones, and snow-white hair and goatee. Accordingly, the anonymous reporter responsible for that initial story (thought to have been Larry Crosby, older brother of Spokanite crooner Bing), gave Opsjon room to pontificate in a very high manner:

In all the runic inscriptions I have been able to translate, as they are found on rocks from Labrador and the New England states, through Canada and the United States to Alaska and Puget Sound, some of them dating back to a period before the Christian era, I have never before found a record so filled with thrilling description of action as this one almost within the city limits of Spokane.

In fact, Oluf Opsjon had been featured in the Chronicle at least twice in recent years, expounding on his theories of pre-Columbian European visitors. First, in July 1919, he had made startling claims about a set of rock paintings found along the Columbia River in Klickitat County. Opsjon was commenting on a conventional theory of their origin given a week earlier in the Chronicle by William S. Lewis of the Eastern Washington Historical Society. Lewis had said they were made by Columbia River Indians and represented common things like people, animals, and plants. Opsjon disagreed:

The symbols and characters painted and inscribed in the distant past are symbols and Runic letters of the earliest Teutonic alphabetic characters…. It is my conviction that the… Runic characters were placed on the ‘painted rocks’ by men high in the scientific knowledge of astronomy…. [The] characters, I believe, represent a symbolic table of astronomic calculations, giving the equinoxial [sic] point of the ecliptic intersection of the sun crossing the equator into the autumnal equinox of the sign of Capricorn.

Opsjon was resolute in his radical theories, boldly confident they could withstand what he must have anticipated would be an onslaught of criticism from a scoffing scholarly establishment. Yet, his grand claims never sparked much interest in readers at the time, and the paper did not pursue the story further.

Five years later Opsjon declared in a November 1924 issue that he would soon make “two startling disclosures” regarding the location of Viking artifacts in Washington. The first would be the unearthing of a stone tablet inscribed with a “message written in runic letters” containing a report of early Viking exploration in the area; the second would be the actual uncovering
of a secret Viking grave come spring: "Records recently discovered indicate that a Norse grave has been found in this state. When official sanction has been secured, Opsjon intends to open the grave.... Opsjon believes he can exhume a Viking chief in full armor." This was obviously more dramatic stuff than the mumbo jumbo of 1919, but when spring arrived and nothing came of the story, it, too, quickly died.

Despite these earlier articles' inability to attract much interest, eccentric theories would always be newsworthy in an age of ballyhoo when sensationalism reigned and papers were in heated competition with one another. The professor gave a detailed interpretation of this new runic inscription to the Chronicle, and here, in slightly altered form (for the sake of clarity), is what Opsjon claimed Spokane's runic rock told him:

In the year 1010 AD or 916 years ago, a band of Norse vikings, consisting of 24 men and seven women, one of the latter with a baby in arms, was following this old trail, traveling from the west toward the east. Exhausted and thirsty, the band came to the spring beside the trail, and camped. The spring was not a large one and the water was drained from it.

A party of Indians came along and they, too, were tired and thirsty. They found the spring empty and they immediately attacked the Norse party, in an effort to drive it away.

The record left tells that the men of the party put the seven women and the baby on top of the boulder, where they could not be reached by the Indians, and the men stood about the base, fighting the Indians.

Twelve of the Norsemen were killed and the others escaped; after, the women were taken as prisoners and carried away by the Indians, while the woman with the baby in her arms was thrown from the top of the boulder and killed.

Later, six of the survivors of the expedition returned to the spring and the scene of the battle. There they dug a grave near the rock and buried their dead, who had been stripped of everything they possessed by the Indians.

It is one thing to speak of "equinoxial points" and "ecliptic intersections," but wholly another to describe a bloody battle and a woman with a baby in her arms being thrown from the top of a boulder. Opsjon had learned well the most important lesson of sensationalist reportage: give people something they can thrill to. Readers were thirsty for excitement, and reporters were trained to wring every ounce of juice from a developing story.

Opsjon was also smart to indicate that there would be more to come: "I am certain that I will be able to decipher characters which are now only partially revealed, and which may be the records of a still earlier expedition of Norse.... This record still further substantiates my previous claims that the Norse had been in America long before Columbus."

The idea that Vikings made excursions to North America was hardly a new one, even in 1926. By then it had been generally accepted that Leif Ericson (975-1020 AD) had established a settlement, c. 1000 AD, that lasted perhaps a
few years at a place the Icelandic sagas named Vinland, “Wine-land,” though historians weren’t sure of the location until the 1960s when archeologists uncovered convincing evidence of a Viking settlement in L’Anse-aux-Meadows in Newfoundland. But since the early 19th century, Americans (particularly those of Scandinavian extraction) and others had been eager to claim that Vikings had made continuous North American landfalls centuries before Columbus. In 1837 Danish philologist and antiquarian Carl Christian Rafn published Antiquitates Americanae, a study claiming that Norse colonies once dotted the Northeast coast, even as far south as Cape Cod.

By the beginning of the next century Viking “relics” were discovered in nearly every state in the union, in every province of Canada, and in several countries of Central and South America. The most celebrated Viking artifact to date has to be that found near Kensington, Minnesota, in 1898, where a large stone slab covered with runic inscriptions was unearthed on the farm of Swedish immigrant Olaf Ohman.

Despite some compelling finds, however, most Viking discoveries have failed, utterly, to stand up under the scrutiny of archeologists and scholarly authorities, and even those like the Kensington Stone, which have many claims to genuineness, remain highly controversial. Most scholars are willing to concede that Leif Ericson and company may have occupied the northern tip of Newfoundland, but are far from embracing the idea that Vikings could have pushed on across the continent or sailed around Cape Horn into the Pacific.

Countering the discouraging words from conventional scholars, proponents of pre-Columbian, intercontinental European adventurers continue to be a vociferous bunch, and their theories have even been the focus of recent articles in The Atlantic Monthly and Newsweek. In fact, there are several pseudoscientific magazines dedicated entirely to this subject, the most visible being The Ancient American, which has subtitled itself “The Voice of Alternative Viewpoints.”

Oluf Opsjon’s viewpoints about ancient, perhaps even pre-Christian, Teutonic explorers and their “astronomical calculations” sound surprisingly contemporary, given the recent increased interest in “diffusionist” theories of pre-Columbian visits to the New World. For many anthropologists and archeologists in this burgeoning school of thought, North America was a melting pot of world cultures long before 1492. They see Chinese immigrants in ancient South America, Egyptian architects in Mexico, and Irish missionaries in Canada. Some, like Opsjon, even see ancient trade routes swagging across North America, across Siberia, and into northern Europe. Accordingly, the Vikings who died in the Spokane skirmish of 1010 AD would have been only a few of the many thousands of Europeans who had criss-crossed North America from before recorded history. Had Oluf Opsjon been born a century later, he might have found himself a champion of the new diffusionism, the voice of a developing school of anthropology.

As it was, however, Opsjon’s theories were difficult for most people to take very seriously. Over the next few days, the Chronicle worked hard to keep Opsjon’s claims newsworthy, but criticism from the archeological establishment and a lack of further hard evidence soon began to dog the professor. As early as July 6, Walter Hough, head curator of anthropology at the United States National Museum, was quoted in the New York Times as saying, “This is the most visionary of all the stories I have heard of the Norsemen penetrating into the heart of America. . . . Of all the efforts that have been made to put the Norsemen west of the American Great Lakes this is the one that is the most unbelievable.” That same day, Herbert J. Spinden of Harvard’s Peabody Museum was quoted in the Associated Press as saying,

The thing is so inherently impossible that only the sharpest and most infallible proofs could support it. . . . It is very doubtful whether a painted inscription on a rock surface would last 900 years . . . . But it does seem possible that a sanguine Nordic could imagine such a welter of lines into a perfectly definite inscription dealing with such a romantic episode.

