Fort Vancouver National Historic Site
Washington

National Park Service
U.S. Department of Interior

Part II, The Waking of a Military Town: Vancouver, Washington and the Vancouver National Historic Reserve, 1898-1920, with suggestions for further research

Colonel Thomas M. Anderson (upper left) and family on Officer's Row
Courtesy University of Washington Libraries, Special Collections UW475

written by

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This document is the second in a research partnership between the Center for Columbia River History (CCRH) and the Department of the Interior National Park Service at Fort Vancouver National Historic Site in Vancouver, Washington. The National Park Service contracts with CCRH to encourage and support professional historical research, study, lectures and development in higher education programs related to the Fort Vancouver National Historic Site and the Vancouver National Historic Reserve (VNHR).

The Center for Columbia River History is a consortium of the Washington State Historical Society, Portland State University, and Washington State University Vancouver. The mission of the Center for Columbia River History (www.ccrh.org**) is to promote the study of the history of the Columbia River Basin. CCRH is dedicated to examining "hidden histories" in the Basin and to helping people think about the historical record from different perspectives.**

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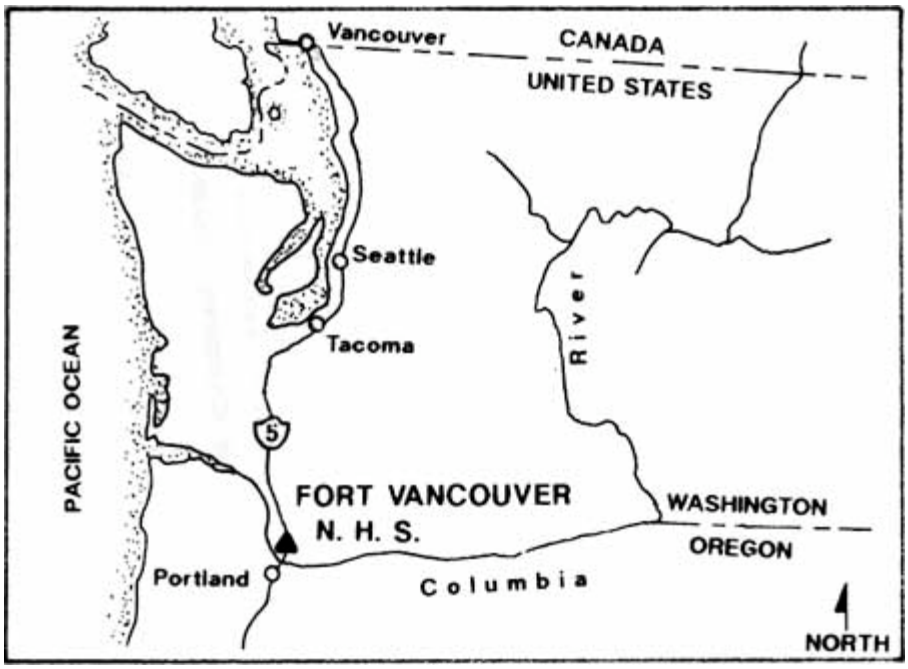
Preface

The site of the Vancouver National Historic Reserve has been strategically important for centuries. First, native people occupied the region, living along a trade route that was among the most populated in North America. Then in 1825, the Hudson's Bay Company (HBC) established a fur trade post at the site along the Columbia River. In 1849 the U.S. Army established Vancouver Barracks near the HBC fort as a supply base for troops, goods, and services to the interior Pacific Northwest and the western coast. A thriving community, active waterfront, and army and civilian airfields developed nearby, all connected economically and socially with the military base. From its inception through WWII, Vancouver, Washington was a distinctly military place, with the army integral to the city's character. Today, Officer's Row, the historic buildings of Vancouver Barracks, Pearson Airfield and portions of the Columbia River waterfront connect as the 366-acre Vancouver National Historic Reserve (the Reserve), a locale that continues to impact community identity.

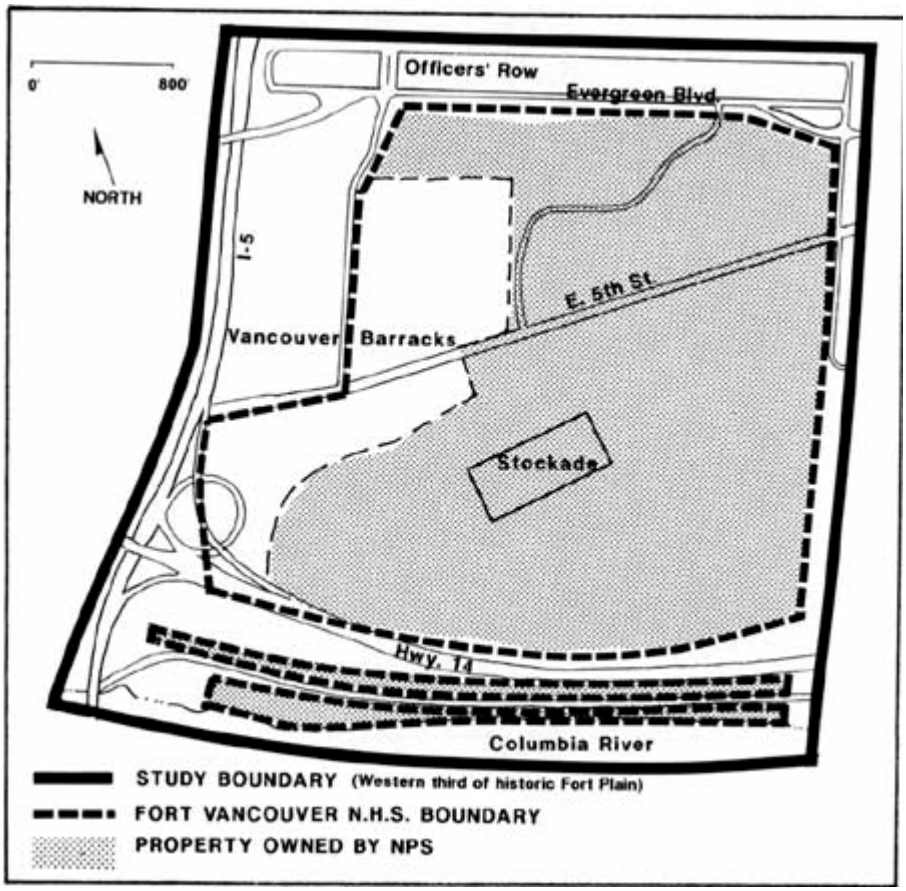
The following is the second in a series of multi-purpose interpretive documents, funded by the National Park Service, and examining the Reserve's rich social history. Each document provides a historical overview while proposing further research through a series of appendices. Five significant periods of development have been identified in Reserve history: pre-1846; 1846-1898; 1898-1920; 1920-1942; and 1942-1960.

This document explores the second period of inquiry, 1898-1920, when the modern age reached Vancouver and the landscape of the Reserve began to take its current shape. During this era, Vancouver's soldiers moved from Alaska to the tropics of the Philippines, and then to China to quell the Boxer Rebellion. At the turn of the century, the Buffalo Soldiers of the 24th Infantry spent a year in the military town, social dynamics shifted and the community matured. Aviation took hold soon after the turn of the century and the military and the city both established airfields. By 1917, where once the HBC Fort Vancouver stood, the military built the largest spruce cut-up mill in the world and sent soldiers into the woods of the Pacific Northwest to "log for victory." The Army's Spruce Production Division in Vancouver not only produced millions of board feet of spruce, but also resulted in a government-sponsored labor union, the Loyal Legion of Loggers and Lumbermen. The LLLL (4L) organization improved working conditions in the woods and swiftly halted the Northwest's striking Industrial Workers of the World (IWW) in the spring of 1917. By 1920, WWI had ended, Fort Lewis had been established north of Vancouver and the military community unknowingly prepared for major change.

The purpose of this document is: (1) to provide a social history overview of the Reserve for NPS interpreters; (2) to provide directions for further research, by NPS staff, professional historians and graduate students; and (3) to make the history of the Reserve accessible to the general reader. Two main questions provided the research foundation: What were the relationships between Vancouver Barracks and the region, nation, and world? What were the relationships between the barracks and the nearby community? As a social history, questions of race, class, and gender underscored the inquiry.



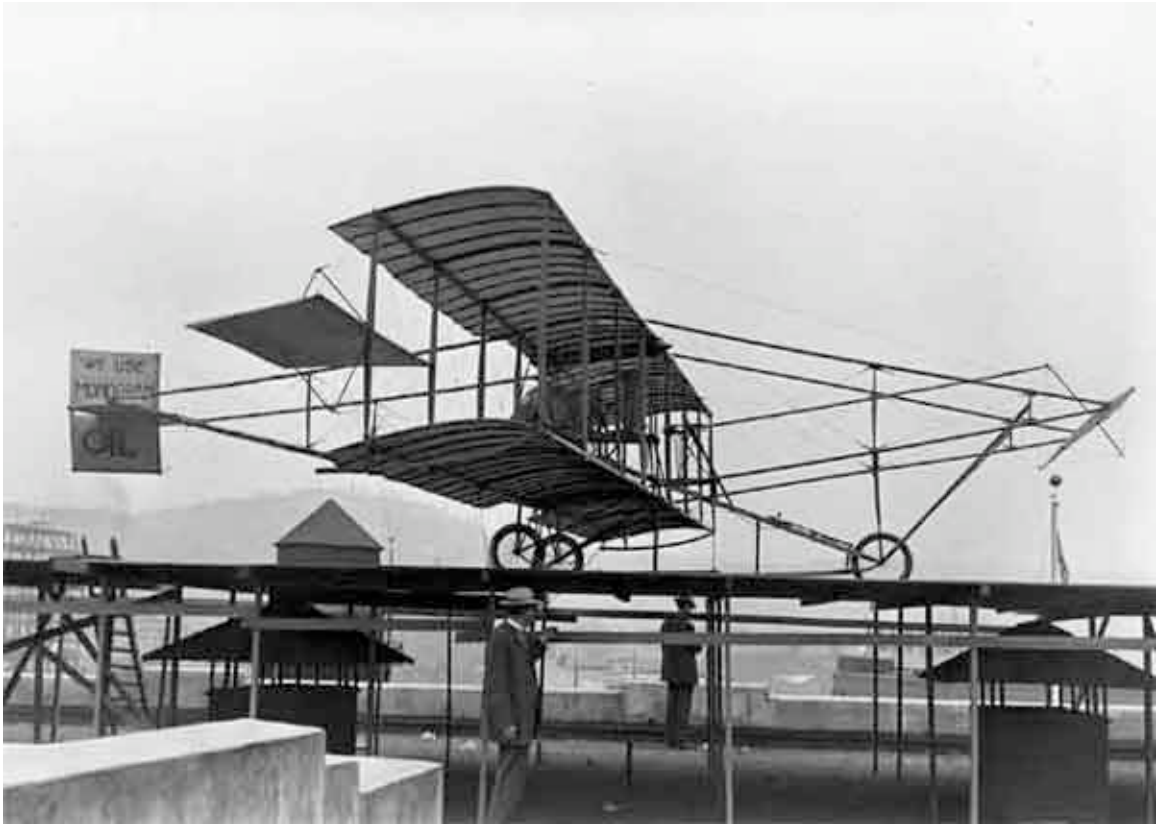
Location of Fort Vancouver National Historic Site, Vancouver, Washington, 1998
Courtesy Vancouver National Historic Reserve Trust



The West Barracks area of the Vancouver National Historic Reserve, Vancouver, Washington, 1998
Courtesy Vancouver National Historic Reserve Trust

Upper Vancouver National Historic Reserve, 1998. Includes historic tent camp sites to the north, behind Officer's Row, Vancouver Barracks, the Fort Vancouver palisade, and the site of Pearson Airfield
Courtesy Vancouver National Historic Reserve Trust

Lower Vancouver National Historic Reserve, 1998. Note waterfront trail in relation to Fort Vancouver National Historic site and Pearson Airfield
Courtesy Vancouver National Historic Reserve Trust



Silas Christofferson and his Curtiss Pusher on the roof of the
Multnomah Hotel in downtown Portland, Oregon
Courtesy Pearson Air Museum

Birds eye view of Vancouver, Washington, including military barracks, ca. 1917
Courtesy University of Washington Libraries, Special Collections

General View, Vancouver Cut-Up Plant, "LARGEST IN THE WORLD," 1918
Photo reproduced from Straight Grain, U.S. Army, Vancouver Barracks publication

Second Provisional Regimental Band
Photo reproduced from Straight Grain, U.S. Army, Vancouver Barracks publication

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Part I: Historical Overview, 1898-1920

Vancouver in the 1890s

The end of the century arrived quietly in Vancouver, Washington, a community shaped by the presence of the U.S. Army at Vancouver Barracks. By the 1890s with the Northwest Indians Wars ended and labor conflicts momentarily quieted, the military establishment at Vancouver turned its attention homeward. Soldiers built roads, maintained the garrison and drilled in preparation for potential conflict. According to the 1892 *Oregonian Souvenir,* Vancouver's garrison was the "prettiest" military post in the United States, occupying a special position in local communities and in the region:

> The parade grounds, lawns and flower gardens and the roads winding roundabouts through the garrison, are kept in perfect order, and as they are always open to the public, they are much the same as a park in most cities, although offering attractions possessed by no park in the Northwest. The 14th Infantry band, the finest musical organization in the West, gives concerts on the grounds three times a week, and plays for guard mount every morning. This, with the drills of the cavalry and infantry affords a pleasing diversion for the people of Vancouver, and also for many Portlanders who, since the completion of the railroad, look upon Vancouver as a suburb of Oregon's metropolis.[1]

Since 1884, the 14th Infantry had occupied the post, exerting a socially significant force in the Pacific Northwest. Historic accounts of Vancouver invariably include the 14th Infantry bands strumming tunes, and their displays of grandeur in Portland, Oregon celebrations.

Vancouver's countryside, its proximity to Portland, and its mild climate made the Pacific Northwestern town among the most desirable duty stations in the military. In many ways, the community landscape and the military post were inseparable, dominated by the lush, green landscape and snow clad Mt. Hood rising to the east, Mt. St. Helens to

[1] *Oregonian Souvenir*, 1892, 167.

the north, and the Columbia River lying placid below the garrison. Kate Stevens Bingham recalled an 1896 visit to Vancouver Barracks by the Multnomah Chapter of the Daughters of the American Revolution. Bingham described the original site of the Hudson's Bay Company's fort where the Washington School for Defective Youth stood as "a palace," rising above the city of Vancouver. From the Columbia River, "the entire garrison stretched before their eyes. The buildings of the garrison peeped out from protecting trees, while behind them dark, green firs rose up straight and severe, while sunny fields extended along the river's bank."[2]

At the turn of the century, the town of Vancouver functioned as a significant hub of regional society. This was a period of national urbanization, with Washington State ahead of the rest of the nation. More than fifty percent of Pacific Northwesterners lived in cities by 1910. At the turn of the century, Washington State had a population of 518,103 with Clarke County at 13, 419, including 3,129 people in the city of Vancouver.[3] In addition to the soldiers and officers of Vancouver Barracks, the community included: farmers; orchardists; storekeepers; laborers in natural resources industries, such as timber and fishing; and laborers involved in regional development of roads, railroads, and in construction. In 1898, ten companies of the 14th Infantry and Company E of the Fourth Cavalry occupied the military post under Colonel Thomas M. Anderson.[4]

Within the garrison and in the community, social experiences for officers, enlisted men, and the general population varied. In the late 1890s, with the post generally calm, Commander Thomas M. Anderson and his family entertained the economically and

[2] Kate Stevens Bingham, "The Spirit of '76: A Visit to Vancouver Barracks" *Clark County History*, 5 (1965), 140; Arline Anderson Cairns, "Gay Nineties in Vancouver" *Clark County History*, 4 (1963), 33.
[3] Carlos Schwantes, *Radical Heritage: Labor, Socialism, and Reform in Washington and British Columbia, 1885-1917* (University of Idaho Press, 1994), 14; Ted VanArsdol, *Vancouver on the Columbia: An Illustrated History* (United States of America: Windsor Publications, 1986), 153.

politically elite of Portland and Vancouver, such as the Biddle family, the Montgomerys, and Washington State Senator and Mrs. Joseph Norton Dolph. An established group of officers frequented the Officer's Club,[5] while other prominent citizens of the Pacific Northwest attended social events such as weekly hops at the post. The young officers of Vancouver mingled with the Portland privileged at the barracks, dancing, eating, and frolicking in the sophisticated style of the gay nineties. Such social gatherings often included the belles of Vancouver, General Anderson's daughters, Arline, Irmengarde, and Bessie, as well as sons Tom and Van.

The memories of the Anderson family were specific to their experiences among the privileged, as social divisions regulated community interaction. Strikers," male servants who served officers and made accommodations for them in the field, shined their boots, and cared for their children.[6] While enlisted soldiers drilled on a daily basis, the officers – most often West Point graduates – oversaw their endeavors. For upper class officers and families outdoor recreation included tennis, picnics, pheasant hunting, drives and walks in the garrison, mountain hikes, and horseback riding.[7] The Target Range on the present-day parade grounds, although dangerous, also provided amusement, at least for the commander's sons. Tom and Van later recalled watching soldiers' drills and collecting lead from spent bullets to buy their mother a gift.[8] The officers' children romped together in the gardens along Officer's Row, coming and going freely through the yards and gardens, while regulations prohibited enlisted men, and thus their children, from frequenting officers' homes. Still, the "fir-clad" forest laced with trails north of the

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[4] Anderson, "Gay Nineties," 34. Thomas Anderson became a Brigadier General during the Spanish-American War.
[5] The Officer's Club in the 1890s was the building known as the Grant House in 2001.
[6] Van Way Interview, Vancouver National Historic Reserve Collection.
[7] Anderson, "Gay Nineties," 33-34.
[8] Anderson, "Gay Nineties," 36.

garrison opened for recreation to all. Children frolicked through the woods, climbed trees, played games, caught tadpoles in the streams, fished and swam; and people of all ages and classes walked through the peaceful and "small portion of the forest primeval."[9]

Recreation for the young soldiers at Vancouver and the families of enlisted men included picnics and swimming on the south side of the river at Columbia Beach, games at a north Portland amusement park, and like their official superiors, fishing, hiking, and hunting occupied off-duty time. In addition, Vancouver's and Portland's saloons, gambling dens, and brothels catered to soldiers in true military style. More than twenty saloons thrived in Vancouver, a number of them just outside the west end of the barracks. A turn-of-the-century vice-commission report in Portland found approximately 400 brothels of various classes in the city. The types of brothels ranged from Victorian mansions on Portland's Park Avenue to "bawdy houses" of lesser distinction, and included scows that trolled the rivers making prostitute's services available up and down the Willamette and Columbia.[10] Many soldiers on leave crossed the Columbia for entertainment, frequenting the shops and eateries of the nearby city, and contributing to the booming "sporting house" business on Portland's North End.[11]

The economic and social presence of the military extended beyond contributing to the booming brothel business. The U.S. military, often composed of a high percentage of immigrants, increased diversity in the Northwest as Northern and Eastern Europeans encountered Brits, Scots, native-born Americans, and even African American soldiers in Vancouver. The army provided other benefits to the local community, and for soldiers and their families. The post's operations played an integral part in the local economy

[9] Anderson, "Gay Nineties," 33.
[10] *Vancouver Independent*, 30 November 1899; Gary and Gloria Meier, *Those Naughty Ladies of the Old Northwest* (Gary and Gloria Meier, 1990), 94-95.

through the individual and institutional purchase of goods and services to maintain the barracks and the families of military personnel. Throughout its history, Vancouver's military post also provided jobs for civilians, both skilled and unskilled. Non-military personnel worked on post in many capacities, including as doctors, plumbers, and in the quartermaster and commissary departments. Enlisted men found the Pacific Northwest, with its abundant natural resources especially desirable, because soldiers often added to the family larder by growing gardens, hunting and fishing. For young, single men who received three hearty, if not rich, square meals daily, army life provided security. In addition, military society provided travel, social services, and entertainment for soldiers and community members. And by the end of the century, Vancouver's distinctly military character quickened.

From Alaska to the Tropics

In 1898 as the United States entered the Spanish-American War, U.S. foreign policy shifted away from national isolationism and extended American imperialist action overseas. In 1898, soldiers from Vancouver moved from Alaska to the tropics, bypassing Cuba and heading first to the Philippines, and then to China during the first decade of the century. While government leaders evaluated the nation's worldwide role, Vancouver's military position retrenched. While retaining its focus on civil patrol and infrastructure development, the post quickly became a training site and significant military center.

In 1898 at Vancouver Barracks, nearly 600 enlisted men "performed the usual garrison duties," including military drills, post construction, lawn, and road maintenance, and general operations. Soldiers maintained six pieces of heavy artillery, nine pieces of

[11] Portland's North End extended roughly from Burnside north to the Willamette.

field artillery, two Gatling guns, and sixty horses at the barracks. Wagons and ambulances required upkeep, as did the thirty-three draught mules that hauled goods from place to place, and part of a soldier's duty was to care for the stock.[12] Only reports of gold in Alaska interrupted Vancouver's calm. The great Klondike Gold Rush, begun with the discovery of gold on Bonanza Creek in 1896, had set off a stampede of miners to the Yukon Territory. The Gold Rush brought the U.S. military to Alaska as well, and by 1897 the U.S. Army had begun establishing military posts in the region. In addition to civil control, the army was to maintain peace between nations, and provide relief to eager gold-seekers attempting to reach the fields of riches.

As in the past, Vancouver's soldiers provided a ready force to address civil dilemmas. The dangerous route to the gold fields, almost 2,000 miles from Seattle, drew nearly 100,000 men and women to the territory. But only 40,000 – one out of every ten – made it.[13] "Stampeders," as the miners were known, traveled by boat or on dangerous overland routes to Dawson. The "rich man's route" took miners by boat to the gold fields. The "poor man's route" took stampeders by ship to Skagway, or to Dyea at the dividing line between U.S. and Canadian Territory at Lynn Canal. From there they traveled over mountains, often in sub-zero weather, then built boats to navigate 500 miles down the Yukon River.[14]

The arduous trip involved crossing one of two incredibly dangerous passes, Chilkoot Trail out of Dyea or White Pass Trail – dubbed Dead Horse Gulch by Jack

[12] U.S. Army, Vancouver Barracks Post Returns, January 1898, RG 94, National Archives and Records Center. Available in the Vancouver National Historic Reserve Trust Collection. The Post Returns list an aggregate of 578 soldiers during the month of January 1898.
[13] University of Washington, Special Collections, University Archives, Permanent Online Exhibitions, "Klondike Gold Rush: The Perilous Journey North," http://www.lib.washington.edu/specialcoll/klondike/ [accessed March 23, 2001].
[14] National Park Service, Teaching with Historic Places, "The Klondike Website," http://www.cr.nps.gov/nr/twhp/wwwlps/lessons/55klondike/55locate1.htm [accessed March 23, 2001].

London – out of Skagway. Many stampeders spent as long as three months traversing the twenty-six to thirty-five mile distance over the passes. The steep slopes of the trail inhibited use of pack animals, and some prospectors forced horses and mules as far as they could go, then abandoned them when they dropped. More than 3,000 animals died on the White Pass Trail before tramways transported miners in 1897 and 1898. Stampeders carried several months worth of supplies on their backs, traversing hundreds of miles up and down the trails, often moving goods from cache to cache.[15] An outfit for the trip to the Klondike Gold Fields included warm clothing and boots, non-perishable foods such as sugar, condensed milk, rice, beans, and beef extract, utensils, soap, candles, pack straps, mining tools and rope.[16] Most gold-seekers loaded up with supplies at exorbitant prices before leaving Seattle – $2.50 for a dozen eggs and twelve-and-a-half cents for a pound of potatoes.[17] Once on their way, stampeders faced many difficulties including disease, malnutrition, starvation, accidents and avalanches, murder, suicide, and freezing temperatures. This quest for gold at almost any cost quickly led to crisis in Alaska, prompting U.S. government intervention.[18]

In response to the dire circumstances, the government sent tons of supplies to the unprepared in Alaska, some via Vancouver.[19] On February 9, word came to Vancouver that the 14th Infantry would carry supplies to the gold fields. General Merriam, commander of the Department of the Columbia, received the following orders from the War Department:

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[15] National Park Service, Klondike Gold Rush National Historic Park, "History," http://www.nps.gov/klgo/history2.htm [accessed March 23, 2001].
[16] Charles Henry Lugrin, *Yukon Gold Fields . . . .* (Victoria: Colonist Printing and Publishing Co., 1897), 27, University of Washington, Special Collections Web Site (Seattle: University of Washington), http://www.lib.washington.edu/specialcoll/klondike/case4ex2.html [accessed March 23, 2001].
[17] *Vancouver Independent*, 23 November 1899.
[18] Historically, Vancouver Barracks served as a site of civil control, first in the Indian Wars of the 1870s and later in labor disputes throughout the West.

> Make all necessary arrangements to send the regimental headquarters band and two companies of the 14th Infantry to Dyea, and two companies of the same regiment to Skagway, Alaska, prepared to stay at least through the coming summer; some suitable and temporary quarters to be arranged for the troops. . . . The constantly increasing danger of disorder at Skagway and Dyea has led the war department to insure peace by the presence of a force sufficiently large to hold any disturbance in order.[20] . .

After years of road building, post upkeep, and general repose, the orders to go to Alaska came "like a thunderbolt out of the sky," an air of excitement pervading the barracks, announced the *Vancouver Independent*.[21] "All were wild to go," recalled Arline Anderson, "and each feared his company might be kept back to man the garrison at Vancouver."[22] Soldiers leapt into action, rapidly preparing equipment, supplies, and Klondike clothing for the journey. Throughout the Vancouver/Portland area, preparations and goodbyes began as the army prepared to move most of the 14th Infantry north. General Merriam, Chief Quartermaster, Major J.W. Jacobs, and other officers immediately made arrangements to ship the troops, while Captain J.N. Allison, chief commissary at Vancouver Barracks, solicited bids for supplies in Portland. Meanwhile, rumors circulated that the 14th would remain permanently in Alaska. According to the local paper, the excited troops were not filled with "unalloyed joy" at the prospect of moving from one of the "pleasantest posts in the United States" to what would "undoubtedly be the worst."[23]

The first group of the 14th Infantry departed Vancouver in mid-February, their charge to carry supplies and take meat to prospectors stranded by the frozen Yukon River. The night before they left, reported the local paper, many of the soldiers tripped

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[19] *Independent*, 3 February 1898.
[20] *Independent*, 10 February 1898.
[21] *Ibid*.
[22] Anderson, Arline, *Daughter of Uncle Sam*, Unpublished Manuscript (Vancouver, Washington: Fort Vancouver Regional Library, n.d.), 83.
[23] *Independent*, 10 February 1898.

"the light fantastic in North End [Portland] dance halls, unmindful in their eagerness to take a last taste of the sweets of civilization, of the fact that men must work and ships must sail." The following morning, sixty-three officers and soldiers marched to the Vancouver wharf and boarded the steamer *Undine* for Portland. The *Independent* reported that one "lusty young corporal" called to a pretty girl, "I'll desert and come back to you if it's too cold," while her new male companion replied: "Pooh, you hain't got the nerve to desert." As the band played the oft-present and much-loved military tune, "The Girl I Left Behind Me," soldiers with muskets in hand, campaign hats, and "tough it" uniforms, bid friends and family goodbye. From Portland they took the ocean steamer, *Elder*, to Skagway under Commander Bogardus Eldridge, with quartermaster Major Ruhlen and company surgeon, Dr. Kemp. The expedition, slated to explore the Copper River region, carried 9,000 rations and 785 bales of hay, with animals and relief supplies to follow. In keeping with the spirit of adventure and new technology, Sergeant Oberle carried a camera and 500 rolls of film to document the trip.[24]

The men of the 14th were joyous, having experienced the boredom of four years of garrison duty without action. But the women, recalled Arline Anderson, "knew that it would mean the breaking up of our happy placid life, in the station we all loved so dearly."[25] And they were right. The trip to Alaska began a long series of travels taking the 14th Infantry from the chill of the northern territory to the murky sweat and haze of the tropics. On February 15, 1898 as the first detachment left for Alaska, the battleship *Maine* exploded in Havana Harbor, ushering in major changes for the 14th Infantry, for Vancouver, and for the nation. As a Naval Court of Inquiry began investigating the sinking of the *Maine*, the potential for war changed the troops' "enthusiasm [about

[24] *Ibid*. The location of these photos is unknown.

Alaska] into regret."[26] Still, companies A and G, led respectively by Captain Frank Eastman and Captain Matile, headed north. The approximately 100 men of the 14th Infantry carried about forty-five pounds each:

> consisting of gun, 100 rounds of ammunition in field belt knapsack, haversack, empty canteen, overcoat, shelter tent, tent pole, change of underclothing, extra pair of shoes, towels, soap, socks, tin cup, knife and fork. The soldiers left only their best clothes in their lockers at Vancouver. The entire populace of Vancouver escorted the detachment to the steamer wharf. . .[27]

Companies A and G arrived in Skagway and set up tent camps among logs and brush, and on snow and ice in the sub-zero temperatures with the men of the Relief Expedition.[28] "Colder than blazes and blowing like thunder described this place from one week's end to another," wrote one young soldier the following month. "You never saw a more disgusted set of fellows in your life than our men. We have been having lots of sickness, have averaged five a day for the hospital, several having been very close to death's door." The young man reported a murder on the trail a few days before, and the comings and goings of hundreds of people. Skagway, decided the soldier, was interesting: "You can see all kinds of people, young, old, short and fat, tall and slim, and all they know is 'Klondike and Gold." He hoped that no one from Vancouver would "get it into their heads to come up [there] as people coming in from Klondike say that everything in sight is taken and that a blame sight more gold is being taken into the interior than will ever come out."[29] Rumors of martial law in Skagway circulated in mid-February when the federal troops under Eastman quelled a potential riot as a crowd of fifty "hungry" White men attempted to assault a group of Indians unloading stores from the steamer *Queen*. Angered by the use of native labor, the stevedores attempted to drive

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[25] Anderson, *Daughter*, 83.
[26] *Ibid*.
[27] *Independent*, 17 February 1898.

the thirty-five Indians off the dock. One man fell into the icy river, and after "considerable delay, he was hauled out more dead than alive." The men of the 14th protected the Indians by driving the stevedores back at bayonet point and establishing a system of guard checks on the dock. Although the army did not declare martial law, rumors of wild Alaska circulated throughout the states.

By the end of February, two more companies of the 14th Infantry headed to Alaska. Only the General Staff, band, and companies D and F of the 14th Infantry, with Troop E of the Fourth Cavalry, remained at Vancouver performing the "usual garrison duties."[30] In Alaska, Colonel Anderson established headquarters at Dyea in the district of Lynn Canal. Anderson commanded two companies, B and H, with Captains Yeatman and Eldridge under him. Lieutenant McCain acted as Assistant Adjutant General, and Lieutenant Harry Cabell became the Regimental Quartermaster and Commissary.[31] In addition to relief for thousands of distraught miners, the U.S. government had a second agenda – maintaining firm control over the boundary between the United States and Canada. Lynn Canal was the site of a dispute over 126 miles of land claimed by both nations. The gold discovery in Alaska, originally deemed "Seward's Folly" because some viewed it as a wasteful purchase,[32] heightened national interests in the region. When Anderson and the troops of the 14th Infantry arrived, they encountered a major of the Canadian Mounted Police with five men and a British flag flying overhead. A potential international conflict began as Anderson ordered the major to remove the flag and move his men to the Canadian boundary, a division determined by the United States.

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[28] *Independent*, 10 March 1898.
[29] *Independent*, 23 March 1898.
[30] Post Returns, March 1898.
[31] Lewis Stone Sorley, *History of the Fourteenth United States Infantry From January 1890 to December 1908* (Chicago: Lakeside, 1909), 9.
[32] The United States purchased Alaska from Russia in 1867.

Ten days later, Anderson's troops refused to allow a vessel with two full companies of Canadian mounted police to dock until the Commissioner of the Yukon agreed to move back to the crest of the mountains. Although no conflict resulted, tensions were high.[33]

The Alaska Expedition significantly expanded Vancouver's regional military role. By March 1898, under army reorganization, the Department of the Columbia shifted to include Washington, Oregon, Idaho (except Yellowstone National Park), and the territory of Alaska, with headquarters at Vancouver Barracks.[34] In April 1898, Anderson strategically selected a site for permanent military headquarters "said to be by far the best site for fortifications on the Lynn Canal." The 160-acre site, close to the wharf at Dyea was a "commanding one, well above the beach," with sufficient wood and water to make it the "most advantageous that could have been selected on the canal for a military reserve." While the United States squabbled with Canada over the international boundary, events on the other side of the world quickly brought the world theatre to Vancouver.[35]

An Age of Imperialism: the Spanish-American War

The year 1898 heralded new beginnings, ultimately bringing world supremacy to the United States. In February 1898, the *Vancouver Independent* reported that Spain's negotiations with Cuba were failing[36]:

> ". . . if the verdict shall be that the *Maine* was blown up by Spanish treachery, with or without the knowledge of Spanish officials, woe be unto Spain, for she will be made to pay dearly for the lives of those brave Americans."[37]

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[33] Sorley, *History of the 14th*, 9-10. Sorley refers to the flag and the vessel as "British." Although Canada confederated in 1867, the nation was still essentially a British colony at the end of the nineteenth century.
[34] *Independent*, 17 March 1898.
[35] *Independent*, 7 April 1898. The boundary issue was settled in 1903.
[36] *Independent*, 10 February 1898.
[37] *Independent*, 24 February 1898.

On March 24, the *Independent* noted President William McKinley's demand that the Spanish grant independence to Cuba and immediately cease hostilities. The newspaper also pointed out that if war occurred, the Hawaiian Islands would become a supply base for U.S. fleets operating in the Pacific.[38]

This was not the first time the United States had intervened in the affairs of other nations, but this conflict began a large scale U.S. extension of military supremacy lasting throughout the twentieth century. Between 1798 and 1945, the U.S. conducted 103 interventions in Latin America, Asia, and Africa.[39] Many welcomed war, for war stimulated the economy, made generals out of colonels, presidents out of heroes, world powers out of small nations, and even at times brought national attention to communities like Vancouver. This was a time of nation building as the U.S. exerted dominance in the Pacific through control of the Hawaiian Islands. In addition, war with Spain would bring strategic commercial advantage Cuba, Guam, and the Philippines, providing a foreign market for surplus U.S. products.[40]

Some, however, protested this imperialist adventure. An intense public debate raged between expansionists and isolationists. The anti-imperialist politicians William Jennings Bryan and Carl Schurz railed against an aggressive U.S. entry into the world theatre. Others, mainly businessmen and politicians, according to historian William Appleman Williams, opposed traditional colonialism. They instead advocated an open door policy "through which America's preponderant economic strength would enter and dominate all underdeveloped areas of the world."[41] Some labor unions and socialists also

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[38] *Independent*, 7 April 1898.
[39] Howard Zinn, *A People's History of the United States, 1492-Present* (New York: Harper Collins, 1995), 291. Mainly U.S. Navy and Marine forces conducted these interventions. The Spanish-American War was the first time that U.S. Army forces went overseas.
[40] Zinn, *People's History*, 290-292.
[41] William Appleman Williams, quoted in Zinn, *People's History*, 294.

opposed going to war. In the widely circulated "A Peace Appeal to Labor," Bolton Hall of the American Longshoreman's Union warned the American public: "If there is a war, you will furnish the corpses and the taxes, and others will get the glory. Speculators will make money out of it – that is, out of you."[42] But preponderantly, and due to the increasing influence of the media, a majority of Americans viewed intervention in Cuba a humanitarian and freedom-loving act that would allow commerce and industry to expand throughout the world.[43]

These opposing forces had heightened their conflict with the sinking of the battleship *Maine*. By mid-April 1898, a joint resolution passed in Congress, declaring independence a right of the Cuban people and claiming that securing democracy was a duty of the United States government. Through the Teller Amendment, the U.S. would acquire democracy and leave its implementation to the people of Cuba.[44] By mid-spring 1898, for both economic and military purposes, both the president and the business community determined to get Spain out of Cuba. On April 25, 1898, Congress, with the general support of an American public espousing belief in a struggle for democracy, declared war against Spain. Historian Louis A. Pérez, Jr. outlines the chronology of the war:

> The naval battle of Manila Bay commenced at dawn on May 1 and was over by the early afternoon, a total of seven hours. Six weeks later U.S. armed forces landed at points along the southeastern coast of Cuba wholly unopposed, first at Guantánamo Bay on June 14 and eight days later at Daiquirí and Siboney. The battles at Las Guásimas (June 24), El Caney (July 1), and San Juan Hill (July 1) prepared the way for the siege of Santiago de Cuba. On July 3, the naval battle of Santiago de Cuba resulted in the destruction of the Spanish fleet. On July 16, Spanish forces in Santiago de Cuba surrendered. Ten days later, a U.S. expeditionary force landed at Guánica, on the southern coast of Puerto Rico, and

[42] Bolton Hall, quoted in Zinn, *People's History*, 300.
[43] Zinn, *People's History*, 297.
[44] *Independent*, 21 April 21 1898; Louis Pérez, Jr., *The War of 1898: The United States & Cuba in History & Historiography* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1998), 21.

> promptly seized control of the island. On August 12, an armistice announced the suspension of hostilities, almost two months after the first landing in Cuba. In December 1898, Spain and the United States completed negotiations for the Treaty of Paris, formally ending the 'Spanish-American War.'[45]

As Pérez, Jr. points out, the Spanish-American War was fought for a great many reasons, none of them simple. The war came during a period in which the U.S. had experienced a major economic depression, a time when people moved from farm to factory, when conflict between labor and industry heightened, when Populists revolted and xenophobia raged, and when ethnic diversity and racial strife deepened. Like the expansionists, some anti-imperialists founded their isolationist views on racism. "[A]ll in all," writes Pérez, Jr. these were "very complicated times."[46]

The World Theatre Enters Vancouver

World complications quickly changed the tone of the small military community nestled on the banks of the Columbia. War would take Vancouver's soldiers overseas, and war would bring seasoned overseas veterans to the small community. By 1917, war would dominate the very essence of the community. News of war against Spain in the spring of 1898 swept through the town. Although Vancouver's soldiers did not go to Cuba, they participated in expanding the U.S. world presence through their participation in Asian conflict during the first part of the twentieth century. Vancouver's connection to world affairs solidified as the young men who called the town home prepared to leave for Asia hoping to fight the Spaniards. In addition, border conflict and a war abroad redefined the U.S. military, its role in the West, and Vancouver's importance as a military base.

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[45] Perez, *The War of 1898,* 21-22.
[46] Perez, *The War of 1898*, 2.

