Building Bridges

In this issue of Columbia we continue our study of that epochal era of nearly 200 years ago when the great imperial powers of Europe and the nascent United States of America contested each other for political and economic supremacy over the Pacific Northwest. Canadian Freeman Tovell offers a fresh analysis of the near legendary relationship between Bodega y Quadra and George Vancouver, mariners of Spain and Great Britain respectively.

Tovell's role is emblematic of a larger pattern that I trust will manifest itself clearly in the next two years—the common roots of British Columbia's, Oregon's and Washington's history and cooperation among their respective historians. Two hundred years ago, well before treaty making, survey lining, and the like carved the region into its now familiar pattern, our region was of a piece; though native societies certainly had their own indigenous characteristics. Borders were ecological, linguistic and not particularly divisive or alienating.

Anyone who has taught Washington history, as I have on a few occasions, must be struck by the narrowing of the field of vision as one courses through time. Activities that took place in the time of Bodega y Quadra and Vancouver, for instance, off what is now the Oregon coast or Nootka Sound in present day British Columbia, are part of our state history, too. Soon, events in Oregon and, more regularly, British Columbia recede into obscurity. They shouldn't.

The maritime bicentennial offers a rare opportunity for creating and enlarging a regional historical perspective. The governors of Oregon and Washington, plus the premier of British Columbia, have each appointed four individuals to serve on an ad hoc committee charged with finding avenues of cooperation between jurisdictions as each independently pursues its own observance of the events of two centuries ago.

The Washington delegation consists of Senator Peter von Reichbauer of Dash Point, Representative Max Vekich of Cosmopolis, Les Eldridge from Olympia, and Thornton Thomas who hails from the San Juan Islands. Oregon's team has Senator Joan Duke, Representative Tom Hanlon and Bud Forrester, all of whom represent the area near Astoria and the mouth of the Columbia River, and Jim Thayer, former president of the Oregon Historical Society. The British Columbia contingent includes Pamela Charlesworth and Lawrie Wallace, both of Victoria, David Mitchell of Vancouver and Mike Patterson of Cranbrook.

Our Society organized the first meeting of this group on November 30, 1989, in the office of Governor Booth Gardner, whose keynote remarks emphasized the newfound sense of regional awareness in the Northwest. The "international committee of the maritime bicentennial" will meet once a year in each of the jurisdictions and it is my hope that, beyond the interim coordination that this group is bound to instill, these efforts will serve as the building blocks for other, enduring cooperative historical endeavors.

Once outside the comfortable confines of the period of exploration, there is only one widely recognized historiographical attempt at making significant connections across the 49th parallel. That is Carlos Schwantes' Radical Heritage, a treatise on labor history. American historians of this region seem captivated by the question of whether Idaho is a part of the same Northwest culture as Oregon and Washington, ignoring the more salient issue of fitting British Columbia into their historical systems. In its own small way, the international committee of the maritime bicentennial, sustained by the Washington State Historical Society, the Oregon Historical Society and the historical community of British Columbia, might lead to a permanent infrastructure that addresses this problem.

—David L. Nicandri, Director

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Washington State Historical Society
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COLUMBIA

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Front and back covers: One of the conventions of propaganda posters, used by all combatants during World War I, was the depiction of women as patriotic symbols, selfless workers, and devoted mothers and wives. Historians have credited these images, often prepared by the best known and practiced contemporary artists and illustrators, with achieving their ostensible objectives: procuring enlistments, selling bonds, and mobilizing the home front. (Courtesy of the Eastern Washington State Historical Society)
DURING 1989 NEARLY everyone in Washington State was touched in some way by the centennial celebration encompassing over 3,000 events involving hundreds of thousands of people. One hundred years ago communities throughout the state celebrated the arrival of statehood with parades, prayers and public gatherings. Any excitement over Washington's 100th birthday is matched only by the pride we feel for the achievements of our first century and the hope we feel for the prospects of our second. Today, over four million Washingtonians are linked by the landscape we love, the traditions we cherish and the destiny we share.

At the conclusion of the centennial year, the Centennial Commission created one of Washington's most remarkable archaeological sites: the Centennial Time Capsule. This is possibly the world's first interactive time capsule. It will be renewed at 25-year intervals as Washingtonians add to its contents over a period of 400 years. Every 25 years a group of “capsule keepers” will fill the capsule with items to be taken out 25 years later. They will also insert other items to remain in the capsule, unseen until Washington's 500th birthday in the year 2389. This gift to the Washingtonians of 2389 is an instant archaeological site, a picture of our state as it evolves over the next 400 years.

The first “Keepers of the Capsule” are young people, born in the first two weeks of November 1979. They symbolize our hopes, dreams, and aspirations for a better future and constitute living memory.

With Washington's landscape made up of rugged geography and the vast distances, it is perhaps appropriate that many centennial events were built around transportation and travel. The great native cedar canoe was once at the heart of western Washington's native culture and commerce. This year, 15 tribes built traditional canoes and joined with seven other tribes from this state and British Columbia in the “Paddle to Seattle.” The drama of their journey along the coast and over the waters of Puget Sound brought the people of the state closer together.

In this century the canoes of the sky have become a powerful part of our collective heritage. “Wings Over Washington” set aside one day for all of us to celebrate our fascination with flight. This event celebrated technology, yes, but it also celebrated people brought closer in a world made smaller by flying machines.

At about the same time centennial wagon trains throughout Washington recalled the great journeys from the east to the Pacific coast, we also celebrated the opening of the “Pacific Century”; the Pacific Summit and Symposia featured Washington's part in the surging economy of the Pacific Basin, demonstrating that all regions of this state are closely tied to markets around the Pacific Basin.

WASHINGTON STATE as a key player in the Pacific was backed by several other events. The Circum-Pacific Prehistory Conference celebrated a million years of human habitation in the Pacific. “Crossroads of Continents” exhibited the relationships of Soviet and North American natives. And “A Time of Gathering” brought to the Burke Museum items of North Coast native culture from museums worldwide.

The centennial brought athletes from all over the state to participate in the Winter and Summer Centennial Games in Wenatchee and Spokane. People of all ages were there, in almost every physical circumstance. Earlier in the year the Lewis and Clark Trail Run from Clarkston to the mouth of the Columbia River brought thousands of runners together for eight thrilling days along the great river of the West.

All in all, the people of Washington responded to the opportunities and challenges of celebrating our first century with pride, ingenuity and humor. These are characteristics that have much to do with the kind of state we enjoy today, qualities which will carry our communities and traditions on into the second century of statehood. Through our celebrations we have renewed and reaffirmed the love we feel for the place we call home and have built a strong foundation for the energy and commitment that will be needed as we face the adventures of the next 100 years.

— Putnam Barber

Putnam Barber is Executive Secretary of the 1989 Washington Centennial Commission.
The utopian colony of Home was founded in 1896 on Von Geldern Cove, across the Tacoma Narrows on the Key Peninsula. Established by three families who were refugees from another failed utopian community, it became in time a successful anarchist colony whose most famed inhabitant was the sometimes elusive Jay Fox, anarchist and labor radical.

Jay Fox's Irish-Catholic parents had immigrated to America shortly before he was born in New Jersey on August 20, 1870. Soon thereafter the family moved to Chicago where his mother's immigrant brother Martin Murphy helped them settle, as Fox later wrote in his memoirs, "in the back of the stockyards in the midst of a medley of other poor foreigners."

Although his parents hoped he would follow a pious path to the priesthood, he did not conform. He abandoned the faith of his forefathers and quit school at an early age. "Knowing how to read and make change was all the masses were required to know, all the bosses needed them to know, all that we could afford the time to acquire," said Fox of formal education. He later became an advocate of the Modern School Movement which stressed the importance of free thought and non-interference from church and state.

At age 14 Fox landed his first job. For 50 cents a day, he worked for the "sauerkraut king" of Chicago whose fields of cabbage grew in the stockyards. Since Fox's father worked for the Pennsylvania Railroad, earning only $1.40 a day, the contribution Fox made to the family's meager resources was welcome.

Duly impressed that work brought monetary reward, however small, Fox next took a job at the Malleable Iron Works, located near the McCormick Reaper Works (a forerunner of International Harvester). In 1886, 16-year-old Fox joined the Knights of Labor as a result of a discussion he had with Albert Parsons, a labor organizer eventually hanged for his activities. A strike for the eight-hour work day, called after several months' unrest and numerous protests at the McCormick Reaper Works, was set for May 1. Fox decided to participate in the strike.

On May 3, Fox was on the picket line in front of the Iron Works where relative quiet prevailed. He drifted over to the McCormick Reaper Works where, by contrast, he found an ominous siege underway. Rock-throwing strikers had dispersed the scabs and backed the police against the gates of the plant until police reinforcements arrived and drew their revolvers. The workers retreated, knowing that rocks were no match for bullets. Nonetheless, the police opened fire at the backs of the workers. Conflicting accounts state that Fox was wounded, with either a grazed shoulder or the loss of the end digit of one finger. There is no doubt, though, that the bullet which wounded Fox went on to strike and kill a fellow worker.

A shaken Jay Fox attended a meeting in Haymarket Square the next evening where he heard speeches discussing the...
injustice of police tactics used at the McCormick Reaper Works and protesting the senseless wounding and slaughter of workers. Someone threw a bomb into the crowd gathered there. Although it is still not known who was responsible, eight of the most vocal and persistent labor radicals were arrested, tried and convicted. Five received death sentences. Despite protests, four were hanged on November 11, 1887; the fifth committed suicide in his cell. Indeed, the events of May 3 and 4, 1886 and November 11, 1887, known collectively as the Haymarket Affair, did more to inflame the radical cause than any other single incident. Furthermore, the events of Haymarket, which still stand as classic examples of judicial impropriety, were pivotal for Jay Fox who first worked for the convicted men’s release and later marched in their funeral parade. He went on to become an avowed anarchist and a powerful voice in behalf of the radical cause.

By 1893 Fox was working at the Illinois Central Railway in Chicago. He became a charter member of the American Railway Union (ARU) Local No. 1, headed by Eugene V. Debs. As a delegate to the ARU’s first convention, in June 1894, with the Pullman shop workers’ strike then three weeks old, Fox voted to establish a relief fund for striking workers and endorsed a nationwide boycott of Pullman sleepers. Debs disobeyed an injunction during the strike and received a six-month jail sentence. The leaderless ARU faltered and was not revived.

During the 1896 presidential campaign between William Jennings Bryan and William McKinley, Fox took time out from his labor activities to travel by bicycle around the Eastern states, touring such cities as New York, Syracuse and Boston. Along the way he talked with people about class struggle, soliciting opinions and being none too shy about expressing his own. From Boston Fox arranged to work for his passage on a cattle ship to Liverpool. He stayed in England for about a year, working in and around Liverpool and Birmingham, and speaking to people about the “coming war on capitalism.” He concluded, “Contact with people on that trip added strength to my belief that the competitive struggle of man against man for the chance to produce the necessities of life no longer exists, if it ever did. It seems that people today would prefer to cooperate with each other if the opportunity were available.” Fox returned to Chicago and re-entered the fray. By the late 1890s he was a rising star in the radical movement, beginning to establish himself as a speaker and an advocate for the laboring classes. On November 11, 1897, in a ceremony commemorating the tenth anniversary of the Chicago executions, Fox shared the stage with Emma Goldman among others. On Decoration Day (the forerunner of Memorial Day) in 1900, Fox addressed an anarchist picnic. On July 28, 1901, the Society for Anthropology heard his address entitled “Labor’s Discontent and the Steel Worker’s [sic] Strike.” An extant handbill announces that Fox was to speak in Boston on November 16, 1902, concerning the “crimes of capitalism” at a meeting commemorating the hanging of the Haymarket martyrs. He also contributed to such newspapers as The Demonstrator, published in Home Colony, Washington, and The Free Society (formerly The Firebrand), an anarchist-communist journal then published in Chicago.

Fox’s connections to the latter publication led to his first arrest. On September 6, 1901, President McKinley was shot at the Buffalo Exposition. The Chicago Tribune immediately announced that the U.S. Secret Service suspected a link with the Haymarket Gang. The Chicago police seized records from The Free Society’s Chicago office and arrested publisher Abraham Isaak, his family, and members of The Free Society publishing group, including Fox. On September 14, McKinley died. Fox said, “For Mrs. McKinley I have the same sorrow which I have for my cellmate who heard of the death of his child yesterday and wept bitter tears.” The members of the publishing group were finally released because the authorities had no case.

Fox lived for a while in New York City. Little is known about this period of his life except that he continued his writing and speaking career. Another extant handbill advertises that “J. Fox, of New York” was to deliver four lectures addressing the central question, “Why are you poor in a rich country?” The handbill also describes him, somewhat prematurely, as editor of The Labor Agitator, a job which he did not actually assume until some years later. Newspaper clippings found in one of Fox’s scrapbooks cite several New York addresses.

Returning to Chicago, Fox took Esther Abramowitz as his common-law wife. Born in Russia, she was a factory worker in her youth. Both of them became part of Chicago’s anarchist salon, where radicals, including Emma Goldman, Clarence Darrow and others whose names are less familiar, met and exchanged ideas. An observer describing the people who frequented the salon said Fox was a man with “more fibre and calmness and strength than the rank and file of the anarchists.” Abramowitz was described as “melancholy and affectionate and gentle and sensual.” The couple’s anarchist ideals served as a basis for their relationship, which lasted for approximately a decade. Of Fox’s first wife, nothing is known.
Anarchist of Home

In 1904 Fox worked closely with Lucy Parsons, widow of the Haymarket martyr Albert Parsons, in an attempt to launch an anarchist, English-language newspaper. In the spring of that year Parsons, Fox and others discussed the possibility of starting a paper to replace The Free Society which had folded in the wake of the persecution of radicals following the McKinley assassination. Throughout the summer the group held socials and picnics to raise money for the cause.

However, by late summer a rift had developed between Fox and Parsons. A group headed by Fox felt that The Demonstrator of Home Colony should be adopted and backed. The other faction, headed by Parsons, felt strongly that such a paper should emanate from the radical and industrial center of Chicago rather than from the backwater colony of Home. Before the controversy was settled, Fox sent the money to Home. Parsons, undaunted, started a Chicago-based paper, The Liberator. It should be noted that Fox had good reason for his position. He had been invited to assume the editorship of The Demonstrator, planning to move to Home in the fall of 1905. He was delayed that fall and again in the spring.

Fox attended the founding convention of the Industrial Workers of the World (IWW), held in Chicago in June 1905. He was initially sympathetic to the philosophy behind the IWW, but had reservations about its strategy. He was convinced that radical workers should try to effect changes from within existing unions. A poem in William Z. Foster’s autobiographical work, From Bryan to Stalin, makes clear reference to the IWW factionalism over the issue of “dual unionism” which plagued the group from its beginnings:

“The proper way,” said Jay the Fox,
“Is just to bore a hole or two
In existing institutions.”

