A STUDY OF THE OKANAGAN VALLEY OF
BRITISH COLUMBIA

by

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A Study of the Okanagan Valley of British Columbia.

Chapter 1.
Nature's Gift to the Okanagan Valley.

Situated in the Interior Plateau of British Columbia, the Okanagan Valley is bounded on the east by the Gold Range of Mountains, and on the west by the Cascade Range. It includes all the land drained by streams flowing into Okanagan Lake and Okanagan River, north of the International Boundary Line, and therefore extends from the forty-ninth parallel north to a point a mile past the city of Armstrong, where a height of land divides the watersheds of the Columbia and Fraser Rivers. However, exact area of the Valley has never been definitely delineated, the name is also applied to the strip due north of Armstrong towards Sicamous, which is drained by the Spallumcheen River, and the territory south-west from Penticton, which is watered by the Similkameen River. As the conditions which prevail in these two smaller valleys are similar to those in the larger one, and as the districts are not separated from one another by natural barriers, I have determined that for the purpose of this thesis, the term "the Okanagan Valley" shall cover this area. Thus defined, the Okanagan Valley of British Columbia includes 12,800 square miles of land, as it is approximately 160 miles long and 80 miles wide.

Throughout its length this territory is intersected by a series of long trough-like valleys, at the foot of
each of which lies a lake or river. Beginning at the south, the first valley surrounds Osoyoos Lake, which is about nine miles long and a mile wide. Dog Lake, which is about the same length, lies at the foot of the second valley. It is separated by a broad strip of flat land some three and a half miles long from Okanagan Lake which is the largest lake, being sixty-nine miles long and about two miles wide. At the head of Okanagan Lake a large tract of flat land, over twenty-five miles long and nearly three miles wide extends to the Spallumcheen River at Enderby. From that place, the valley which surrounds the river and Mara Lake maintains the same width to Sicamous.

Parallel to Okanagan Lake, but separated from it on the east by a low range of rolling hills nearly four miles wide, is another long trough-like valley, which commences at the delta formed by Mill and Mission Creeks near Kelowna and extends almost as far as the northern end of Okanagan Lake. It is occupied by Woods Lake and Long Lake, the latter of which is thirteen miles long and three-quarters of a mile wide. At the northern end of Long Lake, the Coldstream Valley runs north-easterly for about sixteen miles. The valley surrounding Bessette Creek then extends about nine miles to Shuswap Falls. From there, the course of the Shuswap River to Mabel Lake is winding. Mabel Lake also lies at the foot of another long trough-like valley, and is thirty-five miles long and two miles wide. East of its southern end is Sugar Lake, which is absolutely
different from any of the other lakes mentioned. It is
triangular or irregularly round, and its appearance shows
that it is not in the Interior Plateau, but in the foot-hills
of the mountain range to the east.

As one travels from the Boundary Line, the
changes in the topographical features are perceived. The
general appearance of the country between Osoyoos and Dog
Lakes is that of an arid waste. The soil is a light sandy
loam with a gravelly subsoil, and as the region is so far
south, and is located in the Dry Belt of British Columbia,
the climate is sub-tropical, the maximum temperature at
Osoyoos being 115 degrees Fahrenheit, and the average annual
rainfall 8 inches. For years the territory was regarded as
a "torrid waste of sand", unsuitable for any form of
agricultural production. It was not until the last decade
that it was found to be eminently suited for the growing of
sub-tropical fruits and vegetables, when it was provided with
irrigation.

At the northern end of Dog Lake, there are small
areas suitable for cultivation among the hills which over-
look the Valley. The first strip of flat land lies between
the northern end of Dog Lake and the lower end of Okanagan
Lake, and is well adapted for various forms of agricultural
production. This valley is, however, fringed with terraces,
the banks of which are hard enough to form vertical or
nearly vertical faces. At Summerland, these bluffs rise to

(1) "Guide to the Province of British Columbia for 1877-8",
Victoria, 1877, p. 8.
a height of 200 feet above the lake shore for a distance of about two miles. From Summerland to Vernon, the land formation consists largely of a series of these clay cliffs, rising to benches ranging from 100 to 500 feet above the Lake, at some points bordering on it and at others starting a short distance back. These benches are free from timber and at one time were covered with a heavy growth of bunch-grass which made them ideal for grazing. Of late years, they have, however, been planted to fruit trees. The soil which is composed of volcanic ash and clay loam produces large crops, and the atmospheric conditions cause the fruit to be well flavoured. The atmosphere, while being influenced by the sea winds, is stripped of its excessive moisture by the mountains which intervene between the Coast and the Okanagan Valley, and as a result is clear and dry. Therefore, with the facilities for irrigation, the conditions for fruit production are splendid.

Back of the benches there are numerous valleys which are for the most part heavily timbered. From Summerland to Kelowna the hills are thickly wooded, but at the latter place there is a large area of agricultural land, which is on one side adjacent to the woods, and on the other accessible to rolling hills. Kelowna was chosen as the site for the first white settlement in the Valley, because it was a place where food could be produced in abundance, where lumber could be obtained for dwellings, and where stock could be turned out to pasture.
The largest area of good farming land to be found in one place in the southern interior of British Columbia extends from the head of Okanagan Lake to Enderby. Around Vernon, the soil is clay, while the sub-soil is largely gravelly-clay, which is well adapted to fruit and vegetable growing. Around Armstrong and Enderby the soil consists of sandy loam which produces very heavy field crops. This is the only part of the Valley which does not lie within the Dry Belt of British Columbia, and therefore the precipitation of 20 inches a year is sufficient to mature all crops. The maximum temperature is never as great as in the southern part of the Valley, but the minimum is much lower, being about -35 degrees Fahrenheit. There is a certain amount of land available for cultivation north of Enderby, but at Mara Lake the shores are timbered down to the water's edge.

The valley surrounding Long Lake is also well adapted to fruit-growing, although because of the northerly position, the production per acre is not as great as at Penticton. At Vernon the elevation is 1,200 feet, but at Lumby it increases to 2,150 feet and the climate becomes too cold to grow fruit. However, in the latter district there are portions of nearly flat land which consist of the bottom deposit of an ancient lake, and which produce splendid crops of hay and grain.

From Lumby to Shuswap Falls the country is wooded, and at Mabel Lake there are no benches or terraces, but the mountains are heavily timbered. Here is situated the timber
area of the Okanagan Valley which consists of large stands of Douglas fir, white and yellow pine, cedar and tamarack.

The variations in temperature in different parts of the Okanagan Valley are due to the divisions in the Biological Zone. During the early progress of the Biological Survey of the North American Continent, it was realized that North America is divisible into three great Primary Transcontinental Regions, in each of which the flora and fauna present marked differences. Each region has also been divided into a number of minor belts which are characterized by particular associations of animals and plants. These divisions are as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>REGION</th>
<th>ZONE</th>
<th>FAUNAL AREA</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Boreal</td>
<td>(Arctic)</td>
<td>(Alleghenian)</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(Hudsonian)</td>
<td>(Arid transition area)</td>
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<td>(Canadian)</td>
<td>(Pacific Coast area)</td>
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<td></td>
<td>(Transition)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Austral</td>
<td>(Upper Austral)</td>
<td>(Carolinian area)</td>
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<td>(Upper Sonoran area)</td>
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<td>(Lower Austral)</td>
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<td>(Aristrioriparian area)</td>
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<td>(Semi-tropical or Gulf Stream)</td>
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<td>Tropical</td>
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The Okanagan Valley is remarkable as three divisions occur in it: the Upper Sonoran area at the south and the Transition and Canadian Zones at higher levels. The Upper Sonoran area commences approximately west of the hundredth meridian and runs south to northern Mexico and north to Dakota, Montana and Washington in continuous but irregular lines, extending by a

narrow arm in the Okanagan Valley. It brings into the southernmost part of this district certain plants, animals, birds and reptiles found nowhere else in Canada. Among these are the true sage brush, five-toed kangaroo rats, burrowing owls and scorpions. Thus the flora and fauna of Oliver at 1,000 feet above sea level are the same as those of the mountains of Mexico, which are 2,000 feet higher.

The Upper Sonoran area merges abruptly into the Transition Zone at Okanagan Falls, and new plants and animals make an appearance. North from Penticton the hills are sparsely dotted with trees and are covered in the spring and summer months with a profusion of wild flowers. Among these are the wild sunflowers and different kinds of lillies which are known locally as yellow-bells, mayflowers, tiger lillies and chocolate lillies. The roots and bulbs of these plants were used in great quantities by the Indians for food. The berries which grow along the sides of the streams also formed a staple food supply for the natives. These included red and black currants, service-berries, whortle-berries, elder-berries, rose-berries, choke-cherries and others.

In the Spallumcheen Valley and towards Shuswap Falls the hills are more heavily timbered, and cottonwoods and aspens which are found on the banks of creeks, yield place to Douglas fir and other evergreens. In these localities hazel nuts and the kernels of white and yellow pines were used extensively by the Indians for food. The pine nutlets were roasted in small ovens and were often crushed and mixed with dried service berries and put away for winter use.
Besides these roots, berries and nuts, the Indians and later the white settlers, found a supply of food in the native fish, fowl and game. Of the former, the most important are the salmon and rainbow trout obtained from Okanagan Lake, the small river trout found in all the creeks, and the salmon caught in the Spallumcheen and Shuswap Rivers. The native fowl include the ruffled grouse and the spotted grouse which are found in areas near forests, and the prairie chicken which abounds in the open valleys. There are also many birds of passage, particularly the Canada goose, the mallard and other ducks, and a few swans. Of the animals, the most valuable for the purpose of providing food are the black-tailed deer and the brown, black and grizzly bears.

The Indians who lived in this territory and who obtained these articles of food were the Okanagan nation, a band of the Salish Indians of British Columbia. Their land extended from Priest's Rapids on the Columbia River to Enderby, and to-day the Boundary Line divides it into two fairly equal parts. Formerly, the twelve tribes of which the nation was composed were governed by petty independent chiefs who were ready to unite against a common enemy. However, the tribes could never muster more than 600 warriors each as there were seldom more than 15 people living on every square mile of land.

The Okanagan Indians had ten permanent settlements in the territory between Enderby and Osoyoos Lake. The first called Spallumcheen, referred to the
spot on the Spallumcheen River where the present bridge crosses from Enderby to A.L. Fortune's ranch. This was the only place along the length of the river from Mabel Lake to Shuswap Lake where the banks were not timbered. The second village, Inkamaplux, was situated at the head of Okanagan Lake, near the place where Cornelius O'Keefe later settled. Farther down Okanagan Lake, another settlement was located near Fintry. It was called Sin-kina-ot-iat and meant "ambush or jump on their backs". The name probably referred to a battle which took place there many years ago between the Shuswap and the Okanagan Indians, in which the latter killed a large number of Shuswaps by rolling rocks down on top of them. The next settlement was at Kelowna, which meant "grizzly bear" and referred to the site of the present city. In the same locality was Stkakwalinet. It was situated east from Rutland near a solitary lake which has since dried up. East from Kelowna was another village, Nor-kwa-stin. This name was applied to Black Mountain from which the Indians obtained a hard black rock of the same name which they used for sharpening their arrowheads. The seventh settlement was at Penticton, and was called by the name still in use. Kwak-ne-ta, meaning "little falls", was situated at Okanagan Falls, and a few miles farther south at the head of Osoyoos Lake was Inkameep, which meant "head of the lake". The last settlement was at Osoyoos, or Sooyoos, as the Indians called it. This word meant "narrow" or "water nearly cut in two by land", and referred to the two spits or bars which divide the lake.

At these ten settlements, the Okanagan Indians had
their winter quarters which were commonly known as "keekwillie houses". These were constructed from two to six feet below the surface of the ground, and the floors were covered with fir branches which were removed from time to time. The roofs were made of mats and poles and were covered with grass or earth in such a manner that from the outside the dwellings resembled cone-shaped mounds. Inside, the diameter varied according to the number of families who were to inhabit them. In some cases it was 15 feet and in others 60, although from 25 to 30 feet was the general size. This would accommodate from 20 to 30 people.

The keekwillie houses were occupied during the cold season of the year—from December to March, but as soon as the snow disappeared, the whole tribe dispersed and wandered about until the middle of June. Then it re-assembled in large bands on the banks of the lakes. There light frame lodges were erected by means of a gable roof resting on the ground.

While in these quarters, the camp was divided into four parties, two of men and two of women. One party of men hunted, and the other fished. Similarly, one party of women cured the fish, and the other collected fruit. After the winter supply of food had been gathered and prepared for storage, the Indians again divided into little bands for hunting, and when that was finished they congregated at their winter settlements.

In appearance, the Okanagans resembled the normal type of American Indian. They had an ovaloid face, with an aquiline nose, dark eyes, black hair and coppery skin. They
were also slender and athletic. The costumes which they wore were very becoming and were made from the skins of the few fur-bearing animals which are native to the Valley. The insignia of the chief was a white wolf skin which was fantastically painted with rude figures of different colours, and the head and tail were decorated with higuas, bears' claws, and teeth of different animals. The dress of both sexes was practically the same, and consisted of a tunic of deer-skin extending, in the case of the women, down to the ankles, and in the case of the men only to the knees. Besides these garments, there were also leggings, moccasins and a cap. The tunics and leggings were heavily trimmed with higuas, beads and trinkets, and the part of the moccasins which extended up over the leg was ornamented with dyed porcupine quills, goose-feathers or horse-hairs. The caps were made from the skins of such animals as the beaver, deer and fox, and from the feathers of the hawk and eagle. The wealthy members of the tribe also had cloaks or robes of beaver, coyote or wolf, which they wore during the cold weather.

The Okanagan Indians were a peaceful people who spent their time in hunting and trading with other tribes. Their route to the "Great Salt Lake" was almost due west across the mountains, reaching the Pacific at about 49 degrees latitude. To obtain higuas, they exchanged wild hemp, which was in

(3) Higuas were made from dentalium pretosium, which was obtained principally in the territory of the Nootka tribe at Esperanza Inlet on Vancouver Island. These shells were valued in proportion to their length, very long single shells being worth more than a dollar each. The standard of value was 40 to a fathom. This was called a higua, and among the Okanagan Indians its value was approximately $250.
in great demand by the Coast Indians for making fishing nets. It was put up in bundles about two inches long and two in diameter, and tied at both ends. Six of these bundles constituted a "package."

The most important religious ceremony of the Okanagan Indians was regularly celebrated each year when the first fruits or berries were ripe. At that time, the chief sent out his wife and eldest daughter to gather a certain amount of fruit. When they had done so, the whole community came together and prayers were offered to the spirits of the sky who were supposed to preside over the operations of nature. Portions of the fruits or roots were then distributed to all present, and everyone was free to gather as much as he desired.

The Indians who lived in the Valley a century ago, therefore found it bountifully provided with the means of sustaining human life. In the native plants, fish, fowl and game, they had an adequate food supply; in the trees of the forest they found the timber necessary to build their keekwillie houses; and from the furs and skins of the native animals they obtained the material to make their clothing. It was the white man who appeared in the Okanagan Valley in 1811 who was the first to realize that the fertile valleys were capable of producing a greater variety of foods; that on the rolling hills there was abundant pasturage for cattle; that on the benches the right conditions existed for fruit-growing; and that in the mountains there were large expanses of timber suitable for commercial purposes. As he
exploited the gifts with which nature had endowed the Valley, industries developed.

The history of the Okanagan Valley is therefore the struggle of the white man to wrest a living from the soil through the utilization of natural resources. It is a story of trial-and-error learning, wherein progress is portrayed as the experimenter succeeds in obtaining the correct methods and materials for his workmanship. From the appearance of the first fur-trader down until the modern fruit-grower, the Okanagan Valley has exemplified the principle that the factors which determine the occupation of the inhabitants of any given area, are the physical conditions and the natural wealth of the soil.
Chapter 2.

The Fur-Trader's Contribution.

The first record we have of the word "Okanagan", is in the diary which David Thompson kept when he was exploring and taking possession for the North-West Company of the country west of the Rocky Mountains. On the 4th. or 5th. of July, 1811, while he was on his way from Spokane House to the mouth of the Columbia River, he passed "the high woody-mountains of the Oachenawawgan River."

Continuing down the river, he reached the mouth on July 15th, where he was surprised to find that a fur-trading post, Astoria, had already been established by the Pacific Fur Company. Disappointed, Thompson rested only a week, and then started on his homeward journey. On his return trip up the Columbia he was accompanied by a party of Astorians who had been sent into the interior to obtain furs from the Indians. The two parties separated at the forks of the Okanagan River, and the Astorians after exploring the surrounding country, started to build Fort Okanogan.

About September 16th, 1811, David Stuart and Montigny started on a trip to the headwaters of the Okanagan. They were the first white men to visit the Okanagan Valley of British Columbia. Travelling up Okanagan Lake, they crossed a height of land and finally reached Thompson River,

(1) L. Norris, "Okanagan", in First Report of the Okanagan Historical Society, 1926, pp. 28-29, from the photostat copy of Thompson's diary obtained from the Archives, Toronto. "Okanagan" is the Canadian spelling of the word, and "Okanogan" the American.
(2) Alexander Ross, "Adventures of the First Settlers on the Oregon or Columbia River", London, 1849, p.150. Ross tells us that Stuart was back at the fort on March 22nd,1812, and that his trip occupied 188 days.
where they found the country abounding in beaver and all kinds of furs. The Indians were well disposed and willing to trade, so arrangements were made to establish a trading post the following winter. The return trip to Fort Okanogan, which was started on February 26th, 1812, occupied 25 days.

In May of the same year, Alexander Ross, accompanied by two men, set out from the fort with 16 horses on another trading expedition. Following Stuart’s route up Okanagan Lake, he arrived at the settlement of the Shuswap Indians on Thompson River, on the tenth day. He encamped at what he called "Cumcloups" (the present city of Kamloops) and about 2,000 Indians assembled to exchange goods. So anxious were they to trade that one morning before breakfast Ross obtained 110 beaver for leaf tobacco, at the rate of 10 leaves per skin, and at last when he had only one yard of white cotton remaining, one of the chiefs gave 20 prime beaver skins for it.

Ross returned to Fort Okanogan well satisfied with his success, and soon after his arrival there, David Stuart left to carry out instructions to establish a trading post between Fort Okanogan and New Caledonia. As Kamloops was the centre of a rich fur-bearing area, Stuart chose it as the site of his post. It had been built only a short time when the North-West Company established another post alongside it, and the two rival companies commenced to trade with the Indians.

(3) Alexander Ross, op. cit., p. 151.
However, the Astorians did not retain the possession of their post for long. In September, 1813, two North-Westers arrived at Astoria from New Caledonia with the news that the War of 1812 was being waged in the United States and Eastern Canada, and that the British ship which was expected to arrive at Astoria soon, carried Letters of Marque. It therefore seemed probable that the British would soon altogether annihilate American interests in Oregon, and the Astorians deemed it advisable (5) to sell their goods and posts to the North-West Company. Many of the Astorians now entered the service of the North-West Company, and in April, 1814, Alexander Ross was sent north to Kamloops, where he was to remain as chief trader.

The North-West Company now wished to secure a waterway between Fort St. James on Stuart Lake and the Columbia River, by which annual supplies could be imported and the returns sent out to be shipped to China in vessels which were being built on the Pacific Coast. With this purpose in mind, John Stuart set out to find the route. For 8 days he travelled down the Fraser River, and then transported his goods overland for 150 miles to Okanagan Lake. From there he planned to go by water to the Pacific, and hoped to reach it in 12 or 15 days at the most. This was the route adopted by the North-Westers in travelling from New Caledonia to the mouth of the Columbia, and they appeared more and more often in the Okanagan Valley where "silver-edged--, long narrow lakes,—glisten in the sunshine like the waters

of paradise."

In 1821, another change took place in the fur-trade when the two British companies, the North-West Company, and the Hudson's Bay Company united. The Upper Interior now became known as the Columbia District. Fort Kamloops was made the capital of the Thompson River District, and at Alexandria a station was established for distributing supplies.

In 1824, the brigade trail up Okanagan Lake was blazed for the Hudson's Bay Company by Tom McKay, son of Alexander McKay who was lost on board the "Tonquin". To-day, the trail is still to be seen across the Lake from Kelowna. Its route is described as follows:

This brigade trail, leaving Fort Okanogan, headed up the east side of the river, through McLoughlin's Canyon, and on to the forks of the Similkameen, continuing on the eastern bank until it reached the head of Osoyoos lake, it there crossed over the western side, and leaving the river climbed the open country above Oliver, passing through Meyers Flat, White Lake and Marron Valley, crossing Sheep Creek at its junction with Shingle Creek. Following up Shingle Creek for some miles, it crossed, and passing over a height of land, dropped down into Trout Creek above Prairie Valley, and from there to Three Lakes, the head of Garnet Valley, and down the mountain side to the shore of Okanagan Lake at Deep Creek, a few miles south of Peachland. From that point it followed the present motor road to Kelowna ferry, then along the water front to the head of Okanagan Lake, when it took a westerly direction to Grande Prairie, the head of Monte Creek and Kamloops, much as the road does to-day. (9)

(7) H.H. Bancroft, "History of British Columbia", San Francisco, 1887, p. 36.
(8) G.C. Davidson, "The North-West Company", Berkeley, 1918, Chs. 6, 7.
Although this was the official trail, the fur-traders travelled up and down on both sides of the river and lake, and by the Similkameen road as well.

Until a few years ago, a great fir stood on the Westbank Indian Reserve, and under its boughs the traders opened their packs to trade with the Indians. The camping grounds were a day's travel with a pack-train apart—about 35 miles—and were placed where there was water and good grazing land for the horses. These places were therefore at the head of Osoyoos Lake, the crossing at Shingle Creek, Westbank, the head of Okanagan Lake and at Grande Prairie. Kamloops was called the "great half-way house of the interior". There the horses which had been obtained from Fort Okanogan were turned out to rest and a fresh band was run in for the trip up the Fraser to Fort St. James. On the trip down, these horses were again changed, and a fresh band was taken for the trip down the Okanagan Valley.

The goods were brought by boat from Fort Vancouver and launched at Fort Okanogan to be packed inland by brigades, each of which consisted of 16 horses in charge of 2 men. The goods were made up into packages of 84 pounds, which (10) were called "pieces". Two pieces made a load for one horse, with which it could travel 20 miles a day. On the portages, each man carried from eight to ten pieces one mile.

a day in quarter mile stops, two pieces at a time. The unit for barter was a prime beaver skin, weighing one pound, which was called a "made beaver", and each article was worth so many beavers.

The Okanagan Valley was in all its glory. "It was a sight never hereafter to be repeated, two hundred (sometimes three hundred) horses laden with rich peltries, winding down the mountains, through rugged passes and over the roving plain on toward the smoother highways of commerce, along which are inter-changed the various comforts of the world."

While the period of the fur-trader lasted, the trail through the Valley became busier and busier. It is true that the fur-traders did not obtain many furs in the Okanagan Valley itself, for in the territory south of Kamloops there were comparatively few fur-bearing animals. North of Kamloops, however, they abounded, and sometimes 60 horses loaded with 85 packs of furs would arrive at Fort Okanogan (12) from Alexandria. This journey occupied 25 days, 10 of which were from Kamloops to Fort Okanogan.

During this period different people were in control of the latter place. La Pratt (La Prade, La Prate) was in charge in the thirties and until the forties, and Jean Gingras (Grange) was his successor. La Fleur was in command from 1843 to 1853, and after that date, his step-son, Francois Duchouquet was in charge. In 1860, the old fort was abandoned, and all the goods were moved to two posts in

British Columbia. One of these was at Keremeos, on the property afterwards owned by Frank Richter, and the other at Osoyoos, on the land later occupied by Theodore Kruger. The other old Hudson's Bay fort in American territory at Colville, just above Kettle Falls, was vacated on June 8th, 1871, when Angus MacDonald, the chief trader moved all the goods and property to Kamloops. In the meantime, the old Brigade Trail had been abandoned, and the last brigade came down it in 1847.

The factor which brought about this change was the Oregon Boundary Settlement in 1846, whereby the forty-ninth parallel was declared the boundary line west of the Rocky Mountains to the Pacific Ocean. Since 1818, the country known as Oregon, which extended from 42 to 54° 40' north latitude, had been governed jointly by the British and Americans, the subjects of both countries having the right of free entry for the purposes of trade and exploration. In 1843, the Americans claimed 54° 40' as the boundary, and the British claimed the north bank of the Columbia. The question was finally settled in 1846, the Americans securing to a certain extent their claims, which were based on settlement. Meanwhile, the Hudson's Bay Company had foreseen the decision, so in 1843 James Douglas started to build a new post at Fort Victoria, the site of the present city of Victoria. The settlement marked the end of British trade south of the Boundary Line, and Fort Victoria and Fort Langley came into increasing importance when the new trail was built from Fort St. James to Fort Langley. The days of the Okanagan Brigade Trail were

(13) F.H. Soward, "President Polk and the Canadian Frontier", Canadian Historical Association Report, May 23, 1930, pp. 71-80.
over, and the brigade with all its noise and colour was never
heard nor seen in the Valley after 1847.

Thus ended the period of the fur-traders in the
Okanagan Valley. From 1811 until 1846 it was a period of
brightness. Then followed ten years of drabness and darkness,
during which the peace of the Valley was only broken by the
Catholic missionaries who quietly travelled up the Brigade
Trail to L'Anse au Sable.

The first appearance of a missionary in the Valley
was in 1839, when Father Demers made a tour up the Okanagan
River into British Columbia, preaching, baptizing, and giving
instructions by means of a pictograph device. In 1840, he
made a second journey over the same route, and in 1842, he
accompanied the supply caravan of the Hudson's Bay Company
on its return from Fort Vancouver to Fort St. James. On this
trip he visited successively the Okanagan, Shuswap and Carrier
Indians. Thus Father Demers became the first apostle of the
interior of British Columbia, and was the first minister to
penetrate as far as Kamloops.

In this way, the Okanagan Valley was the first part
of British Columbia to be Christianized, and during the
ensuing years, two other Jesuit missionaries visited it.
Between 1841 and 1844, Father de Smet worked in the field,
and his labour was carried on in 1845 and 1846 by Father
John Nobili. For thirteen years after that, the country
was abandoned by the missionaries, and it was not until

(14) This name was applied to the whole fertile valley where
Kelowna now stands.
(15) Rev. A.G. Morice, "The History of the Northern Interior
of British Columbia", Toronto, 1904, p. 224.
1859, that ministers of the Christian faith again appeared.

The fur-traders had made the name of the Okanagan Valley so well known to the outside world that when a young missionary, Charles Pandosy, became involved in Indian troubles south of the Boundary Line, and was ordered to abandon his work there and establish a mission in British Columbia, he followed the old Brigade Trail into the Valley. The trouble started in November, 1847, when the Cayuse Indians revolted and murdered a Protestant missionary, Dr. Marcus Whitman, his wife, and some eleven other people. This war lasted for nearly three years. From 1848 until 1855, Father Pandosy worked among the Yakima Indians and induced them to remain peaceful. But in September, 1855, while he was absent, the Indians murdered the agent at the mission at Saralpes. War now broke out on all sides, and by the middle of November, American troops had taken possession of the mission where the chief of the Indians had his home. The place was found abandoned, but while the volunteers were digging in the garden, they came upon a keg of powder. To their heated imaginations, this proved Pandosy's complicity with the Indians, and they burned the mission.

In the meantime, Father Pandosy was hurried away by the Indians, but escaped and made his way through the forest to Kettle Falls, where the Jesuit fathers welcomed him. In the spring of 1859, he obtained supplies from this priests and started on his way to Hope where he was to meet two other Oblate fathers, Pierre Richard and Richard Surel, and with them establish a mission. Pandosy was, however, delayed

(16) Father Pandosy was an Oblate priest.
so long by the Indians at Penticton, who objected to white men entering the district, that Father Richard finally obtained provisions at Kamloops and started to travel through Grande Prairie and the Vernon district looking for a site for a mission.

At L'Anse au Sable he met Father Pandosy, and the two priests were so enamoured with the place that they determined to build the mission there, in preference to any place on the Fraser River. The day after his arrival, Father Pandosy wrote to Rev. L.J. D'Herbomez at Esquimalt:

The L'Anse au Sable is the largest valley of all the surrounding country; all who know it praise it. The cultivable land is immense and I myself believe that if Fr. Blanchet is able to send us next year, some vine cuttings, we shall be able to start a plantation, for when Br. Surel arrives, if he accepts my plans, we shall elevate our little demeene to the middle of the plain, against a little hill very well exposed, and we shall be able to sing:

"C'est surtout à l'abri de l'évent
Qu'il se chauffe au soleil levant,
C'est une vigne", etc.

