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Columbia Rivers were split and dried. Lewis and Clark made it a challenge for future fish experts to identify all the varieties of fish encountered during the expedition. 

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There is much discussion today in the public arena about the dismal state of civic awareness. Various pundits are quick to point to such things as the fuzzy understanding many Americans have about separation of powers, rule of law, or even the relatively low voter turnout. However, perhaps the best place to start the process of renewed attention to civics is the history, nature, and extent of treaty law, which is arguably the most poorly understood feature of our constitutional system of governance.

There is, unquestionably, a lot of contention, dissonance, and conflict surrounding the federal government's treaties with the numerous indigenous nations of America. The root cause of this is that Indians are place-based people now embedded within a larger society that adheres to an idea-based political culture. By this I refer to the democratic and egalitarian ethos inscribed for posterity in the Declaration of Independence—"all men are created equal."

The irony is that treaty law itself is well worth commemorating by non-Indians because the only alternative explanatory framework for American national sovereignty over our magnificent continental land-base is theft. If the choice is between treaties and conquest, I, for one, would chose treaties every time, and I would hope that most other Americans would, too. The treaties with Indian tribes should be celebrated rather than, as some would have it, being regarded as a deviation from national ideals.

As the legal scholar Charles Wilkinson has stated, Indian law is counterintuitive to most Americans, which is testimony itself to the enduring permanence of the mythic nature of our nation's foundational elements. Taking the largest view possible, the dispossession of two continents by people of European, African, and Asian ancestry—resulting in the diminution of 95 percent of the indigenous population of the Western Hemisphere—is a vast and unprecedented event in world history.

Treaties represent a chance for these dispossessed people to survive, and non-Indian people of goodwill should not only want that to happen, they should try to help it happen. Treaty rights are a noble ideal and something our legal system can and should be proud of.

The way I think of it, everyone has treaty rights. I have treaty rights. My wife and I own a small bit of creation (a house on a lot in Tumwater), alienated from the Squaxin Indian homeland. We bought that land from someone, who bought it from someone, who bought it from someone, who bought it from someone, who claimed it free from the United States government, which negotiated its acquisition from Indian people in December 1854.

Though some in America may suggest that seeing the tribes as autonomous governing bodies is somehow new, in truth the treaty system itself, going all the way back to the founding of the country, vested the principle of tribal sovereignty. Our present times, I believe, will be recognized by future historians as the era when the three-legged stool of government in the United States—federal, state, and tribal—became fully manifest. Or, as it may be said with equanimity, returned to the balance of interests that had reigned up to the time of the various treaties themselves.

There is, indisputably, a racial element to tribal self-government, though that's not the point, it seems to me. Rather, the controlling principles are contract and international law. Ironically, this notion was better understood 200 years ago, in the time of Chief Justice John Marshall, than it is today.

—David L. Nicandri, Executive Editor
NETTIE CRAIG ASBERRY
A Pillar of Tacoma’s African American Community

By Antoinette Broussard

Nettie J. Craig Asberry, my great aunt, was the youngest sibling of my grandfather, Berry Benjamin Craig. When Berry Craig died in 1958, at the age of 94, he left manuscripts that he had completed in the 1930s. My first knowledge of his work came more than 42 years after his death, in 2002, when my mother, Maybelle Craig Broussard, gave these papers to me. Some of Berry Craig’s manuscripts appeared to be autobiographical and thus initiated my quest to validate his work through researching my family history. Looking through his research notes, I could see that his writing was based on factual historical incidents of his time—many he apparently witnessed. I began to research his siblings. In my search I discovered a great deal about the life and times of my Aunt Nettie.

Nettie Craig was born July 15, 1865, in Leavenworth, Kansas, the daughter of William P. Wallingford, an immigrant British farmer, and Violet, formerly his slave. In 1837 Wallingford had moved his family from Kentucky and settled on the Platte purchase in Missouri. He was married three times and fathered seventeen children, including Violet’s six. Nettie, the youngest of these six siblings, was the only one born free. Information is scarce about Violet, except that when freed, she considered Wallingford’s name to be her slave name and, therefore, rejected it. She adopted the surname of Craig, which she considered to be her maiden name, as her and her children’s family name. This name possibly came from a Craig plantation in Kentucky where Violet was born in 1835.

Nettie appreciated her freedom and passionately refined and elevated her life through education and activism. She began studying piano at eight years of age, showing remarkable ability, and later composed her own music. At thirteen she was secretary for a Susan B. Anthony club. She remembered seeing Anthony when the woman suffrage leader and abolitionist came to Kansas to visit her own brother, who had been an antislavery activist and editor of the Leavenworth Times. Few women of any race were attending college when Nettie attended the University of Kansas. She was granted a “Teacher of Music” degree from the Kansas Conservatory of Music and Elocution in Leavenworth, Kansas, on June 12, 1883.

In the 1880s Nettie and her family were among the early settlers in the black town of Nicodemus, Kansas, where she was a music instructor and schoolteacher. Having collected material since her arrival, Nettie eventually wrote about Nicodemus history. In July 1950 a thesis was presented by a student to the graduate faculty at Fort Hays (Kansas) State College listing Nettie’s unpublished manuscript (now lost) in its bibliography. Nicodemus is the only extant western town established by African Americans during Reconstruction.

Nettie taught music in Kansas City and Denver and spent a lot of her time playing for churches and directing choirs. In 1890, after marrying Albert Jones in Kansas, the newlyweds traveled by train to Seattle where she was the first organist and musical director for the First African Methodist Episcopal (AME) Church. At the age of 96, Nettie talked in a newspaper interview about their Seattle arrival, “News of the great Seattle fire in 1889 aroused a lot of interest in the Midwest. Many disposed of their belongings and moved to Seattle. We arrived amid much bustle and excitement. It was a good time of friendship and good neighborliness.”

In 1893, after the tragic death of her first husband, Nettie returned to her family in Kansas. But she came back to Washington before long and settled in Tacoma where she continued her activities as organist and musical director for that city’s First AME Church. On February 23, 1895, Nettie married Henry J. Asberry, a well-known businessman and the proprietor of the Tacoma Hotel Barbershop. A profile written about Henry Asberry in Horace Roscoe Cayton: Selected Writings, compiled and edited by Ed Diaz, stated: “He was a highly respected citizen, thorough businessman, and a heavy property owner.” At the time of his death Henry had accumulated a considerable amount of property which Nettie inherited. Barbershop patrons of Asberry’s included many
**THE AFRICAN AMERICAN MUSEUM**

Dedicated to the research, collection, preservation, interpretation, and exhibition of objects and information illustrative of the lives of Africans and African Americans, the museum is located at 925 Court C in Tacoma (www.aamuseumtacoma.org). Open Wednesday, 11 AM to 2 PM, Thursday through Saturday 1 PM to 4 PM. Open on Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. Day, and open 1 to 8 PM the third Thursday of each month. Admission is free for members; visitors four and over, $3.50; seniors and groups of 10 or more, $2.25 per person. On exhibit:

- **Extraordinary Leaders: Washington's African American Mayors**
- **The Splendor of Africa: A Look at Traditions**
- **The Life and Times of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr.**
- **Service with Honor: The Role of African Americans in the Military**
- **Diversity and the Lewis and Clark Expedition: The Legacy of York and Sacagawea**

For more than 50 years, Nettie Asberry's slender fingers taught many races at her piano. She presented classes of 45 or more in piano recital annually. She also taught black history at her home to many of the African American youths in her Tacoma neighborhood. Her house still stands today at 1219 S. 13th Street. A few students and their descendants and former neighbors remember her large library, beautiful piano, and, most important, her dedication to teaching music. "The Mozart Musical Club, a juvenile society organized last May under the direction of Mrs. Henry J. Asberry for the purpose of broader musical culture and the study of the lives of the great music writers, began its curriculum of studies...for this season," read a notice in the November 11, 1902, Tacoma Ledger.

Nettie was a strong-willed, no-nonsense woman, but she was also generous and compassionate. In the early 1900s her brother—my grandfather—was in a train accident and had to have his leg amputated. Nettie was by his bedside to help him through the ordeal.

In the late 1940s Aunt Nettie was warming herself by an electric heater when her gown caught fire. She had the presence of mind to roll on the floor to put out the flames. Although she suffered severe burns on her thighs, she recovered.

Aunt Nettie knew how to entertain and have a good time. She owned the grassy lot adjacent to her house. I remember being spellbound by all the grass and the fun of playing on it. This was where she and her guests played croquet.

Nettie's concern for her race and her community inspired her to be one of the Northwest founders of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. Nettie personally submitted the Tacoma application to the New York office, and when it received its charter in 1913, Tacoma become the first NAACP group established west of the Rocky Mountains.

According to Aunt Nettie, the chapter's first action was to protest a measure against interracial marriages being pushed through the state legislature. She said they planted an undercover worker there who reported to them, and overnight they got together a lengthy car caravan of many people including whites, African Americans, Filipinos,
and others. They surprised the powerful Rules Committee and defeated the measure.

For a time Nettie served as regional field secretary and later as local branch secretary. In 1943 an issue of The Crisis, the official magazine of the NAACP, published the record of Nettie’s achievements and listed her as one of the “First Ladies” of colored America. On her 96th birthday Nettie said in an article in the Tacoma News Tribune (1961), “Courage is the saving grace in this tense world racial situation. Courage of the white people who dare to show their fairness by helping us achieve positions of human dignity; and courage of those of other races who risk insults by quietly asserting their rights as human beings.”

In 1916 an insidious racism prevailed in the United States, marked by the release of the film, Birth of a Nation. This film was propaganda for the Ku Klux Klan, which experienced a dramatic rise in membership after its release. It portrayed freed slaves trying to rape white girls and attack white settlers, and it also showed the KKK lynching a black person. Nettie was elected secretary at a mass meeting of concerned people at the AME Church. It became her duty to draft a letter to the press protesting the release of the movie and its racist portrayal of black people. You get a feel for her activist nature as she describes how the movie affected her:

The rape scene, the intermarriage affair, the demoralized Negro soldiers—the insolence of the freemen—all pave the way for the advent of the notorious clansmen, who now come galloping over the screen by the hundreds… like a clap of thunder the applause breaks upon my ear. My blood was at the white heat point. Instantly I began to hiss in my feeling of resentment at the series of infamous lies. People turned around and stared at me, but I had lost my equilibrium; I was in a fighting mood… No one can witness the production of this movie and be the same as before he saw it. No city can afford to have the equilibrium of its people disturbed (Tacoma Ledger, 1916).

Nettie was known for her ambitious participation in statewide women’s clubs. The mission of the self-help, charitable clubs was to uplift the black race. In 1917 Nettie started a number of these improvement clubs, all of which became charter members of the Washington State Federation of Colored Women’s Organizations, which she served as president. In the preamble to its constitution the organization’s purpose is stated: “We, the colored women of the State of Washington and Jurisdiction, feeling the need of united and systematic effort along moral, physical and intellectual lines, in order to elevate our race, do hereby unite into a State Federation.” Nettie was also a member of the Progressive Mother’s Club of Tacoma and the Tacoma Inter-Racial Council. The Nettie J. Asberry Papers, which are in the Manuscripts and Special Collections of the University of Washington Libraries contain correspondence, bulletins, notes, minutes, and agendas documenting the organizations’ agendas.

In 1918, when segregation was to be established at Fort Lewis, Nettie Asberry was one of the committee members appointed to appear before the authorities and protest this racist maneuver. That same year she also served as chairman of the Allen AME Red Cross Auxiliary. She devoted much of her senior life to social causes and volunteered countless hours of social work to those who needed assistance. She said she chose social work in her senior years because there was an endless need for it.

Nettie Asberry died November 17, 1968, at 103 years of age. In 1969, in memory of her musical accomplishments and community work, the mayor of Tacoma, A. L. Rasmussen, proclaimed May 11 to be Nettie J. Asberry Day. In November 2004 the Asberry Cultural Club, named in her honor, celebrated its 50th anniversary in her remembrance. On this occasion I was presented with a quilt made by Nettie, probably in the early 1900s. A portrait of Nettie, painted and donated by Thomas Simms, hangs in the club’s music room, which is named after her. In 1969 Simms was an inmate and artist at McNeil Island Federal Penitentiary.
The Tacoma African American Museum proudly displays an exhibit about Nettie Craig Asberry. Included in the exhibit is her coveted college diploma, which was lost and then found after her death in Nettie's garage by a neighbor. Aged and worn but preserved by the Asberry cultural club, it states, “The diploma assures to Nettie Craig the rights, privileges and dignities” of a Teacher of Music degree. Nettie's biography will be included in the African American National Biography, a book project headed by professors Henry Louis Gates, Jr., and Evelyn Brooks Higginbotham of the W. E. B. Du Bois Institute at Harvard University.

For 25 years Nettie was a member of the Baha'i faith, an organization based on the brotherhood of man. She was quoted in an interview as saying, “The Baha’i faith includes intelligent people of all colors in all walks of life.” In this spirit she pursued “harmony between the races.” She applied the principles of music—i.e., the beauty of form, harmony, and expression of emotion—and used them in a broader sense to try to heal the world’s ills.

Though Nettie had no children, among her living descendants are my mother and myself—her niece and grandson—plus three grandnephews, the younger generation of two great-grandnieces and four great-grandnephews, and the descendants of Sanford and Lulu Craig of Colorado.

Nettie Craig Asberry will be remembered as a remarkable woman, a proactive fighter for equal rights. She was constantly writing letters to newspaper editors to protest injustice and was instrumental in bringing a number of influential individuals to the Northwest, among them Mme. C. J. Walker, Mary B. Talbot, James Weldon Johnson, William Pickens, W. E. B. Du Bois, Clarence C. White, and Roland Hayes. She desired recognition for Tacoma and felt it did not deserve to live in Seattle’s shadow. Along with many others in her community, Nettie worked tirelessly to make Tacoma a productive, desirable city, a place where people from all walks of life could settle and have a quality existence. She hoped to see the end of most racial difficulties there and across the country. Before she died she realized it would take much longer to iron out these problems. I continue to look up to her. Her driving spirit has given me direction and inspiration for my life.

Antoinette Broussard is an avid historian committed to the pursuit and documentation of her ancestral roots. She is currently working on a memoir about the Craig family, partially based on the manuscripts of her maternal grandfather, Berry Benjamin Craig.
**Tracking**

**"THE EXPLORER"**

Kipling's Adventure Poem and the Pacific Northwest

By Robert R. Hunt

During these years of the Lewis and Clark Bicentennial, countless men, women, and children are headed outbound, seeking "foothills where the trails run out and stop." Enchanted by the story of the Corps of Discovery, through books, films, television, or word of mouth, people plant themselves on the trail, hoping to relive, in Kipling's phrase, "some old delight reborn." Roy Appleman's guidebook, or other similar reference, will be there pointing the way. To get in the mood, at the start of the adventure, all should take deep draughts of Rudyard Kipling's poem, "The Explorer." Through it they will be prepared for discovery—will hear "whispers day and night repeated,"

Something hidden. Go and find it.
Go and look behind the Ranges—
Something lost behind the Ranges.
Lost and waiting for you. Go!

The complete text of this poem is filled with images reminiscent of scenes from the Lewis and Clark expedition. Expressions in the poem read as though the author may have seen the Corps of Discovery, or even personally traveled the route by land or water. Here are a few excerpts from Kipling's lines, paired with expedition scenes:

- **Lewis at Lemhi Pass** (near the Continental Divide)—"As I faced the sheer main-ranges, whipping up and leading down."
- **Lewis at Lolo Pass** (above the Bitterroots)—"Till I camped above the tree-line—drifted snow and naked boulders....knew I'd stumbled on the Pass."
- **Clark in the "terrible mountains"**—"Froze and killed the plains-bred ponies..."
- **The Corps of Discovery with the Nez Perces**—"But at last the country altered.../There I found me food and water..."
- **Clark at Forts Mandan & Clatsop**—"Thence I ran my first rough survey—chose my trees and blazed and ringed 'em..."
- **Lewis and Clark at the Marias**—"Till I heard the mile-wide mutterings of unimagined rivers, /And beyond the nameless / Timber saw illimitable plains!"
- **Clark, the map-maker**—"By my own old marks and bearings / They will show me how to get there..."
- **Lewis and his "darling project"**—"Anybody might have found it but—His whisper came to Me!"

