FOLK HISTORY IN A SMALL CANADIAN COMMUNITY

by

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ABSTRACT

This is a study of folk history in Yale, British Columbia, a small community with a population that is part of western Canadian society. Folk history, which encompasses those aspects of a society's past which are socially and intellectually important to its members, and the organization and social use of knowledge of the past within the society, has been studied in some non-literate societies, but never in a literate society. In carrying out this study I have concentrated on elucidating the features of Yale's past considered significant by residents of Yale, the characteristics and qualifications of custodians of knowledge of the past, and the social contexts of transmission of such knowledge.

In societies without writing, history is closely integrated with the identity of the social group. Custodians of knowledge of the past are instructed formally or informally, and exercise their knowledge by virtue of this instruction and of other characteristics, such as position in the social structure or relatively advanced age. History in such societies is highly political in content and function.

The principal vehicle for oral transmission of knowledge of the past in literate societies has been assumed to be the legend but the characteristics of custodians of knowledge and the social contexts of transmission have not been investigated. Orally transmitted knowledge of history in Yale incorporates some of the characteristics of history in non-literate societies and some of the characteristics of North American folklore, but
differs from both in important ways. The legend, in the sense of a narrative which is believed and has a knowable historic setting exists, at least ideally, among the genres of folklore to be found in Yale. However, I have not concentrated on a description or analysis of this or other genres.

The people of Yale are highly conscious of the importance of the community's history and history is closely related to the identity of the community. There are custodians of knowledge of history, old-timers, who as a rule have not been instructed formally by previous old-timers, but are expected to have knowledge and to dispense it by virtue of characteristics such as advanced age, birth in Yale, long residence in the community and the possession of artifacts and books.

There are three types of people who participate in Yale's folk history: outsiders who come to Yale with an amateur or professional interest in the past, and constitute the principal audiences for old-timers' knowledge, the old-timers, and other people of Yale, whose participation in history consists of spontaneous participation in community festivals in which historical themes are interpreted freely, and in being aware of landmarks and artifacts with historic significance.

There is no public occasion during which old-timers transmit their knowledge of the past to other residents of Yale. Generally the knowledge of old-timers is not fully known to the people of Yale and is formally transmitted only to outsiders, although old-timers may be consulted by Yale people if specific need arises, and informal transmission of knowledge occurs in the course of work, travel and the meetings of friends and acquaintances at community festivals. Story-telling sessions are comparatively rare.
History in Yale is not political in content or in function. Old-timers do not exercise political power by virtue of their status as old-timers and political activity is based on different information; politically active people are generally persons who are not old-timers.

Formal written history is a part of the culture of the people of Yale, and they are aware of it. Formal histories of Yale can be based on fairly rich documentation, especially for several specific periods of intense activity during the nineteenth century. The folk history of the community overlaps to some extent with formal history, especially with regard to the themes of Yale's development and decline. Books, both scholarly and popular publications, are seen as sources or potential sources of knowledge by old-timers, but they are more frequently used as symbols of knowledge. The accumulated records on which written history is based are not accessible to most Yale people, and folk history is an activity separate from formal history.
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Communities Along the Fraser River

Scale - 10 miles to 1 inch

Adapted from map drawn by Surveys and Mapping Branch, Victoria, 1971
INTRODUCTION

This thesis is an exploration of some aspects of folk history in Yale, British Columbia, a small community with a population that constitutes part of literate western Canadian society. In general, folk history consists of those features of a society's past which are considered important, socially and intellectually, by the members of the society. In the course of this work I have isolated those features of Yale's past which those who live there find significant.

There have been analyses of the organization and social use of knowledge of the past in non-literate societies, but for literate societies, and especially for specific communities with a literate population, there has been no study of the operation of folk history in social life. Collections have been made of legends, generally considered the principal vehicle for the oral transmission of knowledge of the past in literate communities, but there is debate among folklorists about the characteristics that define the legend as a genre.

