IMAGES OF NORTHWEST LOGGING IN ITS HEYDAY—PAINTINGS BY CLARENCE GARNER
Vigilante Newspapers
A Tale of Sex, Religion, and Murder in the Northwest
Gerald J. Baldasty
This riveting work of social history documents the role the news media played in spurring the 1906 murder of religious cult leader Edmund Creffield. “An outstanding book on a compelling sequence of events, told in a fashion that is at once engaging and full of implication for the broader history of the media and gender roles.” — John Nerone
$22.50 paper

Death of Celilo Falls
Katrine Barber
Examines the profound impact the 1957 construction of the Dalles Dam had on the Pacific Northwest Indian community, which had traditionally fished, bartered, socialized, and honored their ancestors at Celilo Falls on the Columbia River. “The book has relevance to the American West as a whole and to modern U.S. social history, Cold War historiography, federal Indian policy in the mid-20th century, and recent Native American history.” — Peter Boag
Emil and Kathleen Sick Lecture-Book in Western History and Biography
$22.50 paper

Oregon
This Storied Land
William G. Robbins
This new book by one of the region’s most respected scholars gives a broad, sweeping history of a state that has resisted being made into a stereotype. It is a history of commodification and conservation, of despair and hope, of progress and tradition.
Distributed for Oregon Historical Society Press
$19.95 paper

The Orphan Tsunami of 1700
Japanese Clues to a Parent Earthquake in North America
Brian F. Atwater et al.
Time Magazine named Atwater one of the 100 most significant people of 2005 for the tsunami research that culminated in this book. American and Japanese scholars—and over 250 color illustrations—trace a massive earthquake off the Northwest Coast that spawned a tsunami recorded in Japan.
$24.95 paper

A Life Disturbed
My Pacific War Revisited
Merrel Clubb
AN EXCEPTIONAL STORYTELLER with an analytical eye, Merrel Clubb (Professor Emeritus of English, University of Montana) has gathered letters he sent to his parents from the Pacific Theater of World War II and his subsequent reflections on that war and on his life. He ranges over a vast, colorful, and weighted territory—from battles and respites in the Pacific islands to night clubs and call girls in San Francisco and San Diego; from Stillwater, Oklahoma, to the Montana backcountry. Clubb’s narrative explores the psychological terrain of a life disturbed, and forever changed, by war.
$24.95 cloth
COLUMBIA
The Magazine of Northwest History
A quarterly publication of the
WASHINGTON STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY

VOLUME NINETEEN, NUMBER FOUR

■ David L. Nicandro, Executive Editor
Christina Orange Dubois, Managing Editor
& Graphic Designer
Patricia Enkman, Associate Editor
Mark Vessey, Editorial Assistant
Robert C. Carriger, Book Review Editor
Carolyn Simonson, Copy Editor
Amy Coggins, Membership Secretary
RESEARCH CONTRIBUTORS
Elaine Miller, Edward Nolan, Joy Westhok
FOUNDERING EDITOR
John McChesney, Jr.

OFFICERS
President: David R. Edwards, Tacoma
Vice-President: Charlotte N. Chalker, Tacoma
Vice-President: Robert A. Clark, Spokane
Treasurer: Daniel K Grimn, Puyallup
Secretary: Robert L. Nicandro

EX OFFICIO TRUSTEES
Christine Gregory, Governor
Terry Bergeson, Superintendent of Public Instruction
Sam Reed, Secretary of State
Representative Steve Cowgway, Tacoma
Senator Jon Hanford, Samarayn
Senator Jarrard Spalding, Bellinghams

BOARD OF TRUSTEES
Charles Bingham, Tacoma
James F. Demarest, Puyallup
Melanie Dressel, Gig Harbor
Robert Ficken, Issaquah
Billy Frank, Jr., Seattle
Larry Kopp, Tacoma
Ottie Ladd, Lakewood
Richard W. Larson, Gig Harbor
John Hughes, Hoquiam
Larry Krup, Tacoma
Ortie Ladd, Lakewood
Robert A. Clark, Colfax
Antone Minthom, Pendleton, Oregon
George Moyrin, Issaquah
Vol Ogden, Vancouver
Barry Sehlin, Oak Harbor
Samuel H. Smith, Oak Harbor
Terry Bergeson, Bellinghams

COLUMBIA (ISSN-0892-3094) is published quarterly by the Washington State Historical Society. Entire contents © 2005 by the Washington State Historical Society. All rights reserved. Nothing may be reprinted in whole or in part without written permission from the publisher. All articles appearing in this journal are abstracted and indexed in Historical Abstracts and American History and Life. EDITORIAL CONTRIBUTIONS: Inquiries and submissions should be directed to COLUMBIA, WSHS Research Center, 315 N. Stadium Way, Tacoma, WA 98403; 253/798-5918. All unclaimed manuscripts and photographs submitted must include return postage (in stamps) and suitable packaging to ensure their safe return. Although reasonable care will be taken with materials received, no responsibility can be assumed for unclaimed materials, including photographs.

BOOK REVIEWS: Address all review copies and related communications to Robert C. Carriger, Department of History, Gonzaga University, Spokane, WA 99258. POSTMASTER: Please send address changes to Washington State Historical Society, 1911 Pacific Avenue, Tacoma, WA 98402.

WWW.WASHINGTONHISTORY.ORG
© Printed on recycled paper.

COLUMBIA
THE MAGAZINE OF NORTHWEST HISTORY • WINTER 2005-06

To Our Members 2

History Commentary 3
Young Erskine Scott Wood’s summer visits with Chief Joseph.
By Robert H. Ruby

Figureheads of State 7
The foibles and failures of Washington’s territorial governors.
By Robert E. Ficken

History Album 16
Dear Santa...

Paul Robeson at Blaine 17
A music legend lifts his voice against injustice at the Peace Arch.
By Robert Keller

Images of Northwest Logging 23
Clarence Garner’s paintings portray the lumber industry in its glory days.
By Lynette Miller

From the Collection 27
A family portrait by Howard Chandler Christy.

John Ordway 28
“Orderly sergeant” of the Lewis and Clark expedition.
By Thomas D. Morgan

Northwest Nisei in Tokyo 31
What was it like for a Seattle-born soldier of Japanese descent to serve in Japan during the Allied occupation?
David J. Jensen

The Greatest Dude in Congress 36
James Hamilton Lewis’s short-lived career as a Washington politician.
By Eldon Barrett

The Kendall Katwalk 38
A 600-foot engineering marvel on the Pacific Crest Trail.
By Michael Egan

Correspondence/Additional Reading 43

Retrospective Review 44

Columbia Reviews 46

COVER: “Portrait of Free Enterprise,” c. 1950 (oil on board), by Clarence L. Garner. A number of Garner’s paintings document Pacific Northwest logging techniques and practices between the 1890s and 1930s. The mill in this painting has a short flame to carry logs to the mill pond. Some flames were much longer and higher, carrying huge amounts of wood. The famous Ticheners flume in the Blue Mountains of Oregon carried 50,000 board feet of lumber a day. See related story beginning on page 23.
(Washington State Historical Society)
Happy Anniversary to Us!

On August 10, 1996, the new Washington State History Museum opened its doors to the public. Since then the trustees, staff, and volunteers of our organization have continued opening doors for the people of Washington—in a figurative sense—by presenting thought-provoking, engaging, and insightful exhibitions and programs at our two museums.

In August 2006 the History Museum will celebrate 10 years of excellence in downtown Tacoma, and I’m excited to share our plans with you. We have an array of events scheduled as well as an exhibition documenting the creation of the museum—History in the Making: The Museum that Changed Downtown Tacoma (working title), opening in August 2006.

I hope that you, and all of our members, will mark this event on your calendar and plan to join us for a celebration of your museum!

Events include a members’ reception for the opening of History in the Making (Tuesday, August 8); a symposium on urban renewal, including sessions on “Design and Historic Preservation,” “Community Organization and Civic Engagement,” and “Future Forward” (Wednesday, August 9); and a public festival and free admission day (Thursday, August 10).

Watch your mailbox this spring for more information and official invitations.

—Brenda Hanan, Development & Marketing Manager
Erskine Scott Wood’s Days with Chief Joseph

By Robert H. Ruby

As a young man I had the good fortune to become acquainted with many individuals who had pioneered the Pacific Northwest in the 19th century. The thrill and intrigue of connecting with history’s cast of characters has led me to write numerous publications over the past six decades. In more recent years I have continued this interest by visiting with second-generation members of historical families. This essay features my conversation with Erskine Scott Wood in April 1962. Wood related to me the extraordinary experiences he had with a revered Indian leader, Nez Perce Chief Joseph. Through a curious set of circumstances, Erskine found himself a “house guest” of the famous Joseph.

The reader should bear in mind that Erskine’s memories of Chief Joseph are those of a child. The Nez Perce (also known as Nimi’ipuu) were experiencing drastic changes at the time of Erskine’s visits. Some of the details he remembers raise as many questions as they answer, and I will try to point these out as I relate his story.

Erskine’s father, Charles Erskine Scott Wood, was General O. O. Howard’s aide-de-camp during the Nez Perce War of 1877. Howard commanded the United States troops who fought the Nez Perce. As the Indians fled their Oregon and Idaho homeland in an effort to reach Canada and freedom, the bulk of them were captured near the United States-Canadian border in Montana. A few slipped past the military and into Canada. Those who were captured were taken to Kansas and present-day Oklahoma, where they were forced to stay until their release in 1885. Even then, Joseph could not return to his original homeland because local authorities there had issued warrants for his arrest. The Nez Perce chief accepted when Sinkiuse Chief Moses—himself forced onto the Colville reservation—invited him to live there.

Lieutenant Wood and Chief Joseph had struck up an acquaintance during the time that Wood was transcribing Joseph’s surrender speech. After returning to the Pacific Northwest, Joseph visited Wood at his Portland home on a number of occasions. Some years later, in 1890, Wood and his son Erskine met with Joseph in Washington, D.C., where he had traveled to prevail upon the president to honor the promises that had been made to the Nez Perce at the time of the surrender. In one of his many articles, the elder Wood wrote that Joseph invited Erskine to come visit him on the Colville Reservation in Okanogan County. Erskine later wrote (1978) that on one of the occasions when Joseph was a guest in the Woods’ home, his father asked the chief if Erskine could visit him on the reservation.

When I interviewed Erskine in 1962 he was still practicing law in Portland. I met him in his office in the Yeon Building. The office was small, with most of the space taken up by a large desk, a couple of bookcases, and two chairs—his and mine. As Erskine and I sat talking across his desk, I could see through the window behind him a large billboard advertising a Jane Fonda movie. Hanging on the wall above a bookcase on his left was a large medallion of Chief Joseph, sculpted by Olin O. Warner at Charles Wood’s request.

As a 12-year-old youngster, Erskine had been eager to fish and hunt. He was not much aware with the historically significant connection he was about to make. Appreciation came in later years.

Erskine’s mother was ill with tuberculosis and unable to participate in family events. His father was tied up with his clients who needed legal expertise—a stable of liberal activists, authors, and artists. An active social life with friends also kept him occupied. Charles Wood took young Erskine to the station in Portland on July 3, 1892, to board a train and travel alone to Davenport. His father gave Erskine personal pocket change and money to purchase various items for Joseph—possibly blankets or food staples such as sugar, flour, or coffee. From Davenport the boy would travel by wagon...
25 miles north to Fort Spokane. A few days later he would continue to Joseph's camp in the Nespelem valley on the Colville Indian Reservation.

Erskine traveled with the agency physician, Dr. Edward H. Latham, in a wagon from the fort to the Colville subagency. Arriving in the Nespelem valley with the doctor, he could not wait to throw a line in a creek to fish before meeting his host. Dr. Latham, a fisherman himself, joined Erskine, and did not deliver him to Chief Joseph until the next day. When Erskine first entered the valley he was aware of mourning women keening in bereavement following the death of one of Joseph's nephews. The death was most likely an isolated case as there was no epidemic on the reservation at that time.

Erskine could not recall how many tepees made up Joseph's camp, which was located on the west side of the Nespelem River between a lumber and gristmill and the dam in the river, some three miles north. Diverted water powered the mills where the town of Nespelem is situated today. Erskine did recall that Joseph's tepee stood 22 feet in diameter, and 15 feet high, with the top open to exhaust smoke. Joseph had shunned the frame house that had been built for him by the government. This was farther north in the valley, where another frame house had been built for Chief Moses. Erskine said that Chief Joseph and others were using tepees made of twill because it was more readily available and hides were so much heavier to handle when moving camp. A few families lived in mat-covered dwellings. Erskine said they were considered poor by other Indians. It is unclear whether Erskine refers to mat-covered lodges occupied by Nez Perce or by members of other tribes. Mat-covered lodges had been a traditional form of housing for the Nez Perce. However, over the prior century, the Nez Perce began to prefer coverings of bison skin and then canvas.

Joseph told him that two or three families usually occupied each tepee. During Erskine's first visit in 1892, Joseph and his two wives, Wiwin-tip-ya-la-ectotsot and Iyat-too-we-a-net-en-ny, shared the tepee with Looking Down and his wife. At night Joseph slept between his wives.

There was some shuffling of families at times. The next year when Erskine had a repeat visit, he found Red Curlew and his two wives living in Joseph's tepee. Erskine found that a boy near his age was also sharing the tepee. He was Cool-cool-smool-mool (also known as Nicky Mowitz). Although Erskine didn't mention it, some of this "shuffling" may have been due to the extensive land cessions and dramatic transformations in landholding practices that were occurring at the time. Such stresses would have further reinforced the tradition of extended families sharing their lodges.

During the time he spent with Chief Joseph, Erskine had ample opportunity to observe how the Nez Perce dressed. Ordinarily Joseph wore issued flannel shirts and flannel leggings that reached waist-high on each side to a belt. He wore a breech clout tucked over the waist belt in back, brought up in front over his abdomen and looped over the belt, with the rest (a flap) hanging down as an apron. Erskine said it too was flannel. In cold weather, Joseph wore up to three blankets. He wrapped one around himself as high as his armpits, snugly topped in a roll around his chest. He covered himself with a second blanket, and when riding a horse he spread another blanket in front of him and wrapped it around each leg. He usually wore an old felt hat with a high crown. His long braids...
hung from each side of his head, tied with buckskin thongs. Joseph made a fur hat for Erskine and put a couple of feathers in it. When I asked if he still had it, he responded it was long gone, consumed by moths.

Though young Erskine lived in Portland in an upper-class home, there were always chores for him to do. However, they were far different from reservation chores, which Erskine preferred. He joined teenage boys as they caught horses for their fathers, uncles, elders, and women who needed them for a trip. Joseph owned “some fifty to sixty horses,” said Erskine. He had no favorite, using whichever of his horses was caught first, rather then riding any one horse most of the time. It was the women’s job to pack the horses for a journey.

Especially exciting for Erskine was when Joseph took him to observe the young men break the colts. Young Erskine was also interested in the horse-racing competition among camp riders.

Erskine had a horse at his disposal for trips to the subagency for rations, to the mill, to the store at Barry, and on the fall hunting parties to kill game for winter consumption. Hunting was considered the men’s most important chore. Government-issued rations were sugar, coffee, flour, clothing, blankets, and the like. Cattle were brought in live for the Indians to kill, butcher, and distribute. The beef was consumed rather quickly. Since it did not last long, it was not dried and kept for winter. That process was used for game animals shot in the fall hunts, a survival custom the Indians had practiced “forever.”

For Erskine there was a monthly trip with Joseph to the Barry store across the Columbia River, about six miles upriver from the confluence of the Nespelem River and the Columbia. Erskine also made trips with others to Barry. On reaching the river they crossed to Barry (now gone) where present-day Belvedere is situated on the reservation side. They used a dugout canoe kept there for Indian use. Tethered to the canoe, their horses swam along behind them. Erskine said he did not recall that Joseph left the reservation beyond Barry for any trips during the time he spent with the chief.

A ferry placed there for government employees going in and out of the reservation—not for Indian use—was called the Moses Crossing, named for the Chief Moses. Erskine used this crossing when he returned in early September 1893, having taken the train that year to Wilbur, some 30 miles from Barry.

A post office had been established in Barry in 1887. Once there, Erskine spent his money for candy, fishing tackle, and things of interest to a youngster. He also purchased items to give to Joseph’s household with money his father had given him for that purpose. There would have been few selections since Barry was but a post office and store.

Erskine’s main concern at that time of his life revolved around the outdoor activities of hunting and fishing. The second publication of his experiences with Joseph, in the Oregon Historical Quarterly in 1950, was essentially the last half of his 1893 diary notations, dealing mostly with his hunting and fishing experiences, with barely any details of camp life. He hunted rabbit, duck, pheasant, grouse, porcupine, and such. He trapped muskrat and fished the small lakes and ponds of the Nespelem valley. Erskine’s father wrote a footnote to his son’s first published article (in St. Nicholas, September 1893) in which he stated that Erskine carried “his guns, bows, rods....” Erskine said this was incorrect, that he had brought but one gun, which he described as “an old cavalry carbine, single shot.” Erskine looked forward most of all to the excitement and activity of the fall hunt. Shooting deer to bring home the venison, a harvest that required locating the animals and killing them, satisfied Erskine’s appetite for the outdoors. The Nez Perce had remained hunters despite government efforts to turn them into farmers on the reservation. Erskine recalled that only two or three Nez Perce families planted and harvested oats. He observed the threshing process which consisted of driving a horse around and around in a circle, trampling the cut and dried oats laid out on a canvas.

The hunters and their families traveled north of Kettle Falls on the eastern edge of the reservation, then moved as necessary over to the San Poil River and into the upper Okanogan country. The
hunting families gathered horses to saddle as mounts and to be loaded as packhorses by the women. At this time the men had United States military-made saddles. Cradled babies were hung from the native-made saddles on their mothers' mounts. Baby boys were bundled with their clothing open at the crotch so they did not get wet. Girls, on the other hand, were bundled such that they became soaked.

Once the hunting party reached its destination, the women laid out the hunting camp and erected the tepees. The men drove the horses to water and then shackled them. Others constructed sweat lodges of arched willows covered with brush and boughs. The hunters awoke in the early morning and took sweat baths in the steam created by water splashed on heated rocks. According to Erskine, the sweating was not a spiritual process; it was purely an exercise to mitigate the human smell, making it easier to get close to wild game. (Joseph did not participate in the kill; he sweated, however, with the men before they left camp to hunt.) Erskine, with his carbine, joined in the hunts. When kills were scarce, camp was moved. When the hunting was over, the slain animals were skinned and cut up for packing and the journey was made back to the Nespelem valley camp. Joseph saw to it that the kill was not only for the individuals who brought down the game but for everyone in the tribe. Women cut the dark red meat into thin strips that were hung over a rack in tepees to dry for the winter larder.