Already we have a white family near us—-it is probable that others will present themselves before the winter, or at least at the beginning of the season. (18)

Brother Surel eventually arrived with the pack-horses, and the first site of the mission was chosen to be at the south end of Duck Lake where the squatter family had a cabin. The first winter could not have been very pleasant, as the cold was intense and the snow was deep. Game was scarce and hunting was so difficult that it was necessary

(17) The first Oblate mission in British Columbia was built at Esquimalt in 1857, and became the official residence of Rev. L.J. D'Herbomez. Okanagan Mission was the second built by the Oblates in British Columbia.

(18) Pandosy to D'Herbomez, October 9th, 1859, quoted in First Report Okanagan Historical Society, p. 9.
to slaughter horses to sustain life and to vary the Indian food which consisted of baked moss, dried berries and roots washed down by a brew made from the Hudson's Bay tea shrub. The site of the mission proved too damp and was unsuited to Father Pandosy's rheumatism, so in the spring of 1860, it was moved to a spot about half way between Dry Creek and Simpson's ranch, on "the little hill very well exposed." Later in the same year, gold was discovered on a little creek which flows into Okanagan Lake, and the miners began to enter the Valley. The mission was again moved, this time to be nearer the scene of activity, and the stakes were driven into the banks of a stream which now became known as "Mission Creek". Here was established a permanent mission, and a little church, school and mission house were built from the logs of a bush nearby. These were hauled into place by a horse, whose harness had been made by twisting rye grass together. Between the Boundary Line and Kamloops, this was the first place of worship, the first school, and the first burial place.

A just tribute is paid to Father Pandosy when he is called the "father of settlement in the Okanagan Valley", for it was he who induced the first settlers to take up land and to start farming. Cyprian Laurence and William Pion who had accompanied him into the Valley were the first to stake land, Laurence staking 160 acres on December 15th, 1859, and Pion 640 acres later in the winter. Pion had received scrip for this amount from the colonial government as a reward for the part he played that winter in supplying a band of Nicola Indians with food, and thus staving off the
starvation which had faced them. The land which he chose was just east of the present limits of the city of Kelowna. There he built the first house erected in the Okanagan Valley. It was placed on a small range which overlooked the flats, and was built of logs and whip-sawed lumber. Shortly after this, John McDougall who had come and gone with pack-trains through the Valley for 20 years, retired from the service of the Hudson's Bay Company, and decided to settle. He staked the land which was later bought by the Postills, and sold by them to Lord Aberdeen, who called it the Guisachan Ranch.

In 1862, Father Pandosy was accompanied on his return from Hope, where he had gone to obtain supplies, by August Gillard, Jules Blondeaux, Francis Ourtoland, and others who wished to settle in the Okanagan Valley. Gillard and Blondeaux had hurriedly decamped from Boston Bar after killing an Indian in a skirmish. On their arrival at Okanagan Mission, they staked 600 acres on the present site of the city of Kelowna, and Gillard built a keekwillie house. It was partly underground, and had a mud roof, but no floor, door or windows. One winter day some Indians who were passing saw smoke coming from a rudely built chimney, and stopped to examine the structure. Gillard, hearing the chatter, crawled outside in much the same manner as a bear might come out of its den. This amused the Indians, one of whom called out "Kim-ach Touche, Kim-ach Touche", (brown bear, brown bear). The settlers, hearing the name the Indians had given the spot, changed it to "Kelowna", or grizzly bear, which was easier to pronounce. Thus, the old name of L'Anse au Sable which had been given to

the country by the fur-traders, and which had been changed to Okanagan Mission by the priests, finally became Kelowna.

Another settler who was attracted to the Okanagan Valley through the influence of Father Pandosy, was Joseph Christian, who met the priest in Victoria. He in turn became enthusiastic about the possibilities of Mission Valley and wrote to his brother Charles in Quebec, urging him to come west. The latter decided to do so, and accompanied by other French-Canadians, settled on land at the Mission. There they remained until 1863, when they were drawn north by the discovery of gold at Cherry Creek. Later they settled on the fertile land in the Lumby district, and formed one of the few pockets in Western Canada, where French-Canadians are to-day found in any number.

By 1863, there was quite a settlement at the Mission, and one man reported,

The cabins, barns, fences and hay stacks in every direction give the country a pleasant appearance after travelling the dreary mountain trails. The Catholic Mission buildings are new and very neat. The settlers' houses are generally of the smallest and poorest description. W. Pion's and J. McDougall's are good well built houses, and the best in the settlement. (20)

The settlers had also started to grow crops, and the produce grown by the priests in 1863 amounted to 1,000 bushels of wheat, 200 bushels of barley, and 2,000 bushels of potatoes. They also had a few hogs and sheep and grew a small amount of tobacco. (21)

(20) W.C. Young to J.C. Haynes, December 12th, 1863, Ms. in Provincial Archives, Victoria.
(21) Ibid.
For half a century, the little mission of the Immaculate Conception on the shore of Lake Okanagan continued to be the nucleus about which the white population in the Okanagan Valley centred. But in 1912, it was closed, and the new Catholic Church was built in Kelowna. The mission buildings were sold to a French family, and the little old church, which should be one of the most important landmarks in British Columbia to-day, was torn down.

In this manner, the last relic of the days of the Oblate priests disappeared. Their work in the Okanagan Valley was made possible by the fur-trader's contribution in exploring the country and providing it with means of communication with the outside world. The highway which was built along the chain of lakes, was used by a harassed priest as an avenue of escape from the complications in which he had become involved. Thus it happened that a mission was established on Okanagan Lake, and that white people began to settle nearby. From that time also dates the beginning of agriculture in the Okanagan Valley.
Chapter 3.
The Gold-Miner's Contribution.

Gold-mining directly influenced the development of certain areas of the Okanagan Valley by attracting new-comers, and indirectly influenced it by necessitating the building of new roads, which in turn led to the development of markets, and consequently to an increase in the number of farmers.

A year after the first gold rush to Fraser River in 1858, gold was discovered at Rock Creek. By October, 1860, there were about 500 miners at work in and around Rock Creek, and at the mouth of Boundary Creek. These were for the most part, Americans who had abandoned their claims on streams in Oregon and Washington, and rushed north. Everyone believed the new diggings were permanent, and James Douglas, Governor of the colony, appointed W.G. Cox to act as gold commissioner. By November, $83,000 had been taken out of the creek by twenty individual miners and companies of miners, and in addition, a considerable amount had been taken out by miners who left the country without declaring what they had earned.

At that time, there were 23 houses and stores of good size at Rock Creek, besides numbers of huts and cabins, and the people were waiting to have the townsite surveyed. One of the greatest attractions about this new settlement was its large billiard saloon, which Mr. Cox said, added greatly to the good appearance of the town. Early in 1861, a government

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(1) Sir James Douglas, Private Papers, First Series, Ms. in Provincial Archives.
(2) W.G. Cox to W.A.C. Young, July 17th, 1861, Ms. in Provincial Archives.
(3) W.G. Cox to W.A.C. Young, November 20th, 1860, Ms. in Provincial Archives.

Letters quoted hereafter are to be found in the Provincial Archives.
building was constructed, and about the same time custom houses were erected on the Similkameen River and at Osoyoos.

Already the people were beginning to settle. By November 20th, 1860, Cox reported that five sections of agricultural land had been pre-empted and partly plowed, and on April 14th, of the next year, I, A. Watson, Joseph Seno, W. Waddingham and W. Cornell at Rock Creek, and Father Richard, J.C. Larame, W.G. Cox, Gideon Pion and J.C. Haynes around the Mission, recorded land with him. These men started to farm in order to supply the miners with food. At Rock Creek the prices were high, flour being 20¢ per pound, bacon 50¢, lard 50¢, sugar 40¢, coffee 50¢, beans 30¢, onions 25¢, potatoes 22¢, tea $1.25, dried apples 40¢, candles $1.00, rice 30¢, and butter non-existent.

The high cost of living at Rock Creek was offset by the fact that the gold which was first obtained from the mines was nuggety and of extreme purity. In one instance, two men in six weeks obtained $1,300, while the benches at one place near the mouth of the creek yielded an ounce a day for the season. From one claim, gold was extracted in February, 1861, to the value of £198 in six weeks, while another claim yielded £4 a day. Governor Douglas is quoted as saying,

I ascertained from the testimony of the miners generally, that none of those who had succeeded in opening gold claims were making less than

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(4) W.G. Cox to W.A.G. Young, November 20th, 1860.
(5) W.G. Cox to W.A.G. Young, April 14th, 1861.
(6) W.G. Cox to W.A.G. Young, March 3rd, 1861.
£4 a day—a party of three white men, after paying all expenses during mining, saved £2,400 : £20 a day was sometimes made. (8)

In May of 1861, a prospecting party found grain and scale gold of fine quality in all the streams flowing west into Okanagan Lake. The effect upon Rock Creek was ruinous. Immediately the miners abandoned the diggings which were becoming exhausted, and pushed on to Mission Creek. The stampede threw a dismal feeling over the owners of property at Rock Creek, and all building stopped, and town-lots were almost unsaleable. At the same time, many of the miners escaped leaving behind them huge debts which they had contracted, and the disheartened traders refused credit to good men who could not work their claims without provisions. Rock Creek, in fact, had the appearance of general bankruptcy.

On March 11th, 1862, Cox left, having seen the last party of miners leave on the 10th. for Mission Creek. However, disappointment faced them there. The discovery of gold proved only a flash in the pan, and the miners were glad to troop north to Cherry Creek where richer diggings were reported.

At that place, placer gold was first discovered in the fall of 1863, and during the following summer a considerable amount was taken out. However, most of the gold

(8) Matthew MacFie, loc. cit.
(9) W.G. Cox to W.A.G. Young, March 1st, 1861.
(10) W.G. Cox to W.A.G. Young, April 27th, 1861.
(11) W.G. Cox to W.A.G. Young, July 10th, 1861.
consisted of light, flat scaly particles, and it took a great many of them to make an ounce. In November, 1863, J.C. Haynes sent W.C. Young, the constable in charge of the Customs House on the Similkameen River, to report on the mines. His verdict was,

I cannot find a claim, nor a man that knows of a claim on Cherry Creek, that will certainly pay half an ounce a day to the hand—the most of the men there do not seem to know where to go to work to earn five dollars a day. (12)

In spite of this, a considerable number of miners were located at the diggings, and Hy Wend, tavern-keeper from Hope pre-empted 320 acres of land, and built a house of entertainment. This is thought to have been the first house of any kind in the vicinity of Lumby, and its ruins can still be seen just off the Vernon-Lumby road, about one mile west of Lumby. A few traders also started business at the mines, but there was not as great a development as at Rock Creek.

It is difficult to ascertain exactly how much gold was taken during the four or five years after the discovery in 1863, but the production seems to have varied from considerable quantities to practically nothing. A small quantity of very rich silver ore which was discovered at the same time, attracted great attention, and was reported in all the newspapers in British Columbia and Oregon. During 1864, 700 pounds of ore were taken out and smelted at (13) San Francisco. As the deposit gradually became exhausted,

(12) W.C. Young to J.C. Haynes, December 12th, 1863.
(13) F.G. Claudet to W.A.C. Young, September 2nd, 1867.
it was decided to run a tunnel into the slate just above the spot which yielded the ore, with the hope of striking the main lode. However, the veins were found to be "segregated", containing only a small amount of silver disseminated through them.

In the spring of 1866, another outcrop was discovered on the bed of the creek, and on July 9th of the same year, the Cherry Creek Silver Mining Company Limited, was registered. This company had a capital stock of $150,000, which was divided into 3,000 shares of the value of $50 each, 1,125 of which were taken by the shareholders who were V. Kopp, George Dietz, George Landevoight, W.H. Sutton, Clement F. Cornwall, James Robinson, W.J. Sanders, John G. Wirth, Hugh Nelson, W.H. Dell, Luc Girouard, Donald Chisholm and F.D. Morrison. These were mostly prominent business and mining men of the time. Chisholm was later member of the Dominion Parliament for New Westminster, and Nelson and Cornwall later held, each in turn, the office of Lieutenant-Governor of British Columbia. Dietz was Nelson's partner when they sold their Cariboo Express business to F.J. Barnard, and Kopp and Landevoight were mining men.

The mine was believed to be so "fabulously rich" that another company, the Shuswap Silver Mining Company, was formed the same year for the purpose of prospecting for the so-called lost ledge. Some $15,000 was spent in prospecting, but no more rich ore was discovered. F.G. Claudet,

(14) F.G. Claudet, op. cit.
(15) Report of the Minister of Mines for 1874, Victoria, 1875, p. 15.
superintendent of the Assay Office at New Westminster, reported in 1867 that,

It would appear that an extraordinarily rich "pocket" of ore was discovered in the bed of the creek; and that segregated veins, containing ore permeate the slate, but beyond this nothing definite is known at present. (16)

The Cherry Creek Mining Company prospected for nearly two years at great expense, but finally had to abandon the work without having obtained any permanent results. In June, 1875, the lease of 320 acres which the government had granted it for mining purposes was cancelled, because of the failure of the company to carry out the terms of the agreement. However, interest in the mine had spread to Eastern Canada, and the Galts, a wealthy Montreal family, had a mineralogist by the name of Torrance brought out from Freiberg, Germany, to examine the mines. He paid two visits to Cherry Creek, but found little silver there. What little was obtained was taken in pack-trains to Hope, whence it was shipped to Swansea, England, to be smelted.

In 1876, gold-mining again came into importance at Cherry Creek, and a small rush took place. In that year, $8,000 worth was taken out, and the average yield per day was $6 to the hand. About this time, two nuggets worth $130 and $120 respectively, were found on Price Ellison's claim. In 1876, Dr. J.W. Dawson visited the district, and stated that it was in the midst of the Gold Range, and that

(16) F.G. Claudet, op. cit.
it contained a certain amount of gold. For twenty years after this, Chinamen worked on Cherry Creek, and even to-day, it is believed that the country is rich in gold, although no large amount has been taken out in recent years.

Such is the history of mining in the Okanagan Valley—a series of discoveries, soaring hopes, and then disheartening failures. Even in the eighties, there was another rush—this time to Granite Creek in the Similkameen. In 1885, gold was discovered on this inconspicuous stream, and a rush took place, men journeying over the Hope Mountains with toboggans and snow-shoes. The whole of the last five miles of the stream was staked, and by October there were 62 companies at work.

The Point Company obtained $750 as the result of eight men's work for thirty hours, and Briggs & Bromley obtained $400 in one afternoon. With the gold was found a very hard whitish metal which proved to be platinum, and the following amount was produced in these years—1891, $10,000; 1892, $3,500; 1893, $1,500. During 1885, there were from 400 to 500 white miners at Granite Creek, and from 150 to 200 Chinese. The town which sprang up contained seven stores, three of these being kept by Chinese, and including two restaurants, two saloons, and a butcher shop. However, on the whole, Granite Creek never paid wages, and proved to be another flash in the pan.

Mining, therefore, was never the source of a great

(19) Ibid.
deal of wealth for the Okanagan Valley. It was, however, important in spite of this, for it acted like a magnet in drawing people into the district. When these people found that they could not make a fortune by mining, they turned to the land to obtain a living, and thus became pioneer settlers and founders of the modern towns of the Valley.

As such, it is meet that we consider the character of these men who were attracted to the country by visions of gold. A census taken at Rock Creek on April 14th, 1861, showed that there were only seven British subjects as against 116 aliens. But although these men represented nearly every civilized country in the world, and were of all creeds and beliefs, they remained peaceful and law-abiding. In fact, the miners who came to the Okanagan Valley from California were not the desperate characters, the gamblers, blacklegs and cut-throats, but rather a class of decent men who expected to improve their condition in life by their own honest endeavor.

During the two years Cox was Gold Commissioner at Rock Creek, he reported only three crimes committed—-one of theft, another of robbing a sluice box, and a third of murder. In the first two cases, the miners punished the culprits by running them out of camp, as there was no jail in which to confine them. In the third case, a half-crazy Indian murdered a white man who had befriended him, although he could give no good reason for committing the crime. At this time, there were no soldiers or policemen in the Okanagan Valley to

(20) W.G. Cox to W.A.G. Young, April 14th, 1861.
enforce the law, so the miners themselves turned out and hanged the Indian. Thus, the gold-miners who remained in the Okanagan Valley became law-abiding citizens of British Columbia.

Some of them also became good farmers as the necessity of obtaining food at the mines arose. As early as 1861, Adam Beam, the discoverer of gold at Mission Creek, pointed out the superiority of land in that district, where "a miner can grow his potatoes, and vegetables, besides keep a cow," over the land around Rock Creek. Soon the early settlers at the Mission began to grow vegetables and fruit and to raise cattle and hogs to supply the miners with provisions.

A trading post was also established at Okanagan Mission by Eli LeQuime, who had formerly had a store and a saloon at Rock Creek. At the Mission, he had a cattle and horse ranch, a blacksmith shop, a saw-mill and the post-office. His store was the only trading post between Kamloops and Osoyoos, and it was not an uncommon sight to see a pack-train of 40 mules carrying LeQuime's goods and equipment over the Hope Trail.

As the settlements grew, new roads were built. In 1858, the first wagon train which had been used to transport goods for any distance in British Columbia, made its appearance in the Valley. It was brought up the old brigade trail by General Noel Palmer of Dayton, Oregon, with goods for the miners in Cariboo. The same year, another expedition

(21) W.G. Cox to W.A.G. Young, March 1st, 1861.
(22) The California Gold Rush in 1849 drew Eli LeQuime from France, the Fraser River Gold Rush in 1858 brought him to Hope, and the Rock Creek Gold Rush in 1860 attracted him to the latter place.
was fitted out, and also had for its destination the rich
diggings on the Fraser River. It set out from Walla Walla,
and was led by Archibald McKinlay and David McLoughlin. On
the way, the party was attacked by Indians near the Boundary
Line, and 5 men were killed and 6 wounded. The whole journey
from Walla Walla to Lytton occupied about 30 days, and the
trail up Okanagan Lake was described as being so bad that one
who had once travelled over it, would not desire to do so again.

With the discovery of gold at Rock Creek, Joel Palmer
became a persistent promoter of the route from Priests' Rapids
on the Columbia River to the diggings. In 1859-60, he raised
a public fund, most of it at Portland to build a road, and in
1860 he started a stage line on the route. In 1863, Palmer
and others opened a trail for pack trains and cattle through
the guage of the Columbia River on the Oregon side, as another
route to the mines.

The finding of gold at Mission Creek, led to the
construction of a steam boat at Osoyoos to ply between the
Columbia River and the mines. This boat, which was 85 feet
long, was built at the Traverse, a place on Osoyoos Lake about
two and a half miles south of the Boundary Line. Although it
was ready to have the machinery installed, it was never
completed, probably because of the fact that no boat of this
length could get up Okanagan Falls.

Governor Douglas also made various plans to provide

(23) P.W. Hoyay and E.O.S. Scholefield, op. cit., p.90.
(24) W.G. Cox to W.A.G. Young, February 16th, 1861.
transportation. To give access to the mines on the Similkameen, he contemplated the construction of a wagon road to connect Shuswap Lake and Spallumcheen River with Okanagan Lake, and Okanagan Lake with the Similkameen River. Thus, by a series of water stretches and wagon roads, which in turn would join the Yale-Cariboo road, then under construction, the whole country would be linked together. This toll wagon road, Douglas also intended to build from the Similkameen down and across the Columbia to the Kootenays, and from there through the Rocky Mountains via Edmonton to meet a proposed road from Canada to British Columbia.

In the northern end of the Okanagan Valley, Douglas planned to employ two steamers, one on Shuswap Lake, and the other on Okanagan Lake, with a wagon road connecting the two. In 1866, the boat was placed on Shuswap Lake, but it was not until 1873 that the road was built from Okanagan Lake to the Spallumcheen River.

Meanwhile, Edgar Dewdney had commenced to build the trail down the Similkameen to the Kootenays. Although the road was completed from Princeton to Wild Horse Creek in 1865, the proposition of a wagon road to stretch from British Columbia to Fort Gary was dropped after the Province entered Confederation, as the building of a railway to extend across this territory was included in the terms.

In 1865-6, gold was discovered on the Big Bend of the Columbia River, where it changes its course to turn sharply around the Selkirk Mountains. The need of a road to link the Okanagan and the Kootenay now became apparent.
On April 15th, 1865, Captain Houghton, a retired officer of the British army, and a French-Canadian, Vincent Duteau, were sent to explore the country between Cherry Creek and the Arrow Lakes. On their way they discovered and named Sugar Lake, where they lost their supply of sugar for the trip. Proceeding southward along the summit of a range to the north fork of Cherry Creek, they saw what appeared to be a low pass heading eastward from the headwaters of the south fork of Cherry Creek, in the direction of Arrow Lakes. Upon his return, Houghton wrote to the government reporting his discovery, and expressed his willingness to explore the pass and ascertain the possibility of building a pack trail by which goods might be transported by a shorter route to the Big Bend mines.

In the spring, he was supplied by the government with a string of pack-horses brought in from Hope, and the result was the location of the Fire Valley Trail from the Okanagan to the Columbia.

This trail was later considered by Walter Moberly as a possible route for a wagon road from the mining districts on the Columbia to the lower Fraser River, but he came to the conclusion that it was too far south. He therefore set out to conduct the first exploration east of Kamloops, and discovered the Illicillewaht River and the valley occupied

(24) C.F. Houghton to A.N. Birch, June 20th, 1865.
(25) In 1915, a large force of interred aliens worked on the widening of this trail to a possible wagon road; and within the last few years the road has been improved and standardized, and is now known as the Vernon-Edgewood road.
by Eagle River. This discovery was of the utmost importance, as it was the route which was followed when the Canadian Pacific Railway was built in 1885. In this way, the railway was brought very close to the Okanagan Valley. It is said that when Moberly reached the foot of Moody Mountain, near Craigellachie (where the last spike was driven into the rails of the Canadian Pacific Railway), he blazed a tree and wrote on it with chalk, "This is the route for the Overland Railway." He also mentioned camping at "Schik-mouse", which later became known as Sicamous, the junction of the main line and the branch running into the Okanagan Valley.

With these improved means of transportation, more settlers slowly filtered in the Okanagan Valley. More British subjects made their appearance, but no one class ever predominated, and there was a great amount of social freedom. Growth in settlement was comparatively slow until 1885, when the Canadian Pacific Railway was built, but after the branch-line, known as the Shuswap & Okanagan Railway, was completed in 1892, the increase was more rapid.

The period up to 1892, was one during which the settlers acquired large tracts of land. The development of large areas in a systematic manner was made possible by the land ordinances which were framed for the pre-emption of unsurveyed land. East of the Cascade Range of mountains, and therefore in the Okanagan Valley, any British subject over 18 years of age, might record any tract of unsurveyed and unoccupied Crown Lands, not greater than 320 acres in extent. The cost of

recording the claim was $2, and the settler had to enter into occupation of the land in 30 days. If he ceased to occupy it, or if he did not live on it for 10 months in the year, his record was cancelled, and all buildings and improvements were forfeited to the Crown. No person was entitled to hold at the same time two claims of record.

Within 5 years from the date of the record, the settler had to have a survey of the land made at his own expense. Then upon proof that he had been in occupation for 2 years from the date of the pre-emption, and that he had made improvement to the value of $2.50 per acre, he obtained a certificate of improvement. After paying for the land, he was then entitled to a Crown Grant in fee simple, for which he paid $5.00. The price of Crown Land pre-empted was $1.00 per acre, paid in instalments. Crown Lands might also be purchased to the extent of 640 acres. The minimum price of first class land was $5.00 per acre; second-class, $2.50 per acre; third-class, $1.00 per acre. No settlement duties were required on such land, unless a second purchase was contemplated.

Thus, the Land Laws of British Columbia, made it possible for the early settlers to obtain land on easy terms. In the years, 1891, 1892, 1894 and 1895, government surveys of the Okanagan were carried on, and all the tangles which existed were straightened out. An appendix is added of some of the early pre-emption records in the Valley, as well as the Voters Lists for 1874 and 1876. Perhaps there is no

better way of showing the influence of the discovery of gold on the development of settlement in the Valley.

Under an ordinance promulgated on March 18th, 1861, retired British military and naval officers on coming to British Columbia, received a free grant of land, the amount of which was determined by the rank and service of the applicant. Among the men to receive such grants in the Okanagan Valley were:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Lot</th>
<th>Acreage</th>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Date of Crown Grant</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>100</td>
<td>160</td>
<td>William Bentley</td>
<td>April 10th, 1878.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>102</td>
<td>160</td>
<td>Thomas Robertson</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>106</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>James Normansell</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>108</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>Roger Moore</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>115</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>Robert Stevens</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Houghton had some trouble in securing his grant, but was finally given Lot 25, consisting of 1,450 acres and lying between the Coldstream Ranch buildings and Long Lake, near Vernon. He was the first owner of the Coldstream Ranch.

It will therefore be seen that after 1860, there was a steady increase in the population of the Okanagan Valley. Gold-mining played its part in this development by giving the Valley publicity, by developing markets, and by influencing casual stragglers to take up land. With improved means of transportation, immigration took place, and there was a further increase in the number of farmers in the Valley. From the appearance of these men, we note the evolution of industries, and by examining the work to which they directed and devoted all their energy, we can determine the type of settlers they proved to be.
Chapter 4.
The Cattle-Rancher.

In 1858, an epoch-making event took place for British Columbia, with the rush beginning on April 25th., to the Fraser River gold mines. Immediately the surrounding country sprang into activity, and although it is hard to say how many men located on the bars, the San Francisco paper claimed that in all 30,000 persons had left that city during the early months of 1858 for Fraser River and its vicinity. It is improbable that all these reached their destination, and on November 9th., Governor Douglas placed the total mining population at 10,600. Suffice it to say, that the territory which had formerly known the white man only in the person of the fur-trader and missionary travelling through its length, now within a few months became thronged with miners.

As the country was still in its virgin state, and there were no settlements in the area, the problem of feeding this enormous number of people soon became pressing. At the same time, adequate means of transportation to the gold mines was lacking. Most of the immigrants from San Francisco travelled by boat to Victoria, and attempted to ascend the two hundred miles to the diggings in frail boats. Because of the dangerous rapids and the freshet-swollen stream, these adventures in many cases ended disastrously. The first steamer to make its

way as far as Fort Hope, was the "Surprise", which reached that place on June 7th., 1858. Later the "Umatilla" managed to reach Fort Yale, but this marked the end of steamboat navigation. From that place, the miner made his way as best he might over slippery, crumbling and rocky mountain ledges, high above the whirlpool of water down below. To carry a heavy pack of food with him was manifestly impossible, and the supply he had soon dwindled.

The pressure on the food supply which soon developed, gave an impetus to the first industry which was to flourish in the Okanagan Valley. The enterprising cattle men of Oregon, who had previously been pasturing their bands north of the Boundary Line, now seized the opportunity of supplying the miners with beef, and the old fur-trade route became lined with herds of cattle on their way to market at the gold mines. In June of 1860, the first band on its way to the Fraser River was driven through the Valley by Joel Palmer. It consisted of 150 head.

During the Cariboo mining excitement in 1862, 1863 and 1864, there was an unprecedented demand for food, and famine prices were commanded. This caused Governor Douglas to instruct W.G. Cox, who was in charge of the Customs House at Osoyoos, to encourage in every way the importation of more cattle and sheep into the country, and to remit the extra charges on cattle entering the colony. In his own words,

The great number of miners now travelling by Fraser's River towards the Caribou (sic) mines will rapidly consume the small stock of food
in the country—and great distress must necessarily ensue unless supplies of meat and breadstuffs are brought into the country with despatch and regularity. It is almost hopeless to expect that food in sufficient quantities to satisfy the multitudes that will this year resort to Caribou, can be carried into that distant region on mules or horses. The means of transport are clearly insufficient for the large demand that may be anticipated. It would greatly assist if herds of sheep and cattle could be driven into the mines—Mr. Cox is therefore instructed to encourage as much as possible the importation of sheep and cattle by the Southern Boundary and to be careful not to permit any obstacle to be thrown in the way of persons driving in cattle from the U. States Territory for the purpose of being sent to Caribou. (3)

Thus it was that during the period from January 1st, 1861 to June 30th., 1864, duty was paid at Osoyoos on 7,720 cattle; 1,371 sheep; 5,378 horses; and 998 mules.

