INSIDE:
How the advent of a rail link to the East forever changed Washingtonians' perceptions of time and space.

Olypians of the past and
THE OLYMPIAN
of the present
On the Road Again
Montana's Changing Landscape
William Wyckoff

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Distributed for the Washington State Department of Transportation
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Engaging New Voices in the Conversation about History

These walls can talk. And some new voices have joined the daily conversation about history here at the museum. As the new Head of the Education Department, I am one of the three new staff members. You might already be aware that our Tacoma facility has a Russell-Baker Family Education Center on the second floor. But, because much of what we do is behind the scenes, you might not know who we are, what we do, or why. In a nutshell, we are all about trying to draw you, your friends, your family into an engaging conversation about history.

"I thought it was cool that I could climb up into a wagon that was like the ones settlers used to come across the country to Washington. The seat would have hurt on the bumpy ride and there was only enough space to be squished." This comment and the covered wagon sketch above were made by a fourth-grader from Discovery Elementary School after a class visit to the museum’s Great Hall of Washington History.

BELOW: Members of the History Museum’s Education Department include (clockwise from upper left): Patricia Erikson, Magdalena Nieves, Gwen Perkins, Kimberly Israel, and Joan Martin.

The Education staff welcomes some 30,000 school children each year into the Great Hall of Washington History, the History Lab, and the temporary exhibits. Our newest staff member, Gwen Perkins, joins Kimberly Israel in facilitating the learning experience of all of these children. Their challenge to the children: ask questions of history, learn to use the tools to answer your questions, and find relevance to your life. Joan Martin supports the teachers prior to their arrival by providing curricular materials that link the state’s classrooms to our fine exhibits. Another new staff member, Magdalena Nieves, coordinates a legion of volunteers – some 160 at last count – who join work study students and interns in keeping this place ticking. Magda’s family programs also extend our interactive learning opportunities into the weekends when children can attend with their families.

What we want most is for adults and children who participate in programs and visit exhibits to “locate themselves” in a relevant and meaningful history. That is, history is not only about the famous names and the memorable dates, but also about our ancestors and the fears and desires that drove their daily lives.

These walls can talk. Come join us in the conversation.

—Patricia Pierce Erikson, Head of Education

Through its programming the Education Department of the Washington State History Museum facilitates an engaging learning environment for the widest possible audience. Through our research and educational activities, we encourage visitors to engage in historical inquiry and locate themselves in a relevant and meaningful history.
Indian Treaties as Contracts

By Robert J. Miller

The United States government, from its very inception, continued the English and colonial strategy of dealing with the Indian tribal nations on a government-to-government basis through treaty making. The federal government entered into more than 400 treaties with various Indian tribes from 1778 to 1871. In these treaties the United States negotiated cessions of land, recognized other areas of land called "reservations," which the tribes reserved to themselves, and respected the self-governing powers of tribes. Even though Congress ended treaty making with tribes in 1871, the preexisting treaties are still in effect and contain promises that bind the United States today. In fact, under our Constitution, treaties are "the supreme Law of the Land." The United States Supreme Court has referred to Indian treaties as contracts between sovereign nations, and in one case, the Court referred to "the contracting Indians." In 1905, the United States Supreme Court stated that treaties were not a grant of rights to Indians but were a reservation by the tribes of rights that they already owned. Thus, through treaty making, tribes gave up certain rights to land and assets in exchange for payments, promises, and protection from the United States.

Treaty rights are often hotly contested issues because they are sometimes perceived as "special rights" for Indians. Treaty

The Medicine Creek Treaty was signed at this spot on December 26, 1854. The site lies in Thurston County, along McAllister Creek—known to the Indians as Medicine Creek.
for the tribes that entered into the treaties with the United States. The tribes possessed aboriginal title to the area. These tribal nations had not been defeated in war nor had they ceded their lands to the United States. The tribes were independent sovereigns controlling, ruling, and living on their own land. Nonetheless, the United States directed Governor Isaac Stevens of Washington Territory to negotiate treaties with the Northwest tribes in order to secure land concessions that would allow further American settlement in this area. Stevens negotiated treaties with the Puget Sound tribes and the Makah, on the northwest tip of Washington. In 1994 a federal court decision interpreting these treaties followed Supreme Court precedent from 1905 and allowed members of tribes that signed these treaties to cross private property to harvest shellfish as their treaty guaranteed.

Stevens also negotiated treaties regarding the Columbia River watershed with tribes at present-day Walla Walla, Washington, in June 1855. The four tribes that possess these treaty rights today are the Confederated Tribes of the Warm Springs, the Confederated Tribes of Umatilla Indians, the Confederated Tribes and Bands of the Yakama Indian Nation, and the Nez Perce Tribe. These tribes traded their ownership of 64 million inland acres for the right to retain reserved areas (reservations) for their exclusive use and to reserve the right to fish on and off their reservations at their "usual and accustomed stations in common with citizens of the United States." When the United States Senate ratified these treaties in 1859, they became the supreme law of the land, and the tribes had thus reserved their property rights to salmon in the Columbia River watershed and a property right to use their usual and accustomed fishing sites to carry out this treaty-protected right.

Treaties have many similarities to contracts and have often been treated as such by the courts. As in contract law, courts try to interpret treaties to achieve the intent of the parties. The unique aspect of interpreting Indian treaties, however, arises from the recognition of the disadvantaged bargaining position that Indians often occupied during treaty negotiations. One such disadvantage was that treaty negotiations were not conducted in their own language but by trilingual interpreters who did not fairly bargain for the parties and in which one party or treaty against the interests of the weaker party. In such instances, courts will not interpret the contract or treaty as it was originally written, but will construe in favor of the signatory tribe by mixing construction or reading in favor of the signatory tribe by mixing
principles of international treaty construction with contract principles. Courts resolve ambiguous expressions in a treaty in favor of the tribe since the United States drafted the treaties and they were in English, which very few tribes spoke or read; courts interpret treaties as the tribes themselves would have understood the terms used in the treaty and during the negotiations. Courts also factor in the history and circumstances behind a treaty and its negotiations in interpreting the treaty’s express provisions. The language used in treaties should never be construed to a tribe’s prejudice.

There is good reason for judicial deference to the Indian side of treaties and close scrutiny of the negotiations of many Indian treaties. The United States and its negotiators themselves often selected who was to be the “chief” of the tribe they would negotiate with; often United States negotiators bribed and unduly influenced tribal negotiators with gifts and/or alcohol; the United States often was represented by attorneys while the tribes were obviously not so represented; and, of course, the treaties were written in English. Governor Stevens engaged in this very conduct in negotiating the Pacific Northwest Indian treaties with the help of his Harvard-trained lawyer, Lieutenant George Gibbs. The tribes had no legal representation. Also, Stevens was known to avoid the actual leaders of a tribe and instead would himself choose tribal representatives for the negotiations. Stevens offered bribes or “gifts” to Indian negotiators who signed treaties and refused to give gifts to Indians who did not sign the treaties. He was accused by his own men of badgering, coercing, and hurrying tribes to sign treaties. Under contract theory, contracts or treaties negotiated and agreed to in this manner would not be enforceable due to undue influence, unequal bargaining position, and the absence of arms-length bargaining.

In addition, the treaties negotiated by Stevens with Puget Sound and Columbia River tribes were written in English, which of course the Indians did not speak or read. In some instances Stevens used an interpreter who spoke the Chinook jargon. Some of the Indians spoke Chinook jargon, but it was a language totally inadequate for negotiating the technical and legal terms and provisions of treaties. The Chinook jargon contained no more than 300 to 500 words and was a slang mixture of English, French, and Indian words. It could not possibly have conveyed the full meaning and intent of the United States and the tribes regarding the provisions of the Columbia River and Puget Sound treaties.

The Supreme Court has directly addressed the Stevens treaties in at least seven different cases since 1905—including United States v. Winans, 198 U.S. 371 (1905); Tulee v. Washington, 315 U.S. 681 (1942); and Puyallup Tribe, Inc. v. Department of Game, 433 U.S. 165 (1977)—and has consistently upheld the treaties and interpreted their provisions in favor of the signatory tribes. Consequently, these treaties contain the binding, contractual, and still effective promises of the United States to recognize the tribes’ right to live undisturbed on their own reservations and to avail themselves of the rights guaranteed in the treaties. These treaties, the tribes reserved to themselves the right to fish for salmon, and the United States promised to provide certain benefits such as health care, education, and financial payments to pay for the lands the tribes ceded to the United States. The promises contained in these treaties are still the supreme law of the land and, along with the hundreds of other Indian treaties signed by the United States, are guarantees the federal government must keep to fulfill its promises to Indian people.

As with any contract, both parties must fulfill the promised terms or suffer the legal consequences. The United States, then, must fulfill the treaty promises it made to Indian tribes. As one Supreme Court justice stated in regard to Indian treaties: “Great nations, like great men, should keep their word.”

Robert J. Miller is an associate professor of law at Lewis & Clark Law School in Portland where he teaches Indian law and civil procedure. He is currently chief justice of the Court of Appeals for the Grand Ronde Tribe, and is a citizen of the Eastern Shawnee Tribe of Oklahoma. This essay is based on a presentation Miller gave at the 2005 Pacific Northwest Historians Guild Conference.
The slogan of the day in Olympia during the summer of 1933 was “Dig the Canal.” Referencing neither the Suez nor Panama Canal, this motto promoted the often dreamt of but never completed Puget Sound to Grays Harbor to Columbia River Canal. The canal was to connect the most southern tip of Puget Sound at Budd Inlet with Grays Harbor through a series of canals and locks along the Black and Chehalis Rivers. A further waterway was planned to create an inland route to the Columbia River via a channel southward from Grays Harbor to Willapa Bay and then from Willapa Bay to the Columbia River.

The idea by 1933 was not a new one. In fact, from earliest times, native peoples had canoed the waterway from Puget Sound to Black Lake and the Black River, thence to the Chehalis River and finally to Grays Harbor, using portages to connect the water routes. Some of the ruts made by Indian canoes being dragged over the portage are still evident just south of Littlerock in Thurston County. In 1824 a Hudson's Bay Company group traced the reverse course from Willapa Bay to Eld Inlet. John Work, an HBC employee, kept a diary in which he described the route. The Wilkes Expedition of 1841 also traced approximately the same pathway. By some accounts, Secretary of War Jefferson Davis proposed the canal as early as the mid 1850s as a defense measure.

In 1866 Chehalis valley residents built the steamer Satsall in Montesano,
which navigated the Chehalis River, picking up produce along the way. The boat then entered the Black River and landed at what was known as “Shotwell’s Landing,” just south of Littlerock. From there, John Shotwell brought the produce to markets in Olympia. That same year federal surveyors A. J. Treadway and O. B. Iverson of the Olympia Land Office actually previewed the route from Percival Creek to where the Black enters the Chehalis River.

An engineer named Elias Payn moved to Olympia during the 1880s and with his wife, Aseneth, took up the cause of the canal. Payn wrote voluminous letters to the Rivers and Harbors Committee of the United States Congress and to almost anyone else who would listen. He published articles in several newspapers in the 1880s and ’90s.

On March 9, 1895, the Washington State Legislature memorialized Congress, asking for a survey of a canal route as well as an estimate of the costs and an appropriation for the project. The 1898 Republican Party platform adopted a plank at its convention in September in favor of the canal survey, calling it a project that would be capable of “uniting all navigable inland seas and rivers of this State with the Pacific Ocean.” In 1903 the state legislature again sent a memorial to Congress asking for the survey. Finally in 1907, after renewed interest in the canal following the Russo-Japanese War, the War Department was authorized by the Rivers and Harbors Act of March 1907 to make a survey of the canal route. The federal engineer in Seattle at the time, Hiram Chittenden, made an adverse report on the feasibility of the canal to the secretary of war: “It is evident that this project is not one of any pressing necessity or importance at the present time.”

Undaunted, a group of Olympians decided to hire their own expert to study the canal. They contributed to a private subscription in 1909 to hire local engineer J. C. des Granges, who had worked on the Chicago drainage canal, to make a survey and estimate the cost of the Puget Sound project. Local residents served as axemen, chainmen, and rodsmen to assist in the effort. Engineer des Granges described the route, elevations, and locations of locks, and estimated the cost of the waterway at $9.5 million. Petitions, one with more than 70 signatures of the area residents, were sent to the United States Senate urging the canal. The petitioners pointed out the need for the canal because of the vagaries of navigating the Straits of Juan de Fuca to reach Puget Sound. More legislative and congressional memorials followed in the ensuing years. Veterans of the Panama Canal work urged Washingtonians to keep an eye out for equipment from that project to use on the Puget Sound Canal.

In 1919, just a year before his death, canal champion Elias Payn was featured in an extensive article about the project in the Seattle Post-Intelligencer. By this time, the idea of the Puget Sound–Grays Harbor Canal had been enlarged to include the two canals connecting Grays Harbor with Willapa Harbor and Willapa Harbor with the Columbia River. The Corps of Engineers produced a map of these proposed routes in 1920.

The idea finally reawakened in earnest in the Great Depression years of the 1930s. Thousands of unemployed men and the availability of public works funds through the Reconstruction Finance Corporation seemed the perfect combination to resurrect the plan. Early in 1933 the Washington State Legislature again turned its attention to the project. State senator “Nifty” Garrett of Tacoma proposed legislation to appropriate $50,000 for a survey of the canal and to appoint a five-member commission to oversee the work. Canal proponents also favored another memorial to Congress to take action on the canal.

The lure of employing some 20,000 men in the project was held out as a bonus to other economic benefits of the project. George Talcott, who had promoted the “des Granges Survey” of 1909, and engineer T. F. Kelly, committees from local chambers of commerce and others lobbied heavily for the bill.

Garrett’s bill was redrafted, passed by the legislature, and signed by Governor Clarence Martin on March 9, 1933. Appointed to the five member canal commission were: Adolph Schmidt of the Olympia Brewery family in Tumwater; Clarence G. Blagen, Hoquiam, owner of the Grays Harbor Lumber Company (Blagen almost immediately resigned and was replaced by George W. Gauntlett); J. W. Lewis, Raymond, manager of Willapa Harbor Mills, representing Pacific County; Luther E. Gregory, a Seattle retired rear admiral and navy engineer; and W. H. Abel, a Montesano attorney.

Their job was to locate the route and make a recommendation on the economic feasibility of the project to the governor. The time line to complete the survey was a mere 90 days. After the report was submitted, the governor would have just 30 days to make a determination on the feasibility of the project. If deemed viable, the committee could then take actions to finance the project, including issuing bonds, acquiring land, and recruiting the necessary engineers and manpower for the job.

Using the high-tech equipment of the day, the commission utilized the National Guard and Washington State Roads Department to make aerial photographs of the route as a first step. The commission then enlisted geologist Henry Landes, a dean at the University of Washington, and four consulting
engineers—W. C. Morse, E. B. Hussey, Joseph Jacobs, and J. M. Clapp of Seattle—to write the report with T. G. McCorry as engineer to the commission.

After receiving the report in June 1933, the commission decided to recommend construction of all three canals to the governor. The Puget Sound to Grays Harbor section was to be 90 feet wide and 14 feet deep with a total lift of 90 feet above sea level. A series of locks would provide the elevation from Puget Sound to the Black River and as needed along the route. Their recommendation was to also include tidewater canals through Willapa Harbor to the Columbia. These canals were to extend 120 feet in width and 13 feet in depth. The system recommended would accommodate only lighter draft vessels at the proposed depth of the canals.

The estimate to build all of the canals was $34 million, with annual toll receipts to begin at $2 million per year and reach $3 million within 10 years. It was estimated that 12 locks would be needed to raise vessels 90 vertical feet over the course. Building the small size canal would require excavating 65.5 million cubic yards of earth and a construction period of three years.

The favored route was from Budd Inlet by way of Percival Creek, Black Lake, Black River valley to the Chehalis River, and down the Chehalis River valley into Grays Harbor—a distance of 48 miles. This section would cost $28.6 million. From Grays Harbor another

needed along the route. Their recommendation was to also include tidewater canals through Willapa Harbor to the Columbia. These canals were to extend 120 feet in width and 13 feet in depth. The system recommended would accommodate only lighter draft vessels at the proposed depth of the canals.