The war declaration brought Vancouver's citizens out for a "whoop and hurrah" similar to other northwest communities, but differing in degree. At the end of April 1898, the 14th Infantry Band paraded down Main Street, playing the Star Spangled Banner, and Vancouver's Mayor Brewster applauded the president's decision.[47] By the first week of May, General Merriam had ordered the immediate return of nearly all troops from Alaska, including those of the three Alaska exploring expeditions. Oregon and Washington volunteers also amassed in Vancouver, while troops of the 14th Infantry quickly headed to The Presidio in San Francisco and established a camp for fitting out and embarking to the Philippines.[48]

As the first group headed south, others returned from the cold north. The 14th Infantry Band and companies C, D, E, and F left Vancouver under command of Major C.F. Robe on Saturday, May 7, 1898. Demonstrating an all-pervasive patriotism and support, local businesses closed their doors between twelve and one o'clock while the infantry battalion marched amidst flags and bunting. First down Tenth Street[49] to Main, and then to the wharf, the dutiful soldiers strode to board the steamer *Undine* for Portland. Hundreds of citizens gathered for the sendoff, lamenting the 14th's loss to the town.[50] Meanwhile, due to the need to maintain boundary control between the U.S. and Canada, General Merriam reconsidered his initial order, and recalled only troops A and G from the north. The *Vancouver Independent* reported that the boys of companies A and G were "all glad to get back, and since they scented the smoke of battle from afar, they [were] eager to go to the front."

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[47] *Independent*, 28 April 1898.
[48] Sorley, *History of the 14th*, 11.
[49] Tenth Street is now known as Evergreen Boulevard.
[50] *Independent*, 5, 12 May 1898.

The eager soldiers did not wait long. On May 3, 1898, Major General Nelson A. Miles had recommended that newly-promoted Brigadier General Thomas M. Anderson occupy the Philippine Islands in command of the following troops:

> Two battalions 14th Infantry; two troops Fourth Cavalry; one regiment of infantry, California Volunteers; two batteries heavy artillery, California Volunteers; one regiment of infantry, Oregon Volunteers; one regiment of infantry, Washington Volunteers. . .[51]

The troops arrived in San Francisco May 23, and the following day the first army overseas military expedition left the United States under Brigadier General Thomas M. Anderson. Companies A, C, D, E, and F[52] of the 14th Infantry were joined in their first overseas venture by the First California Volunteers, a detachment of the California Heavy Artillery, and the Second Oregon Volunteers. Three transports, the *City of Sydney*, the *Australia*, and the *Peking*, carried the troops, convoyed by the United States Steamer *Charleston*. The expedition arrived in Honolulu, soon to be annexed by the U.S.,[53] for a four-day stay of "continuous ovation." According to Captain Lewis Stone Sorley, author of an institutional history of the 14th Infantry:

> Everything was literally free to them: carriage rides, cigars, drinks of all kinds, food, curios; every one was decorated with leis or flower wreath of the Hawaiians, and exhibitions of native dances alternated with visits to Waikiki beach to the Pali. . . and other points of interest, and the beautiful strains of the native music were a constant source of pleasure.[54]

The fleet of ships arrived off the coast of Guam on June 20, 1898. The warship *Charleston* then fired at some forts on the beach of the harbor. Sorley recalled that the Spanish governor was unaware of the war due to ceased communications and welcomed

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[51] United States Adjutant General's Office, *Correspondence Relating to the War with Spain: including the insurrection in the Philippine Islands and the China Relief Expedition, April 15, 1898, to July 30, 1902*, (Washington DC: Center of Military History, U.S. Army, 1993), 635.
[52] Company A was commanded by Eastman and Mullay, Company C by Biddle, Company D by Lasseigne, Company E by Miles, and Company F by Mitchell. Sorley, *History of the 14th*, 12.
[53] Hawaii was annexed by a joint resolution of Congress in July, 1898. Zinn, *People's History*, 307.
[54] Sorley, *History of the 14th*, 12.

what he thought was a courtesy salute. The governor's staff arrived at the *Charleston* prepared to apologize for their failure to return the salute – they had no powder. Much to their surprise, the Americans arrested the governor, his officers, and men. The following day, with six officers and fifty-four enlisted prisoners of war, the fleet headed to Manila where Colonel Anderson established headquarters at Cavite, and the 14th began garrison duty in the Philippines.[55]

Families of enlisted men and officers of the 14th Infantry remained at Vancouver, some eventually relocating in Manila when the war against Spain ended a few months later.[56] As Arline Anderson later recalled:

> Our garrison life now became merged into the mustering-in of our volunteer army. . . . They were licked into regiments as quickly as possible, and forwarded to the Philippines. . . We made much fun of them because they were awkward and so different from the regulars. They resented the routine of garrison duties, and refused to do many things that they felt they had not enlisted to do. As experienced Army people, we considered ourselves far superior to the despised volunteers. . .[57]

However, the attitudes of the Anderson girls, used to an active social life, soon changed. While soldiers overseas attended to sanitation duties at the garrison in Manila, the Anderson girls and the other women of the Vancouver Garrison mingled with the newly arrived soldiers. Soon Arline and Minnie were "glad to chum" with the volunteer officers, at one point even planning a clandestine rowboat ride on the Columbia with a group of volunteers, although the adventure was thwarted when their mother found out. The women associated with the 14th Infantry remained socially active, attending Monday

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[55] Sorley, *History of the 14th*, 11-13; Anderson, *Daughter of Uncle Sam*, 99.
[56] The Secretary of War authorized the families of enlisted men who were married when ordered to the Philippines to be transported to the Philippines. Members of families of officers and enlisted men were required to pay for their meals en route at the rate of $1.00 per capita per day for adults and children over age ten and 50 cents per day for those between ages five and ten. Children under five years old traveled free. *Spanish American War Correspondence*, 861.
[57] Anderson, *Daughter of Uncle Sam*, 93.

musicals, Portland theatricals, dressing in the winter uniforms of absent officers and playing charades.[58]

The "Splendid Little War" against Spain lasted only three months. Although the United States did not annex Cuba, U.S. military occupation ensued, excluding the Cuban rebels from civil government. In February 1901, Congress passed the Platt Amendment giving the United States "the right to intervene for the preservation of Cuban independence, the maintenance of government adequate for the protection of life, property, and individual liberty. . . ."[59] The U.S. also obtained coaling and naval stations within the country and resolved that the United States army would not leave the nation until a Cuban Constitutional Convention adopted the Platt Amendment. After three months of debate, the Cubans acquiesced, bringing the nation into the U.S. sphere, although not as an outright colony. However, the U.S. directly annexed many of Cuba's neighbors previously ruled by Spain. In December of 1898, the peace treaty with Spain included provision for the $20 million purchase of Guam, Puerto Rico, and the Philippines.[60] When the war with Spain ended, the *Vancouver Independent* reported, ". . . Just 114 eventful days was enough to demonstrate that the fighting qualities of the American people have not lost anything by thirty-four years of peace, and has placed us as a sea power in the first rank."[61]

[58] Anderson, *Daughter of Uncle Sam*, 92-94.
[59] Platt Amendment in Zinn, *People's History*, 303.
[60] Zinn, *People's History*, 305.

On the Homefront during the Spanish-American War

As war began, Company G of the 14th Infantry remained at Camp Merritt near San Francisco, to collect recruits and organize the newly authorized Third Battalion.[62] Meanwhile, President McKinley called for 125,000 volunteers, including a regiment from Vancouver. In June 1898, orders came for a battalion of Washington volunteers. Although the state's volunteer nucleus was Camp Rogers near Tacoma, Vancouver also became a way station for new recruits headed overseas. As part of the 1st Battalion of Washington Volunteers, one company from Vancouver also headed to San Francisco.[63] When the troops left Vancouver in May 1898, schools closed and thousands lined the sidewalks to bid the soldiers goodbye.[64] The Vancouver boys, Company G, 2nd Battalion, First Washington Volunteers, camped first in an old woolen mill at Black Point,[65] directly across from Alcatraz Island, moving next into the Fontana Warehouse (later Fontana Barracks), and finally garrisoning the post at Angel Island. When the volunteers arrived, they encountered their old friends of Company G, 14th Infantry, including young Tom Geoghegan of the Hospital Corps who was "reading up on serrated bullet holes and suppurated wounds" as he waited to join the warfare. A fellow soldier described him as "care-free and blood-thirsty. . . [jesting] at the dawn with death."[66] Geoghegan's chance for battle, though of an unexpected variety, arrived sooner than he expected when the "fair ladies of San Francisco" brought the young men "a wagonload of good things which were a welcome variation to bacon and beans, and duly enjoyed."[67] As soldiers overseas

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[61] Carl Landerholm, *Vancouver Area Chronology* (Vancouver, WA, 1960), 125.
[62] Sorley, *History of the 14th*, 12.
[63] Washington (State) Adjutant General's Office. *The official history of the Washington National Guard,* Vol. 4 (Camp Murray, 1961 1962), 403-404.
[64] *Independent*, 12 May 1898.
[65] Black Point battery, built in 1864 in response to the Civil War, is and was part of Fort Mason, California.
[66] *Independent*, 26 May 1898.
[67] *Independent*, 2 June 1898.

died of dysentery and typhoid, food poisoning struck the boys from Vancouver. Sergeant O.J. Clancy reported:

> About 25 percent of them actually got sick from Spanish dope on the brain, and the balance had the genuine thing, beginning with chills and ending with that tired feeling. Tom Geoghegan and I missed it, but if it happens again I would rather be bit myself than put in another night as a nurse in the sea-sick ward. Have not slept or had my clothes off for 48 hours. . ."[68]

Such experiences were not uncommon. During the Spanish-American and Philippine Wars, thousands of men died, with less than four hundred killed in battle. The remainder died of disease and other causes, including thousands of cases of food poisoning caused by putrid meat.[69] Although none of the Vancouver soldiers died of food poisoning, Private Jimmie Brown came close. The young man spent months recovering at the army hospital. In August 1898, a band member reported playing for five funerals during one morning. The same day he counted eighty-six soldiers' graves at The Presidio cemetery due to deaths at nearby Camp Merritt.[70]

While the soldiers of The Presidio awaited late pay, complained about food, and recreated in the cosmopolitan city of San Francisco, the 3rd Battalion of Volunteers and an Independent Battalion billeted at Vancouver.[71] While in Vancouver, the volunteer soldiers faced criticism in Seattle and Portland newspapers for doing menial and servile work, and eating poor fare. Reported the *Vancouver* Independent, "Suppose they do have

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[68] *Ibid*.

[69] Thousands of men died from disease during the Spanish-American War, both on the homefront and in Cuba, Guam, Puerto Rico, and the Philippines. According to Howard Zinn, more than 274,000 men served in the army during the Spanish-American War and Philippine Insurrection, with 5,642 deaths in the various theaters of operation and U.S. camps. Zinn cites 379 deaths from battle casualties. Vincent J. Cirillo cites different statistics, with a total death rate of 2,910 during the Spanish-American War; 280 killed in action and 65 from wounds. According to Cirillo, between May and December, 2,620 men died from typhoid fever, the major cause of death during the war. Zinn includes deaths from food poisoning. Zinn, *People's History*, 301; Vincent J. Cirillo, "Aesculapius on the Battlefield: The Medial and Surgical History of the Spanish-American War" (Ph.D. diss., Rutgers University, 1999), 42, 54. The Presidio National Cemetery and GGNRA Park Archives and Research Center (PARC) has extensive information about the soldiers that served on the Presidio as well as those buried there.

[70] *Independent*, 18 August 1898.

to cook, and walk post and guard prisoners and repair the quarters, and work in the company gardens, it is only a part of the regular routine of army life, and every true soldier knows it." And the food, reported the paper, was "as good if not better than a vast majority of the people have," consisting of roast beef, boiled fresh peas, baked potatoes, stewed cabbage, Java coffee, with sugar and milk, fresh bread from the bakery, "and soap to begin with."[72] When the 3rd Battalion arrived in Vancouver, a recently formed Women's Emergency Corps welcomed them with a banquet, serving sandwiches and coffee to approximately 800 people. After speeches, songs, "lantern and canteen swinging," and comic recitations, "the floor was cleared for dancing, and the youth and beauty of Vancouver joined with the soldier boys in the pleasures of the dance."[73] As volunteer soldiers in Vancouver interacted with the local citizenry during their free time, those at Angel Island military base held pie-eating and swimming contests, played handball, received visitors from home, and pined for entry into the war.[74] Both groups protested stateside duty while they impatiently awaited overseas transport. Finally in October 1898, the Washington volunteer troops at San Francisco headed to Manila where they came under the command of General Thomas M. Anderson. The soldiers from Washington stayed in Manila for a year, participating in a number of skirmishes and engagements, and returning to The Presidio to muster out on October 31, 1899.[75]

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[71] *National Guard Pamphlets*, 403-404.
[72] *Independent*, 23 July 1898.
[73] *Independent*, 16 June 1898.
[74] *Independent*, 28 July 1898.
[75] *National Guard Pamphlets*, 405-406.

Moving Overseas: the Philippine War[76]

From the beginning of the Spanish-American War and for the following decade, troops came and went from Vancouver to the Philippines. The Philippines was an archipelago of some 7,000 islands:

> . . . with a total area of 115, 026 square miles. Half its population, which then stood at over 7 million, lives on Luzon, the largest island and the capital city of Manila. Luzon's 40,420 square miles are divided by topography into several virtually separate regions with unique terrain, economies, and societies. Within the island are five major linguistic groups including the Tagalogs, who provided the majority of the Philippine revolutionary leadership against both the Spanish and Americans. The climate is tropical, with a monsoon season that extends from about June to September. During this period common diseases such as malaria, dengue fever, and dysentery became even more prevalent. As the Americans were soon to discover, Luzon's terrain and climate can be greater adversaries than any human enemy.[77]

For the 14th Infantry, garrisoned at Manila, the main enemy was disease and lack of sanitation in the humid country. For the most part, soldiers spent their time cleaning up the city rather than embarking on campaigns, although some participated in combat against the Filipino revolutionaries.

Like the Cubans, Filipinos desired independence. Initially the United States promised assistance in routing out the Spanish to help gain Filipino sovereignty, even bringing the revolutionary leader Emilio Aguinaldo back to the Philippines from China to lead Filipino troops. But by December 1898, Spain had handed the Philippines to the United States, engendering intense controversy over the fate of the small nation of

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[76] Brian McAllister Linn recommends using the term Philippine War rather than Philippine Insurrection, Philippine-American War, or Filipino-American War. "The Philippine Insurrection suggests a rebellion against a constituted authority when in fact the war broke out before the United States exercised control beyond the city of Manila. The Philippine-American War and Filipino-American War suggest a war between two nations or two peoples, neither of which is applicable." Brian McAllister Linn, *The U.S. Army and Counterinsurgency in the Philippine War, 1899-1902* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1989), xii.

[77] Linn, *The Philippine War*, 3.

Islands. The McKinley administration hesitated, but soon rationalized control of the Philippines with the president's anguished declaration:

> I walked the floor of the White House night after night until midnight; and I am not ashamed to tell you, gentlemen, that I went down on my knees and prayed Almighty God for light and guidance more than one night. And one night late it came to me this way. . .
> 1) That we could not give them [Philippine Islands] back to Spain – that would be cowardly and dishonorable.
> 2) That we could not turn them over to France or Germany, our commercial rivals in the Orient – that would be bad business and discreditable.
> 3) That we could not leave them to themselves – they were unfit for self-government – and they would soon have anarchy and misrule over there worse than Spain's was; and
> 4) That there was nothing left for us to do but to take them all and to educate the Filipinos, and uplift and civilize and Christianize them. . .

By February 1899, the Filipinos had rebelled with Aguinaldo as their leader. The war that ensued in the Philippines kept Vancouver's soldiers overseas and engaged the city's citizens in the international scene. This war engaged more than four times the troops landed in Cuba – 70,000 – before it ended July 4, 1902.

Whereas the Spanish-American War was "splendid," the Philippine War was bloody, brutal, long lasting, and a clear manifestation of the racial, economic, and social divisions at work in the United States and around the globe. The Vancouver newspaper and experiences and perceptions of troops from Washington provide a snapshot of the larger forces at play during war in the Philippines. U.S. paternalism in the Philippines was strengthened by stereotypes about the native peoples, whose brown skin purportedly made them unfit for self-rule. One volunteer from Washington State summed up the prevailing racial attitude: "Our fighting blood was up, and we all wanted to kill 'niggers.' . . . This shooting human beings beats rabbit hunting all to pieces."[78] Another enlistee from Vancouver, who went to the Philippines with the 14th Infantry, decided he "was

[78] Quoted in Zinn, *People's History*, 307.

mighty glad to get out of there," and would not re-enlist. "The natives of that country, he says, are not as intelligent as our Indians, and far filthier and dirtier."[79] Such attitudes were not uncommon, being part of a larger Anglo perception of superiority and right to rule. In 1900, Congressman Albert Beveridge told Congress that the Philippines "are ours forever," citing the real justification - "China's illimitable markets" - just beyond the Philippines. The fertile land of the Philippine Islands was prime for growing rice, sugar, coconuts, hemp and tobacco, and the wood of the Philippines would "supply the furniture of the world for a century to come." Coal, gold, and the inability of five million people, who were after all, "Orientals," gave the United States a tremendous responsibility, claimed Beveridge and others, to impose democratic government and retain control over trade and commerce.[80]

In November 1899, Major Weisenberger of the First Washington Volunteers wrote an editorial for the *Vancouver Independent*. Weisenberger claimed Americans should retain control over the Philippines for the islands' salvation: "law instead of anarchy, civilization instead of savagery, commercial progress and development instead of retrogression." Arguing for the "strong, just hand" of American control, Weisenberger pointed out that the Philippines had "unusual resources" and the potential for tobacco production was "enormous."[81]

In addition to serving as a way station for volunteers during the Spanish-American and Philippine wars, hostilities affected Vancouver in other ways. Women's organizations formed to support the war effort. The Washington Women raised funds for relief of families when the *Maine* sank, and the Women's Emergency Corps held

[79] *Independent*, 18 August 1898.
[80] Zinn, *People's History*, 306.
[81] *Independent*, 23 November 1899.

fundraisers to send money to local boys overseas. International trade also increased. The merchants of Washington immediately sought extended trade relations. In July 1898 Adam Mueller of Vancouver's Star Brewery went to Manila with 100 cases of beer and the local paper announced: "The fame of the Hop Gold [beer] is reaching around the world." By September, the military ordered 300 cases of Hop Gold to the Philippines. Washingtonians shipped not only beer, but also potatoes, onions, and apples, to Central America and Asia. The Vancouver box factory benefited by supplying the crates for shipping products to military forces in the Philippines.[82]

As the economy benefited from its wartime stimulus, families awaiting their loved ones' return occupied themselves with bicycling, attending theatricals and musicals, and attempting to carry on life as usual. The military's economic presence continued strong, heightened by war. In Mayor A.B. Eastham's 1899 New Year message to the Vancouver City Council, he pointed out that the city's budget for the volunteer fire and police departments depended heavily "upon the character and discipline of the troops stationed at the post."[83]

The Buffalo Soldiers Come to Vancouver

The makeup of troops at the post soon changed dramatically as Vancouver experienced the first large influx of African Americans to the community and the post became a way station for troop dispersal regionally and overseas. On April 3, 1899 103 African American troops of the 24th Infantry, veterans of the Battle of San Juan Hill, arrived aboard the steamer *Undine*. Several officers and a large crowd gave them a "glad

[82] *Independent*, 19 May, 14, 28 July, 1 September, 1898; 6 July 1899.
[83] Landerholm, *Vancouver Chronology*, 127.

welcome."[84] The troops of the 24th were one company among four regiments of African American soldiers formed in 1866, at the end of the Civil War. The regiments included the 9th and 10th Cavalry and the 24th and 25th Infantry. Throughout the latter part of the nineteenth century the African American troops served in constant frontier service building western towns, fighting native peoples, and generally participating in westward expansion. These African American troops became known as "Buffalo Soldiers," a term loosely applied to all African American soldiers during the time the four units operated. Although the origin of the term is unclear, many say it came from Native Americans who applied what they considered a term of respect to the African American soldiers they fought with. "Buffalo soldiers" is meant to reflect the unique appearance and bravery of African American soldiers.[85]

Although White officers commanded the Buffalo Soldiers, some Black officers commanded troops in these regiments, including Colonel Charles Young[86] who served in the 9th and 10th Cavalry and the 25th Infantry at Fort Duchesne, Utah. Young, who was born to ex-slaves in Kentucky in 1864, was the third African American to graduate from West Point. During this period many African Americans served in national parks that were run by the Army prior to the creation of the National Park Service in 1916. Early parks where African Americans served included Yosemite, Sequoia and Kings Canyon and troops often worked as road builders, rangers, and on patrol. Young became the first

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[84] *Independent*, 6 April 1899.

[85] According to Tony Burroughs, "Native Americans gave the name to the early units because they respected the soldiers' fighting talents and likened their hair to the Native Americans' most sacred animal. The name was meant as a term of respect. The black cavalrymen immediately realized this and the members of the 10th Cavalry officially adopted the term." Tony Burroughs, "Researching Buffalo Soldiers for Genealogical and Historical Links," *Journal of the Afro-American and Genealogical Society*, 14, 3-4 (1995), 136.

[86] See, http://www.buffalosoldier.net/CharlesYoung.htm for a biography of Colonel Charles Young, who was discharged from service at the beginning of WWI due to his race.

African American to act as Superintendent of a national park, with many of his accomplishments later noted.[87]

African American colonel and chaplain, Allen Allensworth, also served in the West at Fort Douglas, Utah with the troops of the 24th Infantry who came to Vancouver in 1899. Chaplain Allensworth, born a slave in Kentucky in 1842, became a minister and an educator. During the Civil War, he acted as a civilian nurse in the 44th Infantry's hospital corps, later serving on a Navy gunboat and becoming a chief petty officer. In 1868 he began teaching at the Freedmen's Bureau School in Kentucky and in 1871 he became an ordained Baptist minister. During this time he became a political activist and in 1880 and 1884 Allensworth went to Republican National Conventions as a Republican elector from Kentucky. Two years later, President Cleveland appointed him chaplain of the 24th Infantry, and during the Spanish-American War he went with the troops to the Philippines where he became a lieutenant colonel, the highest rank of any African American at the time. Allensworth served in military posts throughout the West, including New Mexico, Arizona, Utah, and Montana where he focused on establishing an education program for enlisted men that was soon used around the country. In 1890 Allensworth moved to Los Angeles, where he organized a company to help Blacks migrate to California and founded the town of Allensworth, California in Tulare County. The minister, political activist and town founder died in a motorcycle accident in 1914, and the town later became a State Historical Park.[88]

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[87] *Ibid.*

[88] "The African American Registry," http://www.aaregistry.com/african_american_history/796/Allen_Allensworth_influenced_early_California [accessed December 2003]. For a biography of Allen Allensworth, see Charles Alexander, *Battles and Victories of Allen Allensworth, A.M., Ph.D, Lieutenant-Colonel, Retired, U.S. Army* (Boston: Sherman, French & Company, 1914).

The military segregated African American troops and their families, causing the formation of tightly knit African American communities, and associations between cavalry and infantry. As Black frontier soldiers moved from place to place, they sometimes changed regiments when re-enlisting. Thus, they came to know one another and found a shared experience in military and family connections.[89] When the army ordered the four black regiments to report to Chickamauga Park, Georgia, and Key West, Florida, in March and April of 1898, many were excited to have the opportunity for wartime service. Some also had regrets, having become established in the West. When the 24th Infantry arrived at Fort Douglas Utah in 1896, Whites had protested vigorously. By the time they left to join the battle in Cuba, the people of the city lined the streets to see them off. Florida proved different. The units faced intense discrimination at the staging area near Tampa where they remained for more than a month, and even their uniforms provided little protection from prejudice. However, by the late summer of 1898, the Black regiments had earned the status of heroes for serving on the frontlines at Las Guasimas and El Caney, and at San Juan Hill. The 24th Infantry regiment was also among those who served at San Juan and as nurses in the yellow fever hospitals of Cuba, where disease severely diminished the regiment.

On June 14, 1898 the regiment left Tampa Bay, Florida on the ship *Margaret*, arriving at Santiago, Cuba on the transport ship *City of Washington* June 19. The following month the regiment participated in the battle of Fort San Juan where 77 were wounded and 13 killed. In August 1898 the regiment left Cuba for the United States, arriving in Long Island, New York on September 2, 1898. When the units of the 24th

[89] Personal Communication with Buffalo Soldier Oscar Spicer, November 1, 2000.

Infantry returned to the United States, they were dispersed to different locales. By the first of October, Company B returned again to Fort Douglas, Utah where they joined garrison with companies L and M, two new companies formed during that month. All of these troops, along with Company D would serve in the western portion of the United States, in Montana, Alaska, and Washington in the following year, whereas the remainder of the regiment would serve in the Philippines.[90]

Sending African American troops overseas as U.S. representatives had been a controversial issue. The United States army had deemed the men of the 24th Infantry who arrived in Vancouver in April 1899 "color-immune," under the general belief that dark skin color provided immunity to tropical diseases. After some debate, Congress had authorized sending the Buffalo Soldiers to Cuba and the Philippines. The African American community also had some qualms about sending Blacks into the war for the United States. Their patriotism was hotly debated within the Black community, for they served in paradoxical circumstances. While African American troops purportedly fought for freedom and democracy, many noted that they gave allegiance to a nation that did not grant them equality. Felipe Agoncillo, lawyer, activist, and Minister Plenipotentiary for the Philippine revolutionary government, objected to American Blacks serving in the Philippines. In "Facts from Felipe Agoncillo Letters," published in *Leslie's Magazine* in 1899, Agoncillo pointed out that the treatment of U.S. Blacks made the Filipinos:

> feel that it is better to die fighting than become subject to a nation where, as they are made to believe, the colored man is lynched and burned alive indiscriminately. The outrages in this country [the Philippines] is giving America a bad name

[90] NARA roll 665, regimental returns; "Early History of the 24th Infantry, United States Army," published in *Skagway Daily Alaskan* (1 January 1900), available at www.yukonalaska.com/akblkhist/early24th.html [accessed from Blacks in Alaska History Website 11 February 2003].

> among the savage people of the world, and they seem to prefer savagery to American civilization, such as is meted out to her dark-skinned people."[91]

The anti-imperialists envisioned a war that would leave both African Americans and the colored population of the Spanish Empire even more oppressed. They contended that the American government should extend full constitutional rights to its own minority populations. Only then would a crusade for the freedom from tyranny of others become legitimate.[92]

Sergeant Major Pullen of the 25th Infantry, who traveled aboard the transport *Concho* during the summer of 1898 with some members of the 14th Infantry, summed up the predominant attitude toward African American troops throughout much of the United States: "It mattered not if we were soldiers of the United States, and going to fight for the honor of our country and the freedom of an oppressed and starving people, we were 'niggers,' as they called us, and treated us with contempt."[93] The troops of the 25th were segregated from the White soldiers of the 14th, who had served at Vancouver. The Whites remained on the port side of the vessel and the African Americans on the starboard side. Segregation, claimed Pullen, came not from the enlisted men, but from the officers, because: "The men of the two regiments were on the best of terms, having served together during mining troubles in Montana." Like the 24th Infantry, the 25th went on to participate in the battles of El Caney and San Juan Hill with Teddy Roosevelt and

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[91] Edward Johnson, *A History of Negro Soldiers in the Spanish-American War* (Raleigh: Capital Printing, 1899), 131.
[92] The Spanish-American War Centennial Website, http://www.spanamwar.com/AfroAmericans.htm [accessed December 2003].
[93] Johnson, *A History of Negro Soldiers*, 23.

the Rough Riders, eventually heading to the Philippines before returning to the United States.[94]

Despite encountering hostility and prejudice within the military and in military communities, the U.S. Army provided an alternative career to many African Americans in the post-slavery United States. Many southern freedmen had little choice but to substitute the institution of forced slavery for wage slavery to their previous masters. But Black troopers moved out of the south to the frontier and beyond.[95] Overseas service in the army also provided a different perspective on U.S. racial relations for both Whites and Blacks, because African Americans in Cuba and the Philippines garnered more respect than they did at home. The troops of the 24th who came to Vancouver in 1899 were part of a growing body of African Americans whose tolerance for racial discrimination had been forever changed by their experiences in Cuba and the Philippines, nations where class counted more than color. Upon their return, African American troops became more dispersed throughout the West. Company B went to Vancouver Barracks and Company M to Fort Spokane and then to Fort Wright, Washington. Company D served at Fort Harrison, Montana, and Company L went to Skagway, Alaska.[96]

Vancouver continued to serve as a way station for western troops. Company B of the 24th remained in Vancouver for a little over a year, from April 1899 until May 1900. During their stay, they performed the "usual garrison duties," and watched other troops come and go. Captain Henry Wygant and then Major A.C. Markley, both White officers and 24th Infantry commanders, also served as post commanders during this period. When

[94] Johnson, *A History of Negro Soldiers*, 25.
[95] Michael James Tinsley Clark, "A History of the Twenty-Fourth United States Regiment in Utah, 1896-1900" (Ph.D dissertation, University of Utah, 1979), 27.

Company B arrived in the month of April 1899 they had ninety-eight enlisted men on duty, twelve on special duty, seven sick, one in arrest, and two commissioned officers. Also at the post were six sergeants, twelve corporals, two musicians, one artificer, and ninety-seven privates. Leslie Groves served as chaplain, since Chaplain Allensworth remained overseas with the remainder of the regiment. Dr. Ebert cared for the ill, many of whom were among the casuals who came and went during this period, including another 112 African American troops of Company L who came to Vancouver in early May 1899. Around the same time, Brigadier General Merriam called for troops to quell a miner's insurrection at Wardner, Idaho and a small detachment of nine enlisted men and one officer of the 24th Infantry left Vancouver to quell the conflict. Meanwhile, Company L remained at the barracks for nine days prior to trading places in Alaska with the 14th Infantry's Companies B and H. Company L of the 24th left Vancouver for Alaska on May 14 and Companies B and H returned to Vancouver ten days later. Throughout the summer and fall of 1899, soldiers from Vancouver Barracks, including those of the 24th and 14th Infantries, also remained on detached duty in the Coeur d'Alenes in an effort to control strike activities of the Western Federation of Miners.[97]

The role of Vancouver as a way station during this period included maintaining communications between troops in Alaska and military commanders at Benicia Barracks in San Francisco. Troops came and went from Vancouver throughout the year that the 24th Infantry served there. The large number of troops impacted the community as well as the military post, and when Corporal Frank Hammonds and Private John Logan deserted that summer, civilian authorities captured them and turned them over to the military. Both received one-year prison sentences. Private Henry Harper also deserted

[96] NARA roll 665, regimental returns.

and received a six-month sentence. In addition to post maintenance for such a large number of troops, soldiers acted as police in some instances. In September 1899, Sergeant Garfield and three privates from Company B escorted military prisoners to Alcatraz. Three other soldiers from Company B received dishonorable discharges and hard labor at Alcatraz.

For Vancouver, the 24th Infantry's arrival marked the first major African American presence in the community. The Black troopers were a general source of great pride to African Americans nationwide. By the time of their Vancouver arrival in April 1899, they were also known as Spanish-American War heroes, if not by the entire nation, at least by westerners in military towns. Most of Washington State's African Americans lived in the Seattle area, but close to one thousand African Americans lived in nearby Portland.[98] Thus, in contrast to their previous tour of duty in Utah, the soldiers and families of the 24th had access to an existing African American community. Compared to Fort Douglas, Utah, and other isolated outposts, some new social outlets existed. In addition to Portland's African American churches and social clubs, contact with African Americans in Vancouver probably came from entertainers like the singer, Miss Flora Batsom of Portland. The African American singer, reported the *Vancouver Independent* the previous year, came to Vancouver to perform a musical program with the "colored bass humorist, Gerald Miller."[99] The arrival of the 24th in Vancouver also provided

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[97] Post Returns, May-September 1899.
[98] Bureau of Planning, *The History of Portland's African American Community (1805 to the Present)*, (Portland, Oregon, February 1993), 16, 20-21. The population census of 1890 and 1900 lists Oregon's Black population respectively at 1,186 and 1,105. Most African Americans in the state lived in Multnomah County.
[99] *Independent*, 21 July 21 1898.

evidence of the military as an option to service industry employment for Portland's Blacks. In March 1899 "twelve recruits, colored. . ." joined Vancouver's 24th Infantry.[100]

Like other veterans, retired African Americans associated with the military could access military and community services. The life of Moses Williams, a Black soldier of the 9th Cavalry, is one example of the African American experience in the military and one of Vancouver's roles in the northwest. Moses Williams, born a slave in Louisiana, enlisted in the 9th Cavalry in New Orleans after the Civil War. Williams won a Congressional Medal of Honor for saving the lives of several troops in Arizona during frontier service. He then served as an ordnance officer at Fort Stevens during the late 1890s, delivering supplies up and down the Oregon and Washington coasts. Signifying his attachment to the barracks and the importance of available military services, when Williams retired in 1899, he moved to Vancouver. He died three weeks later and was buried in Vancouver's military cemetery.[101]

Vancouver as a Military Town

During this era, Vancouver's role as a way station for volunteer and regular troops headed to the Philippines brought numerous soldiers to the area. In July 1899, the 35th U.S. Infantry organized at Vancouver, and by authority of the Secretary of War, Vancouver's military officers set out to enlist new recruits. They ranged around the region from Tacoma, Washington to Pendleton, Oregon, to Los Angeles, California and Reno, Nevada.[102] In late 1899 the post at Vancouver garrisoned over two thousand men. While the soldiers performed regular duties, civilian employees helped keep the barracks

[100] Post Returns, March 1899.
[101] *Vancouver Columbian*, "We Must Never Forget," 31 July 1999, B1, hereafter *VC*.
[102] Post Returns, July 1899.

running smoothly. In July 1899, civilian jobs included forage master, transportation agent, engineer and assistant, fireman, blacksmith and assistant, seven teamsters, plumber, wheelwright, and carpenter.[103] The barracks remained active through the summer and into the winter of 1900 while the 24th Infantry continued to occupy the post, and the 35th shipped out for the Philippines.[104] When Company G, 2nd Washington Volunteers returned from the Philippines on November 4, 1899, Vancouver citizens crossed the Columbia to meet the soldier-bearing trains in Portland. They returned with their loved ones in the afternoon on the steamer *Lurline*. Reported the *Vancouver Independent*, "The arrival of the boat in Vancouver was announced by ringing of the fire bell and the tooting whistle."[105] That evening the town rejoiced as Vancouver's young men returned home.

Between 1900 and 1920 events at home and abroad reshaped Vancouver from a sleepy military community to a city with increased involvement in world markets. New technologies and transportation systems, and expanding trade and industry altered the way individuals lived their daily lives, and by the First World War brought national recognition to Vancouver. However, during the first part of the century as the population of the military post boomed and diminished with the comings and goings of troops training for overseas duty, city leaders struggled for regional recognition. Although partially dependent on the barracks for its economic foundation, Vancouver's economy also developed through the fruit, dairy, timber, and shipbuilding industries. In addition to its status as an agricultural community and what some deemed a "suburb" of Portland, by the turn of the century Vancouver had clearly become a veteran's town. The post-

[103] *Ibid*.
[104] Post Returns, October 1899.
[105] *Independent*, 9 November 1899.

exchange, commissary, and ongoing military activities made Vancouver ideal for retirees. Numerous veterans' organizations, including the GAR and women's auxiliaries, took active roles in the community's social scene. The community hailed its military origins by mourning when James Kashmer, who claimed to have raised the first U.S. flag over the parade grounds in 1849, died in May 1900.[106] The same year, General Anderson retired, and a few years later purchased the family's summer home at Ellsworth.[107]

The turn of the century arrived with the Philippine War in full swing, and the soldiers of the 14th Infantry overseas. The 14th would return to Vancouver in 1905 for a three-year tour, and again during World War I.

China Relief Expedition

In 1900, the soldiers of the 14th moved out from Manila to China to quell the "Boxer Rebellion."[108] As Ted VanArsdol points out in his history of the 14th Infantry, "Temporary duty in China in 1900 was an unanticipated side adventure for the 14th Infantry," and like their overseas experiences in the Philippines, this adventure exposed them to a different world. Not only did the soldiers of the 14th gain renown through their Chinese experience, they also carried new worldviews back to Vancouver. The events leading to the 14ths tour of duty in China began in the nineteenth century as European nations carved out commercial and political concessions from China, while the Asian nation resisted foreign intrusions. By 1900, the United States joined other nations seeking commercial interest in China – Germany, Italy, England, France, Russia, and Japan, all of which demanded access to Chinese markets. During the first part of the

[106] Landerholm, *Vancouver Chronology*, 134. Kashmer was a member of Battery M.
[107] Ted VanArsdol, "Part II – The Famed 14th, Vancouver's Favorite." *Clark County History* 8 (1972), 191.

twentieth century, Chinese resentment toward westerners grew, harkening back to the sixteenth century arrival of European missionaries and traders in China. These missionaries and traders created an inextricable link between Christianity and western trade, demanding the right to proselytize and convert the "heathen Chinese." By 1900, a group called "Boxers" by foreigners rose up against Christian influence in China. The popular movement began in central China's Shan Dong Province as Boxers attacked and killed Christian missionaries and demanded expulsion of foreigners from the Orient.[109]

Although debate raged throughout the United States over foreign policy, the Open Door Notes issued by Secretary of State John Hay in late 1899 and early 1900 solidified U.S. expansionist policy. Initially Hay determined the U.S. should protect only its own interests and citizens: "There must be no alliances." However, by early summer 1900, he issued a second Open Door Note to the interested powers. It would be the policy of the United States:

> . . . to seek a solution which may bring about permanent safety and peace to China, preserve Chinese territorial and administrative entity, protect all rights guaranteed to friendly powers by treaty and international law, and safeguard for the world the principle of equal and impartial trade with all parts of the Chinese Empire.[110]

Hay advocated the Open Door Policy as part of a conceptual framework in which U.S. influence included all of China in a free trade network. As President McKinley explained, "We want a foreign market for our surplus products."[111]

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[108] "Boxers" is translated as the "Society of the Harmonious Fists" or "Boxers (Fists) United in Righteousness." Waite, 1; Gary Murrell, *Iron Pants: Oregon's Anti-New Deal Governor, Charles Henry Martin* (Pullman, WA: Washington State University Press, 2000), 34.
[109] Murrell, *Iron Pants*, 33-34.
[110] United States Army, "The Boxer Rebellion" in "Emergence to World Power, 1898-1902," extracted from *American Military History*, Army Historical Series. Office of the Chief of Military History. United States Army, accessed January 15, 2001; available from http://1-14th.com/OpPekingHist.htm.
[111] William McKinley, quoted in Murrell, *Iron Pants*, 33.

