
Eyes of the Earth

Lily White, Sarah Ladd, and the Oregon Camera Club

Nature is full of pictures, and they are to be found in what appears to the uninitiated the most unlikely places. Let the honest student then choose some district with which he is in sympathy, and let him go there quietly and spend a few months, or even weeks if he cannot spare months, and let him day and night study the effects of nature, and try to produce one picture of his own, which shall show an honest attempt to probe the mysteries of nature and art, one picture which shall show the author has something to say and knows how to say it, as perhaps no other living person could say it; that is something to have accomplished. Remember that your photograph is a rough index of your mind; it is a sort of rough confession on paper.

— P.H. Emerson

ON A SUNNY JUNE MORNING in 1903, Lily White ventured beyond the comfort of her new houseboat, the *Raysark*, anchored in a snug harbor on the Columbia River near Lyle, Washington.¹ With stray hairs blowing about her face, she sped away in a small gasoline-powered launch for the ten-mile crossing to The Dalles, on the Oregon side of the river, in search of a boat mechanic. White revealed her thoughts of that blustery day in a *Pacific Monthly* article, “From the Log of the *Raysark*.” Despite concerns about her craft’s engine, she wrote, “the movement of the boat was a delight as it rose and fell with the rhythm of the swells. I felt the fullness of courage and inspiration with every breath and glance at the towering mountains as they stood high in stern majesty from the water’s edge on either side.” Watching her arrival on the harbor at The Dalles were a row of “curious men and boys,” none offering her a line to land.

A lone woman in a “power boat,” who comes out of the unknown distance up a lonely, wind-tossed river, must have appeared almost too independent to loungers on a wharf.



Lily White, Upper Cape Horn, Near Celilo Falls of the Columbia

Hands were kept in manful pockets. She must make her own landing and arrive on the high deck of the wharf as best she could and under fire from a regiment of critical eyes. When a woman will step into the world of action and do a few vigorous things for herself, she may do all the rest—ahem!

White spent the day watching and helping with the changes made in the boat's pipes and rods. All day the mechanics cut, turned, and fitted, making many trips to and from the workshop, until without rest or food they finished the repairs just as the sun was sinking from view. Turning down offers to stay the night, White climbed into her boat and sprinted across the wide river, "full of joy in the refreshing wind and pride in the trim little boat." Her delight was cut short as the engine halted, leaving her bobbing with the swells. Mentally reviewing the day's boat repairs, White quickly used her hatpin, "which, by the way was available for the one and only time



Sarah Ladd, Morning Mists — Looking Down the River

since my coming out this spring,” to remove a remaining obstruction of soap used to prevent the joints of gasoline pipe from leaking.

Refitting the pipe joints this time with greater difficulty in the dark, and replacing the needle valve, I tried to start the engine. She would not go . . . the wind blew a gale, the river here was swift, the spring freshet at its height, and high perpendicular cliffs of rock stood several hundred feet, towers of magnificence on either side — batteries of destruction they seemed to me that night. And here it was, during the time which followed, that I learned the real meaning of stillness.



At last, realizing a misplaced anchor was the problem, she tore off her skirts, and

steadying myself with one hand on the gunwale, I felt for the panting, vibrating engine, and was over it with a bound. . . . I felt for and found the offending anchor. . . . Desperation added strength to my arm and I jerked it loose at last.

In darkness, White traveled the remaining miles of river to the *Raysark* and her waiting mother, whose

sharp ears had heard the puff of the little engine above the wind. . . . I laughed away the questions about my strange yachting costume, and told her we owned the finest little boat in the land.²

In that remarkable scenery and buoyed by a sense of heroic enjoyment, Lily White and her friend Sarah Ladd made exquisite photographs of the Columbia River Gorge. Through their work, the *Raysark* became legendary, providing the two women and their friends congenial summer memories and a source of their most enduring photographs. Early amateur photographers such as White and Ladd, who had leisure time and economic freedom, undertook their work not for money, but for creative adventure. In Portland, privileged men and women chartered riverboats for moonlight excursions on the Willamette and Columbia rivers and enjoyed the new sport of golf — and they

documented their leisure activities by taking photographs. Camera clubs across the country were giving amateur photographers the opportunity to socialize, obtain darkroom assistance, share ideas and information, and go on organized outings on bicycles, trains, or river steamers. In Portland, White and Ladd dedicated themselves to the Oregon Camera Club and the nascent photographic movement in the city. Both women understood the power of photography to record their own ways of seeing a landscape. During those years, they also cultivated opportunities for personal promotion that intersected with Portland's rise in regional and national status.



Lily White, A Scarf of Mist (also called Up the Columbia)

WHILE THE FAMILY STORIES of Lily White and Sarah Ladd have little in common, their lives intertwined in a friendship that lasted throughout their adult years. Life on the Columbia River came naturally to Lily Edith White, who was born in Oregon City on May 10, 1866.³ Her grandfather, Samuel Simpson White, served as justice of the peace and probate judge in Portland; was elected a member of the legislature in 1847; and in 1850 built the *Lot Whitcomb*, the first steamer on the Willamette River. His various business interests enabled him to prosper and “provide his family with the comforts and many of the luxuries of life.”⁴ Her father, Edward Milton White, worked as a riverboat captain on the Willamette and, for a time, entered the mercantile business. Her mother, Nancy Hoffman White, had crossed the plains from Illinois at age eleven with her parents and twelve brothers and sisters. Despite the death of Nancy’s father on the Snake River, the family arrived in Oregon in 1852. In 1858, she married Edward White. With

their two small children, they lived for a time in a mining community near Baker in eastern Oregon, and in later years Nancy White wrote articles for newspapers and magazines.⁵

The Ladd family had a very different trajectory. Profiting from civic expansion projects, real estate, farming, and the burgeoning river transportation business, the Ladds became wealthy Portland bankers. William S. Ladd's son, Charles Elliot, graduated from Amherst College in 1881 and brought his bride Sarah L. Hall, born in 1857 in Somerville, Massachusetts, to Portland in 1881.⁶ Charles became manager of the Ladd & Tilton Bank, a director of the Portland Library Association, and an active board member and executive committee member of the 1905 Lewis and Clark Exposition. He joined civic organizations and clubs and founded the *Pacific Monthly* magazine. He made an unsuccessful bid for mayor of Portland in 1888 and was the first treasurer of the Oregon Historical Society.⁷ Sarah and Charles Ladd built Cedarhurst, an elegant home in the fashionable Rivera/Riverwood area south of Portland overlooking the Willamette River. Sarah established a formal garden there with imported plants, a bowling green, a tennis court, a barn, stables, and a caretaker's home. She filled her home with mahogany furniture, china and silver serving pieces, and imported statues and vases of bronze and porcelain.

Lily White charted a more independent course. After completing her education in a local public school, she studied art in San Francisco and Chicago, where she learned portrait painting.⁸ By 1886, she was working as a clerk for W.B. Ayer — a Portland bookseller, stationer, and printer — and lived in her grandfather's home at 348 Fourth Street. Between 1889 and 1890, White clerked at J.K. Gill stationers and Olds and King department store; and in 1891, the year of her father's death, she worked as a bookkeeper for photographer W.H. Hunt. White listed herself as "artist" in the 1892 city directory.⁹

The two women found their common interest in the popular Oregon Camera Club, which had been organized on January 14, 1895, with a membership of eighteen.¹⁰ Eligible members included "persons over eighteen years of age, interested in the science of photography . . . who practice the art as amateurs only." Candidates were voted in by ballot and considered elected if no more than three dissenting votes were cast. The club collected a five-dollar initiation fee from associate members and half that from "lady members," who enjoyed all the privileges of the club but could not vote or qualify for office. The annual dues were ten dollars for associates and five dollars for female members, and regular meetings were held on the second Monday of every month.¹¹ Annual exhibitions, the first photography exhibitions seen in Portland, showcased members' work and publicized the club.¹²

Lily White was elected a member of the Oregon Camera Club on March 3, 1898.¹³ That month, the club held an outing on the steamer *Sarah Dixon*, with nearly 240 passengers and “about 125 cameras and Kodaks along,” making stops at Rooster Rock, Cape Horn, Multnomah Falls, and Oneonta Gorge.¹⁴ Sarah Ladd joined the club a year and a half later, on September 14, 1899.¹⁵ By that time, the club was considered an important factor in the recreational and aesthetic life of Portland, reaching a large number of people who might not otherwise have taken an interest in the arts. Photography, the November 5, 1899, *Oregonian* concluded, provided a “great opportunity for sport, healthful activity out of doors, and merrymaking generally may be proved by one of the many pleasant outings enjoyed up the Columbia River.”

