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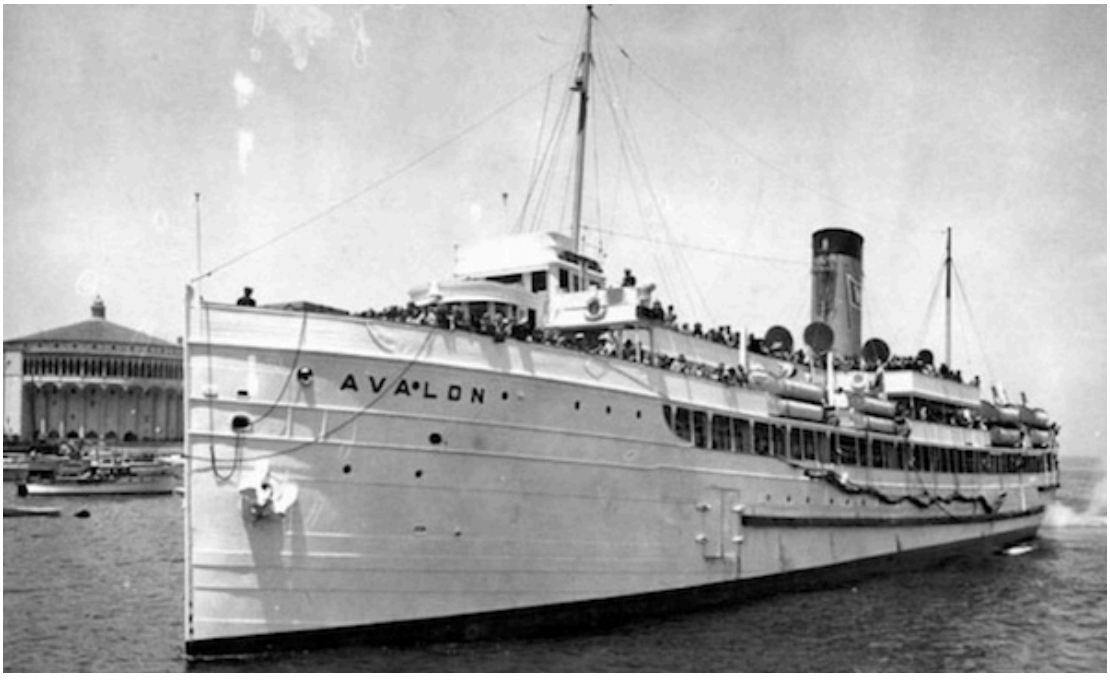

Figure 1: Avalon *in her namesake harbor at Santa Catalina Island, 1929. Casino at left. Shuttleworth collection.*

"In All The World No Trip Like This" and a Can of Peas: SS *Avalon* (ex-USS *Blue Ridge*, ex-SS *Virginia*)

James Shuttleworth

Many Westerners are old enough to remember the Great White Steamship—the SS *Catalina*. Fewer, however, may remember the SS *Avalon* (Figures 1-2), *Catalina's* running mate for almost three decades. Save for a four-year hiatus during World War II, this majestic ship carried passengers between the "Magic Isle" and Wilmington for 31 years. For those who had the opportunity and pleasure to steam on her, the slogan of the Wilmington Transportation Company is a fitting summation of the experience: "In All The World No Trip Like This."[1]

The *Avalon* was originally built as the Steamer *Virginia* (Figure 3) in 1891 for

(*Continued on Page 3*)

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The Branding Iron is always seeking articles of up to around 20 pages dealing with every phase of the history of the Old West and California. Contributions from both members and friends are always welcome.

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Editor's Corner . . .

Summer 2018 may be over, but you can relive the fun in this issue of *The Branding Iron*. James Shuttleworth steams off with a lead article on the story of the glamorous Catalina Island passenger liner, SS *Avalon*, and its past lives as the USS *Blue Ridge* and SS *Virginia.* Our ever-prolific contributer, former Sheriff Brian D. Dillon, follows with the absurd tale of the "Pig War" of 1859.

If you missed any of the Corral's summer events, young student fellows Jovanny Gochez and Aaron Tate recount the festivities of our 2018 Fandango at *la casa de Turner*, and monthly Roundup presentations. Joe Cavallo concludes with a book review on theater culture of the turn-of-the-century Pacific Northwest.

As always, a big "hurrah!" to our contributers who help make *The Branding Iron* enjoyable and informative. If you would like to share an article, poetry, news, or something else related to Western history, please feel free to get in touch.

Happy Trails!

John Dillon
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Figure 2: *Inside the* Avalon's *upper deck. The passage down to the lower decks is at right. Shuttleworth collection.*

the Goodrich Transportation Company of Chicago by the Globe Iron Works of Cleveland, Ohio. A.E. Goodrich incorporated Goodrich Transportation Co. in 1868, but he had been operating vessels on the Great Lakes since the mid 1850s. His son A.W. Goodrich took over the family business after his father's death in 1885, and set about replacing the company's old, antiquated bottoms. He had several new wooden ships built in 1891 along with the *Virginia*, the most modern ship in the company fleet and the first steel-hulled vessel built on the Great Lakes.

SS *Virginia* registered 1606 tons, 269 feet in length, 38 feet in breadth, 22 feet in depth and drew nearly 13 feet in draft.[2] Her twin, four-bladed, propellers were powered by two, 36-inch stroke triple-expansion steam engines with 20-, 32-, and 50-inch diameter cylinders. Each successive cylinder grew in diameter to capture as much energy as possible from successively lower-pressure steam, and *Virginia's* engines, produced by Globe, were especially efficient. Each produced 1,300 horsepower (some sources suggest 1,400 hp), giving her a design speed 16.5 knots. In practice she often exceeded these specifications and cruised at 18 knots. *Virginia* was issued Official Number 161,654. Since Official Numbers never change, unless a vessel is sold to a foreign buyer, she retained that same number after she was later rechristened *Avalon*.

For her first several years of service, Goodrich's flagship left Chicago for Milwaukee in the morning and returned that same night. In 1891-92, for $2.50, passengers got a one-way passage, a meal, and an overnight cabin. SS *Virginia's* biggest competitor was the Whaleback steamer *Christopher Columbus* (1893), and there were many races between the two. Goodrich finally chartered the *Christopher Columbus* from her owners, but kept her on the same route. *Virginia* then reversed her sailings, becoming a night boat, leaving Chicago for Milwaukee and returning the next morning. In 1897, the passenger traffic to Milwaukee dropped dramatically while that to the Eastern shore of Lake Michigan grew significantly. SS *Virginia* consequently started sailing to Muskegon, Michigan, with a stop at Grand Haven.

During this period, more cabins were added to accommodate more passengers.

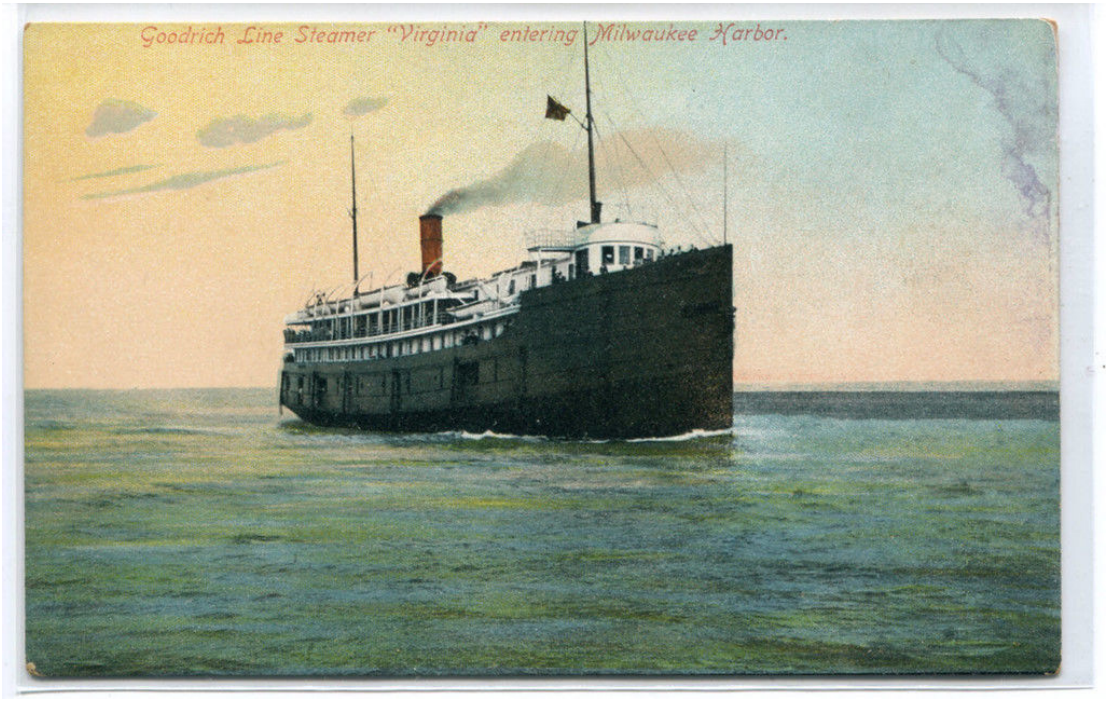

Figure 3: *Postcard of the Goodrich Line Steamer* Virginia *coming in to Milwaukee Harbor. Shuttleworth collection.*

Virginia was originally built with 70 cabins, but in 1898-99, 36 more were added, giving her a total of 106. This altered her appearance greatly. Her pilothouse was originally aft of the foremast, but now it was moved forward, in front of the foremast to make room for the new cabins. These changes most likely occurred during the 1898-99 rebuild. A drawing of SS *Virginia* in Samuel Ward Stanton's, *American Steam Vessels, ca.* 1895 (Figure 4), shows the pilothouse aft of the foremast. In 1909, 36 more rooms and parlors were constructed on the third deck giving her a total of 142 cabins, just more than double her original complement. In addition to these improvements in comfort, the *Virginia* also had a wireless set installed at some point, a vital piece of communications equipment that many Great Lakes vessels lacked at the time.

