

# CONFLICT & LEADERSHIP



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# PREAMBLE

When our editorial team devised this year's theme of "Conflict and Leadership" back in August 2017, we had no idea that a major conflict was about to hit our region in the October wildfires and that the leadership of rescue workers, local officials, and the daily newspaper *The Press Democrat*—which has since won a Pulitzer Prize—would save our community and put it on a path to rebuilding. This issue became a special issue, then; the first section is devoted to traditional scholarly essays produced by Sonoma State students in pursuit of academic excellence, while the second section is made up of first-hand accounts by students, faculty, and staff who lived through the fires to tell their stories, which provides an archive of primary sources for future historians. We are proud of our community's work on all fronts and feel proud to be able to publish and preserve this collective work.

Our student authors will teach you about the colonization of Australia and the New England girls who worked in America's first factories, the role of Greek architecture in building the American idea and what the character of Nancy Drew says about American culture, what exactly is offensive about some kinds of language, what happened in the earthquake of 1906, and what went wrong with Russia after the fall of communism. Our contributors who remembered the fires were people who fled their homes in the middle of the night, first responders who aided the victims, and citizens of Sonoma County who love our community and feel ravaged by the devastation. As these stories become part of history, they will continue to carry their authors' unique perspectives and experiences.

We are grateful to many essential supports for our collective work. Mike and Sheila McQuillen donate to us because they care about student writing and public education. Faculty, staff, and students as both writers and editors make this content as good as it is. And you, our readers, care about our community and our work. Thank you.

Professor Amy Kittelstrom

Faculty Advisor to the History Journal



SCHOLARLY  
ARTICLES



*Drake Patrick*

**GREEK ARCHITECTURE IN  
THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA**

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*Brooke Owens*

## AMERICAN MILL GIRLS: LIFE IN THE LOWELL COTTON MILLS

As the United States began to shift towards a more industry-based economy in the middle of the 19th century there began to be a shift in labor patterns. As the textile industry began to improve and become a more important part of the economy the textile mill owners were in search of good laborers to work in their mills. With slaves and the poor men of the United States working hard in the agriculture sector of the country they needed new laborers, specifically laborers who could work on the fragile looms and frames in the textile mills. Thus, they began to recruit women and young children to work in the textile mills in New England. In Lowell, Massachusetts, the textile mills began to employ mainly women to work the looms and frames due to the fragile nature of the looms requiring the smaller, more delicate hands of women and children to operate them. The women who came to Lowell arrived for many different reasons, from providing necessary financial support for family members to education opportunities, and they experienced many benefits, such as education, religious services, and community living while living and working in the mill town. While they lived in the mill town of Lowell these women managed to make a life for themselves, reading and writing, making their own wages and were able to have some autonomy in a society that often kept women confined to the domestic sphere. This early step towards autonomy and freedom that women experienced in the mill towns, not usual of women's status in society during this time, later gave rise to the women's rights movements of the late 19th and early 20th Centuries.

Women went into the workforce in the textile mills for a several reasons, but the most prominent reason was to provide the funds to further a male family members education and status, "to make a gentleman of a brother or son."<sup>1</sup> There were many young men who benefitted from the toiling hands of the women in the Lowell textile

mills and they understood that their success came from the hard labor of their female family members. One mill girl stated that she had seen mill-girls "give every cent of her wages, month after month, to her brother, that he might get the education necessary to enter some profession."<sup>2</sup> For the young men coming from these more lower-class families where money was scarce, their female relatives wages opened a door into the upper echelons of society and allowed them to become educated young men instead of remaining stuck in their small villages and rural townships.

The wages that the women of the Lowell mills sent to their families also provided for the household with many of these girls becoming the traditional breadwinners, providing for widowed mothers and younger siblings still at home. One mill girl, Emeline Larcom wrote to her mother often and would make sure to enclose some or all of her wages to provide for her mother, occasionally waiting until pay day to respond to her mother's letters. In one letter she stated that she "should have answered [your letter] immediately had I not wished to have something to send besides words, and for that reason was obliged to wait till pay-day."<sup>3</sup> She felt guilty that she was not able to promptly respond to her mother's letters, but she knew that her mother needed the money from Emeline's paycheck. In a later letter Emeline stated, "I do wish I had more to send you now, for I fear you have been pinched [for funds]."<sup>4</sup> Money was a very motivating factor for the women entering the mills either to provide for family members, fund a male family members education or to provide for themselves and get themselves out of their families' way.

Many older women, either widowed or unmarried, chose to enter the mills as a way to remove their financial burden from the family members that they were living with. These were the women who could be found in homes all over New England "sometimes welcome, more often unwelcome, and leading joyless, and in many instances unsatisfactory lives."<sup>5</sup> This opportunity to go to work in the mills "gave new life to the lonely and dependent women in distant towns and farm-houses."<sup>6</sup> These women had been a financial burden to their family members and the chance to work in the textile mills provided an opportunity to ease that financial burden, while also allowing the women to experience some independence.

Finally, the wages of the mill-girls allowed their families to experience a sense of wealth as the income from their previously unemployed daughters began to trickle into the small towns and villages that they left to enter the mills. With women now working, the wages

that they brought into their families, besides being used to fund educational opportunities for brothers or sons, or providing for themselves or their families, were used to improve their households. The mill-girls wages trickled back to their old villages and "into the barren homes many of them had left it went like a quiet stream, carrying with it beauty and refreshment. The mortgage was lifted from the homestead; the farmhouse was painted; the barn rebuilt; modern improvements were introduced into the mother's kitchen, and books and newspapers began to ornament the sitting room table."<sup>7</sup> These new advances in households allowed their families overall lives to improve and allow them some measure of status in their villages and small towns; allowing the mill-girls and the work they performed in the mills to gain some popularity as the news of their work and the benefits it brought forth began to spread across the country.

As the mill-girls began to flood into cities, like Lowell, to work in the textile mills, a new system of organizations and services for them began to appear, further acting as an incentive to come to work in the mills. Once such incentive was educational opportunities for the women who came to work in the mills. In Lowell, "evening schools were soon established, and they were well filled with those who desired to continue their scant education, or supplement what they had learned in the village school."<sup>8</sup> Women were able to educate themselves in these schools, something that they had not been able to do in the villages they had previously called home. The educational opportunities that were presented to these women allowed them to overlook the lack of liberties that they encountered in the well managed life in the mills and overall societal controls along with the work in the mills. One mill-girl wrote to her cousin Sabrina Bennet "[I] am very confined could wish to have my liberty a little more but however I can put up with that as I am favored with other privileges."<sup>9</sup>

The education of the mill-girls gave them many opportunities outside of the mills, they were taught to read, write, do sums and other specialized learning and they "soon became educated, far more than their mothers or grandmothers could have been."<sup>10</sup> While the Lowell girls were not permitted to write or read books while working many would often write on a scraps of paper while waiting for the looms or frames to require their attention, or they would paste clippings over their frames so that they could read and memorize the writings. To further their educational development "their labor was monotonous and done almost mechanically, but their thoughts were free, and they had ample time to digest what they learned or think over what they

had read."<sup>11</sup> This time in the mills spent digesting their learnings allowed them to think of how to express their thoughts, something that women were not typically allowed to do, especially in the villages or other parts of the United States that the mill-girls came from. These mill-girls writings would go on to influence the labor reforms of the progressive era and the women's rights movements in the later half of the century.<sup>12</sup>

As the mill-girls learned about the world, studied philosophy, Latin, and a plethora of other subjects during their time in the mills they decided that it was time to write down their thoughts and writings. Thus, *The Lowell Offering* was created, a magazine that covered a multitude of subjects and was distributed around the local area. The women of Lowell were responsible for *The Offering* and "many of the pieces that were printed in *The Lowell Offering*, were thought up amid the hum of the wheels, while skillful fingers and well-trained eyes of the writers tended the loom or the frame."<sup>13</sup> The mill-girls who wrote for *The Offering* wrote on many subjects from life in the mill, translations of French and Latin, and local history, to reprints of stories.<sup>14</sup> These stories went out into the villages and opened the eyes of the locals to the progress coming to the United States during this time. The mill-girls were not only writers for *The Offering* as they put their educated thoughts to paper and "did not confine their talents within their own publication. Many of them wrote for the literary newspapers and magazines."<sup>15</sup> Thus the mill and the educational opportunities presented to the mill-girls in Lowell allowed them to explore new opportunities that not many women were able to explore, for it was unusual for a woman to be published in the mid 19th century writing about philosophy, physiology and astronomy.

The lives of the women and young girls who went to work in the mills were relatively easy, they lived in boarding houses, attended church and worked a full day's work in the mills. Looking into their lives in the boarding houses it was apparent how the girls were truly benefitting from the opportunity to work in the textile mills. When the mill-girls first came to Lowell they were placed in a boarding house, these boarding houses were often run by the men who worked with the mill companies and they were often also deacons of the local church parish. As Harriet Robinson wrote about her time as a mill girl she stated, "life in the boarding houses was very agreeable."<sup>16</sup> The boarding houses were a place full of young women with similar goals and aptitudes and the atmosphere of the boarding houses was rather similar to that of their own homes offering them the comforts of home during

their time away. The boarding houses were full of young women from all over the country and from all different backgrounds. These houses created a sense of community for the mill-girls. The girls would often gather together in their rooms, or in the common rooms, sitting and talking, or doing other tasks such as letter writing or sewing.<sup>17</sup>

Religion and church played a vital role in the lives of the mill-girls, with many attending church services and upholding a particular sense of morals instilled by a religious upbringing. Upon first going to the mills to find work the mill-girls were required to "sign a 'regulation paper' which required her to attend regularly some place of public worship."<sup>18</sup> This regulation paper was meant to provide a way to keep the girls morality accountable and to uphold the high moral standard placed on the mill-girls. The women in the mills "went regularly to meeting and Sabbath school, and every Sunday the streets of Lowell were alive with neatly dressed young women going or returning therefrom."<sup>19</sup> This idea of the mill-girl of good character, with a good moral upbringing and strong sense of her role in the church and home, allowed the job of mill girl to be seen as a more respectable job for a young woman to have while she was still unmarried. One mill-girl wrote to a friend trying to dispel her of the idea that working in the mills was beneath women of a certain stature, she wrote "I suppose your mother would think it far beneath your dignity to be a factory girl. There are very many young ladies at work in the factories that have given up millinery dressmaking and school keeping for to work in the mill."<sup>20</sup> The idea of a mill-girl being seen as a lower caste was being dispelled by the presentation of mill-girls being well behaved religious girls, it allowed them to be seen as young women of good morals.

The work that the women did in the mills was not overly hard, though the hours were long. They were permitted plenty of breaks, "they were not obliged to tend no more looms or frames than they could easily take care of and they had plenty of time to sit and rest."<sup>21</sup> Working in the mills, the women were not exploited by their overseers and were able to be held accountable for their personal records of the labor they did throughout the day and by the piece "and if they did extra work they were always paid in full."<sup>22</sup> The measure of control over their work and labor that they had, allowed the women to feel as if they had some control over their lives and unlike the later part of the 19th century there was almost no labor exploitation towards the women working in the mills. The work needed in the mills and "in those days there was no need of advocating the doctrine of the proper relation between employer and employed. Help was too valuable to

be ill-treated."<sup>23</sup> Employers had no need to mistreat the women who worked for them as there was an established relationship between the workers and the employers that guaranteed that each party got what they wanted out of the textile mills, the women wanted wages and the company wanted the textiles.

As the textile industry in the United States began to blossom into a large scale industry, the companies realized that they required a workforce to man the machines, however the labor needed was delicate labor. With a labor force that was made up of slaves, free blacks, and poor white men and women there was an able workforce for this new industry. The labor in the mills required those with nimble skilled fingers, such as the fingers of children and women, to work the looms and frames. The lives of the mill girls were vastly changed as they entered life in mill towns like Lowell in Massachusetts. They may have come to mills for the financial benefits it allowed them and their families, but they stayed through the hard work in the mills for more than the wages. The community in the boarding houses, the educational opportunities given to them in the cosmopolitan town and possibilities of more beyond the life of the mills, was the incentive to remain longer than initially anticipated.

## Notes

- 1 Harriet Hanson Robinson, "The Life of the Early Mill Girls" *Journal of Social Sciences; Containing the Proceedings of the American Association* (1869-1909), no. 16 (December, 1882)
- 2 Harriet H. Robinson, *Loom and Spindle: or Life Among the Early Mill Girls*, Rev. Ed. (Kailua, Press Pacifica, 1976) 47.
- 3 Emeline Larcom to Mother, Lowell, January 15, 1841, in "The Letters of Emeline Larcom" edited by Thomas Dublin, *Essex Institute Historical Collections* 127, no. 3 (1991).
- 4 Emeline Larcom to Mother, Lowell, May 12, 1841, in "The Letters of Emeline Larcom" edited by Thomas Dublin, *Essex Institute Historical Collections* 127, no. 3 (1991).
- 5 Robinson, *Loom and Spindle: or Life Among the Early Mill Girls*, 42.
- 6 Robinson, "The Life of the Early Mill Girls", 128.
- 7 Robinson, *Loom and Spindle: or Life Among the Early Mill Girls*, 46.
- 8 Harriet Hanson Robinson, "The Life of the Early Mill Girls," *Journal of Social Sciences; Containing the Proceedings of the American Association* (1869-1909), no. 16 (December, 1882)
- 9 Persis L. Edwards to Sabrina Bennett, Nashua, April 4, 1839, in *Farm to Factory: Women's Letters, 1830-1860*, edited by Thomas Dublin (New York, Columbia University Press, 1981) 74.
- 10 Robinson, "The Life of the Early Mill Girls".
- 11 Ibid.
- 12 Ibid.
- 13 Ibid.
- 14 Robinson, *Loom and Spindle: or Life Among the Early Mill Girls*, 69.
- 15 Robinson, "The Life of the Early Mill Girls".
- 16 Ibid.
- 17 Ibid.
- 18 Robinson, *Loom and Spindle: or Life Among the Early Mill Girls*, 47.
- 19 Robinson, "The Life of the Early Mill Girls".
- 20 Malenda M. Edwards to Sabrina Bennett, Nashua, April 4, 1839, in *Farm to Factory: Women's Letters, 1830-1860*, edited by Thomas Dublin (New York, Columbia University Press, 1981) 74-75.
- 21 Robinson, "The Life of the Early Mill Girls".
- 22 Ibid.
- 23 Ibid.

*John Nadra*

## MR. MISERY: AN IN-DEPTH LOOK AT THE CONTROVERSIAL DEATH OF ELLIOTT SMITH

A boyfriend, a girlfriend, a knife and a death wish. Tragic history is about to take place in dimly lit room in Los Angeles on October 21<sup>st</sup>, 2003. The woman argued with the man over an insignificant appointment, minutes later the man lays in a pool of his own blood with two stab wounds to the heart. The doctors are unable to save him and he is pronounced dead within the hour. No one truly knows the events that happened in between the argument and the death of singer-songwriter Elliott Smith, including the LAPD who let the case go unsolved. This moment shocked the world, as Elliott who was an Oscar-nominated cult artist with a large fan base, was left with an unsolved case. These fans have filed numerous petitions as a testament to find out why the case was mishandled.<sup>1</sup>

Elliott Smith was a musical icon who inspired a generation with his harsh and somber tunes. He was known for a melancholy view of life being displayed in his music, so when he was pronounced dead, most assumed it was a suicide, including the LAPD. After the autopsy reports came out, it was a bit more complicated than previously assumed. His toxicology was clean, the stab wounds were inconsistent with self-infliction and there were potential defensive wounds on his arms. His girlfriend, Jennifer Chiba, who was at the scene of the crime and admits to being in an argument with Smith right before he was stabbed. The evidence does not justify a suicide and the police department has admitted fault for assuming suicide and not investigating further. Being that he is the second famous songsmith, Kurt Cobain being the first, who has been typecast as suicidal due to the content of his music; this investigation is vital to the history of music and integral to altering the way we must separate the art from the artist. The Elliott Smith murder investigation should be reopened because the evidence points towards homicide and no murder should be without consequence.

The main suspect would be Jennifer Chiba, as she was the last person to see him before his death. Elliott's death by stabbing in itself is a cause for concern, as only 0.4% of all suicides occur this way.<sup>2</sup> Chiba admitted that she removed the knife while Elliott was still standing up. She was working as a marriage and family therapist at the time of Elliott's death, but to be a licensed therapist one would have to take first aid classes and retain a certification.<sup>3</sup> According to the US National Library of Medicine, one should "never attempt to remove any penetrating object while still in situ as this may cause more serious bleeding,"<sup>4</sup> something that even the biggest slacker in any first aid class would remember. Also, Elliott had notable marks on his arms that could be seen as defensive wounds, as if he were trying to fend off an attack (see Fig 1). This is a massive indicator that the investigation was not thorough enough, as this was mentioned on the autopsy report, but it went without any justification as to what those marks and new scars could have been, other than defensive wounds. Also, Elliott Smith was at the prime of his life at that point, he had just opened the Elliott Smith Foundation to help at-risk youth, he had gotten clean off of drugs for the first time in years and he was becoming healthier by the day - cutting out all refined sugars, red meat, non-prescribed drugs and caffeine.

When the blade was checked for prints, there were no prints to be found at all. Chiba reported that she pulled the blade out of Elliott after he stabbed himself, meaning both his and her prints should be present, but there were none at all. Elliott's body was also lacking hesitation wounds, as when someone stabs their heart, the pain and indecision causes hesitation, but Elliott had no hesitation marks at all, only defensive wounds on his arms. When the detective arrived at the scene, Chiba refused to speak with any of them, which is certainly a matter of concern. A post-it note was found at the scene, with the words "I'm so sorry-love, Elliott God forgive me"<sup>5</sup> scrawled on it. So not only did Elliott supposedly stab himself twice in the heart through his clothing, with the fingerprints wiped off of the blade and defensive wounds on his arms, but in his fit of depression and rage, he had enough time to pen a note and post it on the fridge before stabbing himself. The consensus is that if Smith conducted the stabbing himself, it would have to be intensely a spur of the moment action, which is inconsistent with the penning of a note, which shows premeditation. Within the week that he died, Chiba was spotted taking all of his music out of his recording studio and since then, she has benefited financially off of his death, as well as sued Elliott's family, for over a million dollars, less



would lie to draw this conclusion, as Cobain's case also suggested that his girlfriend could have murdered him as well. This case deserves to be reopened, to give justice to Elliott Smith and those who wish to see a resolution for their favorite artist or someone they cared deeply for.

Elliott Smith was not just an artist in constant distress, plucking sad tunes to achieve success, Elliott was a passionate human being who could describe the human condition perfectly, while maintaining rhythm and personality. He was a voice for many who struggled with depression, devoting the latter half of his career to showing there will be happiness at the end of every struggle. He was a Philosophy scholar, naming his most famous album *Either/Or* after a book by Danish philosopher, Søren Kierkegaard. Elliott rose to impressive heights with his charm, emotion and uncomfortable demeanor. He should not be minimized to just the emotions that his music elicited, he should be viewed as a whole being and not judged by one aspect of his career. Elliott Smith is a cultural icon and a hero to many – certainly someone who deserves a proper investigation to settle his case and put many fans at ease.

The evidence is proof enough that something must be done to find the truth in Elliott Smith's case. It is undeniable that there is a shady entity surrounding his death and incessantly hammering at the minds of those who care about him that assures all of us that we cannot let this go. Elliott's music brought a sense of reality to a time when everything seemed fake and manufactured, so to have his case be mistreated by the LAPD and shoved aside without a real investigation feels like an attack on those who keep his legacy alive to this day. In terms of investigations, Elliott Smith deserves more than what he has been granted – it took 20 years for the police chief to admit that not investigating Cobain's death more thoroughly was a major misstep, I fear that Elliott's case is going down the same path. There are many petitions that have been opened urging the Los Angeles Police Department to focus on the case after years of negligence, as to this day the official coroner's mode of death is still undetermined. Presently, Elliott Smith is lived on by his fanbase, Justice for Elliott Smith and benefit concerts held across the US to keep his memory alive. Currently, Elliott Smith is gaining fame quicker than ever before, due to inclusion on the popular show *Rick and Morty* and musical icons linking up to pay respect to Elliott's music and the impact he had on music. It is unjust and unfair to assume that Elliott's tendency to make depressing music means that he could commit such a harsh suicide. Elliott Smith's death deserves the public's attention and his case must be resolved before it is too late.

## Notes

- 1 Camus, Alyson. "We request the LAPD to either close the Elliott Smith murder inquiry or resuscitate it after more than 11 years of negligence". *Change*, 2014.
- 2 Singh, Pradipkumar, et al. "Suicidal Death due to Stabbing: A Case of Rare Occurrence." *J Indian Acad Forensic Med.*, vol. 36, no. 4, 2014, pp. 434.
- 3 Board of Behavioral Sciences. "Jennifer Chiba's License". *Department of Consumer Affairs License Search*, 2018.
- 4 V, Melby, and Deeny P. "Emergency First-Aid Treatment Of Gunshot And Stab Wounds. - Pubmed - NCBI". *Ncbi.Nlm.Nih.Gov*, 2017.
- 5 Ibid.
- 6 "Rocker's Autopsy Doesn't Rule Out Homicide". *The Smoking Gun*, 2017.
- 7 Smith, Elliott. "Elliott Smith at Henry Fonda Theater". 2003.
- 8 Stamper, Norm. "Why Did Seattle's Former Police Chief Say Kurt Cobain's Suicide Case Should Be Reopened?". *Vice*, 2017.
- 9 Lord, Mary Lou. "Quotes From People". *Justice For Elliott Smith*, 2017. Pg 1.

*Emily Hinton*

## BACK IN MY DAY WE COULD SAY WHATEVER WE WANTED

In this paper, I will approach the question of what the government's role should be in a society, how much control the people should allow their political leaders and when is it necessary, if at all, for the government to arbitrate certain decisions for the people. Specifically, I will consider a citizen's liberty to freedom of speech and expression, examining how far this independence should extend before the government should intervene. I will argue that the only legitimate justification for censorship of freedom of speech is when the speech or expression displayed is offensive by definition. Legal regulation of offensive behavior is only warranted when it is likely that that behavior will lead to harm, causes harm, promotes harm, or reinforces harmful institutions already in effect, to an individual or group of people within a society. In addition, I will briefly examine the current political climate in the United States under the leadership of President Donald Trump, concluding that this divisive ambience could have been prevented if governance addressed offensive behaviors.

I will examine offense to have two different forms, but I only consider one to be the true definition of offense, which I will carry throughout the rest of this paper when examining the government's role in protecting citizens. Often people mis-label situations in which a person's behavior leads an individual to a state of discomfort as an act of offense. However, I argue that something is only offensive if and when it leads a person to a state of resentful displeasure due to the wrongful conduct of another individual and that conduct is supported by a system of oppression that the targeted individual suffers from, or a group of people have once suffered from, in which the repercussions are still in effect today. Therefore, this form of offense is no longer only causing a person some discomfort but is also promoting or reinforcing harm; harm then is the key component that determines whether a wrongful act is to be considered offensive, as opposed to distasteful. In

that case, it is important to clarify that I am only arguing for such offenses to be subject to legal regulation. Situations that produce annoyance, disappointment, disgust, embarrassment and various other "disliked conditions" without the aspect of resentment or harmful nature are not offenses, but instead nuisances and not worth regulating. To further distinguish a true offense, consider this example: if an individual spends her life targeting tall people, claiming that all tall people are the least intelligent, most unattractive, horrible human beings on earth, a tall person is most likely going to be hurt by this claim and may consider that statement to be offensive. The language in itself, and the impact it has on tall people, is not enough reason to infringe upon a person's freedom of speech. Yet, if an individual labels and targets black people by spreading the claim that all black people are "lazy, dangerous, unintelligent," not only will this language lead black people to a mental state of discomfort, but in addition it causes this group of people harm by promoting a negative stereotype previously established, existing for centuries and affecting a black person's experience in a society. Since racism as an institution exists and carries the weight of social and political inequalities for groups of people, the effects of racism are unavoidable and have been in existence for a long duration of time; therefore, racism is harmful, and the use of racist language is offensive. Even if the language being used is not directly intended to be racist or cause direct harm, keeping racist terms around prolongs an era of oppression that carries historical harm. The difference is that people who are tall, or groups of individuals with the identity of tallness, do not face systems of oppression within a society based solely on the characteristic of being tall and they have the ability to walk away from the situation facing no ramifications to follow this experience. Tall people do not have to worry about losing job or housing opportunities or receiving a lower quality of education due to their height. Although unkind, mocking tall people in this sense is not to be considered offensive.

Most would agree that the doctrine of freedom of expression is to be highly regarded when contemplating any move towards censorship. An offense should then only be subject to control if it first meets the criteria of the definition that I have established and considers the duration in which the offense is occurring, the social value that the offense effects, and the degree to which the victim can avoid the offense. If an offense is present by these means, it is not only highly encouraged, but necessary that the governing body perform the required legal action in order to prevent the offense from reoccurring or becoming a more

serious form of harm. Similarly, John Stuart Mill presents his Harm Principle, which states that the rights of individuals should only be limited to prevent harm to vital social institutions or non-consenting third parties. In Mill's work, *On Liberty*, he examines the extent of power a government can exert over the individual before it becomes infringement on a citizen's civil and social liberties. The Harm Principle considered liberty as not only an individual's freedom apart from government control, but also the right to be protected by the government, if need be. Mill viewed the power of authority as a necessity, but also felt that it should have its limitations or else it can become dangerous for the society.<sup>1</sup> He explains that the ability to speak one's mind and to express ideas without legal or governmental control is an essential feature to a truly free society. Correspondingly, opposing viewpoints feel that if restrictions are allowed there is a serious risk that the power to regulate will expand in unintended directions. In addition, it is argued that restricting freedom of expression might also lead to officials and groups misusing their power to censor as a means to advance their own interests and values and suppress the rights of others. To prevent such an abuse of power, John Locke emphasizes the importance of a judicial system in a civil society.<sup>2</sup> Just as the government should have the right to restrict certain behaviors that would put others in harm or risk the stability of the society as a whole, the people also have the liberty to hold their officials accountable so that no one is in a position of too much power, but that there is a balance in any society to prohibit harm and chaos.

However, I presume we will not live in a truly free society until all of its citizens are equally free from offensive conduct that leads to further oppression. As long as institutionalized systems of oppression exist and prevent certain groups and individuals from an equitable opportunity to success, not all of a society's citizens can be considered free to begin with. Therefore, restricting offensive acts is not eliminating one's liberty to speak her mind or express ideas by any means, but instead prevents a targeted person's ability to obtain social power through the continuous oppression of other individuals. John Jacques Rousseau assumed that people would naturally conduct themselves and interact with compassion, although due to the innate differences in ability between individuals that lead to inequalities of civilization, it becomes necessary to collect under a supreme power.<sup>3</sup> That way rather than turning forces against each other, citizens consent to be governed by law which will protect the whole and allow for equal opportunity while maintaining harmony among the society. Govern-

mental oversight should act in order to prevent factitious barriers between people, not to restrict the natural difference in talents among individuals, therefore creating an environment of equal opportunity for each citizen to have the ability to achieve success by their own free will. This is why regulation of free speech should be considered a form of education and promotion to the equity of all citizens, not viewed as a form of punishment. It is a necessary attempt in the direction of breaking down and preventing harmful power structures. There is a difference between an individual having the freedom to speak their mind when the opinion is, "I believe coffee is the best drink in the world," as opposed to, "I hate Asian people and believe they should all be wiped from the earth." I agree that everyone should have the liberty to express ideas, explore creative thoughts, voice feelings and opinions of the world and their experiences; however, the minute an "opinion" suggests the genocide of an entire race the view holder has lost their rights to freedom of expression and should be subject to legal constraint.