We do not know how White learned photography, but her proficiency was such that in June 1899 the club employed her as assistant secretary and she assumed the position of club demonstrator. The term “demonstrator” frequently appeared in camera club documents and photographic journals to denote the idea of a teacher and a place to learn technique. The California Camera Club’s journal, *Camera Craft*, had a section titled “The Demonstrator,” which was devoted to helping readers improve their darkroom and camera proficiency. Lily White taught Oregon Camera Club members the latest photography and darkroom techniques, using ready-to-expose, emulsion-coated glass plate negatives and platinum paper for image-making. She also offered demonstrations titled “Preparation of Negatives for Printing” and “Negative Taking.”¹⁶ White would have demonstrated how to





Lily White, A Storm in the Palisades of the Columbia (also In the Palisades)

retouch negatives by covering defects, adjusting light and shade, or increasing brilliancy.¹⁷ Taking negatives involved using dry-plate, glass plate negatives, because they came boxed and pre-coated with light-sensitive emulsion and were ready to use. They were easily transported and could be exposed and

developed whenever it was convenient rather than on location, as wet-plate negatives required.

The idea of photography as an art was being promoted by nationally known photographers such as Alfred Stieglitz in New York City. The movement nurtured amateur photographers who created artistic images purely for personal pleasure as opposed to commercial photographers who mass-produced studio portraits for profit. Amateurs often printed their work on paper coated with light-sensitive platinum rather than ordinary silver coatings, and making carbon prints became popular with Camera Club enthusiasts in Portland. Favored for its permanence and ability to produce colored prints at a time when color photography was rare, carbon printing involved exposing a negative against pigmented tissue sensitized with potassium bichromate. The printed carbon tissue was next transferred to some type of support. Prints could result in tints of yellow, green, red, or violet by varying the toning or amount of light and carbon tissue paper used.¹⁸ Experimentation with photographic printing techniques and materials was indicative of the true craftsmanship of amateur photographers who thought of themselves as artists.

WHEN THE FIFTH ANNUAL Oregon Camera Club exhibit opened on October 30, 1899, at the club's rooms on the second floor of the Oregonian building, three hundred photographs — arranged alphabetically and lit by electric lights — hung on a background of green burlap, surrounded by wood ferns, draperies, and banners of the stars and stripes. In its review of the show, the *Oregonian* praised the photographers and their work:

Art, love of the beautiful, ambitions to excel has raised the standard of the Camera Club's work high among amateurs. Miss Lily White, a photographer of long experience and much practice has been another potent cause of improvement. . . . Her taste and skill have influenced the aspirants in a manner that now calls from them words of praise. . . . As for the subjects, they show higher ambitions and greater daring. Several moonlight scenes bring forth the latent beauties of pale lights and dark backgrounds. There are enough landscapes to interest but not to tire. Portraits were never better and afford new studies that would appeal to the eye of an artist. Mountains scenery is not forgotten, two or three heroic products of telescope lens recompensing for all objection that might be advanced for the lack of plenty.¹⁹

To stir up competition, club member E.Y. Judd of Pendleton donated a trophy — a large three-handled silver loving cup with gold lining — to be awarded each year for best general exhibit by an individual amateur photographer. A photographer had to win the competition three times in order to keep the Judd Cup and have his or her name inscribed on it. To



Sarah Ladd, Gateway to the Inland Empire

select the winner, the club chose three judges — a professional photographer, an artist, and an amateur who was not a club member — to evaluate each personal grouping of photographs (at least six but not more than ten pictures mounted, with framing optional). The first group of judges — C.E. S. Wood, H.C. Hayes, and Charles Basey — unanimously selected E.Y. Judd as the winner, concluding that his “exhibition, for interest and beauty, is one of an exceptionally high order.” Another added attraction was a group of lantern slides placed in the door of a small closet lit from the inside.²⁰

Under the tutelage of Lily White and with photography’s growing popularity during 1900, the Oregon Camera Club claimed sixty-nine new members within a few months, bringing its membership to 175. *Camera Craft* credited the increase to “the direct result of the regular weekly lectures and daily demonstrations of Miss White, who began her work in the club just a year ago. . . . The remarkable improvement in the work of the members will be shown at the annual exhibition in October.”²¹



Sarah Ladd, The Palisades of the Columbia (also Pillars of Faith above the Dalles — Columbia)

Echoing this enthusiasm, the *Oregonian* announced the club's fourth annual river excursion on the new steamer, *Harvest Queen*, on August 5, 1900, with stops in Vancouver, Latourell, Cape Horn, Pillars of Hercules, Bridal Veil, Multnomah Falls, Castle Rock, and Oneonta Gorge. The paper reported:



Nearly 100 new members have added their names to the roll of the camera club within the last two months, and who are looking forward to the opportunity for a day's snap-shooting, make the prospects for a most enjoyable time bright.²²

A few months later, the *Oregonian* reviewed the club's Sixth Annual Print Exhibition, which included

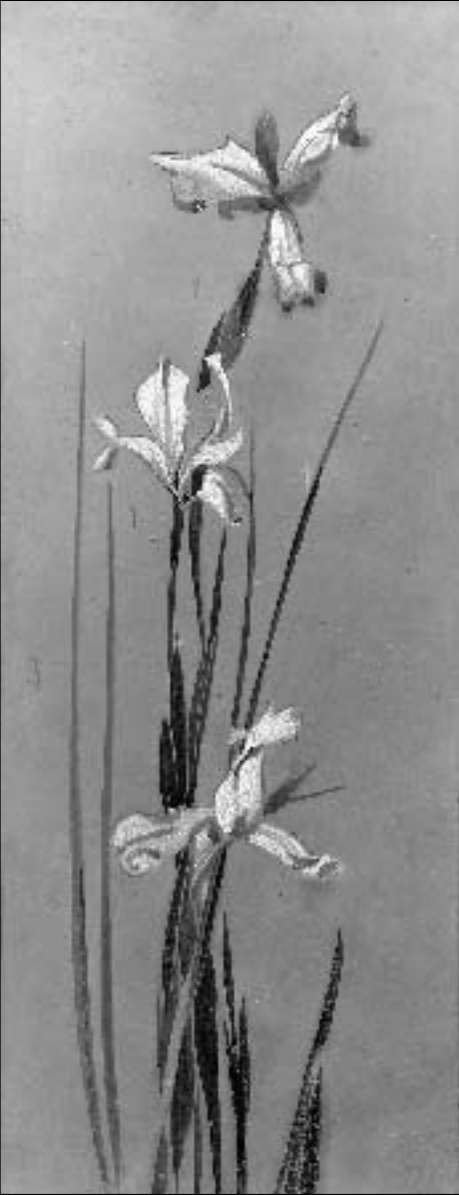
beautiful glimpses of Oregon scenes, quiet, peaceful streams, shadowy vistas in the woods, turbulent waterfalls, snowy mountain peaks in morning haze or the bright sunlight, all kinds of novel studies from well-posed groups and perfect portraits to studies in caricature.²³