Following the American entry into World War I, the U.S. Navy purchased the SS *Virginia* (along with four other large Chicago passenger steamers) in April, 1918 to serve as a troop transport in the English Channel. She was commissioned in the Great Lakes, renamed USS *Blue Ridge* in October, 1918 and even painted in "Dazzle" camouflage. Her Navy designation was AP 2432, troop transport, and Lieutenant Commander E.S. Ellis, USNR was her captain. However, she was too long to get through the Lachine Locks above Montreal, on the Saint Lawrence River, leading to the Atlantic Ocean, so her bow and stern were amputated. At the Chicago Navy Yard, the removed bow and stern plates were used to seal her up and she steamed on her own to Boston with a very blunt, odd-looking bow. She reached Boston Navy Yard in December, 1918, but the war was over, and she was put up for sale. The Edward P. Farley Company, ship brokers of Chicago, bought the mutilated vessel from the Navy on August 18, 1919. She was renamed *Avalon* that same day and given the signal letters WQCV.

Edward P. Farley was the U.S. shipping representative at the Versailles Peace Conference after WWI; Vice-president of the U.S. Shipping Board in 1921; and Chairman and President of the Emergency Fleet Corporation in 1923 (both U.S. Government agencies). Under Farley's direction, the WWI surplus fleet was sold. Later, he became Chairman of the American-Hawaiian Steamship Company. Still later, he

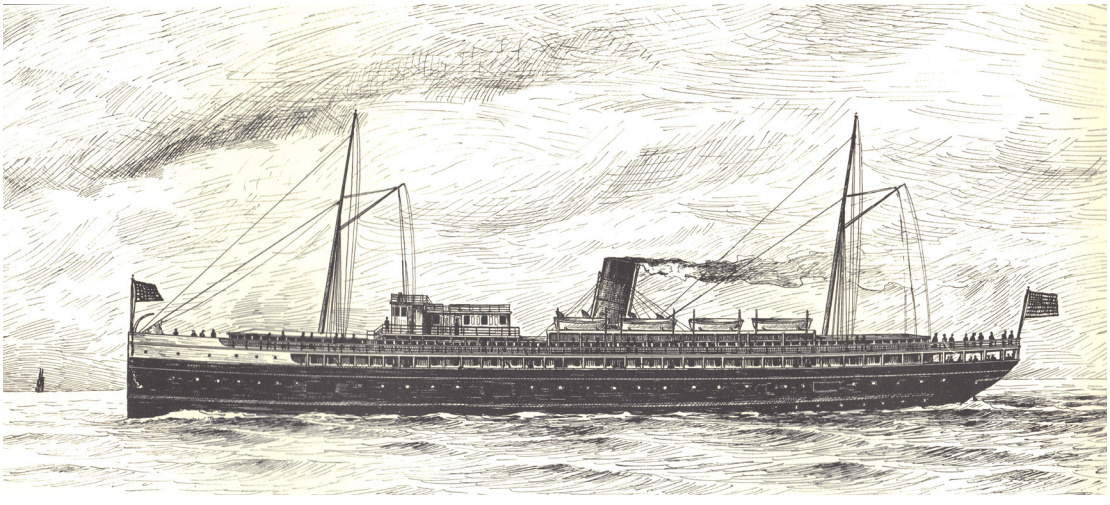

Figure 4: *The SS* Virginia *on Lake Michigan, an 1895 drawing by Samuel Ward Stanton. Note the position of the pilothouse behind the forward mast. The ship was rebuilt in 1898-99, and again in 1909. Shuttleworth Collection. Original from* American Steam Vessels, *1895.*

would become Chairman of the American Shipbuilding Company of Cleveland and Chairman of Eastern Steamship Company.

William Wrigley Junior, chewing gum magnate, bought a controlling interest in the Catalina Island Company in 1919, which included the Wilmington Transportation Company (WTC). WTC utilized SS *Cabrillo* (1904) and SS *Hermosa (II)* (1902) to transport tourists to and from the island. Wrigley wanted a large, fast vessel for this purpose. He bought the SS *Avalon*, ex-USS *Blue Ridge*, ex-*Virginia*. She had already been renamed SS *Avalon* by the Edward P. Farley Company, so it is likely that they had purchased the vessel for Wrigley.

Avalon was towed to the Brooklyn facility of Morse Dry Dock and Repair Company from the Boston Navy Yard by Morse tugs. In Brooklyn, *Avalon* was converted from coal to oil burning, and her bow and stern were rebuilt. This restored 40 feet to her length. Some sources indicate she could do 22 knots and now carry 2,000 passengers. Her tonnage now increased to 1,985. Lundin balsa-protected lifeboats and A-B-C rafts were installed for safety. For the day trip to Catalina Island, cabins were not needed, so Wrigley had many of them removed, returning *Avalon* closer to her earlier appearance. The rebuild included a large area on the third deck, where passengers could ride in the open air, and two dance halls. Beautiful paneling was installed, covering interior pipes and wiring. *Avalon* left the Morse yard, reborn and resplendent. She made the trip to Wilmington, California, through the Panama Canal.

SS *Avalon* started making the Catalina to Wilmington run in 1920. In May 1923, four new water-tube boilers built by Babcock and Wilcox were installed. Then, SS *Catalina* was launched at Wilmington in May 1924 and she and *Avalon* became running mates.

During World War II, *Avalon* once again saw service as a military transport. In the 1942 and 1945 *Merchant Vessels of the United States*, *Avalon*, *Catalina* and *Cabrillo* are shown as owned by Wilmington Transportation Company. Apparently, they were just chartered by the Government, not purchased from WTC—a marked contrast to the ship's fate during WWI. *Avalon* retained the Wilmington to Catalina Island run, but ferried merchant marine, military, OSS (the precursor to the modern CIA), and other Government personnel, rather than tourists. The island was designated a Federal Military Zone for fear the Japanese would attack and use it as a launching zone to the mainland. SS *Catalina* and SS *Cabrillo* ferried military personnel from various facilities in the San Francisco Bay area to embarkation points. Painted gray during the

Figure 5: *The SS* Virginia *on the Great Lakes after her 1909 rebuild. Note the Pilothouse now in front of the foremast. Shuttleworth collection.*

war years, *Avalon* returned to civilian service in March of 1946. SS *Catalina* also returned to Catalina Island civilian service, but *Cabrillo* was sold and rotted away in the Napa River. Her bones are still visible today.

Avalon continued to make the run to and from Catalina Island until she was laid up in 1951. After serving that route for 31 years, she languished for the next nine. She was sold several times and in 1960 was being converted to a yacht. Before this retrofit could be completed, however, she caught fire, was sold again, and moved to Redondo Beach, CA. Here, her superstructure was removed, her decks were cut down close to the water line, and a crane was erected on her stern. She was now being used to salvage a former Liberty Ship, the freighter SS *Dominator* (ex-*North Queen,* ex-*Victoria,* ex-*Melville Jacoby),* which ran aground off Palos Verdes in 1960. *Avalon*, or what was left of her, sank there during a storm in 1962. Intrepid divers can visit her wreck, but for everyone else, only pictures and fading memories remain of the once-glamorous passenger steamer.

The *Avalon,* however, still lives on today in the most curious of places—food packaging. This connection can be traced back to an old 1943 article by Reverend F.C. St. Clair, "The Wandering *Virginia*," in the *Steamboat Bill of Facts* (now *Power Ships*) magazine, published by the Steamship Historical Society of America. The article related the story of U.S. Army Corporal R. Loren Graham in the North African theater, who sent a pea can label picturing the SS *Virginia* to the author. The Corporal, evidently a nautical enthusiast himself, wanted to know if the SS *Virginia* was a real ship, which she was, albeit under the new name *Avalon*. As far as the peas were concerned, they were canned by Lakeside Packing Company, of Manitowoc, Wisconsin. Lakeside Packing sent 60% of their production overseas to US troops during WWII.

The Lakeside Packing Company is still in business today under its new name, Lakeside Foods. The company's website displays one of their vintage labels depicting an old steamer, most likely the *Virginia*. The founder of Lakeside Packing Co., Albert Landreth (1858-1899), probably saw SS *Virginia* often as she passed by Manitowoc on her way to Milwaukee or Chicago. Out of admiration for the ship, or perhaps as a ploy to associate his brand with the famous liner, he put the likeness of SS *Virginia* on his pea labels.

The SS *Avalon*, ex-USS *Blue Ridge*, ex-SS *Virginia* had a long and storied career

ferrying passengers on the Great Lakes and to the "Magic Isle" of Catalina. She stoically endured hull mutilation and troop hauling during the World Wars, and still exists on Midwestern legume packaging. This strange journey is best summed up by the Wilmington Transportation Company's slogan: "In All The World No Trip Like This."

