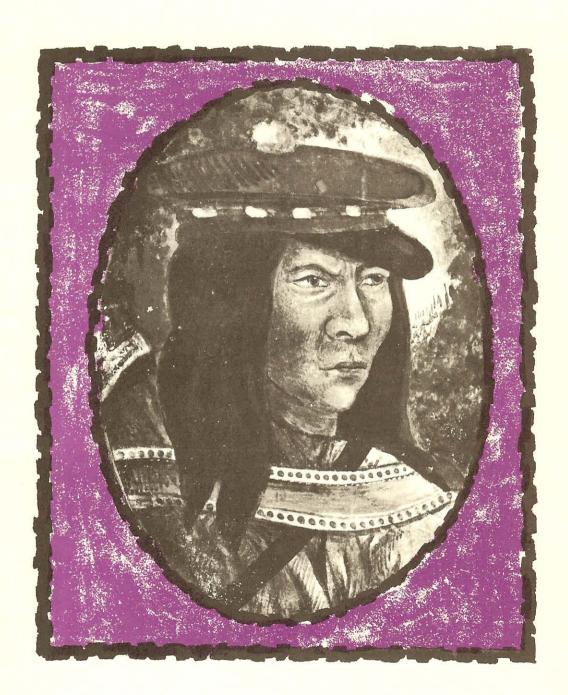
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COVER

Our cover shows a Pend d'Oreille Indian, a member of the Salishan language group in the Inland Empire. The portrait, painted some 125 years ago by Father Nicolas Point, is taken from **Wilderness Kingdom: The Journals and Paintings of Father Nicolas Point** (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1967).

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THE EARLY SPOKANE LUMBER INDUSTRY

by W. Hudson Kensel

Prior to the development of a commercial lumber industry in the Inland Empire, Spokane was one of the leading regional sawmill towns. This article traces the history of lumber processing in Spokane from 1871 to 1910. The author teaches history at Fresno State College.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE LUMBER INDUSTRY in early Spokane was a natural adjunct to the settlement and growth of the Inland Empire. The building of homes and other dwellings proceeded rapidly as population flowed into the region following the construction of the transcontinental railroads and the opening of rich gold, lead, and silver mines in the Coeur d'Alene region of Idaho and southern British Columbia.

The matter of securing sufficient lumber for construction was never a great problem in most parts of the Inland Empire. Extensive stands of Ponderosa pine, white pine, and larch lay to the north, east and southeast of Spokane, extending in a vast semicircle through northern Idaho, British Columbia, and northern Washington to the eastern slopes of the Cascade range. Except for small quantities of timber that had been used by Indians, trappers, and miners, the entire forested region had been virtually untouched by man prior to the founding of Spokane in 1871. In that year S. R. Scranton and his partner, J. J. Downing, established squatter rights to land lying on the south side of the falls of the Spokane River and erected a small, crude sawmill there. This was the first business establishment as well as the first sawmill in Spokane. In 1873 James N. Glover and his partners, C. F. Yeaton and J. N. Matheny, bought the rights to the mill and property from Scranton and Downing. In anticipation of the construction of the Northern Pacific through the Spokane Valley, Glover and his partners brought in a larger sawmill from Salem. Oregon, and established it at the old mill site. To their disappointment, the railroad construction did not immediately materialize, and the new mill — which could produce 35,000 to 40,000 feet of lumber a day—proved to be too large for the local market. Glover stated that he ". . . would saw out 150,000 feet in four or five days and that output would supply the demand for a year." 5

This state of affairs continued throughout the 1870's and early 1880's, for neither Spokane nor the surrounding area was growing fast enought to utilize the amounts of lumber Glover's mill could produce. By the middle of the 1880's the situation began to change rapidly, as the development of the Coeur d'Alene mines and the building of branch railroads brought an influx of settlers into the region. After 1885 an increase in population created a building boom in Spokane that would make it the largest city in the Inland Empire by 1890.

As their local markets expanded, the lumber mills of Spokane grew in number and capacity. By 1887 the output of the mills was valued at \$150,000 a month. The following year the Spokane Mill Company, the successor to Glover's old mill and the largest in Spokane, produced an estimated 15,000,000 feet of lumber, 6,000 doors, and 10,000 windows. Despite this substantial production, The Morning Review reported in 1888 that Spokane was importing lumber from Seattle, Tacoma, Portland, and Athol, Idaho. By 1889 Spokane had nine mills which produced a total of 30,000,000 feet of lumber valued at \$2,230,000.