A description of his part in this commerce is given by one old Oregonian,

During the time I was interested in the Okanagan country, the principal trail for driving cattle between the Walla Walla country and the British Columbia country was up the Okanagan Valley and across the line into British Columbia. At the Boundary Line there was a duty imposed of six dollars a head on all cattle that passed over the line into British Columbia, and I and my partner carried on quite a cattle business in buying footsore calves and other animals that were unable to stand the journey further north into the rougher British Columbia territory. We were able to buy that class of stock at a very low price and after resting and recuperating upon the ranch, they were soon in good condition, and rapidly increased in value. (5).

Prior to the Fraser River Gold Rush, there were few

(3) Note by "J.D." (James Douglas) on W. G. Cox's letter to W. A. G. Young, April 6th., 1862.
cattle in British Columbia, the only herds being on Vancouver Island near Victoria, and at Fort Langley, where the Hudson's Bay Company made butter to sell to the Russians in Alaska. Until this time, cattle were not essential as there were few white men in the country, and the Indians had an abundant supply of food in fish, game, berries and edible roots. About 1846, the uneasiness felt by the Hudson's Bay Company as to the outcome of the diplomatic discussions respecting the International Boundary Line, led to the transfer of a number of the Company's horses and cattle from districts south of the 49th. parallel to Kamloops, where bunch grass was plentiful. Some of these animals came from John Tod's old farming station on the Cowlitz, and it is said that he amused himself with the pretence that they recognized him. These were probably the first cattle to be brought into the interior of British Columbia.

The first herd was introduced into the Okanagan Valley by the priests at L'Anse au Sable, soon after they established their mission in 1859. In the following year, John McDougall and William Pion also brought in stock from Oregon. Shortly after this, Frank Richter, R.L. Cawston and others entered southern Okanagan with bands, and the cattle industry grew apace.

During the winter of 1864, Thomas Wood, who had arrived in Victoria from Newfoundland two years before, and who had been hauling freight from Lytton to Quesnel for a year, made a trip to the borders of California to buy cattle for the mines. These he drove to Kamloops, where he remained
the following winter. In 1866, the Big Bend rush took place, and Wood decided to take his cattle there, instead of to the Cariboo. At Shuswap Lake, he met Cornelius O'Keefe, and the two journeyed together to about 50 miles above the present city of Revelstoke, where they sold the animals to the miners. They then went to Oregon to buy another band. On the return trip, they met Thomas Greenhow, and the three men travelled up the west side of Okanagan Lake to the Big Bend mines. On June 20th., 1867, they camped at the head of the Lake, and decided to take up land there and settle. The cattle (about 300) which Wood and O'Keefe brought in with them were held in partnership, until 1871, when Wood sold out to Greenhow, and settled at the foot of Woods Lake, where he later acquired 3,800 acres of land extending from the south end of Woods Lake to Long Lake.

In 1863, Thomas Ellis, an Irishman, arrived in the Valley, and took up land at Penticton. In 1869, he bought his first cattle from George Simpson of Kelowna. Thus the foundation was laid for three huge cattle ranches which later appeared in the Valley. Wood, O'Keefe, Greenhow, and Ellis all acquired grazing land at the price of $1.00 per acre, and left their estates unfenced, so that the cattle could roam at large over the whole countryside.

For many years, cattle-ranching was the sole source of revenue for the settlers of the Okanagan Valley, and it expanded rapidly as conditions for it were ideal. The country was well-watered, and there were vast ranges covered to their tops with a thick and high growth of bunch-grass,
which waved in the wind like a field of growing grain. A contemporary book remarked,

The capacities for pasturage in the Central District are very extensive, and of a character unsurpassed perhaps in any part of the world. --- There are probably now, grazing at large throughout the Central District, under the circumstances I have mentioned a good many head of cattle, chiefly of superior breeds. Of these a large proportion belong to permanent settlers; the rest to graziers resorting thither from Washington Territory, and Oregon, as to a lucrative market, and for facile feeding. The capacities of the country are, however, so extensive that the herds at present scattered through it have no appreciable effect upon its resources, beyond the comparatively limited area of their feeding-grounds. (6)

The stock men also made a practice of burning off the range from time to time, and in this way they kept down the scrub pine and fir, and allowed the bunch-grass to grow.

However, in the winter the cattle were poorly fed, and a man was rated as being well-off for winter feed if he had one ton of swamp hay to the head. On this the animals subsisted for eight weeks, and sometimes longer if the winter closed with a severe spell of cold weather in February. As no shelter was provided, the cattle were turned out miserably poor in the spring, only to be come amazingly fat in the summer.

The great events of the year were the coming of the cattle buyers in May and September, when the ranges were combed for cattle by the men, women and children. Prices were low, three-year old steers being sold for many years

(6) "Guide to the Province of British Columbia", p. 31.
at $16.00 to $23.00 a head. For many years Cariboo served as the market for beef, but after 1865, its population began to dwindle. A new outlet had to be found for Okanagan and Similkameen beef, and attention was focused on the mines in the Kootenays. But the American cattlemen soon flooded the market, and we are told that "large bands of cattle were driven in over the trails, some all the way from Salt Lake City; in fact beef was the cheapest article at the mines! It now sold there for 20¢ a pound. The old Dewdney Trail probably served as the route from the Okanagan Valley to the new gold fields, although by this time it had become blocked by slides and fallen timber.

When the Kootenay mines became unproductive, the cattlemen turned their attention to the rapidly growing Coast cities of Victoria, Nanaimo and New Westminster to consume the great supply of beef. The route from Keremeos to Princeton across the Tulameen River and over the treacherous Hope Mountains, was followed. At that point, the "William Irving", "The Enterprise" and the "R.P. Rithet" loaded the cattle and brought them down the Fraser to New Westminster and Victoria. An excerpt from "The Guide to the Province of British Columbia", published in 1877, states,

The Similkameen beef (foot-note, Large herds are now, 1877, regularly brought to the Victoria, New Westminster and Nanaimo markets for the above and other interior settlements) for example, when occasionally a herd is brought to Victoria,

excites the attention of the epicures by its excellent quality, and commands always the highest market price. (8)

It goes on to say,

'Similkameen beef' is talked of as Englishmen talk of 'Southdown mutton'----It is unfortunate that this Similkameen district has not an easier western outlet in the direction of the New Westminster district, but such an outlet may possibly yet be found. (9)

Truth to tell, the route to the Coast cities was hazardous and occupied a tedious two weeks journey, although it was later improved by J.F. Allison cutting a cattle trail by way of Deep Creek, Chain and Osprey Lakes, to connect Princeton with the Similkameen. (10)

A favorite pastime among old-timers in the Valley is to recount their adventures on the cattle-trail, and one of them has given us the following description,

It was no easy job to take a herd of beef cattle to market over mountains and through rivers, standing night herd in turn and spending from twelve to fourteen hours a day in the saddle. On the boss of the drive rested the responsibility of getting the herd through to market without loss to their numbers, in such a manner that the cattle would gain weight as they travelled along. The cattle would be headed in the right direction, but spread out so that they might graze at the same time, and any puncher who was guilty of hustling the beef, or disturbing their rest while they were bedded down in the heat of the day, would be likely to receive a calling-down that would make a brindle steer take notice. (11)

In the seventies, the problem of finding a market, led some

(9) "Guide to the Province of British Columbia", p. 75.
(10) This is the route now followed by the Kettle Valley Railway.
(11) F.A. Buckland, "The Settlement of L'Anse au Sable", Ms., original in possession of the author.
of the Okanagan farmers to drive their cattle to the American cities. In some cases, drives left for Chicago and were two years on the road. For the most part these were unsuccessful, and cost the owners their fortunes. A closer profitable market was found in the nineties, when ore-mining was carried on extensively in the Kootenays.

True to the traditions of all cattle-ranching communities, even the cattle-thief existed in the Okanagan Valley. There he took the form of a butcher who stole fat animals from the range, and after destroying the ear-mark and brand, sold the meat to the settlers. Attempts were made to incriminate two of the most notorious of these butchers, but failed because of lack of evidence. Finally, however, conclusive proof was obtained, and they were arrested. These illegal practices were eventually terminated by an amendment to the "Cattle Act", which stated that hides of slaughtered animals must be kept for inspection and for a certain length of time.

Stories could also be told of how cattle men changed the brands of stolen animals. To overcome this difficulty, some unusual brands were invented. One man, for example, took a piece of iron and worked it into a queer shape that looked like no-one else's mark, and called it the mocassin. The Mission fathers also branded some of their animals with a snake, which was hard to change. Other farmers used only their initials, and very often these could be converted into other initials. For instance, by using a running iron on a 2 it could be changed to a B, and a 4 could be made an A.
The most common brands in use in the Valley about 1890 were:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Brand</th>
<th>Mark</th>
<th>Description</th>
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<tr>
<td>J.C. Haynes and Wm. Lowe</td>
<td>H_L</td>
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<td>Thomas Ellis</td>
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<td>F. Richter</td>
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<td>Eli LeQuime</td>
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<td>Alfred Postill</td>
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<td>A.B. Knox</td>
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<td>George Bentley</td>
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<td>Thomas Wood</td>
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<td>Price Ellison</td>
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<tr>
<td>Cornelius O'Keefe</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>(Eleven)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Thomas Greenhow</td>
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<td>B.X. Ranch</td>
<td>BX</td>
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<tr>
<td>E.J. Tronson</td>
<td>A</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mrs. E.J. Tronson</td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>August Gillard</td>
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<td>Joseph Christian</td>
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<td>Frederick Brent</td>
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<td>John Phillips</td>
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By that time, the ranges were well covered with stock, and huge estates had appeared. In 1891, it was reported that, "The Okanagan Valley from the Boundary Line northwards, for a length of 20 miles, and 1½ miles in width, is owned by the Haynes Estate, Theodore Kruger and the Indian Reserve--the first mentioned owning 21,000 acres and the greater part first class land. Haynes is said to have owned 25 miles of land, on which he had 2,000 head of cattle roaming. From Penticton to 15 miles up Okanagan Lake, Thomas Ellis owned all the land, and had from 4,000 to 5,000 cattle. In 1895, he extended his holdings to Osoyoos by buying the land of the Haynes Estate. He also bought 1,200 head of cattle from the Estate for $1.70 each, and 500 tons of hay for $1 to $2 a ton, according to its quality.

In 1891, the LeQuimes had a band of 1,300 head at the Mission, and around Vernon, Cornelius O'Keefe owned 1,000; Mrs. Greenhow, 800; the B.X. Ranch 200; and included in the transfer of property and goods of the Coldstream Ranch to Lord Aberdeen from Charles A. Vernon, were 2,200 head. Towards Armstrong the bands grew smaller, as there were more woods and less bunch-grass, but A.L. Fortune, the Lambly brothers, B.F. Young, and Gus Schubert, each

(14) "Vernon News", June 13th, 1895.
(15) The B.X. Ranch was owned by Barnard's Express and Stage Line, which carried on a very extensive business between Victoria and Barkerville. The B.X. Ranch was used as a horse ranch by the company, and there they kept their surplus stock.
owned 200 head, while other farmers had herds consisting of 50 to 100. Other large bands in the Valley were owned by George Barclay at West Summerland, A.B. Knox about a mile from the Lake where Kelowna now is, George Whelan and Alfred Postill in the same vicinity, Thomas Wood at Woods Lake, and Price Ellison near Vernon. At the turn of the century, Price Ellison was the largest rancher in this business in the Okanagan Valley, and to-day the surviving "Cattle-King", is Val Haynes, son of Judge J.C. Haynes. He still rides the ranges of the Similkameen, keeping his band together.

In 1892, 82% of the land at Penticton was used as pasture, 70% of the land at Kelowna, and 61 1/2% of the land at Vernon. At the same time, there were nearly 20,000 cattle in the territory extending from Osoyoos to Spallumcheen, although there were probably no more than 400 settlers in the Valley.

About 1893, the B.C. Cattle Company was formed in the Similkameen with R.L. Cawston as manager, and Thomas Ellis as one of the partners. They carried on an extensive business by importing cattle and sheep in great numbers from Oregon and the North-West Territories, pasturing them around Princeton, and after the animals had recuperated, driving them over the Hope Trail to the Coast cities, in bands of 300 and 400. The Customs House at Osoyoos must have been a busy place in those days.

With the completion of the Shuswap & Okanagan Railway

(17) Donald Graham "Journal", Ms. [Ms.], Original in Arts '31 Collection, Library, University of British Columbia. (18) Vide infra, Appendix B, p. 175.
in 1892, it became possible to get the beef to market much more easily than had previously been the case. One week in March, 1892, the B.C. Cattle Company shipped via the railway to the Coast, six carloads of beef cattle. This shipment consisted of 120 head, 100 belonging to Thomas Ellis, and the rest being from the LeQuime brothers herd at Okanagan Mission. Although this date marks the height of the industry, as late as 1903, the Coldstream Ranch shipped 300 yearlings to Alberta.

It will be noticed that during this period, reference has been made to "beef" cattle only. The fact is, that little attention was paid to improving the breed. James, Thomas and William Steele had a small band of pure bred cattle, which they obtained from Eastern Canada, in the Spallumcheen in 1880, but these were the only pure bred cattle in the district. They did confer a considerable benefit on the district at large, but the owners were not adequately reimbursed, as the cattle men were not sufficiently interested in pure-bred animals. The reason for this was that a "scrub" was more likely to withstand the rigours of a severe winter, and to come in fat in the fall, than a pure-bred animal was.

Thus it was that in a land of plenty, where there were thousands of beef cattle, there was a great dearth of butter, and a strange apathy towards dairying. Butter from Michigan was often found on the table of the owner of 1,200 head of cattle. Conditions were such that in the first issue

(19) "Vernon News", March 24th, 1892.
of the "Vernon News", the editor in a long article on the front page cried out against the "tin-cow" that found its way into every household and every hotel. Many of the issues of the first edition contain pleadings for the establishment of a dairying school. Thus:

From Enderby to Osoyoos exists an agricultural country second to none on the North American continent in the point of climate, soil and fertility. Thousands of cattle are raised in the district, but butter, milk and cheese are not produced in sufficient quantity to supply one-twentieth of the consumption of the settlers. All these useful and necessary commodities are imported either from the East or the United States and in no part of British Columbia is there either such a necessity for a radical change or so great a possibility of creating one if proper instruction be given and the farmers induced to take an interest in this important branch of animal husbandry. (22)

A few months later another exhortation was made:

The fact that 'milk', butter, eggs and cheese are still imported into this district certainly reflects no credit on our ranching community in these valleys, which should not only be able to supply the local demand for these commodities, but also be in a position to carry on a large export trade with the towns and settlements on the Coast. (23)

Even the Minister of Agriculture, J.H. Turner, took up the cry and announced,

At present the valley (from Keremeos to Osoyoos) is entirely devoted to cattle-raising in a rough and ready way, but in the future, when better methods are adopted, the valley should produce a large amount of butter.----The prospects of agriculture are not bright at present, owing to the total absence of a steady market and

(21) "Vernon News", May 21st, 1891. Condensed milk was imported from Nova Scotia and the United States.
(22) Ibid.
(23) "Vernon News", July 30th, 1891.
the valley being in the hands of a few persons and almost entirely devoted to the least profitable kind of agriculture, namely, cattle in bands. (24)

But still the cattle men clung to their old methods. The industry was becoming less profitable as the increase in the number of cattle was in a much greater ratio than that of the consumers. In the northern part of the Valley, where by the nineties, wheat-growing was well established, it was possible to combine the two industries. In the summer, the cattle roamed over the whole country from Salmon River to Lumby, and in the winter they found an abundance of feed in the straw stacks.

The change from the old to the new took place between 1890 and 1900, when the ranges were becoming depleted of the luxuriant growth of bunch-grass, and could no longer be depended upon to make good during the summer months, the deficiencies of winter feeding. At the same time, the country was being settled more and more by men farming in a comparatively small way. With the coming of the railroad, the cattle men were forced to fence their land to differentiate it from that of the newcomers. The Indian reserves were also fenced then, and cattle ranching became a thing of the past. Companies were formed to purchase large holdings and to divide them up for settlement. Attracted by the climate, settlers from the North-West soon arrived in the Valley, and land was in such demand, that where it had formerly sold for $5 an acre, it now commanded as high as $100. It was

decided, that "more settlers with fewer stock each would be infinitely better for the Province than few settlers, and large bands as at present."

One by one, the large cattle ranches disappeared, some of the owners disposing of their stock by fattening it and taking it to New Westminster where it sold for 5¢ a pound live weight. With the breaking up of the large holdings, the animals retained were better fed and housed, and more attention was paid to securing better breeds for domestic purposes. The establishment of the Farmers' Institutes and other allied organizations in 1897 helped to further this project. Soon every man became his own butter-maker, but produced butter of inferior quality; and it was not until the establishment of the dairies that there was noticeable improvement.

The Okanagan Valley has now bade farewell to cattle ranching. The old estates of 10,000 and 12,000 acres each, have been cut up into fruit lots of 20 and 40 acres. With the passing of the years, new and sometimes seemingly insoluble problems have presented themselves. So much so, that one often regrets the passing of this romantic period of history, and laments that:

Over the hills and far away,
Never a cow can I descry,
Not a steer, nor a stack of hay,
Nothing but fields of Northern Spy. (28)

(26) Donald Graham, op. cit.
(27) Vide infra, Chapter 8, p. 129.
(28) L. Norris, "A Cowboy's Lament" (An Okanagan Ballad)
Chapter 5.

The Wheat-Grower.

Inspite of its success in the southern part of the Okanagan Valley, cattle raising was never prosecuted to a very great extent in the territory between Vernon and Sicamous, because of the lack of bunch grass, and the fact that the country was heavily timbered. Moreover, the cattle trail, cutting across to Kamloops from Vernon through Grand Prairie, left the Spallumcheen Valley off the main line of travel. It remained, therefore, for a traveller from Quebec to penetrate the unexplored district, and to be the first white man to discover the possibilities of that region, where there was rich loam soil, and abundant rainfall.

As a member of the Overland Expedition of 1862, which was on its way to seek gold in Cariboo, Alexander Leslie Fortune left Beaudette Station, Quebec on May 2nd. Entraining there, he travelled through the United States to St. Paul by rail, steamer and stage, and thence to Fort Garry by stage and steamer. There the party was joined by others who were fired with longing for the hidden treasure, and among these were Augustus Schubert, his wife and three children. Before setting out again, a deputation was sent to hold interviews with Governor Dallas and Bishop Taché, during which the former advised the party to "be sure to visit the Okanagan and have a look at that most wonderful valley". During the

(1) A.L. Fortune, "Diary", Ms., , Original in Arts '31 Collection, Library, University of British Columbia.
long days of June, 1862, the band of 145 people travelled across the Prairies, reaching Edmonton on July 22nd., and the Rocky Mountains on August 18th., through which they passed by means of Yellowhead Pass. The animals which they had with them were now suffering from lack of food, and 20 of the party in an attempt to save the remaining animals, set out on an overland route which led them to the Thompson River. Among these people were the Schuberts, and the day after her arrival at Kamloops, Mrs. Schubert gave birth to the first white child born in that locality. In the late seventies, the family moved to a farm near Armstrong, and two sons, Augustus and James Schubert, are thought to be the only two surviving members of the Expedition of 1862.

Unlike the Schuberts, Fortune chose to float down the Fraser on a huge raft, and a few weeks later made his way to the Cariboo gold mines. Finding that there was not sufficient food there to last the miners until supplies camp up in the spring, he made his way to Victoria, where for two or three years he worked at casual labour and as a hotel-keeper. Finally, in the spring of 1865, he set out once more to look for gold. At his destination, the Big Bend mines, he found the diggings flooded, so he started to prospect Seymour Arm, and explored the creeks near Sicamous. Near that place, an Indian told him he had seen "shiny sand and gravel" on the shore of a lake (apparently Mabel Lake) some distance off, south-east from Salmon Arm. From Sicamous, Fortune therefore pushed his way up a short river to Mara Lake, and then

(2) A.L. Fortune, op. cit.
followed the fine navigable stream that emptied into the lake. As he travelled along, he was struck by the beauty of the surrounding country.

The grey and cool waters of the river, the timbered mountain slopes and vale so full of sap-life gave all shades of green to rest the eye; the glory of the blue sky above us, and the bright warm sun touching all nature with his heat and life-giving power made me feel "Verily God is near."

I cannot forget that first day in Spallumcheen Valley. We were so near to nature, where man's ambition never utilized nor wasted the wealth of God's arranging. To think of the centuries past and gone without the sound of an ax nor saw being heard over so vast a forest of so many thousands of square miles. Verily I have ever looked back with gratitude to God for the privilege of being the first pioneer and settler of His guiding and planting in North Okanagan. (3)

At sunset of this day, he camped three and a half miles north of Enderby, and two days later, June 16th, he staked off the spot near the river, 23 miles south of Sicamous 32 miles north of Vernon. He then set out to apply for a record of the claim at the land office at Lilloet, but was referred to Lytton, to which place he walked, only to be sent on to J.C. Haynes at Big Bend. In the fall, Fortune made another visit to the Spallumcheen Valley, this time travelling overland by way of Grand Prairie. He returned to Lilloet to winter, and in the following spring, 1867, by means of a canoe, he reached his land once more, bringing with him seed, tools and provisions.

As there was a demand for flour at the Cariboo mines, Fortune determined to plant wheat on his land. This he

(3) A.L. Fortune, "Account of Life written for the British Columbia Historical Association", Sept. 5th, 1910, p.5.
would take by boat to Kamloops to be ground at his brother's newly-erected grist mill, the first to be built in the Interior of British Columbia. Thus the pioneer began the strenuous work of land-breaking and preparing the soil for seeding.

In the broad prairie land, he had few trees to clear away, but he had to do a great deal of plowing to drain the land, as there were many depressions and hollows in which the water remained. At the same time, the wheat had to be planted early, as it was a large soft variety which required fully five months to ripen. Then when it was ready to harvest, there was only the old-fashioned cradle to reap it, and it was often the farmer's experience that after two days hard work, he had only two and a half acres cut, bound and stacked.

Fortune was soon joined by other men who arrived to take up land. Impressed by the wonderful yields of wheat, they also started to grow it, and with the march of time, were aided by the introduction of improved machinery. The old-fashioned harvesters which raked the cut grain off the platform, one shelf at a time were introduced, and only the binding and the stooking were left to be done. But as for threshing, as late as 1876, the old Biblical method was used—a number of horses were turned into a carral and kept circling around at a lively gait. When the wheat was sufficiently threshed, they were turned out into another enclosure, the straw thrown out, a fresh lot of wheat put in, and the horses returned to their work. The feed thus obtained was used for the hogs and

(4) cf. W.S. Wade, op. cit, p. 110. "In 1868, William Fortune, built the first flour mill in the interior of B.C., the burrs coming from Buffalo and costing $1.200 for the pair."
cattle, and the method employed was more economical than hauling the grain to Kamloops (a distance of 46 miles from Armstrong through Grand Prairie), to be threshed. It was not until about 1885 that Alex Vance, manager of the B.X. Ranch at Vernon, bought a steam thresher and improved upon the prevailing practice. By that time, the Spallumcheen Valley was dotted with wheat ranches, and some of the owners were J.A. Mara, Moses Lumby, Donald Graham, B.F. Young, Cornelius O'Keefe and Thomas Greenhow.

To grind flour for their own use, these early settlers relied on small coffee grinders, similar to the ones still in use in many of the modern kitchens to-day. The wheat was first dried in the oven, and then run through the mill, with the result that the people used nothing but Graham bread. Later, Fortune imported a large grinder of this type, and although it put through a considerable amount of wheat in a short time, it required a great deal of hand power to run it. In fact, on numerous occasions, two Indians were hired to turn the crank all day long. Silk bolting cloth was eventually imported, and white bread made its appearance.

Another type of grist mill which was later in general use, was constructed in 1877 by the Vernon brothers on the Coldstream Ranch. It consisted of a ridged steel cylinder, which was slightly tapering, and which was about five inches long. This cylinder fitted into a surrounding case, equally ridged, and by advancing or drawing back the cylinder, the mill could be made to grind fine or coarse meal. The whole thing was light in weight, and besides the cylinder, the
only things that had to be imported were an iron bar for a
shaft, a belt and a few yards of bolt cloth, as the rest of
the mill was constructed on the spot. It was driven by water
power, and was probably the type used by the farmers in the
East to chop their grain for feeding purposes. Two other mills
of the same pattern were later in operation in the Okanagan
Valley—one on the Tronson and Brewer ranch south of Vernon,
and the other on the O'Keefe and Greenhow ranch, at the head
of Okanagan Lake. Out of a ton of wheat these mills made
little more than 900 pounds of flour. It was excellent flour,
although there was always an occasional fine speck of bran in
it, which could not be eliminated in the process of manufactur­
ing.

The first stone grist mill in the Okanagan Valley was
set up at Okanagan Mission by Frederick Brent in 1877. The
mill stones, iron frame and hopper were brought to Enderby
from San Francisco by steam-boat and freight wagon, and were
taken from there overland and by water to the Mission. For
ten years the picks used in sharpening the stone had to be
sent to San Francisco to be sharpened and tempered. The only
other stone mill ever used in the Valley was also at Okanagan
Mission, where it was built by Eli LeQuime some years later.

(5) The modern roller mill will make from 1,400 to 1,500 pounds
of flour out of the same quantity of wheat.

(6) Frederick Brent was a member of the United States Cavalry
who had taken part in the Indian troubles of 1858 in
Washington, and had ridden as far north as White Lake on the
old brigade trail. In 1865, he received his discharge from
the army, and came to the Okanagan Valley to settle. He
built his mill on a small creek on his property, a mile
north of Dry Creek. The Indians called the place N'lastwas-
ton, or the Valley of the Mill. cf Buckland Ms.

(7) Vide supra, p. 36.
However, two other grist mills, driven by water-power were situated around Vernon—one at Lavington was owned by Vincent Duteau, and the other at Vernon by Luc Girouard.

Up until this time there were no fanning mills in the country, and the wheat was poured into the hopper as it came from the threshing machine. As long as it was clean it made little difference, but in 1884, when there was smut in the Spallumcheen wheat, blue flour was produced. The next year, O'Keefe and Greenhow put a smut extractor in their mill. The proper facilities for cleaning wheat were not, however, installed in any mill in the northern end of the Okanagan Valley, until 1882 when L.W. Patten built his grist mill alongside the saw mill erected by Alfred Postill on Deep Creek the same year. The successful operation of this mill was facilitated by an arrangement which was entered into, whereby Patten was to have the use of the water-power at night and when it was not required for running the saw-mill. This was the most pretentious and up-to-date grist mill the Valley had yet seen.

Meanwhile, the wheat acreage in the northern end of the Okanagan Valley was increasing by leaps and bounds. As conditions had been ideal in the southern portion for cattle-raising, so they were in the area north of Vernon for wheat-

(8) Vide supra, p. 39. Duteau entered the Valley in 1863, and recorded land east of the divide between the Coldstream and White Valleys, about 10 miles east of Vernon.

(9) Vide Infra, p. 143.

growing. During the year of the big crop, 1884, the returns for wheat per acre were from 50 to 70 bushels, and as might have been expected, very few farmers had sufficient granary room to hold such a crop. In most cases, enclosures made of rails and lined with straw, built to contain the overflow. In this year, some of the farmers sold their grain for $40 per ton, to the contractor for the portion of the Canadian Pacific Railway from Sicamous to Craigellachie.

People now began to refer to the Okanagan Valley in glowing terms, and to call it the "wheat-field of British (11) Columbia" and the "food-producing base of the Province", while one magazine grew enthusiastic and declared,

Taking the valley lands of the Okanagan alone, if two-thirds were turned to wheat-growing, the result would exceed the usual acreage of the Manitoba crop, a statement that may stagger those who have been in the habit of sneering at British Columbia as 'a sea of mountains.' (13)

With this increase in production, it became necessary to turn to better means of disposing of the harvest. This factor therefore accounts for the rapid development of scientific milling during the succeeding years, and a new era dawned for grist-milling in the Valley, when in 1886, G.H. Rashdale and G.R. Lawes built their roller mill at Enderby, the head of navigation on the Spallumcheen River.

(13) Ibid.
(14) Enderby early became the centre for trade and transportation as it was the head of navigation on the water-route from Kamloops. In 1883, Robert Lambly obtained his crown grant of 10 acres on the bank of the river, and erected storehouses for grain, charging $1 per ton for storage.
Relying on the experience of Rashdale as an English miller and the capital of Lawes, the two men entered the project enthusiastically, and ordered the machinery from Goldie & McCulloch of Galt, Ontario. Although conditions in the Valley looked favourable for the enterprise, the company purchased only the wheat crop of 1887, when they found themselves in financial difficulties. Arrangements were made with the Bank of British Columbia, and for some time the farmers were paid for their wheat with notes on the Bank. During the winter of 1887-8, in an attempt to keep the mill running, the flour was hauled to Sicamous in sleighs, but the failure of the company could not be averted, and the climax was reached the following September, when the Bank withdrew its support.