The idea that every citizen should have an equal opportunity to achieve their goals and that the government's role is to act in order to make that possible for each individual and the society as a whole makes logical sense to me, and most people whose values fall in line with the political left. Unfortunately, this is not an appealing concept to the people on the other end of the political spectrum. For Kayla Chadwick, a writer at the Huffington post, she perceives the opposition from politically conservative right-wing individuals as a question of character and difference in moral values. In her recent article, *I Don't Know How to Explain to You That You Should Care About Other People*, she explains how the disagreements between the political ends is not merely political, but a fundamental divide on what it means to live within a society. Chadwick expresses her sentiments towards taxes, affordable and accessible health care for all, and equal opportunities to an education for children, topics on which Republicans and Democrats typically do not share common ground. For Chadwick, these functions of society are considered basic human rights and she considers it incomprehensible how anyone can deny another individual those rights, and if you can so easily ignore the needs of your fellow citizens then, as Chadwick concludes, you cannot possibly be a decent or moral human being. "I don't know how to convince someone how to experience the basic human emotion of empathy."<sup>4</sup> The rights of citizens and role of the government are seemingly apparent for Chadwick; however, many other Americans do not see it as so and found her article to be highly

“offensive.” The controversy toward Chadwick’s sentiments held that everyone is entitled to their own opinion and that she should not label someone as a bad or selfish person for disagreeing with hers. In this 2017 Trumpian era, the American right wing is all for the right to Freedom of Speech if we are discussing Christianity, gun rights, and hating gay people, but once anyone questions the actions of our president, voices their experience of oppression, or calls for a more equitable society, the response from those same conservatives is that, “these snowflakes need to stop complaining and appreciate all that America offers for them.” This is where people fail to see the point Chadwick was trying to make in her article, addressing the fact that America does not offer a lot, or an equal amount for everyone and that is something we as humans should all be concerned about. Calling someone a cruel and selfish person does not actually harm the person. Although it may be received as a personal insult and cause discomfort, the statement is not backed by some nature of reality that prevents anyone from receiving equal social and political liberties, and therefore does not truly affect the individual in any sense other than their own reaction to it.

The problem with our current political climate is that by Trump’s own behavior he has created the norm that freedom of speech and expression means anyone can say and do whatever they so please regardless of the repercussions it may cause because that is what it means to be American and if anyone were to infringe on that right it would not only be unpatriotic, but unconstitutional. So, phrases like “grab her by the pussy” and “[the Mexicans] are bringing drugs, and bringing crime, and they’re rapists” from our nation’s leader himself are now to be considered appropriate due to his First Amendment right, free speech, when in reality, he is endorsing the degradation of women, inequalities, and harmful stereotypes through his attitudes, conduct, and institutional practices. Nonetheless, Trump avidly attempts to silence and discredit the media, one of the biggest avenues of free speech, making the statement that it is “frankly disgusting the way the press is able to write whatever they want to write.” It was incredibly disheartening to watch the 2016 elections as this kind of behavior was supported by my fellow citizens, but now with Trump in office it is overwhelmingly infuriating that our government has not put any restrictions on this offensive conduct that has clearly created a sense of harm to our nation.

As tensions continue to grow and political parties continue to divide, it is going to become crucial that, as a nation, we have a

conversation about what it means to live in a society together, the government's role in protecting its citizens, and when it is essential for the government to regulate certain behavior. Additionally, in order to effectively communicate with each other through opposing views we are going to have to determine what will be considered appropriate language or expression and what is offensively harmful. However, I would only advocate for harmful offenses to be the circumstance with enough reason for the law to infringe upon an individual's right to freedom of speech or expression and premises constrain on a citizen's liberties.

## Notes

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Faythe Del Rosario

## HEROINE ADDICTION: AMERICA'S LOVE AFFAIR WITH NANCY DREW

Nancy Drew is a fictional female character who has transcended throughout the years by being the ideal young woman. The young investigator is kept alive through the expansive library that began in 1930 with the first publication entitled *The Secret of the Old Clock*.<sup>1</sup> Spread beyond printed literature into the realm of movies, television shows, and video game releases intertwines this classic character into mass media. Under magnified observation, however, she has some qualities that are not so amazing. The character has a problematic past, despite her positive archetype as an amateur detective who wants to right wrongs. These media texts offer intersectional content that has been its foundation since the beginning. However, under closer examination, issues advance to the forefront. The most troublesome plot devices include: the white savior complex, a history of both intentional and unintentional stereotyping of both non-ethnic characters and people of color, the employment of Western gender roles, and unfair treatment of the lower class.

This research project ventures into the "life" of the character Nancy Drew. This paper will explore the question whether or not Nancy Drew is a modern feminist character, or if she still represents a more conservative worldview, despite her iconic status to women. No flaws, intelligent, courageous and just. She is one of the most well-known fictional sleuths to exist in American pop culture today. Those responsible for contributions to the world of Nancy Drew were many and included Edward Stratemeyer, the original author behind the pseudonym Carolyn Keene and various ghostwriters who worked under the same pen name.<sup>2</sup> An icon for her prowess and gumption, she remains timeless to fans new and old that still follow her transmutations today. Nancy Drew has notoriety for being a positive influence.

Although Nancy Drew was not the first classic teenage girl sleuth, she is the one modern audiences can remember. Writer Deidre Johnson compares Nancy to Elsie Dinsmore in 1994, she analyzed the 28 books

about Elsie, published between 1867-1905.<sup>3</sup> At a one point was considered the most popular character in American children literature. She compared their traits and gave sources how Nancy surpassed Elsie Dinsmore. The craze of Nancy Drew was discussed in a piece by Eloise Knowlton, who states that Nancy went from unknown to well-known, the popularity of her books skyrocketed her presence into other media like movies and television.<sup>4</sup>

There's a history of some arguably problematic themes and tropes relied upon to continue develop more material. In the past, the earlier Nancy Drew books felt beyond off-colored, as indicated by Author Julie Still in 2017 as she referred to findings by Paul C. Deane, who in 1968 published a paper spotlighting the disparaging representations of African Americans in literature for children. She paraphrases Deane's notes and stated that the use of offensive dialect had been terminated during the 1950s and there were revisions made to earlier books, but racially driven stereotypes persists.<sup>5</sup> For example, African Americans were cast to service-type jobs as servants, janitors.<sup>6</sup> Despite Deane's initial response to how Nancy Drew conveys black characters, he updated his study to reflect newer releases and stated their portrayal is more realistic.<sup>7</sup> Even though he acknowledges the creators' efforts, he has doubts about how much representation because it takes more to move past the stigma of the underrepresented being shown in a token role.<sup>8</sup> In 1971, Jones published work that critically looked at stereotypes found in earlier Nancy Drew books as well, and while he did condemn the offensive presentation of African Americans, he stated that 'Carolyn Keene' is no more at fault for perpetuating racial stereotypes than other media who did the same thing in work made in the early 20th century. With that being said, the series had allowed enforcement of adult attitudes toward minority groups.<sup>9</sup> She claimed that the series made foreigners out to be either sneaky and untrustworthy, or as aristocrats.

Everything about Nancy Drew is formulaic. Author James P. Jones explored the formula in which the stories sets up for Nancy to solve it. He indicated that in each volume he studied, the plot is driven by some unexplained or unjust situation arose, and each time Nancy is ready to quickly investigate.<sup>10</sup> She's been shaped over time to have an outward appearance that fits trends in said era. Yet, her principles remained the same, as well as the unreal and almost unattainable means that a regular teenage girl would not have access to. Often, this sleuth can have access to a relatively large amount of resources – considering her family maintains a comfortable socioeconomic status – and granted

assistance from devoted companions who would stop their lives on a dime to do what she asks. She represents a form of wish fulfillment for young girls, appealing across a broad number of criteria. Her independence is never doubted and is actually sought out, as a feminist icon. She is never burdened by school, being aged up in modern iterations specifically to remain a plausible graduate. Lee Zacharias's 1976 study made similar observations:

Nancy succeeds not merely because the reader can identify with her but because the reader wants to identify with her; she is an ever-contemporary projection and fulfillment of the reader. She is everything the reader is not and wishes to be.<sup>11</sup>

Yet, it would seem that the masterminds behind the perfect Nancy does not think about poor people, despite her fans can come from all walks of life. "Nancy and her father are on the side of justice, but it is justice within the framework of the law, not revolutionary social justice."<sup>12</sup> By not including social justice as part of Nancy's priorities makes one wonder if she is an intended symbol for all or just for the white bourgeois. In Mason's book, Knowlton reported similar observations about older texts stating:

These are the themes which informed my childhood, when I aspired toward the delicious snobbery of Nancy's privileged life. When minorities know their place, Nancy treats them graciously. She is generous to truck drivers and cabbies and maids. But woe betide the upstarts, the dishonest social climbers who want to grab at top.<sup>13</sup>

Several studies indicated her role as a guardian of the middle class, as well as the deliberate segregation of the classes. Professor and author Amy Boesky, is one of them; who in 2010 published a study describing this disparaging divide:

Goodness and goods are established as self-justifying. The real poor—along with Blacks, Jews, and foreigners—get nothing at all, but Nancy firmly reminds her readers that the world of middle-class propriety needs to keep them at bay.<sup>14</sup>

Her opinions are respected by authority figures around her, a privilege not always accorded to male detectives in fiction like Sherlock Holmes

and the doubting Inspector Lestrade. Researcher Jennifer Woolston explained that this is an image of female empowerment that has the capability to participate in authorial collaborations. Woolston also concluded that the women behind Carlone Keene back then designed the character so that she cannot be silenced, and that Nancy is a reflection of their desires to speak outwardly in real life.<sup>15</sup>

Interest into Nancy Drew's relationships with those of the opposite sex, has always been a topic pondered by scholars. Still wrote, "The scholarly fascination with Nancy's sexuality, whether mentioned overtly or in coded terms, is another sign that she is stepping outside of the traditional female roles of the period and not on the conveyor belt to wife and mother."<sup>16</sup> Michael G. Cornelius that the Nancy Drew plays the role of a surrogate wife to the father.<sup>17</sup> More specifically to her target audience, she is trusted and doted on by her father, conceivably representing a fulfilled Electra complex. Zacharias's study coincides with this speculation by having mentioned a noticeable vibe between the Drews. "Nancy's relationship with her father is not incestuous by act, but it does have sexual implications. Here is a man no beau could hope to live up to, and Nancy knows it."<sup>18</sup> Nancy is often written to not be enthralled by romance. She only has reserves of affection toward her father and widower Carson Drew. It is well-established through mythos that they are very close. Their relationship insinuates that he inspired Nancy's sense of justice – he is made out to be a respected and successful criminal attorney. Without a fleshed out, official maternal figure, there is no competition between daughter and mother. Competition could be considered as the disbursement of love, which can be physical notions (i.e. hugs and kisses), being emotionally present and/or available, and receiving benefactions of monetary or sentimental value. For example, Carson is responsible for Nancy's signature blue roadster convertible. The vehicle symbolizes wealth, as well as independence and progress – not many women drove in the early 20th century. Such assets are only obtainable by his daughter, alone. Thus, this possibly signifies a materialized Electra Complex since there's no impediment to Nancy.

Despite the plentiful opportunity to establish sufficient details about the death of her mother in the 200+ collection of books published, enthusiasts were not given any real, substantial explanation as to what happened to her. The mom remained faceless and in a desolate void -- she was never given a first name in the entirety of the book series. There are little to no details about who she was or her demise, outside of a few adaptations suggesting an unknown illness. Sure, it

is indeed at the creator's discretion to put time into a backstory for a deceased character, but it is peculiar that after 80+ years it was not considered as a potential storyline. In 2013, video game company Her Interactive was the first to ever attempt so in its release *The Silent Spy*, and gave Nancy's late mom a smidgen of personification by naming her Kate, who worked as an espionage scout in Scotland.

Her boyfriend Ned Nickerson is devoted but passive, representing a stable supporting force without ever threatening Nancy's personal ambitions. In many of the contemporary adaptations of Nancy Drew, he is considered a total pushover. Ned does not hamper on her tasks or prospects. Between the couple, he is the emotional one. Often he has expressed his admiration, and his worries about Nancy's cases, only to be waved away as being overly protective. To add insult to injury, he comes off as submissive, but also jealous. She has a history of ignoring his concerns for her safety, and most discussion about their relationship status. Cornelius quipped that it is possible Ned's display of romance promotes having traditional, mid-century tones that is reflective of the male, or the supposedly dominant sex, is in charge of the relationship. Not actually thinking that is the case between the couple, he also contrasted that claim and wrote:

The gender role inversion here works in Nancy's favor; having established dominance over the male, who is now left in the role of the one who waits, Nancy has all the time in the world to pursue crime before she tackles the mysteries of the heart.<sup>19</sup>

The interaction between the opposite sex and Nancy Drew is in-between progressive and requiring psychoanalytical review. It is often shown as Nancy having insufficient empathy or desire toward Ned.<sup>20</sup> In the end, regardless of his apparent unhappiness, he refuses to cut ties. This is because Nancy makes it clear either with her words or by wearing a present from Ned that she cares for him.

In the fictional world of case solving, it seems like anyone has the potential be a detective. Picturesque in so many ways, including being able to dive into a fulfilling job with ease and gets the job done right. Her intellect and ability to spearhead everlasting optimism in the face of danger to solve a case is pretty inspiring. The teenage sleuth does not have much stalling her work compared to other private investigators. With the copious load of Nancy Drew material, it is not much of a stretch to believe that the works of "Carolyn Keene" made was perchance influential toward the development of other mystery solvers.

Juxtaposed with another fictional leading women, however, there is an actual sense of character growth in them that is more palpable than hers -- a persona that is nearly 90 years old. One detective in general, Mma Precious Ramotswe, the protagonist of *The No. 1 Ladies' Detective Agency*, presents the life of a detective sans the voracious use of sunglasses with rose-colored lenses.<sup>21</sup>

Consistent success is obviously the most desirable thing anyone could dream of, but not everything works that way -- for most people, everywhere. The occasional bout with serious failure and admission of weaknesses may very well make her appear more human to audience members of all demographics. As novelist Alexander McCall Smith's crime fiction series illustrates with investigator Mma Ramotswe.<sup>22</sup> Unlike Nancy Drew, she has imperfections that audiences can be sympathetic to. Adapted from the books came a seven episode (or six episodes, if not counting the pilot) mini-series on HBO, and it visually laid out the distinct contrast between the two. Firstly, is her age and appearance -- she is written to be a 34-year-old with a 'traditional' figure and she often received flack from thinner women and men. Yet, she didn't let comments about her body type from continuing on to help others. Aging up Mma Ramotswe, allows the audience to feel sympathetic for a heroine who's already experienced so much in her life, at a realistic rate. Besides being a bigger woman, she also has emotional pain that continued to haunt her -- like the death of her newborn son or trauma caused from domestic abuse by her ex-husband.<sup>23</sup> Secondly, unlike Nancy, the fictional detective from Botswana understands the privilege of having a steady financial backing to even consider this line of work. In the third episode titled *Poison*, Mma Ramotswe strongly expressed to her secretary Grace Makutsi that the only reason she is able to pursue her dream career is due to the inheritance of a cattle ranch; it was bestowed on her by her late father. This self-realization showed her awareness of the community that surrounds her and shows gratitude for the opportunities allotted to her family's wealth.

Another fictional detective is a relatively new one. The main character of the well-received video game *Kathy Rain*, developed by indie company Clifftop Games in this 2016 point-and-click adventure game, players can take the role of Kathy Rain, a young college student majoring in journalism in the 1990s.<sup>24</sup> Like Mma Ramotswe, she embraces her imperfections. She smokes a ton of cigarettes, her appearance can be described as borderline unapproachable to the judgmental and timid. Also, her demeanor comes off as sarcastic -- in the game, if players direct Kathy to the mirror in her dorm she says, "Makeup,

check. Hair check. Horrible mood and contempt for humanity, check!"<sup>25</sup> In spite of her surly attitude, fans of the game want another installment to play as the beginner detective. Beside the game-play, Kathy's outlook on life and quips, as well as her character growth, are what make the game enjoyable. The game takes about five hours to complete, but in that short amount of time, you see the student grow and see her experience different types of emotions while trying to investigate the whereabouts behind her grandfather's death.

Attributes all of these detectives have in common: being individualistic, driven and resilient. Similarly, they all have their own mode of transportation that is symbolic of freedom and independence. Nancy with her obvious and vintage blue roadster, Kathy rides an old school motorcycle, and in the TV show *Mma Ramotswe* (played by Jill Scott) drives a small, old, yet pretty reliable white truck.

Luckily, the comic book *Nancy Drew and the Hardy Boys: THE BIG LIE*, by author Anthony Del Col and illustrator Werther Dell'Edera drifted the furthest away from making Nancy Drew and the Hardy Boys flawless beings.<sup>26</sup> The first volume in the graphic novel series, it turns their world upside down – offering a bold view of what can change in Nancy's fictional, procedural life. The comic book begins with the Hardy Boys being detained for interrogation due to the murder of their father Fenton, they are the main and only suspects. Nancy Drew wants to help prove their innocence, but she also has her own issues to deal with. This version of Nancy is still inquisitive and determined to get answers because things are changing so rapidly around her. In this iteration, Nancy's relationship with her father is strained. The two were close at first, however, after finding out her dead mother Kate was hurt by him prior to her death, makes her question his actions. With the introduction of this conflict, this shows a side of the Drews that has never been seen, and creates the possibility that Nancy had a close relationship with her mom as well. *THE BIG LIE* has themes and images of both physical and gun violence, the sale and distribution of drugs, and illegal gambling. Crime and corruption is taking over the Hardys' hometown of Bayport. Like any other Nancy Drew (and Hardy Boys) texts, they are written to be in the current era. This includes dealing with issues outside of a blue roadster breaking down. She feels guilt and blames herself for someone's death because her plan surprisingly was not as successful as an older model of Nancy would have had.

Part of what makes Nancy Drew so customary is that at the end of the text, she successfully closes the case. She saves the day. With a 100 percent success rate for completion, who else is there to

call but Nancy? In many of her stories, this teenage heroine is a globe-trotter. Besides making sure cases are solved in her beloved, made-up hometown River Heights, her services are periodically requested by international employers. Other times, she stumbles on a mystery while on vacation. Problem is, the white savior complex is outdated and can be offensive to different ethnic groups. Portrayal of diversity still might leave much to be desired after analyzing interactive media on Nancy Drew. Additionally, it is open to question if these character designs relied too much on racial and class stereotypes. In the past, the earlier Nancy Drew books felt beyond off-colored, as aforementioned by scholars like Deane.

Toward the end of the 20th century up to today, cutting-edge technology has assisted with rectifying some of these problems and at times, retroactively being a part of the issue. Washington-based business Her Interactive has produced most if not all the Nancy Drew games accessible to the public since 1998. The games that have been released and most of the plots thus far were energized by older work – sometimes combining ideas from one text with another. Positively, many of them show effort was put into teaching the player something new. For instance, in games like *Shadows at Water's Edge* requires gamers to make translations to and from English for foreign languages like Japanese.<sup>27</sup>

Minorities in some Nancy Drew games are shown as incompetent – a teenage white person needs to fly in to fix the problem in an exotic place. In the 2010 release for the PC and Mac, Nancy and her companions find themselves in Kyoto, Japan.<sup>28</sup> The basic plot of the game is that she goes there to teach English while her friends hang out in the city. Things don't go to exactly to plan. The ryokan (a traditional, Japanese-styled inn) the girls stayed at displayed unexplained events that were scaring the fellow tourists away. Nancy Drew took it upon herself to solve the problem, ignoring the pleas to stop investigating by the family who own the hotel.

The Japanese characters in the story, while it's plausible to think each of them could have been the culprit, stereotypes were used to reinforce that idea. The grandmother of the inn owners, Takae Nagai, was overtly paranoid about destroying the traditional essence of the property<sup>29</sup> – as an elderly woman, she was typecast to be stern, normally emotionless, and who was excessively superstitious. Another quality of Takae was her display as the disapproving Asian grandparent who wants her lineage to maintain tradition and would denounce anything that could potentially change that. The voice acting by Waylayn Shar-

ples used an exaggerated, shrill accent and embedded affectations for Japanese terms to attempt authenticity. It didn't work, hardly believable. The two granddaughters Miwako and Yumi Shimizu, were no stranger to becoming tropes, either. The shy Miwako spoke softly took the role of a submissive, yet sincere Asian woman who maintained a serious work ethic and assists with hotel management to appease her grandmother.<sup>30</sup> Adopting images from sister on the other hand was fitted with a frilly pink lolita-style dress and talked in a high-pitched voice. Her Interactive purposely endowed the NPC (non-playable character) Yumi with a klutzy, carefree demeanor. Her surroundings were *kawaii* (or cute in English) pastel-colored, furnishings with generic, Hello Kitty-like characters adorning them. Yumi's style and interests was used to enforce her irresponsible nature, as well as being a self-centered materialistic anime geek.

To conclude, Nancy Drew, sits in the middle of the spectrum: a symbol of conservatism and a modern feminist idol. In agreement with prior studies, the detective known as Nancy Drew brings up many mixed feelings. With that in mind, this paper shows perspective that there are also not-so-progressive representations as well. Specifically for her insufficient growth concerning positive interactions with people of a lower socioeconomic status than herself. Consciously or not, it is quarantining and refusing to accept the fans or patrons who are historically disenfranchised. Not helping the less fortunate is not what a modern heroine does. Surprisingly, this aspect of Nancy Drew has mostly remained the same. The world of Nancy Drew has undoubtedly been trying to fix some of the problems that the books originally propagated since its inception. As years ticked by, content makers pushed the series to adapt to ever-changing conditions, however, they should push harder to show inclusion without use of obvious tropes. If creators like Anthony Del Col, continue keeping up with modern trends, as well as reconstructing the world of Nancy Drew to reflect reality more authentically, and/or at least more edgy in presentation, decades of different series and stand-alone media will continue to be published – but better.

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*Patrick Gabon*

**DEPRESSION AND SUICIDE IN SOVIET RUSSIA:  
A PSYCHOLOGICAL ANALYSIS OF THE EFFECTS  
OF MASSIVE SOCIAL AND POLITICAL TERROR**

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*Samuel Gaona*

**COMENTARIO SOBRE EL LIBRO:  
CARLOS V Y FELIPE II A TRAVÉS DE SUS  
CONTEMPORÁNEOS POR L.P GACHARD**

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*John Burkholder*

## DRIVERS OF ENGLISH EXPLORATION AND EXPLOITATION IN THE PACIFIC 1578-1850

There were three major “pushes” for English exploration in the Pacific: profit, war (declared and undeclared), and an inadequate response to changing socioeconomic forces; all other reasons for exploration were subordinate. There were four major “pulls” in the Pacific: plunder, trade, land for colonies and chimerical geography.

In the mid 16th century, England was not a major power in Europe and frequently found itself in conflict with two much stronger European powers, France and Spain.<sup>1</sup> Much of this conflict had to do with the rise of Protestantism and the counter-reformation. England was involved in supporting Protestant rebels in Scotland, had attempted to support Huguenots in France and was suspected, correctly, of supporting Dutch Protestants, who were rebelling in Holland against Spanish rule.<sup>2</sup>

Philip II of Spain had been married to Elizabeth I of England's sister, the Catholic Mary Tudor, who had died in 1558 without leaving an heir. The throne went to Elizabeth, who was her father's Protestant daughter. Philip then, almost immediately, proposed to Elizabeth. Philip perhaps hoped to maintain a tie to England, and to stop the decline of English Catholicism with this marriage. One of the conditions of the union would be that Elizabeth profess Catholicism. Though there was some pressure on Elizabeth to marry and insure succession, she declined Philip's proposal.

Relations with Spain never really recovered after this, and a series of trade disputes and political maneuvers in Europe worsened them. Though not in a state of open war in 1563, Elizabeth opened English ports to, and licenced Huguenot privateers who did not discriminate between French and Spanish ships. To the Protestant Huguenots the French and Spanish were the same, Catholics.<sup>3</sup> Elizabeth's accommodation, and encouragement of privateering would later have a large

role in moving England into the Pacific.

Sir Francis Drake was one of the first of Elizabeth's privateers. Francis Drake began his career when he first sailed to the New World on slaving voyages commanded by a cousin, John Hawkins. These voyages were not exactly pirate voyages but there were elements of brigandage involved. Slaves were often taken by violence in Africa, and in the new world things were always on the verge of, and often spilled over into violence. Far from the Spanish Crown and far from the English crown, both sides seemed to have a sense that bending or breaking the law was allowed. Drake was present on Hawkins third voyage, 1567-1568, when Hawkins feigned an attack on a town so that the townspeople could claim that they were coerced into buying Hawkins' slave cargo.<sup>4</sup>

The Spanish Licentiate of the town later wrote to the King and said he felt "compelled" to issue Hawkins a licence to trade, but asked that the transaction be confirmed.<sup>5</sup> However, the collusion was discovered during the questioning at the Licentiate's trial by Spanish officials, and the he was convicted of illegal trading with English.<sup>6</sup> When subterfuge did not work actual attacks were made by Hawkins and towns sacked or successfully defended per the fortunes of battle. This kind of low key war continued until Hawkins' fleet of five ships was forced to land at San Juan de Ulúa on the Mexican coast to repair storm damage. Following his pattern, Hawkins had taken three Spanish ships and removed hostages to use in dealing with the Spanish. In San Juan he was surprised by a fleet from Spain with a new Viceroy aboard, who had been given orders to stop English trade by all means. The Viceroy negotiated a bit, as there was a truce already in effect, but then he attacked suddenly, sinking three of the fleet of five English ships. Hawkins and Drake and their crews, with two ships, escaped the "treason" of the Spanish.<sup>7</sup>

It seems that if there was no official war between England and Spain, it was only because their rulers chose not to declare it such. Commanders in the field, on both sides, seemed to devolve to lawlessness and war when far removed from authority. In San Juan de Ulúa there was born a lifelong enmity for the Spanish in Drake, and during the two slaving voyages, the pupil learned how to deal in the New World from his elder cousin, John Hawkins. In England groups of investors called the "Merchant Adventurers" were investing in these trips, and the Crown was involved. Hawkins' flagship on his third voyage, the *Jesus of Lubec* was the Queen's ship. It seems that Elizabeth I maintained the peace in name only, as there was a Crown's share of all profitable voyages.<sup>8</sup>

When Drake descended into outright piracy during his circumnavigation of the world from 1577-1580, his investors included the Queen and many of the Merchant Adventurers of London. Not all investors were in favor of such action and some business factions were wholly against attacking Spanish interests; these investors had trade with Spain.<sup>9</sup> This pro-Spanish faction in parliament and occasional periods of detente with Spain affected plans for exploration. Richard Grenville had fitted out a fleet and was ready to sail on a Pacific voyage when Elizabeth initiated a period of detente with Philip. She approved, and then withdrew her permission for Grenville's voyage for fear of upsetting negotiations.<sup>10</sup> It was a complicated and nuanced national and international situation that Elizabeth managed, balancing merchant factions, the Spanish Crown and her own need for revenue. Drake applied at a fortuitous time; Elizabeth allowed him to sail.<sup>11</sup>

Drake passed through the Straits of Magellan and into the Pacific in September 1578. Documents do not state that Drake was given instructions to raid the Spanish in the Pacific but Elizabeth knew who she was sending there, and what his past history had been. Nothing would stand in the way of profit for the Queen and The Merchant Adventurers.

The lure of the Pacific for Drake and the privateers who would follow was treasure but Drake knew of the legendary Southern Continent "Terra Australis Incognita" and of the "Straits of Anian" or Northwest Passage. There is some speculation that he was looking for the latter along the coast of Alta California as a way home after filling his ship with treasure. In the end he headed West and chose a circumnavigation as his way home.<sup>12</sup> Drake's instructions for his 1577 voyage were prepared by Elizabeth's expert on geography, John Dee, who saw both the Northwest Passage and the southern continent as important to expanding England's future empire.<sup>13</sup>

Drake's circumnavigation opened the door to the Pacific for the English, but the Straights of Magellan proved a formidable barrier for those who would follow. Thomas Cavendish entered the Pacific in 1587, after a difficult seven week crossing of the straits. He raided Spanish settlements on the Pacific coast and took a Manilla Galleon, this also proved a profitable voyage for the Queen and investors.<sup>14</sup> The last Elizabethan privateer to enter the Pacific was Richard Hawkins in 1594. He was captured, no profit there.<sup>15</sup>

So profit and plunder were the push and pull for all English endeavour in the Pacific in the 16th century, during either declared or undeclared war. The Merchant Adventurers and the Queen made

a good profit from these early ventures by English seamen into the Pacific, the Atlantic and the Caribbean. They made enough profit to invest in other ventures that would enter the Pacific from another direction. On 31 December 1600, a group of England's Merchant Adventurers received a royal charter to form The East India Company.<sup>16</sup>

At this time trade in the East Indies was dominated by the Dutch and a united Spain and Portugal under Philip III. For luxury goods from the Orient, the English were dependant upon the trade of English woollen cloth with Holland and Spain, as well as an arms trade for pepper, nutmeg and indigo in Syria by the English Levant Company. This trade in oriental goods was expensive and due to intermittent feuds with the Dutch and Spanish, not reliable.<sup>17</sup> Direct trade with the Orient was needed and the newly chartered East India Company wasted no time in moving toward the East Indies.