Back in camp Erskine took note as the women tanned the hides. They left the hides in a creek for a week, which made it easier to scrape off the hair. The skins were then wrapped over logs and covered with mashed deer brains. The next step involved stretching the hides over frames to dry. During the drying process the hides were worked daily with a dull "knife-like tool" to soften them and make them pliable. Once fully cured, the leather was made into clothing, footwear, and utility items such as bags and covers.

Chief Joseph died in 1904 at the age of 65 and was buried on the Colville reservation on the northern outskirts of the town of Nespelem. Erskine Scott Wood set foot on the reservation one last time on June 12, 1956, when he was invited to participate in the dedication of Chief Joseph Dam on the Columbia River, which bridges the reservation at its southwest corner with Douglas County. This time Erskine publicly acknowledged the significance of his unique link to an outstanding historical icon.

Years later, when writing his father's biography, Erskine reflected upon the ways his father had affected his life. He commented that when Charles E. S. Wood arranged for Erskine to stay with Chief Joseph, it was the "wisest and most far-reaching of the benefits he conferred on me." Erskine died in 1983 at the age of 103.

Robert H. Ruby is a retired physician living in Moses Lake. He is co-author of over a dozen books and continues to conduct research on Northwest Indian tribes.
A Whimsical Look at Washington’s Territorial Governors

By Robert E. Ficken


A strong executive in an inherently weak system, Isaac Stevens was by dint of character and ambition an exception to most generalizations regarding the territorial governorship, and so we will leave him out of this discussion of Washington Territory’s nominal leadership. His actions as governor have been extensively examined and debated elsewhere. Thanks to a voluminous and much studied collection of personal and official papers and to the work of biographer Kent Richards, he remains the best-known and far-and-away most able of the territorial governors.

With the notable exception of the energetic and controversial Stevens, none exhibited more than ordinary ability. Several, in sorry fact, fully lived up to the commonly expressed observation that Washington was “an asylum for worn-out political hacks who have outlived their usefulness elsewhere.” All were born outside the Pacific Northwest and only one, Miles Moore, was a genuine longtime territorial settler. Edward Salomon frankly

Fayette McMullin, 1857-59

Succeeding the controversial Stevens, Fayette McMullin was so obscure that one early Washington history consistently misspelled his name. Although the former Virginia congressman and continuing defender of slavery took office “like wildfire” in 1857, according to a newspaper retrospective, he displayed no real interest in the territory before, during, or after his brief tenure in Olympia.

The new governor dealt, in the main, with the same central problems confronting his predecessor: geographical isolation and relations with the Indians. Since the transcontinental railroad could not be built under prevailing political conditions, he recommended that the Oregon Trail be somehow shifted north to approximate the route followed by Stevens in 1853. When Indians from the British possessions murdered prominent Whidbey Island settler Isaac Ebey, the gubernatorial response was entirely ineffective. After a good deal of pointless bluster, McMullin conceded that the territory lacked the means to “chastise” the killers or prevent future attacks. His failure to cope with the northern Indians was the principal item cited by the press in condemning the governor for “nonfulfillment of the promises which he voluntarily made.”

In a sarcastic aside, historian H. H. Bancroft suggested that McMullin’s main achievement “seems to have been to get rid of one wife and marry another.” Although the governor did, in fact, procure a legislative divorce, scandalizing many contemporaries, his record was genuinely besmirched by an episode of morally reprehensible behavior. The execution of Chief Leschi, who was convicted of murder on perjured testimony during the 1855-56 Puget Sound conflict, was scheduled for early 1858. A defense committee of sorts, including some regular army officers at Fort Steilacoom, was organized on behalf of the unjustly condemned man. Meeting with the defense team at the post in mid January to examine the exculpatory evidence, McMullin appeared convinced of the need for a pardon.

Upon returning to Olympia he was confronted with a “remonstrance” from Stevens supporters, threatening bodily harm should Leschi be “rescued.” Declining to stand firm, the governor proclaimed clemency “a gross violation of Justice.” Attending a public indignation meeting, he “indulged,” by his own account, “in some very strong language of censure” against the military advocates of leniency. Allowing an innocent man to hang—Leschi was executed on February 19—McMullin demanded that the War Department transfer the Steilacoom officers, the witnesses to his cowardice, from Washington Territory for daring to interfere with local law and order.
Richard D. Gholson, 1859-61

McMULLIN FORMALLY GAVE way in 1859 to Richard Gholson of Kentucky. The third territorial governor was of so little account that on at least one occasion his position on an issue was seriously cited as the only proof needed for the validity of the contrary argument. Although not officially replaced until the spring of 1861, the pro-slavery Gholson actually served only until May 1860, when he returned home to work on behalf of secession.

The governor's sole initiative of note involved a matter entirely outside his jurisdiction. When American and British troops occupied San Juan Island in the summer of 1859, Gholson placed the territorial arsenal—a thousand muskets and rifles—at federal disposal, encouraged local Indian tribes to intervene, and complained that he was not consulted during negotiations to resolve the crisis. The island was "a part of the Territory of Washington and subject to its laws," Secretary of State Lewis Cass reminded the inappropriately offended chief executive, "if it belongs to the United States," an "anomalous" question yet to be answered by the proper authorities.

Under the prevailing system of federal administration, proven capacity and manifest responsibility were secondary factors in the selection of Washington's chief executives. Some would-be governors made straightforward appeals through influential friends and relatives, explicitly detailing the private motivations behind the call to public service. Well-known Puget Sound attorney and Republican activist Elwood Evans explained in 1861 that he had "practiced law for ten years...with better advantage to reputation...than to success in securing wealth." Even "one or two years salary as Governor," though, would make him "the happiest man in the world—my debts all paid, my property paid for, and that little family...for whom I covet this honor, secure in a sweet little cottage homestead."

Other candidates, like Abraham Lincoln's old Illinois acquaintance, William Pickering, favored subtle approaches, denying any interest in personal political preferment. In the course of recommending other Republicans for various jobs, Pickering repeatedly reminded Lincoln of his own selfless labors "in endeavoring to convert the Savage Democratic heathen from the errors of their ways." Indirection, at least in 1861, was a more effective method, for the governorship of Washington Territory went that year to the Illinoisan, not to Evans. As a general rule, however, gubernatorial aspirants avoided overt effort.

Appointed in 1870, Edward Salomon of Illinois was a leader in both the German-American and the Jewish communities and therefore the beneficiary of a two-for-one patronage strategy. Some governors were selected on the basis of past party service rather than in expectation of future good works. Fayette McMullin was a former Virginia congressman and a disappointed aspirant for the governorship of Kansas. In addition to his invaluable ethnic connections, Edward Salomon had just been defeated for reelection to important local office in Chicago. William Newell was a venerable Republican warhorse, with service in Congress, where he had been Abraham Lincoln's personal physician, and as governor of New Jersey dating back to the 1840s. Most recently, he had lost the Jersey statehouse to George McClellan, onetime commander of the Army of the Potomac and Democratic presidential candidate. "The only claim [Newell] has for the position," an unfriendly newspaper observed of the new territorial chief executive in 1880, "seems to be that he was defeated by Gen. McClellan."

By the late territorial period, over 500 federal employees toiled within the boundaries of Washington. From the governor on down, all were subject to removal upon a change of administrations in the nation's capital. The territory had only a single non-voting congressional delegate and cast
no tally in presidential elections, factors limiting the likelihood of local residents being appointed, particularly to major positions. Offices were filled instead by outsiders, from states where patronage might truly reward past behavior and influence future partisan contests. The pro-South Pierce and Buchanan administrations selected Isaac Stevens, a New Englander also sympathetic to the South, and Fayette McMullin and Richard Gholson, both of whom advocated slavery and supported secession. Illinois politicians William Pickering, Edward Salomon, and Elisha Ferry held a decided advantage under Lincoln and Grant. Watson Squire secured the governorship in 1884 as the candidate

William Pickering, 1862-66

Sidestepping his way into Civil War home front employment in 1861 by promoting the merits of other Republican stalwarts, William Pickering was the first governor to preside over a Washington Territory with its modern-day boundaries. The discovery of gold on the Clearwater River sent thousands of trespassing prospectors onto the Nez Perce reservation and, with $100,000 in dust shipped out to Portland each week, led to the creation of a new territorial entity, Idaho, in 1863. Walla Walla, the supply point for the mining country, quickly became Washington's largest and richest community. The territory was henceforth divided on a west-to-east basis, pitting the industrial and increasingly Republican Puget Sound against the mostly Democratic farmers and miners of the greater Walla Walla valley.

Pickering was a word-happy nutcase, always "indulging," one newspaper claimed, in "meaningless rhetoric." No sentence was complete, in his peculiar style of discourse, until flattened into a paragraph and no phrase worthy of being put to paper without underlying mark of emphasis. The second occupant of the office to complete an entire term and the oldest of all the territorial governors, the British-born Pickering had some Stevens-like interests. He arranged public support for the Snoqualmie Pass wagon road, an early effort to directly link Puget Sound with the new interior settlements, and urged that Seattle be promptly selected as the terminus for the federally-chartered Northern Pacific Railroad.

Pickering also sought the final subjugation of the Indians, whom he invariably referred to as "the wild Arab-like savages." Should the tribes decline to voluntarily remove themselves from areas desired by settlers and investors, Washington's governor favored extermination as a justifiable means of opening land to development. In something of an interim measure, Pickering joined with the state of Oregon in organizing emigrant protection expeditions, dispatching territorial volunteers upon a "holy Pilgrimage" to guard travelers on the overland trail.

More so even than Indians, the governor intended to exterminate political rivals in the Republican Party. Belatedly arriving in Olympia in June 1862, Pickering participated in the final lurid events leading to the shooting death of Benjamin Kendall, the superintendent of Indian Affairs originally appointed by the Lincoln administration as part of an effort to secure bipartisan support for the northern war effort. The alcoholic territorial secretary, L. Jay S. Turney, another Illinoisan, became the next victim, if only in the figurative sense. Returning "like the Dog to his vomit, and like the sow to... wallowing in the mire," the "Traitor Judas" had committed the ultimate immoral act, awarding the coveted public printing contract to an opposition newspaper. Joined by Surveyor General Anson Henry, the president's longtime Springfield neighbor, Pickering also secured the removal of the customs collector, Victor Smith, an undeniably venal follower of Secretary of the Treasury Salmon Chase, who was a possible opponent for the Republican presidential nomination in 1864. On the debit side, the governor failed to have the United States attorney in Washington Territory, John McGilvra, fired for attempting to curb the illegal liquor trade on the miner-invaded Nez Perce reservation. He also came up short in a vitriolic campaign against the new secretary, Elwood Evans, "a treacherous deceiver" guilty of turning the territory's printing business over to a Democratic editor as part of a plot—Washington, remember, cast no electoral votes—to elect George McClellan to the presidency.

Given his preoccupation with intra-party feuds, the governor met an appropriate political fate. Attending Lincoln's second inaugural in March 1865, Pickering lingered on in the nation's capital with the Republican multitudes for patronage-oriented conferences. Before departing for a fateful evening at Ford's Theater, the president supposedly promised, verbally, to reappoint Washington's chief executive. According to his subsequent claim, Pickering walked behind Lincoln's coffin "deep in mud every step" to the White House, where the "lid was removed, and I...gazed upon the plain, manly, honest face, I had both respected and loved." Confident that Andrew Johnson would honor his slain predecessor's unwitnessed pledge, the governor set out on "that very long, & still more costly & expensive journey" to Olympia, expecting to recoup his expenditures, and more, from the vital Lincoln connection. A year passed, however, and Pickering, his original term expiring, faced up to the bitter realization that "there has been some slip between the cup of reappointment and my lips."
George E. Cole, 1866-67

Holding office during the years promised the hapless Pickering, Washington’s next three governors accomplished nothing and are best appreciated as dim reflections of post-Civil War battles over the nature of Reconstruction. George E. Cole was a New York native, a Democrat, and an 1850 migrant to Oregon. After the discovery of gold in Idaho, he opened a warehouse in Walla Walla and, benefiting from the rapid growth east of the Cascades, won election to Congress in 1863. Appointed governor by Andrew Johnson in 1866, Cole vainly attempted to take up his duties. The legislature recognized him as the legitimate occupant of the gubernatorial chair, but Pickering refused, literally, to give up the official premises, arguing that Johnson’s pending impeachment nullified all presidential appointments. Months of stalemate ensued, before Cole abandoned the governorship when the Senate, controlled by enemies of the administration, failed to confirm his nomination. Years later he received a consolation prize of apparently equal status—the postmaster’s position in Portland.

Occupants of the governor’s chair generally possessed more prestige than genuine power. Formal organizational tables conveyed a misleading view of territorial affairs, at least to insiders focused on the material rewards of the various federal appointive posts. Elwood Evans considered the superintendency of Indian Affairs to be the “best, most lucrative and... from its patronage” the “most influential position.” In a rival view of the real world of Washington politics, the collector of customs, which paid a salary, “fees and emoluments,” the free use of a house, and the right to employ a family member as clerk, was singled out as “the best office in the Territory.”

By the late 1860s the appointment was supposedly “worth between $5000 & $6000... per annum.” Other contemporary students contended that the surveyor general, an official with numerous contracts to let, or the territorial secretary, the disbursing agent for federal funds, enjoyed the best money-making opportunities.

Governors made do, in contrast, with second tier wealth-generating options. Isaac Stevens purchased town lots and served as president of the Northern Pacific Rail Road Company, a firm incorporated in Olympia for the purpose, never realized, of building a rail line to the Columbia. Convinced that an “active industrious man can make more money... raising and fattening Hogs” than from any other endeavor, William Pickering acquired acreage in the Issaquah valley from the University of Washington endowment grant. Marshall Moore invested in Tacoma land, King County coal fields, and various failed railroad projects. William Newell participated in a railway scheme to link Grays Harbor with Puget Sound. Watson Squire and Eugene Semple, meanwhile, profited from substantial pre-gubernatorial business ventures, the former in Seattle real estate and the latter as owner of the Lucia Mills, a Vancouver lumber manufacturing enterprise.

As for realistic exercise of political influence, the territorial governors depended primarily upon individual ambition and initiative. The office held no statutory control over the three other appointees in the territorial executive department: the secretary, the United...
WASHINGTON'S TERRITORIAL GOVERNORS

Alvin Flanders, 1869-70

While Marshall Moore vainly attempted to move from the governorship, Alvin Flanders ventured along the reverse track, with only marginally greater success. A New England native, Flanders spent the 1850s in San Francisco, operating a lumber yard and a newspaper and earning a reputation as "one of the most ardent Republicans in California." Moving to eastern Washington during the Civil War, he profited from the river trade between Walla Walla and Portland.

Flanders was elected to Congress in 1867, serving as a minor cog in the radical campaign against the appointees of Andrew Johnson, and dispensed an annual scholarship to the University of Washington. Edward Salomon appointed a caretaker for Fort Steilacoom, abandoned by the army and due to become the territory's mental hospital, and an agent to receive old Fort Colvile, on the upper Columbia River, from the Hudson's Bay Company. Elisha Ferry named former congressional delegate Selucious Garfield as Washington's representative to the American Cheap Transportation Association convention. In 1874 Congress made the territorial auditor, treasurer, librarian, and university board of regents appointees of the governor. By one account, the chief executive thereafter had 38 jobs at his disposal and was, for the first time, "a potent political factor." The inherently weak nature of Washington Territory government, though, continued to obstruct the substantive exercise of power.

Edward Salomon, 1870-72

Although aspiring politicians and opposition party journalists regularly attacked the federal "machine" or "ring" in Olympia, the gubernatorial patronage was insufficient throughout most of the territorial period for the building of effective partisan organizations. Isaac Stevens, the only holder of the office to also serve as head of the Indian superintendency, utilized the latter position to build a personal following.

The typical governor, however, commissioned notaries public and dispensed an annual scholarship to the University of Washington. Edward Salomon appointed a caretaker for Fort Steilacoom, abandoned by the army and due to become the territory's mental hospital, and an agent to receive old Fort Colvile, on the upper Columbia River, from the Hudson's Bay Company. Elisha Ferry named former congressional delegate Selucious Garfield as Washington's representative to the American Cheap Transportation Association convention. In 1874 Congress made the territorial auditor, treasurer, librarian, and university board of regents appointees of the governor. By one account, the chief executive thereafter had 38 jobs at his disposal and was, for the first time, "a potent political factor." The inherently weak nature of Washington Territory government, though, continued to obstruct the substantive exercise of power.

States attorney, and the federal marshal. Discord was inevitable when the secretary, as in the cases of Charles Mason under McMullin, L. Jay S. Turney and Elwood Evans under Pickering, and Nicholas Owings under Semple, was a partisan rival. Until 1864 the governor had no authority to reject or approve acts of the legislative assembly. The lack of a veto mechanism, one experienced observer noted, deprived the chief executive of the ability "to protect...himself from insult, or to protect the interests of the Government at Washington."
FIGUREHEADS OF STATE

Elisha P. Ferry, 1872-80

GOVERNOR ELISHA P. FERRY, the only two-term territorial chief executive and winner of the first gubernatorial election under statehood, was more a symbol of the new railroad-hungry times than an important historical figure in his own right. The veteran Illinois attorney came to Washington in 1869 as the federal surveyor general. In that post Ferry established an enduring relationship with the Northern Pacific, promising to assist the firm in all possible ways. Support from the railroad, plus a commitment by President Grant to appoint a resident of the territory, placed him in the governorship upon Edward Salomon's removal in early 1872. Although in reality only a newcomer, Ferry's promise to make the Pacific Northwest "my future home" was residency enough, at least for the administration and local Republicans.