The mill then passed into the hands of R.P. Rithet & Company, merchants of Victoria, who installed a patent universal bolter. By means of an attrition mill, they also succeeded in turning out from 70 to 80 tons of wheat during 24 hours grinding. During the month of July, 1891, they shipped over the Shuswap & Okanagan Railway, 16 cars of flour, or nearly 360 tons. For nearly seven years they provided a market for the wheat crop, but the farmers by this time, were beginning to feel that they were not receiving for their wheat, a price in proportion to the selling-price of flour.

Realizing that there was a strong under-current of feeling, Rithet & Company in the spring of 1894, very wisely

(15) "Vernon News", April 7th, 1892.
sold the property and mill to the Columbia Flouring Mills, a company which was incorporated with a capital of $100,000. The owners now were R.P. Rithet, F.V. Moffet, J.H. Lawson, R.J. Kerr, and W.A. Lawson, with Moffet in charge. The capacity of the mill was increased from 240 to 300 barrels per day, and for a time, the Columbia Flouring Mills did a very considerable business. An attempt at establishing a cooperative mill at Vernon in 1894 had failed, and the building and equipment were purchased by the Enderby concern, shortly after their erection and installation. The new company, therefore, obtained all the wheat from the Enderby district, and at its Vernon branch, all grown in that locality. As there was little grain grown in the Kelowna district at this time, the Columbia Flouring Mills had for a short time a monopoly of all the wheat produced in the Okanagan Valley. In this manner it was able to carry on an extensive provincial and export business, and about 90,000 bushels of wheat were converted into flour each season. A heavy Oriental trade was also carried on, and in 1895, more than 30 carloads of flour were shipped to the Japanese Government. During the year 1911, the company had so far increased its total annual output, that it shipped 13,128 tons. From that time on, however, a rapid decline in the business took place due to opposition from within and without the Okanagan Valley.

Opposition from within came from the cooperative

(16) "Land of the Okanagan", p. 16.
concern which was established at Armstrong in 1895. At this time, the acreage in wheat in the territory between Kelowna and Enderby had increased to 2,330 acres of fall wheat, and 6,680 of spring wheat. In examining these figures, the "Vernon News", stated that allowing an average yield of 28 bushels to the acre, this would give nearly 8,000 tons, which should return to the grower "at the very lowest figure that wheat can be expected to bring this fall—$20 per ton". However, when the price paid by the Columbia Flouring Mills turned out to be $16 per ton, or 48¢ per bushel, the farmers of the whole countryside arose in a body. At a very enthusiastic meeting held at Armstrong, they decided to organize a company to build and operate a mill as a cooperative concern. On September 27th, the Okanagan Flouring Mills Company, Limited, was registered, with a capital stock of $60,000, divided into 600 shares of $100 each, and with the registered shareholders, Cornelius O'Keefe, Donald Graham, Donald Matheson, Mark Hill and Daniel Rabbitt. Of the capital, $20,000 was loaned by the Municipality of Spallumcheen, in which all the farmers, with the exception of three, and nearly all the business men were shareholders. Around Vernon, Cornelius O'Keefe and Thomas Greenhow at the head of Okanagan Lake each subscribed for $2,000 worth of shares, and Lord Aberdeen at the Coldstream Ranch for $500. The late Senator Hewett Bostock was also among the first 70 men who subscribed to the enterprise. According to a memorandum

(18) "Vernon News", July 11th, 1895.
(19) Ibid.
in the office of the Registrar of Joint Stock Companies, Victoria, there were on August 31st, 1898, 88 shareholders who held among them 271 shares, on which $21,297.43 had been paid.

In order that the mill should be in running order as soon as possible, matters were expedited, and the contract for the erection of the building was given to the late T.E. Crowell of Vernon, while that for the erection of the elevator was awarded to T.W. Fletcher of Armstrong. Goldie & McCulloch of Galt, Ontario, were ordered to supply the machinery and to install it. Thus by the middle of July, 1896, everything was completed and the mill was ready to commence business.

An immediate justification of the enterprise was presented when the crops of 1896 and 1897, realized $5 more per ton, than had those sold to the Enderby mill. The price paid for wheat was $18, which was later supplemented by a bonus of $3 per ton. But the last bonus provided by the company, was paid on the crop of 1898. This did not mean, however, that the mill immediately ceased operation.

For a period of ten years it remained moderately successful. For the benefit of the shareholders, many new features were adopted. For example, it became agent for the Deering Manufacturing Company for farm machinery, which it sold at 10 to 15% less than was done by other dealers; it rented sacks for wheat at $1.50 per hundred, using them later as containers for bran and shorts; and it made

arrangements with the Bank of Montreal, whereby when the farmers' notes passed through the hands of the company, the money would be loaned at 7% interest, instead of the usual 8%. At the same time, the Indians were encouraged to grow by improved means, greater quantities of Red Fife wheat, which was required to mix with the softer winter varieties produced by all the other growers. The company actually supplied all the machinery for this undertaking, with the result that eventually $10,000 of uncollectable Indian debts were found on their books.

At the turn of the century, the share-holders might have seen that all was not going well with the company. At that time, $60,000 was borrowed annually from the Bank of Montreal. Finally, E.C. Clouston, general manager of the Bank, arrived to inspect the premises and to examine the share-holders. Upon leaving, he expressed himself as follows: "If this mill is doing as well as you say it is, it is doing better than any other 100 barrel mill in the Dominion." But over-confidence in the project led the farmers to be somewhat blinded by the success they were experiencing with their export trade. They had developed the foreign market so that by this time, they were exporting to Japan, Australia, New Zealand and the Fiji Islands.

However, a cause for genuine anxiety had now developed. As there was little hard wheat produced in the Okanagan Valley, great quantities had to be imported from Manitoba and the

North-West Territories to work with the soft varieties. Of the 1,140 cars of grain inspected in the Calgary Grain Inspecting area during the season 1905-6, 60% found a market in British Columbia, most of it going to the Columbia Flouring Mills at Enderby, and the Okanagan Flouring Mills at Armstrong. Finally, with the establishment of the very large roller mills on the Prairies, the competition began to harass the millers of the Okanagan Valley, and finally succeeded in driving them out of business.

An audit of the books of the Armstrong mill in 1906 revealed so large a percentage of uncollectable debts, that the company was declared to be insolvent at a meeting held on December 11th. By June 1st, 1908, the affairs were fully wound up and at a meeting of the shareholders held on July 21st, the accounts of the liquidator were passed and confirmed. After a great deal of controversy, the shareholders were exonerated from all blame and the five directors were held responsible for the state of affairs. In the end, the latter were each forced to pay the Bank of Montreal the sum of $7,000 within one year, and after this was done, time was granted to settle up the affairs of the company.

This marked the end of the first comparatively successful attempt at cooperation in the Valley, and although the mill was again started as a new company under the management of M. McKay of Salmon Arm, the directors realized that conditions were not very promising. A year or two later it

was placed in the hands of real estate men in Winnipeg for sale, but their verdict was, "It is the most difficult property to dispose of we carry. The day of the small mill is gone". Finally the property was traded off for shares in a biscuit manufacturing plant in Vancouver, which failed in April 1912, and the five directors lost about $12,000 each.

The flour-milling industry in the Okanagan Valley was so badly crippled that it never recovered. An attempt to revive it at Vernon failed, and the Columbia Flouring Mills were forced to suspend business in 1917. To-day, the surviving mill in the Valley is a small one at Armstrong, owned by Charles Hoover.

The primary reason for the failure of the industry was the fact that it was overdone, and that there was not sufficient wheat grown in the Valley to keep three mills (Enderby, Armstrong and Vernon) of a capacity of 600 pounds per day of 24 hours running. The total annual crop produced in the Valley, about 5000 tons, could have been ground in the mills in 60 days. The importation of wheat from the Prairies also proved unpractical, as freight rates caused excessive buying charges and made the milling costs higher than those of competing Prairie and American mills. The Okanagan farmers also suffered from the competition of Washington producers in

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(24) Of the 1929 crop, the Inland Flour Mills processed 14,000 bushels of wheat, and from January to October 22nd, 1930, it shipped to Vancouver 36 carloads, and had 17,000 bushels in storage. At the present time a revival in wheat-growing is being experienced around Armstrong, due to the success which has been met with the Crail Fife variety, recorded yields of which vary from 35 to 45 bushels per acre. cf. "Vernon News", October 22nd., 1930.
Oriental markets, especially as the Americans accepted a lower price for their grain and flour, which were of better quality than the Okanagan. It therefore seems apparent that the development of the industry to this large scale was never warranted.

After the failure of the mills, the Spallumcheen farmers continued to grow a certain amount of wheat, but they started to add supplementary enterprises, with the result that mixed farming is the general rule at the present time. Before it was prosecuted to as great an extent as is now the case, however, hog-raising was tried.

As in wheat-growing, the beginning of this industry may be traced back to the sixties when the Cariboo market led A.L. Fortune to raise hogs, in order to produce bacon for the miners. As the wheat-fields increased in size, the droves of hogs increased in number, and it is related that one buyer for the Cariboo miners one summer purchased a number of these animals at Kelowna, which he proceeded to drive on foot to the mines—no small undertaking. For many years the raising of hogs was so profitable, that the farmers in the Spallumcheen Valley paid their bill at the Hudson Bay Company's store at Kamloops in bacon, for which they received 15¢ per pound.

Hog-raising at this price was considered profitable, as the feed cost but little. As soon as threshing was over, the animals were turned into the fields, where they remained until it was time to fatten them. They were then fed on crushed wheat and a certain amount of potatoes, carrots and mangolds, which the farmers grew. As soon as the hogs were
of the required weight, they were driven to the steamboat landing at Enderby, whence they were towed on scows to Kamloops. The price paid for hogs in the eighties, was only $4\frac{1}{2}$ to $5\frac{1}{2}$ a pound, but as they were raised as a supplementary enterprise, it was considered that this gave sufficient profit.

While the main line of the Canadian Pacific Railway was being built during the eighties, a ready market was found among the railway employees, and one man, P. Girod of Armstrong, purchased all the hogs in the country and drove them down to Lytton. As time went on, individual farmers shipped hogs to the Coast, but the trade practically centred in the hands of E.C. Cargill & Company, who during the years 1889 and 1890 sent a carload (averaging 80 to 85 animals) every month to Vancouver or Victoria. These hogs were purchased throughout the district, and were collected at the company's ranch near Armstrong, from which place they were shipped, after being fed from one to two months. Until 1897, this company carried on the pork-packing business, but after that date the attractive prices paid for all produce in the Kootenay mines led to the production of potatoes, hay and vegetables in large quantities.

(25) In the early eighties, Robert Wood started business as a general merchant in Lansdowne. Later he took in Daniel Rabbitt as partner, and the company became known as Wood & Rabbitt. When the business was purchased by E.C. Cargill the name was again changed, this time to E.C. Cargill & Co. In 1892, the company moved to Armstrong, where it owned the townsite. Ten years later, Christopher Wood, brother of Robert Wood took over E.C. Cargill's interest, and became the president of Wood, Cargill & Company. "Vernon News", 1904.
(26) "Vernon News", August 13th., 1891.
At Fairview, the North Okanagan farmers could obtain the following prices, oats 2½¢ pound, wheat 2¢, eggs 50¢ dozen, butter 50¢ pound, potatoes 2¢ pound, vegetables 3¢ to 5¢ pound, (27) beef 7¢ to 10¢, pork 10¢ to 12½¢. T.W. Fletcher of Armstrong, was one of the first to take advantage of these prices, and soon exported fruit, vegetables, hay and grain to the Boundary and Kootenay mines, and to the North-West Territories. His business grew rapidly from 5 carloads in 1899 to 200 in 1903. In August, 1903, the Farmers' Exchange Limited was organized to facilitate in the disposal of the ever-increasing amounts of vegetables, and in three months, it sold 66 carloads.

Mixed farming was now off to a flying start, and it received great impetus. With the formation of the Farmers' Institutes in 1897, every encouragement was given to the growers. Lecturers were brought out from Ontario, and the benefits from mutual discussion led to the use of new and better methods of farming. At the same time, the Provincial Department of Agriculture held exhibits and classes in which the latest knowledge was disseminated, and other efforts were made to educate the farmers, with the result that their work became more scientific.

At this point we leave the discussion of the wheat-growing industry, having seen its rise and fall as a staple single crop in the North Okanagan. Its period was practically coincident with that of cattle-ranching in the South Okanagan.

(27) "Vernon News", August 26th, 1891.
(29) Ibid.
and like the latter, it also gave place in part to fruit-growing. About 1890, the large holdings were divided into smaller plots, and attention was detracted from the two old stand-byes, cattle-ranching and wheat-growing, as entrancing stories were passed from mouth to mouth about new orchards around Kelowna and Vernon, where the trees bore amazing quantities of fruit. As with everything novel, the necessity of taking care of the old yielded place to the temptation of cultivating the new, and the farmers for the most part forsook cattle-ranching and wheat-growing. Thus, the Cattle King and the Wheat Baron passed out of the picture, leaving in their place, the "poor" fruit-farmer.
Chapter 6.
The Fruit-Grower.

1. The Irrigation Problem.

As the Okanagan Valley lies within the Dry Belt of British Columbia, it was necessary to irrigate the land before fruit-growing could supersede cattle-ranching and wheat-raising. An examination of the table of rainfall reveals the fact that the annual precipitation varies from 10 to 20 inches and that the southerly portion of the Valley is somewhat more arid than the northerly. Moreover, of the year's precipitation, considerably less than one-half falls during the growing season, and what does fall is quickly evaporated by the drying winds which sweep through the Valley from end to end during the summer months.

The early settlers soon realized that the quantity of moisture was insufficient to bring the crops to maturity, so they resorted to artificial means to provide it. As early as 1866, Luc Girouard irrigated some land in Priest's Valley (Vernon), from the springs in the neighborhood of Maple Street. Charles A. Vernon was the second to carry on this work, and he constructed a small ditch with its intake on Coldstream Creek, near the present intake of the north ditch of the Vernon Irrigation District. The water record for this enterprise was taken out in 1868. In 1872, William Smithson acquired a record on Mission Creek at Kelowna, and in 1874, Andrew Brown filed one on Mill Creek, also near Kelowna.

These records were taken out under the first Land
Ordinance of 1860, which permitted the diversion of water for "agricultural and other purposes." It also provided that priority of record should give priority of right, and a man should be given the right to construct a ditch across another man's land on the payment of damages. These are the basic principles of all laws since that date.

However, from the first there was difficulty, as it was never ascertained just what "agricultural and other purposes" meant, whether it meant for agricultural and other allied purposes, or whether it embraced all purposes. For many years, the laws relating to irrigation were couched in such general terms that the door was left open for ruinous litigation. It was found that there was no case law to fall back upon but the Common Law of England, and the rights of a bank-owner as defined therein. This gave the latter the right to use water flowing past his land. The laws of British Columbia, on the other hand, gave the owner only the right to divert water from a stream that did not touch his land.

British Columbia, therefore, had to evolve during a period of 60 years, a system of water legislation and administration suited to its own conditions. Very often mistakes were made. For example, the Land Act Amendment Act of 1886, gave the holder of a first record on a stream a monopoly of the water

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(2) Statutes of the Province of British Columbia, 49 Victoria, 1886, "Crown Lands", Ch. 10.
if he had sufficient land. The rights of those who later received records were therefore threatened.

The pioneer irrigators in the Valley built individual ditches and irrigated the lower lands close to the streams on which they had a record. As the old standard of measurement of the miner's inch which had been used in the gold-mining days for sluicing purposes, was still in use, a water record was of considerable value, especially as it was generally issued for 99 years, and recorded one miner's inch to an acre for irrigation. The fees for this amount of water were calculated on sliding scale, ranging from $10.75 per 100 miner's inches up to $110.75 for 500 inches, $260.75 for 1,000 inches, $560.75 for 2,000 inches, $680.75 for 5,000 inches, and $880.75 for 10,000 inches. Thus for a number of years there was an abundance of irrigation water at a low cost.

Conditions changed, however, when the farms were extended to include the higher bench lands. The farmers were then compelled to go farther up the creeks for their water supply and to build more elaborate and expensive works. Eventually they were forced to join with their neighbours in constructing and maintaining cooperative irrigation systems. Even more extensive development was undertaken shortly after the first trains on the Shuswap and Okanagan Railway ran.

(3) Report of Minister of Lands for 1913, Victoria, 1914, p. 97. A miner's inch was the quantity of water which would flow through an orifice 2 inches high by half an inch wide, cut through a 2 inch plank with a constant head of 7 inches above the upper end of the orifice. This represented a flow of 1,000 cubic feet per hour.

into Vernon in 1891. Then large land and water companies were formed, and they subdivided large tracts of land, placing on the market small fruit lots.

The first company to carry out this work was the Okanagan Development Company, which was formed in 1890, with G.G. Mackay of Vancouver, manager, and J.A. Mara, F.S. Barnard, and F.G. Vernon, members of the syndicate. Its activities centred at Vernon, where the properties of A.C. DeLaurier and others were purchased, and the townsite laid out. At the same time, two large hotels (the Coldstream and the Kalamalka) were constructed, a system of water works was installed, the "Vernon News" started, and finally through the efforts of G.G. Mackay, Lord Aberdeen was induced to purchase the Coldstream Ranch, owned by the Vernon brothers. The following year, 1892, saw the planting of the first orchard in the northern Okanagan when 200 acres of fruit trees were laid out on the Coldstream Ranch, and a few years later the first large irrigation system in that part of the Valley was built when part of the Ranch was subdivided.

At Kelowna, the same movement to bring people into the Valley and to settle them on fruit lands was taking place. Early in April, 1892, the LeQuime brothers laid out the townsite with lots of 10 and 20 acres adjacent to it. Later,

(5) cf. Countess of Aberdeen, "Through Canada with a Kodak", Edinburgh, 1893, p. 194. "...the Coldstream property,... now belongs to Lord A., and part of it has been entrusted to Mr. Mackay for subdivision into the fruit farms which appear to be so much wanted, or fruit farms combined with grazing ground, for those who wish to raise cattle or keep dairy stock, for which there are good openings."
what was formerly the Knox property, lying to the north and east of the townsite was acquired from the LeQuimes by the Kelowna Fruit and Land Company, Limited, of which the managers were Joseph Glenn and F.R.E. DeHart, and 3,900 acres were laid out. The result of this subdivision of irrigable land was that land values in Mission Valley increased from 300 to 400%. The first irrigation system to be installed in this vicinity was also erected when Lord Aberdeen purchased the Guisachan Ranch, formerly the old MacDougall property, and obtained a record for 600 inches of water from Mission Creek.

Between 1900 and 1910 the Okanagan experienced a fruit land boom, and a number of extensive irrigation systems were constructed to carry water to areas of land which were improved, subdivided and offered for sale as orchard plots in 5 and 10 acre parcels. J.M. Robinson, founder of the Brandon "Times" and a member of the Manitoba legislature for a number of years, was the moving spirit and pioneer in this form of development. In 1889, he visited the Okanagan Valley in pursuit of some mining enterprises he had in hand, and was surprised by the climate and soil conditions. Determining to open a new field for emigration instead of California, for retired prairie farmers and business men, he formed with the help of some of his friends, the Peachland Townsite Company in 1899. His associates in this venture were J.B. Somerset, business manager of the "Manitoba Free Press", Hon. G.H.V. Bulyea, Minister of Public Works for Saskatchewan, Dr. Jameson of Winnipeg, Hon. Senator J.M. Kerchhoffer of Brandon, F. Clapin of Hartney, John Giles of Edmonton, G.A. Henderson,
Manager of the Bank of Montreal, Vernon, and others. Irrigable land of 1,000 acres in extent was acquired in the vicinity of Peachland, cut into 10-acre holdings, and offered for sale as orchard plots to homeseekers from Manitoba and the North-West Territories. A large sum of money was then spent in equipping and perfecting a complete and adequate system of irrigation, the water being taken from Deep Creek and Spring Creek.

An outgrowth of the Peachland success, where all the available lots were quickly snapped up, resulted in the establishment of another townsite at Summerland by Robinson. This time he interested a Montreal syndicate in the matter, and the members of this company included Sir Thomas G. Shaughnessy and five of his friends, together with Senator Kirchhoffer and G.A. Henderson. The G.N. Barclay cattle ranch of 4,000 acres situated about 15 miles south of Peachland was purchased and divided into 5, 10 and 20-acre lots, and in 1903 a canal system was begun of sufficient capacity to irrigate 10,000 acres of fruit land. The policy of the Summerland Development Company was to plant and care for the orchards until they reached the fruit-bearing stage. The purchasers in turn paid for the cost of the land, the cost of the trees, the cost of labor, etc. In this way, settlers were attracted to the Valley from the Prairies who knew nothing about fruit culture, but who could afford to pay for their education.

The third enterprise undertaken by Robinson was the formation of the Okanagan Securities Company and the sub-division of 3,500 acres of bench land at Naramata. As in the other
cases, an irrigation system was also constructed. During a period of ten years, land which had sold for $1 per acre for grazing in 1898, jumped in value to $1,000 in 1908, when it was planted in fruit-trees.

In 1892, Leslie Hill, chief promoter of the Penticton Townsite Company acquired a certain amount of land at Penticton, but the development of the area was held back by the refusal of Thomas Ellis to subdivide or sell any more of his ranch. It was not until 1904, that the Southern Okanagan Land Company, Limited of which W.T. Shatford was the leading spirit, succeeded in purchasing the ranch and installing an extensive irrigation system to provide water for the 2,000 acres of orchard lands, which were subdivided and sold. Between 1905 and 1913, other subdivisions were developed and put on the market around Kelowna, Kaleden, Okanagan Centre Westbank and Oyama.

At Vernon, D.R. Young and H.P. Lee in 1905 subdivided 3,000 acres of the O'Keefe land, and even greater development took place a few years later when the Land & Agriculture Company of Canada purchased the rest of the O'Keefe estate, the Greenhow estate, and other small holdings, in all about 17,000 acres. This company was operated by a Belgian syndicate, the president of which was Ferdinand de Jardin of Brussels. The block of land was divided into lots ranging in size from 5 to 15 acres, and an extensive irrigation system was constructed to provide water.

Thus by 1910, the Okanagan Valley consisted of small fruit lots, instead of large ranches. But as after every
every period of prosperity, there followed a period of depression. Just prior to the Great War, the boom collapsed. Very few of the companies had now sold more than one-third of their irrigable lands, and the plots disposed of were in most cases scattered over the whole project. The land sales fell off to almost nothing, and the companies had to fall back upon irrigation tolls to provide for the maintenance and operation of the systems. Moreover, the promoters had made many mistakes—they had over-estimated the available water supply and under-estimated the water requirements of their lands. At the same time, they had over-estimated the profits that could be made from fruit-growing in the Okanagan, and under-estimated the number of years it took to bring a fruit tree to commercial bearing. Finally, they had over-estimated the length of time the works would last, and had not built the systems of the most durable materials. Now they found themselves in financial difficulties. As the burden of taxes increased year after year, the fruit-growers began to turn their attention to the possibilities of cooperative ownership of the irrigation systems. But before that could be grappled with, the fundamental principles respecting the use of water and the rights of the water-user had to be settled.

Appeals were made to the Provincial Government for assistance, and in 1912, in an attempt to wipe the slate clear of previous mistakes in water legislation, and to make a fresh start in water administration, a "Board of Investigation" was appointed. Its main purpose was to clear up the complications surrounding the status of the water-user, and to determine
and define clearly the ownership and extent of all former grants respecting the use of water in the Province. Tracing back the legislation, the Board found that in 1892 a new act cancelled all the previous ones relating to the diversion of water and all the unrecorded water in the Province was vested in the Crown. But at the same time, power was given to local Water Commissioners to grant or refuse applications for water, although every decision given by them could be revised by the courts and the question raised as to whether it was in harmony with the "Water Act", and if so, whether it was in harmony with the principles of equity and justice.

In 1914, another act reduced the local Commissioners to the status of water recorders and took away their power to settle disputes. Instead, the Board of Investigation was given large powers. It immediately cancelled all water records in the Province, and issued instead water licences. At first the user was granted a conditional licence, which gave him a certain time within which to clear his land and make use of the water. After he had done so, he was given a final licence which defined his rights so clearly that honest differences of opinion as to the respective rights of the users were not likely to arise. Moreover, the Board still controls the situation to this extent that it is difficult for any two disputants to get their grievances before the Courts, even

(6) Statutes of the Province of British Columbia, 55 Victoria, 1892, Ch. 47, "An Act to confirm to the Crown all Unrecorded and Unappropriated Water and Water-power in the Province".

should they wish to do so. Another important provision of the (8)
Act was the enforcement of the use of the acre-foot as the
unit of measurement of water for irrigation purposes, and the
limitation of the time during which the water could be used.

Up until this time (1914), no provision had been made
for the establishment of irrigation companies, although it has
been shown that a number of them existed in the Okanagan
Valley. It was therefore left for the companies themselves to
work out a plan of operation that did not conflict with the
general provisions of the "Water Act". The only two ways
irrigation companies might enter the field were by forming
companies that were strictly carrying concerns, separate and
apart from a land company, or by organizing companies which
sold a share in the distribution system with each parcel of
land sold, payable in instalments over a term of years. It
was this second plan which was adopted in the Okanagan Valley.

As a result of the agitation coming from the Okanagan,
provision was made in the "Water Act of 1914", for the forma­
tion of public irrigation companies, or water municipalities.
Under this plan, the majority of the trustees of the system
were the actual owners of the land, and users of the water.
It was decided that this would give more security to the
water-user as the management by the trustees would be in his
interests. Moreover, under the old plan, the water-user was
dependant for his supply of water on the successful operation
of a company system over which he had no control, and no

(8) An acre-foot is the amount of water which covers 1 acre
to a depth of 1 inch in 1 hour. Previous to this time no
accurate records were kept of the volume of water used in
the production of crops.
guarantee that it would continue to operate year after year. Now there was absolute assurance of perpetuity, and it was hoped that better service would be installed and the cost of obtaining water reduced.

But in the transition from the private companies to the public, certain difficulties cropped up. The land and water companies had levied an annual charge for water, which did not include the payment of interest charges on the cost of the system, but was merely an operation and maintenance charge. With the formation of the water districts, however, there was included in the capital cost per acre a price which had to be paid to the companies for the irrigation systems. This item together with reconstruction costs caused excessive charges which had to be met by the new districts and in turn levied upon the water users.

It will therefore be seen that by 1914, the fruit-growers were in a very awkward financial position. The values of the land had been inflated, and the costs of obtaining irrigation had been excessive. Moreover, the fruit trees were just coming into bearing, and the growers' incomes were still very small. Although the Board of Investigation encouraged the formation of water municipalities, it stated:

It is evident to everyone that if the water-users on these small holdings have to purchase the irrigation systems from the companies, after paying a high price for the land, in most cases varying from $100 to $400 per acre, that interest charges on the bonds issued by the public corporations would have to be met; that being the case, the annual rentals are bound to be higher than the companies are charging at present.
However, it would appear that the high charges (which would then include interest and sinking fund on the capital cost of the system) could be met if the purchasers of the land had only paid a price such as was necessary for the purchase of the land in its arid state, plus a reasonable commission. As it is at present, the water-users on the small holdings invested practically all their money in land on the understanding that they were buying irrigated lands, and now are asked to put up more money for the purchase of the irrigation system. It is patent to everyone that they will be paying for the system twice over, or they could not in the first place, have been buying irrigated lands, for had it been such it must certainly have included that which was absolutely necessary for it to be called irrigated land—viz. the irrigation system. (9)

In conclusion, it can only be said that it is very evident that petitions which are filed for incorporation of districts which intend to take over control of existing works cannot expect to pay annual charges for water no higher than they are paying the companies at present, as it is impossible for these latter to pay interest on the cost of the systems and at the same time make provisions for permanent upkeep from the annual charges being made at present.—-

The "Water Act" as it stands to-day provides sound measure for successful co-operative irrigation, and it may be said that no act, however well framed, will in any way relieve the conditions arising out of the unwholesome way in which irrigated sections of the Province have been exploited. (10)

Meanwhile, there was no money available to form sinking funds out of which to pay for the renewal of the systems as they became unserviceable, or to pay the interest on the capital invested in the construction of the system.