In this thesis I have presented some material collected in Yale, but I have not discussed the genres of oral literature to be found in the community. I have concentrated on elucidating the nature of the community's past considered important by the people of Yale, the identity, qualifications and functions of those who act as custodians of information about the past, and the social contexts of transmission of this information.
CHAPTER I

KNOWLEDGE OF THE PAST

Non-Literate Societies

The purpose of this initial chapter is to discuss the characteristics of knowledge of the past, insofar as they are known, in non-literate and literate societies. Anthropologists have long recognized that non-literate peoples place high value on knowledge of the social and religious foundations of their societies and take care that it be passed on from one generation to the next. Knowledge of the past in non-literate societies has been frequently subsumed under the general classification of "myth". Malinowski set out the functions of Trobriand myth in Argonauts of the Western Pacific (Malinowski, 1922) and "Myth in Primitive Psychology" (1954), and while he was extrapolating from his experience in a particular culture, his major generalization that myth serves as a charter for the moral order of a society has been adopted and applied by subsequent generations of anthropologists to other societies differing in a multitude of ways from the Trobrianders of the 1900's.

Although it is organized and presented in different forms, is associated with social units organized in different ways, and contains information bearing on problems of order and identity that vary widely from one society to another, knowledge of the past serves to enable people to order their relations with one another, to provide the members of each history-bearing group with a common identity, and to settle matters of importance...
concerning disparate interests within the society. In some societies, for example those of West Africa (Henige, 1973) and Polynesia (Buck, 1952), consciousness of the past is particularly high. Analysis of the place of the construction and use of history in the social organization and life of such societies have revealed several major characteristics of history in non-literate societies.

Classification of knowledge pertaining to the past varies according to genres of verbal art existing in each culture, but generally there is a distinction between stories which may or may not relate to ancestors or events accomplished, but are told for entertainment, and narratives that incorporate significant features of the past for the social group, and are not told for entertainment, but to elucidate relationships or other matters called into question. These are subject to closer restriction on the manner and occasion of their telling, as well as on the characteristics of those with prerogatives of telling the histories and listening to them.

Historical knowledge is not generally collective, in the sense that it is possessed in an equally active way by all the members of a particular group. In each group the majority of people participate passively in the history of the group, listening on occasions when it is recited, and perhaps able - though not always willing - to recite parts of it themselves when requested by an outsider to do so. Certain members are acknowledged as being capable of transmitting knowledge and as having the social position which allows them to do so.
The acquisition of knowledge is bound closely to the social structure of the society and to the function of knowledge of the past. The education of specialists has ranged from highly formal training, with pre-selection of candidates on the basis of high social rank, insistence on perfect repetition of information imparted by experts in a special school, and fortification by religious sanctions against questioning either the knowledge or the teaching process, as among the Maori (Best, 1924: 65-75), to more casual methods, by which the initiative has come from a would-be specialist, who, seeing a connection in his society between knowledge of the past and authority, has sought out occasions where such knowledge has been used, and, having listened intently, has amplified what he has learned by consulting recognized specialists on points not made clear. The latter, more casual, method of learning was characteristic of specialists among two, otherwise separate, African groups, the Gola (D'Azvedo, 1962) and the Tiv (Bohannon, 1952).

Specialists in historical knowledge, once trained, exercise their knowledge by virtue of social characteristics that extend beyond simple possession of genealogical fact or narratives of migration and settlement. Achievement of the status of elder in the community, or of high status in lineage or clan, may be necessary before one who has acquired knowledge can use it effectively. The use of knowledge by a young man, or one without status, will not meet with social approval or acceptance by other members of the group.
Histories vary in form, but their content is highly political. They incorporate what is significant for the continuation of the history-bearing group, whether that is genealogical information confirming relationships within the group and between groups, and the prerogatives stemming from these, or narratives of migration and settlement that may confirm claims to lands, or validate the relationships between distinct groups living within a particular area.