In February 1601, a fleet of five ships, led by the *Red Dragon* under the command of James Lancaster, set sail for the East Indies. The Anglo-Spanish War of 1585 was still on, so one of their first acts on the voyage was to capture a Portuguese ship off of Africa that was headed for the Indies, and seize its provisions.<sup>18</sup> The English fleet stopped in Sumatra and during a stay with the King of Achen, made some trade and dispatched a ship for trade on another island. Not achieving much profit, Lancaster intercepted and took a Portuguese trading ship loaded with goods that were desirable for trade in the Orient. They sailed on to the island of Banten to trade and from there dispatched a ship to set up a company "factory" in the Moluccas. This was the first of many "factories," or trading posts manned by a merchant or "factor." The idea was to trade and store goods until the next fleet arrived. The voyage was a spectacular success, the ships returning fully loaded with spices. Lancaster arrived home with a letter for the Crown from the King of Achen, offering further trade. The English were established in the Pacific.<sup>19</sup>

Fleets went out every year and by 1613 there were factories in several islands, including Borneo and Japan. There were setbacks for the company, as well. Dutch expansion led to clashes, and the closing of several factories, including Japan, and this caused the Company to turn more and more of its attention to India, but The British were in the Pacific to stay.<sup>20</sup>

In the early 1603 James I had inherited the English throne. He faced many crises in his expanded realm, including religious strife, plague, famine and Parliamentary upheavals, but through it all the ships sailed to the east, sometimes two fleets a year.<sup>21 22</sup> The Company

seemed immune to crisis and profit trumped all. This immunity was doubtless due to the fact that not all of the profit went to the Company. There was an early decision by the Company to allow investment from the influential, including the Lord Treasurer, the Lord Admiral, various other Lords, a member of the Privy Council, several ambassadors, the Lord Comptroller, many Knights of the Realm, and even James I's son, Prince Charles.<sup>23</sup> The Crown also supported the Company's business decisions, probably due to customs revenues amounting to millions, reckoned in today's Pounds.<sup>24</sup> In fact, trade was beginning to drive politics. After the Dutch massacred English factors in Amboya in 1624, James I was forced by public outrage to issue an edict allowing the English navy and privateers to capture Dutch ships. The edict was issued even as he was trying to make peace with Holland.<sup>25</sup> Later the British East India Company favored and, at first, profited from the Anglo-Dutch Wars of the mid-century.<sup>26</sup> These wars were largely the result of intense commercial competition and continual violence between the English and the Dutch in the East Indies.<sup>27</sup>

Even the English Civil war did not stop the profits from rolling in. Though there were some disruptions and slowdowns, foreign trade was largely unaffected.<sup>28</sup> This intense focus on trade and profit would remain a prime driver of British activity in the Pacific for the next 250 years.

The earlier disconnect that was described between official diplomatic relations and English privateering, and even piracy, continued throughout the 17th century. In the records of William Dampier's travels later in the century, there is found almost an exact duplication, in 1679, of the political situation that Drake was operating under 100 years earlier. The English and Spanish had fought a war from 1654 to 1660 in the Caribbean (starting when the English took Jamaica). By the time Dampier crossed Panama into the Pacific as part of a band of pirates to attack Spanish ports and shipping, no official state of war existed. The term "privateer" had degraded to the point that a Captain Swan had an "Order from the Duke of York" to neither give to nor receive any offense from the Spanish, and since the Spanish had once killed some of his men, Swan proceeded to use that order as a "warrant" to declare personal war on Spain.<sup>29</sup> The official English response to this sort of "privateering," and even outright piracy, ranged from fine, to brief imprisonment, to pardon, to the knighting of Henry Morgan and his appointment as Governor of Jamaica. Though not at war, the Spanish were still the "enemy."<sup>30</sup> The pull was booty, the push was a continued antagonism, partially nationalistic, partially religious,

that made the Spanish fair game in the eyes of the "privateers," and unofficially by the Crown.

The English were now regularly crossing Panama or rounding the Horn to attack the Spanish on the western coast of their Empire in the Americas, and they often teamed with French "privateers" in these attacks. One such force numbered over a thousand men<sup>31</sup>

After various adventures and a few disasters, the privateer, Captain Charles Swan of the ship *Cygnets*, proceeded from Cape Corrientes on the 31st of March 1686 across the Pacific ocean with Dampier aboard. Swan desired to return his ship to its owners in England, he had become a pirate unwillingly when his crew mutinied during a trading voyage to the West Indies.<sup>32</sup> Crews might mutiny, or a whole crew might desert to join a ship of Buccaneers and join in the pursuit of booty.

Dampier's book of his travels, was a great success and the descriptions of Guam, the Philippines, Australia ('incognita,' perhaps an island) and the South China Sea, doubtless inspired further exploration of the seas to the south of the spice islands. The English in the Pacific, both the East India Company and a few "free traders," (who plucked profit from areas not controlled by the Company), focused on specific areas of known trade. Dampier had described new areas, new opportunities for potential profit.<sup>33</sup>

It had been noted that Dampier was a keen observer and a naturalist. In 1699, the Admiralty decided to sponsor a voyage of exploration into the Pacific. This was one of the first voyages of scientific discovery, Dampier did record and chart to the Admiralty's expectations. Unfortunately they chose to send him in an old and unsound ship, the *HMS Roebuck*. One of Dampier's orders was to chart the coast of Eastern Australia. Sailing from the west, Dampier charted and studied the flora and fauna of the coast of western Australia, but the condition of the ship required him to turn back. On the return voyage, the ship was lost but the charts and some of the biological specimens that he had collected were saved.<sup>34</sup>

Does this "scientific voyage" add another push to my list of reasons for Pacific voyaging? Note that the British Admiralty sponsored the voyage. There was much more interest in charts and currents than in the flora of western Australia. The East India Company noted his findings, charting, and the possible commercial opportunities brought to light on his voyage. The close relationship between the East India company and the highest circles of government had continued into the 18th century. The several government chartered monopolies, run by the English oligarchy, exerted enormous state power and were under-

writing the finance of the government and the military at this point.<sup>35</sup>

The Anglo-Spanish War of 1739 sent Commodore George Anson with a fleet into the Pacific to disrupt Spanish shipping. Anson was very successful at that task and continued west to the South Seas and China. In November 1742 Anson sailed the HMS *Centurion* into Macao. This was the first visit of a British warship to China and caused considerable consternation to the captains of the few British East India ships trading there, afraid they may lose their license to trade. Anson gave them every reason to fear, as he immediately began antagonizing the Portuguese and Chinese, and then used the port as a base for a raid on Spanish shipping. It was a diplomatic disaster, but his reports spurred English interest in expanding trade with China.<sup>36</sup>

The War of the Austrian Succession sent European fleets worldwide in the 1740's. It also spurred an increased building of England's naval forces. Britain was now in a position to project British power globally.<sup>37</sup>

After The Spanish entered the Seven Years War (1762), the British infiltrated the Pacific and engaged them, briefly taking Manilla. The British no longer saw the Pacific as a Spanish Lake and were aggressively looking to expand commercial opportunities.<sup>38</sup> After the war, the British felt that the French were looking to offset their losses in the Atlantic and North America with an expansion into the Pacific. Britain felt a need to respond.<sup>39</sup>

In 1764 John Byron set out on a voyage of discovery on the *HMS Dolphin* to promote British interests in the Pacific. He claimed the Falklands for England as a staging point for the approach to Cape Horn. One of his assignments was to find the Northwest Passage but he missed that assignment completely. Instead, he made a record breaking voyage across the Pacific by accidentally discovering the exact latitudes of the trade winds and returning without a loss of life.<sup>40</sup> No one had so precisely charted the strength and extent of the westward Trades in the Pacific before.<sup>41</sup>

In 1766 Captain Samuel Wallis was sent, also in the *Dolphin*, to find the great elusive southern continent of Terra Australis Incognita. This elusive goal had been a push since the time of Drake and this would continue to be through to Cook. The English had had an interest in this "continent" since the 16th Century when Sir Richard Grenville petitioned Queen Elizabeth to allow his voyage where finding the great southern continent would result in saving any heathens found from Spanish priests and the evils of Catholicism, as well as acquiring great treasures of gold, silver and spices.<sup>42</sup>

Wallis did not find John Dee and Grenville's dream, however, the *Dolphin's* master, George Robertson was pretty sure he had caught sight of it as his report in London noted.<sup>43</sup> Wallis also found Tahiti, his description of his stay there was published in 1773 and a romantic vision of the South Seas grabbed the European imagination.<sup>44</sup> The Admiralty also decided that this might be an excellent spot to attempt to view the expected transit of Venus across the face of the sun.<sup>45</sup>

The voyages of Captain James Cook are often described as "scientific" but they were for more than solely curbing curiosity. This science was for the advancement of commercial and military purposes. It was hoped that study of the transit might aid navigation by helping solve the "Longitude Problem," or the inability of navigators to determine reasonably exact longitude. The Admiralty, and by extension, the commercial interests of the various British monopolies, wanted accurate navigational tools.<sup>46</sup> His sealed instructions further stated that immediately upon completing the viewing of the transit, he was to proceed to search for the "Continent of Land" that "there was reason to imagine" lay to the south. Detailed sailing instructions were given to proceed east and then west between 30 degrees and 40 degrees south.<sup>47</sup>

Cook made it to 40 degrees south, but found nothing; he then proceeded west, and made a circumnavigation of New Zealand, charting as he went. He explored the East Coast of Australia and discovered that this island was not all desert, as heretofore described. The British push into the Pacific was now in full force and would grow until WWII. Cook's second voyage put to rest the dream of the Terra Australis Incognita. If the commercial nature of the search is doubted, his instructions were to search for valuable minerals, gauge the nature of the people found, and "to take possession of convenient situations in the country" in the Name of the King.<sup>48</sup>

Finally after sailing further south than any man before (71° 10' S.) and meeting "great islands of ice," Cook concluded that that the long search for the Great Southern Continent was over and no great land of treasures and strange peoples existed.<sup>49</sup> This did not mean, however that imaginary geography was no longer a goal, there was still a Northwest Passage to find.

In 1776, Cook received secret orders from the Admiralty to focus his third voyage specifically on the Northwest Passage. The hope was to avoid the long and dangerous trip through the Magellan Straits or around the Horn and approaching the Pacific via the safety of Canada. The commercial advantages of such a route appealed to both The East

India Company and the Admiralty, of course they were often same people. Cook's orders stated that he was to proceed as far north as ice would permit and explore all bodies of water that might conceivably connect to either Hudson's or Baffin's Bay to the east.<sup>50</sup>

In the ships *HMS Resolution* and *HMS Discovery*, Cook made the voyage as directed, discovering the Hawaiian Islands on the way. In early 1778, the ships he commanded sailed north. They had to stop for repairs at Nootka Sound, which would become a focus of conflict in the future. Cook then continued as far north as the Bering Strait and finally turned back in early September when they passed through the strait and were met by impenetrable flows of ice.<sup>51</sup> The season was fast approaching so the ships returned to Hawaii; Cook did not survive the return.

The following year, with John Gore commanding, the ships made one more attempt before returning to England. There was no Northwest Passage found but another discovery had been made that raised the interest of the British East India Company. While in Nootka Sound, some of Cook's crew traded with the natives for some sea otter pelts and made a great profit trading the pelts with Russians at Kamchatka. They also learned their profit would have been even greater if they had sold the pelts in China. When this news reached London, it started a rush for the Pacific Northwest by The Company and by traders of other nations, intent upon making their fortunes regardless of monopolies.<sup>52</sup>

On April 1, 1791, George Vancouver made one last attempt to find the Northwest Passage. Vancouver sailed from England on the ship *HMS Discovery*, in company with the armed tender, a brig named *HMS Chatham*. His primary order was to reclaim Nootka Sound from the Spanish, who had seized the Sound as Spanish territory and re-exerted their previous claim to the entirety of the Americas as a result of the fur trade. Britain and Spain were arming for war over the incident but Spain reconsidered and ceded Nootka to the British in negotiations.<sup>53</sup> Based upon an unconfirmed report of an American navigating a Northwest Passage, Vancouver's orders included instructions to search again for the elusive route. This resulted in the most thorough exploration and charting of the Northwest coast to that time.<sup>54</sup>

After his return to England, Vancouver did not live to finish the printed narrative of his voyage; he died on May 10, 1798. His brother, John finished the narrative and the book included in it's dedication to the King,

To those great discoveries the exertions of Captain Vancouver will, I trust, be added the complete certainty, that, within the limits of his researches on the shore of North-West America, NO INTERNAL SEA, OR OTHER NAVIGABLE COMMUNICATION whatever exists, uniting the Pacific and Atlantic oceans.<sup>55</sup>

The spaces on the maps of the world's oceans were beginning to be filled. When Cook claimed the coast of eastern Australia in 1770, England had been sentencing criminals to transport to various locations for over 150 years. In time a major destination came to be the American Colonies with tens of thousands being sent there over the years.<sup>56</sup> What were the conditions in England that led to the transportation of shiploads of convicts to the Colonies?

Eighteenth century England was governed by a landed gentry. Between 1700 and 1800, a series of Enclosure Acts reduced the availability of common land for the rural population by over 2,600,000 acres. This action inflated the populations of towns and cities with former farmers, now destitute. An Industrial Revolution based on unrestricted capitalism, and a rising national population, insured that the urban populations would remain in poverty. The new factories offered employment but they often paid less than a living wage. These problems became particularly acute in the second half of the 18th Century, contributing to a rapidly rising crime rate.<sup>57</sup>

The laws regarding socioeconomic conditions were inadequate for upholding living standards during the Industrial Revolution. As a result, the poor often faced a choice between an underfunded parish "workhouse" or starvation. Reform was attempted, but in the latter part of the 18th century the efforts of reformers, in the face of rapidly rising crime rates, began to increase support for changes to the penal code and the problem of "gaol accommodation."<sup>58</sup>

As a response to the rising crime rates, the gentry increased the number of laws and enforced more gruesome punishments. More crimes became capital, and the gallows were very active. Age and sex was of no consideration, women and children were regularly executed.<sup>59</sup> Transportation as an alternative punishment was first a part of the Vagrancy Act of 1597, part of the Elizabethan poor law code. It stated that:

... such Rogues as shall be thought fitt not to be delivered shall be banished out of this Realme and all the domynions thereof and shall be

conveied to such Partes beyond the seas as shalbe at any tyme hereafter for that purpose assigned by the Privie Counsell.

An immediate candidate for implementation of this law was the new venture in Virginia.<sup>60</sup>

While transport was originally thought of as an alternative to the gallows, by 1720 laws were being passed that allowed the direct sentencing of transport for numerous crimes. By the time of the American Revolution, the transportation of prisoners to the Colonies was a thriving industry, conducted by contractors who sold the "labor" of convicts to farmers in the colonies. An estimated 50,000 convicts were transported to the colonies in the 18th century.<sup>61</sup>

The transports stopped with the American Revolution. Though attempts were made to restart the trade after the war, the Americans were having no part of it. The approximately 1000 prisoners a year being transported to the Colonies were now sent to English jails. Old naval hulks were converted to prison ships, but it was found that prisoners, having served their time, went back to crime in the local community. The hulks were not far enough away.<sup>62</sup>

There was also an abortive attempt to transport prisoners to Africa as soldiers but the majority of these died, escaped, or deserted to the Dutch.<sup>63</sup>

On April 1, 1779, Sir Joseph Banks gave testimony before Parliament in which he suggested Botany Bay as a possible option to revive the transportation system. He called the location a place of suitable soil and climate, inhabited by a few inoffensive natives, where convicts might maintain themselves with little or no support from England. Best of all it was remote, and persons sent there would probably remain, as had been the case in the North American Colonies.<sup>64</sup>

On May 13, 1787 the Great Fleet of six ships sailed from England with 778 convicts including 586 men, 192 women, 13 children of convicts and 52 invalids. 695 free men sailed, including officials and officers, and their families, and sailors and marines.<sup>65</sup> The push in this case was the utter inability of the state to deal with the forces of change that were disrupting English society. These forces of *laissez faire* capitalism, increased industrialization and land hunger by a growing "landed gentry," (leading to Acts of Enclosure), had resulted in increases in poverty and crime that overwhelmed existing social mechanisms. The pull was the wide open land of New Holland which offered a way to "solve" England's societal problems by shipping the results of those problems out of sight.

While things were falling apart for the common people at home, the wealthy were still garnering profits from their empire abroad and the British East India Company fueled a large part of that wealth. Still, some trading ventures created problems and one of these was the overly successful import of tea. In 1664, King Charles II first tasted tea made from leaves brought from China. It was an immediate sensation. One hundred years later, millions of pounds a year were being imported into England.<sup>66</sup>

The profits to the Company were enormous, as were the profits to the Crown, because of the 100% import duty. The problem was that there was nothing equivalent in England that was as desirable to the Chinese. Since the Chinese demanded to be paid in silver this presented a problem of hard currency drain, even considering a robust re-export trade of Chinese luxury goods to the rest of Europe.

Between 1710 and 1759 England imported nearly three times as much from the Chinese as was sold to them. The issue finally came to a head when alliances associated with America's Revolution caused Trade disruptions in Europe; the supply of Spanish silver had stopped. England was forced to find another form of payment, opium grown in India filled that gap.<sup>67</sup>

The first shipment of about 150 tons of opium reached China in 1782. Buyers were hard to find, and The Company took a loss. Fifteen years later The Company was importing 340 tons a year as demand, fueled by addiction, was growing. By 1833 China was importing 2500 tons of opium a year. The Company had lost its monopoly on trade in China, but it still had a monopoly on production in India. China had become a nation of opiate addicts, bans and prohibitions on trading opium were ignored and circumvented both by the English and by Chinese profiting from the trade.<sup>68</sup> Profits were huge for The Company and profits for the British Exchequer through the import of tea grew; in fact, the British economy was dependent on resulting customs revenues.<sup>69</sup> In addition to creating a nation of addicts, the profitable trade of opiates caused pleas of progression by missionaries and reformers to be ignored. There was a direct plea by Chinese High Commissioner Lin Zexu to Queen Victoria to end the trade. In 1839 Li pleaded:

The Way of Heaven is fairness to all. It does not suffer us to harm others in order to benefit ourselves. Men are alike in this all the world over: that they cherish life and hate what endangers life. Your country lies twenty thousand leagues away; but for all that the Way of Heaven holds good for you as for us, and your instincts are not different from ours.

The letter was “lost in transit” but a copy was supplied to the “Times” of London. There was no reply.<sup>70</sup> Chinese resistance to the trade resulted in the first Opium War of 1839-1943. Dr. W. Travis Hanes III, the author of the book *The Opium Wars* made an excellent analogy of this war:

Imagine this scenario: the Medellin cocaine cartel of Colombia mounts a successful military offensive against the United States, then forces the U.S. to legalize cocaine and allow the cartel to import the drug into five major American cities, unsupervised and untaxed by the U.S. The American government also agrees to let the drug lords govern all Colombian citizens who operate in these cities, plus the U.S. has to pay war reparations of \$100 billion—the Colombians’ cost of waging the war to import cocaine into America.<sup>71</sup>

This war and the second Opium War resulted in opium imports that led to millions of addicted Chinese and a trade that did not cease until the last ship sailed from India in 1913, as a result of an agreement signed in 1907.<sup>72</sup>

The push in this instance was an urgent need to balance the trade between England and China (profit), and the pull was the opium market in China. This would fall under the category of plunder.

The English were pirates, warriors and merchants. They first entered the Pacific as armed raiders in search of profit and not much ever changed. In the early years the primary motives for their voyages can be traced to war (declared or undeclared) and plunder, with a thin veneer of trade. This was the case of virtually all of the Elizabethans. They traded a bit for slaves in the Caribbean but once they crossed the Isthmus or passed the Straits of Magellan, there was no trade involved. The Merchant Adventurers and the Crown knew this and chose to look the other way, unless, of course, actual war had been declared. In the Pacific, war was the push, plunder was the pull.

Sailing from the west, profit was the motivator. By then the Merchant Adventurers had been replaced by the East India Company and the luxuries of the East Indies trade were the goal. This new respectability, however was a thin veneer in the 17th century and violence, given and taken was just under the surface.

In the 18th century, war was sometimes the push, as in British forays during the Seven Years War, but trade by the British East Indies Company moved the tonnage in the Pacific Ocean. This was the age of the “Scientific” voyage, but The Company, the Admiralty, the Peerage

and the Royal Academy shared goals. The second order of business (sometimes the first) was to find the great southern continent, where vast opportunities awaited the European trader, and/or to find a Northwest Passage that would allow a quick and safe voyages to the East Indies trade. On these voyages the push was traceable to profit; the pull was imaginary geography.

In the 19th Century the push to the island of Australia was a breakdown of English society due to an inadequate response to changing socioeconomic conditions. The pull was land for colonies. Socioeconomic pressures and land for colonies also works for New Zealand, but the case was not so extreme.

The Chinese used "profit" for the push and "plunder" for the pull. No other words really work. The "blind eye" that the "enlightened Christian" British turned from the Company's activity in South and East Asia still taints East-West relations today.

All considered, the pushes and pulls for the English in the Pacific do not lend themselves to the picture of glorious, intrepid adventurers that is often portrayed. Rather, our "intrepid adventurers" ended up being the tools of the English oligarchy, who were pushing for riches wherever and however they could find them.

## Notes

- 1 R.B. Wernham, *The Making of Elizabethan Foreign Policy, 1558-1603* University of California Press (1980) pg 23.
- 2 Ibid., 27, 30.
- 3 Ibid., 30.
- 4 Richard Hakluyt, *The Principal Navigations, Voyages, Traffiques and Discoveries of the English Nation*, E. & G. Goldsmid, Edinburgh, 1890 pgs 252-253 Microfilm, University of Alberta.
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## EXPLORATIONS OF CAPTAIN COOK AND HIS SCIENTIFIC GENTLEMEN

Captain James Cook is a recognizable figure across the globe, due to his three long voyages across the Pacific. When Cook's voyages are discussed, much of the credit for the success goes to Cook himself. Many of his crew members and scientific gentlemen that voyaged overseas with him are considered more as supporting figures. Cook is praised for his work with the natives he discovered and his meticulous details about the events in his journals. However, the credit Cook receives can be overstated. Joseph Banks, Johann Reinhold Forster, and George Forster, who were scientific gentlemen aboard Cook's first two voyages, had tremendous impacts on Europeans' views pertaining to the natives. While the relationships Captain Cook formed with Banks and the Forsters were vastly different and not always positive, these scientific gentlemen were able to observe and interact with the natives and their lifestyle to create a wealth of knowledge to bring home to Europe, making Cook's first two voyages very successful.

James Cook came into the role of Lieutenant in 1768, and oversaw the ship *Endeavour*. His first voyage was a remarkable success under his guidance and the determination of his crew. Cook's right-hand man, Joseph Banks, played a significant role in the voyage's success. Labeled a scientific gentleman, Banks was young, wealthy, and very passionate about his role as a naturalist aboard the voyage. Any chance he had to step off the *Endeavour* and explore the land he took, even if it was against Cook's wishes. Banks was well known for the careful detailing in his journals, and it was common knowledge that Cook even borrowed Banks' notes to write and edit his own journal.<sup>1</sup> It would be naïve for historians and readers in Europe to assume then that Banks' own journals did not influence how Cook wrote about the voyage and the natives they met. This calls into questions of whose point of view historians are truly studying when Cook's journals are read. James Cook also had many different versions and editions of his journals and his expansive editing can be seen in the original journals.

With this known, can Cook's journals be taken without a salt of grain? If his versions of the events constantly changed – what truly happened on these voyages? It is fortunate that Joseph Banks was aboard Cook's voyages and wrote of their adventures and meetings with the natives because Banks wrote with more detail than Cook ever did.

During the first voyage on the *Endeavour*, Cook often wrote of Banks's and Daniel Solander's, another scientific gentleman aboard who had become close with Banks, explorations. Cook did not use much emotion in his journals, often preferring to simply state the facts and attempting to leave his biases out of the reports, but it can be inferred that Cook respected Banks and Solander very much. Just the sheer amount of times he wrote the two men's names in his journals was significantly more than he mentioned anyone else during the other two voyages. While it is probable that Cook simply respected Banks more than anyone else that he voyaged with, it should be noted that Cook also had difficulties maintaining a working relationship with Forster and Forster's son on the second voyage. This led Cook to decline any scientific gentlemen aboard his third and final voyage. Cook often left the tension and fighting on the voyages out of his journals, but many other crew members noted it in their own logs.

Joseph Banks was an unknown man when he was asked to join Cook's first voyage, but the Royal Society decided to elect him anyway. Banks was a young aristocrat who had great wealth and many connections, as well as a genuine interest in learning about the rest of the world. It was this passion that got Banks elected to voyage – it was potential and influence over his accomplishments, which were non-existent before the voyage.<sup>2</sup> His passion did not slow down once aboard the *Endeavour*, and as soon as the ship made its first stop in Rio de Janeiro on November 13th, 1768, Banks was ready to explore. However, this exploration proved difficult to accomplish, as the Viceroy there refused to let anyone except Cook leave the ship without an escort. There was also an expectation that a Portuguese guard was to be aboard the "boats that brought any thing to and from Ship, [...] and this indignity [Cook] was obliged to submit to other wise [he] could not have got the supply [he] wanted."<sup>3</sup> Cook was clearly angered at what he thought was an imprisonment of his ship by the Portuguese and refused to leave the ship in spite while his men gathered supplies for the journey. However, Banks refused to let this stop him and, along with Solander, escaped the ship through a cabin window to explore the land. While Banks detailed his secret exploration of the land and botany in his journals, the findings were either unshared with Cook or Cook had no

interest in them, as Cook had no mention of Rio de Janeiro's land and botany, he only noted that he knew Banks left the ship at night.

There are multiple instances in which Cook lacks detail that Banks goes further in depth of while on this voyage. After leaving Rio de Janeiro, the *Endeavour* headed to Tierra del Fuego, arriving in early January 1769. It was there that Cook got his first experience with natives as a leader with a mission – to create a scenario in which Europeans and natives could have sociable and peaceful interactions. As Cook and Banks approached the natives, they handed over European goods as a peace offering, however Cook is quick to note the natives, in which he gave no name to distinguish them but historians later discovered to be the Haush, seemed uninterested in the goods. He then turned his focus into looking for a chief, with the assumption every civilization had one. Cook then realized that these natives had no chief and seemingly no useful utensils or weapons to live a proper life, and claimed “in a word they are perhaps as miserable a set of people as are this day upon Earth.”<sup>4</sup> Banks was not so quick as to place this assumption on the natives. He, again accompanied by Solander, followed two Haush men who had left the bigger group of natives that were greeting the Europeans. These Haush men motioned for the two gentlemen to follow them, showing signs that Banks correctly interpreted as symbols of peace. When Banks acknowledged their peace, and showed signs of peace himself, the Haush men rejoined their group, and even later boarded the ship to learn more about the Europeans.<sup>5</sup> It was this first event that got Banks excited and encouraged about the new discoveries that were bound to lay ahead.

Cook could be simplified down to be more of a standby observer, rather than a communicator or participant – which is what Banks was more suited for, and was happy to do. Cook was quick with his assumptions of the Haush, as he was with many of the natives he met along the voyage, and spent little time trying to figure them out. Cook had little knowledge that the Haush based their lives around a cosmic ideology, and made no attempt to observe them to try to understand it. Cook noted their body paint in his journal, but identified them only as “Streakes” and not animals in which humans personified upon themselves. Banks noted these differences as well, but was eager to understand what it all meant, so he took the time to immerse himself in their lifestyle – a practice he attempted to do with all the natives he met. There was an obvious language barrier that held Banks back from truly understanding the Haush and other natives. Cook never allowed the ship to stay in one place long enough for Banks and the scientific gen-

tlemen to fully learn the language and study as much about the natives as they wanted, so Banks had to make do with this time constraint and language barrier. Due to this, he was unable to fully understand Haush's rituals but realized that it at least had something to do with cosmology – a concept that did not pass Cook's mind at all.<sup>6</sup>

Joseph Banks did agree with Cook about one aspect of the Haush – that they had a miserable lifestyle. Cook based his opinion on the fact that the Haush had no “useful” tools and lacked true leadership – but Banks took a different approach. What he claimed was miserable about the Haush was their housing, but Banks followed up that detail with an explanation. Whereas Cook labeled them and left, Banks offered a reasoning as to why. Banks observed that the Haush were nomads, quickly moving from one location to another. To be able to stay on the move, the Haush needed housing that was easy to put up and take back down. As an outsider, it would seem as if the Haush did not live under the best conditions – and were certainly not up to the standards of an European, but it was just the way they lived. As for the chief that Cook was desperate to find, Banks concluded that the Haush had no civil government. Had Banks left it just at that, it would be inferred by Europeans back home that these natives lived as savages, but Banks noted “nor did I ever see the least appearance of Quarrelling or words between any two of them.”<sup>7</sup> Banks did not claim the Haush to be savages or civilized, but his reports seemed to lean towards being civilized. He was not quick to impose his European judgments on the natives. Banks made sure to not interpret events he saw in absolutes, as he knew that what he saw and interpreted might not be the complete truth of the native's lifestyle.