The estimate to build all of the canals was $34 million, with annual toll receipts to begin at $2 million per year and reach $3 million within 10 years. It was estimated that 12 locks would be needed to raise vessels 90 vertical feet over the canal was to cross 12 miles southeasterly to Willapa Harbor on the north side of the Tokeland Peninsula at an estimated cost of $3.3 million. For $1.9 million, the Willapa Harbor-Columbia River Canal would leave the harbor at Baker's Slough and continue for approximately five miles in a southerly direction to Bakers Bay. Water for the canal would come from the Black River and Percival Creek drainages, with the majority of the water from the Chehalis River. Other possible sources given were the Wynooche, Satsop, and Nisqually rivers. The greatest concern was supplying the 482 cubic feet per second of water flow required for the locks to operate.

The economics of the venture were justified, the report claimed. The canal project would allow greater access to mills at Grays Harbor for processing the hemlock timberlands on the Olympic Peninsula, many thousands of acres of which were owned by the state and used for school construction funds. With the Puget Sound-Grays Harbor Canal, the route from San Francisco to Seattle would be shortened by 101 miles. The free interchange of trade from Grays Harbor to Willapa Harbor by means of the two peninsular ditches would circumvent the often-difficult trip across the Columbia River bar. By means of the canal, the Astoria fishing fleet could pass through to Puget Sound and navigate an inland passage to Alaska. The latter argument was to reinforce the idea that the canal was not merely a state but a national project and so it should not be dependent solely upon state funds. In fact, the commission recommended that the project be financed through federal funds.

Commerce in general would benefit from the new passageway, the report claimed. Small craft, especially pleasure boats, passing through the canal were anticipated to be a large part of the traffic. The federal government had expended

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Dill told Governor Martin that the two Willapa Harbor area canals had a better chance of being built but that the War Department would have to make a favorable recommendation on the plans for federal funding to be forthcoming.

When Dill and Martin met to discuss priorities for federal funding, Grand Coulee Dam and the Puget Sound-Grays Harbor Canal went head to head as competing major projects. Canal proponents claimed more unemployed could be put to work on the canal immediately whereas the funds for Grand Coulee Dam would go primarily for engineering. While Dill stated his support for the canal, he noted that federal surveys for Grand Coulee had been completed and approved, making it a higher federal priority.

In June 1933 the United States frigate Constitution, affectionately known to the public as "Old Ironsides," visited Puget Sound on a tour to boost morale and celebrate its refurbishing through the contributions of schoolchildren. The Olympia Chamber of Commerce made the visit part of the campaign for the canal when they issued $2,000 worth of wooden "oyster money," with a drawing of "Old Ironsides" and the slogan "Dig the Canal" on the other.

Governor Martin made a proclamation in July that the entire canal system was justified and feasible. Funding then became the focus of the canal promoters' efforts. Supporters organized a bevvy of lobbying efforts. One was the "Canal Frolic," held in July 1933 in Olympia. Labor unions and officials from all parts of southwestern Washington staged a parade and rally in Sylvester Park. Over a thousand people gathered to voice support for the canal and hear state and local leaders promote the effort. Musician Eddie Carter, who was then appearing at a local theater, composed a theme song to the tune of "Auld Lang Syne." This followed a dirgy put together by a local songwriter. Carter wrote:

Twenty thousand men will work
And depression will be through
When we start to dig this big canal
This canal for me and you

Nifty Garrett, our great pal,
He worked each day and night
To put across this great big cause
And he worked with all his might.

Clarence Martin, our close friend,
Put his O.K. on this thing,
For he feels that this great big canal
To us good times will bring.

Clarence Dill did not keep still
He shouted and he frowned,
Well connect Grays Harbor and the rest
With our own great Puget Sound.

Homer Bone, our senator,
From up Tacoma way,
Has helped us with this mighty fight
And he's with us today.

Martin Smith, our congressman,
Is here with us today;
He, too, has fought the battle thru,
Now, let's take it all the way.

Let every one who's here today
Get up upon their feet and yell
We're gonna dig Olympia's
And Grays Harbor's big canal.

Senator Dill, however, lagged in promoting the project in Washington, D.C. It was Washington
Congressman Martin F. Smith, a Democrat from Hoquiam, who persuaded the United States Army Engineers to review the state canal commission's report. More than 100 canal boosters representing 20 communities welcomed the news. But that same month, under Clarence Dill's guidance, the Grand Coulee project received approval for federal funding.

The U.S. Army Engineers held hearings in Olympia and Aberdeen about the project in September 1933, with Colonel C. L. Sturdevant presiding. After collecting contributions from local businesses, residents, and labor leaders along the canal route, canal promoters produced an impressive array of evidence and testimony in favor of the canal. Governor Martin, though, seemed loath to promote the project and arrived just as the hearing was adjourning in Olympia.

Civic groups all over southwestern Washington passed resolutions in favor of the project. They joined forces in October to form a booster club and produce a pamphlet outlining the benefits of the canal. One booster, Mrs. Betty Bowlsby, thought another poem might do the trick and ended her verses with "What's the matter? Where's the jam? All's O.K. with Uncle Sam—Come on! Let's go! Washington! Dig the canal! It can be done!" While specifications were already being drawn for Grand Coulee Dam, undaunted locals in November 1933 hosted another canal rally at the Olympia American Legion Hall, again featuring a united front of labor unions and local businesses.

The blow was struck on February 2, 1934, when the War Department's Office of Engineers declared, "This report finds that construction, as a Federal project, of any part of the proposed waterway is not justified at this time." Despite the rejection, local efforts continued in 1934 and 1935, during which time the National Rivers and Harbors Congress endorsed the project. In June 1935 the Daily Olympian published a rotogravure section that was sent to all members of Congress to revitalize the canal project.

Representative Martin F. Smith again proposed the project as part of a national omnibus canals bill. Booster groups were reenergized by the development. Governor Martin again upheld the report of the canal commission to the legislature, which forwarded their recommendation to the State Planning Council for the federal public works program. But the project languished.

In May 1941 defense issues again brought the canal plan to the forefront. Promoters of the canal cited the needs of Fort Lewis, The Boeing Company and the Dupont Powder Factory for safe inland transport of ordnance, men, and materials. Destroyers and small naval craft from Bremerton could travel via the canal and submarines could safely maneuver through Grays Harbor and Willapa Harbor to the Columbia River. The Corps of Engineers restudied the 1933 route and produced yet another map. But the Corps' official findings in April 1942 stated, "The principal grounds, upon which the adverse conclusions are based, are that the cost of the improvement...would be materially greater than the value of the benefits that can be foreseen at this time."

The project was given new life in 1960 when a University of Washington professor cited the benefits of the canal as part of a Department of Commerce and Economic Development Study. Governor Albert Rosellini signed a bill in 1961 to study the proposal and resurvey the canal route. A 13-member commission was appointed, which included Mrs. Scott Bullitt; R. Brondson (Curly) Harris of the University of Washington; Gilbert Miller, from Lewis County; Earl Coe, director of the Department of Conservation; Sam Boddy, Jr. (later Robert E. Rose), State Commerce and Economic Development Department; Captain Delbert Kelly of Seattle; and Lester O'Day of Aberdeen. Legislators on the commission included Vic DeGarmo, Thurston County; A. L. Rasmussen, Pierce County; and Harry S. Elway, Jr., Grays Harbor County. Others were William Chatalas, King County; Arnold Wang, Kitsap County; and Eric Anderson, Grays Harbor County. Captain Merle Adlum was appointed as navigation consultant.

This group was also charged with studying the feasibility of a canal to connect Hood Canal and Puget Sound between Allyn and Belfair, a distance of only 10,500 feet. They also looked at a third project, which was a 74-mile canal from Puget Sound to the Columbia River that would skirt Chehalis and Centralia and enter the Cowlitz River at Vader. The commission was to review the 1933 Puget Sound-Grays Harbor Canal Study in light of engineering advances and evaluate the possibilities of the canal's role in flood control, particularly on the Chehalis River.

After their reexamination of the project, the 1961 canal commission set the cost of the Puget Sound-Grays Harbor Canal at $87 million. The canal was rerouted from Budd to Eld Inlet because of the development of Capitol Lake, which precluded using the 1933 route. The report recommended a change in the number of locks as well.

The cost for the waterway to connect Puget Sound and Hood Canal was set at $49 million. This waterway was anticipated to be built at sea level and require no locks. In 1962, Washington Senators Warren Magnuson and Henry Jackson, along with Congresswoman Julia Butler Hansen, persuaded Congress to authorize an Army Corps of Engineers review of the 1941 Puget Sound-Grays Harbor Canal survey. They secured appropriations of $20,000 in 1964, $10,000 in 1965 and $60,000 in 1966 for this work. By 1964 Corps' engineers were resurveying the route. Meanwhile, federal...
standards were changing for criteria to justify construction of the canal. The old criteria required that if the value of a project was found to exceed its cost, comparing water- and-haul rates with overland freight rates, it was feasible. By 1966, future projections were required to determine what rates for the two modes of transportation would cost. Although Senator Magnuson succeeded in reversing the future estimate requirement, proving feasibility for the canal was difficult.

In 1963 the state legislature reauthorized the commission on a semi-legislative basis and in 1965 created a new canal commission with a goal of preparing a study for the Corps of Engineers to show the economic justification for the canal. Commission members were: Merle Adlum, Ray E. Davis, John A. Early, Ernest L. Perry, Wayne Smyth, H. Maurice Ahlquist (ex-officio), with R. W. Gibson as director.

In the midst of the discussions came the idea from “Operation Plowshares” to dig the canal through the use of nuclear devices. Using hydrogen bombs (euphemistically called “devices” by Lawrence Livermore Laboratories), the canal could be dug for $.30 per ton! A briefing was held in Seattle hosted by the canal commission and Operation Plowshares in August 1965.

By early 1967 the Army Corps of Engineers gave an indication that the Grays Harbor to Willapa Bay leg of the canal could be feasible. Similarly, a report issued by the Washington Canal Commission in 1970 found that the Puget Sound-Garab Harbor portion of the canal could not be economically justified but that the canals between Willapa Harbor, Grays Harbor, and the Columbia River could be economically successful. Costs for the Puget Sound-

Governor Dan Evans vetoed the canal commission’s appropriation in 1970. In 1972, when the Corps of Engineers was evaluating improvements at Willapa Harbor, the canal in that area was again brought up by long-time supporters of the project, including Merle Adlum. The canal project was sporadically revived by attempts to fund additional studies in the 1970s, and in 1977 Governor Dixie Lee Ray’s cabinet briefly brought up the idea. Despite the fact that it was never built, the landscape of the canal lives on in maps, artists’ conceptions, and promotional materials generated by the idea.

From today’s perspective, it seems incredible that so little attention was paid to the environmental effects of the canals before the 1970s. The canal project reflects the thinking of many in the 19th and 20th centuries—that the environment was there to be reshaped at will to accommodate economic objectives. If not for Senator C. C. Dill’s eastern Washington ambition to build the monumental Grand Coulee Dam, Olympia’s undying boosterism might have made it possible for sailboats and other craft to make their way from Olympia to Portland on a regular basis through the Puget Sound-Grays Harbor Canal.

Shanna Stevenson is a long-time Olympia historian. Formerly the Historic Preservation Officer for Olympia, Thurston County, and Tumwater, she recently joined the Washington State Historical Society staff as coordinator of the Women’s History Consortium.
BY LINDA TAMURA

Pacific Northwest
Nisei in the United States Military Intelligence Service

The Enemy's Our Cousin

They were homegrown farm kids, the sons of hardworking immigrants who set down roots in the Columbia River Gorge. Neither aspired to become a war hero. When Uncle Sam solicited recruits at the onset of World War II, each answered the call of his country, one by registering for the draft, the other by volunteering. Along the way, both served this nation with distinction and earned military citations. They were among the 3,700 credited with saving more than one million American lives and shortening the war by two years. Yet, one of the two went home to a community that discouraged his return. The other did not return at all; his name was headlined in newspapers across the country to counter unseemly acts in his hometown. Steeped in the cruel ironies of war, the circumstances of World War II pitted these young Gls against their parents' homeland while also positioning them at the center of a hometown controversy that stirred hearts and consciences nationwide. This is their story.

The fathers of Mamoru (Mam) Noji and Frank Hachiya were young bachelors from Japan, first-generation Issei who had arrived on the West Coast around 1900. A small number made their way to the fertile, forested valley of Hood River, Oregon, between majestic Mount Hood and the waters of the Columbia. First lured by temporary work on labor gangs for the Mount Hood Railroad, they were soon employed to clear heavy stands of fir and pine for private landowners and as migrant fruit laborers for Caucasian orchardists.

Since wages were much higher than those in Japan, many Issei chose to remain in this country. By 1910 Hood River County had the largest population of Japanese in the state outside Portland. Ten years later the majority of Issei in Hood River had become vegetable and berry farmers who cultivated three-quarters of the valley's strawberries. Eventually the fathers of Noji and Hachiya married and raised children who became the second generation of Japanese in this country, the Nisei.

As American citizens with family roots in Japan, the Nisei seemed to straddle the Pacific Ocean—one foot planted in Japan and the other entrenched in American soil. It is not surprising, then, that issues of language became significant in their early lives. At home, Nisei conversed in their parents' native tongue, ate Japanese food, and celebrated holidays their parents remembered from their own youth across the ocean. At the same time, they attended American public schools, where they learned English and became familiar with the
food, celebrations, and mannerisms of other American citizens. Their parents noticed that their habits tended toward the everyday ways of their Caucasian peers. Recognizing the widening cultural gap between their own generation and that of their children, Issei set up Japanese language schools, determined to instill a sense of heritage in Nisei while teaching them traditional language and values.

Mam Noji remembered attending Japanese school three days a week after public school and on Saturdays: "The parents didn't want us to lose Japanese tradition and knowledge and culture altogether," he explained. But, he admitted, "Most of us Nisei went to Japanese school to please our parents. So we didn't accomplish a great deal there." Studious and responsible, the eldest of four children, Noji thrived at both schools and was popular among his peers. The only Japanese American among his 13 classmates, he was elected student body president at Parkdale High School. His proud parents hoped to send him to college once their orchard became established.

Frank Hachiya was smart, outspoken, and often bold, especially when he got into scrapes with his playmates. At school, where he sat in the last seat in the last row, young "Hatch" entertained his classmates by crawling on the floor and clowning during class. In 1936, when he was 16, the Hachiya family moved to Okayama, Japan, where Mr. Hachiya had inherited property. Unhappy living on foreign soil and discouraged with the deterioration of his English skills, young Frank gained new appreciation for the country of his birth and longed to return to Oregon: "The love of one's country. America! It's queer and mystifying is all I can say." Four years later, when his father returned to America to earn money by following the fruit harvest in California and Oregon, Hachiya convinced his parents to let him return, too. Living with a former neighbor, he attended school and played catcher on the baseball team. After he graduated from Odell High School in 1941, Hachiya enrolled in classes at several colleges before beginning his first term at the University of Oregon.

On December 7, 1941, the Japanese bombing of Pearl Harbor threatened the ambitions of both young men. Noji, 23, had begun basic training at Camp Roberts, California, after being drafted into military service the previous month. For him and other Nisei, the repercussions were immediate: "There were guys patrolling the area with guns on their shoulders, on guard," recalled Noji. "We were in the middle of training but they cut us off..."
right away. No more basic. No more training. They took us off KP (kitchen patrol), which suggested maybe they thought we'd be poisoning the food. We were not trusted anymore."

Officers reassigned most Nisei to detail work: cleaning barracks and latrines, picking up cigarette butts, scraping paint off windows, and doing yard work. Noji was among the more fortunate, designated to drive jeeps and trucks in the motor pool. Yet stories circulated about other inequities, including Nisei officers stripped of their ranks and inductees discharged from active duty. These were violations of the Selective Training and Service Act, which barred discrimination due to one's "race, creed, or color."