At first blush these congruencies may seem fanciful, mere coincidence; the reader, musing, may put the poem aside, move on to something else. Yet soon or late, the lines hauntingly recur. How and why is this poem so remindful of the American West? One is drawn irresistibly by such questions into the provenance of the poem: Where and when was it

**William Clark's reconnaissance evokes Kipling's "Explorer"—"up along the hostile mountains, where hair-poised snowslide shivers... something behind the ranges..."**
written? How does it relate to Kipling's American experience? How has the image of the frontiersman in "The Explorer" and other Kipling works echoed in North America through the years? How has this influenced educators and youth movements, and how has this reverberated specifically in the Pacific Northwest?

Seeking "Tracks"

To resolve these questions (nagging me personally since first acquaintance with "The Explorer" years ago) I have commenced the tracking expedition now set before you in this essay. Looking for tracks of the poem involves more than seeking clues to its genesis and beholding views of Lewis and Clark in its verses. The search is also to find impacts of the poem on individual personalities. But the trail is not limited to sightings of the poem, as though on a hunting excursion—it includes finding what others have to say about it. The image in "The Explorer" is that of the frontiersman in a broad sense, typifying Kipling's ideas apparent also in some of his other works. This image elicits varying reactions in different observers whom we have sought out. Finally, the tracks lead us along a lengthy time line, through youth movements, to the unique place in the Northwest where

"The Explorer" continues its "everlasting whisper, day and night repeated...."

For this discussion we need to be reminded briefly of a few salient details of Kipling's life: He was born in India (1865) and spent his early childhood there; he was sent by his parents to the village of Westward Ho!, Devon, England, for enrollment at the United Services College—a school established in 1874 for the sons of British officers, which Kipling later used as the backdrop for his Stalky & Co. stories. He returned to India in his late teens, soon to become a journalist and editor of a newspaper, The Pioneer; there he made a literary mark for himself in and around the diplomatic and "colonial" community of Lahore and Simla in the Punjab. At age 21 he left India for a trip to America, traveling as a reporter, sending dispatches to The Pioneer about his experiences and observations. After his arrival and brief sojourn in San Francisco, he journeyed to Portland; while there he ventured up the Columbia by mail boat to view the interior, even caught a 12-pound chinook salmon. At Bridal Veil Falls, Kipling wrote,

There are many "bridal veil" falls in this country, but few...lovelier than those
that come down to the Columbia River. Then the scenery began—poured forth with the reckless profusion of Nature, who when she wants to be amiable succeeds only in being oppressively magnificent.

He proceeded from Portland to Tacoma and reached Seattle shortly after the great fire of 1889, thence to Vancouver, British Columbia, by steamer through the San Juans. Throughout these experiences he visited with local people and stored in memory and his notebooks impressions of the West. Continuing across the continent by rail, he made a pilgrimage visit to Mark Twain (then residing at Elmira, New York), later made acquaintances in the East that led to his marrying an American girl—Carrie Balestier—and settling down near Carrie's hometown, Brattleboro, Vermont. There, two daughters were born, and there Kipling came to worldwide fame, producing some of his most celebrated works. It was in Vermont that he began writing "The Explorer" (January 1899), though he did not finish it until June 23, 1897 (the day after Queen Victoria's Jubilee), in England. When finally published, the poem was dated 1898.

Critical Observers of "The Explorer"

Deciphering Kipling's poems has kept critics, besides T. S. Eliot, busy enough. "The Explorer" has received its share of attention. Though not among Eliot's choices, this poem is cited by Vasant A. Shahane as specifically comparable to "The Ballad of East and West"—showing Kipling to be "a master craftsman in such ballads." The musicality of these verses, as Shahane writes, creates "an enduring effect of rhythm"—a characteristic contributing to Kipling's being "by far the most frequently quoted of contemporary authors."

By 1914 Kipling's verses were so familiar that one scholar, Ralph Durand, endeavored to contribute to a more knowledgeable understanding of the author. Durand prepared a Handbook...
that analyzes origins and meanings of selected words and phrases in Kipling's poems. Durand suggests,

"The Explorer" might be laid in almost any unexplored land in a temperate climate.... The colloquial expressions used are not those of any one country. Some of them are primarily Australian, such as "station," "blazed," "ringed," and "never-ever country." "Foothills," "trail," and "Norther" are American expressions.

An Explorer in "The Explorer"

One hundred years after Lewis and Clark, another would-be explorer, through Kipling's writings, was hearing the voice of wilderness. From a farm in Michigan, Leonidas Hubbard, Jr., after college graduation, became a journalist in Detroit, then New York, and while still in his twenties worked as an editor and writer for a magazine devoted to outdoor life. Steeped in Kipling, with notions of frontier and exploration, Hubbard was drawn to the idea of a trek into the Labrador interior. In 1901 he prevailed on his friend Dillon Wallace to plan on a dramatic, tragic story of this journey is George Elson, began a fateful jour­ney among Hubbard's "old fellows!")

Two years later, in the summer of 1903, Hubbard, then 29, with Wallace and a native companion in Labrador, George Elson, began a fateful jour­ney—"into the great lonely wilderness that lured Hubbard to his death." The dramatic, tragic story of this journey is reported in Wallace's book, The Lure of the Labrador Wild, which by 1913 had reached an 11th edition and by 1930, a 23rd edition. The preface to this book carries Kipling's lines: "Something lost behind the ranges. / Lost and waiting for you. Go!"—next to a photograph of Hubbard standing by a canoe, about to begin the adventure.

Wallace writes that around their campfire, after incredible toil each day on the trail, Hubbard would entertain his two companions with remembered quotations from Kipling. "The Explorer" resonates throughout the report. Indeed, the party named the farthestmost ranges reached on the journey the Kipling Mountains. "As I gazed upon them," Wallace relates, "some lines from Kipling's 'Explorer' that I had often heard Hubbard repeat were brought forcibly to my mind." He then quotes the full stanza of "Something hidden...." But the men suffered through pathfinding errors, pro­vision shortages, fatigue, and unendur­able weather. Having penetrated close to their goal, the three had to halt. Miser­ably weakened, Hubbard was unable to proceed, and the party was obliged to separate. Hubbard was left alone while Wallace and George fell back to seek help. They were too late—Hubbard had perished alone in the wilderness.

James A. LeRoy, an old college class­mate, echoing "The Explorer" in a later tribute to his friend, spoke of Hubbard as "a man born with an insatiable desire to do something, to see what other men have not seen, to push into the waste places of the world, to make a new discovery, to develop a new theme or enrich an old, to contribute, in other words to the fund of human knowl­edge..." (shades of Meriwether Lewis and his "darling project").

Frontiersman in Kipling

H ubbard's ordeal, on reflection, seems the story of a man possessed—hyp­notized by the "everlasting whisper" that Kipling ascribed to "The Explorer," pulling him beyond the ranges. Bonamy Dobree, a Kipling scholar writing in 1967, understands this call, or "pull," in more general terms: "To gain or to preserve his individuality a man must follow his loudest urgings." Considering the effect of these verses, Dobree hears the whisper as a compulsive urge, a part of "the riddle of Kipling...to determine the value he put on the in­dividual in relation to society." We see this less philosophically. To us, there is no "riddle" in "The Explorer." Implicit in the poem (and many other Kipling ballads) is a typified frontiersman, one who is impelled to push beyond normal borders—a survivor. Alertness, stamina, self-reliance, physical and mental fitness—these are the obligatory values. Observers thus see an overt didacticism in Kipling's ballads and stories.

The sturdy qualities in "The Explorer" once more remind us of Lewis and Clark, specifically how their voyage of discovery is a proxy—standing for challenge of the frontier, incessant thrusting beyond the ranges, ever-present in mountains of the West. As the two captains personally faced their frontier, preparing for their journey, they sought to "find out and engage some good hunters, stout, healthy, unmarried men, accustomed to the woods, and capable of bearing bodily fatigue in a pretty considerable degree." Clark recorded that a few "Gentlemen's sons" have applied who "are not accus­tomated to labour." The captains agreed that "as that is a very essential part of the services required of the party," such applicants would not be enlisted among their explorers.

Model frontier manliness is implicit not only in "The Explorer"but also in Kipling's famous ballads and stories written for children and adolescents. One observer, Carol Naylor, a researcher in Australia, affirms that Kipling "aimed to amuse and entertain children but at the same time he had a specific message." That message, "deliberately didactic," was to inculcate self-reliance, initiative, masculinity, resourcefulness. He was, in short, involved in "the literary and artistic representation of the business of fashioned boys into men." A further observer, James Harrison, commenting on the Mowgli stories, notes traits in the boy Mowgli ("growing up totally in the wild") essential for a budding explorer or frontiersman:

"The boy could climb almost as well as he could swim, and swim almost as
Kipling's Kim became for the Boy Scouts "an exemplary reader of signs, a model of alertness."

Commentators are thus obliged to review the relation of Kipling to Scouting. The authorized biographer, Charles Carrington, states that "Kipling was an early and enthusiastic supporter." He notes also that Kipling "wrote his Boy Scouts Patrol Song (to the tune of 'A Life on the Ocean Wave') for Baden-Powell," the song which bears a refrain to "look out, pay attention, see what you see":

_There’s just one law for the Scout And the first and the last, and the present and the past_ (where he is described on the title page as "Commissioner, Boy Scouts") contains much that is hardly in the spirit of the Scouts and Guide laws." Avery is referring specifically to some of the stories of Stalky & Co. — stories which "some critics have seen... as symbolizing harmless fun, typical of adolescent fantasy, while others have registered outrage at the 'savagery' and 'brutality' of the stories."

Carol Naylor, however, affirms Kipling's "continuing relevance to some important considerations about the education of the young." Despite the "stalkiness" of the Stalky stories (i.e., distinguished from Baden-Powell's "spirit of the Scout"), Naylor considers that Baden-Powell simply adapted the model, skipping over the unsavory aspects, "to promote an 'ideal of frontier manliness.'" Naylor adds:

_Indeed, Kipling's preface to his Land and Sea Tales is a didactic poem with a rhythmic recurrence: 'Be fit, be fit! In mind and body, be fit! And once again, be fit!'—admonitions that, in the words of David Trotter, have become 'institutionalized by the Boy Scout movement.' Peter Keating sees in 'The Explorer' "a determination to persevere, often prompted by a spiritual guidance towards some important, as yet unknown purpose." But he adds that the Jungle Books, heavily referenced by Baden-Powell, "were written long before the Boy Scouts were even thought of." He suggests that the Patrol Song and the Land and Sea Tales suffer "from being either too obviously didactic or too obviously hearty."

And Gillian Avery suggests, "Kipling should certainly never be thought of as the type of the official writer to Baden-Powell. Even his Land and Sea Tales for Scouts and Guides..."
The quotation has been mounted continuously and conspicuously in a central lodge at the camp since the 1920s.

Ignoring the dangerous side of the Stalky message, the Scout movement, “Outward Bound,” and youth educators worldwide continue to work with, tap into, and channel the idealism, enthusiasm, humour, and enjoyment of camaraderie that are typical of the adolescent male.

Baden-Powell’s adaptation of Kipling’s self-admitted tracts (or parables on the education of the young) is not only implicit in the Scouting movement, it is explicit. The classic Handbook, published first in 1908, carries this explanation: “By the term ‘scouting’ is meant the work and attributes of backwoodsman, explorers, and frontiersmen.” Baden-Powell’s “Camp Fire Yarn No. 1” further depicts frontiersmen as “the ‘trappers’ of North America, hunters of Central Africa, the British pioneers, explorers, and missionaries over Asia and all the wild parts of the world, the bushmen and drovers of Australia, the constabulary of Northwest Canada and of South Africa.”

Sitting around our own local campfire, listening thus to Baden-Powell, we muse that he might have also had in mind the Fenimore Cooper tradition in American literature, rooted in the quintessential frontiersman Daniel Boone. Indeed, the Boone story of the 1750s inevitably evokes a further “sighting” of Kipling’s “Explorer”: Archibald Henderson, a historian of the early pioneers, tells in his Conquest of the Old Southwest that for Boone “it was one of the secret and cherished ambitions of his life to scale the mountain wall of the Appalachians and to reach the high portal of the Cumberland which beckoned to the mysterious new Eden beyond.”

Although hunting was an endless delight to Boone, he was haunted in the midst of this pleasure, as was Kipling’s “Explorer,” by the lure of the undiscovered: “Till a voice, as bad as Conscience, rang interminable changes / On one everlasting Whisper day and night repeated—so / “Something hidden. Go and find it. Go and look behind the ranges…”

From Scouting’s earliest days when Baden-Powell first put forth his ideas, noted in the 1915 seventh edition of his Handbook, the movement made a wide and rapid development… not only throughout the United Kingdom but also in all the British Overseas Dominions and in many countries beyond the seas, such as Germany, the United States of America, Russia, Argentina, Chile, etc.

Scouting/Chief Seattle Council

The lightning speed of the movement in the United States soon brought it to the Pacific Northwest. In this sector of our tracking we are much indebted to Reverend M. Bruce Johnson, who
Edward S. Ingraham, after whom Seattle's Ingraham High School is named, was active Scout commissioner when the location for Camp Parsons was first established in 1917. He is better known today as the first superintendent of the Seattle Public Schools.

Professor Edmund S. Meany, author of History of Washington, was also an early commissioner of the Scout Council. In Seattle his Scouting legacy is perpetuated in the central lodge originally named for him (now the dining hall) erected for Seattle's innovative Cub program, adjacent to Camp Parsons in 1937. Ultimately, this impressive hall became the focal center for an enlarged Camp Parsons. (The renowned Meany Theater on the campus of the University of Washington celebrates Meany's important place in Northwest culture.)

Kipling's "Explorer" at Scout Camp

The mess hall at Camp Parsons marks the end point, the culmination of tracking Kipling's "Explorer" to the shores of Puget Sound. The famous four lines of the poem confront Scouts in this hall typically three times daily:

Something hidden. Go and find it.
Go and look behind the Ranges—
Something lost behind the Ranges.
Lost and waiting for you. Go!

The quotation has been mounted continuously and conspicuously in a central lodge at the camp since the 1920s. Today the lines appear on a large sign in the main dining quarters, hung near a huge cedar log that sits over the great stone fireplace. Emblazoned on the log is this inscription, "The Scout Law is the Law of this Camp." Close to the log, almost as an accompanying "law," "The Explorer" has been thus impressed upon thousands of young men who spent summers at Camp Parsons. Over 130,000 Scouts have camped there since 1919 and thus become conscious of Kipling's challenge to go and look behind the ranges. The poem has served as a stimulus, later a refrain, when young explorers have prepared for, and commenced extended treks from the camp into the Olympic Mountains. Historic ascents to a number of sites in the Olympics have been made by Scouts from the Camp Parsons base. Del Monte Ridge, for example, was named by them after a climb in 1926, for Billy Del Monte, then the Camp Parsons cook.

Parsons "old-timers" have wondered how the poem has come to occupy this prominent place in the life of the camp and who originally put it there near the fireplace. The first professional Scouter to head the Seattle Council was John Piper. After supervising development of Camp Parsons, he moved on, in 1919, to other responsibilities. A Chicago Scout officer, S. P. Walsh, then replaced Piper. Asked in Chicago if he knew anything about Seattle, Walsh replied, "Nothing at all, except that it's on the Pacific Coast somewhere near Portland, and has lumber-jacks and Eskimos and a totem pole on the main street." Introduced later to the Kitsap Peninsula, Hood Canal and the Olympic Mountains, he soon learned the splendid advantages of the Parsons campsite for Scouting. There, in an orientation with Piper, Walsh first became familiar with "the great substantial lodge set in a clearing surrounded by tall firs and cedars...[with] an immense stone fireplace." Indeed it was in this same lodge that the Kipling poem would first be mounted.