A friend privately admitted that "the possession of extraordinary ability is not claimed for Gov. Ferry by his most enthusiastic admirers." Despite some talent as a public speaker, the governor was best appreciated as an early model corporate attorney, working behind the scenes on the details of issues and problems. Regularly described as an "entertaining and courteous gentleman," he avoided "self laudation" and was often compared, for finely-tailored stoicism, to President Grant. Cynically well-versed regarding such matters as the partisan use of the press and the intricacies of Walla Walla's saloon-based political culture, Ferry also liked spending time with fellow lawyers in discussion of constitutional principles. Leaders of both parties respected his legal talents, while Democrats admitted to professional admiration of his skilled manipulation of electoral contests.

With respect to his public acts, Ferry was a transitional figure. He was the last of the governors to deal in a major way with difficulties involving the Indians. During the Nez Perce and Bannock wars of 1877 and 1878, Ferry visited the scenes of potential trouble east of the Cascades and, in gestures meant to calm fear rather than stimulate aggression, distributed small amounts of arms to settlers. Like a latter-day Isaac Stevens, he presided over a great council at Spokane Falls in June 1879 in an attempt to resolve problems occasioned by rapid white settlement.

Looking to the future, meanwhile, Ferry resolved one of Washington's first labor disputes. When unpaid workers, striking for their back wages, threatened to prevent completion of the Northern Pacific Columbia River-Tacoma branch line in late 1873, the governor rejected railroad demands that he call out the militia and arrest the protesters. Showing, for all his normal friendliness toward the NP, that he was not a complete corporate tool, Ferry brokered a settlement under which the money owed was forthcoming and most of the strikers rehired.

William A. Newell, 1880-84

FERRY SOUGHT A THIRD term in 1880, apparently because his ambitions for statehood and a seat in the United States Senate might be furthered best within, rather than without, government service. Although public opinion generally supported reappointment, or at least the selection of another territorial resident, the office went instead to veteran New Jersey politician William Newell. Widely dismissed as "superannuated," Newell, in his mid 60s, was the last of the major federal appointees to the territory to claim, even tentiously, a connection to Lincoln.

The governor's closest approximation of an achievement, positive or negative, was the acquisition of supposedly escape-proof shackles for penitentiary inmates. Otherwise, Newell spent much of his time in the nation's capital, lobbying for a second four-year stint in Olympia. EXERCISED FROM 1853 ON, THE AUTHORITY TO ISSUE PARDONS was onerous, controversial, and potentially scandalous. Petitioners constantly besieged governors on behalf of the "wrongfully convicted." Although consumed with genuine crises and legitimate issues, Isaac Stevens devoted precious time and energy to such matters. United States Attorney Leander Holmes advised Governor Marshall Moore to ignore all claims in support of incarcerated felons, since "half the men in this Territory will sign any petition that may be presented...and the next day would sign a remonstrance against the [first] petition." Moore and his successors persisted in the practice, at least in cases where political benefit appeared to outweigh the pitfalls. Widely maligned as a "pardon broker," Elisha Ferry nearly lost his office after
pardoning the son of an influential legislator. Serving in the late 1880s, Eugene Semple was the first governor to summarily reject pleas for clemency as inherently suspect and counter to the public interest in law and order.

Busy clearing farms, developing town sites, and attending to other matters of personal importance, most settlers paid little attention to the governors. Federal officeholders came from far away, were selected for reasons foreign to the concerns of Washington residents, and generally appeared incapable, as Seattle attorney Thomas Burke quipped, of "tell(ing) a fir from an oak."

**Watson C. Squire, 1884-87**

*I* nstead of an aged career politico, Washington was presented in 1884 with a hefty and well-groomed minor league robber baron. A lawyer, war veteran, and—by virtue of a fortuitous marriage—an executive with the Remington Arms Company, Watson C. Squire was actively involved in New York Republican politics. Migrating to Seattle "under a cloud" in 1880—having, according to reliable reports, embezzled $30,000 from Remington—he invested heavily in local real estate, soon becoming the second-largest property owner in King County. Despite his new connection with the territory's leading city, Squire secured the governorship as an easterner, endorsed by New Yorkers and appointed by the Empire State's premier politician, President Chester Alan Arthur. In office, he promoted foreign trade, an interest reflecting years of luxury class world travel and the manifest needs of a commercially dependent lumbering and wheat region. The Squire years, however, were memorable for the outbreak of anti-Chinese violence, the most disruptive crisis to befall Washington since the Indian conflicts of the 1850s.

There was nothing new about the presence of the Chinese in Washington Territory. Beginning in the mid 1860s, the Oregon Steam Navigation Company, the Columbia River steamboat monopoly, offered special "coolie" rates to encourage the importation of Asian labor. Hundreds, indeed thousands, of newcomers flocked to the mines east of the Cascades and to construction projects on both sides of the mountains. Two-thirds of the over 700 workers building the Northern Pacific branch line toward Tacoma, for instance, were migrants from China. Open prejudice quickly became common in the Northwest. The Washington legislature imposed a special tax on Asian residents in 1864. White citizens blamed outbreaks of "pestilence" in Olympia in 1869 and small pox in Walla Walla in 1871 on supposedly lax foreign sanitary habits.

The Knights of Labor movement, meanwhile, blamed low wages and unemployment on Chinese competition for jobs, an especially compelling argument in the fall of 1885, when the regional economy experienced a downturn. On November 3 the nearly 200 Chinese residents of Tacoma were expelled from the city in a roundup orchestrated by city officials. A helpless Governor Squire issued a vapid proclamation calling upon the public to reject the "spirit of lawlessness." The governor was prepared to act in Seattle, however, where his personal property holdings appeared to be under threat from rabid unionists. After weeks of tension, the pro-expulsion forces struck on February 7, 1886, loading 196 persons aboard a departing steamer. Roughly the same number of Chinese placed themselves under the protection of a Home Guard, organized by "law-abiding, law upholding, patriotic citizens" convinced that another bigot victory would be the prelude to a demand for wage increases. Proclaiming martial law following an exchange of gunfire, Squire sent the territorial militia into the streets and, in a series of stern orders, closed the saloons, imposed a curfew, and ordered the deportation of all "vagrants." Convinced that local force was insufficient to put down the "state of active insurrection," he appealed, successfully, to President Grover Cleveland for federal intervention.

Many observers charged that the civil authorities, Governor Squire in particular, had greatly exaggerated the magnitude of the crisis. Arriving in Seattle on February 10 at the head of the federal troops, General John Gibbon "found everything perfectly quiet and peaceful," the "riotous proceedings" having been put down by "prompt action" on the part of the Home Guard. Squire nonetheless emerged from the affair as a momentary, if accidental, national figure, the subject of favorable newspaper and magazine coverage from coast to coast. Although local supporters promoted him as the obvious Republican candidate for Congress, the governor's immediate problem, since a Democratic administration had been installed in March 1885, was retention of his present office. President Cleveland, fortunately, was both a New Yorker and a professed admirer of the Washington chief executive's stand against organized labor. Taking heed of a warning from conservative territorial Democrats that Squire's removal "would be a public calamity," Cleveland waited until April 1887 to send a member of his own party to Olympia. 

---

COLUMBIA 13 WINTER 2005-06
body "unable to wield," one critic noted, "that political power incident to a similar body in a State." County government, which assessed and collected taxes, was in theory of vital significance, but the limited fiscal burden imposed upon property owners generated neither intense scrutiny nor serious public debate.

From Edward Salomon, Washington governors tended to their various responsibilities in an atmosphere of impending statehood. Only the right combination of political circumstances was needed to bring about formal admission to the Union. The territory’s population tripled during the 1870s, with growth especially dramatic in the Palouse. By 1880 half of the population living east of the Cascades was non-Indian, compared to one third in the Puget Sound region.

Reflecting the rapid development of the interior Northwest, wheat and flour shipments out of the Columbia River mounted in value from $593,000 in 1869 to over $4 million in 1874. The lack of direct communication over the mountains, however, acted as a countervailing force against admission to the Union. To reach the Walla Walla valley in 1855, Isaac Stevens took a roundabout route, down the Cowlitz River to the Columbia and then upstream to The Dalles. Three decades later Eugene Semple advised that he left the territorial limits only when traveling between western and eastern Washington. Prevailing transportation patterns, by water and then by rail, followed the natural corridor opened by the Great Snoqualmie Pass in 1888 and 1889. Opposed to any compromise, management cut production so that only loyal workers need be hired and employed "detectives" and special deputy marshals, sworn in by compliant federal officials, to guard the mining facilities. The Oregon Improvement Company’s attorney, reporting in his capacity as colonel of the National Guard, called upon Governor Semple for military protection, supposedly the only means of preventing unprovoked aggression against corporate properties and personnel.

A businessmen himself, Semple refused to intervene. "It is proper," he declared, "for public officers to take precautions, in advance, where reasonable apprehension of a disturbance exists, but the apprehension must have some foundation more substantial than the mere opinion...of a Coal Co[mpany]." Personally investigating the situation in the mines, the governor denounced the corporate detectives as "an organized body of mercenaries" and condemned the "invasion" of Washington Territory by "bodies of armed men from other jurisdictions." As for the federal deputies, he noted in endorsing a report from the King County sheriff that many, if not most, were "escaped criminals." Semple refused outright to place the territorial National Guard, organized under Squire as a pro-employer instrument, "at the service of any corporation." Although the governor, to be sure, took no overt action directly supportive of labor, his neutrality was a major departure from practice.

**Eugene Semple, 1887-89**

After Squire, Washington's next governor was Eugene Semple, a native of Illinois, a Democrat by family tradition, and a longtime Pacific Northwest resident. After two decades in Oregon, where he practiced law, ran a newspaper, and was active in party affairs, he had crossed the Columbia in 1883, going into the lumber trade in Vancouver. Semple's generally unpopular nomination was perceived in all quarters as a prime example of the Cleveland administration's ineptitude. West and east of the mountains, the governor was tainted as an Oregonian. Conservatives of both parties resented the dismissal of Squire, the supposed hero of Seattle. "The appointment is condemned by all the leading Democrats in this section," a Squire associate reported from northern Puget Sound. Looking for an optimistic sign, one newspaper commented that at least Semple wasn't a southerner.

Semple was, to the further consternation of conservatives, Washington's first reform governor. He struggled to bring existing institutions, particularly the much-maligned university, up to modern standards, initiated the process leading to the founding of an agricultural college at Pullman, and supervised relocation of the penitentiary to Walla Walla. Thanks to "the lax administration of the past fifteen years," Semple pronounced in reference to the Ferry and Squire administrations, "the public good was often subordinated to private and corporate greed." Squire, moreover, had perpetrated "an illegal proceeding" in declaring martial law during the Seattle imbroglio, an affair that could have been easily resolved if "the governor of the Territory had been a determined man."

The governor's reputation rested upon the abandonment of the probusiness labor policies of his predecessors: the territory, in Semple's view, was bound neither by economic precept nor by social philosophy to intervene on behalf of, or at the call of, employers. As conservatives had feared, the anti-Chinese campaign was merely the first stroke in the effort to secure higher wages. Lumber manufacturers were soon forced to reduce the standard shift from 12 to 10 hours, with no reduction in pay. A series of disturbances organized by the Knights of Labor disrupted the Puget Sound coal mines as well as the Northern Pacific-owned operation east of Snoqualmie Pass in 1888 and 1889. Opposed to any compromise, management cut production so that only loyal workers need be hired and employed “detectives” and special deputy marshals, sworn in by compliant federal officials, to guard the mining facilities. The Oregon Improvement Company’s attorney, reporting in his capacity as colonel of the National Guard, called upon Governor Semple for military protection, supposedly the only means of preventing unprovoked aggression against corporate properties and personnel.

A businessmen himself, Semple refused to intervene. “It is proper,” he declared, “for public officers to take precautions, in advance, where reasonable apprehension of a disturbance exists, but the apprehension must have some foundation more substantial than the mere opinion...of a Coal Company.” Personally investigating the situation in the mines, the governor denounced the corporate detectives as “an organized body of mercenaries” and condemned the “invasion” of Washington Territory by “bodies of armed men from other jurisdictions.” As for the federal deputies, he noted in endorsing a report from the King County sheriff that many, if not most, were “escaped criminals.” Semple refused outright to place the territorial National Guard, organized under Squire as a pro-employer instrument, “at the service of any corporation.” Although the governor, to be sure, took no overt action directly supportive of labor, his neutrality was a major departure from practice.
Miles C. Moore, 1889

Employers certainly lost no time in securing Semple’s removal from office. Barely installed in March 1889, the Republican administration of Benjamin Harrison appointed Miles C. Moore as governor. Born in Ohio, Moore had resided in eastern Washington since 1863, first as a miner exposed to frostbite and then—the son-in-law of developer Dorsey Baker—as attorney, merchant, and political figure in Walla Walla. Only 44 years of age, he was known affectionately, on account of long residence, as a “mosback.”

The new governor’s tenure was guaranteed to be short since Congress had already authorized the drafting of a constitution as a preliminary step to admission. His nomination was, in fact, secured as part of a “ticket” devised by party leaders in anticipation of the first election: Moore for territorial and Elisha Ferry for state governor, with Watson Squire and territorial delegate John B. Allen as presumptive United States senators. Waiting out the last months of the territory’s formal existence, he was little more than an institutional caretaker. Aside from a modestly-interesting involvement in government-sponsored artesian well ventures, Moore’s only substantive act was the issuance of a proclamation for Washington’s constitutional convention.

River of the West, making the emerging wheat country, settlers complained, a “tributary to Portland.”

The population continued to mount. Eclipsing long-dominant Walla Walla, King and Spokane became the largest counties, while Seattle, Tacoma, and Spokane Falls surged to the lead among cities. The value of Washington’s taxable property increased from $18.9 million in 1877 to $44.4 million in 1884. Centered on the “grand coal field” east and southeast of Lake Washington, mining expanded to rival logging and lumbering as a vital industry. Coal shipments, most to San Francisco, mounted from 70,000 tons in 1875 to 214,000 tons in 1884. Much of this growth anticipated the completion of the northern transcontinental railroad. Easterners and Westerners alike demanded the construction of a railroad across the Cascades. “Our wants are reciprocal,” the Yakima Record noted of the mutual benefits to be realized, for the east side needed “the wood, coal, and lumber of the Sound,” and the latter “must have our beef, wheat, and dairy products.”

By breaking the Portland stranglehold, the mountain line, once in place, would result in reduced freight rates. “What we have to sell will be worth more,” a wheat region newspaper enthused, “and what we buy less.” A direct link between Puget Sound and the upper Columbia would also make Washington a viable political entity, worthy of statehood. “The road,” Seattle’s Weekly Intelligencer pointed out, “is necessary to the unity and homogeneity of the Territory.” The Northern Pacific mainline across the Cascades reached Tacoma by switchback in 1883 and by tunnel in 1887, uniting the long-divided halves of the territory and creating a workable commonwealth.

President Benjamin Harrison declared Washington a member of the union of states on November 11, 1889. A week later, Governor Ferry and the other new officers of state government, already elected, took their places in Olympia. The commonwealth was at last delivered, Miles Moore declared, “from the condition of Territorial vassalage.” For 36 years Washington had been governed by feudal-like representatives of a distant and intermittently concerned power. Governors were appointed by, and presumably loyal to, presidents based in the nation’s capital. The political interest of faraway administrations was paramount in the selection and retention of territorial chief executives. Washington Territory was governed, for good or ill, according to the requirements and perceptions of Washington, D.C. No wonder, then, that genuine local residents sought relief from a system that denied them the right to name their own officeholders.

A tongue-in-cheek response is difficult to avoid when considering the individual territorial governors. By and large, persons of little or no consequence in their own time resist sober analysis. Only two of the governors, Stevens and Semple, have merited scholarly biographies. Four alone—Stevens, Ferry, Squire, and Semple—left significant collections of personal and official papers. The same four were the only ones to have noteworthy post-gubernatorial accomplishments: Stevens as delegate to Congress and martyred Civil War general, Ferry as the first elected governor, Squire as one of the original United States senators, and Semple as a promoter of Seattle harbor improvements.

As a body, the territorial governors differed in a fundamental way from their statehood successors. Appointed without popular mandate, they lacked independent initiative. Isaac Stevens was an activist in the extreme, but his energy came more from personal ambition than from any inherent attributes of his principal office. Those who followed him in Olympia were, for the most part, time-serving components of an outside political system, rather than exemplars of action and achievement.

Letter to Santa

For as long as there has been a Santa Claus, kids have been writing him letters. In 1922 all letters to the North Pole were handwritten and dropped in the mailbox on the corner. The little Tacoma boy in the photograph, who can barely reach the mail slot, could be asking for a Flexible Flyer sled, a Babe Ruth fielder's mitt, a Liberty Coaster wagon, a magic set, or an electric train. These days kids can e-mail their Christmas wish list to Santa by going no farther than the family computer.
PAUL ROBESON at BLAINE

By Robert H. Keller

Singing for Freedom at the Peace Arch
Fifteen hundred people seemed to fill Peace Arch Park on a Sunday in May 2002. Yet it was a small turnout compared to the event these Canadians and Americans had come to commemorate—Paul Robeson’s first concert at Blaine on May 18, 1952—a gathering estimated at over 30,000. The 50th anniversary program included folk singer Ronnie Gilbert, the female vocalist of The Weavers, and the Total Experience Gospel Choir from Seattle. Over 50 unions sponsored the event, including the Canadian Labor Congress; the Washington, King County, and Whatcom County labor councils; the Canadian Auto Workers; the British Columbia Federation of Labor; and the International Longshoreman and Warehouseman’s Union and their Bellingham local. Even the 1952 piano was present.

Actor Danny Glover delivered Robeson’s speech, pointing out how the famous performer’s message remained pertinent a half century later. At booths away from the stage contemporary left-wing political groups from Canada and the United States sold books and handed out leaflets—socialists, pacifists, communists, labor unions, pro-Palestinian Jews. Many elderly individuals could personally recall the rancid political climate of the early cold war years, a climate that crippled Robeson’s astonishing career and gave rise to four rallies on the border at Blaine, 1952 through 1955.

Paul Leroy Robeson’s father, the Reverend William D. Robeson, was a Presbyterian minister who had been a runaway slave at age 15. William married Maria Louisa Bustill, a Quaker schoolteacher of black, white, and American Indian ancestry. The two created a strong, learned, supportive family, although Maria died in 1904 when Paul, her youngest, was only six years old.