Early the next year the army moved Noji and other Nisei soldiers from California to Camp Robinson, Arkansas, where they would be assigned to perform more noncombatant-type tasks. The long train ride brought bitter recriminations from Noji: "We were wearing uniforms but they put a guard on us!... Boy, what a comedown.... It's pretty hard to put into words, but when you're in uniform and you're treated like a prisoner, you wonder what you're doing in the service."

After four years of living and studying in Japan, Frank Hachiya had strengthened his faith in American ideals and the integrity of individuals. At the University of Oregon, where he enrolled in political science classes, he was intent on studying principles of democracy. "Some despair because they think an individual can do nothing, but history has taught us that an individual can change the map of the world," he wrote a former teacher. After Pearl Harbor was bombed, Hachiya volunteered for military service so that he could offer his skills as a language translator. "When you know the language of one people, you know the people and understand their problems," he explained. Though his mother and brother still lived in Japan, Hachiya posited, "The only way I can help them is to aid in freeing Japan of the military party."

As the war waged on, however, the Selective Service became more averse to accepting Nisei into their ranks. Draft boards began reclassifying them as IV-F (unsuitable for military service), then as IV-C ("aliens not acceptable to the armed forces, or any group of persons not acceptable") by September 1942. They also banned further Nisei inductees. But the government recanted by February 1943 when President Franklin D. Roosevelt pronounced the formation of a Nisei combat team. "No loyal citizen of the United States should be denied the democratic right to exercise the responsibilities of his citizenship, regardless of his ancestry.... Americanism is not, and never was, a matter of race or ancestry." Contrary to the president's statement, however, 120,000 people of Japanese descent were incarcerated behind barbed wire in concentration camps on American soil. Hachiya's father (as well as Noji's) resided in those camps. Still, Hachiya was undaunted. "We are all determined to do our utmost to prove this new rule is right."

Meanwhile, language obstacles loomed over the United States military; and the Nisei would become unexpected saviors. The native tongue of the enemy Japanese was "almost beyond occidental comprehension," according to Brigadier General John Weckerling, an intelligence officer in the South Pacific. The written language was composed of two separate alphabets, in addition to thousands of Chinese characters, each requiring four distinct steps to write. The spoken words were almost as complex, characterized by different forms of speech based on the rank or class of the person addressed. Because overconfident Japanese military commanders viewed their language as incomprehensible to outsiders, they neglected to code their wartime

Above: Mam Noji, the eldest of four children, did not realize that attending Japanese language school in his youth would serve him well during the war.

Left: Before the war began, Mam Noji practiced loading mortars during basic training at Camp Roberts.
communications. Japanese entered the war speaking freely, labeling minefields, carrying personal diaries, and even disregarding security when handling military documents. Now the Nisei, even with minimal backgrounds in Japanese language and culture, were in demand as wartime linguists. They would be recruited for the Military Intelligence Service (MIS), lauded as the “eyes and ears” of the Allied Forces. “The military were desperately scraping the bottom of the barrel to find some of us,” admitted Noji. “They were so desperate to find people who understood some Japanese (and I put myself at the lower level), they had to have us!”

The Nisei were more acculturated than anyone anticipated. Army officials had first envisioned that a few weeks of language study would suffice before sending Nisei overseas. Instead, they found it necessary to develop a six-month curriculum composed of Japanese vocabulary, military terminology, and combat intelligence. Studies were so intense, in fact, that overwhelmed Nisei crammed for tests late at night in the latrines, instigating officer patrols to turn out lights and send the harried men to bed. Still, one-fourth of the Gls in the first class failed to graduate.

Noji enrolled with the second class, which became the first class of linguists at the new Military Intelligence Service Language School at Camp Savage, Minnesota. (The school was transplanted from the Presidio in San Francisco because Executive Order 9066 excluded Japanese Americans from the West Coast, removing them to inland camps.) When he graduated in December 1942, however, Noji had one major misgiving. “We were given a few stripes and ordered for duties. There were three hakujin (Caucasians) in my own class. They all got commissions. That was a big difference that kind of bothers you, you know?” Indeed, while their Caucasian classmates gained commissions as second lieutenants, most Nisei earned promotions of just one or two levels and remained in the enlisted ranks.

Within days of their graduation, MIS personnel headed for the combat theater in the South Pacific. Japanese forces had seized territory in the Philippines, Southeast Asia, and Indonesia and threatened Australia by building a strategic airstrip on Guadalcanal, in the midst of the Central Pacific. After three months of fierce naval and air battles, the Allies finally secured Guadalcanal and advanced northwest up the Solomon Islands.

In June 1943 the Allies targeted New Georgia Island. Noji took part in the amphibious assault when marine and army forces landed on nearby Rendova Island. “When we got off the landing craft and were wading through the water, I could see bullets landing on both sides of me. Both sides now! I never expected to be shot at, you know. So when we got to this coconut tree, we all started hugging the base of it…. This one kid just cried because he [was] so scared.” A photo of the Rendova Island daybreak landing appeared in the U.S. News & World Report’s special report on June 30, 1943. Kiyoto Nishimoto of Penryn, California, and Noji are barely visible against the dark landscape.

During the Rendova campaign, Noji had his “baptism of fire,” when he interrogated his first prisoner of war, a Japanese pilot who had been shot down. Following the Bushido custom of ancient samurai warriors, Japanese soldiers considered it a disgrace to surrender and had been indoctrinated to believe that they would be tortured by Americans. “Here I was trying to talk to him in conversation maybe third or fourth grade school level. I just felt inadequate…. My foremost thought was…[to] talk him out of committing suicide. I told him, ‘It would be more helpful to your own country if you would help rebuild your country instead of committing suicide.’ I don’t know whether I succeeded or not.”
Noji and other MIS personnel spent the bulk of their time translating documents captured from the enemy, a tedious and demanding full-time job. “Guys would bring in armloads, buckets. When the enemy’s running away, they can’t destroy everything. So we got a lot of stuff.” In teams of ten with one officer, MIS staff cooperated to translate battle plans and defense maps as well as radio messages, newspapers, diaries, even letters from home intercepted from the enemy.

The value of the Military Intelligence Service linguists became quickly evident. On the warfront, they parachuted with troops into strategic areas, interrogated captives, intercepted and eavesdropped on enemy communications, and negotiated surrenders. In the rear, they monitored radio messages and translated captured documents. On one occasion, when Noji’s unit was unable to move past an enemy hill, Allied soldiers were able to retrieve a map of the Japanese defensive position. Once Noji and his MIS team completed their translation, his unit easily bypassed the enemy defense. Other major MIS feats were instrumental to the defeat of the Imperial Military: MIS personnel produced a full-time alphabetized catalog of 40,000 Japanese Army officers. In April 1943 they decoded flight plans for Admiral Isoroku Yamamoto, commander in chief of Japan’s Combined Fleet, enabling United States fighters to shoot his plane down. After Admiral Mineichi Koga’s “Z Plan” fell in the hands of Philippine guerrillas in May 1944, the translation by an MIS team led to a decisive defeat of the Japanese fleet in the Battle of the Philippine Sea.

For the Nisei linguists, however, there were dangers far beyond the armed combat they experienced, especially when they were close to the front lines. “We were all warned about infiltrators coming to our area, Japanese in American uniforms. Gosh, we fit that bill, you know?” Noji explained. “I gotta tell you, one time a fellow came up to me and said, ‘I had you in my sights.’ (He didn’t tell me why he didn’t pull the trigger….) The enemy’s our cousin. We all look alike, you know? We were getting shot from ahead of us and behind us.” That dilemma would also befall Frank Hachiya.

By the fall of 1944, Allied Forces were leap-frogging across New Guinea, then bombarding the Philippines to free them from three years of Japanese domination. MIS teams joined GI combat troops by parachuting into Leyte Island’s remote mountains, gorges, and jungles to negotiate enemy surrenders.

Hachiya was scheduled to fly back to Hawaii the next day, but he volunteered for forward duty with the 32nd Infantry Regiment. Known for seeking assignments in the front and talking the enemy out of holes, he headed through two parallel ridges infiltrated by the enemy. Accounts of his shooting vary.

His commanding officer, Lieutenant Howard M. Moss, told how Hachiya crossed a valley to interrogate a prisoner, with an infantryman as his bodyguard. At the bottom of a valley, Hachiya outran his bodyguards and began hollering to the enemy when a sniper shot him at close range. He emptied his gun into the sniper and walked up the hill, where he was given plasma, then taken to the hospital for blood transfusions and more plasma.

In another report, general orders from Seventh Infantry Division headquarters described how three enemy soldiers ran into a bamboo thicket at the edge of a deep and heavily wooded gorge. Hachiya tried to “talk the enemy out.” After requesting permission to pursue and try to capture them, he moved out ahead of a two-man patrol. At the bottom of a gorge, a 12-man enemy patrol opened fire. While lying on the ground, Hachiya fired a complete magazine at the enemy, driving them up the ravine.

Another version, cited by journalists, MIS accounts, and The New York Times, ascribed Hachiya’s wounds to a different source. Invading GIs mistook Hachiya for an enemy infiltrator and shot him as he was making his way back to American lines. Still, Hachiya delivered maps of the Japanese defenses, an act credited with saving the lives of hundreds of fellow soldiers.

What is not in dispute is that the mortally wounded Frank Hachiya died several days later, on January 3, 1945. That month he was memorialized at two services. One was in a downtown Honolulu church when Gold Star Mothers honored Japanese Americans killed in the war. The second was in a tarpaper covered mess hall in Block 37 at Minidoka, the concentration camp in Idaho where his father was incarcerated. Hachiya’s
actions, however, would be editorialized across the country as an antidote for racist actions in his hometown.

"So Sorry Please! Japs Are Not Wanted in Hood River." (Hood River News, January 26, 1945)

"We, the undersigned residents and taxpayers of Hood River, County, are opposed to the Japs returning to this county and favor every lawful means to keep them out." (Hood River County Sun, March 23, 1945)

Hundreds of valley residents signed petitions that appeared in five full-page newspaper ads during the first three months of 1945. The ads impugned Issei for their alleged allegiance to the emperor of Japan and aimed to convince them that their neighbors and friends wished to expel them from the valley and the country.

Two months earlier the local American Legion post had resolved not only to prevent those of Japanese ancestry from returning to the valley once they could leave the camps but also to deport all Japanese Americans to Japan. Their solution? They proposed an amendment to the Constitution that would "deprive all American-born Japanese of their claimed citizenship." The following year, the post vowed to prevent the sale or lease of property to Japanese and to purchase all property they owned. But their strongest mandate was a resolution to remove the names of 16 local Nisei soldiers from the community memorial plaque because they questioned their status as dual citizens of Japan and the United States.

Noji’s name was included and, for a long time, it was thought that Hachiya’s was inscribed and removed as well. When he read in the Stars and Stripes military newspaper about his hometown’s actions, Noji was incensed. "What a lowdown thing to have done, I thought…. Nothing less than an insult. Here we were risking our lives, you might say. And it wasn’t good enough to be on the board."

Across the country and throughout the ranks of military overseas, the actions of this community of fewer than 12,000 became notorious. Editors of Colliers censured Hood River for its "blind hatred... an all-American low in intolerance and bigotry." A reader complained to the Chicago Sun, "If I ever buy any apples from a box with the name of Hood River, Oregon, on it, it will be because I’m blind." GI newspapers such as The Defender condemned the act. "We cannot forgive them, because they indeed know what they do." More than 300 servicemen in the Pacific wrote letters to the Hood River News, all but one critical. After Hachiya’s death, a New York Times editorial, "Private Hachiya, American," recognized, "To be sure, his eyes slanted, his skin was yellow, his name different. But Hachiya was an American."

The roots of this acrimony were evident as early as 1917. That year a Hood River senator introduced Oregon’s first bill to prevent Japanese from purchasing property, the forerunner to Oregon’s Alien Land Law of 1923. Two years later, the community formed the Anti-Alien Association, vowing to neither sell nor lease land to valley Japanese and to oppose further immigration of "Asiatics." In 1920 a report on the state’s Japanese situation, compiled by state legislator Frank Davey, targeted Hood River: "The Japanese Question is more acute in Hood River than in any other place in Oregon." The report cited fears by residents that the Japanese would drive out property owners surrounded by Japanese land, that Japanese orchards were large and in good condition, and that immigrant Japanese had high birthrates and sent their profits to Japan.

In April 1945, five months after its controversial action, the Hood River American Legion post finally restored the names of 15 of the 16 Nisei to its honor roll, noting that one had been dishonorably discharged from the army. Local commander Jess Eddington made it clear, however, that his views had not changed. Mayor Joe Meyer averred, "Ninety percent are against the Japs!"

Not surprisingly, fewer than half of the prewar Hood River Japanese returned to the controversy-ridden valley after the war. Once home, they struggled to purchase goods and services they needed to restore their homes and get on with their lives. Business owners pressured them to leave by cutting off their supplies and boycotting merchants who sold to them. Some Japanese Americans were forced to drive 30 miles to the next town in order to buy goods. Public pressure was so great that one store-owner delivered goods to Nisei customers only after dark.

A few stalwart citizens did emerge to defend the rights of Japanese Americans. In a public letter, Reverend Sherman Burgoyne of the local Asbury Methodist Church derided the "thirty misguided men" for their "nazi principles." He was so outspoken that the first of the full-page newspaper ads was addressed to him. Local merchant Arline Moore offered Issei a haven at her downtown store and made purchases for Japanese
families when businesses denied them service. R. J. McIsaac stocked Japanese goods at his upper valley store despite threats from residents and the moniker of “jap lover.” Members of the League for Liberty and Justice, named after closing words in the Pledge of Allegiance, formed to counteract propaganda with facts and to assist returning Japanese Americans by such acts as meeting them at trains and driving produce trucks when warehouse workers threatened them.

Still, a neighbor tried to convince Noji to sell his property to him and move. “It hurts,” Noji claimed. “Your feelings for friends turn upside-down. You could see it in their faces. WE had the wrong kind of face. WE had the wrong names.”

Hachiya’s father faced a more chilling dilemma. Considering the valley’s contemptuous climate, would he ever be able to bury his son at home? In 1946, one year after his death, Hachiya’s body was still buried in Grave 4479 at the United States Armed Forces Cemetery outside the town of Palo on the Philippines’ Leyte Island. Mr. Hachiya had confided to Monroe Sweetland (a former Red Cross field director who had befriended Frank Hachiya in Eniwetok, Marshall Islands) that he “didn’t want any more trouble.” Mr. Sweetland, then a newspaper publisher and later a state senator, spoke with Hugh Ball, publisher of the Hood River News, who expressed the townspeople’s desire to remove the stigma and was eager to “make amends.”

On September 11, 1948, three years after his death, an overflow crowd honored Frank Hachiya’s memory at Ashbury Methodist Church in downtown Hood River. Honorary pallbearers included former Governor Charles Sprague; attorney and future chief of the United States District Court of Oregon, Gus Solomon; Hood River’s Reverend Sherman Burgoyne; and national Japanese American Citizens League president Hito Okada. Following the service Hachiya’s body was reinterred without incident at the community’s Idlewild Cemetery. Since his death at the age of 25, his courageous acts have gained other recognition. In 1945 Hachiya’s family received a posthumous Silver Star for his gallantry in action. He also earned the Distinguished Service Cross, the highest honor given to a Nisei in the Pacific theater. Congressman Al Ullman of Oregon called Hachiya “perhaps the greatest Japanese-American war hero of World War II in the Pacific.” And in 1980 the Presidio’s Defense Language Institute in Monterey, California, named Hachiya Hall, the new Asian language complex’s central building, in his honor.

After 46 months in the military, Mam Noji returned to Hood River in August 1945 wearing a Bronze Star for his service on behalf of the Philippine liberation. Once home, civilian Noji promptly contracted malaria. “One moment you’re sweating and the next moment you were freezing,” he remembered of the 10-day episode. Not one to dwell on the noxious past, the positive and practical Noji concentrated on nursing the family orchard back to health and raising his own family in a large home together with his Issei parents. Also committed to rebuilding relationships within the community, Noji was elected the first post-war president of the Mid-Columbia Japanese American Citizens League and served on numerous community boards, including chair of the Hood River Electric Cooperative. In 1969 the prosperous pear and apple grower was named Orchardist of the Year by the Hood River Chamber of Commerce. In 2001 he was honored as grand marshal of Hood River’s Independence Day parade. Until his death at age 87 in January 2006, Noji socialized with friends, bowled three times a week, and traveled worldwide, touching every continent and every state but Rhode Island and Connecticut.

