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I. Index
Mother taught Sir James Douglas' Indian daughters in Victoria. She admired Douglas for refusing to accept knighthood unless his wife was made a lady. The memory of the Gordon Highlanders who were slaughtered taking Vimay Ridge during World War I.

Synopsis of Carol Ryrie Brink's *Snow in the River*, the story of her father's and two brothers' fortunes coming to America from Scotland, and of her own childhood. (Continued on tape 76.)

William Steffen, the murderer of Dr. Watkins, was a disturbed man who today would be treated for it. Oldtimers remembered that he had tried to kill men around a lumbercamp with his meat cleaver. The list of intended victims found on his body shows that he was beside himself with grudges. She regrets that they did not try to get him to surrender peacefully, but fired on the house as a huge posse. His mother's despair. Some of those in the posse later said they much regretted it. He had not been a real disturbance in the town previously.

(Bob Clyde, Lola's son, enters) Mr. Wahl measured with his slide rule to prove that his bullet killed Steffen. Plumbing the house of ill-repute. The sheriff was said to have sent Deputy Cool after Steffen, who mortally shot Cool. Recounting the events surrounding Steffen's shooting of Watkins. The siege of Steffen's house.

The *Illustrated History of North Idaho* was put together by enterprising young men from California. A number of oldtimers, including her father and Mr. Naylor wrote up articles from memory. Lack of research was the book's shortcoming. People paid to have their stories and pictures included, and a man interviewed each one about his background and accomplishments. The printed descriptions drew each man in similar glowing terms. The book is a most valuable record of our early days. (continued)

Writing North Idaho history. The Jollys.

The McConnell and Sweet factions fought over which man
would be selected by the Idaho legislature to become U.S. Senator in 1895. Her father cast what was probably the deciding vote for McConnell, his close friend. This led to a change in law to provide for direct election of senators. Her father was then subjected to an attempted expulsion from the Presbyterian church on charges of drinking, but he was exonerated. The newspaper headline declared: "Daniel Delivered from Liars' Den." Common practices in the early days were the stealing of ballot boxes and buying votes with drinks; but that's changed. Mr. David was a Sweet supporter; Mr. Gamble supported McConnell on many occasions. Many besides Willis Sweet were responsible for establishing the university. Despite the standing story that Moscow was ignorant and Boise full of crooks, the real reason was to keep North Idaho in the state. Rod Drury tried to strike Mr. Gamble for refusing to vote for Sweet.

(Bob Clyde enters:) Two Catholics watch religious leaders enter a house of ill-repute.

Creighton is bested by Peterson in a debate on the parentage of a dog. More about Shorty Hill and the shooting on the Twenty-One Ranch. More about the hanging of Ed Hill: the two men were counterbalanced on one rope. Linn Strom, one of the men who took part in the hanging, was threatened with death by Shorty Hill many years later. George Horton told Lola that as a young man he joined the vigilante gang which went to hang Ed Hill for stealing horses and regretted it the rest of his life. Ed Hill's brothers guarded the jail, fearing he would be lynched; but Tom Hill was lured away to get drunk one night, and the deed was done.

Shorty Hill was paid to marry a hired girl that the family's son had gotten in trouble. Years later Lola asked the man's brother to get Shorty social security, and got a bill for it. Shorty and Gus both made up stories and entertained the kids. Shorty told how he saw a person standing in the middle of the Clearwater River; it was a Chinese man some others had tried to kill by throwing him in the river with his hands and feet tied. The wild men in the old times.

Steffen was killed by the firing, but it was said to be suicide.
Tape 40.3

Lola Gamble Clyde

minute page

Side C (continued)

at the time so no one would fear the responsibility. Mrs. Watkins took her husband's death in stride, because she was an exceptional woman.

Winnie Booth and Dr. Ledbrook. Oldtimers remember his bug eyes, and suspect he used morphine. Mrs. Egan, who had a photography studio, remembered him asking to have his picture taken and displayed so that he would appear to be looking right at Winnie, but she would do nothing of the kind. His suicide note asked that they be buried in the same grave, but he's buried alone in a plot intended for four people. Winnie's note asked that they sing "There's Not a Friend Like the Lowly Jesus" at the funeral, and that was put on her gravestone. Account of the events leading to "the double suicide". John Drury, her boyfriend, rode around in shock to call off school. Among the interpretations, Ledbrook had hooked her on morphine while treating her for a broken leg. Carol Brink's story version idealized them both. Many oldtimers felt Winnie lacked the strength of character and idealism attributed to her in Buffalo Coat. Mr. Gamble knew and liked Mr. Booth. Reaction to their deaths by Methodist women was severe. Winnie's likely complicity.

The tremendous impact of Dr. Watkins's death and the events surrounding it, involving the whole community. All the oldtimers remembered where they were and how they learned what had happened.

The deaths of three doctors in a row made people feel the office was jinxed.

The divorcee in Buffalo Coat did live in Moscow; it was a stigma to leave your husband, no matter how bad he was. Christine, who worked for Mrs. Watkins in the book, later worked for Lola Clyde and told her how good it was to be in the Watkins' household. Lola has acquired much Watkins' memorabilia from Carol Brink when she moved to an apartment in La Jolla, California.

Caddie Woodlawn is a more popular book than Little Women. Lola gave fifty talks on Buffalo Coat the summer it came out, and people talked about the book day and night. Less interest
outside of Moscow, with the lack of communication.

Mrs. Creighton left Tom Owings, her newspaper boy, a great part of her fortune. Sam Owings's Democratic newspaper was "in the doghouse" in staunchly Republican Moscow.

Beliefs. Pennsylvania Dutch hex signs on tops of barns to ward off evil. When animals got sick or cows ceased giving milk, they were under spells from witches. Superstitions. Omens of bad luck. Dropping a hot iron in the butter scares witches away. Women menstruating shouldn't prepare food. Whom you will marry: walk downstairs with a mirror on Halloween; bake a cake with your own water, eat a piece, and dream about him. When Lola was pregnant, grandma warned her to retire at dinner so the CCC boys wouldn't see her, and their glances cast a spell on the baby.

Dreaming. Birds were bad luck. The contrary of the dream would come true; since people dreamed about bad things, it was psychologically reassuring. Ed Snow dreamt that Bill Clyde, dead for twenty years, visited him to tell him his strapping son was about to die, and he did.

Second sight of the Irish. Her father sees little people on the road, but on close look it's a cat with white kittens. Banshees keen before death. A bird flying against a window or a dog baying were very bad signs. Strength of these beliefs dying through time. Good fairies. Waxing moon was good, waning bad.

with Sam Schrager

January 7, 1975
II. Transcript
LOLA GAMBLE CLYDE: The college kids that were enrolled were three of his half-breed Indian daughters. And my mother always liked Sir James Douglas 'cause she said," Oh my, when the king wanted to knight him he said, 'No I will not accept a knighthood unless my wife is made a lady. If she will be Lady Douglas then I'll accept the knighthood.'" So it was Queen Victoria by that time and Queen Victoria said,"That's fine with me, it will be Lord and Lady Douglas." And he was made Lord and Lady Douglas. And I think that's interesting.

SAM: Did your mother remember teaching the three kids?

L C: Oh, yes. She remembered teaching them real well, yea. My mother taught mathematics in particular, she said, "They weren't so good at the mathematics but they were very charming, lovely girls." That's good, yea. But that's how young we are out in this part of the country.

SAM: I think they understand it maybe better in Canada because the country's so new.

L C: Oh, I think so. They have more feel for it too. They're all slower paced up there. And you go down and Victoria's all antique shops, and it's all historical things. Wednesday afternoon they close shop--it's vacation. And you go in the middle of the afternoon around four o'clock and the shops are locked--they're having tea and they don't want to sell you anything. It's tea time and what are you doin' there? And I think that's real interesting. (Break.) Victoria has lots of Scotch people, you know, many, many Scotch in Victoria. And they all boast about the Gordon Highlanders, and about Ridge, how Admiral Fosch said to Canada's great General Bing, he said, "Can Ridge be taken?" And Bing said, "Let the Gordon Highlanders support me on my right and we'll take Ridge in the
"And the Gordon Highlanders supported him on the right and they did. They took Ridge. And they slaughtered the Canadians, these royal Gordon Highlanders, they just slaughtered them, the Gordon Highlanders were just almost wiped out. But in Victoria there were many Gordon Highlanders' relatives, you know.

SAM: Was this during World War I?

LC: Yea, during World War I when they took Ridge. And one of the real nice quotations that I had given at several memorials was Lord John Binyon. They had a great memorial at Aberdeen in memory of the Gordon Highlanders who'd been killed at Ridge. And this was quoted as at memorial exercises, it was, "They shall not grow old as we who are left grow old. Age shall not weary them nor the years condemn. At the going down of the sun and in the morning, we shall remember them."

SAM: Who was this written by?

LC: John Binyon. Lord John Binyon. He gave the address at this memorial for the Gordon Highlanders that were just slaughtered at Ridge.

SAM: Would you like to tell me something about Snow on the River? About what you think is the...?

LC: Yea, well even as Buffalo Coat is the story of Carol's father's people, of Dr. Watkins and his people, Snow on the River is the story of Carol's father's people. It starts with the three brothers who came to Opportunity or Moscow, Idaho from Caitheness County, Scotland. And of course, Caitheness was the northernmost county of Scotland. And it told about the bitterness and the rugged lives they had there.

So each of these three sons vowed that they would go out into the world and make a fortune and leave the country. So they came to America, each with his own dreams, his own capabilities, his own desires, and his own destiny. And they came to Opportunity or Moscow, Idaho. And they
went to live with a lady named Mrs. McAllister. And the story is
that she was a good Scotch lady and she could make haggis and oat cakes
and all the old Scotch food. And Carol said, "I wanted the boarding house
to be close enough to the church so they could hear Abby's music coming
from the church. It was really the Lampman house over on First Street
that was the boarding house. I moved it down there to the Grove
Apartments on the corner of Van Buren and Third Street because that
was a nice, strategic place." And most of us remember when it was called
University Club and Abe McGregor Goff and John Cushman and those young
faculty people lived there.

SAM: Was the woman who ran the place really Scotch?

L C: Yes, she was. She was a Mrs. McKie But she's changed each of
the names enough, so... And she always says, "I don't try to make
history of this, they're just figments of my imagination. But you can say that they remind you of somebody if you want to." So I
always say, "Well, Carol, this little girl that looks at us across the
years and across the pages of this book just reminds me an awful lot of you!"
So that's why I always say Snow on the River is the story of Carol's own
life and her father's people. So the three Ryrick boys came to board
with Mrs. McAllister. And of course, Angus was the studious one. He'd
wanted to be a minister and he'd run out of enough money and he couldn't
become a minister. And Douglas was the handsome one--dark and dashing and
dashing. And he was goin' to make a fortune--he wanted gold and that was
all. And Willie the youngest was very carefree and charming, altogether
charming. He was just in love with life and he doesn't want to try to
change it, he just wants to enjoy it. But since Mrs. McAllister was a
right
good Scotch lady she saw that all her boarders got up there to the
Presbyterian Church every Sunday. And it wasn't too hard for her to persuade them. Maybe it was their religious training and maybe it was just Dr. Watkins' two beautiful daughters, because right across the street from the Presbyterian church lived Dr. Hawkins. Does she call him Hawkins in this book or not?

SAM: No, I think he has another name.

L C: I think he has a different name. Well, anyway, Dr. Watkins and his two beautiful daughters— the oldest one was Abby. She was dark with beautiful, soft, dark velvety eyes with lots of dark brown curling hair—very, very talented musician. Her music teacher said to her when he heard her play, she put such feeling into it, he said, "Oh, you must learn to control yourself because your music will destroy you." But Angus, who loved music would sit in his boarding house and listen to the strains of all this high class music drifting down, and he fell in love with the lovely, lovely Abby. And Willie, who was more carefree and happy, fell in love with the younger daughter. Her name was Connie. But Connie had eyes only for the dark, handsome Douglas. But Douglas wasn't going to be marrying any girl right away. And I should just let you take the tape because all the rest of it's on the tape.