Notes

1. The "In All The World No Trip Like This" slogan probably dates from the early 20th Century when the company ran the SS *Hermosa* (*II)* and SS *Cabrillo*.
2. "Registered or Net Tons" in maritime usage is volume, not weight. 100-cubic feet equals one ton. However, some types of tonnage, such as Displacement Tonnage, measure weight.

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STRAIT of GEORGIA
Fraser River
Vancouver Island
STRAIT of JUAN de FUCA
Pacific
Ocean
Olympic
Peninsula
Puget
Sound
Glacier
Peak
N


Roberts Bank Superport
Tsawwassen Ferry Terminal
Boundary
Bay
WHITE ROCK
CANADA
Semiahmoo
Bay
BLAINE
USA
STRAIT
OF
GEORGIA
Point Roberts
Galiano Island
Trincomali Chan.
Active Pass
Birch Bay
Prevost
Mayne
Cherry Point
East Point
Saltspring
Island
North Pender
Saturna
Patos
Sucia
BELLINGHAM
South Pender
Lummi
Bay
Matia
Portland
Moresby
BOUNDARY
PASS
Waldron
EASTSOUND
Bellingham
Bay
Turn Point
Stuart
Saanich
Inlet
SIDNEY
Orcas
Island
Lummi
Spieden
Sidney
James
HARO
STRAIT
San
Juan
Channel
Shaw
San Juan
FRIDAY HARBOR
Island
Sinclair
Samish
Bay
Cypress
Blakely
Padilla
Bay
Guemes
ANACORTES
ROSARIO
STRAIT
Decatur
Lopez
ESQUIMALT
VICTORIA
Chatham Is.
Fidalgo
Island
Swinomish
Channel
Deception Pass
STRAIT OF JUAN DE FUCA
Whidbey
Island
Skagit Bay
OAK HARBOR

Furs, Gold, and Pigs on the Salish Sea

Brian Dervin Dillon

Introduction

Mention "Gold Rush" anywhere in the world, and most people automatically think of forty-niners heading across the plains or the Isthmus of Panama to the California Mother Lode. But there were many different gold rushes way out west. The first was that of the forty-eighters, people already in California and in the neighboring Oregon Country. *Californios,* U.S. Army and Navy deserters, and Willamette Valley farmers made the earliest "strikes" a full year before the late-arriving forty-niners. And only half-remembered today are those other "strikes" far from the Mother Lode: the Trinity River Rush of 1849, the Siskiyou Rush of 1850, the Kern River Rush of 1853-54, and, far to the north, and least familiar to most Californians, the Fraser River Rush of 1857-58 in thinly-populated British Columbia (Figure 1).

During the 9th year of the California Gold Rush, thousands of miners and prospectors pulled up stakes in the Mother Lode, Weaverville, Yreka, and Kernville to board ships in San Francisco. A great miner's flotilla numbering hundreds of vessels surged up to British Columbia 1200 miles to the north. Gold-seekers who had exhausted their California prospects now hoped to find easy pickings and new sources of pay dirt. Some stopped in Seattle for supplies, but most landed in Victoria, at the tip of Vancouver Island, for provisions and the latest news from the gold fields. By early 1858, the population of Victoria, and then all of British Columbia, had doubled, then doubled again. Would Canada's southwestern corner, already a *de facto* "colony" of California, become American by default? Only a year later this possibility was forever eliminated by the *Pig War* of the San Juan Islands.

The San Juan Islands

The San Juan Islands (Figure 2) were named by Francisco de Eliza in 1791, in honor of his boss, Juan Vicente de Guemes Padilla Horcasitas y Aguayo, Viceroy of Mexico. One of Eliza's lieutenants, Gonzálo Lopez de Haro, did much of the actual exploring, and with commendable modesty named various localities after himself, including *Lopez Island* and *De Haro Strait.* The largest of the San Juans, originally named *Horcasitas* after the viceroy, had its name corrupted to *Orcas,* disappointing those assuming a name derived from the killer whales that frequent the waters surrounding it. The San Juan Islands block easy passage around gigantic Vancouver Island, and also separate the Strait of Juan de Fuca from the Strait of Georgia. They create a maze of channels, some broad, some narrow, and miles of rough, rocky shoreline with comparatively few beaches where even dugout canoes can be landed. They are their own unique environment, half land, half water. As some of the richest fishing grounds of the Pacific Northwest, they also offer some of its most spectacular scenery.

Figure 1: Opposite Top: *Northwestern Washington and Southwestern British Columbia surrounding what many now call the Salish Sea, where the international boundary was contested for many years. Vancouver Island, Canada, at upper left, and the Olympic Peninsula, U.S.A., to its south across the Strait of Juan de Fuca. Puget Sound, home to all of the largest cities of Washington State, is at center right. The Fraser River drainage, home to the 1857-58 Gold Rush, is at upper right. The San Juan Islands, terminating the Straits of Georgia and Juan de Fuca, are at center. Map by Stefan Freelan, courtesy of Western Washington University.*

***Figure 2*: Opposite Bottom:** *The San Juan Islands, anchored in the middle of the Salish Sea, with the final, 1872, international boundary zig-zagging past them to their immediate west. Two other, alternative, boundaries, were proposed and rejected: one ran to the east of the islands, the other right through their middle. If the first had been accepted, all of the San Juan Islands would now be Canadian; approval of the second would have made them half American, half Canadian. Map courtesy of Wikipedia.*

Figure 3: *Lummi People in ceremonial dress, circa 1915. The Lummi occupied some of the eastern San Juan Islands, as well as the adjacent mainland to the east. Today, their reserve lies to the immediate west of Bellingham, Washington, unfortunately not extending to their own namesake island. Photo courtesy of the National Park Service.*

Like the Philippines of the Western Pacific and the San Blas Islands of the Panamanian Darien coast, early Spanish explorers said of the San Juan Islands that "there were more of them than days of the year:" more than 400 islands both great and small make up the archipelago. All of the San Juans suffer from unreliable sources of fresh water: even now, as prehistorically and historically, this is the major impediment to permanent human settlement. The main islands are *Orcas,* at their north, two large and one small descending lobes in the shape of a squashed horse-shoe; *San Juan* to the west, for a dozen years half British, half American; *Lopez* in the south, eerily reminiscent in shape to the island of Luzon on the opposite side of the Pacific; and finally little *Shaw,* in the middle, surrounded and protected by larger islands on all sides. Orcas incorporates 58 square miles, San Juan about 55, Lopez just under 30, and tiny Shaw less than 8. All four enjoy regular ferry service with the U.S. mainland to the east and with Canada's Vancouver Island to the west.

Only 128 of the largest of the San Juan Islands are named: most of the rest are simply rocky seamounts hosting a few straggling trees. While hazards to navigation, they are, nevertheless, still favored fishing locations. The small American "satellite" islands of Blakely, Decatur, Waldron, Spieden, Patos, Sucia, Matia, Cypress, Sinclair, Lummi, and Guemes are off the beaten track. James, Sidney, Portland, Moresby, South Pender, North Pender, Prevost, Mayne, Saturna, Galiano and Saltspring Islands are their Canadian equivalents. Most of these lesser islands on both sides of the border are better suited for hermits than for commuters to the towns and cities of Washington State or British Columbia. Now, as was the case prehistorically, their few residents must rely on their own boats for communication with the larger islands and the mainland, even in some cases for hauling in drinking water.

First People of the Salish Sea

A growing number of people since 2008 prefer to call the Straits of San Juan de Fuca, the Straits of Georgia, and Puget Sound in combination the *Salish Sea*, in reference to the *First People*[1] to colonize the lands adjacent to it and the islands within it. At the time of initial European contact, two main groups inhabited what is now the Washington State/British Columbian border country: Nootkan people to the west, and Coast Salish people to the east. The Nootka[2] of Vancouver Island were one of the first Native people to establish trading relations with a bewildering variety of white maritime adventurers: Spanish, English, French, Russian and American. Their southerly kin, the Makah[3] of the northernmost Olympic Peninsula were and still are renowned as whale-hunters, braving the rough Pacific waters in narrow canoes in pursuit of the largest creatures on planet earth. To the northeast, the First People of the Fraser River Delta were the Coast Salish,[4] with kin as far east as the Canadian Rockies and what is now western Montana. The Coast Salish group most closely associated with the San Juan Islands was the Lummi (Figure 3).[5]

Compared to other parts of western North America, the prehistoric record of the Salish Sea area is spotty and uneven. In California, the Great Plains, the American Southwest, interior Alaska, the eastern slope of the Canadian Rockies, and even the "dry side" of Washington State, there is abundant evidence for hunters and gatherers at least 15,000 years ago, and even earlier in a few places. But on Vancouver Island and the adjacent British Columbia and Washington State mainland, until very recently the oldest archaeological cultures were thought to date no earlier than around 8,000 years ago. For many years, two successive prehistoric cultures were known from the Fraser River drainage through stratigraphically superimposed skeletal evidence of different nature. When the first people came and how and when they were displaced by the later people remain conjectural. Just within the past few years have come brand-new discoveries and reclassification of artifacts as "early" that were previously thought to be late. The recent discovery of *Bison antiquus* skeletal remains on Orcas Island may pre-date initial human entry in the San Juans, but the first indisputable proof of big-game hunters of extinct megafauna on the mainland no great distance away now dates to at least 14,000+/- years ago. So the perceived paucity of early archaeological cultures, compared with better-studied neighboring areas, is most likely just a function of preservation and sampling error. It represents a lack of evidence, not evidence of a lack. Future research will undoubtedly push the Salish Sea archaeological record much farther back in time.[6]

Most of the pre- and protohistoric cultures of the Salish Sea were water-oriented, with abundant evidence for shellfish collecting, saltwater shore fishing, deep water fishing and freshwater river fishing. Such economic activities were often practiced in combination by the same groups, through cyclical seasonal movements, using canoe transportation, throughout the year. Where natural canoe landings occurred on island and mainland shorelines, winter villages often developed. Few were occupied by large numbers of people year-round, for during the summer months small family groups dispersed to farther-flung traditional fishing and collecting areas. Summer drought on all but a few of the islands also mitigated against year-round residence. Agriculture was absent, but a form of proto-horticulture, focused upon camas root, was present, even on the San Juan Islands. Here specific families either "owned" or had exclusive collecting rights to individual camas patches.