American occupation of the Philippines not only provided convenient access to Chinese markets, but also allowed the rapid launching of troops during the summer of 1900. The 14th was one of two regiments chosen to recapture the foreign legations,[112] under siege in the city of Peking (Beijing). The China Relief Expedition, as the mission became known, was the second major United States land war in Asia. In May 1900, foreign troops arrived to provide protection in Peking for diplomats at their legations within the walls of the city. By early June, the Boxers had cut off any chance of exit from foreign legations by destroying sections of the railroad leading out of the city. After the Boxers killed Christians living west of Peking and took control of the region between Tientsin (Tianjin) and Peking, the Chinese Army joined them. Together, the Boxers and Chinese troops moved on Tientsin. A battle ensued between the Chinese and the 1,100 sailors and marines from different nations, and a siege on Tientsin began on June 17. On June 21, Chinese troops and Boxers opened fire in the Legation Quarter of Peking, where foreign diplomats and missionaries had holed up awaiting relief. The following day China declared war on the Allies.[113]

On July 8, 1900 the 14th Infantry received orders to go to China and join the Allies, creating "the greatest enthusiasm among both officers and men."[114] The allied forces – 20,000 Japanese, 10,000 Russians, 4,000 English, and small contingents from Australia, Germany, and Italy – freed the foreign legations at Tianjin on July 14, 1900. The following day the troops of the 14th Infantry and Battery F, Fifth Artillery (Reilley's Battery) left the Philippines bound for China. The embarkation included Headquarters, the Band, and companies E, F, I, K, L, and M on the transport *Indiana*. The *Flintshire*

[112] A legation is "the official headquarters of a diplomatic minister," and staff, without ambassadorial rank.
[113] Murrell, *Iron Pants*, 34-35.
[114] Sorley, *History of the 14th*, 64.

carried companies G and H (back at Vancouver from Alaska), with Reilley's Battery and three months of supplies including a wagon train, horses and mules following on the *Wyefield* a few days later.[115] Using Manila as a base, and Nagasaki, Japan, for a coaling station, the U.S. forces – approximately 2,500 men – gathered under the command of Major General Adna R. Chaffee. Colonel A.S. Dagget, who had been stationed at Vancouver Barracks in the 1880s, led the 1,135 men of the 14th Infantry.[116] Colonel Daggett described the shipboard journey from Manila to China as "joyous," with singing and discussions of the upcoming campaign. In their "eager anticipation" for a new field of activity, the men of the 14th read everything they could about China. As the troops left Nagasaki, Japan enroute to China, they regaled a number of foreign men-of-war in the harbor with each nation's anthem. "Little did they know," wrote Daggett a few years later "of the heat and dust they were to encounter, and that more than forty of their number would never return."[117] Among the Expedition leaders was the future governor of Oregon, Captain Charles Henry Martin.[118] Martin, who graduated from West Point with the class of 1887 and arrived in Vancouver the same year, remained at Vancouver Barracks until the 14th embarked to the Philippines near the turn of the century. While in Vancouver, the young officer participated in quelling labor insurrections, married Louise Hughes, a young Portland socialite, and secured a future in the Pacific Northwest.[119] His experiences during the China Relief Expedition provide some insight into the 14th Infantry's three-month sojourn to China.

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[115] Sorley, *History of the 14th*, 64-65.
[116] Murrell lists the number of troops at 2,700. Ted VanArsdol and the 14th Infantry Web Site list the number at 2,500. Murrell, 36; VanArsdol, 14th, pt. II; 14th Infantry Military History Web Site, accessed January 15, 2001. Available from http://1-14th.com/OpPekingHist.htm.
[117] Sorley, *History of the 14th*, 67; Daggett, quoted on 14th Infantry Web Site, accessed January 15, 2001. Available from http://1-14th.com/OpPekingVin.htm; Sorley, *History of the 14th*, 66.
[118] Martin's papers are available at the Oregon Historical Society in Portland, Oregon.
[119] Murrell, *Iron Pants*, 12.

When the soldiers of the 14th arrived in China, they set up temporary quarters in two compounds at Tianjin, one at the American Missionary Board and another across the street. Captain Martin, like most American troops and their leaders, viewed the Chinese as "heathenish," and held stereotypical views of the allied forces. To Martin, the Germans, British, and U.S. troops were most civilized: "[We] are the only people who give a Chinaman the benefit of a Court Martial. All the others kill them at sight. The Russians and Japanese torture before killing." The Russians, thought Martin, were drunkards, and the French cowards.[120] Such views sometimes caused conflict within the Allied Forces, who returned the Americans' dislike. Despite their aversion to one another, the Allies had a job to do. In early August 1900, they undertook an eighty-mile march from Tianjin to Beijing together, "raising clouds of dust on the road and rattling the heavy gun carriages over the rickety wooden bridges outside Tianjin."[121] The Americans joined the line of march, flanking the Japanese through corn and sweet potato fields in the scorching Chinese sun. General Chaffee first allowed the troops to capture twenty Chinese "coolies" to carry extra ammunition and supplies, and soon hundreds of captured civilians pulled Chinese junks through the rolling countryside. Heat prostration forced the troops to move slowly as both officers and enlisted men became incapacitated by the sun, throwing aside the few supplies they carried with them. Two enlisted men died from sunstroke and others suffered "crippling disabilities."[122] Within ten miles of Tianjin, the 14th encountered Chinese forces near Yang-tsun. After four hours of bloody fighting the regiment suffered numerous casualties. Many of the wounds came from allied shrapnel as the 14th came into the line of Russian and British fire in their attempt to

[120] Murrell, *Iron Pants*, 32, 36.
[121] Sorley, *History of the 14th*, 69.
[122] Sorley, *History of the 14th*, 70; Murrell, *Iron Pants*, 38-39.

seize the village of Yang-tsun, already occupied by the American forces. According to Captain Sorley, present at the conflict, four died immediately. Fifty-seven enlisted men were wounded, fifteen of whom died later from the artillery wounds they received. "So exhausted were the men," wrote Captain Martin in the day's report, "that few were able to fire on the retreating enemy .... Three of our seven enlisted men who made it fainted from exhaustion afterwards."[123]

On the morning of August 14, 1900 the 14th Infantry proceeded toward Beijing, only five miles distant. Sorley described the difficult march through the Chinese landscape:

> The main road [between Yang-tsun and Beijing] ... is elevated ten or fifteen feet above the surrounding country, and furnished a good marching place for the troops comparatively free from dust, and affording at least a breath of fresh air; but on account of a superstition of the Chinese, who believe that evil spirits travel only in straight lines, the road was purposely made very crooked. . . as these sinuosities greatly increased the marching distance by that route, most of the travel was done across country thru the cornfields. Here the sun beat down mercilessly upon the heads of the men, causing many to fall by the wayside. When this happened to a man, his condition was indeed pitiable, for he was nearly stifled with the thick dry dust that rose at every step as the men marched by him. With no breath of air stirring to clear away the dust and no water to quench his burning thirst, the suffering endured under the scorching sun was terrific. On one of the marches as many as 171 men fell out thru heat prostration.[124]

Despite difficult circumstances – the hot sun and lack of supplies – the day's events quickly brought acclaim to the 14th Infantry as musician Calvin P. Titus, E Company, 14th Infantry scaled the walls of Beijing. In a letter to Colonel Henry C. Hodges (an important figure at Vancouver Barracks during the late 19th century) Calvin P. Titus, a bugler who won the Medal of Honor for his bravery, described the events of that day as he later recalled them:

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[123] Sorley, *History of the 14th*, 72; Charles Henry Martin to Adjutant, 3rd Battalion, August 7, 1900, quoted in Murrell, *Iron Pants*, 39.
[124] Sorley, *History of the 14th*, 74.

> About 10 o'clock in the morning of the 14th of August, Co. E. of the 14th arrived, along, at the north east corner of the Chinese City Wall. Fire opened on us from the east wall and we rushed over a small bridge and around this corner so the fire could not reach us. We continued west along this wall toward the wall of the Tartar City which we could see running north and south way to our front. Then fire opened from it and we got behind a bastion (big stone prop) of the wall besides us.[125]

Titus listened as Colonel Daggett and Adjutant Learned discussed scaling the wall to get into the city. The bugler, who heard the conversation, said to the Colonel: "I will see if I can get up if you wish, sir." Replied the Colonel, "Well, if you think you can make it go ahead and try." Titus dropped his equipment, at that point only a haversack and canteen. Like the others, he had thrown away his blanket roll and other supplies while marching in the scorching sun. The musician scaled the wall, stone by stone, until he reached the top. Colonel Daggett recalled the scene:

> With what interest did the officers and men watch every step as he placed his feet carefully in the cavities and clung with his fingers to the projecting bricks! The first fifteen feet were passed over without difficulty, but there was a space of fifteen feet above him. Slowly he reaches the twenty-foot point. Still more carefully does he try to hold on those bricks to see if they are firm. His feet are now twenty-five feet from the ground. His head is near the bottom of the embrasure. All below is breathless silence. The strain is intense. Will that embrasure blaze with fire as he attempts to enter it? Or will the butts of rifles crush his skull?[126]

At the top Titus encountered numerous matting tents:

> I had to find out if they were occupied before I could tell the company all was clear.
>
> Having absolutely no weapons I decided to slip up by a door, make a noise, and then if any one came out grab them and attempt to hoist them over the edge of the wall and drop them among our men. Naturally I was scared stiff but it had to be done; but all the fear went for nothing as there was no one in any of them.

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[125] Calvin P. Titus, Letter to Colonel Hodges. *Star & Herald*, Panama, R.P., Wednesday, August 14, 1935, accessed January 15, 2001. Available from http://1-14th.com/OpPek-TitLetter.htm;
[126] Daggett, quoted on 14th Infantry Web Site, accessed January 15, 2001. Available from http://1-14th.com/OpPekingVin.htm; Daggett, quoted in Sorley, *History of the 14th*, 80.

> When more men got up and our fire cleared the wall we moved down the top toward the Tatar [sic] Wall and before reaching it found a gate in the wall we were on. There a ramp led down from the top into the City and we went down inside.[127]

After passing through two more gates while under fire, the Allied forces captured Beijing, refraining from taking the interior Chinese Forbidden City until two weeks later.[128]

With Beijing divided into occupation districts, the Americans took charge of policing and defense for the west half of Beijing and a portion of the Tartar City west of the Imperial City. The 14th Infantry controlled the southwest corner of the Chinese City, with Lieutenant C.E. Kilbourne as chief of police. Their first occupation duty was to clean up the streets and suppress pillage and disorder. The work entailed removing the bodies of dead Chinese in various stages of decomposition, enforcing sanitary measures, and providing hospitals and soup kitchens for the destitute.[129] According to Gary Murrell, Governor Martin's biographer, after the allies divided the city, "Two common threads tied together all the military districts – killing and looting."[130]

The looting, begun at Tianjin, continued during the occupation of Beijing. On August 16, 1900 the Americans encamped at the Chinese Temple of Agriculture, a "fairyland" according to Captain Martin. For the first time in weeks, the troops found shade, green grass, and clean water in this personal temple of the Chinese Emperor.[131] Since the men had abandoned their blanket rolls and tents during the cornfield march

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[127] Titus, Letter to Colonel Hodges.
[128] According to Murrell, the troops wanted to forge immediately into the Forbidden City, but their orders prevented them; however, within the next two weeks the foreign ministers determined the Allies should capture the interior city, 48.
[129] Sorley, *History of the 14th*, 92-93.
[130] Murrell, *Iron Pants*, 46.
[131] Murrell, *Iron Pants*, 47.

through the sweltering sun, they immediately set about commandeering supplies. Sorley reported:

> . . . under the compelling requirements of military necessity, which justifies providing for the health, subsistence, and comfort of an army from the resources of an occupied country, detachments were sent out under officers to get what articles they could that would answer for tentage and bedding for the troops. Ample supplies of quilts were secured, as well as bolts of cloth -- cotton, linen, wool, and silk -- of all shades of color, which the men made shift to put up as shelter, so that the camp of the 14th Infantry blossomed forth in a color scheme that would have made Joseph's coat look pale and dreary by comparison.[132]

Many of the citizens of Beijing fled during the attack, leaving shops and homes accessible. The troops of the 14th, like the other Allied forces, easily retrieved Chinese clothing, silks and furs for their own use as bedding and tents. The result was a "patchwork" camp that was viewed alternately as "grotesque and decidedly unmilitary" or "interesting," depending on one's perspective.[133]

Not all looting took place out of necessity. Beijing was a city rife with gold and silver, art and exotic trinkets. While the U.S. Army sent out squads of soldiers to prevent Chinese looters, their orders were to shoot them on sight and seize the goods. According to Sorley, when the British caught pilfering soldiers or Chinese thieves, they seized the goods, then sold them to fund the expedition. Although not officially sanctioned, many soldiers and officers of the occupation forces came away from China with fascinating loot taken from rich and poor alike. Captain Martin returned to Portland in 1905 with several trunks full of valuables including furs, silks, and hand-painted fans.[134]

As inhabitants of Beijing returned to the city during the summer of 1900, they re-opened their shops and businesses with placards and appeals for safety. The windows and doors of both commercial establishments and homes often exhibited messages such

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[132] Sorley, *History of the 14th*, 91.
[133] Dagget quoted in Murrell, 48; Sorley, *History of the 14th*, 92.

as "U.S.A. Peaceful," "Christian, do not harm us," and "Do not bother this man."[135] As the citizens of Beijing placated the Allied soldiers, troops moved into the countryside to prevent further unrest. According to Murrell, the killing at times "proved indiscriminate and at others methodical" as the Allied forces attempted to wipe out Boxer forces. "It is safe to say," observed General Chaffee:

> that where one real Boxer has been killed since the capture of Pekin [Beijing], fifty harmless coolies or laborers on the farms, including not a few women and children, have been slain. The Boxer element is largely mixed with the mass of the population, and by slaying a lot one or more Boxers might be taken in."[136]

According to the Office of the Chief of Military History, the American troops, which remained in China until late October, did not take part in suppressing the Boxers after the takeover of Beijing. However, Captain Martin described at least one "very pleasant little campaign," in a letter to his wife Louise. Reminiscent of the guerilla warfare that took place seventy years later in Vietnam, a joint British and American force attacked a Boxer stronghold, then burned a Chinese village to the ground.[137]

Throughout the spring of 1901, the 14th Infantry was garrisoned at Manila and it's well known band played regularly on the Luneta. During this period the regiment addressed the unsanitary conditions in Manila and gained recognition for cleaning up the city. Early in June 1901 the 14th Infantry received orders to return to the United States. Captain Sorley described the bustling scene as the regiment gathered to board the *Sheridan*, bound for home:

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[134] Sorley, *History of the 14th*, 92-93; Murell, *Iron Pants,* 51-52.
[135] Sorley, *History of the 14th*, 93.
[136] Chaffee, quoted in Murrell, *Iron Pants,* 46-47.
[137] Murrell, *Iron Pants,* 52. Sorley, *History of the 14th*, 97. Sorley describes an expedition to Pa-ta-chow in which the British wanted to burn the village, but the American General Wilson refused. As Sorley points out, "This was only one of the so-called 'punitive expeditions' in which the Americans took any part, and in this case there were good military reasons for driving the Boxers out of their position." Sorley admits the expeditions were launched to impress the Chinese with Allied power, and for retaliation.

> Friends from shore are there to say their last farewells; the division commander, accompanied by his staff, is making his final inspection of the ship; a few belated trunks and crates of officers' freight are being lowered into the hatches before they are closed for good; officers and ladies are hurrying hither and thither trying to locate the staterooms which are to be their dwelling-places for the next month; children are everywhere, getting acquainted with each other and incidentally obstructing doorways and passages; down on the berth decks, the men are finding their places in the cramped quarters assigned them and struggling with the problem of how to dispose of a man, his extra clothing, his blanket roll, haversacks, telescope valise, mess kit, and minor odds and ends in one bunk without encroaching upon the deck or injuring the quartermaster's nice white paint on the walls and air-conduits. Finally, the last goodbyes are said, the last messages and packages, maybe, for friends in the States are committed to the care of the departing ones; the whistle blows, and all visitors leave the ship, most of them with regret at not being elected to go home. . .[138]

After halting to visit Nagasaki and Yokohama, the ship sailed directly for San Francisco where it arrived on August 18, 1901. From the Presidio, the companies of the 14th Infantry dispersed, some to Fort Snelling, Minnesota, others to Fort Porter and Niagara, New York. Still others, many of whom enlisted from the Portland/Vancouver area during the Philippine War, at long last returned home.[139]

Domestic Modernity in Vancouver

For the next few years, the soldiers and citizens of Vancouver concentrated on domestic activities. In May 1900, the troops of the Seventh Infantry arrived at Vancouver, increasing the number of soldiers from 136 in April to nearly 400. The same month the African American troops of the 24th Infantry left the post for Fort Wright, Washington. The city of Vancouver, by now over fifty years old, moved toward modernity, building a new electric light plant in December, 1902, and lighting the city with "50 modern street lamps..."[140] The same year, due to the impact of the Spanish-

[138] Sorley, *History of the 14th*, 113.
[139] Sorley, *History of the 14th*, 114-116.
[140] Landerholm, *Vancouver Chronology*, 149.

American War in re-affirming Vancouver's geographic significance, a special commission declared Vancouver Barracks a permanent post and thus worthy of improvements, including remodeling the existing barracks and building four new barracks.[141]

Vancouver expanded during the early part of the century as the community's relationship with the outside world developed. State and local leaders worked to make Vancouver more accessible by land and water. At the time, Frederick Funston, whose troops captured the revolutionary Filipino leader Emilio Aguinaldo, commanded the Department of the Columbia. On October 25, 1903, Washington State Senators Levi Ankeny and Addison G. Foster met with Vancouver leaders to discuss the regional infrastructure, including the Columbia River channel. The senators promised to work for a deep-water channel to Vancouver.[142] The same year, the Portland, Vancouver and Yakima Railroad received a right of way through the military reservation, which included both a post-office and telegraph station. Electricity purchased from the city lit the post, and an "excellent" system installed in 1888 provided an ample supply of water from two deep wells on post. The sewer-system, composed of six and ten-inch terra cotta pipes draining into the Columbia River, was slated for reconstruction in 1904.[143] During the spring of 1903, the most severe storm to hit Clark County since 1880 blew down trees, electric and telephone wires, fences, and the garrison bandstand. By that year, the county assessor's rolls listed the following: horses, mules, etc., 3,121; cattle, 13,117; sheep, 2,343; hogs, 2,034; wagons and carriages, 1,634; sewing machines, 594; musical

[141] *Military Posts and Reservations*, 502; Van Arsdol, *Vancouver Barracks*, 75.
[142] Landerholm, *Vancouver Chronology*, 155.
[143] *Military Posts and Reservations*, 501-503.

instruments, 522.[144] Social activity continued strong during this era, as bicycle paths marked the landscape and dinners and parties at the barracks drew Portland's upper crust to Vancouver.

American Lake

As the post underwent renovations, General Funston focused on the barracks' role as a training and supply base. Vancouver's population growth now inhibited maneuvers on the parade grounds near the city and in 1903, R.K. Evans examined training sites: one near Spokane; one at the Yakama Indian Reservation; and one at American Lake near Tacoma, Washington. Funston's decision to begin training at American Lake had tremendous implications for Vancouver. The military administration targeted Vancouver's successor – Fort Lewis – as the main military post in the Northwest. In May 1904, General Funston, Major R.G. Ebert, Medical Department, and Captain A.S. Rowan, 19th Infantry, visited the American Lake site for a two-day detailed examination. They found numerous advantages at American Lake, including a readily available water supply, and they adopted the site. The Signal Corps also identified the site as "most perfectly adapted to experimental work with automobiles. The highways are dustless, the roadways broad and hard, the topography otherwise adapted, it is thought, to the use of this rapid means of communication. . ." The open, treeless spaces surrounded by tracts of wood were also viewed as a good testing ground for balloon service.[145]

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[144] Landerholm, *Vancouver Chronology*, 157, 159.

[145] R.K. Evans, Report of Major R.K. Evans, Assistant Adjutant-General, United States Army . . . Chief Umpire, Maneuver Division, American Lake, Washington, 1904 (Portland, OR: Mann & Beach, 1904), 3,6; The soldiers from Vancouver began field exercises at Camp Bonneville fifteen miles north of Vancouver in 1909. The government leased the Bonneville land in 1909 and purchased it in 1919. Landerholm, *Vancouver Chronology*, 185.

The military leaders soon proposed a two-week encampment of regular troops and militia from the states of Idaho, Oregon and Washington at American Lake.[146] By early June, troops undertook a practice overland march from Vancouver Barracks to American Lake. Among the difficulties they faced in emulating wartime conditions were supply for the large number of troops, 5,000-6,000 men, and dealing with human waste. R.K. Evans reported that Major Ebert solved the latter problem during the June encampment when he:

> experimented along practical lines finally adopting an inflammable mixture of sawdust and crude petroleum which was spread in the pits and burned daily. The destruction of larvae, due to the heat and thick smoke, brought about an almost total freedom from the pest of flies that is such a curse to so many military encampments.[147]

Captain Frank A. Grant, Assistant Quartermaster, became Chief Quartermaster of the Maneuver Division. Grant made provision for the water supply, the construction of necessary houses, and the entraining and detraining of troops. Three "tented cities" sprung up within days. Officers acted as "umpires," adhering to the rules and regulations adopted at larger maneuvers in the country.[148]

Maneuvers began Saturday July 9, 1904 and lasted until July 16. The maneuvers consisted of three separate exercises, each employing a regiment as an outpost. The troops engaged in a series of feigned attacks and emulated defense maneuvers under different circumstances. The soldiers established outposts along roads, railroads, and defended various terrains, including woody and open areas in war enactments, pitting regional troops against one another and including different degrees of physical and technical preparedness. The first exercise consisted of Infantry protection of Camp

[146] For a description of proper field maneuver conduct and procedure in 1910, see *Regulations for Field Maneuvers, United States Army, 1910* (Washington D.C.: GPO, 1910) in the Vancouver National Historic Reserve Trust Collection.

Steilacoom from feigned attack by Oregon and Washington Cavalry troops. In the second exercise, Infantry and Battery Field Artillery troops feigned attack as Idaho National Guardsmen and the Twenty-sixth Battery Field Artillery defended American Lake (Gravelly Lake).[149]

The soldiers addressed a series of "Problems" typically encountered during war. Problem exercises included: Attack and Defense of Entrenched Position on Wednesday, July 13; Contact of Opposing Forces on Thursday, July 14; Attack and Defense of Convoy on Friday, July 15, which included a supply train of about sixty wagons escorted by infantry and artillery; and Covering Landing of Expeditionary Forces on Saturday, July 16. The final problem, Deployment of a Division, set for Monday July 18 was cancelled due to lack of appropriations for such a large force.[150] Instead, Vancouver's boys returned to the barracks to perform their usual garrison duties, recreate at Columbia Beach, and reaffirm their community significance by joining civilian firefighters as they squelched an August slash fire north of the garrison.[151]

Return of the Fourteenth Infantry

The 14th Infantry returned to Vancouver for two tours of duty, from 1905 to 1908, and briefly during WWI.[152] After their second tour of duty in Asia, the regiment was very excited when they finally headed "home." The 14th sailed from Samar to Manila on March 18, 1905 aboard the *Sheridan*, making the usual stops at Nagasaki and Honolulu,

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[147] Evans, *American Lake Report, 6*.
[148] Evans, *American Lake Report*, 3, 5-8. Evans includes a list of officers who acted as umpires on page 8.
[149] Evans, *American Lake Report*, 17-18, 23.
[150] Evans, *American Lake Report*, 79, 104, 126, 141, 163.
[151] Landerholm, *Vancouver Chronology*, 159.
[152] Van Arsdol, "Fighting Fourteenth, Part II," 2; Numerous troops moved in and out of Vancouver Barracks between 1899 and 1905. For an account of their movements, see Ted VanArsdol, *Northwest*

and thence to Astoria, Oregon. Sorely described the troops' welcome as they ascended the Columbia River:

> All during this beautiful balmy Sunday afternoon, as the Sheridan took its majestic way between the high green banks and imposing hills on either side of the river, the people living in the towns, villages, and country homes along the mighty stream gave us a continuous ovation. At every hamlet or cannery, houseboat or other inhabited place there was some kind of demonstration, varying between cheering and waving of handkerchiefs, raising of flags, firing of guns, pistols and cannon, ringing of bells and blowing of whistles. . . Surely it was a most cordial welcome, and filled the hearts of all with agreeable emotions. The ship anchored in midstream at dark, and in the morning a few hours steaming brought us to the dock at Portland, whence river transportation was taken the same day for Vancouver Barracks.[153]

The troops' return caused celebration. As the veteran Vancouverites of the 14th settled comfortably into the community, the Asian experience permeated the psyche of returning soldiers. Some of the newer recruits compared duty in Vancouver to their experience in the Philippines. Not only did the "constant rainfall" remind them of the tropics, but Vancouver's isolation also made them feel removed from what some soldiers considered the "States."[154]

Although still isolated from the rest of the nation, due to an immature transportation system, citizens and businessmen of the Portland/Vancouver area envisioned tremendous potential for regional development as evidenced by the Lewis & Clark Exposition of 1905. The Expo, patterned after previous Expositions in Chicago and Omaha, drew over 2.5 million visitors to Portland and generated immense profit for the local economy while placing Portland "on the map."[155] The Exposition, sited at Guild's Lake on the Willamette, opened in Portland on June 1, 1905 to the sound of the

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Bastion: the U.S. Army barracks at Vancouver, 1849-1916 (Vancouver, WA: Heritage Trust of Clark County, 1991), 70-77.

[153] Sorley, *History of the 14th*, 127.

[154] Sorley, *History of the 14th*, 128.

[155] E. Kimbark MacColl, *The Shaping of a City: Business and Politics in Portland, Oregon 1885-1915* (Portland: Georgian Press Co., 1976), 261-262.

14th Infantry band.[156] Like the community's citizens, soldiers of the 14th enjoyed the summer activities at the Expo, sampling food, attending community displays, and cheering the first ever flights across the Columbia River.

By the following spring disaster took the soldiers of Vancouver Barracks away from the city to once again act as a force for civil relief and control. On April 18, 1906, a major earthquake shook the foundations of the city of San Francisco, toppling buildings, setting fires, and placing the citizens of the city into a state of panic. More than 200,000 citizens were left homeless, hungry, and destitute as the city burned. Once again, the 14th Infantry moved out. Under the command of Colonel Irons, ten companies of the 14th, as well as the 17th and 18th Batteries left Vancouver on April 20. The Vancouver troops, like over 5,500 regular army troops from the Department of the Pacific, rushed to aid in disaster relief and to police the city of San Francisco. Although state officials did not declare martial law, army troops had orders to shoot looters on sight, dampening the potential for robbery.[157]

The most significant role of the regular army troops during the San Francisco disaster was in disaster relief rather than civil control. The Vancouver troops took a large quantity of rations and nearly all the barracks tents with them to augment the 15,000 tents handed out to homeless San Franciscans.[158] In the 58,000-man army of 1906, the troops in San Francisco accounted for nearly ten-percent of army regulars. Under temporary command of General Frederick Funston, the army's goals were to transport and move emergency supplies, feed the hungry, provide medical care, and halt the fires that plagued the city. The troops from Vancouver participated in these actions with various companies

[156] *Oregonian*, 2 June 1905.
[157] William Strobridge, "Soldiers in the Streets, 1906," *The Pacific Historian* 22, 1 (Spring 1978): 4, 7.
[158] Van Arsdol, "The Famed 14th, Part II," 206.

established around the city – headquarters of the 14th at The Presidio, and two companies in Oakland.[159] Army actions included dynamiting walls to halt fires, impressing civilian transportation systems, handing out rations[160] and clothing, and even destroying privately owned liquor stocks when Mayor Schmitz closed all saloons. Lieutenant Sorley, whose previous experience in San Francisco occurred during the "bustling, breezy, gay, hospitable San Francisco" of the Spanish-American War, found the scene depressing. Where once stood "magnificent residences, churches, museums and business houses," now people stood "in the bread line waiting for their turn to receive the daily dole of food or clothing. . . ."[161] By the end of June, as the army established a new relationship with the American Red Cross, persuading the organization to take over the duties of handing out clothing and providing shelter, Vancouver troops had returned to the post by the Columbia.

The soldiers returned just in time to participate in Vancouver's annual Fourth of July celebrations and summer military maneuvers at American Lake. Numerous changes in command and troops took place during the remainder of the year 1906. Colonel John C. Dent arrived as commander of the 14th Infantry. Brigadier General Stephen E. Jocelyn, who participated in the Indian wars from Vancouver in the 1870s and commanded the 14th between 1901 and 1904, became the new commander of the Department of the Columbia.[162] And in the early fall, the 17th and 18th Mountain

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[159] *Ibid*.
[160] Ration portions equaled three-quarters the amount per civilian that a regular army man would receive for each of the 400,000 people of the city.
[161] Sorley, *History of the 14th*, 128-129.
[162] Jocelyn served a total of twelve years in the Department of the Columbia. Van Arsdol, *Northwest Bastion*, 80. For more about Jocelyn's military career, see Stephen Perry Jocelyn. *Mostly Alkali, a biography* (Caldwell, Idaho: Caxton Printers, 1953).

Batteries shipped out for Cuba. By January 1908 the 14th Infantry shipped out yet again for the Philippines, leaving only 200-300 men at the military post. [163]

Reform and Culture in Vancouver

Urban reform was common during the first two decades of the twentieth century. As historian Carlos Schwantes describes it:

> In almost all the cities of the Pacific Northwest, the suppression of vice, the regulation of saloons, the banning of cigarettes, and Sunday legislation were advocated by the 'best people' in an attempt to unite a society driven by profound economic, technological, and demographic changes.[164]

Vancouver was no exception. In Vancouver the level of community activity and moral reform shifted with the rise and fall of population at the military post. Like other northwest communities, the town's citizens worked to dispel notions of cultural disadvantage due to isolation from eastern culture. Unlike other northwest communities, Vancouver contended with the moral perceptions of neighboring communities, many of whom viewed it as a wild west military town plagued by drunken soldiers, gambling, and houses of ill repute. Progressive-era reforms and community building efforts in Vancouver during the period before WWI included religious revivals, attempts to obtain local liquor control, and the growth of community organizations. During 1907, the city of Vancouver closed saloons on Sundays. The following year Andrew Carnegie donated funds for a new Vancouver Library.[165] Religious revival meetings began in Vancouver on March 10, 1909 and lasted until April 18. Various Vancouver churches joined

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[163] VanArsdol, "History of the 14th, II," 206-207.
[164] Carlos Schwantes, *Radical Heritage: Labor, Socialism, and Reform in Washington and British Columbia, 1885-1917* (University of Idaho Press, 1994), 40.
[165] Landerholm, *Vancouver Chronology,* 173, 176. Schwantes, *Radical Heritage,* 17; The library building, on the corner of 15th and Main, now houses the Clark County Historical Museum; see James Miller, "Some Factors Affecting the Growth of Vancouver, Washington" (MA Thesis, State College of Washington, 1936), 64-66 for a brief history of the Vancouver Public Library. .

together to build a special tabernacle on Tenth Street where "great crowds, civil and military, from the city and the country, attended" meetings. Evangelist Dan ("Cyclone") Shannon made saloons the target of his sermons, gaining over 800 converts, "including a considerable number of soldiers."[166] Like most reformers, Shannon likely saw the saloon as an adjunct of prostitution, a center for gambling and drugs, and a hangout for pimps and criminals.[167] A 1901 federal law banning the sale of alcohol at military installations had contributed to maintaining Vancouver's booming saloon business, but reform-minded citizens waged a battle for moral control by attempting to pass dry laws. Although Vancouver voted against going dry on November 5, 1912, the battle raged through the community just as it did throughout the state. Vancouver's citizens voted 1,426 dry, 1,621 wet during the 1912 elections.[168]

Other Progressive era reforms in Vancouver included organization and incorporation of a Children's Aid and Humane Society to work for an official juvenile court, the opening of a Salvation Army Hut at 7th and Reserve in April 1910, and women's suffrage.[169] The State of Washington adopted Women's suffrage in November 1910. In Clark County, 1,069 voted for it, 639 against. The following year, Lily Caldwell became the first woman to serve on an election board in Vancouver.[170]

Social and economic development remained the focus for the business and military community during this period. Like other booster organizations, the Vancouver Commercial Club actively promoted the city and also provided entertainment opportunities to bring citizens together. The VCC held "smokers" at their clubrooms in

[166] Landerholm, *Vancouver Chronology,* 181.
[167] Schwantes, *Radical Heritage,* 40.
[168] The state of Washington went dry in 1914. The nation passed the Volstead Act, initiating Prohibition in 1920. For more about Washington State's dry laws see, Norman Clark, *The Dry Years: Prohibition and Social Change in Washington* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1988).
[169] Landerholm, *Vancouver Chronology,* 192, 224.

1909 that included "vaudeville turns" by local members, short talks and buffet luncheons. The organization also worked for economic growth, expanding the city through annexation of what was then known as Vancouver Heights and the area east of the military garrison as far as Harney Hill.[171]

Change and Connection

This period between wars was one of technological innovation and U.S. expansion overseas. The regional transportation infrastructure developed through the first part of the century as Vancouver Barracks maintained war readiness and roads, railroads, and airplanes ended the community's regional isolation. On August 3, 1905 during the Lewis & Clark Exposition, Lincoln Beachey flew a dirigible from the Portland Fairgrounds to Vancouver Barracks. The eighteen year-old Beachey, who would become a successful aviator and the first American to fly inverted and "loop-the-loop," gave the city a "taste of aviation," a portent of the era to come.[172] Not only did Beachey cross the Columbia by air to make the first controlled flight in the state of Washington, the Portland to Vancouver flight was among the earliest exhibitions of powered and controlled flight in the country. During the Exposition the young man made twenty-three successful flights. He returned to the military post the following month when Theodore Hardes, assistant to the President of the Lewis and Clark Exposition, sent a message by airship to the commander of the Department of the Columbia, General Constant

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[170] Schwantes, *Radical Heritage*, 189; Landerholm, *Vancouver Chronology*, 193, 197.
[171] Landerholm, *Vancouver Chronology*, 182, 184.
[172] This was the first "controlled" aviation. Other aviation firsts in Vancouver included Professor William Lang's balloon ascension in April 1890. The professor lifted off from 13th Street and rose between 500 and 600 feet. The following year, Professor Vilas rose from the corner of 12th Street, then parachuted from a height of approximately 800 feet in front of a crowd of 1,500 spectators. Such balloon ascensions were major local events near the turn of the century. Jon Walker, *A Century Airborne: Air Trails of Pearson Airpark* (Vancouver, Washington: Jon Walker, 1994), 13-14.

Williams.[173] The September 19 message reflected the thrill and significance of the new mode of transportation:

> Dear Sir,
> I have the honor to convey to you by bearer, the compliments of the president of the Exposition, Mr. H.W. Goode, and to express the hope that this uniquely transmitted message will be delivered to you promptly and safely by aeronaut Lincoln Beachey, the pilot of Captain Baldwin's airship 'City of Portland.' In this connection permit me to say that if this message reaches you, as we now have every confidence it will, you will enjoy the distinction of being the first one to have ever received a document conveyed under similar auspices and President Goode and myself will share your honors in being the first to transmit the same…[174]

Still, the potential for air travel did not diminish the importance of land connections in joining Vancouver to the rest of the nation. Two weeks before the end of the Lewis and Clark Exposition at midnight on October 14, some of the top men in the railroad industry visited the city. They included James J. Hill of the Great Northern Railroad, President Howard Elliott of the Northern Pacific, and eight others intent on seeing a major railroad go through Vancouver. Mayor Crawford met the railroad magnates as train whistles screamed, bells rang, and the 14th Infantry Band serenaded them to the Columbia Hotel at Third and Main Street. Hill addressed the crowd, explaining Vancouver's regional significance as a military and transportation central locale: "Our coming and the proposed building of this new railroad is but in compliance with the demands of the people for the development and marketing of the resources of this portion of the country." Hill's visit heralded an end to the isolation that caused some soldiers to refer to the community as "Vancouver, P.I."[175]

Over the next fifteen years, major construction projects and new technologies marked the community's development, and as the regional transportation infrastructure

[173] Landerholm, *Vancouver Chronology*, 165-166.
[174] Walker, *Airborne*, 14.

grew, Vancouver's isolation lessened. The Army Corps of Engineers completed the twenty-foot Columbia River channel on November 11, 1905,[176] the same year that Walter A. Schwartz arrived in Vancouver to begin work as a topographer for the Seattle, Portland and Spokane Railway. After surveying from Vancouver to Willbridge (near St. Johns) he moved upriver, returning to Vancouver the following winter. Schwartz established camp just east of the barracks where "the cold east wind blew so hard they had to drive iron stakes to hold the tents."[177] By November 1906, when Ralph Majeske arrived in Portland to direct construction of a railroad bridge across the Columbia, he found Vancouver men at work on a new wharf. The railroad bridge, constructed by the Northern Pacific Railroad at Eighth and Hill Street for the Spokane, Portland and Seattle Railway Company was referred to as Bridge 9.6, and opened with the SP&S connection to Spokane in 1908. On March 11, 1908 workers drove the last railroad spike while the military band played, whistles blew, and hundreds shouted. The first passenger train pulled out of Vancouver at 9:00 headed to Lyle, Washington where it met a westbound train. That evening citizens celebrated at a banquet at the Hotel Columbia.[178] According to the local newspaper, the newfound outside connections quickly brought "Hobos" and "tramps" knocking at the backdoors of many homes looking for something to eat.[179] On September 26, 1908 the Vancouver Electric Line began regular service. The community rejoiced when the "magnificent cars," which started from the courthouse, rounded the corner of Main Street. In April, 1908 the Pacific Telephone and Telegraph Co. began

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[175] *Independent*, 5 October 1905.
[176] In addition to Congressional documents, the Multnomah County Library contains some early works documenting dredging on the Columbia River. The Portland District Army Corps of Engineers Library houses ACOE documents charting changes in the river. A thorough search at the Corps Library would make it possible to document changes on the Vancouver riverfront.
[177] "An Interview With Walter A. Schwartz," *Clark County History* 4 (1963), 68.
[178] Interview with Walter Schwarz, 177. For more about the North Bank Railroad, see John Gaertner, *North Bank Railroad: the Spokane, Portland, and Seattle Railway* (Pullman, WA: WSU Press, 1990).

operating long distance service between Vancouver and Portland, charging "regular rates" of fifteen cents for three minutes and five cents for each additional minute. By May 1909 Vancouver hosted a service of sixteen passenger trains per day, eight on the Northern Pacific main line, and four on the Spokane, Portland, and Seattle Railroad. Four local trains ran up the Columbia and between Vancouver and Yacolt.[180] The same year, 1909, President William Howard Taft rode across the railroad bridge after passing through Vancouver on a Whistle-Stop Tour to Portland. While there he squelched rumors about the potential closure of nearby Vancouver Barracks,[181] saying:

> Another pleasure in visiting Portland is perhaps what you will not regard as quite so important, but one that makes up the picture. It is the proximity, as one of your suburbs, of Vancouver Station, that military station which has sometimes been proposed to move farther north to Seattle. I am not in favor of it. (Applause)
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> … there hangs over that great old post the memory of the military men of renown who have stayed there and have found it comfortable, and as I visited it when I was here before, it seemed to me a model place for a regimental post.[182]

The president articulated the perceptions of many that Vancouver was a suburb of Portland, and that base closure was a serious risk. Those fears prompted local leaders to push hard for recognition and connection to the outside world. However, sometimes Vancouver's access beyond the community was thwarted, as during the cold winter of January 1909 when the thermometer registered eight-and-a-half degrees below zero. Ice blocked the Columbia, halting movement by water and train travel at Vancouver. Such conditions did not prevent P.C. Lavey, industrial agent and publicity manager of the Vancouver Commercial Club, from predicting that Vancouver would become the

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[179] "Interview with Walter Schwarz," 181.
[180] "Interview with Walter Schwarz," 177, 179, 185.
[181] James Mockford, "Historical Currents of Trade and Transportation on the Columbia River, Part Two," *Clark County History* 35 (1994), 73; Landerholm, *Vancouver Chronology*, 177.
[182] William Howard Taft in Milton Bona, "U.S. Presidents Visit Vancouver," *Clark County History* 19 (1978), 60. Taft also visited Vancouver on October 11, 1911 when he gave a ten-minute "whistle-stop" speech. Bona, "U.S. Presidents," 60.

region's central transportation locale, the place "where sail meets rail. . . the gateway to the Inland Empire for export." For the first time, said Lavey, Vancouver could bypass Portland altogether, sending grain to Astoria by rail. The shipbuilding efforts of Standifer Shipyards also contributed to the community's economy as ever-larger ferries arrived to haul goods from the region.[183] By July 1910, the Pittock & Leadbetter Lumber Company in Vancouver began building a commercial dock along 150 feet of the waterfront and on April 6, 1912 Vancouver established its Port District.[184]

Meanwhile, as the city started laying its second system of streetcar tracks, the automobile began to play a significant role in the community. In May 1906, Thomas B. Clarke, Superintendent of the Deaf School, purchased the first gas-driven automobile in Vancouver, an Oldsmobile. In August of that year, the Vancouver sheriff arrested a Portland driver for speeding down Main Street. The following year Clyde Moss brought a brand new Buick to the city.[185] In August 1907, Sheriff Sappington arrested a Mrs. Platt of Portland for speeding down Main Street, frightening a horse into running away, and then not stopping to check the result. Echoing long-standing antipathy toward the larger city, the *Independent* reported, "The automobilists from Portland are disposed to turn loose their machines when they arrive in this city and ride rough-shod over everything in their way."[186] At that time no regulatory speeding ordinance existed. In November 1908, Vancouver Barracks issued T.P. Clarke and Henry J. Biddle the first ever automobile pass through the barracks, allowing them to travel at a speed of six miles

[183] Landerholm, *Vancouver Chronology*, 181, 182, 184.
[184] Landerholm, *Vancouver Chronology*, 192, 200.
[185] Landerholm, *Vancouver Chronology*, 166, 169, 170; the first system of tracks was abandoned on July 5, 1895, 173.
[186] *Independent*, 15 August 1917.

per hour. On June 11, 1913 Victor Limber brought the first automobile ambulance to Vancouver. He also used it as a hearse.[187]

Few improved roads existed at the time. Road builder William A. Schwarz recalled that "Mill Plain and Fourth Plain were gravel surfaced, and along with St. Johns were fairly good."[188] Road construction still took place with a split-log drag and a team of horses. State Highway Commissioner William Roy, in his Fifth Biennial Report, explained the use of the split log drag. The drag was used to "fill up the ruts and shape the road so that the surface water will run to the side ditches at once; and keeping these ditches and their outlets free from accumulating silt and other obstructions."[189] Whereas the military accomplished much of the regional road building in the nineteenth century, with the1905 creation of the Department of Highways, the state began to take responsibility for road construction. By 1911, when the Old Military Road that ran from Main Street north was in disrepair, the state had begun improving feeder roads.[190] By September and October 1913, auto-stage routes existed between La Center and Vancouver, Brush Prairie and Vancouver, and Camas and Vancouver, competing with trolley lines like the Orchards-Sifton line. In 1915, competition with automobiles caused the North Coast Power Company to cut down on streetcar staff. State involvement in road building resulted from the pressure of numerous community Good Road Associations, automobile clubs, the Grange, and freighting outfits. New technologies and state planning influenced construction as well. Steam rollers and rock crushers made road construction easier, more efficient, and longer lasting as road builders laid coarse

[187] Landerholm, *Vancouver Chronology*, 175, 205.
[188] "Interview with Walter Schwarz," 68.
[189] Harold R. Garrett, "Clark County Highway History, 1905-1977: A Department of Highways Perspective *Clark County History* 34 (1993), 21
[190] In 1910 the legislature established a state highway system covering interstate roads and feeder systems.

rock down with succeeding layers of graded material on top to assure stability. Concrete culverts increased drainage.[191]

The automobile quickly became a prominent presence, affecting both transportation routes and community relations. In 1910 the Washington state legislature established a state highway system covering interstate roads and feeder systems. By 1912 under the new Clark County master plan, the state began rebuilding Fourth Plain Road, and Vancouver boosters lobbied for an interstate bridge.[192] In March 1912, the Vancouver Commercial Club organized a parade through downtown Portland, calling for a general travel bridge[193] across the Columbia. By September Ralph Majeske had been designated engineer for the two million dollar interstate bridge plan. However, connections between the states were nearly thwarted in 1913 when Washington Governor Ernest Lister vetoed the bridge bill, and the House sustained the veto. Vancouver immediately began a toll bridge movement. At a large mass meeting in the Clark County Courthouse on April 26, 1913, the county voted approval of a bond plan for $500,000 to build the interstate bridge. Most of the attendees were farmers. In November Multnomah County voted to bond $1.25 million for the interstate bridge at Vancouver.

