

**THE SPOKANE RIVER
ITS MILES
AND
ITS HISTORY**

BY John Fahey

in collaboration

with Bob Dellwo

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A collation of historical events and points of interest on this beautiful river which will be memorialized by the Centennial Trail

DEDICATED TO JOSEPH R. GARRY

Memorable chief, chairman and leader of Coeur d'Alene Indian Tribe recognized nationally as THE OUTSTANDING AMERICAN INDIAN, state legislator, Senator and one of our regions great citizens. His great grandfather, Spokane Garry, died impoverished in a tent on the Spokane River near Latah Creek. Joe revered and eloquently talked of the Spokane River on many occasions.

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THE RIVER'S HISTORIC MILEPOSTS

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River
Mile:

Site:

- 0.0 Confluence of Spokane with Columbia. On the south bank, Fort Spokane 1880-98, now administered by the National Park Service.
- North bank: Spokane Indian Reservation, bounded on the west by the Columbia, south by the Spokane.
- 29 Little Falls, a major Spokane Indian fishing site; developed as a hydro power site by WWP 1910.
- Not far upriver are Indian rock paintings, believed done by Spokanes, intersecting geometric lines and animals on face of a granite boulder. Age unknown.
- 32.5 Chamokane Creek: Walker-Eells mission to the Spokane Tribe 1839-48 was seven miles up Chamokane from the Spokane River. Eastern boundary, Spokane Indian Reservation (established 1881).
- 34 WWP Long Lake hydro dam, 1915, has 170-foot fall. The backwater, called Lake Spokane, has become a recreational and residential area.
- Upriver from the dam, the old LaPray ferry, a link in the pioneer Walla Walla to Colville road; the ferry site is now covered by backwater.
- 56 Junction of the Spokane with the Little Spokane; on triangular ground, favored as an Indian camping site, fur company established Spokane House, 1810-26, a trading post and wintering station for trapping parties. Now maintained by Washington Parks & Recreation Commission, with interpretive center based on archaeological digs 1950-53 and 1962-63.
- 58 Nine Mile hydro dam, completed in 1908 to power the Spokane & Inland Empire interurban railroad and Spokane Transit Company streetcars, sold to WWP in 1925 by successor to the S&IE.

- The Little Lower Spokane Conservation lands, 1,580 acres administered by Spokane County, extend west from Rutter Parkway to Nine Mile; here are found a rare freshwater marsh, wildlife, and aquatic mammals and at the west end, Indian rock paintings of undetermined age which have not been translated, depicting the sun, lizards, and small buffalo. The conservation lands are undeveloped.
- 59 Deep Creek, camp site of the Deep Creek band of Spokanes under Chief Whistleposum.
- 62 Seven Mile Bridge, lower end of Riverside State Park, acquired 1934-76, and end of Aubrey L. White Parkway.
- 66 Rock formation known as bowl and pitcher; park bridge. On heights above, Rim Rock Drive, 1918.
- 70 Approximate site of Colonel Wright's camp 1858, site of Fort Wright, 1899-1958. Fort Wright College 1961-82; a national military cemetery; Spokane Falls Community College, opened 1968. On the north bank Spokane's first public golf course, Downriver, 1916.
- Near Downriver, upper end of White Parkway, and a short distance further upriver, Pettet Drive, named for pioneer homesteader.
- 71 On east bank, around a bend, old Natatorium Park site, now mobile home development. A fish hatchery operated here 1915-35. A suspension bridge once crossed river for cable cars to the fort.
- 72.4 Mouth of Latah (Hangman) Creek, and High Bridge Park. On an open riverside area, known as "People's Park," Spokane Chief Garry, dispossessed, passed his last days, dying in his teepee in 1892. (A city park was named for Garry in 1932.) In early days of auto travel, Spokane maintained a tourist camp site for motorists here.

- 73.6 Maple Street toll bridge. Beneath the bridge is the riverside residential district known as Peaceful Valley. The athletic stadium, Glover Field, was laid out here in 1912. In 1957, a Spokane dentist, Dr. David C. Cowen, paid for a long wooden stairway from Riverside Avenue down to Peaceful Valley, but the stair has been neglected.

On the north bank, a few blocks north of the river, stands the Spokane County courthouse, built 1893-96 as a depression-relief project. The original plans called for a formal garden and lawns leading from the courthouse to the riverbank.

- 74 Monroe Street Bridge, 1911, length 1,000 feet. A wooden (1889) and steel girder (1899) bridge preceded the present concrete structure. Beneath it, immediately east on the south bank, is the WWP's Monroe Street station, 1890, the first hydro site developed after formation of WWP in 1889.

- 74.1 The large falls of the Spokane River. The pioneer town grew on the south bank above the falls.

A short distance upriver, Upper Falls, a WWP hydro site acquired 1900 and developed 1922.

- 74.2 Riverfront Park, site of Expo '74. Much of the early development of Spokane took place on, and immediately south of the park: Here, Glover settled in 1873 and platted a townsite in 1878.

Post Street Bridge, 1917, length: 340 feet. Both the Post and Howard street bridges were originally built to accommodate street railways.

- 74.4 Howard Street Bridge (closed to vehicular traffic), 1919, restructured 1963 over three channels. This is the approximate site of the first bridge, a wooden plank structure leaping from island to island and ending on the north bank near modern Washington, to cross the river in the town of Spokane Falls, 1881.

In a bay on the north side of the river, approximate site of the first electrical generating plant, 1885. The south bank was lined with saw and grist mills.

East of Howard, the Great Northern clock tower stands in Riverfront Park as a reminder of Spokane's early reliance on railroads.

74.5 Washington Street tunnel and bridges, 1973, replacing a series of arched wooden spans, 1908. This is near the center of the Expo grounds. The general design was by Thomas Adkison, executive architect for the fair. The exposition cost \$76.6 million to build and stage, and drew more than 3.8 million visitors. The state opera house and exhibition hall remained as permanent structures.

74.9 Division Street, east boundary of Riverfront Park. A wooden bridge collapsed at Division in 1915 with a streetcar on it, killing five persons. The present concrete structure replaced it, 1916.

Upriver, on the north bank, Monac: the Museum of North American Cultures, opened 1974, and beyond it, the campus of Gonzaga University, founded 1887. At Hamilton, the former McGoldrick lumber mill used the river as millpond for years. A 1933 flood changed river channel at this point.

75 Trent Bridge; Keefe bridge.

75.5 Mission Street Bridge, 1909, length: 348 feet. To its south, Mission Park, formerly Sinto, where the city built its first municipal swimming pools, now replaced by Witter pool, named for longtime city recreation director Stanley G. Witter.

On the river north of Mission, the grounds and headquarters building of Washington Water Power Co. Upriver Drive, which follows the north bank, starts at Mission.

78 Greene Street Bridge, 1955, length: 434 feet. To its east, Spokane Community College, opened 1963, under leadership of its advocate and first president, Dr. Walter S. Johnson.

80 Upriver pumping station, since 1907 Spokane's source of domestic water. The station pumps water from wells dug to an "underground river."

On the south bank, Felts Field, the city's first municipal airport. The clock tower, dedicated 1939, was erected to the memory of Nick B. Mamer, pioneer military and commercial aviator. On the hills on the north side of the river is the site of the old Fancher beacon, a revolving searchlight to guide aircraft, named for Captain John T. "Jack" Fancher, wartime pilot who commanded the 116th Observation Squadron of the Washington National Guard. He died in a bomb accident in 1928.

Upriver beyond Fancher beacon, Camp Sekani, a Boy Scout camp, and Boulder Beach on the river.

81 Millwood, which grew up around the Inland Empire Paper Co. mill on the south side. On the north, on a bluff 435 feet above the valley floor, the Royal N. Riblet house, once reached by private tram anchored to the south riverbank.

Upriver (approximately at Pines Road), the site of Plante's ferry, the first commercial river crossing, 1851-64. The Mullan Road crossed the river here. A park was established 1952 by Spokane County. On the south side of the river, Mirabeau recreational area.

Upriver from Plante's, Trentwood, site of the aluminum rolling mill built during World War II and acquired 1946 by Henry J. Kaiser.

87.5 Sullivan Park, established by Spokane County in 1975, recalls the homesteader John P. Sullivan, who settled here in 1884. The Western Square Dance Center is in the park.

North on Sullivan Road, WWP's Spokane Industrial Park, on the site of the former Velox Naval Supply Depot.

- 96.2 Wright's infamous Horse Slaughter Camp, 1858.
- 96.4 Spokane Bridge, 1864, and first post office (1867) in the area.
- 96.5 State line.
- 102 Post Falls, acquired 1871 by Frederik Post from Seltice, Coeur d'Alene chief; a "treaty" rock with inscription; WWP bought the site for a dam, placed in operation 1906 to furnish current to the Coeur d'Alene mines.
- Short distance above the dam, irrigation canal used by a private company when lake water and wells insufficient.
- 106 Rathdrum Prairie irrigation project canal.
- 111 Spokane River rises from Coeur d'Alene Lake. Fort Sherman, 1879.

At this point there may be added a fold out
map showing location of principal
points of interest.

Preface

This brief narrative covers historical events which are connected in some manner to the Spokane River. It is based largely on sources available to any individual. The account is neither intended as definitive nor exhaustive; it could be expanded many times, especially by archival inquiry and by the inclusion of other available historical materials. With the interest in establishing a Centennial Trail, this narrative has been prepared as an introduction to the historic places and events related to the river. The reader should understand that conflicting accounts exist of some of these events. Some have never been carefully investigated, so that reliable historical accounts of them do not exist. The author has attempted to produce an accurate statement and takes sole responsibility for errors of fact or interpretation.