SAM: Well, I can take it from the tape then.

L C: Yea, because it's all right there on the tape. And I really do a better job on the tape. I shouldn't... Let's see if I can get that... (Break)

SAM: I'm thinking about now as far as what really happened. There are different descriptions that I've read in different sources. Now one thing that I'm wondering about is do you think that there was any motive at all for what Steffen did?

L C: No, I think not. I think that he was just, he was mentally disturbed.
And nowadays they probably would have known what to do. They could have taken him and given him tranquilizers and helped. But in those days they didn't know anything to do, because I heard people tell, other people who knew him as a young man and he wasn't just a little boy as the book makes him. The book makes him a very sympathetic, young, youngster. But he was a big husky man—he was about thirty-nine years old when he killed Dr. Watkins. And I heard a man tell how he had worked up in the woods someplace with him, and he had great arms—great, strong, muscular arms—and that he had been a butcher and that he often cut the meat with a meat cleaver. And he'd taken the meat cleaver and tried to kill some of the men around the lumber camp. And I think he was a dangerous man.

SAM: But what's this when it says on his tombstone, that beautiful rubbing that was made, it says, "He feared not." How do you take that to mean?

L C: Well, I think that there were some suicide notes left. The contents of neither of them were ever really made public. It was said that on an envelope in his pocket they found a note that said, "If the inevitable comes, I want to be buried at Pullman." And that he had written a list of men, and also on that list was a man named Jolly and a man named Held. Underneath them he wrote: "I didn't get the right ones after all." So he was just beside himself and carried grudges. And he wanted to strike out at somebody. But one of the great tragic things I always thought was how this bunch of men, instead of trying to coax him out and get him to a doctor for help, how on this lovely Sabbath afternoon they went down and threw open all the hardware stores in town, got out all the muskets and guns and loaded them and about sixty men or more formed a sheriff's posse and went dashing out through the wheat.
It was August, and people who saw the wheat the next morning said it just looked like a thrashing machine had been through it. Just so many people trampling and shooting at the house. And after they'd shot for about half an hour, a little old grey-haired mother who must have been so sick with fear and worry anyway, finally she came to the door and held up a white dish towel and waved it and said, "You can stop shooting now—he's dead." That seemed like such a heart-thumping thing, when you think of what she'd gone through. And the worry in the mother's heart over her son. And to have it end that way.

And I knew some of the men who took part in that hunt, that Sunday afternoon hunt. And some of them, after they got old and looked back on it, said themselves, 'Well, I'm not proud of my part in it. I'm sorry that I ever had any part in it.' And I should think they'd all feel that way, if they could have gotten ahold of him and taken him peacefully and hand-cuffed him and subdued him and gotten him off for treatment.

SAMA: Do you think that they made any effort to try to say come on out with your hands up?

LC: No, I doubt it. I never heard anything to that effect. That he was a dangerous wildman, and there was a lot of the young men around town and they threw open... He shot the deputy sheriff, to a man named Cool, and he's buried down in the Genesee cemetery—a very fine man. And he shot the horse out from under him. And it seems, looking back at least, all these years later, it seems that maybe they could have taken him without.

SAMA: Do you think maybe what it was, they just wanted to be rid of him?

LC: Well, I suppose that was the simplest way. In those days people who had mental problems weren't looked on with much sympathy. They just thought get em out of the road, get 'em out of harm's way where they can't hurt
anybody else or themselves, and it was just the simplest answer in the frontier days, I think. They didn't know about psychiatry and tranquilizers and. . .

SAM: I wonder though if some of this stuff they talked about him, how bad he was or mentally unbalanced, I wonder if a lot of that wasn't after the fact. I mean I wonder if he was really a worry to the town before that.

L C: Well, I just doubt it. I just doubt that he was that much of a worry. The only incident I ever heard of besides the doctor killing--killing Dr. Watkins—was when he'd taken the butcher's cleaver to these men up in the lumber camp.

SAM: So all the business in Buffalo Coat about Watkins sending him down to Orofino and this other business, riding through town fast—all that's fiction.

L C: Well, I just wouldn't really know, but I think probably it is. Carol has made him a very sympathetic figure in the book, putting the flowers on Jenny's grave, rather a disturbed young youngster, but he was a mature man and he was a big, husky man, so there may have been a little more justification in the men trying to subdue him before he did do anymore damage.

SAM: What did people say when they were trying to give some kind of a motive to his getting Watkins? Is there anything to this idea that he'd been beating his mother and Watkins had told him to lay off?

L C: Well, I'm not sure about that.

SAM: I wonder if people said it—if that was an old story that went around.

L C: Yes, there was instability in the boy all along from childhood on, there'd been a lot of instability in him. And of course in those days they didn't quite know what to. . .(Her son BOB CLYDE enters) Oh, I'm just telling him about Buffalo Coat, we're still Buffalo Coating, Bobby.
BOB CLYDE: Half Moscow's unstable.

SAM: Yeah, but not half of Moscow goes out and kills people because of it.

B C: Well, that's true.

SAM: Not yet anyway.

B C: Well, half of them need to be killed.

L C: I didn't tell him that Tom father took part in this hunt and he had run this hardware store and he...

B C: Did you tell him about 'old Collins hid' out and sent his deputy out to get him?

L C: Oh, no. That's better left unsaid. B C: Oh, is it?

SAM: That doesn't sound better left unsaid, that sounds good.

B C: He sent the deputy out to get him and the deputy got shot.

L C: Well, the descendants are still here in town, you know, so I don't review that part. I should review the part about how Tom grandfather was quite a good engineer and that sort of thing, and a plumber. So he just whipped out his slide rule and did a little measuring, and measured and he said, "It was my bullet that killed him."

You see, they took pride in it instead of the...

B C: Did you tell him about how Tom Wall's grandfather plumbed the houses of ill-repute?

L C: No, I didn't.

B C: And the old grandfather may have taken it out in trade—they weren't sure. Wasn't that what Tom Wahl said?

L C: Well, we won't get that on tape, Bob.

SAM: That's a good sounding story.

B C: History isn't any good unless you have...

SAM: That's the way I feel about it too.

L C: Yes, I know, in Buffalo Coat, they do tell about how this deacon in the church, they wanted to de-frock him because he had gone down and done some plumbing in this house of ill-repute. And of course this house of ill-repute is the big
old apartment house down there right west of the electric railroad, what we call the electric railroad there on A Street. Well, there's a big old house just west of it on the north side of A Street. And that was the house of ill-repute, right there. And that was where the man was down fixing the plumbing. But he was ruling elder of our church, too.

SAM: I see.

L C: Uh huh. But someone said, "Well didn't they think those ladies had any need for some indoor plumbing?"

SAM: Well yeah.

L C: Carol brought that part out but she doesn't say it was Tom's grandfather, but we just happen to know it was.

SAM: Well, this story about the sheriff not doing anything, you don't have to use the name, but there's two versions of that--that's a point in the whole incident that's not clear in the way they tell it. And neither version has him not doing anything.

L C: No.

SAM: But it's a real confused part of the event.

L C: Yeah, well it seems like Mr. Cool was the deputy sheriff and he rode up, about I think, and met him up where the courthouse is now, up there, to head him off. And I think he's the man that shot and broke the horse's leg. And Steffens abandoned his horse and ran on out through Swede town and on out through where the fairground now is to his home out there.

SAM: And he also shot Cool at the same time.

L C: Yes, uh huh.

SAM: And idea that the sheriff sent Cool out after him?

L C: Well, I wouldn't know. That's always been one of the questions around that. That is, why didn't he go himself instead of sending.
SAM: Did the sheriff lead the posse that went after him?

L C: I think he was probably there, yeah.

SAM: Were there leaders of it? I imagine there must have been.

L C: Oh, I imagine so. It seemed like it was all the leading businessmen that were available around town. 'Cause Mr. McFarland was there—and he was a ruling elder of the Presbyterian Church, and he ran the big hardware store and plumbing shop there on the corner of Third and Main where the First National Bank now is—he ran a big, big hardware store there. And he opened it up on Sunday and got out guns and ammunition and so 'on for them.

SAM: Did Cool's family feel pretty bitter about it, about what happened?

L C: I never knew the family and I never got to talk to any of them, but I did find the grave down at Genesee. Of Cool—he's buried there, uh huh. They had come from Genesee.

SAM: Well, if we backtrack a little bit, as far as you know the details or you've heard them, how did the shooting itself of Dr. Watkins take place? We've pretty much got the last part where they surrounded the house, but what was the scene for the shooting?

L C: Well, it's just about as it was in the book. It was Sunday and he was driving in the buggy. He didn't have any little boy in with him, but he was coming back from a call out in the country. And he met the Steffens boy. The Steffens boy was really out looking for the other men rather than Dr. Watkins, but he met Dr. Watkins and he killed him. And it seemed like most of them said it was there coming down Third Street. And the horse knew the way down to the office, and the Dr.'s office was there on Second Street—right under where you live, it was right there in that building, uh huh.
And the horse carried the body and the buggy over there and stopped in front of the building.

SAM: Did they say that Steffen said anything to Watkins before he shot him?

L C: Well, there was nobody left to tell it if there was, you see. Um hum, there was nobody left to tell. But he did meet George Creighton on the street. And George Creighton is of course, the man that founded Creighton's store there. And he shot him in the arm.

SAM: And then from there didn't he go to get water? Is that what happened?

Something happened. After that, who did he meet after that?

L C: After Creighton? Well, I don't remember that. What did I say on the history?

SAM: The way you understand it Collins and Steffen never exchanged shots.

L C: No, I never heard that. Of course, the big question was that he let him get away.

SAM: Okay, but then it says that Jones was pumping water when Steffen arrived.

"That looks like good water," Steffen said and asked for some. Then he said, "What in the hell is the matter with folks? I understand a warrant has been issued for my arrest." And then Collins came along to Jones' place at that time. And that's where an incident happened there. Did you hear about Steffen saying that sort of thing at Jones' place?

L C: Yeah, uh huh, at Jones' place. And it seemed like Jones--Jones lived out there someplace, I don't even know where Jones lived. "Leaving Cool, he road on toward the courthouse, just beyond the courthouse square. Steffen was accosted by Joe Collins who for some reason permitted him to escape."

Now that's the only thing, see, they say there, yeah, um hum.

"A little farther on encountered Sherman Mix and a running fight--now these Mix's were in on it--"and a running fight ensued, Steffen shooting at Mix four times, missing him. Mix took several shots. The last
shot Steffen's horse, breaking its leg. "Oh yeah, Mix shot the horse. He then deserted his horse and ran to his mother's house which was within a quarter of a mile." Yeah, that's it, the house...

SAM: You think Mix did shoot his horse probably?
I think so,
L C: Oh yeah, that was probably it, um hum, I'd just forgotten, yeah.

SAM: Well, there are so many people involved in . . .
L C: Yeah, that's right.

SAM: Well, I wonder how long they besieged that house and shot at it?
L C: Well, as I understood it, maybe three quarters of an hour that they shot. They all, they lay down in the grain field, and as they all said the grain fields were just flattered like a thrashing machine had gone through it--there were so many of them. And they lay down in the ditch; there was a big ditch, Paradise Creek flows right through there, yeah. And they lay down in the ditch and shot up at the house. And they took cover. And quite a little shooting went on and he--there was a little balcony upstairs, out through the window, and he could shoot out through the window over that balcony. And then after a while the mother came out; there was no shots from the house, and pretty soon the old mother came out and waved a white dishtowel at them and said, "You can quit shooting now. He's dead." And that's about the way it was. And most of this history in there, John Naylor and my father and Henry McGregor and those early people wrote that up for the men that came through the country, you know. It's written in the oldtime language, and those were the people that worked on that History of North Idaho.

SAM: Do you know where those people came from that put together that History of North Idaho, incidentally? I don't mean to get off the subject, but I'm just curious.