Walsh's book recounting his experience, published in 1923, records
an initial walking tour on the Kitsap peninsula—"the farthest western wilderness...the last West, still unspoiled by the trespass of civilization." In these untracked places, Walsh wrote,

there came to mind, in...this prospect, the lines of Kipling’s poem, "The Explorer," quoted at the beginning of Dillon Wallace’s book, The Lure of the Labrador Wild: "Something hidden. Go and find it. Go and look behind the Ranges—/Something lost behind the Ranges. Lost and waiting for you. Go!"

Note that Walsh thinks of these lines in the specific context of Wallace’s book. One wonders whether the poem came to mind secondarily, rather than primarily from earlier recollection or remembrance of the complete stanzas of the full text. Since Reverend Johnson has documented that “The Explorer” was on display in the mess hall by 1925 (while Walsh was the active camp director), it seems that Walsh’s recall of Kipling’s verse must have led to bringing “The Explorer” to the fore in the great lodge.

Beyond the Ranges

Aside from the inspiration for enshrining the poem, the larger consideration is its place in the Camp Parsons legacy. Kipling’s challenge inescapably confronts an unending, oncoming file of young men (three times daily in the summer months) passing through the camp’s mess hall. A bit of “The Explorer” is thus impressed upon multiple generations. That is not to say, of course, that the impact of the Parsons experience on so many lives is singularly due to the Kipling poem. Appropriately, however, those lines are intimately associated with the overall Parsons legacy. Reverend Johnson summarizes this legacy in his invaluable brief history, written in 1993, as follows:

All told, Camp Parsons has produced about 20 mayors and scores of noted writers, environmentalists, doctors, attorneys, lawyers, clergy, professors, businessmen, soldiers, teachers—successful men in virtually every profession.... Altogether, the “Parsons alumni” have had—and will continue to have—a tremendous impact on life in the Pacific Northwest, and in other places as well.

One Parsons alumnus among those heralded above, the late Harry Hubbard, Jr., is noteworthy today in the specific context of this story: Hubbard was founder and the first president of the National Council of the Lewis and Clark Bicentennial, a work now in full swing across the continent. During the years since Reverend Johnson wrote his tribute, thousands more young men have been added to the ranks of “Parsons alumni.” “The Explorer” continues today to penetrate memories of young men, with its whisper to go and look behind the ranges—not merely ranges of beckoning mountains but beyond other frontiers of life as well. Could any Kipling poem or story ever have had such concentrated, enduring, and focused effect anywhere else across the decades than at Camp Parsons? Embedded in the allusions recounted in this review, “The Explorer” is a metaphor for discovery, adventure—for recollections stretching from Boone over Cumberland Gap, Lewis and Clark at the Divide, the Kipling ranges in Labrador, Baden-Powell’s global youth movement, and finally to Camp Parsons in the Olympics.

Seon Manley in his book, Rudyard Kipling: Creative Adventurer, reports on a speech that Kipling gave to Rhodes Scholars on “Work in the Future.” Manley records that Kipling said, even in 1923, “Young people would be entering a world where, at the worst, no horror is now incredible, no folly unthinkable, no adventure inconceivable.” Manley adds: “As with any successful writer, critics were asking if Kipling’s work would endure. He answered: ‘The utmost a writer can hope is that there may survive of the work a fraction good enough to be drawn upon later, to uphold or embellish some ancient truth restated or some old delight reborn.’”

Acknowledged as the unofficial laureate of his nation for decades, Kipling was buried (1936) in Poet’s Corner, Westminster Abbey, beside Charles Dickens and Thomas Hardy—homage of a grateful nation. Far away, on Pacific shores, a “fraction” of his work, “The Explorer,” is lodged in a Scout hall on Jackson Cove, Dabob Bay, Hood Canal, Puget Sound. It has been “good enough to be drawn upon” since the early 1920s and will be for decades to come, embellishing an ancient truth—the urge to seek what is hidden behind the ranges, lost and waiting—some old delight reborn.

Robert R. Hunt of Seattle is a retired banking executive and a long-time member of the Lewis and Clark Trail Heritage Foundation.
MOTHER JOSEPH
ARCHITECT, PIONEER, BEGGAR

By Mary L. Stough

It might have been a scene from a low-budget Western: a stagecoach, four masked gunmen, and the usual assortment of passengers. Even the script was predictable as one of the highwaymen growled, “Get out of the stage and throw your bags to the side of the road. Now!!” As they filed out it was apparent that the passengers were not quite the usual mix. There were two nuns: one young and fair of face, one mature and stern—a no-nonsense face. As the robbers looted the baggage, the older nun suddenly spoke in an authoritative but softly controlled voice.

“Boy! My Boy!” The young man was startled. Was it the heavy French accent, or was it surprise at being addressed by the nun whom he was in the process of robbing? “Bring me that black bag there. No, not that one, the one next to it. Yes, yes, that one. Give it to me. There is nothing in there that you would want.” He handed her the bag and she said, “Merci. God bless you, my son.” The young thief turned and continued to paw through one of the remaining satchels.

As the terrified passengers returned to the coach, Mother Joseph winked at her companion and patted the bag. A sizeable amount of money that the sisters had collected from miners earlier in the day was safely inside. Money desperately needed for their orphans in Vancouver, Washington Territory, could not be given up so easily. The year was 1866.

Mother Joseph was born Esther Pariseau, the third of 12 children born into a French-speaking family in Quebec. They believed in God, love for one another, and hard work. Her father was a carpenter and carriage maker who passed his skills on to his daughter. It was not surprising that Esther decided to spend her life with a newly formed order of nuns, the Sisters of Providence, who worked for the poor and destitute in Montreal.

On December 26, 1843, Esther and her father Joseph stood before Mother Superior Gamelin and requested permission for Esther to join the Sisters of Providence. Joseph spoke with pardonable pride, “Madame, my daughter can read, write, figure accurately, sew, spin, and do all the manner of housework. She can even do carpentry, handle a hammer and a saw as well as her father. She can also plan for others, and succeed in all she undertakes. I assure you, Madame, she will make a good superior some day.” All this praise was an embarrassment for the aspiring novice, but a prophetic moment for Joseph Pariseau and Mother Superior Gamelin.

While Sister Joseph became a valuable member of the Sisters of Providence, she also harbored a dream of bringing the word of God to the natives of the Oregon Territory. The dream became a reality on December 8, 1856, when she and her four companion nuns stepped from the deck of the Brother Jonathan and into the small village of Vancouver. While waiting to be taken to their living quarters, they were treated to a loud and bitter argument between Bishop Blanchet, who had requested that the nuns establish a foundation in Vancouver, and his vicar general, who wanted them to settle in Olympia, the capital of the newly formed Washington Territory.

The fact was, there were no living quarters. The only unused building in this sparsely settled village was an open-sided shed. As the argument intensified, Sister Joseph decided she had heard enough. “We'll take the shed,” she interrupted. As the trunks and luggage piled in front of the Episcopal...
ABOVE: When the roads gave out, nuns became beggars on horseback, complete with their black serge habits and sidesaddles.

BELOW: Felix de Weldon created this statue of Mother Joseph for the National Statuary Hall Collection in Washington, D.C. A replica can be found in the Legislative Building in Olympia.

residence, a wave of chivalry overcame the bishop, and indicating the Episcopal residence, he said, "The sisters will remain here tonight."

With that, the French Canadian women set to scrubbing an attic room filled with broken furniture, rolled-up carpet, blankets, and quilts that obviously had been used before. The next day the carpenter's daughter asked for a hammer, saw, and some basic building materials. Sister Joseph built five narrow bunk beds, a table hinged to the wall, and a clean box for each of the sisters to sit on and store things in. Over the wet winter she designed the frame house which was to be their convent.

Designing and building were generally accepted as men's work, but here was a woman who could think and plan as an architect and had the skills of a hands-on builder. Mother Joseph (as superior of the convent she was now "Mother" rather than "Sister" Joseph) had no time for gender turf wars. She brought a spiritual message, but she also knew that without some basic building materials. Sister Joseph built five narrow bunk beds, a table hinged to the wall, and a clean box for each of the sisters to sit on and store things in. Over the wet winter she designed the frame house which was to be their convent.

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Despite her many talents, Mother Joseph was a charismatic person. She was plainspoken and never acquired proficiency with the English language. Fortunately, she had the good judgment to select a young, pleasant-looking, keen-witted nun to accompany her on begging trips. Both Mother Joseph and her companion were diligent about recording their lives as itinerant beggars. Their trips often began by boat, then continued by stagecoach and finally horseback.

On one occasion their return trip to Vancouver after a particularly lengthy period nearly ended in tragedy. The party was made up of Mother Joseph; Sister Catherine; their Indian guide, Sapiel; and two Jesuit priests, Father Louis Saint-Onge and Father Joseph Giorda. After the danger had passed, Mother Joseph wrote in her journal in a straightforward manner with economy of words about a harrowing night spent defending themselves against wolves.

We had just wrapped ourselves in our blankets when a terrifying howl frightened us almost out of our wits. In a half hour after the first howl we were surrounded by wolves. Sapiel took his knife and cut firewood to start a blaze around the camp knowing that wolves did not ordinarily pass the line of fire.

Our horses were tethered inside the fire line. I cannot describe the fright of those poor animals. The woods were tinder dry, and now the fire that had been meant to keep the wolves at bay began to threaten us as well. A burning forest seemed to surround us. Great branches fell to the ground. We battled burning cinders and blinding smoke as best we could... Some of the provisions burned, our tent caught on fire several times, and our saddles were damaged... Finally the night of horror passed, and with daylight the wolves left. We gave thanks to Almighty God for delivering us in the midst of all danger.

Later, as Mother Joseph reread her account of that memorable journey, she marveled at how dull her words made it sound.

Their never-ending begging accounted for thousands of dollars that made the building of hospitals, schools, and orphanages possible. The architect/builder was impatient with those who were overcautious or slow, and by the time she died in 1902 at age 79 she was responsible for the construction of twelve schools (seven academies and five Indian schools), eleven hospitals, and two orphanages.

In 1980 she was chosen to represent Washington state in the National Statuary Hall Collection, in Washington, D.C. Mother Joseph's faith in her God is reflected in the sculpture, which portrays her kneeling in prayer; she prayed always for guidance, with special devotion to St. Joseph who was also a carpenter. But the statue does not hint to the shrewdness it took for this pioneer nun to outsmart a highway robber or the courage it took to battle a forest of flaming branches while surrounded by hungry wolves. At her death in 1902 she was described as having a "will of tempered steel." She would have countered that she tried to do only God's will.

Mary Stough retired from the Timberland Regional Library in 1984 and has since enjoyed reading and writing about Northwest history.
One hundred years ago, in what “Big Bill” Haywood termed “the Continental Congress of the working class,” the Industrial Workers of the World was established in Chicago. An all-inclusive industrial union, the IWW quickly spread, particularly to the East and West coasts. In Washington, the Wobblies, as they were called, organized “free speech fights” in Spokane (1909-10) and Everett (1916), and a general strike in Seattle (1919). Throughout the second decade of the 20th century they organized lumber, mining, agricultural, and other workers in the extractive industries, fighting to establish the eight-hour workday, safe working conditions, and a fair wage. The history of the IWW is intimately intertwined with the history of our state and is part of the larger western radical tradition.
Captains Meriwether Lewis and William Clark and other members of their expedition collected and identified nearly 400 species of plants and animals during their voyage of discovery. Of this total, 31 species of fish were included in Burroughs’ summary of the natural history of the expedition, including 12 fish considered unknown to science at that time. While there is little doubt of the identity of fish for which Lewis and Clark provided detailed descriptions in their daily logs, other species designations were largely conjecture based on later scholars’ interpretations of Lewis and Clark’s accounts. Unlike other biological specimens encountered during the expedition, no fish were brought back for study. As a result, the identity of some was never resolved. Many other fish were reclassified during the past century based on updated scientific methods.

As Lewis and Clark’s party crossed the Continental Divide in August 1805 in search of a water route to the Pacific Ocean, they reached the upper Columbia River watershed and crossed the threshold toward a whole new assemblage of freshwater fish. Their encounters with Native American fishermen and fish were well-documented in some instances. Other accounts were sketchy at best. In addition to their daily log, Lewis and Clark wrote long passages summarizing life history and taxonomic features of several fish species while within the rainy confines of Fort Clatsop in March 1806. Many reconstructed notes were of fish encountered several months earlier when the expedition crossed the Rockies. Given the dreary backdrop and the time that had passed since their original observations, some details were likely embellished or lost.

Certain accounts of Columbia River fish remain confusing to this day. For example, Clark wrote on October 25, 1805, while near The Dalles, “One of the guards saw a Drumfish today.” We know that freshwater drum (fish that made a peculiar noise by forcing air from the swim bladder) did not occur in the Columbia River basin. The distinct shape of these fish, as well as their long, double dorsal fin with spines, would make it difficult to mistake them with anything present in the lower Columbia River. Lewis and Clark also alluded to the “whale and the porpus” in a list of fish they saw, apparently being confused about the proper zoological classification of these finned mammals as well. Like all pioneering naturalists, they made mistakes. However, they also set the table for others with more specialized interests.

Trout and salmon are one of the most visible groups of fish in the Pacific Northwest. They are highly valued by sports and commercial fishermen and have great cultural significance to Native American tribes. Up to 20 million adult Pacific salmon and steelhead returned to spawn in the Columbia River and its tributaries two centuries ago. Resident trout also ranged throughout the many waterways. Clearly, salmon and trout were the most abundant group of fish present in the Columbia and Snake rivers when the Lewis and Clark expedition passed through this region.

Our bold explorers encountered and described what appeared to be five species of fish from the trout and salmon family. The original or type species Salmo had already been described by Walbaum in 1792 based on Russian forms. However, no resident or anadromous (i.e., seagoing) forms of the genus Oncorhynchus had been previously collected in the United States. Lewis and Clark’s list of species included the “common salmon” (chinook or king salmon), “red charr” (sockeye or red salmon), “white salmon trout” (coho or silver salmon), “salmon trout” (steelhead), and “spotted trout” (cutthroat trout). Resident rainbow trout are the same genus and species as the steelhead, the difference being that they do not migrate to the ocean and back.

Several western passages included reference to the common salmon, beginning with an entry from August 19, 1805. There is little doubt that Lewis and Clark’s common salmon was the Chinook salmon, the most abundant of all salmon species in the Columbia and Snake rivers. Chinook salmon also had the widest geographical distribution. Entries such as, “It is this species that extends itself into all the rivers and little creeks on this side of the Continent and
to which the natives are so much indebted for their subsistence,” indicate that the explorers recognized the extensive range and sequence of migration for this salmon. They were, however, confused by the semipalmerous (i.e., die after spawning) nature of adult salmon as evidenced by Clark’s entry in mid October 1805 near the forks of the Columbia and Snake rivers: “The Cause of the immense numbers of dead Salmon I can’t account for.” Just upstream of this location is the present-day Hanford Reach, the principal spawning area for fall Chinook salmon in the Columbia River. Other taxonomic details from journals, including the relative size of scales, spotting pattern, and body size of the common salmon, provide important clues that clearly separate Chinook salmon from other species known to be present in the Columbia River at the time.

Red charr were first referred to by Lewis and Clark in early winter 1805 near Grays Bay on the lower Columbia River: “We purchased of the Indians 19 red charr which we found to be excellent fish.” They noted that some of these salmon had sides and bellies that were mostly red in color. Spawning males of both sockeye and coho salmon turn deep red when breeding. That red charr were not “variegated with the dark spots” suggests these fish were sockeye salmon.

The more one tries to glean conclusive information that red charr were always sockeye salmon, the more confusing it gets. For example, individual journal entries did not always match what is known about sockeye salmon. In one instance, Clark suggested salmon-trout were further along in their spawning cycle than the red charr, a fact inconsistent with their life history. Another passage on red charr—“this fish we did not see until we descended below the great falls of the Columbia”—does not help resolve the issue of species identification because Chinook, sockeye, and coho salmon, and steelhead all migrated to locations upstream of Celilo Falls. Despite a long list of inconsistencies, it appears that most accounts of the red charr provide evidence that sockeye salmon were encountered by Lewis and Clark.