By 1917, the Okanagan Securities Company at Naramata had no assets with which to pay for repairs to its works, and the

depreciation amounted to $13,700. Similar conditions existed at Peachland, where the depreciation was $9,500.

As the companies had no sources of revenue other than the water rates, these were increased to meet the charges, with the result that they became so heavy that the grower was left only a bare living from his farm. Because of these conditions, the people of the North Okanagan decided to form a cooperative association based on mutual agreement and operated through an agency. They reverted to the first method by which an irrigation company could be formed, and established the White Valley Irrigation and Power Company as a water company, which supplied water over a large territory and made sufficient revenue out of its tolls to carry on its business. The irrigation works were constructed near Vernon, and consisted of a canal, large enough to supply water to an area of 20,000 acres, of which 4,000 belonged to the Coldstream Ranch. Dams and reserve reservoirs were built some distance back in the hills at Lake Aberdeen. However, on the completion of the system, the market value of the land brought under irrigation had decreased, and the benefits derived by the farmers from the use of the water, were more than off-set by the amount which they had to pay each year to liquidate the cost of construction. By 1920, advances to the extent of $186,107 had been made to the district from the Conservation

(12) Ibid.
Fund of the Government, and as the latter had no security for its loans, it induced the people interested to form a water municipality. This was done, and the Vernon Irrigation District came into being on December 9th, 1920. The original cost of the system to the White Valley Irrigation Company was about $425,000 and the acquisition cost to the Vernon Irrigation District was $218,000, but owing to the advances from the Conservation Fund, the indebtedness of the new company to the Government was $404,640. This indebtedness continued to increase until by February 15th, 1928, the Government was owed in interest and principal $919,812. In other words, as there were approximately 10,000 acres of A land in the district, each acre was mortgaged to the Government for $92, which in many cases, was more than the value of the land.

To meet the repayment and the interest on the loan, a tax was imposed on each acre of A and B land. Furthermore, from 1921 to 1927, C land was taxed at a rate of one-tenth the tax on A. Thus it paid a total of $2.37½ per acre, and received no benefit. The rate of the tax on A and B land

Amendments to the "Water Act" in 1918 (8 George, 1918, Ch.98) created a special fund in the Treasury known as the Conservation Fund, which the Minister of Lands was given authority to expend either directly or by way of a loan for the assistance of constructing or repairing works used in the utilization of water.


A is land which receives benefit of water by works being constructed, and B is land which receives benefit without any works being constructed. Of the latter, there are only about 25 acres. C is fresh land, and practically none of it has been cleared and brought under irrigation.
was also increased until it became unbearable, as the following table will show:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Tax per acre</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1921</td>
<td>$3.20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1922</td>
<td>4.50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1923</td>
<td>1.50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1924</td>
<td>1.70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1925</td>
<td>2.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1926</td>
<td>2.10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1927</td>
<td>8.75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1928</td>
<td>6.00 (16)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

These conditions prevail to-day throughout the Valley, and although other methods of operation have been adopted, the same principle holds true, that the weight of excessive charges for irrigation bears down upon the horticulturist. This maxim applies to the other water districts around Kelowna and Peachland, and to the municipally owned system at Summerland.

The latter was purchased by the Corporation of the District of Summerland from the Summerland Development Company, Limited, and the Garnet Valley Company, Limited, in 1910. The financing was carried out by the issue of debentures, and issues were made to provide for the purchase of the two company systems. Others have also been made since then to take care of extensions and renewals. These debentures have been of two kinds, sinking fund and serial. In the former case, an amount is paid into the sinking fund each year to take care of the retiring of the issues at maturity, whereas in the latter case, a certain proportion

(16) F.G. DeWolfe, op. cit. The rates between the years 1923-1926 were less, because of the granting of a moratorium by the Government.
of the serial debentures is paid off each year. At the end of 1929, the outstanding debentures amounted to $352,000, against which there was $110,720 in the sinking fund, showing a net irrigation debt of $241,280. The book value at the above date was $245,458. An irrigation rate is charged on a schedule according to acreage, and in 1930, it was $8.75 per irrigable acre, having arisen from $2.50 in 1910. This does not cover all the cost of maintenance, operation, sinking fund and interest, and the deficit is levied by land taxes on all property. Another municipally owned and operated system exists at Penticton, where the conditions are similar to those pertaining at Summerland. This system was purchased in 1910 from the Southern Okanagan Land Company by a bond issue of $90,000, (the cost to the company being $134,000), and the municipal bond is now $245,000, due to replacements.

Perhaps the most interesting experiment that the Valley has witnessed has been carried out by the Government at Oliver. In 1919, 10,000 acres of land lying north of the International Boundary Line, along Okanagan River were purchased, and at a cost of $3,000,000 a permanent irrigation system termed the Southern Okanagan Lands Project was installed. The water was obtained from Okanagan River near the outlet of Dog Lake and carried a distance of 22 miles in a concrete lined canal to the Boundary, where it was used.

At the same time, 3,000 acres of land north and south of the

townsite were reclaimed, and were cut into lots to be settled by returned soldiers. Even here, however, although the system is still controlled by the Government, the water-users are burdened by a flat rate of $6 per acre for tolls. Furthermore, the cost of unimproved land is $150 per acre, which is excessive as land of better quality may be purchased in other districts for $50 per acre.

These three types of management represent the ones in vogue in the Okanagan Valley to-day, but it cannot be said that a satisfactory solution of the problem of providing ample water at a low cost has yet been found. As the years pass, conditions have been aggravated: original miscalculations have made it necessary to repair and renew structures at a period when prices were at the peak of inflation caused by the World War, consequently the annual charges have become oppressive and the capital reserve of the settlers has become seriously reduced, if not exhausted.

In 1923, the Government was approached to defer payment of a portion of the sum due the Conservation Fund, and it agreed to delay payment during 1923 and 1924 of all interest on the total borrowings, as well as instalments of principal borrowed for the acquisition of permanent structures. The amounts by which the payments were reduced together with the interest were amortized and added to the sums payable during the succeeding thirty years.

The result of this policy was that by 1923, the growers were facing higher charges than ever before, because the debt to the Conservation Fund had been increased during
the moratorium by the amounts then deferred and the interest on them. As it was still maintained that the price received for fruit was not sufficient to cover the cost of production when irrigation tolls were so high, the government was urged to further action, and the moratorium was extended to cover the years 1925 and 1926. This meant a further piling-up of debts instead of a reconstruction of the whole financial scheme. When 1927 came, the full rates went into effect, and once more appeals were made to the Government, with the result that in 1928 an amendment to the "Water Act", gave the Lieutenant-Governor-in-Council the power to remit a portion of the debts due the Conservation Fund, but not exceeding one-quarter of the sum borrowed prior to December 31st, 1923, with one-quarter of the interest paid or payable on such sum. This was a proposal to cut a slice off the debt, but the problem yet remained unsolved.

Finally in the session of 1929, the Legislature again amended the "Water Act", by deleting certain words from the amendment of 1928, leaving in the Act the following wide, general provision:

Where it appears to the Lieutenant-Governor-in-Council to be in the public interest not to require payment in full of the moneys payable by any corporation in respect of the money expended from the Conservation Fund, he may reduce the amounts payable to such extent as appears to him just and equitable. Upon making of an Order-in-Council reducing the amounts payable by any corporation, the

(19) Statutes of the Province of British Columbia, 18 George, 1928, Ch. 55, "An Act to Amend the 'Water Act'".
liability of the corporation and the first
charge created by subsection (1) in respect
of the moneys expended shall ipso facto be
reduced to the same extent. (20)

No Order-in-Council has yet been passed under this provision.

After examining in detail all these applications for
relief, and the method by which they have been answered, Mr.
Sanford Evans concludes:

The history of the past six years is therefore the record of continuous agitation of
the irrigation problem without definite
reconstructive action of any kind. When the
position of a considerable number of growers
is taken into account, conditions more
disturbing in their tendency and less favourable
to enterprise can hardly be imagined.

The evidence, in my opinion is conclusive
that the present financial plan and system
of levies are unsuited to the conditions, and
if persisted in will bear hardly upon many
individuals, will drive much land out of
occupation, and in the end will have failed
to effect more than a partial repayment of
the debt. (21)

These opinions are the result of an investigation
carried out during 1930 by Mr. Evans on the part of the
Government, to determine whether the agricultural industry of
the Okanagan Valley is worth maintaining and developing. The
decision arrived at was, "there is, in my opinion, an agricul-
tural proposition in this territory that can be made worth
while from the point of view of Provincial and national policy,
and reasonably remunerative to those adapted to the work of

(20) Statutes of the Province of British Columbia, 19 George,
1929, Ch. 67. "An Act to Amend the Water Act."
irrigation farming." Mr. Evans, however, did not consider that an adequate remedy for the present situation could be provided by the complete wiping-out by the government of the whole debt, for he maintained that some lands are now making a profitable use of water and can afford to contribute to its costs, that more lands can be brought into profitable production, and the profitableness of all lands increased, and finally, that some districts need even more money to improve their general position and in many cases to maintain the existing standard of living. What he did advocate was:

1. That the government accept the principle of payment according to ability to pay, and abandon the present plan of payment by regular fractions of the debt—-

2. That the amount a district is required to pay in any year on account of construction costs should be proportionate to the value of its products. (23)

It was also recommended that an administrative officer be appointed with headquarters at some convenient point within the territory, who would directly represent the Minister.

This would seem to be the most reasonable solution of the problem which has yet been brought forward, and as such it was greeted with general approval in the Okanagan Valley. It remains to be seen whether it will be feasible, but as it is based on sound principles, there is every reason to believe it will be.

Besides the major problem of how to pay his irrigation tolls, the most distressing factor which faced the water-user

(22) W. Sanford Evans, op. cit, p. 3.
(23) Ibid, p. 15.
during the past season was lack of irrigation. In the land under the Vernon Irrigation District, the amount of water allowed to each grower was only .5 acre foot, and even this supply was exhausted early in July. This meant that for at least two hot, dry months, the trees bore fruit without obtaining any moisture. However, it is hoped that these conditions will not appear again, as extra storage facilities have been provided at Haddo Lake.

This examination of the development of irrigation in the Okanagan Valley, reveals the fact that progress has been made only after long and painful experiments. The cause for trouble can be traced back to those enterprising pioneers and promoters who went boldly forward with optimism and energy worthy of a good cause, but lacked due appreciation of many factors involved. Their experiences have had the effect of advancing irrigation agriculture in the Province to the point where it is to-day. They demonstrated what could be accomplished in the Valley with irrigation; they proved the adaptability of particular varieties of fruits and other crops; and they threw light upon the suitability of various classes or irrigation structures and the probable useful life of such structures. One must give them credit for these things, although it often seems as if their heritage to the present generation has been a shouldering unto them of debts.
2. The Marketing Problem.

The origin of fruit-growing as an industry, can be traced back to the seventies when the early farmers planted a few trees around their houses to supply them with food. Thomas Ellis was the first to do this when in 1874 he set out trees on his ranch at Penticton, and he was followed by George Whelan and Alfred Postill who started small orchards at Kelowna in 1875 and 1876. Soon every farmer had his little plot containing two or three different varieties of bearing fruit trees.

It was not, however, until 1892 that commercial plantings were started in the Valley. In that year Lord Aberdeen had 200 acres of each of his ranches, the Guisachan at Kelowna, and the Coldstream at Vernon, planted. This was a turning-point in the history of the Okanagan Valley, for it marked the beginning of fruit production on a large scale. Other men then started to plant large orchards. At Vernon, the Brookside orchard on the B.X. owned by Frank Barnard was divided into

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(24) cf. Countess of Aberdeen, op. cit., p. 191. "Two hundred acres of the Guisachan farm will be planted with various kinds of fruit-trees this year, and with the smaller kinds of fruit, such as strawberries, raspberries, blackberries, currants and gooseberries in between. All these fruits, as well as apples, pears, plums, melons &c., flourish magnificently with the best possible results". The fruit trees, however, lived only four years, as they were not taken care of properly. This ranch was bought in 1891 from the Postills (vide supra, p. 65) and later sold to Price Ellison of Vernon.

(25) The Coldstream Ranch was purchased from the Vernon brothers in 1891, and consisted of 13,000 acres. In 1906, Lord Aberdeen formed the estate into a limited liability company, the shares of which were held principally by himself and by James Buchanan of Petworth, Sussex. About 1908, there were 700 acres in fruit. During the war, the whole estate was purchased by Sir James Buchanan (now Lord Woolavington), and it is now owned by his daughter, the Hon. Catherine Buchanan-MacDonald.
about a dozen 40 acre lots and sold to individual purchasers, and some years later (1904), 700 acres of the west end of the Coldstream Ranch were irrigated and subdivided by W.C. Ricardo, manager for Lord Aberdeen. At Kelowna, George Rose, Eli LeQuime, Thomas Ellis, A.B. Knox and the Mission fathers all had flourishing orchards early in the nineties, and in 1895 the Bankhead Orchards were planted by T.W. Stirling. This was followed in 1902 by R. Long also starting another commercial enterprise. Four years later, the benches at Kelowna and the hillsides at Vernon were planted, and from that date forward the acreage in fruit in the Valley increased rapidly.

At first attempts were made to produce fruit in the Spallumcheen Valley, but it was soon found that the winter injury killed the trees. Development in the Similkameen Valley was also retarded because of the extreme heat and the lack of irrigation. So the fruit industry grew up in the Okanagan Valley proper, and was particularly successful in that territory between Vernon and Penticton.

The Governor-General's interest in the industry, and the early success experienced in Washington and Oregon, gave fruit-growing in the Okanagan Valley a great impetus. The great production of fruit in the Washington and Oregon fruit districts led people to believe that the climatic and physical conditions were equally favourable in the Okanagan Valley. Even profitable prices were to be realized at this time (the nineties), for the industry in Eastern Canada had received a

severe set-back during a period of depression. Finally, the newly formed land companies extolled the charms of fruit-ranching in the Okanagan, and the prosperity that awaited all who should follow in Lord Aberdeen's footsteps.

Little wonder, then, that after the turn of the century in a short period of 12 years from 1901 to 1913, the number of trees in the Valley increased 525%, and at the end of that time there were about 30,000 people dependant on the success or failure of the fruit crop. Many of these men were inexperienced and lacked knowledge of how to plant and care for their orchards. Thus it happened that many of the trees were of unsuitable varieties and were planted in undesirable locations and on poor grades of land.

In order to overcome a bad foundation for the industry, the Provincial Department of Agriculture sent out R.H. Palmer, Thomas Cunningham and others to investigate conditions and advise the farmers through Farmers' Institute meetings on the best course to follow in growing and marketing apples. These men upheld the practices followed in Hood River, Oregon, where the apples had won world fame. They maintained that the quality of the Okanagan apple was more important than the quantity produced, and that high standards must be adopted. At the same time, steps were taken to keep the orchards free from harmful insects. Thomas Earle of Lytton took a leading part in advising the government how to do this, and soon very stringent regulations were brought into force, especially

(27) Report of the Okanagan United Growers Limited, Vernon, 1918, p. 21
directed against such devastating pests as San Jose Scale and Coddling Moth. The action of the government was prompt and successful in its efficiency.

Conditions were also improved by the action of the growers themselves. Between 1912 and 1914, the planting of trees stopped altogether and many orchards which had been planted on unsuitable land went out of bearing. During the war years, the number of fruit trees planted remained stationary, but after 1920, more suitable varieties were planted. Thus, by 1921, the acreage in fruit trees in the Okanagan as compared with 1901 had increased 674%.

In dealing with the history of the fruit industry, one finds that there are two distinct periods, with 1921 as the dividing line. Before that date the average annual production of apples in the Valley was 1,500,000 boxes, but after then, it leapt to 3,156,000 boxes. The first period was one during which the problems of growing the fruit were being grappled with, and the second one when the problems of marketing the surplus production were being faced. The former therefore contributed solutions to questions which in many senses were of local importance, while the latter evolved many forms of organization which might be put into practice in the marketing of any commodity. Because of this difference, the second period will be the one which is dealt with in

detail here, for problems arising out of the marketing of surplus production are common to all industries.

As early as the nineties the Okanagan farmers found that they were growing more fruit than could be consumed at home, so they began to ship a certain amount of their produce to the North-West Territories. They were soon blocked from Manitoba because the Ontario orchardists had an advantage in shipping their fruit at low rates across the Great Lakes to that Province. An export trade from British Columbia was also started, beginning in 1903 when Messrs. Stirling & Pitcairn of Kelowna shipped a carload of apples to Great Britain. But because of the long voyage and the heavy cost of transportation, this market was not developed as fully as the Prairie one. That was considered the natural market for Okanagan apples, for it produced practically no fruit of its own. As a consumer, it proved adequate until 1912, for up until then, there was little competition on the part of Ontario, Nova Scotia and Washington. Then, however, an unusually bountiful production of fruit in Washington and Oregon coincided with a great increase from the bearing orchards of British Columbia. The usual markets in the cities were not glutted, and as one means of getting rid of the surplus, the whole Canadian North-West was flooded with fruit at low prices. This offered the first general check the fruit industry of the Okanagan Valley had experienced, and the fruit-grower was so incapable of adapting himself to the new marketing conditions, that after five similar years, he found himself hopelessly engulfed in debt. The trouble lay in the fact that he had expended his
whole store of capital in buying his land and in caring for the trees during the long years before they came into bearing.

The disaster of 1912 revealed to the fruit growers of Washington and Oregon the necessity for having some form of cooperative selling agency which would preserve the markets from demoralization under the next sudden stress. They set to work to organize these and the Okanagan men also looked for means to effect a more economical sharing of the nearby markets. They had previously tried one cooperative organization, the Okanagan Fruit Union, formed in 1908, with its head office at Vernon and branch offices at Coldstream, Peachland, Summerland, and Penticton, but the growers were so unversed in the benefits to be derived from mutual assistance, that their petty jealousies brought about its ruination. This organization had failed to check local competition for markets and to concentrate the efforts of the producers in putting their fruit on the Prairie market. The result was that the growers remained at the mercy of shippers who would take only fruit for which they had orders.

With the fall in apple prices in 1912, the necessity of uniting the growers through one selling organization became more and more apparent. As no one had any money to finance the undertaking, W.C. Ricardo, determined to secure aid from some outside party, and approached R.R. Robertson of the brokerage firm of Robertson & Morris of Vancouver. Mr. Robertson was impressed with the hardships suffered by the fruit-growers, and went to Victoria to interview the government in an attempt to obtain assistance. The latter
deemed it advisable to make a survey of the whole situation and sent Mr. Robertson on the mission. He aroused enthusiasm as he travelled from place to place, and the growers finally decided to unite and form the Okanagan United Growers Limited in May, 1913. This was a cooperative, non-stock, non-profit, central selling and distributing agency. The government agreed to advance up to 80% of the subscribed capital, payable within 20 years, with interest at the rate of 4% per annum. The head office at Vernon was the selling and buying agent for nine affiliated local associations at various points in the Okanagan Valley, which did the assembling and packing. The capital consisted of 28 shares of the nominal value of $1 each, owned by the locals for voting purposes only. The working capital was secured by deducting from the growers' returns 2% of the selling price, for which they were given bearer bonds issued by the Central, carrying interest at 5% and repayable in 5 years. The organization was supported by certain fixed charges on all packages handled. All sales over certain periods, fixed by the association itself were pooled, advances being made where desired up to a percentage of the estimated value of the produce to be delivered.

About 1,100 growers signed the contract which was a three-party one and called for the delivery of produce to the association, for sale by the central. The contract was also continuous, subject to cancellation yearly on March 31st.

The result of this cooperative movement was that whereas British Columbia in 1915 had shipped only 39% of the apples consumed on the Prairies, 31% coming from Eastern
Canada, and 30% from foreign countries, chiefly the United States, by 1923, British Columbia had obtained almost complete control of the Prairie markets, supply 82%. Of the remainder, 9% came from Eastern Canada and 9% from foreign points. Thus a change had occurred and two of the competing sources of supply had given place to British Columbia. Over the ten year period, 1915-1925, 46.7% of the total apple production of the Okanagan was consumed on the Prairies, the logical home for British Columbia fruit.

This market was important not only because it was close and the cost of transportation to it low, but also because it was protected from American dumping by the levying of a tariff of 33% on every box of apples. In this way the selling price of the Prairie market was higher than the world price. However, it could only be kept at that level so long as the market was not flooded and the demand was greater than the supply of produce available.

Therein lay the difficulty. As the apple acreage in the Okanagan increased, instead of keeping a check on the supply of fruit shipped to the Prairies, the farmers unloaded their extra production on Alberta and Saskatchewan. Moreover, there were so many independent shippers in the Valley that it was absolutely impossible to maintain any control over the markets. Due to the increased production in 1921-2, and because of lack of cooperation among the shippers, the Okanagan United Growers were in that season forced to ship

(31) K.P. Caple, op. cit., p. 28.
(33) K.P. Caple, op. cit., p. 39.
out of a total of 1287 cars of winter apples, 115 to Eastern Canada, 529 to United States, and 319 cars to Great Britain, sending only 324 cars to the Prairies which had always been the chief market.

As might have been expected, the returns to the growers were lower than they had ever been before. Indeed, at the end of the season, many of the growers received no net cash returns at all, but were billed for a balance of the costs. The selling prices were now at rock-bottom, and it was realized that something must be done to improve conditions. During the winter of 1922-3, Dr. Theodore Macklin, Professor of Agricultural Economics at the University of Wisconsin, and Mr. Aaron Sapiro of California were brought into the Valley to lecture on successful methods of cooperation. Their meetings were attended by large numbers of growers who became imbued with the idea that effective cooperation must be put into force.

The result of this campaign was that the Associated Growers of British Columbia Limited was organized in the spring of 1923. It immediately took over the leading shipping houses and amalgamated them with the cooperative packing houses. At the same time, the organization obtained contracts securing control of 80% of the apple production for 5 years. When it reached this tonnage, the Okanagan United Growers voluntarily went out of existence. About 2,700 growers signed the contract on practically the same terms as the one for the Okanagan United Growers, and as in the former case, the crops

(34) K.P. Caple, op. cit, p. 62.
were to be delivered by the grower to the local association who did the packing of the product, while the Associated Growers did the selling. At the end of the 5 year period, the yearly contract went into effect for the Associated Growers, and since then the percentage of tonnage has considerably decreased to the advantage of the independent shippers.

The increasing number of shippers meant to a certain extent a return to conditions as they were before the formation of the Associated Growers. Instead of a proportionate sharing of the Prairie markets which would have resulted in a fair share of profits to all, the internal competition resulted in demoralization of those markets and the forcing down of the selling price to the level of world prices. Thus no benefit was realized as a result of the tariff, and prices fell until it was necessary to place a check on the activities of the independent shippers.

An attempt to relieve conditions in 1927 led to the passing of the Produce Marketing Act, by the Provincial Government, and the Committee of Direction came into being. This body consisted of three members, the chairman of which was appointed by the government, and the other two by the British Columbia Fruit Growers' and Shippers' Federation, an organization composed of the Associated Growers and most of the Independents. All shippers were required to obtain licences from the Committee permitting them to ship, and it was then the Committee's duty to set a minimum price at which these products might be sold on the Dominion market,
but not on the export market. Below this price a shipper could not sell, but he might sell for higher prices.

The Committee also had the power of stating the prices and on what terms the products might be marketed and delivered; of fixing the quantity of any product or the proportion of the supply to be marketed; and of naming the places from which the product might be delivered. It might also hold an enquiry and compel the attendance of witnesses and the inspection of books. Finally, there were representatives in the principal markets who reported on the shipments arriving in the territory and kept the Committee advised daily of shipments from other centres, and of quotations received on their markets from other concerns.

In so far as an end was put to under-bidding on the Prairie market, and the forcing down of the price level to the lowest quotation, the Committee was successful. But it failed to gain control of the market and to supply the products in proportion to the demand of the consuming public. Up until the present time, the small percentage of independent shippers have been able to get all their products on the preferred market, and the Associated has found itself saddled with the whole surplus. This has had to be shipped to Eastern Canada, United States and other distant and uncertain markets, where the success of this program is checked by the fact that the Annapolis Valley has an advantage in its closeness. Moreover, the competition for the Prairie markets from the American growers until the levying of the last
tariff has been so harmful, that the Committee of Direction has had to name prices below the cost of production in order to enable the Okanagan fruit-growers to compete in making sales on the domestic market.

During the past season (1930), the Committee succeeded in devising a method whereby there would be an equalization of the returns received by cooperative and independent fruit-growers. It had already taken the business of making quotations and controlling the distribution out of the hands of the shippers. Now it insisted upon compulsory price pooling. Under this arrangement, the returns for each grower are determined by the prices received during the selling season on all markets. This provision should make for a fairer distribution of selling prices.

Because of the new tariff and the new method of price pooling, the growers would have been in a better financial position after the disposal of this year's crop, had it not been for the fact that conditions on the Prairies are so poor. As that area is a one-crop one, there is a decided relationship between the purchasing power of the farmers and the value of the fruit purchased. Therefore, it seems apparent that the prices received by the Okanagan fruit-growers will once more be unsatisfactory. This will partly account for the fact that during the past few months dissatisfaction with the existing system of marketing has once more appeared.

During the month of August, 1930, a duty of $\frac{1}{4}$ per pound (about 20¢ a box) was levied on every box of American apples coming into Canada.
The Independents have increased in number, and the past season has been a stormy one for the Committee of Direction. There has also been a general feeling throughout the Valley, that the Produce Marketing Act was based on the wrong principles and that it was acting contrary to the flow of economic forces in attempting to control prices and dominate the markets. It is maintained that price-fixing results only in artificially and temporarily bolstering up the industry. At the same time, the cooperative growers insist that the setting-aside of the Act would result in a return to the conditions of 1922. It has remained for Mr. F.M. Black, Chairman of the Committee of Direction to offer a solution which has been suggested many times before, but never tried, namely, central selling.

The fundamental difference between this plan and the one now in use, is, that while the present one provides for voluntary cooperation, the new one would insist upon compulsory cooperation. By this means it is thought that internal competition would be eliminated and that the fruit could then be fed to the markets as it could be absorbed. In this way, wider distribution, which is essential, could be effected. The returns for fruit would accordingly increase, and price-fixing would be unnecessary. The actual prices would fluctuate from day to day, according to world market conditions.

This increase may be traced to a belief that growers who do not sell through the Associated Growers receive greater returns for their fruit than those who do. This was the case in the first few years of the running of the Associated because certain fixed charges had to be made to the growers to offset the cost of the erection of new packing-houses, storage plants, etc.
In place of the Committee of Direction, there would be set up a Trustee Fruit Marketing Board which would have the duty of marketing the entire crop. At the same time, all the packing and selling organizations, including the Associated Growers would be reduced to the status of packing houses only. These would do the packing, but all the sales would be made either by or through the central selling agency, which would have its own branches in the larger centres in Western Canada, and could deal through the existing wholesale channels, replacing the brokerage houses. It is estimated that this plan would reduce the cost of marketing fruit from $700,000 (37) to $300,000, making a saving of 9¢ per package. Mr. Black claims that this item would pay twice over all the relief that could be had in the matter of irrigation charges. The executive of the British Columbia Fruit Growers' Association, assisted by the Legislative Council of the government have been asked to prepare a bill embodying the idea of central selling, and if at least 75% of the growers mark their ballots in favour of it, the Legislature will be asked to pass it.

The "Black" plan has met with a varied reception throughout the fruit and vegetable growing districts, but the majority of fruit-growers in the Okanagan have expressed themselves as being in favour of it. Still, however, the Independents cling to their demand to be allowed to dispose of their fruit as they please. They were somewhat unexpected-

ly assisted by the advice contained in the Report of the Royal Commission Investigating the Fruit Industry, which was published during January, 1931.

After two years spent studying the conditions, Mr. Sanford Evans, the Commissioner, suddenly expressed himself as being opposed to any form of cooperation and in favour of a return to the conditions of open and unrestrained competition, in other words, the "firm establishment of self-government within the industry". The only form of organization that he approved was "an association of shippers for the exclusive purpose of reporting and exchanging prices and terms and holding occasional conferences on this matter."