After growing up in Princeton and Westfield, New Jersey, Robeson attended Rutgers University, among the first African Americans to do so. He excelled at debate, was elected Phi Beta Kappa, and became valedictorian of the 1919 graduating class. A tall and extremely strong man, he also excelled in sports. He was active in baseball, basketball, and track but received the greatest recognition for his participation on the Rutgers football team. He was twice named to the NCAA All-American football team, and went on to play for three years in the American Professional Football League. He used his earnings from playing professional football to bankroll his law degree at Columbia University, which he achieved in 1923, becoming the law school’s third African American to graduate and pass the bar.

Pervasive racism in the legal profession and awareness of his exceptional musical talent brought an end to Robeson’s vocation as an attorney. He turned instead toward a career as a singer who possessed one of the 20th century’s most remarkable bass-baritone voices. Eventually that voice sang out across five continents. Jerome Kern would compose “Showboat’s” show-stopper, “’Ol’ Man River,” specifically for this voice. Robeson’s frequent concert tours across the United States included all major cities and such remote Northwest stops as Pocatello and Pullman.

By the 1930s his fame had spread to Great Britain where Robeson performed in film, on stage, and in operas as an actor and soloist, making him a wealthy man. Back in the United States he walked on stage before enthusiastic audiences: 160,000 in Chicago’s Grant Park, a sold-out Hollywood Bowl, a packed Symphony Hall in Boston.

He studied ethnic history and gained proficiency in 20 languages, including Chinese, Arabic, and Russian. Together with his working-class roots, the Great Depression and the Spanish Civil War inspired Robeson to identify with the underdog and to understand society as a class struggle. miners, he observed in Wales, shared no common interests with the mine owners who exploited them. He became one of the first black performers to refuse segregated engagements, and he insisted on speaking out for civil rights while in concert.

During World War II he sang to troops and supported government bond drives. He spent much of 1945 on tour, performing in 115 concerts in as many cities, some of which, like Los Angeles and Detroit, denied him public lodging. During this period he felt united with an American government allied with Russia against Nazi fascism.

Performing in the Soviet Union before the war had convinced Paul Robeson that Marxist principles could create a superior society for workers and minorities. Along with his friend, noted black scholar W. E. B. DuBois, he could see a sharp contrast between Marxism on the one hand and the American racial divide and economic system on the other. Robeson never admitted, nor could government investigators ever prove, that he was a Communist—he always called himself a “scientific
socialist" and "anti-Fascist"—but his praise of the USSR, his winning of the Stalin Peace Prize, his close association with Communist Party members, his co-founding of the Progressive Party in 1948, and his outspoken criticism of racial segregation made few friends in the White House, the FBI, Congress, or the State Department. The country had emerged from world war into an era of loyalty oaths, the McCarran Act (the Internal Security Act of 1950), political blacklisting, and sweeping congressional inquiries into what was considered "un-American" dissent by private citizens.

On April 21, 1949, on his way to a Moscow concert, Robeson made a fateful speech to the World Peace Congress in Paris. He reportedly stated, in part:

"We denounce the policy of the United States government, which is similar to that of Hitler and [his propaganda minister Joseph] Goebbels. ... It is unthinkable that American Negroes would go to war on behalf of those who have oppressed us for generations against the Soviet Union which in one generation has raised our people to the full dignity of mankind."

Reports from Paris created a furor. At home he soon would be denounced as "the most dangerous man in the world." The September 1949 effort to hold an annual concert at Peekskill, New York, provoked rioters to injure hundreds of spectators as police looked on.

Considering him a treacherous subversive, the FBI placed Robeson under constant surveillance while pressuring theaters and churches to cancel performances. At the urging of government agents, recording companies and many newspapers blacklisted the singer as a disloyal outcast. A few months after Peekskill, and following a concert before 20,000 in London, the State Department insisted on reviewing all overseas speeches. When Robeson refused, the agency revoked his passport, stunting Paul Robeson's career while reducing his income by over 90 percent for a decade.

Canada's Mine, Mill, and Smelter Workers invited Robeson to appear at its Vancouver, British Columbia, convention in late January 1952. Canada had never required a United States passport, but President Harry Truman, through an executive order, invoked World War I and II "national emergency" powers to prevent Robeson from traveling to Canada and Mexico. When the singer rode north from Seattle toward Vancouver in a convoy of union bodyguards, he encountered federal officials at the border who denied him entrance to Canada.

Turned back, he arrived at the Marine Cooks and Stewards Hall in Seattle to speak and sing over a telephone to the 2,500 union delegates assembled in Vancouver. "The refusal to allow me to cross the border," he said, "was an act of the American administration, not an act of the American people."

Attempts by labor activist Terry Pettus to hold a subsequent Seattle concert ran into opposition from the city government which, after a three-day hearing, won a court injunction against the performance. Reprisal against Northwest organizers included the firing of KIRO broadcaster Jack Kinzell. Meanwhile, Canadian Mine Workers' president Harvey Murphy arranged for the muzzled Robeson to appear at the Peace Arch in May, singing and speaking from American soil in Blaine to Canadians across the 49th parallel. Robeson...
agreed: "I want to sing to and for my people and the workers. No tickets over a dollar."

Sing and speak he did on May 18. That afternoon's crowd estimates varied widely: union organizers claimed that 40,000 Canadians and 10,000 Americans came, whereas the Vancouver Sun gave a much lower figure; American media reported that only 5,000 attended. Whatever the disputed numbers, parked automobiles and two dozen charter buses blocked the King George Highway for three miles to the north. Pedestrians clogged and then closed the international border crossing, irritating travelers who had little patience with radical social protest. Robeson spoke into a microphone from the flatbed of a truck parked within a foot of the border:

As Canadians and Americans mingled back and forth across the invisible boundary, Robeson's rich, warm voice rolled into song.

I can't tell you how moved I am at this moment. It seems that nothing can keep me from my beloved friends in Canada (applause). I stand here today under great stress because I dare, as do all of you, to fight for peace and a decent life for all men, women and children, wherever they may be. And especially today, I stand fighting for the rights of my people in this America in which I was born (applause). You have known me for many years. I am the same Paul, fighting a little harder.

As Canadians and Americans mingled back and forth across the invisible boundary, Robeson's rich, warm voice rolled into song: first a duet with pianist Larry Brown—"Every Time I Feel the Spirit"—then "Loch Lomond," "No More Auction Block," "Ol' Man River," and, of course, "Joe Hill," the union ballad to a tune composed by Robeson's good friend, Seattle-born Earl Robinson:

I dreamed I saw Joe Hill last night, Alive as you and me, says I, But Joe you're ten years dead, "I never died," says he....

"From San Diego up to Maine, In every mine and mill, Where workers strike and organize," Says he, "You'll find Joe Hill."

Among the older folks in the crowd at the 50th anniversary concert in 2002 stood Mel and Rena Florence of Bellingham. Mel, who died in 2005, had been a union warehouseman; Rena, a nurse. They came for a variety of reasons. Famous people rarely visited Bellingham or Whatcom County, so they felt it was "a rare opportunity." As political progressives they strongly opposed racial prejudice and felt that Robeson had been badly mistreated by the government and the media. "He was a hero to us young guys who were a little radical," Mel recalled, to which his wife added, "We loved him, his singing—and we still do."

Others took a different view. Letters to the Vancouver Sun soon after the 1952 concert ran pro and con, with some readers complaining about the "Red-led miners' union trying to cause turmoil in Canada. Others described the United States as a "typically Nazi" police state. Earlier in the year the British Columbia Federation of Labor and the Vancouver business community agreed that a ban on travel was "strictly a matter for the U.S.,....a private matter...[the visit] a communist set-up."

Earlier, on February 4, a Sun columnist had labeled American suppression of Robeson "a dark omen," but the same day's editorial castigated the singer under the headline "Robeson—Born 30 Years Too Soon." This matter was of no concern to Canada, the column continued: "Let there be no mawkish sympathy wasted on Paul Robeson," the editor advised, describing a man bitter about "fancied or real" race discrimination in college and the legal profession, and who had become a propagandist for the USSR. The editor argued that this disloyalty made the travel ban, although an unwise tactic by the American government, entirely understandable. Instead of attacking his own country while in Paris, the editorial chastised, Robeson should have emulated the quiet, respectful behavior of baseball star Jackie Robinson.

Vancouver Sun coverage of the May 18th Peace Arch rally appeared in a late edition at the rear of the paper, mainly addressing the traffic jam at the border: "Crowds Swarm to Hear Robeson.... Border Closed." Sun reporting, sparse and belittling as it was, exceeded the nearest United States newspaper in Bellingham, south of Blaine. The Bellingham Herald, a paper that routinely ran headlines about "Reds" and "Commies," carried front-page stories about a mountaineering accident on Mount St. Helens and sailing deaths near Lummi Island, but no reports, photos, or editorials about thousands gathered at the Peace Arch. Even the border closure was ignored.

An article in the BC District Union News gleefully observed that by blocking a local Canadian performance before an audience of 3,000, the United States had inspired a turnout of over 50,000 before the whole world. The net effect was "to slap the Pentagon dictators with the wham of a boomerang." As he returned to Seattle, Robeson told attorney John Caughlan that "this is the first time since Peekskill that I've wiped out Peekskill in my mind." Peekskill, New York, was that scene in 1949 of vigilante violence in response to a Robeson concert that took place there.

Later, in his autobiography, Robeson referred to the Blaine events as one of the great joys of his life. At the end of the 1952 concert Paul Robeson promised a cheering crowd that he would return to Blaine every year for as long as the government banned his travel to Canada. The black singer came back to the Peace Arch the next three years, until the prohibition to enter Canada was lifted in 1955.
Robeson as Othello in the record-breaking Broadway production of Shakespeare’s play.

On August 16, 1953, he kept that vow before a smaller gathering but one still large enough to foul traffic. Robeson again assured everyone that he was “the same Paul,” still seeking social justice around the world, but with his civil liberties severely curtailed:

Whenever I go into a city like St. Louis . . . the wrath of all the powers that be descends on one single, poor minister who wants to give me his church, or descends on the one who rents the hall. They are told by . . . all the strongest business forces, that the banks will no longer honor their mortgages. Just to keep one person from appearing in concert.

Robeson, in this rare recorded speech, recalled his earlier experiences in England and Wales, and told how the United States government had also prevented W. E. B. DuBois from speaking out for colonial liberation around the world, a mission that he passionately shared:

I stretch out my hands to the brave people of [Communist] China, as they build a new life . . . I shake the hand of the brave Soviet people and of the new people’s democracies. That is my right as an American.

I speak as one whose fathers and mothers toiled in cotton, toiled in indigo, tobacco, and helped to create the primary wealth of this land upon which the great land of the United States was built . . . from the blood and suffering of my forefathers. I have the right to speak out on their blood . . . I’m telling you now that a good piece of that American earth belongs to me.

My people are determined not to be second class citizens, but to be full citizens, to be first-class citizens. That is the rock upon which I stand. From that rock I reach out across the world because I know there is one humanity, that there is no basic difference of race or color, no basic difference of culture, but that all human beings can live in friendship and in peace. I know it from experience. I have seen the people. I have learned their languages. I sing their songs.

I am going to live my life down among the masses of the people, not as a great artist up there on top, but right here in this park, in many of the picket lines, wherever I can help the struggle of the people. And I will never apologize for that.

I shall continue to fight as I see the truth. And I tell you here, I hope to see you next year. No matter where I am in the world, I’ll come back (shouts of approval). I want everyone in range of my voice to hear, official or otherwise, that there is no force on earth that will make me go backward one-thousandth part of one little inch!

Then he went forward, singing “Go Down Moses,” “Scandaliz’ My Name,” “Drink to Me Only With Thine Eyes,” and “Joe Hill.”
BEFORE THE 1953 CONCERT, UNLIKE THE previous year, Robeson did receive some heckling on the American side, but no real violence or trouble occurred. Organizers claimed that the crowd was larger than in 1952, but Royal Canadian Mounted Police reports estimated the gathering at only 3,000. The American media, including the page headline to a visit by Hollywood's Jimmy Stewart, and followed the car accidents, strikes in Canada, and the Kinsey report on man sexuality than to the Peace Arch concert. The event had been poorly promoted in the United States and ignored by the Canadian government had denied him a visa, thereby canceling 17 concerts scheduled by a national labor organization. Two years later, on June 28, 1958, the United States Supreme Court ruled that revocation of Paul Robeson's American passport had been unconstitutional and illegal. Other vindication was slower in coming. A full 77 years after he had graduated from Rutgers and nearly 20 years after his death, Paul Robeson was admitted into the National Football Hall of Fame. Three years later, in 1998, admirers and family celebrated the 100th anniversary of his birth by issuing a compact disc recording of the 1952 and 1953 Peace Arch concerts, including speeches by Robeson and Harvey Murphy. (Audio recording from a flatbed truck severely limited production quality, but that flaw was more than compensated for by excellent album notes and bibliography by Ian Shaw.) Then came the 2002 Peace Arch reunion, with Danny Glover appearing almost as imposing as "the same old Paul." Among the organizers that year was Robeson's rugged Canadian friend—the Mine, Mill, and Smelter Workers Union.

In the early 1990s I traveled around Washington state giving Inquiring Mind lectures on the life of Paul Robeson for the Washington Commission for the Humanities (now Humanities Washington). From time to time a vocal anti-Communist would speak up to question me or condemn Robeson. One Sunday morning as I was about to begin at Blaine's Unitarian Church, an older man in a gray suit sat alone in the last pew. He frowned, intent and serious, as I delivered an address interspersed with recordings of Robeson singing "Shenendoah," "No More Auction Block," Hasidic chants, "Ol' Man River," and concluding with "Jacob's Ladder." As the service ended, the man in the gray suit stood up and asked if he could come forward to speak. I said, "Certainly," but as he approached down the center isle, I thought, "Here comes a tirade about communism." The mysterious visitor turned, faced the congregation, and said:

In 1951 I was a young man just out of school, unemployed, with a new family. Then the City of Blaine hired me as an engineer, a job that brought satisfaction to me and income for my family. The next year Paul Robeson came to the Peace Arch. I had deeply admired this great man and desperately wanted to hear him in person, but I feared losing my job. I did not go. Nor did I attend the following concerts.

For forty years now I have felt guilty and ashamed. To protect my family I betrayed a brave man. Today I want to apologize to him, and to you, for being a coward. I hope that you can forgive me. Thank you.

It takes an exceptionally courageous man to make such a confession. I hope he was in the crowd honoring Paul Robeson on May 18, 2002.

Robert H. Keller is a retired professor of history, formerly with Western Washington University, where he taught federal Indian policy and law.
ogging and art—today this combination of words evokes images of chain saw sculptures. But for Clarence L. Garner, both activities were in his blood. He grew up loving to draw, and he worked in the logging camps of western Washington. Born in 1880, he came to Washington Territory by stagecoach from Kentucky in 1886 with his parents and brothers. The family homesteaded on the Wynoochee River, 14 miles from Montesano, in the heart of southwest Washington’s logging country.

As a child, Garner loved to draw, carrying a sketchbook with him to capture images of the animals and trees he saw around him. At the age of 9 he won his first school drawing prize. At 16 he traveled throughout the Puget Sound region with John Pierson, a noted English artist and member of

LEFT: “Falling Trees, Washington Territory,” c. 1950 (oil on board). These lumberjacks, jumping out of the way of a falling tree, used springboards to stand on while they worked. Springboards had metal tips that were inserted into a notch cut in the side of the tree.

the Royal Academy. Garner worked with Pierson for about 18 months and regarded him as his mentor, learning everything he could from the experienced artist. It was during this period that Garner began to paint with oils. Some of Garner’s paintings were shown at the Alaska-Yukon-Pacific Exposition in 1909, winning an honorable mention.

As a young man, Garner worked at various jobs in the woods to pay for his schooling. He was a grease monkey, daubing oil on the skids over which teams of oxen or horses pulled logs out of the forest. Later, he drove an eight-horse team for Simpson Logging Company. He incorporated these experiences and others in his paintings.

Below: “Spool Donkey,” c. 1950 (oil on board). There was great variety in donkey engines, which were widely used to haul logs out of the woods. This early style, steam-driven spool donkey has an upright drum to hold the cable. Later donkeys were powered by gasoline, diesel fuel, or electricity.

Upper Right: “Logging Camp Dining Hall,” c. 1950 (oil on board). The loggers in this painting are running for the dining hall because they have only about 20 minutes to eat.

Lower Right: “Dining Hall, Loggers at the Table,” c. 1950 (oil on board). Logging was hard physical labor and loggers needed good food and plenty of it to sustain them.
Garner Paintings on Exhibit

Now through July 2, 2006, a selection of Clarence L. Garner's logging paintings are on exhibit in the "Inviting the Spirit" gallery within the Great Hall of Washington History at the Washington State History Museum in Tacoma.
Logging trains were widely used to move timber in the Northwest between 1890 and 1930. In the 1920s there were more than 460 logging railroads in the region.

Gamer graduated from Montesano High School and went on to attend the University of Washington. After graduating in 1904 with a degree in civil engineering, art became a hobby for Gamer. He first worked as an engineer for the City of Aberdeen. In 1916 he moved to Vashon Island to work on uniting the Vashon and Burton telephone systems into one agency. His original employer, Washington Coast Utilities, was bought out by Puget Sound Power and Light Company in 1933. Gamer became the company's first manager on Vashon Island where he worked until he retired in 1947.

Although he had continued to paint in his spare time, retirement allowed Gamer more latitude to indulge his love of painting and memories of his days in the woods. He painted a wide range of scenes, documenting the changes he saw in the logging industry. These paintings were made in the 1950s, but many of the subjects date from a much earlier period. Among them are a mill dating from 1867 and the big forest fire of 1902. His early experiences of man- and horse-powered logging are there, as well as scenes including steam locomotives and the modern gas-powered equipment still used today.

In 1963, the Washington State Capital Museum purchased a group of 25 paintings Clarence Gamer had completed over a two-year period. The merger of the State Capital Museum with the Washington State Historical Society brought the collection to Tacoma. A selection of Clarence Gamer's work will be on display in the "Inviting the Spirit" gallery at the Washington State History Museum through July 2006.