The interests of groups are not always compatible, and histories are used most frequently in the settlement of disputes. Leach, after observing the use of myth and ritual in the widely differing, and rarely compatible social systems embraced by the Kachin, concluded that myth and ritual, in which he included all knowledge of the past and its formal presentation, constituted a "language of argument" and even a mechanism for disintegration of a society (Leach, 1965: 278). The Gola, recognizing in history a mechanism for promoting either solidarity or dissension, have public truths and private truths. Public truths, representing values which the Gola conceive to be ideal, contribute to the solidarity of the Golas as a whole, and their presentation demands extensive compromise of differences of opinion among groups. But history among the Gola is a political instrument, used for the furtherance of interests of component groups, and these groups have private truths, which often incorporate facts not revealed publicly, and these have as much significance to individual Gola people as the public truths if not more (D'Azevedo, 1962: 34).
The use of knowledge of the past for political purposes in the present renders the talents and social characteristics of the specialist critically important to the community he represents, and also affects the content of the history he reveals. Without the social standing that commands recognition from members of the group and persons outside it, a man may possess knowledge without opportunity to use it effectively. Without knowledge, elders, or representatives of particular groups, may not command respect, and may not be able to exercise control. They will not be able to mediate between disputants, clarify relationships that have become confused, or reinforce the identity of the group. Political necessity may make the content of history fluid (cf. Henige, 1973). Accepted knowledge of the past may also be modified to conform with social situations existing in the present that raise problems demanding practical resolution. This was observed by Bohannon among the Tiv, and the newly confirmed social facts were, in that instance, validated paradoxically by reference to a new genealogy - the old relationships having been modified to fit the new fact by means of a reverse in logic (Bohannon, 1952: 312).

The relationship of history to social structure has implications for the forms of history existing in a culture. In a society with strongly differentiated component groups, e.g., one composed of clans, sub-clans, lineages, each will be distinct in identity and related to the others in formal ways, and each will have a distinct history. Even the history of a sub-clan will differ from histories of component lineages because different features are salient in the history of the larger group. For example, among
the peoples living in the Luapala valley in Africa, there are a number of groups related in this fashion, and a number of histories, but no coherent general history that encompasses and organizes the pasts of all the related people in the valley (Cunnison, 1951: 5).

Histories vary from one society to another with respect to criteria of relevance and canons of historical truth. Conceptualization of time also varies from one society to another, and in societies where the organization of history is complex, from one kind of history to another. Categories of time can be inferred from a corpus of traditions, but in the histories which structure kinship relations the difference between what Westerners conceive of as present and past may be minimized by the continuation of names and relationships. Once established, these are perpetuated and maintained in the current generation. For example, among the Luapala valley peoples, the head of a sub-clan, reciting the exploits of a predecessor, will refer to him in the first person singular, thus merging their personal identities, separated in time, in the identity of the office, which is unchanging (Cunnison 1951: 33).

In this particular valley there are two kinds of history - the personal, coherent histories of clan, sub-clan and house, and impersonal, sporadic, universal histories. These have implicit notions of time that are contradictory (Cunnison 1951: 41), but each person in the society operates with both. The personal histories are not fitted into the time-scale implied by the existence of a universal history. Events in a sub-clan history have a temporal sequence, but each event is seen in relation only to the
other events within that history. Unless an event within a sub-clan history coincides with a major event widely known in the history of the valley as a whole, the sub-clan history sequence is sufficient unto itself. Different groups have different histories; while each immigrant group becomes gradually aware of the events of the valley's history, the group remembers little about the time before it came and its history thus has a different time depth and a different set of internal time sequences from other groups. It is not necessary to record times or epochs unless they have been distinguished by a memorable event. The time, without the event, is meaningless (Cunnison, 1951: 32). The time sense of the universal history, to the extent that it operates at all among the Luapala peoples, is of "a gradual succession of events from a somewhat nebulous and indefinable time, kale sana, long long ago, to a datable and present time" (Cunnison, 1951: 28).

The Gola sense of time is also compartmentalized and various. Genealogies provide a framework in space and time for history presented in narrative form, but genealogies are highly localized, subject to telescoping of generations, and genealogical time can generally be flexible in duration. Since disputes in which historical evidence is introduced as part of the process of settlement involve land claims and necessitate reference to an objective time scale, there are widely known events affecting the Gola and their neighbours which can be used as cross-references for genealogical data. The great rulers and major wars are known, and their temporal relationship to one another remembered (D'Azevedo 1962: 32).
The absence of writing does not inhibit organization and use of knowledge of the past, and exposure to western historiography does not change methods indigenous to non-literate societies immediately or fundamentally, although these cannot survive the destruction of the social structure itself. While the structure of a non-literate society has remained intact, aspects of European systems of writing and dating have been modified and incorporated into existing indigenous systems.