Initial European Contacts and the Fur Trade

To this day the "discoveries" of Juan de Fuca, in 1592 the first European navigator to search for the fabled Northwest Passage in the Pacific, remain controversial. The first historically reliable contact did not take place for almost another two hundred years.[7] In 1774 a Spanish ship captained by Juan Perez may have entered Nootka Sound on Vancouver Island. Thirty-three years

earlier, in 1741, Vitus Bering, the Danish sailor whose name was given to the narrow straits between Russia and Alaska, had made contact with the Tlingit people much farther north. Sustained contact between Europeans and the First People of the Northwest Coast really began in March of 1778, with the third and final voyage of Captain Cook.[8] That year the famous explorer and navigator dropped anchor in Nootka Sound, halfway up the Pacific coastline of what would later come to be known as Vancouver Island.[9]

Relations with the Nootka were initially friendly. Buttons, nails, old knives, and other iron scrap was traded to the locals for fresh fish, meat from game animals, and animal skins, hides, and furs. At first the British seamen simply used these skins and furs to repair or replace their own worn-out clothing, but as trading continued, both in Nootka Sound and later farther up the coast, eventually 1,500 pelts were taken aboard Cook's two ships. After his tragic death in Hawaii later that same year of 1778, Cook's expedition continued across the Pacific to the coast of China. Here the sea otter pelts obtained from the Nootka and other First People of what are now British Columbia and Alaska were in great demand. The new, almost limitless, Chinese market for them was duly noted by the sailors and communicated to their financial backers back home in England. And so was born the transpacific fur trade[10], which dominated interaction between Europeans and the First People of the Northwest Coast for the next six decades.

Now English, French, Spanish, Russian and even American ships, from the newly-independent country on the opposite side of the continent, brought trade goods to the Northwest Coast. These were mostly crudely-made and poorly-finished iron knives, chisels and axe-heads, as well as the ubiquitous Venetian glass beads, to trade to the locals for sea otter pelts. The furs were then taken all the way across the Pacific, where they could command almost any price from the Chinese, and were exchanged for tea, silk, spices, and Mexican silver dollars. The various European powers all claimed the coastal zone, from New Spain's northernmost province of Mexican California northwards to Alaska, and friction developed between the different countries. Only the Spaniards established a short-lived (1789-1795) settlement ashore at Nootka Sound, *Santa Cruz de Nuca,* protected by a small military base, *Fuerte de San Miguel.* The Spaniards traded with the Nootka ("*Nuca*") and other First Peoples and tried to enforce a trading monopoly excluding all other Europeans from the coastline they claimed. Foreign ships were seized, and their cargos impounded. In one remarkable case, Chinese laborers brought from Kwangtung by one enterprising English captain in the *Argonaut* to build a rival British toehold at Nootka Sound were instead put to work strengthening the fortifications at Fort San Miguel. From this secure base, a succession of Spanish sailors explored the Salish Sea and bestowed many place names that remain in use today.

In 1792, the "Nootka Crisis" brought things to a head between George Vancouver, representing England, and Juan Francisco de la Bodega y Quadra, representing Spain. Vancouver's unsuspected diplomatic skills averted bloodshed between the two competing European powers and also resulted in jointly-naming the great Nootkan island after the two peacemakers: for a very short period it was known as *Quadra's and Vancouver's Island.* By 1793 Spain and Britain had become allies against France, and the following year Nootka Sound and all the land around it was ceded from Spain to Great Britain. As Spanish influence lessened on the Northwest Coast, and English and American trading visits increased, the double-barreled name was simplified to a single-barreled one, eventually losing the possessive, so that by 1800 or so most sailors were calling it *Vancouver Island.*

For the next four decades the Vancouver Island fur trade was entirely ship-borne. Over time, it became ever more one-sided and unfair as "hit-and-run" white traders exploited the otter hunters. Instead of establishing permanent trading settlements ashore, which could not have survived without friendly relations with local tribesmen, ship after ship arriving off the Northwest Coast instead conducted business in ad-hoc

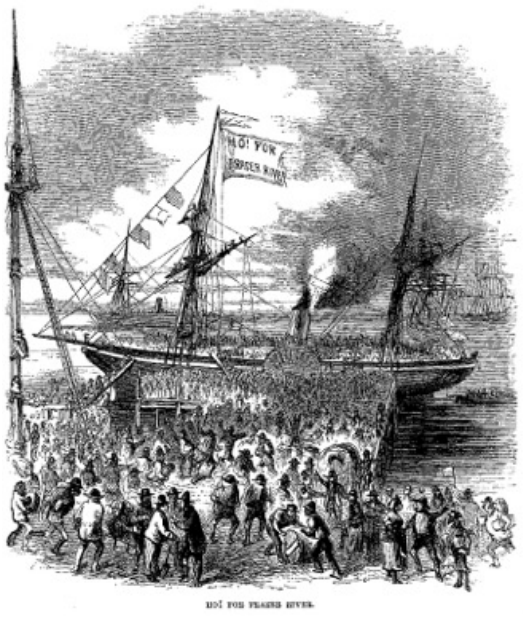
Figure 4: *The "instant town" of Victoria, viewed over the Coast Salish village (foreground) of Songhees, circa 1860. The "forest of masts" fly British, American and French flags. Victoria became the main port and source of supply for the Fraser River Gold Rush and the tiny Hudson's Bay Company fur trading outpost became a city almost overnight once California miners stampeded in. For many years whether Victoria, Vancouver Island, and the adjacent mainland should become part of the United States, or stay British was debated, while Victoria was a de facto "colony" of San Francisco, California. Image courtesy of the Northwest Archaeology Web Page.*

fashion. Some Europeans dealt fairly with the locals but others cheated them, or simply robbed and sometimes even killed them to get sea otter pelts at low or no cost. For their part, the Northwest Coast First People came to distrust the Europeans and sometimes retaliated by attacking shore parties simply replenishing ship's water. Revenge killings on both sides, often months or years after the original insult or injury, usually targeted completely innocent victims who were simply in the wrong place at the wrong time.

Meanwhile, late in 1805, the American Lewis and Clark expedition reached the southern margins of the Northwest Coastal province, at the mouth of the Columbia River.[11] Here it wintered at Fort Clatsop, on the south side of the watercourse, in what is now the State of Oregon. The British response to this overland American threat to their Northwest Coast fur trade was slow to develop, but finally, in 1843, after 65 years of boat-based fur trading, the first permanent British establishment on Vancouver Island was made at its southern tip. *Fort Victoria* was founded by the Hudson's Bay Company (HBC)[12], and named for Great Britain's young Queen during the 6th year of her reign. The new fort was built by the Songhees Coast Salish people who established their own village (Figure 4) across the inlet from the tiny (300 by 330 feet) palisaded HBC rectangle. Fort Victoria was a secondary satellite of the earlier (1824) main post at *Fort Vancouver*, on the Columbia River, far to the south. Fort Vancouver passed into American hands in 1846 and eventually grew into the modern city of Vancouver, Washington. With the loss of Fort Vancouver, Fort Victoria on Vancouver Island now became, by default, the primary Hudson's Bay Company outpost on the Northwest Coast.

International Dogfight on the Northwest Coast

When Lewis and Clark established the first official American base near the mouth of the Columbia River, the very young United States was just the most recent of six claimants to the Pacific Northwest. France had sold her rights[13] to Thomas Jefferson in 1803, and, as we have seen, Spain had relinquished its claim to Great Britain in 1795. But



RETURNED FROM FRAZER RIVER.

Figure 5: Left: *Miners leaving San Francisco for the Fraser River diggings in 1858.* ***Figure 6 Right:*** *Tatterdemalion miner, "skunked" on the Frazer [sic] River, after returning to San Francisco. Not all Fraser River prospectors returned to California after leaving the gold fields: some headed for San Juan Island to grow potatoes. Both drawings by J. Ross Browne, Left: 1860: 4, Right: 1860: 5.*

Russia had established its first settlement in Alaska on Kodiak Island in 1784 and was claiming the coastline south all the way to Mexican California. To support their claim, the Russians built Fort Ross in Northern California (1812) and short-lived (1817) Fort Elizabeth on Kauai. Fort Elizabeth was soon taken over by Hawaiians, while the tiny foothold at Fort Ross was absorbed into Mexican California in 1841. That same year the American Wilkes Expedition explored and charted the San Juan Islands, bestowing on them new names honoring prominent U.S. politicians and military and navy men. Of them all, only *Shaw* became permanent.[14] None of these powers took the sovereignty of the First People of the Northwest Coast seriously. By the mid-1840s only two contestants remained in the jurisdictional dogfight: the British Bulldog and the smaller, younger, and more nimble American terrier.