On the whole the criticism in the Report of the system now employed in the Okanagan Valley is destructive and not constructive. Much is said about the defect of the working of the Produce Marketing Act, but much is left unsaid about conditions in the Valley as they were before cooperation was tried. The arguments against centralization are based on the evidently sincere belief that the Okanagan fruit-grower can reduce his cost of production by increasing the production of apples per acre from 250 boxes (the average at the present time) to 450, the average in the Wenatchee orchards. Mr. Evans maintains that the Okanagan farms are not run economically, but he does not take into consideration the fact that the territory in Washington which is at present planted in fruit trees has

(39) Ibid, p. 27.
a comparative advantage over the Okanagan. The climate is milder, there are larger areas available in the fruit belts, and there is an abundant irrigation supply. Conditions are almost ideal for the production of fruit. The Okanagan is less advantaged in these respects, and it is manifestly impossible for it to raise its production as high as that of the American districts. Of the whole Valley, the territory south of Penticton has a comparative advantage over the rest of the Valley in the production of apples, but it happens to be one of the few places in Canada where cantaloups, peaches and apricots can grow. Therefore, this territory is devoted to the culture of these fruits and apple-farming is forced on to the high-priced land in the north, where the possible production per acre is also less because of climatic conditions. This, then, is the first alleged fallacy in the Evans report.

The second is the assertion that the Okanagan Valley must concentrate in supplying twice the number of export markets she provides with fruit. That is, the number should be increased to 80 instead of 40. No mention is made of the fact that the Okanagan is, or should be, the "orchard of the plains", and no consideration is taken of the likelihood of a decrease in American competition for the domestic market so long as the tariff remains in force. On the other hand, the advantage of supplying this market is ignored, and the shippers are advised to hold their produce in cold storage so that the export market may be fed with apples during the spring months. Many of the growers have pointed out the fact that the foreign market can obtain tropical fresh fruit
during the spring months, and that there is a demand for apples only during the winter months. The cost of constructing more storage facilities and of shipping fruit in small amounts to many different places would also be a great factor in decreasing the fruit-grower's profits. Finally, Mr. Evans is criticized for not having offered any plan for improving the marketing system already in force in the Prairies, and it is not a matter of conjecture that should individual growers ship through the brokerage houses that are at present in existence, the growers would soon find themselves in serious financial difficulties.

At the present time, the two main brokerage concerns on the Prairies are the Canadian Fruit Distributors, Limited, and the C.H. Robinson Company. The former is owned by the Associated Growers of British Columbia Limited, and is paid a brokerage commission of $25 for every car of fruit it sells. The latter is virtually a successor of the Mutual Brokers Limited, an affiliation of the Nash-Symington organization. These brokers handle American and foreign lines of goods also, and are not brokers for British Columbia products exclusively. Thus the Okanagan fruit shipper is to a large measure dependant for his distribution on the good-will of organizations which control possibly 70% of the distribution facilities on the Prairies.

Meanwhile, the battle between the cooperatives and the independents is being waged. The former stand firm for the Black plan, and the latter rally round the Evans report. At a meeting of the British Columbia Fruit Growers Association
held at Kelowna recently, the Evans report was dealt with as a heresy, but the independents throughout the Valley have formed an organization to uphold it. The next few months will determine whether centralization or decentralization will be the form the marketing of the Okanagan fruit will take. Nothing can be gained until one or the other is put into force, and it is found by actual experiment whether it improves the conditions in the Valley.

However, which ever wins the day, neither can prove entirely successful until the fruit-grower himself gets to the crux of the problem and reduces his cost of production. When this is done the price paid by the consumer will be lowered, and yet the grower will receive a greater net return. The marketing board has improved the methods of production, especially of grading and standardizing the quality, and it now remains for the grower to produce an economic want efficiently.

It is needless to point out that during the period of depression which the industry has undergone recently, it has been very difficult for the fruit men to take the proper care of their orchards. Their difficulties have also been increased by the fact that the price originally paid for orchard land in the Okanagan was too high, and most of the money was invested in land and not sufficient was left for working capital. As the returns from the fruit decreased, many farmers carried on by means of borrowed capital, and as conditions did not improve they could not stand the strain of poor seasons and depressed markets, and were eventually forced out of the
business. This has undoubtedly helped to improve the industry as a whole, as the most inefficient farmers have disappeared.

During the years 1921-1925, Dean F.M. Clement and Mr. W.J. Wilcox of the University of British Columbia carried out a fruit survey of the Province. They stated as their belief that,

> By more efficient organization and management for the purpose of lowering the cost of production, of maintaining a low cost, the individual producer determines the success or failure of his venture. By lowering the cost the individual works at a greater advantage than his less capable fellows, and similarly a whole fruit industry by a like lowering of its cost competes more easily with other fruit regions. (40)

An investigation was carried into the actual cost of production, and it was shown wherein mistakes lay. In the first place it was found that the average amount of capital invested per farm, not including the farm dwelling was $12,500.85, which was split up in such a proportion that 87.8% was spent on purchasing the land and the trees. Bearing orchard land was also valued from $700 to $1,000 per acre, and the most popular size of farm was from 6 to 12 acres. At the same time the acreage in bearing apples per farm was more than that devoted to all other crops combined, and while apples provided 70.4% of the farm receipts, other fruits provided only 15.2%. With regard to the returns to the growers, it was found that these were greater during the year

(42) Ibid.
in which the crop was small, as there was a better price per box. But, on the other hand, it was also pointed out that the farm with the high production per acre received the greatest net return.

Dealing further with the cost of production, it was shown that operating expenses make up nearly half of the total charge, and although these have had to be cut owing to the low returns, the production per acre has increased. This has helped to reduce the cost per box. It was also found that the expenses and interest on the investment increase more rapidly than do the receipts as the size of the farm increases, and thus the net returns decrease as the size of the farm increases. In deciding whether it was more economical to run large or small fruit farms, the investigators came to the conclusion,

For the period of this survey the small farms lost the least actual money, while the large farms lost a smaller percentage on the investment. In good times, then the small farm makes less in actual money and in poor times, it loses less. They seem to be safer for the average individual. (44)

It was also found that the lowest cost per box was where the yield per acre increased, and that where there was the greatest diversification, the net returns were the greatest. It was determined that the most profitable arrangement was that in which three or four other projects were combined with apples. During a period of good times when the returns from apples are high, the farms with the highest specialization in

(44) L. DeW. Mallory, op. cit, p. 6.
apples may make the highest returns, but during a period of
depression, the income from three or four other sources
supplements that derived from apples and makes it more profit­
able for the grower.

These then, are the conditions which prevail in the
fruit industry to­day, an industry which is of the annual
value of $5,000,000. The Okanagan Valley, in a short strip
of territory less than 80 miles long, contains one of the
most highly specialized districts in the Dominion, and has
helped to raise Canada to her position of third place in the
world in the production of apples. However, in elevating her
to this position, the Valley has saddled the country with an
immense surplus of fruit for which an outlet must be found,
either at home or abroad. By whatever means this is done,
it must be based on sound economic principles, which when
put into practice will return the grower a livelihood. Until
that is done, the final instalment of the history of the
fruit industry in the Okanagan Valley cannot be written.
Other Farmers and Industrialists.

In addition to the three major forms of agricultural production which have been pursued in the Okanagan Valley during the last seventy years, several minor industries have developed. These have caused greater diversification in production than was formerly the case, and consequently greater development of mixed farming. As a whole, the Okanagan Valley is still regarded as a "one-crop" area, but the strain of poor fruit prices year after year is destroying the farmers' faith in specialization and causing them to introduce supplementary enterprises in an attempt to spread their profits and losses over a wider field.

One of the most important of the smaller industries is tobacco-growing, which has long been carried on in the Valley, but has been developed to a greater extent during the last six years. When the fur-traders first visited the Valley early in the nineteenth century, they found the Indians smoking in their pipes tobacco, certain species of which were indigenous to the country. The early settlers also gathered the native plants and thus obtained a supply of tobacco for their own use. It was not, however, until 1894, that experiments were made in growing it on a large scale. In that year, L. Holman at Kelowna succeeded in obtaining 1,200 to 1,400 pounds to the acre, and realized a net profit of $169 per acre. (1) "Vernon News", November 29th, 1894.

(1) "Vernon News", November 29th, 1894.
The following year, he planted 4C acres, and the Shippers' Union of Kelowna made arrangements for the operation of a cigar factory at that place, with Mr. Wolz of Vancouver in charge. At that time, the Union had over 11,000 pounds of tobacco on hand, and expected to have a much larger quantity the following year, due to the increase in the plantings.

The second cigar factory in the Okanagan Valley was built by Louis Truxler at Vernon in 1903. The Okanagan Cigar Factory, as it was called, manufactured 75,000 cigars in a year, partly from the Havana tobacco grown at Kelowna, and partly from Sumatra leaf. Three qualities were produced—Royal, Flora de Cuba, and L.T. (Louis Truxler), and these found a ready sale in the Valley. The young industry was, however, discouraged by a duty of 10% per pound which was levied on all clippings in the manufacturing. For several years, therefore, little tobacco was grown and few cigars made.

Between 1900 and 1910, the industry remained practically at a standstill, and by 1910, there were only 100 acres under cultivation. In 1912, it was again revived by the formation at Kelowna of the British North American Company, which took charge of tobacco growing and cigar manufacturing. The services were acquired of L. Holman, a local expert and A.W. Bowser, who had successfully managed and operated tobacco plantings in South Africa, Porto Rico and Virginia. The 110 acres which were planted in 1912 were increased to 500 in

(2) "Vernon News", special edition, 1904.
1913, and 400 men were employed to cultivate the plants. For that year, the total production of tobacco in the Valley was 207,000 pounds, which was valued at $41,400.

Although the industry seemed to be placed on a firm footing, during the war and post-war periods, the acreage planted in tobacco decreased rapidly. Between the years 1921 and 1924, there was no commercial crop. In 1925, however, the Federal and Provincial Departments of Agriculture undertook experimental work in the vicinity of Kelowna and at the Summerland Experimental Station. The season's work demonstrated conclusively that soil and climatic conditions are suitable for large-scale production, and that many of the commercial varieties produced in Eastern Canada can be successfully grown in the Okanagan Valley. In 1926, 50 acres were planted at the Experimental Station, and the experiments as to the cost of production were continued.

The result of this work was that in 1927, a total of 391 acres was planted at Kelowna, Oliver, Vernon and Keremeos. The crop in that year returned approximately $80,000 to the producers, who organized under the title of the B.C. Tobacco Growers Association. The head office of this company is at Kelowna, the secretary being C.W. Barton. The association assists the growers in the marketing of their crop and helps them to develop and extend the industry. The Provincial Department of Lands has also erected cutting-bars, (5)

(3) "Agricultural Statistics 1913", Victoria, 1914, Bulletin No. 59, p. 66.
and maintains several fieldmen to assist the growers.

Attention is now concentrated on growing the tobacco and no attempt is made to manufacture it. It is sold in its natural state to David Spencer Limited, a company which has retail stores at Vancouver, New Westminster, Victoria and Nanaimo. This company is doing considerable blending and has undertaken to specialize in British Columbia tobacco, selling it under its own brand. The success of this venture should prove a gauge to the production of the commodity.

Previous to 1927, the types of tobacco principally produced were used for cigar binders and fillers, but since that date other varieties have been grown. These include Connecticut Havana and Connecticut Broadleaf for manufacturing cigars; White Burley Resistant, White Burley Broadleaf, Virginia Hunter, White Burley, Green River, Green Wood and Comstock for pipe; and Virginia and Prior for cigarettes. Conditions in the Valley seem to be well adapted for growing some of these varieties, White Burley yielding up to 2,400 pounds per acre, and Virginia seed (Yellow Fryor) averaging from 1,500 to 1,800 pounds. In 1926, the average yield per acre was only 1,100 pounds, but the experienced growers harvested 2,000 pounds. The cost of production varies according to the suitability of the land and the efficiency of the grower, but as the selling price that year was 20¢ a pound, on a yield of 2,000 pounds, the farmers realized a profit of $200 an acre.

(7) Alex Shaw, op. cit.
(8) Ibid.
In 1928, the acreage increased to nearly 1,000 acres, and since that time the same interest continues to be evinced in tobacco culture. To-day it is one of the most important of the intensive crops grown in the Valley. The greatest disadvantage which it has had to face in producing for domestic manufacture has been lack of suitable markets, as the tobacco-manufacturing industry of the Dominion is centred largely in Ontario and Quebec. Another drawback has been poor handling facilities for the types of tobacco which are used in plug and cigarette mixtures. It is hoped, however, that time will overcome these undesirable features, and that the industry will be placed on a sound and profitable basis.

Another form of intensive cultivation is being carried on at Oliver. Soon after the settlers on the South Okanagan Irrigation Project planted their fruit trees, they found that they did not have sufficient capital to last the eight years until the trees came into bearing. It was necessary to find some means of raising a cash crop between the rows of trees, and as horticulturists had reported soil and climatic conditions excellent for the growth and maturing of any vine fruit, it was decided to plant cantaloupes. These were first grown in 1923, and the experiment revealed the fact that the Oliver cantaloup is a very superior product, with a particularly fine flavour. The early ripening season is also of advantage as it enables the growers to dispose of the commodity before the market is flooded. In 1924, the Oliver Cooperative Exchange shipped 1,268 crates; in 1925, 12,960 crates, and
the number has been steadily increasing since that date. In 1927, tomato-growing was also started, and of late years cucumbers and grapes have been introduced. The tomato industry has been assisted by the erection of a cannery by the Dominion Canners Limited, which during the 1930 season, canned over 1,400 tons of tomatoes. Besides this, 300,000 crates (averaging 20 pounds to the crate) of semi-ripes were shipped to market. The total revenue from the Oliver district for fruit and vegetables during last year (1930) was approximately $200,000, the value of the tomatoes being $150,000, and the cucumbers $3,500.

The cantaloup crop was probably worth $160,000.

The production of these vine-fruits is growing in importance every year. The area around Oliver has a natural advantage for this purpose, and there is a market demand for these commodities in Canada. It is therefore likely that the industry will reach larger proportions in the next few years and that tree-fruit production will be forced farther north.

While sub-tropical fruits are being produced in the southern end of the Valley, large amounts of vegetables are being raised on truck-gardens in the northern end. At the

(9) "Government Irrigation Project", Department of Lands, Victoria, n.d., p. 7.
(10) "Vernon News", November 27th, 1930.
(11) Information obtained from J. Morton, Bureau of Provincial Information, Victoria.
(12) "Vernon News", November 27th, 1930.
(13) Ibid.
(14) Vegetables have been grown for many years very successfully in the Vernon district, and Lady Aberdeen remarked of the first Agricultural Show held in Vernon in 1891, "...never at Home (Scotland) have we had the pleasure of seeing such fruit, such roots, such vegetables. I wish I could give you some idea of the enormous size of the monster cabbages, of the melons, and golden pumpkins, some of the former weighing as much as 30 and 40 pounds", cf. Countess of Aberdeen, op. cit, p. 158.
At the present time, 800 acres of land at Vernon are used for this purpose. A few years ago fruit-growers urged that irrigation service be discontinued to land devoted to vegetable production, but since that time, they have been compelled to realize the importance of the industry. For example, in 1929, 900 acres of orchard land at Vernon produced fruit valued at $792,523.05, while 800 acres of vegetable land produced products (15) worth $309,390.30, and by-products valued at $27,682.08. The vegetables included tomatoes, cucumbers, onions, cabbage, potatoes, beets, carrots, parsnips, turnips, squash and pumpkins. At Armstrong, the truck gardens produce principally lettuce and celery, and during 1929, nearly 800 tons of the latter commodity were exported.

At Vernon, one of the most important crops grown is tomatoes, but the northern growers have the disadvantage of a shorter growing season, with later summer frosts and earlier fall frosts than at Oliver. In spite of this, however, the production of tomatoes has increased from 28,370 crates in 1925 to 67,617 crates in 1929. In addition to this there were 90 tons of cannery tomatoes in 1928, and 1,108 tons in 1929.

In 1929, 65,000 cases of these tomatoes were canned by Bulman's Limited, a fruit and vegetable cannery and dehydrating plant at Vernon, which was built in 1926. At first it started to dehydrate fruit, after obtaining from the railway companies an agreement to enforce assembly rates for fruits

(15) "Vernon News", June 26th, 1930.
consigned to such plants. This made possible the handling of windfalls and other classes of fruit which would otherwise be wasted because of a lack of a market. In 1928, the plant was burned down, but was rebuilt the following year on a larger scale, and it is now capable of handling a carload of apples every three and a half hours. The business has also expanded until now Bulman's Limited supplies 25% of all the dehydrated apples consumed in Canada. In 1929, the company added to its activities the canning of fresh fruit and vegetables, and commenced to export its products. In 1930 a shipment of dried onions and carrots was sent to the north of Japan for the use of men in the fishing fleets, and later in the year a small shipment of dried onions, evaporated apples and canned apples was sent to Kingston, Jamaica. The cannery has played a very important part in taking care of surplus fruit and vegetable production and in encouraging vegetable growing on truck gardens.

Progress and development have also been made along these lines of agricultural production largely as a result of the work done by the Dominion Experimental Station at Summerland which was established in 1914. For some time, the people of the Okanagan Valley had urged the Federal Government to start a station in an irrigated district to serve the southern interior of British Columbia, and the location at Summerland was chosen because of its central position in the Valley, and because the bench lands were representative of

(17) "Vernon News", October 2nd, 1930.
those on which fruit-growing is practiced.

For the first ten years, work of a general nature was carried on, and included experimental and demonstrational work with cereals and forage crops. Latterly, this work has been concluded and the entire efforts of the staff have been directed to horticultural investigations. At present, most of the time is being devoted to studying the factors underlying the proper handling of all fruits at harvest time and immediately thereafter. Other studies are being made along the lines of producing hardier stocks for fruit trees; researches are being conducted into the manufacture and utilization of waste or low-grade fruits; and attempts are being made to develop better strains of vegetables, particularly hardier varieties of cantaloups and tomatoes. Mention has already been made of the investigations in tobacco growing, which are carried on with a view to determining suitable varieties and the best cultural practices. Finally, some attention has been given to livestock, especially to dairy cattle.

The greatest benefit from the work has been derived by the tree-fruit growers who have obtained great assistance from the demonstration of the proper methods of pruning, thinning and other orchard practices. But all types of farmers recognize the value of the work done by the station, and acknowledge its importance in encouraging new and smaller industries. Its influence on agricultural production has been widespread.

In addition to the forms of intensive agricultural production which have been discussed, mention should be made
of another pursuit which is more extensive in its scope. This is dairying, which at present is gaining a strong foothold in the Okanagan Valley. Virtually, it is a survival of the cattle-ranching era, although at that time, little attention was paid to manufacturing refined dairy products, and these were generally imported. However, there were a few settlers scattered throughout the Valley who advocated mixed farming, and had small herds of domestic cattle to supply their food requirements. From this small beginning, dairying has developed to its present important position as one of the most remunerative industries in the Valley.

The first creamery in the Okanagan was established at Armstrong in 1902 by the Okanagan Creamery Cooperative Association. It was not large and only had a capacity for handling the milk from 1,000 cows. The country was still sparsely settled, and it was difficult to collect the milk. The creamery therefore was forced to close its doors, and for a while butter-manufacturing was carried on in individual farm-houses. In 1905 another small creamery of a capacity of milk from 300 cows was started at Lumby. It operated for five years, and obtained its cream from the outlying districts. However, during the subdivision of the fruit lands in the vicinity of Vernon, the price of hay increased so much that the ranchers were tempted to sell it rather than feed it to their animals. Thus, because of lack of milk, the Lumby creamery also had to cease operating.

(18) Vide supra, p. 55.
From 1910 to 1920, fruit-growing absorbed the attention of most of the farmers in the Okanagan Valley, and only two new creameries commenced business. One was the Kelowna Creamery Limited, which was started in 1915 at Kelowna. The other, the North Okanagan Creamery Association was formed at Armstrong in the same year. It was capitalized at $5,000, the shares being of the value of $25 each. The first directors were G. Skyrum of Grindrod, R.J. Coltart of Enderby, Charles Hardy, J.F. Moor, and C.J. Patten of Armstrong.

After the crash in fruit prices in 1922, renewed interest was manifested in dairying, and new creameries appeared. Among these were the Palace Creamery at Enderby, which in 1925 passed into the hands of R. Karnagel, the Keremeos Creamery built at Keremeos in 1924, the Penticton Purity Products Limited opened at Penticton in 1925, and the Valley Dairy and Creamery established at the same place in 1928.

The largest and most active organization of this sort in the Okanagan Valley at present is situated at Vernon. It consists of a number of cream shippers who formed the Okanagan Valley Cooperative Creamery Association in 1925, and took over the business of the North Okanagan Creamery Association at Armstrong. The creamery of the new association is operated by Palm Dairies Limited a subsidiary of Burns & Company, Limited, which has a contract to manufacture butter on a commission basis. Before this step was taken in 1925, the North Okanagan

(19) Information obtained from C.J. Patten, Armstrong.
Creamery Association was in a serious financial position owing to its inability to sell its butter. To-day this difficulty has been overcome, and the amount of butter manufactured has increased from 335,000 pounds in 1925 to 635,000 pounds in 1930.

The Okanagan Valley Cooperative Creamery Association transferred the Armstrong business to Vernon after a fire in 1927 had destroyed the creamery at that place. The Enderby plant was also moved to Vernon in the spring of 1929, and is now operated in conjunction with the Vernon creamery. Cream is obtained from these places as well as from as far south as Kelowna, north and east to Revelstoke, and the Arrow Lake country, and west to Grande Prairie (Westwold). The association operates a cream gathering truck and pays other trucks for hauling from outlying points. It also receives shipments by stage and rail. The total value of the butter produced by the Okanagan Valley Cooperative Creamery Association during 1930 was about $200,000, a decrease from the 1929 value by about 15%.

During the last six years the amount of dairy products manufactured in the Valley has increased steadily from butter worth $376,830 in 1925 to $486,234 in 1929. The production of ice cream has similarly grown from $33,036 worth in 1925, to $59,965 in 1929. Dairying has proved to be profitable for it has returned the producer 80 cents out of every dollar.

(20) Information obtained from F.D. Saunderson, Manager Palm Dairies Limited, Vernon.
(21) Ibid.
(22) Vide infra, Appendix E, p.179.
(23) Ibid.
The outlook for the future also appears to be bright for as an editorial in the "Vancouver Daily Province" pointed out,

> The Okanagan farmer has had some sad experiences in producing fruit which he could not sell because of lack of consumers. For his butter he need not have much fear---When less than 40% of the butter consumed in British Columbia is home produced, there should not be much doubt of an available market. (24)

Meanwhile, production on a larger scale has caused the acquisition by the farmers of better bred animals. For example, the World's Champion butter-fat producer of the Jersey breed Pretoria Oxford Janet 17413, was obtained from E.A. Pearson of Ottawa, Ontario, and raised at Armstrong by Foster Whitaker. At four years old she was officially recognized as the champion butter-fat producer of the breed, her performance under the 305 day test being 14,935 pounds of milk and 872 pounds of butter-fat.

Captain J.C. Dunwaters of Fintry has also undertaken to improve the breed of stock in the Valley. In 1929, he imported 29 two-year old Ayrshire heifers from Scotland, and offered them for sale at public auction in Armstrong in October of that year. At the sale, the average price obtained was $305 a head.

Dairying is now well established as an industry, and it is probable that it will be prosecuted to a greater extent in the future. Conditions for pasturing the animals are good, and the cost of producing alfalfa for extra food purposes is low. If the present trend in improving the breed continues

(24) "Vancouver Daily Province", January 28th, 1929, "Okanagan Butter."
the output in the Valley will increase, and the cost of production will be decreased due to the greater efficiency of the cows. Under these conditions, dairying will be found to be even more profitable than is the case at present, and more farmers will engage in it.

Altogether, these minor forms of agricultural production are gaining increasing importance as the years pass, and they will be the factors which determine whether mixed farming will supercede fruit-farming in the next phase of the development of the Okanagan Valley.

In addition to these enterprises, two extractive industries have come to the fore during recent years. The first of these, placer and lode mining has never been the source of great wealth primarily because of the fact that mineral deposits do not exist in large quantities in the Okanagan Valley. During the nineties, a certain amount of placer mining was done on various creeks in the northern end of the Valley, the activities for the most part centring at Cherry Creek and Whiteman's Creek, which flows into the northern end of Okanagan Lake, on the west side. About 1895, the diggings were abandoned, as they were getting too hard to work, and were no longer profitable. A number of claims carrying high values in gold and silver were then located on B.X. Mountain near Vernon, on the point of land opposite Okanagan Landing, and farther down the west side of Okanagan Lake near Summerland. There were several booms at these places, for a while considerable prospecting was done.
The most extensive operations were, however, carried on in the southern end of the Valley, where several well-defined veins of gold ore were discovered. The most important of these was located at Fairview, 2½ miles west from the present city of Oliver. There the claims lay on the eastern side of a low range of mountains separating the Okanagan and Similkameen Valleys, 700 feet above Okanagan River. The largest claims were the Morning Star, Stem-winder, Tin Horn, Smuggler, Silver Crown, Joe Dandy, Winchester, Comet and Western Girl. These produced a greater showing of gold bearing quartz than had been obtained from any other part of the Province up to that time, and gave the impression that the veins lay in large bodies and consisted of low grade ores. As a result, a large amount of English and American capital was invested in the mines and several stamp-mills were set up. A townsite was also laid out on the river, and one of the companies erected a large hotel. In 1893, a great amount of ore was produced at Fairview. The following year, 1,000 tons of ore from the Morning Star claim owned by Steve Mangott and Dan McEachern worked in the company's stamp-mill during the early part of the year yielded $12,000 in gold and $1,200 in concentrates. The ore from this claim yielded about $12 to the ton, but the average value of ore from all the claims in the vicinity was from $4 to $7 a ton.

For a number of years Fairview prospered, but after 1906, little mining was done and the place was soon deserted.

A stamp-mill which had been set up on part of the present townsite of Oliver was closed down and removed, and another mill about half a mile east from Fairview also disappeared. Considerable prospecting was later done up the gulch west from Fairview, but it did not prove satisfactory as the ore appeared to be in pockets. In fact, the principal reason for the failure of the mills was that the cost of milling the scattered lenses was so heavy that unless large quantities were milled after the cheapest methods, no profits could be made. The cost of production was also high because of the heavy transportation charge for supplies coming from Penticton and ore being sent to the Tacoma smelter.

A richer quartz-mining area was centred just outside the Okanagan district at Camp McKinney, Greenwood and Phoenix. It was at these places that the Okanagan farmers found a market in the nineties for their fruit and vegetables. Many of the Okanagan stores had branches at these places, and Greenwood was named after Robert Wood of Armstrong who had the principal store in that locality.

The Similkameen Valley was much richer in mineral wealth than the Okanagan, and the mining carried on there was of a much more permanent nature. In the late nineties, interest centred around the Copper Mine on Copper Mountain, and the Nickle Plate mine at Hedley. Both were extremely rich. The Copper Mine was worked by various companies until 1923 when the Granby Company took it over and prepared for great development. However, a decline in the price of copper in the price of copper in 1924, has resulted in the work being
postponed until such time as the market improves. From 1914 to the end of 1923, there were mined and milled at the Nickle Plate Mine 925,000 tons of ore, which produced $10,000,000 in gold and arsenic. Towards Princeton and Coalmont, territory very rich in coal is being mined at the present time and considerable profit is being realized.

In the Okanagan Valley proper, mining operations have practically ceased. A few years ago, a small amount of coal was mined at White Lake, 15 miles south from Penticton, but the mine has now been closed. The only activity has been at Monashee Creek, 48 miles from Vernon, near Cherry Creek. About 1922, hydraulicking was carried on there, and was extended in 1923 to Porcupine Creek, a tributary of Monashee. A few hopeful individuals still carry on operations at these places, but it is highly improbable that a rich mineral deposit will be located.

On the whole, mining has been only of secondary importance in the Okanagan Valley. Its benefit has been indirect in attracting outside attention and drawing hither a number of people who eventually became settlers and farmers in the Valley. It has also played a part in providing markets for the agriculturists of the Valley. Apart from that, however, it cannot be considered as a source of wealth to the people of the Valley, for any money which has been obtained has passed into the hands of the English and American capitalists who owned the claims.

(26) "Similkameen Land Recording Division", Department of Lands, Bulletin No. 13, Victoria, 1925, p. 4.
Lumbering as an industry has been of much more value to the Valley than has mining. It is also an industry which has been long established and was first commenced to provide the settlers with lumber to build their houses. The first mill in the Valley was built by the Postill brothers on Mill Creek at Kelowna, and the machinery for it was brought in over the Hope Trail. Later another mill was erected nearby by the Lequime brothers. This had a capacity of 12,000 feet a day and was purchased in 1905 by David Lloyd-Jones. Other small mills were established at Peachland and Summerland, but the largest mills in the Valley were erected in the northern end where the timber supply is greater.