Opsjon made efforts to deflect the criticism: “Dr. Spinden doesn’t know, that’s all,” he said. “Ancient rock paintings are numerous throughout the northwest, and all are well preserved. If they would last even a hundred years . . . they would last many hundreds of years.” He even invited Dr. Spinden and “any gentlemen of science who consider themselves qualified to translate Runic script and Runic monograms to come to Spokane and make their own independent investigations.” He was sounding more like a man on the defensive than an expert speaking from a position of secure authority.

The Chronicle also did its share to support the lucrative story. Next to Dr. Spinden’s attack it published an AP story from Seattle relating what was purported to be a Clallam Indian legend about “blonde men who came in three ships to the British Columbia coast 12 generations ago.”

Philip Howell, a member of the Clallam tribe, reportedly heard the legend from his grandmother, Kwachitun:

The fair giants ventured inland and in six moons some of them sailed away in one of the boats with the wife of Lodybath, an Indian. Lodybath heard her cries and pursued the Norsemen in a canoe but was left far behind. His tribe mourned with him the loss and that is why the legend is remembered so vividly. . . . The rest of the blond venturers, the legends say, battled with the Indians and some of their women were captured. The warriors who escaped were taunted and murdered. On the coast, the two ships which had waited were never claimed but lay upon the shore until the wind and waves beat them to pieces.

Howell even claimed that the blondes among the Clallams were “proof” of early Norse visitations, and that the rock north of Spokane had long been thought by Indians to be the burial site of the
blond “invaders.” Opsjon was quick to refer to this report as further evidence of the accuracy of his theories.

And it should be noted that Opsjon’s claims had enough popular momentum to draw scores of motorists to the McKinley ranch to view the rock paintings. On the first weekend following the breaking story, McKinley reported that he had been kept busy showing the rock to curiosity seekers: “In addition to those visiting the rock,” he said, “parties spent the day examining the bluffs in the vicinity, apparently searching for other traces of runes. I have no idea how many times I have explained the story of the battle of the spring as deciphered by Professor Opsjon.”

In the ensuing days, Opsjon himself led tours of the site, and Margarete Amundsen Reynolds (who had almost been forgotten by the newspapers) delivered a lecture to a church group on the subject of the runic inscriptions. On July 10 a noted geologist, Frank H. Nowlton, visited the rock, making copies of the symbols so they might be studied by government archeologists back in Washington, D.C.

Oddest of all was the plan for a nightly pageant at a Dishman race track, a reenactment of the “Battle of the Springs in AD 1010,” meant to coincide with the Indian Congress being held July 21-27 in Spokane. Lou Longbotham, a spokesman for the event, described the pageant as if he were an excited youngster ready to play cowboys and Indians, only his “cowboys” would wear horned helmets and brandish swords:

The battle will show the pioneers of 1010 coming down from the hills with Indians encamped above, and arriving at the bowl of the amphitheater, the pioneers will build a stockade near a spring. Then the Indians will swoop down upon the palefaces and battle them as did the Indians of 1010 with the Norsemen, burning the stockade.

If only Professor Opsjon could muster something so spectacular. The best he had come up with was an expanded version of his original Viking episode. On July 8 he detailed a sequel to the Chronicle about how the Vikings who had ventured to the Spokane area were actually members of “two expeditions which explored several sections of the Pacific Northwest in 1010.” Another party, he said, ended up “swimming for their lives across the Columbia River to escape from Indians.... They crossed the river to safety and then starved beneath the river cliffs where they sought refuge.” He told the paper: “The carvings describing the swim are located in Grant County, Washington, and have the same characteristics as the paintings found north of [Spokane].” He claimed that the carvings depicted images of the Norse gods Odin, Thor, and Freya:

These impressions on the Columbia river prove that the carvers knew of the old religious teachings of the Norse. A stack of key and other characters indicate that the Norsemen, trapped by Indians with only hay to eat, starved. I translated these inscriptions two years ago, but have made no previous announcement of them.

Again, however, in the face of growing skepticism, what Opsjon needed most was a substantial piece of artifactual evidence. The curious would only remain satisfied for so long with dubious legends, lectures, and interpretations of obscure symbols. Two years earlier Opsjon had promised to uncover a Viking grave and a warrior’s skeleton dressed in full armor. Now he had been quoted as saying, “As to the burial mound, it is plainly visible, but it would have nothing within it, as the dead were stripped.”

This was awfully small beer to give readers thirsty for something to thrill to. If he didn’t do something more dramatic soon, the story would die. Within a day of the story’s breaking, he had been the subject of numerous critical editorials in papers around the country, but by July 12 he was being satirized in cartoons.

The crucial moment came on Tuesday, July 13, when a party made up of Professor Opsjon, Margarete Amundsen Reynolds, Robert McKinley, and Ed S. Hoag (a Chronicle reporter) began to excavate the earth below the rock paintings. Naturally, the dig was the event everyone had been waiting for. Opsjon may have played it down earlier, but he could hardly have doubted
that, once a Viking grave had been mentioned, sooner or later he would wind up with a shovel in his hand. Two years earlier, when he had claimed he could uncover a Viking skeleton in armor, the Chronicle reminded readers of "the discovery in Fall River, Massachusetts, in 1831, of a grave containing a skeleton in armor which inspired the Longfellow poem." No doubt, hopes were now high among Spokanites that a figure clad in "warlike gear" would make an appearance "in the vast forest here."

The excavation lasted through the week, but by Saturday all that had been revealed were some bone fragments (human or not, no one would say), a smooth stone that could have been used as a mallet, and a flint arrowhead. The Chronicle did its best to milk these finds for all they were worth by stating beneath its headline, "Excavating Party Substantiates Theory of Early Norse Visit," and including exciting speculations in the accompanying article. "That the arrowhead had not been shot wild, striking the rock, is indicated by its perfect condition," read the story. "The point is sharp and not broken as it likely would have been if it struck stone. Buried in human flesh, it would have been interred with the body." However, few readers would have been surprised that some bone fragments, a stone tool, and an arrowhead were found near what was, for ages, a known Indian campsite. To fill out the story, the paper included interviews with members of the Spokane tribe who, apparently, were willing to state that the symbols were ancient and not made by Indians, but these testimonials, ultimately, were just more words. Alas, the "infallible proofs" that Opsjon desperately needed to ensure his credibility eluded him.

According to a small story in the Spokane Daily Chronicle a day or so after the lackluster excavation, a motion picture photographer, William Hudson of Pathe News, arrived at the site to take newsreel shots of Opsjon and Robert McKinley in front of the rock paintings. From that point on, however, little else about the runic rock would be deemed newsworthy by reporters. After July 20 the bold headlines and front page stories and photographs were all gone, and what little remained to be said was relegated to tiny blurbs deep in the paper. Even the newsreel photographer had been discouraging, expressing doubts that "the painted characters would show clearly in the film, due to their peculiar coloration."

But the story wasn't ready to die just yet. After four months of quiet, interest in the symbols was partially revived when world-famous arctic explorer, scientist, and writer Vilhjalmur Stefansson expressed an interest in seeing them. Stefansson, on an extensive lecture tour of the United States, was scheduled to deliver three talks to Spokane audiences during a week in mid November 1926. Evidently, the Canadian explorer knew of Spokane's runic rock and, while staying at the grand Davenport Hotel, said he would like to examine the markings. Reporters had covered Stefansson's every move during his visit—quoting him on political matters, asking him about the growing popularity of "spiritualism" and his friend Sir Arthur Conan Doyle's current involvement in it, photographing him shaking hands with "Swat King" Babe Ruth, who was also staying in the Davenport at the time. Now they could follow the great man on an expedition to a controversial archeological find and render his verdict. It would be the perfect finish to Stefansson's week-long stay.