In the 1880's the lumber companies of Spokane obtained their logs from timber stands near the city or from the forested river valleys east of Lake Coeur d'Alene. Logs were floated down the St. Joe, St. Maries, and Coeur d'Alene rivers and collected into rafts on Lake Coeur d'Alene. These rafts then were towed northward to

the point where the Spokane River flowed from the lake. There the rafts were broken up and the logs floated down the Spokane River to the mills at Spokane.10 Difficulties with log jams and the freezing of the river for periods in the winter reduced the dependability and profitability of this means of transportation, however. In 1887 the building of the Spokane Falls and Idaho Railroad from the main line of the Northern Pacific to the town of Coeur d'Alene made it possible to load the logs onto freight cars at this point and ship them into Spokane. After the construction of the Spokane Falls and Northern in 1889 and the Great Northern in 1892, the timbered areas north of the city along the railroads and the Little Spokane and Pend Oreille rivers became the chief source of the city's lumber supply." By 1900, very few logs were sawed in Spokane; over a dozen sawmills were in production in a triangular area north of Spokane lying between the city, Loon Lake, and the town of Newport. The raw lumber was then shipped into Spokane, where it was sold or manufactured into doors, sash, windows, or furniture by the lumber companies which had headquarters in the city.15

Until about 1900 Spokane and other local points provided the largest market for the production of the city's mills. During the depression of 1893-1896, however, settlement in Spokane and surrounding areas was slow, and consequently there was no great demand for construction materials. The revival of mining activities in the Coeur d'Alenes and the Kootenai and the harvesting of bumper crops in the Big Bend and Palouse in 1897 provided a great stimulation to business activities throughout the Inland Empire. With economic recovery in sight another building boom was soon under way in Spokane. The value of the buildings completed or under construction in the city in 1897 totaled \$1,280,000.13 Another sign that better times were ahead for the lumber industry appeared in 1897 when a meeting of the Spokane Lumber Association disclosed the fact ". . . that for the first time in seven years the supply of dry lumber was exhausted in the territory between Montana and the Cascades, and Oregon and the Canadian Pacific railroad." Spokane lumber prices advanced because of this disclosure.10

TABLE 1 LUMBER MARKETS OF THE INLAND EMPIRE, 1910a

Market		of Lumber
	(in b	oard feet)
Local	PORORESPOND DE DE DE	376,366,098
South Dakota	0.0000000000000000000000000000000000000	85,172,131
North Dakota		. 64,320,227
Nebraska		62,669,485
Wisconsin	ar ar ar ar arrana na	45,257,279
Iowa	2020212-0-12-12-1	. 32,408,769
Colorado		
Illinois		27,532,051
Utah		
Minnesota	arangay a a g g	23,445,077
Wyoming		12,982,007
Canada	10 40 40 4 14 14 14 18	12,563,614
Atlantic Coast States		5,968,619
Other Eastern States .		
Kansas		
Michigan		
Ohio		
Missouri		
Indiana		1,084,921
California		464,493
Nevada	anuna a a a a a	52,332
Texas and Oklahoma		
Unclassified		3,604,000

^aAdapted from a table compiled by A. W. Cooper, secretary of the Western Pine Manufacturers' Association, which appeared in the *Spokesman Review*, January 22, 1911, p. 8. Cooper compiled this table from reports of members of the Western Pine Manufacturers' Association who operated lumber establishments in Eastern Washington, eastern Oregon, northern Idaho, and western Montana.

THE RETURN OF PROSPEROUS TIMES Was accompanied by far-reaching changes in the lumber industry of the Pacific Northwest. Prior to about 1900 the bulk of the lumber produced in the Douglas fir regions west of the Cascades was consumed locally or shipped by water to San Francisco or to foreign ports.16 The cost of shipping by rail to middle western or eastern markets was nearly prohibitive. A similar situation prevailed in the Inland Empire, where forest products were utilized largely within the region and rail shipments of lumber to the east were made only irregularly. Another important reason, of course, for so few eastern shipments was that Pacific Northwest lumber was not in demand in the east. Before the turn of the century the forests of Michigan, Wisconsin, and Minnesota had provided an adequate supply of lumber for the eastern half of the United States.17