Several detailed descriptions were provided by Lewis and Clark for white salmon trout, a species generally agreed to be the coho salmon. One passage on “the white species” indicated this salmon spawned later than the common salmon. This fact is consistent with what we know about the spawning cycle of Pacific salmon. In mid March, while at Fort Clatsop, Lewis wrote, “The white salmon trout which we had previously seen only at the great falls of the Columbia has now made its appearance in the creeks near this place.” A few weeks later, in April, Clark wrote that the Wallah Wallah tribe “take a few Salmon trout of the white kind,” but he provided no further details about when the harvest took place.

These observations are all in accord with life history requirements of coho salmon. While Lewis’s detailed sketch of white-salmon trout provided a reasonable likeness of coho salmon, the number of anal fin rays overlaps with the upper end for steelhead or salmon-trout. It should be noted that steelhead spawn in creeks and rivers of the Columbia River system during February to May. Thus, we are left hanging with a few facts on white-salmon trout that are not always in harmony.

Most naturalists agree that Lewis and Clark’s salmon-trout was an upstream migrating adult steelhead rather than

Native Americans dip-netted upstream-migrating adult salmon from platforms at traditional fishing grounds along the Columbia River.
another species of salmon. A passage written in late October 1805, while the party was at the Great Falls (Celilo), is consistent with an encounter with an early winter-run steelhead: “We met this fish of a Silvery white colour on the belly and sides and a bluish light brown on the back and head.” While at Fort Clatsop, Clark wrote: “In this neighbourhood we have met with another species which does not differ from the other in any particular except in point of Colour.” He goes on to describe a color pattern that includes various shades of brown, yellow, and red. Clark was most likely describing an adult steelhead in spawning coloration. He also wrote that this fish was proportionally narrower in length than both the common salmon and red char. The passages appear to be reconstructed, so details might have been blurred. Details of many fishing stories often take new form over time.

Clark also wrote, “I think it may be safely asserted that the Red Charr and both species of salmon-trout remain in season longer of the fall of the year than the common salmon.” This statement reinforces the view that Lewis and Clark encountered steelhead and at least three different species of salmon. However, it does not help resolve all the uncertainty about Clark’s ability to consistently differentiate among the four species of salmon and steelhead the expedition encountered.

One species of trout, now known as the Yellowstone cutthroat, was readily collected by the expedition in the Lemhi/Salmon River drainage. These fish were similar to what they knew as a “mountain” or “speckled trout” from the eastern slope of the Rockies and were easily identified by their spotting pattern, color, and presence of vomer teeth: “The trout are the same which I first met with at the falls of the Missouri” (Lewis, August 19, 1805). Another trout species was alluded to in a journal entry eight days later: “I now for the first time saw 10 or a dozen of a white species of trout. They are of a silvery colour except on the back and head, where they are a bluish cast.” This second species of trout was probably a resident form of rainbow trout known to live among local cutthroat trout populations.

The journals of Lewis and Clark as well as the notes of other members of the expedition provide no record of either pink (humpy) or chum (dog) salmon—both species of which occurred in the Columbia River system. What happened to those humpies and dogs? One reason for their absence from the record may have been that both pink and chum salmon are more common to smaller river systems along the Pacific Coast. Their run timing is another factor. The principal spawning and upriver migration period of pink and chum salmon did not correspond to Lewis and Clark’s presence in the lower Columbia River and at Fort Clatsop. No resident bull trout and seagoing Dolly Varden trout were documented in the Columbia River system during the expedition. Their absence is also somewhat surprising. Why were they not seen and described? Perhaps the true charrs were less
common in the Columbia River than people now assume.

Taken collectively, the journal entries of Lewis and Clark, as well as those of other members of their party, provide strong evidence that Lewis and Clark encountered four of the most abundant species of salmon and the steelhead. However, verifying that each observation was accurate is more problematic. The truth is that the explorers compiled so few details that an active imagination is required to sort out the facts. It is also conceivable that Lewis and Clark were confused by variants of a species. That there was uncertainty in species identification because of variations in color and size would not be surprising. The taxonomy of various trout and salmon species was in considerable flux during most of the 19th century. For instance, George Suckley, in an 1861 treatise on North American salmon and trout, described a total of 43 species! His compilation can be compared with Robert Behnke's current list of 15 species.

Other Fish of the Expedition

Lewis and Clark described several other fish common to the Pacific Northwest, including the eulachon or candlefish, sturgeon, mullet, bottlenose, and chub. Their accounts, although not always conclusive, had either sufficient taxonomic detail or information on life history and timing to provide reasonable certainty as to their identification.

One of the best examples of the explorers' attempt at careful documentation was the detailed likeness of a eulachon drawn while the expedition wintered at Fort Clatsop. The drawing was life-size and complete with measurements of various body parts and counts of fin rays. Lewis was most enamored with this small fish, finding it "more delicate and lusious than the white fish of the lakes." The eulachon was highly prized by Indians because it migrated earlier in the spring than salmon, had a high oil content, and could be easily captured using long-handled dip nets.

Sturgeon also regularly found their way to the meal table of the expedition when salmon were not available in the lower Columbia River. While they shared nothing of the life history or habitats of sturgeon, we learn how they were prepared by local tribes. According to Lewis, sturgeon that had been "cut into large flatches" were laid on top of fire-heated stones, then layered with small boughs or leafy branches. Once all the meat was laid down, the stack was covered with mats and water poured over it and among the hot stones. This process created steam that cooked the fish in an hour or so. Patrick Gass also made reference to obtaining a large sturgeon from Indians in March 1806. The accounts likely refer to white sturgeon, the most common species in the Columbia River. Green sturgeon were present in the lower Columbia River at that time, but they are more rare, particularly in fresh water.

Lewis and Clark made many references to fish that were later construed to be either suckers or large minnows. The principal challenge for verifying these species designations is the paucity of details. In many cases the early naturalists did not provide enough information to differentiate between other closely related species that may have been present in the Columbia River system. The first Northwest entry on mullet was made during the expedition's return leg up the Columbia River. "At the rapids the natives subsist chiefly on...considerable quantities of a small indifferent mullet of an inferior quality." A more detailed account of a mullet caught in the vicinity of Grayling, Montana, corroborates the use of the term mullet for fish now called suckers:

Lewis and Clark were presented with a platter of roasted mullet while in the company of the Wallah Wallah tribe. Based on the Montana account and Clark's details of tribal collections in the lower Walla Walla River, the western mullet would appear to be largescale sucker. Suckers were highly valued by the Sahaptin-speaking people of the mid-Columbia region, according to Eugene Hunn, second in importance to salmon.

Two journal entries refer to curious-looking fish known as bottlenose. The first entry was in late summer 1805 while the party was in the upper Missouri River drainage. At the time, the term bottlenose appeared restricted to a species now known as the mountain
One of the more controversial accounts of fish was made on the Columbia River near Wallula Gap in late April 1806 when Lewis described how a small Indian boy caught several “chubbs” using a small hook-shaped bone. Chub is a widely used common name for members of the minnow family Cyprinidae, which includes fish from the Mississippi, Saskatchewan, and Mackenzie River systems. Many species from this taxonomic group are similar in appearance to Columbia River fish.

One clue to the identity of the mystery fish was that it was described as being about nine inches long. This size eliminates the possibility that the chubs were redside shiner or dace because neither of these common Northwest fish exceed four to five inches in length. One more clue we can glean from the explorers’ notes is that the fish congregated along the shoreline in late spring (i.e., several were caught in a short time period), and yet another is that they struck an artificial lure because the bone hook did not appear to be baited. Three of the larger minnows native to the Columbia River (i.e., the northern pikeminnow, peamouth chub, and chiselmouth) gather in schools during their spring spawning season and easily reach nine inches in length. The northern pikeminnow (formerly known as squawfish) is piscivorous, or a predator on other fish. As a result, it is more commonly caught on lures than the other two species. However, it should be noted that many fish strike lures, possibly as a territorial response.

Lewis wrote that Columbia River chub were “white on the sides and belley and a blewish brown on the back.” Both chiselmouth and pikeminnow fit this general description. However, it seems the yellowish fins and the large, toothless mouth of a pikeminnow would have been noted. If the chub of Lewis and Clark were indeed peamouth chub, as most historians agree, they were not breeding males, which exhibit a bright red lateral stripe during the spawning season.

Two other key descriptions from Lewis’s entry—“small where the tail
joined the body” and “the upper exceeded the under jaw... the latter is truncate at the extremity”—appear to narrow the fish in question to either peamouth chub or chiselmouth. Both fish have narrow caudal peduncles, giving the impression of a flaring caudal tail fin. Would the mouth shape help solve the mystery? The Oxford Universal Dictionary defines truncate as “ending abruptly as if cut off from the base or tip.” A peamouth or mouths that are more snubbed off than a peamouth and closer to being truncate. Their common name comes from having a dense cartilagenous plate in the lower jaw that resembles a carpenter’s chisel. Surely this characteristic would have been mentioned. The weight of evidence (disregarding a discrepancy in fin ray counts) brings us back full circle to what most historians have agreed on—“chubb” must be peamouth chub. But, as is often the case with many of Lewis and Clark’s fish facts, uncertainty reigns.

What Happened to the Rest? Assuredly, many other fish species inhabited the Columbia and Snake River systems during the early 1800s. This is evident from a list of fish known to Sahaptin-speaking people that roamed the mid-Columbia region around the time of the expedition. Their classification scheme included 20 kinds of fish corresponding to about 30 of the ichthyologist’s. Lewis himself noted, “I have no doubt there are many other species of fish, which also exist in this quarter of different seasons of the year, which we have not had the opportunity of seeing.”

Even if Lewis and Clark had collected more information on fish, certain designations would be different by now. That taxonomy was in a state of flux was evident in 1854 when Surgeon-General Charles Girard wrote, “The method I follow is the natural, the true method, that which has superseded the artificial method of the last century.” Wouldn’t Girard be surprised to learn that few of his species names are still in use?

Science advances by the application of new tools to old problems and by new ways of thinking. What we call a species and how we describe taxonomic relationships of fish is no different.

This analysis of fish encountered by Lewis and Clark is not widely disparate from general naturalists’ accounts. For example, Paul Cuitright described eight fish species from the Pacific Northwest, listing four designations as “questionable.” Raymond Burroughs acknowledged there was sufficient information about only the salmon, steelhead, and eulachon to “leave little doubt about the identity.” He went on to conclude that other identifications were less certain: “It appears that some of the 31 (fish) species mentioned in the diary may or may not be valid.” Despite the caveats, we can pretty much lock into a list of eleven different fish seen by members of Lewis and Clark’s party, including the two estuarine species, during the western part of their journey. The emphasis here is on different fish rather than on exactly what fish and when.

The contributions of Lewis and Clark to our knowledge of natural history were significant enough that we can forgive them for not providing more information on fish. While Lewis had scientific training in botany and in zoology, Clark was more versed in map-making and Indian customs. Neither had formal training in ichthyology or the study of fish. Indeed, they had little to say about any fish except for the ones used to supplement their diet. This emphasis makes good sense. After all, their marching orders were to provide the most detail on those “animals of the country” that were edible and easy to collect. The era of specializing within the broader field of biology had also begun. It was up to later zoologists such as Charles Girard, George Suckley, David Starr Jordan, Charles Gilbert, and Barton Evermann to more thoroughly document the occurrence and distribution of Pacific Northwest fish during the latter half of the 19th century.

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RANALD MACDONALD AND THE OPENING OF JAPAN

By Frederik L. Schodt

One of the most imposing landmarks in the city of Astoria is the Astoria Column, towering dramatically atop Coxcomb Hill, overlooking the Columbia River. A tourist pamphlet declares that the column, built in 1926, "commemorates the westward sweep of discovery and migration which brought settlement and western civilization to the Northwest Territory." This "westward sweep" nearly swept away all indigenous cultures in its path, but in 1961, at the foot of the tower, in what almost seems to have been an afterthought, the city added a small memorial to Chief Comcomly of the Chinooks. It is a raised black burial canoe, rendered in concrete, minus his remains. Directly below the hill and monument, on the corner of 15th and Exchange Streets, is a small park featuring a partial reconstruction of the original Fort Astoria, with part of a blockhouse and palisade visible. In one corner stands a granite stone memorial to Comcomly's descendant, Ranald MacDonald. Dedicated on May 21, 1988, with funding provided by the Portland Japanese Chamber of Commerce and generous individuals, the MacDonald monument has an inscription in English on one side and in Japanese on the other. The English engraving reads:

Birthplace of Ranald MacDonald, 1824-1894. First teacher of English in Japan. The son of the Hudson's Bay Co. manager of Ft. George and Chinook chief Comcomly's daughter, MacDonald theorized that a racial link existed between Indians and Japanese. He determined to enter Japan although it was closed to foreigners for over two hundred years. Sailing in 1848 as a deckhand on an American whaler, he marooned himself on Rishiri Island near Hokkaido. While awaiting his deportation, he was allowed to teach English to 14 Japanese scholars, some of whom became leaders in the modernization of Japan. He spent his active life in Europe, Canada, and Australia. He is buried in an Indian cemetery near Curlew, Washington.

The Japanese version on the reverse side is a loose, abbreviated translation of the English, but it adds the information that MacDonald was imprisoned while in Japan. Because of space limitations, neither the English nor Japanese inscription properly conveys the true extraordinariness of MacDonald's adventure. In 1848, for an ordinary North American to have gone to Japan would be like an individual in our time—with no connection to NASA—somehow deciding to go to the moon, and actually doing so. To most North Americans, Japan was an unknown, mysterious land; those who did know of it commonly believed foreigners caught on Japanese soil would be executed.
MacDonald had multiple motivations for his improbable adventure, but they included a desire to make his fortune by serving as an intermediary between the western world and Japan when it was finally opened to trade. He had been raised with romantic stories of shipwrecked Japanese in Hawaii and the Pacific Northwest. In Fort Vancouver, where he attended elementary school, he just missed meeting three Japanese sailors brought there in 1834 after being shipwrecked in northwestern Washington.

That same year MacDonald was sent to the Red River settlement—today's Winnipeg—where he attended schools for the children of Hudson's Bay Company officers. Then, in 1839, he was sent farther east to St. Thomas, Canada, and apprenticed to a local businessman. In this largely European environment the mixed-race boy from the frontier did not fare well, "dropping out"—to his father's chagrin—and making his way to Sag Harbor, New York, where in 1842 he signed on as a sailor for a whaling ship. At the time, the seas near Japan were a popular hunting ground of the United States whaling fleet, and in Hawaii, the Pacific hub of the whaling industry, interest in Japan was at fever pitch. It was here, in Lahaina, in 1847, that MacDonald made a bargain with his sea captain, giving up his wages in return for a small boat and the chance of being left off the coast of Japan.

As the Japanese text on the monument suggests, MacDonald spent his entire ten months in Japan as a prisoner. Because he taught government interpreters English at a critical juncture in history, however, he indirectly helped Japan preserve her independence. Five years later, Commodore Perry and the United States Navy arrived and compelled Japan to end her isolation, and when other foreign powers arrived, many of MacDonald's pupils were able to use their newly acquired language skills to great effect.

Had MacDonald immediately returned to North America in 1849, when he was finally deported, he might have become famous. Ever the adventurer, however, he continued to travel, then sought his fortune in the Australian Gold Rush, and did not return to North American until 1853, at which time Commodore Perry's expedition to Japan had captured the attention of the press. MacDonald remained on the western frontier for the rest of his life, and the memoir of his adventures was not published until 1923, long after his death.