John Fahey

THE SPOKANE RIVER ITS HISTORY

From the first, rivers shaped the patterns of human occupation in the Pacific Northwest: Native American peoples in the interior established their main camps along rivers, fished them, traveled on them, utilized them as sources of domestic water, and as boundary markers, regarding the valleys of rivers and tributary streams as sheltered, safe havens from weather and enemies. The fecund Willamette valley was the lodestar and early destination for the settlement of the Oregon country and it was up the Columbia from Oregon that settlement first spilled into the Inland Empire and northward to Spokane. Until railroads opened the area, towns customarily arose beside permanent waterways, and rivers served as the commercial highways between interior and Coast.

The City of Spokane has been linked to its river since earliest times. James N. Glover, the "father of Spokane," related in his memoirs that he sat by the falls enchanted

through an entire night before determining that he must buy the land claims of squatters, who were using river power for a puny "muley" sawmill.¹ Not until 1878, however, with the arrival of Anthony M. Cannon and John J. Browne, who formed a townsite company with Glover to promote a town, did the commercial exploitation of river and valley begin^w that was to result in the founding of a city on Glover's site. An emigrant from Germany, Frederik Post, predated Glover, Cannon, and Browne; on June 1, 1871, he obtained a falls upriver from Andrew Seltice, chief of the Coeur d'Alene Tribe, where Post and others intended to build mills.²

Utilization of the Spokane River has, of course, been pivotal to its history through the prehistoric and Indian period, settlement, and emergence of political, social, economic, and physical patterns that characterize the present conditions of human life along the river.

The Spokane River, in geological terms, is relatively young, a channel incised in rock formations dating to the tectonic upheavals that formed the Cascade and Blue mountain ranges and volcanic flows that deposited basalt on the Columbia plain. All of the river courses of eastern Wash-

ington have been influenced by lava formations and glacial runoffs. A series of glacial periods, alternating with warming, appear to have deposited the glacial moraines that mark the tributaries of the Spokane, and a series of floods, perhaps 12 to 15, enlarged the Spokane River channel. The so-called Lake Missoula flood, when a melting ice barrier in the Clark Fork suddenly released an estimated 500 cubic miles of impounded water, is generally credited with forming the river channel, as we know it, perhaps 15,000 to 20,000 years ago. The Spokane flows over deep gravel deposited by glaciation and flooding above a granite base, and its rocky channel has provided excellent mooring for hydroelectric dams.³

A tilted granite base, extending westward from Lake Pend Oreille, underlies the Spokane valley and Rathdrum prairie, to carry an immense stream, the fabled "underground river" which supplies Spokane with its domestic water.⁴

No one knows how long the Spokane River area has been occupied by humans. Some investigators estimate 11,000 years.⁵ Little evidence remains because, as the anthropologist John A. Ross observes, pioneer economic development "obliterated much of the archaeological material

and sites . . . critical for later analysis in reconstructing pre-contact culture."⁶ Our knowledge of pre-history is confined to individual sites, specific time periods, and regional areas; no one has produced an area-wide chronology for the interior Northwest such as that for the southwest. Perhaps, as some investigators postulate, human occupation preceded the Missoula flood.⁷

Consequently, what we know about Native American peoples of the Spokane River is largely inferential: conclusions based on knowledge of similarly situated peoples of parallel cultures, such as the Kalispels, whose valley has been utilized for camas digging and processing at least 4,500 years.⁸ Probably it is safe to assume that the Spokane has been occupied as long.

The Spokane Indians, three loosely allied family bands (which white men called the upper, middle, and lower according to their territory), lived along the Spokane River from below the falls (Monroe street) to the river's mouth on the Columbia; Coeur d'Alenes, whose principal territory lay around the lake of that name and tributary streams, occupied the Spokane to a boundary a short distance above the falls. Although obliterated by settlement and backwaters, there

were several well defined riverside trails between these peoples, with familiar river fords. Settlers described a main trail on high ground along the north side of the river, following modern Northwest Boulevard to Illinois Avenue, thence along the river to Spokane Bridge and, again, beside the river to Lake Coeur d'Alene. A second trail, from the southwest, touched the river near present Park Road, ran along the river to Millwood (a favored Indian site), to ford near Myrtle Point and then joined the first; and a southern route passed Salteese Lake (drained), forded east of Liberty Lake bridge, and turned eastward. By the time of settlement, these old Indian roads "had been worn smooth by the passing of thousands of Indian ponies."

The dividing line between Spokane and Coeur d'Alene tribal lands appears to have been the falls, the point at which salmon could no longer ascend the river. The lower Spokanes lived along the river between Tum Tum and its mouth; the middle, from Tum Tum to the mouth of Latah Creek, and the Upper Spokanes occupied the Little Spokane and territory eastward to the Coeur d'Alene tribe's country, roughly the present border between Washington and Idaho.⁹

These delineations were white man's descriptions; the

Spokanes established relatively permanent winter camps beside these water courses but they were, like other native peoples of the region, a mobile group following a hunting-gathering-fishing cycle for foods and raw materials. Obviously the cycle varied with weather and abundance of foods but, in general, the Spokanes fished the Spokane, spearing from horseback, and building weirs, nets, and baskets to snare salmon, trout, and other fish, drying the catch by sun or fire to preserve the flesh for winter use. According to tribal informants, their major fisheries were at Little Falls, the juncture of the Spokane and Little Spokane, and the mouth of Latah (Hangman) Creek, as well as at the great falls of the Spokane. This last site--the falls--drew other tribes: Coeur d'Alenes, Kalispels, Colvilles, Palouses, San Poils, and Columbias, perhaps as many as 10,000 Indians at one time, for the major salmon runs. The Jesuit, Joseph Cataldo, asserted that the Coeur d'Alenes regarded the falls as theirs. These peoples regarded the salmon as communal and distributed the catch equally among their members. The fishing here was also the occasion for trading, contests, ceremonies--a celebration, in short, under the direction of a salmon chief.¹⁰

In their turn, the Spokanes also fished at the largest Indian fishing site of the plateau, Kettle Falls; they went to the camas fields of the Pend Oreille River valley (Kalispel territory) to dig camas, wild carrots, and other root foods; and they hunted game in the mountains that rim the Spokane valley and the tributaries of the river. For them, the river was central. One Spokane legend portrays the river as emanating from the mouth of a benevolent god to bring life to the people.

The falls, according to tradition, were formed by Coyote (a mythical being who runs through Salish mythology) to deny salmon to the Coeur d'Alenes who had treated him badly.¹¹

The Indian peoples along the Spokane River were known only vaguely to explorers and trappers, however, until the American brigade of Meriwether Lewis and William Clark mapped the locations of native peoples on their return journey in 1806, setting off controversy about identities and locales that has never entirely stilled. Lewis and Clark concluded that the three bands occupying the banks of the Spokane and Little Spokane were one people, numbering perhaps 900, apparently from information given them by Spokanes who had come to see the explorers at Wishram

on the Columbia. Later investigators, using linguistic and cultural data, have thrown doubt on Lewis and Clark's sketchy conclusions. On the other hand, the American government found it convenient to treat these three groups as one tribe, and they have been thus inescapably linked.

The river then was "wide, swift and deep in the spring" with "many rapid falls and cascades" generally regarded as perilous to navigate. The Spokanes traditionally claim to have fashioned bark canoes although white men found only logs burned out for cockpits among them. The lands along the Spokane were regarded as sandy, gravelly and "badly calculated for agriculture."¹² This impression lingered until late in the nineteenth century when the valley became a breadbasket, growing vegetables, grains and melons for the expanding population of Spokane.

Although Lewis and Clark only sketchily described the Spokanes, British fur traders, crossing the continent through Canada, came into the interior northwest in 1810 in search of beaver and other pelts. David Thompson, a partner in the North West Company, dispatched two men to establish a trading post on the Spokane and in the summer of that year they built a log warehouse and living quarters on a flat.

triangle of land where the Spokane and Little Spokane rivers join, calling this Spokane House. They found the Spokanes and other tribes of the area mounted on fine horses--the Indian custom was to turn loose poorer horses--and the country rich in beaver, otter, bear, and other animals with fur desirable for trade. Spokane House, which has been investigated archaeologically and designated a historic site, became a center for Indian trading. It was the first permanent white settlement in present Washington.¹³

Spokane House, by one description, was a "center of attraction. There all the wintering parties" of the lower country "met. There they were all fitted out; it was the great starting point." Wintering parties were those patrols of fur trappers, usually French Canadians or Iroquois, which set out each fall to set traps along the streams for beaver, and returned with their catch each spring to be shipped to market. The company also relied on Indians, often outfitting them with traps, knives, and guns. For a time, the Indians along the Spokane River apparently trapped enthusiastically, thus depleting their own resources, but as they acquired trade goods, their interest slackened.¹⁴

American fur traders of the Pacific Fur Company,

organized by John Jacob Astor, descended on the Spokane in 1812 setting up a post about one-eighth of a mile from Spokane House. Their men described the Spokanes as "quiet, honest and inoffensive." Quite a large number of Indians clustered seasonally about the trading posts--by one account, 200 or more--before scattering for their food-gathering cycle. The Astor post lasted only 18 months; a supply ship was lost, cutting off the supply of trade goods, and the War of 1812 dissuaded Astor from trying to deliver goods or collect furs by ocean vessel.¹⁵