Opsjon was not present that Saturday afternoon when Stefansson was driven out to the McKinley ranch to see the markings. Perhaps it was just as well, for he would likely have felt chagrined by Stefansson's strong doubts about the symbols being runic:

"They look to me more like ancient stone markings similar to those I have found in various parts of the world.... I do not profess myself as an authority on runes, but the markings I find here are not similar to runes as I know them in Iceland, Greenland and Scandinavia.... The belief that the markings are not those of Norsemen should, however, detract nothing whatever from their interest, as they are probably much older than had they been placed there by Norsemen."

Stefansson thought they might have been made by "a race of people who may have been the antecedents of the Indians," members of a civilization that "existed in this northern part of this continent thousands and perhaps hundreds of thousands of years prior to the present Indians.... These markings are probably from the stone age." The last sentence of the article told of how "impressed" Stefansson was with the rock's surroundings, and that he "sipped of the mineral water which flows from the spring beside the rock." Clearly, the Chronicle's earlier enthusiasm for Opsjon's claims had now vanished; no direct word or rebuttal from the professor was included in the story.

And that was, more or less, the last Spokanites or anyone else would hear about the runic rock for years. After his fleeting moment in the limelight, Opsjon once again retreated backstage, living the rest of his life in nearby Dishman, continuing to work out his elaborate theories and, allegedly, publishing an occasional article based on his research. Indeed, bits and pieces of his ideas surfaced from time to time in the local press. One profile of Opsjon, appearing when he was 75 years old, showed him to be as assertive about his radical opinions as ever:

When southern Europe was a land of bearded savages, the Norsemen were holding regular commerce with the natives of the Americas and of the Pacific continents of Australia and Asia. They were making regular scheduled journeys in their boats, carrying with them articles of trade and bringing back gold and other valuables.

Another article even had him speculating on the Viking origins of certain Indian place names in the Pacific Northwest and elsewhere:

Mr. Opsjon declares many geographical names of the region, heretofore considered of Indian origin, are derivations of Nordic words. Spokane, he says, comes from "spa kene," Nordic for spoken. Idaho he translates from "e do ho,"
Nordic for “Is that she?” Going further east he makes Sioux from “si oux,” early Norse expression for “Say axe.”

The article also claimed that Opsjon saw in the original name of Mount Rainier, “Takoma,” the Norse expression for “We must give thanks,” for that was what the Norse explorers did as they reached the crest of the Cascade mountains. Indeed, the Old Norse word for "thanks" is “takk.”

On Friday, February 26, 1943, an obituary notice in Spokane’s Spokesman-Review read,

Funeral services for Professor Oluf Opsjon of Dishman, who died Thursday and whose interpretation of mysterious signs on rocks in the vicinity of Spokane attracted nationwide attention, will be held this afternoon. Opsjon insisted that writings on rocks north of the city were not Indian characters but were of Viking origin.

The notice gave little other information—certainly no indication of the extent of his theories and no coverage of the “nation-wide attention” he had garnered. The “sanguine Nordic” was finally laid to rest at Riverside Memorial Park in Spokane. In the years following his death occasional write-ups of his life and work appeared in the pages of Spokane newspapers, and schoolchildren made reports and presentations about his runic rock, but little serious attention was given to his ideas. Indeed, his reputation became that of a colorful eccentric, a zany personality whose popularity rose and fell in the Zeitgeist of the “Roaring Twenties.”

But Spokane’s runic rock endures. In the 1950s the McKinley property came into the hands of the Good Shepherd Sisters who were looking to establish a new site for a convent. Throughout their tenure on the land the nuns were very good about directing guests to the symbols. A Jesuit priest and professor from Gonzaga University, Father Wilfred Schoenberg, put together a collection of materials about the runic rock and lent it to the sisters so they could inform visitors of its colorful history. By the 1980s the property and buildings were occupied by the Excelsior Youth Center, a school for troubled teens, but the Good Shepherds’ practice of showing visitors the way to the rock and giving them a report based on Father Schoenberg’s research was still going strong.

Today, the spring is filled with debris and a cement marker that formerly stood at the top of the rock, inscribed with the words “Robt. McKinley, wife and baby—Oct. 1888,” has been destroyed. Most tragic of all, only two of the ancient pictographs are still visible, for it is said that years ago vandals took potshots at them with rifles and painted or carved their initials over them. Not surprisingly, most experts today are convinced that the symbols are Native American and, like other rock paintings along Indian Trail Road, their meaning is still an enigma. In any case, looking at the site in its present pathetic state, it is difficult to imagine the hullabaloo that went on around it nearly 80 years ago. One wonders how anyone could have believed the paintings to be anything other than Indian markings. But then again, in the summer of 1926 Spokane was young and booming and looking to make a name for itself. And Oluf Opsjon was alive, conjuring the spirits of his ancestors.

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At the end of World War I the lyrics to a popular vaudeville song asked, "How Ya Gonna Keep 'Em Down on the Farm After They've Seen Paree?" Country life reformers during the first two decades of the 20th century believed they had the answer to the lyrics in their faith that all rural problems "resolve themselves in the end into a question of education." Young men and women began drifting away from the farm into the city long before doughboys saw "Paree." Increased land prices, expanded farm mechanization, miserable health and sanitation, bad roads, isolated and lonely farm life, the drudgery of farm work and, above all, inferior education drove country boys and girls into the city as a place to make a living and have a more genteel life.

National country life reformers, who were for the most part businessmen, academics, and journalists, saw the reduction of rural population as both a moral and economic problem. Farmers and rural reformers believed, were individualistic, law-abiding, intelligent, devoted to family and to private property, and morally superior to urban dwellers. The loss of the yeoman farmer meant the loss of traditional American ideals and perhaps the loss of democracy itself. Moreover, if the movement from the land continued, the nation and eventually the world would have difficulty providing food for an increasing population. Keeping as many rural youth on the farm as possible was America's best hope of maintaining food production and, more importantly, perpetuating traditional agrarian values.

Concerned about the growing exodus from the farm, President Theodore Roosevelt formed the Country Life Commission in 1908 and appointed Liberty Hyde Bailey, dean of the College of Agriculture at Cornell University, as its chair.
in district schoolhouses no later than December 5, 1908, to discuss how to improve rural life. Minutes from approximately 200 schoolhouse meetings were sent to the commission.

No issue evoked more response at the hearings, on the circulars, or at the schoolhouse meetings than education. The rundown one-room rural schoolhouse with its ineffective teacher and classical curriculum was blamed for ineffective farming, lack of new ideas, and the continual drift of young rural folks toward the cities. Even though the school building might be adequate and the teacher experienced, country life reformers feared that rural schoolchildren were being taught a curriculum fitting them for professional life in the city rather than life on the farm. To keep boys and girls on the farm, reformers demanded consolidated schools staffed with teachers trained in agriculture and country life subjects who would remain in the rural community, and curricula that emphasized the practical over the theoretical, the study of nature and the pleasures of country life. The rural school, reformers believed, was the community's natural social center, a place where farmers and their families could obtain the latest information about crop production, good roads, health, sanitation, and domestic science, and where social, recreational, and fraternal gatherings might decrease the isolation and loneliness of farm life. In short, country life advocates saw the role of "the country school as a center for redirected education and community building."

Like their national counterparts, Washington's country life reformers expressed grave concern about the migration of young people from the farm to the city and blamed rural education. Unlike many areas of rural America, Washington's rural population doubled from 307,000 in 1900 to 614,000 in 1920. Fueled by homestead acts and newly reclaimed land, the number of farms doubled during the period. Washington's country life reformers welcomed the increase in rural and farm populations but were troubled by the state's urban population explosion that increased from 211,000 in 1900 to 743,000 in 1920.