**THERE WERE NO PARADES** when veterans of the Military Intelligence Service returned from the war. Unlike Nisei who served in the famed, all-Nisei 442nd Regimental Combat Team in Europe (the most decorated unit of its size and length of service in American military history)—deservedly greeted by cheering crowds at New York’s harbor, a parade in Washington, D.C., and a welcome and Presidential Unit Citation from President Harry Truman—the MIS veterans were never feted with celebrations or fanfare.

These Japanese American linguists, serving as “the eyes and ears” of the Allied Forces, had served in every major campaign and battle in the South Pacific during World War II. They translated 2 million documents with more than 20 million pages and interrogated 14,000 Japanese prisoners. Commending their unprecedented contributions, Colonel Sidney Forrester Mashbir, commandant of the Allied Translator & Interpreter Section (the intelligence center in Brisbane, Australia), maintained, “No group had so much to lose. Capture would have meant indescribable horrors to them and their relatives in Japan. They are worthy, as individuals and as a group, of the highest praise for their invaluable contribution to the success of Allied arms.” Yet, even today many are unfamiliar with the accomplishments and sacrifices of these Nisei. Why does the story of the MIS still remain such an obscure military secret after all these years? The answers are as perplexing and reasonable as they seem inexcusable.

First, the Military Intelligence Service was not organized in a separate unit, as were combat squads. Instead, the MIS was a service with its teams of up to 10 members temporarily attached to 128 separate units. Those units represented United States Army, Navy, and Marine personnel in addition to troops from foreign countries, for these linguists were also in demand and on loan to units from Great Britain, Canada, India, New Zealand, Australia, and China. “We didn’t belong to anybody,” explained Harry Fukuhara, Seattle native, MIS veteran, and career intelligence officer who was inducted into the Military Intelligence Corps Hall of Fame in 1988. Nor did those early units maintain official records of the MIS team that served with them, according to Roy Inui, former president of the Seattle MIS and the Nisei Veterans Committee. Since MIS interpreters were only temporarily attached to their combat units, they were not listed in morning reports and were therefore ignored or forgotten even by the United States Army. Thus, the merits of MIS interpreters’ service were not easily recognizable as a group, and there was little documentation to support their contributions.
Second, the MIS's value lay in its secretive nature: Nisei linguists remained a well-kept secret weapon against Japan. The military concealed MIS operations, techniques, and capabilities from its adversaries, a practice which continued during the Japanese Occupation, the Korean War, and the long Cold War. Besides, veteran Fukuhara claimed, "If an intelligence operation is successful, nobody knows about it. It's only if somebody makes a mistake [that] it comes out." In fact, World War II military intelligence documents were restricted until 1972, when the Freedom of Information Act declassified them. Still, by 1988, official files were "buried, scattered, or scant," according to Don Nakatsu, also an MIS veteran. Since the war, there has been no official publicity about the role of the MIS.

Third, through their training, Gls learned to be discreet and cautious in withholding information about their intelligence operations. "Even among ourselves, we were told not to talk about what we did or how we did it," explained Fukuhara. "As the war ended, that training was still there." Besides, he intoned, "Any war story is [about] a combat unit, not somebody in a quartermaster or signal corps or medical corps.... Intelligence is very mundane work."

Fourth, most Nisei remain reluctant to speak about their accomplishments. The MIS 50th anniversary reunion program, appropriately titled "Secret Valor," attributed this to the "natural reticence of the veterans, conforming to a common Oriental trait of withholding their secrets." Harry Akune, inducted into the Military Intelligence Corps Hall of Fame, called it the "regular Nisei self-deprecatory manner." Nakatsu also noted that Nisei were "neither motivated nor organized to publicize their story."

Since post-war news media were justifiably more inclined to write stories about the heroic 442nd Nisei combat team than about linguists whose service had been blocked from the public by intelligence operations, public awareness has depended on MIS veterans' willingness to "toot their own horns," according to Mercer Island veteran Hiro Nishimura. In recent years, more MIS veterans have demonstrated that willingness to recount their achievements; and their activism has increased. Those efforts led to a Presidential Unit Citation awarded to the MIS in 2000 for "extraordinary heroism in military operations against an armed enemy." Harry Fukuhara and the MIS Association of Northern California spent two years researching and collecting documentation with the support of Senator Daniel Akaka of Hawaii, Secretary of the Army Louis Caldera, and Army Chief of Staff general Eric Shinseki. Now, too, the official account of the MIS, highly anticipated and supported by MIS veterans, is finally in the editing process. The forthcoming book, by former Presidio historian James McNaughton, will be published by the United States Army. With the promise of this official recognition, Nishimura confides, "We do not despair over the scarcity of publicity as we have faith in historians who will do the right thing."

Today, the ironies of war—and errors in our own judgment—are all too evident as we finally recognize the contributions of these heroic men:

- In their youth, Nisei were limited in their Japanese language fluency. Yet, in a twist of fate, their literacy helped to win a bitter war.
- Their families, even siblings who were American citizens, were not trusted to live on the West Coast. Forced to give up their homes, their businesses, and their belongings, they were transported to concentration camps in interior America. Still, these Nisei served their country in the selective Intelligence Division of the United States Army.
- After the bombing of Pearl Harbor, they faced discrimination at home because they resembled the enemy. Yet, their appearance proved an advantage in gaining the trust of Japanese prisoners of war (and later during the Japanese Occupation). In a twist that may have determined Frank Hachiya's fate, their features were also a handicap in battle, for they were threatened from the front and from behind.

The United States military had previously questioned the loyalty of the Nisei to this country. Yet the service of these 3,700 "Yankee Samurai" became indispensable to the Allied victory. "Never in military history did an army know so much about the enemy prior to engagement," praised General Douglas MacArthur.

These Nisei linguists fought two battles—one against the enemy from their parents' homeland and the other against the surge of racial prejudice in their communities. "We had a lot of doubts in those days," noted Mam Noji. "But today I think we could say we're proud to have served and come home alive."

Today most MIS veterans are in their eighties. According to author and war historian Patrick K. O'Donnell, more than 1,100 World War II veterans die each day. It is not too late to honor these wartime heroes. The MIS interpreters were America's secret weapon against Japan, but we must keep their secret no longer.

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Mail service to the isolated settlement of Clearwater, northeast of Queets on the Olympic Peninsula, was a challenge in pioneer years. Homesteaders at first volunteered to take the mail on foot to Quinault, walking 20-plus miles over the Quinault Lake Trail. When patrons decided that the mail should be taken to Taholah at the mouth of the Quinault River, mail carriers still made the first part of the trip via the trail on foot or horseback and then boarded a boat headed downriver to Taholah. In summer the trip could be made on schedule, but during the winter, when the trail was unnavigable, part of the journey had to be made along the coast and could take as much as a week to complete.

This 1924 photograph shows mail carrier H. C. Weaver on the weekly 42-mile Quinault, Clearwater, Queets route, with 100 pounds of mail.
Railroad Promotion of the Evergreen State

By Carlos A. Schwantes

Let me ask: "How far is an hour?"
The question was probably never phrased quite that way in the 1880s and 1890s, but perceptive Washingtonians of the era were likely to think about questions of time and space as never before. That was because the new railroad technology shrank space and redefined time as never before.

In the fall of 1883 the nation's second transcontinental railroad was completed. It linked Puget Sound and the Mississippi Valley. Eighty years earlier, in the days of Lewis and Clark, a journey overland from St. Louis to the Columbia River country had been measured in months and even years. People at that time traveled at the same speed their ancestors had traveled for millennia—that is, as fast as a human, horse, or canoe could travel. In the 1840s a journey from Missouri to the Pacific Northwest by covered wagon still required four to six months.

Isolation was a fact of life in the far Northwest, or Oregon Country, in the 1840s. The region's isolation was so palpable to Euramerican settlers that on occasion it became emotionally oppressive and perhaps even psychologically debilitating for those accustomed to metropolitan lifestyles. We have the example of the Reverend Gustavus Hines, who arrived in the Oregon Country from the East Coast in 1840. Hines traveled by one of the fastest means possible at the time, departing New York City on October 9, 1839, sailing around Cape Horn of South America, and reaching the Columbia River on May 21st of the following year. His shipboard journey lasted almost eight months.

Three years later, on a lonely stretch of the Columbia near the Grand Dalles, Hines paused from his missionary labors long enough to write a lament for himself in his state of isolation. To the modern ear the following lengthy quotation may sound maudlin, but Hines's words reflect accurately the age in which they were written and thus help us appreciate the fact that questions of time and space were no trifling matter for pioneer Euramericans in the Oregon Country:

I thought of my beloved parents from whom I had not heard for years; of the tears they shed when last I saw them, of receiving the parting benediction, and of the anxiety they must still feel, if
alive, for their wandering son. I thought of all my former associates, of brothers and sisters, and early school mates, and Christian friends, with whom I had taken sweet counsel, and walked to the house of God, and who, if they had not forgotten me, would ask, "Where is he? and what is his employment." I thought of everything of interest in my native land; of bustling cities, with wheels rattling and towns, with their splendid turnpikes and McAdamized roads; of railroad cars and steamboats; of temples erected to the God in heaven; the toll of chiming bells as they informed the waiting thousands that the time of worship had arrived; of crowded assemblies listening to the messengers of Jesus; and of saints rejoicing, and altars thronged with mourning penitents. Continuing these reflections until my mind experienced a kind of abstraction from the objects surrounding me, I fancied myself really amidst the scenes, the contemplation of which had produced this pleasing illusion, and starting up I found myself surrounded with the stillness of death, save the murmuring of the turbid waters of the Columbia that rolled beneath where I sat. Contrasting the land which had passed before my mental vision with that in which I felt myself a voluntary exile, I exclaimed, how changed the scene! This, thought I, is truly a land of darkness.

The lengthy journey across the United States to the Oregon Country in the 1840s was indeed analogous with the "voluntary exile's"—an interesting choice of words—"virtual death," and not just for the Reverend Hines and those who traveled by sailing ship around Cape Horn but also for the thousands of pioneers who left parents and friends "back east" and undertook the four- to six-month journey west along the Oregon Trail.

The 2,000-mile trek to Oregon was the longest overland journey American settlers attempted. Some accounts claim that 10 percent of the travelers perished along the way, mainly from disease and accident. "The world's longest graveyard" was one way to describe the Oregon Trail, with one body, on average, buried about every 80 yards. Swollen rivers, quicksand, rattlesnakes, and accidents occasionally claimed the life of an overlander; heavy wagon wheels or oxen hooves occasionally crushed children. However, the number one killer along the trail was disease. And if overlanders survived the daily hazards of the trail and reached...
Oregon, they still had to deal with the overwhelming sense of isolation engendered by that distance from home.

Suppose a young couple reached Oregon and wanted to send news of their safe arrival (or mere survival) back to their parents in the East. There was no mail service between the Oregon Country and the rest of the world throughout most of the 1840s. In fact, the nearest post office was in Weston, Missouri, 2,000 miles distant. On occasion, an eastbound traveler would carry letters to Weston and post them there. Incidentally, when the letter finally reached its destination several months later, the receiver paid the delivery cost, for there were no official postage stamps until the 1850s. A common complaint among pioneer settlers of the Pacific Northwest was poor mail service.

Federal officials finally contracted for mail delivery between the Atlantic and Pacific coasts in 1847. Letters headed west traveled by ship to Panama, across the isthmus, and then by ship up the Pacific Coast. In this way the first six sacks of mail reached Astoria's newly opened post office, the distribution point for Oregon (which at the time included future Washington). From Astoria mail traveled inland by canoe and horseback. Mail and other forms of communication within the sprawling region and with the East improved only gradually during the decade of the 1850s.

The opening of a 48-mile-long railroad across the Isthmus of Panama in 1855—together with connecting mail ships—radically reduced travel time between the opposite coasts of the United States to approximately 25 days. Later in the 1850s the first transcontinental stagecoach line opened between St. Louis and San Francisco.

At the decade's end, in mid-March 1859, Portland's few hundred residents learned for the first time that Oregon had become the 33rd state. President James Buchanan had signed the legislation a month earlier, on February 14, and the welcome news traveled across the continent in the fastest manner possible—by stagecoach from St. Louis, across the desert Southwest to San Francisco, and north from there aboard the steamship Brother Jonathan.

Communication links between East and West improved significantly the following year when Pony Express service began between St. Joseph, Missouri, and Sacramento, California, on April 3, 1860. It now took 10 days to deliver a letter between those two points. Mail by Pony Express cost five dollars an ounce, but the elapsed time was still ten days faster than the overland mail route through the desert Southwest. A transcontinental telegraph line was completed to California in October 1861, but news from the East still traveled from San Francisco north to Oregon and Washington no faster than a steamship or stagecoach.

Finally, on March 5, 1864, the first telegraph message from California (and points east) reached Portland; the Oregonian published a celebratory extra with news from New York only 20 hours old. Three days later the mayors of the two Portlands—Oregon and Maine—exchanged special telegraph messages. For the Pacific Northwest, an era of isolation had ended, but until a transcontinental railroad reached California five years later, it still took a month for people and freight to travel between the East Coast and Puget Sound.

Completion of a transcontinental railroad in 1869 further reduced travel time across the United States to approximately five days. Likewise, the stepped-up pace of railroad construction in Washington in the 1880s and '90s radically reduced the time it took to travel between once-distant communities within the territory and state. Plodding journeys that once required days and weeks were shortened to a matter of hours. “How far is an hour?” For most Washingtonians in the 1880s and '90s, the answer depended on where the newly built railroad lines ran.

In fact, it could be said that the future itself depended on where those rail lines ran. Well before the Northern Pacific's transcontinental line was completed in 1883, settlements on Puget Sound vied to be selected as the next railroad's Pacific terminus. The winning community knew its future would be bright. East of the Cascades, entirely new settlements arose in anticipation

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**The 2006 Curtiss Hill Lecture**

This article by Carlos Schwantes is based on his Curtiss Hill Lecture, presented at the 2005 Washington State Historical Society’s Annual Membership Meeting. The 2006 Annual Meeting, at the History Museum, will host the next Curtiss Hill lecture on Saturday, June 17. Michael Allen, professor of history at University of Washington-Tacoma will give an illustrated presentation titled, “John Clymer: The Life and Art of a Pacific Northwest Painter and Illustrator.”

of the long-promised rail link. Spokane was one such example.

Even as Washingtonians contemplated the evolving meaning of distances measured in terms of weeks, days, and hours of travel, the railroads gave added emphasis to a heretofore little-used measure of time: the minute. The glory days of the stagecoach in the 1860s and '70s had not required timekeeping accurate to the minute, nor had the sailing vessels and steamships that connected Puget Sound to the rest of the United States and the world. For stagecoach travel, it was good enough to think of time in fairly flexible terms that seem strange to people today.

The June 17, 1866, issue of the Idaho World explained to readers how frontier communities reckoned the passing hours during the era dominated by steamboat and stagecoach transportation, when idiosyncratic and imprecise timekeeping served as a metaphor for an age far simpler than the modern one defined by railroad travel:

The difference in time between Idaho City and New York is about two hours and forty minutes; between San Francisco and this place about thirty-five minutes. When it is 12 o'clock at Idaho City it is about twenty minutes to 3 o'clock in New York and twenty-five minutes past 11 o'clock in San Francisco.

Safe railroad operations required time standards accurate to the minute. "About time" was not precise enough to ensure the safety of passengers aboard a speeding train. Unfortunately, as American railroad lines grew larger and more complex, timekeeping became an increasingly confusing matter. Official times observed in major cities often varied by several minutes. Railroads finally decided to take charge of the matter and adopted uniform time standards—the four time zones we know today—and to implement those on a single day—the "day of two noons." In the Pacific Northwest this landmark day occurred in late 1883.