On April 25, 1916 the first span of the interstate bridge was floated into place from the Washington side of the river. On February 14, 1917 the interstate bridge at Vancouver opened with Samuel Hill, lawyer, entrepreneur and Good Roads promoter, as the main speaker, and a parade and ceremonies to herald an end to isolation. The same day, Captain Frank Stevens piloted the last run of the Vancouver ferry to the Oregon side of the river. Stevens, a Vancouver ferryman for thirty-eight years, had been along when

[191] "Interview with Walter Schwarz," 70; Garrett, "Clark County Highways," 23; Landerholm, *Vancouver Chronology*, 205, 212.
[192] Landerholm, *Vancouver Chronology*, 181-182.

the first regular privately owned service began in 1858 as Switzler's ferry. The first ferry – a rowboat scow combination with a mast and a sail – ran between Vancouver and Hayden Island (then Switzler's Island).[194] Building the bridge required the cooperation of an Interstate Bridge Commission composed of Clark and Multnomah County Commissioners, and the governor of Oregon. The revenue from the toll bridge provided funding for State Highway 8 and the construction of the Pacific Highway from Salmon Creek to Pioneer.[195]

Air Travel Takes Hold

As ground and water transportation developed and communications networks expanded, the mode of transportation destined to impact the barracks, and the world, like never before, took hold – air travel. Like Crissy Field[196] on the northern Presidio shoreline in San Francisco, Vancouver would be among the nation's first cities to host air travel, with daredevil shows and experiments connecting civilian and military aviators. Ultimately, air travel at Vancouver would become part of the region's military history and the nation's development of civil and military aviation. In July 1908 the *Vancouver Independent* reported the first heavier-than-air flight in the Northwest. In March 1910, Vancouver Barracks commander, General Marion Maus, watched and assessed the military applications of the aeroplane as Charles Hamilton of the Curtiss Flying Team demonstrated its use in Portland, Oregon.[197] According to Jon Walker, former curator of

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[193] The I-5 Bridge was first envisioned as a wagon bridge rather than as an automobile bridge.
[194] Landerholm, *Vancouver Chronology*, 200, 203, 204, 206, 212, 216, 217.
[195] Mockford, "Historic Currents," 75; Garrett, "Clark County Highways," 26.
[196] For more on the Presidio's Crissy Field, see Stephen A. Haller, *The Last Word in Airfields: A Special Study of Crissy Field* (San Francisco: National Park Service, 1993).
[197] Walker, *A Century Airborne*, 19. For more on Hamilton's flights, Walker recommends Patrick Harris, *The Coming of the Birdman: The Aviator's Image in Oregon, 1905-1915* (Portland, Oregon: Masters Thesis, Portland State University, 1981), 21-32.

the Pearson Air Museum, in *A Century Airborne: Air Trails of Pearson Airpark*, although Portland had the area's first airplane flight, "the barracks was to become the center for aviation." During the early teens:

> Aviators (and would-be aviators) began to congregate at the polo grounds. The young men who gathered on the barracks flats were part of a fledgling aviation community. For the next several years aviation grew in the hands of a mixture of professional pilots, backyard tinkerers, auto mechanics, and hangers-on. Like Beachey and the Rose Festival officials [who rallied unsuccessfully for a Curtiss flight exhibition at the barracks during 1910], they were drawn to the big flat expanse north of the Columbia River.
>
> Beginning in May of 1911 the polo grounds became synonymous with airplanes and the *Columbian* soon dubbed it the 'aviation camp.'[198]

The first successful airplane flight made over Vancouver was conducted by Charles "Fred" Walsh in a new Curtiss-Farman-Walsh biplane on June 15, 1911. Walsh flew twice over the city and then over Vancouver Barracks, soaring between two and four hundred feet. Two weeks later, on June 29, Silas Christofferson crashed at the barracks from a height of twenty feet, sustaining a broken shoulder. The same day, as five army officers observed, Walsh tested the "Ellsworth Equilibriator," an early "auto pilot" designed to control equilibrium and make flying safer. The following year Christofferson returned from Oakland, California where he had been flying. On May 19, 1912 he flew over Vancouver in a Curtiss type of biplane, becoming the second person to fly over the city. On May 22 he took the first women, Alma Pederson and Mrs. Edna Becker with him for a second flight. Edna Becker declared she would become a "plane driver," and she not only did so, but also married Cristofferson. Throughout that summer, Christofferson flew at the barracks where he housed his plane. In preparation for his most famous feat in Vancouver, Christofferson flew his plane across the Columbia River to Waverly Golf Links just south of Portland. From there, he and his crew dismantled the plane and

[198] Walker, *A Century Airborne*, 19-20.

moved it to the top of the Multnomah Hotel. During the Rose Festival celebrations, on June 11, 1912 Christofferson took off from the top of the Multnomah Hotel in Portland while nearly 50,000 watched. The young man again flew over the Columbia, attaining a height of 5,000 feet and landing at "aviation field" at the barracks. As he experimented that summer at the barracks, members of the 21st Infantry viewed their first aeroplane flight. Other aviators also flew over Vancouver that summer producing "thrilling" exhibitions for the local populace and the military.[199]

A War to End All Wars

Rumors that the military base would soon close floated around the community for years, causing concern for Vancouver's leaders. On August 6, 1913, Secretary of War Lindley Garrison and Major General Leonard A. Wood visited Vancouver and the Barracks "by automobile," reassuring all that the barracks would remain active.[200] As had been the case at the outbreak of the Spanish-American War, the advent of World War I officially ended speculation about base closure. By 1914, European tensions exploded with the June 28, 1914 assassination of the Archduke Francis Ferdinand, heir to the throne of Austria-Hungary. The factors leading to the war had their origins in political, economic, and social changes throughout the nineteenth century as European nations gained and lost power, and nationalist efforts grew. By 1914 European alliances formed, firmly rooted in the problematic divisions of previous centuries. Industrialization, imperialist gains and losses, and a half-century of revolutionary political change as monarchies fell, nation states formed, and the working class agitated, placed Europeans

[199] Landerholm, *Vancouver Chronology*, 196-197, 201, 209; Walker, *A Century Airborne*, 20-22. The 21st Infantry returned from the Philippines in May 1908 and replaced the First Infantry which went to Hawaii. For other aviation feats during the summer of 1912, see Walker.

in a precarious position. By 1914 Europe contained two diplomatic groupings. The Triple Alliance included Austria-Hungary, Italy, and Romania. The Triple Entente, centered on an alliance between France and Russia, and the British entente with both the French and Russians. These alliances were the "Great Powers" of Europe.[201]

These European powers continually vied for control of the Balkans and of the straits connecting the Black Sea with the Mediterranean. Although national alliances had maintained a tenuous balance of power during the previous decade, by 1914 division of the Balkan states overrode diplomatic attempts. When the archduke Francis Ferdinand and his wife, Sophie, were shot and killed in the streets of Sarajevo, Bosnia, the world watched. As Samuel Williamson writes, "Those shots had the ineluctable effect of converging all the danger points of European foreign and domestic policies. The First World War would be the result."[202] One month later, on July 28, 1914, Austria-Hungary declared war on Serbia, found complicit in the assassination. Age-old rivalries surfaced as Germany aligned itself with Austria-Hungary against Russia, which had already begun to mobilize troops. By July 30 France had become fearful of German attack on its territory and declared a partial mobilization. On Saturday, August 1, 1914, Germany declared war on Russia, invading Luxembourg the following day, and declaring war against France the next. German actions in neutral Belgium forced Great Britain to a decision and incited an international outcry. Great Britain immediately sent an ultimatum to Germany demanding the nation refrain from entering Belgium; however, it was too late, and by August 6 Great Britain entered the war against Germany. By August 10,

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[200] Landerholm, *Vancouver Chronology*, 205.
[201] Michael J. Lyons, *World War I: A Short History* (Upper Saddle River, New Jersey: Prentice Hall, 2000), 32; Samuel R. Williamson, Jr, "The Origins of the War" in *The Oxford Illustrated History of the First World War*, ed. by Hew Strachan (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), 11.
[202] Lyons, *World War I*, 32, 37-45; Williamson, "Origins of the War," 15.

1914, Europe was at war.[203] As Williamson points out, not only were the roots of the Great War complex, but:

> In July 1914 one or two key decisions taken differently might well have seen the war averted. As it was, the July crisis became a model of escalation and inadvertent consequences. The expectation of a short war, the ideology of offensive warfare, and continuing faith in war as an instrument of policy: all would soon prove illusory and wishful. The cold, hard, unyielding reality of modern warfare soon replaced the romantic, dashing legends of the popular press. The elite decision-makers (monarchs, civilian ministers, admirals, and generals) had started the war; the larger public would die in it and, ultimately, finish it.[204]

Eventually, the United States would influence the war's outcome, mainly through its ability to amass massive natural resources for air power, a major "reality of modern warfare." And Vancouver would play a significant role in that resource mobilization. Meanwhile, as fighting began in the trenches of Europe, the United States watched, claiming neutral status. During the period of U.S. neutrality, August 1914 - April 1917, America became further aligned with the Allied Powers of Great Britain, France, and Russia as Germany waged undersea warfare and eventually violated neutral economic trade rights. Throughout the neutral period, the United States, recognizing the potential for eventual involvement in the war, entered a state of "preparedness" and assisted sustaining the financial positions of Britain and France. As U.S. intervention became inevitable through 1916 and 1917, America began mobilizing its army, "rapidly and chaotically."[205] The U.S. adopted general conscription, and in early 1918 created a War Industries Board to rationalize procurement. The U.S. geared up for war, knowingly unprepared, but forcefully involved through its alignment with the Allied powers, fear of Eurasian dominance by the Central Powers, and determined to influence the outcome of

[203] Lyons, *World War I*, 51, 54; Williamson, "Origins of the War," 21.
[204] Williamson, "Origins of the War," 25.
[205] David Trask, "The Entry of the USA into the War and its Effects," in *The Oxford Illustrated History*, 239-245.

post-war European divisions. As David Trask writes, "The USA entered the desperate year of 1918 with much to do before its army could take the field."[206]

During the intervening years in Vancouver, between 1914 and 1916, a large number of troops headed south to guard the Mexican border. Nearly 350 men of the 2nd Battalion and C Company of the 21st Infantry headed to Mexico. The 1910 to 1920 Mexican Revolution soon took second place on the military's list of priorities as preparations for a European war began in 1916. By that fall troop strength at Vancouver Barracks increased to more than 400. While National Guardsmen were called out to the Mexican border, new recruits flocked to sign up for the war in Europe. On April 6, 1917, after Germany sank the *Lusitania* with American citizens aboard, the U.S. declared war.

United States entry into the war brought the greatest growth and development that Vancouver Barracks had ever seen, as the town became the hub of spruce production for military airplanes and a training site for the AEF, American Expeditionary Forces. Congress quickly awarded the Smith Company of Seattle a contract for 250 buildings of lumber and battens to house troops. At the local port, the war increased demand for trade and expansion. Two shipyards, one each for wooden and steel ships began operations, and the Motorship Construction Company leased a shipyard to produce small boats, lifeboats and life rafts.[207] The army contributed to World War I at Vancouver Barracks by mobilizing troops through major regional recruiting drives that brought the 318th and 44th Infantries to full strength at Vancouver before shipping out to France. The other

[206] Trask, "Entry of the U.S. into the War," 245.
[207] Van Arsdol, *Northwest Bastion*, 90, 97; Landerholm, *Vancouver Chronology*, 212, 218; Mockford, "Historic Currents," 78.

major contribution, with both immediate and long-range impacts for the region was the army's "Logging for Victory" in the forests of the Pacific Northwest.[208]

Logging for Victory

Only America had the resources to achieve the air superiority deemed "the coffin for the Hohenzollern."[209] Even before entering the war, the United States was the primary wood supplier to the Allies for airplane construction. Although Great Britain, France, and Italy would accept New England and Southern Fir, and Douglas Fir in a pinch, they deemed Western Sitka Spruce the best wood of all. Pacific Northwest spruce was light, strong, and resilient with long, tough fibers that retained strength when moist. Most importantly, spruce "would not splinter when struck by a rifle bullet."[210] The resistance of spruce was particularly important since airplanes rapidly became weapons of destruction. Forest historian Gerald Williams describes the significance the relationship between warfare and advancing aeroplane technology:

> Early in the war, before machine guns became the most popular sky weapon, some pilots used such crude devices as darts to pierce soldiers on the ground or their opponents' airplane fabric, while others attempted to use steel hooks suspended on cables trailing the airplane. Pistols, shotguns, rifles, and light machine guns were later carried to battle the enemy airplanes. . . Soon the engineers. . . improved the machine gun weaponry so that it would fire between the propeller blades as they rotated. The English also used a crude form of rocket, designed for shooting at the highly dangerous, hydrogen-filled zeppelins and other balloons. Thus, the deadly fighter aircraft was born.[211]

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[208] Royce E. Pollard, "The Presence and Missions of the United States Army at Vancouver Barracks, Vancouver, Washington 1849 to 1988" *Clark County History* 39 (1989), 36.
[209] United States Army and United States Spruce Production Corporation, *History of Spruce Production Division*, ca. 1919, 4.
[210] Gail E.H. Evans and Gerald Williams, "Over Here, Over Here: The Army's Spruce Production Division During 'The War to End All Wars," revised paper, June 1998, presented at the Washington State Military History Conference (Camp Murray, Washington, March 30, 1984), 3-4; "Regulations for the Lumber Industry," *Monthly Bulletin* (March 1918), 6.
[211] Evans and Williams, "Over Here, Over Here," 3.

Increasingly specialized airplane design took place during the war, bringing about new types of airplanes such as bombers, observation planes, and even float planes that could take off and land on water. These new planes, including the Curtiss-designed JN4 Trainer (The Jenny) and the DeHaviland, DH4 Fighter, had increased engine size, speed, carrying capacity, maneuverability, and operating altitude. Numerous variations developed, most requiring the spruce found along the coasts of northern California, Oregon, Washington, British Columbia, and Alaska. During the early part of the European war, timber operations met the slow airplane production quotas. With U.S. entry into the war, production demands increased.[212]

The United States supplied wood to the Allies not only for airplane production, but also to build cantonments, barracks and hospitals in wartime Europe and America. Prior to U.S. entry into the war, Douglas fir and hemlock were in greatest demand for the construction of cantonments since spruce could be found only along the wet Northwest coasts, accessible only by rail.[213] By October 1917, the demand for spruce increased as the Army Signal Corps geared up for wartime air attacks. But northwest mills could not meet the 10 million board foot monthly demand for spruce. Part of the problem stemmed from a wartime labor shortage. A second area of difficulty came in the summer of 1917 when quotas lagged due to a general strike by the Industrial Workers of the World (I.W.W.) and the American Federation of Labor (AFL). In addition, some mill owners held back available wood supplies to increase product prices and profit.[214]

The increased significance of air power and lack of production in the woods quickly prompted investigation by the United States government. In the fall of 1917

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[212] Evans and Williams, "Over Here, Over Here," 3, n. 5, 4.
[213] For more on the significance or railroads to spruce production, see Gail E.H. Evans and Gerald Williams, "Over Here, Over Here."

Captain Brice P. Disque was assigned a special, secret duty – to study labor relations in the Pacific Northwest. Disque arrived in Portland in September and attended a meeting of Pacific Northwest lumbermen and labor leaders. Based on their input, and the advice of academicians Henry Suzallo, Careleton Parker, and James A.B. Scherer, the captain reported to Washington that there was indeed one way to resolve the labor situation and to defeat the Central Powers. The government should place an army of loggers – "tree troopers" – in the woods to increase spruce production.[215] This unprecedented solution to labor issues placed Vancouver squarely into the middle of World War I.

The Labor Question

Conditions in northwest lumber camps were less than desirable as the demand for spruce increased with U.S. entry into the war. Lumbering was hard, hard labor, requiring physical strength and stamina. A man could easily be crushed or lose a limb through this dangerous work. Although logging technology had advanced to the point that donkey engines pulled giant logs to a central location for transport to river or mill, trees still toppled by whipsaw. Two men stood to either side of the giant conifers, pulling back and forth until it was finally time to shout timber. Most lumbermen worked long days – twelve to sixteen hours – often returning to camps that offered poor food, inadequate lodging, vermin infested bed-clothing, and poor pay, usually as little as $2.50 per day. By the spring of 1917, workers throughout the lumber industry threatened a walkout if

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[214] Evans and Williams, "Over Here, Over Here," 4, n. 5; Robert E. Ficken, "The Wobbly Horrors: Pacific Northwest Lumbermen and the Industrial Workers of the World, 1917-1918," 24, 3 (Summer 1983), 328.
[215] Evans and Williams, "Over Here, Over Here," 4, 6; Harold Hyman, *Soldiers and Spruce: Origins of the Loyal Legion of Loggers and Lumbermen* (Los Angeles: Institute of Industrial Relations, University of California, 1963), 40-100. Hyman attributes conception of the army loggers and of the 4Ls to Scherer, Suzallo, and especially Parker. For an analysis of the labor situation in the Northwest and Disque's important, but not omnipotent, role in creating the Spruce Production Division, see Hyman.

their demands – an eight-hour day, decent living conditions, and equitable pay – were not met.[216]

Colonel Disque knew that the labor question was among the first issues that had to be addressed. Disque quickly identified the main labor problems as the ten-hour day and the transience of the lumbering population:

> If the workman is not permanent, why provide a decent place for him to live? Why take the trouble to establish agreeable relationships with him? On the other hand if the camp is not fit to live in, why stay? So the vicious circle went year by year, with scarcely a chance for improvement, a sinkhole of discontent in which the I.W.W. delegates and agitators could spawn their anarchistic ideas and ideals, with splendid hope of an excellent breeding ground.[217]

The army admitted that the root of the labor problem lay in atrocious conditions, long hours, and low pay for woodsmen. Still, the government viewed the I.W.W. or "Wobbly" literature as propaganda, and their ideas "anarchistic." Not only did the I.W.W. take an anti-war stance, they urged both active and passive resistance to obtain their means. Ironically, the army would temporarily solve the labor problem by sending soldiers into the woods and addressing the demands of the Wobblies through a government-created labor organization, the Loyal Legion of Loggers and Lumbermen, or the 4Ls as they were known.

I.W.W. Agitation in the Pacific Northwest timber industry began in 1907 when 2,000 Portland, Oregon mill workers struck for higher wages and abolition of the 12-hour day. The I.W.W. union, founded in Chicago two years earlier, gained visibility through "free-speech fights" throughout the western United States. From the time of its entrance into the Pacific Northwest until U.S. involvement in WWI, the union extended its

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[216] "Logging for Victory," *True West* (June 1, 1989), 31.
[217] U.S. Army, *Spruce History*, 16.

influence throughout the region, organizing timber workers to resist poor working conditions by whatever means necessary.[218]

Logging operators and mill owners viewed the demands of the I.W.W. as antithetical to their own prosperity. As one historian put it, the I.W.W. was as "popular as the plague among the timber operators."[219] Members were invariably stereotyped by the owner/operators as the "flotsam" of humanity – desperate, downtrodden, womanless, and uncivilized. But one recent labor historian, Richard Rajala, disputes previous analyses[220] of the powerlessness of I.W.W. members, pointing out that their itinerant status allowed the development of class-consciousness. The economies of both Portland and Seattle, the two major northwest cities, during this period were dependent on the lumber industry. Between 1913 and 1916 overproduction in the lumber industry caused high unemployment rates, which created an ideal labor force from the owner/operators' perspective. Lumber workers could be hired and fired at the employers' whim, and labor turnover may have actually been encouraged.[221] Recalled one former manager of the period, "when a new man comes in, why, they'd get a lot more work out of him. He was faster, quicker, more energetic. After he was there awhile, maybe he'd slow down."[222]

The European War quickly changed the balance of power. In August 1916, the Merrill & Ring Lumber Company of the Pacific Northwest reported that now men were scarce and wages high. "We are paying $3.00 a day for labor that a year ago cost $2.00,"

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[218] Richard A. Rajala. "A Dandy Bunch of Wobblies: Pacific Northwest Loggers and the Industrial Workers of the World, 1900-1930." *Labor History* (Spring 1996), 212-213; Ficken, "Wobbly Horrors," 327.
[219] "Logging for Victory," 31.
[220] Rajala argues against Melvin Dubofsky, Harold Hyman, Robert Ficken, and others that previous characterizations of I.W.W. solidarity do not account nearly enough for the class consciousness gained through itinerancy. In addition, he attributes the I.W.W. with more influence in attaining the eight-hour day and better living than previous labor historians. See Rajala, "A Dandy Bunch of Wobblies."
[221] Dennis E. Hoffman and Vincent J. Webb, "Police Response to Labor Radicalism in Portland and Seattle, 1913-1919," *Oregon Historical Quarterly* 4, 77 (Winter 1986), 356-357.
[222] Hoffman and Webb, "Police Response," 207.

reported secretary-manager Tiff Jerome.[223] Along with wartime economic resurgence came more prominence for the I.W.W., which re-committed itself to western workers, agitated against the war, and established headquarters in Seattle, Portland, Aberdeen and Raymond. Despite timber operators' complaints about labor scarcity and increased wages, timber workers still did not view conditions as satisfactory. Although pay was an issue – the I.W.W. called for a pay rate of $3.00 daily in the sawmills for eight hours of labor, and $3.50 a day in the logging camps – the real issue was the living and working conditions. One wartime study found that half the regional logging camps lacked adequate bunks or showers, and many were without toilet facilities. The larger companies had begun addressing these problems, recognizing at the very least that good food was among the most important aspects of camp life. But small operations lacked facilities, and most, as historian Robert Ficken points out regarded the workers as "things," "cattle," and "rif-raf" [sic]. Loggers' lingo identified workers as "slaves," the employment office a "slavemarket," and the camp superintendent a "bull," with the timekeeper known as a "pay cheater."[224] Workers called for the eight-hour day while retaining ten hours pay, vermin-free bedding, single rather than double bunks, and good food. The protesting Wobblies began holding street meetings, described by Dennis Hoffman and Vincent Webb as:

> a continuous stream of Wobblies, one after the other, mounting a soapbox, spouting epithets damning the 'employing class,' and being carted off to jail by the local police. The police generally continued to pull speakers off the soapbox and escort the 'criminals' to jail until it was overflowing with Wobblies.[225]

Although the government set up an arbitration board, Lumbermen responded by organizing first the Lumberman's Open Shop Association, and then the Lumbermen's

[223] Jerome in Rajala, "A Dandy Bunch of Wobblies," 215.
[224] Ficken, "Wobbly Horrors," 326-327.

Protective League (LPL). The LPL expected all mill owners and logging operators to join, and through their collaboration determined they could place a $5,000 fine on any members who violated an eight-hour day without the association's approval. During the fall of 1916, violence rocked the Pacific Northwest when Wobblies from Seattle arrived by boat in Everett, Washington, and were met by armed special deputies. A gun battle left thirty-one Wobblies dead, and the event, known as "Bloody Sunday" raised the union's stature among lumber workers. As many as 700 men joined the I.W.W. in the following week.[226]

The following summer, lumber workers walked off the job throughout the Pacific Northwest. The strike took place in July 1917, during the time that lumbermen "make hay," harvesting more trees than at other times of the year by extending deeper into the forests. The AF of L joined the Wobblies in their struggle for workers' rights, and more than forty-percent of the lumbering labor force joined the strike. By the second and third weeks of July, strikers had halted operations in most of western Washington and Oregon, shutting down between seventy-five and ninety-percent of mills and camps by the end of the month. Despite common perceptions about the radical organization, and assertions otherwise, the I.W.W. engaged in very little actual violence. Instead, the unions issued their demands through peaceful action – lumber production nearly ceased. The strike effectively lowered spruce production to about 3 million board feet monthly, with only 300,000 board feet of aircraft quality. However, many mills maintained their quotas by relying on existing supplies and raising prices. The shortage of spruce had less to do with Wobbly furor than inaccessibility. Spruce grew in remote, mountainous tracts deep in the woods of the Pacific Northwest. Without transportation systems to move the wood from

[225] Hoffman and Webb, "Police Response," 363, n. 5.

the forests, production lagged. However, lumber industrialists shrewdly blamed the laboring workforce. During that same July, as the Army Signal Corps expanded the U.S. air program, "lumber barons" called for government protection.[227] As one historian wrote about I.W.W. intransigence:

> Such an unthinkable, unpatriotic act could not be tolerated by the government; either the men would go back to work or they would be drafted into the Army. In six weeks they were back on their jobs with neither a pay boost nor a shorter working day.[228]

The Wobblies returned to work in early September, but instead of increased production they implemented "conscientious withdrawal" of their labor. Their tactics included following safety precautions to the letter, blowing whistles at the end of eight hours and a basic slowdown of work, effectively continuing a "strike on the job." Mill owners and lumber magnates immediately called for troops in the woods, the drafting of strikers, and augmenting the workforce with soldiers.[229] It was this scenario that greeted Colonel Disque in the fall of 1917 – time to put the labor question to rest; and it would take an army of loggers to do so.

Loggers in Khaki

By the end of October 1917 Brice P. Disque had become commander of a new military unit, the Spruce Production Division, under the army's Aviation Signal Corps. Although Disque's headquarters were in downtown Portland at the Yeon Building, Vancouver Barracks became the main operational center for receiving, training, and disbursing spruce division soldiers who would spend the next year felling trees, milling

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[226] "Logging for Victory," 31; Ficken, 331.
[227] Ficken, "Wobbly Horrors," 329; 332-333; "Logging for Victory," 4.
[228] "Logging for Victory," 31-32.
[229] Ficken, "Wobbly Horrors," 333.

lumber and building railroads in the northwest. By mid-November, the existing infantry regiments at the barracks left Vancouver to make room for the incoming thousand of "loggers in khaki." Many of these men came from around the nation, while others, especially experienced loggers, were recruited into the military. By November 20, 1917, 105 officers had reported to The Presidio in San Francisco for training. Ten of the officers were detailed for work on the government-controlled Loyal Legion of Loggers and Lumbermen (4Ls). The remainder went to Vancouver Barracks where Major (later Lieutenant-Colonel) McCammon established his command of the SPD Cantonment. At first only the cantonment came under command of the SPD, but later the entire post became part of the Division under Lieutenant-Colonel (later Colonel) Charles Van Way. By December 4, 1917, five thousand soldiers had reported to Vancouver and were quickly sent out into the woods or put to work building the largest government run mill in the nation's history, and the largest mill in the entire world, the Vancouver Cut-up Plant.[230]

The Loyal Legion of Loggers and Lumbermen

Disque was impressed with the arguments of Carleton Parker, the University of Washington professor who advocated reform in the timber industry rather than repressive measures to increase spruce production. Like Parker, Disque determined that the best way to undermine the Wobblies would be to implement the reforms they desired; but with strings attached. The 4Ls began in December 1917, engendering patriotism and loyalty by promising to investigate labor and living conditions. Ten thousand civilian members enrolled in the first month. At the end of six months the 4Ls had 80,000

[230] U.S. Army, *Spruce History*, 8.

members. By October 1918, a total of nearly 1,100 locals had been organized in both coast and inland regions with a membership of 125,000. "The record of accomplishment of the Loyal Legion reads almost like an industrial fairy tale," claimed the Division's 1919 history. The government union established an eight-hour day, time-and-a-half pay, and improved living and sanitation conditions, thus reducing I.W.W. influence.[231] Labor organizers asserted that the Loyal Legion was a tool of the employers designed to control and to make slaves of workers. They also railed against the Union pledge, which said:

> I, the Undersigned, in consideration of my being made a Member of the Loyal Legion of Loggers and Lumbermen, do hereby solemnly pledge my efforts during this war to the United States of America, and will support and defend this Country against enemies, both foreign and domestic.
>
> I further agree, by these presents, to faithfully do my duty toward this Country by directing my best efforts in every way possible to the production of Logs or Lumber for the construction of Army Airplanes and Ships to be used against our common enemies. That I will stamp out any sedition or acts of hostility against the United States Government, which may come within my knowledge, and I will do every act and thing which will in general aid in carrying this war to a successful conclusion.[232]

Labor organizers claimed that the government designed the union so that men would give up their civil liberties and voluntarily accept the same discipline as the enlisted soldier. They also charged Disque with having the interests of the operators, rather than the men, in mind.

When Colonel Disque arrived in Vancouver, spruce production was approximately 3 million board feet (bf) per month, with only about ten-percent useful for airplane manufacture. By April 1918, the cut had grown to 13,583,164 bf per month and the demand raised to 30 million. By August 1918, the Vancouver Cut-Up Plant had "struck this giant stride," and in October it produced 28,681,239 bf, of which more than

[231] U.S. Army, *Spruce History,* 20-21.

20 million board feet was airplane stock.[233] According to the Division's history there were four main reasons for increased production: 1) Opening the Cut-Up Plant at Vancouver; 2) Disque's authority to commandeer stocks of spruce; 3) establishment of the eight-hour day; and 4) 4L organization of 125,000 men.[234]

"A Two-Sided Organization"

Two main organizational areas existed in the SPD, the Military Department and the Logging and Milling Department. Colonel Stearns organized and headed the Military Department and Mr. Hawkins headed the Logging and Milling Department. An outline of the departments' roles provides a useful way to envision the SPD organization:

Military Department
- a. Logging Squadrons in the Field
- b. Riving Operations
  - 1. Riving Squadrons
  - 2. Construction Squadrons
- c. Division Supply Office
  - 1. Pay Section
  - 2. Purchase Section
  - 3. Issue Section
- d. Division Medical Office
- e. Cantonment Headquarters

Logging and Milling Department
- a. Contracting and Disbursing Section
- b. Inspection Section
- c. Traffic Section
- d. Technical Section[235]

The spruce soldiers were disbursed to one of the six districts and sub-district areas of operation and headquarters, in the Puget Sound and on the coasts of Washington and Oregon.[236]

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[232] Aviation Section, Signal Corps, U.S. Army, "Loyal Legion of Loggers and Lumbermen (Pledge)" 1917, Oregon Historical Society Manuscript Collection, OrHi 77731, Portland, Oregon.
[233] U.S. Army, *Spruce History*, 7.

The SPD grew rapidly until it included 27,661 enlisted men, 1,222 officers, and 125,000 civilian loggers.[237] Thousands of men throughout the nation had enlisted to fight the Germans, and the military drafted others into the infantry. Many joined the Army Corps of Engineers during the summer and fall of 1917 in the newly formed 10th Forestry Regiment to assist in forest work and conduct logging and milling work in France. With the creation of the SPD, Colonel Disque immediately stopped the recruitment of experienced lumbermen into the Engineers for overseas duty. All over the nation, the army began a call for experienced woodsmen, and several thousand men were re-assigned to work in the U.S. woods rather than fight in the fields of Europe. Private Arthur Newby transferred from the Coast Artillery into the SPD when he heard the call for volunteers. Newby, a former Forest Service employee, took pride in his new assignment and companions: "There are about fifty boys here, a fine bunch, and they sure are cutting timber like real loggers. . . We are all satisfied, and we are glad to be here doing what we can to beat Fritz – and we will."[238]

Spruce soldier camps were set up in association with or adjacent to existing lumber company camps, and spruce soldiers received civilian pay. Camps at private logging and mill sites quickly came under the requirements of the U.S. Army, including standard sleeping facilities, latrines, bathing and mess facilities, and recreation rooms. If

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[234] U.S. Army, *Spruce History*, 26.
[235] U.S. Army, *Spruce History*, 9.
[236] Divisions existed at Puget Sound, headquartered in Seattle; Grays Harbor and Willapa Bay, headquartered at Aberdeen, Washington; Clatsop, headquartered at Seaside, Oregon; Yaquina Bay, headquartered at South Beach, Oregon; Coos Bay, headquartered at North Bend, Oregon; and Vancouver Barracks, with all S.P.D. operations at the Vancouver, Washington Cantonment and the Spruce Cut-Up Plant, headquartered at Vancouver Barracks, Washington. Evans and Williams, "Over Here, Over Here, 6.
[237] Evans and Williams, "Over Here, Over Here," 5-6.
[238] Arthur Newby, 4-5 in Evans and Williams, "Over Here, Over Here," 7. Newby's letter, "From a Private in the Spruce Production Division," appeared in the Forest Service's *Six Twenty-Six*, Vol. 2 (9): 45, July 1918.

existing camps lacked these facilities, the spruce soldiers built them. Lloyd Lamb, a former khaki logger described the typical spruce tent camp:

> It was a . . . square tent, with a . . . three foot, railing around and [a tent canvas] that came right over the railing and down . . . it kept out all the wind and came up to a point . . . with a hole in the top so you could put in a pipe for the stove, you see . . . there wasn't much danger of fire, and anyway . . . you're there all the time except when you go to work. So you can't watch it pretty close. Then those camps were every two miles apart, with about two hundred men in each camp. . . It varied a little bit, but not very much.[239]

Another Newby, with the 430th Spruce Squadron at Camp B in Snoqualmie Falls, Washington, described life in a bunkhouse:

> We have an excellent camp here, which is clean and sanitary. We live in bunk houses built on car trucks, about sixty feet long and divided into three rooms each. There are ten men to each room. We have all the modern luxuries – steam heat, electric lights, hot and cold water, and last but by no means least, we have the very best eats on earth. They give us all we want and "variety" is the password.[240]

The army recognized the importance of hearty meals and recreation to "make good loggers," claimed one cook from Coos City (now Coos Bay), Mrs. Minnie Mullen who submitted her bread recipes to the *Monthly Bulletin*, the Spruce Production Division's news arm. Mrs. Mullen's bread recipes included Loyal Legion bread and war corn bread, enough for thirty men, made with potato yeast and starter to keep the bread cooking. The experience of army loggers was a far cry from that of their striking civilian counterparts just a few months earlier, as an eight-hour day, decent food, and comfortable housing made it possible to hold "smokers," boxing matches in the evenings.[241]

Disque recognized that *esprit de corps* was one of the first problems that needed to be addressed and the SPD created both a news arm, the *Monthly Bulletin*, and a

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[239] Lloyd Lamb in Evans and Williams, "Over Here, Over Here," 6-7. The author has attempted to locate this oral history conducted by Nina Carter from the Evergreen State College and cited as being housed at the Olympic National Forest, Olympia, Washington, but the Forest Service is unaware of its current location.

[240] Newby quoted in Evans and Williams, "Over Here, Over Here," 7.March 1918, 7; *Monthly Bulletin*, September 1918, 6.