L C: No, I don't. I think they came up some place from California maybe, that
put it together. But they had the same thing. They came in and had
people work on the history, you know, and it least they got it down.
And then they charged them if they got a picture and the story of your
life, you know--then you paid $25 for that.

SAM: Did you pay for just a story? Your story?

L C: Yes, even for your story, uh huh. And the big pictures, of course, they
cost a lot more. And then it was taken for granted you'd want to buy
one of the books. And I think the books were $25. But at least they
got it down, and that's really what I thought was important, looking back
over it. Otherwise there'd have been none of that early day history.

SAM: What do you think are the shortcomings of that book? I mean where does
it fall short? Do you think it's as far as accuracy goes or where are it's
weaknesses?

L C: Well, there wasn't much research went into it. It was just each of
the elderly gentlemen remembering how it was. And memory is rather fallible,
you know, over the years. But I think each one remembered in his own way.
And they were all smart, educated men that worked on it. My father was
a minister and well-trained and well-educated; Mr. Naylor was educated and
wrote many fine historical articles later; and Henry McGregor was
a schoolteacher and they were from an educated family. They were all
very well-educated for those times because they'd all come in from other
places to Mosocw. So I think it's about the best--it's the only record
in fact that we have of the early days. So at least they got it down.
And they wouldn't have got it down if
these young enterprising men hadn't come in and seen the thing as it was.
I think that that was real important.

SAM: Do you think at the time, was there some disagreement over the ...
L C: Oh yes, there was, there was. My mother who was a very retiring lady, she thought it was **ridiculous** of my father to write up a story about **his** wonderful accomplishments, you know. But my father had more of a feeling for the **history** of it—he thought this was a good idea to get this down, of how the thing had been. But my mother thought it was, she didn't believe in any **self-glorification**. And why she said, "All these people, if they had $25, $50, whatever it took, they could have their picture taken and put in the book." She took rather a dim view of any kind of publicity. And there was that difference of opinion among them. Some people thought it was... .

SAM: Who wrote the portraits of the people? Did the man write it himself or... ?

L C: Yes, he would come, the man came and talked to them about what they had done, where they came from and so on. Then these young men wrote them up. If you notice how they're all very **glamorously** written about what fine, upstanding—there wasn't a rascal in a carload! They're all **upstanding** gentlemen. And they change the wording a little from one to the other, but many of the same words are used, like "outstanding," "fine-citizen," "their zeal and energy have gotten them far," and how they've improved their homesteads, and there's quite a similarity among them, although they had made a little effort to change some of the adjectives, but the same general pattern applies to all those **worthy** pioneers.

SAM: It's funny. I wonder how they were even able to tell who was who because they came from the outside? I wonder if they just went around and talked to everybody?

L C: Yes, they did. They went around and talked. And like I say, the main qualification you had to have was that **fifty** bucks, you know. But I'm glad they did it.
SAM: Oh yes.

L C: I'm so glad they did it. Otherwise we would have no record of those early
days. And I am intrigued by the early elections. They even know who ran
and on what party, what the issues were, and who was elected, and that's all
invaluable. It'd be awfully hard to trace those records if we didn't have
the big old book to look in.

(End of Side A)

L C: And there were many, many old books of records, because many years later
when the discussion came up about how did Moscow get its name — were there
any Russians here? I went through lists of voters in old books at the court-
house, just book after book, trying to find a Russian name, but someone
who had homesteaded here or had voted in the general elections. And I couldn't
find a Russian name — there wasn't a Russian name among them. So it was
lucky we had those records because we could go back and trace.

SAM: What do you think about the general North Idaho history that they have in
there? Was that written somewhat by local people?

L C: Well, I think by local people at least helped with it, uh huh. But the
final, finished thing, of course, was done by these outside young men
who'd come in and got it in shape.

SAM: Was there anybody from around here who was sort of head of the local
effort to get this thing going?

L C: Well, I've just forgotten, but I imagine, I'm sure that my father and
Mr. Naylor and Mr. McGregor...

SAM: Were right there.

L C: And Tom Tîney, and all those people had a finger in the pie,
and probably the newspaper editors. We had some quite outstanding
men. There was a Mr. Jolly ran the newspaper here, and they also ran a law firm called Good and Jolly, which was a good name for a law firm. And they were very, bright capable people.

SAM: Boy, you know, Lillian Ot Ness' dad, Jay Woodworth wrote up a reminiscence of the Jollys--Mrs. Jolly and Mr. Jolly. Now was he the one that was thin or one of them was thin and one was really heavy.

L C: Yes, um hum.

SAM: And he said the guy was really salty. Very salty tongued.

L C: Yes, that's right. They were smart. The Jolly men were real smart. And many years later I knew a daughter who was on the debate team at the University of Idaho, and she inherited her father's skill with words. She was a good debater.

SAM: Did you ever hear about the debate that he had with the other newspaper?

I think it was the Star, when the Star came in, that they didn't get along at all.

L C: Oh, yes. No, they had big wars going on--yes, yes. Yes, I'll say.

SAM: Do you remember anything about that at all, because he mentioned an incident or two--Wo dworth did--where they back and forth in the papers.

L C: Yes, well, I remember my father went into politics in 1895. Of course I wasn't born then, but I've often heard them tell this story. And it was during that time there was great war between the Governor McConnell faction and the Willis Sweet people. And in those days the state legislature elected senators, since then it's gone to the people. And my father had gone down from Latah County, and they were very anxious for him to vote for Willis Sweet. Well, my father had been brought here by Governor McConnell and he was very friendly with Governor McConnell, and my father voted for Governor McConnell. So when he came home there was great repercussions over
And the followers of Sweet brought some kind of charges against him that he did a little drinking. And as I say, since when was it wrong for Irishmen to take a little snort of whiskey? But my father, anyway, could prove that any whiskey he'd ever bought, he'd bought it for his hired men. And one of the papers ran a big headline saying, "Daniel Out of the Liar's Den"—that he'd been tried to be excommunicated from the church, you see, but he was vindicated. The jury found him not guilty of any of these things they'd brought against him.

SAM: Well, what were they bringing against him, that he drank?

LC: Yes, that he did this little drinking, uh huh.

SAM: That was an offense? That wasn't illegal then, was it?

LC: Well, I don't know.

SAM: I'm wondering what it was they were...

LC: Maybe it was for the Presbyterians—they were just trying to bar him from the Presbyterian Church.

SAM: Oh, I see.

LC: However, the newspaper ran this big headlines and the title was "Daniel Out of the Lion's Den," he'd been vindicated.

SAM: Oh, I see, that's what it was.

LC: Yes, he was vindicated.

SAM: Well, was this business between Sweet and McConnell, were both of them trying to become part of the legislators?

LC: Yes, they wanted to be United States Senators. Willis Sweet Hall, you see, is named for Willis Sweet. And they were rivals for the senate. And it almost hung on the one vote that my father cast against Willis Sweet and for Governor McConnell. And Governor McConnell became senator. And after that, they passed it then so the people themselves, never again would they allow one man's vote to sway an election. So the direct election came as
a direct result of the Willis Sweet-Governor McConnell fight. That
was one of the far reaching effects. The other effect, not quite so
far reaching, was the trial about Daniel in the lion's den. So you see,
they had their political squabbles in those days, too.

SAM: Oh, I'm sure they did. As I understand it, as I remember John Platt
writes in his book on Genesee, they took politics much more seriously.

L C: Oh yes, they'd go in on election day and carry off the election box if
they were afraid somebody had gotten in that they didn't want, why the
ballots just disappeared, box and everything. And it's whoever carried the
biggest gun and provided the most whiskey on election day.

SAM: Are there cases of the boxes getting taken away in this county, do you think?

L C: Well, that's all before my time, and like I say I've been on the election
board forty-two years and they've never gotten away with my election box,
I'll tell you. We ran a tight ship.

SAM: I can't believe that could happen with you there.

L C: No, no. Forty-two years of it and we ran a tight ship and nobody ever
to vote that wasn't legally qualified, nobody stole the election ballots,
but in the old days fifty years earlier, I think maybe that went on all right,
I think maybe it seemed like election day was quite a good day to get drunk,
and they finally passed some kind of a state law that saloons had to be closed
on election day. So people wouldn't get drunk and would know what
they were doing when they went in to vote.

SAM: I suppose that was one of the things that they were buying votes with
were drinks, right?

L C: Yeah, they'd get 'em a little bit drunk and they'd tell 'em who to vote
for. Yeah, I think so. Whoever put up the most and the best that was...

SAM: Well, in this fight between Sweet and McConnell, do you remember any of
the people who were on either side at that time besides your father being for McConnell?

L C: Well, the Davids were on the Willis Sweet. Mr. David, the father of the David boys were all Willis Sweet people, great followers of his. And it was pretty well divided. The town was pretty well divided, but my father maintained that he'd been elected to elect the senator and that was within his jurisdiction to vote as he saw right. But the followers of Willis Sweet seemed to think that whom the majority of the people had wanted should be elected. But that was problematic—they didn't know whom the majority did want. And my father maintained he'd gone down there to elect.

SAM: Was he selected by the party or...

L C: By the people. He was elected by the county.

SAM: As a representative, I see.

L C: Yeah, he was elected, um hum, to go to Boise. And then in turn the state legislators, in those days, elected United States Senators.

SAM: Was this a long-standing disagreement between Sweet and McConnell?

L C: Yes, it went on for a long, long time, um hum. It went on for many, many years. There were the two factions in the Republican Party. It was all within the Republican Party—they were both Republicans.

SAM: Was there any real difference between them except the personalities of two different leaders or were there other things involved?

L C: Oh, I don't think so, I don't think there was much difference between them, you know, I don't think there was much difference between them.

SAM: So it was just personality.

L C: Yeah, it was just personality conflicts—that's right.

SAM: I wouldn't be surprised though if he did have some strong effects on the social—who was friends with who.
L C: Oh, yes, I think it was, I think it was, yes, uh...uh, yes.

SAM: Did you father actively help McConnell on other occasions in political undertakings?

L C: Oh, yes, oh yes. Up until Governor McConnell quit. We always—they had great goings on among 'em political matters. My father was a great believer and a great supporter of Senator Borah. And he was always writing him letters telling him to try and end the World War I and get the boys home and so on. My father was a great admirer and a great supporter of Senator Borah.

SAM: Well, speaking about Willis Sweet, Jay Woodworth—I've haven't had a chance to read the document yet that he wrote, but he wrote down the story about how the university came, and he talked about...Sweet as being a brilliant but eccentric, and sort of lazy kind of a guy who had real drive, but yet was very lazy—was sort of a real mixture, and a character too.

L C: Yeah.

SAM: What do you know of Sweet? Or what did you hear about the way they talked about him? Was he the key man in bringing the university to Moscow?

L C: Oh, I kind of doubt that. He always took great credit for it, you know, but I doubt that he was any more key man than old W. J. Brigham from Lenville. He was credited with introducing the bill that established it. And my father was in the legislature that year, and he was for bringing it to Moscow. And there were many, many people beside Willis Sweet. Governor McConnell was one of the people. Old Charlie Mynson was a great friend of the university and helped get it established.

SAM: Well, what about...Do you know what they say Sweet's role was? I mean, he was supposed to, what he do, he went down and lobbied for it?

L C: Yes, I think so. I think that that was about the size of it. But they were
all, everybody from here—Charlie Munson always liked to
tell the story about how they divided the state according to the needs.
They put the insane asylum over at Blackfoot because they needed one,
and they put the penitentiary Boise because all the crooks lived in
Boise, but up at Moscow we were so ignorant they gave us the University
of Idaho. And that was a standing joke with Mr. Munson and Governor McConnell
and all of them. That was the standard way. Of course the real thing
was to keep north Idaho paying taxes in Idaho and not going off and joining
up with Washington and sending all the good mining property to pay taxes
in Washington to keep the mines in Idaho. And I think it was sort of a trade off
among the legislators—they let Boise be the capital and we could have the
university. I think it was a political trade, all right.