Bruce Berney, head of the Astoria City Library until 1997, initiated the project to build the monument. He had once taught English in Japan and so had become interested in things Japanese. Like most Americans, however, he had never heard of MacDonald, whose story had been largely forgotten. Around 1970, while weeding out old books in the

Berney found MacDonald's story almost too amazing to believe. By coincidence, they both shared the same birthday—February 3—and with this connection in mind, Berney put on a “birthday party” for MacDonald in 1974. He worked up for the occasion a four-page, printed program, outlining MacDonald's life story. Copies were later sent around the country, and, as it happened, one was read by Torao Tomita, then a Japanese Fulbright student studying American history at Yale University. Tomita knew of and was already interested in MacDonald, and he therefore traveled to Astoria to meet Berney. Tomita was given an original copy of the 1923 book, which he later translated into Japanese, thus rekindling interest in MacDonald in Japan.

As Berney recently recalled,

"After the “birthday party” I realized not only that MacDonald’s story was authentic but that people really were interested in him. As library director in Astoria I also thought the book helped show that literature is important to the community. There were many sailors then coming to Astoria from all over, walking around town without knowing anything about Ranald MacDonald and the fact that he was born here. So I decided there ought to be a monument to him, both in English and in Japanese."

With help from the Astoria Chamber of Commerce, individuals, and especially Mas Tomita, local Japanese head of the Epson Company in Portland, money was raised for a stone memorial. A “Friends of MacDonald” Society was organized as a committee within the Clatsop County Historical Society. A dedication ceremony was carried out under the latter's auspices and attended by local notables, representatives of the British and Japanese consulates, descendants of Comcomly, and relatives of MacDonald from Washington and Montana. Torao Tomita was one of the key speakers.

*Astoria* derives its name from John Jacob Astor, the famous German-born New York merchant. Immortalized in Washington Irving's 1836 classic, *Astor*, Astor had a remarkably global vision at the dawn of the 19th century. He knew some people were making fortunes in the fur trade, especially the shareholders of the London-based Hudson's Bay Company, as well as the North West Company, based in Montreal. Both companies had posts distributed throughout the northeast and central American wilderness; their furs were transported across an elaborate system of rivers, lakes, and portages, then shipped across the Atlantic to Europe, from whence they could be sent on to China. The "North Westers" (or Nor'Westers) did a particularly roaring business, and when the company partners showed up in New York they created quite an impression. Irving wrote how they had about them "a gorgeous prodigality, such as was often to be noticed in former times in southern planters and West India Creoles, when flush with the profits of their plantations."

When trade became possible between the newly independent United States and British Canada, Astor entered the fur business and soon made a considerable profit. Nonetheless, he foresaw how a trading concern with an outpost on the Columbia River (with other posts inland) would accrue enormous advantages over his rivals. His was truly a bold idea, given the then small size of the United States and its distance from the Pacific. To Astor's way of thinking, such an outpost could ship furs directly to Canton, China, and even supply Russian forts in Alaska. Such an American outpost would also help to fend off rival trading groups in the area and might help establish a United States claim to the region, upon which the British, Russians, and Spanish had also set their sights. After receiving President Thomas Jefferson's encouragement, Astor formed the Pacific Fur Company in 1810 and sent two expeditions to the mouth of the Columbia, one by land and one by sea in the Tonquin. After visiting the Hawaiian Islands, the Tonquin (like many ships in the fur trade) picked up a group of Hawaiian natives as crew and helpers and headed for the Columbia. The ship cleared the bar at the end of March 1811, losing several men in the process. Shortly thereafter, the survivors built an outpost on the south side of the Columbia and named it Astoria, after their venture's founder.

Like earlier visitors, the "Astorians"—made up of Scots, Iroquois, French Canadians, and Hawaiians—immediately became indebted to Comcomly and the Chinooks. Irving referred to Comcomly in his book as "a shrewd old savage, with but one eye," yet noted that he received the Astorians with great hospitality. Only days after meeting them, Comcomly saved several lives after a boat carrying their de facto leader, Duncan McDougal, capsized in the rolling waters of the Columbia. The Chinooks went on to help the Americans, teaching them to navigate the Columbia and protecting and provisioning them as they struggled to set up their trading operation. The natives also revealed to the Astorians a remarkable link they had to Asia. As Gabriel Franchère noted in his journal entry for August 11, they brought along a man who—apparently having worked previously for a trading ship—"appeared to be endowed with a good deal of intelligence and knew several English words. He told us that he had been at the Russian
trading post at Chitka [Sitka, Alaska], on the California coast, in the Sandwich Islands, and in China.”

Comcomly worked particularly hard to cement his relationship with the Astorians. He had several wives, as was the custom among the Chinook aristocracy, and many children, including several attractive daughters. After rescuing the hapless McDougall, who could not swim, from the Columbia, Comcomly took the man and his companions to his village to dry out. As Irving described it, “His wives and daughters endeavored by all the soothing and endearing arts of women, to find favor in their eyes. Some even painted their bodies with red clay and anointed themselves with fish oil to give additional luster to their charms.”

The strategy worked. McDougall proposed marriage to one of Comcomly’s daughters, and on July 20, 1813, he was united with her in a lavish ceremony. Comcomly sailed from his village, a squadron of canoes carrying his royal family. Irving, adding his trademark seriocomic style to the stories and journals of others, observed that the, “[w]orthy sachem landed in princely state, arranged in a bright blue blanket and red breech clout, with an extra quantity of paint and feathers, attended by a train of half-naked warriors and nobles. A horse was in waiting to receive the princess, who was mounted behind one of the clerks, and thus conveyed, coy but compliant, to the fortress. Here she was received with devout though decent joy by her expectant bridegroom....” From that time forward Comcomly was a daily visitor at the fort and was admitted into the most intimate councils of his son-in-law.

The marriage was regarded as a strategic alliance by the Chinooks and whites alike; among the Astorians, Comcomly was thereafter referred to as a “king” and his children as “princes” or “princesses.” (Later, the British would commonly refer to his oldest son and daughter as the “Prince and Princess of Wales.”) But Astoria itself proved to be temporarily doomed. The problem was neither the elements, the Indians, nor failure of Astor’s planning. Indeed, John Jacob Astor’s vision steadily turned into reality, with trade initiated between the mouth of the Columbia and Canton via the Hawaiian Islands and the Russian outpost of Sitka. Astoria’s real problem proved to be global politics.

The year 1812 found the young United States and Britain again embroiled in war. Although the fighting took place far from Astoria (and for the British, at least, was really an extension of its wars with Napoleon France), the area was not unaffected. In October 1813 members of a rival trading company, the North West Company, appeared in Astoria. McDougall—knowing that the men hailed from Canada, which was British-controlled, and fearing British warships would arrive to conquer them at any moment—decided to sell the brand new fort to the Nor’ Westers. The fact that he had formerly been a member of that company—and soon rejoined them after selling the fort—led many subsequent writers to question his loyalty to the United States. Like many of the original “Astorians,” however, McDougall was not really an American but a Scotsman from British Canada, only chosen by Astor for his prior experience in the fur trade.

The North West Company, formed in 1787, was based in Montreal, which had itself only been wrested from the French by the British in 1763. Like the United States, Canada in 1812 was a fraction of its present size, existing mostly as a
A view of Astoria during the 1840s looking northwest across the Columbia River toward Chinook Point, location of Lewis and Clark's "Station Camp" in 1805 and visited by David Thompson in 1811.

strip of land around the St. Lawrence River and the Great Lakes; the region west of the Rockies was still a vast, dimly understood frontier. But as one of the great fur empires of its day, the North West Company rapidly expanded westward. Its partners, or major shareholders, and officers were mainly of Scottish descent. They formed a sort of commercial aristocracy among themselves, many living and working much of the year in the wilderness; their intimate familiarity with the wilderness contributed greatly to the company's success.

These men had found it nearly impossible to survive without Indian wives, women who knew how to live off the land and could act as friendly intermediaries with local tribes. The result was intermarriage and the birth of a community of mixed-blood children. This was particularly true of the company's French Catholic employees—the trappers and the tireless canoe paddlers and workers known as voyageurs. Far more than Protestant whites, they were, as Irving put it, "prone to intermarry and domesticate themselves among the Indians." They became so acclimated to life in the wilderness that their culture blurred with that of the Indians. Their dress became a mixture of European and Indian costumes, their language also became "of the same piebald character, being a French patois, embroidered with Indian and English words and phrases." At a typical gathering of Nor' Westers in Montreal, when the Scotsmen sang and reveled, "their merriment was echoed and prolonged by a mongrel legion of retainers, Canadian voyageurs, half breeds, Indian hunters, and vagabond hangers-on, who feasted sumptuously without on the crumbs that fell from their table, and made the welkin ring with old French ditties, mingled with Indian yelps and yellings."

A few members of the North West Company had visited Astoria right after the Americans built the fort. David Thompson, an official geographer for the company, made it to the area in 1811 and was welcomed by Duncan McDougall as well as Comcomly and the Chinooks. On July 14 Thompson took his men out to the coast to see the Pacific Ocean for the first time. Although personally thrilled, Thompson would write, "My Men seemed disappointed; they had been accustomed to the boundless horizons of the great Lakes of Canada, and their high rolling waves; from the Ocean they expected a more boundless view, a something beyond the power of their senses which they could not describe; and my informing them, that directly opposite to us, at the distance of five thousand miles was the Empire of Japan added nothing to their ideas, but a Map would."

In November 1813 Astoria's transition to British control became complete when a British warship arrived to take formal possession of the little settlement. Comcomly had difficulty understanding how the "Bostons" could give up without a fight to "King George's men," and reportedly remarked of his son-in-law that his daughter had made a mistake, "instead of getting a great warrior for a husband, had married herself to a squaw." But like many of the original Astorians who merely changed employers, Comcomly adapted quickly. One witness described him a few months later as wearing "a red coat, New Brunswick Regiment 104th, a Chinese hat, white shirt, cravat, trousers, cotton stockings, and a fine pair of shoes." British-controlled Astoria was renamed "Fort George," and for a while the settlement prospered, as did Comcomly and his tribe. Still, like Astor's Pacific Fur Company, the North West Company's reign was short. Far to the north and east, the North West Company's arch rival, the Hudson's Bay Company, was steadily expanding its sphere of influence.

In Canada today, the Hudson's Bay Company is best known for its chain of department stores called "The Bay," yet it is also arguably the world's oldest corporation. Chartered in 1670 by the British Crown as "The Company of Adventurers of England trading into Hudson's Bay," its mission was mainly to trade for furs, yet it was also supposed to search for a Northwest Passage that would lead to the riches of the
Far East. Functioning much like an independent, corporate state, the HBC retained the power to deploy its own armies and navies, make laws, and mint coin. Like Britain's East India Company on the other side of the world, the HBC was also granted monopoly trading rights, in this case to the entire Hudson Bay drainage basin, a vague place called "Rupert's Land," so huge that almost no one had any idea of its true size. For over a century the HBC largely operated around the frigid Hudson Bay, trading blankets and simple manufactures for furs trapped by Indians, and shipping them back to Great Britain. Initially, its officers were mainly English or Scottish.

Geoffrey Simpson was sent out from London in 1820 to eventually oversee the HBC's reorganization in North America. A small but physically tough man, Governor Simpson would so dominate North American HBC operations for the next few decades that he would be referred to as a little "emperor," an allusion to Napoleon, whom he greatly admired. Simpson would take the company to its greatest heights of glory and ultimately diversify it beyond furs, but one of his first tasks was to understand and consolidate the assets of the newly enlarged enterprise. In 1821 he sent a promising young clerk named Archibald MacDonald all the way to the Columbia River and Fort George, the former Astoria, to inventory the company's new assets.

Like many HBC officials, MacDonald was a Scot. Descended from the famous Donald Clan and a long line of Highland warriors, he was a man of great talent, and was well-educated for his day, with training in mathematics, Latin, English and Gaelic literature, medicine, and other sciences. Jean Murray Cole, a 20th-century biographer and descendant, notes that he "possessed a joie de vivre, a gift for friendship and loyalty...a devotion to family and a delight in children and young people that charmed everyone in his circle throughout his life." According to the Montreal Gazette, which ran his obituary in 1853, "His courage, skill, and physical power, as a young man, were extraordinary, and to these were united mental qualifications of no mean order." He had joined the HBC in 1820.

From the beginning, Archibald MacDonald was on an elite track. He was a "gentleman" who would become an officer and devote his life to the HBC, presiding over large numbers of voyageurs, trappers, and laborers. Beneath the governorship was a hierarchy of three grades of officers—chief factors, chief traders, and clerks—and with diligence and application one could rise through the ranks. As one of Archibald's sons later described it, "The advancement in the Hudson's Bay Company was by promotion, much like the advancement in the army. A clerk would advance to Chief Trader usually after about five to ten years of service and would then be eligible for Chief Factor, if he proved the right mettle, after the expiration of ten years more." The company was like a military
organization in that its officers could expect to be rotated in and out of a variety of assignments and posts.

Around the time Astoria fell under British control, company policy on marriage to local Indians relaxed, at least in the Pacific Northwest. George Simpson had a reputation as a scoundrel when it came to Indian women, so much so that he has been referred to as "the father of the fur trade... with a nudge and a knowing wink." But even he realized that the highly organized Indian societies at the mouth of the Columbia were different from those inland, writing: " Conjugal alliances are the best security we can have of the goodwill of the Natives, I have therefore recommended the Gentlemen to form connections with the principal Families immediately on their arrival, which is no difficult matter as the offer of their Wives & Daughters is the first token of their Friendship & Hospitality."

In 1824, when Simpson himself later visited the former Astoria, newly named Fort George, he found himself under great pressure to marry another of Comcomly's daughters. "I... have a difficult card to play," he wrote, "being equally desirous to keep clear of the Daughter and continue on good terms with the Mother and by management I hope to succeed in both altho her Ladyship is most pressing & persevering tempting me with fresh offers and inducements every succeeding Day."

Archibald MacDonald must have made Simpson very happy, for he had already married another daughter of Comcomly's, variously known as Princess Raven (after her Chinookan name of Koale'xoa) or "Princess Sunday." He was at least the third white man to marry one of the chief's daughters. It is not known if Archibald married for love or simply because of his superior's recommendation and the need for a housekeeper. He was 33 years old, in his physical prime, living in a country where the only white woman ever previously seen had been an English bar girl brought out for a brief stay in 1814. A blue-blooded Chinook princess was thus considered an attractive match, despite the vast cultural differences between the two individuals. Many whites criticized the loose morals of single Chinook women but thought highly of them as wives. One usually acerbic Astorian wrote, "Many of these women, who have followed a depraved course of life before marriage, become excellent and faithful wives afterwards."

Archibald apparently never discussed his first marriage with his son. In the latter's posthumously published narrative, Ranald MacDonald relates that he only heard about the union from a ship captain at a much later date. Leading up to the wedding site, he was told—covering "about three hundred yards—was a path of golden sheen, of richest furs, viz. of prime beaver, otter (sea and land), nothing less!... Along this golden path way, as a guard of honor, were three hundred of the slaves, so-called, of the King."

Ranald had difficulty believing the story when he first heard it. Jokingly, he once remarked, "That could not be my Father for the HBC had too great veneration of a Beaver skin to make a carpet of it, [therefore I thought it] must be Mr. McDougall of the Astor Company, [but the captain] said, no, it was MacDonald." About six months after Archibald's marriage, on or about February 3, 1824, Ranald was born. His mother died shortly after the birth and almost nothing is known about her. Ranald was entrusted to the care of her Chinook sister, Car-cumcum, who lived in a lodge next to the fort. He became, according to his own account, "the favorite, the 'Toll, Toll' [Chinook for 'the Boy! the Boy!'] of Gran'pa."

That same year, under Simpson's directions, the company's Columbia River operations were relocated some 80 miles upriver, on the north bank. More convenient for fur collection, this site became Fort Vancouver. About a year later, during his travels, Archibald MacDonald met and fell in love with Jane Klyne, daughter of Michael Klyne, who worked for the HBC in the Rocky Mountains. Ranald MacDonald's posthumously published autobiography refers to her as a 16- or 17-year-old "German Swiss" woman, but subsequent research has clearly shown that his stepmother was a French and Mètis (mixed-blood) woman.