Lyceum section, the Bureau of Morale, to engender patriotism and loyalty among army woodsmen and civilians alike. The *Monthly Bulletin*, sent out between 80 and 90,000 issues each month. Major T.A. Mills commanded the Bureau of Morale, composed of chaplains, a professional soloist and song leader, a violinist, and a director of athletics. It was their job to:

> …keep up the patriotic enthusiasm of the entire personnel to the highest possible pitch, to engender good feeling between employer and employee, to preach the gospel of co-operation, to make the men themselves feel the true importance of their work, and impart to them the animating spirit of speeded production. They talked, sang, entertained; they answered questions, and gave information; they operated moving picture shows. It was a unique and novel work for most of them; and a unique and novel war work – this traveling into the remote forests to educate, to instruct and to inspire. Sometimes they had the use of halls or theaters in small towns where the population would be largely mill men or loggers. But more often their voices were raised in dimly-lighted cook-houses and bunk-houses, before the camp crews seated on benches and tables, or even on the floor.[242]

The Bureau's Lyceum Section created yet another patriotic paper, *Straight Grain*, the Second Provisional Regiment's weekly paper at the Vancouver Cut-Up Plant. Other organizations that contributed to the welfare and spirit of the men included the Y.M.C.A., the Knights of Columbus, the War Camp Community Service, the American Library Association and the American Red Cross.[243] The Clarke County Red Cross recruited new members, solicited funds, and actively participated in the war effort through numerous social efforts. Red Cross women, in their Liberty blue linens with collars and puffs of white lawn crowned by a veil and cap of Liberty blue and lawn with a narrow edge of white pique, cared for convalescent patients at the Vancouver Barracks hospital. During the war, they also organized a sphagnum moss drive for surgical dressings, held socials and lawn parties, sewed pneumonia jackets and masks for Vancouver Barracks, provided

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[241] "Regulations," *Monthly Bulletin*, September 1918.
[242] U.S. Army, *Spruce History*, 23-24.

clothing for refugees, and canned fruit that would otherwise be wasted. The Red Cross women tended to the soldiers at Vancouver Barracks as well as the many calls for overseas assistance. In 1918-1919, the military built a new Red Cross building and Service Club for the massive number of troops pouring into Vancouver.[244]

In addition to spruce production during the war, Vancouver recruited troops to full war strength. In 1917, a regiment of engineers and the 44th Infantry Regiment prepared to go overseas from Vancouver Barracks. By late July 1918, close to 9,500 men were stationed at Vancouver, and the barracks later reached a peak strength of 11,000.[245]

The Vancouver Cut-Up Plant

The importance of Vancouver's Cut-Up Plant was two-fold. Not only was it near a major transportation system, but its size and special construction also made it possible to process the desired amount of spruce. One of the special problems associated with spruce, and resulting in construction of the Cut-Up Plant, was that it grows with a twisted grain. Airplane lumber had to have a straight grain with no more than twenty inches deflection in the twenty and twenty-four foot beams needed for wings. No mills in the area had the equipment to saw straight-grained spruce in the quantity demanded at a reasonable cost. Thus, the U.S. Army commandeered the old polo grounds at Vancouver Barracks for the mill and put H.S. Mitchell in charge.

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[243] U.S. Army, *Spruce History*, 24.
[244] *VC*, 23 July 1918; 6 August 1918; 19 August 1918; 3 September 1918; 7 September 1918; 24 September 1918; 11 October 1918; 22 November 1918; 23 December 1918; Department of the Interior, National Park Service, "Appendix C: Inventory of Historic Reserve Buildings," *Vancouver National Historic Reserve, Washington, Cooperative Management Plan* (Clark County, Washington, 2000), 86.
[245] Van Arsdol, Ted. "Clark County Medicine, Part II: U.S. Medical Department, 1849-1918. *Clark County History*, 21 (1980), 26.

Colonel Disque asked for volunteers among the 5,000 men who arrived in December 1917 to construct the mill, and work began on December 14. The army cited this work as one of the:

> most splendid chapters in the history of America's part in the war. In a way, it was an obscure part. It lacked thrill. It lacked spice and romance. No citations for bravery were made, no *croix de guerre* decorated the breast of any of these men. . . There were no bullets to dodge and no glory to be earned. But there was "dirty work," and plenty of it.[246]

Work on the plant began in the cold December rain. For Vancouver Barracks, the call to war induced rapid and massive growth. By January 1918, the *Columbian* reported that due to the Spruce Mill south of 5th Street, "the landscape is changed every twenty-four hours.---What was a piece of polo grounds two weeks ago is covered with the foundation for a building 300 to 360 feet.---"[247] Completed a short forty-five days after it began, the mill stood as the largest of its kind and the first owned by the U.S. government.

Thousand of soldiers and civilians gathered to witness the Cut-Up Plant's dedication February 7, 1918, as a flag was raised to the mill's pinnacle and the Star Spangled Banner played. Dr. A.A. Morrison led a prayer vowing devotion to the service of God and humanity in the name of the Army's Cut-Up Mill. "From beginning to end," reported the Vancouver *Columbian* "the ceremonies of the dedication of this mill made one feel that here and now he stood in the midst of a momentous event that would have bearing on the status of the war and the destiny of nations."[248] Simple ceremonies and short talks upheld what the community viewed as another page in Vancouver's history, a page that would become "brighter and brighter" with the barracks in its rightful national position. Colonel Disque explained the mill's significance to the audience – eradicating

[246] U.S. Army *Spruce History*, 47.
[247] *VC*, 10 January 1918.
[248] *VC*, 8 February 1918.

the experimental nature of spruce production by using "more than normal means" to increase production through efficiency. The colonel dedicated the mill to the boys of the Spruce Division, saying, "It stands as a monument to you men, a symbol of efficiency, loyalty and ability." He further complimented them for taking on manual labor without complaint on soldier's pay. The mayor of Vancouver, G.R. Percival also gave a speech, praising the Division's men and welcoming them to the city. With great pride, the mayor recited Vancouver's accomplishments, the patriotic nature of which is described succinctly by the *Columbian*:

> "Vancouver has raised its quota, has bought its allotment of liberty bonds, and is now endeavoring to clean up, providing wholesome amusements and pleasures that these men who have come within its gates may mingle with the people and not be tainted." Furthermore he stated that the Red Cross women were working night and day, to carry their part of the burden. He spoke of the record time in which the $185,000 had been raised in order to bring the big steel ship plant to the city. Now that this has been accomplished he pointed out the new mission on which the businessmen of Vancouver are intent, that of securing a 30 foot channel to the sea, and a direct line between the post and the Pacific ocean. The key note of the speech made by Mayor Percival was patriotism.[249]

The crowd cheered as soldiers unfurled the Cut-Up plant pennant, a yellow flag with the insignia of the Army Aviation Signal Corps. Other speakers included: Major Rearden, commanding officer at the mill, who advocated speed in quelling the Kaiser; E.E. Beard, who marveled at the impact of aeroplane technology; H.S. Mitchell, who gave accolades to the hard working soldiers; and Mayor Baker of Portland who described Rearden as "A cute little Devil: and one who would say "'To Hell with the Red Tape, I am going to get out the spruce.'" Baker also appealed to the soldiers to "do away with the Kaiser for the cause of humanity and democracy." As Mrs. Disque pushed the button to set the wheels

[249] *Ibid.*

of the Cut-Up Plant in motion, the first saws began to hum, and spruce production began in earnest.[250]

Until Armistice Day, mill operation continued with soldier labor, three daily shifts, six days a week. About 4,500 men, housed in tents on the grounds next to the plant, formed the Second Provisional Regiment. These men handled the rived cants[251] or those sawn in commercial mills for the entire nation and its U.S. Allies. For the soldiers engaged in work at the Cut-Up Mill, the experience lacked the thrill and heroics of warfare. Many lamented their fate as lumbermen, but unlike their earlier counterparts who were kept homebound during the Spanish-American war, the spruce soldiers recognized the significant role they played in the international scheme of things. As the army's history pointed out, "They didn't particularly enjoy the share that had fallen to them; it didn't seem much like licking the Hun. But they stood by."[252] They lived in tents on the former polo grounds engaging in boxing matches, socials, attending the theater, and interacting with the citizens of Vancouver during their off time.[253]

The spruce soldiers stationed at Vancouver and throughout the Northwest worked long and hard as citizen soldiers to supply massive amounts of wood to the Allies. The Allied governments purchased 68.9% of the entire output with the remainder sold to factories in the eastern United States (See table on following page).

[250] *Ibid*; USA *Spruce History*, 47.
[251] A cant is a partly trimmed log, beveled to form an oblique surface.
[252] U.S. Army, *Spruce History*, 47.
[253] U.S. Army, *Spruce History*, 49.

Total shipments made by the U.S. Spruce Production Division from the Cut-Up Plant are in the following table:

Date	**Outside Mills**	**Cut-Up Plant**	**Totals**
February 1918	7,282,687	37,557	7,320,244
March 1918	9,344,766	632,626	9,977,392
April 1918	11,374,894	2,208,271	13,583,165
May 1918	6,635,581	5,229,141	11,864,722
June 1918	4,204,272	4,795,862	9,000,134
July 1918	5,557,131	8,219,120	13,776,251
August 1918	4,031,300	14,830,206	18,861,506
September 1918	2,587,494	14,095,145	16,682,639
October 1918	2,463,809	19,682,014	22,145,823
To Nov. 11, 1918	504,441	6,923,487	7,427,928

The process used to produce aircraft quality spruce involved amassing numerous resources and employing sophisticated technologies in addition to supplying wood from the forests of the Pacific Northwest. The U.S. Army worked in cooperation with other agencies, including the U.S. Forest Service and the University of Washington, to build a battery of huge drying kilns for seasoning the lumber. Twenty-four chambers that could each hold 39,000 board feet of wing-beam stock were constructed to dry the spruce and fir while maintaining just the right amount of moisture through steam to prevent case hardening. From the University of Washington came a 30,000 lb capacity Olsen testing machine to determine the effect of drying on the strength and toughness of the wood, and the Forest Service donated additional testing equipment. By using the drying kilns, the

army reduced moisture content in spruce from thirty-three-percent to about eight-percent before shipping, thus reducing freight charges significantly.

The administration of the Spruce Production Division included many problems. Men had to be fed and housed, and production required scarce materials like wire to keep machinery operational during this period of rationing. Spruce, growing deep in the forests, had to be cut, necessitating a massive effort to build railroads. Once cut, milled, and dried, the wood had to be transported across the nation and to Europe, prompting numerous negotiations between the government and railroads. The army articulated its difficulties best. The problems were:

> To get the spruce from the forest.
> To furnish the labor to get out the spruce from the forest.
> To send in the materials to equip the labor to get the spruce from the forest.
> To build the railroads to send in the materials to equip the labor to get the spruce from the forest.
> To erect the plant to cut up the timber brought in by the railroads, logged with the equipment in the hands of the labor, at work on the spruce in the forest.
> To inspect the lumber cut up by the plant --[254]

The impact of such difficulties in production, combined with amassing such large numbers of men throughout the Northwest to engage in the work of the SPD, forced the government to regulate business during the war.

In order to regulate business, including acquisition of production materials, the government formed a corporation under the Army Appropriation Act of July 9, 1918. The potential for spruce production to fund its own operations and potentially yield a profit by selling the side-cut[255] prompted its formation, and in August the SPD transferred operations to the Spruce Production Corporation under a Board of Trustees that included then-General Disque and Colonel Stearns. In addition, the Trustees included some of the

[254] U.S. Army, *Spruce History*, 59.

most prominent lumber owner/operators in the Pacific Northwest – Mr. William Ladd of Portland, Mr. J.J. Donovan of Bellingham, Washington, Mr. A.S. Benson of Portland, and Mr. Mark Reed of Shelton, Washington. The corporation issued $25 million in debenture bonds, sold to the U.S. and to the governments of the Allies, so that they would contribute to the cost of the capital assets involved in spruce production. Ironically, it took until November 1, 1918, less than two weeks before Armistice, to complete the transactions that would place spruce production into the hands of the Corporation. Despite the fact that the Spruce Production Corporation was slated for dissolution within one year of any peace treaty, and that Congressional investigations would place the Division under scrutiny following the war, it remained incorporated with an office in Portland until the 1930s.[256]

Preparing for a New Era

Vancouver had been square in the middle of Pacific Northwest labor struggles as the very soldiers that altered the function of the Pacific Northwest lumber industry came and went from the town. As spruce historian Harold Hyman explains:

> No one could anticipate certain results of the wartime Legion experiment. By holding off the Timberworkers [Union] out of personal reasons that he had formed into Army-Legion policy, Disque helped to keep the AFL affiliate greviously weak. In suppressing the wobblies, or galvanizing them into more respectable Legionnaires, he further strengthened the relative position of the lumbermen. At the same time, the war experience with the Legion and the SPD taught these highly individual lumber operators an unforgettable lesson. The northwestern producers learned how valuable and profitable business cooperation could be.[257]

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[255] The "side-cut" included that lumber which was not of airplane quality.
[256] U.S. Army, *Spruce History*, 82-85; Hyman, *Soldiers and Spruce*, 334.
[257] Hyman, *Soldiers and Spruce*, 335.

Disque had rationalized the process of spruce production, introduced government into business on an unprecedented level, and ironically, had given laborers just enough of what they desired to prevent further dissent. The Loyal Legion continued, with a no-strike pledge and AFL exclusion. During wartime, Legionnaires participated in counterespionage work. At war's end the 4Ls turned to the anti-communist American Protective League. Spruce Division historian Harold Hyman points out that in the post-war era the 4Ls concealed bigotry "behind the flag," in hysterical efforts to eradicate the "Bolshevik bogey," part of an "…open-shop, nativist, antiliberal crusade." However, without the army's authority the Legion shrunk and died by mid-decade. [258]

The labor question came close to home during this period, as evidenced by the purchase of the Ranck building, at 9th and Washington Streets for a Labor Temple in May, 1919. Nativism and redbaiting, begun during wartime, continued strong as well. Like many communities, Vancouver had responded xenophobically to the war, halting new classes in German language almost immediately. During the postwar era, on January 7, 1919, two I.W.W. members, Leo Brookshire and Robert McAdams, were convicted of criminal syndicalism in Clark County Superior court. Mike Hennesey was convicted on the same charge on January 19. The arrests resulted from the so-called "Anarchy and Sabotage" statutes passed in 1919 at the behest of the timber trust and other employer groups trying to crush the I.W.W. The "Red Scare" manifested in Washington State through Code 9.05, which restricted membership in the I.W.W. and even allowed for prosecution due to association with the Wobblies or any Communist suspects. These issues were part of a broader free speech movement in the nation, and a labor movement in Washington State that included a general strike in Seattle between

[258] Hyman, *Soldiers and Spruce*, 337-338.

February 4 and 9, 1919 when 65,000 workers shut the city down. During this period the state deported hundreds of laborers in attempts to prohibit union activity.[259]

The Great War ended on November 11, 1918, heralding a new era for the world and for the community of Vancouver, which despite its distance from Europe had experienced tremendous changes during wartime. Closer business government cooperation developed during this period, transportation systems connected Vancouver from the interior northwest to California, and like most Americans residents viewed this period as "a time of special promise."[260] By 1920, Vancouver also viewed itself as a "auto port of call," since the bridge across the Columbia brought 5,000 automobile parties through the city. The local newspaper, the *Columbian*, editorialized on the many ways the community could capitalize on this budding trade. The community could build its service industries, maintain a Tourist Information Bureau, distribute literature throughout Southwest Washington, and open campgrounds. Soliciting tourists would build the economy and create in Vancouver "a public sentiment that the tourist should not be cursed as a trial, but rather welcomed as travelers should be welcomed."[261] Vancouver's commercial center continued to develop. In 1920, former mayor and businessman John P. Kiggins began construction on Main Street, between Eighth and Ninth Streets of a 100 x 100 business block.

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[259] See *State v. Hennessey*, 1921. According to the *Industrial Worker*, In June 1997 "a Cowlitz County, Washington, jury convicted six Rainforest Action Network protesters on felony charges under the 'anarchy and sabotage' statutes for their part in an Oct. 29, 1996, demonstration in which they hung a banner from the side of a Mitsubishi vessel reading "Protect our Forest. Stop raw log exports. Boycott Mitsubishi." The ship - stacked high with raw timber, representing hundreds of workers' jobs - was not damaged in the protest." That conviction resulted in revisions to Washington Code 9.05, but only the removal of the I.W.W. prohibition. [http://www.I.W.W..org/~iw/mar1998/stories/crimsynd.html, accessed December 2004]; Landerholm, *Vancouver Chronology*, 220, 224, 226.

[260] David M. Kennedy, *Freedom From Fear: The American People in Depression and War, 1929-1945* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999), 13.

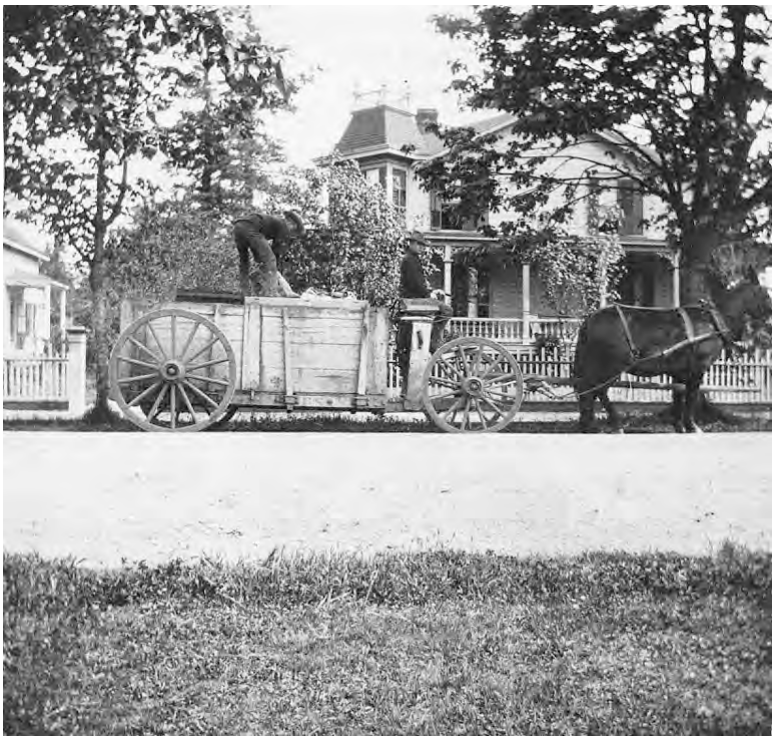
[261] Mockford, "Historic Currents," 80-81.

By 1920, Vancouver Barracks on the Columbia had proved its national worth. The barracks' location on a vast plain proved conducive to air flight, spruce production, and regional organization as the headquarters of the Department of the Columbia. Additionally, the accessible location made it possible to deploy soldiers during civil unrest and to host thousands more in times of need. During the next two decades massive changes occurred in the region as the Great Depression brought another major population influx to Vancouver in the form of the Civilian Conservation Corps, a national public works program administered by the U.S. Army. Meanwhile, on August 21, 1920 Franklin Delano Roosevelt, then candidate for vice-president, spoke in Esther Short Park to a "large crowd." FDR urged voters to think for themselves, and vote democratic, but to no avail. The state of Washington and Clark County elected Republican Warren G. Harding in the year's election. Seventeen years later, Roosevelt would return to Vancouver and receive a warm welcome as the nation's New Deal savior.[262] Little did Vancouver's citizens know as they stood in Esther Short Park on that hot August day in 1920 that they were listening to the man whose decisions would shape their experiences through the next half-century. Not only would Roosevelt send the Civilian Conservation Corps to Vancouver, but he would also influence the Northwest through major public works projects, the nation through his varied responses to the Depression, and the world through his wartime decisions.

[262] Landerholm, *Vancouver Chronology,* 228; Bona, "U.S. Presidents," 63.

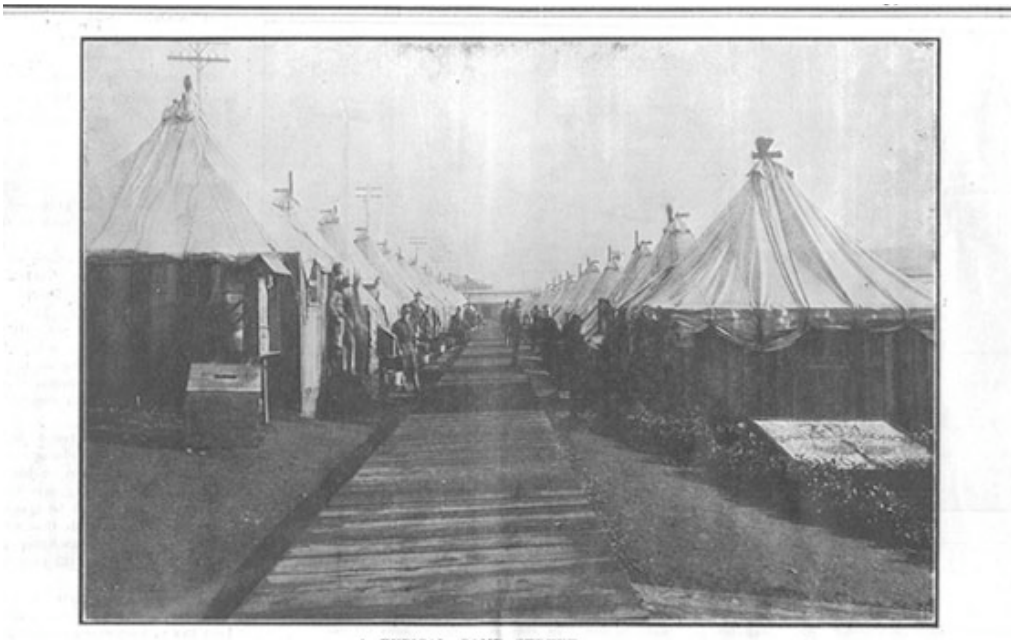
Photographs

Army Mules at Vancouver Barracks
Courtesy U.S. Army, Vancouver Barracks



Making a delivery on Officer's Row
Courtesy U.S. Army, Vancouver Barracks

Army Mules in the Woods
Courtesy U.S. Army, Vancouver Barracks



"A typical camp street," Saturday, December 21, 1918
Photo reproduced from Straight Grain, U.S. Army Vancouver Barracks publication

COMPANY STREET, 16th SPRUCE SQUADRON.

Photo reproduced from Straight Grain, U.S. Army Vancouver Barracks publication, 1918

During WWI, SPD soldiers lived in housing like this – "Up-to-the-Minute Bunkhouses of Wisconsin Logging & Timber Company… Insert: Model Bunk cars
Photo reproduced from Straight Grain, U.S. Army Vancouver Barracks publication, 1918

Part II: Appendices

Appendix I: Topics for Future Research, 1898-1920

This section highlights areas for future social history research on the Vancouver National Historic Reserve. Some topics contain specific citations to get the researcher started, with suggestions for additional research. Others require the kind of investigation that involves piecing information together from obscure sources. The Clark County Museum and Historical Society holds early city records, marriage records, and other useful collections. General military research would include Annual Reports of the Secretary of War, records of the Adjutant's Office, the *Army Navy Journal*, Infantry and Cavalry journals, Congressional records, military reports, orders, and regulations, and the personal and institutional records of military regiments found at Carlisle Barracks Military History Institute. One useful research resource is the U.S. Army Military History Institute *Army Annual Reports, An Inventory and Research Guide To: Secretary of War Annual Reports, Secretary of the Army Annual Reports, Department of the Army Historical Summaries.* Carlisle Barracks, Pennsylvania: U.S. Army Military History Institute, 1993.

The Southwest Washington Regional Archives in Olympia contains a wealth of un-mined sources, many of which may be useful. Resources at the Regional Archives include county and city records, property records, school district records, and records for the Port of Vancouver and Clark County PUD. The archival holdings of the Regional Archives span from 1850 to the present and include records from the county assessor, auditor, clerk, and treasurer, in addition to more recent governmental agency records. A listing from the potentially useful records for the 1898-1920 time period is included at

the end of this section. For an overview of the history of the Reserve, see Lois Mack, *One Place Across Time: Vancouver National Historic Reserve, Vancouver,* Washington, with an introduction by William L. Lang. For general state and regional history, see: Gordon Dodds, *The American Northwest: a history of Oregon and Washington*. Arlington Heights, Ill: Forum Press, 1986; Robert E. Ficken and Charles P. LeWarne, *Washington: A Centennial History*. Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1981; William L. Lang, ed. *A Columbia River Reader*. Vancouver, WA: The Center for Columbia River History, 1992; Donald Meinig, *The Great Columbia Plain: A Historical Geography, 1805-1910*. Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1968, 1995; William Robbins, *Landscapes of Promise: The Oregon Story, 1800-1940* and *The Great Northwest: the search for regional identity*. Corvallis, OR: Oregon State University Press, 2001.

The Vancouver National Historic Reserve Trust holds a veteran's collection that includes military orders, the personal papers of soldiers and officers, military rosters, recruiting posters, General Orders and Circulars, military newspapers, newspaper clippings, and photographs. The following is an alphabetical list of suggested research topics for this era:

• Agriculture in Clark County

The Hudson's Bay Company originally settled along the Columbia River due to the rich agricultural resource availability to support a large population. The U.S. military also found relatively easy subsistence and continued to provide an economic foundation for the region's agricultural industry. In addition to supporting the military post and the community, Clark County had a rich fruit and dairy industry. Additional research should be conducted regarding the agricultural resource base in the county and its relationship to the Vancouver National Historic Reserve.

• Anti-German Sentiment during World War I

Anti-German sentiment was common during World War I, and its impacts in the region should be explored. Although citizens of German ancestry were not interned as were the Japanese in World War II, they experienced discrimination, and "unfriendly

treatment." Yvonne Montchalin recalled a banner across the main street of Battle Ground during the war naming two brothers as pro-German simply because their father had come to America from Germany.[263] How were those of German heritage received on the Reserve, in Vancouver and throughout the Pacific Northwest?

• Anti-Saloon Movement

The anti-saloon movement took hold in Vancouver in the late 1890s as part of a broader movement around the state.[264] Each community in the state had its own idiosyncratic progression toward prohibition, with Vancouver's experience inextricably linked to its status as a military community. The role of saloons and gambling in the community, both economically and socially, is a topic deserving of further research. In addition to newspaper articles and political statistics, city records and anti-saloon ephemera would provide a broader picture of the temperance movement in Vancouver. The following is a brief chronology of Vancouver's movement toward local option, ending with the national decision to institute Prohibition.

By July 1899, Vancouver's Presbyterian Church had formed an Anti-Saloon League with C.P. Bush as president. The city's saloons and gambling dens were renowned throughout the Northwest. As Ted Van Arsdol points out, around the turn of the century "in the town of Vancouver, with a population of about 4,000, there [were] 22 saloons, all situated as near the garrison as practicable."[265] During that period, one anonymous citizen declared to the readers of the *Vancouver Independent*: "No one pretends that we have even a passable decent city government. Everybody knows that all the saloons and gambling dens have been wide open Sunday as well as Monday and every other day. That all the laws that are for the protection of the weak and in the interest of good morals have been defied and that some of the city officials have openly acquiesced to these conditions." The *Independent* replied that the responsibility for morality rests with the citizens, that no one denies saloons are open on Sunday, "that gambling prevails and that other licentiousness is in vogue here. But why is it so? Simply because the people permit it." Laws closing saloons on Sunday were recent, and "if this 'citizen' wants to purify the city, why does not he or she walk into the saloon on Sunday, observe the gambling, drinking, etc, and then go to the court of justice and swear a complaint. . . There is ample remedy for these things but it takes moral courage sometimes to apply the remedy."[266]

By the summer of 1900, traveling prohibitionist, John G. Wolly, spoke about personal responsibility to "quite a large crowd" in Esther Short Park. The following year the military passed an anti-canteen law and the saloons of Vancouver boomed. In 1903, liquor licenses provided $8,372.97 to the city coffers. By 1905, Brigadier General Constant Williams complained that the army should return to the old system of selling beer and light wines on post as men were "virtually forced to patronize the saloons and doggeries which have sprung up like mushrooms at the very gates of all army garrisons." By 1907, Major Adolphus Greeley, the new commander of Vancouver Barracks reported

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[263] Yvonne Montchalin, "Recollections of Clark County: 1914 to the Present" *Clark County History* 38 (1997), 13.
[264] For a broad overview of the anti-temperance movement in the state of Washington, see Norman Clark, *The Dry Years: Prohibition and Social Change in Washington* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1988).
[265] *Independent*, 13 July 1899; Van Arsdol, *Northwest Bastion*, 78.
[266] *Independent*, 30 November 1899.

that eighty-percent of illegal offenses were due to unregulated saloons surrounding the military post, and the same year Vancouver's saloons closed on Sundays. In 1908, Vancouver's mayor E.M. Green, recommended prohibiting liquor licenses until the city's population reached 15,000, and that places serving liquor be strictly regulated.[267]

The anti-saloon movement heated up in 1909, with springtime revival meetings, several Vancouver churches joining to build a special tabernacle on Tenth Street. There, "great crowds, civil and military, from the city and the country, attended" meetings. Evangelist Dan ("Cyclone") Shannon made saloons the target of his sermons, gaining over 800 converts, "including a considerable number of soldiers." City officials continued to hold anti-saloon meetings at the Tenth Street Tabernacle where in May, 1909 officers of the State Anti-Saloon League spoke to a 200-person crowd in the afternoon, and over 1,200 people gathered in the evening. The following day a county conference of anti-saloon members took place at the Methodist Church.[268]

Despite these and other efforts to the contrary, Vancouver's voters determined not to go dry on November 5, 1912, but only by a slim margin. The votes was1,426 dry, 1,621 wet. By November 3, 1914, the State, Clark County, and Vancouver all voted "dry" on local option. The Clark County vote was 5,546 dry and 3,191 wet. The Eighteenth Amendment, Prohibition, went into effect on January 16, 1920. On February 2, 1920, the brewery on Washington Street between 6th and 7th was sold for use as a cold storage plant.[269]

• Aviation

The Vancouver National Historic Reserve hosts Pearson Airfield, one of the national and regional sites of significant early aviation. In its early years, Pearson Field was also a site of numerous air shows and a testing ground for experimental aviation. The Pearson Air Museum houses an exhibit as well as a library of aviation related works, including military and civil aviation journals. Although the Pearson Museum interprets the field and aviation, further social history research on the national and local role of aviation during this period should be conducted. For a general understanding of the field's regional and national significance, see Walker, Jon. *A Century Airborne: Air Trails of Pearson Airpark*. Vancouver, Washington, 1994; Harris, Patrick John. "The Coming of the Birdman: the aviator's image in Oregon, 1905-1915." M.A. Thesis, Portland State University, 1981.

• Bicycling

Bicycling played an important civic role in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. In addition to their recreational use, bicycles were an important mode of transportation. In April, 1899 the Clarke County Cycle Club formed and proposed a bicycle licensing ordinance. The Vancouver City Council unanimously passed the ordinance, licensing bicycles for a $1.00 fee, which would be used to construct bicycle paths. By the following month, the county commissioners granted the Clarke County Cycle Club six-foot strips along the county roads from Vancouver to Washougal by way of Mill Plain, and from Vancouver to the Salmon Creek bridge. In July, the city licensed

[267] *Independent*, 7 June 1900; Landerholm, *Vancouver Chronology*, 156, 173, 176; VanArsdol, *Northwest Bastion*, 82.
[268] Landerholm, *Vancouver Chronology*, 181, 184.
[269] Landerholm, *Vancouver Chronology*, 207, 226.

600 bicycles, and instructed the city marshal to arrest those who had not yet paid the tax, and impose a $5.00 fine. By September, four main bicycle paths were in place – Fruit Valley, Fourth Plain, LaCamas, and Salmon Creek.[270] The role of bicycles both as a form of transportation and entertainment at the end of the century is a topic deserving of further research.

• Boxer Rebellion

As described in the main overview, the 14th Infantry and other soldiers from Vancouver participated in the China Relief Expedition, an international event. The Boxer Rebellion took Vancouver's soldiers overseas, exposing them to a different world, and placed them squarely in the middle of U.S. international involvement. In addition, many officers of the 14th who spent long periods of time at Vancouver, such as Charles H. Martin and Aaron S. Daggett participated in the Boxer Rebellion, as did countless enlisted men. In addition to using military sources and personal papers, the following are some resources for information about the China Relief Expedition: Cohen, Paul. *History in Three Keys: the Boxers as Event, Experience, and Myth*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1997; Daggett, Aaron Simon. *America in the China Relief Expedition: an account of the brilliant part taken by United States troops in that memorable campaign in the summer of 1900, for the relief of the beleaguered legations in Peking, China*. Nashville, Tennessee: Battery Press, Inc., 1903; Esherick, Joseph. *The Origins of the Boxer Uprising*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1987; Waite, Carleton Frederick. *Some Elements of International Military Co-operation in the Suppression of the 1900 Antiforeign Rising in China with Special Reference to the Forces of the United States*. Los Angeles: University of Southern California Press, 1935. See Waite's bibliography for pertinent government documents.

• Buffalo Soldiers

Four African American battalions, the 9th and 10th Cavalry and the 24th and 25th Infantry formed at the end of the Civil War. These troops, known as "Buffalo Soldiers," served in the U.S. Army throughout the western United States during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Company B of the 24th Infantry was stationed in Vancouver for over a year at the end of the century. Along with the 25th Infantry and the 9th and 10th Cavalry, these African American units remained segregated from Caucasian troops until 1948 when President Harry Truman ordered military desegregation.[271] The 103 African American troops of Company B arrived at Vancouver Barracks April 3, 1899 and left for Fort Wright, Washington on May 6, 1900. In May 1899, Company L (two officers and 112 enlisted men) of the 24th Infantry also came to Vancouver for a brief period, arriving May 5 and leaving May 14, 1899. Company L took the place of the 14th Infantry in Skagway, Alaska.[272]

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[270] Landerholm, *Vancouver Chronology*, 129, 130, 131, 133.

[271] President Truman issued Executive Order 9981, in July 1948, stating: "It is hereby declared to be the policy for the President that there shall be equality of treatment and opportunity for all persons in the armed services without regard to race, color, religion, or national origin." However, it took until 1951 for the U.S. Army to begin integrating African American troops. "The Truman Administration, and the Desegregation of the Armed Forces, A Chronology," Truman Presidential Museum & Library, http://www.trumanlibrary.org/deseg1.htm [accessed March 23, 2001].

[272] Post Return of Vancouver Barracks, Washington, commanded by Captain Henry Wygant, 24th Infantry, for April, 1899; Post Return of Vancouver Barracks Washington, for May 1899; Post Return of Vancouver

The comings and goings of the infantry units of the 24th is significant to history on the Reserve. Not only was this was the first large African American population in Vancouver, but Vancouver was one of the few urban duty stations hosting African American troops during this period. Most African American troops in the post-Civil War period served at relatively isolated western frontier outposts. As Michael Tinsley Clark points out in his history of the 24th Infantry in Utah, due to the western service of the Buffalo Soldiers people in the West "were much better acquainted" with African Americans. "Members of the Twenty-fourth and Twenty-fifth Infantry and Ninth and Tenth Cavalry served as far north as Vancouver, B.C., as far west as the Presidio in San Francisco and Alcatraz Island in San Francisco Bay, but only as far east as Kansas."[273] When they arrived in Vancouver, the men of the 24th had recently returned from the Spanish-American War as heroes of the Battle of San Juan Hill along with Teddy Roosevelt's Rough Riders. During their duty at Vancouver, the 24th participated in quelling labor insurrection at Wardner, Idaho, among other regular garrison activities. Very little is known about the 24th Infantry during their stay in Vancouver; however, it is among the Reserve's hidden histories, as well as the significant stories that highlight the national African American experience in the military. In addition, some African Americans remained in the metro area or joined the 24th Infantry from nearby Portland, making the Vancouver National Historic Reserve a place of significant regional African American history.

In addition to telling a broader national story of African Americans in the military, the 24ths history at Vancouver Barracks is important to the local African American population in terms of creating a sense of belonging and pride in the community. Recent events on the Vancouver National Historic Reserve include demonstrations by Buffalo Soldiers, commemorating the African American troops through recognition of the four Buffalo Soldiers buried at Vancouver's Old Post Cemetery – Moses Williams (medal of honor recipient), Thomas White, Qustav Ziegler, and Ellis Turner.[274] Further research would illuminate the Buffalo Soldier's connections to the community. According to Osker Spicer, although separate, the African American cavalry and infantry retained close community relations, and many soldiers transferred between units. Thus, the relationship is not historically insignificant; however, further research on the experience of the 24th Infantry in Vancouver would broaden the story and make it site-significant.

Such research would include a survey of local newspapers, military records of the 24th Infantry, and perhaps family history. Buffalo soldiers' records can be found in the Records of the Office of the Adjutant General, Record Group 94. The record group contains military service records, pension applications, muster rolls, organizational returns, post returns, medical records and examinations, correspondence files, orders, and reports. Organizational returns for the Buffalo Soldiers are on microfilm. The following microfilm rolls contains unit returns for the 24th Infantry with the names of officers and company commanders, names of men absent and reason for absence, names of men entering and leaving the regiment, and record of events of the regiment, "Returns from

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Barracks, Washington, commanded by Lt. Col. W.E. Dougherty, 7th Infantry, for May 1900. NARA Microcopy No. 617, Returns from U.S. Military Posts, 1800-1916, Roll 1319, Vancouver Barracks, Washington, January 1893-December 1901, NARA, Wash: 1965.

[273] Michael James Tinsley Clark, "A History of the Twenty-Fourth United States Infantry Regiment in Utah, 1896-1900," (Ph.D. diss., University of Utah, 1979), 22.

[274] *VC*, "We Must Never Forget," 31 July 1999, B1.

Regular Army Infantry Regiments, June 1821-Dec. 1916" (M665): 24th Infantry, Rolls 245-253, years 1866-1916. Francis Heitman's *Historical Register* would provide information on the commanding officers of the 24th Infantry. Congressional Records could prove useful as well. African American journals, such as the *Journal of Negro History*, military journals, such as *Army and Navy Journal* and some more popular periodicals such as *Harper's Monthly Magazine* or *Harper's Weekly* may also be useful. Some other African American magazines that wrote about the Buffalo Soldiers regularly include *Colored American Magazine* and *The Voice of the Negro*. For more on African Americans in the Portland/Vancouver area, see "The History of Portland's African American Community (1805 to the Present)," published by Portland's Bureau of Planning in 1993. Quintard Taylor's *The Forging of a Black Community: Seattle's Central District from 1870 through the Civil Rights Era* provides context for African American settlement in the state of Washington, although it does not address the 24th Infantry. A large bibliography pertaining to Buffalo Soldiers is available for general research purposes. For an introduction to the Buffalo Soldiers, a video documentary, *The Buffalo Soldiers* (BA Productions, Encino, CA), may be useful. William Leckie's *The Buffalo Soldiers: A Narrative of the Negro Cavalry in the West*, Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1967 will provide an introduction to the cavalry. Other useful books and theses published about the Buffalo Soldiers or related to them include: *African-American Military History: A Bibliography*. Carlisle, PA: U.S. Army Military History Institute. September 1993; Carroll, John M., ed. *The Black Military Experience in the American West*. New York, NY: Liveright, 1971; Fletcher, Marvin E. *The Black Soldier and Officer in the United States Army, 1891-1917*. Columbia, MO: University of Missouri Press, 1974; Gatewood, Willard B. Jr. *"Smoked Yankees" and the Struggle for Empire: Letters from Negro Soldiers, 1898-1902*. Urbana, Ill: University of Illinois Press, 1971; Muller, William G. *The Twenty-Fourth Infantry: Past and Present*. Fort Collins, CO: Old Army Press, 1972; Shubert, Frank N. *On the Trail of the Buffalo Soldier: Biographies of African-Americans in the U.S. Army, 1866-1917*. Wilmington, DE: Scholarly Resources, 1994; Scipio, L. Albert II. *Last of the Black Regulars: A History of the 24th Infantry Regiment 1869-1951*. Silver Spring, MD: Roman Publications, 1983; Steward, Theophilus Gould. *The Colored Regulars in the United States Army*. Philadelphia, PA: African Methodist Episcopal Book Concern, 1904.