The source of the greatest supply lies up the Spallumcheen River to Mabel Lake and beyond to Sugar Lake, taking in the vast watershed of the Shuswap River. The forest consists of Douglas fir, cedar, hemlock, tamarack, spruce and white pine. To-day, after nearly 40 years of cutting, there is still a billion feet in the Mabel and Sugar Lake districts accessible to the Spallumcheen and Shuswap Rivers.

Because of its position in the heart of these virgin stands of timber, Enderby was the logical place for the establishment of a lumber mill. In fact, it is regarded as one of the finest mill sites in the interior of the Province as the Spallumcheen River is wide and is cleared through to Mabel Lake. There are also numerous islands adjacent to Enderby which are used for the storage of logs. The first mill was erected in 1894 by S.C. Smith of Vernon, who still has a Sash, Door and Planing Factory at the latter place.
Previously, he had operated a mill at Okanagan Landing in partnership with G.P. Clerin, whose interest he later bought and sold to Norman McLoed. Together, they located at Enderby in 1894, and built the mill which had a capacity of 25,000 feet a day. Six years later, the plant was burned but was rebuilt on a larger scale, with its capacity increased to 40,000 feet a day. In 1903, Smith & McLoed disposed of the business by selling it to F.H. Hale, from New Brunswick. Later in the year, the mill passed into other hands, and was sold for $100,000 to the Kamloops Lumber Company, which consisted of George McCormick, M.P. of Parry, Sound, Ontario, manager, and George E. Foster, M.P. of Toronto, William Irwin of Peterborough, Ontario and others as associate owners. This company again increased the capacity of the mill, this time to 50,000 feet a day. During the period of the company's activity, the lumber was sold at a contract price of $17.50 a thousand to the Independent Lumber Company of Regina, a subsidiary company which was owned by the same shareholders.

In 1905, the mill and property were sold to the A.R, Rogers Lumber Company of Minneapolis for the sum of $350,000. Once more the new company increased the capacity, and the mill was then able to turn out 100,000 feet a day. About 1912, the name of the company was changed to the Okanagan Sawmills Limited, although the ownership remained the same. The mill continued to operate steadily from 1905 to 1921, running night and day for nine months in the year. In addition to manufacturing lumber, the company also shipped thousands of poles to the United States market. In 1921, the
Spallumcheen drive contained 40,000 poles and 15 million feet of logs. The same year, due to financial reverses and a decline in the market price of lumber, A.R. Rogers retired from the business, and the mill was partly dismantled. Some of the machinery was sold to various concerns in other parts of the Province, and what remained was purchased by a local syndicate, Clark & Elliott, which still operates on a small scale.

About 1914, the supply of cedar poles in the United States became limited, and a demand developed for the British Columbia product which was regarded as the finest quality pole on the Continent, because of its durability. Since that time, pole-cutting has over-shadowed lumber manufacturing. Various American concerns have obtained timber limits in British Columbia and are now carrying on operations on an extensive scale. In the Okanagan Valley, the B.J. Carney Company of Minneapolis commenced business in 1917, with its head office at Enderby and six camps located in the vicinity of Lumby and Mabel Lake. It also has pole yards at Enderby, Mara Lake, Shuswap, Chase and Notch Hill, from which places 25,000 poles averaging 50 feet in length are shipped annually to Minneapolis, Minnesota, and Liberty, Pennsylvania. Besides poles, the company also ships 125,000 railway ties a year and 2,000,000 logs, the value of this output being $135,000.

Another large American company which operates in the Okanagan Valley is the Bell Lumber and Pole Company of Minneapolis. This company started to operate in 1926, and established a new mill and planing factory at Enderby, of a
capacity of 25,000 feet a day. During 1926 and 1927, it cut 5,000,000 feet of lumber at Enderby, which was valued at $30 (27) a thousand. About the same time, pole yards were opened at Chase, Grindrod, Enderby and Lumby. The poles come principally from the Sugar Lake district, 18 trucks being used to collect them. These trucks operate 24 hours a day for 6 days in the week. The poles are shipped to Eastern Canada and to the eastern United States. During 1930, 400 cars of poles were shipped from the Lumby yards, and the total output from all yards was 55,000 poles, which returned $350,000 to the company. In addition to this, more than 100,000 ties a year are shipped.

One of the best stands of cedar poles in the Okanagan Valley is at Trinity Valley, which runs east and west and is tributary to Enderby and Lumby, and is advantageously situated as poles can be taken to either place. For eight or ten years, pole camps have therefore been operated in the valley by Clark & Elliott of Enderby. The value of the pole loaded on the freight car at Lumby or Enderby is $6, but its worth increases greatly at the destination because of the heavy transportation charge. On the American side, the poles are subjected to a treatment of hot creosote, which is injected into wood by the means of innumerable steel needles. This makes the pole waterproof for a depth of half an inch, and increases its durability almost indefinitely.

A few small lumber mills still continue to operate in the Okanagan Valley. One of these, the Armstrong mill was

(27) Information supplied by Gilbert Liveland, Superintendent Bell Lumber Company, Enderby.
(28) Ibid.
erected in 1891 by Charles Brewer and sold in 1895 to Wood, Cargill and Company. In August, 1902, it was bought by the present owner, T.K. Smith, who enlarged it to its present capacity of 18,000 feet a day. At that time the annual output of the mill was 2,000,000 feet of lumber which was sold to the North-West Territories and Manitoba. The mill is still running and like the S.C. Smith Lumber Company at Vernon, supplies a local demand.

In addition to witnessing the exploitation of its natural resources, the Okanagan Valley has also been the scene of experiments in specialized and diversified farming. The latter has been characterized by the development of various enterprises which have increased in size during recent years, and the present trend seems to indicate that in the future these industries will greatly augment the income of the settlers.
Chapter 8.
The Growth of the Cities.

While these industries were developing, various places throughout the Okanagan Valley had become centres for trade and commerce. At these distributing points stores were built, and villages grew up as more settlers came into the country. Although settlement first began at Kelowna and Enderby, Vernon was the earliest city to be incorporated. This may be explained by the fact that all the trade passing from the north to the south of the Valley, or vice versa, had to pass through it.

As early as 1862, James Douglas, Governor of British Columbia, realized the importance of its position, and ordered W.G. Cox, Gold Commissioner at Osoyoos, to stake an area 10 miles square as a government reserve at the head of Okanagan Lake. At that time, Douglas proposed to build a road by way of Cherry Creek to join the north end of Okanagan Lake and the Columbia River, and he decided that the head of the Lake would be an ideal place to establish a townsite, as it would be one of the termini of the road. The formation of a government reserve would also prevent individuals pre-empting the land until such time as it was expedient to lay out the townsite. However, the road was never built, and in May 1866, Captain Houghton was granted a portion of the reserve which he had pre-empted. Although it is not definitely known what

(1) Note by "J.D." (James Douglas) on letter W.G. Cox to W.A.G. Young, April 7th, 1862.
(2) Note by "J.D." on letter C. Beer to Colonial Secretary, May 10th, 1866, Vide supra, p. 42.
became of the remainder of the reserve, it is probable that portions of it were obtained by later pre-emptors. For example, part of it may have been included in the pre-emptions of 160 acres of land, which Charles A. Vernon and Forbes G. Vernon each staked on August 31st, 1866, and which ran from a stake back of the Priest's House, in a south-westerly direction to within a mile of the arm of Okanagan Lake.

Meanwhile, the territory between Okanagan Lake and the present city of Vernon had become known as Priest's Valley, owing to the fact that about 1860, the priests from Okanagan Mission had built a stopping house at a convenient distance from the Mission and Kamloops. The original name given by the Indians to the locality, "Nintle-moos-chin" (referring to the fact that the banks of Swan Lake Creek at the point where the present cement bridge on Barnard Avenue crosses it, were so peculiarly formed and came so close together, that it was called a little, or short jump-over), had therefore been superceded. The constant travelling up and down the Lake by the priests caused a trail to be built along the east side of Okanagan Lake, on the same side as L'Anse au Sable, and opposite the old Hudson's Bay trail. Along this trail thousands of head of sheep and cattle were driven on their way to Cariboo.

The second house in Vernon was built by Luc Girouard, who rode into the Valley in 1860. Accompanied by a man named King, he left California in the spring of that year on a

(3) On the same date F.G. Vernon applied to purchase an additional 160 acres, making a total of 480 acres held by the two brothers. Vide infra, Appendix A, p. 171.
prospecting expedition and journeyed to Rock Creek, where they found the mines deserted. They passed on to Mission Creek, but as cold weather was approaching, they decided to journey into the Nicola country and look for a suitable camp. Stopping a short time at Douglas Lake, they turned eastward and passing through the Spallumcheen Valley, arrived at the spot where Vernon now stands, in January. There they built a log cabin on the banks of Swan Lake Creek, and remained during the winter. In the spring of 1861, King returned to California, and Girouard went to Cherry Creek, where he found gold and mined for the next five years. Then on September 1st, 1867, he pre-empted Lot 71 at Vernon, receiving the Crown Grant for it on July 15th, 1887. This was the land through which the western end of Barnard Avenue now runs.

The next pre-emption on the present townsite was staked on September 30th, 1878, when Amos DeLaurier pre-empted Lot 72 and the north-east quarter of Section 34, through which the eastern end of Barnard Avenue now passes. The Crown Grant for this was secured on September 27th, 1883. Thus, what is now the present city of Vernon, was at that time divided into two pre-emptions and the boundary line between them was Swan Lake Creek.

Large ranches were also being taken up near the homes of these two settlers. After obtaining 300 acres of the land to which he was entitled in 1863, Captain Houghton received the remaining part of the 1440 acres in June, 1872, when he received his Crown Grant for Lot 25, Osoyoos District of Yale Division. This military grant he named the Coldstream
Ranch, and it comprised the territory lying between the present Coldstream Ranch buildings and Long Lake. Later Houghton bought the Vernon homestead from Charles and Forbes Vernon, and in 1873, he turned the management of his ranch over to them. They in turn disposed of it by selling it to Lord Aberdeen in 1891.

On the opposite side of Vernon, Thomas Greenhow, Cornelius O'keefe and William Coulter pre-empted the land at the head of Okanagan Lake on July 25th, 1868. Coulter died shortly after this and Greenhow and O'Keefe became partners, engaging in cattle raising and general farming. At one time, they also had a liquor licence and kept a stopping-place and store. Later their partnership was dissolved, and both became general merchants.

In July 1884, there were only three residences where Vernon now is—Luc Girouard's cabin, Price Ellison's house, and Amos DeLaurier's cabin. There was also the government lock-up which stood on Amos DeLaurier's pre-emption, not far

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(4) The ranch was sold for $250,000, but owing to a dispute between Lord Aberdeen and Forbes Vernon about the number of cattle actually on the place when it was sold, the purchase money was not paid for some time. A settlement was finally reached in June, 1894, and $245,000 was cabled from London to Vernon's credit in the Bank of British Columbia in Victoria.

(5) In 1876 Price Ellison arrived in British Columbia from England and started to the Cariboo. On his way he was attracted by the placer discoveries at Cherry Creek, and went there instead. After little success in the mines, he worked for Charles Vernon at the Coldstream Ranch for some years. He later acquired some land near Vernon and added to his holdings until he owned 11,000 acres. In 1898, he became the representative (Conservative) for Yale in the Provincial Government by defeating Donald Graham of Spallumcheen. He was re-elected in 1903, and 1909, and in 1909 was appointed Commissioner of Lands in the McBride Government. This position he held until 1910, when he was made Minister of Finance and Agriculture. In March 1915, he resigned from these posts, and in 1916 was defeated by Dr. K.C. McDonald, Liberal member in the Oliver Government.
from Price Ellison's house.

In 1884, the name Priest's Valley was changed to Forge Valley. This was applied because Price Ellison had a blacksmith shop on his farm. It was only used for a short time, for when E.J. Tronson and Charles Brewer laid out the town in 1885, they called it Centreville, and named the two main streets Coldstream and Mission. On November 1st, 1887, the name was again changed, this time to Vernon, in honour of Forbes George Vernon, owner of the Coldstream Ranch, and at that time, Chief Commissioner of Lands and Works for the Province.

During 1884, W.F. Cameron built a store and the following year, the Provincial agency was moved to Vernon from Enderby. In 1885, W.R. Megaw opened a branch of his chain of stores in Vernon, and in 1889, he sold out at Kamloops and (6) came to Vernon to settle. The following year, E.J. Tronson, in partnership with E.M. Edwards built the Victoria Hotel, then the largest establishment of that kind on the mainland of British Columbia. In the spring of 1887, the Hudson's Bay Company also established a store, which provided supplies for the ranches in the district, and was also a fur-trading post.

By 1890, when the Okanagan Land Company became interested in the townsite, Vernon was therefore quite a settlement. Its growth was much more rapid after that date, because of

(6) W.R. Megaw is a native of Ontario, who came to British Columbia in the eighties and started a store in Nicola. He expanded his business until he had four branches with the main one at Kamloops, which furnished supplies to the Canadian Pacific Railway construction camps. "Vernon News", Special Edition, 1904.

(7) Vide supra, p. 81.
the activity of the company in attracting new settlers. In 1892, the city was incorporated including within its boundaries 2,000 acres, and with W.F. Cameron its first mayor. It was the first city in the Okanagan Valley, and the one which grew most rapidly. By 1901, its population was 802, while the population of the only other two towns in the Valley (Kelowna and Enderby) was 261 and 164, respectively. The next ten years witnessed a period of prosperity when settlers were coming from the Old Country and the Prairies to buy fruit ranches in the "Sunny" Okanagan, and consequently, by 1911, the number of people had increased to 2,671. Further expansion occurred during the following ten years, and in 1921, the population numbered 3,685. Since that date, however, the number of people has remained practically stationary, due to the reverses experienced in the fruit industry in the last decade, and the draining of the people from the country to the larger commercial centres at the Coast.

Although Kelowna was the scene of the first white settlement in the Okanagan Valley, its growth was much slower than that of Vernon, for the reason that there were larger cattle ranches and fewer small farms there. In 1877, there were only 17 families at Okanagan Mission, and these included, Joseph Christian, Eli LeQuime, A.B. Knox, Alfred Postill, John MacDougall, Theodore Laurence. In that year

(8) Figures supplied by the Bureau of Provincial Information, Victoria.
(9) Vide supra, p. 24.
Frederick Brent built the first flour mill in the Okanagan Valley, and Charles Brewer built the Mission Creek dam and bridge. Five years later, the Roman Catholic Church at the Mission was constructed, and the Postill brothers erected their saw mill at Deep Creek in the Spallumcheen. In 1882, L.W. Patten built the lock-up at the Mission.

The LeQuime brothers laid out the townsite in 1890, and Kelowna was the name chosen for the place. With the beginning of steamboat navigation on Okanagan Lake in the eighties, the growth of the settlement was more rapid as there was a comparatively easy means of communication with Penticton and Vernon. On May 4th, 1895, Kelowna was incorporated, with 1280 acres. Its population in 1901 was only 261, but by 1911, it had jumped to 1,663. In the period from 1911 to 1921, it again increased, to 2,520, and to-day it is the largest city in the Okanagan Valley, the population in 1928 being 4,313.

During these years, two smaller places in the Spallumcheen Valley, Enderby and Armstrong, were coming into prominence. Enderby was the second scene of white settlement in the Okanagan Valley, and for many years it was an important centre of commerce, as it was the head of steamboat navigation on the Spallumcheen River, and all freight going down Okanagan Lake was unloaded at what was then called Fortune's Landing. In the late seventies, Robert and T. McK. Lambly arrived and built a large warehouse for the purpose of storing

(10) Bureau of Provincial Information, Victoria.
wheat which was hauled in during the winter and shipped in the winter and shipped in the spring to Kamloops on William Fortune's steamer, the "Lady Dufferin". By 1880, more than 50 persons had taken up land nearby.

As in the case of Vernon, 14 acres of the land at Belvidere, the official name for what is now the city of Enderby was staked as a government reserve. In 1885, this was subdivided into lots which Walter Dewdney, the Government Agent, offered for sale by auction. Robert Lambly and his brother T. McK. Lambly purchased all the lots in the townsite, with the exception of one which Alfred Postill of Okanagan Mission, their brother-in-law bought. The same year the first store was built by Hamill & Pringle for H.F. Keefer, who was a sub-contractor for the Canadian Pacific Railway, and had a number of stores along the line of construction.

In November, 1887, when the post-office was opened, the place was called Enderby, instead of Belvidere. Neither name has any historical import, the present name probably being suggested during a social evening at which the villagers admired the following lines of "High Tide on the Coast of Lincolnshire", a poem by Jean Ingelow:

Play uppe, play uppe, O Boston bells,
Ply all your changes, all your swells,
Play uppe, "The Brides of Enderby." (12)

Enderby was for some time the seat of the flour-milling and lumber-industries, for in 1886 Rashdale & Lawes erected their

grist mill, and in 1897, Smith & McLeod built their saw-mill. Many people from the surrounding country found employment in these mills, and the population of the city grew from 164 in 1901 to 835 in 1911. By the end of the next ten years, the flour-mill had ceased to operate and the saw-mill was in financial difficulties. Consequently the number of people in Enderby decreased to 783. The city was incorporated on March 1st, 1905, with an area of 655 acres, and with George Bell, its first mayor.

The neighbouring city of Armstrong was not incorporated until 1913, although the Municipality of Spallumcheen adjoining it, was formed in 1891. In 1881, a post office was opened at a small settlement about six miles south of Enderby, and called Spallumcheen. In 1885, E.M. Fustineau opened a hotel nearby, which he called "Lansdowne Hotel", after the Governor-General. As the village grew, the name Lansdowne was applied to it, although the post-office and later the municipality retained the name Spallumcheen. This was probably the result of the prevailing practice in the Valley of designating all the territory between the head of Okanagan Lake and Enderby by the word Spallumcheen.

However, even the name "Lansdowne" was to disappear, for when the Shuswap and Okanagan railroad was built in 1891, the town was two miles off the chosen route. It practically ceased to be, and most of the buildings were hauled to the new site which was called Armstrong after a financier who

(13) Bureau of Provincial Information, Victoria.
purchased the bonds of the railroad. The new settlement became a rival of Enderby as an industrial centre. In 1895, the Okanagan Flouring Mills Company Limited erected their plant, and in 1891 Charles Brewer built the Armstrong Saw-Mill, selling it four years later to Wood, Cargill & Company. On March 31st, 1913, the city was incorporated, and contained 1,000 acres. In 1921, its population was 983, and it has increased slightly since that date.

In the north Okanagan, mention may be made of one more place. This is the village of Lumby, which was founded in 1892, when Quinn Falkner and Louis Morand established a hotel there. It has already been shown that it was a French-Canadian settlement, composed of gold-miners who were attracted to the Mission and Cherry Creek mines and who later turned to farming. In 1890, their number was augmented by a colony of some 50 French-Canadians who came from Quebec and went to Lumby where they took up land. The place was named after Moses Lumby, an old-timer in the Valley, who lived near Armstrong, and who fostered the construction of the Shuswap & Okanagan Railway.

Turning to the southern part of the Okanagan Valley, there are three important towns besides Kelowna—Summerland, Peachland and Penticton. An account has been given in another chapter of the beginning of both Summerland and Peachland. The most important commercial plants which were established at both places were saw-mills. At Summerland, the Summerland Supply Company was organized on July 1st, 1903, and bought a

(14) Bureau of Provincial Information, Victoria.
(16) Vide supra, pp. 82-3.
small saw-mill at Meadow Valley, which was destroyed by fire the same year. The company then erected a new mill which had a daily capacity of 20,000 feet. At Peachland, H. McDougall & Company built their mill in 1883, and later when fruit-growing was carried on, a ready local market was found by manufacturing boxes for fruit packing. The district of Summerland was incorporated on December 31st, 1906, including 13,000 acres, with its founder, J.M. Robinson, its first reeve. Peachland followed on January 1st, 1909, with 3,520 acres included in its boundaries. As these two places, as well as Penticton, are incorporated districts, the census returns do not show any figures for them. However, the population of Summerland is to-day estimated at 2,000, and Peachland's is around 510.

The history of Penticton begins with Thomas Ellis' pre-emption in 1867 of the land at the foot of Okanagan Lake. In 1883, A.H. Wade, brother-in-law to Ellis, started the first store, and in 1890, Penticton consisted of only the ranch headquarters, Wade's store, and a small Catholic Church. Three years later, the population at the southern end of the Lake numbered about 20 people, and most of these were cow-boys on the Ellis ranch. At that time, J. Thurber had a small hotel and the following year (1894) he replaced it by a larger and better structure. In 1904, the Southern Okanagan Land Company Limited, of which W.T. Shatford and the late Senator L.W. Shatford were the managing directors, purchased the

(17) Bureau of Provincial Information, Victoria.
ranch from Ellis and laid out the townsite. The growth of Penticton at first was slow, but as it became the divisional point of one railway line (the Kettle Valley Railway) and the terminus of another (the Shuswap & Okanagan Railway), its expansion was assured. On January 1st, 1909, the district was incorporated with E.F. Bennet as reeve. It included 7,044 acres, and to-day its population is estimated at 4,000.

As the means of transportation in the Valley improved, these towns all expanded in size. At first the pack-trail was the only means of communication between the Okanagan Valley and the outside world. The old Hudson's Bay Brigade Trail and the Dewdney Trail served this purpose in the days of the fur-trader and the gold-miner. As settlements grew, wagon roads were built, and the first was constructed in 1873 from the head of Okanagan Lake to Spallumcheen Prairie. Soon after this, one of Barnard's Express stages was driven into the Valley, and it made weekly trips from Cache Creek (near the meeting of the Bonaparte and Thompson Rivers) to Okanagan Mission. It also connected with the stage coaches driven from Yale to Barkerville.

Meanwhile, steamboat navigation had started on the Spallumcheen River. In 1865, the steamer "Martin" was built by the Hudson's Bay Company to travel between Kamloops and Seymour, the head of Shuswap Lake, where goods going to the Big Bend mines were unloaded. This steamer made occasional trips to Fortune's Landing to acquire produce. In 1878, two

(18) Bureau of Provincial Information, Victoria.
steamers were built at Kamloops to do a general carrying business between that place and Enderby. These were the "Lady Dufferin" built by William Fortune, and the "Spallumcheen" owned by Mara and Wilson.

In 1882, Captain T.D. Shorts of Vernon laid the foundation for the navigation of Okanagan Lake, by taking goods which he had purchased at Enderby to Penticton in a rowboat. To provide a water route from Enderby to Penticton he urged the construction of a canal connecting the Spallumcheen River with Okanagan Lake. In 1882 the Dominion Government was induced to have a survey made, and in spite of the adverse nature of the report, the idea was not allowed to be dropped. In June, 1889, a notice appeared in the "B.C. Gazette" stating that an application would be made for an act incorporating a company with the power to build the canal, but the application was never made. Instead, at the ensuing session of the Provincial Parliament a second act was passed in aid of the construction of a railroad, and the provisions made it clear that the construction would soon commence.

In the meantime, steamboat navigation had started on Okanagan Lake. On April 21st, 1886, the "Mary Victoria Greenhow", built by Pringle & Hamill of Lansdowne, and owned by Captain T.D. Shorts and Thomas Greenhow of Vernon, was launched. Its keel measurement was 32 feet, and its beam 5 feet. The boat also had an 8 inch propeller and was driven by a two-horse power automatic coal-oil engine, made in
Rochester, New York. Although the engine had a certain amount of power, it consumed an enormous amount of coal oil when it was placed in the heavy rowboat which was loaded with freight. The captain had not reached Penticton on the initial trip when he found the supply he had thought sufficient to last the round trip was exhausted. It is said that by the time the boat tied up at the head of the Lake on its return, the settlers had all gone back to candles, and there was not a tin of coal oil left in the Valley.

The boat was ill-fated, for two months after the date of the launching it was burned while lying tied up at Kelowna. The engine was only slightly damaged and was taken out and converted to burn wood and placed in a sail-boat belonging to Tronson and Brewer. The "Jubilee" as this boat was called, was launched on September 2nd, 1887. A year later, on July 19th, another boat the "Okanagan" was launched. It was built by Pringle & Harris of Spallumcheen, and was owned by Alexander Porteous, Allen Gillis and Ronald McDonald. Soon a regular fleet of steamers plying upon the waters of Okanagan Lake, carrying freight and passengers. In 1890, Thomas Ellis and Eli LeQuime built the "Penticton", and it was operated from Penticton north to Okanagan Landing, with Captain Shorts as master. It was a steam screw steamer, 70 feet long. It had a net tonnage of 33 tons, and was driven by 42 horsepower. Two years later the Shuswap & Okanagan Railway was completed, and the Canadian Pacific Railway put on a lake service, which was followed in 1911 by freight barges. That was the beginning of modern transportation on Okanagan Lake, and to-day seven boats
and innumerable barges are in use.

About the time the "Penticton" was launched, the construction was commenced of the first railroad in the Valley. In 1885, the line of the Canadian Pacific Railway across Canada was completed, and the following year the Shuswap & Okanagan Railway Company was incorporated by a Dominion Act. This was to a large extent the result of the work done by Moses Lumby, the most energetic promoter of the line. Under the Dominion charter granted in 1886, the original share-holders were James Reid, J.A. Mara, Frank S. Barnard, R.P. Rithet, Thomas Earle, J.H. Turner, D.M. Eberts, F.G. Vernon and Dr. E.B.C. Hannington. No land grant was obtained from the federal government, but the next year an act was passed in the Provincial Legislature granting the sum of $4,000 a mile, the whole sum not to exceed $200,000. The road was to be of the gauge and standard of the Canadian Pacific Railway from Sicamous to Okanagan Landing, a distance of 51.3 miles. In 1888, Moses Lumby was sent to Ottawa by the shareholders with the object of obtaining further financial aid from the Dominion Government. This he succeeded in doing after Parliament had been dissolved and obtained a grant of $3,200 a mile, not exceeding in the whole the sum of $163,200. However, there was so much opposition to this act, that it was difficult to enforce it. Therefore, on March 2nd, 1890, the Honourable John Robson introduced a bill in the Provincial Legislature, which resulted in the ultimate construction of the line. By

(19) Vide supra, p. 1515.
this act, the former subsidy granted by the Provincial Government was relinquished, and the Dominion subsidy was assigned to the Provincial Government. An agreement was also made with the Canadian Pacific Railway providing for the lease of the line to them for 25 years, paying quarterly by way of rent 40% of the amount actually received as gross earnings. They also agreed to equip the road with rolling stock and to operate it. For its part, the Provincial Government agreed to guarantee the payment of 4% interest on bonds of the railway for 25 years, the amount not to exceed the sum of $250,000, or the actual cost of construction, whichever should be the smaller amount. It was further agreed that if 40% of the gross earnings was not sufficient to meet the interest on the bonds, the deficit should be and remain a debt due from the Shuswap & Okanagan Railway Company to the Provincial Government until the latter was fully recouped for everything it paid out under the guarantee.

After the act was passed, the contract was granted to T.W. Paterson & Company, and in May 1890, actual work was commenced. In April, 1891, the last track-laying was done, and the first trains ran into Vernon in the fall, although the line was not completed until May 12th, 1892. Up until this time (1931) the Provincial Government has been called upon for years to make good the difference between the amount received under the 40% of the gross earnings clause, and the 4% interest on the bonds. In 1915, the Canadian Pacific Railway lease expired, but was renewed for 999 years, the Canadian Pacific Railway agreeing to reimburse the Provincial
Government for what it had laid out under the guarantee, computed then at $308,000. The lease was conveyed by way of a mortgage to the Royal Trust Company. Of the capital stock of the Shusway & Okanagan Railway, 7,500 shares at the par value of $1,000 each, the Canadian Pacific Railway now has all but 9 shares.

In this manner, the first railroad in the Okanagan commenced to operate. It was without doubt, one of the greatest factors in developing and settling the Valley. It also made possible industrial progress and aided the growth of the fruit industry by providing a quick and efficient means of transporting perishable products to market.

The wealth of the Okanagan Valley has also been tapped by other railroad lines. The Kettle Valley Railway was the first to be built in the southern part of the Valley. It was incorporated by a Dominion statute dated May 23rd, 1901. By June, 1903, a short stretch of about 22 miles was completed between Lynch Creek and Carson, but the railroad was not opened nor running into Penticton until 1915. On October 1st, 1912, it was leased to the Canadian Pacific Railway for a term of 999 years, the latter agreeing to pay interest on the capital stock and on all outstanding loans. On October 31st, 1927, these amounted to $1,596,000.