Insofar as the political function of knowledge of the past in such societies is dependent on the capacity of the histories to change in content, the adoption of writing may endanger the system of constructing and using history, and the social structure it reinforces. When Bohannon studied the Tiv, they were beginning to adopt writing as a means of recording genealogical knowledge. Partly this was in response to pressure from government officials, but one man with particularly extensive genealogical knowledge wanted to record it for posterity. Bohannon predicted that this would present serious problems for the persistence of Tiv social organization in the future, for the structuring of social relations in response to current conditions depended on the malleability of genealogies and their subtle modification over time. This would be impossible if it became customary to consult unchanging written records, representing, not a single, proper, state of affairs, but the state of affairs as it existed at the time that the genealogy was written down (Bohannon 1952: 314).
Literate Societies: Formal History

Literate societies have written histories, produced by specialists. In contemporary western society the candidacy of those who become specialists is based partly on self‐election and partly on evaluation by already trained specialists of their qualifications, e.g., academic preparation and intellectual potential. Even though these qualifications are not specifically social, their possession often cannot be divorced from membership in a particular social class or access to wealth. The contemporary western historian's training is formal, but unlike his counterpart in societies without literacy, he is seldom the political representative of the social group to which he belongs. Those who have not been formally trained may also write history in western societies and may command an audience.

It has been said that literacy, accompanied by objectification of the past and the perception of inconsistency between past and present, has made possible the distinction between history and myth. In myth the past is seen as a reflection of and charter for the present; in history the past is seen objectively. (Goody and Watt, 1962–3: p. 321). The interplay of present and past, objectivity and subjectivity is critical to the historian's work and to his own analysis of his work and its purposes. Objective representation of past cultures is an acknowledged ideal but there is recognition among historians that absolute objectivity is not possible. Nonetheless it is considered necessary at all levels of historiography.

The proper evaluation of sources is of paramount importance in the exercise of objective control over research. Written history is based
primarily on written records. The vagaries of memory may be distrusted and
reminiscences accepted fully only when verified by other, written, records.
No form of record is without flaw. Each reflects the biases of the individ­
ual or group which produced it, and each is complete only in certain
aspects. The evaluation of the records themselves depends on the know­
ledge of the past culture which produced them, and the information preserved
in all of the records can, in its totality, provide insight into the signi­
ficance of each kind of record. Manuals of instruction in the evaluation
of sources are basic tools in the training of contemporary western histor­
ians (cf. Shafer, 1969), and an historian's insight into the biases of
the people who produced the records with which he must work can be central
to his whole approach (e.g., Berkhofer, 1969: 118-145).

Objectivity is necessary in working with the sources to an extent
beyond continuous evaluation of the type of data they provide and their
validity. The past culture is to be seen in its own terms and presented
in these terms rather than in the terms of the present culture, i.e., the
one to which the historian belongs. In the writing of history "the tendency
to see the past as a reflection of the present" or to permit present values
to distort perception of the past is to be avoided (Tholfsen, 1967: 250).
One historian whose immediate topic was colonial history has stated empha­
tically:

Every major advance in English historical writing has been due
to the recognition that the assumptions on which the men of a
different time acted are different from our own. (West, 1966: 654).
Time is an important concept for the formal historian. In his work it implies simultaneously a stage in a particular culture and change. "Historical thinking deals with this fundamental characteristic of human existence, being – in-time." (Tholfsen, 1967: 247). Individual people, disparate events, must be related to one another in the context of their time, i.e., the culture to which they belonged. But changes in them must be traced, and the diversity and continuity of cultural characteristics and events over time must be interpreted.

In order to interpret change, the historian requires perspective, in the sense of removal from the context of the events he studies. "The object of any meaningful history is to make some aspect of the past intelligible...to disclose the relationship of events such that they reveal both the issues which were important for those then living and the significance of their outcome for what came after them" (Leff, 1969: 14). In one sense, perspective aids objectivity - removal from the context of events allows one to see the totality of interrelationships among those events and among the people who participated. The historian is freed from the subjectivity that an agent of one or many of the events would have. His vision is broader, and different.

But removal from the social and cultural context in which the events occurred often means not much more than that the historian is a bearer of his own culture. His perspective is rooted in concepts basic to that culture, and from these he is never wholly free. He cannot be. If he were, what he wrote would make no sense to those who read his monographs.
And - a closely related point - interpretations of historical events which gain widespread acceptance in the historian's culture may do so because they reflect beliefs and traditions that are part of that culture, and not necessarily a part of the culture about which he has written. Treatises on such widely divergent subjects as the historical Jesus and the history of the British parliament have been shown to be reflections of the age and values of their authors, rather than of the subjects themselves (Tholfsen, 1967: 251-254).