Spokane House closed in 1825 as no longer suitable for the wintering parties. The North West and Hudson's Bay companies combined in 1821 and the managers of the surviving Hudson's Bay regarded Spokane House as badly located and its social attractions frivolous and dissipating. The interior trade moved to Fort Colville on the Columbia amid American accusations that the British had deliberately exhausted the fur-bearing animal population of the lower country. The Spokanes, alleged the company's overseers, had grown "lazy and demanding."¹⁶

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Dawning awareness of Indian peoples, from the reports of explorers and trappers, stirred the religious zeal of eastern missionary organizations. In 1835 the Reverend Samuel Parker toured the interior Indian tribes, and reported to the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions that the Spokanes' country offered a favorable site for a mission; he thought a mission among the Spokanes would attract Indians from other tribes.¹⁷

Consequently, two Congregational ministers with their wives, Elkanah Walker and Cushing Bells, came into Spokane country in 1838, choosing for their mission a favored Indian camping ground on Tshimakain [Chamokane] Creek, roughly seven miles above the stream's outlet on the Spokane. There in 1839 they erected log buildings--the first white American homes in the vicinity of present Spokane. They hoped to convert the Indians to Christianity and teach them to farm. On both counts, they were disappointed. Although the Spokanes cultivated a few potatoes, salmon were too plentiful, and the trading and games at root-gathering and fishing sites too attractive, for the Indians to tie themselves to tilled fields. The mission closed in 1848 with news of the massacre of Marcus Whitman; the missionaries had accepted no Indians into the faith. A monument commemorating

the Walker-Eells mission was erected on the mission site in 1908.¹⁸

The Spokane River, in those times, stood both as distinguishing feature of the terrain by which white men could find their way, and as a barrier to travel by the old trails. Commercial and military trails were beginning to rut the countryside, the most prominent, the road from Walla Walla to Colville which forded the Spokane near the mouth of Chamokane Creek. A few parties of white men, most seeking gold, eddied through the interior country; the wintering parties were withdrawing but Indians traveled often to trading posts; and here and there, a white man took ground to settle, usually with permission of the local Indian headman.

The Indian era, which had been shadowed by the incursion of whites, abruptly ended in 1855 with the treaty councils of Territorial Governor Isaac I. Stevens. The governor's policy aimed at opening Washington Territory for settlement and placing the natives on reserved ground.

There followed two decades in which Indian peoples thought to resist the invasion of their lands. For the Spokanes and those nearest them, however, resistance ended

in 1858. The Spokanes had taken part in an attack on the military party commanded by Colonel Edward J. Steptoe who had brought an inadequately equipped force northward from Walla Walla across the Snake in violation of an understanding with the tribes. Steptoe was defeated and driven back to Walla Walla, and the United States Army thereupon mounted a punitive expedition under Colonel George Wright, well equipped with long-range repeating rifles. Wright encountered the Indian war party near modern Four Lakes where a day-long battle ensued. Wright's riflemen and hard-riding dragoons sobered the Indians who had expected Wright to be as vulnerable as Steptoe.

Wright marched toward the Spokane and, on the fourth day [September 5, 1858] came upon Indians, including Spokanes, prepared for battle on ground of their choosing, rocky terrain intended to impede Wright's slashing dragoons. The Indians evidently hoped to lure Wright into rim-rock canyons near the river where his dragoons would not be effective. This was ground the warriors knew well, a favored arena for horse races. This Battle of Spokane Plains began just north of modern Fairchild Air Force base and covered about 14 miles as Wright drove relentlessly toward the river. This battle was also indecisive, but Wright's troops

convinced the Spokanes and their allies that they could not successfully resist. The Wright troops camped on a flat overlooking the river (approximately the site of present Spokane Falls Community College), exhausted, tired and hungry. The Indians had dispersed and would not fight again.¹⁹

After a day's rest, Wright's men proceeded along the south bank of the Spokane toward Coeur d'Alene country, expecting Indian headmen to appear for a council. About 16 miles upriver from the falls, nearing Liberty Lake, the troopers saw clouds of dust raised by Indians driving horses toward the mountains; the soldiers intercepted the herders with hundreds of horses. Wright could not control a herd of this size, many not broken. He was reluctant to destroy the animals but he dared not turn them loose; he convened a board of officers who directed that the horses be killed. After individual soldiers and the quartermaster selected a few, the troopers began shooting the horses one by one, but that proved slow, and they fired volleys into the milling herd, killing an estimated 690 as the Indians watched in horror from vantage points in the hills. Hearing the whinnying cries, one soldier called this "the most

repulsive duty" of his 10 years in the army. The bones, bleaching, lay at the killing site for years. Wright's column then moved further east along the river, destroying Indian lodges, cattle, and food stores as they went. (The Indians had planted barley and wheat along the river.) Monuments were later erected marking the Battle of Spokane Plains and Horse Slaughter camp; the troops crossed the river about a mile above Spokane bridge, a crossing for years after called Wright's ford.²⁰

On his return from the Coeur d'Alene mission, Wright talked with Spokanes and their allies on Latah Creek (near the place where Mullan's road later crossed). When the Yakima chief, Owhi, and his son, Qualchan, came to parley, Wright seized them as ringleaders; he ordered Qualchan hanged 15 minutes after the Indian voluntarily came in. Owhi was shot attempting to escape. A number of other Indians--some say as many as 15--were also hanged there as troublemakers, and Latah Creek became known as Hangman Creek.²¹

Catholic missionaries to the Coeur d'Alenes had played a role as peacemakers among the Indians opposing Wright,

especially Joseph Joset, and in the months following Wright's campaign, Jesuits visited Spokane camps despite the protests of Garry, chief of the middle and upper Spokanes, who had been educated under sponsorship of a fur company at the Red River school near Winnipeg, returning in 1831 to open a school for his people and preach the Protestant faith. Joset baptised several Spokanes during 1859; Father Joseph Caruana built a shanty on Peone Prairie in 1864, and two years later Father Joseph Cataldo appeared to propose a mission chapel. Constructed in 1866, and replaced by a more substantial building in 1868, this church of St. Michael's was subsequently moved as an historic structure to the campus of Fort Wright College.²²

To deter further Indian uprisings, the federal government directed that a military road be built through the interior, connecting the water routes of the upper Missouri and Columbia rivers, delegating the surveying and construction to Captain John Mullan, who had been a member of Stevens' party. Mullan utilized sections of old trails; particularly the Colville, and crossed the Spokane at Plante's (now marked by a monument east of Millwood). Mullan

completed construction during 1861-62, and although this was barely four years after Wrights' campaign, Mullan found settlers moving rapidly into the interior; he changed his route near the Snake River rather than disrupt homesteads. While the Mullan road was never maintained in good repair, settlers used sections of it to enter the Spokane country, and, as the Jesuit missionary to the Coeur d'Alenes, Joset, observed: "The [Wright] war, the construction of the military road and miner brought many whites through this country."²³

Antoine Plante, whom Mullan called "a worthy halfbreed Flathead," married to an Indian wife, had constructed a ferry across the Spokane River at an habitual Indian ford about 1851 and farmed near it. (The ford was part of a well-established Indian trail from the south; it would be used in 1858-59 by members of the commission surveying for a boundary between the United States and Canada.) His barge was about 40 feet long, propelled by river current and directed by a cable at a point Mullan estimated to be 300 feet across and eight feet deep. The Plante ferry is generally believed to have been the first commercial river

crossing. Plante apparently profited, at 15 cents per animal~~s~~ and \$4-5 for a wagon. A legislative charter later gave him exclusive right to operate a ferry for a distance of four miles, two above and two below his ferry site.²⁴

Since 1952 Spokane County has maintained a 20.6-acre park with a 1,750-foot shoreline at the Plante site where wagon ruts are still visible. A monument erected by the Spokane County Pioneer Association in 1938 marks the location of a blockhouse said to have been erected at Stevens' direction for the "Spokane Invincibles," a militia of miners and settlers.

Plante leased out his ferry in 1864, however, after two settlers, Tim Lee and Joe Herrin [Herring?] built a bridge over the river at a ford nine miles above Plante's crossing. Their toll bridge, log beams heavily planked with railings on either side, 12 feet wide, quickly became so well known (partly through newspaper advertisements) that two stores and a blacksmith opened there, and in 1867 "Spokane Bridge" was designated a post office, the first in the Spokane area.²⁵

The old White Bluff road, used briefly (1865-69) between steamboat landings at White Bluff on the Columbia

and Lake Pend Oreille, crossed the Columbia basin, followed the south bank of the Spokane, and crossed at Spokane Bridge. Downriver near Chamokane on the Colville road, the river was bridged again in 1866, the Joseph LaPray crossing now covered by Long Lake dam backwater.

Although no reservation for the Spokane tribe would be set aside until the executive order of January 18, 1881 (and the Tribe would not cede land until 1887), native peoples along the river found themselves increasingly pushed aside by an influx of white settlers. Colville agency employees destroyed Indian fish traps in the Spokane and Little Spokane, trying to force the Natives onto a reservation. Garry, Baptiste Peone, and other Spokanes homesteaded on Peone Prairie, assured that their titles would be protected, but most were driven off--Garry at gunpoint--by squatters. Garry would spend his last days in a teepee by the river, disillusioned and dispossessed; he died in 1892 in poverty.