A third railroad was built in 1923, when the Canadian National Railway started the construction of a side line into the Valley. This line left the main one at Kamloops and ran

from there to Armstrong over its own track. From Armstrong to Vernon it is still using the Canadian Pacific Railway line, but from Vernon it sends two branches, one to Kelowna and the other to Lumby. The line was completed in August, 1925, and has a mileage of 135 miles. Like the other two railroads, it has played its part in the penetration of the Valley, especially by opening up the rich agricultural and timber-producing area around Lumby.

At the present time, further railroad development is being carried on by the construction by the Canadian Pacific Railway of a ten-mile line to connect the north and south ends of Dog Lake. This is being built to eliminate the barge service on the lake, and a sum in the neighborhood of $600,000 is being expended for the purpose. The development is of importance to the Oliver people for it means all year round service which will enable southern cooperatives to build cold storage plants and thus control their winter fruit shipping.

With the improved means of transportation, better postal facilities have also been established in the Valley. At first the nearest post-office was at Ducks, a settlement located about 16 miles west from Kamloops. When the stage ran to Okanagan Mission in the seventies, a semi-monthly mail service was started. In 1881, a mail contract for four years was awarded to J.B. Leighton, who was to give weekly service from Cache Creek to Okanagan Mission. From that place, Joe Brent carried the mail once a week by pack train down the west side of Okanagan Lake, calling at the Ellis ranch, and then going on south to Keremeos and Osoyoos. In order to
accomodate the settlers in the northern end of the Valley, Cornelius O'Keefe opened a post-office in 1872 at the head of Okanagan Lake. Later, Luc Girouard became post-master, and the settlers called for their mail at his cabin in south Vernon. About 1890 a quicker mail route was obtained for Penticton when the Great Northern Railway brought the mail as far as Oroville. From there the bags were taken as far as Keremeos on a four-horse stage, and from that place were brought to the Ellis ranch on a carriole driven by a half-breed named Marcel.

At Enderby, the post-office was opened on November 1st, 1887, with Oliver Harvey as postmaster. In 1881, the post-office at Lansdowne was opened by George Wallace, and although the village was moved in 1891, the office was kept open until July 20th, 1908. From 1896 until that time, Dr. E.J. Offerhaus was in charge.

With the completion of the Shuswap & Okanagan Railway in 1892, the mail delivery to the Valley was more regular than it had been previously. At first three trips a week were made, but later daily trips were started. To-day there are post-offices in all the cities of the Valley, and rural deliveries are operated in connection with them.

During these years, education was developing, and in many cases school districts were established long before cities were incorporated. The first school in the Valley was built by the Oblate priests at the Mission, early in the sixties, and it was attended by all the white children in the district. In July, 1874, the Okanagan School District was established at the Mission, and included five square miles
of land. The government granted William Smithson $750 for his dwelling-house which was to be used as a school, and he donated one acre of land for the site. Although everything was in readiness, it was some time before the services of a teacher could be secured. Finally, Alexander McKenzie of Pictou County, Nova Scotia, came walking into the Valley, and his credentials entitled him to a temporary certificate and enabled him to commence teaching at once. But it was not until December 20th, 1875, that he was engaged at a salary of $60 per month. The trustees were William Smithson, Frederick Brent, and Joseph Christian. This school was the centre of education for the Valley, and boys and girls came all the way from the Similkameen and even from the upper end of the Valley to attend it. They lived with the different ranchers in the district and returned home in the holidays.

The second public school in the Valley was at Vernon where in 1883 the Priest's Valley School District was established, embracing Townships 6, 8, and 9. The first school house was built at a cost of $625 by Angus McDonald and stood south of Long Lake Creek and east of the old Mission road. It was opened on October 2nd, 1883, with Miss Sophia C. Johnson (now Mrs. Price Ellison) in charge, and with E.J. Tronson, Alfred McNeil and Price Ellison as trustees. During the following March the building was burned and for a long time the lock-up in De Laurier's field served as a school-house. The Second building was constructed on Coldstream Street by

E.L. Morand at a cost of $500. In 1893 a third school-house was erected. This was the brick building on Coldstream Street which is now used for several classes of the public school, and which was built by T.E. Crowell for $5,087.

In 1884, a school was established in the northern end of the Valley at Lansdowne. Daniel Rabbitt was employed as school-master, and for a while he taught week about at Lansdowne and Armstrong. The following year, a school-house was erected at Armstrong, and the first trustees were Captain Cummings, Mr. Ehmke, and Donald Graham. As in the case of Okanagan Mission, children were brought in from the outside and boarded to make the number required to establish a school district.

In the southern part of the Valley, schools were started in a similar manner, and in the course of time, high schools were built. Of late years there has been a movement on foot to establish Junior High Schools, and the distinction of being the first district in the Province to start one goes to the Municipality of Penticton where this work began in September 1926, under the supervision of Principal A.S. Matheson (now of the University Hill School, Vancouver).

Another important educational development is the movement towards consolidation of city and rural schools. This began in 1920, when the graded school at Armstrong was consolidated with eight rural school of the adjoining

(23) Donald Graham, "Journal", .
municipality of Spallumcheen. The children were gathered from the country-side in motor trucks and were brought to the one centre where they received the benefits of individual attention from the teachers, and of better methods of teaching from experienced workers. In 1924 the Vernon City district and the adjoining rural district of Okanagan Landing were also consolidated, and a step in the same direction was taken by the school board of the rural municipality of Penticton when they closed the Poplar Grove School and provided transportation to the Ellis and Shatford schools in the city. The success with which these undertakings met, led to arrangements being made the following year to convey Glenmore school pupils to the Kelowna school. Although the cost of these systems is heavy and a difficulty exists in securing adequate transportation, yet in each case the benefits obtained by the pupils in their schooling far offset the drawbacks.

Existing conditions in the Okanagan Valley have also been improved by the installation of telegraph and telephone service. Electric power has also been obtained by the development of natural waterfalls. In this connection, the largest project was undertaken in 1928, when Shuswap Falls (25 miles east from Vernon) were harnessed by the West Canadian Hydro Electric Corporation Limited. This company is financed by American capital, and at a cost of over $1,000,000 it has built a dam and power house at the Falls, which supply sufficient electric power to satisfy the requirements of the cities of Vernon, Armstrong, Enderby and Salmon Arm.

The Okanagan Valley of to-day is therefore much
different from the Valley of fifty years ago--modern towns have developed on the sites of small country villages; motor roads have superceded pack-trails; well-equipped passenger and freight boats have replaced rowboats on Okanagan Lake; daily communication with the outside world is provided by means of several railroad lines; provision is made for the education of the children; and modern conveniences are provided for the settlers. In surveying the period, one is impressed with the progress which has been made.
Chapter 9.
The Outlook for the Future.

From the foregoing discussion, it will be seen that the industries of the Okanagan Valley have evolved through the gradual exploitation of certain natural advantages. For example, the long chain of lakes and rivers offered a natural highway and trade route for the fur-traders through the interior of British Columbia, and the mineral wealth in the creek-beds stimulated the growth of settlement in the Valley. The presence of a luxuriant growth of bunch-grass provided the basis for cattle-raising, and the fertile prairies supplied the medium for wheat-growing. Similarly, excellent climatic and soil conditions on the benchlands afforded the means for the production of tree-fruits, and the physical conditions on the bottom lands made possible the growing of vine-fruits and vegetables. Finally, the possession of large stands of timber fostered the lumber industry.

These industries have succeeded one another as the settlers have realized the relative importance of the natural resources, and agriculture has taken the front rank because of the adaptability of certain crops to the physical conditions. At the present time, tree-fruit growing is the most important industry, as it has a comparative advantage in the area. Soil and climatic conditions provide the factors necessary for the production of fruit of splendid quality in large quantities. But recalling the dictum that "history repeats itself", one reflects that cattle-raising and wheat-growing were also well
adapted to the Valley but declined, and wonders if fruit-growing is likely to be permanent, or if it in turn will yield place to another industry.

The answer to this question depends greatly, of course, on the satisfactory solution of the marketing problems. The Okanagan Valley does possess certain natural advantages for the production of fruit, but it also has disadvantages in marketing. In the first place, it is shouldered with a great surplus of fruit, which is too large to be consumed in British Columbia, the Prairie provinces, or the rest of Canada. In other words, under unfavourable conditions, a huge supply of the commodity must be disposed of in the most advantageous manner in order that the growers may obtain the means of subsistence.

Of necessity, the Okanagan Valley has turned in the past to cooperation as a method of effecting successful distribution of the product. Voluntary cooperation, as a measure of relief has been less successful than was hoped. Five years ago the Associated Growers of British Columbia had a membership of 80% of the growers, now it has only 52%. In short, the interests of one group of growers run contrary to the interests of another group, and neither is willing to bury the axe in an attempt at mutually assisting one another. In addition to this, the Produce Marketing Act which was introduced as a more effective means of strengthening the industry, has within the last few weeks been declared unconstitutional by the Supreme Court of Canada. In future, therefore, the Provincial Parliament may not interfere with
inter-provincial trading and levies may not be exacted for the purpose of controlling marketing of produce. At present conditions are in a state of flux, and there will be either a return to free competition, with each grower disposing of his produce to the best of his ability, or compulsory cooperative marketing, with every grower selling through one central agency.

The outcome is difficult to predict. The Okanagan Valley has already suffered during a period when there was no form of organized shipping or marketing. On the other hand, there is lack of unanimity among the fruit-growers as to the desirability of a central selling agency, and grave doubt of the legislature's constitutional ability to enact such legislation. To overcome the latter feature, it is proposed that the law shall not come into effect until next year, and then only if two conditions are satisfied—(a) that two-thirds of the growers vote for it by plebiscite, and (b) that in the meantime it shall be pronounced constitutional by the courts. Meanwhile, the battle continues between the welfare on the individual on the one hand, and the welfare of the group on the other.

Thus as the production of fruit has increased, the marketing problem has been aggravated. If a satisfactory solution for it is not revealed during the next few years, it is safe to foretell the decline of the industry. Lately, many orchards have been neglected, and very few new ones have been planted. At the same time, many have been abandoned. For example, of the 870 returned soldiers who since 1920 obtained loans under the Soldier Settlement Act and started farming in
the Okanagan Valley, 430 have allowed their property to revert to the Board.

In spite of the fact that farms are being abandoned, the price of land still remains high and the burden of paying for it, reduces the grower's power of financing his crop. In 1929, the 1,000 settlers on the South Okanagan Irrigation Project were in such straitened circumstances that the Tolmie Government had to come to their assistance and revalue the land. The average price of unimproved land in the district of Oliver is still as high as $60 per acre.

In many cases the land vacated is of a low grade which is unsuitable for the production of fruit. In this case, it is now being used to grow intensive vegetable and vine-fruit crops, or to provide pasture for dairy cows. Fruit-growing is therefore being centred on land which is more suitable for its production, and the lower grades are witnessing a development along the lines of mixed farming, which promises to expand as new stretches on the hillsides are brought into cultivation. The amount of land at present cultivated compared with the amount lying unused is comparatively small. What does remain, however, in most cases requires irrigation before it will mature crops, and until that is provided there can be no greater development. Meanwhile, there is a decided tendency, especially in the northern part of the Valley where there is abundant rainfall, for mixed farming to be prosecuted to a greater extent than was formerly the case.

Much of this farming is being carried on by new settlers who have arrived in the Valley during the past five

(1) Figures obtained from Col. G.C. Johnston, Superintendent, Soldier's Settlement Board, Vernon, B.C.
or six years. These are Southern Europeans, generally Ukranians, who have settled around Enderby, Armstrong and Vernon. They are generally tenant farmers, but in some cases they have bought land on long-term payments. Unlike many of the older growers, they realize a certain amount of profit because of the exploitation of family labor and the low standards of living, which reduce their cost of production below that of other farmers. Besides Ukranians, settlements of other foreigners have increased recently. Near Vernon, a Japanese colony is farming on the benches on the west side of Okanagan Lake, and many Chinese own land at the head of the Lake and on the Coldstream. At Kelowna there are also some Japanese and Hindus engaged in agriculture.

This changing character of the population is probably one of the most striking of the recent developments in the Valley. Ten years ago (1921) of the 35,698 people resident in the Okanagan, 26,773 were of British origin, 93% of the total number being literate and many graduate of British universities. In addition to being well educated, these settlers had a certain income which made them independent. When one considers the fact that the population of the Okanagan Valley has remained practically stationary during the last decade, in spite of the immigration of foreigners, one realizes how many of the British settlers have relinquished their land. In other words, the best type of inhabitant is migrating to

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(2) Sixth Census of Canada, 1921, Bulletin 11, "Origins of People", p. 6, Table 2. Until the seventh census is completed this fall, no figures are available of the number of foreigners in the Valley at the present time.
the city, and his place is being taken by another type which is assimilated only with difficulty, and which generally arrives penniless and must be assisted during two or three years while it obtains a foothold.

These, being the present conditions, what may be said of the future of the Okanagan Valley? It is too early to decide whether fruit-growing will be superceded by mixed farming, although the outlook at present seems to warrant that belief. One thing is certain, however. In future, fruit-growing will be centred in the hands of the most efficient farmers, who have the best grades of land. Production will therefore be increased, and consequently the cost per acre decreased, with the result that greater profits will accrue to the grower, and the industry will be placed on a sounder basis. It is also likely that the present struggle will result in the evolution of better marketing policies, in which case fruit-growing will be more remunerative than in the past. Prosperous times will also ensue as more scientific methods of production and marketing are adopted. This will attract settlers who have a certain amount of capital in reserve and who are too nervous to invest in the Valley at present. At the same time, there will be an emigration of the sub-marginal farmers. In fact, the case of the "survival of the fittest" should ultimately result in bringing prosperity to the Okanagan Valley.
## APPENDIX A.

### 1. Some Early Pre-emption Records in the Okanagan Valley.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Place</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>August 27th,</td>
<td>James Phillips</td>
<td>Similkameen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1860</td>
<td>George Barnet</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;  &quot; 20th, &quot;</td>
<td>J.F. Allison</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;  &quot;  &quot;</td>
<td>John MacDonnell</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24th, &quot;</td>
<td>John MacDonnell</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;  &quot;  &quot;</td>
<td>James Orr</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sept. 5th, &quot;</td>
<td>Charles Good</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15th, &quot;</td>
<td>John Riley</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;  &quot;  &quot;</td>
<td>Higman &amp; Johnson</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20th, &quot;</td>
<td>Richard Connor</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;  &quot;  &quot;</td>
<td>Col. Moody</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28th, &quot;</td>
<td>W. McCall</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23rd, &quot;</td>
<td>John Cover</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nov. 3rd, &quot;</td>
<td>W. Moberly</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;  &quot; 4th, &quot;</td>
<td>Edgar Dewdney</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;  &quot;  &quot;</td>
<td>Capt. Suard</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;  &quot;  &quot;</td>
<td>Edgar Dewdney</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
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<tr>
<td>&quot;  &quot;  &quot;</td>
<td>Walter Moberly</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;  &quot;  &quot;</td>
<td>Hudson's Bay Company</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20th, &quot;</td>
<td>Louis Marshall</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;  &quot; 10th, &quot;</td>
<td>W. Young</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1861</td>
<td>P. O'Reilly</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;  &quot; 28th, &quot;</td>
<td>F. Higman</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
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<tr>
<td>Mar. 7th, &quot;</td>
<td>John S. Macdonnell</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15th, &quot;</td>
<td>A. Beavon</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
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<tr>
<td>April 1st, 1866</td>
<td>Roderick McLean (purchase)</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>July 31st, &quot;</td>
<td>Chas. A. Vernon</td>
<td>Priest's Valley</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aug. 31st, &quot;</td>
<td>Forbes G. Vernon</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
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<tr>
<td>&quot;  &quot;  &quot;</td>
<td>(purchase)</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
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<tr>
<td>April 6th, 1867</td>
<td>Thomas Ellis</td>
<td>Penticton</td>
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<tr>
<td>&quot;  &quot;  &quot;</td>
<td>A. MacFarland</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
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<tr>
<td>May 18th, &quot;</td>
<td>G.W. Simpson</td>
<td>Osoyoos</td>
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<tr>
<td>&quot;  &quot;  &quot;</td>
<td>W. H. Lowe</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sept. 1st, &quot;</td>
<td>Luc Girouard</td>
<td>Priest's Valley</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nov. 26th, &quot;</td>
<td>W. Lacerte</td>
<td>Mission</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>July 11th, 1868</td>
<td>E.J. Tronson</td>
<td>Priest's Valley</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;  &quot; 25th, &quot;</td>
<td>C. O'Keefe</td>
<td>Head of Lake</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;  &quot;  &quot;</td>
<td>William Coulter</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;  &quot;  &quot;</td>
<td>Thomas Greenhow</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mar. 2nd, 1869</td>
<td>James Jameson</td>
<td>Mission</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>May 24th, &quot;</td>
<td>C.F. Houghton</td>
<td>Swan Lake</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aug. 1st, &quot;</td>
<td>J.C. Haynes</td>
<td>Osoyoos (1)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(1) Third Report Okanagan Historical Society, Vernon, 1929, p. 35.
2.

**Okanagan Polling Division, 1874.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Residence</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bessil, Peter</td>
<td>Mission Valley</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Blondeau, Jules</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fursteneau, E.M.</td>
<td>Spallumcheen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gansfell, Dorset</td>
<td>Okanagan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Herman, John Adam</td>
<td>Mission Valley</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lambert, Stephen</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lawrence, Theodore</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>McDougall, John</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>McMillan, Charles</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Postill, Alfred</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Versal, Louis</td>
<td>&quot; (2)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Okanagan Polling Division, 1876.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Residence</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Andrew, Joseph</td>
<td>Spellamacheen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ashton, Charles</td>
<td>Okanagan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Besset, Peter</td>
<td>Okanagan Mission</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Blondeau, Jules</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brent, Frederick</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brown, Andrew</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bucherie, Isadore</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Christian, Joseph</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Christian, Louis</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Christian, Thomas</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dennis, Pierre</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Donaldson, William</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Duteau, Vincent</td>
<td>Okanagan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Furstenau, E.M.</td>
<td>Spellamacheen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ganfells, Dosete</td>
<td>Okanagan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Girouard, Luc</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Greenhow, Thomas</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Herman, John A.</td>
<td>Spellamacheen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jones, Thomas</td>
<td>Okanagan Mission</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lacerte, William</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lambert, Stephen</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lawson, Charles</td>
<td>Okanagan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lawrence, Theodore</td>
<td>Okanagan Mission</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LeQuime, Eli</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LeMeurs, Joseph</td>
<td>Spellamacheen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lumby, Moses</td>
<td>Okanagan Mission</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>McDougall, John</td>
<td>Okanagan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>McNeill, Alfred</td>
<td>Okanagan Mission</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Moore, J.D.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ortolan, Francois</td>
<td>Okanagan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>O'Keefe, Cornelius</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Phillips, John</td>
<td>Okanagan Mission</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Postill, Alfred</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Simpson, George</td>
<td>Okanagan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tronson, Edward J.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vernon, Forbes George</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vernon, Charles A.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Verselle, Louis</td>
<td>Okanagan Mission</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Whelan, George</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wood, Thomas</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wichers, Herman</td>
<td>Spellamacheen (3)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(3) Lists of Voters in the Several Electoral Districts in British Columbia, in force on the 1st day of September, 1876, Victoria, Government Printer, 1876.
APPENDIX B.

1.
Animals Driven from Oregon to Cariboo through the Okanagan Valley, January 1st, 1861 to June 30th, 1864.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Cattle</th>
<th>Sheep</th>
<th>Horses</th>
<th>Mules</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1861</td>
<td>Jan. 1st. to Oct. 19th.</td>
<td>625</td>
<td>356</td>
<td>92</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1862</td>
<td>Oct. 20, 1861 to Apr. 30.</td>
<td>256</td>
<td>177</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>May 1st. to May 31st.</td>
<td>681</td>
<td>963</td>
<td>203</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>June 1st. to June 30th.</td>
<td>488</td>
<td>1065</td>
<td>133</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>July 1st. to July 31st.</td>
<td>1532</td>
<td>400</td>
<td>461</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Aug. 1st. to Aug. 31st.</td>
<td>163</td>
<td>646</td>
<td>141</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Sept. 1st. to Sept. 30th.</td>
<td>958</td>
<td>172</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Oct. 1st. to Oct. 31st.</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>325</td>
<td>54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Nov. 1st. to Nov. 31st.</td>
<td>67</td>
<td>19</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Dec. 1st. to Dec. 31st.</td>
<td>12</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1863</td>
<td>Mar. 1st. to March 31st.</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>53</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>April 1st to April 30th.</td>
<td>322</td>
<td>1661</td>
<td>86</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>June 1st to June 30th.</td>
<td>343</td>
<td>295</td>
<td>82</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>July 1st. to July 31st.</td>
<td>33</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Aug. 1st. to Aug. 31st.</td>
<td>446</td>
<td>149</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Sept. 1st. to Sept. 30th.</td>
<td>188</td>
<td>45</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Oct. 1st. to Oct. 31st.</td>
<td>14</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Nov. 1st. to Nov. 30th.</td>
<td>43</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1864</td>
<td>Jan., Feb., March</td>
<td>472</td>
<td>23</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>April 1st. to April 30th.</td>
<td>542</td>
<td>53</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>May 1st. to May 31st.</td>
<td>106</td>
<td>40</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>June 1st. to June 30th.</td>
<td>545</td>
<td>143</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>TOTAL.....</td>
<td>7,720</td>
<td>1,371</td>
<td>5,378</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(4) John C. Haynes to W.A.G. Young, October 19th, 1861 to June 30th, 1864.
2.

Proportion of Land Devoted to Cattle-Ranching, 1892.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Place</th>
<th>Percentage of land used as pasture (in %)</th>
<th>Total number of cattle</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Penticton</td>
<td>82%</td>
<td>(5)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kelowna</td>
<td>70%</td>
<td>(6)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vernon</td>
<td>61(\frac{1}{4})%</td>
<td>(7)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3.

Proportion of Land Devoted to Cattle-Ranching, 1893.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Place</th>
<th>Total amount of land - acres</th>
<th>Amount used as pasture</th>
<th>Number of Settlers</th>
<th>Number of Cattle</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Osoyoos to Rock Creek</td>
<td>35,621</td>
<td>25,655</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>2,301</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Keremeos</td>
<td>14,262</td>
<td>8,030</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>2,096</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Penticton</td>
<td>18,736</td>
<td>13,899</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>2,557</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Okanagan Mission</td>
<td>52,393</td>
<td>35,599</td>
<td>66</td>
<td>5,002</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vernon</td>
<td>97,000</td>
<td>45,000</td>
<td>(not given)</td>
<td>4,100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spallumcheen</td>
<td>75,615</td>
<td>10,348</td>
<td>160</td>
<td>3,700</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

TOTAL: 293,527 138,531 19,756

(6) Ibid, p. 736
(7) Ibid, p. 741
(9) Report of the Minister of Agriculture 1893, Victoria, 1894, p. 1604.
(10) Ibid.
(11) Ibid, p. 1611
(14) Ibid, p. 1618.
APPENDIX C.

1.

Increase in orchard acreage in the Okanagan 1891--1909

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Total Orchard Acreage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1891</td>
<td>6,431</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1901</td>
<td>7,430</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1904</td>
<td>13,430</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1905</td>
<td>29,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1906</td>
<td>42,285</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1909</td>
<td>100,000 (15)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2.

Growth in the Production of Apples 1913-1930.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Boxes of Apples</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1913</td>
<td>465,412</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1914</td>
<td>684,840</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1915</td>
<td>857,859</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1916</td>
<td>1,289,960</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1917</td>
<td>1,502,921</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1918</td>
<td>1,343,480</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1919</td>
<td>2,524,132</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1920</td>
<td>1,513,623</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1921</td>
<td>3,131,207</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1922</td>
<td>3,186,525</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1923</td>
<td>3,338,053</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1924</td>
<td>2,546,723</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1925</td>
<td>2,798,020</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1926</td>
<td>3,935,572</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1927</td>
<td>3,238,476</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1928</td>
<td>4,370,619</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1929</td>
<td>3,075,129</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1930</td>
<td>4,036,125 (16)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(15) Bureau of Provincial Information, Bulletin 10, Victoria, 1909, p. 21
3. Fruit Production in the Okanagan, 1913 and 1928.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Kind</th>
<th>Packages, 1913</th>
<th>Packages, 1928</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Apples</td>
<td>268,792</td>
<td>2,449,578</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Apricots</td>
<td>4,851</td>
<td>69,676</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cantaloups</td>
<td></td>
<td>16,916</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cherries</td>
<td>10,520</td>
<td>75,657</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Crab-apples</td>
<td></td>
<td>132,010</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pears</td>
<td>9,347</td>
<td>207,090</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Peaches</td>
<td>118,770</td>
<td>143,968</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plums</td>
<td>47,105</td>
<td>94,352</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prunes</td>
<td>68,818 (17)</td>
<td>169,171 (18)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(17) Agricultural Statistics, Victoria, 1913, p. 100.
(18) Report of the Minister of Agriculture 1928, Victoria, 1929, p. 44.
### APPENDIX D.

**Vegetable Production, Vernon 1925--1929.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Produce</th>
<th>1925</th>
<th>1926</th>
<th>1927</th>
<th>1928</th>
<th>1929</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Crates:</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tomatoes</td>
<td>28,370</td>
<td>37,992</td>
<td>38,769</td>
<td>63,899</td>
<td>67,617</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cucumbers</td>
<td>8,776</td>
<td>28,634</td>
<td>36,733</td>
<td>40,902</td>
<td>54,265</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Tons:</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Onions</td>
<td>3,693</td>
<td>1,488</td>
<td>2,510</td>
<td>3,038</td>
<td>2,808</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cabbage</td>
<td>153</td>
<td>238</td>
<td>130</td>
<td>280</td>
<td>318</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Potatoes</td>
<td>1,290</td>
<td>1,896</td>
<td>1,369</td>
<td>1,200</td>
<td>1,094</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Beets</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Carrots</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>128</td>
<td>68</td>
<td>139</td>
<td>226</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Parsnips</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Turnips</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Squashes, Pumpkin</td>
<td>62</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>92</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In addition there were 90 tons of cannery tomatoes in 1928; 1,108 tons in 1929.

Approximate net weight per box, tomatoes 20 lbs; cucumbers, 18 lbs. (19)

---

(19) "Vernon News", October 3Cth, 1930.
APPENDIX E.

1.

Production of Refined Dairy Products in the Okanagan Valley 1925-1929.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Butter Quantity</th>
<th>Butter Value</th>
<th>Cheese Quantity</th>
<th>Cheese Value</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1925</td>
<td>922,044</td>
<td>$376,830</td>
<td>20,524</td>
<td>$33,036</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1926</td>
<td>1,097,151</td>
<td>429,470</td>
<td>21,550</td>
<td>34,666</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1927</td>
<td>1,177,739</td>
<td>486,390</td>
<td>27,644</td>
<td>43,179</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1928</td>
<td>1,092,666</td>
<td>454,718</td>
<td>34,051</td>
<td>49,952</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1929</td>
<td>1,176,151</td>
<td>486,234</td>
<td>38,103</td>
<td>57,965</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

TOTAL........ 4,625,750 $2,233,642 141,852 $219,798

2.

Production of Butter in the Okanagan Valley During 1930

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Pounds</th>
<th>Value</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Kelowna Creamery Limited</td>
<td>67,582</td>
<td>$30,269</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Keremeos Creamery</td>
<td>33,126</td>
<td>13,234</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Okanagan Valley Cooperative Creamery Association (Enderby)</td>
<td>229,373</td>
<td>91,749</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Okanagan Valley Cooperative Creamery Association (Vernon)</td>
<td>424,107</td>
<td>169,643</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Penticton Purity Products Ltd.</td>
<td>18,218</td>
<td>8,380</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Valley Dairy</td>
<td>9,531</td>
<td>3,940</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

TOTAL............ 782,037 $287,315

(20) Agricultural Statistics 1929, Victoria, 1936, p. 27
(21) Information obtained from A.H. Rivé, Dairy Commissioner, Victoria.
General Books:


Begg, Alexander, "History of British Columbia from its Earliest Discovery to the Present Time", Toronto, W. Briggs, 1894.


Cox, Ross, "The Columbia River; or Scenes and Adventures during a Residence of Six Years on the Western Side of the Rocky Mountains, among Various tribes of Indians Hitherto Unknown, Together with a Journey across the American Continent", London, 1832.


Dunn, John,  
"History of the Oregon Territory and British North-America Fur trade; with an Account of the Habits and Customs of the principal Native Tribes on the Northern Continent", London, Edwards & Hughes, 1846.

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