Included in Ladd's six displayed prints were *A Japanese Phantasy*, *Silent the Phantom Wood by Waters Deep*, a bucolic forest scene, and *Youth and Old Age*, an image portraying a butterfly amid the opened seedpods of an aging plant. The twenty-eight-page exhibition catalogue highlighted the club's studio in the tower of the Oregonian Building, furnished with an enlarging camera, a lantern slide-reducing camera, a stereopticon, and developing rooms. Lily White was recognized as assistant secretary and instructor, and Sarah Ladd appeared as a member of the exhibition committee.²⁴ The Camera Club had become a place where local amateurs could hone their darkroom skills, share their photographs, and attend lantern-slide lectures.²⁵

TOWARD THE END of the nineteenth century, photographic salons, where a rigorous jurying process approved only the most artistic work, appeared in Europe and the United States. In early 1901, San Francisco opened its first photographic salon at the Mark Hopkins Institute of Art with nearly five hundred photographs, including numerous works by Sarah Ladd and Lily White's *A Soul Looked In* and *Rest*. In its review of the salon, *Camera Craft* reproduced Ladd's *The Phantom*

Wood with lukewarm commentary:

"The Phantom Wood' of Mrs. Charles E. Ladd would be a very good picture if there were less detail and better subordination of unimportant masses. The reproduction in the catalogue appears to greater advantage than the original because the halftone process



Sarah Ladd, *Eyes of the Earth*

accomplished what the photographer neglected to do in her print.²⁶

Early in 1901, the Camera Club of New York elected White and Ladd as nonresident members.²⁷ Recognition of their work by the photographic power base of New York City, especially Alfred Stieglitz, was important. Stieglitz could single-handedly influence a photographer's future by accepting or rejecting his or her work in exhibitions, by publishing it in *Camera Notes* — the journal of the Camera Club of New York, which he edited — or by returning it with his deflating comments about work being technically perfect but pictorially deficient. That spring, the Camera Club of New York reproduced Ladd's splay of flowers, *Messengers of Spring*, in their *Catalogue of the Members Exhibition*.²⁸

Around this time, Ladd's work was also part of the Oregon Camera Club's submission to the American Lantern Slide Interchange in New York City. According to the rules outlined by F.C. Beach, general manager of the Interchange, each camera club must prepare 50 to 125 slides, each 3¼ inches by 4 inches. Individual slides had to be as technically perfect as possible, without areas too dense or too clear, matted and labeled, and without too much soot. The slide sets were then rotated among clubs around the country for exhibits and meetings. That year, 28 slides by 12 members of the Oregon Camera Club were accepted by the board of managers. In its monthly commentary,

American Amateur Photographer noted Ladd's group of five slides of flower studies and landscapes, including *The Path to the Clackamas*.²⁹

In November, at the Seventh Annual Oregon Camera Club exhibition, Ladd received the prestigious Judd Cup for best general exhibit.³⁰ The judges



Sarah Ladd, An Early Morning Scene Above Vancouver

were artist Cleveland Rockwell; professional photographer Charles Butterworth; and Myra Albert Wiggins, a nationally known amateur photographer who lived in Salem and was a friend of Ladd's. The *Oregonian* reported that Ladd had made a new field for herself in flower photography, revealing "a grace and individuality of flower expression that places her work on a distinct plane of its own, quite apart from that of others." *Eyes of the Earth*, a vertical grouping of irises, was "fresh from Nature's heart," while *Messengers of Spring* was even more compelling, with "daffodils and tulips all swayed in the same direction as by some unseen force."³¹

The *Oregonian* also had praise for Lily White's grouping of carbon prints, especially one titled *The Meadow*, depicting a stream flowing through a field of irises, grasses, and trees. White confessed to creating that setting by damming a stream and letting part of it run wild in Fulton Park, an area between Portland and the Ladd estate. Her *Bridge of Hope*, taken from her houseboat near Castle Rock that summer, recorded a rainbow, which was considered



Lily White, In the Shadow of the Rock

an unusual achievement for a photographer.³² White also exhibited several photographs of Native Americans, including *A Shadow of the Past*, which depicted a mother and her baby. *The Protest*, an unsettling photograph showing what appears to be the placid face of an Indian woman holding a crying baby surrounded by a swarm of flies, was ironically described by the *Oregonian* as having a “brimful of breezy humor.”³³



Lily White, Periods of Time



Lily White, The Protest

The Second San Francisco Salon in 1902 exhibited both Ladd's and White's work. *Camera Craft* judged Ladd's *Eyes of the Earth* to be the best of her five carbon prints and reproduced it with their review. White's *In the Shadow of the Rock* was noted for its composition and lighting, and *A Shadow of the Past* was highlighted for its soft effect and "chemical quality." The writer appreciated a green carbon print, *The Meadow*, and considered *The Bridge of Hope* interesting as a scientific photograph.³⁴ The *Oregonian* lavished praise on the San Francisco exhibitors from Portland, noting that with 400 photographs selected from about 1,200 submitted from around the world, acceptance was considered an honor. Ten exhibitors of the 137 accepted were from Oregon, and seven were members of the Oregon Camera Club.³⁵

On November 12, Lily White's peers elected her an honorary member of the Camera Club, undoubtedly as a tribute to her services rendered to the club and for its growth while she was its instructor.³⁶ A month later, on December 8, both Ladd and White displayed their work in the eighth annual Oregon Camera Club exhibit. Included were Ladd's *A Decorative Panel*, three flower studies presented as carbon prints on celluloid.³⁷ In May 1902, the Camera Club of New York hung Ladd's work, and in July Stieglitz added Sarah Ladd to his list of photographers invited to represent the United States

in the Turin International Exhibition at the Exposition of Decorative Arts in Turin, Italy. Ladd's photographs joined those of prominent East Coast photographers Gertrude Käsebier, Frances Benjamin Johnston, and Joseph Keiley.³⁸

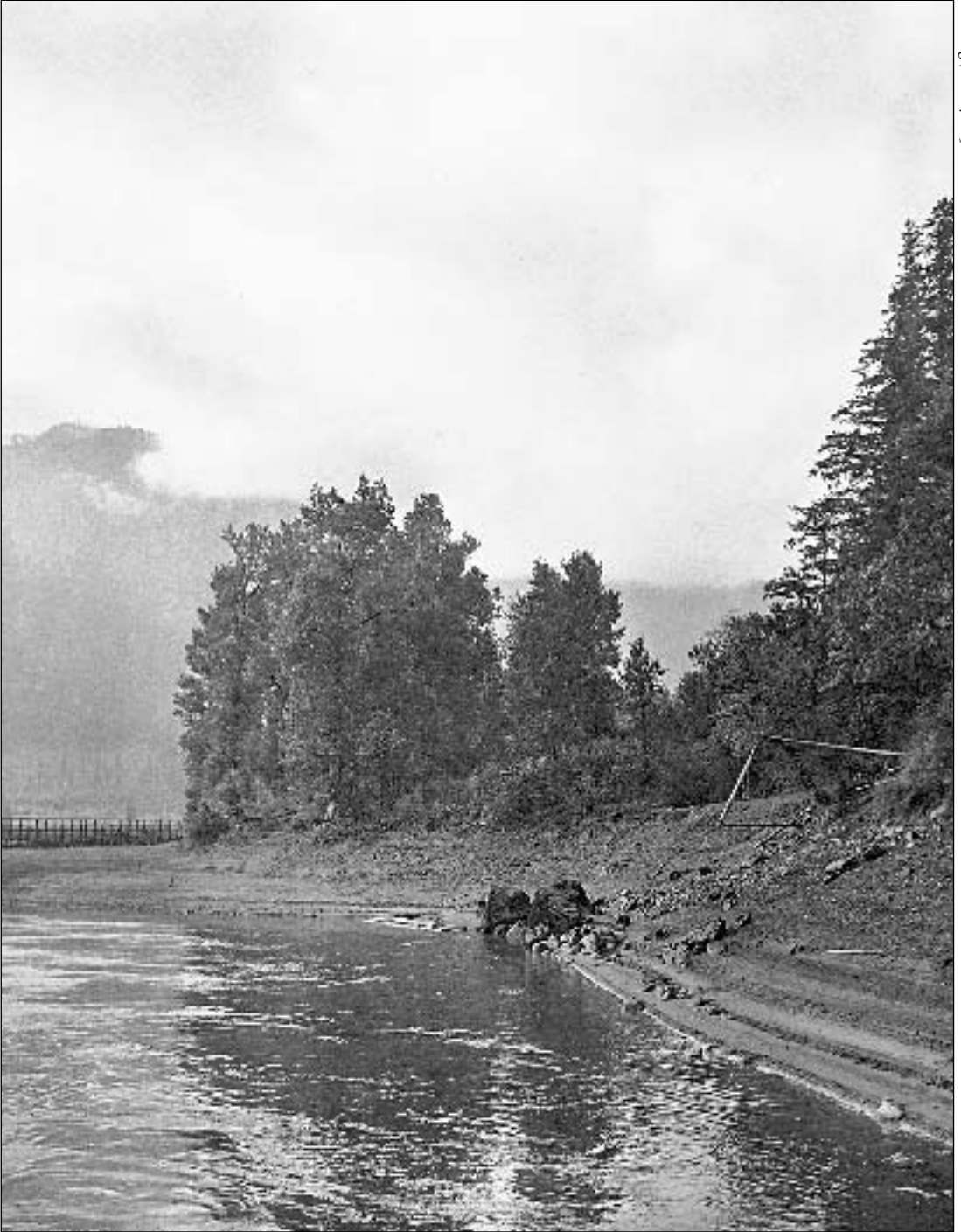
Salons and camera club exhibitions provided artistic photographers such as White and Ladd the opportunity to exhibit their work and, in many cases, have it seen by thousands of people. The events connected photographers from across the United States and Europe, especially when their work was reviewed and published in journals and exhibition catalogues. Moreover, women photographers were judged equally with male photographers. "Today some of the very best work shown at camera club exhibitions throughout the country is produced by women members," Helen Davie reported in *Camera Craft* in 1902. "Mrs. Sarah H. Ladd and Miss Lilly E. White [*sic*], the excellence of whose work is widely known, are both members of the Oregon Camera Club of Portland."³⁹