SAM: Um hum. And it worked, that's what... 
L C: And it worked. That's what we wanted and we needed it. And I think that's
the way it went, all right. I think that... 
SAM: Can you remember anymore of who Sweet's friends were, and besides the Davids
what the Sweet faction was? 'Cause I'm trying to figure out and get the names
straight of who was on which side in the disagreements that they had.
L C: I would say that the Naylor family were with Governor McConnell, I'd say
that all the Naylors stuck with Governor McConnell. And they were influential,
all of them bright, smart people. And of course the two newspapers, and you'd have to
look that up in the newspapers to tell there was that division. The Jollys
though, the Jolly newspaper was for McConnell.

SAM: I see.
L C: Uh huh.

SAM: So the other one must have been against him.
L C: Yeah, that would be against him, uh huh. But they were two in this small
SAM: Are there any stories about their disagreement itself, I mean about face to face kind of stuff between McConnell and Sweet.

LC: Yes, I think so, I think so. I think there were plenty of it---plenty of that. Well, I would say, I think maybe the newspapers would have more of it in along about 1895. Pete Orcutt was a good editor and he wrote on this same paper that defended the McConnell faction---Pete Orcutt. He's the man who wrote about "Daniel Out of the Lion's Den" and so on. And he was a real smart---he was a real sharp man, and everything he wrote was real good. And he was real clever. And then there was somebody else, let's see---yes, I remember my father telling that down in Boise one person came up and tried to hit him with his cane. And that's my good friend's father, Mabel Ga...no, you know, her father was a man named Rod Drury, and he was down there. He picked up his cane and struck my father with it. He was so wild because he hadn't voted for Willis Sweet. And he was a great, big tall man, and a big husky man. And I've often heard my father tell that story, and it was interesting to us because his daughter and myself became such very close friends over the years.

SAM: I suppose he and Mr. Drury weren't very good friends after that.

LC: No, no, no, that was no, no, that was the how of that.

SAM: Did he ever talk about what went on down there at the legislature, some of the things that happened, or like what they thought, how they managed to get this deal through/get the university?

LC: Well, it seemed like it was a trade-off, all right. That they traded with the Boise and southern Idaho---if they weren't careful, they'd just secede from the state and that they'd take the mines and their good agricultural land with 'em, and pay taxes over in Washington. (Break)
SAM: Two Catholic Irishmen (standing on the street outside of a house of ill-repute)--

OB LYDE:

B C: And pretty soon a Protestant minister comes walkin’ down, looks over his shoulder coming down the street and he slips in the door.

And he says, (whispering) "Aye Pat, look at that, isn’t that terrible?"

Pretty soon the Mormon bishop came walking down the street, looked up and down, slipped in the door. And he said, "Hey Pat, look there, isn’t that terrible, isn’t that terrible?"

Pretty soon a Catholic father walked down the street, whistling and singing, and opened the door and walked right in--never looked right or left. And the Irishman says to him, "Hey Pat, there must be somebody sick in there." So that’s kind of all on it...

SAM: I might as well tell you now what that one is... (Break)

B C: And Creighton said to Klaus Peterson, "Aw, he’s just a cross between a son of a bitch and a Swede." So Klaus Peterson says, "I’ll be darn, he’s related to both of us then!" That’s supposed to be a true story.

L C: I think that is true. Old Klaus was quick on the uptake. He was smart as the dickens, and quick on the upbeat.

SAM: When Gus tells that story about the shooting on the Twenty-one Ranch and Shorty Hill, did he tell that Shorty Hill was involved in the shooting itself? Had something to do with, you know, firing the shots?

B C: No, he never fired a shot. He was bringin’ a herd of horses in off the range someplace, into the Twenty-one Ranch and saw, he was up on a hill bringing this herd of horses in and he saw... Isn’t that right, Mom?

L C: Yeah.

SAM: Well, I saw, I went and looked it up in the History of North Idaho and there is a Short Hill who was a hired hand, and that whole business.

L C: Well, Shorty Hill is what they meant. They called him Short Hill.

SAM: That trial though, they found him innocent, and it shocked the people, and
they were convinced that she had done it. I think Short Hill was tried too for something that had to do with that, that had to do with the same case.

L C: Not what was it--didn't she give him some money and tell him, ... and told him.

B C: Yeah, "Now you just take these cattle and head straight on over to the Salmon River to some line shack that they had down there," and you don't come back for six months or maybe never," whatever the score.

SAM: But you never heard of Short Hill getting in trouble for that? I mean he was never tried as far as you heard.

B C: No, I never heard. Uncle Gus never said that he was ever tried.

SAM: And you know that story about Ed Hill getting hung? There was this book out--have you see this Tales of the Palouse? Just this guy wrote, I don't know how he put it together, but was I think a reverend in Whitman County, and it hasn't been out for very long, but he's got the story of that hanging.

L C: Oh, he does.

SAM: Yeah, that they came in after him.

L C: Yes they did.

SAM: And I'm not sure if in his story whether they came in after Ed Hill as well or not, you know. I think it's maybe pretty much the way Shorty told it--that Ed Hill did something to get them mad.

B C: Was one a black man?

SAM: No, I don't think so. The way Gus told it to me was that the black man in the story was the guy that they sent back from Montana with. And he escaped from the train and he was handcuffed to this black guy. He got away and then later came and turned himself in.

B C: Hum. Now I...

SAM: I asked him about it again and...
B C: Now I thought maybe that he was in jail with the black man, and they went in to hang the black man, and Ed Hill said, "You can't do that," so they hung him too. Did the book say whether they used 'em as counter balances—hang 'em up?

SAM: I don't know.

B C: They just hung 'em both at once.

SAM: I'll tell you, somebody just had the book and I was just really lookin' at it quickly, but I'll take a close look and see, 'cause the story is in there.

B C: I guess it doesn't make much difference whether they counter balanced them...

L C: They counter balanced them is right. They threw one out each window.

SAM: Oh, they had a single rope?

L C: Yea, they had one rope. They put one on each end and threw 'em both out and killed 'em both.

B C: Which was sort of an interesting way to do it...

L C: And I used to go by and see the rope marks there, on the old back in the back. And I guess you can still go up there and see the rope burns where burned...

SAM: I'm sort of surprised that Shorty Hill never tried to do anything, or the Hill family didn't, because they just sound like such a tough bunch.

L C: He threatened a lot. There was one guy he knew, lived over here neighbors to us named Link Strohm, and he'd walked down the street behind him and curse him. "Wait till I get you out, you old so-and-so. I will ridge you with bullets." And that Link Strohm, even in his old age was scared to death of him, he'd avoid him. He'd go across two or three streets to avoid Shorty Hill. And one time he was down, weren't they down at Gus's, didn't he lasso old Link and try to drag him?
B C That was the Indian, but he said that he.

L C: I thought he lassoed Link too.

B C Link Strohm was driving from a lower place there. And Shorty said he ran out with a gun and he got in the road as they come driving up. He said that the guy stepped on the gas and drove clear out over a pile of posts.

L C Yea, he was scared to death of him, because Link told me about that. He says, "I'll tell you," he called me on the phone and he said, "It's dangerous. He'll kill Gus down there someday." I said, "No, he won't. Gus is so good to everybody."

"Oh," he said, "he's no good, that old Shorty!"

SAM: Was this Link Strohm mixed up in the hanging?

L C: Yes, he'd gone in and helped. He was one of the young bucks around town that went in and helped hang him.

SAM: So this was a lot later when he scared him?

L C: Oh, yeah. Yeah, this was years later, they were both gettin' pretty old. But old Link called me and told me how scared he was.

B C: Do you know who as a little girl who was quite a good friend of George Hill?

L C: Who's that?

B C: Virgil Frei's wife.

L C: Oh, uh huh.

B C: And she had pictures of George Hill and some of the other men up there.

L C: And yeah, she told me she used to go with one of the Hill men, one of Shorty's brothers.

SAM: Is she still alive?

B C: Must have been a son or grandson.

L C: Of Virgil Frei? Oh, she's an old lady. She told about how he wore these big fancy gauntlets and took her riding and so on.

B C: She wasn't that old though.
LC: Oh maybe not.

BC: 'Cause Virgil was in the Second World War.

SAM: Is she still around?

BC: Yeah, she lives up in Harvard.

SAM: What's her name?


LC: Oh, yes, I think so. I haven't heard anything of 'em for a few years but...

BC: She knew this George Hill and had photographs of him.

SAM: It sure sounded in that other book that really there wasn't any reason to hang Ed Hill except maybe he'd got in the way.

BC: And his knife was stickin' in the sheriff. Other than that, why...

SAM: Yes, that's true.

BC: It was all just circumstantial evidence.

LC: Well, I knew George Horton who had Jim Lyle's place ahead of Jim Lyle. You know, he was alumni director. In his old age he talked here to me once about it and he said, "I was one of them." And again there was a Mix, one of the Mix's.

BC: One of the Mix's?

LC: Uh huh. Sherman Mix. And he was the one that did the killing of the Steffens. Well, Sherman Mix and George Horton, he said, "We were just young fellahs out there around Palouse." And he said they were going to get up this vigilante committee to go and lynch Ed Hill 'cause he'd stolen horses. He said, "I went. I'm ashamed that I ever had anything to do with it." I said, "Well, I should think you would be, George." "Yes," he said, "it's bothered me all my life." Because he became quite respectable. But he said, "I was just young. I was only about sixteen and all the young fellahs were going to go out and lynch Ed Hill and..."

SAM: Did he say that they were going to lynch Ed Hill and not this other guy?

LC: Um hum. No, they were going to lynch Ed Hill for stealing horses,
B C: For stealing horses?
L C: Yeah, for stealing horses—they were going to lynch him for it.
SAM: Yeah, but they lynched this other guy. That's a mystery to me.
L C: And he said, "We'd all been drinkin,'" is what George Horton said, "Oh,
we'd all been drinkin'. I was just a young kid. I didn't know any better; I just went along with the crowd. I've been sorry all my life."
SAM: There was a lot of 'em. Did Gus, has Gus said anything about trying to defend Ed Hill while he was in jail? Has he said anything about that that you can remember? That Shorty went over to the jail?
B C: Well, it wasn't Shorty so much as this George went. Uncle Gus tells it that George Hill went with a rifle and sat in front of the jail until harvest time came, or haying or something.
L C: Yeah, to keep them from killin'.
B C: Then they sent Tom Hill who was a brother of Shorty's and George's, and kind of a drinking man. And one of these lodge members, whoever the lodge was, came along and said, "Come on and let's go have a drink, nothing will happen tonight." And Tom went with him. And then when they were gone drinking the rest of the lodge broke the door down. That's sort of the way Uncle Gus tells the story.
SAM: You mean the lodge just deceived him—got him to leave?
L C: Yeah, um hum.
B C: This one member of the lodge went along and said, "Come, let's go have a drink." And so he went to have a drink and the rest of the members of this lodge, I don't know what—Masonics, or Elks, or whatever lodge they had—just maybe it was a vigilante committee.
SAM: So the Hills were worried that somethin' might happen?
L C: Yeah, they knew somethin' might happen, yeah, that's right, that's right.
And everybody knows that from out around there. And you know there's a
little station out there called Ringo Station and Ringo Butte, out there
you know, out on beyond Viola. There's a kind of a little pointed kind
of a butte—they call it Ringo, Ringo Station. Now one of the Hill girls
was Mrs. Ringo. She'd dead now too, but that Ringo Station and Ringo
Butte—She was a Hill, wasn't she?

B C: I don't know. I heard you say that some way they were connected.

L C: Yeah.

SAM: Do you know where these Hills came from, I mean where they grew up around
here?

L C: Well, out around Viola is where they grew up.

B C: Right there where George Hill used to farm, wasn't that their original home?

L C: Yeah, uh huh. That was the original.

SAM: Oh, I see.

B C: Or did they come from over on the prairie?