As Cook and his men left the Haush and traveled to Tahiti, Cook's interest in the natives began to increase. As he spotted land, Cook was sure to talk with his men about the rules and conduct with the natives. These rules were not discussed with the men before they interacted with the Haush, although Cook had held himself to these standards. So why the sudden change in enforcing such rules about how the crew should conduct themselves? Cook wrote that he expected their stay at Tahiti to last for a significant amount of time, but regardless of the length of their stay, why would Cook stress these rules only now?<sup>8</sup> The crew had come across multitudes of natives before reaching Tahiti, and their Captain had given no such previous orders about their conduct other than to not kill them, so what made the Tahitians so special to Cook? What gave Cook the right to distinguish the Tahitians as more important than any other natives they have come across or will come

across later? For as hard as Cook stressed about not imposing biases on natives, it seemed as if Cook had already prejudged the Tahitians as more civilized and privileged than other natives.

The Europeans stayed in Tahiti for about three months, an unprecedented amount of time for any island that Cook traveled to, but the wealth of knowledge was vast. The *Endeavour* was originally there to witness the Transit of Venus, but stayed to learn more of the natives. Banks had made it known that he was upset at the short amount of time Cook let the men stay at every location, so the three months stay must have pleased him. Banks used any free moment he had to learn from the Tahitians, and often watched any rituals and ceremonies the natives would allow him to be there for. Cook observed any rituals that the chief, or at least who Cook interpreted the chief to be, invited him to, but no more than that. Cook believed that many rituals the natives practiced were based around religion and he "may not be able to understand it, for the Mysterries of most Religions are very dark and not easily [understood] even by those who profess them."<sup>9</sup> Cook did not try to seek out rituals to observe as he believed he would be unable to truly understand them so why bother even trying? Banks did not agree with this sentiment. Even if Banks could not truly interpret the rituals correctly, it did not mean he should not observe and study. While he may interpret some aspects of the native's rituals wrong, it did not mean he could never understand it or that it was not worth trying to understand it.

One ritual, in which Banks had grown a special interest, was for a funeral of an elderly woman who was well respected in the Tahitians' community. Banks described the intricate details of the "chief mourner's" costume, which he unsuccessfully attempted to later buy for himself. He was amazed at the complexity of the costume, and the clapping, stomping, and chasing around rituals the mourners performed. Banks interpreted that their performance "provided a vent for sorrow and anger of the bereaved."<sup>10</sup> While the chasing ritual was more likely a way for the spirit of the high-ranking deceased member to reach the sea safely, Banks understood his interpretation may not be fully correct and the language barrier kept him from truly understanding the rites. However, his desire to learn and study this new part of the world so far away from his European home motivated Banks to form friendships with the natives. This determination led many Tahitians to trust Banks more than Cook, as Banks attempted to prove himself as a friend and ally.

Banks worked hard to gain the trust and develop relationships

with natives in hopes of studying their lifestyle. The determination of Banks' hard work shines through in his journals compared to Cook's own. Banks filled his journal with entries about the natives expanding across pages and chapters, detailing every event and moment of his time spent in Tahiti. Cook however lacked a lot of this detail that Banks was so adamant about writing. Cook did not even write the names of the natives he met, preferring to note only the ones he found significant, such as the chiefs or the natives he deemed intellectual. In one journal chapter, Banks wrote of an event where a knife was taken from him. He approached the native, whose name was Lycurgus, who he suspected had the knife, or at least knew where the knife was. When it was revealed the missing knife was simply a misunderstanding between Banks and his own crew member, the native cried and made "signs with [Banks'] knife that if he was ever guilty of such an action he would submit to have his throat cut."<sup>11</sup> It was this turn of events that Banks noted the trustworthiness of the Tahitian natives, and even deemed himself to be the bad guy in that situation. Had Banks not waited to question Lycurgus and done what Cook would have, which often involved violence and intimidation, Banks would have never come to this conclusion. Banks saw the natives as humans, worthy of the same respect Europeans often gave themselves.

During their stay at Tahiti, Cook and Banks met a native from Ra'iatea named Tupaia, who they took a great deal of interest in, as he was a high-ranking priest and navigator. Tupaia was an older man, close to Cook's age, who held great authority that Cook and Banks admired dearly. Tupaia had a vast amount of knowledge that would prove to be useful during the three-year voyage, as he agreed to travel aboard the *Endeavour* for the rest of their voyage. During his time with the Europeans, Banks became quite close with Tupaia, considering him a friend, whereas Cook showed an indifference towards Tupaia. Cook realized the potential Tupaia had to help the Europeans communicate with natives, but there is an intellectual competition between Cook and Tupaia that made Cook irritated.<sup>12</sup> However, the intellectual capacity of Tupaia did not bother Banks, as Banks grew a strong curiosity of all that he could learn from Tupaia, which led to a mutual friendship between the two men. When Tupaia agreed to travel aboard the *Endeavour*, a crew member of Cook's wrote, "[Tupaia] has conceiv'd so strong a Friendship for Mr. Banks that he is determined to Visit Britannia," suggesting that Tupaia only agreed because of Banks, and not because of Cook's hostage situation, in which Tupaia played a role in.<sup>13</sup>

When it was time to leave Tahiti, Cook realized two of his crew men

were missing, presumably because they had fallen in love with Tahitian women and wanted to live with them. Angered by this, Cook took the chief and a few other notable natives hostage aboard the ship. Tupaia agreed to be a "voluntary prisoner" in hopes of defusing the situation, but it did not seem to help. Cook demanded that his men were to be given back to him or no one was going to leave. Fearful, natives on the island took some of Cook's men as hostages in response, and there was imminent threat throughout the night in which Banks noted he was unsure what was to happen. He wrote in his journal that many native women had cried throughout the night. However, there was little bloodshed and after negotiations, all the hostages were given back to each other. But the damage had been done, the event had "struck a general terror through the island and the prisoners."<sup>14</sup> All the work that Cook and Banks had worked towards in gaining the trust of the Tahitians was now gone, and Cook realized that. He was upset at what he called an "injustice," but sacrificed this trust to get the men back. Cook's concern was that if he let two of his men leave freely, he would soon lose a majority of his crew as they would see that they could leave without consequences whenever they pleased, and he was unwilling to take that risk.<sup>15</sup>

Cook's relationship with the natives continued to deteriorate after leaving Tahiti, as he voyaged to New Zealand and met the Maori. The Maori were not as welcoming as the Tahitians initially were, as one of the Maori natives immediately took one of the weapons from a crew member. Cook ordered the native who took the weapon to be shot, which resulted in that native's death. Cook then opted to leave this side of the island and find different natives that would be more agreeable. When they approached more natives, Tupaia tried to communicate with them and explain that the Europeans would not hurt them, but the natives began to run away frightened. Instead of trying to reason them, which Tupaia and Banks wanted to, Cook ordered a musket to be fired over their heads in hopes of scaring them so they would stop running away. This plan backfired as the natives in turn began to attack the Europeans which Cook admitted was a mistake on his part. When the attack was over, Banks commented, "thus ended the most disagreeable day my life has yet seen. Black be the mark for it, and heaven send that such may never return to embitter future reflection."<sup>16</sup> Cook's intentions for this voyage was to study and observe the natives, but his quick use of violence towards the Maori and other natives would only prevent him from doing just that.

Cook had believed that the natives would instantly submit to the

Europeans but when he realized they were resisting, Cook refused to show weakness and went on the defensive. The Maori were unable to seriously hurt any Europeans as they only had rocks and paddles to throw, but Cook still decided to kill some of them. Cook reported that only two died but Banks insisted that at least four natives were killed.<sup>17</sup> Cook had always attempted to form peaceful relations with natives, but if he suspected there would be any hint of trouble, Cook would create a path, even if it resulted in bloodshed, that would always end up with him on top. Instead of attempting to reach out to these natives and using Tupaia in a more significant role for communication so he could learn and observe, Cook would rather just move on to different natives and remain superior. Banks did not agree with Cook's decision on this, as he believed peaceful negotiations were more important than who was more superior. If Cook was to continue down this path of violence and intimidation, how was Banks ever to observe, learn, and form friendships with the natives?

While the two initial meetings with the Maori in New Zealand did not go well, Cook was eventually able to find a group who were civil with the Europeans. Tupaia was able to communicate with them and quell any fears the natives had for the Europeans. Cook was then able to safely harbor the ship without fear of a native attack. There are many depictions of meeting the Maori by the Europeans, but there are little surviving sources of the Maori's impressions of the Europeans. What did survive was a few paintings done by natives of the interactions with Cook, Banks, and rest of the crew. The Maori were left with memorable impression of the Europeans, specifically Banks, whom the Maori realized they could not intimidate. In one painting the Maori depicted a scene where Banks and a Maori native stood on equal footing, trading food and goods.<sup>18</sup> While the European depictions often attempted to make themselves seem superior in meetings with natives, the natives saw themselves as equals with the Europeans. The natives had even grown fond of and had gained respect for Joseph Banks which was often not the case when the Maori met Europeans.

It was in New Zealand that the Europeans first encountered cannibalism that they could truly confirm, rather than it still being folklore. It had always been rumored that natives participated in cannibalism, and it was how Europeans attempted to distinguish themselves as civilized and not on the same level as natives. "Cannibalism is what the English reading public wanted to hear. It was their definition of Savage."<sup>19</sup> It is with little surprise that Cook and Banks then became so enamored with the Maori's and this practice. It was a practice very

foreign to them, and they wanted to understand how the natives did it, and why the natives continued to practice it. Cook and Banks then attempted to keep their opinions out of their observations of this practice, at least once the initial shock wore off.

Cook was originally disturbed by the practice of cannibalism, but since these Maori natives were friendly with him compared to the last two encounters, Cook exempted the Maori from being labeled as savages, instead wanting to keep the peace. Banks did not define their use of cannibalism in a moral framework, but rather as a social practice, noting that cannibalism had its use and place in Maori society. Neither Cook and Banks attempted to stop the Maori from this participating in cannibalism. Instead, the censoring and hopes of persuasion came from Tupaia, who was clearly horrified by these actions. While Tupaia desperately wanted to stop the Maori from practicing cannibalism, the Maori held their ground. Banks noted with a sense of admiration that "the people have put themselves into a heat by defending the custom," and that cannibalism was their livelihood.<sup>20</sup> It was "not simply an acknowledgement of something they did, it was an assertion that they lived their lives as they chose."<sup>21</sup> Instead of letting themselves simply be labeled as a savage group people, the Maori held true to their beliefs. They displayed many characteristics of a civilized group – they were not going to be influenced by Europeans or any other groups of people who believed themselves to be superior.

After three years voyaging across the Pacific, Cook and Banks returned home to share their findings. Impressed by the vast wealth of knowledge they brought back with them and eager to establish a way to find longitude, the Royal Society commissioned another voyage on the ship *Resolution*, and named Cook as Captain. Banks and his men were set to join as well, and Banks requested more space on the *Resolution* to work and store his findings – believing he was the reason the first voyage was so successful. Construction on the ship began against Cook's wishes, who was concerned the work would make the ship unsafe to sail, and safety was his main priority. With the support of the Royal Society and the Admiralty, the construction stopped soon after it had begun. Angered, "[Banks] swore and stamped upon the Warfe, like a Mad Man, and instantly ordered his Servants and all his things out of the Ship," wrote one of Cook's midshipmen.<sup>22</sup> Banks believed he was sacrificing his youth, energy, and wealth to sail with Cook so those at home could learn from his discoveries. He felt he should be given all that he wanted, and this greed then ruined Banks' chances of ever sailing around the Pacific with Captain Cook again. Yet this did not

stop Banks from continuing his work and making a name for himself however, as he became the head of the Royal Society later in his life.

With the *Resolution* set to voyage only weeks after Banks promptly quit, there was a hurried need for a new scientific gentleman to voyage with Cook. German scientist, Johann Reinhold (J.R.) Forster, filled that position, and he brought along his seventeen-year-old son George Forster. Johann was an educated scientist and his son was often praised as a genius, but there was a large amount of tension between the Forsters and Cook. Even during the interviews to find a new scientific gentleman, Forster and Cook did not mesh well together, leading many to be surprised that Forster was even picked for the voyage, although it probably had to do with his money more than qualifications and personalities.<sup>23</sup> Many modern historians note that J.R. Forster was the “patently conspicuous phenomenon” who was the most mediocre member of the second voyage.<sup>24</sup> Despite this categorization, J.R. brought his own influences and biases, which were often not popularized and agreed with, about the discoveries found. His biases played an especially large role when it involved the natives the *Resolution* came across.

When the *Resolution* harbored in Tahiti for the second voyage, the natives were quick to notice that Joseph Banks and Tupaia were no longer with Cook. The Tahitians had grown fond of Banks and the friendships he had attempted to form with them. They did not care so much for Tupaia, who was originally from Ra’iatea and not truly one of theirs, so when Cook informed them that Tupaia had gotten sick and passed away, it seemed to not affect them. The natives enquires’ of Banks and his gentlemen did not stop however, and introducing J.R. Forster as Banks’ replacement did not seem to settle the natives curiosity. While Cook had played a large role in forming relationships with the Tahitians, it was Banks’ presence that was vital in getting the Tahitians to trust the Europeans. It is important to remember that with how Cook left Tahiti on the first voyage, in an intense hostage situation, Cook was most likely unsure how the natives would react to seeing him again. However, all seemed well as the natives had initially expected on seeing Banks again, and the chief who was in charge when Cook was there with Banks, and harbored the most resentment towards Cook, had died in battle.

The Forsters came from an intense background of German-European superiority and it showed in their depictions and writings of the natives. While Banks and Cook tried their best to leave Europeans biases out of their observations, J.R. and George had no problem

comparing themselves to the natives, often deeming natives as “second-class” humans. Banks had attempted to immerse himself in the native’s lifestyle, while the Forsters did not attempt to form any type of relationships, preferring to just be observers. They separated the natives into different races within themselves, and justified this differentiation by stating that the human species was filled with numerous varieties and it was easier to distinguish natives by ranking them into two races.<sup>25</sup> While J.R. Forster did not explicitly state this, it is inferred through attitudes in his writings that the Forsters considered the first race, consisting of Tahitians, the Maori, and a few others, to be superior to the second race, which consisted of natives from New-Caledonia, Tanna, and New Hebrides.

While in Tahiti, the Forsters made two separate observations of the Tahitians, observing both the average Tahitian and the elite Tahitians. The observations the Tahitian rulers and elite were based off superficial looks and the Forsters went to great lengths to try to paint a picture in the reader’s mind, but these observations were often very skewed. The Forster’s portrayed a picture of laziness and claimed “those that are in power and affluence, generally indulged themselves in eating, and distend the frame of their body to its utmost stretch.”<sup>26</sup> J.R. Forster believed the rulers and elite of Tahiti society were too idle and indulgent, but with his background of European superiority it comes with little surprise that Forster was unable to truly understand Tahitian society and the practices of their rulers. It was not that these rulers and elite Tahitians were lazy, it was their lifestyle that the Forsters did not care to understand.

George Forster also believed Tahitian rulers to be lazy, as he witnessed an instance in which a servant was feeding a presumed chief. Forster had praised the island of Tahiti as a beautiful place, filled with lush plant life. He often took walks around the island to experience the luxuriance, so his “disappointment was therefore very great, when he [George] saw a luxurious individual spending his life in the most sluggish inactivity, and without one benefit to society.”<sup>27</sup> What Forster failed to understand, nor did he seem to care to understand, was the Tahitian concept of tapu. It was not the fact that Tahitian rulers were simply “lazy,” it was the fact that the chief could not be touched for it was believed he could fall ill which the Tahitians thought could cause misfortune to them.<sup>28</sup> It was easier for the Forsters to deem the rulers lazy and arrogant, than try to understand how the Tahitian rituals worked and what they believed in.

Unlike the portrayal of Tahitian elites, J.R. Forster’s first writings

of the average Tahitian started off in a rather positive light in which he noted that the Tahitian people “no doubt contain the most beautiful variety of the first race.”<sup>29</sup> However, the praise ended quickly after that, stating the Tahitians labored too hard during the day and it ruined their figure. They put too much work into their agriculture and canoe-making and the combination of lack of food degenerated their bodies to where they should almost be considered into the second-class of natives. While the Forsters took time to argue that there was such a thing as different races among the natives, they were quick to never truly praise the more superior natives. They wanted to be sure that everyone back home in Europe knew that no matter where the natives ranked among themselves, the Europeans always remained supreme.

The Tahitian women were described by the Forsters as beautiful, but their habit of walking barefoot destroyed their leg shape, making their legs large – which J.R. Forster found unattractive. The leg shape of Tahitian women was most likely made from muscle, but Forster was from a place where women were to be small and dainty – they would have no need for muscles. Perhaps the Forsters were intimidated by the strength of these native women, and that intimidation caused the Forsters to deem the women ugly. This perceived intimidation and depiction of native women appears again when George Forster was introduced to the Maori women.

While in New Zealand, George Forster spent a lot of his time observing and studying the Maori women and their sexual relationships with the sailors. One note-worthy difference between the first and second voyage of the Maori women was the introduction of sexually transmitted diseases. Cook had tried his best to stop his crew from having relations with the native women on the first voyage, but there was only so much he could do. Cook begrudgingly noted that “we [introduced] among them wants and perhaps diseases which they never knew before.”<sup>30</sup> Cook did not have the resources to prove his thinking correct, but George Forster attempted to conclude that it was not the Europeans who brought the disease, but that the Maori women were already infected. When the Europeans arrived on Cook’s first voyage, it brought the epidemic back to life among the Maori women. Not surprisingly, Cook did not buy into this argument. George Forster continued to make this point when he arrived back in England and published his findings, but the argument seemed to come from a hypocritical viewpoint as there were many stories and rumors that George had sexual relationships with the Maori women. If he truly believed these native women were riddled with disease and shared it

with the Europeans, it would be assumed that George would not want to be involved with them – but that was not the case. George, in his Eurocentric mentality, thought the Maori women to be repulsive and disease-ridden, but it did not mean he was against sleeping with them. This hypocrisy did not end with the Maori. The Forsters published findings often contradicted itself because they were so determined to prove that the natives were primitive beings.

The Forsters made observations about these “first-race” natives in a more positive light than they did the “second-race.” When the *Resolution* visited New-Caledonia, the Forsters were quick with their judgment and placed biases on the natives there based off superficial looks. They wrote that the natives were all of a “swarthy color; their hair is crisped, but very wooly. [...] Their females have generally coarse features, few having any thing agreeable or pleasing in their round face.”<sup>31</sup> Just from a quick glance at their features, the Forsters placed these natives in a category that was of lesser status than Tahitian natives who were considered their neighbors. As was custom on Cook’s voyages, Cook presented these natives with European goods, but J.R. Forster noted that these natives had little to give in return due to their poor agriculture. Due to this, the Europeans “were obliged to provide them with the first dog and bitch, and the first boar and sow, which in time to come may perhaps supply them with a new and acceptable change of food.”<sup>32</sup> The style of writing for this section from J.R. Forster sounded almost resentful, as if Forster could not believe the Europeans were expected to help these natives who had no hope in becoming civilized or making a decent living for themselves.

Similar to how Cook initially viewed the Haush as miserable humans during the first voyage, J.R. Forster also found the natives to be primitive and sad beings. Over the course of the first voyage Banks was able to help Cook understand the natives and their way of life, and it was to be presumed that the Forsters were there to do that as well. However, Banks was genuinely interested in the natives and his curiosity to understand them motivated Banks to keep his biases out of his observations. The Forsters had no intention of doing this. J.R. Forster attempted to learn the language of the Yaghan natives, but when he was unable to do so he blamed the natives themselves. “Though I [Forster] pointed to many things, in order to get the Names of them, they seemed to be too stupid for the signs.”<sup>33</sup> Instead of following in Banks’ footsteps of leaving out biases and taking time and patience to understand, the Forsters kept their Eurocentric ideals first and foremost.

When the Forsters published their findings, they had attempted in writing a scientific book explaining the natives and how they became that way. To support their findings, they had to first describe the natives in such a way that European readers back home would have an idea of what the Forsters witnessed. Thus, the descriptions of the natives ended by J.R. Forster calling them "miserable, forlorn and stupid creatures."<sup>34</sup> He then moved on to explain why there were varieties in humans, and how these varieties led to Europeans being more superior than natives, and how some natives are more superior than others. Forster felt comfortable in claiming there was two species because the "negroe of Senegal is so different from the inhabitant of the North of Europe."<sup>35</sup> With this statement, Forster was able to dismantle that the whole of human species did not descend from one couple as Christianity tried to make people believe. Instead, Forster was able to prove, at least he thought he would prove, that the varieties of these different species was based on science.

The first justification of these varieties was based on color. The color of skin, according to the Forsters, depended on exposure to the air, heat from the sun, and mode of living. The Forsters believed that those who lived a better lifestyle, like the Tahitians, were more superior because of their lighter skin tone, the lushness of their island, and their civilized way of living. The second and third justification had to do with size, form, and habit of the natives – the bigger and fitter, the more superior. It was thought that climate, food, and exercise affected the size of the natives. Finally, the Forsters categorized the varieties by particular defects or modifications of the human body. From shapes of skulls, size of feet, or the curvature of ears, no part of the native body was left unstudied by the Forsters. They then decided which modifications of the body were more useful and important and used that to determine what race the natives belonged in.<sup>36</sup> While the Forsters presented their findings with lots of detail in hopes of proving these distinctions were valid, it needs to be remembered that these findings come from a European superiority view point. Any way the Forsters could justify that they were more superior than natives, they did just that.

To understand and learn more about natives, Cook and the Forsters asked some of the natives to voyage with them, like Tupaia had done on the first voyage. They asked natives from both Tahiti and Tierra del Fuego to come with them, but these natives turned the offer down. J.R. Forster was surprised by this decision, and tried to find a scientific explanation as to why the natives wanted to stay on their island. His

justification was that the cold weather had made the natives bodies and minds more "harsh, frigid, and insensible" than Europeans who lived in warmer weather.<sup>37</sup> It then made sense to Forster as to why the natives turned his and Cook's offer to travel to Europe down. The cold weather made the natives think they were happy, when clearly Forster knew they were not – savages could never be truly happy. "He [the native] thinks his piece of seals-skin a more becoming dress than the best silks and brocades; nor would he prefer a well-seasoned ragout to a piece of stinking seals flesh."<sup>38</sup> Forster depicted a picture in which he felt sorry for the natives, because they had convinced themselves they were happy, but it was simply the cold weather playing tricks on their mind. Without explicitly saying it, J.R. Forster had shown to the readers back home that the natives deep down were miserable but too stupid to realize it – savagery had taken over.

The Forsters had a very different viewpoint and approach to the natives than Captain Cook did, and that created tension on the voyage. However, Cook did not write of these issues with the Forsters in his journal, either by not commenting at all, or editing it out later. Cook did not want his journal to be filled with drama about his crew and wanted to only focus on his explorations and observations. This however did not stop Cook's crew members from writing about the tension that caused fights. In one instance, George Forster's gun was taken by a native and J.R. shot the native in response. This angered Cook, as he did not want any conflict with the natives if he could help it. While Forster claimed in his journal that Cook initially was okay with the shooting and even laughed at the prospect of it, there are no other documentations to corroborate that. After getting into a loud fight, Cook physically removed J.R. Forster from the his cabin and the two did not speak to each other for three days.<sup>39</sup> Many crew members aboard the *Resolution* noted that J.R. Forster's "demands on other people were very great, his ideas of his own rights extreme, his ability to compromise little; and his opinion of his own virtues permanent."<sup>40</sup> Forster had too strong of a will and opinion to work well with others, so it comes with little surprise that Cook and Forster butted heads during situations similar to the shooting of the native. Cook was Captain, but Forster often seemed to forget that, believing he was the most important person on the voyage.

When the *Resolution* returned to London in 1775, it had been decided that J.R. Forster's writings were not to be published, as he had lost all respect from Captain Cook and the British Admiralty. Forster was censored from publishing his findings, but George Forster

edited and published his own findings in March 1777, six weeks before Cook's official journals were published. J.R. Forster then published his observations a year later in 1778.<sup>41</sup> With this decision, the Forsters had ostracized themselves in the scientific community, leading many influential members to no longer take George and J.R. seriously. The Forsters attempted to stay and work in the field of science, but were considered as failures and foolish men. When it was time for Cook to go on his third and final voyage, he declared, "curse the scientists, and all science into the bargain!"<sup>42</sup> Cook was officially done in dealing with scientific gentlemen who he believed had attempted to make themselves in charge of the voyage, which was Cook's duty.

Cook set sail on his third and final voyage aboard the *Resolution* in 1776. The main goal of the voyage was to return native Omai home, who had been brought to England years previous. However, Cook was given secret instructions by the Admiralty to find the North-West Passage. This led to Cook leading his expedition to Hawaii, which he had never been to before and had nicknamed the Sandwich Islands. Cook visited the islands early on in the third voyage and noted how friendly the natives were before sailing back out to continue his search for the North-West Passage. It was Cook's second visit to the Islands that proved to be fatal for Captain Cook, or as the natives called him, Orono.

Cook's journals from his third voyage were not as extensive as his first and second journals, no doubt due to his untimely death. Cook was unable to rely on Banks and Forster's journals to help fill in the gaps about the interactions and interpretations of the natives. He often spent a lot of time rewriting his journals, so Cook was in the middle of editing what he had already wrote before arriving in Hawaii for the second time. Due to these circumstances, a lot of what historians know of this third voyage comes from other crew member's journals. James King was Cook's second officer aboard the *Resolution* and wrote extensively about what he witnessed in Hawaii after retuning back home. It was King who had noted that Orono was a name that they "could never learn its precise meaning. Sometimes [the natives] applied it to an invisible being who lived in the heavens. We also found that it was a title belonging to a personage of great rank and power."<sup>43</sup> Since King wrote about Hawaii after the death of Captain Cook, he was able to look back at the events and realized there were signs of danger they should have picked up on, but were unable to do so at the time.

Had scientific gentlemen been aboard Cook's final voyage, events may have played out differently but that obviously can not be known.

Banks had spent most of his time interpreting the actions of natives to figure out what they were doing and why they were doing it, so there was potential he would have been able to understand the situation they were in. Cook often was only an observer, and did not take the time to figure out the actions of natives, preferring to rely on Banks or the Forsters to interpret for him. The scientific gentlemen may have been able to understand that the natives of Hawaii saw Cook as a potential Lono, a god the Hawaiians celebrated. Whenever Cook was on land, he was escorted by priests, who ordered people to bow to Cook as he walked past, and often gifted with pigs that were generally offerings to gods.<sup>44</sup> Yet Cook saw nothing out of the ordinary from this. His European superiority views led Cook to believe that natives simply saw him as superior, not that he was a mythical god.

Cook left Hawaii after being treated like a god, although he did not realize that was what was happening. A few days after he left, Cook's ship became damaged and he was forced to sail back to Hawaii, where he expected a welcoming return – but that was not the case. There were no canoes filled with natives sent out to meet the Europeans like there had been the last time. No priest was there to escort Cook and order people to bow to him. Instead, the priests ordered the area where the Europeans worked on repairing the ship as taboo. Natives did not attempt to have friendly interactions with the crew, and a lot of theft was committed. Cook ignored these odd warning signals and ordered the ships to be fixed quickly so they could leave. In response to the numerous thefts Cook had ordered the natives to be shot at, in hopes of reminding the natives who reigned supreme. This plan backfired as the Hawaiian natives were not intimidated and decided to attack the Europeans – similar to what happened with the Maori on the first voyage. Amidst the struggle Cook was killed and his body was taken by the natives. The fighting stopped soon after and it seemed peace had been restored.

After the death of Cook, James King became first lieutenant of the *Resolution*, and was there when the Hawaiian natives brought the remainder of Cook's body back to the ship. After questioning the natives whether they had eaten Cook's body and the natives denied with horror, the natives began to ask questions of King. The natives asked when Orono would return again, signifying the native's belief that Cook was indeed a superior being.<sup>45</sup> While King was able to realize that the natives believed in something the Europeans could not understand, perhaps someone like Banks could have. Cook did not have the same patience with the natives as his scientific gentlemen did, and

without them aboard his final voyage, Cook was unable to document and interpret his meetings with the natives as well as the first two voyages. King had attempted to take the symbolic place of the scientific gentlemen but did not have the proper experience or understanding of the natives as Banks or the Forsters did. When King did figure out something strange was going on with the Hawaiians, it was too late for Captain Cook.