The chartering of a transcontinental northern railroad (in 1864), the lure of gold discoveries, and the discrediting of a myth that the West was largely desert attracted increasing settlement and set off a contest for preeminence among pioneer towns and districts. Although a freighting party hauling a boiler for a steamboat to be

launched on Pend Oreille lake paused near modern Spokane in 1871, finding "no white people . . . at the time," sometime that year transients from Montana, J. J. Downing and S. R. Scranton, settled near the river falls and started building a small sawmill on the south channel.²⁶

For next 20 years, most of the white settlement on the Spokane clustered in a relatively small area near the falls, mostly on the south side because fords were, for the time being, the only means of crossing the swift river with heavy loads. Downing and Scranton apparently did not complete their mill until late 1872 or early 1873, about the time that Glover, on an inspection tour of the area, reached the falls. Impressed with the possibilities of water power and the likelihood that the railroad would pass this way, he preempted and bought the original site of Spokane, including the mill which he rebuilt. Thus was the city begun. Glover erected a small store (near present Spokane Falls Boulevard and Howard) and stocked it largely with goods for Indian trade.

Not much distinguished the hamlet by the falls for its first few years. The flow of settlement had not yet washed over the region north of the Snake River; itinerants, an occasional cattleman, and Indians were the principal trade.

Until the Northern Pacific, building westward from Minneapolis by spurts, stalled by periods of insolvency, chose a north route above Lake Pend Oreille, there was no assurance that the tracks would pass near Spokane falls, but with the selection of the northern route, Glover's chances looked better. On the strength of a possible rail connection, Cannon and Browne came up from Portland, looking for a place to promote on the railroad; they agreed with Glover that Spokane seemed promising, and bought half his townsite for \$3,200 to be repaid from land sales. The three men formed a "townsite company" and Cannon and Browne vigorously sought settlers. They met immigrant wagon trains and visited campsites, trying to persuade people to settle by the falls. A jeweler, L. W. Rima, surveyed the place, allowing Glover to file an original plat of a town called "Spokane Falls" on February 13, 1878. The plat would be resurveyed and redrawn to qualify for incorporation in 1881 but, for the moment, it testified that there was, indeed, a townsite on the banks of the river.

Indian peoples had not given up their claims to the land that whites were settling, although for the most part Indians in the Spokane Falls area were peaceable; they

continued to fish at traditional sites, to hunt, and to camp along the river. The government established two military posts to intimidate Indians, one on Lake Coeur d'Alene near the outlet of the Spokane River, Fort Coeur d'Alene which was garrisoned in 1879 and later renamed Fort Sherman, and the other at the confluence of the Spokane and Columbia rivers, Fort Spokane, built and occupied by elements of the 2d Infantry in 1880. For the next 12 years, the government added permanent buildings to Fort Spokane; at its largest, the garrison there would total 300 and a number of families join them. The troops of Fort Spokane would never fight Indians; the place today is maintained as an historic site by the National Park Service with a few structures and a self-guiding interpretive trail. To those who lived there, Fort Spokane was isolated--12 hours by stagecoach from Spokane Falls--with a tight little social order based on military rank, but it had "Detroit Sanitary Water Closets"--flushing toilets--and Chinese servants. With the white soldiers, a company of Indian Scouts, from the Colville and Spokane tribes, occupied the fort.²⁷

Spokane Falls impressed early residents with the beauty of the countryside. Browne wrote his wife (who had not yet

joined him) that "there is a nucleus of a town here--a grist mill, a saw mill, a store, a saloon and post office with some half dozen residences. . . . The location however is one of the most beautiful that I have ever seen." Of the falls, another wrote: "They are grand, the water is very swift and no one dares to venture on the river as it is full of rapids. . . . The water is full of fine Trout and it is a common thing to see boys going home with Trout that would weigh 1 lbs to 2½ and the nicest fish I ever saw." Even that hard-headed Jesuit missionary, Father Joseph Cataldo, was impressed, describing "a little cluster of houses, some fifty or more, upon the south side of the river near the falls. . . . A little rope ferry and a couple of canoes offered the only means of passing over the swift stream. . . a noisy little dam reached across a quiet arm of the river to furnish power for a busy sawmill." He would buy 320 acres, 280 land on the north bank of the river and 40 acres of water surface, from the Northern Pacific for a Jesuit school, Gonzaga, choosing the site largely because it was central to Jesuit mission locations among Indian peoples. Cataldo hired a contractor to build a two-story frame house, believed to be the first on the north side of the river.²⁸

Commerce at the time depended on wagon trains from Walla Walla, the large city of the interior, and connections by steamer with Portland on the Columbia. But in 1881 that changed, for the Northern Pacific, building simultaneously from both ends of the line, reached Spokane Falls; the railroad did not yet have a line through to Minneapolis but that connection would be made soon, and the railroad assured Spokane Falls' future. Indeed, Spokane Falls was, at the time, the only extant town on the route in eastern Washington or northern Idaho. When, in September 1883, a gilt spike was driven at Gold Creek, Montana, connecting east to west, Spokane Falls was beginning to burst with new arrivals coming up from the Palouse country looking for farmlands and homesites. And when, in the winter of 1883-84, a gold rush swarmed across the hills of northern Idaho onto the north fork of the Coeur d'Alene River, Spokane Falls and Rathdrum competed as outfitting and starting points for prospecting parties. The railroads--the Northern Pacific and the Oregon Railway & Navigation--had begun extensive advertising campaigns to bring settlers into the region, promising bountiful land and healthful living.

In 1881, the town thrust a bridge across the river, skipping from basalt island to island, a south channel

spanned at Howard, a north at Washington. Subscriptions raised \$5,577 to hire A. S. Miller & Son, Portland, to build a 700-foot log-truss and plank span, the citizens hoping it would encourage settling on the north side and enlarge the town's trading area. The bridge opened September 7, 1881, five weeks before the governor signed a legislative act incorporating the village of "Spokan Falls on November 29, 1881. (An amended act, spelling the name "Spokane" passed in 1883.)²⁹

The town was beginning to spread along the south riverbank and a business district to form along Howard between the river and the railroad tracks (on present Railroad Avenue). In 1884, citizens subscribed funds for a water system drawing water from the middle channel near the sawmill at the foot of Mill [Post] Street, and several pioneers, anticipating a need for additional power, filed claims on sections of the river itself.³⁰

Until 1885, the river's current had been utilized to turn water wheels for mills appearing on the riverbank but in that year, seeing opportunity, George A. Fitch came up from Portland with a second-hand arc dynamo, driven by water wheel, which he placed in a bay in the river near

the north bank above the falls. With a city franchise (September 2, 1885), Fitch strung 11 street lights in the business district and one solitary light on the north bank on the Colville road, twinkling alone like the first evening star. Competing companies organized, purchased larger dynamos, and in the welter of competing claims to water, William S. Norman, F. Rockwood Moore, and others concluded that a single company to control the hydro-electric potential should be formed; they organized the Washington Water Power Company in 1889 to consolidate rights to river current and construct a power station using the high falls near Monroe.

The names of the men whose property was incorporated into the WWP generation scheme reads like an honor roll of pioneers: Moore, merchant, banker, and first president of WWP; Browne; Jonathan G. Clark, a Maine banker whose son, F. Lewis, had come to Spokane seeking his fortune; and Edward J. Brickell, California lumberman who had migrated to Spokane Falls from Truckee in 1884. The site of dam and powerhouse were on ground that belonged to Moore.³¹

Thus originated the series of dams which would, in time, tame the swift river, regulate its flow. Until 1905,

WWP confined its service to growing Spokane; then it expanded as a generating and distributing utility for much of the inland Northwest. Unfortunately, the men who had organized the company would lose control in the Panic of 1893 and WWP would operate for a quarter of a century under the direction of a stockholders' committee chaired by a Brooklyn, New York, broker, William Augustus White. To turn back, however: in 1891, WWP acquired the last of the competing companies, the Edison Electric Illuminating Company and, with it, the franchise and system for illuminating downtown Spokane, which dropped "Falls" from its name in the same year. (In a small park above the falls there is a plaque commemorating White's service to WWP.)³²

The preeminence of the town by the falls was secured during the eighties: Spokane regained the county seat in 1886; subsequently, a courthouse lawn and formal garden was planned to stretch from Broadway Avenue southward to the river's edge--a plan, of course, not realized. Under aegis of the Northern Pacific, the Spokane & Palouse Railroad connected Spokane with the Palouse country, running as far south as Genesee, Idaho; the Spokane & Idaho linked Spokane to the Coeur d'Alene mining district via Hauser Junction on the NP main line, a fleet of steamers on Lake Coeur d'Alene,

and another railroad, the Coeur d'Alene Railway & Navigation Company, from Old Mission to Wallace, Idaho. [Old Mission has been restored as Sacred Heart mission at Cataldo.]

Cannon and Browne platted high ground overlooking the juncture of Latah Creek and the river as Browne's and Cannon's additions to Spokane, Browne's occupying the land directly above creek and river, and Cannon's stretching southward on the heights above the creek. Here pioneer mansions would rise in the next decade, extending the city farther along the river banks. Below, on riverside flatlands once used as Indian camp and fishing site, and then as an informal picnic ground by early settlers, a few small homes went up in "Spring Flats," a district for workingmen's families, known as Peaceful Valley.³³

And here in 1912, the city would build an athletic field, Glover Stadium, on the ^{South/JP} ~~North~~ riverbank. The flattered old founder bequeathed \$898 for the field, spent in 1937 for rock riprapping to stop erosion by the river.