L C: No, right out there. Shorty worked up on the prairie. That's where he robbed
banks and drove stage for Felix Warren.

L C: Yeah, yeah, he drove there at Soldier's Meadow. Then he worked up there for
the Huff's—I told you about that, didn't I?

Lawrence Huff—oh, he was a big prominent lawyer in town. And he
said when he was a little boy he can remember waking up in the dead of the
night and his mother was crying, and the father was trying to console her,
and she said that Lawrence's brother, whatever his name was, had gotten
Daisy in trouble, and Daisy was their red girl. Papa said, "Oh, never mind,
we'll just pay Shorty Hill and Shorty'll marry her. And we'll fix it all
up for you." So he did. They paid Shorty, and Shorty married her, and she
was the mother of those crippled children was Daisy, see.

B C: I thought her name

L C: Oh, that was a later one.
B C: Oh, Shorty had two wives, huh?

L C: Yeah, Daisy was the one that was first. And then Shorty wanted his—I heard Lawrence tell this when he'd been kind of drinking at an alumni banquet. So then when Shorty wanted his social security, I went to town to get it for him because I figured he had it comin'. So I went to Lawrence Huff—who would you go to? And I said, "Lawrence, now Shorty should have it. And I don't quite know how to go about it. He's been spendin' so he worked for different places, and he's worked for us, he worked for Gus, he worked for you folks." "Yeah," So I said, "Can you fix it?"

Lawrence admitted it. "Oh yeah," he'd fix it up. Well, he got it for Shorty. He got Shorty his social security, about a hundred dollars a month it was, which was a lot of money when they started. But what do you suppose? I got a bill--Lola Clyde--for lookin' after Shorty's legal affairs. So I just wrote on that bill, I said, "Lawrence, this was paid in advance, you know." And I fired it right back in the mail to Lawrence. So the next time I saw Lawrence on the street-laughing his head off. And he said, "Oh, Lola, I guess you caught me that time." And I said, "You're darn right. I heard you tell 'em about how indebted you were to Shorty, and I just figured this has all been paid for and forgotten about." "Oh," he said, "I never would have sent it out--it was just the girl in the office sent it out."

"Well," I said, "I sent it back and I wrote 'paid in advance' on it and you can go tell her the story if you want to."

SAM: Hey, Bob, I don't want to keep you, but what is the story about him robbin' bank?

B C: Oh, I don't really know that there was ever any story to it. He was just supposed to have been the bank where it was robbed over on the prairie.

A lot of these stories were just a myth, you know.

L C: I think they just made 'em up.

SAM: I think he's the kind of guy that stories get made up about still.
B C: He made 'em up and Uncle Gus made 'em up, and told us kids just to entertain us. But what was it? There was a bank robbed over there on the prairie someplace so they couldn't find out who did it. But Shorty went out to a rodeo or was riding a bad horse and bucked his hat off, and out of the hat rim fell a whole bunch of paper dollars, paper money. But I don't know; I think it was just one of the stories that Uncle Gus made up.

SAM: Did he drive coach for Felix Warren?

L C: Oh yes.

B C: He was the stage driver for Felix Warren for a month down through Soldier's Meadows and into Lewiston. Then he drove a freight stage or something up through to Orofino too for somebody. Because he was tellin' me one time how on the way down, why he came by and he saw a man standing out in the middle of the Clearwater River. When he went back on his next run, he told the sheriff or something, and the sheriff went out and got the man. And they brought him in, and it was a Chinaman. And they tied his hands with wire and tied his feet with wire and tied him to ropes and threwed him down in the bottom of the river. And the wire on the hands had broke loose and let the rock go and the Chinaman stood up and was standing out there. And Shorty said that he had to haul him back to Lewiston on the next load. He said, "Oh my, he stunk." And that one I got straight from Shorty, he did that one himself. So that was either one that Shorty Hill made up himself, or actually... .

L C: Oh, that probably happened.

B C: Oh, I imagine.

L C: Those were wild days--wild, rugged days. The old man had many adventures that's true. Yeah--many, many adventures, yeah.

SAM: It seemed like he was in more interesting places at interesting times.

L C: Yeah, he was kind of footloose and fancy free, yeah.
B C: He worked in World War II down on the, what, the garbage garbage trucks out of dump or one of the air bases at Mountain Home.

L C: Yeah, uh huh, and this was interesting, he said, there was a big convoy of young soldiers going out. . .

(End of Side B)

L C: They were going off to die in Europe, but they yelled back, "Did you ever see, did you ever tell 'em you saw the wild man."

SAM: Did you ever know Gus Gamble or Earl Clyde?

L C: Yeah, uh huh. They yelled at him. It'd been years since they'd been here, yeah.

B C: And they were wild men.

L C: And they were, and they. . .

B C: They had a batch of 'em.

L C: And Shorty was among the wildest.

B C: Harley Clark was wild too. They were young.

And Sammy and Danny were wild.

L C: They were young and full of zip.

SAM: These guys were around here too, they were friends of . . .

L C: Oh yeah, they were from the East. . . (Bob Clyde leaves)

SAM: Well, couldn't resist it. We were talkin' about Shorty Hill.

GUS GAMBLE: (chuckles) He was a wild old man in his day.

SAM: You know, there's one point about Steffens that I want to ask you about still. And that is that there are two conflicting views in these two articles about how he was killed. One of them—North Idaho History—says that the powder burns indicate that he had killed himself.

L C: Uh huh.

SAM: And here, this article, it says: "One thing for certain, he did not commit suicide."
SAM: What is it the way you've heard it? Did he kill himself or was he killed?

L C: I think he was killed, all right. There were so many bullet holes through him that I'm sure that he was killed. Yea, I don't think he killed himself, but each one of them didn't want the responsibility so they passed it off that he killed himself—but I doubt it. I think that they killed him all right... I had some more clippings like that too from the paper. I had one from, I had the original, in fact they papered the house with it up there. And when they tore down the old Watkins house here they had papered, newspapers that they had papered on the walls. And it had the story of the Watkins murder on it. And I did have that but I don't have it any more, I don't know what happened to it, but it had come right off the walls of the house. They'd given it to me because I had this collection of stuff. I let somebody have it and I don't know what happened to it.

SAM: How did Mrs. Watkins take it?

L C: Well, she was a very fine, kind, placid lady and a very deeply religious lady. And I think she just took it in her stride, that it was the Lord's will and so on. I knew her in her old age and she was a very fine cultured lovely lady. She'd come from English nobility. She'd been a descendant of the Lord Woodhouses. And all her glassware, much of her silver was done with a British coat-of-arms on it. And she had come from a very aristocratic old English family. And she was a very kindly, lovely, darling lady, Carol's grandmother. So I imagine she just accepted it as part of life. I think Carol has done a good job of her grandmother in these two books. I think that's just about the way Mrs. Watkins was. That's the way I always will remember her.

SAM: And do you think that her portrait of Dr. Watkins is also very much the kind of man he was?

L C: Yes, very much. Yes, I do, um hum. I think so.
SAM: Well, now I was thinking about talking about this other incident which is linked in *Buffalo Coat* to the same business.

L C: Yeah, Dr. Ledbrook, uh huh.

SAM: Yeah, Ledbrook and Winnie Booth. As you understand it—as you've heard it—how do you piece together what happened?

L C: Well, there is a difference of opinion, of course, about Dr. Ledbrook. The book makes him the idealist, the dreamer, the reformist, the man that's always upholding the right and working for the good of the community and that sort of thing, but according to the oldtimers that picture is hardly true. Nearly all the oldtimers said he was a very peculiar man, that he had very peculiar looking eyes. And some of the oldtimers thought he'd hypnotised the minister's little daughter. Others said, "Well, he was a dope addict." And I suppose even in those days they had people that used it. And that he had her under the influence of morphine when he killed her. And all I know is just looking at the pictures—and the picture, it shows an older looking man than what Carol paints him in the book. That he's older. And the picture hanging on the walls of the Gritman Hospital taken of him show his peculiar looking eyes—he had very peculiar looking eyes. And Mrs. Eggan, who ran a photograph studio in Moscow for many years, told me when the book came out, "Well I have photos here of him and of the little Booth girl. We had taken Winnie Booth's picture and we had it in our window. And it showed her holding a rose and looking down at it, and a side view of her. And it was a lovely picture. We put it in the window for display purposes. And Dr. Ledbrook came by and stopped and looked, stood and looked at the picture. A long time. And then he came in and he said, 'I want you to do a picture of me just standing with a profile view, too. But have me looking at Jenny and have them (her Winnie is her real name) and put two of them in the window
where we're looking right at each other. And Mrs. Eggan, who was a very forthright little old lady, said, "We certainly did nothing of the kind." She said, "We took his picture but certainly didn't do any such thing as that for him." And there was a great difference of opinion.

SAM: He wanted his picture taken looking the same way as hers?

L C: Yes, like he was looking at Winnie, and then Winnie would be looking at him. And he wanted that pose put in the window of her store, and she refused to do it. And it was rumored at the time that he left a suicide note and that he asked that they be buried in the same grave so they could be together in death. And of course that wasn't done either. He's buried all alone.

There's a single stone in a large lot that he bought... intended it for four people. And he's lying there alone. And his wife did go back to England. And Jenny, of course is buried there at the west entrance to the cemetery.

SAM: What is it that it says on her stone?

L C: Yes, in her note to her parents she asked that they sing at her funeral "There's not a Friend Like the Lowly Jesus" so the stone has that carving on it! "There's not a Friend Like the Lowly Jesus." And they did sing that at her funeral and it's on the stone.

SAM: As far as what actually happened... can you explain that? Is it that he came out to Big Bear Ridge and got her, is that what happened?

L C: Yes, she was teaching down, I think, at Kendrick. And he came down and got her Friday afternoon because school was out. And he came there and got her, then she was gone. And then Monday morning the word came back that she was found dead up at Orofino. And the young boy that she'd been going with, who was John Drury, Mabel Ga no's brother... she'd been going with him all that winter and seemed very happy. It seemed like a very true romance. It was his duty to get on horseback and ride around to the neighboring kids and tell them that there wouldn't be any school that morning, that their teacher was dead.

SAM: You know, I tried to understand what happened there. I find the incident
one of the most mysterious...

L C: Yes.

SAM: ...that I've heard of in local history. Do you think that there was—when
you say that there was great difference of opinion, do you think that
there was a belief among some people that she went willingly?

L C: Yes.

SAM: And that it was actually a double suicide?

L C: Well, I think there were some people thought that, and
other people thought that he had this great influence over her. Some
people said, "Well, he was a hypnotist and he hypnotised her, and she went
against her will, she didn't know what she was doing." Others said, "Well
that he'd gotten her used to-- he'd doctored her, and that she would go to get, on account of the dope. And that he used that
as an inducement to coax her away.

SAM: Had she been sick not too long before that?

L C: Well, I think that that's right about her having broken her leg— that
was true, that incident, that she had broken her leg and he had doctored her
for it.

SAM: I wonder if that was a very long time previous to her going out to teach?

L C: I think not, I think not too long. I think maybe the winter before
probably. Our Grandma Wahl, who was Mary McFarland, she was teaching
with a sister, Daisy Booth. They were teaching over at Palouse, and Winnie
was teaching down by Kendrick. And Grandma remembered very distinctly the
word coming that Winnie had been killed, and that she took over Daisy's room
and taught it while the sister went up to Orofino to help the father
identify the body.

SAM: One thing when I talked to Laura about this—my wife—she was saying that
she thought that under hypnotism a person wouldn't do something that he
didn't really want to do. And I don't know whether that's true, but I think
that's a truism, I think people think that that's generally true.