The steady tick-tock beat and mellow chiming of the depot clock became a defining sound of the new railroad era, an era that prized standardization and regularity. It was one of many such sounds. Bells rang aboard locomotives as they approached a station, and inside the ticket office a telegraph sounder clicked commands reduced to a staccato of dots and dashes. On the station platform, a uniformed conductor shouted "All Aboard" to any last-minute passengers before visually signaling an engineer to proceed. The dots and dashes made sense to a trained ear, and railroaders speaking to one another often used words that were part of a distinctive work lingo to distinguish themselves from less favored mortals.

W. Milnor Roberts, a Northern Pacific official, gave railroad sounds a distinctive new twist when he sought to describe diverse development activities in eastern Washington. Using language reminiscent of the Reverend Gustavus Hines contemplating his isolation on

**ABOVE:** Issued in 1891, this manual contains a complete listing of all Northern Pacific stations and agents and describes the cities and towns along the line, with the aim of promoting settlement.

**RIGHT:** Just prior to completion of its transcontinental line and as part of its extensive land sales campaigns, the Northern Pacific issued this folder in 1882 extolling the virtues of the states and territories along the route.
the Columbia River in 1843, Roberts's writing in 1878 recalled the scene in eastern Washington when he had first crossed it on horseback a decade earlier. At that time he found only one ranch along the road between Waitsburg and Lake Pend Oreille, and not a single settlement. Ten years later he saw “continuous fences” stretching 30 miles from Walla Walla to Dayton, and wheat fields extending as far as his eye could see. The road was “almost choked with two- and four-horse teams hauling through six inches of dust to Walla Walla to be shipped over Dr. [Dorsey] Baker’s narrow gauge railroad” and then by the Oregon Steam Navigation Company’s steamboat and rail portage system to Portland and Astoria.

Roberts recalled that during an earlier encampment on the Touchet River, “no sound of church bell or factory bell or stage coach horn with six prancing horses, as now, then reached our ears.” He now wished that a telephone line connected Dayton, Washington, with Northern Pacific headquarters at 23 Fifth Avenue in New York “so that you might hear the difference in the sound of things at least.” More commonly, people described development activity in terms of the changes they saw on all sides.

Railroads reshaped the landscape of Washington and the far Northwest in many different ways. First was the all-important matter of redefining spatial relationships in terms of how much farther people and freight could travel in an hour. It is a cliché to say that railroads shrank the world, but it is also very true. They also redefined long-standing spatial relationships in terms of gateway cities. For several decades,
at least since Lewis and Clark set off in 1804, the city of St. Louis had taken a special and proprietary interest in the Oregon County. It was truly the gateway to the West, the port city from which steamboats beginning in the 1860s could travel up the Missouri River as far as Fort Benton, Montana. There was no better waterway leading west.

There is a good reason why one county in Washington and one in Oregon, as well as the community of Fort Benton, memorialize Thomas Hart Benton, United States senator from Missouri. For three decades Benton was a leading advocate on Capitol Hill for good transportation links between St. Louis and the Columbia River region. This was to be the fabled “Passage to India.” Yet, when the Pacific railroad was actually built, upstart Chicago—and not St. Louis—became the modern gateway to the West.

Railroads also transformed how people perceived the western landscape. When the Civil War Congress in 1864 sought to launch the Northern Pacific Railroad by granting it an enormous swath of federal land extending, in checkerboard fashion, from Minnesota to Puget Sound, the land was not highly esteemed by most Americans. Philadelphia banker Jay Cooke devoted so much effort to making Northern Pacific land attractive to prospective investors that the Northern Tier became caricatured as “Jay Cooke’s banana belt.” After Cooke, legions of promoters continued the campaign to make Northern Tier lands appealing.

There was for many years an unfortunate tendency to treat railroad pamphlets as crude propaganda and, if collected, to treat them as ephemera hardly worthy of scholarly study. But the distinctive promotional pamphlets surely number in the hundreds, if not thousands, and some had print runs of 10,000 copies or more. Many of them ended up being distributed in remote parts of Europe in the local language. Boosters distributed others to farmers at county fairs in the Midwest. The brochures covered a seemingly boundless range of topics—from farming the Great Plains to hunting for fossils beneath the High Plains of Wyoming. Many railroad pamphlets promoted settlement while others promoted tourism. Both involved attempts to construct new, popular interpretations of the western landscape by making new destinations appear attractive and appealing. Part of the appeal was how dramatically railroads had changed the distance that could be covered in an hour.

Yet another significant set of railroad pamphlets devoted itself to the travel experience itself. That is, they directed passenger attention to the elegance of their accommodations or to various railroad safety measures put in place to ensure accident-free travel. Some travel pamphlets provided running commentary on the landscapes sweeping past the car windows. When trackside settlements were still new, every passing passenger was a potential resident or a settler on the surrounding farm and ranch land. Rail brochures recognized that fact.

Once again, this was an opportunity for railroad companies to interpret landscapes that possessed little meaning for most non-Native American observers and travelers. In some cases the railroads formally admitted that the land traversed by their tracks was not particularly appealing to settlers—as in the dry coulees of eastern Washington through which tracks of the Northern Pacific ran; instead, would-be settlers were directed to the agrarian paradise just over the horizon in the fertile Palouse country. Clever wordsmiths turned seemingly worthless land into either new Gardens of Eden or into freaks and oddities of nature (such as the geysers and mud pots of Yellowstone). These became America’s answer to the imposing castles and cathedrals of Europe—the invented, “must-see” attractions for tourists of the West.

Railway officials reinforced the elitist perception that mountain scenery was universally appealing to travelers. The Milwaukee Road once hired Seattle commercial photographer Asahel Curtis to provide photographs for a new brochure it planned to issue—but not just any photographs. As much as possible, the railroad intended for its premier passenger train between Chicago and Puget Sound to cross the Great Plains at night and various mountain ranges by day. The expansive Great Plains, railroad...
The Northern Pacific was justly proud of its dining car service and touted it in this February 1887 promotional timetable folder.

Western railroads were also interested in encouraging those in the west to travel east. This c. 1916 Milwaukee Road brochure sings the praises of an eastward trip on “The Olympian.”

executives clearly seemed to indicate, were much too dull, lifeless, and unappealing to the average traveler, while mountains must naturally command their attention. Great Northern Railway officials commissioned paintings of mountain landscapes in Montana and Washington, while the Santa Fe did likewise for high country in New Mexico and Arizona. Neither railroad hired artists to glorify the scenery of the Great Plains.

Nightfall created a problem for observers of passing scenery, but railroads on occasion added a spotlight to one of their nocturnal passenger trains to showcase the landscape. For a brief time in 1913 the Chicago, Milwaukee & St. Paul equipped its “Fast Mail” across Wisconsin and Minnesota with a hefty marine searchlight that beamed “a stream of light” for a distance of three miles. “The searchlight is on the observation platform, and is in [the] charge of an experienced operator. It can be swayed 90 degrees from right to left and 45 degrees upward. This road parallels the Mississippi River for over one hundred miles, and the illumination of the scenes along the river banks, the boats, passing trains, etc., will be an amusing feature of a trip on this train.” Such experiments were never particularly successful.

It seems obvious that promotional pamphlets are as much an example of flexed corporate muscle as the familiar political and economic abuses attributed to railroad companies during the Gilded Age. Students of history are familiar with dimensions of railroad power in the late 19th and early 20th centuries: that was the heyday of rebates, special secret rates, and distribution of free travel passes to influential individuals. Through their clever words, coupled with visually arresting illustrations, railroad promotional pamphlets encouraged tourists and would-be settlers to perceive landscapes of the West in ways approved by the railroad companies.

Popular writer Stewart Holbrook recalled that the railroad booster pamphlets he had read as a young Bostonian in the early 1900s “somehow left the impression that one could have a decent living in Oregon and Washington simply by eating the gorgeous scenery.” Indeed, railroad promotional brochures featured life-size representations of locally grown fruit on their covers, all in luscious color. The meaning was clear, and so too was that of a Milwaukee Road promotional brochure that featured on its front cover an illustration of a farmer plowing gold coins from the fertile soil of Montana.

“How far is an hour?” The juxtaposition of time and space is particularly appropriate to the way railroads redefined everyday life in Washington during the 1880s and ’90s. In fact, it might be argued that in Washington and other Northern Tier states, modern space as understood by people in these various locales is primarily a product of several decades of railroad promotional efforts in the late 19th and early 20th centuries.

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Four years from now Washington will observe the 100th anniversary of the constitutional amendment that granted women suffrage in the state. The 2005 state legislature established a Women's History Consortium to make available “…historical information about the many actions taken by Washingtonians which have resulted in such notable and influential achievements for women and girls, for use by citizens, educators, researchers, and historians.” The consortium is also to “…make recommendations for commemorating the 2010 centennial of the women's suffrage amendment to the state Constitution.”

A statewide survey of historical agencies indicated that a majority felt the Washington State Historical Society would be the best agency to house and administer the consortium. The work of fulfilling that mandate has now begun in earnest at the Society.

This postcard, addressed to a Mrs. H. A. Brynjolfson in Port Roberts, Washington, was printed about 1908 as part of a humorous “Suffragette Series.” It is from the extensive ephemera holdings in the Society’s Special Collections Division.
IN 1884 A LOCAL STONECUTTER installed a granite cornerstone in the new Catholic church under construction in Vancouver, Washington. The origin of this block of stone has presented something of a mystery. Was it mined from the only vein of granite in the area, which lay at some distance and several thousand feet in elevation, or was it somehow obtained from a source much closer at hand? An examination of competing geological theories and information provided by local residents helps to solve this puzzle.

On the first day of November 1879, Victor Zeph­erinus Barthelemy filed a homestead claim in the LaCamas area of Washington Territory, about 15 miles east of Fort Vancouver. He, his wife, and two sons lived in a 300-square-foot cabin that Barthelemy had built in October of that year. The family had only recently traveled to the area from Ohio, where both sons were born and Barthelemy had been raised. Relatives on his wife's side of the family had already homesteaded in the LaCamas area; Barthelemy selected a parcel immediately adjacent to theirs.

Although he was raised in the United States, Barthelemy had been born in France in late 1841 or early 1842 and emigrated with his family to the United States in 1849. On November 7, 1854, Victor's father, John Barthelemy, received United States citizenship in the common court of Montgomery County, Ohio. As John's minor son, Victor also was granted citizenship.

Despite the establishment of several adjacent homesteads in the area, the 1880 census of the Washington Territory describes the locale surrounding the "House 20 – Family 20" homestead of the Barthelemys as "Mountainous country—no villages, Clarke County." When queried, 38-year-old Victor Barthelemy gave his occupation as "Stonecutter."

Luckily for Barthelemy, the LaCamas area was soon selected as the site for a new paper mill. Henry J. Pittcock, a prominent Portland resident, formed the LaCamas Colony Company shortly after inspecting the LaCamas area on May 12, 1883. The company purchased 3,000 acres of land—mostly forested, embracing three lakes and both sides of LaCamas Creek down to the Columbia River. This gave the company rights over a lake several miles square and a stream more than a mile in length with a fall of approximately 130 feet. With the resources and planning in place to make the site a center of industry, the associated town of LaCamas boomed.

On January 3, 1884, a note in the Independent, a newspaper in the nearby community of Vancouver, addressed the preparations for construction of the new paper mill and noted, "The granite quarry is to be opened at once...."

On Thursday, July 31, 1884, the Vancouver Independent ran an article under the headline, "Imposing Ceremony," which described events surrounding the formal dedication of the new Catholic cathedral, specifically relating, "Sunday last, July 27th, was the day appointed for the laying of the cornerstone of the new cathedral in Vancouver." The article notes the arrival of 150 "friends" on a steamer from Portland and names the many "right reverends" and "very reverends" present, including the "Rt. Rev. Aegidius Junger, D.D., bishop of [Nisqually], dressed in full pontificals."

The article describes Bishop Junger, "thence proceeding to the cornerstone, a huge beautiful granite 36x24x18 inches, quarried, dressed and presented by Mr. Bartholomy [sic] of LaCamas, W.T., where the stone is found, his lordship blessed and signed it."

After the reading of a formal dedication statement by Father Schram, a copy of that document was placed into the cornerstone along with:

1st. Relics of the Saints. 2d. Medals of the sacred heart of Jesus, of the immaculate conception of St. Joseph, of the angel guardian and St. Aloysius. 3d.

After the Rt. Rev. bishop had cemented the cap over the opening where the documents, etc., were placed, he proceeded with the blessing, after which Rev. P. Gibney delivered the oration, keeping his audience spellbound by the eloquent expoundings of the great Catholic truths. A collection was taken up, realizing the gratifying amount of $165.

The article concluded by noting that the cornerstone bears a Latin inscription that in English says:

This temple of God was built under the great Pontiff Leo XIII and Aegidius Junger, Bishop of Nesqually in the year of our Lord 1884.

The LaCamas News first began printing in May 1887, and the following advertisement appeared on December 23, 1887: "V. Z. Barthelemy. Dealer in marble and granite. Monuments and Grave stones. Lots inclosed [sic] in granite or soft stone. Also contracts in all kinds of stonework. All communications addressed to me will receive prompt attention. LaCamas W.T."

A brief entry in the "Local Items" section of the LaCamas News on January 18, 1889, states: "A nice block of dressed granite was shipped from the wharf in this town for Corvallis, Oregon, last Wednesday."

From these notices, it appears that Victor Barthelemy was clearly able to obtain granite in the LaCamas area as raw material for his stonework trade. Granite is an igneous rock that is typically derived from rising magma. These rising magma bodies (known to geologists as plutons) may intrude into the surrounding rock but typically never reach the surface of the earth via a volcanic pathway or outlet. Trapped in the earth, magma cools slowly, allowing larger crystals to form within the rock structure. Because granitic rock forms within the earth's crust, it is usually only exposed when long-standing erosive processes remove the overlying geology.

The modern town of Camas (which dropped the "La" portion of its name in 1894 to avoid confusion with the Washington towns of LaCenter and LaConner) has a nearby quarry in the Fisher's/Prune Hill area west of town that is well-known for the quality of its basalt rock. However, detailed geologic mapping of the southwest Washington region only shows one outcrop of granitic rock near the Camas area. That outcrop, the Silver Star pluton, is a deep-seated intrusion of what geologists call granodiorite and quartzdiorite on the eastern slope of Silver Star Mountain. The peak and intrusion lie northeast...
of Camas at a straight-line distance of 22 kilometers, through thick Cascade Mountain forests of Douglas fir and western hemlock. Although granitic rock may have been obtainable there, it does not seem practical that Barthelemy traveled all the way to Silver Star Mountain and ascended over 4,000 feet in elevation for source material, especially in that horse-powered era. Barthelemy's source of granite must have lain closer at hand.

In 1935 geologist Ira Allison published a paper in the Bulletin of the Geological Society of America titled "Glacial Erratics in the Willamette Valley." In this paper he recounted that the occurrence of "foreign boulders" in Willamette Valley had been known for many years. Many of these boulders also exhibited the well-defined scoring and striation that definitively tied them to a glacial origin. Yet these rocks were repeatedly discovered in areas where no other evidence of glaciation was apparent. Allison quoted J. S. Diller of the fledgling United States Geological Survey, who reported in 1896, "A number of boulders [sic] of granite and schist were observed under conditions that strongly suggest transportation by ice, probably in the form of icebergs...." Allison also excerpts a 1915 paper by C. W. Washburne who wrote: "Erratic boulders of granite occur on the hillsides of Yamhill County up to an altitude of 400 feet." Exactly how the boulders came to be there was the subject of some controversy.

Allison related that these previous researchers generally agreed that the uniformity in maximum elevation of the deposition clearly indicated that the erratics could only have been emplaced as part of a strand line of icebergs floating upon a body of water. This proposed inundation of the Willamette valley was not altogether shocking. In 1871 Thomas Condon, the "Father of Oregon Geology," had postulated just such a submergence based on the elevations of certain stratigraphic features in the Shoalwater [now Willapa] Bay area and fossil beds near the mouth of the Deschutes River in the Columbia River Gorge. Condon theorized that the body of water was a large inland estuary, much like Washington's Puget Sound; he called it the Willamette Sound.