With the growth of the central district, sewerage became a problem; in 1888, the city council required that water closets in the central area be connected to a municipal sewer which disgorged into the river. The council adopted the Waring system, a series of gravelly shelves over

which sewer water ran before entering the river, theoretically purified. It would be another 30 years before health officers demonstrated that water does not cleanse itself by running over gravel surfaces. For many years the river served as outlet for public and private sewer and storm runoff systems.³⁴

Spokane burned, nearly the whole business district, on August 4, 1889. A committee investigating the spread of the fire from a small blaze near the Northern Pacific depot concluded that holes in firehoses caused the loss of pressure that prevented volunteer firemen from putting out the flames before the conflagration spread, but an impression has endured that the superintendent was out of town and the pumps could not be started. Not true--but the superintendent was sacked nonetheless.³⁵

Spokane rebuilt, an impressive granite and brick central district, and staged an Industrial Exposition the following year to demonstrate its resurgence.

The fire not only changed the face of downtown Spokane but the south bank of the river, for there was a large ravine from Mill [Wall] Street between Main and Riverside down to the river which had to be bridged for Post. As

workmen cleared the fire's rubble, they dumped debris into this gully, gradually filling it to street level, and in the years after, the city continued filling the ground along the south bank on either side of Monroe. The extensions of Spokane Falls Boulevard and Main westward from Post are on filled ground; Main once ran beneath the Monroe Street bridge into Peaceful Valley. The fills gradually changed the south bank of the river at Monroe from a relatively gentle incline to a steep shoreline.³⁶

Fire did not destroy the wooden bridge across the river at Monroe, built in 1888, with heavy planking and a truss section beyond the bridge for a south approach beginning almost at Riverside. Legend has it that circus elephants, bound for circus grounds near the courthouse from the railroad depot, refused to cross the bridge. The wooden was torn down in 1890; a steel bridge with wooden planking replaced it, with ground fills which raised Main almost to the level of Riverside; declared unsafe, the second span was torn down; it collapsed during demolition. The present concrete bridge, designed by City Engineer John C. Ralston, with ornament by Cutter & Malgrem, replaced the steel in 1911. The concrete bridge had, for the time, the longest

monolith arch in the United States, 281 feet. Additional filling raised Main to the bridge level but planking connected Monroe Street with the south end of the bridge until after World War II. When the bridge was constructed, it ended on the south 470 feet from the edge of the old ravine.³⁷

The river's course was altered, during the eighties, by damming the south channel to create a millpond for the Spokane Mill Company's sawmill (later Phoenix, and still later, Long Lake Lumber). Only the middle and north channels remained free-flowing. The south channel remains dammed as a lagoon, running into a picturesque stream through the southwestern section of Riverfront Park.

During the nineties, Washington Water Power gradually bought up and consolidated most of the streetcar lines. And in the manner of street railway companies in many parts of the country, WWP built a destination park, Natatorium, on a relatively flat ledge along the riverbank at the west end of Boone Avenue. Incorporated in 1895, Nat boasted a midway, roller coaster, baseball diamond, dance hall, indoor plunge (hence, its name), bandstand, and picnic grounds. Some attractions would be changed over the years, mostly notably installation of a carousel in 1909. It was a favored city

playground for half a century, until it closed in 1963. For 30 years (1915-35), WWP operated a fish hatchery at Nat to plant the waters behind its Long Lake dam.

By 1901, with its directors' approval of a high voltage line to Hillyard, site of the Great Northern Railway shops, the power company embarked on an expansion of territory and power plants. It considered the Spokane River its primary resource for hydroelectric energy, and consequently, bought the upper falls from a syndicate of Dutch investors, the Amsterdamsch Trustees Kantoor which had acquired the site by foreclosure, and in the next year, purchased the power rights of Coeur d'Alene mining interests at Post Falls, where a dam had been projected to provide electric current for mining operations. With its Post Falls site, WWP also acquired more than 455 acres of riverbank for power station and possible industrial use.³⁸

The Post Falls development changed the river shoreline and involved WWP in disputes with property owners on Lake Coeur d'Alene which continue because the company uses the lake as a storage reservoir, filling and drawing down seasonally. The lake and land around it were designated Coeur d'Alene Indian Reservation by executive order November 8, 1873, but the northern part of the reserve, including

most of the lake, was ceded on September 7, 1889 and the lands opened to homesteading. WWP has defended its right to overflow river shoreline and lake as successor to the holding of Post, as the consequence of easements, purchase of shoreline, court challenges, and a permit to overflow Indian lands. At times, WWP has posted armed guards to protect its dam.

The desirability of the Spokane River for hydroelectric sites is evident from topography: the Spokane, which has a total fall of about 1,050 feet from outlet on Coeur d'Alene Lake to mouth on the Columbia, flows nearly level for about nine miles from the lake, then, at Post Falls drops 40 feet. Inside the city limits of Spokane, the river falls approximately 140 feet. The dam and powerhouse at Post Falls, closing three channels to control flow, were completed in 1906. By that time, extensive logging in timberlands east and south of the lake were utilizing the in-flowing rivers to transport logs and the lake as millpond. At Spokane, on Hamilton, the McGoldrick Lumber Company (which purchased the mill of A. M. Fox) used the river as millpond, but due to damming, had to haul logs by railroad past Post Falls to be dumped into the stream.³⁹

By the time Post Falls went on line, the Washington

Water Power Company understood that it "would have to maintain a more or less continuous power-plant construction and development program . . . to keep up with load growth."⁴⁰ Consequently, it built or acquired three more hydro sites on the Spokane: Little Falls, 35 miles downstream from Spokane at the Spokane Tribe's last prime fishing site, in 1906, where WWP purchased certain rights on the south bank from David Wilson who earlier acquired rights from the Spokane Tribe; Long Lake, four miles upstream from Little Falls, bought in 1910 from the Big Bend Water Power Company, which had begun no development; and Nine Mile, acquired in 1925 from a successor to the Spokane & Inland Empire Railroad, an electric railway from Spokane into the Palouse, which had constructed the dam and powerhouse for its city and interurban electric system 1905-09. Although the WWP completed a dam and powerhouse at Little Falls in 1910, the terms of its use there are controversial, and the plant has operated three-quarters of a century without a license. The dam shut off salmon runs up the Spokane River.⁴¹

Washington Water Power's six hydroelectric sites have been one of the principal forces for change in the character and environment of the river. In biological terms, the

nutrient loading caused by dams promotes the rate of eutrophication in the lower Spokane River, largely by catching domestic sewage. River pollutants limit oxygen and, as a result, destroy fish life and adversely affect downstream water quality. Downstream the river shows temperature increases, less dissolved oxygen, and algal blooms, conditions which have altered significantly the natural equilibrium.⁴²

On the other hand, lakes behind the dams have become popular for recreation and, along the 24-mile backwater from Long Lake dam, now called Lake Spokane, for housing development, unlikely to have occurred so rapidly had the river retained its swift-flowing current. Spokane County in 1973 acquired 171 acres on the lake for a park; there are also private resorts, public and private launching sites, picnic grounds, and beaches.

Pollution also ended the City of Spokane's reliance on the river for domestic water. When Coeur d'Alene, Idaho, commenced dumping wastes into the river, Spokane in 1907 changed its water source to wells tapping the "underground river" at depths of 60 to 150 feet. For this purpose, the city constructed a pumping plant and diversion dam for power

at the Upriver site, purchased earlier in a disputed transaction from F. Lewis Clark, who had originally (with his father) acquired much of the site cheaply from the Northern Pacific and sold it to the city for more than \$80,000. Until development of the Upriver station, the city had pumped surface waters of the river from a station on an island facing the middle channel of the Spokane, upriver from sewage discharge. The Upriver dam also created a lake behind it, and a pollutant catch-basin. Twenty years later, the city located its airport on flat land southeast of Upriver, originally proposed as Upriver Park. From this field Nick B. Mamer mapped Pacific Northwest forests by air. Mamer, a barnstorming pilot, had been among the winners of an air race from New York to Spokane; he was killed in a commercial airline crash in 1938. The airport clock tower honors his memory.⁴³

Dams are not, of course, the only developments to change the shorelines and uses of the river. While Nine Mile and Little Falls dams were under construction, Spokane's citizens in 1907 approved placing the city's parks under the control of a nonpartisan board of park commissioners who elected Aubrey Lee White their president. White had been a

principal advocate of an enlarged park system, and had paid Olmsted Brothers, the noted landscape architects of Brookline, Massachusetts, to advise him on promoting parks. The new board hired Olmsted Brothers to design a park plan (delivered in 1908 but suppressed until 1913 to avoid driving up property prices) in which the recreational use of the river was central.⁴⁴

The Olmsteds proposed four large parks, namely Gorge, Upriver, Downriver, and Latah, all intended to take advantage of the vistas on the river. "Nothing is so firmly impressed on the mind of the visitor to Spokane," the Olmsteds observed, "as the great gorge into which the river falls near the centre of the city. It is a tremendous feature of the landscape. . . . How much better it would have been if the gorge had been reserved from commercial development." Upriver Park would, as its name implies, extend upriver from the water-pumping station; Downriver, the "gorge . . . below Natatorium Park affords a remarkable landscape feature of much greater natural beauty than . . . above Natatorium" and with some of the bluff above the river, would make a desirable park. Latah, the fourth proposed large park, would run from 29th Avenue to the creek's mouth on the Spokane.⁴⁵

The Olmsted plan, recommending an overall park arrangement and a general beautification program for the city, continued to be the basic document in park planning until after World War II. But the Olmsted focus on the river, as a unique feature of the city's terrain, never lost its force; it has continued to be a major consideration in non-commercial uses of the river.