Archibald's union with Jane Klyne proved to be long and happy, producing a total of 13 children. Jane would grow into her role as wife of a powerful HBC officer, later making a remarkable

A Ranald MacDonald monument in Nagasaki, erected in 1994, reads (translated): "Fascinated by Japan, Ranald MacDonald landed on Rishiri Island in 1848.... On this site he became the first person to teach English conversation to Japanese...."
adaptation to life in a white, civilized world. Glowing reports of her exist in the accounts of early visitors to the West and reveal hints of her true ancestry. Cushing Eells, an American missionary who visited the MacDonalds in 1838 at Fort Colville, wrote that "MacDonald's wife was a jewel. A native of the country, she possessed rare excellence. The deportment of her numerous children was living testimony to her maternal efficiency." Mary Walker, wife of another missionary, recorded in 1839: "Mr. Mdonald is a Scotch Presbyterian, very kind & hospitable has a pleasant wife who is nearly white & speaks good English. Their children appear as well as I think as any I ever saw in N.E. Their mother attends to their instructions having been herself educated by her husband."

Jane Klyne took in Ranald and raised him as her own child. In his posthumously published narrative he implies that not until much later in life did he know that his real mother was Comcomly's daughter, a Chinook princess, or even that he was part Chinook. This is highly unlikely, but MacDonald (or his editor) nonetheless wrote that after learning the real history of his birth, "the disillusionment pained me beyond expression." Exactly what Ranald MacDonald knew about his real ancestry, and when he knew it, is one of the central mysteries all researchers of his story confront, as these facts probably had an influence on his later decision to go to Japan.

Questions about MacDonald's knowledge of his true ancestry aside, the fusion of Chinook and Scottish blood that he represented may have helped him in specific ways during his later adventure to Japan. His features did have a slight Asian cast. While this may not have aided his initial landing in Japan—as even returning Japanese castaways were sometimes treated harshly—to his guards, at least, MacDonald may have seemed less threatening than other foreigners. In support of this theory, one of his cousins wrote in 1916, amusingly, that "Ranald's mother, was the daughter of an Indian chief on the Pacific Coast, hence, his complexion was that of Japanese only unusually larger, which I think [was] the true salvation of all the prisoners. No doubt the Japanese Governor, who employed Ranald, possibly thought that Ranald was of his tribe, etc."

Second, while hereditary aspects of personality may be argued, in the end MacDonald was a man of superior intelligence, possessing a phenomenal memory and an absolutely fearless spirit. And like both his father and Chinook grandfather, MacDonald genuinely enjoyed people. In his surviving letters, he displays a wonderful sense of humor. From the letters of those who knew him, and even from Japanese government records, it is clear that he had a rare ability to attract people from broad walks of life, putting them at ease and endearing himself to them.

Finally, and perhaps most importantly in the context of his adventure, Ranald MacDonald inherited an especially healthy constitution, with enormous upper body strength. He grew to be five feet eight, or nine, inches tall, and at 39 he was described as "very active" and weighing "over 225 lb." All indications are that for most of his life he was never ill. He lived to be 70, which for his lifestyle and era was remarkable, but there was precedent for this among his ancestors. Although his Chinook mother had died in childbirth, his grandfather Comcomly lived into his mid sixties, as did his father. His paternal grandparents lived to be 84 and 88 years old. From his father young Ranald had inherited a natural immunity to European diseases, but just in case, he was vaccinated against smallpox twice—at a time when inoculations were still a very new medical procedure.
The Chinooks proper had once been the most powerful and influential tribe in the history of the Pacific Northwest. Their language built the foundation for a 19th-century type of “Esperanto”—a simplified trading jargon called “Chinook”—used by Indians and whites up and down the Pacific Northwest coast. The tribe’s influence is reflected today in place names in Oregon and Washington and in Chinook helicopters, Chinook salmon, and Chinook winds. A Chinook Indian tribe does survive—headquartered in the little town of Chinook, Washington, set along the banks of the Columbia—but it is still struggling for formal legal recognition.

The Chinooks did not decline in power because of war or conflict. When the Hudson’s Bay Company moved its main base of operations from Fort George to Fort Vancouver in 1825, the Chinooks could no longer play their time-honored role of intermediaries between the whites and other tribes upriver. And the Chinook social system had become corrupted by interaction with whites, so that even Comcomly’s strict prohibitions against alcohol collapsed. Finally, like indigenous peoples around the world—like the Ainu in Japan and the Polynesians in the Pacific—the Chinooks were nearly destroyed by European germs. In 1806 Lewis and Clark had noticed the debilitating effects of smallpox, but that was only the beginning. Over the years, the Chinooks and other coastal tribes saw their numbers plummet through measles, malaria, and other unknown diseases.

The missionary, Reverend Samuel Parker, who visited the area in 1835, found relatively few Indians left to convert:

*Since the year 1829 probably seven-eighths, if not . . . nine-tenths, have been swept away by disease, principally by fever and ague . . . . In the burning stage of the fever they plunged themselves into the river, and continued in the water until the heat was allayed, and rarely survived the cold stage which followed. So many and so sudden were the deaths which occurred, that the shores were strewed with the unburied dead. Whole and large villages were depopulated; and some entire tribes have disappeared, the few remaining persons, if there were any, united themselves with other tribes. This great mortality extended not only from the vicinity of the Cascades to the shores of the Pacific, but far north and south.*

Ten years later, in 1845, another missionary—Reverend George Gary—would note in his diary that the Chinooks and Clatsops were “passing away like the dew; there are but four children under one year old in both tribes.”

Yet the area had been a complex linguistic milieu long before the whites arrived, as the Chinooks were used to communicating with other tribes who spoke different languages. After the arrival of the whites, Comcomly learned quite a bit of English, and several of his children became fluent. In 1839 British naval captain Edward Belcher (who would also visit Japan, just before MacDonald) stopped at the mouth of the Columbia and commented on the Chinooks: “As a nation, the first thing that struck us was their facility in picking up words, even to short sentences, and repeating the whole tolerably correctly.”

After the young MacDonald began living with his father and stepmother, he was still exposed to a wide variety of languages. His father’s native tongue was Gaelic, while that of his stepmother was presumably French, mixed with some native dialect. Given that one of MacDonald’s stated reasons for going to Japan was to become an interpreter, it is worth noting his own father’s acute awareness of the importance of interpreters. In an August 8, 1842, letter to an HBC superior, Archibald noted how hostile Indians had recently rained arrows on him and his men mainly because they had lacked interpreters after a misunderstanding had arisen. Condemning the company’s recent cutbacks in interpreters, he warned headquarters of the long-term consequences, stating flatly: “Interpreters are a necessary evil.”

Most important, in terms of MacDonald’s adventure to Japan, is the fact that, for their time, people living at the mouth of the Columbia River had a uniquely global perspective and an orientation to Asia. The Astorians traded with China and dreamed of Japan. The Hudson’s Bay Company could not sell furs directly to China (then under the jurisdiction of the East India Company) but it did trade with the Russians in Alaska, the Spanish in California, and the independent kingdom of Hawaii. And in an age in which most people spent their entire lives within a radius of 100 miles, HBC officers such as MacDonald’s father were true globetrotters, regularly traveling vast distances across the North American continent, and back and forth to Europe. Some, such as Governor George Simpson, were almost constantly on the move, even encircling the globe. To these company men Japan, because of its harsh laws, might not have been an immediate place to trade, but it was an object of intense interest. As MacDonald would write in his posthumously published narrative, “Japan was our next neighbor across the way—only the placid sea, the Pacific, between us.”

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In 1911, Pathé Weekly became the first news organization to regularly release newsreels in the United States. Newsreels were shown weekly at cinemas worldwide, and newsreel cameramen were renowned for their daredevil stunts and bold scoops. In 1912 the Pathé Frères Company created a stir in Yakima when it sent Ralph Radner Earle to film the second annual Blossom Festival. On April 21, 1912, the Yakima Morning Herald described Earle as a “photographer, reporter, scout, historian, big game hunter, soldier of the escapades of peace and war, and whirlwind rolled into one. Weather makes no difference to him and his camera is his gun with which he must make so many kills a week.” The newspaper urged a large turnout along the parade route for the film clip that would be seen worldwide. Some 15,000 people, including delegations from Tacoma and Seattle, were happy to oblige, and the streets of Yakima were crowded with enthusiastic spectators.

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Spokane attorney Reba Hum was the first woman elected to the Washington State Senate. It is not surprising that she would choose to run for political office at some point in her life. By the time she sought election to the senate in 1922, she had already experienced several brushes with politics, having observed and perhaps assisted with her father's various campaigns, including for state legislator in Iowa and Washington State Superior Court judge. And from 1908 to 1910 she worked in New York and Washington, D.C., for Nathan Straus—co-owner of the Macy Department Store, philanthropist and political activist—in his efforts to provide a disease-free milk supply to the poor of New York and other large cities. She had run his errands to Tammany Hall and even helped in significant ways with William Jennings Bryan's 1908 campaign for the presidency, for which Straus was New York chairman.

Sadly, very few of Reba Hum's personal papers remain; for her political career, the Senate Journals and newspaper articles are the chief sources. The first hint of a campaign on the state level appeared in a Spokane Daily Chronicle article of January 19, 1914:

Reba J. Hum, Spokane's only practicing woman attorney, is being considered as a candidate for the state legislature from the Sixth District. Miss Hum's friends are trying to persuade her to come out on the Progressive ticket and it is nearly certain that she will enter the race.... So far, no woman has been elected to office from Spokane County. Last election two were successful in other parts of the state in going to the legislature.

The Progressive, or Bull Moose Party, came into being as a reaction against the conservative administration of William Howard Taft. A break-off from the main Republican Party, it was active during the presidential election of 1912 and to varying degrees over the years on the state level. Among the many reforms espoused in its platform was the national franchise for women. However, nothing came of the suggestion that Reba Hum run for the Washington State Legislature on the Progressive ticket in 1914. In 1922, when she finally did enter state politics, she was firmly within the mainstream Republican fold. A newspaper article asserted: "Miss Hum has been active in women's Republican clubs. When the progressive Republican spirit manifested itself a few years ago she was caught in the enthusiasm of the period and fought, bled, and died with the issue, but never wavered in party loyalty."

The Political Career of Reba Hum

By Laura Arksey
The question for Reba Hurn in 1922 was not only if she should run for state office, but which chamber to seek. She gave the following reasons for choosing the senate:

I have decided to run for the senate rather than the house because there have been five women elected to the house and none has been re-elected. The reason for this is plain. The woman member has been considered a curiosity, written up in the papers, observed and reported on every time she raises her voice or puts on a new dress. She was there for but one session and then men did not become accustomed to her presence. In the senate it is different. The state senator serves through two sessions. Perhaps I will be a novelty for a while but by the close of the first session they will be in the habit of taking me for granted, and by the time the second session comes around I shall have a foothold and be capable of worthwhile constructive work. My handicap at the first session attended will be no greater than that of a man, as what senator takes an outstanding role at his first session?

She ran as a Republican in the Seventh Senatorial District, defeating her Democratic opponent, George W. Belt, 2,697 to 1,299.

Although Hurn insisted that her presence as the lone woman in the senate should make no substantive difference, upon arriving in Olympia she did have to deal with a few special problems. One was where to put her wraps. The men's cloakroom remained off-limits to women, but the press corps gave her space in their area. Another question was whether or not to wear a hat during sessions. She decided not to do so, as she had never worn a hat in the courtroom.

Another issue involved the proverbial smoke-filled room, as most of the senators were in the habit of smoking in the senate chamber. The Spokesman-Review reported the following incident that occurred on the opening day of the 1923 legislative session:

Senator Reba Hurn, the first woman in the senate, proved to be a stickler at the start. Senator Morthland, Yakima, was the first speaker to realize the presence of a woman. He said “Senator Hurn and gentlemen of the senate.” Then the others began changing their salutation. Another hitch came when Senator Metcalf, Tacoma, moved suspension of the [no] smoking rule, which caused Lieutenant Governor Coyle to remark, “The senator, of course, knows we have a lady with us.”

“With the lady senator’s permission, of course,” replied Senator Metcalf with a courteous bow to Miss Hurn.

“Well,” began Miss Hurn, her face flushing, “It’s all right, certainly; I want you to go right ahead. I’ll second the motion. If you will just forget that I am a woman, feel that I want to be just a senator, I’ll be pleased,” she explained, as the senators applauded.

She was introduced formally, made a brief talk, and was given a friendly hand, apparently winning the approval of the men.

Interestingly, the content of her “brief talk” was not reported. Thereafter, in deference to the lady now present, a
Box of candy was passed around each morning along with the customary cigars.

On opening day, in addition to the flurry over the smoking rules, she was one of three senators "appointed as a committee to notify the house that the senate was organized and ready to transact business." Later, she was one of six legislators from both houses dispatched to notify Governor Louis Hart that the senate and the house were in full session and ready to receive his message. Finally, when there was a joint session, Reba Hum was one of four to escort the governor to his seat on the rostrum. No doubt the lone woman in the senate added novelty to these routine ceremonious functions.

The "woman issue" persisted throughout her political career and even long afterwards, particularly in newspaper and magazine articles. Reporters, male and female, could not resist bringing in the novel element of a "lady senator" and were at pains to emphasize that she was feminine and a perfect lady. Many commented on her dress and demeanor in a way that was never done for men in government. A 1926 newspaper article, reminiscing on Hum's first term, is typical:

The nice thing about Miss Hum is that she isn't one of these hustling and bustling women politicians who make men want to run to cover, and women, too, for that matter. We wouldn't really call her a politician at all. She is more the feminine type of woman with a poised confidence that expresses her mental power and a sincerity that makes you know her conscience acts as a perfect balance wheel.

On January 8, 1925, Spokane Woman reported on a speech she gave to the Young Men's Republican Club. The article gave short shrift to her remarks, then described the dress she wore for the occasion: "A new black satin gown, the skirt of which is beaded in various shades of blue which she will wear at the opening session of the legislature... One of the chief charms of Spokane's woman senator is that she is essentially feminine, as the wardrobe which she is taking to Olympia will attest."

Yet Spokane Woman had commented in 1924, after Reba Hurn had been in the senate for a year:

There are no men or women in the state of Washington unwilling to agree that Miss Hum as a senator "delivers the goods." She no longer is looked upon as an experiment. Her first request on assuming an office held by not more than half a dozen women in the whole country was that she be allowed to tackle things as a senator and not as a woman. She asked that she be considered one of 39 Republican senators, not as a minority of one. Miss Hum...has a penchant for doing things men do, in spite of the fact that she is wholly feminine in her ideals.

The phrase "feminine ideals" sounded less strange in the 1920s than it does today. It suggested that women were assumed to care about such issues as public morality, the protection of children, and the promotion of schools, parks, and libraries. The election of women to state legislatures nationwide was enough of a novelty to warrant Spokane newspaper articles describing some women in other states who saw their roles strictly in terms of women's issues. On January 1, 1923, Edith Mitchell, elected to the Oklahoma legislature, is quoted as saying: "With women, the temperance cause, home, and child welfare are paramount to all else, and it is well understood where we are on moral questions."

Of course, not all women ran true to type. Unlike Mitchell, Reba Hum chose not to regard herself as a woman's senator or to overly emphasize the causes of women. In seeking reelection in 1926, she claimed: "People often think of me as the woman's senator...as though I represented women alone. I have always considered myself as the representative of my entire district and not of its women residents only. I have always dreaded being a woman's minority at Olympia. After all, there are no woman's issues."

Some of her committee assignments, however, did seem to support the stereotype of a woman's proper interests and sphere of influence. In 1923 she was appointed chairman of the Public Morals Committee and held that position throughout the biennium. In addition, she served on the committees on education, educational institutions, and parks and playgrounds. From 1925 through 1929 she was chairman of the State Library Committee, and in 1929 she chaired the educational institutions committee. However, she did have other committee assignments during her legislative career, such as industrial insurance, appropriations, judiciary, senate employees, and state penal and reformatory institutions, that were less stereotypically "women's work." Some, especially appropriations, put her in a position of real power.