Historiography varies with culture. Western historiography has changed over time, as the particular cultures influencing Western historiographers have changed. Western historiography and Chinese historiography - both long established, both based on written records, and both controlled by specialists - have, nonetheless, fundamental differences.

The basic difference between myth and history has been said to be that myth presents the past as a charter for the present - past and present are not clearly distinguished - while historiography is a means for elucidation of the differences between past and present (Goody and Watt, loc. cit.). But in Leff's statement that history must be intelligible, a link between past and present, overriding their differences, is necessarily implied. The objectification of the past, and the recognition that past cultures have been fundamentally different from present ones, does not remove the necessity for the explanation of these differences in terms intelligible to members of the historian's culture, nor does it remove the temptation to demonstrate through the use of history, how the present became as it is.
The development of the United States from colony to world power, the progress of British political organization from feudal state to constitutional monarchy are familiar to every North American high school student who studies history, and the concepts of development and progress cannot be separated from the information he is given.

Formal history is even more clearly to be seen as a charter for the present order in the rewriting of history by newly independent nations formerly under colonial rule. Those interested in establishing such nations are aware of the significance of a relevant history. Ajayi, advocating the growth of pan-African nationalism, has called for the African leader to base belief in the future of Africa "on a confident assessment of the achievements of the African in the past." This, in turn, necessitates selection from the total cultural heritage of what is relevant to the present needs of the African (Ajayi, 1966: 612). He acknowledges that where a political unit is composed of a multiplicity of ethnic groups, their diverging traditions may inhibit the use of history as a tool to promote unity, but believes that this drawback can be overcome by concentration only on "such values of the past as the common pan-African experience shows to be valid and relevant to development today" and that an individual's identification can be thus changed from the local group to the Pan-African cause. To drive home his point, he quotes from *Nationalism and Social Communication* by Karl Deutsch (1953: 142).

A person without a memory, an organisation without values or policy, a people without effective tradition...all these no longer steer, but drift. (Ajayi, 1966: 615)
In Indonesia and India nationalist politics have been related closely to reinterpretations of national history. B. Oetomo cites Sukarno as one of the first Indonesians to formulate and make known ideas about Indonesian history and the principal elements of these - a glorious past, a gloomy present, and a bright future - were closely aligned to his revolutionary strategems (Oetomo 1966: 633). This occurred in the 1920's, but while the idea of an Indonesian history had been established in this way, a tradition of critical historiography had not developed. At the time Oetomo originally wrote (1961) Indonesia lacked an historiographic tradition that would demand evaluation of existing sources to discover previously unknown facts and work based on revised interpretations of already known facts (Oetomo 1966: 636). Oetomo's advocacy of such a tradition sprung from a belief that it could provide an understanding of how the present situation in Indonesia developed and that actions in the present and future could be based on such an understanding (Oetomo, 1966: 639).

Indian historiography had its beginnings in reaction to British colonial rule and nineteenth century British historiographers' biased interpretations of Indian history which denied the antiquity of Indian culture and denied that significant inventions could be traced to it. Indian historians, in their turn, concentrated on research in the antiquity of the Vedas, the history of Indian social organization, Indian prehistory and Indian forms of government. British governments and military prowess were belittled (Majumdar 1966: 620-624). The renaming of the Sepoy Mutiny of 1857 the Indian War of Independence is a clue to the extent and fundamental
quality of the reinterpretation. Nonetheless, Indian historians have stressed the importance of cultural history over political or military history. Majumdar has quoted from *A Survey of Indian History* (1947) by Pannikar:

> I do not think it is an exaggeration to say that it was a spiritual adventure for most of us to gain in some measure an understanding of the historical processes which have made us what we are and to evaluate the heritage that has come down to us through five thousand years of development.

Nationalist history has resulted from political reaction. It is an openly acknowledged search for a new charter. V. Monteil, in a declaration of the historian's duty to be objective, has pointed out that the anticolonial nationalist histories can be as deficient in regard to objectivity as the colonial histories they react against, and, he feels, can defeat their own purpose by leaving themselves open to criticism by more objective historians. He is highly critical of several works he considers non-objective, including one by Pannikar, chosen from the writings of African and Asian historians (Monteil, V 1966: 592-593).