If the Olmsted design had been carried out, parks and parkways would follow the river along its entire length within the city. Even before the Massachusetts firm produced its design, however, railroads and warehouses had begun to line the river near the central business district. It is hard today to realize the hunger for railroads that dominated much of the pioneer development of towns in the interior Pacific Northwest. Nearly every town--Spokane among them--believed that its future eminence and prosperity depended on rail connections. In this, they were largely correct: The major cities, with a few exceptions, were nurtured by railroads and Spokane, in particular, flourished as a service and commercial center partly because "feeder" railroads connected here with transcontinental lines.

As the Great Northern advanced on Spokane in 1892, its

president, James J. Hill, demanded right of way into the center of town. His railroad, consequently, entered the downtown district through a cut, crossed the river's south channel near Bernard to a station on the south channel, and continued eastward along the river to a second crossing parallel to the Post Street bridge. Almost two decades later, the Union Pacific and Milwaukee reached Spokane; they, with other roads, ran to a Union Station (1913) over an elevated track along the south bank of the river's south channel and spawned a row of warehouses east of the passenger station (on Spokane Falls Boulevard between Stevens and Howard). The tracks crossed the river on a thousand-foot steel bridge 175 feet above the falls, and over the Monroe Street bridge, connected at the west end to a landfill along the north riverbank that shut off the courthouse area from the river. The landfill ended any plan for a formal garden from courthouse to river, although perhaps commercial development in the area had ended that dream earlier.

As a consequence of the elevated right of way, Spokane's downtown district was separated from the river by a forest of steel girders, and the Olmsted proposal for a riverside park temporarily abandoned. Yet, in the climate of

the times, Spokane generally considered the trade-off, as beneficial, losing river vistas for railroad service.

Efforts continued, however, to preserve other riverside lands for parks. The city had lost nearly a mile of the shoreline upstream from Mission, given as parkland, by the oversight of failing to accept the gift, but bought 114 acres adjoining its Upriver pumping station, and between 1909-30, city and county cooperatively collected land along the river from Greene Street to the old Blakeley gardens of rock and statuary on a point on the north bank.

In 1928, with a gift from the Great Northern and funds from *Robert LEWIS* Rutter and Eugene A. Shadle, a scenic road, Upriver Drive, was graded using convict labor--men jailed by the county for drunkenness or failure to pay alimony.⁴⁶

In the valley eastward to Idaho, meanwhile, land along the river once dry-farmed was greening with irrigation promoted by W. L. Benham, a former railroad man, and the railroad builder D. C. Corbin, who began in 1899 to convert the valley floor into irrigated tracts with water from lakes. A number of rival companies also started irrigation schemes, scratching canals in the gravelly soil to places with such alluring names as Greenacres, Orchard Avenue, and so on. Within five years, however, lake storage proved

insufficient. The Spokane Valley Land & Water Company (Corbin) concluded an agreement with Washington Water Power to draw 250 cubic feet a second seasonally from the river by a canal upriver from Post Falls dam. The Corbin ditch would be a familiar landmark for years in the valley--not really a canal but an elevated wooden flume. Under irrigation, the valley along the river blossomed as commercial truck farms and orchards. A later federal Rathdrum Prairie irrigation project pumped from the river above Post Falls. By 1910 small communities had clustered around irrigation projects; during the twenties and thirties, a number of private projects reorganized as associations of water users; and still later, after World War II, farms were parcelled into housing developments. Homes lined the waterfront with lawns leading to boathouses and docks.⁴⁷

Perhaps the most spectacular residence along the river is the Riblet house, built on an 83-acre estate 435 feet above the valley floor on a basalt bluff north of Millwood. The builder, Royal N. Riblet, an eccentric inventor, operated one of the world's few private gondolas, a 1,600-foot cable tramway anchored to the south riverbank, rising steeply to a stonework terminal next to his house. (Riblet House was entered in the national register of hist-

oric places in 1979.) The riverside anchor stood on property of the Inland Empire Paper Company, around which the town of Millwood grew on an Indian site once favored for drying fish and meat, tanning hides, horse racing, and sweating rituals.⁴⁸

Downriver from the city, meanwhile, Spokane in 1912-13 acquired from the Oregon and Washington Railroad & Navigation Company and the Oregon Railway & Navigation, subsidiaries of the Union Pacific, 35 acres of shoreland below Natatorium and the old smelter right of way along the river below Audubon. The park commissioners bought a strip along the river, called Downriver, from private developers, John A. Finch, John D. Sherwood, and Frank P. Hogan, who had platted the Audubon and abutting additions.

Downriver would be laid out as the city's first municipal golf course in 1916 by the Seattle professional, Robert Johnstone. In the same year, the park board opened the city's first public swimming pools--one for women and a separate one for men--at Sinto Park on the river at Mission. Private citizens, the Riverside Park Company, donated the land on both sides of the river at its juncture with Latah Creek. With such continuing efforts, some of the river within or adjacent to the city was preserved for public

recreation. The campaign to realize the Olmsted vision for the river continued, after White left the park board in 1921, under the leadership of L. R. Hamblen.⁴⁹

One of the major acquisitions of riverside land began in 1934 when the Downriver Park Association, comprised of citizens, acquired 1,000 acres below Downriver, including Deep Creek canyon, old camp of Whistlepossum's band, and the peculiar rock formations known as the bowl and pitcher, which had been regarded as a potential site for a hydroelectric dam, and had been held for this purpose until dissolution of the Spokane & Inland Empire Railway. Because it lay outside the city limits the city traded this land to the State for park use, and for the next 42 years, through 1976, the State continued to gather riverside lands until it accumulated 5,799 acres--including 44,000 feet of shoreline--to be developed as Riverside State Park. The Civilian Conservation Corps built the initial picnic grounds and trails in the park between 1933 and 1936; the automobile road on both sides of the river through the park, down to Seven Mile Bridge, was named Aubrey Lee White Parkway. As satellites, Riverside State Park also includes the Spokane Plains battlefield and a one-acre parcel, Indian Rock Paintings, on Rutter Parkway. The rock painting ground was

donated by Henry M. and Mary Hart; she is a daughter of A. L. White. The pictures cover two square rods on the face of a rock, figures of lizards, the sun, and a buffalo. Their meaning has not been determined. These pictographs are at the west end of a 1,580-acre undeveloped tract, Little Lower Spokane Conservation lands, with rare freshwater marsh, wildlife, and aquatic mammals. Rutter Parkway is named for ~~Robert L.~~ Rutter, late president of the Spokane & Eastern Trust Company [Seattle First National Bank], who actively assisted White in his endeavors to acquire parkland.⁵⁰

Above Downriver, on the north bank, Pettet Drive recalls the pioneer, William Pettet, who homesteaded 40 acres and built his home, Glasgow Lodge, on the riverbank about 1883. His son, George, eventually traded the Pettet land to the city for waivers on assessments and taxes.⁵¹

Throughout the thirties and forties, state, city, and citizen donors continued their quest for beautification and recreational use of the river. For many years, homeless persons built shacks of castoff materials along the river, one village on the north bank beneath the Monroe Street Bridge and another under the High Bridge across Latah Creek. Some of these "shacktown" residents worked seasonally;

others were retired men. One shack was said to have been built as early as 1900, and another about 1911; a resident laboriously carved a shelf into the riverbank for a level garden space. A steep path from the north end of the Monroe bridge, with a wire-cable handrail, led down to the squatter settlement which, in the opinion of park administrators, was an eyesore. Consequently, in 1946, Park Superintendent Harold Abbott persuaded the city health department to declare the shacks a health hazard and post evacuation notices. On an April morning, Abbott and his crew doused the shacks with petroleum and set them afire, while thousands, attracted by dense smoke, stood on the bridges to watch the blazes. Both shacktowns were destroyed in the same day.⁵²

World War II delayed, for a time, further efforts to capture river ground for parks and vistas, and it changed Spokane and the river valley east of the city. Historic Fort Wright, established in 1899 as a military post, served as headquarters for the Second Air Force early in the war (declared surplus in 1958 and converted to college campuses); with federal assistance, Alcoa constructed an aluminum rolling mill at Trentwood, north of the river, and the Navy, Velox, a supply depot. The aluminum mill, with a reduction plant at Mead, were leased by Kaiser in 1946 and purchased in 1949. The war also deferred Spokane's response

to the State's mandate, in legislation backed by a sharp demand for compliance from the state health director, that the city cease dumping wastes into the river.⁵³

After the war, as new housing rose in the valley, housing developments lined the river bluffs above Riverside State Park as well. And while citizen associations called again for preservation of the river for recreation, not much was accomplished. The park board in 1954 issued its first comprehensive plan since the Olmsted report, aimed at preventing industrial construction along the river from South Riverton to Trent [Spokane Falls Boulevard], and organized a river improvement committee, hoping to plant shrubs on the riverbanks west of Monroe. Little came of these efforts. In 1965, the city plan director, Vaughn P. Call, released a 35-year policy statement, setting out a Riverfront Conservation Area from the valley to Nine Mile, which envisioned parks, drives, boat launching areas, bicycle paths, viewpoints, and so forth, including conversion of Peaceful Valley into a large riverside park.

The city could no longer put off acting on the decree to cease dumping wastes into the river. Voters approved a \$1.7 million bond issue in 1946, and the first unit of a sewage disposal plant began operation (on White parkway below Downriver) near the end of 1958. (A second unit was added in 1965.) But it was not until 1962 that the city stopped entirely dumping storm runoff and sewage overflow.