Five years after the Russians retreated back up the coast to Alaska, American politicians finally persuaded British ones to formalize the boundary between the U.S. and Canada. The "Oregon Country" had previously been claimed by Britain as far south as the Columbia River and by some Americans as far north as the southern limit of Russian Alaska. In 1846 the international boundary was set along the 49th Parallel, except for Vancouver Island, which was deeded entirely to Britain. The Columbia was now an "all-American" river, yet still undefined was exactly where the line between the two countries ran through the Salish Sea, and which of the San Juan Islands lay in America, and which in British Canada. Two years later, in 1848, shortly after the Mexican War, the *Oregon Territory* was formalized. This put Great Britain on notice that we Americans intended to hold on to all 2,250 miles of our newly-gained Pacific coastline, and all the adjacent lands inland. By pure coincidence gold had just been discovered in California, almost before the ink was dry on the treaty confirming the transfer of this land from Mexico to the United States by right of conquest *and* by payment.

Five years later still, confronting the Canada/United States boundary issue, politicians in Washington D.C. created a second

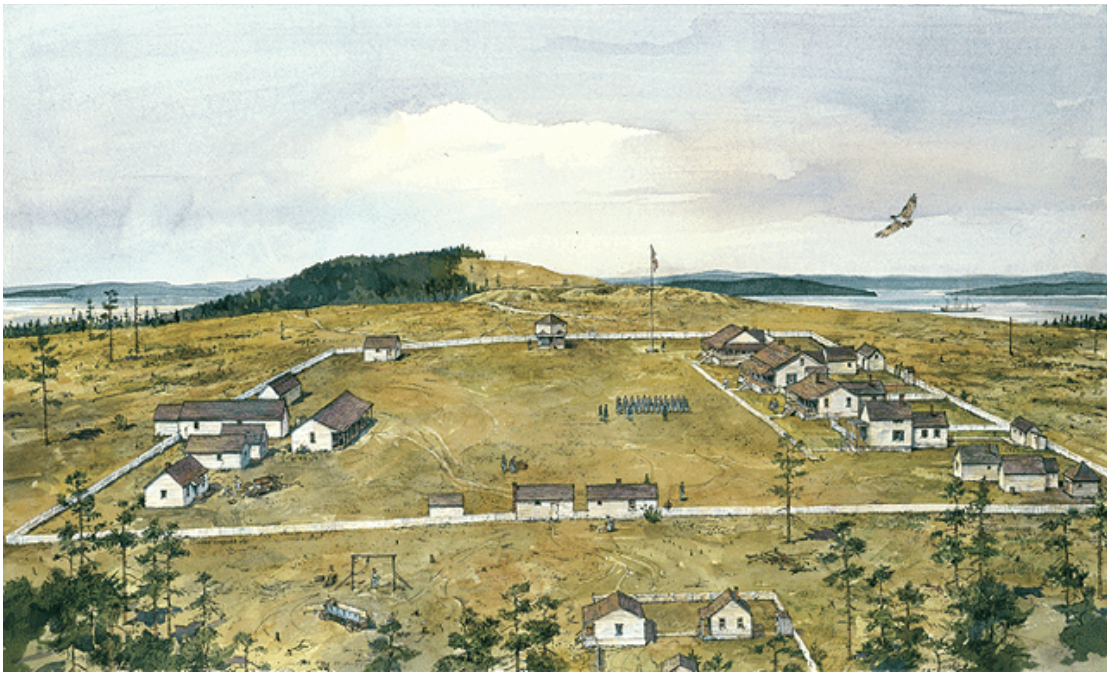


Figure 7: *Artist's reconstruction of Camp Pickett, later called American Camp, at the south end of San Juan Island, circa 1860. Soldiers soon to fight in the Civil War, like its namesake Captain George Pickett, were stationed here, sent from far to the south in San Francisco. Painting by Richard Schlecht, courtesy of the National Park Service.*

territory out of the northernmost part of gigantic Oregon Territory: on March 2, 1853, it was named for our first President. *Washington Territory's* southern boundary was the north bank of the Columbia River, but its northern boundary, snaking through the San Juan Islands, was just a line on a map in Washington D.C. Unfortunately, a very different line on the same map had been plotted in London. Later that same year, in December of 1853, the Hudson's Bay Company established its first permanent foothold in the San Juan Islands. This was the Belle Vue sheep farm on the southern end of San Juan, putting the Americans on notice that British claims would be backed up by settlement. An earlier British presence, dating to 1851, had taken the form of salmon-processing stations on the Island's western shoreline. Now, in the later words of John Muir, "swarms of hooved locusts" ranged all over the island. Without any natural predators, they became quite numerous: by 1859, they were estimated at 4,500 head.

Meanwhile, more than a dozen American settlers invaded San Juan, which the Hudson's Bay Company considered its own exclusive sheep-grazing island. The Americans were convinced that they had a legal right to be there and that the British were the trespassers. Americans continued to dribble in from the Fraser River country, and HBC employees began muttering about "evicting the squatters." The very small British shepherd and fisherman population of San Juan Island was now in danger of being out-numbered by American newcomers. Most of these latter did a little fishing, a little potato farming, and a little timber-cutting, then sold their fish, spuds, and timber to their fellow American prospectors up on the Fraser River. They made their living by "mining the miners," as the old saying went.

The Pig War of 1859

San Juan Island was not the only place where this international demographic imbalance occurred. California gold miners

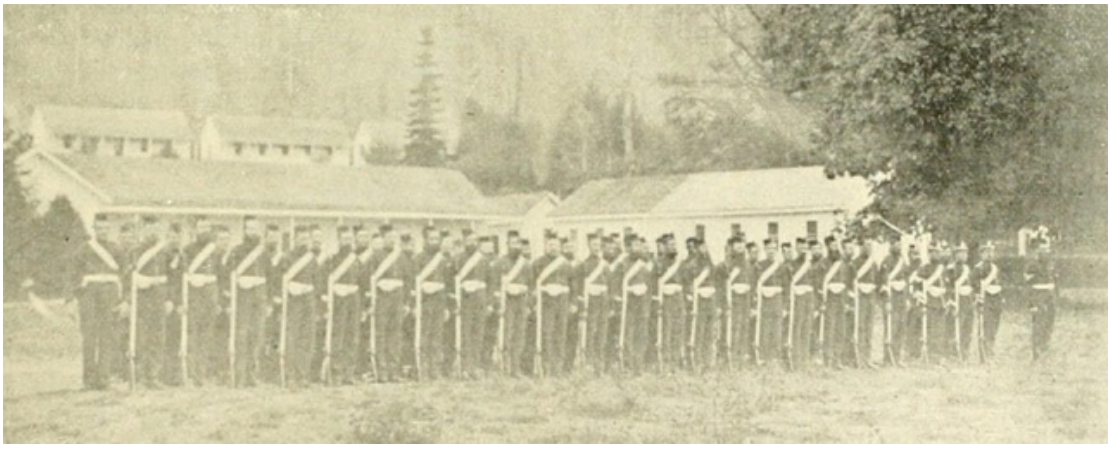


Figure 8: *British troops at English Camp, at the opposite end of San Juan Island from the American military base. These Royal Marines are mustering in 1872, preparatory to surrendering the San Juan Islands to the United States. Photo courtesy of the National Park Service.*

flooding into the nominally British Fraser River country by 1857 out-numbered the local British subjects ten to one, and soon began asking themselves why this new, untapped, gold-rich region should not become American. By the following year, 1858, the 16,000 transplanted Californians in British Columbia outnumbered the local Brits in some places by fifty to one.[15] Most now assumed that Vancouver Island and even the Fraser River country would inevitably be absorbed into five-year-old Washington Territory. The invasion of California miners brought the Salish Sea, hitherto overlooked, under close economic and political scrutiny. In 1857-58 Canada was still an ad-hoc collection of separate British colonies (Canada, Nova Scotia and New Brunswick). It would not become a "country" (the "Dominion" of Canada) for another decade, until July 1, 1867. British Columbia was one of Canada's most-ignored areas—it would not become a Canadian Province until July 20, 1871.

The few British and Americans on San Juan Island avoided conflict mostly by staying out of each others way while the local First People, mostly peaceful fishermen, were only seasonal residents. There was no military or law enforcement presence on any of the San Juan Islands, although soldiers, sailors, and policemen had visited most of them in the past. The old saying "good fences make good neighbors" is a truism, but fences, unfortunately, were nonexistent on San Juan Island. Their absence resulted in an international controversy that lasted a dozen years. Things came to a head between Britain and America during the least-known and least-remembered of the three times our two countries contemplated armed conflict, and the only time that blood was *not* actually spilled.

The "Pig War" of 1859[16] was triggered by the Fraser River Gold Rush and the inundation of British Columbia by California miners. On June 15, 1859, Charles Griffin's large black pig invaded Lyman Cutlar's potato patch, and began gobbling up the spuds. This was not the first porcine foray amongst the "Irish diamonds," so the exasperated Cutlar shot the pig dead, at the scene of the crime. Cutlar was American, but Griffin, an Irishman, probably with a well-developed Irish temper, was in the employ of the Hudson's Bay Company. Even worse, the pig was Griffin's personal property. It represented a fair percentage of his own life savings, albeit "on the hoof." Its loss would not be compensated by the HBC. The best diplomatic solution would have been both parties sharing several weeks or months worth of British pork and American potatoes around the same table, but instead an insultingly low compensation ($10) was offered, which was rebutted with an outrageously high ($100) claim for punitive damages. The impasse led

Griffin to threaten Cutlar's arrest by British authorities, which in turn led to Cutlar and his fellow Americans to call for U.S. Military assistance.