The woman who had stated in her first campaign that she "had no causes" nevertheless brought with her to the senate several firm convictions and personal values that would be reflected in her committee work, her support of bills on the floor, and her voting record. One that most closely aligned her with women's issues of the time was that of prohibition. Her opposition to the consumption of alcohol in any form was lifelong, and she described herself as a "third-generation dry."
The origins of this attitude are not difficult to find. Alcohol abuse had become widespread during Reba Hurn’s formative years and was regarded as a moral failing rather than an illness. Such organizations as the Woman’s Christian Temperance Union (WCTU) and the Anti-Saloon League sought to close the taverns and reform their frequenters. To temperance crusaders, the obvious solution to the alcohol problem would be to make its manufacture, sale, and consumption illegal. Indeed, the WCTU promoted woman suffrage in part because of the need to swell the ranks of voters who would support Prohibition. Washington passed a dry law in 1916, three years before the 18th amendment to the United States constitution made Prohibition the law of the land until its repeal in 1933.

How did all of this passionate opposition to alcohol affect Reba Hurn’s activities in the Washington State Senate? During her first term, her Public Morals Committee was solidly behind Senate Bill 17, a proposal to establish “a day for observance by public schools as ‘Temperance Day’ and imposing upon the superintendent of public instruction and the teachers of the public schools certain duties in relation thereto.” It was passed by the house as well as the senate but was not signed into law by the governor. Throughout her legislative career, Hurn defended Washington’s “bone dry law.”

That said, it is impossible to know if Reba Hurn was aware of the drinking going on right under her nose in Olympia. A woman counterpart in the house, Maude Sweetman, Republican of King County, recalled in a published memoir:

A new member of the legislature arrived from Spokane in 1923. He came fresh from his dry constituency imbued with various fundamental reforms and exalted with the sense of a true statesman’s responsibilities.... Before forty-eight hours had passed he approached me in the house with unsteady steps... and the odor of liquor which pervaded his explanation gave me assurance that his leadership was slipping, if not doomed.

No doubt, this unnamed freshman legislator brought his bibulous habits with him from Spokane, a city well-supplied with locally made moonshine as well as liquor smuggled over the porous border with Canada. According to Sweetman, lobbyists were a major source of liquor in Olympia: “Every amateur lobbyist has the idea that a suitcase of liquor brought to the Capitol is the open sesame for the passage of a bill,” but “the real leaders of the house are only disgusted with him and his liquor and ignore him completely.”
Early in Reba Hurn’s first term, a “woman’s issue” dear to the hearts of club women lobbyists and most women in the house of representatives, as well as to many of Senator Hurn’s constituents back in Spokane County, was the attempt to reopen the Women’s Industrial Home, a detention center at Medical Lake that had been closed for several years. This idea had arisen during the previous legislative session, only to be vetoed by Governor Hart. The 1923 proposal entailed an appropriation of $150,000. On January 7, the Spokesman-Review predicted:

The “vote no” sentiment is expected to kill the chances of the women to have the Women’s Industrial Home reopened, and the women encounter a surprise in the action of Senator Reba Hurn. Miss Hurn managed to go through her campaign without a commitment in favor of reopening the home and, it develops, she is not inclined to vote for it.

The bill died, however, before reaching the senate.

Most of the issues Senator Hurn worked on could not be construed as “women’s work.” In 1923, when she arrived in Olympia to take up her senate seat, Republican Louis F. Hart was governor. A moderate and conciliatory man, Hart seldom took a position of aggressive leadership. Yet, he held some firm convictions and in his quiet way accomplished some important things. World War I had brought on expansion and prosperity for industry and agriculture that continued briefly into the postwar period. In Washington this prosperity, plus earlier Progressive Era reforms, had resulted in an expansion of state government and services. The bursting of this prosperity bubble occurred in Washington long before the stockmarket crash in 1929. Thanks partly to Hart’s efforts, government retrenchment was well under way when Senator Hurn arrived in Olympia. The achievement for which this governor is most remembered is the laborious construction of a civil administrative code that greatly reduced the overlapping tangle of bureaucracy in which Washington’s state government had become enmeshed over previous decades.

This achievement had occurred before Reba Hurn arrived in Olympia, but apparently she felt there was still more to be done. In her 1922 campaign she said: “I have no causes. I am in favor of no reforms, unless it would be enactment of fewer laws and more concentration on codifying the mass of legislation which has been piling up in this state for years.” She was a bit disingenuous in saying she had no causes: the reduction of taxes and appropriations and the support of Prohibition proved to be as important to her as the reduction in laws.

Reba Hurn entered state government at a time when the prevailing mood matched her own in most regards. She was, to say the least, a Republican among Republicans in the senate, there being 39 of her party, one Democrat, and two members of the Farmer-Labor Party. With such an imbalance, the fault lines in Olympia were less between parties than between eastern and western, urban and rural, and house and senate interests. Cutting across all these lines, however, was the mood against what was considered excessive taxation and appropriation. Reba Hurn was committed to supporting this agenda, as were all of her fellow Spokane legislators, urged on by such antitax groups as the Spokane Taxpayers’ Economy League.

Senator Hurn was one of the more zealous guardians of the purse strings, and her position on the powerful Appropriations Committee gave her a platform for implementing fiscal restraint. On January 31, 1923, commending the committee for its “records for speed and deep cuts,” the Spokesman-Review reported with apparent approval: “Miss Reba Hurn, Spokane, is being mentioned as the ‘most drastic slasher.’ One of the senators intimated that Senator Hurn’s attitude seemed to be ‘cut first and talk afterward.’”

When it came to relief for drought-stricken eastern Washington farmers, however, Reba Hurn supported Governor Hart’s request that the legislature come to the aid of those who had suffered crop failures and would need seed for the next year’s crop. The governor’s modest proposal was for “some relief, without expense to the state, by providing a revolving fund....” By January 25 the so-called “seed bill” transfer of $250,000 from the reclamation fund had passed both the house and the senate.
As the 1923 regular session of the legislature wound down, Reba Hurn expressed positive feelings about her new role as a senator. The first woman legislator in Texas had been quoted as describing her work as "a difficult, thankless, and unprofitable job." In Washington, the four women in the house and the lone woman in the senate disagreed emphatically with this assessment. While not minimizing the difficulties, Reba Hurn declared her experience to have been essentially positive:

Being a legislator has not roiled me as it apparently has roiled the lady from Texas. . . . This is probably because I anticipated that I could not please everybody. With four to six committee meetings every day, I agree with her on long hours and hard work, but I differ about the poor pay. . . . It is something to share in the service, and the real things in life are never compensated for by money. I like it, enjoy every minute, and I’m having the time of my life.

As for the men in the senate, they are sincere in their work and courteous—the nicest bunch of men you could imagine.

The first session of the 1925 legislature saw a new governor in power, another Republican who shared some of the conservative values of his predecessor but pushed them to the limits. Roland H. Hartley, however, was a very different sort of governor: reactionary, blunt, abrasive, and insistent on his own program to an uncommon degree. He wielded a vigorous veto pen throughout his two terms in office, and much hard work in committees and on the floor of both houses came to naught when it reached his desk. His stance toward the legislature was adversarial except with his closest cadre. A Republican from Spokane, Floyd Dansk, chosen speaker of the house, was considered a Hartley man. Reba Hurn was at pains to demonstrate that she was neither "anti-Hartley nor pro-Hartley. The merits of the issue... is all that she considers." Yet her positions on proliferation of laws and government functions and on taxation and appropriations could not have matched his more closely.

One of the first issues to come before the state legislature during the 1925 regular session did pit Reba Hurn against the new governor. It was the ratification of the proposed constitutional amendment on child labor. In his inaugural address, Governor Hartley had referred to its supporters as Bolsheviks. The 1923 session had joined a number of states in "memorializing" Congress in support of this ultimately unsuccessful amendment, "giving Congress the power to regulate the labor of persons under eighteen years of age." Reba Hurn had supported this memorial in 1923. On January 28, 1925, the Spokesman-Review reported that the amendment was the subject of her maiden speech when it came to the senate for ratification, "the first time a woman took part in a debate in the senate in Washington." In spite of the apparent momentousness of her speech, the newspaper account was brief:

Senators and spectators sat up as Senator Reba Hurn arose—and the word was passed, “It is her first speech.” Senator Hurn was firm of voice, but appeared uneasy. She nervously fingered a string of purple beads.... She said some of the arguments against congress “sound like a nightmare. But the main question is... do we believe children of 14 years or 16 years ought to work in mines, mills, or factories? I don’t know how many are working in such places, and I don’t care—if there is one, that is too many." She was given loud applause.

The same article gave much greater coverage to the actual arguments, pro and con, of her male colleagues and did not mention their attire or demeanor.

In her 1926 bid for reelection, Senator Hurn was enough of a wild card to the Hartley partisans that they proposed another Spokane candidate for the Republican nomination. He was Otto Weile, a consulting engineer who “in general, agrees with the governor on the major issues such as educational, timber, and roads policies.” She was able to fend off this challenge during the primary and was reelected unopposed for another term.

During her 1926 campaign, Hum emphasized her independence, declaring: “I went to Olympia unpledged, and, if I go back it will again have to be unpledged. I have seen too many men squirm in corners on account of their pre-election pledges to bind myself with promises.” Yet her declarations and subsequent votes coincided with the positions of various groups and constituencies that might have exacted such pledges. During her tenure in the legislature, women’s clubs, the Anti-Saloon League, American Legion, WCTU, Civil Service League, and such broad groups as labor, farmers, railroad, public power, and highways all had their lobbyists. Of these interest groups, Senator Hum was most sympathetic to the causes of the tax reducers, the farmers, and the “dry” lobby; but, of course, once in office she was subjected to the clamoring of the full spectrum of lobbyists.
The sort of child labor depicted in this c. 1901 photograph of the first match factory in Tacoma was still a problem by the time Reba Hurn supported national efforts to eradicate it.

Like her house counterpart, Representative Maude Sweetman, who recounted a blatant attempt to bribe her when she held a crucial vote, Senator Hurn had little use for the paid freelance lobbyists to be found lurking about the lobbies and corridors of Olympia hotels and chambers of government. The one mention of Hurn in Sweetman's memoirs comes in connection with Reba Hurn's attempt to regulate this class of lobbyist:

In the 1927 session a measure known as Senate Bill No. 157 was introduced by Senators Reba Hurn of Spokane County and Dan Landon of King County. ... It provided for "regulating the employment and providing for the registration of persons employed for compensation to promote or oppose legislative action and providing for the violation thereof."

Unfortunately, there had been insufficient publicity and no concerted action in the matter. The measure, although it passed the senate, was never introduced in the house.

One particularly acrimonious issue dominating Hartley's governorship was his constant animosity toward University of Washington interests. University President Henry Suzzallo was himself an active lobbyist, as were members of his board of regents. Governor Hartley, determined to cut him down to size, opposed university appropriations and, in 1927, replaced pro-Suzzallo regents with a board that followed the governor's bidding to fire the university president.

A Phi Beta Kappa graduate of Northwestern University with graduate study in Germany and a significant part of her law training at the University of Washington, Senator Hurn was surely one of the more highly educated members of the senate. Thus she reasonably could be expected to support university appropriations. Yet, any higher education sympathies Reba Hurn may have held were more than balanced by her fiscal conservatism. Even before the Hartley onslaught against university appropriations, Hurn had been a holdout against increasing its funding. In 1923 the university regents had granted Suzzallo a $6,000 raise, a move that did not go down well in Spokane or the surrounding countryside, especially among hard-pressed farmers, whose interests always found an attentive ear with Senator Hurn. During the 1925 session, as a member of the Appropriations Committee, she had been one of four among its thirteen members who voted against the University of Washington appropriation.

When the senate passed the higher education levy, Reba Hurn voted against it. While campaigning for reelection in 1926, she explained the actions she had taken during the past legislative session: "Much of my [law] business consists of the closing of farm mortgages. When I have fewer mortgages to close..., I will be ready to spend the state money for [university] improvements." However, she did vote for a senate proposal to create a school equalization fund of $375,000 to aid poorer one-room and grade schools.

There were issues during the 1927 session, though, on which Hurn and Hartley parted company. She introduced Senate Bill 201, a progressive piece of legislation that drew one of the governor's most caustic veto statements. The Sen-
An act empowering cities and towns to regulate and restrict the height, number of stories and size of buildings and other structures, the percentage of lot that may be occupied, population, and the location and use of buildings . . . empowering such cities and towns to adopt comprehensive zoning plans, to create zoning commissions . . .

Governor Hartley described such zoning restrictions, commonplace today, as an "excellent example of government sticking its nose into the private business of citizens."

During the last week of the 1927 session came the long-awaited move to the new capitol building. Its construction had begun before Governor Hartley came to office and he regarded it as "a monument to extravagance in architectural design and waste and profligacy in furnishings." The press made much of there finally being a woman's lounge, "a handsome room, brocaded in golden tapestry and made luxurious with leather and overstuffed chairs, and all the appointments that belong to such a room." Although certainly in favor of such a facility for herself and future women legislators, the fiscally conservative Senator Hurn might have agreed with Hartley's view of excessive luxury.

Toward the end of her legislative career, a mild flurry of activity centered on Reba Hurn when she was nominated for president pro tem of the senate for the 1929 session. This time the Hartley faction was solidly behind her in an effort to keep the anti-Hartley Fred Hastings of Seattle from the position. The Spokesman-Review had declared in December: "It has become reasonably certain... that backers of Governor Hartley have decided to do their utmost for Miss Hurn and thereby make the presidency fight a test of strength between the administration and the Metcalf-Condor-Hastings majority that ruled the 1927 senate" to the detriment of Hartley's program. The Hartley partisans did not succeed, and Hastings easily defeated Hurn.

The legislation that defined Senator Hurn's participation in the 1929 session was a bill she herself introduced: Senate Bill 83, "an act relating to the abandonment of township organization, the disincorporation and the winding up of affairs of townships, and defining the powers and duties of certain officers in relation thereto...." Spokane County was one of only two remaining counties in Washington—Whatcom being the other—with this form of organization, which interposed below the county level a layer of paid officials including three supervisors, a clerk, treasurer, assessor, justice of the peace, constable and overseer of highways. According to the Spokesman-Review, this arrangement amounted to "virtually 30 counties within the county." In her campaign to eliminate this wasteful layer of government, Hurn had the support of the state tax commission and many in the legislature, but angered some of her rural constituents. Not only did her efforts fail at the time, but Spokane County was not free of the last townships until 1974.

In 1930 Reba Hurn ran for a third term. Her speeches and statements to the press give a clear picture of positions she had honed during her eight years in state government. She again came out emphatically for the continuation of Prohibition. Furthermore, she declared herself opposed to state-funded old-age pensions because "a legislator should not be philanthropic with other people's money," a position that mirrored Governor Hartley's view. As for the ever-present tax question, she "favors state taxation of municipally owned public utilities, thinks it imperative that something be done to relieve the tax burden on real estate, and favors a state income tax as the only fair way to tax intangibles."

The women's clubs of the state apparently had forgiven Hurn's failure to support the Women's Industrial Home and gave her a solid endorsement. Mrs. George Campbell, president of the State Federation of Women's Clubs stated:

We are especially fortunate in having a woman in the state senate who is in a position to visit personally our state institutions in an official capacity, and who would have the authority to find out the things we want to know which the casual visitor would not. Miss Hurn's committee assignments make her especially desirable in the federation's interests.

But Hurn lost her bid for reelection in the primary. It was widely considered that the township issue had defeated her. The Yakima Republic declared that the township supporters were "more interested in perpetuating a decadent political subdivision—the township organization—than they were in the welfare of the state.... [Senator Hurn] incurred the wrath of those holding township offices and they took off their coats and defeated the lady."