“Agreed,” cried Mr. Foster,
“My arm is long, my hand is strong,
My nerves are cool and steady.”

A view of the north shore of Home Colony, Lakebay, Washington, as it appeared some time after 1900.

Fox began reporting on IWW activities for Home Colony’s The Demonstrator. The colony drew its name from the charter of the Mutual Home Association, a simple landholding organization with no other provisions for cooperative economic ventures. Taxes on the land were shared equally while the land itself remained in the hands of the association. Improvements on the land, such as houses, belonged to individuals. Gradually the association added to its land holdings. When platted in 1901, Home consisted of 217 acres.

The landholding agreement gave Home a communitarian flavor, but the fundamental principles of tolerance and individual liberty set forth by the founding families defined the Colony’s nature as truly utopian. Stewart H. Holbrook, journalist and writer, visited Home often and wrote newspaper and journal articles about his visits. He said that Fox once described Home as a “Wild West Brook Farm, with overtones of Oneida Community and Nauvoo.” As Holbrook observed, Home was a place where two-acre farmers were as conversant with Marx as with poultry.
Fox arrived in Home during its heyday, in the winter of 1908. He traveled alone, not having the resources to bring his family with him. Arriving on the West Coast, he visited Home briefly before returning to Seattle where he worked as a janitor tending the arts building at the Alaska-Yukon Exposition. He commented that this was perhaps the best job he had ever had because, once trained, he was never bothered by his boss and was able to look upon fine art and listen to the distant strains of the symphony playing in the next building. By the fair’s end, Fox had earned the money needed to bring his wife and two of her children from a previous marriage to the West Coast. Once joined by his family, Fox secured two acres at Home and built his first house. Although he left Home for brief periods over the next 51 years, he always returned. As he later expressed in an unpublished poem, Home had captured his heart.

Radium LaVene, who grew up in Home, recalls that his mother Bessie Levin, invited Fox for dinner. Said LaVene, “Mother usually baked her own bread, but on this occasion she had bakery bread, and Jay questioned mother to learn if the bread was union made. Mother didn’t remember for sure, so Jay explained the importance of insisting on seeing the union label before buying anything. It seemed that mother learned her lesson well, for sometime later when Jay was invited to dinner again, [on the table] mother placed a platter stacked high with bread and pasted to each slice was a union label.”

Once established in Home, Fox and Abramowitz set up housekeeping and prepared for the publication of The Agitator, which replaced The Demonstrator. The residents, who had grown accustomed to having a newspaper published in their colony, were anxious for its appearance.

The Agitator made its first appearance on November 18, 1910, although in his editorial, Fox proclaimed that it appeared on November 11, the 25th [sic] anniversary of the execution of the Haymarket martyrs. (Actually, he was four days late for the 23rd anniversary.) In its subtitle, The Agitator defined itself as an “Advocate of the Modern School, Industrial Unionism, and Individual Freedom.” Fox declared that it would “stand for freedom first, last and all the time,” and would promote the right of every person to express his opinions. He hoped to popularize knowledge so that common toilers, as well as the “rich and privileged class” could be “uplifted to philosophy and science.” Appearing twice a month, the paper was generally well-
written, although riddled with typos. Fox received encouragement from many people who hoped *The Agitator* would fill the need for a viable, English-language anarchist journal. Indeed, when entering his subscription, Jack London commented that the “free, open, fair spirit of the paper makes it one of the most valuable periodicals I read.”

Although the newspaper reprinted articles by such notables as Clarence Darrow, it bore the distinct character of its editor. On the first page was a regular feature, “The Passing Show,” which contained short articles and comments by Fox on a range of current topics. He also wrote many of the other articles in each issue. While the paper was enthusiastically received, it was not financially well-backed and its fiscal struggles threatened its future.

Just as the first issues were coming off the press, Home was visited by William J. Burns and other operatives of the Burns Detective Agency. Disguised as surveyors and booksellers, they gathered information about some of Home’s residents, including Fox and his family. Their visit was prompted by the bombing of the Los Angeles Times building which killed 20 people. John J. McNamara, a union official, and his brother James B. had been arrested and confessed to the crime at the time of their trial. However, two alleged accomplices were at large, one of whom was believed to be David Caplan. Burns’ operatives recorded minute details of everyday Home life in suggestive, exaggerated language that added an air of mystery and intrigue. For all their observations, the most they gathered is that Fox returned from San Francisco without his wife, looking “very much worried, eyes bloodshot...as though he had been under a great strain.” Without finding Caplan, they discontinued their two-week surveillance.

Although there is no conclusive evidence, it appears that Fox knew of Caplan’s whereabouts. A later government report insisted that Caplan hid out at Home. Additionally, according to Bertha Thompson, known as “Box-Car Bertha,” Caplan found refuge in Home Colony for a time. Years later, Fox hinted that Caplan also hid out on Bainbridge Island, but the exact truth may be lost to history.

As if the McNamara case were not enough, on July 11, 1911, Fox published his famed editorial, “The Nudes and the Prudes,” in which he advocated boycotting those members of the Home community who were “prudish” and offended by those who chose to bathe naked in Puget Sound. Home’s conservative faction had challenged the practice, and four residents of Home, three of them women, had been arrested. After the first of the trials, amid general unpleasantness and adverse publicity in the surrounding cities, Fox lent his voice to the disagreement, calling the two opposing factions the “nudes” and the “prudes.” He clearly sided with the nudes, stating that “clothing was made to protect the body, not to hide it,” and criticizing the local court. Fox wrote that Home had always been “a community of free spirits, who came out into the woods to escape the poluted [sic] atmosphere of priest-ridden, conventional society. One of the liberties enjoyed by Homeites was the privilege to bathe in evening dress, or with merely the clothes nature gave them, just as they chose. No one went rubbernecking to see which suit a person wore, who sought the purifying waters of the bay. Surely it is nobody’s business.”

Fox was arrested seven weeks after the editorial’s publication. The state law allegedly violated made it a misdemeanor “to encourage disrespect for law or for any court or court of justice,” a statute enacted during the furor over anarchism following the McKinley assassination. Thus, both of Fox’s arrests could be linked to the anti-anarchist sentiment resulting from McKinley’s assassination.

The trial took place January 10, 1912. The issues of nude bathing, indecent exposure, free speech, free press, and anarchism were hopelessly entangled. On the second day, as the trial neared its conclusion, Fox addressed the jury, pleading for free speech and press. “It is only by agitation that the laws of the land are made better,” the *Tacoma Daily Ledger* quoted. “It is only by agitation that reforms have been brought about in the world... Show me a country where there is the most tyranny and I’ll show you the country where there is no free speech. This country was settled on that right—the right of free expression.”

The jury deliberated for 25 hours, nearly declaring itself “hung,” before rendering a verdict—guilty, but with a recommendation for leniency. On February 6, Fox was sentenced to two months in jail.

Supporters continued efforts to have the conviction overturned. The aid of the Free Speech League, forerunner of the American Civil Liberties Union, was enlisted. Dances and rallies to raise money for the “Jay Fox Free Speech Fight” were held from Boston to Portland, Oregon.

As Stewart H. Holbrook, journalist and writer, observed, Home was a place where two-acre farmers were as conversant with Marx as with poultry.
The January 1912 financial report for The Agitator illustrates the economic precariousness of the newspaper which eventually ceased publication in November 1912.

International Union of Timber Workers, brought the case before Ernest C. Lister, who was then the Governor of Washington State. Not entirely sympathetic at first, Governor Lister eventually signed a pardon for Fox on September 11, 1915, 12 days before his two-month sentence would have been served in full.

Amidst this backdrop, William Z. Foster had come to Home in 1912. Foster's conversion to the philosophies of the IWW had been short-lived. He had visited France where the radical movement was making inroads through the "syndicates" or unions. Syndicalism, "boring from within" the existing union structure, as Jay Fox had advocated, seemed a practical approach. Foster convinced Fox to let The Agitator become the official organ of Foster's newly formed Syndicalist League of North America. His timing coincided with the financial and legal difficulties of the paper and its editor.

Fox moved himself and the paper to Chicago. He wrote, "...Say Jo, what do you think? I'm going back to Chicago. This berg [sic] is becoming too small for the A. [i.e., Anarchist movement]. It's outgrown the state. We want to take the center of the industrial stage. The syndicalists want me to go there and make the paper the central organ of the movement. And this movement is going to grow, Jo. I'll make em anarchists and they won't know it. It's sugar coat as it were."

The last issue of The Agitator was dated November 1, 1912; it reappeared as The Syndicalist in January 1913. The mailing address remained Home for a time, but the Syndicalist Publishing Association of Chicago appeared on the masthead as publisher. Early in the spring, while his case was under appeal, Fox was en route to Chicago with a copy of Alexander Berkman's Prison Memoirs of an Anarchist. The focus of the paper changed appreciably; Foster and syndicalism became the overriding issue. Instead of expanding to a weekly as planned, the paper lasted only a year, half as long as did The Agitator of Home. The September 15, 1913, issue did not mention suspension or cessation, but it was indeed the final issue.

Fox returned to the Northwest alone, for amidst the hassles of the "nudes and prudes" affair and the changes in the paper, he and Esther Abramowitz had separated (she married Foster in March 1918). It must have been an amiable parting. At least they remained good friends. Testimony to this fact can be seen in the closing of one of Foster's letters to Fox, which says, "Esther joins me in sending you love and best regards...."

In Seattle, Fox joined with J.C. Brown in an attempt to expand the Shingle Weavers' Union into the Timberworkers, an industry-wide union. While Fox's case was being appealed all the way to the Supreme Court, he became vice-president of the newly expanded union and editor of The Timberworker. For the weekly publication he wrote "Letters to Jack Lumber," the main editorial. This publication and the Shingle Weavers' Union did not survive the First World War's negative impact on the Northwest timber industry.

In 1918, while in Chicago again, Fox was asked to join the National Nonpartisan League, headquartered in Saint Paul. This organization advocated such programs as the establishment of a rural credit bank and state-controlled grain elevators, and proposed to nominate its candidates for election from within the major
parties. The League managed to gain control of the Republican Party of North Dakota and directed the state’s politics for a short period of time. However, his work with the League was short-lived since Fox quit when asked to transfer to Bismarck, where the League had affiliations with a daily newspaper. The mild winters and many good friends he had left behind in Washington beckoned.

Back in the West, Fox participated in the Seattle general strike of 1919. Then working in the Ames Shipyards, he championed the general strike “as the most practical and effective way to overthrow capitalism.”

Fox was first, last and always a union man. He worked in various occupations during his lifetime, but he proudly notes that he never laid a hand to any work for which he did not possess a union card. Radium LaVene remembers him singing a song about a hod carrier:

I work 8 hours a day
and I’m sure I earn my pay.
When the clock strikes six,
I carry down my bricks
and I don’t work another minute after.

Fox was not entirely happy living in Seattle. His room on Yesler Way was no match for Home. Furthermore, he was lonely. He had been living alone for seven years. As he said, “At forty-nine I began to think about getting married again, this is provided that the right woman gave me the right answer. In Philadelphia lived a woman I greatly admired, and I set about getting the right answer from her.” That woman was Cora Peterson, a native of Denmark. She said “yes” and came west. They were married in Seattle in June 1919.

Although Fox freely admitted that the old movements had lost some of their luster, he had not given up. The Russian Revolution and the advent of Communism in the Soviet Union had brought the winds of change to American radicals. Fox felt that the Communist Party, although not perfect, offered the latest, best hope of accomplishing the sweeping changes that the anarchist movement had not. He wrote an apologetic chapter in his memoirs, “Why I Joined the Communist Party,” to affirm that he had not

Anarchist of Home

Fox worked in various occupations during his lifetime, but he proudly notes that he never laid a hand to any work for which he did not possess a union card.

For nearly 15 years, Mary M. Carr was a librarian at Crosby Library, Gonzaga University, in Spokane, home of the Fox Collection and Jay Fox's memoirs. She is now Director of Library Services at North Idaho College in Coeur d'Alene.

For the Trade Union Educational League. By 1935, Fox had become somewhat, if not totally, disillusioned with the Communist Party and returned to the anarchist movement. It is perhaps accurate to conclude that he had never fully left its ranks. Concerning the anarchist movement, Fox wrote, "I could never desert a cause that is a vital part of my intellectual life."

Home was no longer the tranquil, communitarian community envisioned at its founding. The seeds of discontent, evident in the "nudes and prudes" incident, had had their origins in 1909 when Home was platted and a change made to the Association's articles of incorporation allowing for private ownership of land and individual deeds. This provision violated the Association's original purposes, depleting its holdings, ended the promise of available land for incoming members and led to factionalism between radical and conservative elements. The quarreling escalated to court battles. In early 1917 a split community elected two panels of officers, both claiming to be the legitimate leaders of the Mutual Home Association. Finally, in 1921, the Mutual Home Association was dissolved by court order, the judge having observed during the proceedings that the Association had been "wholly impotent" to perform the charter purposes, and that such bitter hostility left no hope for reconciliation.

The Foxes entered a period of semi-retirement. They raised poultry and built a new house. Cora, an artist, sold hand-painted china to supplement their income. While his friend Foster had taken on the minions of Capital in industrial centers, Fox had decided he could make his statement from Home. Apparently, though, Foster grew weary of hearing about the "house that Jay built." He thought that Fox should attempt something more lasting and persuaded him to begin writing his memoirs.

At age 81, in 1951, Fox had the project well underway. When Holbrook visited Home in the 1940s, he dubbed Fox the "last of the veritable anarchists, genial and mellow,..." adjectives that would not have been applied to him earlier. Aware of his own mortality, as is evident by some of his later writings which focus on death, Fox knew that he would be unable to finish his manuscript. In a letter dated November 17, 1960, he wrote that he was having trouble remembering things. "In light of the above, how could I go on with the book? You see it would be impossible, which it is, sorrowfully so."

Fox died four months later on March 8, 1961. His ashes were laid to rest in the rose garden on his property in Home Colony. Perhaps unknowingly, Fox wrote his own epitaph in the form of an unpublished poem, "When I Die." Although not a literary masterpiece, it conveys his self-image and points out his wry sense of humor.

It is common practice when a man dies, for his friends to dig up the memory of whatever little good he did in his life; then weep and wail over the corpse and bemoan the fates that deprived the world of so great a lover of mankind.

When I die let the time-honored process be reversed. Instead of tiring themselves with a search for the good that I may incidentally have done, let my friends pile up the crooked jobs I pulled off; and conjure up, so far as their imagination is capable of the task, a mental picture of all the rascality I intended to put over if death had not taken me off the job. Then let them fill their glasses to the brim and drink to the memory of one who, if worse than themselves, it was only because of greater opportunity.