While hired for the same job, Joseph Banks and the Forsters took two very different approaches as scientific gentlemen aboard Captain Cook's first two voyages. While both voyages were recognized for the work regarding navigation and botany, there were different responses to the works published regarding natives. Banks became very famous and well-respected within the scientific community and even became a hero figure among the general European population. He had the passion and drive to take the time to study the natives and see them as humans, which was very rare among European society during the eighteenth century. The Forsters did not attempt to bring new viewpoints to the study of the natives and hardly brought any new knowledge about the natives back to Europe. Instead the Forsters simply attempted to perpetuate the stereotypes of the natives that were already in place. They were unable to keep their judgements out of their findings and instead tried to prove the natives were primitive through science that was not completely accurate. The Forsters found themselves to be ridiculed while Banks remained the most successful scientific gentleman that ever traveled with Captain Cook. Regardless of who became popularized during Cook's voyages, it is important to note that these scientific gentlemen were instrumental in providing Europe a description of the Pacific land and natives that Europeans knew little about.

## Notes

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- 31 Forster, *Observations*, 162.
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- 34 Forster, *Observations*, 171.
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- 36 Ibid., 172-190.
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- 41 Hoare, "Neglected Philosopher," 3.
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*Justin Kantoff*

**ERRONEOUS AND IDEALIZED  
DEPICTIONS OF MAORI BY EUROPEAN ARTISTS  
FROM THE 17<sup>TH</sup> TO 19<sup>TH</sup> CENTURY**

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Melissa Cole

## AUSTRALIA'S ROBIN HOOD

Written in 1879, the *Jerilderie Letter* discussed Ned Kelly: his life, his family, his crimes, and his justification for committing them along with concluding he was Australia's "Robin Hood." Historians have taken the time to look deep into the *Jerilderie Letter*, pulling information to aid them in their research of Ned Kelly and the differing views the Australian populus held regarding whether Kelly was a Robin Hood or not. Paul Eggert, a historian, considered Kelly to be a good man and saw him in a similar fashion as Peter Carey did in *The True History of the Kelly Gang*.<sup>1</sup> Other historians viewed Kelly as a murderer and a psychopath, believing that he lacked emotion, was selfish, and performed criminal acts for self-sufficing reasons.<sup>2</sup> After reading the *Jerilderie Letter*, it is apparent how historians came to these conclusions; a majority of historians held similar views as Peter Carey. The research was conducted to understand how the *Jerilderie Letter* paints Ned Kelly as Australia's Robin Hood. Even though Ned Kelly expressed very little emotion and the motive for his actions seemed well-intended, the steps he took to achieve those results were criminal. To gain a better insight into the mind of the man Ned Kelly is to read the *Jerilderie Letter*. The following paper explores the *Jerilderie Letter*, the kind of man Ned Kelly was, and how he compared to the traditional Robin Hood, as well as how the Australian populus saw Kelly in the past and how he is viewed now.

The *Jerilderie Letter* is composed of 8000 words, which were dictated by none other than Ned Kelly to Joe Byrne. The way that Kelly dictated the letter and Byrne penned it, gave rise to what seemed like a manifesto; it was his place to recount his crimes and the persecution by the police that he and his family faced. He portrayed his actions and crimes with the gang as an example of how similar his actions are to those of Robin Hood. The letter was written shortly before the Kelly Gang robbed the Jerilderie Bank in New South Wales. Joe Byrne who penned the letter added some of his own commentary to the letter stating that the letter was "the story of a young man forced into situations beyond his control".<sup>3</sup> Although wrought with grammatical errors,

the letter still conveyed the story Kelly was trying to tell. At first Kelly started off with minor crimes such as petty theft. Soon thereafter, Kelly and his gang moved to more extreme crimes such as murder and armed robbery; however, these robberies, as explained by Kelly, had outcomes that benefited those around Kelly and supported his family.

Kelly was very careful with his dictation of the *Jerilderie letter*. The way Kelly portrayed himself was not as a criminal but as someone who was unjustly convicted of specific crimes and whose family was victimized by the police. On the third page of the letter, it was written, "I did not say much to the woman as my mother was present,"<sup>4</sup> which infers that Kelly has respect for women and that he cares about his mother. This is significant because it shows that Kelly cared about his mother's reputation and knew that he could not give her a normal life if he was convicted of his crimes. To justify his point he then detailed a few incidents in which he pleaded he was falsely accused. On page fifteen of the letter Kelly is blamed for stealing a bull, which he had previously assumed, was wild, and claimed it was an accident. Another such example he used, was the conflict between Mr. McCormack and Kelly that Mrs. McCormack had witnessed. Kelly plays off punching Mr. McCormack in the nose as if it were just an accident; Kelly thought that everyone was afraid of him, which he believed because when McCormack got up and was about to run away he swore his life against Kelly. This accident, as Kelly describes it, led to more fear surrounding his name, whether he was guilty or not.

Kelly's reputation was building as someone to be feared and this led to more problems for him. On page six of the letter Kelly pleads innocence after he was accused of stealing a mare that he had found. The letter says the horse was "the property of a Telegraph Master in Mansfield he lost her on the 6<sup>th</sup>, gazetted her on the 12<sup>th</sup> of March and I was a prisoner in Beechworth Goal until the 29<sup>th</sup> March therefore I could not have stole the mare", proving that he could not have committed the crime.<sup>5</sup> As the story goes, when Hall, the law officer, came to Kelly, he lied to him and told him to come with him to sign some papers; little did Kelly know he was to be arrested for horse theft. However, when the horse escapes, Kelly decides to go after the horse instead of with Hall, understanding that consequences will follow if he attacked Hall. This incident is described on page nine of the letter where Kelly stated "I threw big cowardly Hall on his belly,"<sup>6</sup> Kelly considered himself a strong man and the police to be cowards. He also did not like the hold that police had on him, taking the gun from Hall and grabbing him by the collar was Kelly's way of taking control of the situation because he

knew that Hall would rather shoot than fight, Kelly then “stood until Hall came close he had me covered and was shaking with fear and I knew he would pull the trigger before he would be game to put his hand on me so I duped and jumped at him caught the revolver with one hand and Hall by the collar with the other, I dare not strike him or my sureties would loose the bond money.”<sup>7</sup> While Kelly was innocent of the horse theft, he made the decision to “solve the problem” himself rather than let the law do its duty. He justified assaulting the police officer because he was afraid that Hall would shoot him.

Kelly highlighted his violent acts, to demonstrate that he only fought when needed. When Kelly encountered two blacksmiths who had witnessed the altercation he stated “I dare not strike any of them as I was bound to keep the peace.”<sup>8</sup> At the time Kelly had a parole agreement as such he chose to not further another altercation with the witnesses otherwise he would loose his bail. Kelly dictated how he felt about being called a murderer and a bank robber, countering the accusations with his justified belief that he was not a violent person rather he saw no other means to protecting his family.

Kelly’s main concern was his family and as his fame grew extended to his supporters. Kelly wanted to help pay the debt of some sympathizers and to do so he and the gang needed to rob the bank of Euroa.<sup>9</sup> Much of the money from the Euroa bank robbery was used to keep the gang and family members safe following the events that occurred at Stringybark Creek. It kept them fed and hidden in the homes of their supporters who were given part of the funds from the robbery to maintain their silence and feed the men. Those, who the Kelly family stayed with, were well compensated for the time and effort to care for and conceal the gang. Kelly had previously made it clear that anyone who decided to break their silence, breaks their trust with Kelly and is at risk for injury or any punishment that Kelly deemed fit. Ian Jones’ book, *Ned Kelly: A Short Life*, holds a photo of one of the Kelly women wearing a beautiful dress, with the caption reading “I have no doubt this dress was purchased with the proceeds of the Euroa bank robbery”.<sup>10</sup> Most of the funds from the robbery of the Jerilderie bank ended up in the pockets of their supporters and the members of the Kelly family and family members of members of the Kelly gang.

Ned Kelly wanted to be considered a savior and protector, rob the rich, give to the poor, modern Robin Hood. Robin Hood was considered a hero in the eyes of many, with his reclamation of goods that had been unjustly taken by the crown for taxation, returning them to their rightful owners.<sup>11</sup> In a similar manner, Ned Kelly is, in the eyes

of Australians around the world, also considered a hero. In fact, Ned Kelly is often considered the Robin Hood of Australia, however, that does not change the fact that even though they share similar character traits, they also hold many differences. Robin Hood is considered full of bravery, courage, determination, perseverance, and sacrifice. He is determined to find justice in a way that is deemed honorable and respectable by those who are less fortunate. Kelly for the most part is considered a hero in the eyes of Australia for his generosity to the poor. Both men were unbelievably strong, tall, and understood that the means to their ends, stealing, was illegal, both felt justified that by sharing the wealth, it was all worth it.

In contrast, Kelly was not as empathetic as the traditional Robin Hood. In an article written by Russ Scott and Ian MacFarlane, Kelly is described as callous, lacking empathy, violent, as well as having the inability to accept responsibility for his actions, all of which are traits of a psychopath.<sup>12</sup> The article also explores Kelly's childhood in which he bullied neighbours and peers:

Kelly's callousness and lack of empathy manifested early in his life. Kelly was aged 14 when he was charged with his first violent offence", which was the alleged assault of a Chinese pig farmer, "and had been stealing stock from his neighbors since his childhood. Kelly was indifferent to the hardship that his stock theft caused. Kelly's theft was not restricted to the cattle and horses of wealthy squatters. Kelly's theft of working animals was particularly ruinous to small selectors. It is also likely that small, isolated landholders who were fearful of the threat of their fences being destroyed and their haystacks and buildings being burnt, were intimidated from reporting their losses or co-operating with police.<sup>13</sup>

These neighbors were frightened of Kelly, even before he reached adulthood. These earlier crimes were not to support his family and those around him, but to feed himself.

Unlike Robin Hood's goal of specifically robbing the rich to give to the poor, Kelly went a different route by robbing banks, which impacted people of all economic backgrounds. He would then give the money to those whom he deemed to be less fortunate. Many speculate that he gave away money to control the people and win their favor. To say the least, if the people who were paid off were to give aide or shelter to the police and somehow divulge information about the Kelly gang, they would face the dire consequences provided by one of the gang's members. These threats were gruesome in nature, Kelly would swear

that offenders would:

But by the light that shires pegged on an ant bed with their bellies opened their fat taken out and rendered and poured down their throat boiling hot, will be fool to what pleasure I will give some of them and any person aiding or harboring or assisting the police in any way whatever or employing any person whom they know to be a detective or cad or those who would be so depraved as to take blood money will be outlawed and declared unfit to be allowed human burial their property either consumed or confiscated and them and theirs and all belonging to them exterminated of the face of the earth.<sup>14</sup>

Kelly's remark makes it clear that he would never interfere with any person's life unless they stand in his way, betray him, or provoke him. Kelly attributes many of his mental characteristics to harassment by the police. Much of this included the regular projection of blame onto others and "defense mechanisms of denial."<sup>15</sup> McIntyre reported noticing similar characteristics during the shooting at Stringybark Creek. After Lonigan was shot and the gang waited for the remainder of the police party to return, Kelly sat with McIntyre and tapped his gun saying "Don't try to get away. If you do I shall track you back to Mansfield and shoot you at the police station".<sup>16</sup> This quote embodies Kelly's lack of emotion and empathy. While it seemed Kelly was likened to Robin Hood his nature was dangerous with psychopathic tendencies. This view of Kelly however is not the same one that is held by Peter Carey author of *The True History of The Kelly Gang*.

Carey invokes the imagined speaking voice of Kelly, as well as the transcribed letter, to foreground his bitter sense of injustice, and above all his urgent determination to be heard. The existence of the *Jerilderie Letter*, was laboriously rewritten after being seized by the police, its suppression by the printer, as well as contemporary accounts of the long "lectures" Kelly inflicted on his hostages, all give justification for Carey's emphasis on Kelly's outrage at the treatment of his family and himself, and above all, his desire to correct the newspaper and judicial "misrepresentations" and lies—a conspiracy, as he saw it, to silence the poor and the colonized, especially the Irish.<sup>17</sup>

Ned Kelly, in the eyes of the world, is seen as both good and bad. In the book by Peter Carey, the *True History of The Kelly Gang*, Kelly is seen as a hero after saving a young protestant boy from drowning.<sup>18</sup> Kelly changed from hero to perpetrator at the age of 14 when, he assaulted a man by the name of McCormack. From then on, police kept

a keen eye on him and his family.<sup>19</sup> Carey does hold a fascination with Kelly, believing that he is neither a good nor a bad man. Australia on the other hand, holds divided feelings towards Kelly; these feelings tend to be along class lines. "By and large, they're the genteel types who care what the British think about them—the same people who won't have *Waltzing Matilda* as their national song".<sup>20</sup> While the novel and Kelly appeal more to the middle and lower classes. To a certain extent, the novel speaks to those Australians who feel oppressed.<sup>21</sup> Despite Carey taking some personal liberties with the story, many could decide how they feel about Ned Kelly, his family, and their actions from the book and by reading the letter itself. More recently the perception of Kelly has begun to change; in 1980, a stamp was issued to mark a century since his death. Moreover, in the 2000 Olympics, costumed figures ran around the stadium dressed as Kelly based on a painting by Sidney Nolan. One of Nolan's Kellies hangs outside the Prime Minister's office in Canberra. Yet, whether it is his family names (Quinn and Kelly) or Kelly's actions, the Victorian State police still disapprove of Kelly.<sup>22</sup> To those who view Kelly as a good man, he is seen as such because similarly to Robin Hood, Kelly gave money to the less fortunate to support them in ways such as buying food, clothes, and other household materials. The way he shares with those around him causing those around him to continue to believe in him, the gang, and his mission is what keeps his spirit alive all these years.

The world of Ned Kelly is alive and in motion, newspapers are still writing stories about him and the things he has done almost every week. For example, *The Australian* (a prominent newspaper) published that there is to be a new movie about Kelly that will be filmed in Australia next year starring Russell Crowe.<sup>23</sup> Back in October, an article was published describing archaeological digs and forensic examinations being conducted at the site of the shootouts.<sup>24</sup> Many of the articles do not portray him as Robin Hood anymore, it seems as though most portray him as the bushranger that he was. He represents a defiance of authority, both in terms of British and Anglican rule and society. Coming from an Irish, Catholic, and convict background, Kelly's antics and flamboyant style made him an icon that represented anti-authoritarianism in a culture where most people from similar background felt disempowered.<sup>25</sup> The details of the latter shape society through the empowerment of people of similar socioeconomic status. While society shaped itself in the higher classes around the belief that Kelly is nothing better than a common thief no better than Robin Hood.

The *Jerilderie Letter* brought to light the similarities of Robin Hood

and Ned Kelly. Both men stole from the rich to give to the poor, however, Robin Hood came from a rich family and gave it all up to help those less fortunate than himself; while Kelly was born into a low class household with a mother and father from families that weren't particularly cared for by the Victorian police. After the arrest of Kelly's mother Ellen, he began to rob banks to get his mother the fair trial that she was never given. Once Ellen was released, she was returned home to a seemingly normal life and a less damaged reputation. The viewpoint of Kelly by the people of Australia is with mixed reviews: as a crook, a hero, sometimes both depending on the social class that they are from. Some historians even view Kelly as a psychopath, showing no emotion and ruthless.. Kelly still constantly has articles being published about him along with movies being made and songs being sung, one of the most notable Johnny Cash's song Ned Kelly that was originally written by Shel Silverstein. While Kelly may not have been the complete embodiment of classic Robin Hood, he did his best to help those who were in need, especially his family and those closest to him. In conclusion, the Jerilderie Letter was Kelly's way of telling his story as he saw himself: the Robin Hood of Australia.

## Notes

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*Keaton Skaggs*

## TRIAL BY FIRE: ORIGINS OF THE SYDNEY FIRE DEPARTMENT

Since time immemorial, fire has captivated humans by its sheer magnitude and ability to create and to destroy everything it comes across. Its flames have ignited the birth of civilizations as well as obliterate centuries of progress in the blink of an eye. Australia, a continent made up of vast desert plains and coastal oasis' is home to a high fire danger environment. This geographically isolated country has formed a unique climate in that the plants and animals have evolved along with an increasingly dry landscape with high variability<sup>1</sup>. Due to the high fire danger posed to much of Australia, firefighters in Sydney experienced a "trial by fire" approach to firefighting. Bushfires and conflagrations forced legislation to be adopted in order to mitigate the destruction of these fires. This legislation included the regulation of firebreaks, fire codes and related laws. Despite failed attempts to centralize the Sydney fire service, it was not until 1884 that additional legislation was passed to unify the fire service. "On 24 January 1884 minor Legislative Council amendments were approved by the Assembly and on Thursday, 14 February 1884, the Fire Brigades Bill became law and the Metropolitan Fire Brigades (MFB) a reality"<sup>2</sup>. These Metropolitan Fire Brigades of Sydney, Australia would spearhead the conflict of fires that ravaged across the continent.

The original intention for colonizing Australia was to ease Great Britain's overpopulating prison system. By sending convicts to work on sheep runs, this helped Great Britain get rid of excess prison population. When the first settlers came to Australia to farm the land, they had to adapt to a new environment they had never been on before. "The character of the bush was altered when European settlers began planting crops and grazing stock. In this changing landscape, planned and unplanned fires led to devastating loss of life and property"<sup>3</sup>. Before the first European settlers arrived to Australia, the landscape was free to take its natural form without being modified to suit specific European agricultural needs. As a result, the altering of the bush played a

role in the the bushfires that would ravage the land for years to come.

Within the first twenty years of the first settlers colonization of Australia, fire regulation and general codes were written and made law in response to bushfires and building fires that occurred. "As early as 1792, on a scorching December's day, a grass fire raced through the country around Parramatta and Toongabbie, destroying a house and fencing in the process. During the Colony's first drought in 1797 fire destroyed most of its precious wheat crop"<sup>4</sup>. Subsequently the local governor instigated a law requiring farmers to create firebreaks or fire lines as a precaution to halt the advancement of flames if fire should ensue. This move to require farmers to create firebreaks on their property was beneficial as it stopped fire from progressing. A firebreak is created when land is plowed several feet or meters wide usually exposing soil underneath the top layer of Earth. By destroying the top layer of land, this removes the necessary fuel a fire needs to burn. Without fuel, the fire triangle, which consists of fuel, heat and oxygen cannot sustain itself. On October 15, 1801, the following general order was issued, "No person whatever is to set fire to any stubble, without giving his neighbours sufficient notice: and not then, until every person is prepared by having their wheat stacked and secured"<sup>5</sup>. Much like other decrees issued later on down the road by the Legislative Council, this general order did little to enforce it. The order was reissued again in 1805 following the destruction of the wheat fields in Parramatta the previous summer.

Much of early Sydney was built with mud and stone, often times there were no flooring tiles or construction material used for the floor. Structures were commonly built very close to each other if not connected to save real estate, and lined the streets of the city. This proved to be a major problem as once fire ignites, it can leap from one building to the next and within minutes it will have consumed every structure on the block. This will happen in Sydney throughout history. There would be fires that burn up houses and churches throughout the nineteenth and twentieth century. This problem was one of the factors that led to the creation of the Fire Brigades Bill in 1884.

Part of the problem was that Sydney struggled with finding sufficient construction materials to build residential structures with. "The group arrived in a country with no obvious tradition of building construction. Native life required few building skills and no permanent buildings. Their bark covered shelters were seen as being inferior and it took several years before bark was adopted as a roofing material by the settlers"<sup>6</sup>. In Australia, Eucalyptus trees were plentiful. This is

most likely what the first settlers used to construct their homes and buildings with. Eucalyptus trees have a naturally occurring oily substance within their bark which can burn extremely easily. This bark that was used for roofing material was one of the main problems that plagued the early settlements with such bad conflagrations and bushfires. Despite the Eucalyptus' high fire danger and use for constructing buildings, it was a part of the general Australian landscape that defines the continent for how the rest of the world would see it.

In society, it usually takes mass disaster or tragedy on a global scale in order for a change in status quo to occur. That is often the case with building construction, codes and fire prevention. "A series of building fires in the colony forced Governor Bourke to outlaw the use of bark as a roofing material and to order a supply of slate from England in an endeavour to replace timber roofs"<sup>7</sup>. This occurred in 1837. Early fires in Sydney provided little solace to the city's citizens since no effort was made to mitigate future fire outbreaks. In 1798 a church went up in flames and the cause was likely arson. In 1803, three neighboring structures that served as residential homes were engulfed in flames and spread to each house. Some of the fires mentioned played a role in bringing about a change in building code. This act was passed by the Legislative Council in Sydney and was heralded as the City Of Sydney Building Act of 1837. Transitioning from bark to slate as roofing material greatly decreased the chance of fire.

There has been no exact date as to when the first fire company or engine was founded. The earliest recording being "in January 1822 when two engines' recently acquired by the Government' were used to extinguish a fire in the Military Barracks"<sup>8</sup>. This in part could be due to the fact that at this point no organized fire brigade existed outside of bucket brigades that came up in times of conflagrations. However, shortly after the City Of Sydney Building Act of 1837 passed, the legislative council also "incentivized the process" by providing stipends for the first, second and third engine on scene of a working fire. "As an incentive to fire companies the Act provided for 30s (\$3) to be paid to the engine keeper of the first engine to put 'water on the fire', 20s (\$2) to the second and 10s (\$1) to the third"<sup>9</sup>. These incentives worked to benefit all parties involved. This allowed the fire companies to get to the scene of a fire as safely and as fast as efficiently as possible. Therefore, if a structure recently caught fire, the engine companies will be the first to lay a hose line and attack and suppress the fire. This incentive program was a step in the right direction for a few reasons. First it moves away from your average Australian citizen trying to put

a fire out with a few handheld buckets by allowing the engine companies to respond to these calls. If there is an incentive involved in the form of money, then it will benefit the first engine on scene. Second is that this is a step in the right direction and it gives the fire companies some sense of authority and stipend for responding to calls. The fire department in Sydney at this time was either ran by volunteers or by insurance companies. There was no such thing as a paid career firefighter. So for the departments to be rewarded for responding to calls means that this is a step in the right direction and forward progress.

Before the volunteer fire brigades were formed, there were only a few ways for structure fires to be extinguished. The first was by throwing buckets of water on the fire, the second was waiting for the nearest volunteer company to arrive and the third was by ensuring your house was firemarked so the insurance brigade could come use their fire hose mounted carriage to extinguish the blaze. A fee-for-service model was implemented where an insurance company would firemark your house if it happened to burn down. The insurance fire brigade would respond and put the fire out. However this caused much debate in Sydney as the fire brigade was seen as a necessity for the city's safety. One controversial topic was the destruction of buildings around a structure fire. A select committee met with insurance companies to discuss reparations for homeowners whose buildings were destroyed in the means of creating a firebreak. This select committee was formed by the Legislative council in order to discuss the insurance fire brigade's role. While the select committee and insurance companies agreed that this matter was urgent, it was not discussed further in the Legislative Council. This in turn put the insurance fire brigades future up in the air. No one knew what would happen next.

In October of 1854, a notice was sent out that a volunteer fire brigade was to be formed. On March 3, 1855 a new fire engine was purchased and the newly created Australian Volunteer Fire Company No 1 was formed in June of 1857. While station one was under construction, a second volunteer company was already being created. "Both volunteer brigades operated under a proper constitution and by-laws. Officers consisting of a foreman, a first and second assistant, a secretary, engine keeper; two trustees were elected at Annual General Meetings on 1 January each year"<sup>10</sup>. In order for someone to become a volunteer, they had to pay a monthly fee. By establishing two volunteer fire brigades, Sydney was starting to understand that the fire service was no longer a commodity, but a community right that everyone could utilize. While the city of Sydney grew larger in both size and

population, there needed to be a safeguard against fire and disaster. Hence the creation of the first two volunteer fire brigades. You could no longer incentivize the fire service and see them as an entity that only responds when they receive stipends. The rapid urbanization of Sydney proved that the volunteer fire department needed to grow with the city if they wished to protect it from harm.

One might wonder how the fire companies of New South Wales were able to extinguish structure fires in the nineteenth and early twentieth century. They did not have the luxury of modern technology that our firefighters have today. Their self contained breathing apparatus and turnout gear was less advanced than today's. "Before the first motorised fire engines took to the streets in the early years of the twentieth century, the most efficient fire appliance was the horse-drawn steam pumper. This comprised a vertical water tube boiler providing steam for a pumping engine to force water through the hoses onto a fire. All this machinery was mounted on a horse-drawn sprong carriage with four steel-tyred wooden wheels"<sup>11</sup>. In the mid nineteenth century the "steamer", as this engine was called, greatly helped the fire companies in Sydney. The steamer could pump out two-hundred strokes of water a minute. One advantage with the horse drawn carriages was that firefighters could get to the scene of a working fire faster. The faster they can get to a scene, the faster they can put out the fire. The apparatus presented to these fire crews were custom engraved for them. "On one side bears a well-executed engraving of the steam-engine of No 2 Company, and on the reverse the following inscription: "Presented by the Sydney Volunteer Fire Company to their brother fireman"<sup>12</sup>. These modern engines, helped the Sydney Fire Service respond to calls quicker and provided more water to douse the fires.

As Sydney's volunteer fire base started to respond to more fires and grow as a department, "The first mention of fire in legislation was in the 1867 Municipalities Act which identified the legally constituted Municipalities. Section 153 of this Act noted that: "The Council of any Municipality may from time to time make by-laws for preventing and extinguishing fires"<sup>13</sup>. Some laws pertaining to wildfire had been created before, for example the City Of Sydney Building Act of 1837. That act regulated buildings and party walls so that if any fire broke out, it could be contained to a single structure without spreading. Governor Burke created a law mandating farmers to clear firebreaks on their property in case of wildfire. The 1867 Municipalities Act was the first of its kind in legislation because it laid the foundation for future

fire legislation pertaining to building construction, fire codes, etc. During the 1870's, Sydney still had two volunteer fire companies and insurance brigades. However, the relationship between the two was starting to decline. The insurance brigades thought the volunteers as disorganized and the volunteers "accused the insurance companies of being motivated solely by profit"<sup>14</sup>. One could argue that the volunteer fire brigades lacked leadership and a voice in New South Wales politics as they were only two companies without any clear defined laws and regulations. You could also argue that the insurance fire companies were in the business of making money. So if one house in a neighborhood was fired marked, and the whole block went up in flames, would the insurance fire company be morally obligated to assist in putting the whole fire out in the neighborhood or just the fire marked house? These were the questions being asked.

The middle to late nineteenth century brought change in suburban life in Sydney. "By the mid-1870s Sydney's suburban growth was extensive. The Saturday Land Sale was commonplace and subdivisions seemed to arise from nowhere"<sup>15</sup>. It should be noted too that around this time, more people from around the globe were flocking to Australia. Convict settlements were a thing of the past and it was time for free men and women to populate New South Wales. "The rapid growth of the City and suburbs, combined with the procrastination of politicians, saw a rash of new volunteer companies formed. On 8 January 1875, No 3 Volunteer Fire Company was formed"<sup>16</sup>. Another volunteer company was formed in the suburbs of Newtown and Campersdown. One thing that should be noted about the creation of these new volunteer fire companies was that they still lacked a central leadership command structure. Most fire departments nowadays have a command structure, that comprises of captains, lieutenants, battalion chiefs and fire marshalls. Some of these volunteer firefighters worked full-time, yet there was no unified command structure that linked all of the volunteer companies across Sydney together. It would not be until 1884 that all volunteer fire companies were centralized to serve as one entity to the city of Sydney.

The rivalry and bitterness between the volunteer fire brigades and the insurance fire brigades was not solved by legislation until 1883. In 1883 a Fire Brigades Bill was set to be introduced to deal with these discrepancies. However this bill failed to recognize that no piece of legislation could make Sydney's firefighters better at their job whether they be volunteer or insurance. "Despite the proliferations of volunteer 'suburban' fire companies, Sydney was poorly protected from fire in

1883. The brigades were inadequately equipped, mostly part-time, ill-trained and undisciplined, housed mainly in temporary sheds, and lacking in overall control and direction"<sup>17</sup>. The fire service lacked direction and needed to centralize its companies and brigades if it was to serve Sydney in its full capacity.