This unbalanced population growth and its implications drew the attention of Governor Marion E. Hay, an enthusiastic country life advocate, who advised the 1911 state legislature that "growth in the agricultural districts, the very basis upon which the prosperity of the country rests, has not kept pace with city increases." Echoing the national country life reformers' sentiments, Hay informed the solons that the reasons for the farm exodus were chiefly the "lack of religious facilities, schools, society, transportation, and good roads, and the scarcity and high cost of help."

Leaders of Washington's country life movement were middle-class, well-educated men and women who believed in President Roosevelt's country life philosophy and policies. Spokane businessmen and chamber of commerce members Edwin T. Coman, Fred Niederhauser, David Brown, Frederick A. Goodall and H. J. Neely recognized that the city's prosperity depended on agriculture. Edwin A. Smith, editor of Spokane's Twice-A-Week Spokesman Review, a newspaper devoted to farming, mining, and forestry, used his forum and his influence on the Spokane Chamber of Commerce to promote better rural education. Other businessmen, like former state senator and Garfield grain merchant R. C. McCroskey, and Waterville engineer and land agent A. L. Rogers saw the country life movement as a chance to improve their businesses and their communities through better rural education. The professional education elites—Enoch A. Bryan, president of the State College; N. D. Showalter, principal of Cheney Normal School; Superintendent of Public Instruction Henry B. Dewey; and Josephine Corless Preston, Walla Walla County school superintendent and later state superintendent of public instruction—were determined to improve rural education and rural life. Regardless of their individual agendas, Washington country life reformers eagerly awaited the arrival of Roosevelt's commission in Spokane.

Hosted by the Spokane Chamber of Commerce, the Country Life Commission, represented by Chairman Bailey and Commissioner William S. Beard, arrived in the city on December 4, 1908. After a train ride from Colfax to Spokane and lunch in the Hunters Room at the Spokane Hotel, the commissioners held a two-hour hearing in Opportunity that was attended by nearly 250 people. Chairman Bailey sharply questioned community leaders about why boys and girls left the farm. Most leaders agreed that the fault lay with the rural education system.

Opportunity's school principal, Jacob Vercier, told the commission that rural schools were not doing what they could to keep children on the farm and that the state had failed to provide a farm-related education. In response to Bailey's inquiry, Vercier pointed out that rural teaching provided teachers with five or six months' work and that their salaries were lower than those paid to itinerant farm workers.

Bailey then turned to the school curriculum and asked Vercier, "Is there anything taught in the schools that would induce boys to stay on the farm?" "No, there is not even a garden on the campus," the principal responded, apparently referring to local Opportunity schools. "Occasionally, I have known of fruit trees being planted, but they are usually let die." The solution,
The Commission desires to secure the opinions and observations of farmers, teachers, missionists, business men and others on the condition of country life, and their suggestions as to what needs to be done. Some of the subjects into which the Commission wishes to inquire are stated in the twelve questions on this sheet, and under each head two questions are asked. The Commission desires your reply to the questions under any one or more of the heads. Please reply at once, using the enclosed envelope (no postage required). The names of correspondents will not be made public.

The Commission will be glad of any further discussion of the above subjects that you may desire to make, or of any other subject pertaining to the general economic, social or sanitary conditions of country life. Such supplementary information may be written on a separate sheet.

The general purpose of the Commission’s work is to arrive at an understanding of conditions and of public opinion with regard to American country life as a basis for a report and recommendation to the President; and to this end the Commission invites the cooperation of every citizen. Other subjects are to be taken up otherwise.

If you receive more than one copy of this circular letter, it will be explained by your name occurring on more than one of the address lists used. Please hand the duplicate to a neighbor.

Vercier confidently told Bailey, was to, “instill in the minds of children that the farm is a beautiful, healthful, wholesome place to live, and that agriculture is a high calling. This must be started in the home and the schools should cooperate [in] inculcating those ideas.”

The next day the commission held two hearings in Spokane, one in the morning at the chamber of commerce building and one in the afternoon at the state armory. The audiences consisted of mostly businessmen, academics, country life advocates, representatives of various farm organizations, and a few farmers. The hearings drew people from Spokane, one in the morning at the chamber of commerce and one in the afternoon at the state armory. The audience consisted of mostly businessmen, academics, country life advocates, representatives of various farm organizations, and a few farmers. The hearings drew people from the Big Bend country, the Palouse region, Idaho, and Oregon. When Bailey addressed the issue of why boys and girls leave the farm, Mrs. Paul Clagstone from Bonner County, Idaho, commented that young girls leave the farm because of their mother’s discontent. “Wives in Idaho,” he informed the commissioners, “do nothing but work and care for their babies.” The solution she said was to teach domestic arts and agriculture in rural schools.

Professor H. T. French, director of the experiment station at the University of Idaho, charged that rural schools did nothing to encourage rural students toward agriculture. Defending farm boys against allegations that they wanted to avoid hard work, Professor French advised the commission, “Boys do not leave the farm because they are afraid of work, but because they are made to feel that the higher attainments of life are reached only through the professions.”

By prior arrangement, farmers in Washington, Oregon, Idaho, and Montana met on December 5, 1908, in local schoolhouses to discuss the farm problem. Before the meetings, the editor of the Spokane Twice-A-Week Spokesman Review published a list of 25 topics that farmers might discuss, including the farm home, rural schools, rights and privileges of farm women and children, prices of farm products, good roads, keeping boys and girls on the farm, smaller farms, and postal and telephone service. In February 1909 the newspaper reported the results of the schoolhouse meetings along with a newspaper-sponsored contest on how farm life could be improved. By a heavy margin farm homes and rural schools ranked first and second, respectively, followed by good roads, prices of farm products, and postal and telephone services.

On December 6, 1908, the national Country Life Commission left Spokane for the rest of its grueling tour and on January 23, 1909, submitted its report to President Roosevelt. Two weeks later Roosevelt transmitted the report to Congress with a request for $25,000 to enable the commission to complete its study and publish its report. President Roosevelt was outraged when the House of Representatives killed the appropriation, but he was leaving office and there was little he could do to save the commission’s work. Country life reformers urged incoming President William Howard Taft to continue the commission, but he took little interest in the project.

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Chamber of Commerce hosted the state’s first Country Life Day at the annual Apple Show. The organizers invited rural reformers from Oregon, Idaho, and Montana to create a Northwest Country Life Commission that would continue the national commission’s work in the region.

On November 18, 1909, Chairman Edwin T. Coman called the Country Life Convention to order. The chairman’s opening address was delivered to a mixture of business and professional men, academics, students, and farmers. He told the excited audience that the Roosevelt administration had accomplished four great achievements; (1) settling the Pennsylvania coal strike, (2) negotiating an end to the Russo-Japanese war, (3) calling the governors together in Washington, D.C., to discuss conservation of natural resources, and (4) establishing the Country Life Commission. Focusing his remarks on the commission, Chairman Coman concluded by saying, “If this current from the country to the city can be reversed this country life agitation will have accomplished more for the benefit of the American people than any one movement inaugurated in the last generation.” Other speakers took the podium and addressed a wide range of country life topics focused on keeping boys and girls on the farm, including the importance of the farm kitchen, domestic science, farmstead beautification, and rural education.

The audience was surprised and delighted when Frederick A. Goodall, president of the Spokane Chamber of Commerce, announced to the assembly that the chamber would print and distribute copies of the national Country Life Commission’s report at its own expense. Retired Major General Thomas H. Tannatt introduced a lengthy resolution that thanked the chamber for its community spirit and urged the chamber to obtain permission from President Taft to print the report. The resolution was quickly adopted and after the convention adjourned a telegram was sent to President Taft asking permission to print the Country Life Commission’s report for free distribution. The president had no objection. In December the report was received by the chamber, published, and distributed free of charge.