Fox died as he had lived—a humble laborer for the cause. He fought unstintingly for an eight-hour day, adequate compensation for all workers, a free press, free speech, women's rights, and individual freedom. He confronted issues that conventional society of his day chose to ignore and anticipated some issues that today's society has had to face.

EDITOR'S NOTE

This article is based on Fox's unpublished memoirs, discovered by the author in the Rare Book Room of Crosby Library, Gonzaga University.
Life for the newly arrived pioneer in Washington Territory was tenuous at best. This photograph of the streets of Centralia taken about 1889 was recently donated to the Historical Society by Betty Cuykendall of Renton. Her grandfather Farris David Moore homesteaded a claim ten miles outside of Wilbur after an arduous journey through California, Oregon and Washington. He worked briefly in Yelm and Centralia during the winter of 1889 where this photo of two shingle-laden wagons and their drivers came into his possession. Some of his notes describing his travels and hardships in the new land still exist.

The City of Spokane was the next place I went.  
Times were hard and I couldn't make a cent,  
I staid there 3 days then got on the train  
For a town in the big bend, Wilbur is the name.  
I took up a ranch and built me a shack,  
Then went to farming for money to go back.  
Produce is so low I can't make it that way.  
So my only chance is to keep on farming and stay.

Farris David Moore stayed on in Wilbur until 1906 when he sold the homestead and moved to Opportunity, Washington.
Lenna Baird, Spokane Red Cross Canteen Captain between September 1917 and December 1919, was an active community leader from the time she moved to Spokane in 1910.
At 5:00 a.m., February 19, 1918, Mrs. Thomas W. (Lenna) Baird was awakened by a messenger with a telegram requesting that Spokane Red Cross Canteen volunteers meet a troop train due later that day.

The Spokane volunteers supplied coffee, pastries, candy, cigarettes and stamped postcards printed with Spokane scenes to military personnel on trains passing through. As Captain, Mrs. Baird was assisted by 40 volunteers, including her teenaged daughter Lenna and sons Tom and Mel, in helping to make the lives of nearly 200,000 soldiers, sailors and marines more bearable.

With her white hair, Mrs. Baird probably reminded some of these servicemen of homes and mothers left behind. In their loneliness, many servicemen carried on lengthy correspondence with Mrs. Baird and a few of the other canteen ladies. Several of them referred to her as their “Red Cross Mother” and sent her souvenirs of their travels.

Since many of the troop trains lacked dining cars, the food served by the various canteens en route was often the only food these men had in days of travel across the country. Money for canteen activity was raised by the volunteers themselves from the sale of flowers picked in their own gardens, baked goods, and even the raffle of a horse at a local fair. They also solicited gifts of food and services from local merchants. None of the canteen funds came from Red Cross coffers.

The accompanying documents come from the collection of the Manuscript, Archive and Special Collections at Washington State University in Pullman and the Eastern Washington Historical Society in Spokane. They reflect the hospitality of Spokane. Many personal expressions of gratitude and other correspondence, photographs, picture postcards of the U.S. and Europe, plus published items are contained in these collections.

Bruce C. Harding is a retired archivist/records manager living in Pullman, Washington.
Among Spokane's three train stations, it was not unusual for the canteen volunteers to meet three or four trains in a day.

**RIGHT**

The report gives an idea of the number of servicemen and supplies involved in the canteen operation.

Raffles were one method the canteen used to generate funds. This may have been the winning ticket for a raffle at the Inland Empire Fair which raised $610 for canteen supplies.
ABOVE: Meeting trains, serving coffee and doughnuts, and making the soldiers feel welcome was the task of the Red Cross Canteen ladies.

RIGHT: Lenna Baird and her volunteers received many telegrams like this one, sometimes at 5:00 in the morning. Some troops did not get regular meals while in transit, and the canteen stepped in to fill the need.
Juan Francisco de la Bodega y Quadra, commandant of the Spanish naval base at San Blas, met with Vancouver to carry out the terms of the Nootka Convention.

Two of the most important maritime explorers of the Pacific Northwest are undoubtedly George Vancouver and Juan Francisco de la Bodega y Quadra. The relationship of these two naval officers brought together by the Nootka Crisis of 1789 is an intriguing one.

When news reached England that José Esteban Martínez, the Spanish commandant at Nutca, had seized three ships belonging to a syndicate of English fur traders represented by John Meares, together with their cargoes, and sent their officers and crews to be interned in Nueva España, public opinion in England became greatly aroused. War was only averted when Spain, abandoned by her ally France, in the throes of revolution, was compelled to back down by Pitt's pugnacious diplomacy and sign the Nootka Convention of October 28, 1790. Article 1 required her to cede to England "the buildings and tracts of land situated on the Northwest Coast of the continent of North America...of which the subjects of His Britannic Majesty were dispossessed...by a Spanish officer." Both governments further agreed to appoint commissioners to go to Nootka and settle matters. The Spanish government left the choice of its commissioner to the Viceroy of Nueva España, Revilla Gigedo, who selected Bodega, the senior Spanish naval officer on the Pacific Coast and commandant of its San Blas naval base. The British government appointed Captain George Vancouver to undertake the assignment in the course of the survey he was to conduct of the Pacific Northwest coast.

Bodega and Vancouver met twice, first at Nootka in August-September 1792, for about three weeks, and then later the same year at Monterey, California, for about seven weeks. Understandably, Vancouver expected a rather chilly reception when he arrived at Nootka, but Bodega proved to be friendly and hospitable. The settlement's facilities were placed at Vancouver's disposal: a house was made available for his stores, he erected his observatory and careened his ships. Fresh bread, meat and vegetables were sent daily to his ship and to others in port.

Bodega saw no reason why life in the wilderness of Nootka Sound should not be lived as in a capital. In his residence, which he enlarged to receive Vancouver, he kept "open house" for all officers regardless of nationality, and his six-course dinners served on his personal silver plate became legendary. Almost nightly there were parties with singing and dancing. Later, in Monterey, there was also much socializing. On one occasion a dance on Vancouver's Discovery with the ladies of the presidio in attendance came to a distressing end when a sudden wind storm blew up, rocking the ship and making the ladies seasick. The Spanish put on demonstrations of their traditional dances and the British reciprocated with country dances and the sailor's hornpipe. There were horseback riding, hunting, walks in the country and visits to the always hospitable Franciscan fathers at their missions at San Francisco, Carmel and Santa Clara.

The formal negotiations, conducted mainly by correspondence, took place at Nutca. Vancouver had been led to believe that the settlement would be conveyed to him without any ado. Bodega's instructions permitted him to do so (with certain provisos). But, by an extraordinary coincidence, three of the fur traders present when the syndicate's ships were seized in 1789 re-
turned to Nootka during the three months Bodega spent awaiting Vancouver. They told him a very different story from what Meares had related to Pitt's cabinet and published in his Memorial to Parliament. They assured him that Meares had purchased no land from Chief Maquinna, that the house he claimed to have built in the north corner of Friendly Cove was no more than a shack for his Chinese shipwrights and that it had been dismantled before sailing away. Moreover, as Bodega was aware, two of the ships, the Argo
dait and the Princess Royal, had been returned and their officers and crews set free with all their wages paid up to date. Bodega could say to Vancouver that "the injuries, prejudices and usurpations which Captain Meares represents [in his Memorial] are chimerical." There was nothing to compensate for and nothing to turn over.

Vancouver had been left largely in the dark by his authorities. Though promised that full instructions for his meeting with the Spanish Commissioner would be sent to him at Nootka, what he received was of little use. He quickly became aware that the Nootka Convention had been negotiated on the basis of highly inaccurate information and that, to put it mildly, Meares had greatly exaggerated his losses when questioned by the British cabinet. Nevertheless, Vancouver insisted that everything stipulated in Article 1 of the Convention be turned over to him: all the houses and gardens and Friendly Cove itself, as well as Clayoquot Sound where Meares had only planned to establish a second base.

It is not necessary here to review the course of the negotiation. Suffice it to say that Bodega was prepared to turn over to Vancouver all the buildings, the vegetable gardens and livestock, and to withdraw to a new base on the south shore of the Strait of Juan de Fuca which would become the boundary between their respective interests, but he would not surrender Spanish "sovereignty" over Nootka. He offered the little cove where Meares built the tiny schooner North West America, but Vancouver, insisting on the precise terms of the Convention, rejected it out of hand, describing it in his report as "that small pittance [sic] of rocks and sandy beach." He also turned down an offer to divide Nootka in half.

From the beginning the negotiation was a dialogue of the deaf. The commissioners could only agree to refer the issue back to their governments. Nootka was to remain in Spanish hands for three more years, until the Spanish government, recognizing that it could no longer justify the heavy cost of maintaining a base so far north of Nueva España, was prepared to abandon it. In 1795, by a further Convention, made easier as the two countries were momentarily allies in op-
Bodega saw no reason why life in the wilderness of Nootka Sound should not be lived as in a capital.

Bodega saw why life in the wilderness of Nootka Sound should not be lived as in a capital. While there he took the opportunity to explore the Pacific Northwest coast.

Captain George Vancouver was sent as British representative to formalize the Spanish cession of the Nootka settlement. While there he took the opportunity to explore the Pacific Northwest coast.

The respect, courtesy and consideration expected of representatives of their governments were evidenced by their agreement to give both their names to what became only Vancouver Island.

Vancouver and Bodega were professional seamen, of course. Vancouver entered the navy as a midshipman at age 14 and sailed with Cook on his second and third voyages. He learned his trade at the feet of the master the practical way—at sea. Bodega, though born into Peru's Viceroyalty, gained entrance to the naval college at Cadiz, spending the usual three years learning seamanship and navigation in the classroom.

Both spent most of their sea time in the Pacific, particularly the Pacific Northwest. Vancouver's magnificent survey of the coast from about 100 miles north of San Francisco to Cook Inlet in Alaska, carried out under difficult circumstances and over a very long period of time—almost four and a half years—must be ranked as one of the great feats of seamanship of all times.

In addition to constructing a chart astonishing for its accuracy, he proved conclusively that no ice-free passage to the Atlantic Ocean existed in these waters. It has been estimated that before reaching home he had sailed some 65,000 miles and an additional 10,000 miles in the survey boats, equivalent to three times around the world.

Bodega's two voyages to Alaskan waters, the first in 1775, three years before Cook, and the second attempt to penetrate the ice barrier at the top of Bering Strait.
second in 1779, one year after Cook but with no knowledge of Cook's route, were remarkable in their own way. The earlier voyage took him from San Blas in Mexico to Kruzof Island and Bucareli Bay in the Alaskan Panhandle, in the 36-foot schooner Sonora, not much larger than one of Vancouver's long boats, with a crew of 14, only 4 of whom had previously been to sea. His chart delineated the continental coastline with some degree of reality and, as no wide opening in the shoreline had been seen, the existence of a sea passage across the north of Canada was seriously called into question. On his second voyage, Bodega sailed to Hinchinbrook Island at the entrance to Prince William Sound and to Cape Elizabeth on the western tip of the Kenai Peninsula at the entrance to Cook Inlet. On both voyages, carried out with less than ideal equipment and largely untrained crews, he manifested his great qualities of seamanship and leadership.

The social background of the two sailors is pertinent. Vancouver's family was of Dutch descent, having settled in East Anglia. His father John held the important post of deputy collector of customs in King's Lynn, at that time one of England's major seaports. The family was close to the Turners, members of which represented King's Lynn in Parliament for some years. Since John was able to obtain his son's appointment as one of Cook's midshipmen—a much coveted assignment—he was clearly a man of standing.

Bodega's family belonged to the nobility of northern Spain. His father, who had emigrated to Peru in the 1730s, was a senior official in the viceregal government. His mother came from the landed creole gentry of Peru. Because his lineage was noble and pure and he could give the required proof of bravery, he applied for and was admitted to membership in one of Spain's four ancient orders of chivalry, the Order of Santiago. There was disparity in their ages—when they met Bodega was 49 and Vancouver 35. There was also a difference in their substantive ranks. Bodega was a full Captain, expecting promotion to flag rank; Vancouver was a Commander. 4

Bodega brought to the negotiation an exceptional knowledge of the waters of the western Pacific, having sailed them from Chile to Cook Inlet. Now on his second tour of duty as commandant at San Blas, he had gained extensive experience in running a busy naval base, building and refitting ships, managing an active fleet, providing for the naval defense of the Californias, organizing the supply missions to the California presidios, and preparing and coordinating six major expeditions. He was familiar with his government's thinking on strategic matters concerning the Pacific as he had been involved in drafting the instructions for his negotiation.

Vancouver's experience was different. After serving as midshipman on Cook's second and third voyages, he spent some time at the West Indies station. Though he had a good record, he had held only the kind of positions that fall to junior and middle rank officers. The Discovery was his first command, though he was not the

4 At the time of his appointment to command the Discovery, Vancouver was promoted from Lieutenant to Master and Commander, a rank similar to the modern rank of Commander. He was formally appointed Captain on August 28, 1794, more than a year before he returned to England. He was appointed Post Captain upon his arrival home.
Admiralty's first choice. He was apparently given only a general idea of Pitt's strategy for the Pacific. And, with justification, he later complained bitterly that his masters had left him in the dark as to what was expected of him.

Though respected for his obvious abilities as a seaman and surveyor and his determination to fulfill his commission to the letter, Vancouver was never able to inspire the loyalty of his people as did Cook, his exemplar. Nor did he have a happy ship. Manby, one of his severest critics, wrote a friend from Monterey in 1793: "good fellowship which ought to subsist with adventurers traversing these distant Seas [does not] owing to the conduct of our Commander in Chief who is known Haughty Proud Mean and Insolent, which has kept himself and Officers in a continual state of wrangling during the whole of the Voyage." Vancouver clearly felt the weight of responsibility for his mission's success. The pressures of command, made more severe by the expedition's isolation in the vastness of the Pacific, the tedious and often dangerous work of surveying, the lack of any response to his reports to the Admiralty, and little or no opportunity for relaxation, all took their toll on his health.

Bodega, on the other hand, was a natural leader, ambitious to make his mark and supremely self-confident. He had organizational talent and great energy. He was capable of getting the best out of those under his command and could weld untrained seamen into an efficient, dependable crew. He was fearless to the point of foolhardiness, as evidenced by his decision on his 1775 voyage to separate from his senior officer and continue alone in his tiny schooner.

Vancouver's account of his voyage gives only an occasional hint of a complex, enigmatic personality, but the journals of his officers reveal a man of contradictions.

Admirable qualities such as the understanding he showed in his dealings with native peoples, his concern for the well-being of his crews and sensitivity to beautiful scenery, one is left with the feeling that he found it difficult to unbend and enjoy the parties at Bodega's house.