In 1919 J. Harlan Bretz had expanded Condon's Willamette Sound concept by interpreting the existence of the few erratics in the Willamette valley and the more numerous ones on the east side of the Cascades as evidence for an estuary even larger than that described by Condon. Bretz abandoned that theory in 1923, instead promoting the idea of a Spokane Flood, an event of catastrophic scale.

While conducting field research in eastern Washington, Bretz had become convinced that the landscape he encountered could only have been shaped by a flood of enormous proportions. His efforts to document the size of the flood and to convince a pantheon of eminent but skeptical geologists have been well-reported in many publications, including this one (see "The Great Columbia Flood," by Tom Mullen, COLUMBIA 19 (Spring 2005). Bretz's flood was not widely accepted by the geologic community until many years after its initial proposal, when a water source capable of instigating such a cataclysmic event was finally identified.

Only in 1942 was Bretz's flood inextricably linked to the Cordilleran-era Lake Missoula of Montana, which formed when advancing glacial ice dammed the Clark Fork of the Clearwater River. When the lake level rose high enough, the impoundment caused the ice dam to lift; water then undermined the obstruction, releasing a flood that was unprecedented in scale and catastrophic in scope. Eventually, scientists recognized that the single Spokane Flood proposed by Bretz had actually been more than 40 and possibly as many as 100 unique glacial outburst flooding events, each one capable of scouring great portions of Washington and Oregon down to bedrock and inundating vast areas with temporary lakes. Over time, these events have come to be known as the Missoula Floods.

The physical effects of these floods have been well-documented on the east side of the Cascade Mountains where they carved out dry falls and coulees and deposited thick sediment beds in backwater areas. In the Willamette valley the physical effects are less visible, but it is generally recognized that the elevations of erratic boulders deposited by the floods indicate the entire valley was submerged at least once to a maximum elevation of 400 feet above sea level.
and spilled out over the Portland basin, leaving pendant gravel bars trailing out many miles behind the monolithic volcanic vents of Rocky Butte and Mount Tabor in Oregon as well as Prune Hill in Washington. In other areas, floodwaters scoured down to bedrock, leaving behind pothole type “kolk” lakes. Often, landscape-sized features emplaced by one flood were incised or retransported by the next. As the waters poured down the channel of the Columbia River and filled the Portland basin, hydraulic damming occurred at the Kalama narrows, causing the floodwaters to rise and backfill into the Willamette valley.

Although Ira Allison identified at least five early publications noting the existence of erratic boulders, his 1935 work was the first paper to specifically investigate the topic. Allison summarized the literature and his fieldwork, saying, “No less than 300 occurrences... have been recorded and the list is still growing.... Counting only the boulder sizes, the erratics number hundreds; including the pebble and cobble sizes, the total is probably many thousands.”

In an attempt to determine whether Victor Barthelemy was actually using Missoula Flood erratic boulders as source material, the author researched and obtained information on the precise location of the old granite “quarry” on Woodburn Hill between the modern communities of Camas and Washougal. First-person interviews with local historians and quarry neighbors revealed many stories, though few could be substantiated.

“Certainly there was granite up on the hill, but most of it was all taken out,” said one, “Several buildings in Portland were faced with it.” “Some young men came in the 1960s from Washington State University and examined the deposit.” said another, “They left quite excited, but I never heard anything more.”

When queried about the origin of the granite and the possibility of its being erratic boulders of Missoula Flood origin, all the neighbors remarked that they thought the granite was a below-ground deposit that was dug out or

**RIGHT:** Historic toolmarks remain visible on this Woodburn Hill granite erratic, offering tangible evidence that someone once made an effort to shape it and other erratics in the vicinity.

**OPPOSITE PAGE:** Multiple Missoula Floods carved rivers and deposited massive debris in the Oregon Country. Such glacial/flood deposits are common throughout the Columbia Gorge and Willamette valley. Unique among these is the Willamette Meteorite, pictured here, which floated via ice raft from Idaho’s Pend d’Oreille region to a spot near the falls of the Willamette River.
uncovered in place, though they had no actual firsthand knowledge.

Examination by the author of the quarry site on Woodburn Hill (240 feet in elevation) revealed several interesting details. Several large shards of granite lay about the site, many showing drill holes two to three inches deep. These drill marks were invariably arranged along the edge of a split face of boulder, as though they had been used to weaken a certain axis or provide prying points used to split a boulder into a certain desired shape.

Further examination of the nearby slope revealed intact granite boulders (up to the dimensions 3'x3'x5') resting on the surface. Recent road construction in another nearby area revealed other smaller, softball-sized granite cobbles under the surface. Finally, other types of exotic rocks were also found on the hillside, including quartzite cobbles and a single piece of banded sandstone. No evidence of granitic intrusion, deformation associated with intrusion, or matrix modification associated with the heat of granitic intrusion was found that would support the existence of a granitic outcrop occurring on the hillside.

Consultation with professional geologists from both the Washington State Department of Geology and Earth Resources and the United States Geological Survey supported the supposition that there is no physical evidence for granitic intrusion on that hillside.

In light of these field results and professional opinions, it seems likely that Victor Barthelemy was using Missoula Flood erratic boulders as source material for the gravestones and monuments he advertised. The reference to the opening of the granite quarry, published in the Vancouver Independent on January 3, 1884, followed by the July 27, 1884, cornerstone-laying ceremony at the St. James Catholic Cathedral in Vancouver, may provide the earliest known references to Missoula Flood erratic boulders in the Willamette Valley.

In 1896 (only 50 years after Allison's work), geologist John Eliot Allen wrote, "Probably less than 50 of the many hundreds of boulders observed by Allison in the 1930s can be observed today. They have been broken up for road metal, built into foundations, made into steps, used in rock gardens or hauled away and buried." While this statement is true, it is likely Allen never suspected that this process started as early as 1884.

Some of the most notable Missoula Flood erratics that are still readily observable include the Belleview erratic, located just off Highway 18 in Oregon, between McMinnville and Sheridan. A roadside sign directs interested sightseers to the erratic itself, which is half a mile north of the highway in a small state park. Additional erratics may be viewed outside the Oregon Museum of Science and Industry (OMSI) in Portland and outside the science building on the branch campus of Washington State University in Vancouver.

Another erratic is important for reasons beyond its manner of emplacement. The Willamette meteorite, the largest ever found in the United States and sixth largest in the world, is now on display in the Rose Center for Earth and Space in the American Museum of Natural History in New York City. Recently, other boulders of exotic origin were discovered at the meteorite's original location, supporting the idea that the meteorite originally fell on and was incorporated into the Cordilleran ice sheet. Untold millennia later it was ice-rafted to Oregon by one of the Missoula Flood events.

Multiple conversations between the author and historians in Benton County, Oregon, wherein lies the city of Corvallis, could not identify the disposition of Barthelemy's "nice block of dressed granite" noted in the LaCamas News in 1889. However, the granite cornerstone he provided to the St. James Cathedral in Vancouver can still be seen today, to the immediate right of the stairs at the south entrance of the building.

Finally, the sunny, south-facing slope of Woodburn Hill between Camas and Washougal, where Victor Barthelemy labored over Missoula Flood granite erratics, is slated for suburban development. In a nod to its history, the neighborhood tracing down that hillside has been named "Granite Highlands."

Nathan Reynolds is an ecologist for the Cowlitz Indian Tribe; he studies historic and prehistoric interactions between humans and the physical landscape. Reynolds has lived in the Camas-Washougal area of southwest Washington for over 30 years.
When Meriwether Lewis and William Clark returned to St. Louis in 1806, they had just completed a difficult and dangerous two-and-a-half-year journey through the West. Citizens of St. Louis hailed them as heroes, celebrating the captains as courageous explorers, expert frontiersmen, and skilled military leaders. But when Lewis and Clark embarked on their journey in 1804 to explore the Missouri and Columbia rivers and find a viable waterway to the Pacific, plus examine the possibilities for a potentially lucrative fur trade, they carried another important commission from President Thomas Jefferson: to describe in detail the natural world through which they passed and the native people who inhabited it.

Although the captains devoted a significant portion of their journals to these observations, their scientific achievements were largely overlooked in favor of their more geographic accomplishments. Despite Jefferson's detailed request for scientific information, Lewis and Clark's findings lay neglected for almost a century. Fortunately, when later historians realized this oversight, they dedicated many books and articles to the Corps of Discovery's scientific discoveries and reestablished the captains' contributions to North American ethnography and natural history as a crucial aspect of the expedition.

Believing that the future greatness of the United States of America lay to the West, Thomas Jefferson had long dreamed of sending an expedition into French and Spanish-held Louisiana territory in order to form alliances with the Indians and take inventory of potential natural resources. Understanding the importance of staking American claims in territory coveted by Britain, France, Spain, and Russia, Jefferson attempted to initiate expeditions. He was unsuccessful in getting George Rogers Clark, John Ledyard, Moses Marshall, and André Michaux to undertake the endeavor. During Jefferson's first presidential term American diplomats James Monroe and Robert Livingston did succeed in negotiating the purchase of Louisiana from France in 1803, doubling the size of the young
American republic. Although Jefferson had planned to explore Louisiana, even as a foreign territory, he finally found himself in a comfortable political position to realize his economic and imperial aspirations in the West.

Thomas Jefferson's carefully conceived expedition reflected his tendencies as an amateur Enlightenment scientist. His book, Notes on the State of Virginia (1781), reveals his detailed attention to the plants, wildlife, and weather of his native state. In his enthusiasm for ethnography and natural history, Jefferson had amassed a large collection of Indian artifacts, fossils, and plant and animal specimens. He regularly corresponded with leading European scientists and served simultaneously as president of the United States and president of the American Philosophical Society. Because Jefferson greatly valued natural history, he had leading American scholars train his hand-picked expedition leader, Meriwether Lewis, in botany and zoology.

Mindful of Jefferson's request to observe and record information on the people and places they encountered, Lewis and Clark dutifully kept lists of their findings, fully expecting to publish their discoveries when they returned to the United States. They made hundreds of celestial observations, which they converted into maps. And they described almost every animal or plant new to them, often collecting specimens to send back to Jefferson. In the early 19th century, indigenous peoples were conceived as sufficiently distinct from peoples of European descent, that inquiry into their lifeways was considered an aspect of natural history. Consequently, the captains recorded their customs, origin stories, and vocabularies as they recorded the terrain around them. Ironically, American Indians provided critical assistance and information to the expedition, demonstrating the intellectual accomplishments of their civilization. In all, Lewis and Clark compiled some of the finest 19th-century descriptions of the native inhabitants and the natural world of the Great Plains and the Northwest.

Unfortunately, politics and personal tragedy prevented immediate publication of the expedition's scientific findings. Two unfortunate deaths delayed the analysis and publication of the scientific wealth contained in the journals. First, Meriwether Lewis died in 1809, perhaps by suicide. Lewis had collected most of the scientific data during the expedition and intended to publish it afterward. After Lewis's death, Jefferson and Clark entrusted preeminent botanist Benjamin Barton with the task of preparing a scientific volume on the expedition. He died in 1815, leaving the volume unfinished and his papers in disarray. His unfortunate death led to indefinite delay of the publication of the ethnographic, zoological, and botanical material of the journals. Worse, it led to the loss of over 23 vocabularies of Indian languages that Lewis and Clark had painstakingly collected on their journey across the continent. Jefferson lamented in a letter to Alexander von Humboldt that the "botanical and zoological discoveries of Lewis will probably experience greater delay, and become known to the world thro' other channels before that volume will be ready."

Meanwhile, Clark had commissioned Nicholas Biddle, a prominent Philadelphia lawyer, to write an account of the expedition based on the captains' journals. The Biddle edition, Journals of the Expedition Under the Command of Capts. Lewis and Clark (1814), firmly established the two men's reputation as explorers and adventurers. Because Biddle lacked a scientific background, however, his work did not mention any of the expedition's natural history contributions. As Paul Curnutt described Biddle's edition, "Because it excluded the great bulk of scientific detail, it failed to portray the leaders as important forerunners in such fields as botany, zoology,
geography, cartography, meteorology, and ethnology. In particular, it failed altogether to establish the true measure of Meriwether Lewis as a naturalist."

Disturbed at the failure to publish the scientific findings of Lewis and Clark, Jefferson sent the journals to the American Philosophical Society in Philadelphia. By this time, however, public interest in the expedition had waned, and the scientific achievements of the explorers faded into obscurity. The expedition’s journals, letters, and collections lay scattered in public and private collections across the United States and Europe; some resurfaced later, others were lost indefinitely.

With the publication of the Biddle edition of the journals, Patrick Gass’s expedition journal, and several apocryphal accounts of the Corps of Discovery’s adventures, the public’s appetite for Lewis and Clark literature remained satiated until the end of the century. No scholar came forth to study the expedition’s scientific contributions until 1891 when a New York publisher approached Elliott Coues, a prominent frontier historian and naturalist, about editing a reissue of Biddle’s work. Coues enthusiastically tackled the job and tracked down the original journals that had quietly rested at the American Philosophical Society in Philadelphia for three quarters of a century. Employing his talents as a historian and a naturalist to their fullest, Coues produced a heavily annotated version of Biddle’s 1814 edition, The History of the Lewis and Clark Expedition (1893). Coues’s footnotes on geography, botany, and zoology often surpassed the amount of actual text. For the first time, a historian portrayed Lewis and Clark as pioneering naturalists.

Reuben Thwaites became the next historian to contribute to the study of the natural history of the expedition. As president of the Wisconsin State Historical Society, Thwaites received authorization to edit the journals of Lewis and Clark based on his extensive experience and solid reputation as editor of the Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents (1901). Because he was not specifically trained in the sciences, Thwaites could not include the same extensive scientific annotation as Coues. Thwaites’s major contribution was the inclusion of a catalogue of Meriwether Lewis’s newly-discovered collection of over 200 plant cuttings. He also included an atlas volume that displayed Lewis and Clark’s cartographic contributions to western geography.

Coues’s reissue of the Biddle edition and Thwaites’s edition, Original Journals of the Lewis and Clark Expedition, 1804-1806 (1904), set the stage for a broad spectrum of Lewis and Clark scholarship. Despite Coues and Thwaites’s personal contributions in bringing to light the natural history of the expedition, very little literature on the expedition’s scientific discoveries was produced for many years. Although Lewis’s “Ohio Journal” was discovered in 1913, its editor, Milo Quaife, lacked the knowledge and/or enthusiasm to annotate the wealth of natural history contained in that logbook. Another valuable opportunity to highlight Meriwether Lewis’s unusual gifts as a naturalist and observer was lost. The idea of Lewis and Clark as pioneering naturalists would remain obscure until the advent of several new discoveries and publications such as The Field Notes of Captain William Clark (1964), edited by Ernest Staples Osgood, and The Letters of the Lewis and Clark Expedition with Related Documents (1962), edited by Donald Jackson, helped revitalize the field. Since the 1960s scholars have worked to fill the scientific void caused by the deaths of Lewis and Barton. Let us consider some of the historiography of the last half century pertaining to three important aspects of the natural history of the expedition: ethnography, zoology, and botany.

**Ethnography**

Lewis and Clark’s journals represent one of the most detailed, early ethnographic records of early 19th-century Indian life on the northern Great Plains and in the Northwest. During Lewis and Clark’s 1804-06 tour of the West, they passed through the homelands of some 50 nations, sometimes sojourning for weeks and months with the Mandan, Shoshone, Nez Perce, and Clatsop peoples, to name but a few. The captains filled their journal entries with descriptions of their interactions with these native groups. They also systematically questioned the tribes about cultural practices, religious beliefs, social structure, diet, and even methods of canoe construction. Part of their documentation included collecting Indian artifacts such as clothing; a number of items, such as pipes and ornaments, were gifts. Some of these items remained in William Clark’s private collection while others were left in the hands of Thomas Jefferson and, later, Charles W. Peale’s American Museum. Some of the records documenting these artifacts were lost when a trunk that Lewis shipped to Jefferson was stolen and its contents thrown into Chesapeake Bay.