L C: Yes I think so too. I think Carol handles it beautifully because she opens the book and the minister's little girl in the pinching poverty of the Methodist parsonage is going out to find the Golden Gate, and everything that's beautiful and wonderful has come in the missionary barrels from the Golden Gate. She knows that that must be right next to Heaven, so she's starting out to find it when Dr. Watkins picks her up along Paradise Ridge and brings her home. And in the end she leaves her where she's found her Golden Gate, lying in the arms of the man she loved, and the room's all surrounded with the buttercups that she and he have picked, the room is filled with the gold of the buttercups of the spring. And Carol brings out to us in a very subtle way that here she's found the gold that as a little child she set out to look for. But she was idealized the doctor so much that we all feel so sympathetic with him, that he was this wonderful dreamer and idealist married to an unloved and unloving wife as a matter of convenience, and that here he's found his true soulmate. And it makes a very lovely story of it.

SAM: Well, if you were going to venture a guess about what really happened— and I think if I was going to venture a guess, I might say that maybe she did go willingly, and maybe she didn't really understand what it meant. And maybe he did exercise a great influence over her, but from the way it seems to me, it seems like there was a very good chance that it was willing on her part.

L C: Yes.

SAM: Do you disagree with me or agree with me or what...

L C: Well, I kind of agree with you.

Carol has made her a very high spirited, highly intelligent girl,
you know—a girl with lots of character and stamina, defying the narrow constricting views of the small provincial town where she 

lives. But most of the oldtimers weren't of that opinion. They thought that she didn't have the strength of character of her sister, that she was more sort of a weak sister, and she might have come under the influence and been half in love with him and gone as an experiment or something. So there is that difference of opinion among the old people that knew them.

SAM: Well, you know the view that's presented in the History of North Idaho is quite categorical.

L C: Yes.

SAM: It says she was innocent, she was hypnotised, and he—we had no reason to expect that he was the kind of man he turned out to be—he was totally a...

L C: A reprobate.

SAM: Right, and he plotted it and she was simply a victim.

L C: Yes.

SAM: And I think that's perhaps what it is—just a view that was going to be written down as the accepted...

L C: Yes, I think that was probably it. But among some of the discerning old people, they were of the opinion that she didn't have the great strength of character and the idealism and so on that Carol has attributed to her. And that he wasn't the dreamer and the idealist reformer that Carol has made him. He was really quite a wretched man, maybe a little bit off, was what some of them felt—that he was just a little bit off the rocker.

SAM: Was he a frequent attender of the services, he was of her faith—she was Methodist, right?

L C: Yes, her father was a Methodist minister. No, that doesn't seem to hold
water— he didn't identify himself much with the church work at all, no.

SAM: What happened there, first what happened when they found out about it? I've heard that it caused a great furor in Moscow. Is that...

L C: Well, yes. My father had known Reverend Booth over at Goldendale, Washington. 'Cause when my father came home from Victoria he was sent to Goldendale to establish Presbyterian churches. And there in the Methodist Church at Goldendale was Reverend Booth. And then when my father came to Moscow, to surprise a few years later to Moscow came Reverend Booth with his little family. And my father had very high regard for Mr. Booth. He said, he was a very fine, gentle, quiet person, and my father thought he had a very lovely wife and family. And they certainly grieved. And of course, the good Methodist women, they would be just more than shocked at all this hanky-panky going on, you know. And they would have no time for anything like that. And so maybe that is how some of the reason came in, that she was hypnotised as if under the spell of this vile, vicious man. The way they've written it up in the Idaho History. But on the other hand, I know that Carol has colored him greatly from what the oldtimers said about him—that he wasn't the gentle, idealistic reformer that she has painted him. She's made him such a sympathetic figure.

SAM: I think what I'm looking for is if there is an ounce of truth in Carol Brink's portrayal of it, enough that it can be viewed as a certain amount of willingness on Winnie's side.

L C: Yes, I think so. I think there must have been some willingness, because after all, she didn't have to go. And there must have been some. She must have known he was coming. There must have been something. Although she'd
been very happy in the relationship with this young John Drury. He'd been a dashing, handsome, tall young fellow and quite the catch of the country. And she'd been very happy going to the little neighborhood parties and school parties with him all winter. And he was shocked beyond belief that this when this word came—he just couldn't believe it had happened.

SAM: Was this her first year teaching, do you think, or.

L C: Yes, I think it was.

SAM: So she was really quite.

L C: Quite inexperienced.

SAM: Quite young.

L C: Um hum.

SAM: Now if we take the two events, would you say that the killing of Watkins had a much stronger impact in the community at the time, or would you say that they were both shaking and shattering events.

L C: Well, they were both quite shattering. Carol makes them both happen in the same year, and I don't think that was just true. I forget what I got out of the history book there.

SAM: I think there was a year's difference.

L C: I think there was a year's difference, one was in May of one year and the other was in August of the following year, but Carol makes it just the few months from May to August apart. But I think that it was a year and two months apart as I remember.

SAM: You told me that the impact of Dr. Watkins' death was so great that people remembered what they were doing on that day.

L C: Yes, yes, they all remembered: "I was just coming in from a picnic out at Moscow Mountain." "I was standing right there on Main Street and I saw the buggy go by, the horse going slowly by with the doctor leaning over in it, and didn't know he was dead. I just saw him leaning there in the car,
and I thought he was sick." "I saw George Creighton and the blood running down his arm." "I was walkin' down the Main Street." Each one remembered what they were doing, and I think maybe the death of Dr. Watkins shattered the community more than the killing of Winnie Booth. Both of them were just great tragedies—the greatest tragedies almost Moscow has seen. But I think Moscow took these love affairs a little more in their stride, maybe, than they did something so far-reaching, because there were many families involved in the shooting—there was the sheriff, George Creighton with a bleeding arm, and Dr. Watkins, who'd been a power in the community, gone.

L C: Did you say to me that you thought that this was sort of comparable to John Kennedy's assassination in its...?

L C: Yes, yes. It had that impact. People remember where they were when the word came that John Kennedy had been shot. You always remember—it's galvanized in your mind—where you were and how it came to you. And I think it was the same with this because so many, many of those old people, they can tell you right where there were and what they were doing, and who came and told them. "A boy came riding on horseback and met us. We were coming in in a wagon and he told us." And that has stuck in their memory all these years.

SAM: Then the fact that the next doctor also met an untimely end, that made me very curious about whether or not Moscow people started thinkin' that the doctors were jinxed in this town?

L C: Well, Carol wrote a short story, and she called it "The Doctor's Office." And she tells about three—the three doctors that all came to tragic ends there. And they'd all had that office. Dr. Watkins had been on the Board of Regents for the University of Idaho too because he was a well-educated, trained man. He'd been instrumental in getting the first administration
building built. And one of the favorite sayings of the oldtimers was:

"Well it sure was good to be on that Board of Regents, because they used the very same brick up there that they put in the administration building. And they built that doctor's office with the very same brick, you know, so we had that kind of people then too, you see. And they were looking for things like that. But the doctor's office anyway had housed all three of these.

SAM: Is that the Good Food Store now? Is that what it is, is it that building right on the end of the block?

L C: No, right under where you are—right where you go up the stairs. You know it's had its face lifted, you know. There's Naylor's office, and as you go up the stairs to your place, it's the building on the right—it's not quite as high as the other building.

SAM: I see, it's still being used then?

L C: Yeah, it's the Naylor Real Estate Office. I don't think there's anybody in it right now 'cause Roy's out at the nursing home, but it was his office for many years, and that was the doctor's office. And then Dr. Parsons was out looking for gold in the Buffalo Hump country and fell off a horse and fractured his skull, so he was the third doctor to die tragically there.

SAM: I was just wondering, do you think that at the time people were saying--I would imagine that people would say, boy, there's something wrong with this office, on our doctor. we're having bad luck... 

L C: Oh, yes, they did. That's right, yes. They made a point of it that this was a jinx—that the office was a jinxed place. There was a jinx there at the office—bad luck, uh huh.

SAM: Did the next doctor move into the same office, do you know?

L C: Well, yes. I think the three doctors that practiced there—first was then Dr. Watkins, Dr. Ledbrook and then Dr. Parsons.
SAM: No, I was thinking of the one that came after Parsons. I just wonder if he moved into that same office or if he found someplace that was a little less jinxed.

L C: I think he went someplace else. I don't know who came after Dr. Parsons, but I think they went someplace else 'cause almost as far back as I can remember the Naylors had a real estate office there.

SAM: What about the Buffalo Coat portrayal of the widow, the one woman who was completely ignored...

L C: Oh yes, who'd got divorce--the divorced lady who was...

SAM: Oh yes, that's right, the divorce--that's what I mean.

L C: The divorcee. Well, I remember a lady that lived there on Third Street in a little house about where the little shopping center is, above the Marketime Drugstore there, about where the shopping center is. She lived there behind a little picket fence and had lovely flowers. And I suppose that was the lady. I've forgotten her name, but I suppose that was the divorcee. And a lot of them were looked upon with suspicion, you know, you took the men for better or for worse and no matter how much worse they were than you ever thought you stuck right with it to the bitter end. And nowadays I believe in women's lib, I think they're darn lot smarter.

SAM: Do you think that the portrayal that Carol gives to the attitude that a small town would have towards divorced women was accurate?

L C: Yes, I do, uh huh. Yes, I think that that's very well done, uh huh. You just didn't get divorce in those days. If you were, you were a fallen lady of some kind.

SAM: It's so hard for me to believe that people could feel that way.

L C: Well, I think in those days they did, though. I think there was--oh, she was a divorcee, goodness, that was horrible. She had fallen from
SAM: I don't know if I've really hit everything on these two cases, but I can't think of anything else.

L C: Oh, I think you have the main things. I think those are all the main points, and those things I've given you are the reactions of these oldtime people because . . .

SAM: That's the best thing.

L C: . . . you see, they were still alive when the book came out. And that's (her daughter), how Mary on all these pictures and things, how she got the word, because she went to the two grandmothers and other old ladies and got all that. And then she went to some of the oldtime scrapbooks, and they'd say, "Oh, yes, now there, that's the seamstress. That's Mrs. Mill--she was ninety-six."

She was the seamstress in the story. And then when they talk about the Italians, well those were Johnny Jabbaro's people. They weren't Italian, they're Syrians, but she makes it that and that's all right. And the whole way along, they could help pinpoint who these various folks were.

I don't have Christine's picture, but you know she had the little servant girl, Christine, just over from the Old Country and she had her there in the house and she liked Christine. Well, Christine worked for me years later when my kids were little. She told me how Mrs. Watkins would hold up a cup--they'd do dishes together--and Grandma'd say "cup"--"cup"! And then she learned to say it. She go "spoon"--"spoon", you see. And Christine learned to speak English there. And Christine was maybe seventy-five back in '40 but as a young girl she had worked there and she was the Christine of the book. And I didn't get Christine's picture. I should have, she'd dead and gone now, but Christine told me many interesting things about them. All of them were so sweet about Grandma Watkins--how good she was and how she ran
to wait on the doctor and how she spoiled the daughters. The daughters didn't have to do anything; they went to Portland to the finishing schools and were well educated and lovely. Grandma wanted them to be ladies.

SAM: The picture in *Buffalo Coat* of Christine is that she's very much part of the family.

L C: Oh, yes. Very much part of the family and she learned all these things and Christine said Grandma Watkins wanted her to learn how to do things her way but she also accepted the oldtime ways. "You make us some of your Swedish hotcakes. You make us some of your Swedish sausage, and how do you cook it in your land?" Christine would bring in some of her ways of doing things. Grandma Watkins was so kind and so lovely to her, and Christine just worshipped her. Christine, as an old lady here at my house, helpin' babysit my kids, she often talked about what a lovely experience her first years here in America had been living with Mrs. Watkins.

SAM: Did she leave service with Mrs. Watkins to get married?

L C: Yes, uh huh, uh huh. Then she married a man named Olson, uh huh, and that was a happy marriage, uh huh. And she had many little trinkets and things that Grandma Watkins had given her, yeah. So that was nice.

SAM: I think maybe we'll talk some more about Grandma Watkins which I haven't read yet.

L C: Oh, you haven't. Well, you've got to read that 'cause that is Grandma Watkins. I've got a thing I'm going to give you, or did I give you that sheet?

SAM: Oh, you did. I've got it.