All who came into contact with Bodega attest to his great personal charm. Witness the number of tributes recorded in the journals of the captains and officers of ships that visited Nootka that summer of 1792. Typical was the comment of Bell of the Chatham: "We may say Mr. Quadra was too good a man." Hoskins of Gray's Columbia reflected: "[He was] really a gentleman, a friend to all the human race, a father to all the natives, who all love him." Particularly notable was his success in establishing the best possible relations with the Nootka chief, Maquinna.

The Spanish naval journals, ever impersonal, contain nothing about Bodega by his fellow officers. But the viceroys he served praised him unreservedly. On the eve of his departure for Nootka, Viceroy Revilla Gigedo wrote Florida blanca, the Prime Minister: "Quadra's [sic] scrupulous observance of my instructions will be guaranteed by the high regard I have for the zeal, talent, prudence and substantial character of this distinguished officer and his practical knowledge of things." Such praise contrasts with the criticism Vancouver subsequently received from Stephens, the Secretary of Admiralty, for being too rigid in his negotiation.

The state of health of Vancouver and Bodega at this time is of interest. Sir James Watt, a retired Surgeon Vice Admiral of the Royal Navy who has made a special study of Vancouver's psychological and health problems, believes his chronic poor health and mercurial temperament were due to his suffering from hyperthyroidism and an associated adrenal insufficiency, a complication that may have followed a severe malarial infection incurred while serving in the West Indies. He was not well at the time of his departure from England. In the early stages of the voyage, he had his ups and downs, but there was a steady deterioration after leaving Nootka. He suffered a loss of appetite along with an increase in weight and a growing reluctance to undertake tasks which called for physical exertion, such as participating in boat surveys as had been his practice.

Bodega, too, saw his health failing. At Nootka he sought treatment from Menzies, Vancouver's
A more important question is what purpose lay behind Bodega's friendly reception, his practice of extending to Vancouver as well as to all visiting ships the use of the settlement's limited facilities for repairs, the daily supply of "refreshments" for which he would accept no payment, the open house, the nightly dinners served on silver plate, and countless small gestures recorded in journals? Was it genuine or political? It was genuine in that Bodega's outgoing personality created a congenial atmosphere for what might otherwise have been a sticky situation. From a personal point of view he could see a successful defense of Spain's interests as his last opportunity not just to cap his career but to obtain the promotion to flag rank he so eagerly sought.

Part of the reason these two men got along so well lies in their respective instructions. Vancouver was directed to "afford...every possible degree of assistance and information.... You are to treat [Bodega] in the most friendly manner." Bodega's instructions were similar: "You are to seek complete harmony and the most cordial relationship with the Commander, officers and crews of the ships of His Britannic Majesty."

Bodega never seemed to have had any difficulty getting along with people, senior or junior. He could be informal without prejudicing his authority. At Nootka, after the pleasant surprise at this cordial reception, Vancouver found he could unbend a little with his equal in status if not in rank. Not only could he appreciate Bodega's hospitality; he found it possible to respond with the same informality to the extent the facilities of his ship permitted and, like Bodega, without prejudice to his position. He especially enjoyed his stay in Monterey, where he could relax in an ambience which contrasted with the hard life at sea and the drudgery of surveying.

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If his purpose was to break down Vancouver's resistance by charm and lavish hospitality, it was to no avail. Vancouver did not succumb to Bodega's blandishments, but the result, a draw, was not without significance. Vancouver had thwarted Spain's desire to establish a clear line of demarcation, the Strait of Juan de Fuca, between British and Spanish interests. Bodega had thwarted Pitt's objective to gain for Great Britain a presence on the shores of the Pacific Northwest. That was not to occur until years later when the Hudson's Bay Company established Fort Vancouver near the entrance to the Columbia River in 1825.

Freeman Tovell obtained his BA in History at the University of Toronto his AM at Harvard University. He spent 35 years in the Canadian diplomatic service. Currently he is translating and editing the official papers of Captain Juan de la Bodega y Quadra.
Some time before the summer solstice of 1835, a Boston trader named Jonathan Winship is supposed to have written to the whaling merchants of Nantucket Island to advise them of his personal knowledge of sperm whales in the waters of the Northwest Coast of America. At that time, Nantucket's whaling merchants prided themselves on being the foremost sperm-whalemen of the world and, unlike the captains of many other American whaling ports, concentrated their efforts on this fabled species, one of which 16 years later would become the natural antagonist in Herman Melville's novel *Moby-Dick*.

But the industrious whalemen of Nantucket had never attempted a whaling cruise to the far northeastern Pacific. There had always been plenty of sperm whales to be had in more temperate and tropical waters, from the coast of Brazil to the coast of Africa, from Chile and Peru across the Pacific to New Zealand and northwestward to the coast of Japan. But the market for sperm oil had grown; it sold richly for lamplight, for lubricating the machinery of the nascent industrial age, and for leather tanning.

The promise of a new population of these whales encouraged one group of shipowners to sponsor a pioneering voyage to find them. They engaged a little-known whaling master, Barzillai Folger, and sent him to sea in the *Ganges* to find the sperm whales of the Pacific Northwest. According to tradition, Folger and his men arrived in the northeastern Pacific during the summer of 1835 and harpooned the first whales ever taken there by a commercial whaling voyage to those waters.

In subsequent histories of Nantucket and of whaling, Folger's voyage has become the legend standing for American leadership in the industry. But Folger's disappointment was profound. At a time when sperm oil fetched twice as much money as "whale oil"—usually obtained from the very dissimilar right whale—Folger found not sperm whales, but only right whales on the Northwest Coast. Since Nantucket's reputation was built on sperm-whaling, he saw little purpose in taking this less valuable oil when he could obtain sperm oil elsewhere. So after taking about 300 barrels of whale oil, Folger set sail for the sperm-whaling ground off Japan. In 1876, when whaling historian Alexander Starbuck published his near-exhaustive compilation of American whaling voyages, the 300 barrels were neatly credited in the sperm-oil column.

Starbuck is probably most responsible for confirming the notion that Folger's voyage was the first of its kind to the northeastern Pacific. But he erred in placing Folger on the Northwest Coast in 1835. Instead, the master of the *Ganges* spent the summer of that year pacing the waterfront at Nantucket and at nearby Edgartown, awaiting the outfitting of his ship for sea. When he did arrive in the Pacific Northwest, in the spring or early summer of 1836, he was nearly a year behind a French whaling ship with the unfortunately similar name of *Gange*.

That French whaling voyages to the Pacific Northwest before the Americans is an admittedly fine point not at all understood even among the current generation of maritime historians. But it is there, in the small print of the nineteenth century, that the French whaleship *Gange* sailed north of 45° North latitude near the American shore.
during 1835, just when Barzillai Folger had begun to pace around Nantucket. Its captain, Narcisse Chaudière, may well be the first to have commercially harvested whales from these waters.

The French whale-fishery had prospered briefly during the late 1780s, principally from the port of Dunkirk. Spurred on by government subsidies, many whalers of Nantucket Island emigrated there following the upheaval of American whaling during the Revolutionary War. Under the leadership of these experienced mariners, French whalers were among the first to hunt sperm whales in the South Pacific.

The Napoleonic conflict brought French whaling to a virtual standstill, and the business remained moribund until 1816 when government subsidies were once again offered to French masters returning to France with cargoes of oil. These bounties were staggered to support French rather than American control of the industry; vessels commanded by French captains and crews earned a proportionately higher bonus than those crewed by foreigners.

Bounties were gradually reduced until 1829, when prizes were again increased. The 1829 legislation widening the gap separating French-crewed and foreign-crewed vessels, and several shipowners objected, knowing full well that most French whaling masters were inexperienced. The government relaxed the ordinance for a time, so that in 1829 seven of nine outward-bound masters were named Cargill, Earl, Peters, Ridell, Russell, Tracy and Walch. Most of these men had been born in New England. In 1832 the system was once again revised. Bounties were increased, and an important new provision allowed for payment of the better part of the bounty before departure. But this time foreign masters were prohibited, and the staggered system which favored all-French crews was retained.

There was added one significant new incentive. Whaleships remaining at sea longer than 30 months, and cruising beyond 28° North latitude in the Pacific earned an additional sperm-whale bounty. This prize, about double the usual award, insured that some whaleships would explore more-distant northern waters.

Resuscitation of the premiums created new economic incentive. Whereas in 1829 the 9 departing whaleships, with but one exception, voyaged to Brazil and the coast of Chile and returned within 18 months, 34 whaleships set sail from France in 1833 for a variety of distant whaling grounds. Almost half of them remained at sea for two years. Several adventurers, including C. A. Gaudin of Le Havre, took advantage of the increased subsidy to send whaleships to the Pacific. These vessels traversed the North Pacific after sperm whales.

One of Gaudin's masters, Narcisse Chaudière, steered the Constance into San Francisco Bay in 1833, and had some success whaling offshore. When he returned to Le Havre in 1834, Chaudière immediately took command of the larger Gange, and in this ship he sailed even farther north along the North American shore. At 42° North his crew took a few sperm whales, and then extended his cruise at least to 48°30' North—aboard of Cape Flattery at the northwestern tip of modern-day Washington. He probably reached 51° although he was unable to determine the exact position because of fog and rain.

The crew of the Gange at no time saw the land, nor did they find any more sperm whales. They did take seven right whales, which may have been the first whales taken commercially in the Pacific Northwest, and which made per-
haps one-third of the 2,400 barrels of oil that would be returned to France aboard the Gange. When Chaudière reached the Chilean whaling grounds in the winter of 1835-6 he related his discovery to other whaling masters, including at least one American; Chaudière told Captain Ebenezer Stetson of the New Bedford whaleship Endeavor that he was “late from the NW Coast... with 1500 bbls. oil.” Perhaps Chaudière also met Barzillai Folger, as the Ganges passed hastily to the northward.

French whaling expeditions soon reached both shores of the North Pacific. In 1837-8 the voyage of Captain Largeteau in the Ville de Bordeaux served both as a whaling cruise and a journey of exploration along the Kuril Islands and the Kamchatka Peninsula. Largeteau reported home with news of large numbers of right whales in the western North Pacific. The French whaleships Ajax and Cachalot also visited the North Pacific during 1838-40, and the Gange returned there, under a different master. Certainly there were others.

By 1845 French merchants were sponsoring the second largest whaling fleet in the Pacific. Even though its total was but one-tenth of the intensive American effort—about 70 vessels—some 2,700 French sailors and a handful of foreigners were employed in the business. Not all French whaleships made voyages to the Northwest Coast or the coast of Kamchatka, but a number of them appear throughout the pages of surviving logbooks and journals of Yankee whalemen in the North Pacific during the 1840s: Liancourt, Jacques Laflite, Mississippi, Grete, Elisabeth, Pallas, Réunion, John Cockerill, Cachalot, Nancy, Faune, Nil, Adele, Elisa, Angeline, and others. Some were sailed by French masters: Letellier, Malherbe and de Grandsaigne a few of many. Others were under command of experienced American expatriates who had sworn fidelity to France in order to retain their jobs. Many of them made successful cruises to the Pacific Northwest during the 1840s.

The expectation of finding sperm whales on the Northwest Coast had not come to pass; their presence in those northern waters seemed sporadic and unpredictable. But there were thousands of slow-moving right whales, and even though whale oil continued to lag behind sperm oil in the marketplace, there were several important new markets for baleen, the cartilaginous plates which serve as food strainers in the mouths of most large whales. Baleen was being utilized in the manufacture of buggy whips, umbrella handles, practice bayonets, and stays for shirt collars and the newly-popular corsets. The profits of a right-whaling voyage might therefore be amplified by the collection of these plates which could be obtained by the hundreds from every right-whale jaw.

During 1841-42 the Northwest Coast became a major whaling ground for right whales. Both French and American whaling masters soon learned the location of this new ground. When Sir George Simpson attempted to pinpoint the whales for the benefit of the Hudson’s Bay Company, he was told that the area extended from 52° to 57° North latitude, and from 144° to 152° West longitude. Others established different boundaries, but in retrospect it appears that Simpson’s informant had been accurate; the southern Queen Charlotte Islands formed the southeastern corner of the ground. The northern boundary was delimited by the curving shore of the Gulf of Alaska and the islands of the Aleutian archipelago. Right whales were so plentiful around Kodiak Island that the entire gulf became known to whalemen as the “Kodiak Ground” and was recognized by that name for the rest of the century.

French and American ships shared this sea with whaleships belonging to Bremen, Hamburg, Copenhagen, Wolgast (Prussia), St. John (New Brunswick) and elsewhere. Their masters and crews sometimes enjoyed a “gam” together, and because so many of the French captains were American-born, it was often possible for the Yankee whalemen to communicate with their French counterparts. The stories told by French masters were remarkably similar to those of the Americans; the wife of a...
Connecticut whaling master wrote of their common experience:

The captain [of the French whaleship] came on board and stopped an hour. As I was not up I did not see him but heard the conversation and a short sketch of his life. He had been two voyages previous to this then got married and thought he had sufficient [money] to remain at home. Kept his house and carriage and lived in great style. At the expiration of 4 years had two babies added which circumstances caused them to have more servants and expenses enlarged. He had heard much of the NW whaling and thought he could make another voyage in a very short time. So he told his wife how easy he could catch the whale and so soon be back she consented for him to come. At this time he had been gone 2 years and lacked 1000 [barrels] of being full and said if I ever get home I will stay there.

During the 1840s there were no friendly ports-of-call in the Pacific Northwest, so whaling men generally resigned themselves to six months at sea when they set off from Hawaiian ports for the Northwest Coast. But a few captains bravely entered the Strait of Juan de Fuca, in 49° North, and the majority came to anchor in the harbor at Neah Bay where they could trade with the Makah. It is unclear whether any French whaleships called at Neah Bay, although Captain Aderial Smith in the Réunion was dissuaded only at the last minute from the seductive friendliness of the village chief who invited the whalemen into his harbor in makeshift English.

Captain Louis J. B. Morin of the whaleship Général Teste of Le Havre continued past Neah Bay and came to anchor near the Hudson’s Bay Company depot at Fort Victoria on the southern end of Vancouver Island. When he called there, in August 1847, he aggravated the English by making undue demands for provisions, and by announcing his intention to hunt whales in the nominally British waters of the Strait of Georgia. He also allowed his men liberty ashore, where the diligent factors observed them “lounging about all day.”

The chief administrator at Fort Victoria, James Douglas, wrote urgently to the Company officers in London, as he wished to evict the presumptuous Frenchman but did not know whether he would be clear to proceed. London advised him to refrain from interfering. To Douglas’ great relief, Morin’s winter cruise in the strait proved unsuccessful, and after another irritating visit early in 1848, Captain Morin sailed away.
Whaleships remaining at sea longer than 30 months and cruising beyond 28° North latitude in the Pacific earned an additional sperm-whale bounty.