In early 1884, a new piece of legislation would be passed called The Fire Brigades Bill. "A meeting of the representatives of the fire insurance companies whose headquarters are in New South Wales was held at the offices of the Australian Mutual Fire Insurance Society. Pitt-street, yesterday, Mr. Walter Church in the chair, when regulations were passed for the election of a member to represent them upon the Fire Brigades Board ; election to take place on Friday, 14th March, at the office of the Pacific Insurance Company, Pitt-street"<sup>18</sup>. The Evening News Sydney wrote an article about fire representatives meeting up, following the news of the Fire Brigades Bill. The Fire Brigades Bill was a huge step forward for the fire service in New South Wales. With this piece of legislation now made into law, the conglomeration of all the volunteer companies created a central command structure that these companies lacked up until now. This legislative act was more than just a way to modernize and make the Sydney fire service more efficient, it also aimed to protect life and property above all else. Despite some of the fire service's shortcomings, they did create some extraordinary inventions around the time this bill was created. "On a more positive front, two revolutionary changes were taking place in fire prevention technology. In 1882 a telephone system introduced to Sydney provided a significant improvement in fire reporting. It replaced the existing system of fire reporting by large fire bells and messengers on foot. By 1884 there were nineteen connections from Headquarters to volunteer stations, wharves and public buildings"<sup>19</sup>. By installing a telephone system, Sydney had drastically improved their lines of communication. A telephone system may not seem like a big deal but this could help aid in tracking a fire's progress. In 1889 the Water and Sewerage Board of Sydney installed new fire hydrants used to aid firefighters in getting water to use for structure fires.

Sydney's fire service had come a long way since the days of the insurance companies, bucket brigades and the volunteer department's use of horse drawn carriages. The 1884 Fire Brigades Bill stated that it was the fire department's job to, "take and direct any measures which appear to him necessary or expedient for the protection of life and property or for the control and extinguishment of fire and may cause any buildings or tenements to be entered, taken possession or pulled

down or otherwise destroyed for such purposes or for preventing the spread of fire"<sup>20</sup>. As the city of Sydney grew bigger with each passing year, the fire department had to keep up with the increasing population and skyline. There were times when tragedy forced a change in legislation and lessons were learned the hard way. The threat of fire was always present in New South Wales and the greater Australian continent. However it was the few and the brave who made Sydney's earliest fire service what it was. That is the vanguard of a few courageous men who ran into the face of danger in order to save people, and the historic city of Sydney, Australia. Their sacrifices would not soon be forgotten.

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## Dylan Ratto

### 1906

On April 18, 1906, an earthquake struck the city of San Francisco, as well as other cities in Northern California. This was not the first earthquake to occur in the Bay Area as there had been other incidents with the last one taking place in 1898, but those were not as disastrous as the earthquake in 1906. Unlike the former in 1898, the earthquake in 1906 later led to a huge fire which, along with the earthquake, destroyed multiple buildings. The city of San Francisco had greater damage than any other city. According to *Call-Chronicle*, downtown San Francisco had been demolished. Business establishments, theatres, and even factories were nothing more than rubble.<sup>1</sup> Not only were buildings destroyed but the earthquake and the fire that followed resulted in the deaths of thousands of residents in the area. Half of the survivors became homeless, resulting in some of them living in camps until reconstruction to their homes, businesses and other buildings could be rebuilt.

While it is accepted that the earthquake and fire nearly destroyed San Francisco, the reactions from the residents of the city tell a different story. There were residents who were in sorrow and complete shock of what had happened to their city, especially their businesses and homes, and even stayed to help rebuild San Francisco. However, there were other people that had different feelings leading them to take advantage of the devastation in the form of crime such as robbery and arson. And yet, another group left the city as they did not have any confidence in the reconstruction of their former home. The question remains why the residents lacked faith in rebuilding the city resulting in residents departing the city permanently or for others a life of crime. Speculation is personal gain and fear. Either way, it was their reactions that contributed to the further worsening of the ill-fated San Francisco.

Despite what was told in the newspapers, scholars have debated about the situation in San Francisco at the time of the earthquake and who and what was really at fault, as well as the San Franciscans stability through it. One scholar, Dan Kurtzman, author of *Disaster*, believed

that the San Franciscans overcame the fear and the sadness that the earthquake brought to them, therefore bringing a strong transition to reconstruction.<sup>2</sup> Philip L. Fradkin, author of *The Great Earthquake and Firestorms of 1906* had opposite ideas from Kurtzman, as he believed that the people of San Francisco brought destruction to their city through their chaos, rather than the natural disaster.<sup>3</sup> However, these ideas the scholars produced are evidently mixed in terms of evidence. There was indeed some chaos that occurred, however, at the same time, there was a time of peace among society during this difficult situation.

While Fradkin and Kurtzman focus on the people's trauma and triumph, what they fail to consider the place itself. They fail to see how San Francisco's destruction resulted in various responses from the residents. As David Glassberg put it, "a sense of history and sense of place are inextricably intertwined; we attach histories to places, and the environment value we attach to a place comes largely through historical associations we have with it."<sup>4</sup> Everything that the San Franciscans knew about their city, from the gold rush where most made their riches, to the immigrants who found paradise and created their own lives in the city was now in ruins thanks to disaster. The reactions towards San Francisco shows the real story. In her opinion, Dolores Hayden wrote that place "carries the resonance of homestead, location, and open space in the city as well as a position in social hierarchy."<sup>5</sup> She believed that the attachment to place when it comes to people are "critical to their well-being and distress."<sup>6</sup> That's why when the earthquake occurred, the people's loyalty, emotions, and future were put to the test. As F.H. Pratt, secretary of the Alameda building Trade Council put it, when San Francisco had been destroyed, "the attention of the people centered on the condition of the metropolis."<sup>7</sup> That condition made people think about their own situation, as well as their city and how they saw its situation. Therefore, San Francisco, as a place, brought many different meanings for its residents, in terms of how they saw the city, the places within it, their place in the city and those perspectives were changed for the good and the bad when the earthquake shook the city in 1906.

When neighborhoods were destroyed by the earthquake and fire, there were those who mourned, and others who saw it as an opportunity. To many, these neighborhoods were where memories were located, relationships had been established with neighbors, friendships forged with others of similar goals and life choices. What's important to see though is that some of these residents had made great efforts to save a

piece of that history in a literal sense. In his eyewitness account of one of the neighborhoods, William Ford Nichols, Episcopal Bishop of California wrote, "under great grievance, In the meantime, your mother and I were going over the house, taking something of a last survey, as we then felt it to be, of possessions having the sentiment of our thirty years of married life, including my library, which, with other things, seemed to have just moved up from San Mateo to be burned."<sup>8</sup> "We acted as if there were no time to linger over such musings or over regrets at the probability of the new Bishop's House soon becoming a ruin, and the new furnishings, so associated with the generous thought of the House of Churchwomen and the Diocese, doomed to ashes."<sup>9</sup> Nichols would later end up on Polk Street in its neighborhood and described its conditions:

As the population to the westward along Taylor, Jones, and the slope towards Polk Street realized that they were to be soon "burned out of house and home." All sorts of excited groups were in front of the houses pitching together what they hoped to save, tossing odds and ends of their house belongings on the sidewalk, here and there fortunate enough to have a wagon, but improvising all kinds of transportation on baby carriages, step-ladder sled-like arrangements, dragging trunks on their castors, burdening backs with far more than they could hope to carry, and generally trying to communicate hopeless motion to inert furniture.<sup>10</sup>

After going through many neighborhoods, Bishop Nichols went up to Lafayette Square, along with others, who used the square as a safe haven, had also taken the full amazed result from the fire where he discovered the hill almost black.<sup>11</sup> While on Howard Street, Thomas Chase, a telegrapher witnessed a few residents outside their apartment crying and moaning after what transpired. Their home was of cheap quality, and later looked like a doll house after the fire destroyed it.<sup>12</sup> The memories and identities created, but later destroyed, had been profoundly affected for some of the neighborhood children. Their focus was more on their homes rather than the earthquake itself. Fear that the earthquake would destroy his home Lloyd Head, a member of the Roosevelt boys club had returned home for things only meant for survival such as provisions and anything useful for cooking, sleeping, as well as eating.<sup>13</sup> The loss of a neighborhood proved to be difficult for some people, however some neighbors, as well as other refugees, would see this as an opportunity.

While many survivors mourned for what they lost, others saw the destruction of the neighborhoods as an opportunity, in terms of self-gain and survival. Some residents committed questionable tactics with intentions that could be perceived as self-interest since they were not expecting this earthquake and later fire; their chief concern was survival. In Rincon Hill, according to Frederick Freeman, a lieutenant in the Navy, he and his team needed unarmed men to help save the women and children since he was busy dealing with the people who were trying to break into saloons and steal alcohol. Reportedly, the men that Freeman was trying to hire, refused the jobs as they did not want to be paid less than 40 cents per hour, even refusing to assist elderly citizens. He thought it was more about the men attempting to save themselves rather help their fellow man.<sup>14</sup>

In the time that some citizens were attempting to just sustain, contradictorily other residents decided to take advantage of the abandoned places believing that it could be beneficial to them and that they wouldn't get in trouble due to the ensuing chaos. According to the report of Police Captain Thomas S. Duke, burglars were destroying stores and abandoned homes, as well as another report that a woman was found dead in the mission, a victim of an apparent robbery, as her finger which she wore jewelry on was cut off.<sup>15</sup> The worst however was about to come as Army Captain Leonard Wildman, in his letter to the military secretary, wrote that some of the residents were burning down their own homes in order to get insurance money after discovering that there would be no insurance money for rebuilding if their homes were only destroyed by the earthquake. The only way they were going to get the insurance money was if the fire that started burnt down their property. However, the report of this act was late as Captain Wildman said that there were other things that needed to be taken care of in a quick manner.<sup>16</sup> By this time, most residents were no longer living in their homes, but rather outside.

In contrast to those who sought crime as a means of advantage other people's connections to their neighborhoods came through even more strongly when they had to find outdoor shelter there. Due to procedures and fear of a fire that could occur, it was not safe for residents to be back in their house, if they had one, and protect their destroyed businesses, if they owned one.<sup>17</sup> One of these people Rose Cliver, one of the last known survivors of the Earthquake of 1906, who was three at the time of the earthquake, recalled that while their house was not burnt down; they were required to sleep in their backyards in a tent. She further explains that they were not allowed to cook inside their

homes but rather outside.<sup>18</sup> The reason for it, as explained by Victor Elmo Perry, an employee of the Spring Valley Water company at the time of the earthquake, was that it was all procedure “until all chimneys had been repaired, and inspected, as safe for the wood and coal fires used for cooking in those days.”<sup>19</sup> So for a certain amount of time, those with houses had to temporarily camp outside, until inspections were completed. Luckily, however, they were able to have the tools to survive in that environment. Fear that the earthquake would destroy his home Lloyd Head, a member of the Roosevelt boys club had returned home for things only meant for survival such as provisions and anything useful for cooking, sleeping, as well as eating.<sup>20</sup> Living temporarily outside did more for the community as it brought an unofficial union of two social classes, rich and poor. In his article, famed author Jack London witnessed both rich and poor in the front of their homes boiling their coffee over a campfire.<sup>21</sup>

When residents were able to go back into their homes; their reputation as a society of being generous proved to be an important factor for accommodation. They would invite in the ones who lost their homes, including the rich who lived on top of the hill, not concerned with the consequences, according to famed photographer Arnold Genthe.<sup>22</sup> It was almost like there was a sense of sympathy and bond that one social class had for the other because despite their difference in socio-economics San Francisco was their home and they felt the pain that had crushed them by nature. The spirit of the neighborhood did not wane according to John Conlon, who saw children being entertained by a parade commencing in Haight Street involving the National Guard Outfit.<sup>23</sup>

Like neighborhoods, business communities were greatly impacted. Owners mourned the loss and also became victims of crime. In his discovery, famed author Jack London, who wrote in a correspondent section in *Colliers* magazine saw that business and industrial sections of the city had been completely destroyed. The factories, warehouses, stores, hotels, newspaper buildings, etc. were no more.<sup>24</sup> While some residents loved their houses, for some business owners, the first thing that was on their minds was their shops; after all for some it was the sole source of livelihood. Homes could be rebuilt but starting from scratch a new business was a whole other story. In terms of survivor Charles Kendrick, not only were the well-being of his parents on his mind, but also his office in the financial district of San Francisco. When he got to his office, he stated, “I opened the safe and stuffed it with the most valuable documents; then carted some things, including my

typewriter, down into the basement and piled them in a corner.”<sup>25</sup> One of these owners that was affected by the earthquake was businessman Peter Bacigalupi who had owned three businesses at the time which were a penny arcade, a wholesale house, and a phonograph shop. When he saw the fire, the first thing that came to mind was his phonograph shop. In reaction to seeing buildings falling, he wrote “On seeing this my first thought was of the condition of the [phonograph] Records in my store.”<sup>26</sup> In his account he said, “We immediately started to work moving such machines as we had in the front of the store towards the back to get them away from the heat of the fire, thinking that perhaps our place might be saved.”<sup>27</sup> Some businesses were able to survive the earthquake, which would later have a significant solution to the San Franciscans’ struggles.

Sometimes people were not able to deal with their businesses on their own when those businesses were seen as being for the public good. During the morning of the earthquake, one of the tasks that had come to fruition was focused on grocery markets which were in danger of being destroyed by the fire. As a result of this concern, according to Captain Dukes’ report, one of the tasks that the police department had to complete was to take out food from these stores so not only do they not burn down, but to make sure a famine does not occur since food had been a great concern. Working day and night, the police were able to collect food from 390 stores, and the food was given to the refugees.<sup>28</sup> Grocery stores were not the only businesses that became assets, as a matter of fact, the banks became huge financial contributors to the rebuilding of San Francisco. The city’s banks had contributed most of what they had in their funds for San Francisco’s rebuilding, and even made promises for guaranteed rebuilding.<sup>29</sup>

While some treated businesses with respect for the public good, others had the idea to loot businesses. Saloons were especially a target for survivors who would go in and try to steal all alcoholic drinks. According to Duke, saloons were being broken into and the liquor was being taken but the police did not take action as they were overly occupied with the injured. Old troopers felt that it would be the last time they would ever receive a drink, so they got one, as the city had banned the sale of alcohol.<sup>30</sup> Another incident that came to light was in a letter from Lieutenant Frederick Freeman to the Commander-in-Chief, writing that there had been a lot of trouble with intoxicated people on the waterfront. He reported that his team, except the officers, were not carrying any weapons. As a result, the crowd burst into every saloon they found and trashed it and the liquor had been

stolen<sup>31</sup>. San Francisco Mayor E.E. Schmitz, according to Duke, ordered that all stores to be closed in response to this situation, however, he later stated that there were times that this order was not followed and the result, every alcoholic drink had become part of the sewer.<sup>32</sup> In response to the looting, the military was assigned to come in and protect the businesses from being robbed. As told by General Frederick Funston, "San Francisco had its class of people, no doubt, who would have taken advantage of any opportunity to plunder the banks and rich jewelry and other stores of the city, but the presence of the square-jawed silent men with magazine rifles, fixed bayonets, and with belts full of cartridges restrained them."<sup>33</sup> The military involvement became an event that nobody expected to occur.

Similar to the refugees of the city, despite being assigned to protect these businesses, the military, saw the condition of the city as either a vantage point of personal gain or do what they felt was right while the public disapproved. After the arrival of the military, they did not allow any business owners to go back into their place of business to retrieve their documents and personal items, whether the building was burning or not. While they did not burn property, some members of the military saw the city as a "gold mine." Reports had come in that the military had been stealing merchandise from various districts around the city. One report involved stores being robbed by soldiers on the Montgomery block, but according to Captain Orrin R. Wolfe, one of the men accused, denied any wrongdoing, saying that he had put guards on the streets so that nobody would take advantage of the lonely property.<sup>34</sup>

We came back to the Custom House and as this block contained a number of liquor stores that I didn't know were there before, and as I had ample men then, I put several sentries around different portions of the block; I also put a sentry on Washington street in this block and near Montgomery, where we were getting our fresh water from for cooking purposes.<sup>35</sup>

According to Major William Humphreys of the National Guard, in his letter to the Assistant Adjutant General he stated the reason for the robbery was that according to the Colonel, the soldiers thought it would be the best time to steal items, since they were the ones protecting the city from thieves, he believed nobody would suspect them.<sup>36</sup> In particular, the stores had become the subject of private raiding, ordered by Colonel Charles Morris who issued that every alcoholic bev-

erage, with the exemption of beer, should be taken and poured out so it wouldn't be imbibed which would create problems with liquor business owners.<sup>37</sup> Despite being part of these raids, as well as taking business into their own hands, some soldiers however had different feelings about what was happening. In response to the private seizures, Major-General A.W. Greely claimed that these raids were not made public to him or put on record by Brewster, therefore he acted without a proper warrant, expressing sympathy for the businesses that were a victim of these acts.<sup>38</sup>

In addition to homes and businesses were the community buildings, churches and centers vital to people's morale and welfare. In a personal account from one of the community's religious leaders, Bishop Nichols recalled, "one of our Rectors, the Rev. Dr. Clampett, was then vainly struggling to save his sermons from his burning home, and one of those explosions of dynamite, as it collapsed a building near Trinity Church, shattered everywhere the windows of the Church."<sup>39</sup> The priests, did not give up on their church, going so far as to risk their lives. As he witnessed the event, Nichols recalled "some priests went up into the tower of St. Mary's Cathedral, and at the risk of their lives, extinguished the fires that had caught there, when even the firemen thought it hopeless."<sup>40</sup> The church gave the priests their sense of place, the reason for their strong faith, a place that they prayed in, as well as spreading god's wisdom among others. Dewitt Baldwin, whose family was part of the First Methodist church, which had been completely destroyed by the fire, said that his father had become a trustee, in which his job was to plan out the reconstruction and the new location of the church.<sup>41</sup> Churches gave a sense of safety and security and without a community could lose that sense of place and belonging.

San Franciscan Joe Hammal, in a letter to his Brother, recalled that one of the tasks the city gave was to save the U.S. Mint building, which had produced coins for gold from the gold mines during time of the gold rush. He wrote that 50 of the Mint's employees were the first ones to arrive at the building prior to the soldiers blocking the comers.<sup>42</sup> In response to all of the employee's dedication, the building's supervisor at the time, Frank Leach, in his 1917 account, praised his employees' efforts, saying that their loyalty was not overshadowed by the terror of the earthquake.<sup>43</sup> He believed that they gave it their all to helping a government property that they worked at, going to back to work like it was a normal day. After commenting about their spirit, he later added that he was proud that he had them for employees. After conquering the fire, Leach spoke of the victory, in which he said:

My heart thrilled with emotion at the sight of our national colors floating from an improvised staff thrust out from the front gable peak of the mint building, the staff from which it was usually flown having been burned. The waving flag confirmed our victory over the fire demon in the contest of the day before, and proclaimed a haven of some comfort for all who could gather under its folds, and a nucleus in the restoration of the city.<sup>44</sup>

The worst of all came upon City Hall, a place that was of constant picture taking during the crisis, which was completely damaged by the earthquake. In one of the photographs taken of the ruin, almost everything in City Hall was destroyed such as the hall of records which fell victim to the fire.<sup>45</sup> In another photograph of the wreck, the columns had fallen from the structure, landing on the road of Larkin Street and were still remaining as the photo was taken.<sup>46</sup> This had been a great loss for San Francisco as City Hall had been acclaimed a great piece of work due to its design and construction for its time.<sup>47</sup> After its re-building, City Hall would later have a great meaning following the earthquake, becoming a symbol of resilience, showing how much a city can overcome a disaster like an earthquake, signifying that nothing can keep San Francisco from falling.

Although Chinese immigrants—like other San Franciscans—experienced loss, displacement, and a desire to rebuild, their efforts to re-establish their “place” in San Francisco was colored by anti-Chinese sentiment and international politics. The Chinese, as well as other immigrants had given up their place in their respected countries to create a new place and memories in San Francisco. When the earthquake and later fire struck the city, none of the immigrant communities were as greatly impacted as the Chinese. In his account, Leach recalled, “the flames jumped from Sansome to Montgomery, then from the latter street to Kearny, seizing upon Chinatown with a fury that terrified the poor Chinamen and prevented them from saving much or anything in the way of goods or personal effects.”<sup>48</sup> When their place was burnt to the ground, the Chinese, while distraught, did not panic as witnessed by Louise Kay, as they were rather calm and kept to themselves when it came to their feelings. For merchants, who were in sorrow as she witnessed, collected many treasures at the site with the baskets they put in. She had confronted a Cantonese man who said goodbye to the place and neighborhood he once called home, but slowly added that he and others would need to build new home for him and his people.<sup>49</sup> One event however, showed the dedication the Chinese had for their

culture. In a story told in the *San Francisco Bulletin*, it explained when the Chinese returned to what was Chinatown, twenty residents of Chinese descent were all together worshipping at a site that was in the now destructed Chinatown. The site they worshipped was in Waverly Place on an area that was known as the Joss House after finding a burned image of Joss, a Chinese deity greatly admired and prayed for. They began to chant in honor of the presence of the image and the house that once stood while everyone else began to share food that they brought with them, and this was all done in an hour.<sup>50</sup> As the Chinese were calm about the situation, they began to make plans on reconstructing Chinatown.

The Chinese knew that they couldn't mourn long, understanding they had to rebuild what they lost, thinking more quickly than the city itself. While they were both distraught and calm about what happened to their community, the Chinese community knew they would need to recreate their place, almost as if they had arrived in America again.<sup>51</sup> After the disaster, it was reported by the *San Francisco Chronicle* on May 2nd, 1906, there were 500 campsites for the Chinese located at the western part of the Presidio, close to Fort Point.<sup>52</sup> However, the Chinese felt it was time to move on by recreating their place for their community so they could prosper and create new memories, hoping to erase the memories of the earthquake as well as to expand any influence they had. Dr. Thomas Filben, who was the chairman of the sub-committee that assisted the Chinese community, agreed that Chinatown needed to be developed as soon as possible.<sup>53</sup> Place became so important to the Chinese that even the Chinese government began to support their fellow Chinese, after all, they did own the area of Nob Hill that Chinatown was located in. Diplomat W.W. Rockhill, who represented the Chinese, wrote a letter to president Theodore Roosevelt's Secretary of State Elihu Root, writing that the Chinese dowager Empress Cixi had donated, through the Chinese ambassador, 40,000 taels to the Chinese in San Francisco.<sup>54</sup> Even Chinese organizations like the Chinese Merchants Association of New York had made contributions to the cause, at the request of Chung Pao Hsi, a consul in Chinatown. In response to Hsi's telegram, New York Chinese consul Shah Kaifu wrote, "We cannot be less generous with our contributions than he with his wise counsels. I believe that whatever aid the Chinese of New York should give should be divided up among all sufferers."<sup>55</sup> However, in New York, they were not just planning to give all contributions to the Chinese, instead they also requested that a portion of the contributions be given to non-Chinese as well.<sup>56</sup>

While they were not the same culturally, the Chinese could see that the whites had suffered the same tragedy they had. They saw that making a contribution would show how equal they were with one another. Despite the contribution, the Chinese would soon realize that it was going to take more than rebuilding to get their place back. Their ambition for reconstruction would have a setback as the Chinese were beginning to have conflicts with the city concerning their new location. The *San Francisco Chronicle* reported that the city was planning to move not only the Chinese but its neighborhood of Chinatown somewhere else rather than rebuild the place where it once stood. According to one article from April 27th, the city had plans to move the Chinese to the Presidio for a certain amount of time until their new home in Hunter Point would be done developing. The Chinese responded by protesting against the idea in which Chinese officials believed that since all men had the right to occupy an area that they owned and since the Chinese Government had complete ownership of the lot where the Chinese Consulate of San Francisco used to be, the property will still be their place. Because of these statements, California Governor George Pardee had sent out letters for Generals Greely and Fuston, as well as Mayor Schmitz and gave them permission to allow the Chinese representatives access to the protected neighborhood and look after the Asians and protect their destroyed businesses, if they owned one.<sup>57</sup> The issue involving the Chinese became even worse when it was speculated that the Chinese could abandon the city according to the *Chronicle* on May 2nd, 1906 which greatly concerned the city. Charles Wheeler responded to the issue to the Chinese Legation, claiming that the Chinese leaving San Francisco could have an effect on the city's future. He believed that if the issue was not dealt with smartly, the city's oriental trade could be split among other Pacific Coast ports.<sup>58</sup> The Chinese view of place is an example of how much place meant to them especially after the earthquake along with their religious worships at a place and image they admire. It showed how much dedication and respect the Chinese had for their place and the memories they once had and that they would do anything to get it back, even if it meant moving to get their place back, but at that time, they would be displaced from their homes, similar to most of the residents.

Even as they were displaced from their homes, San Franciscans found ways to create meaningful temporary "places" in the camps they established in graveyards, parks, etc. With nowhere to go, the residents who lost their homes had to resort to camping out in these areas, graveyard vaults became useful when there was a rainstorm. In

response, the police acquired these buildings and put as many families as they could in them. Duke reported that around 2,000 people were given this accommodation.<sup>59</sup> When the military came to San Francisco, they provided the refugees with tents, so they could have some shelter until their places would be rebuilt. In pictures taken during the chaos, refugee camps were set up in various areas like the Presidio, Jefferson Square, and even Portsmouth square.<sup>60</sup> Camps were far from pleasant living conditions. Jack London saw that San Francisco had become a camp town rather than a city, and on his mind, it was a complete mess, with no stoves to cook on.<sup>61</sup> In Emma Burke's experiences, she recalled, "In the darkness we were getting drenched ourselves, so in despair we shut the door and went to bed. On account of our inability to cope with the flood that poured in on us, the three flats below us were very much damaged by water, as they were locked up and their owners away."<sup>62</sup> The cooking was also done outside. One of the campers, Ernest Adams, had cooked his food on bricks that were built Dutch-oven style.<sup>63</sup> Not only did rain become a problem when sleeping outside but loud noises as well, as Lloyd Head had explained, he and others couldn't sleep because of noises of the buildings exploding.<sup>64</sup>

The way they had to live and were treated would be far more challenging than sleeping outside. This included rules for the campsites, set by the army and the city, in hopes that no trouble would occur. The refugees had to wait for the army to bring them water rather than getting it themselves.<sup>65</sup> Genthe reported that the water had to be used only for drinking and cooking, nothing else. Food was also to be distributed among the refugees rather than just taking what they want. This experience proved to be one that everyone was involved in. Like London, Genthe witnessed some of the refugees, rich and poor, lined up getting food as it was the only option since restaurants and businesses were closed. Tables and benches were set up too, taking up many blocks of the streets to accommodate the refugees who ate there.<sup>66</sup> It was a rare time they were on equal terms as they could not just go somewhere to get food, resulting in residents unofficially uniting as one living under the same conditions, similar to those that did not lose their house, who cooked right by their houses. Some however, were able to make the best of the camps by doing many things such as treating it as an actual city. Genthe saw that some refugees would name their shacks and camp sites after businesses like The Ritz and the New Palace Hotel.<sup>67</sup> Conclon even saw refugees making a bonfire among their camp. Sedgwick saw it as being close to Mother Nature. Survivors on Washington Square sleeping side by side with the dead after the

police and the undertakers had dumped the bodies there because they did not know where to take them. Strangers then took these bodies and slept close to them as if they were alive.<sup>68</sup>

They had a great deal of respect for the dead, even if they did not know them. Basically, both living and dead had to go through the same disaster as everyone else, so in a way, it created a sense of a "spiritual" bond between the two. While the adults showed their true feelings, it is the reactions and feelings of the children involved that had a great effect, if not more. A home is where they grew up in and played in, creating the memories of that place. Burke had recalled a little girl telling her mother that she wanted to go home, in a tearful manner. The mother, full of comfort and in a relaxed tone, told her child that they no longer had a home, all of which while she was trying to put her child back to bed.<sup>69</sup> Burke had so much compassion and sympathy with the refugees that she even invited some into her house. She recalled, "I saw a mother and daughter sitting in the next alcove, into which four doors from flats opened. They were weary, and the girl almost fainting. Everything they had was burned, and they had nothing to eat all day, I told them they could go up in our flat and sleep, if they wished. They were afraid; so was I."<sup>70</sup> Some children, however, did not think this way, according to Charles Sedgwick, children felt that they were picnicking.<sup>71</sup> The children did not have the same sense of place in their neighborhood as did the adults, activities like picnicking was common to them, playing outdoors was natural. Lloyd Head said that the people in his camp site seemed to be having a good time. In fact, some campsites had names like "Camp Thankful."<sup>72</sup> With varying perspectives, some of the citizens of the city did not give up a sense of hope for San Francisco while patiently waiting for its reconstruction. Refugees sought out places that had all of the supplies and comfort they needed to survive. Other survivors, like Rose M. Quinn, did not hold the same optimistic perspective. As she recalled, her family set up camp at Fort Mason and her experience was far from great, revealing that not only was their no food, water, or anything that would assist in their survival, but they had to sleep near dead bodies. Because of this, they decided to go to Golden Gate Park.<sup>73</sup> The San Francisco Mint became a popular refugee village after supervisor Leach had put in two pipes from the Mint's artesian so that the homeless would have clean water.<sup>74</sup> In response to this contribution, Leach responded, "In some way, they had found that the fountains in front of the building were a source of fresh water, one of the very few supplies available in the entire burned district."<sup>75</sup> Since water was so limited at the time;

people had to be careful of how they would use their small supply. When these accommodations met their needs, it was not just the water that helped, but the place itself became a saving grace and offset the loss due to the earthquake.