When Stieglitz formed the Photo-Secession, an elite group of American photographers united in the cause of promoting photography as art, he included Sarah Ladd and Lily White among the first elected associate members on February 13, 1903. The group never grew beyond 105 members, and affiliation entitled them to associate with like-minded photographers and have the chance to participate in Secession exhibits in Europe and America.⁴⁰

Yet, when the Oregon Camera Club's Ninth Annual Print Exhibition opened on November 23, 1903, White's name no longer appeared in the catalogue as assistant secretary or demonstrator. Ladd, who had nine photographs in the show, was no longer listed among committee members.⁴¹ For unknown reasons, White resigned from the club on June 14, 1904, and Ladd resigned on February 13, 1905.⁴² Overall club membership had declined during this period, with only 147 members in January 1904, down 20 from previous months (86 men and 61 women). In June 1905, he *Oregon Daily Journal* tried to bolster the club's image by reminding readers that the Oregon Camera Club

has done much toward fostering a pastime which is both pleasant and instructive to both old and young. Its rooms are complete and well-appointed for the purpose and it has a goodly number of members. It has yearly given to the public a print exhibit of no mean quality, free. No charge has been made, not even for catalogues. It has also invited the public to its exhibition of lantern slides given every month or so.⁴³

At the same time, White's and Ladd's photographs continued to receive regional attention in the *Pacific Monthly* and national attention through their association with the Photo-Secession. Stieglitz invited Ladd to contribute



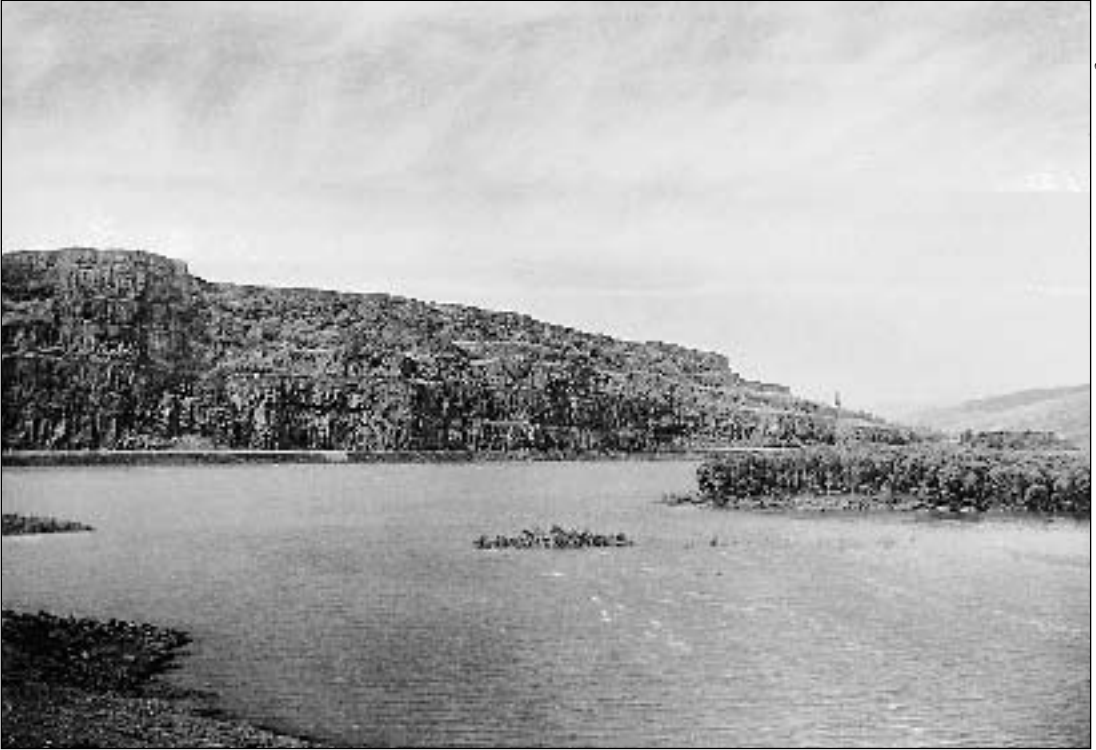
Sarah Ladd, A Scene Near Castle Rock

to a 1904 Photo-Secession exhibit in The Hague, which “more than held its own and received universal praise.”⁴⁴ In an homage to America’s western photographers, England’s well-known *Photograms of the Year* declared: “In the metropolis of the state [Oregon], the list is a long one . . . Mrs. Ladd, and Miss White have all shown such a variety in their work that to describe it would be almost as fallacious as it would be futile.”⁴⁵

In the fall of 1904, Salem photographer Helen Gatch hosted a Salon Club portfolio viewing session sponsored by the Metropolitan Camera Club of New York and organized by its president, Curtis Bell. Each active member contributed one print a month to a portfolio that traveled to cities where the club had members. After each member wrote comments about the prints, they were sent to the next city until eventually they returned to the owners. Oregon participants included Sarah Ladd, Will Walker, Bertha Breyman, and Edgar Felloes.⁴⁶ When the portfolio arrived in Portland, where many Salon Club members lived, the *Oregonian* reproduced a selection of the photographs with a cheerful review of some of the work, including Ladd’s Oregon Camera Club photographs.⁴⁷

In November 1905, Stieglitz broadcast the opening of his Photo-Secession gallery at 291 Fifth Avenue with a members’ exhibition intended as protest against conventional photography. In its regional announcement, *Camera Craft* emphasized the inclusion of the Secession’s western members — Anne Brigman from California and Sarah Ladd, Lily White, and Myra Wiggins from Oregon.⁴⁸ Considering the distance from New York City and the relative isolation of western states from the New York City photographic hub, the accomplishments of these women are notable. White and Ladd remained Photo-Secession members at least through 1905.⁴⁹ Overall, the camera club structure and amateur movement created a symbiotic relationship, in this case a vertical one, scaled by Lily White and Sarah Ladd. Stieglitz’s pronouncements signaled a new era, but Ladd and White’s adventures on the river had already begun.