At least one French whaling master, Antoine Radou of the Narwal, stopped in Nootka Sound, on the west coast of Vancouver Island. Unfortunately, his 1846 visit there was likewise less than cordial. On the first day at anchor, Radou invited two native men and a native woman on board, which immediately caused friction:

...while he talked with [the woman]...one of the men put his hand into [Radou's] cigar box and the other reached for his combs; Radou lacking patience this time, kicked one in the buttocks and boxed the other one twice; then escaping...they climbed back up on deck and easily reached their canoe.... But in spite of all his vigilance our dear captain could not prevent the disappearance during this visit of a Greek skullcap he used to wear to bed.

Radou had already been ashore elsewhere in the Pacific Northwest. On Kodiak Island in the Gulf of Alaska he had ordered his men to confiscate a cache of dried fish left abandoned—probably in fear—by the local native people. He left behind a quantity of ship's biscuits, but one member of the crew wrote in his personal journal that Radou's unethical exchange did not please him.

In truth, the best whaling on the Northwest Coast of America had already passed. Whalemen who were fortunate enough to be there during the summer of 1844 did the best: collated French statistics are so far unavailable, but 170 American vessels that season collected an average of 1,528 barrels of oil each. After that, the numbers of ships continued to increase, but the per-ship catch fell quickly. In 1846, for example, 297 American whaling vessels reported a catch of 253,000 barrels, 7,000 barrels less than the 170-hull fleet of 1844.

During 1848 Captain Thomas Roys of Sag Harbor, New York, pushed his whaling bark through the narrow Bering Strait and discovered an untapped population of bowhead whales. They gave more oil than their relatives the right whales and their baleen plates were longer on the average. Roys promptly filled his hold and sailed home. The overexploited Northwest Coast was suddenly demoted to second-rate status, and Roys' discovery engendered a "whale rush" to the Bering Sea equivalent to the "gold rush" that concurrently overwhelmed California.

Eventually, that league of whaling nations that scoured the Northwest...
In another Morel-Fatio rendition, a typical six-man French whaleboat crew is about to secure a second harpoon into the injured whale while the whaleship lies hove-to in the background.

Coast virtually eradicated the North Pacific right whale. During the modern whaling era in the Pacific Northwest, which began in 1905 and continued until 1967, fewer than 50 were taken, even though in some years as many as 20 steam-driven chaser boats were employed. The species had been so much annihilated that a magazine journalist in 1957 described this once-ubiquitous animal as “one of nature’s rarities.”

In modern times, most of the blame can be placed on American and French whaleships of the nineteenth century. But from a whalermen’s vantage, it seemed as if the oceans of the world thronged with whales, and that perpetual economic gain could be enjoyed by continuously hunting them. The mariners, both French and American, vastly increased their countries’ knowledge of the North Pacific Ocean in their search for oil and baleen, but through unregulated and unreasoned hunting did so only at the expense of one of the largest and most spectacular whales on earth.

Despite a constant decline in the numbers of whales and waning interest among French merchants in the business of whaling, the Kodiak Ground continued to interest French whaling masters. The last French whaling voyages were far-reaching excursions along the north Pacific rim and then into the Arctic ice. The crew of the Gustave sailed a three-year voyage to the Kuriles, California, and the western Arctic before the ship was condemned at Papeete in 1866. The Général Teste was likewise condemned, at Honolulu, in the same year.

The final French whaling campaigns were made in the Winslow and the Norman. The former departed France in 1864 and remained out for four years—one of the longest voyages in French whaling history—during which its crew repeatedly crossed the Kodiak Ground and the western Arctic. The short cruise of the Norman did not even begin in France. The ship was American, purchased or chartered at Honolulu in 1867 and apparently outfitted at Papeete. Its crew set sail for the Kodiak Ground and the Bering Sea, but collected only 300 barrels before returning to Honolulu in October 1868. After that, French mercantile interests withdrew completely from whaling, and sent no more ships to hunt the leviathan.

Pierre Charles lived in the Pacific Northwest from 1818 to 1862, during which time the Hudson's Bay Company's fur trade was established, flourished, and then gave way before the flood of American immigration.

Little is known about Pierre Charles' early years except that he was born of French Canadian and Abenaki Indian descent in Canada in the 1790s, perhaps at St. Francois, Quebec. Thus he was heir to the exuberant French Canadian tradition and rich Abenaki Indian tradition of the Northern Woodland cultural area.

Charles' racial descriptions by contemporaries varied considerably. Descriptive terms, ranging from "Indian" to "half breed" to "white," resulted from changing combinations of personal viewpoints and social circumstances. Dr. William Fraser Tolmie, of the Hudson's Bay Company, in his journal of June 12, 1833, described Charles: "He is a middle sized broadchested Indian, a Banakir [Abenaki] from near Montreal aged 40 & the best deer hunter of the Rocky Mountains...." No photograph of Pierre has been found by historians.

According to his later testimony involving a land claim, Pierre Charles arrived in the Pacific Northwest on May 1, 1818 and became associated with the North West Company. This adventurous organization used multi-ethnic employees to collect furs in much of Canada, including the Pacific Northwest which was then formally under the joint occupation of Great Britain and the United States. Although records specifically detailing Charles' involvement in the North West Company are lacking, in 1821, when the North West Company and the Hudson's Bay Company united under the latter's name, he transferred to the new organization as a milieu-French for middleman—serving in the Columbia River District.

The next few years proved transitional for Charles. He was not an employee of the HBC during the outfit, or accounting year, of 1821-22, but was instead identified as a "freeman" by the Company. "Freemen," as historian Frederick Merk noted, "in the language of the fur trade were ex-servants of the fur companies free in the sense of being no longer under indenture." Pierre Charles joined the HBC in the Columbia District for the 1822-23 outfit. During 1823-25, however, he was a freeman living with Native Americans.

In 1824 Pierre Charles took time from his stay with the Indians to participate in his first major HBC operation, the McMillan expedition. Governor George Simpson of the Company, in the process of reorganizing the Columbia District, sent an expedition from Fort George (Astoria) on the Columbia River to the Fraser River to choose the site for a new fur trading station. Historian Clarence B. Bagley has summarized the resulting journey:

The proposed expedition left Fort George Thursday, November 18, 1824, under the command of James McMillan. It made its way by canoe and portage from the Columbia river to Grays Harbor via Baker's Bay and the Willapa Harbor; thence up the Chehalis river to the Black river, up that stream to its source, Black Lake, then by portage to Eld Inlet, and finally by Puget Sound to the Fraser river. After a brief examination of the river the party returned, but when reaching the Chehalis river divided into two groups, one going by the route whence it had come, the other making overland to the Cowlitz River and down that stream to the Columbia.

One of the explorers, John Work, kept a journal of the trip which survives to the present day. Work's journal entry for November 28, 1824, stated that the expedition party "encamped [along
Black River at noon, the cause of stopping so soon was to wait for Mr. Anna­mor who had been sent to the principal Holloweena Village a few miles off, for a trader Pierre Charles who has been with the Indians for some time. It is thought that he would be an acquisition to our party, but he could not be found.”

The Holloweena were Upper Chehalis Indians. On November 30 Charles joined the travelers and afterwards assisted with hunting. Most likely he also shared his knowledge of Indians and geography. The expedition brought Pierre Charles to the Fraser River for perhaps the first time. The explorers returned to Fort George in December, with or without Charles is unknown, and reported to George Simpson.

A turning point for Pierre Charles came in 1825 when he engaged to work three years for the HBC at the starting annual salary of £17. He took part in the second Snake Country expedition commanded by Chief Trader Peter Skene Ogden. The expedition's goals were to acquire furs in the Snake Country and explore the area, a vast wilderness. Governor Simpson defined in an 1829 dispatch to London as being bounded by “...the Rocky Mountains on the East, and a chain of mountains running nearly parallel with the Coast on the West; on the North the 46th parallel of Latitude from the Rocky Mountains till it strikes the South branch of the Columbia near its junction with the Main Stream, and on the South, the Waters of the Rio Colorado.” Poor weather, rugged trails, and short provisions combined to make the 1825-26 journey difficult.

The years 1826 and 1827 saw Charles involved in two HBC “Southern” expeditions. Both trips were led by Chief Trader Alexander Roderick McLeod. Organized separately from the ongoing Snake Country expeditions, these operations explored, trapped and traded in the coastal area south of the Columbia River. According to historian W. Kaye Lamb, “The returns of the ‘Southern’ parties were never large, and McLeod’s leadership was much criticized; but they served to keep the country occupied, and frequently gave employment to men who would otherwise have been relatively idle.” The two southern expeditions benefited Charles. He earned an extra £7 4s. for personally trapped furs and, more significantly, gained increased responsibility in Company activities.

Charles ventured again to the Fraser River in the summer of 1827, one of 25 men who made the trip from Fort Vancouver, who had been sent to the principal Governor Simpson defined as being near the Columbia River. Spring saw him join an expedition bringing supplies up the Columbia River to interior forts of the District. A memorandum from John McLoughlin, in March 1829, stated that Pierre Charles was sent to Clerk George Barnston at Fort Walla Walla. He returned in June to Fort Langley and the Fraser River.

A February 25, 1830, report by Archibald McDonald listed Pierre Charles as a “beaver hunter at Fort Langley” and as being married with no children. Roman Catholic records state that his wife was Louise of the Tlalum or Clallam Tribe. Charles is frequently mentioned in the Fort Langley post journal. An entry for February 1830 recorded the successful results of one of his trapping operations:

Pierre Charles & C. have returned this evening with 44 very fine Skins viz: 36 Large - 6 Small & 2 Otters - this is very good and ought to be encouraged: by those jumps & Starts four or five of our men made this Season we have got in upwards of Eighty Beaver! the haule they made now is in the Course of 20 days broken weather between heavy rains & partial ice, & not over a greater Space than perhaps 3 or 4 miles round & about 12 or 14 from here....

Among his many duties, Charles helped construct a packing press for furs, check the condition of Company goats, Fort Langley was interrupted by the arrival of George Simpson, governor in chief of the HBC in North America. Simpson ordered major changes in personnel assigned to the post. Archibald McDonald replaced McMillan as the fort’s commander and the number of men stationed there was cut from 20 to 17. McMillan and Charles departed with Simpson and his party for Fort Vancouver on October 16, 1828.

The following eight months formed another period of transition for Pierre Charles. During the winter of 1828-29 he most likely stayed at Fort Vancouver which in early 1829 was starting its relocation to a site closer to the Columbia River. Spring saw him join an expedition bringing supplies up the Columbia River to interior forts of the District. A memorandum from John McLoughlin, in March 1829, stated that Pierre Charles was sent to Clerk George Barnston at Fort Walla Walla. He returned in June to Fort Langley and the Fraser River.

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Pierre Charles & C. have returned this evening with 44 very fine Skins…

A serious accident in June 1833 halted Charles' Fort Nisqually labors for a while. Post commander Archibald McDonald and Dr. Tolmie were away from the fort at the time, and Charles was in charge of outdoor work. On June 10, as McDonald wrote in the post journal, the two HBC officers received shocking news from Fort Nisqually:

This good luck however was not without a reserve elsewhere—of which was conveyed to us about 8 o'clock by the following note from James Rindale: "As Pierre Charles came down from the plain today to work at the store, he unfortunately cut his foot very much with the axe, & is fainting. I am afraid his life is in danger. He wishes me to send for the doctor as soon as possible as we cannot & know not what to do for him."

The Dr. with our six men was instantly into the canoe & I am in hopes his prompt attendance and experience will be the means of saving the poor man's life. I understand that no latter than Saturday he killed us Three very fine Elk and a Ch[evreuil or roebuck]—no small service when people are in want & when there are but few others about you that can do it. I am extremely sorry for his case, as the Indians who came down with the note say that it is a dreadful cut.

Charles was indeed badly injured, but he slowly recovered under the care of Dr. Tolmie, who extended his stay at the fort for the patient's sake. By August 6 the post journal could assert, "Pierre Charles now superintends the work being now able to walk with the aid of crutches." Medical setbacks still occurred, but he overcame them and participated in the ongoing activities of trapping, hunting and building.

In 1834 Charles and his wife left Fort Nisqually. The last month for Pierre at the Puget Sound station was troubled with illness. On August 5, soon after returning from a trip to Fort Vancouver, Pierre Charles was reported sick with the "ague" in the post journal. This disease, then also called "intermittent fever," was probably virus influenza which during the 1830s affected many people in the Pacific Northwest. Whites usually recovered, but the Indians were decimated. On September 1, 1834, the Fort Nisqually post journal remarked that "This morning Pierre Charles and family took their departure for Fort Langley, along with the chief Frenchman [a Native American leader]."

At Fort Langley Pierre Charles spent his last years in the HBC (1834-1840) working under James Murray Yale, the fort's commander. Few details about this period of Charles' life are known today since no contemporary Fort Langley post journal has survived.

Fort Langley developments during these years reflected changing policies of the HBC in the Pacific Northwest. The Company was moving away from sole dependence on furs to exploitation of many resources. After 1833 fur returns at Fort Langley decreased; stock raising, agriculture and salmon curing simultaneously increased in importance. The fort's move in the spring of 1839 to a site two and one-half miles further up the Fraser River—and closer to its farm—strengthened this trend. The new post accidentally burned in April 1840, but was quickly rebuilt.

Pierre Charles retired in 1840 from the HBC, completing a long and productive career with the organization. He had, as contemporary journals and letters testified, worked hard and efficiently at various tasks. Incidentally, Charles was frequently categorized as a
“Pierre Charles...can I think be of great service, notwithstanding his advanced age.”

The coa t of arms of the Hudson’s Bay Company, the fur trading organization in the Pacific Northwest which employed Pierre Charles for many years.

“middleman” in Company records, a term reflecting his assigned middle paddling position when canoeing.

With his family, Charles moved to the Cowlitz River near Cowlitz Farm, a Company agricultural post where some former HBC employees resided. In February 1840, the Reverend Modeste Demers gave Church sanction to his marriage to Louise which originated before priests came to the region. The Charles family settled on Prairie de la Mousse or “Moss Prairie” in southwest Lewis County, later renamed Drew’s Prairie.