Suddenly the backwater of San Juan Island took center stage with Pacific Coast diplomats and military men. Captain George Pickett and 66 soldiers of the 9th U.S. Infantry from San Francisco landed on the southern part of the island and set to work building the first military camp (Figure 7) of any kind within the San Juan chain.[17] The British response was naval: three warships were sent to anchor off the northern end of San Juan Island. Each had its own small complement of Royal Marines which could be landed to fight the American infantrymen if need be. On July 27, 1859, the Royal Marines came ashore and began building their own camp (Figure 8) at the opposite end of the island from the constantly-expanding American military base. Things escalated until by early August the American forces numbered 461 men, supported by 14 artillery pieces, commanded by a full Colonel. They were now opposed by five British warships with 70 guns and over 2,000 sailors and marines.

Politicians waxed wroth. James Douglas, the Governor of Vancouver Island, ordered Rear Admiral Robert L. Baynes to fire upon the Americans, but military men kept their cool: both sides realized that a single misstep could result in a completely unnecessary bloodbath. Eventually General Winfield Scott went from Washington, D.C., to Washington Territory, then to British Columbia, to negotiate with hot-headed Douglas. Both agreed to reduce their forces to only a hundred men each, and to jointly occupy San Juan Island until a final, diplomatic, solution could be reached. A joint occupation agreement between Britain and the U.S. was signed on March 13, 1860. So, long before Ireland, Korea, and Vietnam were partitioned, this political half-measure was tried in the San Juan Islands.[18] The two bodies of armed men then, for the next dozen years, held joint dinners, sporting events, and drinking binges, living side-by-side more like allies than enemies. Finally, on November 25, 1872, the Royal Marines were removed from their base, and the whole island became American. Two years later, in July 1874, still all dressed up but with no-one to fight, the American troops abandoned their own camp. The "war," whose only casualty was a British pig owned by an Irish sheepherder, was over.

Conclusion: Two Countries, One Culture?

British Columbia remains, by far, the most "British" of all the Canadian provinces. Canada is bilingual by law, and in its eastern provinces the French influence is seldom far away, especially in place names. All road signs are in both French and English, as are government publications and legal notices. Not so in B.C., for French is seldom heard or seen in print, except for on the labels of consumer products brought in from "the East." Today, as earlier, there is greater cultural unity with the American population just over the southern border than with French-speaking fellow Canadians far beyond the Rocky Mountains.[19] And nobody disputes that British Columbia is Canada's window on the Pacific, and its gateway to Asia. In fact, given the very large and constantly-expanding Chinese population of the city of Vancouver (at least 33%), a serious suggestion, gaining ground with each passing year, is that, if British Columbia were to truly go "bilingual," this should be English/Chinese, not English/French.

But while the largest city on the Canadian side of the line is multicultural and multiracial, the present-day population of the San Juan Islands, conversely, is one of the "whitest" anywhere within the United States. Recognizing the historic inequalities leading to this demographic imbalance, thirty years ago San Juan County, Washington, incorporating all of the American San Juan Islands, voted to cede a plot of land on Orcas Island containing a Late Prehistoric Lummi archaeological site and also containing later, historic-period burials, to the Federal Government, which would then turn it over to the present-day Lummi. This public expiation of liberal white guilt was underscored by the fact that Orcas' largest island neighbor to the east, *Lummi,* had had its own namesake residents

removed more than a century earlier, to be confined to the Lummi Reservation on the adjacent mainland.[20] The well-meaning San Juan Islands residents intended that the Orcas land be returned to the Lummi as an apology for past injustice and then be open to the general public as a park, never to be developed. It would stand, hopefully, as a shining example of cooperation and mutual respect between the First People and the white newcomers who displaced them.

Unfortunately, as is so often the case when archaeological site locations are publicized, reprobates took this as an invitation for bad behavior. Partygoers despoiled the archaeological deposits at the Lummi's Madrona Point Park that were supposed to be protected in perpetuity. More than once drunken debauches took place atop the graves, which were desecrated with garbage and dog waste. Angry Lummi, in response, closed the park to all but their own tribal members. Even more recently (2017), and equally unfortunately, white residents on Lopez Island stopped an archaeological project that had the *support* of local tribes, the exact reverse of the situation often encountered to the south, especially in California. So, in the San Juan Islands, as throughout California, no good archaeological deed ever seems to go unpunished. Today, despite the international amity between Canadians and Americans, on the Salish Sea the *First People* still, regrettably, come *last*.

Acknowledgements

My familiarity with the San Juan Islands comes through my mother, Barbara Allester Sutherland Dillon (1925-2009). A second-generation Washingtonian, she was a proud booster of all things relating to the Northwest Coast. Our family visited my Uncle Stan's place on Shaw Island each summer during the Eisenhower and Kennedy years. By 1959 I was the sub-chief of a large and unruly tribe of seven first cousins, all boys, four Soderlands, and three Dillons. Long before the present "DACA debate," Uncle Stan (Stanley C. Soderland, 1917-2001) was a trans-border "dreamer." Born on a farm in the Fraser River drainage of British Columbia, he was brought to Washington State when only two years of age and grew up on a more southerly farm near Snohomish. Educated at the University of Washington, he graduated first in his class at the U.W. School of Law and served as Justice William O. Douglas' first full-time clerk at the U.S. Supreme Court from 1939 to 1940. He became a well-known and well-respected Superior Court Judge for King County, Washington, was voted "Judge of the Year" in 1976, and retired in 1979, when he and his wife Bunny moved to Shaw Island for good. My Auntie Bunny (Mary Elizabeth Sutherland Soderland, 1922-2008) was the Shaw Island librarian. Each of my Soderland cousins, Stan and Bunny's four sons, had his own beat-up, used, outboard kickerboat. When not in use, these were moored off the tiny beach below the big house their parents built near the western tip of the island. Every Winter these boats sank at their moorings, long after their outboards and other removable gear had been taken ashore for storage. Every Spring they were refloated, cleaned, repaired, and put back into service. Everything I know about small boats, used to very good effect over 40+ years of archaeological research in four different countries, I learned from my Uncle Stan and my four cousins. The San Juan Islands were my classroom. For my Soderland kin, fishing and driftwood scavenging were constant pastimes, and each young cousin built his own small house on Shaw, some from driftwood towed back in by boat. The most unique was a "blockhouse" built of beams, many of them teak, laid flat and then spiked securely, one atop the other. I was privileged to introduce yet another generation of Dillons, my son and daughter, to my Soderland relatives and this magical place a quarter-century ago. Stan and Bunny are buried on Shaw Island, the place they loved so much, and so kindly shared with their wild Irish nephews from San Francisco Bay.

Years after my initial visits to the San Juan Islands, I renewed my acquaintance with British Columbia through my wife's relatives the Li family, early arrivals of the post-1949 influx of refugees from Communist China

and British Hong Kong. Today Vancouver, B.C. has the largest ethnic Chinese population of any Canadian City. Finally, thanks to our old friend Ann Teekasingh of Victoria, B.C., by way of Trinidad, Calgary, and Los Angeles, our most recent (2017) host in British Columbia's most southerly city.

Back when Nixon was in the White House, I took anthropology classes from one of the most demanding and brilliant teachers at U.C. Berkeley, Dr. Elizabeth Colson. Her pioneering work with the Makah was published the year I was born, and the terrors of "mother's brother's cousin" kinship terminology were greatly ameliorated once she learned that we shared a connection to, and common interest in, the Northwest Coast. Thanks also to Drs. Bob Chandler and Mike Moratto for kindly reading and commenting on an earlier draft, and reducing the embarrassment quotient of this paper.

No Westerners International Corral yet exists in Western Washington State, nor in British Columbia, nor, for that matter, anywhere in Canada. We hope, in days to come, to persuade our friends and relatives on both sides of the International Border to join hands and form the first trans-national Westerners organization, its proposed name, of course, the *Salish Sea Corral.*