In response to the disaster, City leaders and the rest of the city government acted quickly to handle the situation that their city was in, making changes of keeping the city in control and plan for its reconstruction. The disaster caused the administration of Mayor E.E. Schmitz to collapse.<sup>76</sup> However, this did not mean San Francisco became fully lawless. In respect for the homes and places of others, Mayor Schmitz, in response to the crime taking place in neighborhoods and businesses, ordered that if anyone was seen stealing or committing any sort of crime, would be shot by the Federal troops, police force, or anyone given the power to do so.<sup>77</sup> He also forbade the residents from taking part of any sightseeing of the destruction of San Francisco, believing that they, especially women and children should be focusing on reconstructing buildings or just stay home. He said that men should be the only ones using cars in terms of going to and from their jobs rather than travel around and see the ruins, believing that doing all of this will erase the past and rebuild the future.<sup>78</sup> In attempts to put an end to the fires, James Phelan, who was head of the financial committee at the time, reported that the city had intentions to sell bonds worth \$4 million so they can secure water from the ocean by pumping stations, as well as fire tugs.<sup>79</sup>

In their response to the earthquake and fire in the aftermath, residents and others reminisced about the prestige that the city had prior to the disaster, but what they felt afterwards had been diverse, with some feeling San Francisco would never be the same while others felt it would be great again. At the time, San Francisco had been strongly associated with the gold rush, along with many other cities in California. Many expressed of how they saw San Francisco personally prior to the earthquake. Charles Sedgwick, editor of "Britain America", had described the city prior to the destruction as "the secure, care-free, luxurious place of the day before!"<sup>80</sup> Charles Kendrick, in his memoirs described it as "the City by the Golden Gate; the City made famous by the Gold Rush, the Vigilance Committees, and a host of writers that included Bret Harte, Mark Twain, Ambrose Bierce, Gelett Burgess and George Sterling who limned its praises."<sup>81</sup> Rose M Quinn, who was interviewed by the *Vallejo Times* on April 27th, 1906, described the city prior to the earthquake as "the beautiful "City of the Golden West," the "Paradise of the Pacific."<sup>82</sup> Charles Moore, a frequent visitor to San

Francisco described the place as “the cleanest and most moral city in the entire world”.<sup>83</sup> In the *Seamen’s Costal Journal’s* article on San Francisco, the city had been seen as the “Gay town” due to the residents being that of light- heartedness, as well as being generous.<sup>84</sup> The attitude of San Franciscans of 1906 was no different to what we see today.

In contrast, seeing the destruction of San Francisco, the meaning it brought to some residents was that it was destroyed and never going to return to the old days, creating bad memories in the process. According to the *Call-Chronicle Examiner*, most of the survivors had been wanting to get out of the city, as they had the assumption that the city of San Francisco will be in total ruins.<sup>85</sup> As many as 200,000 people took the train elsewhere, free of charge provided by Southern Pacific Railroad’s president Harriman. In his account Baldwin writes, “My parents, especially Father, were so busy immediately after the earthquake that I hardly had time with them. A few weeks later Mother suggested that Father ask the owner if he could rent early the summer cottage in Larkspur since nobody was occupying it.”<sup>86</sup> Rose Cliver, had stated that after the disaster, her and her family moved to Oakland but her father still worked in San Francisco, the difference however, he had to take a boat to get to his place of employment.<sup>87</sup> She and her family were not the only ones however, as thousands were going to Oakland in order to get away from the horror that had taken place in San Francisco, resulting in efforts by Oakland to give them a place in Idora Park. As a result, Relief Stations were also developed in other public parks in Oakland.<sup>88</sup> Sedgwick described the city as “scarcely recognizable— a sad scene of destruction.”<sup>89</sup> Arnold Genthe said that he had seen famed opera singer Enrico Caruso distraught about the earthquake as it reminded him of Italy as the country had its share of earthquakes over the years.<sup>90</sup> Caruso, who had traveled to Oakland and later caught a train to New York said he was really stressed out about the experience, as he could hardly sleep due to the tragedy that he unfortunately was a part of. A year after its disaster, *Coast Seaman’s Journal* wrote a piece on May 8th concerning the disaster and the effect it had on San Francisco at the time, writing that the city which was a rich and cheerful city is no longer that as its place in history. Charles Kendrick wrote “Little wonder that many of those beset by ruin could see no hope, and left the city vowing never to return.” When he got a first look at the city in terms of the disaster, he said, “The effect on me was indescribably shocking and deeply saddening; it seemed that I was witnessing the death throes of a great city; the city of my birth

and the scene of my early struggles."<sup>91</sup> Dewitt Baldwin however, was the one who was really distraught over its disaster, since he was eight when the earthquake occurred. For his age, he had been acquainted with the city that he admired. He had been attached to San Francisco and saying his farewells to it had brought nothing but surprise to him, concluding that his future had become unknown after the incident.<sup>92</sup> According to London, the earthquake showed how artificial a modern city can be, how helpless the city had become after almighty destroyed water mains, sewers, and even telephone connections.<sup>93</sup> Kurtzman was almost right, based on the evidence from newspapers and eyewitnesses, that some individuals and families relieved themselves of the fears of destruction as they slowly began to reconstruct, but as we have also learned, not everyone fully moved on from the experience.

Those that stayed during the reconstruction of San Francisco, believed there was a chance it could be great again. Most of the survivors held their ground and pulled through the changes it had on them. Kendrick said that despite the effects it had on the people, their strong faith and bravery was not abated.<sup>94</sup> Sedgwick witnessed that society's good nature and helpfulness was triumphant and that the cheerfulness from the people had been a regular thing.<sup>95</sup> Despite the positive outlook of some, Fradkin, too was not wrong in his assessment of the city after the earthquake, noting the chaos such as robbery by the refugees and the military, as well as many protests from refugees and the Chinese concerning the treatment that they were receiving.

The disaster, even if there were problems among the relief committees, still pulled together and were prepared for anymore destruction that would occur.<sup>96</sup> With great confidence, James Phelan, who was interviewed two months after the earthquake, believed that the city would be a greater city in five years which would include new building laws, as well as a unique auxiliary fire protection strategy, getting its water from the bay which will give the city some security.<sup>97</sup> He had seen San Francisco as very valuable to the nation, faithfully serving the use of commerce of the Pacific Ocean, and its welfare should be given the support and sympathy of the United States. Due to its overall ambitions, San Francisco had become, in 1906, and still today, one of the busiest cities of the world, as well as the most interesting because it shows itself as a spectacle of resurrection with no parallel in the history of human endeavor.<sup>98</sup>

As the disaster took away several places in San Francisco, new places were starting to come and take their positions in the city. Two of these places were hospitals known as the Curtis and Cross both named

after sailor Joseph Pike and Dr. Charles Cross. Cross's hospital was a free clinic while Curtin was a hospital for the injured. Some of these hospitals had been unknown until the earthquake. One example, in a letter written by a health officer Dr. Ragan to rear admiral C.F. Godrich, Ragan couldn't believe the name of the hospital was named after Curtin, in which he wrote, "in recognition of this, I have made arrangements to have a permanent emergency hospital established in charge of Dr. Waller. I was not aware that the hospital was known officially as the "Curtin Hospital."<sup>99</sup> Hospitals were not the only places that were becoming better known. Today, Chinatown has become as much a tourist attraction as an actual neighborhood. The exotic restaurants and the souvenir shops have become more popular than the true history of Chinatown, much to the dismay of the Chinese. In 1963, the Chinese founded the Chinese Historical Society of America, whose purpose is to show many about the culture and history of the Chinese while in their new residence in San Francisco. One of the exhibits involves their struggles through the earthquake known as "Earthquake": A Chinatown Story, which presents primary accounts of the Chinese who had been a witness of the disaster, as well as how they lived during the whole crisis.<sup>100</sup>

Despite the circumstances surrounding the disaster, the event itself could be seen as more historic than tragic. *Coast Seamen's Journal* believed that it's more of an opportunity at history, believing that the people should think of themselves as lucky since they experienced something so rare in terms of human energy. The San Franciscans should think of the disaster as like a big show that they would have never wanted to miss.<sup>101</sup> Either way, is was not just a regular city that was destroyed, it was a place, a place where opportunities were made and people flourished. As ex-Mayor James Phelan suggested in the *New York Post* one year after the Earthquake, calamity is the actual touch stone when it comes to nature, and this earthquake would make San Francisco into a better city than prior to the disaster.<sup>102</sup> Historian H. Morse Stephens, who was head of the history committee of fifty, was dedicated to studying the earthquake and gathering material about the disaster. He believed that the city had been in the presence of probably one of the most incredible configurations ever recorded and that its magnitude established its place in history. He showed that the San Franciscans had full knowledge from the newspapers of the huge interest from all of the world the situation that they were in, believing the interest was not a curious one. He compared San Francisco to Lisbon after their earthquake in 1775, in which he explains that never

had a city experienced so much sorrow and charity from a whole world effort like San Francisco.<sup>103</sup> As we can see, the world knew about San Francisco, through friends, family or the news, and they did not have to live in the United States or even California to know of its existence.

To summarize the damages and destruction, Sedgwick said that three-fourths of the city, approximately 10-12 square miles, had been destroyed, as well as \$500,000,000 worth of property was demolished.<sup>104</sup> Today, the city of San Francisco still stands and is not just a place, but a monument, which represents opportunity, prosperity, and even change within the community. Ever since the Earthquake of 1906, San Francisco has obtained a piece of history that identifies it just as much as any history or landmark associated with the city. Today the earthquake still fascinates us, specifically, for residents of the Bay Area since this was the first true recorded disaster to have ever occurred even though it had at one time shared other earthquake experiences that occurred in the 19th century. However, it has certainly brought even more historic value to San Francisco than it had been accredited for since the days of the gold rush.

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## NAPA COUNTY DURING PROHIBITION

Vineyards in California can be dated back to Father Serra's missions in 1779, when it was still Spanish owned land.<sup>1</sup> The 18th Amendment of the United States Constitution decimated Napa County's wine reputation decades longer than Prohibition was in law. This amendment, also known as the Volstead Act, also known as the National Prohibition Act, and most commonly known as Prohibition was the ban of production, sale, and transportation of alcohol, unless used for sacramental purposes, medicinal hard liquor, a beer or whiskey prescription by a doctor, or the 800,000 gallon increase of wine needed for sacramental purchases. Winemaking in Napa was practically annihilated during Prohibition, then again during the Great Depression, and once more during World War II. It took years upon years of back breaking work for the wine industry in Napa to make a comeback. The Volstead Act was not completely successful during its 13 years, it only moved the winemaking underground and in secret. Bootlegging and speakeasies were a quite popular second option for illegal drinking. Some vineyard owners and wineries ripped out their vines to instead grow other fruit trees, others turned to produce wine for medicinal or sacramental purposes. Others even used their grapes to make grape juice, which could eventually ferment into wine. Either way, this new law temporarily turned Napa into the "prune capital of the world".

Before the law was enacted, there were quite a few situations that led to the 18th Amendment. One of the first influencers is Carrie A. Nation, a radical member of the temperance movement in the beginning of the 1900's. Nation would go into saloons and bars and destroy their supply of alcohol, most commonly by throwing rocks at the bottles. She passed away in 1911, but her actions influenced the future voters of the act. Many women's parties and unions were in support of Prohibition, stating that it would keep their families together and happy, and away from alcohol abused husbands. The Anti-Saloon League drafted the bill and named it after the Chairman of the House Judiciary Committee, Andrew Volstead, who also was the one to manage the legislation of the bill. The passing of this act in

1919 enabled the United States government to enforce upon the new 18th Amendment, which took action in January 1920. The Volstead Act was carried out until the 21st Amendment passed, which repealed the law in 1933. The Napa Valley wine industry survived a phylloxera epidemic in the 1880's and the San Francisco earthquake in 1906 which destroyed plenty of wine warehouses, but "none of these compared to Prohibition".<sup>2</sup> This law was not exactly successful, it mainly spiked the crime in the states. It was purely a battle between "wets" and "drys".

Beringer Winery was one of few wineries that were able to operate during Prohibition in the Napa Valley. Due to its historical significance, Beringer is now a State Historical Landmark. As "California's oldest continually operating winery", Beringer was able to stay in complete operation under a federal license to allow production of wine for sacramental purposes, selling the wine to Catholic churches. Beringer Vineyards also made what were called raisin cakes with their dry grapes to make grape juice. Once Prohibition is repealed, this became the first winery to offer public tours. The history of this winery is quite fascinating. Jacob Beringer first came to California in 1869, working for the first commercial winemaker from Napa Valley, Charles Krug, which happened to be the business next to the land where Beringer Winery sits today. Six years later, Jacob and his brother purchased 215 acres of the land for the winery to currently sit 142 years later. In 1915, Jacob Beringer passed away, leaving the winery to two of his children. Even with this unfortunate event just a couple years before Prohibition went into law, the winery was still able to survive and thrive by selling their wine to Catholic churches.<sup>3</sup>



A loophole around the Volstead Act was producing and selling grape juice in barrels. The selling of grapes and dry grapes was not banned, "although the law explicitly stated that if the shipper knew that the final buyer was going to use the grapes for making wine then both the buyer and the seller would be charged with conspiracy".<sup>5</sup> This idea, called wine bricks, was typically used by the larger companies at the time, they would hold the grape juice in barrels full of sulfur dioxide, which is a popular chemical for winemaking. The fermentation process could start once the barrel is opened and air was put into the equation.<sup>6</sup> The ability to sell these wine bricks meant that Beringer Winery was able to stay open and grow their business during prohibition. The demand for grapes actually rose, but many people already tore out or let their vineyards die, so there were fewer people to keep up with the supply. By 1924, there was a 3,847% increase on the price of grapes per ton, starting at \$9.50 and going up to \$375.<sup>7</sup> Unfortunately, this was not enough to keep Napa's entire wine industry afloat, but only allowed the few wineries who knew how to work the system to thrive throughout the United States' dry spell. On these barrels, they had a warning informing the buyer that if it was left open for a certain number of days, it would ferment into wine. It is quite amusing that during a time that is supposed to have little to no alcohol, some products have writing on the packaging exactly how to turn the product into alcohol. The government seemed to have put too much trust in the people on that regulation.

In 1930, as President Hoover was calling for tighter enforcement on the law, revolution began. People became carefree when it came to their booze, and law enforcement seemed to have ignored the law about the whole time the law was enacted. It started with Governor of New York Franklin Roosevelt calling for a reform stating liberals working on a ballot initiative to repeal the 18th amendment. Chicago in the 1920's was ruled by gang warfare and reached its climax on St. Valentine's Day 1929. On this day, seven men of the North Side Irish gang were murdered due to "gang warfare over control of illegal beer and whiskey distribution".<sup>8</sup> The four men who opened fire were allegedly ordered by Al Capone. Capone was very famous throughout the "Roaring 20's" because of how he could get away with almost anything. The St. Valentine's Day Massacre was the last straw for law enforcement's tolerance on Capone. Capone was sent to Atlanta U.S. Penitentiary and eventually sent to Alcatraz when it was a federal prison. In Napa, "on April 16, 1930... 'Napa Man, 9 others arrested by Dry Raiders (who) declared that they had smashed what they declared was the

headquarters of a statewide liquor ring... in Mt. Veeder".<sup>9</sup> Mt. Veeder today is a scenic drive today up Redwood Road, that takes probably about an hour to go all the way up and back down on the windy road. If the ranch where the supposed liquor ring is located toward the top, I couldn't even imagine the effort and hours it would take someone to get to the location. I would say if I were to hold a liquor ring anywhere in Napa during Prohibition, somewhere far up Mount Veeder would probably be my top choice.

In 1932, Franklin Roosevelt was elected president. He won the Napa people's votes with the promise of his "Four R's - Relief, Recovery, Reform and Repeal".<sup>10</sup> Beringer was the first winery to go back into full production, making 500,000 gallons of new wine. Roosevelt was inaugurated March 4, and not even 10 days later, he asks his cabinet for the legalization of 3.2% alcoholic beer, stating the taxes for the alcohol would provide much needed revenue for the government. The Senate Finance Committee suggested California winemakers produce 3.2% alcoholic wine. The winemakers refused, stating it would be fraud, because wine naturally ferments to about 10% in California. The beer had brought in \$3 million in a week, but wouldn't take until December for the Dry Era to end in 20 states after Utah ratifies the 21st Amendment.<sup>11</sup>

The recovery process for the Napa Valley took decades. By 1933, less than 100 wineries remained in California. Not only did Prohibition initially hurt the vineyard owners and winemakers, but when the Great Depression rolled in through the 1930's, not many people were intrigued to start a new career in a new place. The Great Depression throughout the states hurt everybody, except J.D. Rockefeller, but that would be a different story. With the 21st Amendment repealing the 18th Amendment in 1933, people were thrilled to have their booze back, but not enough to become an entrepreneur for a recently almost failed business. Not only did the Great Depression affect wine making, but as did WWII. With many young adults drafting to risk their lives decreases the amount of potential winemakers in the valley.

The "Roaring 20's" was a thirsty time for the United States. Prohibition was overall unsuccessful in its 13 years of law. Fortunately for the Napa Valley, the demand for grapes was extremely high, so the vineyard owners who hadn't yet ripped out their vines were in a good market at the time. It is quite relieving knowing that this area was not known as the "Prune Capital of the World" for too long, since "the Wine Country" is a much more appealing phrase. The history of Napa was changed because of Prohibition, and it cannot be taken back. If

Prohibition was never in place Napa would likely have many more older style wineries, but also a slightly less interesting history in it. Prohibition is surprisingly a really important aspect of Napa Valley history. With illegal winemaking, sacramental winemaking, and even suspected liquor rings up Mount Veeder, Prohibition was an interesting time up in the Wine Country.

## Notes

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FIRE  
POEMS



*Brooke Wrisley*

## TURN BLUE

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*Tarin Breuner*

## FIRST RESPONDERS

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# VOLUNTEERS

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# COMMUNITY PRIDE

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## Jo Moorhouse

### TRIALS BY FIRES

Woke to smell the smoke  
And start to choke on the dragon's first breath.  
Then he spins you around in a spiral dance of death  
- a macabre Halloween joke?  
The smoke. *Smoke?* FIRE!  
Evacuate your homes! Leave now!  
No time to save treasures! Find your secreted pleasures  
Or rescue your memories. Your life is in jeopardy!  
LEAVE. NOW!  
**LEAVE...RIGHT...NOW!**

Horizons glow as the dragon blows flames,  
Plays searing games with life, leaves and limbs.  
Puffing mercurial winds...like childish whims...  
Staccato blow-torches that defy prediction.  
Forcing eviction...Of laddys and ladies, grand-daddies and babies  
While the dragon spits fire like "hot licks from Hades"

It snakes across the Mayacamas  
plays out human dramas -  
With children and mamas.  
While their daddies shocked faces  
Reflect traumas and losses  
of personal spaces in multiple places.

Sparks like red diamonds take flight and alight....  
Igniting parks, hills, and school-grounds  
hometowns and playgrounds  
highlands and lowlands, for 10 days and nights.

Sirens report the death of old folks ... Ancestral oaks,  
antiques and acres. Estates of wine makers,  
Apartments and lovenests  
Trailers and pup tents,  
Cabins and condos - esta Lucifers mondo.



Legions of soldiers battle weather and time.  
Assaulting the demon - holding the line  
Until planes are released, hurdle swords towards the East  
Drowning with streams, attacking the beast.

Heroes fight holocausts in homes for safe places  
View the tracery of tragedy on the landscape and faces.  
As the serpent steals bases. There's still no oasis.  
Helter-skelter. No shelter. Journeys-End in a smelter.

No power, no lights, roads closed, blocked, and gridlocked.  
Are we safe yet? Defeated? Afraid, or just shell-shocked?  
Round the clock, taking stock, then another aftershock...  
Dragon morphs, multiplies, assaults block after block.

Sleepless nights, turn and toss, dreams and frights, mounting costs  
over stressed, overload, overtime,... looting crime, double crossed.  
Tired, depressed, nervous shakes, double takes, stress and strains,  
Nightmares, fears, non-stop tears, aches, and pains, throbbing veins.

In a blink on the brink of carnage unthinkable,  
Abandon all hope. The scope unbelievable  
The loss inconceivable.  
What's left? What's retrievable?

What did you plan .....to take away with you?  
What's most important to help you to get through?  
What did you value? What did you snatch ?  
Remember the puppy? Leave the key in the latch?  
What did you leave? What did you load?  
What did you forget to take on the road ?  
Who can you turn to? Where do you go?  
How do you start moving on, do you know?  
To another address? to another Zip Code?  
Holding out, holding on, how do you get by?  
When your stuff is all gone. Now what? Just Good-bye?  
Where does HOME now reside?  
Is it your abode - or where you abide ?  
Was that your neighborhood exploding in fire?  
Where **are** your neighbors ... afraid to inquire?

We battled the dragon - fought fire with backfire  
Constantly connected to local newswire.  
'Till It finally retreated, Surrendered, Defeated,  
Exhausted, Expired, at last a **CEASE FIRE!**

Gone the familiar - nothing the same - .  
Nothing to hold on, after the flame,  
the inferno, ground zero...still hard to let go.  
The ash that remains will change all we know.  
As the whole country smolders, we behold "afterglow."  
Thru the walls that came down much like Jericho.  
All were Tried by the Fire - the great equalizer.  
Those who thought they were safe... now painfully wiser.  
For the unprotected, ejected - tears spout like the Geysers.  
Some were doomed. some marooned. wine country consumed.  
Take a breath, take a break, life can now be resumed.

After last rites...new insights in the Ashes of October;  
sober reflections, connections, affections,  
a passover, and a benediction. It's over.

Now kneeling, still reeling, but healing.  
Over ...A sigh of relief after historical grief, still disbelief.  
It's over - how glorious ! We're victorious!  
Hallelujah! Dragon - screw ya!  
.....

Then the rains come.  
Parched earth begins a rebirth.  
**... The final worth?**

We somehow survived these Trials by Fires  
Were forged like blue steel in this dragons pyre.  
So many heroes - white knights, superstars.  
Vulcan was vanquished. We'll all bear the scars.

Then HOPE begins spreading much like the wildfire.  
As we cope ...with the loss - survey what was lost  
make the sign of the cross, or the star, know how lucky we are.  
Bow our heads, time we prayed - to thank those who gave aid,  
who gave shelter, those who stayed.  
On our knees, pleases and thank-yous all said,  
Bless them all, bless the dead, ...and the homeless...  
**So now what's the Prognosis?**

The Phoenix that rises, surprises us with new choices and voices.  
What really mattered we painfully learned.  
Friends and family - not that stuff that was burned.  
We survived this insanity. Purple hearts have been earned.

Make a toast of Thanksgiving!  
Be thankful we're living, where neighbors and strangers  
donated their labors, defied burning dangers.  
Crusaders with sabers- became our life savers.

It's all been recorded - we should all be awarded  
A survivor's diploma. Time to rebuild Sonoma.  
Our land is still known for its beauty, its bounty  
for the grapes that are grown, in this coveted county.

It's an Eden unbeaten. Make love and drink wine!  
Relax and unwind, re-find peace-of-mind.  
Make reservations to dine! Make the victory sign!  
Laugh again, have some fun.  
We survived. It's all done.  
Life is great. And we won!  
Celebrate .We remain.  
Dance around in the rain - .  
Lift a glass of champagne

**War's over.  
dragon slain!**

*Kristin McKague*

~ for Stefan

## URBAN WILDFIRE

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FIRE  
STORIES



*Sue Hayes*

## **FIRE STORY**

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*Eric Simenstad*

**FIRE ON THE MOUNTAIN:  
THE WINE COUNTRY FIRES ON MEDIC 19**

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*Kristen Johnson*

## LIFE ON FIRE

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*Joelynn Lee*

## FIRE IN THE VILLAGE

The weekend of October ninth was chock full of activities. Saturday, October 8 my family had planned a birthday celebration for myself and my mother. I had just turned 40. I had thought this was going to be a great year. However, as is the case with my family, there is always some sort of miscommunication and unforeseen drama. One dinner was over I couldn't wait to get home and go to bed. Relieved to have some quiet. The next day was supposed to be a relaxing day spent with my husband's family. And it was, until that night.

Every year in our tiny village of Glen Ellen, the second Sunday of October, there is a village fair. The main part of town is blocked off and local vendors pour in to sell their various goods. There is live music, tasty food, and of course a Kid's Alley, where I typically get stuck for over an hour with my six year old son. This is a day to catch up with neighbors, talk gossip, and enjoy friendly company. Thankfully, the weather was "perfect", sunny and warm as opposed to some years when the rain dampers the festivities. That evening, as my family was settling in for the night and kids were getting ready for school the next day, my husband and I were watching CNN. About ten o'clock at night, our youngest daughter, came into our room, all in a dither. I figured something must be wrong because she typically is the first one asleep at night. When we asked her what was wrong, she blurts out "I'm really worried and can't sleep, my friend texted me and said there are fires all over the place." My daughter is fifteen, and not usually dramatic, so to put her at ease we turned on the local news and sure enough the images are fires burning in Napa and St. Helena. After watching the commotion unfold on the television, I too began to worry, the news is warning us by high winds and dry weather, which could mean some danger since our home was surrounded by large trees. "Okay you can't sleep, now neither can I, let's go outside and be proactive and see if the neighbors know anything" I said as I began to get out of our bed. My husband's response was and I quote, "You're worrying for no reason, I'm going to sleep." At which he rolls over and goes to sleep. I said, "Fine, but I am taking my military trained self outside and getting

some shit done.”

My two daughters and myself go outside and start spraying the house down, trees, yard whatever can possibly burn. After all, it was Fall and there were leaves everywhere. Sure enough, we weren't outside for more than 15 minutes and our neighbors, who had been doing the same tasks, started shouting that they were evacuating Glen Ellen. Living next door to the fire department on one side and the retired Chief on the other side, I took it on good authority to evacuate and quickly.

The girls remained pretty calm with me and listened to every order I gave. We went inside and I said “you need to pack your computers, clothes and some toiletries. Enough clothes for several days. Then you both need to get all the animal food and dishes for the cat and dog.” As they began packing I ran into my bedroom woke up my husband and said, “you thought there was nothing to worry about and now we are being evacuated, get out of bed and pack some clothes.” Naturally, he was groggy and addled. I left my six year old sleeping while I packed clothes for him and myself, grabbed my laptop, all of our passports, the file folders I keep in my desk with all important family documents like adoption papers, birth certificates, etc. I grabbed pillows, blankets, two first aid kits and prescription meds as well as common over the counter medications and of course all my photo albums and a Ziploc bag of USB sticks that have family pictures saved. Finally, I woke up my little guy and carried him to the car in his jammies, and loaded all the items into our cars. My family and I packed in under fifteen minutes.

We have four vehicles and probably could've loaded everything into our Big Red Truck (Ford F250), but instead we took all three of our personal vehicles. We brought the two animals with us, but had to leave the chickens. As sad as it may seem to most people, during an emergency you prioritize your animals, livestock is typically left to fend for themselves.

We all headed to my in-laws house which is still in the Glen Ellen vicinity, but their home is located on top of a hill with quite a good vantage point of the valley. And this is when it got real. Both of my husband's eldest nieces and their babies were all visiting because of the Village Fair. Everyone was awake when we got to my brother and sister-in-law's house at about midnight. The wind was so strong I thought I might fall over. We left our belongings in the cars and went in the house to see how things were for them. Their power had gone out. We had not yet experienced that down on the main street, Arnold Drive. Everything was pitch black, except the raging fires on the hills just

across the valley. It was like something you only see in the movies. The orange and red glow was mesmerizing and fear inducing all at once. Knowing the wind direction was blowing toward us from the fires, we were all in a holding pattern of what was going to happen next.