In discussing in a general way the social use of historical knowledge, Pocock has distinguished between two kinds of historians: the continuator of tradition and the autonomous interpreter and critic (Pocock, 1961-2: 215). Members of literate societies are accustomed to recognizing both in the single category of historian, but the relationship between the two activities can be an uneasy one. The continuator of tradition is certainly to be found in societies without indigenous written history and in the face of demands for intellectual autonomy and the exercise of independent
criticism by formal historians in literate societies, the oral continuators of tradition, and oral tradition itself, have been tacitly considered without a proper place in literate scholarship. Literate scholars have discounted the value of non-written tradition or folk history, considering it either useless or of strictly limited value for intellectual purposes, or have sought to defend its use as a source of historical data, a stance that results in articles about folk tales validated by documents or archeological remains (Cf. Emmons, 1911, and Pendergast and Meighan, 1959) and analyses of factors contributing to distortion (Cf. McCall, 1964, and Vansina, 1965).

Both kinds of historical activity persist in western scholarship and they are not completely separate. It is considered necessary for historians to continue traditions through elucidation of the past, but not at the expense of critical evaluation of all the data. "Errors" in critical evaluation of sources or interpretation of data may in fact be lapses into folk history.

Literate Societies: Folk History

Members of societies where literacy is universal or nearly so are accustomed to the transmission of information in written form and are aware of written formal history. They have, perhaps, been required to study it in school. Nonetheless oral transmission of information and art persist in literate societies. The genres of oral tradition in modern North American societies are numerous, but only two, legends and experience stories, relate directly to the past. While the concept of legend has been
accepted and used longer and more frequently than the concept of experience stories, neither genre has characteristics that have been clearly defined.

In the following pages I shall discuss the characteristics of legends and experience stories in North America, the characteristics of the people who have been recorded as narrators of oral tradition, the social contexts in which they have gained and passed on their knowledge and the relationship of contemporary oral tradition to literacy. The studies of North American legendry are few and directed either toward definition of the genre or the presentation of a series of texts, occasionally with notes as to the identities of the authors or performers. None incorporates definition, texts and the explication of narrators' performance in a particular social setting. Dorson's *Bloodstoppers and Bearwalkers* comes closest to this, but he does not confine his work to legends, does not present the texts of the legends he has collected as he heard them and he has moved in the course of his work from community to community, so that the characteristics of his informants, the social contexts of their art and the genres within their control can be discerned and brought together fully, only by sifting through the book and abstracting the relevant pieces of information scattered through it. Consequently my comments on the social base of folklore, the general characteristics of narrators and the social contexts of transmission will relate generally to contemporary North American folklore rather than specifically to legends and experience stories.
For the sake of polemic Robert Georges has stated that the commonly accepted characteristics of legend relate to its form, time setting and the quality of belief attached to it. His definition, which he unilaterally adopts as the one he assumes is supported by common usage, and accordingly consent, "a legend is a story or a narrative set in the recent or historical past, that is believed to be true by those by whom and to whom it is communicated" (Georges, 1971:5) is close to Jacob Grimm's definition "a legend is a story that is believed and that is told about a definite (real or fabulous) person, event, or place" (Jason, 1972: 134).

Both of these definitions attach to legend the characteristics of narrative form; both require belief on the part of either teller or hearer, and both give the legend a historic setting. But, as Georges has pointed out, in practice texts presented and accepted as legends may not conform to this definition in every way. Not all legend texts have linguistic markers which distinguish them in the course of transmission from other types of expression. The precise date of the occurrences told of in legends is rarely possible to know. Often a legend is set in a remote, even anti-historical past. The extent to which legends are believed by those who tell them is also difficult to know. Narrators and audience frequently do not affirm belief voluntarily, and in field-work situations it is often impossible or very rude - which amounts to the same thing - to ask. The contexts of transmission often give no clue. Finally, although this is, in important ways, a matter apart from belief, Georges points out that many legends are impossible to prove or disprove through recourse to external evidence (Georges, 1971: 10-15).
The quality of belief is not easy to explore or define. Dégh, who has carried out research on urban legends, and has published an article entitled "The 'Belief Legend' in Modern Society" (Dégh, 1971), has stated that the narrator of these legends may believe them consciously or unconsciously or not at all. The indefinite nature of belief does not interfere with the point of telling the legend, which is to communicate a message (Dégh, 1971: 67). But belief in the truth of the legend by the audience is enhanced by other characteristics of the modern legend: "roughness, seemingly poor composition, the mixing of story motifs and everyday facts" (Dégh, 1971: 67).