IN THE SPRING OF 1903, White’s custom-built houseboat, the *Raysark*, was towed up the Columbia River rapids by the steamer *Regulator*, and White and her friends were now free to explore the bays and inlets of the upper river. Hospitality became a trademark of the thirty-seven-year-old White. Steamers from Portland conveyed guests to and from her boat, which was often anchored near Lyle, Washington, a busy shipping port for wheat and sheep eighty-two miles east of Portland. White had supervised the boat’s construction, and the *Raysark* was built to accommodate her personal needs. Its lower deck contained “an ample and luxuriously appointed cabin, six staterooms, bathroom, dining cabin, galley, a three-ton ice chest,



Sarah Ladd, Mouth of the Klickitat

linen closet, and many other closets and conveniences.”⁵⁰ A triangular banner sporting the name *Raysark* fluttered in the wind from a pole mounted inside a railing that skirted the perimeter of the upper deck. Opposite it flew an American flag.

White equipped the 80-foot-by-28-foot-wide boat with an up-to-date darkroom, a photographic “outfit,” and running water. The Columbia River became her home for creating pictures at any time of day, with rock formations, clouds, water, trees, and light creating the soft moodiness that was indicative of the photographic style of the time. While White’s darkroom-equipped houseboat was probably unique to Portland and the Columbia River Gorge, it was not an original idea. Several years earlier, *Camera Craft* had described a trip down the Illinois River in a houseboat that contained a complete darkroom,

which is about as perfect and comfortable in its appointments as one’s own home. A captain, cook, and crew will relieve the party of every care, and all the photographers will have to do will be to eat, sleep and expose plates, and incidentally to develop them.⁵¹



Lily White, Castle Rock and Houseboat — Columbia River



For White, the *Raysark* provided more than a way to take pleasurable excursions and find creative diversion; it offered personal adventure and autonomy. “Alone — controlling the power, directing the course — one might be so filled,” she once professed. Dubbed “Captain” by Columbia riverboat officers and crews, White embraced the title, which bolstered her independence on the river. Assisted by Ladd, designated the “Hostess,” she left behind the Willamette River houseboat colony near Ross Island, about two miles south of Portland, where Ladd’s boat, the *Lark*, was also anchored. Ladd described the *Lark* as “twice as big as the other, and has a cunning little kitchen or galley on board. . . . She goes so much faster than the other, that we will often use her for going to town.”⁵² The fleet of the *Raysark* and the *Lark* included a launch house with a galley, cabins, staterooms, and bath to accommodate the engineer and houseboat servants. As with other fleets, smaller launches, canoes, and rowboats carried businessmen from their temporary homes on the river to their work in the city.⁵³

By 1906, the *Raysark* had been down the Columbia to Astoria and up

that mighty river, through its awe-inspiring gorge, over its most turbulent and dangerous waters, through the fine government locks at The Cascades, past lava beds and towering cliffs, to a safe and picturesque mooring at Lyle, Washington . . . one hundred and seventy-eight miles distant from the mouth of the river.⁵⁴

White and Ladd intended to photograph their surroundings and develop and print the results in the *Raysark's* darkroom. Their cameras were large wooden apparatuses on tripods that required dry-plate negatives. With this latest technology, the two friends could wait for the clouds to form, the water to calm, and reflections to appear. They might move closer to or farther away from Castle Rock (now Beacon Rock) or stand on a sandy beach. On another day, they might hike inland for a view of Upper Cape Horn, near Celilo Falls, catch the rays of sun reaching through the clouds after a storm, or capture the early morning mists. For scale, they sometimes added a human figure or their houseboat as a reminder of their location and how they lived.

To create art from the landscape by interpreting nature, William Dason advised in the *Overland Monthly*, “first go to nature and learn her forms and moods; then when he has learned this, he re-creates her until she reaches his ideal of an harmonious whole.”⁵⁵ In this way, physical features became part of the pictorial aesthetic known as “atmosphere” that emerged from the wet, cloudy weather and quality of light. By waiting and observing, White and Ladd captured Mt. Hood peeking through clouds rising above the foothills of the Columbia River, with horizontal levels of water, rock, forests, mountains, clouds, and sky or the vertical rise of Castle Rock and the North Buttress of the Bridge of the Gods.⁵⁶

Ladd's *Gateway to the Inland Empire* combined a brooding, lonely scene with the vast opening to the West. From a distance, she recorded the fish-wheels that had been constructed to catch salmon. Telegraph poles peer below the looming cliff of White's *Upper Cape Horn, Near Celilo Falls of the Columbia*. In a change from her typical landscapes, White also captured the work of fish seining on the Columbia with her photographs of horses and men grappling with the nets spread by boats.⁵⁷ The exhilaration of the two women's work and the pleasures of life on the river, away from the pace of city life, contributed to a series of photographs that many believe is unmatched by other photographers. Ladd and White printed their negatives on platinum paper, which produced the soft characteristics and low tonal range considered crucial to expressing the individualism and emotion essential to Pictorial photographs.⁵⁸

BEGINNING IN JANUARY 1905, as entrepreneurs focused on promoting Oregon and the Lewis and Clark Exposition in Portland, Ladd's and White's photographs of the Columbia River Gorge began appearing in the *Pacific Monthly*, a magazine owned and published by Ladd's husband Charles. The periodical, with a circulation of six thousand by 1900 and distributed throughout the Pacific Northwest, published western fiction,



Lily White, Monterey Sphinx, California

humor, travelogues, literary installments, and articles about economic progress and development in the Pacific Northwest and California. Photographs in the *Pacific Monthly* appeared with the descriptive titles or local literary connections that were commonly used by photographers but were also likely to appeal to tourists. White's and Ladd's photographs reflected the enthusiasm and patience for photographing "picturesque" locations that were popular at the time while emphasizing the ideals of artistic photography.

In early 1905, the *Pacific Monthly* published "Columbia River Scenery," a series of thirteen Ladd photographs that opened with a quote by western poet Joaquin Miller:

See once Columbia's scenes, then roam no more
No more remains on earth for mortal eyes.

Ladd's images included a cloud-shrouded Mount Hood and photographs titled *Celilo Falls, Morning Mists, St. Martin's, Passing of the Storm, and In the Heart of the Mountains*.⁵⁹ In July 1905, the magazine published a series of nine images by Ladd, also titled "Columbia River Scenery." The tone was set in the introduction:



Lily White, Carmel Ruins, Monterey

Nature, wild and untamed by the hand of man, still rules supreme over the passage of a great river through a great mountain range, presenting landscapes of imposing grandeur and beauty. . . . One's desire to possess becomes irresistible, when, out comes the camera — snap — and the thing is done!

This series also appeared as a separate publication with the same introduction and title.⁶⁰

In 1906 or 1907, the Pacific Monthly Publishing Company appealed to the tourist trade with *A Book of Views of the Pacific Coast Country* — five photos by Ladd and three photographs of Yosemite, the Grand Canyon, and Washington State.⁶¹ White's work appeared in three articles in the summer 1906 issue: "Indians of the Northwest," written by Thomas Nelson Strong and illustrated with White's photographs; "Houseboating in the Pacific Northwest," highlighting the *Raysark*; and "From the Log of the *Raysark*," with White as the author. The same issue reproduced four photographs of the Columbia River Gorge — three by Ladd and one by White.⁶¹

Reflecting Ladd's interest in horticulture and gardening, in 1907 the *Pacific Monthly* reproduced "Garden Flowers," a series of her still lifes that included *Japanese Iris*, *The Madame Karl Druschki* (a vertical image of three perfectly formed roses), and *Youth and Old Age*. Like so many photographers of flowers, Ladd created images that reflect the view that all art originates in nature and defies the complicated technical requirements to leave an impression of natural simplicity. When making flower photographs, there were aesthetic considerations of composition and lighting along with the formal qualities connected to the photographers' intentions, from the desire to portray botanical specimens to romantic associations, emotions, or beauty. There were also many decisions to make concerning plate development, paper selection, and mounting techniques.