The primary purpose for the convention was to establish a permanent Northwest Country Life Commission. Washington State College President E. A. Bryan introduced a resolution to form a committee in order to create a “permanent organization of the country life movement, and to secure from the governors of the Pacific Northwest, a joint commission on country life, without expense to the respective states, said commission to work in conjunction with and at the expense of the Chamber of Commerce of Spokane.”

The resolution was quickly adopted. Chairman Coman appointed to the committee R. C. McCroskey; General Tannatt; Paul Clagstone, a Harvard-educated speaker of the Idaho House of Representatives; M. L. Dean, a Montana state fruit inspector; John L. Dumas, former president of Washington’s Horticultural Society; and C. E. Whistler, a horticulturist from Medford, Oregon. The hastily formed committee met and proposed the following resolution:

Resolved that C. E. Whistler of Medford, Ore., Paul Clagstone of Clagstone, Idaho, M. L. Dean of Missoula, Mont., and R. C. McCroskey of Garfield, Washington, be and are hereby appointed each as a committee of one to lay before the governor of this state, the plan for creating a Northwest Country Life Commission and secure from him, if possible, the appointment of a state commission of five members, all of said state commissions to constitute a joint Northwest Country Life Commission, the duty of said joint commission shall be to provide for at least one day’s discussion during each Spokane National Apple Show, or at such time and place as shall be designated by the chairman of the Washington State Country Life Commission, of problems pertaining to country life and perform such other duties as in their judgment will promote the objects and aims of said commission.

The resolution’s intent went beyond Bryan’s original motion and requested that the governors of each Northwest state appoint a country life commission whose members would work for rural reform within their own state and meet as the Northwest Country Life Commission at the yearly Apple Show in Spokane. The conference adopted the resolution unanimously.

After the convention adjourned, the committee members wrote letters to their respective governors urging the chief executives to create country life commissions. R. C. McCroskey’s letter to Governor Hay included a copy of the resolution and requested that the governor appoint a five-member commission. Initially, Hay moved quickly to appoint members to the commission. Responding immediately to McCroskey’s letter, Hay speculated that he might appoint the former senator as well as Bryan, David Brown, Edwin Smith, and State Senator W. H. Paulhamus, and thought that there ought to be a woman on the commission. President Bryan recommended Mrs. W. H. Lawrence of Puyallup or Mary Carpenter, Whatcom County school superintendent, as excellent nominees for the commission. Governor Hay grew cautious about his appointments when he learned from David Brown and Edwin Smith that the commission’s role might be more extensive and comprehensive than the governor had first thought.

On January 17, 1910, Brown and Smith invited Hay, Bryan, McCroskey, and Paulhamus to a meeting in Spokane to discuss the new commission’s membership and function. No minutes of the meeting can be found, but it is likely the participants concluded that this small group was not sufficiently diverse to develop a country life plan for the entire state.

In any event, two weeks later Governor Hay asked C. M. Fassett, president of the Spokane Chamber of Commerce, to appoint a committee to form a Washington plan for the country life movement. Fassett appointed David Brown chairman of the Spokane Chamber of Commerce Country Life Committee. What role this committee
played in the appointment process is unknown, but it was not until an April 19 meeting in Spokane that Governor Hay made his commission appointments. Ten days later the governor publicly announced the formation of Washington’s Country Life Commission.

The new commission was a mixture of successful businessmen, powerful politicians, educators, and prosperous farmers. Governor Hay appointed David Brown as chairman, and he became the linchpin between the state’s Country Life Commission and Spokane’s Chamber of Commerce Country Life Committee. Other commission members included John L. Dumas, A. L. Rogers, Senator Paulhamus, and Mary Carpenter.

In early May, Brown called the commission together for an organizational meeting. At the meeting, the commission discussed a variety of country life problems but ultimately decided to establish an aggressive agenda exclusively centered on redirecting rural education. There were a number of reasons for the commission’s focus on rural education. First, three of the commissioners—Carpenter, Dumas, and Rogers—were either directly or indirectly involved in education and had a personal interest in rural education. Second, Washington’s rural reformers agreed with Brown’s observation that “the country schools are held by some to be largely responsible for ineffective farming and the general lack of ideals, and the rapid drifting from the country to the cities and towns.” Third, redirecting rural education was a relatively safe political agenda.

Powerful farm organizations like the Grange and the Farmer’s Union found many country life ideas insulting to farmers but agreed with Brown’s observations about rural education. Likewise, the state’s widely diverse agricultural resources and population density made it difficult politically for Washington’s Country Life Commission to develop a strategy for rural improvement other than education that would be accepted statewide. Finally, legal authority to implement most rural education reforms already existed. State law permitted consolidated schools, established the length of the school year, compelled children to attend school and granted authority to Washington’s board of education to develop grammar and high school curriculums. The commission would not have to spend time and resources lobbying an uncertain legislature, and as long as the state’s superintendent of public instruction supported the commission’s rural educational agenda, it stood a good chance of being implemented.

During the spring and early summer of 1910, Washington’s Country Life Commission, in cooperation with the Spokane Chamber of Commerce Country Life Committee, developed a plan to redirect country schools. The ambitious plan’s first step envisioned consolidated school districts designed to serve a 36-square-mile area. During the second stage, districts were to acquire 10 acres and build modern schools, teacher cottages, community halls, athletic fields, playgrounds, and propagating grounds. The plan called for fruit trees and flower and vegetable gardens spaced between immaculate lawns. Good road-building models surrounded and intersected the school grounds.

This idealized school complex, commissioners believed, could be adapted to the financial and geographical circumstances facing most rural school districts. Some districts, for example, might want to include modern barns, poultry pens and up-to-date farm equipment. The final and perhaps most important step demanded a change in rural school curriculum from the theoretical to the practical, focusing on agriculture, horticulture, domestic science, and country life subjects.

“We do not want a dry goods box with four holes on each side and two in the front for a school,” Dumas told a receptive country life audience, but rather a “modern, up-to-date building, fully equipped and sanitary. Consolidation is the first step to secure this.” State law defined consolidation as the joining together of two or more contiguous school districts located within the same county. Consolidated schools, rural reformers believed, offered educational advantages over the one-room schoolhouse. Consolidation provided a broad tax base that permitted the district to build a modern school building, teacher’s cottage, and community hall. Increased financial resources allowed consolidated school districts to hire a cadre of well-trained teachers who would teach a variety

“Old Bruceport School” in Pacific County was typical of the one-room schoolhouses many rural children attended. This photo was taken by the schoolmaster, “Professor Loomis,” c. 1896.
of country life subjects rather than relying on one, often-inexperienced instructor. Consolidated schools offered farm children more playmates, thus reducing the isolation and solitary nature of farm life. Finally, country life reformers were confident that consolidated schools increased community interest in quality education and built viable communities.

Consolidated school districts proved politically difficult to create. Consolidation procedure first required a petition signed by five heads of families requesting consolidation of two or more districts. The county school superintendent, after conducting hearings, called for a special election in each district concerned. A majority of voters in each district had to approve consolidation. This deceptively simple procedure was slow and often accompanied by strife and bitterness between families and school districts. Many farmers felt a nostalgic attachment to the one-room school district and did not want to relinquish control of their school to educators in towns or other districts. Moreover, the state Grange urged farmers to oppose consolidating with town or city school districts where rural students were exposed to immoral influences. The editor of the Agricultural Grange News told his readers that every rural school district could afford to “purchase not less than ten acres of ground, construct adequate school buildings, community centre hall with a cottage for teacher.”