Historians initially interpreted the expedition completely from the eyes of the American explorers, emphasizing their swashbuckling adventures. They also portrayed the journey as a passage through an empty wilderness waiting to be settled by yeoman farmers. Scholars recently have begun to view the expedition as a voyage through an already crowded landscape of people who were just as curious about or wary of the explorers as the explorers were of them.

Although Indian relations was one of the most important aspects of the expedition, it was one of the last to be thoroughly analyzed by scholars. The first serious article did not appear until 1954 when Verne F. Ray and Nancy O. Lurie coauthored “The Contributions of Lewis and Clark to Ethnography” in the
Journal of the Washington Academy of Sciences (1954). Ray and Lurie issued an ardent call for more research but cautioned scholars to remember that the "ethnographic investigations were carried out by military men pursuing a primarily political objective, under harrowing physical conditions, and without previous training in any sense adequate to the task." Ray and Lurie argued that Lewis and Clark "respected the rights and property of the Indians even at the cost of the objectives of the expedition", and that they "recognized the Indians as their intellectual equals and they did not ascribe cultural differences to innate characteristics." Although most contemporary scholars would disagree with Ray and Lurie on these points, their article encouraged further research, citing the need for Lewis and Clark's ethnographic data to be rendered into modern terms.

The call for additional research initially went unanswered, but it slowly gathered momentum until by the mid 1970s scholarly literature on the ethnographic aspects of the expedition proliferated. Anthropologists used Clark's maps to locate Indian villages on the Missouri; they mined Lewis's descriptions for insight into Indian cultures. Historians placed Lewis and Clark's Indian policies within the context of federal Indian policy. Scholars also attempted to look at the expedition from Indian perspectives, trying to gauge the width of the cultural divide. While academics have broached topics as diverse as peace medals, speech making, and Indian women's roles, William Foley, Charles Rice, and James Ronda have contributed some of the best literature on Indian relations during the expedition.

Foley and Rice have contributed several valuable articles to Lewis and Clark studies. Their essay, "The Return of the Mandan Chief" (1979), demonstrates how the "differing cultural perspectives of the region's Native American and European inhabitants complicated official efforts to incorporate the Louisiana Territory within the expanding American republic." The Mandan chief Sheheke, who had visited President Jefferson in Washington, D.C., could not return to the Mandan villages because of Sioux and Arikara hostilities on the Missouri. The long delay in returning the chief ended up precipitating a scandal involving alleged misuse of public funds that may have been a factor in Lewis's death; it compromised the reputations of all government officials involved, including Lewis, Pierre Chouteau, and Secretary of War William Eustis; and it nearly precipitated a war between the Arikaras and the United States. Foley and Rice's skillful treatment of this topic provides information on Lewis and Clark, the Mandan Indians, Jeffersonian Indian policy, and frontier politics.

One of the most important works on Indian interactions with Lewis and Clark is James Ronda's Lewis and Clark Among the Indians (1984). In this groundbreaking book and in numerous articles, Ronda has portrayed the Indians not as passive bystanders but as key actors. Ronda described some of the common cultural biases of the day and how those perceptions shaped Lewis and Clark's diplomatic efforts. Ronda discussed the conference procedures, language barriers, and trading systems that both the captains and the Indians encountered or employed in their quest for mutual discovery. He explained that although Lewis and Clark were sincere in their mission to promote trade and intertribal peace, their lack of political and social understanding of the Indians ultimately undermined their intentions and endeavors. With the publication of a series of excellent articles, including "Lewis and Clark and Enlightenment Ethnography" (1984), "Exploring the Explorers: Great Plains People and the Lewis and Clark Expedition" (1993), and "Coboway's Tale" (1999), Ronda has continued to explore the theme of mutual discovery. Yet, in most of these articles Ronda confronts the shortcomings of the expedition and does not hesitate to state that what eventually followed the expedition—the onslaught of white immigration to the West—was disastrous for the tribes.

One of the most recent works to interpret Native American experiences with Lewis and Clark is Arts of Diplomacy: Lewis and Clark's Indian Collection (2003). A social anthropologist and curator at Harvard's Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology, author Castle McLaughlin discusses the circuitous route some of these objects took: from Jefferson's collection to the Peale Museum of Philadelphia, to P. T. Barnum's exhibit, to the Boston Museum, and finally, in 1899, to the Peabody Museum. Arts of Diplomacy argues that Indian tribes initiated making alliances, promoting their own interests, and forming friendships with the expedition leaders. Also, Missouri
Swayne presents a captivating narrative of the friendship between the Nez Perce and members of the Lewis and Clark expedition (and Americans in general) that lasted through the Civil War era. The Bairds take this one step further by using original source material to delve into Nez Perce-Anglo relations with the American and Canadian explorers and missionaries who followed in the captains' wake.

Individual Indians have also received greater attention. The fascination over Sacagawea shows no indication of declining. Since Grace Hebard's Sacajawea (1932), Harold Howard's Sacajawea (1971), and Ella Clark and Margaret Edmonds' Sacagawea (1979), two more recent works evaluate her legendary status and her role as an influential Indian woman. Donna Kessler reassesses the truths and myths surrounding her life in The Making of Sacagawea (1996). Dale Nelson, on the other hand, places her within the context of the Charbonneau family unit, fleshing out her relationship with her husband, her children, her biological and adopted tribes, and with the members of the expedition in Interpreters with Lewis and Clark (2004). Another Indian diplomat has received attention in Tracy Potter's Sheheke (2003). Potter successfully weaves together archival and tribal sources to chronicle the history of this influential Mandan leader.

Perhaps the most important development in Lewis and Clark ethnography has been the insight offered by Native Americans—scholars, National Park Service employees, artists, and individuals associated with the Lewis and Clark Bicentennial. Amy Mossett, Allen Pinkham, Jack Gladstone, Otis Half-Moon, and Gerard Baker are but a few who have been instrumental in making sure the Indian perspective has been well-represented during the bicentennial. Their public service and outreach have been a key element in using the Lewis and Clark bicentennial commemoration to build bridges between Indian and Anglo cultures and make sure Indian voices are heard.

Indians' voices came through loud and clear in a 2004 special issue of the Wicazo Sa Review: "American Indian Encounters with Lewis and Clark." Contributors to the issue included Clarissa Confer, Elizabeth Cook-Lynn, Matthew Jones, Loren Yellow Bird, James Fenelon, Lydia Whirlwind Soldier, Mary Louise Defender-Wilson, and Craig Howe. Howe, a Lakota scholar and tribal member, provided an important reinterpretation and reassessment of the tense encounter between the Lakotas and the expedition by examining the different diplomatic strategies—such as theft, demands, threats, exchange, and friendship—that Black Buffalo and the Partisan employed during several days of negotiations with Lewis and Clark. This and other reassessments add important insight that can challenge, modify, and expand existing narratives.

Some Indians believe nothing good came out of the Lewis and Clark expedition and see little reason to "celebrate" or even "commemorate" the bicentennial. Others have viewed the bicentennial as an opportunity to tell their stories of cultural
adaptation and survival, and use the influx of tourists to teach a tribal perspective of historical events. They have utilized the additional resources resulting from the bicentennial to expand tribal efforts to retain and strengthen Indian languages and cultural values, compile tribal histories, and prepare for a brighter future. Leading the way has been a group known as the Circle of Tribal Advisors, one of five volunteer advisory circles to the National Council of the Lewis and Clark Bicentennial. Tribal participants articulated their priorities and concerns about telling their own stories about the expedition and its consequences; protecting their cultural resources, natural resources, and sacred sites; revitalizing native languages and cultures; and fostering intertribal and intercultural reconciliation.

A good example of this cooperation has been the Salish-Pend d'Oreille Cultural Committee which, along with the Elders Cultural Advisory Council of the Confederated Salish and Kootenai Tribes, worked with the Montana Bicentennial Commission to bring tribal voices and tribal history front and center in the 2005 publication, The Salish People and the Lewis and Clark Expedition. This joint effort provides an in-depth examination of events surrounding the Native American encounter with the Lewis and Clark expedition and its historical significance.

Zoology

In their enthusiasm to identify and collect new varieties of animals, Lewis and Clark actually sent live specimens—four magpies, one prairie dog, and a sage grouse—back to St. Louis in hopes that they would reach the president. The prairie dog and one of the magpies arrived alive in Philadelphia. Although Lewis and Clark only sent live fauna down the river once, they continued to collect and preserve the skins, feathers, and skeletons of other animals; and Lewis meticulously described new scientific species in his journal. They returned east with a fascinating collection of birds and mammals, which Jefferson soon put on display at Monticello. The specimens eventually moved to the Peale Museum where they remained on display until the museum's closure. The zoological samples, along with many of the Indian artifacts, next passed into the hands of P. T. Barnum, whose museum later suffered a fire in which most of Lewis and Clark's carefully collected specimens were burnt or lost.

Like so many of the expedition's scientific achievements, Lewis and Clark's zoological contributions soon sank into obscurity. Some enterprising American zoologists such as Alexander Wilson, George Ord, and Thomas Say did read some of the expedition records, which led these naturalists west to see for themselves some of the exotic animals described by Lewis and Clark. Thus, although the explorers were not recognized for their discoveries immediately, they did encourage the growth of American zoology, which at the time had been largely dominated by Europeans. Eventually, when Elliott Coues edited the Biddle edition, he realized the extent of Lewis and Clark's zoological accomplishments. "The contribution to zoology made by Lewis and Clarke [sic], though not extensive...assumes great importance in the fact that to it we owe our first acquaintance with a large number of species," he postulated, noting that "Lewis and Clarke were the real discoverers, and actually the original describers, of many animals with which their names are seldom associated now in our acquired familiarity with the same species under names subsequently bestowed by others." While Coues was the first to actually recognize Lewis and Clark's zoological discoveries, later historians would beg to differ on his faint praise of the worth of their findings.

Thwaites's 1904 edition of the Lewis and Clark journals made the expedition's ample zoological findings available for study. Between 1904 and 1961, however, only a handful of zoological treatises on the Lewis and Clark expedition trickled out, mostly on local or regional topics such as the birds of North Dakota or other narrow subjects. During this period of neglect, conservationist Raymond Darwin Burroughs discovered the copious pages of meticulous zoological descriptions contained in the Thwaites edition. He went from merely counting the number of game killed on the expedition to writing a capstone work entitled, The Natural History of the Lewis and Clark Expedition (1961).

Although his title referred to "natural history," Burroughs's work only dealt with the zoological aspects of the explorers' findings and mainly consisted of a compilation of expedition journal entries relating to the animals encountered on the way to the Pacific. Burroughs quoted heavily from Thwaites and Coues, but he also provided a list of the species discovered and anecdotes accompanying those encounters. Burroughs's book encouraged further scholarship by more firmly establishing Lewis and Clark's reputation as skilled, if amateur, scientists. Not only did he establish the importance of zoology on the expedition, he also became the first scholar to publish a full-length book on any natural history aspect of Lewis and Clark's journey west.

After Burroughs, Paul Russell Cutright advocated for public recognition of Lewis and Clark's scientific contributions. With articles entitled "The Odyssey of the Magpie and Prairie Dog" (1967) and "Meriwether Lewis: Zoologist" (1968), he directly challenged scholars such as Elliott Coues and Henry Setzer who claimed that Lewis was a scientific lightweight and that Jefferson should have sent a professional naturalist on the expedition.
Pointing out Lewis's extraordinary powers of observation and technical skill, Cutright praised the captain's accurate descriptions and his ability to use all five senses to describe the natural world. He concludes his article by claiming that America did not have a trained naturalist at the time of the expedition who could have faced the rigors of wilderness travel. Cutright justified Jefferson's trust in Lewis's scientific training, saying, "Meriwether Lewis was a surprisingly competent zoologist, with an objective, systematic approach that set a pattern for future naturalists. The abounding zoological data in Lewis's journals... eloquently supports Jefferson's decision to entrust this important phase of the expedition's work to him."

Burroughs and Cutright have been the most outstanding defenders of the expedition leaders' role as pioneering zoologists. Some later scholars, however, have claimed that Lewis's scientific prowess has been greatly exaggerated. James Ronda, for example, wrote that "Far too much has been made of Lewis's scientific abilities. Largely self-taught, he was a keen amateur naturalist but no match for his European contemporaries." Although Lewis's scientific talent may have been overstated, he is now, at least, recognized for the vast number of animal species he and Clark discovered. Cutright gave Lewis credit for documenting at least 122 animal species new to science.

Since Burroughs's and Cutright's publications, other scholars have used them, along with Gary Moulton's definitive edition of the Lewis and Clark journals, to write about the mammals, birds, fish, and reptiles the explorers encountered. Keith Benson's "Herpetology of the Lewis and Clark Expedition, 1804-1806" (1978) demonstrates that much of Cutright's and Burroughs's work, while highly valuable, still needs critical analysis. Benson shows that there is still much to do. For example, no enterprising entomologist has yet written "The Insects of the Lewis and Clark Expedition." Most recently, Paul A. Johnsgard has contributed Lewis and Clark on the Great Plains: A Natural History (2003). Johnsgard's own detailed drawings show which plants and animals the explorers collected or described. He discusses the significance of these specimens to the Plains Indians and the environment; he also reports on the modern status of each plant or animal. Along with Johnsgard's new contribution, Burroughs's and, especially, Cutright's works remain the most valuable sources for assessing the importance of zoology as a component of Lewis and Clark's duties during their journey.

Botany

In keeping with the botanical inquiries assigned to them by President Jefferson, Lewis and Clark diligently described new plants and collected specimens and seeds. Lewis, in particular, excelled on the Atlantic coast at identifying new plants; he then discovered that the ranges of some eastern plants extended farther to the west than was previously thought. Lewis intended to write a scientific volume of the expedition that would catalog and describe his extensive botanical collection. The first portion of Lewis's herbarium contained specimens collected before the winter of 1804; the following spring Lewis sent them downstream from the Mandan villages to St. Louis. Thomas Jefferson forwarded the herbarium to the American Philosophical Society where it remained for almost another century. Lewis continued to amass a collection of new western plants during the rest of his journey, and after his untimely death most of the collection ended up in the guardianship of the American Philosophical Society where Barton intended to study it. Soon Frederick Pursh, a botanist preparing his Flora Americae Septentrionalis (Flowers of North America), borrowed the specimens for further study. Unfortunately, he took many of the plant cuttings to London after Lewis's death, where they eventually became part of the Lambeth Herbarium. In 1842 a wealthy American botanist named Edward Tuckerman recognized the collection at an auction and purchased it. In 1856 he donated the plants to the Academy of Natural Sciences in Philadelphia.

Today, Gary Moulton's new edition of the journals of Lewis and Clark contains an entire herbarium volume, Herbarium of the Lewis & Clark Expedition (1999), where photographs of Lewis's delicate plant cuttings can be viewed by any reader. But for almost a century after their deposit in Philadelphia, they remained largely forgotten. Finally, a Pennsylvania botanist named Thomas Meehan found the smaller herbarium in the American Philosophical Society. The society deposited the collection at the Academy of Natural Sciences, which
maintained the rest of the Lewis and Clark herbarium. In 1898 Meehan published a list of all of Lewis's plants, including notes from Pursh's Flora, which proved to be the beginning of Meriwether Lewis's renewed reputation as a skilled botanist as well as an explorer and adventurer. The Philosophical Society, which had for so long been the custodian of many of Lewis's plant cuttings, played a key role in redeeming the botanical aspects of the expedition through its publication, *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society*.

The botanical contributions of the expedition did not languish in obscurity for as long as some of Lewis and Clark's other natural history observations. In 1928 the Philosophical Society published a lengthy article on the fate of Lewis's seeds, pressed plants, and live cuttings. Many of the seeds and plants were propagated by Philadelphia nurserymen. Some of them, such as the Osage orange tree and the snowberry bush, became popular ornamental shrubs in eastern gardens. Although some time elapsed before more information on Meriwether Lewis's botanical ventures came forth, the Philosophical Society again made the next two offerings in articles describing the many historical plant collections located at the Philadelphia Academy of Natural Sciences as well as the doings of Frederick Pursh and his botanical associates.