• Buffalo Soldiers – list of members of companies B, D, L, and M, 24th Infantry, June – December 1898

The Spanish-American War Centennial Website has compiled a list of names of the Buffalo Soldiers, available at **http://www.spanamwar.com/24thinf .htm**. The following list of members of the 24th Infantry was compiled by Anthony L. Powell, Historian, Consultant, Curator of the National Exhibition of the Buffalo Soldiers. For information on most soldiers listed contact Mr. Powell at apowell@earthlink.net or call 408-448-2260 or fax 408-269-1548

24th Infantry, Companies B, D, L, and M (June - December, 1898).

* Killed ** Wounded *** Certificate of Merit (Today's DSC)

Commissioned Officers

Field and Staff
J. Ford Kent, Colonel, Commanding
E. H. Liccum, Lt. Colonel
J. M. Thompson, Major
A.E. Markley, Major
Allen Allensworth, Chaplain
Albert Laws, Regimental Quartermaster
Regimental Adjutant, Charles E. Tayman
Captain B.H. Leavell, Co. "A"
Captain Henry Wygant, Co. "B"
Captain Charles Dodge, Co. "C"
Captain A. Ducat, Co. "D"
Captain A. C. Markley, Co. "E"
1st Lieutenant J. E. Brett, Co. "F"
Captain J. J. Breerton, Co. "G"
Captain A. A. Augur, Co. "H"

Lieutenants, J. D. Leitch, A. R. Kerwin, William L. Murphy, H. G. Lyon, J. A. Gurney, H C. Keene, H. B. Nelson, I. C. Jenks, C. H. Miller, H. J. Price, Charles S. Lincoln, L. M. Welch, George S. Cartwright, A. A. Cabaniss

Non-Commissioned Staff
Regimental Sergeant Majors: Benjamin Brown, Walter E. Smith, John R. Green,
Regimental Quartermaster Sergeant: George M. Newland

Regimental Band
Chief Musician, Charles F. Schaffner
Principal Musicians, Matthew Bell, Archy H. Wall
Sergeants: Jack Jones
Privates, Luthur Johnson, Elbert Williams, J. A. McCoy, Joseph Clark, Walter H. Loving, J. W. Simmons, J. C. Turner, Corneluis Fuller, Edward O. Curtis, Henry Batie, Robert J. Brown, Thomas U. Fitch, Willis Bouncler, Henry Johnson, Clarence W. Edwards, Robert E. Lee

Company "B"
1st Sergeant, Alexander V. Richardson
Quartermaster Sergeant, Mack Stanfield,**
Sergeants: Samuel Murphy, Ezekiel H. Hill, Charles W. Grayson,
Corporals: Andrew Padgett,** Walter B. Williams, John W. Hall,** Robert W. Roberts, Rolan Curd, George E. Newman, John Chase, James Grimes**
Musicians: Joseph White, Charles Jones, Jesse S. Moss*

Privates, Clifton E. Anderson, Loyd D. Allen, Van Elsby, HarryMitchell, Edward Pinn, William H. Myers, John Jones, Enoch Christopher, Harry Thurman, John Mcdowell, Martin Bacon, Henry Brown, James W.Williams, Randolph Jackson, William H. Wilson, Robert L. Hargrow, JamesH. Dickerson, I Stokes, L. W. Harris, E. U. Moore, H. T. Williams, John C. Zellers,** T. McKelvin, Jessie A. Cook, J. Finch, A. Perkins, L.

Moore, T. E. Hargrow, Benjamin Frazier, William Howard,** George Hubbard, Will Isaacs, Harry Miller, Solomon Scott, William Smith, Alfred Thompson, Henry Whiting, Frank Capwell, George Coleburn, George V. Dandridge, Charles H. Diggs, Andrew Hammond, John H. Hipshire, Guy James, Robert F. Kitterll, William E. Nichols, William Williams, Tony Young, Frank Capwell, William Maas, Robert Thompson, William U. Fox, Alfred Alexander, Clarence Duncan, Dexie Garrett, Joseph Garrett, Williams Miles, William Jackson, Willis Lattimoore, John Mason, John Ray, Robert Ray, Allen Turner, Frank Howard, Thomas Redley, Nicholas Jones, Benjamin Lewis, James M. Evans, James Edwards, Steven Litsey,Thomas Dillon, George A. Grooms, Isaac Hughes, William McMackins,Willcox McNitt, Harry Johnson, Robert Meade, George Jackson, John Marshall, Joseph Jones, Patrick Johnson, William Dickerson, Francis Ford, Henry Golding, Peter Harrison, Adam Lieland, John C. Logan, BenLittlejohn, Frank Martin, Wiliiam Blanton, Richard Williams***

Company "L"
1st Sergeant Edward Williams
Sergeants: Rufus G. Elliott, Robert O Connor
Corporals: James M. Dickerson, Henry C. Robinson, James Washington,
Musicians: E. Bordinghousing[?]

Privates, Andrew Sanders, John R. Anderson, Jerry Abrams, James Allen, George L. Ashton, John Baker, William Bell, Elijah Bethel, Henry Berrgs,William Bigley, John A. Billingslea, Edward Brooker, Lawrence Bucksner, John Carter, Richard Cash, Miles Clark, John Colter, James M. Cook, William E. Cook, Henry Coward, Joe Davis, Davis F. Evans, Ben Ewing, Thomas A. Ewing, John Fisher, William U. Fox, Harry Frederick, Charles Gaddie, Brack Gaydard, William Q. Gibbs, William Hardin, Albert Harlon, Charles A. Hagman, James Hayes, Henry L. Howard, Julius Hutson, Will Johnson, Henry Lewis, Logan McClallen, James McCormick, Marshall McElroy, Alex Morrow, Thomas Nees, Thomas H. Norris, William O'Daniel,Loney Moore, Allen McGee, Willis McClinton, William Hanson, Samuel Cropper, Robert O.Conner, Robert Harris, Allen Hayes, Walter J. Whiten, Henry Batie, Richard Morton, Frank Gayhart, James McPherson, John J. Johnson, John Franklin, William Webb, Henry Turner, Alexander Morrow, Augustus Sncton [?], Allex Smith, Jospeh Snowden, Alfred Starks, James H. Stewart, William Taylor, John A. Thurman, Ellis Turner, Edward Williams, Leon Williams, Thomas Williams, John R. Williams, Benjamin J. Willis, George Wilson, Eugene Young, Robert O. Browne, Matthew Middleton, Robert F. Long, John English, Green Mud, John G. Starks, John Clay, Fred Beard, Andrew Williams, Samuel Green, Allen Isiom

Company "M"
Sergeants: Samuel Murphy, John A. Hall, Clayton Fisher, Morgan Montgomery,
Corporals: Aaron Black, James Martin, James Bratton
Musician: Charles Jones

Privates, Eugene Hart, John D. Woodard, William Gerchnir[?], George Gotien, George Reed, Frank Henry, Henry Mather, Alexander Morrow, Albert, Ifson [?], Henry Maxey, Will Webb, George Blanks, Morris Mitchell, Henry Poynter, John Munchison, Ernest Aims, George Bayless, Steward Bell, Van Elsby, Clayton Fisher, Yansie Banks, Jesse miller, Jermiah E. Crabb, George Robinson, Robert Brooks, Frank Ewing, Richard

Siddom, Omar Hill, Harry Demoner, Joseph Hagen, William Graham, John Edliner, Louis Hall, Henry Blakey, Minor Wilson, Joe Lamb, Edward Morgan, Wilbur Brown, Will Coleman, William Smith, William Hill, Thomas G. Thompson, Lewis Elder, Sam Clark, James Gold, Lewis Harris, Charles N. Thompson, Willie C. Williams, Bart Hardin, Irvin Penn, John Dean, Will Perkins, Bast Thomas, Herny Simms, Samuel G. Henry, Robert Owens, Alden H. Eason, Enoch King, Moses Tarrence, Sherman Lee, William Woods, John Tally, William Lawrence, Daniel Epperson, Beverly Williams, Charles W. Drake, William W. Wilson, Edward M. Bell, Albert Hubbard, Henry Howard, Edward C. Huff, Brown Beuton, Thomas Russell, James Smith, Ewing White, Lee Thompson, Charles Lee, George E. Robert, Elijah M. Leonard, John Stark, Arthur Johnson, Riggee Arnold, William Buswell

Company "D"
1st Sergeant Merrieman H. Ellis**
Quartermaster Sergeant, Robert L. Duvall
Sergeants: Stephen Starr,** Charles H. Smith, John T. Hall,
Corporals: Thomas P. Wilson, Ben Blackman, Pat Keys,** George Driscoll,Pat Keys, Robert Billings, Dennis Roberts
Musicians: Elbert Wolley, Prince A. Moulton
Wagoner, William H. Barnes
Artificer, Jesse E. Parker***

Privates, Charles Reddick, Emmitt G. Jackson, Charles L. Patterson, Arthur Robinson, John R. White, Dock Burton, James W. Farris, Alfred Love, William Woods, Shaughn M. Holmes, Albert Edwards, Patrick Mason, Samuel Cropper, J. Garrett, C. A. Campbell, Charles W. Baker, Thomas Davis,** Thomas Johnson, William Johnson,** Mason Robinson,** Samuel Stevens, Squire Williams, James Lee, James Dowling, Casper Kincaid, Wilson King, Robert Harmon, Jackson Boyle, James Harden, David Kinoly, Charles C. Winter, Arthur Robinson, James Simms, William Turner, George Walker, Matthew Adams, James W. Allen, John H. Allen, Steven Alexander, Thomas Andrews, Willie Ayers, Riley Baker, Charles J. Emboy, George Austin, Thronton Berkley, Mason Robinson, George H. Morton, John J, Combs, William Buford, William Workman, Henry Woodford, Eugene Walker, Garfield Whiterey William H. Watson, George Austin, Shelton Thompson

• Local Businesses

Many of Vancouver's long-standing industrial and commercial businesses came into being during the 1898-1920 period. A number of local businesses, ranging from vaudeville theaters to food production and grocers, were connected to the military. For example, in May 1916 the Propstra Brothers installed a "modern and up-to-date plant" for the army's milk supplier, the Vancouver Creamery, at 20th and Main Streets. The Propstras later opened the Holland Restaurant as an extension of the creamery, ultimately expanding to the Pacific Northwest Burgerville chain.[275] John P. Kiggins, another long-standing presence in the community, also began his business ventures during this era. Further research on Vancouver's early and long-term businesses would enhance understanding of the social and economic relationships between the Vancouver National

[275] Landerholm, *Vancouver Chronology*, 212.

Historic Reserve and the city of Vancouver, highlighting the military's impact on the community. Such research would entail using newspapers, incorporation papers, and other resources available at the Clark County Museum and Historical Society.

• Civic Groups, Veteran's Organizations and Masonic Groups

Civic groups, veteran's organizations, and Masonic organizations played an important role in community outreach during the 1898-1920 period, providing both entertainment and social services, as well as community promotion. This was the Progressive era, and as such reform efforts, social and economic, were rampant. Some organizations were nationally affiliated, others were distinct to Vancouver. Because of Vancouver's military services, it became a retirement community, a status that continues today. Veteran's groups engendered community pride and were active participants in community activities. Further research should be conducted on the role of veteran's groups on the Reserve.

Records regarding specific organizations may be found at the Clark County Museum and Historical Society, through newspaper records, and organizational records. Some groups active within the community and on the Reserve, especially during wartime, include the Knights of Pythias, the American Red Cross, the Elks, Women's Emergency Relief, War Camp Community Service, and the Salvation army. The following are additional community groups, many associated with the military and the Vancouver National Historic Reserve:

American Legion

The American Legion was active in Vancouver after World War I, as evidenced by its purchase on January 21, 1920 of the entire block bounded by Broadway, 14th, C, and 13th Streets for a club house.[276]

Grand Army of the Republic (GAR)

The Grand Army of the Republic was organized in Illinois on July 12, 1866 and was composed of Union veterans. Oregon's G.A.R. formed in 1869. The first G.A.R. reunion by the Association of Clarke County Veterans assembled and encamped for three days at Fourth Plain in June, 1901. The Post commander of Vancouver Barracks gave the order at 8:00 p.m. for the veterans to fall in, and about thirty responded. As the "old comrades" stood at parade rest, the band played "Star Spangled Banner," and raised "Old Glory." For two days, song, dance, and patriotic oration brought military members, veterans, and citizens together as the old-timers reminisced about the Civil War. John Barlow Camp No. 6, Spanish War Veterans was organized at Vancouver on October 3, 1906.[277]

Knights of Columbus

The Knights of Columbus provided social activities and community celebrations to soldiers. At the end of the war, in December 1918, the K of C offered an old fashioned

[276] Landerholm, *Vancouver Chronology*, 226.

[277] Landerholm, *Vancouver Chronology*, 142, 170; The Oregon Historical Society holds records of the Grand Army of the Republic, ca. 1890s, MSS 1378. Records include rosters, minutes, roll books and other miscellaneous information concerning G.A.R. posts as well as G.A.R. Women's Relief Corps Records.

Christmas dinner in their hall, located near the new post theater. The Christmas Eve celebration included food, song, and vaudeville shows.[278]

Prunarians

The prunarians were a business/civic group, organized by Vancouver businessmen in September, 1918. In its first season, the group grew from three Vancouver businessmen to a group of fifty-eight. They were active in the civic life and business promotion of Vancouver and Clark County for many years. Prune growing began in the county in the late 1870s, with orchards near Vancouver, Camas, Washougal and Fourth Plain by the 1890s. In 1900, Clark County shipped fifty carloads of prunes, with figures reaching 16,000 tons in the following ten years. By World War I, the Washington Grower's Corporation formed and became the main processing outlet. Ted VanArsdol points out that a WWI wartime boom inflated prices for a short period of time.

The prune industry became such an integral part of community life that there was an annual prune festival and celebration. The first parade was officially known as the "Grand Prune Festival Revue, A Classical Burlesque Parade," with Queen Fay leading the parade, attending luncheons with civic leaders, and entertaining visiting dignitaries. The first year of the festival coincided with the arrival of five torpedo boat destroyers and accompanying sailors. The Salvation Army, Knights of Columbus, and War Camp Community Service provided free drinks, music, dancing, and even automobile rides to community farms. During the day the Royal Prune Festival included sack races, three-legged races, human wheelbarrow races, an auto tire race, a fat-man race, and a men's footrace. Pie-eating, apple eating, and prune eating contests provided further amusement. On the Vancouver Reserve the day before the end of the festival, September 20, 1918, Pearson Airfield hosted an aeroplane circus with sixteen airplanes. The festival also included a local history pageant. Further research on the economic and social role of the fruit industry in Clark County should be conducted.[279]

Vancouver Commercial Club

The Vancouver Commercial Club was a booster organization composed of businessmen dedicated to promotion and economic development in the community. As such, they worked closely with military leaders to improve the transportation infrastructure. They also hosted social activities. Some examples of Vancouver Commercial Club activities follow. On February 24, 1909 the VCC held a "smoker" at their club rooms, including "vaudeville turns" by local members, short talks, and a buffet lunch with about 200 attendees. In April, 1909, The VCC campaigned to annex Vancouver Heights and the area east of the garrison as far as Harney Hill. On April 17, 1912 the VCC held a "Rally Day" and added 111 new members. The club was very active that year, promoting a bridge across the Columbia, electric lines to La Center and Hockinson, and good roads. The VCC was like many other turn-of-the-century booster organizations, their main goal community promotion through a number of means, such as advertising business and farming opportunities. The VCC also worked to engender local loyalties as in 1912 when Mrs. Helen Lambson composed a song "The Call of Old

[278] *Straight Grain* Vol. 9, 21 December 1918, 4.
[279] Landerholm, *Vancouver Chronology,* 224; VanArsdol, *Northwest Bastion,* 49-51; Claire and Rod Rogers, "Prune Fever: The Prune Industry of Clark County," *Clark County History* 29 (1988): 6-18.

Vancouver," sung to the tune of the River Shannon and dedicated at a VCC luncheon. In November, 1918, the VCC formed an "emergency corps," their aim "the furtherance of the interests of the city."[280]

War Camp Community Service

The WWI Portland War Camp Community Service provided a continuous series of dances and entertainment for enlisted men. Soldiers were allowed free admission to WCCS activities held in Portland by attending in uniform.

• Civilians at Vancouver Barracks

Often veterans and/or family members of soldiers worked at Vancouver Barracks, as did members of the local community. Records of the Quartermaster General's Office, RG 92, has reports of employees who worked at military posts. These include contract and payroll records.

• Coastal Defense

During the Spanish-American War, coastal defense became a primary focus of the United States military in the Pacific Northwest under command of the Department of the Columbia at Vancouver Barracks. Historian Kent Richards lists the coastal defenses that sprouted "from the Strait of Juan de Fuca to the mouth of the Columbia." New construction and remodeling took place under the supervision of the North Pacific Division of the Army Corps of Engineers at Fort Flagler, Fort Worden near Port Townsend, Fort Lawton at Seattle, Fort Casey at Marrowstone Point, and at Fort Stevens, Fort Canby, and the new Fort Columbia. The completion of portions of the forts brought in artillery units increasing the number of personnel in the Department of the Columbia to about 4,000 by 1905. Richards points out that construction stimulated Northwest economies, and the incoming artillery men and engineers changed the nature of the military in the region: "A symbolic indication that the old days had disappeared was General Funston's complaint that the regulation requiring spurs as part of the dress uniform was an 'unmitigated nuisance' for which there was no justification." This symbolic change became a "metamorphosis" as the frontier fighting Indian-fighting army transformed to "one oriented toward coastal defense in a potential global war."[281]

Some sources for information on coastal defense, found at the U.S. Army Military History Institute are: Dupuy, Trevor N., ed. *International Military and Defense Encyclopedia*. 6 vols. Washington DC: Brassey's, 1993; Floyd, Dale E., *United States Coast Defense, 1775-1950: A Bibliography*. Washington DC: Office, Chief of Engineers, 1985; U.S. War Department, *Secretary of War Reports*, Washington DC: GPO, various dates; U.S. War Department. Quartermaster General. *Outline Description of Military Posts and Reservations in the United States and Alaska and of National Cemeteries*, Washington, DC: GPO, 1904. Records at the NARA Pacific Alaska Region from 1901-1942 (55 cubic feet) include the following coastal defenses: Coast Defenses of the Columbia River; Harbor Defenses of the Puget Sound; and North Pacific Coast Artillery District. The records relate to daily operations, and include administrative files, fort record books, general correspondence, and general and special orders. Finding aids

[280] Landerholm, *Vancouver Chronology*, 182, 184, 201, 222; Mockford, "Historic Currents," 76.
[281] Kent Richards, "Regulars & Militia: Washington's Post-Frontier Military" *Columbia* 9, 1 (1995), 11-12.

include entries 2-19, 90-100, and 279-290 in Sarah D. Powell, comp., *Preliminary Investigation of the Textual Records of United States Army Coast Artillery Districts and Defenses, 1901-1942*, NM 88 (1967).

• Holidays

Holiday celebrations often included parades on the Reserve, dinners, dances, and other forms of entertainment hosted by civic organizations. The VNHR was and remains a community site for celebration. Research into the community role of the Reserve on holidays would include Thanksgiving and Christmas practices, Mother's Day, St. Patrick's Day, Veteran's Day, Memorial Day, Easter, Labor Day, Halloween, and the largest ongoing Reserve holiday, Independence Day.

Independence Day

The U.S. Army at Vancouver has consistently participated in Independence Day activities, which continue to take place on the Reserve to this day. During the 1898 celebration, the troops of the 3rd Battalion, commanded by Colonel Wholley, headed a parade down the streets of Vancouver. According to the *Vancouver Independent*, "The boys in blue attracted considerable attention, and their quick step and soldierly bearing elicited merited applause. The band rendered patriotic airs, and set the step for the parade. . . .The parade formed promptly at 10:30 at the corner of Main and Second street, and at the command of the grand marshal the parade moved up Main street…" The parade include a Grand Marshal and aides, a mounted "Uncle Sam," the First Washington Volunteer Battalion, carriages, floats from local businesses such as the Star Brewery, and bicycles. Mayor Brewster officiated and the First Washington Volunteer Band played songs such as "America," Star Spangled Banner," and "Red, White and Blue." A reading of the Declaration of Independence was followed by an ovation by C.E.S. Wood. The *Vancouver Independent* reported that the speech was "a very fine production from a literary and oratorical point of view. . . but to a great majority of the audience the political part of it was somewhat displeasing."[282]

After the prepared program, the 3rd Battalion provided the music for the "gay and light hearted lads and lassies" who "whirled away the afternoon in the maze swing of the waltz." Sports events began at 2:30 p.m., and included: Boys' "mix-up"; putting shot; greased pig, wond [sic] by Sergeant Arthur Roberts; greased pole; tug of war; log riding; 100 yard dash; fat men's race; boys' race; three-legged race; bicycle race - open; bicycle race - boys.[283]

During the Fourth of July holiday, local officials gave political speeches, and attendees often flocked across the river from Portland. Recreational activities brought thousands to the Reserve, as they do today. On the Fourth of July in 1910, 60,000 people gathered along the banks of the Columbia to watch the Pacific Coast motorboat championship race. The parade that year included fourteen automobiles.[284] Vancouver continues to maintain one of the largest fireworks displays west of the Mississippi, and people flock to the Reserve from around the region. Further research on traditional Fourth of July activities would place the current-day celebration in historical perspective.

[282] *Independent* 7 July 1898.
[283] *Independent* 7 July 1898.
[284] *Independent*, 14 July 1898; Landerholm, *Vancouver Chronology*, 192.

• Industry in Vancouver

Vancouver's industrial growth was often intimately tied to the U.S. Army. Research for the Reserve should include an understanding of local industry as well as its relationship with the military. Although agriculture provided the bulk of Vancouver's economic development, other industries contributed to the economy. The following industries should be investigated further:

Cannery Business

The fruit growing industry boomed in Clark County during the early part of the twentieth century. A number of canneries operated in 1898 including those owned by Rand Brothers, C.H. Ricker at Vancouver, Charles Brown at Hockinson (then Eureka), Charles Lever and Tony Young at Mill Plain, and State Senator Augustus High at Felida.[285] By 1904, the Columbia Canning Co. at Vancouver, canned the following poundage of fruit: apples, 246,123; pears, 229,379; strawberries, 45,282; gooseberries, 2,878; raspberries, 15,332; blackberries, 22,532; plums, 4,507; cherries, 107,667; beans, 712. The Clark County Cannery Association (also called the Clark County Growers' Union) opened a new cannery at the foot of Ninth Street in Vancouver in June, 1914, employing seventy-five to one hundred people who canned 300 to 400 crates of strawberries daily. The Oregon Cannery leased a plant "near the depot" in 1916.[286] Further research on Vancouver's canneries should be conducted.

Vancouver Creamery

The original Vancouver Creamery burned to ashes in August, 1898. On May 1, 1916, the Vancouver Creamery was organized by the Propstra Brothers who installed a "modern and up-to-date" plant at 20th and Main Streets. The Vancouver Creamery supplied the military post with dairy products, and thus had a significant connection to the Reserve. In addition, the Propstras opened the Holland Restaurant, a traditional meeting place for military leaders and community members. Eventually, the Propstra family expanded to open the Burgerville chain restaurants, a Pacific Northwest institution. The Propstra family has been significant to Vancouver's economic and social history (they recently donated funds to build a community swimming pool). The creamery's early relationship with the Reserve should be investigated, as should community connections with the Propstra family.[287]

Vancouver's Port and Shipbuilding

Historically, the Hudson's Bay Company maintained shipyards at Vancouver, using the sawmill on the Columbia to produce building materials. Other international shipbuilding efforts took place in Vancouver as early as 1898. On January 20, 1898, the *Vancouver Independent* reported, "Two fine cruisers for Japan will be launched in our shipyards next month, with a contract speed of 21 knots per house, examples of American ingenuity and enterprise."[288]

Expansion along Vancouver's waterfront began in earnest just after the turn of the century, although not comprehensively. The Union Pacific built the first waterfront dock

[285] Landerholm, *Vancouver Chronology*, 124.
[286] Landerholm, *Vancouver Chronology*, 162-163, 207, 212.
[287] Landerholm, *Vancouver Chronology*, 125, 212.
[288] *Independent*, 20 January 1898.

in Vancouver in 1901. The dock was controlled by the railroad and private docks dotted the waterfront, preventing any unified waterfront development. According to James Mockford, Clark County merchants often took their produce to Portland markets because larger amounts of goods could be shipped from there. *Thyra*, a 7,000 ton Norwegian steamship, the largest to ever ascend the Columbia above the Willamette, docked at Vancouver to load lumber on July 29, 1906. By July 1910, Pittock & Leadbetter Lumber Company in Vancouver began building a commercial dock along 150 feet of the waterfront. By April 6, 1912, Vancouver established its Port District, with a vote of 630 for, 182 against. Vancouver had deep channel access and miles of riverfront available for development. In order to position itself for new industry and export trade the city needed a port authority to finance and manage development.[289]

Shipbuilding and the port's international connections heightened during the World War I years. On September 5, 1915, the first big war vessel entered the Vancouver harbor, the U.S. cruiser *Albany*. In April, 1917 the Columbia Shipbuilding Company incorporated with L.B. Memefee, R.B. Jones, and A.L. Miller of Vancouver and began work on a shipbuilding plant on the city waterfront. The incorporators all had stock in the Standifer-Clarkson Shipyard on Columbia Slough. In August 1917 thousands of feet of dock were being built on the Vancouver waterfront for shipbuilding. By November, shipbuilding employed over 300 men. In March, the Standifer Shipyards at Vancouver outfitted the new ship *Timpson*, built in Portland. The first boat built completely at Vancouver at the Motorship Construction Yards, the *Shepard Point*, was launched on April 28, 1918 at 2:00 p.m. In October, 1918 the steamer *Aimwell* was launched from the Standifer Shipyards. In December, 1918 The U.S. Shipping Board cancelled contracts for wooden ships throughout the country, including those with Standifer and Grant Smith Porter in the Portland District. In Feb. 1919, G.M. Standifer Company launched the second 9,500 ton vessel, the *Coaxet*. Its sister ship, the *Cokesit*, was launched on December 31, 1918 from the Vancouver Shipyards. On May 19, 1919, Standifer launched a 9,500 ton steel ship, the *Wawlona*. Another 9,500 ton vessel, *Arcturas*, launched from Vancouver on March 31, 1920 by Standifer for the Green Star Steamship Corporation of New York. In 1920, a 12,000-ton tanker, the *H.W. Libby*, was built and launched at the Vancouver Shipyards. In November, 1920, Standifer launched a Standard Oil Tanker, the *John Worthing*.[290]

The role of shipbuilding would become much more significant to the Reserve during World War II, as Liberty Ships were launched from Kaiser's Vancouver Shipyards. The early shipbuilding efforts and establishment of Vancouver's Port District made these later efforts possible, and should be researched further, especially in light of current expansion of the Port District and industrial manufacturing along Vancouver's waterfront. In addition to company records, materials at the Oregon Historical Society and the Clark County Historical Society and Museum, the port of Vancouver and the Southwest Washington Regional Archives maintain records.

• Landscape Change

During this era Vancouver attained an increasingly built environment. The great fir forest to the north of the post disappeared, timber was shipped out from Vancouver, docks arose along the river, drainage districts formed, roads were built, and Clark County

[289] Mockford, "Historic Currents," 67, 74; Landerholm, 170, 192, 200.
[290] Landerholm, *Vancouver Chronology*, 209, 218, 220, 222, 223, 224, 226, 227, 229.

began reshaping its landscape. Among the proposals that should be researched further is a proposition to drain Vancouver Lake that caused "one of the most bitterly contested cases ever handled by the county commissioners."[291]

The time between 1898 and 1920 was one of increasing technological changes and broad connections affecting landscape use. During this time, Vancouver became a permanent post, and the military garrison also underwent major changes. A number of new structures were built after the turn of the century including residential structures on Evergreen Boulevard, the post hospital, a mess hall and new barracks, a post headquarters building and double infantry barracks, a gymnasium-auditorium, a motor repair shop, a post exchange, a quartermaster store, a carpenter shop, and quartermaster barracks. Buildings sprung up at Pearson Field as well, including an Air Corps storehouse and a field office building. The original hangar was built in 1921. For a full list of buildings constructed during this period on the National Historic Reserve, see U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, "Appendix C: Inventory of Historic Reserve Buildings," in *Vancouver National Historic Reserve, Washington, Cooperative Management Plan* (Clark County, Washington, 2000), 85-87.[292]

• The Lewis & Clark Centennial Exposition

The 14th Infantry participated in the Lewis & Clark Centennial Exposition, military leaders were present, and "Vancouver Day" at the Expo. was "a howling success." The *Vancouver Independent* described 1,200 Vancouverites arriving in Portland in fourteen streetcars parading through the streets with horns blasting and carrying banners, one of which read "Vancouver Grows Without Watching." The Exposition was also the site of Vancouver's first airshows. Vancouver's role in the Expo. is a topic for further investigation. Useful resources include local newspapers and the Lewis & Clark Exposition Records, 1905, MSS 1609 at the Oregon Historical Society. See also, for context, Carl Abbott, *The Great Extravaganza* (Portland: Oregon Historical Society Press, 1981; revised edition 2004).

• Military Regulations and Daily Life

The United States Army maintained a high degree of convention and hierarchy, with clear distinctions between officers and enlisted men. Military regulations determined most daily behaviors. Morning *reveille* and evening *tattoo* dictated awakening and sleeping. Rigid scheduling determined everyday activities. Gaining a general understanding of military life in addition to specific knowledge about activities at Vancouver Barracks should be a topic for further research. In addition, changes in military structure due to the Spanish-American War is an important research focus. The Department of the Columbia, headed at Vancouver Barracks, changed significantly with the Spanish-American War as the number of regular army personnel increased and the emphasis turned from internal fortification to coastal defense in a potential global war.[293]

According to Kent Richards, prior to the Spanish-American War, the regular military was barely tolerated by civilians, except for its economic benefits. Desertion and

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[291] Landerholm, *Vancouver Chronology*, 227.
[292] U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, "Appendix C: Inventory of Historic Reserve Buildings," *Vancouver National Historic Reserve Cooperative Management Plan* (Clark County, Washington, 2000), 85-87.
[293] Richards, "Regulars & Militia,"12.

court martials were common events: "Sunk in inertia and boredom, officers turned to a severe disciplinary system as a means of keeping control of equally bored troops and filling the hours." Men often responded to army life by drinking, fighting, and deserting.[294] Vancouver's soldiers were no exception. In June, 1898, Colonel Wholley served as president of the court martial court, with Captain J.E. Boyer as acting judge advocate. That month, the local newspaper predicted it "quite likely that some of the boys will be made an example of."[295] Further research should be conducted regarding the reasons for desertion and court martial, and their consequences in Vancouver. Some examples of desertion and court martial events in Vancouver during the Spanish-American War era include two privates, William Holsapple and Thomas Hoban. Holsapple deserted while on guard duty in January 1898, and was then sent to Fort Canby to serve his sentence. Private Thomas Hoban of Company M, First Washington Volunteers, forfeited all pay and spent three months at hard labor at Vancouver Barracks beginning in July 1898 when convicted for assault and battery.[296] The desertion and court martial rate at Vancouver Barracks during the 1898-1920 period would shed light on the social behaviors of soldiers, and are prime research topics. A survey of Vancouver's police records would also provide a good source of additional information.

The infrastructure at the military post in Vancouver and the daily lives of soldiers and civilians associated with the barracks should also be researched. From the end of the nineteenth century through the first decade of the twentieth, major changes in communication and transportation took place. A 1904 report on Military Posts and Reservations, Vancouver Barracks, Washington describes the post at that time. Lines of communication included both a post office and telegraph station on post. The Portland, Vancouver, and Yakima Railroad had been granted right of way through the post the previous year (1903). Construction of new quarters in compliance with the 1901 designation of Vancouver Barracks as a permanent military post for headquarters and twelve companies of infantry and two batteries of field artillery was underway. In order to accommodate the increased number of troops, the army ordered thirty commissioned officers quarters, one non-commissioned officers quarters, eight remodeled barracks and four new barracks buildings. The 1904 report includes the following Summary of the post as it then existed:

> Officer's quarters, D.S., 9; S.S., 8; bachelor officers' quarters, 1 (for 16 officers); noncommissioned staff quarters, D.S., 1; S.S., 4, set for 4 families; hospital stewards' quarters, 1; employees quarters, 3; company barracks, 10 (capacity 65 men each); band barracks, 1 (capacity 35 men); artillery barracks, 1 (capacity 240 men); infantry barracks, 1 (capacity 160 men); temporary shelter, field artillery, 1 (capacity 40 men); hospital, 1 (capacity 26 beds); post headquarters, 1; officers' mess, 1; post chapel, lecture and recitation hall, 1; school building, 1; quartermaster's office, 1; exchange building, 1; artillery guardhouse, 1; guardhouses, 2; mess house, 1; mess sheds, 4; quartermaster storehouses, 4; forage storehouses, 2; ordnance storehouse, 1; subsistence storehouse, 1; quartermaster stables, 2 (capacity 94 animals); artillery stables, 2 (capacity 268 horses); hospital stable, 1 (capacity 6 animals); post bakery, 1; hook

[294] Richards, "Regulars & Militia," 8.
[295] *Independent*, 30 June 1898.
[296] *Independent*, 20 January; 21 July 1898.

and ladder shed, 1; wharf, 1; magazine, 1; dock house, Government wharf, 1; shops and sheds, 1; plumber and carpenter shop, 1; artillery workshops, 2; company water-closets, 6; granaries, 3; wagon sheds, 3; pumping station, 1; bath house, 1; mineral oil house, 1; coal shed, 1; buildings for drying lumber, 3; quartermaster wood shed, 1; post wood-sawing machine, 1; wood covering of reservoir and pumping station, 1; coal bins, 26; covering for athletic apparatus, 1; gun sheds, 2; scale house, 1.

Buildings under construction are: 2 infantry barracks; 1 hospital (capacity 48 beds); 1 guardhouse; 1 post exchange, remodeling; 1 ordnance storehouse; 1 gymnasium, and 1 workshop building.[297]

The summary of the post reflects the main activity of soldiers during this period – maintaining their daily existence. In 1904 electricity "(purchased)" lit the post. An "ample" and "excellent" water supply came from two artesian wells and was pumped into either a 66,000 gallon wooden tank or a reservoir. An additional well was authorized in 1904. The post had an "inadequate" sewer system that drained into the Columbia River through six and ten-inch terra cotta pipes.[298]

• San Francisco Earthquake and Fire

The troops of the 14th Infantry and of the 17th and 18th Battalions from Vancouver participated in relief and recovery efforts following the San Francisco Earthquake and Fire in April 1906. Troops left Vancouver just two days after the disaster on April 20, 1906, and returned at the end of June. Further research concerning their experiences while in San Francisco should be conducted. Relevant sources include: U.S. National Park Service. Western Regional Office. *The Presidio of San Francisco, 1776-1976: A Collection of Historical Source Materials.* San Francisco: NPS, 1976; the *San Francisco Chronicle*; *Annual Reports of the War Department for the Year Ended June 30, 1906.* Vol. I. Washington, GPO, 1906.; A.R.W.D, Major C.A. Devol. "The Army in the San Francisco Disaster." *Journal of the United States Infantry Association*. IV. July, 1907.; Henry Anderson Lafler, "How the Army Worked to Save San Francisco" (San Francisco: Calkins Newspaper Syndicate, 1906) – a twenty page microfilm supplement of the personal narrative of General Frederick Funston; Record Group 94 at the National Archives.

• Services, Military and Civilian

Vancouver Barracks provided services to both the military and civilian communities, including entertainment, employment, and goods. As in most military towns, local citizens made use of available medical and social services, and veterans from around the state came to Vancouver to avail themselves of medical, dental, and economic services. The Post Hospital and the Post Exchange are two areas of significant inquiry that would highlight broader social circumstances on the Reserve.

[297] *Military Posts and Reservations*, 502-503.
[298] *Military Posts and Reservations*, 503.

Post Exchange

In 1918, at the end of WWI, the Exchange was directed under Lieutenant Hayward with Mrs. Pearl Rothery as "stewardess," and approximately twelve male employees. In addition to the main store, branch establishments included a meat market, barbershop, restaurant, shoe-shining parlor, and tailorship.[299] As one of the oldest post exchanges in the military, the role of the Vancouver Barracks Post Exchange, both in providing services to the military and employment to civilians, should be researched further.

Post Hospital

The Vancouver Barracks Post Hospital served the ill and incapacitated, cared for returning and wounded veterans, and also housed the insane. Activities at the Post Hospital during both war and peace time is an area of significant social research. Ted Van Arsdol's "Clark County Medicine" provides an overview of military medical care. More in-depth research would illuminate period medical practices, mental, physical, and community health issues and practices, and the regional role of the post hospital.

• Social Activities, Sports, and Recreation

Baseball

Baseball was a significant recreational activity early in the twentieth century, and military teams often played against civilian teams on the Reserve. On July 4, 1902, a team from Battery 8 beat La Center, 2 to 1.[300]

Golf

In December, 1903, "golf fever" struck Vancouver Barracks when Jack Moffat from the Portland Waverly Club laid out a nine-hole golf course and gave lessons. A 30-member club formed, and General Funston participated. One earlier golf course existed in Vancouver, laid out at Ellsworth in 1902.[301]

Polo

Polo matches were held regularly on the parade grounds at Vancouver Barracks and were both a military and community affair.

Post Theatre (The Hippodrome)

The "first night" at the Post Theatre, capable of holding 1,400, occurred in December 1918. The theater's opening performance was a Paramount Artcraft Picture, "The Cost of Hatred." The theater, planned by Colonel Van Way, was hailed as a way to enjoy the closing weeks of the Spruce Production Division. It was slated to show the latest films nightly at 6:30 and 8:15 at a cost of five cents for enlisted men and their guests, and ten cents to officers and guests. Friday would be amateur night with $15 in prizes for a talent show. The Post Orchestra provided the music. According to *Straight Grain*, "The theater is in every sense a soldier's play-house. It was the idea of a soldier, it was designed by soldiers and built by them. The work was done by men of the 113th

[299] *Straight Grain*, Vol. 9, 21 December 1918, 1.
[300] Landerholm, *Vancouver Chronology.* 147.
[301] Landerholm, *Vancouver Chronology*, 156, 223.

Engineers, under the direction of Captain Stout. Major Bauer drew the plans. The mill supplied the lumber. The theater was constructed out of the post amusement fund."[302]

Smokers

World War I boxing matches, called "smokers," were common, both in rural areas and at Vancouver Barracks.

Theater and Vaudeville Shows

During World War I, Vaudeville shows played a large role in entertainment on the Reserve. Just after the end of the war, the WWI newspaper, *Straight Grain* advertised shows such as that of Viola Napp & Company, held at the Hippodrome. The show consisted of ballets and pantomimic dances. Other shows included a photoplay called "Ruler of the Road," about railroad men and their affairs before government control of the railroads, June Salmo, a contortionist as "The Daredevil Dandy," comedy and gymnastic skits, and songs and parodies of "the funny southern negro."[303]

Additional forms of entertainment came from theater groups on post and lyceums in which speakers addressed various topics.