Lynette Miller has worked at the Washington State Historical Society for eight years. She is currently head of collections and works primarily on the society's art and Native American collections.
Mrs. Joseph Carman II and Joseph Carman III

In 1926 Mrs. Joseph Carman II and her son, Joseph Carman III, of Lakewood, posed for Howard Chandler Christy, one of the most famous portraitists of his day. At the turn of the last century, Christy's illustrations of Spanish American War scenes were published in Harper's, Century, Scribner's and Leslie's Weekly magazines. By the 1920s he had turned to painting portraits. Among his many subjects were Presidents Franklin Roosevelt, Calvin Coolidge, James K. Polk, and Herbert Hoover; humorist Will Rogers; Amelia Earhart; Mr. & Mrs. William Randolph Hearst; and Benito Mussolini. This painting was donated to the Historical Society by Barbara Stetson Carman, wife of Joseph Carman III. Her donation also included a Christy portrait of her husband's grandfather, Hubbard E. Alexander.
On July 4, 1803, the National Intelligencer newspaper of Washington, D.C., reported that Emperor Napoleon Bonaparte of France had sold the Louisiana Territory to the United States of America. The treaty arrived in Washington on July 14, 1803, and was ratified by the United States Senate on October 20. That same day the House of Representatives authorized borrowing $15 million for what became known as the Louisiana Purchase. Even before the acquisition, President Thomas Jefferson had long hoped to send an exploring party to the western wilderness. The Louisiana Territory was still largely unknown and uncharted, and it seemed prudent for the United States to discover the size and nature of this new land. To accomplish such a task the country needed an expedition for Northwest discovery.

To mount the expedition, Jefferson turned to the United States Army. Although historians have discussed the value of the expedition in terms of Native American studies, and zoological and botanical discoveries, the Lewis and Clark expedition was primarily a military unit. The army was the only organization that could equip and logistically support a disciplined team of trained individuals accustomed to enduring hardship, functioning in harsh climates, negotiating inhospitable terrain, and persevering against potential danger. Two army officers, Captains Meriwether Lewis and William Clark, were assigned to lead the “Corps of Discovery.” Popular stories about the expedition too often omit or marginalize the essentially military nature of the corps and its mission. Military organization, discipline, and esprit de corps, however, added effectiveness to exploring in the wilderness and contributed greatly to the success of the mission.

News of the expedition soon spread, and many young frontiersmen were eager to join. Lewis and Clark recruited personnel as they made their way to St. Louis. Soldiers of the regular army were first selected from volunteers at military posts along the Ohio and Mississippi rivers. The captains then recruited willing frontiersmen, hunters, and interpreters and enlisted them into the United States Army; they then engaged a select few civilians for employment under contract with the War Department.

Secretary of War Henry Dearborn had initially authorized 12 enlisted men and 1 civilian interpreter for the expedition. Before it was over, more than 50 individuals were associated with the expedition throughout its 1803 initial stages of travel from Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, to the 1804-05 winter encampment at Fort Mandan, North Dakota. Only 33, 28 of whom were soldiers, traveled from Fort Mandan to Fort Clatsop near the Pacific Ocean and back as members of the “permanent party.”

To maintain order and discipline, Captains Lewis and Clark selected three sergeants and organized the Expedition for Northwestern Discovery into three squads, each led by one of the sergeants. Charles Floyd of Kentucky was one of the first to enlist in August 1803. He was the son of Captain Charles Floyd who had soldiered with George Rogers Clark, William Clark’s older brother, during the Revolutionary War. Describing him as “a man of much merit,” Lewis appointed him to the rank of sergeant. Remembered as the only member who did not survive the expedition, Floyd died near present-day Sioux City, Iowa, probably from a ruptured appendix.

Patrick Gass was initially recruited as a private from Captain Bissell’s company of the First Infantry at Fort Kaskaskia. He had joined the army in 1799 and was elected sergeant after the death of Floyd. Sergeant Nathaniel Pryor of Kentucky was a widower and cousin of Charles Floyd. He was made a sergeant, and Lewis and Clark considered him to be “a man of character and ability.”

In late November 1803, when the men reached Fort Kaskaskia 50 miles south of St. Louis, Captain Lewis recruited Sergeant John Ordway from Captain Russell Bissell’s company. Ordway was then 28 years old, having been born near Dunbarton, New Hampshire, in 1775. He was the only one of the original sergeants who volunteered from service in the regular army. He was intelligent, well-educated for the times, and had earned a good reputation.

On March 31, 1804, Lewis and Clark held an enlistment ceremony for the men selected as members of “the Detachment destined for the Expedition through the interior of the Continent of North America.” Lewis appointed Sergeant Ordway as the “Orderly Sergeant,” a 19th-century title for the first sergeant of a corps of less than company size. The appointment made him third in the chain of command following the two officers.

Ordway was instructed to keep a daily journal as well as the orderly book for the detachment. Others kept journals of the expedition, too. Lewis and Clark recorded voluminous amounts of scientific data and frequently kept daily journals during the trip. The four sergeants (Gass, Floyd, Ordway, and Pryor) and at
At least two privates (Whitehouse and Frazier) are known to have kept journals. The one kept by Gass was published in 1807. The fragmentary journals of Floyd and Whitehouse were published in the early 20th century. Because the journals of Frazier and Pryor were lost, a complete set of daily records of the expedition was therefore not available.

Lewis and Clark paid Ordway $300 for his journal with the aim of incorporating it into the official journal of the expedition. It disappeared, however, and remained lost for over 100 years, until it turned up in the papers of the Biddle family of Philadelphia in 1913. It was Nicholas Biddle who had edited the original Lewis and Clark journals. Ordway's daily journal was complete, presenting a continuous daily record of the expedition from start to finish by someone other than the two leading officers. His accounts of Indian life and other details of the expedition are invaluable for understanding the human element of soldiering.

As Commanding Sergeant Major (Ret.) Jimmie Spencer, director of NCO and Soldier Programs, Association of the United States Army, has said, "History remembers generals and other great captains, but rarely is recognition given to enlisted soldiers and noncommissioned officers (NCOs) for their service to the nation." Despite Ordway's significance to the expedition, we know little about him other than that he was 1 of 10 children and one of the few well-educated men recruited for the expedition. That Lewis and Clark held him in high esteem is clear from their journals. He was entrusted with keeping the rosters, assigning duties, posting guards, maintaining all registers and records, and issuing provisions. In the captains' absence, he was in charge of the expedition.

During the winter at Camp DuBois, Sergeant Ordway had to assert his authority and win the respect of the rambunctious Kentucky and Virginia enlistees. With Lewis and Clark away, privates Reuben Field and John Shields refused to mount guard duty because they would not take orders from anyone.
other than the captains. Privates John Colter, John Boley, Peter Weiser, and John Robinson told Ordway they were leaving to go hunting—against his orders. Instead, they went to a neighboring whiskey shop and got drunk.

Fights periodically broke out among the restless men. Shields opposed another of Ordway's orders and threatened the sergeant's life. Colter did the same but took it a step further, loading his gun and threatening to shoot Ordway. The captains had to step in with the latter incidents. A mutiny trial resulted in the two privates seeking forgiveness. They "promised to doe better in future," the captains reported, and were issued no punishment.

"Doe better" they did. In fact, Colter in particular seemed to patch things up with his sergeant. Ordway, in his journal, notes that he and Colter worked many days together the rest of the journey. They hunted together and were at the salt works on the Pacific together. They are together and traveled in the keelboats and canoes with each other. Ordway probably knew Colter as well as any man. In his journal Ordway often praised the performance of Colter and the other men in his unit.

On a number of occasions Ordway led detachments of men on special assignments. During the return trip from the Pacific Ocean he led the 10-man detachment that recovered the canoes left at the head of the Jefferson River before the expedition crossed the mountains. After repairing the canoes, Ordway led the men down the Jefferson to the Great Falls of the Missouri, portaged them around the falls, and then proceeded to the mouth of the river to reunite with the overland groups led by Lewis and Clark. After the expedition, Ordway accompanied a party of Indians to Washington, D.C., to meet President Jefferson.

Sergeant Ordway received $266.66 and 320 acres in land grants as payment for his services during the expedition. He was discharged from the army after the expedition and used the land grants he received to become a prosperous farmer in southeastern Missouri near New Madrid. Within a year's time he had two plantations under cultivation, peach and apple orchards planted, and good farm buildings constructed. He married around 1807, but his wife Gracey died two years later. He then married a widow named Elizabeth Johnson and fathered two children, Hannah and John.

Ordway's fortunes changed abruptly with the New Madrid earthquakes of 1811-12, some of the most powerful ever to strike North America. In December 1811 triple temblors followed by two others in February 1812 destroyed all of Ordway's farm buildings; "sand volcanoes" and quicksand appeared out of nowhere, ruining his land. By spring of 1812, New Madrid was a ghost town. Ordway's prosperity never returned, and family illness and death beset him. He died of unknown causes around 1817, in his early 40s. His widow Elizabeth married a third time in 1836, never having married, and two children, Hannah and John.

Thomas D. Morgan is a retired United States Army officer who was born at Fort Lewis. A military historian, he lives in Steilacoom and is active in Fort Lewis historical programs.
Northwest Nisei in Tokyo

Impressions of a Seattle-born Japanese-American Serving in Occupied Japan, 1945-46

On a sunny afternoon in October 1945, less than eight weeks after Japan's surrender in World War II, Roy Inui stood on the deck of a United States Victory ship as it steamed toward Yokohama Harbor. The 23-year-old corporal admired the distant beauty of the rolling green hills and peaceful countryside of Japan's Honshu Island. The tranquil scene revealed none of the devastation that Inui had read about in the papers or heard about from other servicemen. He would see it all soon enough.

"After we debarked in Yokohama, we took the train to Tokyo and everything between the two cities was burned down. All you could see were brick chimneys—basically there wasn't anything else left," Inui said in an interview from his home in Sammamish, Washington, where he is retired and lives with his wife Bette. "None of us (in his unit) were in combat so we didn't have any idea how severe the war had been. Hearing stories is one thing. Seeing it for the first time is quite different."

Inui was part of an early wave of United States forces in Japan, a military presence that grew to 250,000 by the time the occupation officially ended in 1952. But Inui was not just another American GI. Yes, he was born in an American city (Seattle), answered to an American name, attended an American university, and thought and behaved like an American. But

ABOVE: On the streets of Nagano City, Japan, Roy Inui (right) and fellow Americans pose with a Japanese youth. Local children were often "adopted" by American GIs and given food, candy, and clothing.
none of that defined him. He was a Japanese American, defined not by where he was born but where his parents were born.

Inui would get a chance to redefine himself as one of more than 5,000 Japanese American linguists recruited by the United States Military Intelligence Service (MIS). They translated Japanese documents captured in combat, interrogated prisoners, wrote propaganda, encouraged Japanese soldiers to surrender, monitored radio broadcasts, and, after the war, served in various capacities in Japan under General Douglas MacArthur.

Inui, whose given name was Hiroshi, is the son of Kikichii and Yoshi Inui, who immigrated to the United States in the early 1920s. As first-generation Japanese Americans, they were known as issei. Their son Roy and daughter Akiko are nisei, or second-generation Americans. The Inuis opened a small store in Seattle, the OK Grocery on Eighth Avenue, between Columbia and Marion Streets, just up the hill from the International District. The store bordered on the predominantly white neighborhood of First Hill, which meant that the Inuis enjoyed a mixed clientele. The family was well-known and respected in the community. In those days, prior to the advent of the "supermarket," people relied on the corner grocery store for their daily needs. Inui, who occasionally worked for his father, recalls the store as a thriving business.

"I remember going with my Dad down to Western Avenue to buy supplies. We didn't have a car, so we'd have to pack all of that stuff up the hill," he said.

Everything changed on February 19, 1942, with the announcement of Executive Order 9066, which called for the internment of all Japanese living on the West Coast. Ironically, Inui was on Bainbridge Island that day, visiting friends during winter break. The large Japanese population on Bainbridge would be the first to be interned. The military issued Inui a pass and escorted him off the island that day. Inui said, "Ever since the bombing [of Pearl Harbor] there was a lot of talk about what was going to happen and about people being interned.... But even though we expected it, it was still a shock."

As a teenager studying business administration at the University of Washington, the curfew bothered Inui the most. "We certainly resented it," Inui said. "I was a student at the university; I was a member of the ROTC; I was a loyal American and felt that I was as good as anyone else. So you do have to ask, 'Why me?'"

A month later the Inui family learned their fate and the resentment grew. They would be among 120,000 Japanese to be carted off to internment camps. In March the Inuis were to be shipped to Camp Harmony, a holding facility at the Puyallup Fairgrounds, and then on to the Minidoka Relocation Center in Hunt, Idaho. A friend operated the OK Grocery in their absence, keeping it open throughout the war. The one remaining question was what would happen to the children. "My parents hoped that they would be the ones that would have to go and not us kids. They felt that because we were nisei and citizens, we should not have to go."

In the end, Roy and Akiko were spared the internment camps. They came under the protection of Floyd Schmoe and the American Friends Service Committee (AFSC), a Quaker pacifist organization. Schmoe initially fought the internment but soon gave up and dedicated the next few years of his life to "rescuing" young Japanese from the camps. He quit his job as a professor of forestry at the University of Washington and moved into the AFSC offices across the street from the campus. Inui does not remember how he got hooked up with Schmoe, but in May he, Akiko, and three friends were on a train to North Carolina. Schmoe had gotten them enrolled in Guilford College, a small Quaker school near Greensboro.

"I remember family friends taking us to the train station. We needed a pass to travel, and the army paid our transportation all the way to North Carolina," Inui said.

By 1944 the military, in need of Japanese translators, relaxed its restrictions on enlisting nisei. Inui joined the army and attended basic training in Anniston, Alabama. From there...
he was sent to the MIS Language School at Fort Snelling, south of Minneapolis. The course was cut from six months to three due to a dire need for more linguists. “Most of us had a fairly good speaking knowledge of Japanese because we spoke it at home, but our reading skills were not that strong,” Inui said. On August 28, 1945, Inui departed for the Pacific on the Victory ship, Storm King. He went first to Manila before heading north to Japan in October (Inui does not recall the exact date) with the Allied Translators and Interpreters Section (ATIS).

During Inui’s brief but memorable 10 months in Japan, he witnessed the worst sort of destruction and human suffering; he saw entire cities that had been reduced to ashes by the fire bombing; and he saw women and children left homeless and suffering from malnutrition. Most of all he developed respect for a Japanese ideal, and set about rebuilding their country.

The bombs that rained down on Tokyo during the last year of the war turned a vibrant city into a charred landscape. “Japanese homes are built very close together. They’re basically wood construction. So once you start burning a few of those buildings, there’s no way you can stop it. The only buildings that remained were all steel and concrete,” Inui noted.

In *MacArthur’s Japan*, Russell Brines writes of how the Japanese slums “vanished in a welter of ashes and broken rubbish, lending Tokyo at the war’s end an unfamiliar air of cleanliness and depth. Everything had been flattened for miles between Yokohama and Tokyo and in the outlying districts of the capital.” About a third of Japan’s factories and half of its dwellings were destroyed (2.2 million total and 700,000 in Tokyo). Estimates published by the American military reveal the human toll of the war: 2.7 million Japanese killed, 4.5 million injured, and 9 million homeless and seriously malnourished.

Inui said American bombers deliberately avoided the Imperial grounds and adjacent government buildings. “That part of town wasn’t touched at all, but everything surrounding it was pretty much demolished. I think our air force did a very good job bombing Japan. The gossip was that we spared the major office buildings because we wanted to use them for occupation.” (Inui is right in principle, the American air forces tried to avoid the Imperial grounds, but they were partially damaged during one raid.)

Inui was transferred to Nagano City, a five-hour train ride northwest of Tokyo. There he interpreted for the United States medical officer, whose job was to collect all of the medical supplies and medications held by the Japanese military and redistribute them to civilians. “We called on all the hospitals in the prefecture. We handed out a lot of antidotes

ABOVE: The 1945 graduating class of the Military Intelligence Service Language School, Company F, at Fort Snelling near Minneapolis. After graduation, Roy Inui was transferred to the Philippines and later to Japan.

BELOW: Following Executive Order 9066, which called for the relocation of all people of Japanese ancestry, authorities put up posters like this one throughout Japanese communities in Seattle.

INSTRUCTIONS TO ALL PERSONS OF JAPANESE ANCESTRY

Living in the Following Area:

All that portion of the City of Seattle, State of Washington, lying generally north of an east-west line beginning at the point at which Jackson Street meets Elliott Bay; thence southeasterly along Elliott Bay to Fifth Avenue; thence westerly on Fifth Avenue to Duwamish Way; thence westerly on Duwamish Way to Lake Washington.

Pursuant to the provisions of Civilian Exclusion Order No. 18, this Headquarters, dated April 24, 1942, all persons of Japanese ancestry, both alien and non-alien, will be evacuated from the above area by 12 o’clock noon.

No Japanese person living in the above area will be permitted to change residence after 12 o’clock noon, P. W. T., Friday, April 24, 1942, without obtaining special permission from the representative of the Commanding General, Seventh Army, at the Civil Control Station located at:

1319 Rainier Avenue, Seattle, Washington.

COLUMBIA 33 WINTER 2005-06
for diseases like typhus and smallpox. A lot of people were undernourished. They had lice and ticks. We passed out a lot of DDT and spray equipment.”

Signs of hunger and malnutrition were everywhere—stick-thin women and children, milling about or waiting in long lines for meager rations. Recalling a chaotic scene at a Tokyo train station, Inui said, “People would line up for hours at a time trying to get tickets and get on board these trains to go out in the countryside and buy food. The inside of these cars would be jammed. There would be people standing between the cars; they’d even be in the coal cars just behind the engine, sitting on top of the coal.”

Food was a valued commodity. Inui would take it with him when visiting friends or when walking around the city. “I remember going sightseeing. We’d pick up a few candy bars at the PX, something for us to munch on. Oftentimes we’d see these little kids, and we’d give them candy. The parents would tell us that the kids hadn’t had any candy for years. The stores had very little merchandise in them.”

Inui remembers Japanese soldiers bringing home the cremated remains of fellow soldiers killed in combat. “They’d have these small boxes or urns filled with the remains of soldiers. They’d have a white cloth hanging around their necks and they’d be carrying these urns, waiting at the train station to turn over the remains to the families.”

The friendliness of the Japanese people and their ready acceptance of Americans impressed Inui, who came to Japan expecting to be hated or, worse, attacked by women and children brandishing homemade weapons:

I was told that they had bamboo spears. They didn’t have guns, the ammunition had been pretty much depleted. But the Japanese military had spread propaganda that the American soldiers would rape the women. I remember the women all wore knicker-unders that came clear down to their ankles so it would be harder for the GIs to rape them.