L C: Yeah, get you a Xerox of that because that was published right when the book, when *Caddie Woodlawn* came off the press. And I think that's awfully well done. I think it's real...
SAM: This is the one with the picture of Mrs. Watkins?

L C: Yeah, the picture of Mrs. Watkins sitting there. You see, she was an old lady then. I think it was about '42, and there she sits. And that is Grandma Watkins just like she looked then. And she was a fine old lady, just a grand, kindly, placid, lovely, darling woman. And she had seen life in many forms and known many sorrows, and she had raised little Carol, you see. And she was a fine old lady. And like I say, she was Carolyn Woodhouse before she married Dr. Watkins. And he was educated at Oxford, I'm sure. They were English and like I say, many times I've been there and seen the lovely glassware with the British coat-of-arms and silver with the coat-of-arms on it. I have a button bracer, and it has a button on it with a British coat-of-arms from her people that Carol gave me. It has a little button that has the little coat-of-arms of the Woodhouse people. And of course, I have all those darling little Haviland cups that I get out. They all came from the Watkins'. When Carol left, she was going to go to this small apartment down at La Jolla, and she said, "I don't want to take all this stuff." I said, "Don't sell it to just anybody, sell it to me, I'll buy it" and I did. I bought all those little sweet things, and I have the desk where she wrote Caddie Woodlawn. I have just lots of the Watkins' memorabilia around, because I was greatly fascinated with the stories and so were all my children. Yes, I bought hundreds and hundreds of the books and have given them for presents and had Carol autograph 'em for all my grandchildren. And it's really nice, um hum.

SAM: I don' think I . . .

(End of Side C)

L C: More copies of the book have been sold of it than were ever sold of
**Little Women.** Isn't that something? It's just gripping, no matter where you go. Around the world they've read *Caddie Woodlawn,* it's required reading in forty-five of our forty-eight states—the children— it's required reading in the grades in forty-five of the forty-eight states.

SAM: I better read it—fast.

LC: Well, it's something like *Little House on the Prairie.* I'm anxious to see them do *Caddie Woodlawn* on the television. It'd make a wonderful story.

It's a lot like *Little House on the Prairie,* in fact I think *Little House on the Prairie* is based on *Caddie Woodlawn* if you ask me. (Break)

LC: Well, I'm thinking right now of *Buffalo Coat.* The summer that came out, I must have reviewed it, I think I must have reviewed it maybe fifty times, just that one summer. I'd hardly get home and there'd be somebody calling to have me come and do it over again, you know. People were just—just mesmerized by it. And the sexton out at the cemetery—we went to find, of course, the graves, and he said, "It's funny about Winnie's grave, it's lain there all these years and nobody ever went to see it. Every year now there are flowers on Winnie Booth's grave. More people come out here and ask for those graves. I'm just continually taking somebody to find the graves." And that was interesting. And of course, *Snow in the River* was well received over the years. I didn't do so many just right the first year, I did it maybe ten times. But one year I did it seventy-five times in the twelve months, I did *Snow in the River.* And they never got tired of hearing it, goodness.

SAM: Do you know anything about what Winnie Booth's family did afterwards? Did they leave the country?

LC: They left the country, and I never kept any track of them. My grandma
Wahl knew Daisy Booth and they corresponded for quite a while. But just at the time I never thought to ask her what became of them. But they both had graduated from the University of Idaho and probably the University of Idaho would have some record of where Daisy went and where she taught. There might be something there.

SAM: Oh, thee girls both attended the school?

L C: Yes, they both attended, uh huh.

SAM: Did Mrs. Ledbrook, was she ever known to pass any kind of verdict on what happened before she left?

L C: No, I think Carol has portrayed Mrs. Ledbrook just about like she was. There seemed to be so little remembering of her among the old people. Most of them, "Well, we never saw her, we don't know anything about her. We knew him, we saw him, we had him, but we never saw Mrs. Ledbrook."

None of those oldtimers that we talked to when the book came out seemed to ever have remembered Mrs. Ledbrook. So she must have been a sort of a background person, about the way probably Carol has her portrayed, 'cause Carol of course, knew them all.

SAM: Well, when you say that speaking so much about the book Buffalo Coat when it came out, do you think that what it did that it rekindled the discussion of these events?

L C: Oh yes. They all started in remembering when and remembering who was who, and it all went on day and night, all that summer, all that summer, no matter where you went that was the topic of discussion. And of course, Carol's auntie, Elsie Phiel, was alive. And she was a miraculous story-teller, a woman of great charm and just totally lovable. And there was nothing any more fun than to get her telling about the oldtime stories because she was
much, much older than I, and she remembered it all firsthand. And she could remember it, and it's too bad she didn't leave a few memoirs because she certainly had it all down firsthand.

SAM: What do you think—outside of Moscow, I would imagine that the impact of these events was a lot less.

L C: Yes, I think so. I think outside of Moscow—there was no radio, there was no television, newspapers came out maybe once a week. I think it was just, it wasn't as gripping as a bank hold-up, you know—that would be a lot more exciting. And I think the people just didn't pay too much attention to it, although the Spokesman Review did write it up and it's in the old copies of the Spokesman Review. They wrote it up and it's there. But I think as far as the immediate vicinity, they were all too busy making a living supporting their little families and trying to get along to be too stricken over it. But I do think in the church circles it furnished an awful lot of discussion for a while anyway.

SAM: Do you think it was the topic of sermons?

L C: Yes, I bet it was, I'm sure they'd get up and go on about the iniquities of the town, um hum, I'm just sure.

SAM: I'd like to change the subject—thinking about newspapers, there was that one paper that I've heard just a bit about that sounded sort of interesting to me, and that was Owings's paper—the Democratic paper. Did you ever hear anything about that?

L C: Yes, well I knew the Owings family—Owings, yeah. The son is still alive. And they called him Sody Owings, the youngest son, Tom Owings—he was a football player on the Moscow High School and he lives at Boise. And he's remembered in particular because when Mrs. George Creighton died, she'd had no children of her own, and the little Owings boy had delivered newspapers to her door.
and she made him very wealthy. She left him a big part of her fortune—
Mrs. George Creighton left the young Tom Owings part of her fortune.

SAM: Was he grown up by then?

L C: Well, no, not too grown up. And the rest of it she left to Bill Cahill, the old banker in Moscow. But Bill Cahill and young Sody Owings got the bulk of Mrs. George Creighton's fortune.

SAM: For delivering her newspapers?

L C: Yes, he had delivered the newspapers. He was a cute little red-haired boy, and she'd liked him. And he got her fortune. So that's what we remember about Tom Owings. And of course being Democratic and Moscow so staunch Republican, I'm sure that Mr. Owings and his Democratic newspaper would be very much in the doghouse in the count y. He would just be beyond the pale, you know. He would be the enemy.

SAM: That's what I was thinking. This guy must have been quite a character to be able to write a newspaper that would be unpopular.

L C: Yes, to be so unpopular in the town of Moscow, yes, he must have done all right, because he ran a grocery store here in Moscow too, the Owings' grocery store. And I bought things many times in there, um hum.

SAM: I will show you. . . (Break. He reads Ms. Clyde a description of Pennsylvania Dutch folklore from Richard Dorson's Buying the Wind.)

L C: Was to ward off evil spirits I guess with their hex signs on tops of barns.

SAM: What kind of hex signs would they be?

L C: Oh, they'd be like a Lorainian Cross, the Cross of Lore in an eight-sided figure with a cross in the middle. And they were called the hex sign to ward off evil spirits and bad things off your farm.

SAM: When they talk about evil spirits, what kind of spirits do you think they had in mind? Do you think they were . . .?

L C: Oh, things that caused disease, I think.
When cattle got sick, you know, it wasn't that they were suffering from some disease—there was a hex on them. There'd been a hex put on them and that was a bad spell cast over them. If they didn't give down their milk, it wasn't that they were just holding up on the milk, it was that there was a hex on them, that these hex spirits had put evil things on them.

SAM: According to what he has herein a number of cases there were witches and believed that there were people who were responsible for the spells. Was that true?

L C: Oh yes, sure. Yes, I think so. They thought some people cast evil spells. Of course, the very, very old ones probably believed that. I think they were getting a little more enlightened by the time they got down to Earl's mother. I never heard her really believe that. But at least I've heard Grandma, Earl's grandmother, or children's great-grandmother, tell about back where they came from, there were these people who could cast evil spells.

SAM: Do you ever remember her telling about the ways that they got rid of the evil spells or turned the spells back on the...?

L C: Oh, yes, there was many ways, you know, all the old superstitions, like we, you know, we don't believe it, but when we walk under a ladder we'll throw a pinch of salt over our shoulder just in case, you know. Why sure, we had to do all those things. And Grandma still had a little belief in some of those. If a black cat crossed the road, why cross yourself and say a little prayer right away, and that would undo the bad sign. And there were many, many different signs that were bad.

SAM: There were signs, I mean like the black cat crossing the road?
L C: Yes, uh huh. That would be a bad sign. And red clouds on the sunrise that was bad, and of course of all them say that means rain. Well, if they were in a certain shape why! that meant bad things going to--blood, maybe. Bad things like that--bloodshed.

SAM: They were omens.

L C: Omens, lots of omens. Lots of things were omens and bring bad luck, um hum.

SAM: Do you think that this was especially strong with Pennsylvania Dutch, from their background?

L C: Yes, I think maybe, maybe, uh huh. I think maybe the Pennsylvania Dutch were more so than other people, um hum. So many of the things that have been handed down like breaking a mirror--that seemed to be a bad thing with the Pennsylvania Dutch. We know it's bad to break anything, but particularly bad luck if you broke a mirror--bad luck for seven years.

SAM: Well those sound like the cat and the mirror, they are two of the most often held superstitions.

L C: Yeah, all around, yes. That's true in all parts of the country, I think, um hum.

SAM: What about some of the farm beliefs about stock and things like that. Like he has some in here, for instance he says, and he has 'em in the journal too: "The first calf dropped by a cow should not be raised, it should be sold."

L C: Yes, I know that. And if the cow held up her milk it was witches and things were making her do it instead of just natural meanness. And all kinds of things like that.

SAM: He has:"Kill a barn swallow and cows will give bloody milk."

L C: Yeah, yes I've heard that.

SAM: "If butter is slow in coming, say: Butter, butter come. There's no greater witch than I. Come butter come, Come butter come. Peter's waiting at the gate, waiting for a butter cake. Come butter, come."

L C: Yes, I've heard that. I heard those and I heard about dropping a hot iron
in the butter, and that would scare the devils and witches out of the churn. Instead of just knowing that your cream was too cold and warming it up a little, they thought there was something down in there keeping it and if you threw in a hot iron it would scare away the bad...

SAM: Oh, that's really interesting.

LC: Yeah, and women who were having their sick time, they shouldn't make kraut. The kraut would go sour on them and it would be terrible. It wouldn't cure right and all kinds of things like that.

SAM: Huh, that's really interesting.

LC: Um hum, yes. It's part of the belief that the women were unclean at their menstruation period. And they shouldn't make butter, they shouldn't make bread, they shouldn't make sauerkraut because all those things wouldn't be good for you if the woman had done it at that time.

SAM: What was a woman supposed to do then? Nothing?

LC: Retire, I guess into her bedroom.

SM: Did they ever have, ever hear things about marriage? About how you were going to find out who you were going to marry?

LC: Well, I've always heard about walking downstairs, you know, with a mirror on Halloween Night and look in the mirror and your future husband will peek in the mirror. And of course, the young men took advantage of that and they'd follow 'em down in the basement and peek in the mirror right along. And that was a good way to do it.

SAM: On Halloween Night?

LC: Yeah, especially on Halloween Night, um hum, that was a good night because then there were spirits walking all over the earth and there was a little supernaturalness came in there. And that was a good way to find out.

SAM: This wasn't just Pennsylvania Dutch?

LC: No, that was quite prevalent in the country school play parties. They would
do that one because the girls were all hoping the right boy would
and he'd walk down the stairs be peering into her mirror for her.