• Target Ranges

In May, 1909 the army leased a target range fifteen miles northeast of Vancouver for a rifle range. In 1912, an appropriation was made for the 3,018-acre range, and for a road leading to it. The army purchased the land in 1919 and named it Camp Bonneville in 1926. Other ranges in use during this period included the Lacamas Creek Range and American Lake. The purchase and use of each of these sites should be investigated. American Lake's significance to the Reserve is due to its origins as a target range for Vancouver Barracks. During WWI, when sixteen cantonments around the nation were ordered completed, the site, fifteen miles from Tacoma, was chosen to be the largest cantonment, with 48,000 troops, and the only one located west of the Rockies. The American Lake site now hosts Fort Lewis, essentially Vancouver's military successor. Soldiers spent much of their time in maneuvers at the various target ranges, moving out annually and in large numbers to march as far as American Lake. Further research should be conducted to identify the kinds of maneuvers conducted by soldiers, camp life, and how the army organized supporting large movements of men.[304]

• Transportation

During the 1898-1920 period, Vancouver made great strides in transportation, connecting the east and west sides of the Cascades to Portland through construction of the North Bank Railroad and railroad bridge over the Columbia in 1908. During the same era, local politicians worked to deepen the Columbia River channel in order to create an international port. By 1917, an interstate passenger bridge (visible from the Reserve) connected the north and south sides of the Columbia for the first time. At the same time,

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[302] Landerholm, *Vancouver Chronology*, 5.
[303] *Ibid*.
[304] Landerholm, *Vancouver Chronology*, 185, 203; Jane T. Merritt, "National Guard at American Lake," *Columbia Magazine*, 5, 4 (Winter 1991/92), 28; For a description of proper field maneuver and conduct in 1910, see "Regulations for Field Maneuvers, United States Army, 1910," (Washington DC: GPO, 1910), available in the VNHRT collection.

major road-building efforts took place. Developing these transportation connections began just after the turn of the century and in some respects continues today. The early transportation efforts opened Vancouver to new connections with the outside world, in addition to bringing increased population and providing employment. Understanding the community's infrastructural development and outside connections is a topic worth investigation. Research on these topics would include identifying appropriate agency reports, such as those of the Army Corps of Engineers, the State Department of Transportation, and Railroad records, in addition to materials found at the Clark County Museum and Historical Society and the Oregon Historical Society. The Southwest Washington Regional Archives contains county and city records, including property records, records of the City of Vancouver and Clark County, school district records, and records of the Port of Vancouver and Clark County PUD. NARA's Pacific Alaska Region (Seattle) contains records of the Federal Highway Administration and its predecessors in RG 406.

The Columbia River Channel

In March, 1903, the Vancouver Commercial Club created a bill providing for river improvement districts. The bill passed the State House, the governor signed it and Vancouver prepared to deepen the channel on the Columbia above the Willamette River. In November, 1903 the city of Vancouver held a special election and established a River Improvement District by a vote of 195 to 14. The following month, on December 11, 1903, Secretary of State Elihu Root sent a recommendation to Congress to deepen the channel of the Columbia to Vancouver from the mouth of the Willamette, twenty feet deep, 250 feet wide. The river and harbor bill of January, 1905 included $60,000 for improvement of the Columbia between Vancouver and the mouth of the Willamette, the first such appropriation for the Columbia. The 20-foot channel was completed on November 11, 1905 opening Vancouver as a seaport.[305] NARA'a Pacific Alaska Region (Seattle) contains records of the Office of the Chief of Engineers, Records of the North Pacific Division, 1907-40, and the Portland District Office, 1863 – 1984. There are administrative records, correspondence, engineering studies, field survey notebooks, structural permit files, and topographical and hydrological data files. Construction project files contain engineering drawings, notes, plans, progress reports, and test results. Nontextual records include engineering drawings and photographs. The records of the Seattle and Portland District pertain to construction of the Puget Sound and Columbia River coastal artillery forts, fish traps, and dams. Included are correspondence, field notebooks, and office and project files. Finding aids are by folder title lists. In addition, the Portland District Army Corps of Engineers Library holds numerous reports documenting landscape change along the Lower Columbia.

The Interstate-5 Bridge

The Interstate Bridge was built in 1917, both changing the landscape of the Reserve and eliminating Vancouver's isolated status. The I-5 Bridge became the main north-south travel route along the Pacific Coast. See overview for details about how Vancouver and Portland worked to obtain the general travel bridge. Further research regarding the construction and impact of the I-5 bridge, now a historic structure, should be conducted. For an overview of transportation and building of the I-5 bridge, see,

[305] Landerholm, *Vancouver Chronology*, 152, 155, 162, 166.

James Mockford. "Historical Currents of Trade and Transportation on the Columbia River, Part Two." *Clark County History* 35 (1994): 67-84. See also, Coleen Bauman, "Across the Wide Columbia, Parts III and IV, Interstate I-5 Bridge, *Clark County History* 31 (1990): 17-22; Julian Lindley Sharon, *Vancouver and Clark County*, Vancouver, Washington, 1939, 22-31.

The North Bank Railroad

In 1903 the Northern Pacific Railroad purchased the Portland, Vancouver & Yakima line as part of their plan to bridge the Columbia River. On June 4, 1906, the Vancouver city council unanimously granted a franchise to the Portland and Seattle Railroad to build its line through the city. On July 2, 1906, Superior Court Judge W.W. McCredie gave right of way across the narrow strip of land along the north bank of the Columbia to the Hill Portland, Seattle Railroad, allowing construction of the North Bank Railroad. The same month, the Skamania County Superior Court gave the railroad right of way along the Columbia, saving Beacon Rock from destruction. Henry Biddle had planned to use it for a quarry, but later donated it for public use. Work on the railroad bridge, heralded as "the longest in the world," proceeded rapidly. By February 28, 1907, fill across the barracks area was nearly half completed and by the following November, the draw of the Portland and Seattle Railroad Bridge opened for the first time. On March 11, 1908 the last spike of the North Bank Road was driven. The railroad bridge was completed on June 25, 1908. On January 1, 1910 the Washington & Oregon Railroad began operating from Portland north over the railroad bridge and through Vancouver.[306]

Road building in Clark County

Prior to 1905 when the State Department of Highways was created, counties and landowners struggled to build practical roads. The first roads built out of Vancouver were constructed with soldier labor. Later roads were funded by community members, and then by the state. By 1908 the state planned State Route No. 8, which would begin at Washougal in Clark County and end at Goldendale. The "Columbia River Road" was slated to become the most important transmountain road of the period. By 1911 the Permanent Highway Act transferred more county control of roads to the state and focused on construction of hard-surfaced, paved roads for automobiles and commercial trade.[307] The way that road building and automobiles impacted social relations is an important research topic. See: Interview with Walter A. Schwarz; Garrett, Harold R. "Clark County Highway History, 1905-1977." *Clark County History* 34 (1993): 21-31; local newspapers; records at the Southwest Washington Regional Archives.

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[306] Landerholm, *Vancouver Chronology*, 152, 169, 172, 175, 177, 188.
[307] Garrett, "Clark County Highway History," 22-23.

Appendix II: Spanish-American and Philippine War Research

Two regiments of Washington Volunteers served in the Spanish-American War. One battalion of the First Regiment from Washington was stationed at Vancouver Barracks from May 25, 1898 until July 23-24 when they arrived in San Francisco. The 1st Battalion sailed from San Francisco on the *Valencia* on October 19 and arrived at Manila Philippine Islands on November 22. The second and third battalions sailed from San Francisco on the *Ohio*, October 28, arriving at Manila on November 26. The Washington Volunteers participated in engagements around Manila, San Pedro Macati, and Guadalupe in February. In March, they saw battle at Pasig. April took them to Santa Cruz, Paete, and Taguig. In June, they fought at Cainta, Taytay, and Morong. And in July, they fought at Calamba. The volunteers returned from the Philippines to San Francisco on October 9 and were mustered out of service on November 1, 1899 with 46 officers and 769 men. During their Philippine service, one officer was killed in action, five were wounded, and one died of disease. Seventeen enlisted men died in action, 89 were wounded, eight died of wounds, seventeen died of disease, one drowned, and twenty-four deserted.

The Second Regiment of Volunteers was organized and mustered into service at Tacoma, Washington between July 2 and July 15, 1898, with fourteen officers and 412 enlisted men. They arrived at Vancouver Barracks on July 21 and were mustered out of service on October 28, 1898 with fourteen officers and 411 enlisted men. There were no casualties since the volunteers remained stateside, but one enlisted man died of disease, and four deserted.[308]

[308] *Spanish American War Correspondence*, Vol. 1, 622.

The 14th Infantry also served overseas in Manila, Philippine Islands. They would remain intermittently overseas in the Philippines and China until their return to Vancouver in 1905, and again during World War I. Further research regarding the soldiers involved in the Spanish-American and Philippine Wars should be conducted, as should the experiences of stateside soldiers, and Vancouver Barracks' role as a transport and training station during the period prior to World War I. The following is a guide to archives and documents related to the 14th Infantry during the Spanish-American and Philippine Wars and the Boxer Rebellion.

Spanish-American War documents and records relating to the 14th Infantry can be found in the U.S. Army Military History Research Collection.[309] Archival materials from the 14th U.S. Infantry at Carlisle Barracks include:

Adams, Francis A., 1898-313, No Company: Newspaper Clippings about Adams as a veteran.

Corcoran, Edward., 1898-W-1377, Company G: Memorial letter from Lyndon B. Johnson and veteran ID cards (2).

Everman, Walter., 1898-312, Company D: January 1964 newsletter of the Grand Order of the Dragon and copy of the song, "Battle Hymn of the 'Chinos.'"

Godfrey, Roy D., 1898-W-351, Company A: Typescript, "A Day in Nagasaki," promotion certificate, and discharge.

Hait, Chancey, 1898-311, Company E: Copy of an untitled war song.

Hight, David B., 1898-W-836, Company F: Two letters to Miss Bertha Walker and a

[309] See, Thomas Kelly III, "Special Bibliography 9, Part I: The U.S. Army and the Spanish-American War Era, 1895-1910," (Carlisle Barracks, Pennsylvania: U.S. Army Military History Research Collection, 1974). The bibliography also contains references to general literature on the Spanish-American and Philippine Wars, the China Relief Expedition, military reports and regulations, Philippine History, records of the Philippine Commission, Congressional Records, Official Records of the Oregon Volunteers in the Spanish-American and Philippine Wars, including rosters and an operational history, an official history of the operations of the First Washington Volunteers, Infantry publications, medial publications, ordnance publications, quartermaster publications, signal corps publications, subsistence publications, miscellaneous military publications, anti-imperialist tracts, proclamations and decrees, periodicals including *Journal of the United States Cavalry Association*, *Journal of the United States Infantry Association*, *Journal of the Military Service Institution*, and Indexes to military literature.

magazine article about Hight in the China Relief Expedition.

McKeehan, Charles E., 1898-W-293, No Company: Discharge.

Oglesby, David, 1898-W-68, Company K: Discharge.

Stephan, Charles, 1898-W-782, Company D: Discharge.

Thompson, William R., 1898-419, No Company: An untranscribed taped interview with Thompson by Dr. Donald Rickey, formerly of the MHRC staff.

U.S. Army. Department of the Columbia. *Roster of Troops Serving in the Department of Columbia*. Vancouver Barracks, WA, April 1881 to December 1884 and April 1896 to November 1902. UA27C72A2-1869/1884 and 1896/1902.

Additional records at Carlisle Barracks include Manuscript boxes, Questionnaire files (responses to questionnaires issued to Spanish-American War veterans), and photograph files for volunteer and regular military units serving overseas during the War. These include records from the volunteer units serving with General Thomas Anderson, the First California, 2nd Oregon, and 1st Washington Volunteers as well as the Fourth Cavalry and 14th Infantry. Other personal records from soldiers associated with the 14th Infantry include: correspondence, photographs, magazine articles, personal papers, memoirs of experiences, military manuals and newspapers, memorials and obituaries, diaries, scrapbooks, songs, and interviews. In addition, records exist for the U.S. Army Hospital Corps, the U.S. Army Nurse Corps, and the U.S. Army Signal Department. For General Thomas M. Anderson's perspective on the Philippines by 1904, see Anderson, Thomas M. "Remarks on the Philippines." Portland, OR: H.C. Bowers, ca. 1904. Anderson debates the potential citizenship of our "brown brothers," outlining the commercial advantages of the Philippines and the, by 1904, "old problem" of holding them.

The *Record and Roster of the 14th Regiment of Infantry in the Philippines, September 30th 1898*[310] includes a list of battles and engagements in the Civil War and two engagements in the Philippines in August 1898, the first at Camp Dewey, the second in Manila, August 5 and 13 respectively. It also includes a roster of the 14ths commanders and records of the individual companies.

Field and Staff officers of the 14th Infantry as of September 30, 1898:

Thomas M. Anderson, Colonel; George M. Davis, Lt. Colonel; Charles F. Robe, Major; Carrol H. Potter, Major; Charles R. Krauthoff, Adjutant; Charles H. Martin, Quartermaster
The officers of Company A – Frank F. Eastman, Captain; Armand I. Lasseigne, 1st Lieutenant; Joseph Gilbreth, commanding the company
The officers of Company C – William B. Reynolds, Captain; William S. Biddle, Jr., 1st Lieutenant; Joseph F. Gohn, 2nd Lieutenant
The officers of Company D – William W. McCammon, Captain; Henry K. Learned, 1st Lieutenant; Robert E. Fields, 2nd Lieutenant
The officers of Company E – Frank Taylor, Captain; William H. Wilhelm, 1st Lieutenant; Perry L. Miles, 2nd Lieutenant. The officers of Company F – John Murphy, Captain; James Mitchell, 1st Lieutenant, Allen G. Wright, 2nd Lieutenant
The officers of Company G – William P. Goodwin, Captain; Afreb Hasbrook, Jr., 1st Lieutenant; James B. Kemper, 2nd Lieutenant; Frank M. Savage, 2nd Lieutenant, 15th U.S. Infantry, commanding the company
The officers of Company I – John C.F. Tillson, Captain; Henry C. Cabell, 1st Lieutenant; William Burnside, 2nd Lieutenant
The officers of Company K – Leon A. Matile, Captain; Samuel Seayl, Jr., 1st Lieutenant; Patrick H. Mallay, 2nd Lieutenant
The officers of Company L – William H. Sage, Captain; Joseph L. Gilbreth, 1st Lieutenant; Lt. William A. Burnside, commanding the company
The officers of Company M – George H. Patten, Captain; John J. Bradley, 1st Lieutenant; Lt. Patrick H. Mallay, commanding the company

[310] Edward G. Hatch, compiler, Record and Roster of the 14th Regiment of U.S. Infantry in the Philippines, September 30th 1898. (Imprenta "Amigo Del Pais": Manila, Philippine Islands, 1898).

Non-Commissioned Staff, and Band:

Rank	Name	Enlisted At	Date
Sergeant	Harry W. Harnish, Sgt. Major	Vancouver Bks., WA	May 26, 1897
	George W.F. Sturley, Q.M. Sergeant	Vancouver Bks., WA	Nov. 27, 1896
Principal Musician	John F.W. Kreyer	Vancouver Bks., WA	April 18, 1896
	Mikkel P. Mikkelson	Vancouver Bks., WA	March 2, 1894
Sergeant of Band	John W. Montgomery	Vancouver Bks., WA	Feb. 2, 1894
Private	Ed Blackmann	Vancouver Bks., WA	Feb. 3, 1896
	John Borran	Ft. Snelling, Minnesota	Jan. 5, 1898
	Albert S. Clark	New York, N.Y.	Dec. 1, 1896
	Major E. Dearing	Ft. Douglas, Utah	Dec. 1, 1896
	John D. Durbin	Vancouver Bks., WA	Sept. 11, 1896
	Otto Fritz	Ft. Niabrara, NB	Oct. 16, 1897
	George F. Flowers	Greenville, Tenn.	June 13, 1898
	Gustav Gebler	Vancouver Bks., WA	Dec. 3, 1896
	Oscar Henrichsen	Vancouver Bks., WA	May 23, 1896
	Clyde L. Ingels	San Francisco, CA	May 27, 1894
	Alf Jacksom	Milwaukee, WI	Jan. 4, 1894
	Howard H. May	Seattle, WA	April 19, 1894
	Frank F. McGinnis	Portland, OR	Dec. 2, 1895
	William L. Montgomery	Ft. Niabrara, NB	Feb. 15, 1898
	Michael J. Norton	Portland, OR	Dec. 2, 1895
	John C. Parker	Portland, OR	Jan. 14, 1896
	Arthur Reider	Vancouver Bks., WA	April 8, 1898
	George Stevenson	Portland, OR	Nov. 6, 1895
	Adrian Sullivan	Vancouver Bks., WA	Jan. 8, 1897
	Jens. P.M. Sorby	Vancouver Bks., WA	April 2, 1898
	Anton Velek	Chicago, IL	May 12, 1898
	John Klaiber	San Francisco, CA	June 20, 1898

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Telfer, George F. *Manila Envelopes: Oregon Volunteer Lt. George F. Telfer's Spanish-American War Letters.* Ed. Sara Bunnett. Portland, OR: Oregon Historical Society Press, 1987.

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Appendix III: Spanish-American War Correspondence

When President McKinley declared war against Spain on April 11, 1898, the nation prepared to fight. A mass movement of troops began immediately, with Tampa, Florida the departure point for most soldiers throughout the states. Like other posts around the country, Vancouver Barracks prepared for war. The First Washington Volunteers, with General Anderson at the helm, headed to Manila in the Philippine Islands. Other Washington and Oregon Volunteers, and troops from the 14th Infantry, moved immediately to Camp Rogers in Tacoma, and then to San Francisco, only to wait out the initial conflict with Spain in San Francisco.

The boys of Company G, 2nd Washington Volunteers, composed of young men from Vancouver left the city on April 30, 1898, headed to San Francisco aboard the steamer *Undine.* Thirty-six men from Vancouver joined recruits from Seattle, Washington to make eighty-three in the company. Officers included Captain Max F. Ellrich, 1st Lieutenant William V. Rinehart, 2nd Lieutenant William E. Weigle, Sergeants James H. Reed, Oliver J. Clancy, Walter Cochett, Henry A. Reigle, George A. Bundy, James W. Sayre, and Corporals John H. Moore, Arthur Fletcher, Toby Hendrichson, and Thomas M. Geoghegan.[311]

The men from Vancouver went to Fontana Barracks in San Francisco, and then moved to Angel Island. Eight more volunteers from Clarke County soon joined Company G, led by Captain W.W. Sparks, First Lieutenant Myron B. Kies and Second Lieutenant Charles N. Henslee.[312] Company G was sent to the Philippines rather than Cuba in late October 1898. They returned to Vancouver on November 4, 1899 after eighteen months in the U.S. Army, "Eleven months in the Philippines, seven on the firing

[311] *National Guard Pamphlets*, 411; Landerholm, *Vancouver Chronology,* 123.

line."[313] The following is a list of the boys of Company G, 2nd Washington Volunteers from *The Washington National Guard Pamphlets*:

OFFICERS
Max F. Ellrich, Captain; William V. Rinehart, 1st Lt.; William E. Weigle, 2nd Lt.; James H. Reed, 1st Sergeant; Oliver J. Clancy, Quartermaster Sergeant; Walter Cochett, Sergeant; Henry A. Reigle, Sergeant; George A. Bundy, Sergeant; James W. Sayre, Sergeant; John H. Moore, Corporal; Arthur Fletcher, Corporal; Toby Hendrichson, Corporal; Thomas M. Geoghegan, Corporal; Charles H. Weston, musician; Nelson T. Hubert, musician; Frank L. Huston, artificer; Joe W. Trotter, waggoner.

PRIVATES
James F. Armstrong; William L. Austin; John C. Barlow; Edward L. Benedict; George F. Bird; John H. Booth; Thomas Brady; Louis J. Brant; William H. Bremen; James J. Brown; Arthur S. Bugbee; Walter E. Burke; Harold A. Bush; Arthur C. Butt; William W. Buttner; Henry Benham; John Cairns; Frank F. Carpenter; Ralph H. Clark; Austin Comerford; Nicholas T. Clancy; Arthur Cochran; Joseph Dobman; Howard A. Dayton; George M. Duncan; Ferdinand Faulkenberg; George W. Foster; Harry J. Fleming; Nicholas J. Geoghegan; Joseph E. Goddard; Jule Habrie; Charles W. Hall; Herman G. Hardtke; John P. Hasson; Frank W. Hatt; Edward J. Healy; Guy M. Hill; Robert J. Johnson; Martin L. Kays; William J. Kays; Frank Lawrence; Samuel H. Lawrence; Henry Leinbacher; Julius F. Loeber; John Lyons; Frank A. Lepper; William C. Manly; Albert H. Manning; Julius Marks; Michael P. McCarty; Michil McInerverney; Romulus Mettler; Harry P. Miller; Clarence E. Moody; Robert E. Morin; William J. Miller; George M. Mills; Arthur C. Mills; Arthur C. Northrup; Joseph O'Connell; Joseph O'Donnell; John G. Pahe; Ernest W. Plaice; Roy B. Parcel; Aloysius J. Rebholz; David G. Rinehart; Glen W. Ranck; Oscar Ray; Emil Reigger; Clement L. Russell; James T. Sayle; William L. Scribner; Ora B. Shumate; William H. Sickel; Leo B. Smith.[314]

As the troops from Vancouver waited expectantly in San Francisco to join the war effort, they reported their experiences to the local newspaper, the *Vancouver Independent*. The following correspondence reveals much about perceptions of the war with Spain, the frustrations of camp life, and the daily activities of the young men from Vancouver as they waited to join the war effort.

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[312] Landerholm, *Vancouver Chronology*, 124.
[313] *Independent*, 9 November 1899. Company G, the Vancouver unit of the Washington National Guard, was disbanded on December 27, 1907.

Sergeant Oliver J. Clancy, Co. G, 2nd Battalion, First Washington Volunteers wrote about the trip to San Francisco on May 18, 1898:

> They gave us a great sendoff at Tacoma. Every one turned out and there were at least five thousand people on the dock.
>
> The ladies gave us coffee and sandwiches, the girls gave us flowers and bummed buttons from us. As our transport drew away from the dock the heart of many a hardened campaigner softened in response to the gentle rain of parting tears, or swelled, as mine did, with enthusiasm and the kindred emotions that agitate the bosom masculine in these troublous times of war..."

The battalion stopped at Port Townsend where the city band greeted them with "Hot Time," and girls sang "God be with you till we meet again."

By midnight the transport reached Victoria, B.C. The sergeant, "got off and went up town just to say that [he] had been in Canada." Two days after rounding Cape Flattery, the ship arrived in San Francisco. The men of Co. G, 2nd Battalion, First Washington Volunteers camped in an old woolen mill at Black Point, situated on a cliff overlooking San Francisco Bay:

> We can see Oakland, Alameda, Buckley and a score of smaller towns. Alcatraz Island, the military prison is directly opposite.
>
> The Fourteenth Infantry is at Presidio, about two miles away, and many of the boys have been up to see us. Mickelsen is here now. Tom Geoghegan is in the Hospital Corps, and is reading up on serrated bullet holes and suppurated wounds. He is care-free and blood-thirsty, and jests at the dawn with death. Nick Geoghegan is taller and nearly as thin as his musket. John Hasson, company clerk, is a corporal, and is just a cute as ever, but he can drill the hose off any man in his squad.
>
> There are about 7000 soldiers here, and more expected this week. But little danger of our moving before at least ten days.
>
> *Sergt. O.J. Clancy, Co. G, 2nd Battalion, First Washington Volunteers, Vancouver Independent, May 26, 1898*

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[314] *National Guard Pamphlets.* "Washington National Guard in the Philippine Insurrection," 411.

The following week Sergeant Clancy described the volunteers' initial wartime experience, written May 27, 1898:

> Don't let any exaggerated reports disturb your confidence in the huskiness of Co. G. In the matter of foot-wear some of us may be nearer to nature's heart than we have been since our barefoot days, but our digestions are still doing business at the old stand. Afternoon of the day before yesterday some of the fair ladies of San Francisco decided that U.S. rations were not enough for the Vancouver boys, and presented this company with a wagon load of good things, which were a welcome variation to bacon and beans, and duly enjoyed.
>
> But about 7 p.m. the boys began to cave in, and by 8 o'clock 57 of us were laid out cold. It was undoubtedly due to lead poisoning from the cans in the devilled ham, and though we could not doubt the honesty of the ladies' intentions, for a while it looked like a plot to wipe company G off the roster. And when this got around and the boy's imaginations began to get in its work, you should have seen them fade.
>
> About 25 per cent of them actually got sick from Spanish dope on the brain, and the balance had the genuine thing, beginning with chills and ending with that tired feeling. Tom Geoghegan and I missed it, but if it happens again I would rather be bit myself than put in another night as nurse in the sea-sick ward. Have not slept or had my clothes off for 48 hours, and am going to sleep all day when I get a change.
>
> Acting hospital steward Tom Geoghegan had his hands full, for the first time since he took the ferry at Vancouver. It was his first professional job with us, and we just naturally clouded up and rained on him.
>
> Only 21 men out of 80 reported for breakfast this morning, but no one is seriously ill. An accident like that is likely to attend the eating of canned meat at any time in this balmy climate, but it won't happen to us again, as the doctor has condemned all we have on hand.
>
> The prospect of our being ordered to the front is not very bright, but you can bet that we will be on the move before that third battalion at the barracks, or that second call company gets on the road. What is the use of being a politician if you can't influence the war department?
>
> *Sergt. O.J. Clancy, Vancouver Independent, June 2, 1898*

Corporal John Masson wrote the next letter published by the *Independent*, describing the volunteers' recovery, written June 3, 1898:

> . . . . Co. G is nearly all over its late unpleasantness with the doped sandwiches except Private Jimmie Brown, who is in the Marine Hospital, and whom the doctors have given up. His case was the worst in the whole company.
>
> But there is another thing that is smarting our souls and that is the tint of our uniforms. These uniforms were made in the early [18]70s (I think) and certainly are a thing of beauty. The coats are faded a brindle blue, and the trousers are faded green, and such a green green.

Yesterday we had a battalion drill on a parade ground that has two feet of sand for a footing. I suppose that this sand was one of Uncle Sam's clearheaded examples of forethought to keep us from slipping on the grass underneath, (if there is any) and the way we are nursing our six-inch blisters is the best proof of our love for our wise uncle – that is if he is to blame. . . .

From present reports the Washington Volunteers are now a fixed thing on the coast, but that is not all; the thought of the places we may have to go to makes matters worse. Some one says Alcatraz Island needs one or two companies of infantry as the regular battery is to be taken from there; then someone says Black Point needs a battalion. These two places are out from the city, where if one of us wanted to go, we might get a pass for an hour or two after a week of red tape.

Every man in this company is 'dead broke' and all eagerly awaiting to see the pay-day sun stream its golden light over the bay. This day, some say, is tomorrow, (it always is) and some cruel jester says we will get our big silver shekels in the jungles of the Philippines. I don't think there is any chance of being paid for a week yet, as the muster-roll is not properly made out or handed in . Perhaps if they had their (ahem) old clerk back again they could be ready for it by tomorrow.

We have drill here now from 8:30 to 11:30 and from 1 until 4:30. Looks like we are going somewhere. We are strictly regulars here now. 'Taps' go at 11 o'clock, and a check of the company taken by the corporal in charge of the quarters. Of course this means that I will have that unpleasant duty, and tonight I go prepared for the reception of shoes, socks and leggins which are thrown at the corporal every night.

Among our callers in camp yesterday were Miss Olga Bandel, Joe Handy, Tom Shea and Tommy Conlin.

The pupils of the grammar schools of San Francisco presented each member of that company with a writing tablet and package of envelopes. We appreciate the kindness very much, besides the numerous other favors and kindnesses we have received from the open hearted people of San Francisco.

Well, this is all I have to say, only that I stuck the captain and Doctor Geoghegan in a game of solo last night.

Yours in blue,

John Hasson, Corporal, Co. G., Wash. Volunteers, Vancouver Independent, June 16, 1898

Glenn Ranck of Vancouver provided the bulk of material contributed to the *Vancouver Independent.* On June 26, 1898, the local newspaper printed the first letter from Ranck describing life in San Francisco for the boys of Company G:

We 'rookies' for Vancouver's Company G, arrived in camp Thursday morning. The old boys were very glad to see us. They did not know who were coming or when we would arrive, and the first intimation they had of our presence was when Charles Wreston, Fred Tempes, and a few others, spied us from the windows of the old Fontana warehouse. We could hear them shout to the others

in the barrack-room: "There's Dutch Waite; there's Coahran", and so on. Then came a rush to the windows and a loud chorus of "hollos". This was followed by a stampede down the stairs and a regular round of hand-shaking. Corporal Henrichsen was first in the race down stairs but he was closely followed by Arthur Fletcher, Nick Geoghegan, Spurgeon, Lawrence, and others.

The 'rookies' who reached camp Thursday, were: J. Benham, Nicholas Clancy, Arthur Coahran, Comeford, Fleming, M.L. Kays, George and Mort Mills, O'Donnell, Powell, Glenn Ranck, Ray, Strohm, George Waite, Walker, Wilson and James Wolf. On Friday these were followed by four more, J.E. Goddard, J.W. Kays, Rigger and Trisler. These were also joyously welcomed.

The boys are all well and happy now, through Private Brown is still quite weak from his recent severe illness. Under the able management of Captain Ellrich, Lieutenant Weigle and 1st Sergeant Reid, the company has attained a commendable state of discipline. During the absence of the captain, on recruiting service, the company is in charge of 2d Lieut. Weigle who maintains the spirit and discipline of the company.

As most of the members of our company have sore arms from the recent vaccinations, we do not have to drill very often just now. The boys are also being better fed than in the past, and their only complaint is that they have not been ordered to the Philippines. It is impossible to tell how impatient they are to go to the front. They are afraid that when our battalion gets over to Angel Island we will be left there for quite awhile. It would be a burning shame if the Washington regiment, one of the finest in the field, should be kept back while all others are sent to the front. The people and papers of Washington ought to keep up a running fire of protests against such an outrage as this.

As we expect to move over to the Island next Tuesday, we rookies, are given extra time in which to take in the city. For example, I have been out on a mid-night pass three nights hand-running. Friday night I saw Lewis Morrison in 'A Celebrated Case,' and last night I heard the pretty little opara 'Ali Babi' or 'The Forty Thieves,' at the Trivoli. The readers of the Independent who saw Lewis Morrison in 'Faust', at the Marquam, can imagine how the former play was enjoyed. This morning I was rash enough to promise Hendrichsen that I would go to church with him, and as he is impatient to make some 'mashee' he is around thumping me and growling for me to hurry up and get ready, so I'll have to say Good Bye.

SAN FRANCISCO, Cal., June 26, 1898, Vancouver Independent, June 30, 1898

Notes of interest to Vancouverites about the boys of Company G were written by the correspondent of the *Seattle Post Intelligencer* and reprinted in the *Vancouver Independent*:

Col. Fife has issued an order that no more cigarette smoking is to be done in camp. This was not done because the amount of cigarette smoking was

excessive, but for the general grounds of cleanliness and healthiness the colonel thinks other forms of smoking are preferable.

At an inspection of the Second battalion, held by the colonel during the early part of the week, company G surpassed both the other companies in general appearance and military bearing, being given the grade of 80 per cent. All the companies made an excellent showing, however, and evidenced careful and conscientious work on the part of the officers and non-coms.

An interregimental swimming and diving contest, in which five stated competed, took place at Sutro baths last Sunday afternoon. Two silver medals were offered, one for long-distance diving and the other for a fifty-yard dash. Sergeant George Bundy, of company G, easily walked off, or rather swam off, with both medals, winning the former with a remarkable dive of 185 feet. It will be remembered that Sergeant Bundy captured a similar medal the preceding Sunday, which stamps him as the best swimmer among the volunteers in San Francisco. Company G and the regiment is proud of its champion and his medals.

Vancouver Independent, July 7, 1898

During July and August, Ranck continued to send letters describing the "Doings of the Angels" of Company G, many of which reveal the conflicting republican, populist, and imperialist political atmosphere of the times:

Angel Island, July 9, 1898. -- The great day has come and gone. It was ushered in with cheers and shouts of joy. . . The boys were paid in full from April 30th to July 1st, a private's pay amounting to $31.72.

As a consequence of this event the camp is filled with gold eagles and double eagles. Payments were made under the sound, honest system of the gold standard. Almost all the gold pieces were fresh and right from the mint, bearing the date of 1898. This is also true of most of the silver, though the amount of the white metal was relatively very small.

All told, something over $15,000 was paid out to our battalion within one hour. Then the boys began paying their debts to each other. For awhile the money passed around with marvelous rapidity, some coins changing ten times within the space of one minute. Such free circulation I had never before witnessed. It was enough to make our populist friends to look on in open-mouthed astonishment. . . .

All the members of our company feel sorry over the trouble that resulted in the arrest of our 1st Sergeant. We knew but little about the case, and it is best that we say nothing of the little we do know, save that we hope the trial will soon be over and all will be well again. It is the only trouble of any kind that has arisen in the company so far.

Sergeant George Bundy is still the champion of the inter-regimental swimming races, and is entitled to wear four medals upon his manly breast.

Last Monday we participated in the great Fourth of July in San Francisco. Over 5000 soldiers were in line. The streets were crowded, and the air was alive with enthusiasm, patriotism and fire-crackers.

Capt. Ellrich has returned from his duty as recruiting officer. Mrs. Ellrich and Miss Cora Rowland are also here on a brief visit to Angel Island. By the way, according to an old Spanish tradition, this lonely isle was once the temporary abode of angels. We fear very much that the Spaniards of today would not apply such a sweet term to the American volunteers stationed here at present.

It seems almost too good to hear of the destruction of Cervera's fleet and the annexation of Hawaii within the same week. The Philippines, Ladrones and Canaries are to follow. We are not to be frightened by the cry of "imperialism." A war for humanity does not mean that the United States will restore inhumanity in the Spanish colonies. The republican party will never take down the flag that was unfurled by the brave American sailors on the far-off isles of the Pacific. Hurrah for the policy of "imperialism!" Up with the banner of the Imperial Republic!"

Glenn Ranck, Vancouver Independent, July 7, 1898

C.H. Ricker of Fruit Valley, near Vancouver, visited recruits at Angel Island in July 1898 and reported to the *Vancouver Independent*:

. . . . Thursday morning I took the steamer Gen. McDowell for Angel Island; on the steamer I found two of Co. G, Harry Moore and Nelson Hubert. At the island I met Capt. Ellrich and wife on their way to Frisco; only had a few minutes talk with them. Lieut. Weigle was officer of the day and was also on a court-martial, so I didn't have a chance to visit much with him. I found all the Clarke county boys able for duty, most of them looking well and hearty; there were a few that looked a little thin from the effects of eating canned goods that in some way poisoned a good many of the company while they were in Frisco. The boys are still chafing at being forced to remain in camp instead of going to the front. In the hospital I found only seven men of the battalion; one had been accidently shot; private Brown was still in the hospital at Frisco. I took dinner with the boys and found that they are well fed on army rations. The recruits taken down by Capt. Ellrich and Sergt. Reid had not received their uniforms yet, but I noticed that some of the companies at the island were drawing clothing the day I was there. The boys are drilling a good deal and when the time comes I have no doubt they will render a good account of themselves. . . .

All were cheerful, and sent best wishes to relatives and friends here. They speak highly of the camp and climate at the island, and as being far superior to their quarters in Frisco. . .

C.H.R., Fruit Valley, Vancouver Independent, July 14, 1898

From the Presidio, another young soldier, U.S. Volunteer, Charles A. Hasson, described army life as a band member, written Aug. 6, 1898:

Here we are at the Presidio, the famous military post of the west, and the most delightful in regards scenery and location and weather – sometimes – that many of us soldier boys have had the pleasure of being in.

Our trip down on the railroad, our reception at San Francisco and our stay so far has been one constant round of pleasure, seasoned with the necessary duties of army life. It is an experience that we will ever remember.

Then here in the barracks there are a thousand and one things happening every day. At the boom of the morning gun we are up in an instant – have to be – and there are three minutes in which to dream before roll call. After roll call is over comes twenty minutes of Uncle Sam's Delsarte movements. Next to that comes the all-important and never-forgotten half hour of breakfast. From after breakfast until 9 o'clock we are at ease, at which time comes the regular band-practice hour. After that is over we all go out to hear the Fourth Cavalry band at guardmount. This is one of the famous bands of the army, and it is a treat to listen to its martial strains. In the afternoon our only duties are squad drill and dress parade. Just about the time for dress parade, the wind begins and the fog descends, making it very disagreeable to be out of doors. There are all our duties; they are few and light, but the thousands of things to be seen when not on duty fill up each day in a way to make it memorable.

The citizens of San Francisco are very good to the boys in blue. The Army Christian Commission which is an auxiliary of the Y.M.C.A., has a large tent on the Presidio grounds, and furnishes us with all necessary writing material and a place to write and read. The tables in this tent are covered with books, papers and magazines, and many of us take advantage of the opportunity to pass a quiet hour. There is also a piano in the tent and many of the boys play and sing popular songs every night. Another place that furnishes soldiers with many conveniences is the Catholic Truth Society. It goes the Christian Commission one better by paying postage on all letters. The number of letters sent from this tent alone averages 1500 daily.

Another place of great attraction to soldiers is the Red Cross depot at the foot of Market street. Here a corps of ladies serve coffee and sandwiches and fruit every day from 7 a.m. to 5 p.m., and the hungry soldiers average from 500 to 750 every day. There is also a quiet corner where one may write a letter on which the Red Cross corps pays postage. God bless the ladies! Their part in war may not be in the din of battle, but they do their own part nobly and well.

Yesterday the Washington band accompanied the U.S. Engineer corps and six companies of the 1st N.Y. Infantry to the transports that left this morning for Honolulu. . . .

I spent the afternoon at the California Academy of Sciences which contains everything from a prehistoric mammoth down to the fragment of a shell from the bombardment of Santiago. . .

Last Thursday I visited the Presidio cemetery and counted the graves of eighty-six volunteers who have died at Camp Merritt and the Presidio since the war began.

There were five funerals from the Presidio this morning and afternoon. Our band played for the funeral of a soldier of the Utah Light Artillery, who died yesterday morning of pneumonia.

The band has had a separate mess since Aug. 1st. Before that we went to our respective companies and scrambled for something to eat. We are well pleased with our cook, and he occupies the next place to the colonel in our hearts.

Signed: Yours in blue,

C.A. Hasson, Band 1st Wash. Infantry, U.S.V., Presidio Bks, Cal.,
Vancouver Independent, August 18, 1898

Glenn Ranck continued to report home, satirizing the war and the role of the boys of Company G:

Angel Island, Cal., July 16. -- The news of the surrender of Santiago, including all adjacent territory and 20,000 Spanish soldiers, reached camp yesterday. These glorious tidings made the boys feel very jubilant, and they are prouder than ever of their country and her gallant defenders.

Yesterday we witnessed the departure of the fourth expedition to the Philippines. The transports made a very pretty sight as they passed out through the Golden Gate. This expedition is commanded by Brigadier-General Harrison Gray Otis, a brave soldier of the civil war and a descendant of James Otis, one of our Revolutionary patriots.

We are all getting along quite well on Angel Island. The Washington boys should certainly be thankful that they are not stationed at Camp Merritt, where six deaths have occurred among the Kansas regiment alone. . . .