It didn’t take long for respect and kindness to replace the fear. “As a general rule, the American soldiers were extremely sympathetic and understanding and very kind. I can say we were very well accepted. The Japanese I met were thankful that they were occupied by Americans and not the Russians.” People of Japanese descent wearing American uniforms drew long looks from locals. “You could hear people talking amongst themselves. ‘Hey, I think he’s Japanese!’ I don’t think they had any inkling that there were Japanese Americans serving in the U.S. forces. But they learned soon enough.”

Many Japanese were still in shock that they’d lost the war. The first certain sign of defeat was Emperor Hirohito’s national radio broadcast on August 15, 1945—that by itself a historic first. Addressing his “good and loyal subjects,” the emperor said Japan would “accept the provisions of the Potsdam Declaration,” the conditions of Japan’s surrender drawn up by the Allied Powers. He spoke of the “new and most cruel bomb,” which had flattened Hiroshima and Nagasaki. “Should we continue to fight, it would not only result in an ultimate collapse and the obliteration of the Japanese nation, but also it would lead to the total extinction of human civilization.”

Inui recalled, “Until the bombs were dropped on Hiroshima and Nagasaki, the military continued to tell the population that it was possible for Japan to win the war. No one really expected Japan to surrender until the emperor made that speech that the war was over. So the people felt that they had been fooled or deceived by the military.” The Japanese word for the deception, Inui learned, was damakasareta.

Once the Japanese recovered from the shock of defeat, they quickly accepted their fate, said Inui. “They were obviously disheartened that they had lost the war. But it’s the Japanese nature; when they were told by the emperor that the war had been lost, they accepted that. Their main concern then was to get their lives back in order and try to rebuild the country.”

There are many explanations for how the Japanese evolved from defiance to shame to total acceptance of American occupation. Inui credits the Japanese “nature.” Historians cite Japanese respect for authority and obedience to the emperor. John Dower, in Embracing Defeat, describes a “populace sick of war, contemptuous of the militarists who had led them to
disaster." Kazuo Kawai, in Japan's American Interlude, points to the "thoroughness" of Japan's defeat:

Their world as they had known it had collapsed. Not only were their cities in ruin, their economy shattered and their manpower mangled and strewn over nearly half the globe, but the dreams of national greatness which had sustained their spirits had evaporated. They were disillusioned, demoralized and paralyzed.

In July 1946 lnui was discharged and returned to Seattle, giving no thought to reenlistment. "Military life was too restrictive for me," he said. Post-war America is viewed as a land of opportunity and growth, but for a Japanese American in 1946, war veteran or not, opportunities were limited. Jobs were scarce as tens of thousands of former GIs flooded the labor market. lnui sidestepped that problem by reenrolling at the University of Washington.

Racial prejudice, however, would be harder to avoid. Even in total victory over Japan, some white Americans were slow to forgive. "There was definitely some of it [prejudice]," lnui said. "Although I didn't run into much of it. I remember going into a restaurant [in Seattle] and they wouldn't wait on us. So we finally got the signal and just left."

lnui earned a bachelor's degree in business administration in 1948. Later that year he married Bette, and the couple eventually had two children. lnui went to work for C. T. Takahashi who, after returning from the internment camps, opened an export-import business. They traded Northwest lumber for Japanese "sundry items" such as toys, binoculars, and canned goods. That was the beginning of a 30-year career in exporting mostly coal, iron ore, and other raw materials that would help fuel Japan's industrial growth and position of prominence in the global economy.

Business took lnui back to Japan in 1948, and he was amazed at the transformation brought about in just two years. "When I was riding in that train (in 1945) from Yokohama to Tokyo and looked at that devastation, I thought it would be a generation before it was rebuilt. I felt that very strongly, but it didn't take very long for Japan to rebuild."

lnui credits the Korean and Vietnam wars with boosting the Japanese economy. "I think those wars played a major role on the road back to reconstruction," he said. Supporting this thesis, historian Mary Hanneman has written that the rise of communism in Asia caused America to "reverse course," from remaking Japan into a "relatively weak agrarian economy" to "building Japan into an economic powerhouse that would serve as a bulwark against communism in East Asia."

Interestingly, lnui's reaction to his experiences in Japan was at the time distinctly "American," he said. As a Japanese, it would have been easy to justify mixed feelings about what happened or very different feelings from those of white servicemen. His parents were reared in Niigata Prefecture, and his aunt and uncle still lived there. He had visited them and seen what they had to endure. But, nisei or not, lnui was all American:

You hate to see anybody suffer—enemy or friend. But I didn't think of it as my 'homeland' that had been bombed, and I certainly didn't feel any guilt.... If it hadn't been for the Japanese bombing Pearl Harbor, the life of my parents and other Japanese would have turned out quite differently and the internment might not have happened."

Inui also believes Japanese American contributions in the war helped overcome the prejudice that led to the internment:

When I got back I wondered what there was for me in this country. But I think over the years our military service helped to prove we were loyal Americans. We certainly are well accepted today, and I'm thankful for that. My children and grandchildren have had every opportunity to lead a decent life in this country. People don't seem to be as concerned with people's color any more. You're accepted for what you are as an individual. Having gone into the service was very beneficial—at least for the young people."

lnui feels that much of what he has today is due to the kindness of Dr. Floyd Schmoe, the pacifist who kept him out of the camps. Schmoe dedicated his life to helping others and became a world-respected humanitarian, peace activist, and environmentalist. After the war, he went to Japan and built homes for the people in Hiroshima and Nagasaki. He later extended his humanitarian efforts in South Korea, Africa, and the Middle East. He was awarded Japan's highest civilian honor in 1988, the prestigious Order of the Sacred Treasure of the Emperor, and was nominated for the Nobel Peace Prize four times (1994-97). He led the effort to build the Seattle Peace Park in 1991. Schmoe died in 2001 at the age of 105.

lnui eventually met Schmoe and took the opportunity to thank him. "I really was shocked that he remembered helping me," he said. "He was one of a number of very brave individuals who came to our aid during the war.... These people should be remembered."

So, too, should lnui and the thousands of other Americans of Japanese descent who silenced the drums of fear and prejudice in 1941 and 1942. They helped to restore peace in the world and lay the groundwork for what is now a 57-year alliance between Japan and the United States.

David Jepsen is a graduate student in history at the University of Washington where his focus is on the American West as well as the United States in the 19th century.
In 1897, when James Hamilton Lewis entered the United States House of Representatives to take his seat as the newly elected congressman from Washington, the eastern newsmen were surprised that he was not clad in an old mackinaw and scruffy lumberjack boots. In fact, they were flabbergasted. So were other members, the leadership, and visitors in the gallery. Lewis was so sartorially immaculate that the most powerful man in the House promptly certified him as a bona fide "dude."

Dude? Perhaps. But certainly not a hick, even if he was from the sticks. Actually, Ham Lewis was a southern gentleman, so polite that he removed his hat while talking to women—even on the telephone.

Lewis got along well with his congressional colleagues and seemed to be entering into a promising political career. But his popularity back in "the other Washington" faded almost as fast as it had risen, and he was turned out of office after a single term. Smart enough to know when he was not wanted, Lewis packed up his fancy duds and law books and moved to Chicago, where he not only enjoyed a brilliant career as an attorney but also as a Democratic politician.

Why Lewis did not survive as a politician in Washington is something of a mystery. He was intelligent, well-educated and an excellent orator. Perhaps his downfall was the fact that he was a "dude." This was in the days before women had the right to vote, so his popularity with that sector did not count for much. Flannel shirts, unpolished boots, and rough wool pants or denim overalls made up the dress code for most Westerners. Fancy duds were for railroad executives, bankers, undertakers, card sharks, and bridegrooms. Calling someone a "dandy" was not a compliment. Any man who wore a clean collar each day was highly suspect.

Nevertheless, in 1885, when he arrived in Seattle from Savannah, Georgia, where he attended law school, Lewis, a natural politician, found a way to fit in to the rough-and-tumble atmosphere that pervaded in frontier towns. Realizing there was little demand for his profession—the practice of law—Lewis turned to teaching rhetoric at the infant University of Washington. This made him acceptable to what then passed for the upper crust. At the same time, he moonlighted as a stevedore on the docks and marched as a private in the Seattle Rifles when that militia was mustered during the anti-Chinese riots. This earned him the respect of the working man, not to mention bartenders and ward heelers.

In 1892 Lewis was picked by the upper echelon of the state Democratic Party to run for governor against Republican incumbent John H. McGraw. But when a coalition of country cousins from the "cow counties" rallied behind an alternate candidate, J. M. Frink, Lewis was dumped to prevent a party split.

The local political hot potato of the day was public financing of a canal to link Seattle's Lake Washington with Puget Sound. Like most Seattleites, Lewis was in favor of the state paying for the "ditch." Frink, a resident of Seattle's arch rival, Tacoma, contended the "city slickers" should finance the canal with local taxes. Frink lost to McGraw; Lewis joined the People's Party and as a Populist won one of the state's two at-large House of Representatives seats.
Instead of the roughneck they expected when Lewis arrived in the capital, Eastern newspaper reporters saw, as the New York Times headlined, "A THING OF BEAUTY." The Times account described Lewis as "a vision of loveliness, so to speak, for he was spotlessly and exquisitely arrayed." The story continued: "From pointed patent leather shoes to carefully parted auburn hair, he was a thing of beauty and, let's hope, a joy forever."

The reporter said Lewis's "light trousers were carefully creased until they would cut paper." He wore a Prince Albert coat, "smoothly pressed," and a white martingale about his neck. "And underneath his waistcoat," the account added, "his shirt front was hidden beneath a puff tie of rich and shiny blue silk. His dainty hands were encased in a pair of bright yellow gloves, and his face was covered with whiskers of the same color."

Speaker Tom Reed, taking his cue from the Times account, described Lewis as "a thing of beauty and a jaw forever." And when Representative Champ Clark declared Lewis "the greatest dude in the United States," Lewis became famous nationwide because Clark, through Reed, ran the House with an iron fist and a glib tongue. But alas, to the folks back home Lewis was neither a joy nor the "jaw" they wanted to represent them, and after one term he was turned out.

Lewis maintained that his defeat for reelection was actually "a blessing in disguise." Otherwise, he explained, he might never have gotten into Illinois politics, which he relished. One of his first acts was to leave the dying Populist movement and rejoin the Democrats who then dominated the Chicago political scene. His law business thrived, and he accumulated enough clout to win a Senate seat in 1912. The backlash against President Woodrow Wilson's international policies cost the Democrats dearly in the 1918 elections, and Lewis again found himself a loser after only one term.

During the Roaring Twenties, Lewis tended to his lucrative law practice, but politics was still his passion. Because of the stockmarket crash of 1929 and a growing resentment against Prohibition, Republicans lost eight Senate seats in the 1930 elections. Lewis was one of the Democratic winners. He resumed his seat on March 4, 1931, and became a key player in President Franklin D. Roosevelt's efforts to stem the Great Depression with such programs as Social Security, the National Labor Relations Act and the Agriculture Adjustment Act. At the time of his death, on April 9, 1939, Ham Lewis was the majority party whip. It was a job, joked his fellow senators, for which Lewis's pointy patent leather shoes came in mighty handy.

Eldon Barrett is a freelance writer living in Bellingham. He covered Washington politics and the state legislature for 26 years. More recently he was a columnist and feature writer for the Bellingham Herald.
The Kendall Katwalk

"The Hardest Piece of Trail Ever Built"

By Michael Egan

The surface of the earth is soft and impressible by the feet of men; and so with the paths which the mind travels.

—Henry David Thoreau

One hour east of Seattle at Snoqualmie Pass, Interstate 90 crosses the Pacific Crest Trail, a hiking trail that runs from Canada to Mexico along the crest of the coastal mountain ranges. Compared with I-90, it is a very different—almost primitive—sort of thoroughway. North of the pass, the Pacific Crest Trail winds its way towards Stevens Pass through some of the most spectacular and accessible designated wilderness in the Pacific Northwest. Some 2,400 feet above Snoqualmie Pass, six miles along the trail, the hiker confronts the Kendall Katwalk, an amazing strip of trail cliff drops almost vertically several hundred feet.

While the vistas are positively stunning (on clear days), the very existence of the trail through this fragile area provokes questions over trail construction, forest management, and wilderness ethics. Its planning and construction in the 1970s were marked with flashes of design and engineering brilliance, tragedy, and more than a little controversy. In many respects, the Kendall Katwalk is among the first "modern" or futuristic wilderness trails in the Pacific Northwest. Prior to its construction, no engineering feat of this magnitude had been attempted in Washington's designated wilderness areas.

Trails represent some of the earliest marks that humans have scratched and worn into the face of the earth. Trails connected places where people had reasons to go; they were paths between villages and to sources of food and water, or routes that followed animal migration patterns. Trail locations were often so practical that many were widened to allow passage for livestock, then wagons, then railroads, and, during the 20th century, automobiles. As a result of aggressive industrialization in the 19th and 20th centuries, Americans sought refuge from the intensity of their new urban lives by turning to landscapes that remained free of mechanization.

While the trail concept has changed in tune with technological advancement, the 20th century witnessed a renewed interest in the primitive trail as an avenue for pedestrian recreation. Reconstructing the history of the Kendall Katwalk also raises questions about our ideas of "natural" trails and wilderness experiences. The recreational trail is at once a natural, cultural, and technological phenomenon, yet we invariably only perceive trails as conduits through which we might experience nature.

Despite their apparent simplicity, the construction of modern recreational trails providing paths into wilderness areas is more complicated than simply cutting a route up mountainsides and through trees. As outdoor recreation developed and grew in the Pacific Northwest around the beginning of the 20th century, it became clear that the climate and geography of the region simply did not suit the kinds of trails enthusiasts had scrambled up in regions like the Northeast.

As tourists from the northeastern cities began hiking in the Catskills, White Mountains, Green Mountains, and Adirondacks, hotel landlords cut pathways up the sides of nearby peaks so that guests could scramble to the top and have a look around. The routes taken by these trails were steep, often ascending in a straight line from valley to summit. The acute angles of the trails made erosion inevitable, and topsoil invariably washed away, leaving the granite beneath as a more durable hiking surface.

It is a simple rule in trail construction: steeper trails result in more severe erosion. In the much wetter Cascade Range—and, it should be noted, on bigger mountains—problems of erosion were not so easily ignored. The soils in the Cascades were subject to much greater amounts of precipitation. The wear of feet tramping on these soft soils would have been absolutely disastrous on any kind of vertical trail. Whereas vertical trails in the Northeast catered to the recreationist's desire to get to the top of the mountain, horizontal trails, which climbed more gradually, were an ecological necessity in the Pacific Northwest. Attaining the summit may have been the chief northeastern ambition, but in the Pacific Northwest, emphasis was put on the process—not simply the attainment of the goal, but the journey itself. The scrambling that was so popular in the East necessarily became hiking in the West.

Trails were vital conduits for outdoor recreation, but they also served a critical role in stimulating sympathy for wilderness protection. When Clinton C. Clarke first conceived of his plan to spearhead a hiking trail that ran from Canada to Mexico along the Pacific Crest, he hoped to foster the same kind of wilderness protection that Benton MacKaye had attained in the establishment of the Appalachian Trail. Clarke sought to tie together a series of new and existing trails.
Elmo Warren’s team carving (and eventually blasting) the rock at the crossover from west (l) of Kendall Peak to east (r).
The Katwalk continues straight on from this picture.
into a contiguous whole that he wanted to name the John Muir trail after the great naturalist and founder of the Sierra Club. While the name gained considerable support from California outdoor recreation groups, it was less popular to mountaineering clubs in Washington and Oregon. In a letter dated October 19, 1934, Dr. Harold C. Bryant of the Sierra Club suggested that Clarke find an alternate name for the trail, proposing the Cascade Sierra Trail, the High Pacific Trail, and the Pacific Crest Trail. Clarke adopted the last of these three.

Unlike Benton MacKaye and the Appalachian Trail, Clarke is not universally recognized as the father of the Pacific Crest Trail. Indeed, many felt that Catherine Montgomery of Bellingham introduced the first discussion of a continuous trail from Canada to Mexico in 1926. The idea caught on, and when Fred W. Cleator became supervisor of recreation for the Forest Service's Pacific Northwest division in 1928, he began to develop what was then called the Cascade Crest Trail by making additions to the Skyline Trail in Oregon and connecting it to trails in southern Washington. Regardless of the trail's origins, the intent was consistent. Trail construction offers two benefits to nature protection. First, trails reduce the ecological impact of humans visiting fragile landscapes; and second, trails make wilderness experiences accessible to more people, thereby arousing the desire to join the crusade to protect wild nature. Contributing to the cultivation of environmental sensibilities, trails were intentionally routed and designed to provide as many panoramic views and vistas as possible for the hiker. In so doing, the wilderness movement gained support, but also significantly qualified or made problematic the popular image of wilderness as something necessary, scenic and pertaining to human aesthetic interests.

Instead was the question over scenic value that prompted the relocation of the Pacific Crest Trail and the construction of the Kendall Katwalk after the passage of the National Scenic Trails Act in 1968. Earlier, in 1928, the United States Forest Service had begun conducting surveys of the high country in the interest of constructing a connected trail system through Washington state. In 1935 the Forest Service completed a thorough reconnaissance of the whole route of what was then known as the Cascade Crest Trail, stretching from the Canadian border to the Columbia River.

The survey counted 531 miles of trail, most of it in National Forest lands along the Cascade Crest, but it was hardly a contiguous trail. Rather, it was an unconnected series of haphazard trails carved out by indigenous people, trappers, miners, stockmen, foresters, and animals prior to the trail's conception. The initial trail location analysis made by the Forest Service in the 1930s proposed a quick climb from Snoqualmie Pass, up Kendall Peak, and across the crest line. The trail would then zigzag past several lakes on the east side of the crest on its way to Waptus Pass.

Interestingly, this first location analysis is not significantly different from the trail that exists today. Due to a series of factors likely relating to safety and cost, the 1935 location analysis was rejected and an alternate route on the west side of the crest was chosen. While the trail that was actually built proved easier, safer, and less expensive to construct, problems with the location would plague the Cascade Crest Trail until it was moved in the 1970s.