Reba Hurn never again achieved public office. She flirted briefly with entering state senate races in 1932 and 1934, and in 1936 ran for superior court judge in Spokane County but was defeated. Yet Senator Hurn could look back with justified pride on her years in the senate. She was a woman in a man's world, conducting herself with becoming decorum, yet quietly forceful in presenting and defending her convictions. The modest estimation she held of herself upon entering the senate was realistic for any freshman legislator and had nothing to do with her being a woman. She bore with good grace a lot of coy nonsense with which the press reacted to the "lady in the senate." For all her hard work and even leadership, Reba Hurn did not leave a record of legislative successes, yet her performance over eight years in the Washington State Senate was admirable. Whether or not hindsight agrees with her priorities, she was a serious, hard-working legislator, contributing to the sum total of responsible state government, as well as helping pave the way for women in public office to be judged on their merits.

Laura Arksey is a retired librarian and archivist. She spent the bulk of her career at Seattle Pacific University. Her most recent position was at the Northwest Museum of Arts and Culture in Spokane, where she first learned of Reba Hurn.
Mary Brinker Post loved Seattle and Puget Sound. So when she moved away, she missed both dearly. In time, her love for her home found expression in three novels, and today, despite her eventual silence and tragic death, her literary legacy lives on.


Post's signature novel, however, remains *Annie Jordan*, a historical work by a woman whose family dates back to Washington's pioneer days. Her paternal grandfather was one of the first federal judges in Washington, and her maternal grandfather owned one of the first sawmills in the state.

Mary Brinker grew up in Seattle and attended Garfield High and the University of Washington. In her memoir, *How I Grew*, Mary McCarthy recounts how Mary Brinker, her classmate at Garfield, married everyone's favorite English teacher, Mr. Post. Mary Brinker and Harry Grant Post eventually settled in Connecticut near Mary's sister, Kay, who was married to Manfred Lee, one half of the Ellery Queen writing team. Encouraged by Harry, Mary resumed her own writing during this period and was soon publishing stories in Good Housekeeping and Cosmopolitan and having her work anthologized in The Best American Short Stories 1948.

Annie Jordan, published this same year, presents the tale of a young girl's rise from Seattle's rough-and-tumble waterfront to First Hill society. The novel opens during the Great Fire of 1889 with Annie and her mother fleeing Skid Road to seek refuge in the elegant First Hill neighborhood. Throughout the story, Annie bounces between the saloons, vaudeville theaters, and the docks where she feels most at home and the First Hill mansion where she works as a hired girl. By novel's end, having loved and lost, she weds a hard-working local merchant named Ed Bauer, her waterfront integrity intact.

While Annie Jordan indulges in melodrama, the pleasure the novel offers comes in its vivid evocation of Seattle during the decades spanning the Great Fire, the Gold Rush, the waterfront strikes, World War I, and the years preceding the Great Depression. The novel avoids being overtly political, for which the New York Times reviewer tsk-tsk-ed it, yet beneath its veneer of sentimentality lies a startling realism that most "literary" writers would envy. Post's attention to Seattle history also imparts a convincing verisimilitude to the novel. Annie visits John Considine's Variety Theatre, Ye Olde Curiosity Shoppe, the Argus newspaper offices, Volunteer Park, and St. Mark's Cathedral. She wanders up Yesler Way, through Chinatown, across First Hill, Capitol Hill, Denny Hill (before it was regraded), and back to the waterfront.

In reading Annie Jordan, one sometimes senses that the poignant descriptions of the city have been inspired by a Seattle exile's longing for home. It's not just the city's splendid scenery that receives loving attention either: "Annie was glad of the chance to walk a few steps in the dark, foggy morning. She breathed in the poignant, rank smell from the tide flats gratefully. It cleared her head..." In this respect, Annie comes across as the quintessential Seattleite.
After the success of Annie Jordan, Post's next two novels received good reviews but sold modestly. In 1954 her beloved Harry died, and, according to Jonathan Post, her grandson, Mary became increasingly isolated and depressed. She also stopped publishing after the 1955 release of Matt Regan's Lady.

Then, in the early 1960s, she moved to California, where she fell in with a con man who went by the name of James Arden. In 1965 they married, and two years later, her bank accounts depleted through the help of Arden's heavy drinking, Mary Brinker Post was dead.

James Arden turned out to be William Dale Archerd, who had been married six times before, twice to women who had also died. Two years after Mary's mysterious death—through the determination of her son, Richard Post, and a local detective—Archerd was charged with three counts of murder. A former attendant on the insulin shock ward at a psychiatric hospital, Archerd would inject his victims with an overdose of insulin, which induced convulsions and led to death. He then collected on their life insurance. In 1970 he was found guilty of murder and sent to prison, where he died in 1972.

Mary Brinker Post had been separated from Archerd when, after receiving minor injuries in a car accident, she called on him for help, having no one else to turn to. Five days later she passed away after being brought to the hospital in a severe comatose state.

Despite her tragic ending, Mary Brinker Post lived a full, robust life. She raised three children and published three novels. "She had a calming but very powerful presence," Jonathan Post recalls. "She never seemed to get uptight, and she will get you started.

Peter Donahue is the author of Madison House, a novel, and The Cornelius Arms, a collection of short stories. He is also editor of Reading Seattle: The City in Prose.

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### Additional Reading

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

**Nettie Craig Asberry**


**Mother Joseph**


**Tracking “The Explorer”**


**Adventures in Ichthyology**


**Native American in the Land of the Shogun**


**A Lady in the Senate**


Echoes of Fury
The 1980 Eruption of Mount St. Helens and the Lives it Changed Forever
Reviewed by Kevin Chambers.

The violent eruption of Mount St. Helens on March 18, 1980, remains an important moment in the history of the Pacific Northwest. Seldom does an event of such proportions impose itself upon humanity. Accordingly, everybody in Washington and Oregon remember where they were when the mountain erupted. Even those who did not live in the area harbor hundreds of images of nature's immense force in their memory.

Most works on the topic remain scientific, concentrating their efforts on the eruption, its origins, and its biological consequences for the forest. Frank Parchman's Echoes of Fury stands out from these by connecting the catastrophic event to people. Through decades of work, Parchman produces a narrative that will intrigue a wide variety of readers.

Parchman uses the experiences of eight main individuals to tell the story. This is the book's greatest strength and appeal. They are not eight parallel stories, but rather sharply different encounters with the natural disaster. The main characters include Weyerhaeuser timber workers, camping couples, scientists, local reporters, a fisherman's sister and even a thrill-seeker who snuck into a forbidden zone to take photographs. They represent a broad spectrum of participants with different stories to tell. The witnesses relive the experiences of survival and death in the blast zone, the horror of a mudflow, and their flight away from the suffocating ash. However, they also relate the experiences of living in the cities below, of losing relatives in the horror, the scientific opportunities it provided some, and eventually the political and legal battles that emerged. Although at first it is difficult to keep the main characters straight, the author provides a one-page list of characters before the prologue that can help the reader in the beginning. By the middle of the book it is no longer necessary.

Parchman skillfully weaves these diverse stories in a manner that allows the reader to gradually come to know them. For each reader, some will be more likeable, understandable, or worthy of empathy than others. Surprisingly, with continued reading, one's initial impressions of the main characters may change. I also found that the subordinate characters really added to the book's impact, making the main individuals more human and their successes and failures even more heartwarming or tragic.

Another strength of the narrative was its ability to address what happened to all of the characters in the years that followed. The marriages, breakups, funerals, physical rehabilitations, and careers all underscored the profound and varied shock waves of change. The experiences of this group differed, yet they remained bound together by the fact that on May 18, 1980, they were on or close to Mount St. Helens.

Kevin Chambers earned his doctorate in history at the University of California, Santa Barbara, and has taught at Gonzaga University and Western Washington University.

Place of Learning, Place of Dreams
A History of the Seattle Public Library
Reviewed by Brian K. Daley.

Cities, like siblings, often compete for recognition. One institution that has been used as a tool in intercity competition is the library. From the ancient library of Eusebius at Caesarea to the modern Library of Congress, houses of learning have served as a source of pride for their host cities. John Douglas Marshall's Place of Learning, Place of Dreams tells the story of Seattle's struggle to earn recognition for its books and building and the city's $196 million bond issue that remade the public library system.

After a brief introduction there follows a chapter detailing the library's ultramodern main branch showplace designed by Rem Koolhaas. Then the narrative travels back in time to Seattle's days as a 19th-century town with visions of wealth and prestige. Although this first transition is a bit jarring, the remainder of the book flows seamlessly. The book tells the tale of an institution dedicated to the masses while facing more than the normal share of adversity, including natural disasters, fires, wars, and political maneuvering. The reader cannot help but root for the institution. From its inception, the library has held to the goal of remaining a place of education and community. Furthermore, it is quite clear that Marshall loves the library, which is both inspiring and worrisome, because the scandals of the library, particularly the ones regarding intellectual freedom and communist witch hunts of the Red Scare, are either not examined in depth or they are minimized by an emphasis on the library's successes.

Marshall, book critic for the Seattle Post-Intelligencer, illustrates how a symbiotic relationship between the library and its patrons has led to mutual success. The library's budget subsidy from the city seldom paid for cost of operation and enhancement of the collections, so donations have become the library's lifeblood. The donors,
who include Andrew Carnegie (early 1900s) and Bill Gates (late 1900s), always credit their success to education and speak loudly of their desire to perpetuate this relationship. Marshall's fixation on this symbiosis is perhaps his greatest achievement in this very readable work. Although this reviewer prefers to have text and images, except maps, separate from one another, the book's layout, which merges the two, is quite attractive. The endnotes and bibliography refer primarily to newspaper articles, interviews, and Seattle Public Library annual reports. It is obvious the author spent a great deal of time doing his research. Marshall has produced a readable, informative, and enjoyable monograph.

Brian Daley, a native of Spokane, was educated in Washington state and Europe. He is currently affiliated with DePaul University in Chicago.

Current & Noteworthy
By Robert Carriker, Book Review Editor

The commitment of Washington State University Press to publish deeply scholarly books on the history and culture of the Pacific Northwest is unquestioned. Consider, for example, three books from the press that focus on two unique archaeological sites in Washington.

The Hoko River flows into the Strait of Juan de Fuca in Clallam County on the Olympic Peninsula. Excavations at two prehistoric sites along the river began in 1977 and continued through 1989. But it was not until recently that the twin sites—one a seasonal fishing camp on a bar of the Hoko River and the other a nearby rockshelter—have been given a comprehensive treatment. The Hoko River Archaeological Site Complex: The Wet/Dry Site, 3,000-1,700 BP, was prepared by Dale R. Croes (Pullman: Washington State University Press, 1996; 272 pp., $37.50 paper) and reveals the items, such as cordage, basketry, and wooden fish hooks, that were discarded over three millennia ago by ocean-oriented native peoples. That so many of these perishable items—approximately 5,000 of them—survived to the present in wet, low-oxygen river deposits is remarkable. It is also a testament to the efficiency of modern hydraulic excavation techniques. Only the mud-slide buried long-houses at Ozette, also on the Olympic Peninsula, are comparable.

The Hoko River Archaeological Site Complex: The Rockshelter, 1,000-100 BP (Pullman: Washington State University Press, 2005; 278 pp., $50 paper), continues Croes' multiyear experience at the Hoko River complex. Several times Croes has asked the Makah Tribe to field test replicas of the fish hooks and other tools he unearthed so that he can better understand their application. Computer modeling is part of Croes' research and WSU Press is making the project's primary data available in a companion CD for an additional $18.

WSU Press has also proudly published Marmes Rockshelter: A Final Report on 11,000 Years of Cultural Use, edited by Brent A. Hicks (Pullman: Washington State University, 2004; 466 pp., $65). The appendices for this volume can be found on the Web site for the WSU Museum of Archaeology. Like the two volumes noted above, Marmes Rockshelter is not light reading. How could it be, when the text is interrupted 111 times with figures and 94 times with tables? Nevertheless, the report tells a fascinating story.

Professor Richard D. Daugherty, an anthropologist with Washington State University, knew in 1962 that Lower Monumental Dam was nearing completion and the reservoir behind it would flood the site of a known Indian village at the confluence of the Snake and Palouse rivers. He assembled a full crew of scholars and students for a summer field camp that year only to discover that the area had been badly disturbed years earlier by railroad construction. Disappointment, however, turned to joy when Daugherty turned the energy of the crew to Marmes Rockshelter, also near the mouth of the Palouse River. The site proved so rich in artifacts that excavation continued for the following two summers as well. Lack of funding forced Daugherty to close the site at the end of 1964. But, as part of a last effort, the project geologist arranged for a bulldozer to dig a trench from inside the rockshelter into the floodplain below and 12 feet below the surface the blade unearthed human bones.

Work continued at the site, though irregularly, because at first it was not known if the blade of the bulldozer had dragged the bones from inside the rockshelter or if the blade had touched bone in the floodplain. By 1968 the answer was clear: it was the floodplain. But by this time Lower Monumental Dam was just about finished. The clock was ticking. Daugherty and his friends played any and all political chits they had built up over the years and Washington's congressional delegation got behind them. Then the national press picked up the story. Federal funds followed, and work resumed immediately. In addition, Congress appropriated more than a million dollars for a coffer-dam to keep the site safe from encroaching waters. It did not work. The site was destined to drown. In February 1969 scientists yielded to the inevitable. Heavy cranes were built around the excavation squares, and the trenches were lined with plastic and then covered with earth. Someday... In the meantime, Hicks's edited volume, with contributions from 14 other scientists, will tell you all you want to know about Marmes Rockshelter.

ADDRESS ALL REVIEW COPIES AND RELATED COMMUNICATIONS TO:
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Peter Donahue seems to have a map of old Seattle in his head. No novel extant is nearly as thorough in its presentation of the early city, and all future attempts in its historical vein will be made in light of this book.

—David Guterson, author of Snow Falling on Cedars and Our Lady of the Forest

Madison House treats readers to a boarding house full of fascinating and lovable characters as they create their own identities and contribute to early 20th-century life in Seattle. Every page reflects Peter Donahue's meticulous and imaginative recreation of a lively, engaging moment in American history. I loved reading this novel and sharing in the pleasures and labors of the diverse and authentic inhabitants of a remarkable city.

—Sena Jeter Naslund, author of Four Spirits and Ahab's Wife

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The Mapmaker's Eye
David Thompson on the Columbia Plateau
Jack Nisbet
Complex, headstrong, curious, and resourceful, David Thompson is a hero in Canada, yet has remained largely unknown in the United States. Between 1801 and 1812, this fur trader, explorer, and cartographer established two viable trade routes across the Rocky Mountains in Canada and systematically surveyed the entire 1,250-mile course of the Columbia River. In succeeding years he distilled his mathematical notations from dozens of journal notebooks into the first accurate maps of the northwest quadrant of North America. Information from some of his earlier mapwork was even used by the Lewis and Clark Expedition.

Author Jack Nisbet utilizes fresh research to convey how Thompson experienced the full sweep of the human and natural history etched across the Columbia drainage. He places Thompson's movements within the larger contexts of the European Enlightenment, the British fur trade economy, and American expansion as represented by Lewis and Clark. Packed with illustrations, photographs, and maps, The Mapmaker's Eye is a fascinating chronicle of Thompson's life and adventures, especially in the Columbia country.

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Allan H. Smith
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Forbidden Red
Widowhood in Urban Nepal
Kathey Lee Galvin
Immediately following the death of her husband, the rites that change a Nepalese woman's social status are set in motion. She is often stripped of her necklaces, jewelry, and other outward accoutrements of married life. The color red symbolizes life, vibrancy, and passion, so her red clothing is also taken. As women who can no longer produce descendants for the paternal line and with no spouse to protect them, widows are particularly vulnerable to intrusions upon their entitlements—whether land, living space, business involvements, food portions, or personal property. Some face gossip and slander, while others are expected to live in seclusion until their own deaths. The author traveled to urban Nepal to interview widows of various ages, castes, religions, and circumstances. The compelling stories of Sodha, Anju, and others vividly portray the plight of widows in this third-world country.

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To understand rivers requires immersion. You have to get your feet wet, which is precisely what William Layman has done in this extraordinary River of Memory project.
—William Lang, Portland State University

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