About 1900, however, the production of these forests began to decline and the lumber barons of the Great Lakes states began to look to the forests of the Pacific Northwest for a reemployment of their capital. The greatest of these barons, perhaps, was Frederick Weyerhaeuser. In 1900 he bought 900,000 acres of the western timberlands from the Northern Pacific Railroad. This purchase inaugurated a mass movement of eastern capital into the Pacific Northwest for the purpose of acquiring extensive tracts of forests and establishing mill facilities. The scene of the greatest activity was in the regions west of the Cascades, where the vast tracts of Douglas fir dwarfed the forested regions of the Inland Empire. Though it was comparatively less important than the coast industry, the lumber business of eastern Washington and northern Idaho nevertheless experienced a considerable expansion after 1900.18

In August, 1902, the Spokesman-Review reported that the previous eighteen months had witnessed an enormous expansion of lumbering activities in the Inland Empire. Sawmills in the region, it stated, had a capacity of 1,000,000 feet a day and generally were working up to the limit. The paper further noted the influx of eastern capital into the forested areas north and east of Spokane.19 In 1903 W. H. Acuff, president of the Washington Mill Company of Spokane, stated that "the timber tracts of the Inland Empire now owned by eastern lumbermen probably represent an outlay of \$20,000,000." He further noted that "the timber lands within 100 miles of Spokane . . . have almost all passed into the hands of large holders."2

Eastern capital was also being invested in a number of large mills in the region. At Sandpoint, J. A. Humbird of Wisconsin and the Weyerhaeuser interests constructed the largest mill in northern Idaho. The second largest mill of the northern area was built in 1901 at Hope, Idaho, on Lake Pend Oreille by Michigan lumbermen. In 1905 the largest mill in the Inland Empire prior to 1927 was built at Potlatch, Idaho, by Weverhaeuser in conjunction with Wisconsin capitalists.21 In the same year J. P. McGoldrick of Minneapolis purchased the A. M. Fox Lumber Company of Spokane and established the largest mill in the city.22

The enlargement of the mills of the Inland Empire and the coastal districts brought the Pacific Northwest into prominence in the early 1900's as the major lumber-producing region in the United States. In 1899 the mills of Washington produced 1.4 billion feet of lumber. In 1905 Washington's lumber production put it in first rank among the states of the entire nation, and by 1910 that state's production had jumped to nearly 41 billion feet. In 1899 Idaho produced 65 million feet and Oregon produced 734 million feet. By 1910 both states had increased their lumber output to 745 million and 2.1 billion feet, respectively.23

Expanding eastern markets combined with a decline of former lumber producing areas

14/bid., 485.
15/bid.
16/Llovd Spencer and Lancaster Pollard, A History of the State of Washington (2 vols.; New York: The American Historical Society, 1937), II, 9-11.
17/bid.
18/bid., 17-19; Dorothy O. Johansen and Charles M. Gates, Empire of the Columbia, A History of the Pacific Northwest (2nd ed.: New York: Harper and Row, 1967), 400.
19/Spokesman Review, August 24, 1902, p. 11.
20/bid., January 1, 1903, Pt. 4, p. 1.
21S. Blair Hutchinson, "A Century of Lumbering in Northern Idaho," The Timberman (August, September, October, 1938) 38:20ff. See also Robert W. Swanson, "A History of Logging and Lumbering on the Palouse River, 1870-1905," (unpublished Master's thesis, Dept. of History, Washington State University, 1958).
22/Spokesman Review, March 23, 1905, p. 7.
23/Albert H. Pierson, Lumber Production 1869-1934, United States Forest Service (Washington, 1936), 10, 14, 24.

[&]quot;The Inland Empire as defined in this study consists of eastern Washington, northeastern Oregon, northern Idaho, western Montana, and southern British Columbia. For a full description see Herman J. Deutsch, "Geographic Setting for the Recent History of the Inland Empire," Pacific Northwest Quarterly (October, 1958), 49:152. "The Northern Pacific Railway was built through Spokane in 1881; the Great Northern in 1892. The city was connected with the Union Pacific in 1889, the Canadian Pacific in 1906, and the Chicago, Milwaukee and Puget Sound Railroad in 1911. In 1884 the Coeur d'Alene region experienced a gold rush followed by an even more important discovery of silver and lead mines. At the same time, extensive desposits of gold, silver, copper, and lead were discovered in the Kootenai region of southern British Columbia. Branch railroad lines were built from Spokane into these developing mining districts as well as into Spokane's agricultural hinterlands lying primarily to the south and west of the city "Richard M. Highsmith, Jr., ed., Atlas of the Pacific Northwest Corvallis: Oregon State University Press, 1962), pp. 54-55, plate 23. 'Aeminiscence by H. T. Cowley, Spokesman Review, October 25, 1891, p. 22; Reminiscence by James N. Glover, Spokane Daily Chronicle, March 13, 1917, p. 18.