From a scenic point of view, the trail lacked panoramic vistas as it followed the Middle Fork of the Snoqualmie River many hundred feet below the crest line. Writing in the Mountaineer Annual in 1954, Joseph T. Hazard wondered about "the Crest Trails finding better country" through this area. While scenic vistas had long been of vital importance to the National Park Service, the Forest Service's emphasis was still on safety; in a 1950 "Recreation Resource Plan" for the Snoqualmie National Forest, the plan insisted that "basic needs are safety rather than aesthetic appeal."

The more significant problem, however, was the need for annual maintenance work in that same area because the trail was invariably wiped out each spring by snowslides. This recurring—and unavoidable—problem with the trail's location was the main factor contributing to its relocation in the 1970s. The cost of annual maintenance proved too great and the opportunity to raise the trail to the crest was welcomed by the 1960s. With funds from the National Trails System Act and technological advancements in trail construction practices in the decades since construction of the old Cascade Crest Trail, it was now possible to achieve safety as well as aesthetic appeal.

The 1968 National Scenic Trail Act required that much of the Washington section of the Pacific Crest Trail receive a lift, both figuratively and literally. While the trail's standards had been revised and significant portions of the trail needed extensive maintenance, it was deemed that much of it had to be relocated out of the heavily used valleys and closer to the mountain range's crest. Over the next ten years more than half of the Pacific Crest Trail between Stevens Pass and Snoqualmie Pass was relocated to more scenic high country. Indeed, the trail's landscape was to change in order to adapt to the new legislative environment of American wilderness policy, which catered as much to aesthetic values as it did to environmental protection.

The first location analysis for the new Pacific Crest Trail that included the Kendall Katwalk was submitted in September 1971. The joint project, shared by the staffs of the Snoqualmie National Forest and the Wenatchee National Forest, relocated the trail to near the actual crest in order to meet the directives set out by Congress. While the old route stayed almost exclusively within Snoqualmie National Forest, the proposed new trail snaked its way back and forth between the two forests. As a result, the section from Snoqualmie Pass to Ridge Lake "was mutually agreed to be the responsibility of the Snoqualmie and the next section, from Ridge Lake to Deception Pass, the responsibility of the Wenatchee," since these sections of the trail lay primarily in the national forest in charge.
This is the view of the Cascade Mountains looking east from the Kendall Katwalk. Construction of this section of the Pacific Crest Trail raised questions about trail ecology, forest management practices, and wilderness ethics.

The 1971 location analysis recommended a route that was virtually identical to the original 1935 suggestion, which had been rejected. The 1971 plan would require some difficult and expensive construction but would keep the trail as close to the crest as possible. In an effort to meet the Pacific Crest Trail's location criteria as laid out by Congress, the basic route plan climbed out of the timbered bottomland quickly, using switchbacks to gain elevation while limiting the risks of erosion, and traversed the last three and a half miles to Ridge Lake in true alpine country.

The only major concern in the location analysis was how to cross from the western side of the crest on the Snoqualmie side to the Wenatchee National Forest on the eastern side. No ideal place for this crossing of the crest could be found that also adhered to the congressional stipulation that the trail climb quickly from the pass. Making this transition would require ingenious planning and original engineering. Both were realized in the construction of the Kendall Katwalk, which contractor Elmo Warren would call "the hardest piece of trail ever built."

Even before the trail was contracted, Forest Service planners recognized the difficulties involved with their chosen route. In the location analysis study, the short stretch from mile 6 to mile 6.1—what would become the Katwalk—consumed a significant part of their description. The difficulty in the construction was twofold. First, in order to traverse the crest, a significant block of stone would have to be blasted. Initial planning suggested that instead of clearing the rock, a tunnel could be built through it. Questions then arose regarding how to keep the tunnel free of snow; snow in the tunnel likely would not melt even in the height of summer. Putting doors on either side of the tunnel was recommended, but engineers then pondered how to ensure that the doors stayed shut while the interior of the tunnel remained lit. Ultimately, such plans were scrapped in favor of blasting the passage from the west to the east side of the crest.

The problem of crossing the crest, however, paled in comparison to the problems involved with then progressing 600 feet along the cliff face toward Mount Thompson. Warren and his team accepted the contract to mark and blast the rock and build the Katwalk. The previous summer Warren and his team had rebuilt the trail from Snoqualmie Pass up to the Katwalk. They settled the second summer at Gravel Lake, on the west side of the crest, at the northern end of the contract; their gear was airlifted in by helicopter. Another helicopter flew in and dropped beer bottles full of red paint along the cliff face to mark where the trail was to go. Warren had 1,000 feet of cable packed by mule up along the newly built trail to the Katwalk. Using 80-pound, gas-driven Pionjar drills, which only drilled holes 1¼ inches deep, Warren and his crew began slowly making progress across the cliff's face. Over the space of the entire season, the Katwalk began to take shape. Eventually, Warren and his team had created a six-foot-wide trail along some 600 feet of cliff.

Construction on the new Pacific Crest Trail, however, was not free of hazards or tragedy. Ironically, the Katwalk—the most dangerous and difficult strip—was built easily enough, but just north of the Katwalk, at Ridge Lake, serious injuries and one fatality occurred on a trail section contracted to Sprague Brothers Construction Company of Eugene, Oregon. In August 1975 two young crewmen slipped from an eight-inch pioneer trail and pitched headlong over a cliff and onto a rockfall. Both suffered serious injuries and needed to be rescued by helicopter.

The following year Sprague Brothers suffered a tragedy when in early September James Watson was clearing rock from the trail after dynamite had blasted a route through the cliffs. Without warning, the wall above him came loose and swept him off the trail and onto the rocks below. With Watson's death, Sprague Brothers despaired and stopped
The 600-foot Katwalk (altitude: 5,400 feet), just over five miles from Snoqualmie Pass, cost approximately $10,000 per foot to build.

work for the season. They refused to finish the job until this dangerous segment was relocated.

The Forest Service resurveyed a 2,000-foot route from what has become known as Watson Pass to a point several hundred feet below where Watson was killed. This route crossed a mining claim, and right-of-way was difficult to acquire. Instead, the Forest Service asked if Sprague Brothers would be willing to “sub out” this stretch of their contract. Sprague was more than relieved to get rid of it. Warren started work on that section in late July 1977 and finished by mid September, thus completing the final stage of the new Pacific Crest Trail.

The decision to build the Katwalk and its design were far from universally agreed upon. Uriel L. Corbin, the regional trails supervisor in Portland, opposed the Katwalk’s construction on the grounds that it was both expensive and unsafe. Corbin, a longtime ally of and advocate of the Pacific Crest Trail, preferred improving the old trail and introducing new techniques that might make the trail better able to withstand the snowslides that destroyed it on an annual basis. Corbin also expressed concerns about snow levels at the high altitude but finally conceded after Larry Barrett, the forest supervisor for Snoqualmie National Forest, insisted it was the only proper route.

Many outdoor enthusiasts familiar with the area also expressed surprise and concern about the Forest Service’s recommendations, fearing that the inevitable popularity of the trail—given its relative proximity to Seattle—would endanger the ecological integrity of the beautiful but fragile alpine meadows the trail proposed to cross just before reaching the Katwalk. Recreationists from the Seattle area assumed the new trail would follow Gold Creek up to the crest, an easier incline leading away from the alpine meadows. Gold Creek reached the crest just before Huckleberry Mountain but beyond the Katwalk, thereby removing a major engineering obstacle from the trail’s construction. Indeed, at least one contractor was so concerned about the location—both the ecological harm to the meadow and the danger of building the Katwalk—that he refused to submit a bid.

In retrospect, Corbin’s misgivings about the trail location were justified. Even though he bowed to pressure from Barrett and other local rangers and foresters, Corbin’s concerns over cost and safety should perhaps have been taken more seriously. The Kendall Katwalk was certainly expensive; estimates suggest that the 600-foot Katwalk cost as much as $10,000 per foot. Corbin’s other concerns have been equally recognized as the Katwalk regularly opens late in the season due to poor weather conditions and excessive snow. Nevertheless, the Kendall Katwalk is a remarkable engineering feat. While the cost of its construction was high, the costs for subsequent maintenance and reconstruction have been negligible. Because it is above treeline and has flat trail bolstered on either side by solid rock to reduce erosion, there has been almost no maintenance required on the Katwalk in the past 20 years. In effect, the Katwalk is an archetype of the ideal trail for the coastal Pacific Northwest from the perspective of land managers. It is durable to weather conditions and the high volume of foot traffic. As an open cliff face, the Katwalk also allows for ample breathtaking scenery.

Blasted as it was across the face of the cliff, one might question the “natural” appearance of the Kendall Katwalk in designated wilderness. The use of machinery in its construction seems to violate concepts of wild nature, but of course the issue is more complicated than that. Does the quality of the trail, its likelihood for longevity, and its relative cost-effectiveness make up for this seeming aberration of the spirit of federal wilderness legislation, which prohibits the use of mechanized or motorized equipment in wilderness areas? Can any work in the wilderness really be justified if “wilderness” is to be recognized as such? But trail construction might be excused on the grounds that it is for the greater good. Given the growing popularity of outdoor recreation, recreationists will explore wilderness with or without trails, so the trail ensures that increased visitation is safe and reduces the ecological impact of foot traffic on the fragile soils. As Clinton C. Clarke noted, allowing for greater access to natural areas might help increase support for further protection of the region’s natural and beautiful landscapes.

Michael Egan, a native of Vancouver, British Columbia, is assistant professor in the history of science, technology, and the environment at McMaster University in Hamilton, Ontario.
CORRESPONDENCE

One Big Union Addendum

"One Big Union" (p. 17) in the Fall 2005 COLUMBIA caught my eye because my father had briefly been a Wobbly in his teens just after World War I. The caption correctly states that "the history of the IWW is intimately connected with the history of our state..." but does not mention that Ralph Chaplin, who wrote the most widely known IWW song, "Solidarity Forever" (1915), spent his later years as a curator at the Washington State Historical Society. I learned that fact at a WSHS exhibit shortly after the new museum opened in 1996. It is worth noting that 2005 is the centennial year of the IWW (International Workers of the World), which maintains a shadow existence with an office in Chicago and publishes an updated edition of the IWW song book, popularly known as "The Little Red Song Book." Ralph Chaplin's hymn is given priority of place in that small volume. That song has been used frequently to open meetings of Canada's New Democratic Party. When I was teaching at a Canadian university late in the 20th century I was amused, as Ralph Chaplin might have been, to be at a meeting that opened with "God Save the Queen" followed by "Solidarity Forever."

—Mark Levinson, Edmonds

Yellowstone or Westslope Cutthroat?

I must take exception to a statement in Dennis D. Dauble's article in the Fall 2005 issue of COLUMBIA (p. 20): "One species of trout, now known as the Yellowstone cutthroat, was readily collected by Lewis and Clark 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....'"

There were, however, no Yellowstone cutthroat in the Lemhi, Salmon, or upper Missouri. The native species known as the Westslope cutthroat trout is a separate subspecies of cutthroat. The Yellowstone cutthroat trout occupies the Yellowstone drainage as far downstream as the mouth of the Bighorn River and the upper Snake drainage from Yellowstone National Park downstream to Shoshone Falls. Lewis and Clark encountered the Westslope cutthroat on their travels through Montana and Idaho.

—Chris Brozell, Dillon, Montana

Author's response:

"This is a nomenclature issue that relates to subspecies identification. The bottom line is that the cutthroat trout were found and that Lewis and Clark called them "mountain" or "speckled" trout."

—Dennis D. Dauble

Additional Reading

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

Erskine Scott Wood


Figureheads of State


Paul Robeson at Blaine


Sergeant John Ordway


Northwest Nisei in Tokyo


The Kendall Katwalk


From the 1920s to the 1970s Seattle son Melvin Levy fashioned a writing career like none other. From writing for the left-wing magazine *The Nation*, to writing for the TV series *Charlie's Angels*, he worked in nearly every genre—fiction, drama, journalism, screenplays, and teleplays. And among his body of work appears one of the most outlandish Seattle novels ever written, *The Last Pioneers*, which exposes the city’s history for what he saw it to be—a vice- and scandal-ridden muddle.

Born in 1902, Levy taught at the Temple de Hirsch on Pike Street while earning his bachelor’s and master’s degrees in English at the University of Washington. After turning in his master’s thesis, titled “Art and Anarchy,” approved by legendary UW professor Frederick Morgan Padelford, Levy bolted for New York to seek his literary fortune.

In quick succession he published two novels, *Matrix* (1926) and *Wedding* (1927). Reviewers of *Matrix* pointed to Levy’s youthful promise as a writer but found the novel formless. *Wedding* did not fare much better, though one reviewer complimented it for containing “the most carnal-minded writing I know of in American literature.”

During the late 1920s Melvin Levy returned periodically to Seattle to visit his parents, who lived on Queen Anne Hill. This may be when he began to form the idea for his next novel. Levy had grown up in the heyday of the “Seattle Spirit,” the era of the Golden Potlatch Parade, the Daughters of the Pioneers, and a series of popular Seattle histories written by descendents of pioneers.

In 1934 Levy published *The Last Pioneers*, which depicts the unflattering history of a city that had been whitewashed by the glorification of its pioneer past. In this wild, often unwieldy novel, Levy savages the men upon whom Seattle historian William C. Speidel based his book *Sons of the Profits*, the scheming, corruptible city leaders who marshaled Seattle into the 20th century (yesteryear’s version of Fred Moody’s *Seattle and the Demons of Ambition*).

To make his point, Levy takes liberties with the historical record that would make film director Oliver Stone blush. After one of the main characters, Herman Merro, makes his way from Poland to Nome, Alaska, he becomes a song-and-dance man, cheats miners of their gold poke, and hightails it down to Puget, the author’s homologue for Seattle, at the time little more than a village. This is when Levy lets rip on Seattle history.

Through his fast-and-dirty land deals, Herman Merro befriends Paul Dexter (read Dexter Horton, Seattle’s pioneer banker, as in The Dexter Horton Building). Paul Dexter’s bank pits itself against the town’s other major business interest, Drake Lumber Mill (read Yesler’s Mill). In place of Asa Mercer and his Mercer Girls, Levy gives us Joe Sorrenson, who opens a brothel called Puget House with a shipload of prostitutes recruited from back east. In place of Doc Maynard, Seattle’s first physician and friend to Chief Sealth, Levy offers up Doc Maxson, an abortionist.

Levy’s most historically accurate portrayal is of Mick Delea, the stand-in for Hiram C. Gill, legal counsel to Seattle prostitutes, city council member, and two-term mayor. Like “Hi” Gill, Delea is elected mayor on an “open-town” platform that allows unrestricted gambling, drinking, and prostitution. Along with his corrupt chief of police, he oversees the city’s rampant vice. When a zealot preacher succeeds in having him recalled, Mick Delea retreats into seclusion, only to return six years later and win reelection on an anti-vice platform.

Throughout the Mick Delea episode, Levy makes clear that the real power resides with Paul Dexter, the philandering banker, and his long-time friend Herman Merro, the confidence-
man-turned-real-estate-magnate. To Dexter, the city is merely a means to exercise his crass ambition—"a new field, a new world...spread out before men like him. Men who could know it and take it."

As if to deflate the city of its prideful ways, Levy ruthlessly satirizes Seattle's pioneer legacy and the self-made men who became the city's leaders. The novel ends, however, with a hint of redemption for its two main characters. It is 1929. The stock market has crashed, and the Dexter Bank has gone bust. Workers rally in the streets to protest lost wages. When Herman Merro and Paul Dexter look out of Dexter's top-story office at the protesters below, they witness a girl being trampled by a mounted policeman's horse and are sickened by the sight. This, they seem to understand, is what their ambition has wrought.

Melvin Levy grew up in the era of radical labor in the Northwest as well. The Last Pioneers includes a version of the 1916 Everett massacre, when five IWW members supporting a mill strike were killed. As one reviewer remarked, the novel "points the moral of communism more convincingly than many avowed 'proletarian' novels." Yet, while The Last Pioneers fared better with reviewers than Levy's previous two novels, it did not gain a wide readership.

Seattle's labor legacy clearly left a deep impression on Levy. In 1934 Harold Clurman's Group Theatre produced his play Gold Eagle Guy, a pro-labor drama, and in 1935 Levy signed the "Call for an American Writers Congress," which appeared in the communist-affiliated magazine New Masses. The call summoned writers who "do not need to be convinced of the decay of capitalism, (or) of the inevitability of revolution."

In the mid 1930s Levy moved to Hollywood and began writing for the movies. Though blacklisted in the late 1940s for his politics, he continued to work. Film critics Paul Buhle and Dave Wagner see a subversive streak in his screenplay about the bandit Joaquin Murrieta for the film Robin Hood of El Dorado (1936). Unfortunately, Levy's films are as forgotten as his novels. In a Google search, his name appears most often in reference to the handful of episodes he wrote for the TV series The Lone Ranger, Bonanza, and Charlie's Angels.

Melvin Levy, who died in 1980, never published another novel after The Last Pioneers. Nor did he write about Seattle again. Still, you can find a tattered copy of The Last Pioneers on the shelves of the flashy new downtown library. Melvin Levy probably would have found this fact as ludicrous and amusing as he did most of Seattle history.

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

AWARDS PROGRAM CALL FOR NOMINATIONS

The Washington State Historical Society announces a call for nominations for awards to be presented at its annual membership meeting on June 17, 2006. Up to nine awards are presented each year to recognize excellence in advancing the field of history in the state of Washington through writing, teaching, historic projects, understanding cultural diversity, and for volunteerism at the Society's two museums. We encourage you to help us honor the work that advances the Society's mission, "to make the study of history in Washington illuminating and inspiring," by nominating candidates for the following awards: David Douglas Award, Governor's Award for Teaching History in Washington State, Peace and Friendship Awards, and the Robert Gray Medal.

Please visit us on the World Wide Web (http://washingtonhistory.org/wshslawards.htm) for a description of the awards and information on the nominating process.

WASHINGTON STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY

COLUMBIA 45 WINTER 2005-06
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 May 18, 1980, remains an important moment in Pacific Northwest history. Seldom does an event of such proportions impose itself upon humanity. Anyone who was in Washington or Oregon at the time remembers where he was and what he was doing when the mountain erupted. Even those who did not live in the area have imbedded in their memory images of this immense force of nature.

Most works on the topic remain scientific, focusing on the eruption, its origins, and its consequences for the environment. Frank Parchman’s Echoes of Fury stands out from these by connecting the catastrophic event to people. Through decades of work, Parchman has produced a narrative that will intrigue a wide variety of readers.