There is but one dangerous foe with which the 2nd Battalion has to contend, and that foe is pie. There is a pie shop on the island, that is a boatload of pies are received here every day from San Francisco and retailed to the boys at ten cents apiece. A gallant charge is made upon this tempting stronghold twice every day, while desultory skirmish firing is kept up at all hours. Over 400 are demolished in one day, the entire battalion being a regular crowd of "pie faces." Thus far the best record has been made by Frank Huston [Frank Huston transferred from Co. G. to the army's Corps of Engineers and headed to Manila in Aug., 1898],[315] who downed a baker's dozen between sunrise and sunset. . . .

Yesterday was spent by the battalion in a skirmish drill extending all over the island. Each man carried his lunch in his haversack, and a halt was made for dinner at the dairy ranch about three miles from camp. Then the boys unslung their canteens and began milking the poor innocent cows that were peacefully grazing on the range. . . .

Your Salmon Creek correspondent is entirely justified in boasting of the patriotism of his precinct as represented by Ray Parcel, Ralph Wilson and Joseph Goddard. They made good faithful soldiers, fit representatives of Clarke country's most respectable families. The same may be said of Mort and Chape Mills and Jim Woolf, of Lake Shore, and of the Flemming brothers of Eureka, and the Kayes brothers, of Lackamas. The Vancouver High School might well be proud of its representatives in the volunteer army, Fred Tempes and Charles Hall.

[315] *Independent*, 28 July 1898.

They would be a credit to any institution. In short all interests and action of our county can claim a parntership in Co. G.

This week our company was reminded of the folks at home by a visit from one of our patrons, C.H. Ricker, of Fruit Valley. . . Mrs. Ellrich and Miss Rowland, who have been visiting here for the past week are already preparing to return to Vancouver. It is needless to add that we will all be sorry to see them go.

We have just finished the prunes sent us by our Clarke county friends, and now realize more than ever how much we owe them and the kind ladies of the Emergency Corps. . .

Glenn Ranck, Vancouver Independent, July 21, 1898

Ranck soon referred to Company G as "Fife's Angels," in his reports to the *Independent*. The following correspondence reflects the boredom of troops at Angel Island, military hierarchy, and Ranck's ethnocentrism, common in the dominant culture:

Angel Island, Cal., July 24. -- All is peaceful and quiet on the Island OF THE ANGELS, or as some think it should be called the Isle De Diablo. Everyone is improving in health, while the appetites of some of the boys continue to increased more and more. Among these brave heroes, who so gallantly devour their share of government rations, may be mentioned Corporal Harry Moore and privates George Foster, Louis Brant, George Spurgeon and Roy Parcel. . . .

I regret to say that Private Brown is still in the post hospital here. Though 'Young Browney' continues to improve he is quite weak and great precaution is taken to prevent any possible set back. The other patients from our company are privates Bush and Scribner, whose ailments are very slight. This is certainly a most gratifying showing, being in marked contrast to the conditions prevailing at Camp Merritt. At times the number of sick in one regiment alone has been 160 or over 12 per cent. The death rate and sick list have been greater in proportion than in the yellow fever districts of Cuba. . . That microbe infested place has at last been condemned [Camp Merritt], and the soldiers are being moved to the Presidio.

Soon after we took up our abode on this lonely Isle, Quartermaster-Sergeant Gustin and others made a splendid handball court upon the concrete pavement of the unused tennis court, and for two weeks the boys had great sport playing hand-ball. But the plan met with the disapproval of some of the officers, who gave orders that the boards should be taken down. So we are thus deprived of one of our best games. . . .

Sergeant Bundy did not participate in the swimming contest last Sunday. Instead of that he went to Oakland and called upon a charming young Jewess. At least that is the story told about the quarters. . . Sergeant Reigle has quite a lively time with his brother Red Men, while the sisters of the order are as friendly to their brother from Piute lodge as Pocohontas was to Captain John Smith.

Last week six new corporals were appointed for Co. G. The new "non-coms" are as follows: Burke, Talkenberg, Comerford, Limebacker, Ranck and Ray. At "non-coms" school yesterday, the colonel said that the sergeant and

corporals were too familiar with the privates, and that they should not be so friendly in the future. This put the buck privates on their ear, and now when a "non-com" speaks to them they disdainfully reply, "Ah, go on, we don't associate with poor 'non-coms." So you see the colonel's orders are strictly carried out."

Glenn Ranck, Vancouver Independent, July 28, 1898

Angel Island, Cal., July 30, 1898. -- The event of the week was our trip over to San Francisco to meet our friends of the 3rd battalion last Monday. Our battalion formed at 8:30 a.m. and marched to the wharf. Besides his gun each man carried a haversack containing lunch and a canteen of water. After a short stay on the wharf we were given an about face, and marched back to quarters. There we were told we would not start until after dinner. . . Dinner was served somewhat earlier than usual, so that by 12:40 we were on our way across the bay on the Gen. McDowell. Upon landing we marched to the railroad station where we waited over an hour for the 3rd battalion. . . .

By this time [after a lunch given by the ladies of the Red Cross] the 3rd battalion had arrived and also the 1st battalion from the Presidio. For the first time since it was mustered in, the Washington regiment was united. Of course we had to remain quiet and steady in the ranks, but perhaps the absolute silence was as eloquent as a great noise would have been. The three battalions all formed in one body and together we started up Market street on the 5-mile march to the Presidio. . . People gathered by thousands along the line of march and cheered enthusiastically as we marched by. Compliments were showered upon the boys from all sides. The *Columbian* devoted an entire column to the Washington regiment, declaring that it made "as fine an appearance in every way as any of the soldiers either coming or going from San Francisco." As it was quite late, the 2nd battalion made a double-quick march to the Presidio docks, where the Gen. McDowell was waiting for us. We embarked quickly and arrived 'home' at about 7:30, very hungry and very happy. . . .

Twenty boys of Co. G have become so dissatisfied with the company's rations that they have clubbed together in order to obtain better food. They contribute 50 cents each per month and are thus enabled to have a table of their own with a few extras, such as sugar, butter and milk. Those of us who have decided to continue eating at the common mess and remain content with the soldiers' common fare, must be thankful for only a look at the good things on the 'swell' table.

If young ladies don't stop coming over to the island and persuading corporals Fletcher, Henrichsen, Hasson and others to neglect their military duties, there is no telling what may happen. How do these fellows square themselves with their Vancouver girls?

Yesterday new china dishes were issued to the entire battalion and we have said good-bye to our old tin cups and plates. When you are informed that our cups or bowls, weigh about two pounds and our plates almost three, you will perceive that they are not made of fine Dresden china. . . .

It seems to us down here that it would be a serious mistake for the administration to pull down the American flag from the battlements at Manila. The Philippine Islands are ours--ours by Dewey's unsurpassed victory at Manila

bay and by the undaunted heroism of Uncle Sam's sailors and soldiers. We should not give them back to the inhumanity of Spain, but should spread over them the priceless mantle of American law and American liberty.

Glenn Ranck, Vancouver Independent, August 4, 1898

Angel Island, Cal. -- . . . . Wednesday night another crowd of gallants left this heavenly abode for a boat ride across Racoon Strait to the town of Sausalito where a dance was on the bills. The bay was smoother than usual and the ride was very enjoyable. All seemed to have a pleasant time. The delegates from Co. G were Fletcher, Ranck, Brant, Morin, Foster, Cains and Fleming.

The case against Sgt. Reid was thrown out of court, and our 1st sergeant is once more on duty with this company, that is when not engaged in entertaining a certain young lady visitor from Vancouver.

. . . . Last Sunday the Vancouver boys were pleased to see the familiar face of Miss Alice Smith, who is here on a vacation trip. We hope she will stay a while on the island. . .

Glenn Ranck, Vancouver Independent, August 18, 1898

. . . . Sweet strains of martial music daily awake the echoes on Angel Island. The 3rd battalion has now a regularly organized band which discourses music fit for the gos every evening at dress parade. This with our new uniforms and white gloves make our parade a beautiful and interesting sight. Our band does not limit itself to military themes, but plays all the popular airs of the day. Its repertoire includes "On the Banks of the Wabash," "Mamie Riley" and "Sweet Rosy O'Grady," but for some unknown reason it has not yet grappled with that universal favorite, "A Hot Time in the Old Town."

Glenn Ranck, Vancouver Independent, Aug. 25, 1898

Angel Island. -- "Yesterday, a squad from Co. G visited the national mint at San Francisco. This is the fourth mint in the United States. . . .

At present the mint is kept very busy coining gold fresh from the Klondike. Only two weeks ago a miner returned from Alaska with$100,000 in nuggets which are now locked up in the vaults awaiting their turn to be transformed into money of the realm. . . .

All of the department were not at work on the day of our visit, but we saw the long rolls of our bernished [sic] gold cut into five dollar pieces and then stamped with the seal of the republic. . . When Sergt. Bundy pointed to a small box heaped full with shining double eagles and extended a willingness to such a parcel as a Christmas gift from a friend, he was told that a present of that kind would be worth exactly $30,000. . . the conductor also informed us that the results contained $50,000,000 in silver which were represented in commercial circles in silver certificates. Putting on a very innocent look, or rather making my natural expression slightly more prominent, I ventured to ask him why these heartless Shylocks thus dishonored the sacred money of the common people. . .

All of our party seemed greatly pleased by our visit and intend going again at the first golden opportunity. For my part I was quite weighed down by my responsibility, for not only Weston, Plaice, Lawrence and Casey O'Donnell, but even Corporals Fletcher and Henrichsen almost forgot their exalted station while gazing upon the "flesh pots of Egypt." All of which goes to show how easy it is for Angels to be tempted even as the mortals are.

Glenn Ranck, Vancouver Independent, Sept. 15, 1898

Appendix IV: World War I

During World War I the Vancouver National Historic Reserve served two main functions. The first was spruce production. The second was to provide a training and supply base for the American Expeditionary Forces. During this period, while thousands of men lived in tent camps on the Reserve, thousands of others came and went from the military base, the hospital hosted wounded and recovering soldiers, the Red Cross erected a building for both entertainment and disaster relief, and the community of Vancouver felt the impact of its military status like never before.

A number of areas of social research would add to an understanding of this era. Areas for further inquiry include: 1) The Great Influenza Epidemic of 1919; 2) The role of the Red Cross in Vancouver during the war; 3) Women on the homefront during World War I; 4) The general social impact of the war on Vancouver. Research materials for topics two, three and four, women on the homefront and the general social impact of the war, are available through a number of sources. Such sources include records, photographs, and memoirs at the Clark County Historical Museum and Library, the Port of Vancouver (Shipyard production), and at the Oregon Historical Society, military records, pertinent newspapers and magazines, including Vancouver's *Straight Grain*, and records available through the National Park Service. In addition, a general World War I bibliography regarding social issues exists. Some useful sources include: Hew Strachan, ed. *World War I: a History*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1998; Robert H. Zieger, *America's Great War: World War I and the American Experience*. Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 2000; Mitchell Yockelson. Howard Zinn, *A People's History of the United States, 1492-Present*. New York: Harper Collins, 1995.

The following section highlights the impact of the Great Influenza Pandemic of World War I and the role of the Red Cross in Vancouver during the war. More specific research resources are identified for these topics.

• The Great Influenza Pandemic

During the fall of 1918, the world was at war with an unseen foe. Nearly eight million died during the war period, 1914-1919. However, this number was quickly overshadowed by the millions killed during the 1918 Influenza epidemic, the worst epidemic since the Black Death of the 1300s. The disease lasted only a year, circling the globe and dying out quickly. It hit hard and fast, with high fever and severe inflammation of the lungs that caused victims to drown in their own body fluids. Between March 1918 and May 1919, the flu killed between twenty to forty million people worldwide.[316]

The Influenza epidemic, or "Spanish Flu," did not bypass Vancouver. While the soldiers of the Spruce Production Division worked six days weekly, the illness hit both forest and city, killing hundreds. Although soldier casualties during the war included numerous accidents, and sometimes suicide, during the fall of 1918, death by complications from influenza – bronchial and lobar pneumonia – and the diagnosis of influenza, increased. In September 1918, the Surgeon General predicted the Spanish Influenza, at the time evident in all but thirteen army camps, would sweep westward. Calls for entrainment of 142,000 draft registrants were subsequently halted for fear of spreading the disease.[317] On October 3, 1918 the *Vancouver Daily Columbian* reported

[316] *New York Times Upfront*, 132, 6 (15 November 1999), 20-22; *The Atlanta Journal*, Final Edition, 17 November 1999, A 15.
[317] *VC*, 27 September 1918, 1.

that no cases of influenza had reached the barracks, and recommended the following preventive measures:

1. Avoid needless crowding. Influenza is a crowd disease.
2. Smother your coughs and sneezes. Others do not want the germs which you could throw away.
3. Your nose, not your mouth, was made to breathe through. --Get the habit.
4. Remember the three Cs. --A clean mouth, clean skin, and clean clothes.
5. Try to keep cool when you walk, and warm when you ride and sleep.
6. Open the windows always at home at night; at the office when practicable.
7. Food will win the war if you give it a chance. Help by choosing and chewing your food carefully.
8. Your fate may be in your own hands. Wash your hands before eating.
9. Don't let the waste product of digestion accumulate. Drink a glass or two of water on getting up.
10. Don't use a napkin, towel, spoon, fork, glass or cup which has been used by another person and not washed.
11. Avoid tight clothes, tight shoes, tight gloves. Seek to make nature your ally, not your prisoners.
12. When the air is pure, breathe all of it you can. Breathe deeply.[318]

On October 11, sixty cases of severe influenza, and numerous mild cases were reported in Vancouver. By October 16, 1918, the *Columbian* reported around 375 cases of influenza at the barracks, "all of them very mild." Fear that new recruits would bring influenza caused the military to impose a two-week quarantine for incoming soldiers. In the community, influenza cases increased. The disease struck more than half the students and faculty at the State School for the Deaf. Fifty-one cases of influenza were reported on October 15, 1918 and the following day doctors were so busy they did not have time to report new cases.

The Post hospital housed ill soldiers, and St. Joseph's Hospital cared for ill civilians, but soon there weren't enough beds. In mid-October, no deaths due to influenza had occurred at the military post, but that soon changed. Close to one thousand cases of influenza in Vancouver were estimated on October 18, 1918. The community

[318] *VC*, 3 October 1918.

emergency caused the Red Cross to set up an emergency hospital at St. James Parish, and a call went out for trained nurses to take care of the influenza and pneumonia epidemic.[319]

Scientists still do not understand the 1918 epidemic and continue to look for causes. Among the preventive strategies recommended in Vancouver's local newspaper was use of a fragrant onion:

> Not only as an internal germ chaser may the onion be used, but also as an absorbent of disease bacteria.
>
> An onion, cut in half and set in a room will attract to itself all manner of germs, leaving the air sweet and pure; it is, therefore, most valuable in cases of infection. You should take care, however, to burn the onion afterward.[320]

Another preventive was common salt, both mixed with warm water used as a nose spray and used as a tooth powder or dissolved for a mouthwash. Businesses also took advantage of the epidemic, promoting the use of tonics such as Taniac for those susceptible to ill health. The Standifer Construction Corporation issued a bulletin recommending a "proper proportion of work, play, and rest, by keeping the body well clothed, and by eating sufficient, wholesome and properly selected foods," especially milk. The company also offered its newly constructed wooden lodge near the shipyards to hospitalize ill employees.[321]

By October 25, the *Columbian* reported that the Influenza epidemic was finally waning, the number of new cases dropping steadily. Schools were still closed and public gatherings prohibited. By November 30, only nine patients remained in the hospital, all with a mild form of the disease. However, the situation differed in the woods. In

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[319] *Monthly Bulletin*, November 1918, Vol. 2., No. 3; *VC*, 11, 16 October 1918, 1..
[320] *VC*, 16, 18, 19 October 1918.
[321] *VC*, 11 October 1918.

November 1918, three soldiers and eight civilian loggers died of influenza. Nearly twenty others died of pneumonia, some elsewhere, some in Vancouver.

For more information about the Spanish Influenza and its results, see: Alfred Crosby. *America's Forgotten Pandemic: the influenza of 1918*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1989; Fred R. Van Hartesveldt, ed. *The 1918 Pandemic of Influenza: the urban impact in the Western World*. Lewiston, NY: Mellen Press, 1992; the *Monthly Bulletin* of the Loyal Legion of Loggers and Lumbermen contains a list of monthly casualties and information about the effects of influenza in the lumber industry. For general information about the Spanish Influenza, see, the PBS website, http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/amex/influenza.htm. The site contains a bibliography, a timeline, and a program transcript from the "American Experience, Influenza 1918."

• The Red Cross

During World War I, the American Red Cross became very active in Vancouver. The American Red Cross, established by Clara Barton in 1881 provided volunteer services both overseas and on the homefront. The organization, founded as a private non-profit agency, became semi-governmental in 1900 when Congress granted it a charter as the nation's *official* relief agency. As such, it became accountable to Congress, but was still funded through donations and staffed by volunteers. The American Red Cross assisted those stricken by disaster on the homefront, assistance ranging from providing food and clothing for flood victims to taking over major relief efforts after the 1906 San Francisco fire and earthquake. By World War I, the firmly established agency sent

nurses overseas to tend to the ill and wounded, and began a major homefront campaign to assist in the war effort.[322]

The duties of Vancouver's Red Cross Association were twofold. Not only did they tend to the thousands of incoming soldiers, as throughout the nation they also assisted in war relief. By December 1918, the Clark County Red Cross campaign enlisted 1,336 volunteers and solicited thousands of dollars. During the summer of 1918, Red Cross workers made arrangements for Thursday automobile drives for convalescents at Vancouver Barracks' Post Hospital. Throughout the year, the local organization held lawn parties and socials where music provided by the military accompanied activities such as fortune telling and dancing. During the influenza epidemic, Red Cross volunteers made pneumonia jackets and masks and tended to the ill. The wartime food shortage also kept them busy on the homefront as they canned apples, pears and quinces for the Post Hospital as part of a campaign to save fruit that would otherwise rot. The women received sugar and containers from the military.

In addition to their homefront activities, Red Cross workers and volunteers participated in war relief efforts. An appeal for 3,000 surgical dressings sent a delegation of workers, Elks volunteers, and military men to Lacamas in mid-August 1918 where they collected eighty-six sacks of the "very soft and velvety" green sphagnum moss. From the basement of the First Presbyterian Church, workers prepared the dressing to send overseas and for use at the Post Hospital. Although the organization was active, the local newspaper urged more participation: "An afternoon a week from even one-third of the women in Vancouver would put the Red Cross work 'over the top," admonished the *Columbian*. Those who did participate sewed clothing for overseas soldiers and Belgian

[322] Patrick Gilbo, *Know Your Government: The American Red Cross* (New York: Chelsea House

and French refugees at sewing rooms at Ninth and C Streets. Others studied mechanics, learning how engines work as well as how to drive. Such activities were part of national war relief efforts and are important topics for further research.

The activities of the Red Cross in Vancouver, both in peace and in wartime would add to the social history of the Reserve as would investigation of women's wartime work. A wide literature exists regarding women's war work. Some useful sources include Foster Rhea Dulles, *The American Red Cross*. New York: Harper, 1950; Patrick Gilbo. *Know Your Government: The American Red Cross*. Chelsea House Publishers: New York, 1987; Wendy Kaminer. *Women Volunteering: The Pleasure, Pain, and Politics of Unpaid Work from 1830 to the Present*. Garden City: Anchor Press, 1984. Other useful general sources include Marsha Gordon, "Onward Kitchen Soldiers: Mobilizing the Domestic During World War I." *Canadian Review of American Studies* 29, 2 (1999): 61-87; Nina Mjagki. "Forgotten Women: War Brides of World War I." *American Studies* 32, 2 (1987): 191-197. For more specific research regarding women's war and peacetime work, see local newspapers, Red Cross records, and sources at the Clark County Historical Museum and the Oregon Historical Society.

Publishers, 1987), 18, 35-36.

Appendix V: World War I and the Spruce Production Division

The history of the Spruce Production Division is among the significant topics for research on the Vancouver National Historic Reserve. Not only did the SPD impact the community of Vancouver, the Northwest forests, and labor relations, the SPD contributed immensely to the United States Air Service National Defense System during World War I. By 1917, the Aircraft Production Board began the first surveys of Northwest forests, and in 1918 the Aviation Section of the Signal Corps separated into two divisions, a Division of Military Aeronautics under Major-General W.L. Kenly and a Division of Production, directed by Mr. John D. Ryan. In August 1918, John Ryan became Second Assistant Secretary of War, and Director of Air Service under which the Spruce Production Division worked.[323]

The Spruce Production Division, under the command of Colonel Brice P. Disque, was organized in November 1917 at Vancouver Barracks with headquarters in Portland, Oregon. It lasted only fifteen months, but during that period the Division employed over 30,000 soldiers in the woods. It also created a labor union, the Loyal Legion of Loggers and Lumbermen, which set the standards for timber working conditions in Northwest forests until the Great Depression. During its brief existence, the Division built an elaborate system of railroads to transport logs to the sawmills. The thirteen railroads planned in Washington and Oregon totaled 173 miles of main line and 181 miles of tributary lines or spurs. Although not all were built, four railroad lines built of steel in Lincoln County, near Willapa Bay, and on the Olympic Peninsula, became part of the northwest's permanent infrastructure. The Division also built the largest cut-up sawmill in the world on the Vancouver National Historic Reserve. While thousands of soldiers

of the Second Provisional Division built and worked at the mill, thousands of others shipped out to the woods and overseas as part of the American Expeditionary Forces from the training and supply base at Vancouver Barracks. At the end of the war, Vancouver Barracks served as the main regional military exit terminus.

When the Division dismantled in November 1919, it had accomplished what it set out to do, and more. Production of aircraft quality spruce increased from approximately 3 million board feet per month to over 22 million board feet monthly. Over 143 million board feet of spruce was shipped from northwest forests. The Division constructed approximately sixty temporary military camps around the region, numerous roads and bridges, and approximately 130 miles of railroad track. According to forest historians Gail Evans and Gerald Williams, the lasting effects of the SPD included opening more than 1 billion board feet of spruce and many more billions of board feet of other evergreen species to future development. The war also brought about a new appreciation of the nation's forests and forest products, renewing interest in scientific forest management. In addition, the technological advances of wartime stirred interest in potential military and civilian uses of the airplane.[324]

There are numerous topics for further research associated with the Spruce Production Division. Following are some specific research topics and a bibliography containing general SPD sources and archival collections.

• Forest conditions during WWI and the effects of SPD logging

There has been very little focus on the long term ecological and social effects of harvesting hundreds of millions of board feet of spruce in Northwest forests during World War I, and the consequent opening of Northwest forests for further harvest through building railroads. As Nancy Langston points out, quoting David Clary in *Forest Dreams, Forest Nightmares*, World War I converted the logging industry from a

[323] United States Spruce Production Corporation, *History of Spruce Production Division, United States Army* (1919), foreword.
[324] Evans and Williams, "Over Here, Over Here," 10, 16-17.

"migratory consumer of virgin forests" to a "network of stable regional enterprises engaged in long-term production."[325] William Dietrich provides one example of the changes due to the SPD's railroad work in the community of Forks on the Olympic Peninsula. Dietrich claims that implementing changes through the Loyal Legion of Loggers and Lumbermen, including the eight-hour workday, decent pay and living conditions, and the forty-hour week ultimately transformed the community's population from a transient workforce to middle-income employees with families.[326] In addition, spruce production work required changes in technology and logging methods, facilitating new developments and altering previous practices. One example is the change from clearcutting to selective logging, a practice deemed ruinous, wasteful and costly by operators. Other changes included using motorized vehicles in the woods, building roads and railroads, and increasing the efficiency of existing machinery such as donkey engines.

The practices and effects of the SPD in the Northwest forests during World War I provide ample areas for further research. A number of questions arise, such as: What technological and environmental changes took place during the war? How did these changes affect the natural and social ecology of northwest forests? What were the long-term impacts? How did the WWI infrastructure facilitate future timber operations?

A general bibliography describing the effects of logging in the Northwest includes William Dietrich's *The Final Forest*, Nancy Langston's *Forest Dreams, Forest Nightmares*, Paul Hirt's *A Conspiracy of Optimism*, and Elliot Norse's *Ancient Forests of the Pacific Northwest*; Stephen J. Pyne's . In addition, records of the U.S. Forest Service would provide harvest levels, and Spruce Production records (listed below) would provide useful research materials.

• Casualties and Injuries

Logging has always been dangerous business. Never was it more so than during World War I when soldiers and civilians pushed to harvest ever more timber as rapidly as possible. The monthly casualty lists in the 4L newspaper the *Monthly Bulletin* reflect the dangers inherent in the industry and during the era. Not only did influenza sweep through the woods during the winter of 1918, but soldiers also died through accidents and illness. A large number of the deceased perished at the Vancouver Barracks Post Hospital. Neither was suicide an uncommon cause of death. Numbers of civilian 4L member deaths reflect the same trends. Many also sustained serious injuries working in the woods. The list of injuries for October 1918 includes loss of limbs, eyesight, and crushing. Working conditions, fatal illness, injury, and suicide in the woods and mills of the Northwest during World War I are an important topic for future research.

• Food Shortages

Food regulations during wartime mandated cutting back on both the amount and types of food served. While army mess sergeants worked to conserve food, women of the Red Cross canned rotting fruit as a community effort during the war. High food

[325] David Clary in Nancy Langston, *Forest Dreams, Forest Nightmares: The Paradox of Old Growth in the Inland West* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1995), 159.
[326] William Dietrich, *The Final Forest: The Battle For The Last Great Trees of the Pacific Northwest* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1992), 89, 91.

prices contributed to the shortage. For example, beef sold at .18 per pound, butter for .66, prunes for .55, and beans at .14 cents per pound.

• The Labor Issue

The officers and men of the SPD supplemented civilian labor in camps and mills of the Pacific Northwest. Although the government viewed placing tree troopers in the forests as necessary to increased production, this was a contentious issue and a radical departure from previous labor practices. Soldiers were paid by private operators and obtained the same wages as civilians. While this decreased government costs, it caused hostility both from labor unions and resentment from the men fighting in the fields of Europe for soldier's pay at a dollar a day. The army determined the need to pay civilian wages based on the following criteria: 1) They were working for private operators who made a profit on their product. Had the men worked for soldier's pay, it would have resulted in unfair competition between operators; 2) Had the men worked for soldier's pay, it would have resulted in unfair competition with civilian laborers; 3) Enlisted men could not afford the board, clothing, and equipment to perform their work on soldier's pay; 4) The government compared the work to that asked of men working in the shipyards and munitions factories, except that the soldiers submitted themselves to military discipline. Therefore, the operators paid the government the regular soldier's pay, and they made up the difference. Operators also received regular army ration allowances, deducted from civilian pay and sent to the government. Soldiers, like civilian laborers, paid $7.35 per week for their mess.[327]

Formation of the Loyal Legion of Loggers and Lumbermen solved some of the labor problems in the woods, granting soldiers and civilians alike most of the demands previously requested by the I.W.W.. Some say that the 4L pacified workers, allowing government and business to remain dominant. By August 1, 1918 the 4L had enrolled 115,000 men and alienated the AFL from the timber industry. The wartime organization remained in place as a civilian union well into the 1930s. In *Soldiers and Spruce* Harold Hyman discusses the postwar legacy of the 4L, both in terms of its operator-owner leadership, and in terms of its role as a nativist, anti-AFL, post-war organization. By 1919, during congressional hearings, Brice P. Disque faced criticism on many fronts, including the financial machinations of the SPD and, despite its government sanction, the formation of the 4L. The effects of the 4L, positive and negative, and the relationship of government and business to labor are important topics for future research.[328]

• Logging camp operations

The army implemented new and lasting codes of operations in the forests of the Northwest during World War I. Regulations varied according to conditions, although all camps and mills were ordered to accept the eight-hour day, six days per week. An average of industry wage scales for various positions was printed in the *Monthly Bulletin* for September and March 1918. Government contracts also mandated changes in living conditions including clean bedding, adequate meals, decent housing, and recreational activities through the Bureau of Morale. Daily life for SPD soldiers and civilians should be further investigated.

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[327] U.S. Army, *Spruce Production History*, 18.
[328] Hyman, *Soldiers and Spruce*, 296-97.

• Operations of the Spruce Production Division

In order to facilitate increased production, the SPD introduced changes in logging methods, technology, and machinery, rapidly addressing business and production problems. The original organization of the SPD began with establishing the Portland office and various divisions. Officers established at the Portland office of the SPD included Captain James Van D. Crisp, disbursing officer; Major George Powell, traffic officer; Captain E.J. Clark, district manager in charge of inspection, assisted by M.E. Crumpacker, later Captain. Mr. Russell Hawkins, head of the Whitney Corporation, soon joined the group in an advisory capacity. By October, Brice P. Disque joined the initial cast of officers to make a survey and "size up the situation."[329]

The SPD was formally created on November 15, 1917. The first office created was that of the Loyal Legion. The second was the cantonment at Vancouver Barracks, which was the Division depot. At first only the cantonment was under the SPD, but later the entire post came under its command with Colonel Charles Van Way in charge. The third office was the Medical Department with Major Blackmoore as senior medical officer. Lieutenant Colonel J. W. Sherwood later became Division Surgeon, remaining until October 24, 1918 when Colonel Ebert replaced him. In October 1918, the Medical Department included 148 medical, twenty-eight dental, and one sanitary and one veterinary officer, sixty-three nurses, and 587 enlisted men. The main hospital was at Vancouver, but doctors were scattered throughout the woods at each soldier camp. The next step was formation of a Military Information Section under the Adjutant.[330] The following provides a brief description of division structure. General Disque acted as Division Commander and President of the U.S. Spruce Production Corporation. He was in charge of both the military and production divisions. Colonel Stearns was on the military side as Chief of Staff with two assistants, Captain O.M. Massey, military assistant and Major P.L. Abbey, industrial assistant. There were ten departments under the Chief of Staff, as follows:

1) The Division Adjutant, Major J.D. Cope, whose duties related to all orders and memorandums, the consolidation of rolls and returns, the keeping of Division records, and the distribution of documents and blank forms.
2) The Division Surgeon, Lieutenant-Colonel J.W. Sherwood, whose duties were as prescribed in Army Regulations.
3) The Division Engineer, Major W.A. Welch, who attended to all construction, extensive remodeling and repairs and things kindred. To this department also fell the tremendously important Division railroads.
4) The Division Inspector, Captain F.L. Gerlach, his duties also being prescribed in Army Regulations.
5) The Division Liaison Officer, Major Fred W. Leadbetter, who was the Division's representative in Washington, and through whom the Division found contact with the Army, aircraft, and civilian authorities at the national capital [sic], and with the representatives of the Allied European governments.
6) The Division Supply Officer, Major R.S. Eskridge, to whom fell the supplying of all military and production needs. Under this department not only did the

[329] U.S. Army, *Spruce Production History*, 6.
[330] U.S. Army, *Spruce Production History*,, 8-9; *Monthly Bulletin*, Vol. 2, No. 2 (October, 1918), 12.

Quartermaster come, and ordnance and post exchange supplies; but also the exceedingly vital matters of inspection, priority, traffic and orders.

7) and 8) The Division Intelligence Officer, Captain George Gund, later Major F.S. Howes; and the Division Personnel Officer, Captain Arthur Lee, their duties being prescribed by Army Regulations.
9) The Industrial Department, under the office of the Chief of Staff, an especially important work, including the Loyal Legion, Information Section, Lyceum Section, chaplains and welfare work.
10) A miscellaneous department, also under the Chief of Staff, including items not properly belonging to any of the others.[331]

The Production side followed the same general organization as the military side, with six departments under the vice-president of the Spruce Production Corporation, Lieutenant Colonel Stearns:

1. Government Operations, under Lieutenant Colonel Reuben Hitchcock, in charge of all cost-plus contracts.
2. Lumber Production, under Lieutenant Colonel G.E. Breece, who handled spruce logs from the time they reached the water until shipped East.
3. Fir Production, under Major E.G. Griggs, who handled all fir logs from the time they were placed in the water; all information was passed through the Lumber Production office.
4. Logging Operations, under Major Watson Eastman, who had charge of cruising, logging, grading, scaling and the input of logs.
5. The Legal Department, in charge of Major J.E. Morley.
6. The Disbursing Officer, with charge of appropriations, disbursing, accounting, and property. This was at first handled by Captain Crisp, later being placed in the hands of Major C.C. Campbell.[332]

Some of the problems faced by the SPD in its operations prompted the formation of new divisions, such as the Wire Rope Section to address the acquisition of much needed wire rope. Soon, a Priority Section formed to address the acquisition of other much needed supplies, including clothing, wool, shoe leather, steel rail, axes, choker-hooks, brush-hooks, boilers, sawmill machinery, fuel oil and the "tin pants" made of water-proof fabric to protect loggers against the cold northwest winter rains. The Priority Section also worked toward standardizing supplies to increase efficiency. As the U.S. Army's *Spruce History* put it: "…if the 125,000 pairs of loggers' boots could be made into one big boot, and the men who wore them into one big man, such a man with such a boot would be able to kick the Kaiser almost as far, as high, and as handsomely as most of the civilized world thinks he ought to be kicked."[333]

• Recreation

Recreation played an important role in the SPD, both at Vancouver Barracks and in the woods of the Northwest. Soldiers regularly attended the theater, vaudeville shows,

[331] U.S. Army, *Spruce Production History*, 10.
[332] U.S. Army, *Spruce Production History*, 11.
[333] U.S. Army, *Spruce Production History*, 28-32.

plays, and lectures. Sports activities abounded in remote regions and at Vancouver Barracks where "smokers" (boxing matches), athletic contests, football, basketball, and baseball games were regular occurrences.

• Spruce Production Corporation

The Spruce Production Corporation was formed along the lines of the Emergency Fleet Corporation for the following reasons, according to the U.S. Army:

> 1) Because approximately seventy-percent of aircraft lumber production was allocated to Great Britain, France, and Italy, the U.S. government felt the Allies should bear some of the associated costs.
> 2) Because the SPD was actually "a great industrial enterprise," it required a freedom of action impossible under War Department regulations.[334]

The Spruce Production Corporation operated on business lines, bypassing the complex government accounting systems, allowing for efficiency in costs, operations, and decision-making. The shareholders and board consisted of Brice P. Disque, his senior SPD officers, and his advisory council. During its existence, the Spruce Production Corporation faced scrutiny on many fronts regarding its methods and operations. At the end of the war, the corporation underwent Congressional investigation. Despite investigation, the organization composed of timber men retained a Portland office until the 1930s.[335] The role and long-term actions of the Spruce Production Corporation have received little scrutiny and are worthy of further investigation.

• Vancouver Cut-Up Mill

The Vancouver Cut-Up Mill, located on the Vancouver National Historic Reserve was the largest mill of its kind. Its rapid construction, technological innovations, and the daily life of the soldiers of the Second Provisional Regiment who spent the war on the homefront are important research topics.[336]

• Women and civilians in the Loyal Legion of Loggers and Lumbermen

In order to work for companies contracted with the government during war time, civilian loggers were required to join the 4L. In addition, General Disque was able to obtain permission to enlist women into the 4L in clerical and housekeeping positions. According to Harold Hyman, he was the only unit commander in the Army to receive permission to issue a special call to volunteers. Many women war workers joined the 4L in various capacities. For example, women worked in the Potlatch Lumber Company in Potlatch, Idaho as evidenced by a photo in the October 1918 *Monthly Bulletin* and other *Monthly Bulletin* photos. Some women worked in the woods, such as Mrs. Oscar Dowler who became the whistle punk for the Wisconsin Logging and Timber Company at Oak Point, Washington.[337] The civilian experience in the 4L and women's war work,

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[334] U.S. Army, *Spruce Production History*, vi.
[335] Hyman, *Soldiers and Spruce*, 321.
[336] For more on the Vancouver Cut-Up Plant, see the Spruce Production section in the main overview, "The Waking of a Military Town."
[337] *Monthly Bulletin*, Vol. 2, NO. 3 (November 1918), 25.

including their connections to the Loyal Legion are a significant social topic for future research.[338]

• Spruce Production Division Sources

Washington State Historical Society

Oliver O. Matteson Collection, MsSC92.

Folder Contents

1. Correspondence. 1917, August – 31 October. Drafted, stationed at Camp Lewis, transferred to Vancouver Barracks, describes quarters (10-4). 15 letters.
2. Correspondence. 1917, 1 November – 29 December. Transferred from Vancouver Barracks to Sequim, measles (12-15, 12-19, 12-21), influenza (12-29), general descriptions of life in the Spruce Division. 13 letters.
3. Correspondence. 1918, 3 January – 27 February. Details of camp life, so relaxed that it doesn't seem like army (1-30), mumps (1-28, 1-30), I.W.W. (2-23, 2-27), influenza (1-3), describes bunk houses (2-5). 16 letters.
4. Correspondence. 1918, 11 March – 26 May. Details of camp life, I.W.W. (3-14, 4-29, 5-12, 5-15), LLLL (3-17, 3-20), injury to soldier (5-8). 21 letters.
5. Correspondence. 1918, 3 June – 30 August. Details of camp life, I.W.W. (6-9), lady waitresses (7-14), camp inspection (8-25). 22 letters.
6. Correspondence. 1918, 2 September – 31 October. Details of camp life, I.W.W. (10-4, 10-10), government making motion pictures at camp (9-23), six went for citizenship papers, some refused (9-23), influenza (9-30, 10-9, 10-13, 10-18, 10-31), 20 Greeks working on railroad nearby (10-10). 18 letters.
7. Correspondence. 1918, 3 November – 19 December. Details of camp life, influenza (11-3, 11-7, 11-12, 11-20, 11-24, 11-26), timber shortage (11-3), War over (11-12, 11-13), 8,000 men still in woods (12-18), being examined for discharge (12-19). 17 letters.

National Archives and Records Administration (NARA) Pacific Alaska Region, Seattle

Record Group 18, Records of the Army Air Forces in NARA'a Pacific Alaska Region (Seattle). Records description: Dates, 1917-1946. Volume, 176 cubic feet.

Records of the Spruce Production Corporation, Washington DC; the Spruce Production Division, Portland, Oregon; and the Spruce Production Districts at Vancouver Barracks, Washington. Also records of the 1st - 4th Provisional Regiments; 1st - 98th Spruce Squadrons; 100th - 150th Spruce Squadrons; Officer's School, Vancouver Barracks, Washington. The records relate primarily to the Army Air Force's effort during World War I to increase timber production for airplane construction, and the administration of the units responsible for harvesting the wood. Included are bulletins, general correspondence, orders, and reports. Finding Aids include: Maizie, H. Johnson, comp., *Preliminary Inventory of the Textual Records of the Army Air Forces*, NM 53 (1965);

[338] Hyman, *Soldiers and Spruce*, 321.

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University of Oregon Special Collections

The Brice P. Disque papers, Special Collections, University of Oregon include official army correspondence and records of the Spruce Production Division.

University of Washington Special Collections

The Brice P. Disque papers, Special Collections, University of Washington include papers concerning the Spruce Production Corporation, the army Spruce Production Division, the Loyal Legion of Loggers and Lumbermen, and personal history. In addition, papers collected by Harold Hyman during his research for *Soldiers and Spruce* are housed in Special Collections at the University of Washington.

Eastern Washington State Historical Society

The papers of Harold James McCoy at the Eastern Washington State Historical Society contain items related to the timber industry and I.W.W. organizing activities; memoirs regarding I.W.W. activities in logging camps; and records of McCoy's involvement with the Spruce Production Division during WWI.

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