Shelson W. Durham, History of the City of Spokane and Spokane Country, Washington (3 vols.; Spokane: S. J. Clarke Co., 1912), 1:337.

"Harry H. Hook and Francis J. McGuire, Spokane Falls Illustrated (Minneapolis: Frank L. Thresher, Publisher, 1889), 12. This book was published under the direction of the Spokane Board of Trade to attract wide attention to the advantages offered by the city for commercial activities. In view of this the data on the production of the Spokane Mill Company may be somewhat inflated. "Morning Review (Spokane), May 4, 1888, p. 4; October 13, 1988, p. 3.

"Durham, 1:422, 42-25, 437.

TABLE 2

PLANING MILL, AND LUMBER AND TIMBER PRODUCTS, 1904a

Capital	Per Cent of State Total	Wages	$egin{array}{ll} Per \ Cent & Value \ of & of \ State & Product \end{array}$		Per Cent of State Total					
Planing Mill Products ^b										
Seattle\$ 176,9	951 4.8	\$ 93,804	8	\$ 315,622	6					
Tacoma . 764,5	514 21	191,978	17	1,003,034	19					
Spokane . 1,363,1	155 38	450,455	39	2,040,059	39					
State 3,622,5		1,143,710	100	5,173,422	100					
	Lumbe	er and Timber	$Products^c$							
Seattle 1,670,6	388 4	550,539	3	1,519,247	3					
Tacoma 3,425,4	186 8	927,945	5	2,404,917	5					
Spokane 342,6	0.8	130,884	0.7	418,019	0.8					
State 40,953,8		18,613,318	100	49,572,512	100					

aCompiled from: U.S. Bureau of the Census, Manufactures: 1905, II, 1152-1153, 1156-1159.

had made these huge production figures possible. Expanding markets had also produced a rise in lumber prices which enabled the lumber producers to ship their products east and make profits in spite of high freight charges. By 1909 J. P. McGoldrick, president of the Western Pine Manufacturer's Association, reported that there were about 400 mills in the Inland Empire producing 1.25 billion feet a year. This mill capacity, he stated, represented a capital investment of \$15,000,000 and the disbursement of approximately \$12,500,000 in wages and supplies.24 Shipments of lumber from the Inland Empire went as far east as the Atlantic seaboard, but the bulk of them went to the north central states.25 Table 1 shows the quantities and destination of the lumber marketed in the Inland Empire.

The increased capacity of the mills of the Inland Empire was not brought about entirely by the increasing demands of eastern markets, however. Between 1900 and 1910 the population of the state more than doubled and the population of eastern Washington increased from 191,425 to 409,699. The local market, as indicated in Table 1, provided an important outlet for the lumber mills. According to statistics published in the *Spokesman Review*, the local consumption of lumber, meaning its use within the Inland Empire, was consistently forty per cent or more of the total lumber produced in the region from 1903 to 1908.

The effects of these expanding eastern and local markets were also reflected in the lumber industry of Spokane. By the early 1900's the city had begun to be noted for its manufacture of lumber into sash, doors, and other items of finished work. The *Spokesman Review* reported that in 1903 four new lumber manufacturing plants had been built, and that 2,100 carloads of millwood valued at \$1,820,000 had been produced in the city."

bPlaning mill products are such items as sash, doors, and blinds which are produced by the independent planing mills not connected with sawmills.

cLumber and timber products are sawed lumber and the products of planing mills connected with sawnills.

TABLE 3 LUMBER AND TIMBER PRODUCTS

Capital	Per Cent of State Total	Wages	$Per\ Cent\ of\ State\ Total$	$egin{array}{c} Value \ of \ Product \end{array}$	Per Cent of State Total	
		1904^{a}				
Seattle\$ 1,847,639	4	\$ 644,343	3	\$ 1,834,869	3	
Tacoma 4,190,000	$\frac{4}{9}$	1,119,923	6	3,407,951	3	
Spokane 1,705,768	3	581,339	2	2,458,078	4	
State 44,576,167	100	19,757,028	100	54,745,934	100	
		1909°				
Seattle 7,719,960	8	2,222,217	8	7,739,199	9	
Tacoma 7,411,857	7	1,959,176	6	6,040,235	7	
Spokane 3,601,768	4	931,863	3	3,301,660	4	
State 97,224,264	100	31,326,917	100	89,154,820	100	

a Compiled from: U.S. Bureau of the Census, Manufactures: 1905, 2:1152-1153, 1156-1159.