Parchman uses the experiences of eight individuals to tell the story of the eruption. 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 sneaked 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 the mudflow, and their flight away from the suffocating ash. However, they also relate the experiences of people who lived in the cities below, those who lost relatives in the catastrophe, some who found scientific opportunities resulting from the eruption, and others who became caught up in the political and legal battles that emerged.

The author provides a one-page list of the book’s many characters to help the reader keep them straight. By the middle of the book this is no longer needed. Parchman skillfully weaves these diverse stories in a manner that allows the reader to gradually come to know all the characters. Some are more likeable, understandable, or worthy of empathy than others. Surprisingly, with continued reading, one’s initial impressions of the main characters might change. I also found that the sub-characters really added to the book’s impact, making the main characters more human and their successes or failures even more heartwarming or tragic. Another strength of the narrative was its 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 these individuals differed, yet they remained bound together by the fact that on May 18, 1980, their lives were changed forever by the eruption of 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 often 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 frontier town with visions of wealth and prestige. Although this first transition is a bit jarring, the remainder of the book flows seamlessly, telling 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 minimized by the book’s emphasis on the institution’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 covered the cost of operation and enhancement of the collections, so donations have become the library’s lifeblood. The donors, including 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. The book’s layout, which merges text and illustrations, is 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, of Spokane, was educated in Washington state and Europe. He is currently affiliated with George Washington University in Washington, D.C.
Gay Seattle
Stories of Exile and Belonging

Eccentric Seattle
Pillars and Pariahs Who Made the City
Not Such a Boring Place After All
Reviewed by Blake Slonecker.

A archival gem or brisk narrative: this is the dilemma in choosing between these histories of the Pacific Northwest's largest city. Although each title promises subcultural urban analysis, only Atkins's precise and tirelessly researched Gay Seattle delivers in this regard. Meanwhile, Pierce's book tends toward enter­

Pierce's Eccentric Seattle is a lively anecdotal jaunt through a century of Seattle's history. Sadly—and inexplicably—Pierce ignores the multicultural origins of Seattle's eccentricity in favor of a laundry list of tales about famous—and often infamous—white women and men. Intended to “celebrate that period—roughly the 1850s to the 1970s—when [Seattle] established itself as a distinctive and sometimes downright weird spot on the map,” the book is divided into 27 short and witty chapters with creative inset anecdotes.

Pierce is most effective in his analysis of figures affected by the Conflagration of 1889 and the Panic of 1893, but his discussions of the bicycle craze, Spanish flu, and bootlegger Roy Olmstead in the early 20th century are also perceptive and pleasant highlights. Although Pierce's prose is exciting throughout and effectively places local events within a national framework, his selection of subjects leans strongly toward politicians, architects, and petty criminals. While these individuals are not inherently unworthy of analysis, they do lead Pierce down a path that ignores minority groups fundamental to Seattle's evolution. Not a single ethnic or racial minority figure as a chapter subject and Pierce cursorily mentions minorities on only a handful of occasions. Furthermore, although filled with handsome photographs and attractive illustrations, Eccentric Seattle is difficult to navigate due to the absence of notes and an index. Despite these shortcomings, Pierce's text is a fast-paced tour over much of the important topography of Seattle's history.

Gay Seattle, on the other hand, is a brilliantly constructed history of the city's homosexual minority since the late 19th century. In the first section Atkins argues that legal and psychiatric oppression, particularly Washington's 1893 sodomy law and the mid-20th-century institutionalization of homosexuals, forced the gay community into metaphorical exile from participation in civic society. In response, Atkins notes, “from about 1933 until 1958, the [gay] community that was slowly forming found its center in saloons below the Deadline” in Seattle's Pioneer Square and avoided police harassment through a widespread payoff system that unraveled over the course of the following two decades. Ironically and convincingly, Atkins argues that the relative calm created by the payoff system actually delayed the onset of civil rights activism by Seattle's gay community. Despite this long chronological view, Atkins focuses most intently upon post-Stonewall developments beginning with the rapid replacement of the civil rights-oriented Dorian Society by the more confronta­

Atkins is most convincing in his discussions of the significance behind communication rituals such as dance, dressing in drag, vaudeville, and consciousness-raising groups. Another highlight is his account—woven through the text—of the gay community's social geographic migration within the city as the center of gay life in Seattle moved from the bars and bath houses of Pioneer Square to community and religious institutions on Renton and Capitol hills, the business district on Broadway, and political and civic participation across the city and state. Gay Seattle leaves little doubt that dancing in public, marching through downtown, and walking upstairs into a community center—rather than downstairs into a basement bar—are crucial developments in the history of Seattle's gay community. Atkins closes the text in suspense; the failed push for civil rights legislation that extended over the course of the past 30 years, the compassionate public response to the gay community in the wake of the AIDS epidemic, and the tenuous relationship between Seattle's homosexuals and the Catholic Church all figure prominently in the final chapters. Gay Seattle is grand in scope and Atkins consistently balances important scholarly insight with biographical anecdotes that make the text pleasant and supremely readable.

Pierce and Atkins define the terms of their respective projects clearly, and each makes a distinct contribution to the evolving canon of Seattle's urban history. Eccentric Seattle is an attractive book that gathers an all-star cast of Seattle's liveliest and most prominent citizens in a rip-roaring narrative that—despite significant method­

Blake Slonecker is a native of Oregon and a historian of modern urban affairs. He is affiliated with the history department at Duke University.

ADDRESS ALL REVIEW COPIES AND RELATED COMMUNICATIONS TO:
Robert C. Carrilker, Columbia Reviews Editor
Department of History,
Gonzaga University, Spokane, WA 99258

COLUMBIA 47 WINTER 2005-06
Special Friends and Members of the Washington State Historical Society

Larry & Judith Kopp
Edward C. & Virginia Lee Lynch
Mr. & Mrs. Galen Moll
Don & Suzanne Meyer
Dennis H. & Joan Peterson
William M. Wheeler

Sustaining Members ($125 level)

Roland Addphson
Ronald & Rita Adisett
Richard Albrecht
David T. & Sarah I. Alger
Betsey C. Allen
Marwil M. Allen
Mr. & Mrs. Thomas E. Allen
William B. Alley
David Ammons
Norm & Margot Andersen
Mr. & Mrs. John Arbini
Bill J. & Jacqueline M. Arends
Arthur H. Clark Company
Doug & Sharon Aukland
Stephen Auyoug
Mr. & Mrs. Stephen Bader
Mable L. Bailey
Jan Baker
Mr. & Mrs. Roscoe K. Balch

Putnam Barber
John & Sally Bartline
Michael & Kristine Bartman
Mr. & Mrs. William E. Baxter
James E. Berr
Lee Bennett
Leif H. Bjorseth
Thomas L. Blanton
Mike Benck & Maureen Larson
Mary Bosch Read
Richard & Mary Ann Boulander
Debbie M. Brady
Mr. & Mrs. Martin Brashem
Gregory Brews
Bobbie & Jon Bridge
Mr. & Mrs. Samuel H. Brown
Muriel Buning
The Hon. Robert J. Bryan
Terry & Phyllis Buchridge
M. Clinton Cannon
Laura Capalz & Robert Stallcop
Barbara Carlson
Central Washington Agricultural Museum
Charlotte & Ray Chalker
Earl Clemens
Nicholas B. Clinch

The Oregon-California Trails Association Announces A New Western Emigrant Trails Map

Historic Trails of the Western United States—folded ($9.95) #1720 or flat ($11.95) #1721
Published by the Oregon-California Trails Association. The map measures 36" x 26".
The two-sided full color map is printed on high-quality matte coated text paper and is available in two versions, folded and flat (ideal for framing). The map also features an artist's beautiful renderings of the trail experience, details about major historic trails and wonderful quotes from emigrant diaries. Call toll free or order online at www.OCTA-trails.org.

OREGON-CALIFORNIA TRAILS ASSOCIATION
524 South Osage Street, PO Box 1019/Independence, MO 64051-0519
Phone 1-888-811-6282 • FAX 816-836-0989 or E-Mail: OCTA@indepmo.org
**SPECIAL FRIENDS AND MEMBERS OF THE WASHINGTON STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Jonathan Feste</th>
<th>Harriet &amp; Rick Kirk</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Jerry &amp; Susan Ford</td>
<td>Edward &amp; Carol Kirstein</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Delveda Fortier</td>
<td>Mr. &amp; Mrs. Frank R. Kittrell</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Charles &amp; Karla Fowler</td>
<td>Carl, Linda &amp; Courtney Knecht</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John A. &amp; Nancy L. Fallini</td>
<td>Guy Koprisa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Carla &amp; Sara Geist</td>
<td>Oottie A. Lodd</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Norman P. Gerken</td>
<td>Mr. &amp; Mrs. Floyd Lanken</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Carolyn Giardello</td>
<td>John &amp; Patricia Lasto</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Irene Gorski</td>
<td>John &amp; Maureen Larsen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gualdon Consulting &amp; Research</td>
<td>Norman Leaf</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>George Grant</td>
<td>Herman &amp; Griselda Lehrer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Michael K. Green</td>
<td>Virginia M. Leitch</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neal Greenley</td>
<td>Paul Edwin LeRoy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Daniel K Grimm</td>
<td>Larry Levy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kathryn Hakey</td>
<td>Charles &amp; Pauline LeWiner</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wilbur G. Hallinan</td>
<td>Alan Liddle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wilbur &amp; Douglas Hallett</td>
<td>Mr. &amp; Mrs. Edward E. Lissner</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F. Jerry Handfield</td>
<td>Sharon Lofstrom</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>H. DeForest Hardinge</td>
<td>Robert Mack</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jim &amp; Pat Harish</td>
<td>Alice Mailloux</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marjorie Harper</td>
<td>Kathy Marke</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Michael B. Harrison</td>
<td>Mr. &amp; Mrs. John M. Manley</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr. &amp; Mrs. Frank Hart</td>
<td>Fred Marva</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Frances V. Hartley</td>
<td>John R. Marshall</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Frederick W. &amp; Katherine Hayes</td>
<td>Robert J. &amp; Mary R. Martin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Denny Heck</td>
<td>Dominic Marrone &amp; Family</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Len &amp; Serena Hendriksen</td>
<td>Mason County Historical Society</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>James F. Henriot</td>
<td>Mr. &amp; Mrs. Donald P. McClain</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>George H. Hess</td>
<td>John M. &amp; Burdette McClelland</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Monte E. Hester</td>
<td>Hugh McDonald</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neal Heston</td>
<td>Larry &amp; Joanne McDonald</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John Hewitt, Jr.</td>
<td>Melanie &amp; Greg McFarland</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dr. John Hewston</td>
<td>Robert McKeeby</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Robert &amp; Colleen Hitchcock</td>
<td>Rob &amp; Natalie McNair-Huff</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dr. &amp; Mrs. Richard A. Hoffmeister</td>
<td>Karen Meador</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sen. &amp; Mrs. Jim Honeyford</td>
<td>Mr. &amp; Mrs. T. A. Meisterberger</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hazel M. Hood</td>
<td>John &amp; Guelda Messina</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kyoako Hori &amp; Patricia L. Palms</td>
<td>Martha J. Miller</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John W. Hoag</td>
<td>Dick &amp; Marcia MacKenzie</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>David Huelshbeck</td>
<td>Marie Monahan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tom &amp; Mary Ann Huff</td>
<td>Danford &amp; Frances Moore</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John &amp; Patcy Hughes</td>
<td>Rex &amp; Laurel C. Morgon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Robert R. &amp; Patricia J. Hunt</td>
<td>Mr. &amp; Mrs. James F. Morris</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hutton Settlement, Inc.</td>
<td>James &amp; Patty Morton</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jerry &amp; Hillary Hyman</td>
<td>Muckleshoot Indian Tribe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Andrea Hynes</td>
<td>Neil Mullen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>William &amp; Carleen Jackson</td>
<td>John &amp; Nadine Murray</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paul &amp; Anne Jacobson</td>
<td>Dr. David Musto</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Richard E. Jardine</td>
<td>Martha T. &amp; Eugene W. Nester</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Robert &amp; Jean Jensen</td>
<td>Herman K. Nickel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Donald Johnson</td>
<td>Nick &amp; Gloria Nickolas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr. &amp; Mrs. James G. Juneman</td>
<td>Sarah Norris Craig</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clyde R. Kalahan</td>
<td>John L. O'Brien</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paul &amp; Alice Kaltinick</td>
<td>Valerina Ogden</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John Kaperick</td>
<td>Jerry C. Olson</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maria &amp; Robert Kelly</td>
<td>Mr. &amp; Mrs. Stanley Palmer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Daniel Kennedy</td>
<td>Mr. &amp; Mrs. James D. Pappin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Jan &amp; Carroll Paupse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Odeil &amp; Meg Penaloza</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Thornton Perry</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Richard &amp; Millie Peterson</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Wendy Phillips</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Shirley Phinney</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Doris &amp; John Pieroth</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Thomas Plamley</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Austin Post</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Frank Pratt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Roger W. Preem</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Putnam, Collins, Scott Associates</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Lily Qin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Claire Thompson Quamme</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>David A. Rush</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>David &amp; Roslyne Reed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>John Regan &amp; Anne Fischel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Mike Repass</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Fred &amp; Alysne Richard</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Kent Richards</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>William Richardson</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Mr. &amp; Mrs. Douglass W. Richter</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Dennis &amp; Anne Rodrigues</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>John Rosenberg</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Virginia Ryan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Mr. &amp; Mrs. John Sadon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Salmon Beach Historical Commission</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Garry Schallol &amp; Debra Otterby</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Secretary of the Senate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Karen Seinfeld</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Gregory &amp; Zari Semerdjian</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Lorna Sevin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Jane Shaffer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Leslie H. &amp; Doris F. Shea</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Joseph J. Shebly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Robert &amp; Ruth Sheild</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Jack M. Sheridan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Elizabeth Sholog</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>John Shulene</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Thomas L. Shuler</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>John Simmons</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Mr. &amp; Mrs. Phil Simon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Harold &amp; Carolyn Simonson</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Robert W. &amp; Helen L. Skidmore</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Arnold &amp; Marian Slater</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Janet &amp; Demann Smith</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Samuel &amp; Patricia Smith</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Bill &amp; Karen Smithmeier</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Sid &amp; Butte Snyder</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Pat Suden</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Hardyn Soule</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Edward E. &amp; Jean Springer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Stephanie Stieich</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Loren &amp; Barbara Steffen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Jackie Stenger</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Joan B. Stout</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Susan Suess</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Michael Sullivan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>June Summerville</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Marvin Sundquist</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Mr. &amp; Mrs. Loyd H. Sutherland</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Randy &amp; Abbie Sweeney</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Matt Sweeving Family</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Tacoma/Pierce County Chamber of Commerce</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Mark &amp; Meredith Thibo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Mortimer &amp; Joan Thomas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Janet Thompson</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Joanne Thanker Tharom</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Tim Thompson</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Virginia Thompson</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Sheri &amp; Jeff Tomm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Mr. &amp; Mrs. Richard Toth</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Eckard &amp; Patricia Toy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Mr. &amp; Mrs. Alje Treleven</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Allan Treuer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>George Touslakian</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Teresa M. Tuel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Florence Turstn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>The Honorable Elizabethe E. Verhey</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Craig Vogeple</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>John H. Walker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Mary Ann Watters</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Paul Webking &amp; Oksana Beges</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>George &amp; Marie Weis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>David &amp; Wendy Welch</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Mr. &amp; Mrs. E. K. Whitman</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Jim &amp; Elaine Wick</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Charles Wilkinson</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Mr. &amp; Mrs. James W. Will</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Frances A. Williamson</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Dr. &amp; Mrs. John Willmarth</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Betty I. Wing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Mr. &amp; Mrs. F. E. Wittenberg</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>John R. Withers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>R. Lorraine Wolfin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Judy A. Woodworth</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Bernice L. Yontt</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**AFFILIATE ORGANIZATIONS**

| Anacortes Museum Foundation |
| Ballard Historical Society |
| Bigelow House Preservation Association |
| Clallam County Historical Society Museum |
| Clark County Historical Society & Museum |
| Cowichan County Historical Society |
| Des Moines Historical Society |
| East Benton County Historical Society |
| Edmonds South Snohomish County Historical Society |
| Enumclaw Plateau Historical Society |
| Everett Public Library |
| Era Meeker Historical Society |
| Fifecrest Civic and Heritage Association |
| Foothills Historical Society Buckley |
| Fort Nisqually Foundation |
| Fort Walla Walla Museum |
| Fox Island Museum |
| Franklin County Historical Society |
| Gig Harbor Peninsula Historical Society |
| Grant House Folk Art Center |
| Historic Fort Steilacoom Association |
| Historical Society of Michigan |
| Jefferson County Historical Society |
| Key Peninsula Historical Society |
| Kitsap County Historical Society |
| League of Snohomish County Historical Organizations |
| Lewis County Historical Society |
| Maple Valley Historical Society |
| Maryhill Museum of Art |
| Missouri Historical Society |
| Northwest Chapter of the Oregon-California Trail Association |
| Okanogan County Historical Society |
| Pacific Northwest Historians Guild |
| Pioneer Farm Museum and Quinault Indian Village |
| Points Northeast Historical Society |
| Renton Historical Society |
| Roy Historical Society |
| South Pierce County Historical Society |
| South Sound Maritime Heritage Association |
| Spanaway Historical Society |
| Steilacoom Tribal Museum Association |
| Tacoma Historical Society |
| Washington Commission for the Humanities |
| Washington State Chapter of the Lewis & Clark Trail Heritage Foundation |
| Washington State Jewish Historical Society |
| Wenatchee Valley Museum & Cultural Center |
| Whitman County Historical Society |
| Wilkeson Historical Society |
| Yakima Valley Museum |
SQ3Tsyay (pronounced cut-se-ya-ya) presents contemporary and historical Coast Salish fiber weavings to tell the story of the recent revival of this unique art form. Susan Pavel, a respected weaver in the Coast Salish tradition, is guest curator.

Organized by the Washington State History Museum.

1911 Pacific Avenue, Downtown Tacoma
1-888-BE-THERE  washingtonhistory.org

With any significant renaissance the past plays its part. The essence of the Coast Salish people along the Northwest Coast speaks loudly to those who will listen, speaks volumes to those who want to know, and speaks lovingly to those who cherish the ways.

—Susan Pavel