The indefinite quality of belief is not restricted to oral tradition in literate societies. It was part of Firth's experience in Tikopia:

...of the tales which in general could be classified as "myth", some were probably believed to be true by all Tikopia at the time I collected them; some were believed to be true by one party and very definitely said to be untrue by others; some were believed to be true by my informants when I first collected them and said to be untrue by them a generation later; and some were treated as being possibly true, possibly not - as being simply "a tale that is told" (Firth, 1961: 7).

In commenting on Mexican legendry Paredes maintains support for the characteristics of narrative form and historic or pseudohistoric setting, while aware of criticism by structuralists as students of process. He does point out that there has been no research to determine whether or not the term "legend" identifies a particular kind of folk narrative from the viewpoint of structure or narrative performance (Paredes, 1971: 97). With some exceptions, (Cf. Labov and Waletzky, 1967) the structural characteristics of narrative form commonly employed by speakers of English has not
been studied. The relationship of the narrative as it is defined in the literary sense to genres of verbal behaviour among speakers of North American languages has not been clearly defined. That there may be some differences between the literary narrative and its oral counterpart is apparent from the confusion. When these genres are more clearly defined the structural characteristics of the legend as a form of verbal art will undoubtedly be clearer.

The cloudy issues of belief and the relationship of the legend to the past both seem to relate to the legend's message. The legend is relevant in the present; otherwise it would not be told. The absence of definite affirmation of belief does not interfere with the message—indeed, it may enhance the communication, for with belief not completely affirmed, or acknowledged only tacitly, potential dispute may never occur. A community's relationship to its legends is closely involved with its relationship to its past. In the telling of a legend a past is invoked. In a transient, youthful community, it may be an uncertain, indefinite past. And in a community where the past is the symbol of the community's identity the attachment of a legend to the past may be a symbolic way of stating the legend's importance. There is no need in either case for precise dating or definition.

Other analysis and comments directed at North American legends have yielded remarks about their variety—the lack of standardized versions even within a small community (Halpert, 1971: 48-49), their immediate and ephemeral nature—events within the last few years can generate a
legend; within the next few years it may fall into disuse (Beck, 1971: 121) - and the restriction of each to a small geographic area. Legends are local, when they are strictly within oral tradition (Beck, 1971: 131). Finally, to return to Dégh's analysis, the legends she studied were fragmentary, incomplete in form, perhaps because the essentials were known and the social setting of their transmission did not demand complete recitation regardless of that. The setting tended to be communal, with participants in legend sessions pooling pieces of knowledge (Dégh, 1971: 61-63).

As a genre the definition of the experience story is rather vague but the superficial characteristics are conveyed by the term itself. It is a story, told by an individual, about experiences in his own life. A story that is simply that, however, does not satisfy the criteria of folklore. Dorson's original exposition of the place of sagamen and their accounts in the folklore of the Upper Peninsula is rather tentative, although he expresses belief that they are important. He calls the experience stories "folk narratives, folk documents of a sort, filled with the raw stuff of life and filtered through imaginative minds," and the tellers "folk historians on the highest level, precise in fact, but seeing experience in heroic and fantastic outlines." (Dorson, 1952: 272) In much later, urban, research, he returns to the issue of personal narrative but does not elucidate much beyond saying that it is "a fluent oral form on the lips of a number of tellers" (Dorson, 1971: 45). In commenting on Dorson's paper, Linda Dégh stated that experience stories dealt usually with one of three main topics: tragic, thrilling or humorous interpretations of extraordinary
experiences in everyday life, experiences during a temporary absence from the community, experiences in newly formed communities, and said that personal accounts "become folklore only if they follow a certain pattern and become stabilized by frequent repetition as a result of public demand and communal approval" (Dégh, 1971: 57).

The family saga as described by Boatright (1973) incorporates some of these characteristics. Parts of a family saga are told, or believed to have been told, by an individual who has claimed the experience, but the experiences recounted are similar in structure or motif, or both, to those occurring in other family sagas, and in folk tales in other societies.