Country Life Commissioner Rogers pointed out that consolidation was more likely to be successful in locales with dense population and small farms than in the state’s vast wheat-growing areas. Wheat farmers did not have time to transport their children to school over long distances during the busy spring planting season. During the winter months wheat farmers were often snowed in or traveled over hazardous roads to deliver their children to the consolidated school, while other wheat growers moved to nearby cities where their children received a city-based education. Rogers recommended that rural consolidated schools build or rent dormitories for students who must travel long or hazardous journeys to school. Principal Showalter agreed with Rodgers that consolidation would not succeed in some rural localities but disagreed about the solution. Showalter suggested that students in a modern one-room schoolhouse properly equipped and staffed with an experienced teacher received as good a practical education as that offered by a consolidated school.

Notwithstanding Showalter’s belief in the potential utility of the “little red school house” and the political problems associated with efforts to consolidate schools, Washington’s Country Life Commission agreed with Superintendent of Public Instruction Josephine Corless Preston’s observation that “the consolidated rural school brings to the country community that thing, the absence of which has driven so many boys off the farm, namely a well-classified, well-equipped, well-taught school.”

The next stage in the commission’s plan called for consolidated districts to purchase 10 acres and to construct modern school buildings, community halls, and teacher cottages. A modern school with good lighting, indoor plumbing, running water, and other conveniences provided an excellent learning environment. Rooms devoted to domestic science, laboratories, and manual arts were mandatory. A library well-stocked with country life literature was essential to a good rural education.

Although a modern school building was deemed necessary to keep boys and girls on the farm, the community hall was the central feature of the redirected rural educational complex. The building plans for the community hall called for a modern kitchen, a large room for dining and recreation, a dressing room, library, and business office. Local farmers could find the latest agricultural bulletins from the Department of Agriculture and state experiment stations. The hall’s library would host a series of farm-related books and pamphlets. More importantly for country life reformers, the hall was a social center that would “quicken country life and vitalize our schools.” Community members might use the hall to discuss community needs and school problems. The hall was a place to hold district-wide contests for young people in spelling, sewing, reading, cooking, manual training, crop growing, and athletics. In addition, diners, community sings, parent-teacher clubs, little mother clubs, glee clubs, agricultural and industrial clubs,
dances, and carnivals held there cemented a sense of community. The close contact and personal touch between teachers, students, and parents developed at these events built a sense of community and, at the same time, drew many boys and girls from the farm into rural or union high schools where they might receive more country life education.

Country life reformers expected rural teachers to instruct students, supervise community halls, tend the school’s animals, farm equipment, agricultural plots, fruit trees, lawn, and vegetable garden. This impressive, if not overwhelming, list of responsibilities was beyond the capability of young, inexperienced, ill-trained teachers often hired by rural school districts. Regardless of their teaching experience, rural schoolteachers boarded with a local family or with a series of families during the school year. Boarding gave teachers little privacy and often was inconvenient for the host family. After a year or two of living with different families, teachers left the rural community to find better positions in towns and cities. Teacher cottages equipped with modern home conveniences built at taxpayer expense, reformers believed, attracted and retained well-educated, experienced teachers who would become respected leaders in their rural communities. Moreover, an up-to-date cottage surrounded by well-groomed lawns, fruit trees, and vegetable gardens provided a positive model for farm homes.

Washington law initially proved an obstacle for those districts that wanted to build community halls or teacher cottages. In 1901 State Attorney General W. B. Stratton opined that school districts lacked legal authority to build or purchase teacher cottages and community halls. In 1913, urged by the Country Life Commission, Governor Hay and other country life reformers, the legislature enacted the “Wider Use of School Grounds Act.” The new law granted second and third class school districts authority to build community halls and teacher cottages.

The final stage in the commission’s redirected school plan required a change in grammar and high school curriculums. At the turn into the 20th century, Washington’s common school curriculums offered a classic education. The state required grammar schools to teach courses in science and nature, history and civics, arithmetic, reading, spelling, language, writing, and art. High schools taught courses in science, literature, music, American and European history, mathematics, English, rhetoric, political economy, Latin, Greek, civil government, and psychology. High schools could offer courses in stenography, bookkeeping, and business forms and customs, but domestic science, manual arts, or agriculture were not part of the high school curriculum. Country life advocates railed against the grammar school curriculum that prepared students for high school that most rural students would never attend, and against the high school curriculum that prepared rural children for city-based professions rather than for country life.

In 1905 the state board of education gave grammar and high schools the option to offer courses in manual training and household arts. In addition, grammar schools could elect to provide students with courses in nature studies and agriculture. Country life reformers were not mollified and demanded that vocational training, nature study, local geography, domestic science, agriculture, and horticulture be required courses in grammar schools and high schools. In 1910 the reformers received some of what they demanded.

Under the new approach, the state board of education required first and second grade students to explore nature studies. Third grade children learned about their local geography, and students in the fourth, fifth, sixth, and seventh grades studied elementary and advanced geography. Eighth grade students spent three days a week studying forestry, agriculture, or horticulture, and one hour a week learning manual arts.

Commissioner Mary Carpenter, in a speech to the county school superintendents, described how the new curriculum might be implemented in rural grammar schools:

We shall build our course of study on the four main sources of supply—namely, the earth, the air, the plants and the animals. From these sources we can arrange for the first six years of the child’s life. Much of this work has and will be done in the form of nature study.... In the seventh and eighth grades nature study will be turned into the study of agriculture, in which the work is to be carried on by means of practice in doing things with the soils, plants, and animals. Here our school gardens will stand for experimental stations.”

Commissioner Dumas stressed that the school gardens were not experiment stations like those that existed at the state colleges but rather were places “to teach plant propagation, to teach the germination of seeds and a place for seed testing.”

Of course, eighth grade students must remain in school to experience the educational benefits of the agriculture course. The 1909 legislature enacted a compulsory school law that required children between the ages of 8 and 15 years to attend school and those between 15 and 16 to attend unless engaged in a lawful occupation. The law’s intent required all children in Washington to finish the eighth grade. Nevertheless, Dumas feared that many rural students left school before studying agriculture, and his fear was confirmed when Commissioner Rogers discovered that only 25 percent of rural boys went beyond the sixth grade. In order to induce students to remain in school and complete the agriculture course, Dumas proposed awarding medals to eighth grade students in each county who scored highest on a series of examinations given to graduates in elementary agriculture. The test questions would be prepared by the Country Life Commission, administered by the local school districts, and graded by the state’s Department of Education. Although Dumas contributed $1,500 toward financing the plan, there is no evidence that it was implemented.

Although the state board of education required grammar schools to teach agriculture to eighth grade students, the
ARCHITECTS’ PLANS, ESTIMATES AND DRAWINGS

Cottage for Small District.

Figure 1 is the plan and Figure 2 the view of the one-story house. This provides accommodation for two teachers or a teacher and his family. The living room is 13x19 feet, and is sufficiently large for the dining table in one end. This room is made large so it may be used for receptions, meetings of the school classes, mothers’ meetings, and all such assemblies in the interest of the domestic, social and educational life of the community. The bedroom is provided with a bed above enclosed with folding glass doors. The window at the end of large and is arranged to open the whole size. With this arrangement the above may be converted into a fresh air sleeping room by opening the window and closing the folding doors. A large clothes closet is provided.

The kitchen is arranged with a sink, cupboard with shelves, drawers and a cool closet division. A bathroom is shown in connection, which may be omitted if desired. The hot water tank for the bath and sink will be placed in the bathroom. A small cellar is also provided.