Although by now the actual herbarium and its origins had been described, one of the first scholars to analyze Lewis's capabilities as a botanist was Velva Rudd. She wrote in her 1954 article, "Botanical Contributions of the Lewis and Clark Expedition," that Jefferson did indeed feel that Lewis's amateur scientific skills were honed enough to take a plant reconnaissance during his expedition to the Pacific. Paul Cutright agreed with her a little over a decade later in his important article, "Meriwether Lewis: Botanist" (1968). In this companion to his article on Lewis's zoological skills Cutright states, "In the context of his day, Lewis was an unusually competent botanist, one with attitudes more consistent with botanists of the twentieth century than those of the early 1800s." Cutright also concluded that although Lewis dedicated many more pages to zoological observations, he returned with a far larger collection of plants than animals, and he used a far greater technical botanical vocabulary than a zoological one.

As it did for many other aspects of natural history, Cutright's previously mentioned book, *Lewis and Clark: Pioneering Naturalists* (1969), played an equally pivotal role in defining botany as part of the Lewis and Clark expedition. He showed that the explorers identified over 178 new plants and continued to portray Meriwether Lewis as the ideal choice—as both scientist and frontiersman—to lead the expedition. Cutright's article on Meriwether Lewis as a botanist and Raymond Burroughs's article, "The Lewis and Clark Expedition's Botanical Discoveries" (1966), are both excellent summaries of the expedition's botanical accomplishments.

With the advent of the Lewis and Clark bicentennial, several botanical field guides on Lewis and Clark's discoveries have appeared. Among these, A. Scott Earle and James L. Reveal's *Lewis and Clark's Green World: The Expedition and Its Plants* (2003) and H. Wayne Phillips's *Plants of the Lewis and Clark Expedition* (2003) provide descriptions and photographs of the plants along the trail. Phillips's book provides photographs and excerpts from the captains' journals that describe their encounters with each featured plant. Earle and Reveal's book follows a similar format but places the photographs and journal entries in the context of an expedition narrative. Accompanying the narrative, photographs, and descriptions are maps that describe the expedition's route and the places where they made important discoveries.

*Though previously forgotten*, the scientific contributions of Meriwether Lewis and William Clark are now commonly accepted as important components of their expedition, finding mention even in brief synopses of the expedition, encyclopedia articles, and popular magazines. After Coues's initial discovery of the huge amount of scientific data contained in the journals, scholars have mined the Thwaites and Moulton editions of the journals to explore questions of their own. Not only have modern historians and scientists acknowledged the importance of Lewis and Clark's inquiries, they have recognized the journals as valuable resources for solving modern problems in ecology and biology. Lewis and Clark's pioneering efforts in ethnography and natural history have secured them a chapter in the history of American science.

Jay H. Buckley, assistant professor of history and director of the Native American Studies Program at Brigham Young University, is completing two books—*By His Own Hand? The Mysterious Death of Meriwether Lewis and William Clark: Indian Agent*—both slated for publication by the University of Oklahoma Press in 2006. Julie A. Harris is a master's student at BYU specializing in western and American Indian history.
I don't mind criticism, as long as it's unadulterated praise," Noel Coward famously said. Indeed, a good writers' group, where members rigorously critique one another's work, is not for the faint-hearted. Precisely because writers' groups are prone to fragile egos and overzealousness, they often dissolve quickly. Not so the Seattle Writers' Club, which flourished for more than two decades in the early 20th century. The club helped its members pursue their literary aspirations and achieve a degree of writing success that they may not have otherwise. Just as important, the club bolstered Seattle's image of itself as a literary town.

As the raucous era of the Alaska-Yukon gold rush receded and Seattle hurled itself into a period of growth and prosperity, the city sought to distinguish itself as the Northwest's cultural capital. It offset its reputation for brothels, gambling houses, and variety halls with dramatic theaters, concert halls, and arts societies. The legacy of Mary Ann Boyer, aka "Madame Darnable," who ran Seattle's first brothel, "has not always adhered to our club's by-laws. During one critique session, "one of our bright members comported herself as though she might have been dining on porcupine steaks. She fairly stopped our respiration with her perfervid onslaughts on both manuscripts with the result that we lost both members...."

Despite such flare-ups, the group remained true to its purpose. Members routinely published articles, stories, and poems in local and national periodicals, including Harper's Magazine, Pacific Monthly, Argosy, and the Los Angeles Times. Several published novels. Co-founders Carr and Eastland were among the most prolific members. Carr published two novels and had produced her opera based on the life of Narcissa Whitman. Eastland undertook a series of boys books called the Little Apostle Series, the first of which—Matt of the Water-Front—presents the Oliver Twist-like tale of a 10-year-old orphan who lives in a shack on the Seattle "beach" with only "Big Kate, the Indian neighbor" and "Daddy Burns, old and drunken" as his family, and the paperboy "Skillets" as his nemesis.

In writing about their region, members of the Seattle Writers' Club saw themselves as contributing to an emerging Northwest literary tradition. They also wanted to sell their writing. In 1907 the club published, with its own funds, a collection of its members' stories with Seattle publisher Lowman and Hanford. The 20 stories in Tillicum Tales offer distinctly Northwest variations on the current Western adventure, gothic romance, and domestic turmoil popular fiction. Kathryne Wilson's "A Maker of Violins" opens, for example, with this Seattle-inspired flourish: "Caught in the draught of sea-air, the fog curtain of nightfall curled outward, and swinging over the waters of the South, folded itself above the swaying ships, shadowy wharves, and gloomy warehouses of the waterfront, and lifted to wind about the terracing hills of Bay City."

Beautifully illustrated with original photographs, drawings, and paintings by local artists, Tillicum Tales unfortunately sold just enough of its print run of 500 to recover printing costs. The book, however, is available online today for just a few dollars.

Nonetheless, by 1910 the Seattle Writers' Club had made its mark on the city's literary landscape. A 1909 article in the Seattle Sunday Times boasted,
“Seattle as a home of famous authors. Impossible, you say...” and then countered such skepticism by reporting on the new local authors' shelf at the Seattle Public Library, which included titles by pioneer Arthur Denny and University of Washington professor Edmond S. Meany as well as several members of the Seattle Writers' Club. The club also began to entertain local and visiting writers of renown. These included Joseph Blethen, playwright and son of Seattle Daily Times owner Alden J. Blethen; Anna Louise Strong, radical journalist and labor activist; and Hiram Chittenden, builder of the Ballard Locks and himself an author. Rex Beach, bestselling author of The Spoilers and other gold rush novels, also made a much-heralded appearance.

Not all meetings, however, were dedicated strictly to wordsmithery. The club's minutes record whose work was discussed each week and duly notes that cake and coffee were served at each meeting. Every fifth Thursday's meeting was designated as "semi-social." Romance even stirred among members. Cora Charlton recalled how Miss Brownwin-Jones seduced "the matinee idol of the Club," Frank Pratt: "little by little she wound her [c]oils about our idol and dragged him from our combined infatuations to the haunts of plain domesticity."

In its first decade, the club maintained a waiting list for membership. In later years, as founding members fell away, the club became more loosely knit while still remaining dedicated to encouraging writers and helping them publish their work.

On the occasion of a party for the club at the Hotel Washington Annex, Charlton asked herself "if some were not nice to us on the possibility that they were entertaining an embryo Dickens, or even Shakespeare." While the Seattle Writers' Club did not produce any enduring literary greats, it made genuine contributions to early Northwest writings, and had people paying attention to its members' literary output.

Peter Donahue is author of the novel Madison House, which won the 2005 Langum Prize for Historical Fiction, and the short story collection The Cornelius Arms. He is also coeditor of Reading Seattle: The City in Prose.

Additional Reading

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

Dig the Canal


Review of Reports on Intercoastal Waterway from the Mouth of the Columbia River to Puget Sound. Seattle: War Department, U.S. Engineer Office, October 17, 1941.

The Enemy's Our Cousin


Selling Washington


The Stonecutter and the Missoula Flood Erratics


Scientific Explorers


During World War II thousands responded to help wanted ads posted in Oregon, Washington, and 11 other states for jobs in Portland's shipyards. It's no coincidence that the city's jazz scene started jumping shortly after their arrival. Portland's Williams Avenue district was influenced and inspired by the magnificent talent, devoted aficionados, and rousing recordings that migrated to Portland from jazz enclaves in New York, Cleveland, Chicago, and St. Louis. Jazz gave musicians a creative voice and fans an outlet for their celebrations decades. Chapter after chapter chronicles the story of Portland's jazz and frustrations during the turbulent wartime and postwar periods. Thelonius Monk, and John Coltrane.

Robert Dietsche is well qualified to write a history of the Portland jazz scene. Founder of the city's landmark Django Records and the Rose Quarter and a sports entertainment complex, was the center of the city's African American community and the crux to a cultural phenomenon like which Portland hasn't seen since.

Dietsche could simply have wowed readers with a list of the greatest jazz artists to visit Portland, but his treatment of local talent—those who learned and refined their craft at the Acme or Jackie’s Café—is equally or perhaps even more important. The triumphs of Sid Porter, Al Pierre, Warren Bracken, and Cleve Williams are inspiring, and the legends they hosted, including Louis Armstrong, Coleman Hawkins, Thelonius Monk, and John Coltrane.

Dietsche’s goals was to pay respect to the jazz artists, educators, journalists, disc jockeys, promoters, club and ballroom owners and managers, and all the patrons who “made 1942 to 1957 the golden years of Portland Jazz.” Jumptown is very much a tribute to everyone who, with enthusiasm, ingenuity, and dedication, made Williams Avenue the axis of Portland’s jazz scene and an energetic and influential center for the urban Black community. An important contribution to a small collection of vital Portland histories, this volume is recommended to all teachers and students of American social and cultural history.

Robert C. Donnelly is a native of Oregon. He received his master’s degree from Portland State University and his doctorate from Marquette University.

In this biography, a volume in the Western Frontiersmen Series, Lawrence M. Woods introduces his subject, Asa Shinn Mercer, with the story of how, as a child, Mercer sat on the knee of Abraham Lincoln and when, later, the president called for volunteers after the firing on Fort Sumter in April 1861, Mercer with fellow students at Lafayette College volunteered as a body for service in the Union Army. Both of these stories, evidently, are untrue. In this meticulously researched biography of a member of one of Seattle’s prominent pioneer families, the author illustrates how Mercer not only embodied the values of the Gilded Age, but also was economical with the truth, even when his real accomplishments did not need embellishment. When the firing started in 1861, young Mercer, a graduate of Franklin College, Ohio, was traveling away from the war, for “whatever his dreams for the future may have contained, they did not include any aspirations to become a military hero.”

Since its arrival from Scotland, probably in 1730, the Mercer family, like many others in the New World, continued its westward migration and Asa’s brothers, Thomas and Aaron Mercer, arrived in the Pacific Northwest in 1852. In his own peripatetic career Asa was an educator (but not the first president of the University of Washington), a customs collector at Astoria (he was unsuccessfully prosecuted for smuggling), a Maryland tobacco farmer (never a plantation owner), a Texas news baron (although his six newspapers were never financially successful), editor of the Northwestern Livestock Journal who later turned on his patrons because of the Johnson County war and whom he castigated in The Banditti of the Plains: The Cattleman’s Invasion of Wyoming in 1892. It is hardly surprising that Mercer turned to populist politics and ran for public office in 1906. He is best remembered, however, for his attempts to attract women from the East Coast to settle in Seattle, and an endeavor celebrated in the 1960s television series, Here Come the Brides, whose signature tune was sung by Perry Como.

In 1863 Mercer visited Lowell, Massachusetts, and with the aid of the Reverend Edward Everett Hale began to recruit young women for “teaching positions” in the pioneer settlement of Seattle. In four well-researched chapters the author reconstructs both the 1863 and 1866 recruitment trips; the opposition of Anna Dickinson, a leading female public speaker of her day; and the trials and tribulations of the “Mercer Belles” themselves. One among them, Annie E. Stephens,
became Mercer's long-suffering wife. The range of Mercer's later speculations until his death in Buffalo in August 1917, activities which often involved other people's money, are also covered in this volume.

Having read this account of a northwestern Wilkins Micawber, one can only speculate at the celestial conversation Mercer might have had with St. Peter on both their future options!

Rory T. Comish, who previously taught at Whitman College, is chair of the History Department at Winthrop University, South Carolina. He is coeditor, with J. Martin Heane, of Thomas Meagher: The Making of an Irish American, Dublin and Portland: Irish Academic Press, 2005.

On facing pages this book presents pictures and text from new roadside markers on the Lewis and Clark routes across Washington. Though the pictures are by Roger Cooke and the text by Robert C. Carriker, their work was sponsored, guided, and edited by many groups and agencies: the Washington State Historical Society, Department of Transportation, and Parks and Recreation Commission; a design group (Otak, Inc.); the state’s Lewis and Clark Trail Advisory Committee; and experts in the Lewis and Clark Trail Heritage Foundation. Thus it is impossible to know just who chose the sites for these panels and how the images and text were developed to reach their present form.

The new markers deserve commendation, whatever their origins. They reflect recent research about the expedition, quote the explorers’ own words, and point out memorable highlights from the journals. Whoever travels along their route or flips through these pages will be reminded of the party’s ingenuity, diligence, and fortitude, and will be urged to see modern scenes with new depth.

Roadside markers, of course, cannot supply a full and adequate account of Lewis and Clark in this region. They rather present clean and serene images of a what was in fact a rugged, sometimes ruthless adventure. These drawings usually show men in buckskins moving through softly colored landscapes, or standing in heroic poses with their rifles, telescopes, or sextants. Many could serve as pages of a children’s book. They do not explain that the explorers got really dirty, that they became infuriated and sick, miserable, and desperate in the Northwest; that they ripped beads off Sacagawea’s waist and buttons off their own coats when they had little else to trade for essentials; that they became infuriated and even murderous when native people blocked their way.

The texts are also condensed to fit limited space and say just enough about a site to mark its importance. In this book, they could have been enhanced by just a few further touches: a map or list to pinpoint where these markers are; a short guide to essential further reading; a brief overview essay to tie together the main stages of the expedition west of the Rockies, or to frankly discuss why some sites were chosen and others were considered but rejected. As it is, this book is a pleasant souvenir of a worthwhile public project, which celebrates the explorers’ achievements without deeply questioning them.

Albert Furtwangler, a retired professor of English at Mount Allison University in Canada, is an independent scholar affiliated with Willamette University and author of six books in American studies, most recently Bringing Indians to the Book (University of Washington Press, 2005).

Peter Skene Ogden played a critical role in the Pacific Northwest fur trade after the 1818 joint occupation treaty between Great Britain and the United States. Ogden, a skilled fur gatherer, helped denude the region south of the Columbia River of beaver, a strategy initiated by the Hudson’s Bay Company to discourage American trappers from entering the Oregon Country. The British eventually learned that the creation of a “fur desert” only inspired more farmers to come to Oregon. In 1846 the British reached an agreement with the Americans that yielded British claims below the 49th parallel. As a distinguished legal historian at New York University and author of several books, John Phillip Reid knows what questions to ask and how to best explain frontier notions about the legal code of the fur trade. The vehicle he uses in this volume to make his case is Ogden’s Snake Country expeditions between 1824 and 1828.

Typically, land claims in the American West are thought to have had little to do with legal entitlement and more to do with intimidation or political power. Although the American West always had its fair share of lawless activity, Reid proves that the Oregon fur trade era of the 1820s is rife with examples of natural law being upheld in the absence of formal law. Reid points out, for example, that there are no provable incidents of physical violence between Canadian and American fur trappers when they encountered one another in the field. Fur traders were extremely competitive with one another, yes, but they also shared a mutual respect for personal property and company property. Reid also establishes that although no formal governing body was present during the joint occupation period in an Oregon Country, the basic laws of man sustained a sense of order, allowed debts to be repaid, land claims to be made, and contracts to be honored.

There are many books that review the issues of the fur trade in the American West, but none of them deals with legal ramifications to the depth and extent of Reid’s. This is an essential book for personal and public libraries dedicated to Pacific Northwest history.

Andrew J. Lepere lives in Sammamish where he is an independent historian.

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