Spokane never became highly important as a sawmill center or as a shipper of lumber. The majority of the sawmills were located relatively near the forests and had connections with the Northern Pacific, the Great Northern, or one of the branch railroads. Lumber was loaded in bulk and shipped by the carload to markets without having to be handled in any way in Spokane. The lumber that was shipped to the city was largely sold there or manufactured into a finished product.

An examination of the upper part of Table 2 clearly indicates the relatively great importance Spokane had attained by 1904 in the manufacture of sash, doors, and other planing mill products. In comparison with Seattle and Tacoma. Spokane was substantially ahead in this phase of the lumber industry. The lower part of Table 2 shows, however, that Spokane was relatively less important as a producer of raw lumber and other timber products than were the two coast cities. Table 2 shows, also, that the large cities of the state produced a considerably smaller share of the lumber and timber products than they did of planing mill products. The reason for this is that the saw mills which produced the lumber and timber products were widely dispersed throughout the timbered regions of the state, while the planing mills were concentrated in the major cities.

Unfortunately the census of 1910 did not differentiate between "planing mill products" and "lumber and timber products" but combined these two categories into one and

bCompiled from: U.S. Bureau of the Census, Thirteenth Census of the United States: 1910. Abstract with Supplement for Washington, 672-675.

²⁴Spokesman Review, June 17, 1909, Pt. 3, p. 12.
²⁵Jbid., January 22, 1911, p. 8.
²⁶United States Bureau of the Census, Thirteenth Census of the United States: 1910. Abstract with Supplement for Washington, 568, 573-83.
²⁷In 1903, for instance, 157,946,213 feet of lumber were marketed and forty-one per cent of this total was sold locally. Despite an increase in production to 1,250,000,000 feet by 1908, forty per cent of this amount was still marketed within the region. Spokesman Review, January 1, 1909, p. 12; June 17, 1909, Pt. 3, p. 2.
²⁸Spokesman Review, January 1, 1904, p. 14.

TABLE 4

MAJOR INDUSTRIES OF SPOKANE

Industries	Capital	Per Cent of all Industries		Wages	Per Cent of all Industries	$egin{array}{c} Value \ of \ Product \end{array}$	Per Cent of all Industries
		1	904	a			
Planing mill, lumber					3641		
& timber products ^b . \$ Flour and grist	1,705,768	32	\$	581,339	34	\$ 2,458,078	28
mill products Printing and	341,619	6		32,999	2	1,089,369	12
publishing	134,249	2		108,789	6	705,654	8
in Spokane	5,407,313	100		1,668,570	100	8,830,852	100
		19	909	2			
Planing mill, lumber		* **(*)				· · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·	
& timber products ^b \$ Printing and	3,601,768	22	\$	931,863	30	\$ 3,301,660	17
publishing Flour and grist	781,808	4		375,831	10	2,120,401	11
mill products	d			$47,000^{e}$	1	1,832,000	e 10
in Spokane	16,434,413	100		3,098,063	100	18,879,591	100

aCompiled from: U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Manufactures: 1905*, 2:1156-1159. Industries are ranked according to the value of their products.

identified it as "lumber and timber products." This makes it impossible to determine the relative growth of these two industries, considered separately, between 1904 and 1909. Therefore, in order to show the relative change in the lumber industry from 1904 to 1909, the combined categories for both of these years are compared in Table 3. From this table it is evident that in 1909 capital investment and wages paid in the lumber industry of Spokane comprised a one-

per-cent-higher share of the state totals for capital and wages than they did in 1904. The value of the product of Spokane's lumber mills continued to amount to four per cent of the state total for this item from 1904 to 1909. Thus it appears from Table 3 that during this five-year period Spokane's lumber industry advanced only slightly.

Perhaps one reason why the planing mill industry did not make a greater gain between 1904 and 1909 could be attributed to

 $^{^{}b}$ This category includes all products of planing mills whether the mills are independent concerns or parts of sawmill establishments. It also includes all products of sawmills.