During the summer of 1841, Pierre Charles rendered valuable assistance to the United States Exploring Expedition led by Lieutenant Charles Wilkes. In the Pacific Northwest Wilkes, besides overseeing maritime surveying, sent out overland parties from Fort Nisqually to explore the Oregon Country. One group, led by Lieutenant Robert E. Johnson, was ordered to journey deep into the area’s interior. Naturalist Charles Pickering and horticulturist William Brackenridge were chosen to be members of Johnson’s party. Still, they needed an experienced guide for the trip. Charles Wilkes described in the expedition’s official report the selection of Pierre Charles for this position: “One of the most important persons to obtain was a good guide, and hearing of one who resided at the Cowlitz river, by the name of Pierre Charles, he was at once sent for...” Charles soon joined the group with, as Wilkes noted, “...a young man, named Peter [Pierre] Bercier, a connexion of [Simon] Plumondon [sic] who spoke English, and all the languages of the country.”

The exploring party of Lieutenant Johnson, including Pierre Charles, traveled over the Cascade Mountains’ Naches Pass into present-day eastern Washington and Idaho. Among other places, the group visited the HBC posts of Fort Okanogan, Fort Colville and Fort Walla Walla, as well as the Protestant missionary stations of Tshimakain and Lapwai. Johnson and some of the travelers (but not Charles) also stopped at Waiilatpu, the residence of missionaries Marcus and Narcissa Whitman. The overland explorers returned over Naches Pass arriving at Fort Nisqually on July 15, 1841. Despite damage to certain scientific instruments, Charles Wilkes was pleased with the trip’s results which allowed the expedition “...to become acquainted with a portion of the country about which all had before been conjecture.” In his narration of the trip, Charles Pickering wrote that Lacheme, a Nisqually Indian, and Pierre Charles “...proved...the main reliance of our party.” During the excursion Lieutenant Johnson named a notable peak Mount St. Pierre, most likely in honor of the useful Pierre Charles. This Cascade peak, in current Douglas County, is now called Badger Mountain.

Shortly after Charles’ return from the Wilkes Expedition, his wife Louise died. At Fort Vancouver Reverend Demers wrote of her on July 23, 1841, “...buried in the cemetery of this Mission the body of Louise, Tlalum by nation, in her lifetime legitimate wife of Pierre Charles, deceased 2 days ago aged about 26 years, in presence of Simon Plumondon and of Michel Cotnoir....”

The next year the Reverend Demers married Pierre Charles to a woman named Marguerite of the Sassété tribe. From 1841 to 1844 Charles acted as witness to various Roman Catholic ceremonies, first at Fort Vancouver, then at the mission near Cowlitz Farm.

After 1846 Charles officially lived under American rule. The Oregon Treaty of that year ended the joint occupation of the Pacific Northwest, granting the United States control of the region below the 49th parallel. Political and social changes inevitably followed. The HBC reduced its operations south of the new border and, as allowed in the treaty, eventually sold its holdings there to the American government.

Pierre Charles and his family made adjustments. On April 19, 1847, Charles claimed land in Lewis County, located north of the Columbia River, newly created by the Oregon Provis­ional Government. The country’s tax books for 1847 listed Pierre Charles as head of a family consisting of one male over 18 years of age, three males under 18 and over 12, and one male under 12.

Records of the time often did not mention Native American wives. Oregon Territory, including Lewis County, was formally organized in 1848. Charles filed to become an American citizen in October of the following year and registered in the Cowlitz precinct of the Lewis County Poll Book.

With his newest wife Cecil, whom he had married on June 15, 1851, Charles settled at Boistfort in Lewis County in February 1852. Taking advantage of the generous Oregon land law, he filed a donation land claim of 640.5 acres. Cecil died on December 14, 1853, but Charles and the children stayed on their claim. American pioneers also came to Boistfort and a small community was formed which, along with the rest of the northern Oregon Country, became part of Washington Territory in 1853.

The years 1855 and 1856 were marred by war between Indians and American
settlers. Fear swept across the region. Many settlers built blockhouses and joined militia units to fight with regular army soldiers against hostile Native Americans. Temporary reservations were established to separate potential Indian combatants from the conflict. The territorial authorities appointed Simon Plamondon local Indian agent of one such reservation near the Cowlitz settlement in Lewis County which was established for the Cowlitz Tribe.

The conflict directly affected Pierre Charles. Isaac I. Stevens, then Governor of Washington Territory, recognized his value as a source of information and as a possible leader of Indian scouts. The Governor wrote on April 7, 1856 about Charles to Lieutenant Colonel Henry Crosbie of the Washington Territorial Volunteers:

Pierre Charles, in reference to whom you are already advised, can I think be of great service, notwithstanding his advanced age. He has very great knowledge of the country, and with such Indians as he can select as scouts, I am certain he will be able to gain information of the movements of the hostiles. He is quite diffident and does not readily impart what he knows; till he becomes well acquainted. Get him into the field as soon as you can.

Authority was granted Pierre, Governor Stevens stated in another letter dated a month later, "...to employ some of the friendly Indians of Plemondean's [Plamondon's] reservation and with them to examine the trails leading to the enemy's country."

In the spring of 1856 Pierre Charles conducted several successful scouting expeditions up the Cowlitz River, despite the lack of support from Captain Edward D. Warbass, the local commander of the American militia. Sidney S. Ford, a Lieutenant Colonel in the Washington Territorial Volunteers, clearly acknowledged Pierre Charles' abilities in a letter to Governor Stevens on June 2, 1856: "Old Pierre [Charles] can watch the upper Cowlitz better than Capt. Warbass whole company."

The war dwindled away in western Washington Territory by the summer of 1856 with the death, capture or dispersal of Native American combatants. The Cowlitz area saw no actual fighting. However, American promises made to the peaceful Cowlitz Indians were typically ignored. The war temporarily set back pioneer settlement, but the Americans clearly reinforced their dominant position in the region.

Dr. William Fraser Tolmie (1812-1886) of the HBC saved Pierre Charles' life in 1833 after he suffered a serious injury. Tolmie was in charge of Fort Nisqually from 1843 to 1859.

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After the war Pierre Charles and Sophia, his fourth wife, met with controversy over ownership of their land at Boistfort, at that time consisting of 320 acres. Cyril Ward, an American settler, had taken a donation land claim on the same property. In early July 1856 Ward seized control of the Charles' land and dwelling. Pierre legally complained and won a court trial at Cowlitz Landing on August 2, 1856. However, Cyril Ward appealed this ruling to the 2nd Judicial District Court in Olympia. During March 1857, while the District Court was considering the case, the suit was settled. On March 17 the couple sold Ward the property, with the exception of 15 acres set aside as a life lease, for $500. These life lease acres were sold to Amos Tullis in 1860 for $400. Part of Cyril Ward's argument to dispute Charles' ownership of the land, as noted in a court document, was racial in nature: "...that he [Ward] expects to be able to prove by some or all of said witnesses that the said Plaintiff [Pierre] is not a white man or American half-breed—but that he was born in the British Empire and contains more Indian than white blood."

Upon leaving Boistfort, Pierre Charles and his family went, in the words of historian Lucile McDonald, "...to wilder, more remote places." They settled in a locality in present-day southwest Lewis County which came to be called Pe Ell, an appellation derived from Pierre Charles' first name. Pe Ell was the final stopping place for Charles. The 1857 Lewis County Census listed him as 67 years of age and married to Sophia, who was 45 years old. They had a 10-year-old boy, Dauphine Babtist. According to his pioneer neighbors Josef and Karolina Maurer, "...Pierre Charles died and was buried on or about the Last days of Sept after Hard Winter A.D. 1862."

Pe Ell remains on the map today, a small rural town in Lewis County. In a sense it commemorates Pierre Charles, who fully participated in many activities that shaped the development of the Pacific Northwest. HBC and American leaders acknowledged Charles' skills as explorer, hunter, trapper and fort builder. A capable man, Pierre Charles served as an instrument of their vision.

Drew W. Crooks is Curator of Collections for the Washington State Capital Museum and has conducted several studies on the nineteenth century interaction of Native Americans, Hudson's Bay Company employees and American settlers.
he front page of the February 1, 1912, issue of The Agitator, appropriately subtitled "A Semi-monthly Advocate of the Modern School," illustrates the tremendous influence of the newspaper's editor, Jay Fox. Although the Agitator was published by the Mutual Home Association, or Home Colony, its distinct character and radical politics were clearly influenced by Jay Fox. Home Colony was a utopian community located on Key Peninsula across from the Tacoma Narrows in Pierce County. Consistent with the practices of many utopian communities, the land was held in common and the principles of tolerance and personal freedom were of paramount importance.

The "Passing Show," which was a prominent, regular feature on the front page of the newspaper, reflects the anarchist views and personal experiences of the editor. Fox's reference to the proliferation of private investigative agencies (which he dubs the "new social disease of spypitis") was undoubtedly influenced by the editor's recent personal experience with representatives of the Burns Detective Agency. Disguised as surveyors and booksellers, private detectives were secretly employed to gather personal information about various members of Home Colony who were suspected of supporting radical union terrorism in Southern California. Jay Fox and his family were the prime targets of that surveillance, which occurred in late November or early December 1910.

The Agitator began in November 1910 and ceased publication in November 1912, plagued by financial deficits and legal problems involving free speech litigation. (See the related article on Jay Fox beginning on page 3 in this issue.)
equal justice to them all. But you cannot measure the acts of a dozen men by one rule. The hungry man who steals bread, and the millionaire who steals a railroad are both criminals in the eyes of blind justice, with the chances that the millionaire will be sent to the U. S. Senate, while the hungry man will go to jail.

"By whom are the jails filled if not by the poor? Are the rich, then, all angels? Do they never violate your rules of justice? Have the rich worked honest and hard for all the wealth of the world, to which they hold the title deeds? Have the poor gained all the poverty, which is theirs, by theft?"

"You say it is the power and influence which have the rich elude the wheels of justice. I answer: I do not care what it is that eludes its wheels, the fact that they elude is the proof of my assertion that the rule of justice cannot measure human affairs.

"I have not touched the deeper, philosophical side of the question. I have not dared to take you into the depths of Biology, nor up into the realms of Psychology, where your justice would be a mockery before you get well clear of the way. You would not understand me. You might call in an alchemist and have me adjudged insane." 

THE NEW SOCIAL DISEASE

One of the ugliest aches on the diseased form of this old system is the "private detective." Wherever the pernicious spy system becomes necessary, there is surely something radically wrong. The mistrust, the clash of social and economic interests that call for the services of a detective system is dangerous. It shows the system is decayed and liable to tumble over at any moment. People with ordinary regard for their health and happiness should move out. The man or woman who will continue to reside within the confines of such a system, and be content, is either a capitalist or a fool.

The vision of the rich is obscured by the mountains of wealth that surround them. A golden chain, containing an alley of class environment and social custom, binds the rich man in the house of capitalism. He cannot move out. He is a prisoner and must remain till the whirlwind of the Social Revolution topples the old building over upon his head. I don't blame him for letting good-as-can-be alone.

But what can I think of the fellow who has no such chains on his hunky limbs; light fed, heavy worked fellow, who has hunger to quicken his perception, but who still will not perceive? Honesty compels me to call him a fool. Compassion forbids me making it stronger. This new social disease, let me call it "syphilis," has spread with such rapidity during the last ten years that it has become a serious menace to the system it is employed to support.

Burns was acquitted of the charge of kidnaping the McNamaras. Why not? Hasn't he and his gang of soundrudes become part of the system?

Fifty Years of Progress.

Fifty years ago Ezra Hoar Haywood, a relative of Senator Hoar, printed "The Word." on the old press we are printing The Agitator on today. There are few papers as modern as The Agitator; there are few press as ancient as The Agitator press, which is a paradox in parenthesis.

Haywood printed the things he thought in "The Word." Being an Anarchist, what he thought did not make good reading in the Sunday school class, which was the standard of judgment in those days as it is today.

Haywood was an American who really believed in the doctrine of Free Speech and Free Press, not only as a topic for Fourth of July orations, but as a vital principle of the nation.

Naturally, a man holding this view and having vital thoughts to convey to his countrymen and women, would get into trouble with the powers that be.

Every new thought that comes into the world hits some people awfully hard. Haywood's ideas on the relations of the sexes and sociology in general are struck with steam hammer force upon the heads of his fellow New Englanders. They hailed him before the bar of justice and most unjustly imprisoned him. The punishment strengthened his views, and made him feel all the more the necessity for their adoption.

If someone told him then that half a century later men would still be persecuted for propagating new ideas, he would not have believed it. Nobly but a pronounced pessimist would have believed it. And he would believe it more as a matter of consistency to principle than as one of human insight. I would not have believed it, but I believe it now.

Like Haywood, the experience is not going to teach me anything except the need for more and more agitators.

Free Speech in Aberdeen.

There is more Freedom in the city of Aberdeen, Wash., today than ever in its history. The city of the pick handle brigade, that "cleaned up" the I. W. W. The city whose respectable citizens became voluntary police and drove working men into the swamps with a "God help you if you return." The city that said: "Direct Actionists! We'll give you direct action. We'll hang you a few in that line." And they did.

But the deported actionist did not forget his philosophy. He came back direct; and he was ten where he formerly was one, while the stiff collared stiffs became less.

Then the stiff collared stiffs said to the blanket stiffs: "Let's quit this mess unladylike altercation. Let us reason together. There are the street corners, spits."

The moral of this true story is: Nothing will drive a capitalist to reason half so quickly as a shortage of pick handles.

Preparing For What?

The Capitalists, thru their government at Washington, D. C., are making further preparations for war upon the workers. A bill is before congress providing for the payment of state military men by the Federal Government. This is an extra inducement for fool workers to join the military, and be trained in the brutal art of killing their fellow workers.

One of the most amusing incidents in connection with the trial, if the effort had been honest, was the attempt of the prosecutor to go to the law book for a definition of Anarchism. The judge did not allow him—I wish he had. It was the effort of the attempt, on the jury, the chap was after.

Hair-splitting economists will not call it slavery, because the slaves has the alternative of starving. By the same kind of sophistry, the factory lords are not held responsible for the lives of the workers whom they feloniously sacrificed on the altar of greed.

JAY FOX.

"If labor should invoke as a law an eye for an eye, and a tooth for a tooth," the world would have a deluge of human blood without a saving mark or a Mount Ararat, with numerous Caesar's columns to mark the final landslings."—O. A. Tectumoe.
Northwesterners evolved their own version of "the American dream"
Persons will find Washington possesses all the elements of a great and prosperous future state, and offers superior inducements to those seeking homes.... 


For the first American settlers, and for the thousands who followed them in the nineteenth century, the long and arduous journey to Washington was in large part a search for home. The quest was rooted in the enduring Jeffersonian belief that America was a nation of independent landowners, and was fueled by the government’s promise of generous homesteads—up to 640 acres under the Donation Land Claim Act of 1850, and 160 acres for each settler under the Homestead Act of 1862.