My husband and I, that night, had different perspectives, as any spouses would. I had a million thoughts running through my head. "Who do I need to call? Where do we go if we lose the house? Insurance? Did I get everything necessary to keeping our lives somewhat together?" Naturally, we also fell into our typical gender roles. I managed the kids, pets, paperwork. He kept busy by helping his brother with their house and farm, checked on his parents.

Soon, our nieces decided to leave. The oldest went to her in-laws which was still in Sonoma, but just outside the vicinity of the hills. The younger scooped up her kids and went to Rohnert Park to be with her in-laws. My sister-in-law called her friend in Sonoma, she and the kids went there. They also have an RV that they parked at their friends for a couple of days.

My husband and I decided to call our son and we chose to bunker down at his house for the night. He, too, lived in the town of Sonoma and had power and water. Mind you he has a two bedroom house, it is approximately 800 square feet and now going to be occupied by a cat, three large dogs, two teenagers, a six year old, and four adults. And if you know anything about six year old boys they don't typically like to be contained. My in-laws have a small travel trailer that we hooked up to their truck and they parked in our son's carport for two days.

When we were all leaving my brother-in-law's the wind had grown stronger, and there were embers bigger than my head flying all around. The sky was filled with small bits of orange glow. (Days later, we found burned embers, that looked to be pieces of papers, large and small in our yards. Black leaves mixed amongst the red, orange, yellow and brown leaves of Fall.)

After arriving at my stepson's house, feeling adequately uncomfortable in the small space, and fearing many things, we finally went to sleep at about four in the morning.

When dawn broke, my stepson called his friend to go find out how they can help. My stepson is a Marin Central police officer and his best friend is a Cal Fire jumper, who happened to be home for "off season". My husband felt inclined to accompany them to either play the hero or simply because he couldn't stand to be cooped up with us. Good thing too. Apparently, my husband and his brother were putting out fires in neighbor's yards, the creek near Sonoma Developmental Center and

helping wherever possible. My stepson and his friend were helping friends and neighbors that lived on Dunbar Road, Sylvia Drive, Bonnie Way, Henno Road and Trinity Road.

While our tiny town is not much more than a village, it is a tight-knit community with residents who have lived in Glen Ellen, Kenwood and Sonoma multiple generations. Sadly, many homes were lost. Some that had been recently remodeled or purchased. Some homes belonged to long time residents.

Lastly, parts of Dunbar Elementary burned. The 160 year old school has strong traditions and again multiple generations of local families have sent their children to Dunbar. So on the first night rumors were flying around as hot as the embers in the air, one such rumor was that the school had burned down. Thankfully, this was not true and only the kindergarten play structure, the stage for annual fifth grade play and graduation and some of the grounds were burned. And to be frank, the fire cleared out the weeds and blackberry bushes that were taking over the grounds. Several trees and telephone poles burned along Dunbar Road and that kept work crews busy for months.

After the first two days, of my stepson and husband playing Rescue Rangers while the rest of us remained quarantined indoors, I argued with my husband that I couldn't take it anymore. I wanted to be home, start cleaning the walls and assess our next steps. I said I would rather deal with whatever may happen than spend another night in my stepson's tiny home like a caged animal. Plus, my stepson had thought it best (when gallivanting all over Glen Ellen) that turning on the sprinklers and leaving them on the roof our house was a good idea. I thought otherwise. I am very grateful that during my husband's valiant rescue efforts he knew how important photos are to me and he took ALL of our pictures off the walls to be safely placed in the vehicle until the fires passed. I have over 40 large picture frames of our family, some of the photos are not digitally saved and therefore irreplaceable.

We are a family that goes backpacking and camping quite a bit, so we are used to living without modern creature comforts like cable TV and even electricity. Yet, that is by choice and the during the fires there was little choice. My husband was concerned that if we returned home we would just have to turn right back around and leave again. The fires continued to rage on all around the valley. And our village was smack dab in the middle of most of it. We were surrounded on all sides. To the west the fires burned on Bennett Valley and Warm Springs Road, as well as Kenwood and Sugarloaf, to the north fires burned along Trinity and to the east of us the fires began to rage through the Sonoma Re-

gional Park. In fact, the night we returned home, the fires had picked up so much that we could see the fires cresting over the hill just behind our house. Admittedly, I am not doing a very good job of describing the landscape, but I suppose you can think of it like a U. The bottom of the U is Highway 12, the left side of the U is Sonoma Regional Park and the right side of the U is Warm Springs Road, Henno Road and Bennett Valley. Much of this area had burned or was burning.

The fires broke out Sunday night and we returned home Tuesday. Thankfully, the water was on and we had gas so I was able to cook and clean and we could bathe. Living without power is entirely doable, after all what are candles for? But to not bathe, is a whole other story! Hardest part about being home was the nights. The smoke in the valley seemed to settle in during the night and seeped into the house through every window, door, and crack available. During the day and night the heat was oppressive. For the first several days we didn't think to get masks, we were breathing in all the smoke and toxic fumes. Although we didn't have electricity we were able to charge our cell phones in our cars, maintain communication via cell phone and even check news and updates thanks to data. While the first two days were about where do we go, what will happen next and what should we be doing? Once we returned home the following two weeks fell into an odd routine. I called work every couple of days, to let them know I was unable to return to work. I and the children cleaned and tried to keep from opening the fridge too much. I cooked dinner by candlelight and we slept through the smoke filled air each night. By the fourth day, my sister-in-law, who resides on family property near Garberville, chose to brave the fires that were burning up and down Highway 101. She did this so that she could deliver several of the family's generators. As I mentioned earlier, we go camping a lot and on the family property there is no running electricity so we use generators during the summer. My sister-in-law is quite a feisty thing. By Wednesday of the first week, the authorities were placing barricades at entry points into Glen Ellen, for several reasons: looters, lookie-lous, and to keep people safe. Those of us who stayed could probably be considered heroic or insane. As my sister-in-law approached the barricade she explained she was bringing her family (my household, my brother-in-law's household, my in-laws household and her oldest daughter's household) generators. The conversation didn't bode well and my brother-in-law had to meet her at the barricade to convince the authority it would be ok to let her pass through. It so happens, that the family name is well thought of in our community and between my husband, brother-in-

law, stepson and nephew-in-law we were given some leeway because of their part in helping local firefighters and neighbors. After we got our generator, well life was almost passable as normal. Except nothing was normal about those two weeks in October.

My husband returned to work. He works for the local newspaper and was able to secure a press pass to get through the barricade. That didn't work for long. By Friday of the first week, the various authorities had so many different instructions that locals were not always treated respectfully. There was National Guard, Park Service, Sheriffs, and who knows who else posted as guards. Sometimes an individual or family could get through if we had valid ID with address on it indicating you lived in Glen Ellen. More often that not that didn't work. So if you left Glen Ellen you weren't getting back in and vice versa. My husband had to start parking his truck outside the barricade, sneak through the backside of Sonoma Developmental Center and the dry creek bed all through town to get home, while it was dark and no flashlight. Then each morning I would drive him to the barricade and he would leave only to return each night muddy, sweaty and looking like a fugitive.

By Saturday, October 15, I needed a break from the smoke, we needed groceries and frankly we all needed to leave the house. After arguing with my husband for half a day we agreed to leave. We brought with us a change of clothes, just in case we couldn't get back in, and we headed south on Arnold to Petaluma. Once we got to Petaluma we went to Target. Yes, that's right we felt compelled to be among people and shopping. It was in the department store that I realized we looked just barely better than if we had been backpacking for four days and we smelled worse, like we bathed in campfire. The car, our clothes, our bags everything was tainted by the smell of smoke. It was so acrid everytime I breathed in I wanted to gag. When we exited Target I complained that I wasn't ready to go back home to our smoke filled house and saturated valley. The five of us agreed to drive to the coast. Despite my husband's impending fear that we wouldn't be able to get back to our home, I was determined.

It was amazing. The further from home we drove and the closer to the ocean we got, the bluer the skies became and the smell of the fresh salty air was intoxicating. When we reached the coast it was rather surreal, like we were outsiders who didn't belong. We were not dressed for the beach, we still reeked of smoke and we were haggard and tired. The people all around us had beach blankets, buckets, bathing suits, picnics. We were dressed as though we had a few articles of clothing from a bunker. Which sounds dramatic and likely not true, but we felt

out of place, out of sorts and the visit to the beach was only half as enchanting as we anticipated. After just an hour we headed home. Stopping at the grocery store, I naturally went overboard, worried I wouldn't be able to leave our village again for several days or weeks.

Despite my husband's badass tendencies, breaking the law seems to really put the fear in him. I, on the other hand, not so much. We had a plan and I was sticking to it. We drove down the little neighborhood street that is adjacent to Sonoma Developmental Center. As we reached the near end, the kids and I got out of the car, I put my backpack on and we covered all the groceries in the backseat with jackets and newspapers and such so that the authorities would let my husband through with his press pass. Meanwhile, the kids and I walked down the street, climbed an 8 foot chain link fence. Once on the other side of the fence, we had to walk through the creekside of Sonoma Developmental Center, sneaking around buildings so we weren't seen by any authorities. It was like a scene in the *Walking Dead*. My oldest daughter cut her wrist, the younger daughter split her LuLu Lemon leggings and my six year old son traversed that fence and the walk as though it was just another day in the park. Come to think of it I wonder if I should be proud or worried. We finally made it to the creek that separates SDC from Sonoma Regional Park. We hiked down into the creek-bed which was bone dry at the time. Climbing back out of the creek on the side was a bit more treacherous. The fire had burned the ground so there were no solid footholds, the trees were precarious and branches were sharp like daggers. As we walked through the Regional Park, I felt the hairs on the back of my neck. The landscape was barren. The home of several animals including predators was fully exposed or gone. The deer had coats that were no longer a dirty brown with white flecks but instead they were black with soot. We managed to get through the walk and try to appreciate what had happened just a few days prior to the world around us. When we reached the entrance of the Regional Park my husband was not at our rendezvous point. So we called and it so happens there were some people who saw us climb the fence and told the barricade authorities. Since, my husband was unable to stop and pick us up he called my brother-in-law who gave us a ride home the remaining mile and a half. Seems such a short distance but with law enforcement out patrolling it was a risk to be out and about.

The second week's routine was the same each day: cook, clean, read, go outside briefly, maybe watch a movie. Some days the smoke would clear and the sky would be brilliant blue, encouraging hope. Then, the next day the smoke would billow in again. For two weeks,

life was full of questions, concern for friends and family members and daily check-in to local news sources, trusted friends as reliable sources and just a different approach to things. I would be foolish to say the little things that were annoyances before the fires were not still annoying or that everyday stresses magically disappear because I have a whole new appreciation for life. I do appreciate what I have and will continue to do so. I know things can be fleeting and like the fires, life changes direction in the blink of an eye and can be extremely unpredictable. When I drive Warm Springs Road and Dunbar Road to school everyday I appreciate the change. There is so much green grass, daffodils, mustard plants all this new growth. Also as each week passes another home site is cleaned and cleared. New and safer electrical lines and poles installed. Though what happened was awful for many people there are several things that can be learned from it. I've learned to make sure my insurance coverage is up to date and covers the value of our home. I have learned to document everything in my home. Have my home appraised every couple of years. Continue to leave valuable documents in an easily accessible place. Appreciate the landscape as I drive past. Overall, we tried to keep a sense of humor, remain calm, and just keep on the next day's tasks.

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## MY FIRE STORY

Since 1991, the town of Glen Ellen has held its 'Village Fair' from noon to 5pm on the second Sunday of October. In 2017, the 26<sup>th</sup> annual event landed on October 8<sup>th</sup>. As always, the fair opened with one of the shortest and most 'home-towny' endearing parades you'll ever see, but this year held great significance because the honored Grand Marshals were the staff and clients of the neighboring Sonoma Developmental Center, slated to close in 2018. There were tears and cheers and general good will as the representatives came down Arnold Drive. In fact, the theme for our fair that day was 'a sense of community'. It was a beautiful thing. Small town street fair, food, and music at its very best. And the day was beautiful. A mild and sunny fall day with a light breeze interrupted by the occasional stronger gust of wind.

As one of the fair committee folks I am used to being absolutely exhausted by the end of the event. My husband and I didn't arrive back home until 7:30pm. We were in bed by 9pm. But the wind had picked up and my second story bedroom windows and desk railing were creaking and whistling. We occasionally have strong storms with wind but typically during the winter and spring when accompanied by heavy rains. It was disconcerting (and annoying) to have such strong winds without a 'storm' and I remember my husband and I both commenting on how it seemed so unusual as we struggled to fall asleep.

Around 11pm, a phone call from our niece, who also lives in Glen Ellen, jolted us awake. She told us to look out the window and started rattling off what she had seen and what she was hearing: Beltane is on fire, Dunbar school too, people are being evacuated, can we come to your house?

Our house is on the south end of Glen Ellen on the upslope of Sonoma Mountain. We border Eldridge to the south and west, Arnold Drive (near the Jack London Village) to the east, and Asbury Creek to

the north. From our second story we can see the entire north valley – Glen Ellen to northwest of Kenwood – and the Mayacamas from Moon Mountain, all the way to and beyond Mount Hood to the northwest. Flicker Hill and the Sonoma Valley Regional Park are prominent closer features in our viewshed. My husband grew up on this property, which has been owned by the family since the early 1970's. When we purchased the property we built a granny unit for my in-laws. On the night of October 8, 2017, we had our three daughters in the house, another niece and her two young children visiting, two dogs, two cats, a herd of goats, a flock of chickens, and my mother and father in-law on our small farm property.

The view from our bedroom window late that night was terrifying and surreal. The fire was obviously large but we couldn't get the full scope – definitely in Nuns Canyon and at Beltane with an amorphous glow coming from the valley floor in the Dunbar Rd/Hwy 12 area which we can't quite see from our view. Most evident was the fact that the winds had not died down, if anything they had increased, and the fire was moving fast, very, very fast. It was eating the hills at an alarming rate.

The next several hours are a blur. I started packing up important papers and making a mental plan should we have to evacuate. My husband jumped on our tractor grabbed the chain saw and got to work finding still more ways to make our property as fire safe as possible. My niece and her young children joined her sister who was already in our house. My brother-in-law's family (who live next door to the Glen Ellen Fire Department in town) called to say they were coming to us as well. At one point we had 11 children and 6 adults sheltering at our place and in various stages of second guessing what they had/were packing, staring out the window, attempting to get a little more sleep, trying to wrangle animals (our cats were not happy about being capture and stuffed into carriers), or distract themselves and others from what was going on. Several of the group went down to wake up my in-laws and get them packing in case of evacuation (there is no 'rushing' 80-somethings, we were all very concerned about their comfort and safety).

Facebook, Nextdoor, and personal text messages as well as phone calls were rapid fire. There was so much 'information', a large portion of which I would come to discover later was rather inaccurate, and it was heart-wrenching, devastating, incredibly frightening- and at that point we didn't even know of the devastation that was simultaneously going down in Santa Rosa, Napa, Windsor, Ukiah.

I have two searingly distinct memories from that night and early morning. The first is looking out the bedroom window to the north and seeing a fire tornado in the canyon 'bowl-shaped' area up above Atwood Ranch. It's hard to comprehend the significance of my being able to perfectly image something like that when it is *miles* away from my house. The height of the tornado must've been multiple hundreds of feet tall. I did not take a photo. I wish now that I had because even though I know what I saw I now doubt myself. It was at once awesome and a sight I hope to never see in person again.

The second memory is from right before we left the property at about 5am. The cars were packed and I had turned off the 'what should we grab' narrative in my brain. I realized that the fire had crested Hill Road, the ridgeline directly to our north. This meant that between us and the fire lay only the homes and open space of Meadow Lane and the riparian zone of Asbury Creek. The flames were clearly distinguishable and gigantic from our view. The wind had not let up. I went outside to check on the goats and chickens one last time. I let everyone out of their pens and put a pile of food in the open pasture. I felt confident in their safety but I did say goodbye. As I turned to walk from the barn back up to the house I looked up to the north and I saw it in the sky. A helicopter's red flashing light flying toward me. As it increased in size my mind was jumping to - 'how can they possibly be flying in this wind?' - and that's when the scene actually came into focus. The red 'light' I was seeing was a giant piece of burning fire over my house. Once my mind grasped that fact, I realized that flaming debris was raining down all over the place, even landing on the far side of our property in the open space to our south. I ran to the house and yelled out 'that's it we're leaving, we have to go now!'. Dogs and kids were loaded up. The non-immediate family had already departed. My husband and his brother were going to help drive my in-laws out. My oldest daughter got in her car with her sister. She said she felt most comfortable driving to her friend's house in the Springs area of Sonoma Valley. I told her I loved her, to be safe, and to go, we'd connect by phone in a bit. As I watched her drive away my heart felt ripped out. I didn't realize the power of 'being together' and now as I knew we were splitting up it was a new wave of fear. I drove with my youngest daughter and the two screaming cats to a friend's house in the Sonoma Valley floor near Altimira Middle School. About 45 minutes later my husband showed up there with our RV and the two dogs. My friend offered to drive my husband back home, he planned to stay there and do whatever he could as long as he could, and then evacuate either

with our other car or through the hills he grew up on via dirt bike. He's like that and I knew he would be safe but the other half of my heart ripped out as I watched him drive away - we were separating again.

Over that first night and into the morning, the town of Glen Ellen lost over 140 homes. If you include the surrounding area the number rises to 180 and the next town over, Kenwood, lost an additional 140. We were lucky. The fire came to the creek (our property line) where my husband, family members, and neighbors managed to tamp it down. That same crew helped save homes on Meadow and several to our west off Hill Road. The community spirit was amazing, inspirational, and changed us all forever.

I didn't sleep again until about midnight on Monday. Even then, I set my alarm to wake me every hour and a half so that I would check in with my husband who was attempting to keep an eye on flare ups on the properties to our north, west, and east. That day had been a whirlwind mix of driving back into the fire zone, seeing devastation in the daylight and with my own eyes, watching destruction in real time, getting stuck behind a barricade unable to get back to my kids while my cell phone was dying, and realizing that some of what I heard wasn't true. The school was still standing as well as the Jack London Lodge, the post office, all of downtown, Jack London State Park. From that moment, I was on a personal mission to spread legitimate and true information as much as I could. That obsession continued non-stop until the evacuation for our area was lifted nearly two weeks later.

Several days in we sent our kids away to be with my mom. Even though we knew it was for the best (air quality was reason alone) and we were all safe at that point, watching them drive out through the barricade was nearly as bad as that first night.

99% of what I witnessed surrounding the fire and aftermath was the very best of humanity. 1% was not. The most disturbing activity involved the news vans that began rolling into town within the first 24 hours. To see photographers and newscasters filming the remains of people's lives before those people had even learned if their house was still standing was infuriating. When you add in the fact that cadaver teams didn't come into our area until more than a week after the fires began, it was possible that these reporters and photographers were standing on sacred ground, a person's last resting place. On the third or fourth day I received a text from a friend telling me there was a news crew nearby reporting live and providing confusion at best, and completely sensational at worst, information. I jumped on our 4-wheeler and literally chased down the crew then coerced them to interview me

live so that I could put out some real information. I've never watched that full interview but friends have commented that they loved the way I just kept talking even though they were trying to sign off. I don't have a negative view of 'the news', in fact I work as a columnist for the local Kenwood Press. They are just trying to do their job but the pressure to have 'breaking news' with 'good optics' means that they probably often are getting it wrong when covering a fast moving traumatic disaster situation. I would like to see us encourage an ethical code that pushes disaster images to avoid 'recognizable' personal property unless permission has been granted.

When classes, at Sonoma State, began again after the fire I was unable to feel comfortable coming in. For the first time in almost fifteen years of teaching I 'called in' a personal day. I was still letting the initial adrenaline move through and couldn't imagine standing in front of my classes as a leader and facilitator. I was too afraid that I would break down. I returned several days later and of course the sharing that began was important and that process continues now and into the future.

The hills around us are gorgeous this spring. The fire has ignited long dormant seeds of a diversity of wildflowers that hasn't been seen since the last big fire. Many of the oak trees are coming back to life. Birds are singing and wildlife that moved out is moving back in. The houses lost are now muddy lots. The contrast between these is stark. Recovery is only at the prologue. Glen Ellen is a beautiful community, we are already planning the Village Fair for 2018, life goes on, but this fire will always be with us.

*Emily Beireis*

## REFLECTIONS ON DISASTER RESPONSE POST-WILDFIRE

**As our country endures yet another natural disaster, maybe it is time to re-evaluate the way we respond to such events and adopt a more global perspective.**

Immediately following a natural disaster, whether it be wildfires or a hurricane, there is a huge influx of people wanting to help. These people come with the purest of intentions but are often misguided and end up causing more harm than healing. I too was one of these people – witnessing the devastating Northern California fires as a Sonoma State student I felt obligated to help so I rounded up donations from friends and family back home and headed up to Rohnert Park. I teamed up with a group of friends and we drove around dropping off donations and looking for volunteer opportunities, but what my friends and I found was that everywhere we went we were turned away because shelters and food banks were already at capacity. It is easy to become frustrated when things do not go as planned, but it is important to remember that volunteering is about altruism, your needs/desires are not of primary importance. So how do we respond and what can we do when disaster strikes and we have a desire to help?

***Donate money as opposed to physical goods.***

Money has far greater benefits for individuals and the community as a whole. Think about the cycle of donations for a moment, if you donate a box of toothpaste, and your neighbor does the same thing, and his friend the next town over does the same and this happens neighbor after neighbor, town after town, all of a sudden there is a warehouse full of boxes of toothpaste that far exceed the needs of those displaced by disaster. Who is this really helping? Yes, initially displaced persons will need toothpaste, and clothes, and other necessities, but the excess donations only create more problems in the long run. All of these do-

nations also have an economic impact – if everyone is receiving donations then there is little need to purchase goods and invest in the local economy. This has a negative impact on local businesses who also likely suffered losses in the disaster. Monetary donations have exponentially positive benefits. Displaced persons can use the donated money to reinvest in the local economy and purchase the items that best fit their wants and needs, and organizations can purchase specific items that are of necessity and that satisfy the needs of the population they are serving. Being able to select and purchase their own items also provides a sense of comfort and dignity to those who have been affected by disaster. Instead of donating material goods, the primary focus should be on monetary donations to reputable local organizations and individuals.

***Shelter: Climate change demands we think outside the box for long term solutions.***

When it comes to housing, finding a solution is not as straightforward. Our traditional way of dealing with displaced persons is setting up shelters and bringing in outside organizations such as the Red Cross to source and staff them. While this provides a temporary place of refuge for many, it is comparable to a band aid on a broken arm – it helps with the initial cuts and scrapes but it will not heal the broken bone. Maybe there could be a way to repurpose empty buildings or have a registry of people with extra rooms available in case of emergency. If you have ideas as to how to solve the issue of housing after a natural disaster, I encourage you to share your ideas – contact local leaders in your community and contact your government representatives. There is a website that has been set up by community organizers where you can provide your opinion and input on various topics related to Sonoma County Fire Recovery. [sonomacountyrisers.org](http://sonomacountyrisers.org)

***The problematic nature of Disaster Socialism.***

Through donations and shelters we see our communities and our country enact a form of “disaster socialism” where somehow we are able to meet the needs of everyone and ensure that we care for the disadvantaged members of our communities. This calls into question why we cannot seem to do this on a regular basis? Obviously we live in a capitalistic society which supports competition and Social Darwinism,

but there should be a way in which we can find a balance. The homeless are often forgotten about when it comes to disaster response even though they are still part of the community that has been effected. We identify more with those displaced by disaster because we see the disaster and its impacts as something that happened to them and that was out of their control, we fail to recognize that oftentimes the case is the same for homeless individuals. Marginalized and underserved communities such as the homeless and even undocumented people are at greater risk in disaster situations yet they receive less assistance. In some ways fire is indiscriminant, but race and socioeconomic status come into play in people's ability to recover and create greater inequalities among the community. Thinking globally about disaster response and understanding the multifaceted nature of society may help incorporate social justice into how we respond to natural disasters. As our climate continues to change and we see more frequent hurricanes, earthquakes, fires, and other disasters we must be able to respond in a way that benefits everyone and that is sustainable for our environment.

### ***Understand the healing process.***

As a capitalistic society we tend to focus on the monetary aspect of loss and do not leave room for the emotions of those who have been impacted. We come up with campaigns such as #SonomaStrong and say "you may have lost your home but at least you made it out alive." These ways of coping and focusing on positivity and strength may not leave space for vulnerability and mourning that are necessary when a community suffers such profound losses. I am not advocating that we all wallow in our sadness and go into a permanent depressive state but it should be acknowledged that strength and pride are not the only emotions allowed to be expressed. Advocating self-care for survivors as well as for first responders and volunteers should be included in disaster relief and recovery efforts. Communities cannot recover or be rebuilt until the personal safety and mental health needs of the individuals are met.

### ***Get involved and be patient.***

As young adults we are often the ones with the time, passion, and ability to volunteer and rally support for communities in need. We need to understand that disaster relief and healing do not happen instan-

taneously, these are long term processes that require patient commitment. Natural disasters typically occur suddenly, or with little warning and we do not have adequate time to prepare and respond in the most effective ways. Regardless of our inability to foresee these disasters, it is necessary to think globally and long-term and to analyze the impact our actions have on an individual, societal, economic, and environmental level when it comes to disaster response and relief efforts. I am calling on this generation and those that follow to expand our ways of thinking and to respond in a way that addresses the intersecting issues involved in natural disasters and how we recover from them.

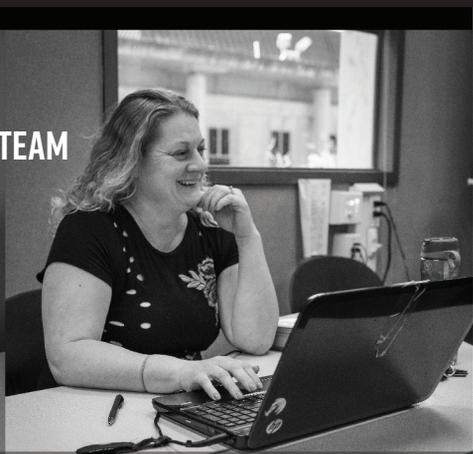
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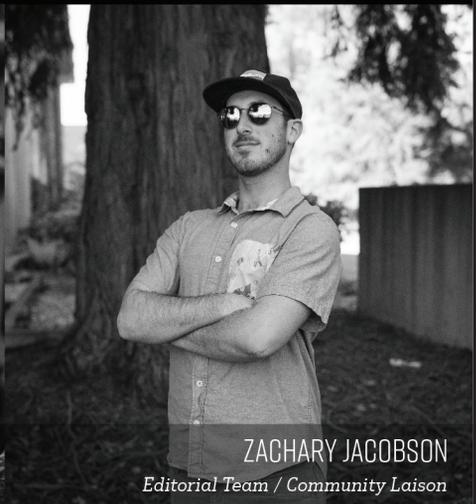
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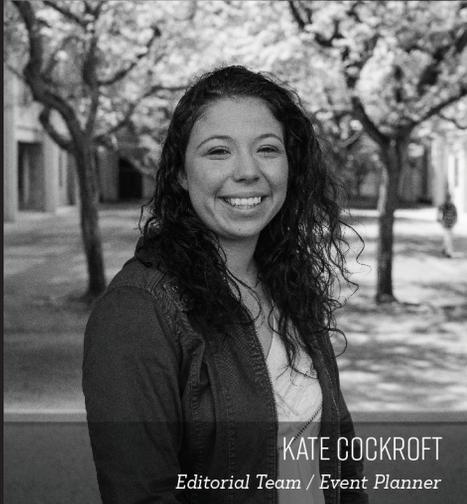
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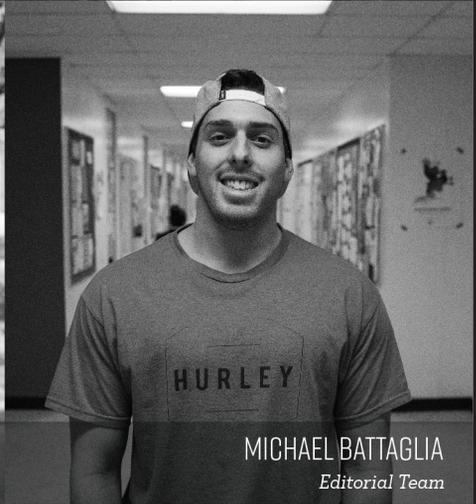
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