Spokane's singular acquisition of riverside space for park use resulted from merchants' concern for declining retail preeminence of the central area. With the expansion of residential districts, particularly northward, large shopping malls began diverting customers from the downtown stores. Northtown, the first of these large malls, opened in 1954, pulling away Sears Roebuck (Sears' building has become the public library). Shadle Center opened in 1961, and the first enclosed mall, University City, in 1965. Anchor and specialty stores were moving entirely or establishing branches in the malls. Resolved to hold their trade, a downtown merchants' association, Spokane Unlimited, acting on the counsel of Ebasco Services, Inc., of New York, proposed a government mall east of Washington Street, expanded off-street parking, overhead pedestrian walkways connecting retail stores, and a large park on the riverfront which would require demolition of railroad trestles, stations, warehouses, and commercial buildings occupying the south bank and islands between Post and Division.⁵⁴

Ebasco described the river as "Spokane's strongest downtown attraction," and advocated that the riverfront be turned into a park as the "north anchor" of a revitalized downtown retail center. Fortuitous opportunities came together: for one, consolidation of three major

railroads as the Burlington Northern would lead to abandoning the riverfront by May 1973, and another, the approaching centennial of the first white settlement at Spokane Falls--1871 for Scranton and Downing, 1873 for Glover. Spokane Unlimited's executive director, King F. Cole, promoted the concept of a centennial fair situated on the riverfront, using the fair as a reason for the railroads to agree to a land exchange. A consultant confirmed the feasibility of a centennial exposition. James P. Cowles and Washington's congressional delegation negotiated with 16 owners including the the railroads to obtain Havermale and Crystal islands and river shoreline, and with designation of Spokane's as a world fair, rapid demolition and construction started for Expo '74, a world fair with an environmental theme.⁵⁵

After the exposition, the fairgrounds were turned into a 100-acre riverfront park with 9,500 feet of river frontage. In addition to contoured pathways, plazas, ponds, opera house, convention center, amusement areas, and so on, the park features the glorious 1909 carousel from Natatorium Park, restored by Charles W. Oliver, who had tended it for years. (Oliver died five days after the refurbished

merry-go-round opened at Riverfront.) In recognition of its achievement, Spokane was named an "All-America City" in 1975.

Perhaps no single event did more to restore the original vision of Spokane's riverfront than the recovery of shore and islands at the city's heart for Riverfront Park. The park symbolizes rebirth of the river, which has run through the region's history like the refrain of a familiar song, sometimes foremost, sometimes rippling in the background. It is a sometimes capricious stream: it flooded hugely in 1894, 1933, and 1974. The 1974 inundation followed the river's lowest run in 81 years in 1973.

The quest to shape the river continues, however, to turn to public ownership both banks along its whole length. Early in 1988 the Inland Empire Paper Co. at Millwood agreed to a land exchange which brings the vision closer.

The river has served generations for uncounted centuries of human occupation as a / source of life, a place of shelter, a commercial channel, and a stream of beauty--sparkling, tumbling, singing, the moving chain that has, in large measure, bound together the people along it in a common heritage.

EPILOGUE BY BOB DELLWO

In 1973, during the planning of EXPO '74, after a meeting about Indian and Tribal participation, the Spokane Tribal Council and I had an early evening meal at the Black Angus. Afterwards we stood in the twilight, viewing that part of the Falls.

Chief Alex Sherwood said, "I remember this river so well as it was before the dams. My father and grandfather used to tell me how it was before the white man came when, right below where we are standing, Indians from all over would gather every year for the annual salmon fishery."

Alex continued.

"It was beautiful then, thousands coming for many miles. You could hear the shouting welcomes as they arrived, the dancing, the singing, the trading, the games, the races---always the hearty hugs---and the FISH! The fish sometimes so thick it seemed that they filled the river."

The other men stood in silent remembrance.

"Sometimes even now I find a lonely spot where the river still runs wild. I find myself talking to it, I might ask, "River do you remember how it used to be---the game, the fish, the pure water, the roar of the falls, boats, canoes, fishing platforms? You fed and took care of our people then. For thousands of years we walked your banks and used your waters. You would always answer when our chiefs called to you with their prayer to the river spirit." Sometimes I stand and shout 'RIVER DO YOU REMEMBER US?'"

We stood quite a while in silence and then one asked, "You are our Chief, Alex, say the prayer."

Alex stepped forward toward the Falls. He spread his arms and his voice intoned an ancient prayer that turned into a chant. The other men pounded lightly in time.

When Alex finished he looked at me and saw the question in my eyes.

"I will try to tell you in English a little of what the prayer says. It says, 'River that comes to us from the mountains and goes to the ocean, don't forget your people. We need your water to drink and to wash. It brings us our food. We travel on it in our canoes. We play in it and we have a trail that runs along your banks and joins our tribes.'"

"We thank you for these things. Bring us again as you have every year the salmon that keeps us together as a people and feeds us through the winters. REMEMBER!"

This is how we, who also love the river, can answer.

"Alex, the river will remember. In the minds and hearts of thousands of people who one day will run, walk, bicycle, kayak and canoe the Centennial Trail, IT WILL REMEMBER."

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Notes

Some sources are cited more than once. For convenience, the first citation is complete, and following ones identify, by a number in brackets, the note in which the complete citation appears.

1. N. W. Durham, History of the City of Spokane and Spokane Country, Washington (Chicago: Clarke, 1912, 3 vols.), 1:332-33; J. N. Glover, "Founding and the Early Years of Spokane Falls as Told to Herbert Gaston." Introduction by C. S. Kingston; notes by J. O. Oliphant. Undated typescript, Eastern Washington University.
2. Seltice to Post, June 1, 1871 (National Archives); General Land Office, vol. 20, 433-36, records a patent from the United States to Post, September 5, 1894; and consecutive ownerships are in Abstract of Title #1340, Panhandle Abstract Co.,; Kootenai County deedbooks, E:465.
3. Dale F. Stradling, "Geomorphic History of the Columbia River System," Proceedings, Columbia River Symposium, Eastern Washington University Press, 1980, pp. 1-24. The Missoula flood was first described by J. Harlen Bretz, "Channeled Scabland of the Columbia Plateau," Journal of Geology, 31 (1923), 607-49, and has been generally accepted by geologists. Some believe there were more than 40 floods.
4. Pamphlet, "Spokane Water: Best in the West," Department of Public Utilities, Spokane, 1971, pp. 6-7.
5. Emory A. Strong, Stone Age on the Columbia River (Portland: Binford & Mort, 1959), 64-67; See Brian M. Fagan, The Great Journey: The Peopling of Ancient America (New York: Thames and Hudson, 1987), who states a consensus that the North American continent was settled 15,000 to 20,000 years ago by Asian hunters who crossed the land bridge to Alaska.
6. John Alan Ross, "An Ethnographic Report on Aboriginal Use and Occupancy of the Spokane River and Tributaries by Upper Spokane Indians," Pullman: National Heritage, Inc., 1984, p. 1.

7. Deward E. Walker in collaboration with Sylvester L. Lahren, "Anthropological Guide for the Coulee Dam National Recreation Area," University of Idaho Anthropological Manuscript Series No. 3, 1977, passim; Strong, [note 5], 64-65.
8. "Calispell Valley Archaeological Project," Washington Archaeological Research Center No. 45-PO-139, Washington State University, 1985.
9. James A. Teit, Salishan Tribes of the Western Plateaus, ed. by Franz Boas. 45th Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology, 1930, pp. 208-11 and 298; Leslie Spier, Tribal Distribution in Washington (Menasha: George Banta, 1938), 8. The pioneer missionary and settler, H. T. Cowley, divided the Spokanes into two rather than three bands: letter, Cowley to Secretary of Interior, July 15, 1881 (National Archives); Seth Woodard recollections in Waldo Rosebush, "Valley of the Sun (Spokane Valley) and Antoine Plante--Mountain Man," typescript of newspaper articles 1930-32, in Eastern Washington University archives, 43-44.
10. Nancy Flett, Oral History file 432-A; Ella Hill McCarty Butcher, OH file 432, Eastern Washington State Historical Society; Ross, "Ethnographic Report," [note 6 above] 16; Joseph Cataldo, S.J., "Sketch of the Spokane Mission," manuscript, Archives of the Oregon Province, Society of Jesus; Robert H. Ruby and John A. Brown, The Spokane Indians: Children of the Sun (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1970), 16.
11. Butcher, OH 432.
12. Reuben Gold Thwaites, ed., Original Journals of the Lewis and Clark Expedition, 1804-1806 (New York: Dodd, 1904-05, 6 vols.), 6:119; Elliott Coues, ed., History of the Expedition under the Command of Lewis and Clark (New York: Dover, 1964, 3 vols.), 3:990-91; Walker and Lahren [note 7 above], 1; quotation is DeSmet's, from H. M. Chittenden and A. T. Richardson, Life, Letters, and Travels of Father Pierre-Jean DeSmet, S.J., 1801-1873 (New York: Harper, 1905, 4 vols.), 1:328.