In the fall of 1907, the White Collar Line of the Columbia River and Puget Sound Navigation Company published a promotional brochure, "Up the Columbia," which featured White's photographs. A brief text accompanying *Mosquito Rock* idealized the imagery in the form of a travelogue:

With Castle Rock still in view, ahead, there is a receding of the walls of the gorge, and one has an opportunity to look about him and see the strangely wrought domes and peaks in the background, the curiously shaped pinnacles, and the wonderful effect caused by the constant encroachment of the forest on the slopes that have been worn away by the storms of hundreds of years.⁶²

It was a romantic, visual tour to entice people to experience the basalt ledges and peaks of the Gorge and the serenity of the river.

All of Ladd's and White's river photographs depicted the clouds and changeable weather conditions that tended to cloak the river in romanticism, yet none of them were shown in camera club or Photo-Secession exhibitions. While these photos possessed the atmospheric content that asked viewers to contemplate the natural world — a popular theme of the era — they were reproduced to attract leisure-class tourists and potential new residents to the region. Ladd and White had become successful, benefiting from the prestige associated with their work and maintaining their economic independence by making artistic photographs for commercial projects.

FEW ARTISTIC PHOTOGRAPHERS of this era were able to devote themselves fulltime to making photographs. Sarah Ladd's social obligations often required her attention, and those appearances increased when her husband Charles became involved with the 1905 Lewis and Clark Exposition, which provided an opportunity to glorify Portland's business and society and served as the culmination of personal ambitions for many of the city's elite. The Ladds attended a banquet to honor the arrival of Vice

President Charles Fairbanks, for example, and joined a thousand people at an opening reception of the American Inn, which Charles Ladd built on the fairgrounds.⁶³ The festive activities offered quite a contrast to Sarah Ladd's life on the river.

Lily White's attention also moved in diverse directions as her focus shifted to New Thought. That "philosophical-spiritual-religious movement" had emerged in the 1890s in response to the spiritual healing theory espoused by the inventive and self-educated Phineas Parkhurst Quimby, who lived in Maine. Elizabeth Struble Towne, born in Portland in 1865 (one year before White), was a follower of Quimby's and the publisher of the *Nautilus*, an influential periodical associated with New Thought. She published her first issue of the magazine in 1898 in Portland.⁶⁴

In 1905, Susan Williamson Smith, referred to as a friend of the *Nautilus*, published "The Legend of Multnomah Falls," a free-verse poem illustrated with photographs by White. "All the cliffs and falls of the Columbia are rich in Indian legendry and enchantment," wrote Smith in the introduction, "and each has its pretty tragic story." The poem opens with:

The tom-toms beat!
The night is wild!
The Storm is fierce!
The winds are singing nature's requiem.

White's *Up the Columbia, In the Palisades, and The Narrows* follow. A review in the *Nautilus* described the book of poetry as "a beautiful little volume in shades of blue touched with white, with double covers of heavy blue paper, with five handsome full-page halftones of Columbia River scenes." The reviewer identified White as "another *Nautilus* friend," and noted that the "very artistic" book was selling for one dollar.⁶⁵

During that time, many New Thought adherents moved to Christian Science, leading the *Nautilus* to report:

One of the first things a convert to Christian Science does is to disconnect all of his New Thought papers and magazines. . . . About a dozen subscribers to *The Nautilus* have discontinued the magazine on becoming Christian Scientists. Among this number was an old personal friend of Mrs. Towne's.⁶⁶

That friend may have been Lily White. On June 9, 1908, while living in Oswego and already a member of the First Church of Christ, Scientist, in Portland, she joined The Mother Church, The First Church of Christ, Scientist, in Boston.⁶⁷ A year later, she was living with Sarah and Charles Ladd at Cedarhurst and working as a Christian Science practitioner at 616 Beck Building. By this time, White had stopped making photographs.⁶⁸



Sarah Ladd, A Fish Wheel is Shown at the right Extending from an Island near the Middle of the river. The scene is below the cascades.

Sometime after April 1910, Charles Ladd was named president of the Carlton Consolidated Lumber Company, and the Ladds moved to Carlton, a Yamhill County town of four thousand people located forty-three miles southwest of Portland. There, the couple built and landscaped their new estate, Westerlook. On June 2, 1911, Ladd joined White as a member of the Mother Church of the First Church of Christ Scientist in Boston.⁶⁹ In July, she and nine other women organized the Carlton Civic Improvement Association. Their first project involved working with the city council to purchase trash cans for the streets.⁷⁰ Unlike White, Ladd continued to exhibit her photographs despite the changes in her life. The Panama–Pacific International Exposition opened in San Francisco in 1915, and Ladd exhibited fourteen photographs in the Art Room of the Oregon Building. Most of her photographs were flower studies, including *Rose of Oregon*, *Single Japanese Peonies*, and *Pride of the Garden*.⁷¹

SARAH LADD WAS FIFTY-EIGHT years old when her husband died on March 20, 1920, at age sixty-three. Accustomed to moving on her



Lily White, Evening on the Columbia

own path, she set in motion a new course, and in July 1921 she was elected a member of the Christian Science Society in McMinnville. The church selected Ladd to serve as its First Reader, a role she fulfilled until 1923.⁷²

White stayed in her family home on Portland's Fourth Street and continued her Christian Science practice in the Beck Building. In 1923, she moved to Carmel, California, where Sarah Ladd joined her in late 1924. Together, they joined the local Christian Science Church, where they remained members until their deaths. Living near the ocean in a creative, invigorating community of writers and artists would have supported and nurtured their interests, but their life together was not to last long. Ladd had been diagnosed with cancer, and she died on March 30, 1927, one month short of her seventieth birthday.⁷³ In a tribute, the *Oregon Daily Journal* wrote:

As a young woman, Mrs. Ladd was noted for her beauty and during her married life in Portland won more than local recognition because of her interest in flowers and gardening, an interest she maintained throughout her life. Cedarhurst . . . was conceived and created by Mr. and Mrs. Ladd. They landscaped the place, planted every shrub and tree, and developed it into a thing of beauty that won the approval and commendation of nationally noted landscape artists who visited there.⁷⁴

Curiously, no mention was made of her photography. Lily White remained in their home in Carmel until she died on November 14, 1944.⁷⁵

Ladd and White harnessed an impressive legacy as individuals and as friends. White fit the archetype of the strong independent western female, while Ladd had been part of Portland's high society. Each had a photographic and aesthetic vision that gave them the same status as the men who photographed the Columbia River at the same time, and both adopted a religion that allowed them to take prominent roles that were not permissible in traditional religions. Their work as artists influenced the Oregon Camera Club, which depended on photographers whose photographs reflected their lifestyle, the artistic genre of their era, and the landscapes they cherished. White's Camera Club demonstrations encouraged countless photographers to progress in style and technique. The two friends' boundless physical and creative energy shaped an image of the Pacific Northwest seen by thousands of people. While Ladd's photographs received more attention than those of Lily White, both locally through the *Pacific Monthly* and on the East Coast, it was White's sense of adventure and the opportunities she created on the *Raysark* that set the tone for their posterity.

NOTES

I wish to thank Terry Toedtemeier for introducing me to the work of Lily White and Sarah Ladd and also Wayne Travillion, Lily White's grandnephew, for his generosity in providing information about White's family background. I am also grateful to the staff of the Oregon Historical Society Research Library for their assistance. The epigraph is from Nancy Newhall, *P.H. Emerson: The Fight for Photography as a Fine Art* (New York: Aperture, 1975), 144.