Notes

1. ***First People:*** Whenever archaeologists or anthropologists write about New World Native peoples, we always try to refer to them as they prefer to identify themselves. Many dislike the old, historically incorrect (since 1492) term "Indians," yet find the recent, politically correct "Native American" pompous and non-specific. Some writers now use "aborigines," but some New World Natives protest, tongue in cheek, that they are not from, and have never been to, Australia. In Latin America *Naturales* is the preferred term, while in Canada *First Nations People* has come to be accepted. This despite the grandiose European word "Nation," a political, not a cultural, term inapplicable to bands or small tribelets. With the present paper I reject all such unsatisfactory designations, and introduce two very simple, neutral words: *First People.* My new designation offends nobody, and, better still, is completely accurate.
2. ***Nootka:*** Drucker 1955, 1965: 132-160; Ruby and Brown 1986; Arima and Dewhurst 1990. "Nootka" is, of course, a name of convenience bestowed by the late 18th Century Europeans on nearly two dozen different self-identifying groups speaking similar languages on the lower two-thirds of Vancouver Island. None of these First People called themselves "Nootka" when they were first contacted by Captain Cook in 1778. Some modern-day First People of Vancouver Island now prefer *Nuu-chah-nulth* to the old, incorrect, term "Nootka" which actually meant "going in circles," what the canoists were doing the first time they approached Cook's two ships.
3. ***Makah:*** Colson 1953; Drucker 1955, 1965; Ruby and Brown 1986: 125-128; Renker and Gunther 1990.
4. ***Coast Salish:*** Drucker 1955, 1965; Ruby and Brown 1986; Suttles 1990b; Suttles and Lane 1990. As with their neighbors the Nootkan people, the Coast Salish comprised dozens of self-identifying groups speaking similar languages. Twentieth-Century ethnologists subdivided their very large area into Northern, Central, and Southern Sections, perhaps more reflective of post-contact political divisions than of protohistoric ethnic reality.
5. ***Lummi:*** Stern 1936; Ruby and Brown 1986: 111-114. Forty-five years ago I met and befriended a Lummi girl on, of all places, the East Coast of Quintana Roo on the Yucatán Peninsula. This was long before Cancún and the out-of-control development of what is now called the "Maya Riviera" blighted this previously untouched part of Mexico. She told me that since the white man had ruined her original homeland, she was happy to have found a still reasonably undisturbed part of the planet where she could live in harmony with nature. Unfortunately, that year, 1973, an improved road was blasted (dynamited rocks and gravel rained down on our local bus' roof while we poked along through the mud) through from the interior to the coast, ending the region's isolation.
6. ***Prehistory of the Salish Sea:*** Mitchell 1990; Nelson 1990; Wessen 1990; Stein 2000; Taylor

and Stein 2012. An exciting recent discovery (2008) on San Juan Island is of the first archaeologically-identified earth ovens for roasting camas roots. More scientific archaeology has been done on this island than on all the others of the San Juan archipelago combined, beginning in 1946 with repeated visits by University of Washington field schools and by National Park Service and Bureau of Land Management archaeologists.

7. ***Juan de Fuca, 1536-1602:*** was Greek, his name (Ioannis Phokas) an historic Spanish garbling. In 1592, exactly a century after Columbus, and half a century after Cabrillo, Fuca was sent by the Spanish Viceroy of Mexico on an exploratory voyage north along the Pacific Coast. The "Northwest Passage" he was in search of was hoped to link the Pacific with the Atlantic north of mainland North America. Fuca may have been the first European to sail into the straits between the Olympic Peninsula and the southern end of Vancouver Island: he named them the *Straits of Anian,* believing them to be the mouth of the mythical Northwest Passage. These waters would not be named for the Greek sailor with the Spanish name until 1787, when the British sea captain Charles William Barkley, in command of the *Imperial Eagle*, recorded them as the Strait of Juan de Fuca.
8. ***Captain Cook at Nootka Sound, 1778:*** Low 1876: 358-376.
9. ***Vancouver Island***: was named, fourteen years later, for George Vancouver, one of the youngest of Cook's "young gentlemen" learning the seaman's trade aboard the *Discovery* in 1778 (Manby 1992; Coleman 2000: 7-29). This was Vancouver's second voyage under Cook: his first had been at age 13, in the *Resolution.* Another member of Cook's two-ship 1778 exploring party was twenty-one year-old William Bligh, later of HMS *Bounty* fame. Cook and his remarkable collection of explorers stayed for four weeks at Nootka Sound, and traded numerous small items with the locals while replacing the *Resolution's* distressed masts and spars with new ones cut from the exuberant forest ashore. The island was so big that many early European explorers, including Captain Cook, believed it to be part of the North American mainland. At just over 12,000 square miles in surface area, Vancouver Island was much larger than many of the English Colonies on the opposite, Atlantic, coast, including (individually) what are now Maryland, Vermont, New Hampshire, Massachusetts, New Jersey, and Connecticut.
10. ***Transpacific Fur Trade Between the Northwest Coast and China:*** Batman 1985: 46-134; Cole and Darling 1990; Mackie 1997; Dolan 2010: 135, 149-150, 156-162, 202-203.
11. ***Lewis and Clark:*** my favorite "go to" volume on Lewis and Clark is my own father's best-selling biography of Meriwether Lewis (R.H. Dillon 1965a). This book worked its way up the charts until it reached the No. 1 spot on the New York Times Non-fiction list, and stayed within the top 10 for an entire year.
12. ***Hudson's Bay Company:*** once again, my favorite volume on the Hudson's Bay Company in the Pacific Northwest is my own father's (R.H. Dillon 1975) best-selling American Trails Series book on the British Fur Trade penetration southwards from Canada and the Oregon Country into what is now California.
13. ***France on the Northwest Coast:*** France wanted to have her cake and eat it too. Periodically, French "surveying" and trading vessels visited Vancouver Island, the Salish Sea, and Alaska, in search of sea otter pelts. One of the most remarkable accounts of one such effort is by De Roquefeuil (1981).
14. ***Shaw Island:*** is the smallest of the four main islands to have regular ferry service. For many years the ferry dock, general store, and gas pump were run by Franciscan nuns. It was quite a treat to see the sisters down on the dock in their habits and cowls every time the old *Vashon, Klickitat,* or other Washington State Ferries came to call.
15. ***Fraser River Gold Rush, 1857-1858:*** Browne, 1860; Kew 1990; Marino 1990; Sterne 1998. Irish-born J. Ross Browne was one of the most entertaining of all Gold Rush diarists. Also a talented artist, he illustrated his own writing. Once again, I favor my father's biography of him (R.H. Dillon 1965b).
16. ***Pig War:*** McCabe 1965; Murray 1968: Richardson 1971; Vouri 1999, 2004; Kaufman 2004; McArthur 2012.
17. ***Camp Pickett:*** as was the custom of the time,

the American post was given the name of its commanding officer, Captain George Pickett. Less than two years later, he resigned his commission to join the Confederacy, then achieved everlasting ignominy two years later still for his ill-fated charge at Gettysburg.

18. ***Partition of San Juan Island:*** since blood did not flow as a result of this politico-geographic compromise on the Salish Sea, the experiment was deemed successful. This may have contributed to its later use on the Emerald Isle and in Asia, with disastrous results.
19. ***Revised Canadian Flag Design:*** as the *very old* joke in British Columbia goes, in response to the *Quebecois* suggestion that the existing single red Maple Leaf on the Canadian flag be paired with a blue *Fleur de Lis,* British Columbia residents counter-proposed an alternative design of twelve Beavers in a circle, facing outwards, tails up, all urinating on a single, central, squatting frog.
20. ***Indian Island:*** in the late 1950s the sole remaining Coast Salish resident of the Central San Juan Islands was an elderly male hermit on a low, waterless, island near Shaw. He was locally known as "Indian Joe," and lived by fishing and by doing odd jobs for his white neighbors. His tiny, wind-blasted, stone house stood at the highest point of what locals called *Indian Island*, where the white man was not welcome.

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Fandango, June 2018 . . .

¡Hola, y bienvenidos a la casa de Turner! This day was definitely one to look back at. The Fandango was a noteworthy reunion full of food, drinks, and fun. Besides being at Vicki and Gary Turner's beautiful home, we enjoyed amazing Mexican cuisine accompanied by margaritas and an exciting auction. Most notably on this day, we recognized Ernie Marquez as an Honorary Member. Ernie was a former Sheriff of the Corral back in 1993, and as legend goes, is a descendant of one of the founding families of Los Angeles. In a personal note, this day was one very dear to me as I was given my name badge and certificate in honor of my membership in the Corral.

After eating dinner and recognizing members, we proceeded to the auction of our historical collections led by auctioneer Brian Dervin Dillon. The auction included many important items, from paintings to handbills for 50-year-old *The Doors* rock concerts. Comically, the host of the night, Gary Turner, was able to acquire much of the merchandise after many attempted bargains. Once dusk came, the auction ended and a display of historical books were left for sale. I can confidently say many of us have our summer reading ready. *¡Hasta luego!*

— Jovanny Gochez

Toasting our departed, distinguished members, John Robinson and Jerry Selmer. Left to right: Jim Macklin, Gary Turner, and Brian Dillon. All Fandango photos by Patrick Mulvey.

Top left: *a discussion at the bar.* ***Top right:*** *Carla Bolinger becomes a Westerner.* ***Center left:*** *Ernie Marquez (left) becomes an honarary Westerner.* ***Center right:*** *Jovanny Gochez becomes a Westerner.* ***Bottom:*** *silent book auction.*

Monthly Roundup . . .

July 2018

Patrick Burtt

Our speaker at the July meeting was Patrick "De?ileligi" Burtt, the Corral's 2018 Fellow at the Autry National Center and a member of the Washoe tribe of Northern California and Western Nevada. In his presentation, "Waší·šiw Genocide," Burtt argued that the Washoe should be federally recognized as victims of genocide, defined by the 1948 United Nations Genocide Convention as "acts committed with intent to destroy, in whole or in part, a national, ethnic, racial, or religious group."[1] While the Washoe were not victims of systematic mass murder like those of the worst crimes the 20th century, Burtt argued that 19th-century California State policies nevertheless produced similar effects indirectly.

From the beginning of statehood, California law gave whites a "blank check" to victimize and exploit native peoples like the Washoe. One 1850 law disallowed Indians from testifying in court in cases involving white people. Another easily-abused policy fined Indians for "vagrancy" and auctioned off their labor to the highest bidder; once these Indians had worked off their debt, they were usually arrested and fined again, continuing the cycle of debt-servitude.