While country life reformers agreed about the utility of domestic science, agriculture, and manual art courses, they disagreed as to how best to teach rural children traditional classroom subjects. Mabel Carney, director of the Rural Department at Cheney Normal School, argued that country life board gave high schools the option to offer agriculture and horticulture courses. Country life advocates argued that it made no sense to require rural eighth grade students to study agriculture but not require rural high schools to teach agriculture or horticulture. A high school agricultural course, they believed, created self-reliance, stimulated the mind with ideas of growth and change, developed curiosity, taught cultural values, and trained children about the beauties of nature. In defense of agriculture as an option rather than a required course, Superintendent of Public Instruction Henry Dewey argued that trained agriculture teachers were in short supply and the decision as to whether agriculture could be taught effectively in high school must be left to the local district. Nevertheless, rural education reformers were pleased that the new four-year high school curriculum required young women to enroll in a domestic science course each year, and that young boys were required to take courses in manual arts, including mechanical drawing, cabinetmaking, advanced woodworking or ironworking, and machine shop.
pedagogy must be used in rural schools to study mathematics, literature, history, art, and other traditional courses. She told rural teachers that solving mathematical problems from the farm rather than from Wall Street gave farm students skills to help their parents and taught them that farming was not just dull, physical labor. Teaching country life literature, history, and music idealized country life and awakened in rural children a love for the land. Decorating school walls with paintings and photographs that glorified country living implanted in young rural children an appreciation for farm life.

Commissioner Rogers disagreed with this pedagogy, proffering that a blend of practical and theoretical education was the best approach to teaching rural children, and cautioned that rural schools must not neglect the classic education for those students who desire to attend high school and beyond. In addition, the state’s Office of the Superintendent of Public Instruction expressed concern that in some rural school districts the pendulum had swung too far toward vocational training.

After the rural school plan was unveiled in June 1910 the commission’s role focused on convincing skeptics, school directors, and the public that redirected schools were necessary to build rural communities and to keep boys and girls on the farm. The commission’s first opportunity to promote the plan publicly occurred in November 1910 when the Washington commission met as part of the Northwest commission during Country Life Day at the Apple Show in Spokane. Chairman Brown limited discussion during the day to community halls and teacher cottages.

The second and last meeting of the Northwest commission was held a year later as part of the first Country Life Congress. Country life advocates from throughout the United States streamed to Spokane to establish a National Country Life Congress. Saturday, November 25, 1911, was Education Day at the congress. A model schoolhouse was erected and given a degree of realism when nearby rural school children enacted a typical class day.

Although the Spokane Chamber of Commerce paid the Washington Country Life Commission’s expenses during the conferences, without its own budget the commission lacked the financial resources to prepare reports, distribute pamphlets, publicize its work, travel, or otherwise promote the redirected education plan. Moreover, the failure to appoint a secretary deprived the commission of an official to whom interested persons could write or telephone for information.

In 1912, two years after Governor Hay had announced the formation of the Washington Country Life Commission, Commissioner Rogers informed the governor that without a budget the commission’s usefulness was questionable as an advocate for redirected rural education. The governor responded that he would ask the 1913 legislature for at least $5,000 to publicize the commission’s work and appoint a secretary for the commission. During the 1912 gubernatorial campaign Governor Hay demonstrated his intention to continue the commission by appointing two new commissioners—Frances Carew Shanly of Bellingham and Arnold S. Allen, secretary of the Young Men’s Christian Association. However, Ernest Lister’s narrow election victory over Hay ended the Washington Country Life Commission’s short life.

Even so, the promotion of redirected rural education did not die with the commission. The “Wider Use of the School Plant Act,” in addition to authorizing second and third class school districts to build teacher cottages and community halls, required Washington’s Department of Education to establish an Agricultural and Rural Life Commission composed of three permanent members: the superintendent of public instruction and the extension directors from the state college and the state university. The commission’s powers—to approve plans for community halls and teacher cottages and promote the growth of the community center idea—absorbed the Washington Country Life Commission’s role. The new commission was busy and by the end of World War I had approved 311 community halls and 289 teacher cottages. Moreover, 76 percent of school districts reported having vegetable gardens. Consolidation moved slowly, and by 1919 the state reported 240 consolidated rural school districts but claimed nearly 1,700 one-room schoolhouses.

“ ‘Ya gonna keep ‘em down on the farm?’ Washington’s Country Life Commission and its allies believed they had the answer in the redirected rural school, which showcased a model farm for young boys and girls and provided a place around which farm families could socialize and build a sense of community. Country life reformers were convinced that this idyllic complex—coupled with well-trained educators, teaching a new, redirected school curriculum focused on the practical rather than the theoretical, on nature studies, agriculture, and the beauties of country life—instilled in rural children a belief in the joy of farm work, fair play, honesty, nature’s beauty, and country living.

Whether the Washington Country Life Commission’s redirected education plan resulted in keeping boys and girls on the farm is difficult to assess. Reformers admitted that there was no room on farms for many rural boys and girls and that these children would move to cities. Moreover, it is impossible to know whether redirected education kept some boys and girls on the farm who might otherwise have relocated to town. Nevertheless, the commission and its supporters believed that those children who stayed on the farm and were armed with practical knowledge and traditional rural values learned in a redirected country school would become the future leaders in their rural communities.

Robert A. Harvie is a professor of criminal justice and department chair at St. Martin’s College, Lacey, Washington. He has published one book and a number of articles on the history of jurisprudence in the West.
New Lewis & Clark Pictorial
Now Available

The latest book offering from the Washington State Historical Society is Ocean in view! Ooh! the joy: Lewis & Clark in Washington State, with illustrations by Roger Cooke and narrative text by Robert C. Carriker (available June 2005; 168 pp., 78 color illustrations, 4 maps; $27.95 paper). This volume is an ideal companion for anyone interested in retracing the Washington portion of the Lewis and Clark trail by car or boat—or from the comfort of a favorite easy chair. Cooke's unique illustrations draw you into the scene, and Carriker's informative text and judicious use of quotes from the journals of William Clark and other corps members impart both a historian's perspective and a sense of actually being part of the expedition. These illustrations also grace a series of wayside markers erected at points of interest along the Washington portion of the expedition route as part of the Lewis and Clark Bicentennial commemoration.

To order your copy, contact Amy Coggins at 253/798-5902. Shipping and handling are free to members who purchase the book directly from WSHS.

Correction

In the Spring 2005 issue we inadvertently failed to mention that the article, "Tsugik: A Grafting," by Gail M. Nomura, came out of Women in Pacific Northwest History, a collection of essays edited by Karen J. Blair (University of Washington Press, 2001), and excerpted with permission of the publisher.

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

In a Foreign yet Familiar Land


Its Equal I Have Never Seen


Playing Vikings and Indians


How 'Ya Gonna Keep 'Em Down on the Farm?


COLUMBIA 45 SUMMER 2005
Oregon's Promise
An Interpretive History

Landscapes of Conflict
The Oregon Story, 1940-2000
Reviewed by Michael Treleaven, SJ.

Winston Churchill said that we shape our buildings, and afterwards they shape us. The books under review tell the story of place and peoples in Oregon, a land once called New Albion. Oregon is, Peterson del Mar advises in Oregon's Promise, "something of a fiction." William Robbins, in Landscapes of Conflict, notes the innovations and ambitions that were imposed on Oregon's peoples and lands. Over time local rules, plans, and social and economic groups, working in the structures of Oregon government, have created policies as well as problems specific to Oregon. To paraphrase a former speaker of the United States House of Representatives, the late Thomas (Tip) O'Neill: "All history is local."

Domination of others, exploitation, and the transformation of nature are the forces of Oregon history. In shaping Oregon, Oregonians have been directed by the "place" they hied from the landscape and the prior occupants. The state gained a relatively cooperative, modest sense of economy and politics in its 19th-century settlement and statehood. But it created this sometimes-progressive bent while also adhering to individualism and all-too-common biases against women and people of color. The state's population was overwhelmingly white. Oregon has had episodes of success and neglect or harm others, defining citizenship for some groups while excluding others from participation and status.

Politic inspectors always pleased to grasp away the hard work of historians, will rejoice in these two books. Both make it clear, repeatedly, that there are great consequences from the creation of the state, with its processes of politics, array of policies, political economy, political geography, the regime's opting to favor some people and neglect or harm others, defining citizenship for some groups while excluding others from participation and status.