^cCompiled from: U.S. Bureau of the Census, Thirteenth Census of the United States: 1910. Abstract with Supplement for Washington, 672-75; Census of Manufactures: 1914, 1:1592.

dComplete figures are not provided by the Census.

eFigures rounded to thousands.

discriminatory freight rates. Douglas Smart has cited evidence from Senate Committee Hearings on Interstate Commerce which points to this possibility. In 1905, according to information submitted to the Senate Committee by the Spokane Chamber of Commerce, a lumber concern intended to establish a \$75,000 sash and door plant in Spokane. As it was about to begin building, the firm discovered that it would have to pay forty-eight cents more per hundred pounds for glass shipped from Pittsburgh than it would if its plant had been located in Seattle. The price differential in glass in favor of Seattle allowed that city to successfully invade Spokane's trading territory.29 Such freight rate discrimination discouraged new investments in the lumber manufacturing plants of Spokane.

In another case cited by Smart, the railroads allowed sash and door companies in Seattle to ship sash from that city in mixed carload lots with lumber which took a lower rate. This meant that Seattle firms could ship sash into Spokane itself for \$1.10 per hundred pounds while Spokane firms were paying shipping charges of \$1.38 per hundred pounds for the glass alone.30 Without a large local demand, it appears, the lumber manufacturing industry in Spokane would not have been so substantial as census data indicate.

Despite the handicap of freight rate discrimination and stiff competition from the coast cities, the lumber industry—including both raw and manufactured lumber— remained the single most important industry in Spokane between 1904 and 1909. This can be observed in Table 4, which summarizes data about the three leading industries in Spokane for this period. The table shows that in 1904 the lumber industry comprised thirty-two per cent of capital investments in all the industries in Spokane, thirty-four

per cent of the wages paid, and twentyeight per cent of the value of product for all industries. Though considerable absolute gains in capital, wages, and value of product were made by 1909, it is obvious from Table 4 that by that date the lumber industry had dropped in its percentage share of those items for all industries.

In summary, the lumber industry in Spokane never attained the gigantic proportions that it did in the region lying west of the Cascades. The coast cities had a much greater forested hinterland to draw upon. They possessed the advantage of ocean and rail transportation, which gave them access to foreign as well as domestic markets. Also, the fact that the coast cities had some choice as to means of transportation forced the railroads to give these cities lower freight rates than were charged Spokane, which had no choice in the means of transportation.

The lumber industry gained impetus in Spokane only with the rapid expansion of local and eastern markets, which occurred about the turn of the century. The manufacture of lumber into doors, sash, blinds, and other finished items became the most important phase of the lumber industry in the city. The manufacture of these products ranked first among all industries in the city from 1900 to 1910.

By 1910, however, there were signs of weakness in the industry. The lumber firms of Spokane were plagued by discriminatory freight rates and competition from the coast as well as by problems of overproduction and instability in prices which affected Pacific Northwest industry generally.31 These problems were ameliorated to some extent by the fact that Spokane and the surrounding country grew rapidly in the period from 1900 to 1910.32 This growth stimulated building activities throughout the region and consequently bolstered the lumber industry.

Finally, the lumber industry contributed to the economy of Spokane in still another way. The city became an important supply center for the hundreds of mills established along the railroads and rivers of northern Washington and Idaho. Large quantities of food, clothing, and machinery were shipped from the city to the millmen and their employees as well as to the thousands of loggers dispersed throughout the district."

²⁹Douglas Smart, "Spokane's Battle for Freight Rates," Pacific Northwest Quarterly, (January, 1954), 45:21.
301bid., 22-23.
31 Johansen and Gates, 403-404.
328Eetween 1900 and 1910 Spokane grew in population from 36,848 to 104,402. During the same period the counties of eastern Washington increased from 191,425 to 409,699. U.S. Bureau of the Census, Thirteenth Census of the United States: 1910. Abstract with Supplement for Washington, 573-84.
328 Pokesman Review, May 16, 1911, p. 10, reported that ninety per cent of the weekly paychecks of the lumber companies of the Coeur d'Alene district were cashed in Spokane. The newspaper estimated that these paychecks aggregated over \$130,000 a month, and that a large number of the lumbermen cashing checks secured their supplies in Spokane. In an article in the Spokesman Review, January 1, 1903, Pt. 4, p. 1, W. H. Acuff, president of the Washington Mill Company of Spokane, stated that the city was the major supply center for the surrounding lumber camps.