The majority of Burtt's talk was devoted to a case study illustrating how such laws had deadly consequences. He recounted a Washoe oral history from Sarah Winnemucca Hopkins' *Life Among the Paiutes* about the murders of two white men. The murderers, also white, jammed arrows into the bullet wounds to frame the crime on the local Washoe. News spread of the "Indian attack," and an angry white mob demanded that the Washoe hand over the murderers. The Washoe men had all been at camp when the murders occurred, but the white men didn't believe them. Knowing they had no legal recourse and that they could all be killed by the mob if they did not comply, the Washoe produced three volunteers who "confessed" to the deed. They were promptly lynched.

Due to policies and incidents like these, combined with Old World diseases, the Washoe pre-contact population declined from around 1500 at the beginning of the 19th century to less than 300 by 1907. To pursue the recognition of this demographic catastrophe as a genocide, Burtt intends to expand his research to the Autry Museum and the Nevada State Library and Archives. Federal recognition and restitution await more academic debate, and of course, a great deal of politics. The Westerners thank Mr. Burtt for his presentation and wish him luck in his efforts on behalf of the Washoe.

— Aaron Tate

1. According to the U.N., actions taken with intent to commit genocide include:

> "(a) Killing members of the group;
> (b) Causing serious bodily or mental harm to members of the group;
> (c) Deliberately inflicting on the group conditions of life calculated to bring about its physical destruction in whole or in part;
> (d) Imposing measures intended to prevent births within the group;
> (e) Forcibly transferring children of the group to another group."

August 2018

Jeff Lapides

Tonight, our guest speaker was the Corral's very own, "all-popular" Jeff Lapides, an award-winning book designer who has had over 25 years of extensive graphic arts experience. Jeff spoke of an astounding journey to what he calls "El Dorado." Not the alleged gold haven in South America, but the mines in California that united the world in travel and excavation. On this night we heard about one man who would experience struggles and obstacles that only few could overcome.

Rudolf D'Heureuse was born in Prussia in 1828 and came to adulthood in tumultuous times. Europe in 1848 caught that particularly French infection—*revolution*—and Prussia was not excepted. The turmoil caused Rudolf to escape on a ship and sail off west, first to London, and then finally to New York. There he heard news of a gold strike in California, and left New York to seek his fortune. He took the fastest and most treacherous route of the time, sailing via Panama. Before the construction of the famous canal, river boats could penetrate 70 miles into the interior, but the final 20 miles to the Pacific had to be crossed by foot through dense jungle. There, Rudolf picked up another ship going north to California. Upon arriving in San Francisco, he had little success in mining gold. After an exhaustive effort at gold mining, he returned to New York where he would later become a naturalized citizen in 1855. Rudolf made one more attempt at gold mining in California, which resulted in failure and bankruptcy. He briefly moved on to Canada, but the allure of California brought him back to San Francisco for a third and final time, where he finally struck pay dirt, but not in gold mining.

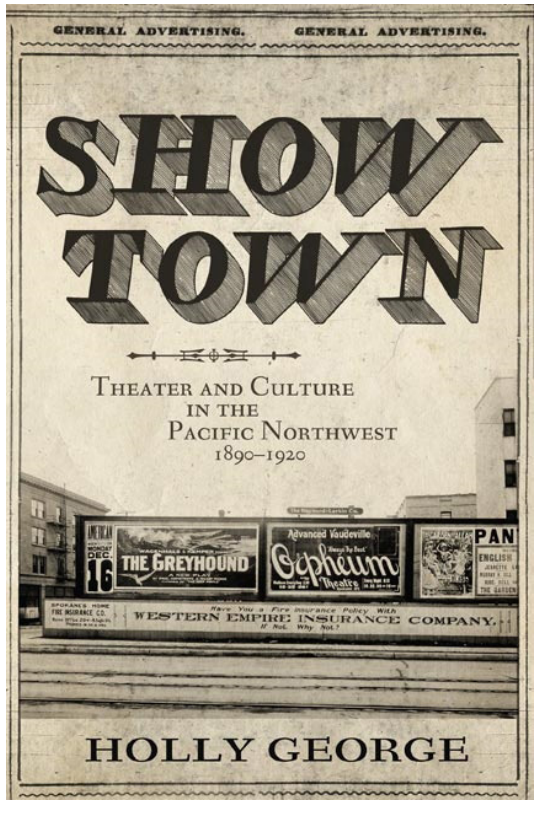
While in Canada, Rudolf had dedicated himself to photography and architecture. This trade would lead him to acquire business in San Francisco when in 1862, venture capitalists approached him to survey the Colorado River. In this new assignment Rudolf excelled in capturing photos and creating maps of the Mojave Road from Los Angeles to the Colorado River. He took memorable snapshots such as the only known picture of a U.S. Camel Corps dromedary. Army bases were left vacant (save for one lone sentry each "holding the fort") due to the ensuing Civil War. He also photographed a series of water holes such as Rock Spring, and the mining camp of Lewisville where crews had been segregated based on Northern or Southern loyalties in the "Great Unpleasantness." At Lewisville, Rudolf practiced his cartographic skills by sketching very precise maps of the canyon and each miner's claims.

Rudolf would later find work in the California Geographical Survey. Finally, he returned to New York where he lived out the rest of his days. Rudolf died unmarried and childless. He remained largely unknown due to his decision to not commercialize his work. We are fortunate to learn of his work and see it well displayed in Jeff's lecture. We could say this meeting was a "gold-mine" of intellectual nourishment!

— Jovanny Gochez

Down the Western Book Trail . . .

SHOW TOWN: Theater and Culture in the Pacific Northwest 1890-1920, by Holly George. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 206pp. Illustrations, Notes, Bibliography, Index. Hardbound, $29.95.



Concisely written, *Show Town* covers many aspects of the history of the Pacific Northwest, the culture of the period, its social development and the role of the entertainment industry during the early beginnings of Spokane at the turn of the 19th to the 20th centuries. The writing style has a tenseness to match the Victorian values which clash with change and development both in economic terms as well as cultural expectations at this time period.

While the title could offer the idea that entertainment, theater history, types of performances are the central study here, the main thesis of this book is rather how the entertainment industry propelled social and economic change in Spokane. Indeed, money, morality, and the values of the entertainment industry at this time period are important themes throughout the work. The roles and opportunities of girls and women, in particular, as well as important gender issues are reviewed with much clarity.

This Victorian period in the Pacific Northwest was changing and was being replaced by a celebration of leisure, spending, and individual fulfillment. The role of women also expanded beyond the domestic sphere. Shows, displays and extravaganzas were built around female beauty. Dance halls, amusement parks, vaudeville theaters and the development of other commercial entertainment fed this social evolution.

Transportation system development and industrial growth would nurture theater growth and promote the entertainment industry, and vice versa. What a perfect way to build the city of Spokane as envisioned by city boosters who were all for growth. The beauty of the auditorium show was looked at as a sort of triumph over the primitive and savagery of former years. The show, entertainment and the palatial businesses brought refinement and civilization it was thought.

Loggers, miners and workers of all types were eager for entertainment, too, but since tastes separated along class lines, development promoted more dance halls, saloons, brothels, and gambling places. Business and town growth were promoted, however, in the clothing industry, as well as for hardware, tools, etc.

Show business, variety theater, opera, and all things of refinement did coexist with what might be called lower forms of entertainment creating some culture clash. There was a commensurate rise and fall economically. The types of entertainment did provide for all kinds of tastes and an equal rise and fall in business in general which affected the growth of the town of Spokane itself.

Holly George understandably includes considerable treatment of what it meant to be

a "true woman" of the time and her place in the middle class. Theater, gender and urban identity as well as the respectable stage and sources of indecency are covered with the eyes of today's analyst looking into the past and trying to make an informed, historically reconciled explanation.

I think if a student of history is interested in late 19th century development and wishes a comparison with today's gender values to find the evolution of women's rights, needs, and opportunities, then *Show Town* will be a wonderful resource. However, if the reader is looking for entertainment, shows, performers and stars of the late 19th century, what people enjoyed and what made audiences laugh and cry, then *Show Town* contains only very little of this.

If one is interested in the history of business, what makes the process successful, and brings urban development, what causes some people to win and others to fall by the side, then *Show Town* gives you an excellent view of the growth of 19th to 20th century Spokane. But if you are interested in the idealized Old West with its old-fashioned mentality of happy dance hall girls, men having bare knuckled fist fights, a sleepy Indian taking a nap by the saloon door, and Honky Tonk piano sounds floating out, then *Show Town* will disappoint you.

Show Town is an interesting, fascinating study, and nicely referenced with numerous notes and indexed. Almost 15 pages of bibliography are included which are exceedingly helpful and very thorough.

— Joseph Cavallo.

FROM OUR FILES

50 Years Ago
#88 – September 1968

1968 was a pivotal year in the Vietnam War, and its influence could still be felt in the pages of *The Branding Iron*. Harvey E. Starr argued in "The Apache Problem: A Modern Parallel," that studying the history of the Old West could provide insights into the contemporary "vexatious Vietnam situation." Over the centuries, Pueblo Indians, Spain, Mexico, and the United States struggled to contain the Apache, who exploited natural and political boundaries to launch lightning raids and retreat to safety. According to Starr, the North Vietnamese Army similarly enjoyed freedom of movement in neutral Laos and Cambodia, north of the DMZ, and—*strangely*—behind the perfidious pacifism of the Quakers. He concluded with the following doom-laden warning: "When predatory individuals or nations are permitted leeway, the law-abiding citizen, and the civilized nations will suffer until the evil forces are subjugated."

— John Dillon