Handmade Houses

But the dream of a home on the frontier was tempered and often transformed by the reality of Washington’s natural environment and by the limited tools and technology available to the settlers themselves. Indeed, it was sometimes difficult to tell where house began and wilderness ended. Among the earliest homes in western Washington, for example, were cave-like huts carved from the stumps of giant cedar trees, providing only the barest protection from the elements.

Far more common (and more permanent) were log cabins, built across the territory before the widespread availability of milled lumber. These one- or two-room structures were constructed of logs felled near the building site, then peeled and hewn, and notched at the corners. The logs were laid as closely as possible and the spaces between filled with chinking, usually mud and small pieces of wood, creating walls that were both strong and weather-tight.

Log construction was an ancient method well suited to a young democracy, revealing few distinctions based on the owner’s status or wealth. In 1845, for example, Judge John Jackson settled near Mary’s Corner and soon built a one-room cabin from rounded cedar logs, where he convened the first court north of the Columbia River. Nearly 20 years later, stockmen along the Yakima River used the same techniques to build the Mattoon cabin, a cottonwood log structure where they wintered before the spring drives.

Occasionally, log structures were surprisingly substantial, like the house the Olmstead family built in 1875 on their ranch east of Ellensburg. The square-hewn cottonwood logs were carefully joined with dovetail notches, reflecting expert skills with ax and adz. Similar log houses were built as late as the 1890s in Whatcom County, Clallam County and elsewhere where timber was abundant enough and builders sufficiently skilled. Some still stand, survivors that testify to the enduring craftsmanship of pioneer builders.

Technology on the Frontier

Typically, however, log cabins were temporary shelters, replaced by a frame house as soon as milled lumber was available. In most of Washington, the wait was not long. Sawmills, after all, were among the first features of the pioneer economy.

Even so, the new technology had a dramatic impact. When Captain Elijah McAlmond built the first frame house in New Dungeness in 1861, for example, the community took special notice. "Houses were mostly built of logs," a
On the frontier the old and new stood side by side, and sometimes were entwined in the same building. Some of the earliest frame houses were constructed of hand-hewn timbers joined by mortise and tenon (usually sills and girders), interspersed with posts, studs and clapboards from a local sawmill. Elsewhere, pioneers built simple “box houses” in which mill-sawn lumber planks were nailed vertically side by side to a hewn sill and plate. Plank wall construction was an ingenious response to the shortage of skilled labor, nails and dimension lumber—and led to many substantial (and surprisingly stylish) homes, like the Nathaniel Crosby house in Tumwater (1858), which combined elements of the popular Greek and Gothic Revival styles, or the Thurston County home of the pioneer Bush family (ca. 1878), which was a simple Gothic Revival cottage (now demolished).

Although box construction was promoted by farm journals at mid-century, another technology soon dominated Victorian building in Washington. “Balloon frame” construction, using milled dimension lumber and machine-cut nails, emerged in Chicago as early as the 1830s. Built of a lightweight frame of two-by-four or four-by-four studs tied together with nails, balloon frames were rapidly and cheaply erected, and could easily accommodate wings, bays and turrets.

Before long, balloon frames sheltered thousands of Washington residents, too. As sawmills were built in the late nineteenth century, and as railroads brought building supplies, pattern books and settlers to the state on a regular basis, a building explosion took hold. Thousands of balloon frame houses in a variety of styles sprang up in the growing communities of Puget Sound, the Inland Empire and the farm belts in between.

Vernacular Forms, Victorian Styles

The speed with which balloon frame houses could be constructed and the capacity of mills to turn out stylish ornament led to a near riot of Victorian designs just a few years after the first settlers carved clearings from the wilderness. Like the rest of America, Washingtonians in the late nineteenth century celebrated “style,” an ever-changing architectural fashion ordered from a pattern book or purchased at the local mill. Where once house forms evolved over the course of a generation, builders now introduced new styles each decade, or even each year.

For the most part, houses in late nineteenth-century Washington were built by carpenters with no formal training and little knowledge of design prototypes or architectural rules. Even so, these vernacular houses were often wonderfully evocative. In the 1860s, pristine Greek Revival houses like the David Rothschild home in...
The George Goodwin cabin in rural Whatcom County (ca. 1878) reflects the expert skills of the owner-builder, who crafted the house of square-hewn cedar logs, each measuring 8 inches thick and 32 inches high, joined with full dovetail notches.

Port Townsend (1868), with pediments and pilasters, stood like primitive temples on the frontier. At the same time, Gothic Revival "cottages," like the Commanding Officer's quarters at Fort Simcoe, featured gabled roofs and arched openings that recalled the romantic country homes popularized by Andrew Jackson Downing.

Yet, despite their picturesque qualities, Greek and Gothic Revival houses were anachronisms even when new, hold-over styles that had already passed from fashion in the Eastern United States (although still fresh in the memories of Washington settlers). Not until the late 1870s, with a growing population and economy, did house design become more self-consciously up-to-date.

By the 1880s, the finest homes in the territory had assumed a new sophistication, recalling the country villas of Renaissance Italy, with bracketed cornices, elaborate window hoods and ornate bays. The 1890 Italianate mansion of Ezra Meeker in Puyallup, for example, was a fashionable country seat for one of the territory's preeminent agrarians. And it was not only the facade that attracted attention. The interior of the Meeker mansion was richly outfitted with ceiling frescoes, gold leaf moldings, stained glass, and other luxuries hardly imaginable a few years before. The Italianate style also gave expression to the prestige of Colfax founder James Perkins, whose ca. 1885 house was one of the grandest in the fertile Palouse, and of William Kirkman, whose brick mansion (ca. 1876) was among the most imposing residences in prosperous Walla Walla. Whether in town or in the country, the message was clear: style had gained a foothold on the rough frontier.

Even so, despite an occasional flourish, houses of the Italianate era, like those from the Greek and Gothic Revival period before, were markedly restrained compared to the designs that burst forth just after statehood. Where earlier builders were subtly ruled by traditions of classicism and symmetry, designers in the last decade of the nineteenth century exercised no such caution. Recognizing the inherent flexibility of the balloon frame, inspired by pattern book designs and financed by new-found fortunes, the great houses of the state broke free of any constraints. They exploded with irregular forms and multiple roof shapes, a wild variety of gables and bays, a profusion of shingles and ornament, and a frank celebration of the wood frame underneath. It was the age of Victoria and, in Washington, the reign of the Queen Anne Style.

In many ways, the Queen Anne Style (and closely related forms like the Stick and Shingle styles) reflected the brash and energetic character of the state itself. It was, for example, an expressly wooden architecture, and thoroughly modern, displaying the
This simple cabin was built about 1880 to house workers of the Pacific Coast Coal Company in Newcastle, King County. The board-and-batten-sided structure is the last surviving cottage of the hundreds which once sheltered the company's miners. It favored material of the Northwest through the use of an endless variety of sidings and ornament turned out by the state's mills. The result was usually a lively and heavily textured facade. Some houses, like the home of contractor George Starrett in Port Townsend (1889), reflected the explicit structural "honesty" of the Stick Style idiom, in which decorative boards articulate the frame beneath. Other examples, drawing upon the Shingle Style variant, like the Saunders house in Port Townsend (1891), are wrapped in a continuous skin of shingles which creates a taut and undulating surface.

But the Queen Anne Style was more than just a display of mill work. It was an unparalleled opportunity for self-expression. Here, in a single house, the imaginative (if modest) homeowner could boastfully display artistic independence, indulge his love of modern materials and display his unbridled success. In short, the Queen Anne Style epitomized the notion that a man's home was his castle.

And what castles these were! Houses that seemed to grow uncontrollably, turreted and towered, with brackets and pendants, hargeboards and braces, great verandas and delicate cupolas. Every city boasted several outstanding examples of the style, usually the homes of prominent financiers, speculators or industrialists. Some of the finest from the 1890s include the Gamwell and Louis White houses in Bellingham, the Gaches mansion in LaConner, the Roberts house in Spokane, the Lytle house in Hoquiam, and the William White house in Olympia. Before the century's close, entire suburban districts of fanciful Queen Anne houses were built in Browne's Addition in Spokane, on Seattle's First Hill and along Eldridge Avenue in Bellingham. Even rural communities had at least one treasured example, like the Hanford house outside Oakesdale or the Olson house in Vader.

More modest versions of the style arose in every neighborhood. Some were built by developers from stock designs, uniformly stamped out and located in emerging streetcar suburbs like the row of Queen Anne houses on South J Street in Tacoma. Others were built by homeowners using mail-order plans, like the Gilbert house in Yakima. Yet, even at this reduced size, the houses reflected the profusion of ornament and variety of form and texture that were the hallmarks of the style.

The architectural explosion of the late nineteenth century had a darker side, too, underscoring deep divisions between the haves and have-nots in the industrial age. For every Queen Anne mansion of the mill owner or mining entrepreneur, there were countless workers' houses where home was little more than a hastily constructed cot-
tage. Most of these cottages were simple frame structures, usually one story beneath a hip or gable roof, located near the commercial sector of a city—like Spokane’s Peaceful Valley—or in company towns like Black Diamond, Roslyn or Selleck.

In larger cities where the industrial economy attracted thousands of single men from rural communities and foreign countries, scores of boarding houses and residential hotels arose along the streets of neighborhoods like Seattle’s Chinatown, Belltown and Pioneer Square. Typically, the hotels packed dimly lit rooms along long corridors with a central light shaft to illuminate the interior. Rising as high as five stories, these hotels created living units as crowded as the streets below and as tall as the office towers nearby.

Not all working-class cottages were as bleak as circumstances might suggest. A few diminutive Queen Anne cottages in mill towns adapted the style to the reduced circumstances of the mill worker. Nevertheless, as the twentieth century dawned, the houses of Washington’s well-to-do stood in stark contrast to those of its workers.

Homes for a New Century

When Washington’s economy boomed in the early twentieth century with the growth of timber, trade and manufacturing, the upswing led to the growth of a prosperous urban middle class, and to suburban tracts where they made their homes. Frequently, these neighborhoods were built along streetcar lines, with neat rows of houses often ordered in pre-cut form from catalogs, or built by contractors working from standard plans.

For the most part, the excesses of the Queen Anne era were muted after 1905, with more harmonious forms and simplified ornament. The variety of house types ranged from the boxy Four Square Style to the gabled English Cottage, the stuccoed Mission Revival, and the prim Colonial Revival. In general, these homes were more modest and manageable than the Victorian antecedents (and thus suitable for a family without servants), and enhanced by new technological “conveniences” like central heating.

Increasingly, middle class housing shunned the stylistic excesses of earlier decades, delighting in plain surfaces, natural materials, open interiors, and a design in harmony with the natural setting. At their best, these houses provided a suburban retreat from the clamor of the modern age, celebrating the notion of home as a refuge in a machine-dominated world.

The trend toward simplicity and honest craftsmanship was best articulated in the Craftsman Style. The Craftsman Style was an American derivative of the English Arts and Crafts movement, which held an almost medieval-like reverence for rural values and handmade features. In Washington that style was reflected in a wide range of comfortable houses distinguished by their use of native materials and rustic ambience, like the Wells house in Wenatchee (1909), constructed of river rock and shingles, or the John Elston house in Aberdeen (ca. 1908), a skillful design that incorporates board-and-batten siding and stick work.

The emergence of the Craftsman Style in Washington in the first decade of the twentieth century was encouraged by a small group of professional architects. Ellsworth Storey built a series of Craftsman houses in Seattle, including cottages near Lake Washington in which the structural frames were exposed on the exterior of the houses. Andrew Willatzen, an apprentice of Frank Lloyd Wright, built Prairie Style houses in Seattle during those years, and Kirtland Cutter designed dramatically “rustic” cottages like his own home, a Swiss chalet in Spokane, or the shingled cottage of Lewis Larson in Metaline Falls. The great Canadian Arts and Crafts architect Samuel Maclure built his only American residence, a boxy cottage with broad porches, an open interior and

The row of Queen Anne style houses on Tacoma’s South J Street was built in 1889-1890 by a local building and loan association, and is typical of the standardized, speculative housing built in the state’s streetcar neighborhoods.
The Wells house (Wenatchee, 1909) reflects the natural materials and handcrafted features espoused by the Craftsman style, highlighted by a castellated tower of native stone.

Ellsworth Storey's cottages on Lake Washington evoke a rustic simplicity that stood in sharp contrast to the nearby mansions of Seattle's Mount Baker neighborhood. Using native woods, the simple building features a sheltering gable roof with wide overhang, tongue and groove fir wall boards and exposed framing elements.

ornate woodwork, for the David Ramsay family in Ellensburg in 1905. Most remarkably, an entire suburban village based on the Arts and Crafts movement was developed near Medina on the eastern shore of Lake Washington. Conceived by an architect-writer (Alfred Renfro) and a cartoonist (Frank Calvert), and funded by millionaire E. W. Johnston, Beaux Arts Village included small Craftsman cottages in a wooded setting, with a village commons—Atelier Square—which provided studios and workshops for the artists who were expected to live there.

But the Craftsman movement reached its popular apogee in the thousands of bungalows that soon dominated entire sections of most Washington communities. Constructed mostly between 1910 and 1920, bungalows were inexpensive one-story houses with open plans, low-slung gable roofs, broadly overhanging eaves, wide and deep front porches, natural materials and simple, structural ornament often Japanese in feeling. The bungalow idiom and the modest lifestyle it was meant to enhance were promulgated by dozens of books and magazines. One of the nation's leading proponents was Seattle's Jud Yoho, whose Bungalow Magazine provided prototypes for countless Washington homes.

In some respects, Craftsman bungalows were an expression of a democratic belief that houses should be affordable to all, and their design free of the pretensions of social class. But for the wealthy the Arts and Crafts aesthetic led to a dramatically different expression—large houses designed in historic (often medieval) styles, and enriched by fine (often imported) materials carefully worked by skilled artisans. The same aggressive business titans who shaped the modern world were spellbound by the castles and country homes of an earlier, more genteel age.
That philosophy was expressed at Medical Lake as early as 1900, where Lord Stanley Hallett employed an entire family just to chip and shape the bricks used in the construction of his house so that it had a handcrafted appearance. But soon mansions from Seattle to Spokane were evoking a rural ideal and an imaginary history.

The patina of age became a valuable commodity. Kirtland Cutter, among the most artistic and romantic of the state’s architects, was therefore a favorite. Strongly influenced by the Arts and Crafts movement, he designed great English country homes like Thornewood in Pierce County (1909-1911), the James Graves estate in rural Spokane County (1911), the Stimson-Green mansion in Seattle (1899-1901), and the Glover mansion (1889) in Spokane. But Cutter’s eclectic taste ranged over many styles and he designed several imposing Neoclassical palaces like the Austin Corbin II house in Spokane. The interior of these houses reflected an exotic range of periods and places.