1. Lily White probably taught photography to Fred and Oscar Kiser who, in 1903, created the Kiser Photographic Company, specializing in scenic photography. The Kiser brothers grew up on the Columbia River opposite Beacon Rock, near Dodson, Oregon, where White would sometimes stop. See Ivan J. Donaldson and Frederick K. Cramer, *Fishwheels of the Columbia* (Portland, Ore.: Binfords & Mort, 1971), 79; Thomas Robinson, *Oregon Photographers: Biographical History and Directory, 1852-1917* (Portland, Ore.: n.p., 1992).

2. Lily E. White, Captain, "From the Log of the *Raysark*," *Pacific Monthly* 16 (August 1906): 160-64.

3. Office of Vital Records, Sacramento, Calif.

4. *Portrait and Biographical Record of Portland and Vicinity, Oregon* (Chicago, Ill.: Chapman Publishing Co., 1903), 635.

5. (*Portland*) *Oregonian*, March 5, 1918. The U.S. Forest Service still has a camp named after the Lily White Mine. I want to thank Wayne Travillion for bringing this item to my attention.

6. Hubert Howe Bancroft, *History of the Life of William S. Ladd: A Character Study* (San Francisco: The History Company Publishers, 1890), 51.

7. "Two City Conventions," *Sunday Oregonian*, June 17, 1868; "Minutes of Annual Meeting," *Oregon Historical Quarterly* 65 (1964): 412.

8. *Oregon Native Son*, 50.

9. *Portland City Directory* (Portland, Ore.: R.L. Polk & Co., 1886, 1889, 1890, 1891, 1892).

10. *Catalogue, Sixth Annual Print Exhibition* (Portland: Oregon Camera Club, October 29–November 3, 1900). There were eventually forty-three charter members, five of them women.

11. Constitution, Oregon Camera Club [1895], Research Library, Oregon Historical Society, Portland [hereafter OHS Research Library]. Amendments are dated as early as January 1896,

12. In 1899, the Oregon Industrial Exposition featured a photography exhibition judged by Ida Rae Myrick, W. E. Rollins, and A. B. McAlpin. Maud Ainsworth was awarded first prize of ten dollars in the Architecture and Interiors Division for *Melrose Abbey*. The Expo, which was open for four weeks, featured music, art, trapeze artists, bands, cakewalks, a photography show, and military, mining, and agricultural, displays. Over a hundred thousand people attended the event. See “Exposition Attractions,” *Oregonian*, October 10, October 18, 1899.

13. Minutes of the Oregon Camera Club, December 15, 1894–June 10, 1902, 57 OHS Research Library [hereafter OCC Minutes].

14. *Oregonian*, October 8, October 9, 1898.

15. OCC Minutes, December 15, 1894–June 10, 1902, 82.

16. OCC Minutes, June 14, 1899, 78; June 29, 1899, 79; February 13, 1900, 93, March 13, 1900, 94. White may have learned photography during her employment with W.H. Hunt in 1891.

17. C.F. Lee, *Carter’s Amateur’s Guide and Photographic Encyclopedia* (Boston, Mass.: Carter’s Ink Co. 1899); J. Hubert, *The Art of Re-Touching*, 8th ed. (London: Hazell, Watson & Vivey, 1897).

18. Bernard C. Roloff, “Interesting Modifications of the Carbon Process,” *Camera Craft* 11 (October 1905): 147–51.

19. *Oregonian*, October 30, October 31, 1899.

20. *Oregonian*, October 31, November 2, 1899.

21. “News of Clubdom,” *Camera Craft* 1 (September 1900): 279–80.

22. *Sunday Oregonian*, July 29, 1900; *Oregonian*, August 4, 1900.

23. *Oregonian*, October 29, 1900.

24. *Catalogue, Sixth Annual Print Exhibition* (Portland: Oregon Camera Club, October 29–November 3, 1900).

25. “American Lantern Slide Interchange,” *American Amateur Photographer*, 13 (January 1901): 88. The lectures were available after the club renewed its membership with the American Lantern Slide interchange in 1901.

26. Arnold Genthe, “A Critical Review of the Salon Pictures with a Few Words upon the Tendency of the Photographers,” *Camera Craft* 2 (February 1901): 307–29.

27. “Club Paragraphs,” *Camera Notes* 4 (April 1901): 24. Myra Wiggins of Salem was also a nonresident member.

28. *Catalogue of the Members Exhibition* (New York: The Camera Club, May–June, 1901). “Messengers of Spring” appeared again in *Camera Notes* 5 (October 1901): 143.

29. “American Lantern Slide Interchange,” *American Amateur Photographer*, 13 (June 1901): 283–84; “Society News,” *American*



Amateur Photographer, 13 (October 1901): 475. The slides most preferred by the Interchange board of managers were cloudy landscapes, figures studies, and genre subjects.

30. *Oregonian*, November 27, 1901.

31. *Oregonian*, November 28, 1901.

32. *Ibid.*

33. *Oregonian*, November 28, November 30, 1901.

34. “A few Kind Words of Criticism upon the Work of Each Exhibitor, Levelled in a

Kindly Spirit by the Editor, with Reproductions of Striking Pictures,” *Camera Craft* 4 (January 1902): 127–45.

35. *Sunday Oregonian*, January 19, 1902.

36. The club had four categories of members: resident, associate, life, and honorary. Resident members had all privileges of the club; associate and women members had all privileges but were not eligible for office; life members had all privileges and were exempt from dues; honorary members had all privileges but were not entitled to vote or be eligible for office. Honorary members paid no initiation fees or dues.

37. It is most likely that Ladd’s photograph on celluloid was a new product called Photoloid. According to *Penrose Annuals* from this time period, Photoloid was introduced as a print material that would give a “true carbon [look] unattended with the great labor and care that the latter requires. Photoloid consists of a colloid emulsion placed upon a cellulose base, from which combination the name evolved. The emulsion is a fairly rapid one to be developed in approximately the usual way like developing paper. The cellulose base is white, insoluble in water, and does not absorb water in any form. . . . Photoloid was described as a celluloid . . . similar in appearance to ivory or porcelain . . . Photoloid prints resemble carbon and platinum. . . . A great range of tones is possible on this material, ranging from a deep carbon black through the sepias and reds to the yellows and all these by direct development and not by retoning.” I am indebted to Luis Nadeau for this information.

38. *Camera Notes* 6 (July 1902): 50; *Pacific Monthly* 8 (December 1902): 239; *Camera Notes* 6 (October 1902): 130.

39. Helen Davie, “Women in Photography,” *Camera Craft* 5 (August 1902): 130–38.

40. *Camera Work* 3 (July 1903).

41. *Catalogue of the Ninth Annual Print Exhibition* (Portland, Ore.: Oregon Camera Club, 1903); *Oregonian*, November 24, 1903.

42. Oregon Camera Club Records, 80, 90.

43. *Oregon Daily Journal*, June 2, 1905.

44. *Camera Work* 7 (July 1904): 40; “Exhibition Notes,” *Camera Work* 8 (October 1904): 37. Whether Ladd saw this issue of *Camera Work* is unknown. She twice wrote



Stieglitz that although she sent him ten dollars “for Miss White and my dues for this year,” her issues failed to arrive. Letters from Sarah Ladd to Alfred Stieglitz, June 16, 1904, September 16, 1904, Alfred Stieglitz/Georgia O’Keefe Archive, Yale Collection of American Literature, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University, New Haven, Conn.

45. Fayette J. Clute, “The Western Workers of the United States,” *Photograms of the Year* (1904), 167–68, 171. The same author then discussed the formation of a Western Division of the Salon Club, a group organized by photographer Curtis Bell. He noted the need to limit the number of members to thirty and promised that the “membership shall include the best workers in the section covered.” Included in his list of potential workers were Sarah Ladd and Myra Albert Wiggins.

46. *Oregon Statesman*, October 20, 1904. Given that Bell’s intention was to organize the Salon Club as a challenge to Alfred Stieglitz and his Photo-Secession, it is interesting to note the inclusion of Sarah Ladd and the initial listing of Myra Wiggins, both Photo-Secession members. Wiggins declined to participate in the Salon Club.