And there were many other things that girls should . . . One oldtime recipe
for how to find out who you'd marry was to bake a cake and the recipe, and
this was printed: "The girl should take so much of her own water (and that
was in italics) and mix the cake with that and then eat it. And when you went
to bed you'd dream of the right young man. And you'd sure dream about
something, I think, if you'd been doing things like that.

I remember the great-grandmother when I was very pregnant with one of my
babies and we had about thirty of the Soil Conservation boys planting all
that group of trees out here along the ditch. The only thing we had to do
was just feed them their noon meal and we were just delighted to have the
boys. So I just cooked up everything good I could think of and just loaded
the table down for those thirty hungry kids. And I remember Grandma, the
children's great-grandma, saying, "And now when you get the table set you must
and go into your own bedroom, don't let those thirty young men see you!" And
I said, "Well, Grandma, I just can't do it. I've got to see that they get
fed and get coffee. I've got to stay out here." Well, that was very vulgar
and immodest of me to do it. But it was so funny because when one of the
young men threw over two little sticks of gum, my oldest daughter broke
one in half and she said, "I'll give half my stick to my little sister."
And the next little girl broke hers in half and she said, "I'll eat half and
I'll save half for the baby that's inside of Momma." And I said, "There
the thirty boys sat from the sidewalks of New York and they'd had to have
been deaf, dumb and blind if they hadn't known of my condition."

And not a one cracked a smile. They sat there at my table,
perfect gentlemen, all thirty of the little boys from the sidewalks of New
later, "Now that's just what you had coming for telling these children." "Well," L said, "Those boys just loved it, they thought weren't those nice, generous little girls, they gave the gum to. They'd have had to have been deaf and blind if they didn't know what was goin' on!" But was the period of this great modesty, this great—retiring to your room. And I think that was some kind of folklore probably, that all these strange glances would cast some evil spell maybe on the unborn child. I took a chance on it and Robert seems to be doing pretty well.

SAM: That was Bob, eh?

L C: That was Bob. Bob was the one we were expecting so he's doin' all right.

SAM: He's doin' fine.

L C: Yeah, he's doin' fine. I think it was all right.

But I always will remember how very gallant and gentlemanly that bunch of rough kids from the sidewalks of New York were. Not a smile. They went right on eating their big, substantial farm dinner and not a smile was cracked, nobody looked at anybody.

SAM: I remember about how you told who you're going to marry. The old one that I remember is that you picked the petals of flowers, but that's so common to me, that's so...

L C: Sure, Yeah. Well there were many other ways of doing it. No, there was all kinds of things. And that dreaming about 'em—that was somethin' I believe me. And I suppose the person that was uppermost in their minds, they all would dream about that one, you know. But if two gals dreamt about the same boy, he'd be in a bad fix. He'd have quite a little job. But there were many like that went on, um hum.

SAM: What about on dreaming? Weren't there beliefs that certain dreams meant
certain things?

L C: Oh, yes, I should say there are books and books published about . . .

SAM: I don't what the educated people say, I mean just what people used to think. . .

L C: Oh yes, yes, yes. There were lots of different things. You would dream about your future husband, that was one, especially if you ate this certain kind of cake. And to dream of a chicken, that was bad luck. To dream of any kind of a bird—most dreaming about birds was bad. I don't know why they were ill-omens; that was bad. And there was an old saying among them "Dreams go by contraries" and that meant if you dreamt you were very well or going to a wedding, you'd be very sorrowful and go to a funeral. If you well dreamt that you were out going to a dance, maybe you'd be down sick in bed. Whatever you dreamt about the opposite would happen. And if you dreamt about bad things, then why something good was going to happen to you. And they'd say: "Dreams go by contraries." And I think maybe part of that was psychological, because so often you remembered the bad things you dreamed about, being awfully frightened or falling—those were the things you dreamt about. But if you thought, 'That's just the opposite, something good that's going to lift me up is going to happen,'—you see it was their way of rationalizing. And I think that was maybe a good thing. But all of them had that saying, "Dreams go by contraries." You dream one thing and it'll just be the other way, and that was good. That was good psychology, I think. Don't you?

SAM: Yeah. It makes a lot of sense to me.

L C: It makes a lot of sense. It encouraged the kids.

SAM: You know, the spirits—and I know that may sound funny to young people these days—but from what I've read and heard it seems like spirits were
really important—many people believed that spirits...

L C: Oh, yes, and ghosts. People were always seeing ghosts. Somebody came back in the night and told them something. And they had a vision in the night and there they were. I remember when our neighbor down here, Ed Snow, was getting old and sick. His boy had died, his twenty-eight year old son—fine handsome young man. And I went down to comfort him and he said to me, "Oh, I knew he was going to die. Bill Clyde (that was Earl's father) who'd been dead twenty years, Bill Clyde came in last night into my bedroom and he sat right here on the bed and he told me that. He told me, 'Floyd is going to go.' He said, 'You needn't worry because it's a beautiful place and he'll be a lot better off there.' And I'm there and I wouldn't tell you this if it weren't so." And he said, "I'd believe Bill Clyde anytime." And Ed wasn't spoofing, Ed really felt that he'd seen him.

SAM: Did he expect his son to die anyway, I mean was there any indication...

L C: Well, the boy yeah, the boy was awfully sick with pneumonia. And of course most of them thought a young, husky man like that would recover, but...

SAM But he died that night.

L C: But he did die, uh huh. And he said, "Oh, I knew he was going to die. Bill Clyde came in the night before and told me. Bill Clyde was here, he came right in and sat on my bed. He told me that Floyd isn't going to make it. He said, Floyd's going to die. But it's all right. It's a wonderful place, and I'm there, I'll be right there to help take care of Floyd."

SAM: Are there other experiences like that you've heard of? I mean I'm sure that there have been because I know...

L C: Yes, yes, that in particular I'll always remember because no one would have expected Floyd Snow, 225 pounds, six feet four inches of young, twenty-eight year old man—no one expected him to die. So that always will stick
in my mind. But I remember another young girl, she was rather impressionable, and maybe fifteen. She said, "Oh, I knew that Grandma was going to die. Last night I dreamed about Grandma and I could just see her lying right there in bed. And she just looked so bad and I knew that Grandma would die." And Grandma did. But Grandma was an old woman and everybody knew she was going to die. And it wasn't so unusual, but the girl said, "I dreamed about it last night, and I knew she was going to die."

SAM: To have somebody come, someone who'd been dead twenty years, come in and sit down and talk to you, and you feel that you know him...

L C: Yes, yeah, that was real unusual, and Ed was a real bright man. He'd been our county commissioner, and he wasn't given to that sort of thing, and he wasn't superstitious, and he wasn't deeply religious. But I'll always remember that because no one of us had expected Floyd to go—it was just so unexpected. But I always remember Ed sitting there and telling me that. Of course, he was in deep, deep grief, and he had thought lots of Bill Clyde, they'd been great friends together all those years. He said, "Well, Bill Clyde told me that. He and sat right down here on the bed and talked to me."

SAM: What about haunting?

L C: Oh yes, I've always heard about the haunted houses, you know, the wind creaked or the wood rats got to running around in the attic—there were people up there walking around. I'm not superstitious, you know, I...

SAM: Yea, I'm not either. But I used to feel that it was just all silliness, but now I feel that at least because people that have had experiences like that, there's something to it...

L C: Yes, well a lot of people have that second sight or this, that feeling. Many of the Irish are just carried away with it. And they have imaginations and are sensitive to changes. And nearly all of them have favorite ghost
stories and things that go bump in the night, you know. And I'm just not...

SAM: Well, I'm not asking you about personal belief, I'm asking you about
and am curious about what people say.

L C: Yeah, of yes. I have lots of people that have seen ghosts, and my father
came straight from Ireland, and that's where they really had the ghosts. But
he wasn't much of a believer. He told one cute story about how he was driving
home, and the little people in Ireland were walking right across the road.
And the horse stopped and wouldn't go any farther. And he got down and
looked right between the ears of the horse, and there he could see these
white little people walking across the road. But he tied up his horse
and went up there to look, and it was an old, white cat with a bunch of
little kittens going across the road!

SAM: Was this here in Idaho?

L C: No, this was back in Ireland as a young boy. He had many stories about
the banshees that would come and sit on the window and keen. And when they
keened, why that meant someone was going to die. And somebody did die,
they'd die in that house. But the little banshee would warn you. It would
come—and the banshee was a small little woman in flowing robes. She'd be
about eighteen inches high. She'd come and stand in the window and keen.
And that's the weird wailing sound they make at death. And at the Irish wakes
they'll keen. So the little lady would come and keen, and that meant someone
was going to die. And I've heard many of them from Ireland tell if a
bird flew against the window—I would just think that the thing saw its
reflection or was trying to get into the light or something—but they said,
"Oh, no that was an awful bad sign. If a bird flew against the window
someone in the house would die right away." And there were many of them who
believed that. And a dog howling at night. I think they heard the coyotes
up in the hill, but many of these folks from Ireland, that was an awfully bad sign. The dog was howling, and it was grieving because there would be a death or bad sickness in the house. And the dog was baying. And to me the dog was just barking at the coyotes. But for the people who believe that I know it's all very real. It's just very real to them, you know. And I know people that if a black cat crossed the path, they wouldn't go to town, they'd turn around and go home. They didn't want to have any accident or anything happen to them, you know. And those beliefs carried down a good many years. My generation, I don't think any of us did much believing along that line, but it carried down a long time.

SAM: I wonder if the banshees made it into Idaho, because it seems to me that a lot of the beliefs got stopped at the ocean pretty much. Many of them didn't quite make it... 

L C: No, well the only place I heard about the banshees crying and these ghost stories... Course, there isn't any good Irish Catholic that doesn't have a ghost that walks in it. What good would they be without a walking ghost? Most of them came with the Irish settlers, and my father being Irish and my cousin's folks who settled here were Irish, they were great on the banshees and the ghosts and the signs of trouble, and the signs of death, and signs of sickness, and everything was a bad sign. My mother didn't go along with it because she was educated at Victoria and she didn't take those views, and of course my father didn't much either, but his relatives who came from Ireland, they were great believers in banshees and ghosts and the little people, the fairy people and the fairy rings and the dancing at night of them... 

SAM: What was this supposed to be? Who were the fairies supposed to be?
L C: Well they were just little people. They were small, maybe eighteen inch size. And they did good—most of them were very good—the fairies. They brought you good things. They presided at the baptisms, there was a fairy there, and bestowed like the fairy godmother certain gifts—they were good people. And if you watched, you could see, if you went out by the full light of the moon, you could see them dancing in the grass, and they were always out looking for fairy rings. We know they’re just mushrooms is what they are, but they thought that the fairies had been there and made those. I'm not sure but what maybe the dogs had been out there too, and made the grass a little greener, but anyway they thought they were fairy rings.

SAM: And there were bad fairies as well?

L C: Well, yes there'd be bad ones, too. But most fairies were good. And the bad ones were imps and other things, but there were lots of... All the things were ruled by that, you know, our life cycle. And if we were born under a certain sign that was bad. And the full moon was always good, and the waning moon, that was when bad things happened. The waning moon was the bad cycle, but the waxing moon, that was good. And do things in the waxing of the moon—all that was good. And then the waning of the moon, be pretty careful and quiet what you were up to.

SAM: Was this Irish—not Pennsylvania Dutch?

L C: No; this was Irish, this moon business mostly. And of course in later years we got to know that the moon did control the tides, and a lot of the earth things were controlled by the moon. So maybe they had a little more to it that we thought. I thought it was all just a bunch of baloney, but there may have been a little something to it, you know, in the background. Because there are more things in Heaven Earth than are dreamed of in our philosophy. And if you're going to be a writer
and that sort of thing, you got to believe in something, don'tcha?
And if you bring pretty white carnations out to ladies, why that shows you're an idealist and a good person.

(End of Side D)

Transcribed and typed by Kathy Blanton