Other regional architects worked in historic idioms as well: Herman Preusse and J. K. Dow of Spokane; Arthur Loveless, John Graham, Carl Gould, Charles Bebb, Leonard Mendel and Joseph Cote in Seattle; Babcock and Russell of Tacoma; and Joseph Wohleb in Olympia; as did nationally prominent architects such as Charles Platt, who designed the Palladian-inspired Merrill house on Seattle’s Capitol Hill in 1909-1910.

Architects did not work alone—they collaborated with interior designers (like Elsie de Wolfe), glass artists (like Louis Comfort Tiffany), woodcarvers and stone cutters, and landscape designers (like the Olmsted Brothers). When Eliza Ferry Leary built the first great mansion on the crest of Capitol Hill in Seattle (1903-1909), for example, she consulted with the Olmstedsts, commissioned Tiffany, and employed Belgian woodcarvers for a year. Similar collaborative efforts were undertaken elsewhere. In fact, Washington has more residential landscape design by the Olmsted Brothers than any other western state.

Although the first mansions were often situated near the heart of the city, by 1900 the barons of the Gilded Age began to move to discrete neighborhoods characterized

The house built by Lord Stanley Hallett in 1900 in Medical Lake (Spokane County) is a romantic castle evoking a medieval-like character. Hallett even employed an entire family to chip bricks to give the house a handcrafted, age-old appearance.

The same aggressive business titans who shaped the modern world were spellbound by the castles and country homes of an earlier, more genteel age.
Named for his wife and built to entertain his royal friends, Sam Hill's Maryhill estate (Klickitat County, 1914) was one of the state's great Renaissance Revival mansions, rarely surpassed in grandeur of setting and scale. The house was designed by prominent Washington, D.C. architects Hornblower and Marshall.

By 1910, some of the very wealthy had moved beyond the city limits entirely and established secluded residential retreats which combined picturesque grounds with imposing mansions. The Highlands community, designed by the Olmsted Brothers in 1909, is a rolling, forested enclave north of Seattle on a bluff overlooking Puget Sound. At this wooded retreat, William Boeing and other Seattle industrialists and financiers built great estates. The Lakes district south of Tacoma was also the site of a series of grand houses and beautiful grounds surrounding several small lakes, including Chester Thorne's Thorne's Thomewood. But the ultimate retreat was Sam Hill's country estate Maryhill, a Renaissance palace designed by Washington, D.C. architects Hornblower and Marshall, situated above the vast, treeless landscape of the Columbia Gorge.

Eventually, the middle class mimicked the rich and built diminutive versions of these mansions in suburban neighborhoods where neat rows of English cottages, Spanish haciendas, Colonial mansions and other so-called period revival styles supplied a fanciful cover for otherwise ordinary homes.

Housing for All

By the 1920s, the suburbs stretched in all directions from the central cities. For those who remained behind, land was increasingly scarce and expensive. Not surprisingly, apartment houses, once condemned as immoral "French flats" because of their close quarters, were now acceptable and even respectable for small families, singles, and the elderly. The finest apartments were outfitted in an elegance in marked contrast to their cramped size and draped in the imagery of home or club, complete with spacious lobbies, maid's quarters and grassy courtyards. The Tudor and Norman apartments of Fred...
Anhalt and the Spanish Colonial Revival apartments of Everett Beardsley in Seattle, and the Neoclassical and Renaissance Revival buildings of Albert Held in Spokane were among the finest, attracting a clientele never before associated with apartment life.

Not all was ideal, of course. Too many workers—miners, immigrant laborers and itinerant farmers—continued to live in shacks or tenements that mocked the notion of unlimited prosperity. And in the 1930s, Seattle’s shantytown—“Hooverville”—was considered among the largest in the nation, a transient city-within-a-city that reflected both the grim conditions and tenacious hope of the homeless during the Great Depression.

Private housing construction came to a virtual halt during the Depression, and the industry remained moribund during World War II. When the war was over, millions of young families—many brought to the region by war plants and military bases—faced a housing shortage unrivaled in the state’s history. And Washington was not alone.

To address this national crisis, the federal government subsidized the construction and purchase of new houses, making official American policy what long had been the American dream. At the same time, the government built low-income housing, recognizing that each family had a claim to the dream. The most notable result in Washington of the latter was the construction of Yesler Terrace in Seattle in 1941, a low-density “garden community” that avoided the sullen institutional character of other projects around the country.

To a new school of young Washington architects in the 1930s and 1940s, like Paul Thiry and Paul Kirk, the recent past was marred by economic decline, world conflict and a lack of innovative architecture. These designers built homes that reflected their vision of a future disconnected from the architecture of recent decades. Borrowing from such disparate sources as the International Style of modern Europe, Native American housing of the Pacific Northwest and the regional tradition of building with wood, the so-called Northwest Style forged an architectural idiom that was as clearly a product of its place and time as anything since the first log and plank houses 100 years before. In the mid-twentieth century, as on the frontier, home was more than simple shelter; it was a complex response to present conditions, past traditions and future hopes.

Leonard Garfield is the architectural historian for the Washington State Office of Archaeology and Historic Preservation and manager of the National Register of Historic Places program.

After the Great Depression, when thousands went homeless, the federal government entered the housing market and financed construction of public housing. Yesler Terrace in Seattle (1941) was among the finest examples of a low scale garden community, in marked contrast to the sullen towers of the post-war years.

EDITOR’S NOTE
This article is excerpted from a chapter in Built in Washington, a new illustrated history of the state’s historical sites and structures, written by the staff of the Washington State Office of Archaeology and Historic Preservation and published by Washington State University Press in cooperation with the Washington State Historical Society. Drawing upon National Register of Historical Places files and photographs, the book presents a broad range of buildings and archaeological sites which reflect over 12,000 years of human activity and form the rich fabric of our cultural heritage. This chapter focuses on late nineteenth and early twentieth century housing; other chapters deal with Native American heritage, the emerging industrial economy and Washington after World War II.
Abby Williams Hill and the Lure of the West.


Reviewed by Thomas Schlotterback.

"Art ought to teach people to love nature better, ought to lift them, cheer them. If I did not believe this, and that it could do it and has done it, I should never paint again and it should not cost me a pang." With these words from her 1897 diary, Abby Williams Hill (1861-1943) declared succinctly the philosophy that sustained her life and professional career as a painter of landscapes. Her sentiments reflected the philosophy of the major American Hudson River School painters of the period that so obviously affected American taste during Hill's lifetime.

Abby Williams Hill's paintings may be considered a high quality, Pacific Northwest response to that taste. As evidence of that consideration, the Great Northern Railroad in 1903, and the Northern Pacific Railroad in 1904 and 1905, commissioned Hill to do scenes from the areas traversed by their lines. Hill's work was subsequently exhibited in railroad publications, and also at the Louisiana Purchase Exhibition in St. Louis in 1904 and the Alaska-Yukon-Pacific Exposition in Seattle in 1909. Still, like other landscape artists of her gender, she has remained obscure. By all rights, she should be the focus of an extended art historical treatise.

Fortunately, Dr. Ronald Fields' book is not that treatise. It has none of the overbearing preciousness so often found in art history volumes. Fields' book is, instead, a gentle and sympathetic recounting of the professional life of a major Northwest woman artist. Using Hill's collection of papers at the University of Puget Sound, Fields provides insight into her role as a wife, mother, traveler, public speaker and early feminist as well as a dedicated artist. More importantly, Fields' book reproduces Hill's paintings in all their glory. Counting the dust jacket, the book contains 35 high quality color reproductions plus 76 black-and-white reproductions, all of which attest to Hill's considerable and deserved contemporaneous reputation as a landscape artist.

Originally written to coincide with a Washington State Historical Society exhibition of Hill's work, this book has lasting significance for "...the general public, for much the same audience to whom Hill directed her own works." Dr. Fields has accomplished his objective in admirable fashion. This is a handsomely printed, readable written, scholarly based work that will captivate readers. One can look forward with anticipation to Dr. Fields' promised full-scale biography on Hill's life and works.

Thomas Schlotterback is an artist and Professor of Art at Western Washington University. His works have been widely exhibited throughout the United States.

Washington Women as Path Breakers.


Women in Pacific Northwest History:

An Anthology.


Reviewed by Nancy Unger.

"The challenge for historians of women in the Pacific Northwest," asserts Susan H. Armitage, "is to put together a coherent narrative that is simultaneously true to the personal and emotional experience of women and integrally connected to the developing social and political realities of the region." The two works reviewed here provide, with contrasting degrees of success, the groundwork for such an undertaking.

Perhaps the greatest problem with Mildred Tanner Andrews' Washington Women as Path Breakers is its misleading title. What Andrews provides is not a history of the state's vast variety of female pioneers, but a study of club women in Washington. Not surprisingly, this book was sponsored by the Junior League of Tacoma. In all eight chapters the boosterism and sometimes patronizing tone of the text does a disservice to the array of fine, beautifully reproduced photographs.

Although Andrews pointedly lauds Washington as one of the most culturally and ethnically diverse states in the nation, her primary focus is on middle and upper middle class white women. When she does include minority and working class women, it is occasionally as club women themselves, but usually as the recipients of "mainstream" club women's benevolence. There are a few, too few, exceptions, and even these are given short shrift.

Moreover, Andrews' oversimplification of complex issues and events is sometimes erroneous, other times misleading. She places the Great Depression in the early 1920s (p. 83) and asserts that, following World War II, women were so eager to return to "normal life" that they "quickly relinquished their jobs to male workers" (p. 145). The latter is but one of many examples of Andrews' incorrectly attributing the repression of women to women's own passivity.

Despite its serious limitations, this book generally succeeds as a history of Washington's club women and their considerable achievements and contributions. It is intended for a general audience, but
readers may be better served by perusing the text, enjoying the photographs, then shifting their attention to Karen J. Blair's "Women in Pacific Northwest History: An Anthology," which offers a less distorted, more complete, scholarly and accurate portrayal of Washington women, including, but not limited to, club women. Blair, an Associate Professor of History at Central Washington University in Ellensburg, prefaces each section (Woman Suffrage, Work, Race and Ethnicity, the Arts, and New Directions for Research) with an introductory essay that skillfully weaves accounts of disparate individuals and groups into unified themes.

Individual articles are, however, somewhat uneven in their contributions. One is singularly unconvincing and a few of the other 12 essays are arbitrary and unconvincing. But these are more than compensated for by Karen Beck Skold's extremely well researched and illuminating "The Job He Left Behind"; and Armitage and Deborah Gallacci Wilbert's "Black Women in the Pacific Northwest: A Survey and Research Prospectus," an intriguing challenge to old assumptions and stereotypes and an exemplary demonstration of skillful use of scant evidence. The showpiece of the entire anthology compensated for by Karen Beck Skold's extremely well researched and illuminating "The Job He Left Behind"; and Armitage and Deborah Gallacci Wilbert's "Black Women in the Pacific Northwest: A Survey and Research Prospectus," an intriguing challenge to old assumptions and stereotypes and an exemplary demonstration of skillful use of scant evidence. The showpiece of the entire anthology is Gail M. Nomura's "Tsugiki, a Grafting: A History of a Japanese Pioneer Women in Washington State." Nomura succeeds brilliantly in allowing the haunting "tanka" poetry of one woman to speak for itself while unobtrusively supplying the necessary background and context. The results say much about Washington, including early pioneer experiences of Japanese (and other immigrants), increasing anti-Japanese sentiment and the impact of the resultant legislation, agriculture, the state's growth and development, and the experience of Japanese-Americans in relocation camps during World War II.

Overall, Blair's attempt to document and interpret a broad range of experiences of women in the Northwest is a success. Although scholarly, most of the articles she includes will also appeal to a more general audience and go a long way toward meeting Armitage's challenge for historians of women.

Nancy Unger, a native of Seattle, received her doctorate from the University of Southern California. She is an Assistant Professor of History at San Francisco State University.

To Fish in Common:
The Ethnohistory of Lummi Indian Salmon Fishing.
Reviewed by Steven Waite.

A person cannot help but wonder if Isaac Stevens knew the controversy he was creating when he drafted a series of treaties with Pacific Northwest Indian tribes. Article V of the Point Elliott Treaty in 1855, one of his efforts with tribes on Puget Sound, states in part that "the right of taking fish at usual and accustomed grounds and stations is further secured to said Indians in common with all citizens of the Territory." David Boxberger's book traces the interpretation of this statement through the recent history of the Lummi people and their relationships with the people of Washington, various agencies of the United States Government, and other native tribes.

For nearly 30 years, the term "in common" was interpreted to mean that citizens of the territory had the right to fish alongside Indians and share the salmon harvest. But as the value of the salmon catch increased, and as Washington Territory approached statehood, the competition for the fish slowly pushed the Indians away from their traditional life. "In common" eventually began to be interpreted by the new state of Washington to mean that Indians could fish alongside white men, if they could afford proper equipment, would agree to the white man's regulations, and could deal with greedy canneries bent on exploiting the salmon industry. Finally, in 1974 the decision of Judge George Bolt redefined the meaning of the term "in common" and Indians were reinstated to their rightful share of 50% of the salmon catch taken by Puget Sound fisheries.

Regrettably, Boxberger drags the reader through these developments in a sea of statistics that diverts attention from the human issues. Telling the tale in numbers tends to dehumanize the Lummi people. The question "Who are the Lummi people that were so involved in this fishing controversy?" remains even after reading the entire book. Statistics simply do not explain human motivations or conditions.

After the Boldt decision some members of the Lummi tribe were able to buy boats and gear and themselves exploited the salmon runs of the Pacific Northwest. Money brought both economic and political power to these tribesmen. The question of Indian fishing rights continues to this day to be as controversial among the Indians as it is among the whites who continually seek to reinterpret the differences between commercial and sport fishing. To Fish in Common avoids these issues, too.

Steven Waite is a planner for the Boeing Company in Everett, but lives in Bellingham where he and his wife, a Lummi Indian, are active in Lummi Tribal affairs. Waite is a native of Washington, has a teaching credential from Western Washington University, and has taught Native American history.

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Additional Reading

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Jay Fox: Anarchist of Home


An Eventful Life: Pierre Charles in the Pacific Northwest

Bodega y Quadra and Vancouver

Les Baleiniers of the North
Whales and Destiny: The Rivalry Between America, France and Britain for Control of the Southern Whale Fishing, 1785-1825, by Edward A. Stackpole. Amherst: University of Massachusetts, 1972.

At Home in Washington

"The Young Napoleon: Isaac I. Stevens, George B. McClellan and the Cascade Mountains Route," by Kent D. Richards.
"J. K. Duncan's Rare Images of Washington's Early Native People," by David L. Nicandri.
"Historical Access to the Hanford Record: Problems in Investigating the Past," by Michele A. Stenehjem.
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