13. T. C. Elliott, "Spokane House," Washington Historical Quarterly 11:1 (Jan. 1930), 3-7; David Thompson, David Thompson's Narrative, 1784-1812, ed. by Richard Glover (Toronto: Champlain Society, 1962), 224-33; C. S. Kingston, "Spokane House State Park in Retrospect", Pacific Northwest Quarterly, 29:3 (July 1948), 181-99; John D. Combes, "Excavations at Spokane House--Fort Spokane Historic Site, 1962-63," Laboratory of Anthropology, Washington State University, 1964, pp. 1, 52, 65-67. A Spanish settlement in 1792 on Neah Bay is generally discounted as the earliest settlement because it was abandoned after a few months.
14. There are a number of descriptions of the fur trade. For this account, see Louis R. Caywood, "Archaeological Excavations of Fort Spokane 1951, 1952 and 1953," San Francisco: National Parks Service, 1954; he quotes the Hudson's Bay journal for Spokane House 1822-23. The Washington Parks & Recreation Commission maintains an interpretive center at the site.
15. Ross Cox, Adventures on the Columbia [short title] (London: Colburn and Bentley, 1831, 2 vols.), 1:118; T. C. Elliott, "David Thompson in Spokane Country," Pacific Northwest Quarterly 8:4 (Oct. 1917), 261-64; Ruby and Brown, [note 10], 41. Combes [note 13 above], speculates that Indians did not stay long around Spokane House based on lack of artifacts uncovered, p. 43, but adds this conclusion may be based on the limited area excavated. Apparently the North West men moved Spokane House to Astor's finer quarters in 1812.
16. Spokane House Report, Hudson's Bay Co., B208/e/I; Ruby and Brown, [note 10], 55.
17. Parker's original report, June 25, 1837, is in ABCFM archives; it is quoted in C. M. Drury, "The Spokane Indian Mission at Tshimakain," Pacific Northwest Quarterly 67:1 (Jan. 1976), 2.
18. Drury, "Tshimakain," [note 17 above], 2-9; Ruby and Brown, [note 10], 64-69; Ruth Karr McKee, Mary Walker Richardson: Her Book (Caldwell: Caxton, 1945), passim, esp. 206-07; Drury, Elkanah and Mary Walker, Pioneers among the Spokanes (Caldwell: Caxton, 1940), 120-90.

19. The latest inquiry into the Wright campaign is that of Dr. Carl Schlicke in his manuscript, "General George Wright: Guardian of the Pacific," pp. 169-73, to be published by the University of Oklahoma Press in the fall 1988. R. I. Burns, S.J., The Jesuits and the Indian Wars of the Northwest (New Haven: Yale, 1966), 297-99, suggests that Wright could not have fought another engagement because he was exhausted. Burns also believes the horses slaughtered belonged to Tilcoax, a Palouse.
20. C. S. Kingston, "Old Fords, Ferries, and Bridges on the Spokane River," Spokesman-Review magazine, Sept. 6, 1953. Old roads are also reprinted in Kingston, Inland Empire of the Pacific Northwest, ed. by J. W. Rea (Fairfield: Ye Galleon Press, 1981), Part 3, pp. 223-282. See also, in same volume, "The Battle of Spokane Plains," 163-70. The soldier's recollection appears in Rosebush [note 9], 45.
21. Burns, [note 19], 311. Lieutenants Mullan and Kip, who wrote accounts of the campaign, say 15 Indians were hanged on Sept. 23, 1858.
22. W. P. Schoenberg, S.J., Paths to the Northwest: A Jesuit History of the Oregon Province (Chicago: Loyola, 1982), 88-91.
23. Joset, letter to an unnamed Jesuit, June 24, 1883, in Joset papers, Archives of the Oregon Province.
24. Mullan's report: Senate Executive Document 43, 37th Congress, 3d session. Plante's ferry park is described in the comprehensive plan (1984) of the Spokane County Parks and Recreation Department, pp. 79-80. Rosebush [note 9] gives charges for ferry, 15, 18-19.
25. H. T. Cowley manuscript, "Spokane Bridge," in the Oregon Province archives, gives the population of Spokane Bridge as 12, all males employed in stores and blacksmith's shop. On February 26, 1867, the federal government authorized the transfer of the post office at Nez Perce, Idaho Territory, to Spokane Bridge and the transfer was made on December 19, 1867.

26. W. S. Lewis, "Spokane Invincibles," Spokesman-Review, September 5, 1920 (VII, 2:1); Quotation from Elizabeth Ann Coonc, "Reminiscences of a Pioneer Woman," Washington Historical Quarterly 8:1 (January 1917), 18. Her account varies from others. See W. S. Lewis, "The Case of Spokane Garry," (Spokane: Cole, 1917) and Durham, [note 1], 1:329-30. On treatment of Indians, see W. S. Lewis' article on Bishop Charles C. Burnett, Spokesman-Review, Nov. 8, 1925.
27. Pamphlet, National Park Service, "Fort Spokane," undated; letter, daughter to parents, July 30, 1892, describing the fort, reprinted in Lake Roosevelt Mirror, 1:3 (Summer 1981); T. Kimmel, "Forgotten Fort Spokane," Spokesman-Review magazine, Oct. 13, 1957, 5.
28. Browne to wife, April 20, 1878; Albert E. Keats to ?, July 7, 1880, both at Eastern Washington State Historical Society; W. P. Schoenberg, S. J., Gonzaga University: 75 Years (Spokane: Lawton, 1963), 29, 36-38; Gonzaga's Silver Jubilee, a Memoir (1912), 56-57.
29. The water system is described in Garrett B. Hunt letter to G. W. Fuller, July 17, 1917, in the Rosebush papers, Eastern Washington State Historical Society. The pumping plant was near Crystal Island. Kingston describes the 1881 bridge, in Kingston, Inland Empire [note 20], 341-44.
30. WWP Statement A to FPC, 2; Exhibit K, FEPC Project No. 2545 (WWP license to dams), shows land titles on a map of the site; E. J. Crosby, Story of the Washington Water Power Company . . . 1889-1930 (Spokane: WWP, 1930); T. E. Phipps, comp., "Report of the Chief Engineer to the State of Washington," 3 vols., December 31, 1916 [a valuation report]; Clem Stearns, "Monroe Street Plant," Spokesman-Review, March 31, 1949; on Monroe street, see FPC order issuing license for Proj. 2545, Aug. 17, 1972, 5-11. On WWP acquisitions of Edison Electric Illuminating Co. and Spokane Falls Water Power Co., see "Findings of Fact, Opinion and Order," Washington Public Service Commission No. 1809 (1917), a valuation finding. Although often repeated, the story that Fitch's dynamo came from a ship is untrue. The Spokane Falls Water Power Co. held valuable hydro sites but never operated.

31. See J. Fahey, Ballyhoo Bonanza (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1971), 117-19. An aluminum plaque on Spokane Falls Boulevard at Lincoln gives the date of the first power generation as 1888.
32. "Falls" was dropped from the name by an ordinance of the council approved by citizen's vote March 24, 1891.
33. Nancy G. Compau, "Peaceful Valley," MA thesis, Eastern Washington University, 1985; the city bought Glover field and other tracts from the S&IE Nov. 15, 1912.
34. J. Fahey, The Inland Empire (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1987), 171.
35. The committee's report, Aug. 14, 1889, is in the "miscellaneous" files of the city clerk at Eastern Washington University.
36. The ravine is depicted in an end map in R. B. Hyslop, Spokane's Building Blocks (Spokane: privately printed, 1983); Durham, [note 1], 1:396 indicates that the gully was the escape route for Cheney men who purloined the county records to move the seat to Cheney.
37. Hyslop [note 36 above], 354.
38. WWP Statement A, 157; see also Abstracts of Title Nos. 1340 and 14651, Panhandle Abstract Co. WWP consolidated the rights of various persons who acquired land and current rights from Post.
39. R. W. Davenport, "Coeur d'Alene Lake, Idaho, and the Overflow Lands," USGS Water-Supply Paper 500-A (1922). See FEPC opinion 197 (1983). McGoldrick acquired the Fox lease on Gonzaga property in 1904: see Bronson correspondence, Minnesota Historical Society, and Spokesman-Review, Nov. 16, 1903; March 23 and Sept. 30, 1904.
40. WWP Statement A, 39.

41. See Table A, "Chronological Summary of Installed Capacity in Generating Plant," p. 140, WWP Statement A; also pp. 47 and 85-86 in the same document; WWP vs. Federal Energy Regulatory Commission, US Court of Appeals for District of Columbia, 83-2051; and FEPC license 2545.
42. R. A. Bishop and R. A. Lee, "Spokane River Cooperative Water Quality Study," Washington Department of Ecology with U. S. Environmental Protection Agency, Report 72-001 (1972), pp. 2-5. Washington Department of Ecology issued WWP a water quality certificate [PL 91-224] on Feb. 18, 1971, and in its "Spokane River Project," FPC Proj. 2545, WWP proposed extensive recreational development at its hydro sites.
43. Spokane City Water Division, "First Annual Report." (1911); Spokane City Ordinance A-325 (1893); Spokane Review, Dec. 12 and 14, 1892.
44. J. Fahey, "A. L. White, Champion of Urban Beauty," Pacific Northwest Quarterly 72:4 (Oct. 1981), 170-79. The account is based in part on correspondence in the Olmsted papers, Library of Congress.
45. Report of the Board of Park Commissioners 1891-1913, Spokane, 1913, pp. 71-97.
46. From the minutes of the Spokane Park Board, passim; an undated clipping of an article by W. W. Hindley in the Spokesman-Review describes Upriver Drive acquisition (Eastern Washington State Historical Society vertical files.)
47. J. Fahey, Inland Empire: D. C. Corbin and Spokane (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1965), 201-08; George Kimmel, "Irrigation in the Spokane Valley," in Rosebush [note 9], 63, and others, 91-94; Rathdrum Prairie, Columbia River, US Bureau of Reclamation, February 1947; "Hearings," HR 262, 78th Congress, 1st session, pp. 816-27, indicates that many private companies and users' associations had fallen heavily into debt, not uncommon in irrigated districts.