Also author of Landscapes of Promise: The Oregon Story, 1800-1940, Robbins's theme this time is the confrontation between nature and the human life styles spawned by technology and consumerism during the second part of the 20th century. Peterson del Mar—a board member of Oregon Uniting, an organization seeking to advance racial reconciliation and justice through dialogue—gives special weight in his book to Oregon's struggles for equality, rights, and inclusive political and economic practices. From reading these two books, one after the other, one gains a deeper appreciation for the place and society built up in Oregon, and also of the ways that society and place must change if its citizens are to lead humane, just, and free lives while sustaining a respectful regard for nature. Both books are highly recommended.

Michael Treleaven, SJ, is associate professor of political science at Gonzaga University.

Plateau Indians
and the Quest for Spiritual Power, 1700-1850.
By Larry Cebula. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2003; 189 pp.; $49.95 cloth.
Reviewed by Jay H. Buckley.

The struggle between Indians' "Manitou" and Christianity's "Providence" ensued in earnest on the Columbian Plateau during the early 1800s. Historian Larry Cebula (Missouri Southern State University) examines the Plateau Indians' quest for spiritual power during precontact, protohistoric, and post-European arrival. He asserts that the "arrival of whites was primarily a spiritual event" for Plateau residents who "used their religion to understand the intrusion of Euramerican civilization and how that religion was itself changed in the process."

Cebula uses examples like the 1847 Whitman Massacre, the subsequent hanging of five Cayuse men in 1850, and the spiritual journeys of Illim-Spokanee and Spokan Garry to contemplate the religious changes brought by contact. He chronicles how Indians acquired and used spirit power, incorporated European goods in traditional living, and located the arrival of whites within an indigenous context through prophesy. Natives sought the spirit power of Christianity in their interactions with fur traders, their requests for missionaries to come, and their efforts to combine elements of Christian and native theologies into a syncretic Columbian religion. Rather quickly, many Plateau Indians rejected Christianity, resisted American encroachment, and returned to traditional spirit power to guide their lives.

The book is relatively short and could have made a greater contribution by expanding every chapter. The chapter on the Columbian
religion between 1825 and 1840, for example, is only 10 pages long. The author might have included even more native voices describing how religion served as the cultural foundation of Plateau Indians’ world view, delved deeper into how and why natural disasters and epidemics brought cultural disorientation and challenged religious beliefs, expanded upon how shamans reinterpreted Christianity after contact, and utilized more American fur trade sources during the rendevous era. Spiritual encounters brought a blending of native and Christian religions throughout North America, and this study would have benefited by occasionally placing regional events within a larger, continental context.

The author does a fine job of exploring Protestant-Catholic rivalries, the difficulties facing missionaries in learning Indian languages, and the inability of whites to prevent or ameliorate recurring epidemics or provide sufficient material goods. Alternative views on why the missions failed, however, could be expanded. The missionaries’ cultural insensitivity and insistence that spiritual conversion had to be accompanied by cultural change fostered alienation and disenchantment. After the punitive expeditions following the Whitman Massacre, Protestant missionaries left the area for over a decade and most Plateau residents rejected Christianity until the reservation era brought a Christian resurgence. Cebula’s book offers rich insight into how Plateau Indians spent several generations understanding and incorporating American spirit power into traditional ideology and culture, then spent another decade trying to entice Christian missionaries to come among them, and, finally, watched during the subsequent decade as most of those missions closed down.

Jay H. Buckley received his doctorate from the University of Nebraska. At Brigham Young University he teaches and directs the Native American Studies minor in the History Department.

Current & Noteworthy

By Robert Carriker, Book Review Editor

Small presses—the names of many of which are unfamiliar to even the most conscientious bibliophile—continue to enrich state history by publishing books on local history. Tommie Press in Seattle, for example, recently issued Seattle’s Best-Kept Secret: A History of the Lighthouse for the Blind, Inc. (2004), written by well-known historian Junius Rochester. This sparsely little volume of 179 pages chronicles the sometimes-surprising 90-year-long relationship between Washington’s largest city and its visually impaired citizens.

Another example of solid local history writing is Bellevue Timeline: The Story of Washington’s Leading Edge City from Homesteads to High Rises, 1863-2003 (2004), by Allan J. Stein and the History Link staff. PACCAR, Inc., and the City of Bellevue provided major funding, and University of Washington Press signed on to handle distribution. This group project of 95 pages is attractive, fast-paced, and filled with enough historic pictures to keep all age groups interested. It is a reference book without the feel of a reference book.

University of Washington Press also distributes Doug Chin’s book, Seattle’s International District: The Making of a Pan-Asian American Community (2002; $14.95). The publisher of this 150-page narrative is International Examiner Press of Seattle, the oldest pan-Asian American newspaper in the United States, and the only nonprofit one. Grants by King County Landmarks and Heritage Commission and the City of Seattle Neighborhood Matching Grant program made the project possible. It is a dynamic story of immigration, agitation, King Street, organized labor, World War II incarceration, and the Kingdome. Story, did I say? Actually, this small volume is more like a seed for a whole series of stories waiting to blossom.

Washington State University Press does its part to encourage local history, too. Jim Fredrickson’s Railscapes: A Northern Pacific Brasspounder’s Album (Pullman: WSU Press, 2003; 160 pp; $29.95 paper, $45 cloth) has spectacular photographs from six decades of railroading. Fredrickson was a telegraph operator—a brasspounder—so he knew most of the happenings on the line from the Bitterroot Mountains to Puget Sound. Steam engines, depots, and train wrecks all get their due in this extraordinary well-written and well-illustrated book.

A publication that addresses a little-known topic of some significance is Nancy Bell Anderson’s The Columbia River’s “Ellis Island”: The Story of Knappton Cove (2003; 84 pp; $16.50) “Health guardians” of the United States Public Health Service manned the Columbia River Quarantine Station on the Washington side of the estuary from 1899 to 1938 at an old cannery site 3.2 miles upriver from the north end of the Astoria/Megler Bridge on State Highway 401. This volume is more like a scrapbook than a documentary history, yet it points out that there is a great story here. The book was self-published and profits go to the Old Quarantine Station Museum of the Knappton Cove Heritage Center. Perhaps the full story should be retold, and the faded photographs scanned in with greater clarity by using the expertise of a professional publisher.

Arcadia Publishing is the nation’s leading producer of local and regional history books. Since 1993 it has issued over 1,800 titles in local history, 14 of them on Washington topics. Fort Lewis by Alan Archambault was Arcadia’s first Washington topic (Chicago: Arcadia/Tempus Publishing, 2002). Additional titles are: Issaquah, by the Issaquah Historical Society; Kennewick, by Mary Trotter Krion; Maritime Seattle by the Puget Sound Maritime Historical Society; Redmond, by Georgieann Malowney; Payutlapp: A Pioneer Paradise by Lori Price, Ruth Anderson, and the Ezra Meeker Historical Society; Clallam County, by the Clallam County Historical Society; Downtown Vancouver, by Pat Jollota; Seattle’s Beacon Hill, by Frederica Merrell and Mira Latozek; Sedro-Woolley, by the Sedro-Woolley Historical Museum; The Long Beach Peninsula, by Donella Lucero and Nancy Hobbs; and three books by Beth Gibson—Richland, Walla Walla, and Yakima. Each volume follows one of two formats. Volumes in the “Images of America” series feature a pictorial history with approximately 200 images and captions. Books in “The Making of America” series contain a full text plus the photographs. In both cases the volumes are 128 pages in length, the author is usually a local historian, prices range from $19.99 to $24.99, and proceeds often support a museum. Arcadia Publishing is so committed to the Evergreen State that it has an acquisitions editor stationed in Seattle.
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