47. *Sunday Oregonian*, October 9, 1904.

48. “Photo-Secession Members’ Exhibition,” *Camera Craft* 11 (December 1905):

277–78. See Ulrich F. Keller, “The Myth of Art Photography: A Sociological Analysis,” *History of Photography* 8 (October–December 1984): 249–75.

49. *Camera Work* 9 (January 1905): 55.

50. Sidona V. Johnson, “Houseboating in the Pacific Northwest,” *Pacific Monthly* 16 (August 1906): 214–26.

51. *Camera Craft* 3 (August 1901): 165.

52. Maud Ainsworth Babbitt (1874–1962) also accompanied White and Ladd on the *Raysark*. Babbitt’s father, J.C. Ainsworth, operated the sidewheeler *Lot Whitcomb*. The



Ainsworth and White families were close and, because of an 1851 marriage between J.C. Ainsworth married Jane White (daughter of S.S. White and sister of Milton White), Lily White may have thought of Maud Ainsworth as her cousin. See “Marriages performed by Rev. G.H. Atkinson,” *Oregon Historical Quarterly* 41 (1940): 392–93; Wayne Travillion (Lily White’s great-grand nephew), telephone conversation with the author; and letter from Sarah Ladd to Mildred Wiggins, March 20, 1906.

53. Johnson, “Houseboating in the Pacific Northwest,” 214–26. Twenty-two-year-old Oscar Kiser disappeared on Saturday, November 4, 1905, from the Charles Ladd boathouse at Riverdale, where he worked as the caretaker. Kiser lived in an adjoining houseboat, but ate at the Ladd’s home every Saturday night. During the following days, the *Oregonian* and *Oregon Daily Journal* reported he had fled the city, been shanghaied, met foul play, and been murdered. His body was found December 25, 1905, in the Willamette River downriver from the Ladd boat-

house. The coroner and sheriff announced the cause of death as accidental drowning. See *Oregonian*, November 6, November 7, 1905; *Oregon Daily Journal*, December 18, December 25, December 26, 1905; *Morning Oregonian*, December 26, 1905.

54. Johnson, “Houseboating in the Pacific Northwest,” 214–26.

55. William Dasson, “Individuality in Photography,” *Overland Monthly* 40 (October 1902): 339–45.

56. *Sunday Oregonian*, June 3, 2001. Castle Rock is today called Beacon Rock, the name first assigned by Lewis and Clark. In 1904, Charles Ladd bought it from Jay Cooke, a railroad financier, and then sold it to Henry J. Biddle with a clause specifying that it would always be preserved. In 1935, it became a Washington state park.

57. I wish to thank Doug Magedanz for bringing these photographs to my attention.

58. I maintain that many photographs attributed to Lily White were actually made by Sarah Ladd.

59. “Columbia River Scenery from Photographs by Sarah H. Ladd,” *Pacific Monthly* 13 (January 1905): 35–48. These photographs bear a 1904 copyright date. See also *Columbia River Scenery from Photographs by Sarah H. Ladd*, John Wilson Room, Multnomah County Library, Portland, Oregon.

60. *Ibid.*

61. *A Book of Views of the Pacific Coast Country* (Portland, Ore.: Pacific Monthly Publishing, n.d.).

62. “Up the Columbia” (n.p.: The White Collar Line of the Columbia River and Puget Sound Navigation Company, n.d.). Another edition of “Up the Columbia” with a different format and photographs does not include photographs by Lily White.

63. *Oregon Daily Journal*, May 13, June 2, June 4, 1905. In 1901, Frederick V. Holman, a lawyer and amateur rose grower, suggested that every Portland home should plant roses the following spring so the plants would have three years’ growth by the time the Lewis and Clark Centennial opened. He wanted to make Portland the “Rose City.” See *Oregonian*, December 6, 1901.

64. Until New Thought finalized its name in the 1890s, it had other designations, including “Mental Science.” By 1898, Towne, then Elizabeth Struble, listed herself as a “mental scientist” in the city directory. Horatio W. Dresser, *A History of the New Thought Movement* (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell, 1919). The electronic edition was published by Cornerstone Publishing in July 2001; see <http://website.lineone.net/~newthought/ahotntinx.htm>. See also Alan Anderson, “The New Thought Movement: A Link Between East and West, Delivered at the Parliament of the World’s Religions” (Chicago, Ill., September 3, 1993), <http://websyte.com/alan/parl.htm>.

65. Susan Williamson Smith, *The Legend of Multnomah Falls*, (Portland, Ore.: Irwin-Hodson, 1905); “Anent Books and Things,” *The Nautilus* (January 1906): 30. *In the Palisades* is titled “A Storm in the Palisades of the Columbia” and *Up the Columbia* is titled “A Scarf of Mist” in *Pacific Monthly* 16:2 (August 1906). The photographs of G.M. Weister were also published in *The Legend of Multnomah Falls*.

66. “Christian Science and New Thought,” *The Nautilus* 7 (October 1905): 16.

67. Judith Huenneke, The Mary Baker Library, e-mail correspondence with the author, July 2, 2004.

68. David Nartonis, Assistant for Administration, The First Church of Christ, Scientist, Boston, Massachusetts, letter to the author, June 13, 1988. Mr. Nartonis added: “Although Miss White may indeed have advertised and offered her services in the healing work, she was not listed as a public practitioner of Christian Science — one who devotes his full time to the healing work — in the church’s monthly *Christian Science Journal*.” Christian Science attracted a sizable number of adherents in Portland and in 1909 laid a cornerstone for the Church of Christ’s landmark building at Northwest 18th and Everett. Twenty-three practitioners are listed in the city 1909 directory, fifteen of whom worked in the Beck Building. By 1920, the city directory listed eighty-seven practitioners. In an interesting twist, White is listed

on the April 1910 United States census twice — once boarding with the Ladds in Portland and working as a Christian Science physician and again living in her family residence on Fourth Street working as an artist with a studio. *Questions and Answers on Christian Science* (Boston, Mass.: Christian Science Publishing Society, 1974); Robert Peel, “The Christian Science Practitioner,” reprinted from the *Journal of Pastoral Counseling* 4 (Spring 1969); Doris Cruikshank, Church Clerk, First Church of Christ, Scientist, McMinnville, Oregon, e-mail correspondence with the author, January 19, 2000. Ms. Cruikshank examined the minutes of the membership meetings in 1902–1922 and the early membership list.

70. *Reflections of Carlton* (Carlton, Ore.: Carlton Elementary School Bicentennial Club, 1976), 97.

71. Robert Lundberg, “The Art Room in the Oregon Building: Oregon Arts and Crafts in 1915,” *Oregon Historical Quarterly* (Summer 2000): 214–27.

72. Cruikshank to author, January 19, 2000. The January 4, 1922, minutes state that “Mrs. Sarah H. Ladd was re-elected First Reader for one year.”

73. Certificate of Death, Office of Vital Records, Sacramento, Calif.

74. *Oregon Daily Journal*, April 1, 1927; see also *Oregonian*, July 1, 1927; Last Will and Testament of Sarah Hall Ladd, September 29, 1923, McMinnville, Ore. Ladd left \$3,000 to the Christian Science Society of McMinnville for the maintenance of their grounds and set aside \$1,500 for a drinking fountain in Carlton in memory of her husband. A bronze medallion of Charles Ladd, Chinese vases, and Greek glass bowls were left to the Portland Art Museum. To Lily White, she bequeathed \$8,000, her car, and various pieces of silver. The water fountain is in Upper City Park in Carlton.

75. Certificate of Death, Office of Vital Records, Sacramento, Calif. From 1930, Lily White lived on Scenic Drive between Martin Way and Carmel Point with Mabel Spicker. Janis Rodman, Reference Librarian, Monterey Public Library, letter to author [1990].