In Lauri Honko's concept of the memorate there can be seen a form basic to both experience story and legend. The memorate is a personal experience which is interpreted in ways directed by concepts and beliefs prevalent in the culture and comes to be known collectively through forms of belief familiar to many. The memorate, as seen by Honko, is a vehicle for interaction between individuals and the collectivity. Tradition, culture and knowledge are more matters of individual experience and collective acceptance than collective experience (Honko, 1964).

The Social Base of Folklore

For the folklorist the concept of folk has always meant a small homogeneous group, the members of which were bound to one another and isolated from the rest of North American society by ethnicity, religion,
common work, or common residence. Dorson's study of folklore in the Upper Peninsula yielded folk groups within the broad category of the geographic region - industrial work groups: miners, loggers, lakesmen, and ethnic groups: French-Canadian, Cornish, Finnish, and Ojibwa. Groups basing their identity on common residence emerge less clearly. The towns of Crystal Falls, Iron River and Menoninee are recorded as foci for some legends and residents contributed these. Within the town the boarding house was a place where opportunity to record folklore came to Dorson unasked.

The identity of the folk group and the delineation of isolating characteristics have been important in the definition of the folk, and there has been an implication in discussions of folk groups and folklore that information, tales and songs are transmitted only within the group. The three Mexican groups Paredes describes differ in their occupation, place of residence and genres of folklore, but folklore is a means of preserving the identity of each. Bauman has challenged the idea of folklore's existing only as a force for internal cohesion, capable of being communicated only within the boundaries of a group who identify with one another. In demonstrating that transmission of folklore between members of two groups with two different identities can and does occur, and that the difference in identity itself may instigate the exchange or make it possible, he puts forward the examples of the exchanges of stories between Tahltan and Tlingit when the two groups met to trade, exchanges of nursery rhymes between adult and child, and of taunts between Presbyterian and Episcopalian children (Bauman 1972: 37-39).
The basic context for the transmission of folklore is the small group (Ben-Amos, 1972: 12). Dorson recorded folklore in people's living rooms, in a boarding house parlour and he overheard stories told in a cafe. The legend sessions studied by Dégh were attended by people who shared what knowledge they had, and the legend passed in brief form "from person to person" (Dégh, 1971: 62).

The Narrator and the Audience

The identity and role of the narrator, and the relationship between the narrator and the audience have not been explored well in North America, but it is certain that oral tradition in contemporary North American cultures is not collective in the sense that all control it equally well. In Scandinavian cultures von Sydow has distinguished between active and passive bearers. Different people actively transmit different forms of tradition, and these people constitute a very small proportion of the total population (Bødker, 1948: 12). "It is the active bearers who keep tradition alive and transmit it, whereas the passive bearers have indeed heard of what a certain tradition contains, and may perhaps, when questioned, recollect part of it, but do nothing themselves to spread it or keep it alive (Bødker, 1948:12).

People, he has maintained, have an opportunity to become active bearers of tradition, i.e., to acquire knowledge of the traditions themselves, whenever they spend long periods of time with the same people. In the Scandinavian society he knew, such opportunities came in the home -
children could carry on traditions learned in their families, although family traditions could change over the years and children in different positions in the family might learn different traditions, because of this, and because of their own selection, governed by their age, temperament, and the amount of time they spent with their parents, of the traditions to be retained. Traditions could also be learned from friends, from other families in the village, and during military service. It took a long time to acquire folk tales, especially, so that they could be retold, and the repertoire of an active bearer was not necessarily large.

If an active bearer of valued traditions dies or goes away someone who was formerly a passive bearer, but has had enough opportunity to listen to the tale as it has been told, and controls it well enough to retell it, may do so, and if called upon repeatedly may become an active bearer in his turn. Passive bearers are necessary, and not just as potential active bearers, for most people remain passive for all of their lives. The relationship between active and passive bearers is an important one for the continuing transmission of the tales. The passive bearers act as a sounding board, and a check on the active bearer's accuracy. An active bearer who loses his audience through migration, change in age and status, or social change, will cease to be active (Bødker, 1948: 15).

Not all of Dorson's narrators were active tellers of tales in this sense. Since he sought them out and asked for texts it is difficult to know how active they were within their own social groups. A few, like the boarding house narrators, were undoubtedly so. Others, for example,
the two elderly French Canadian men who were unknown, as story-tellers at least, to the rest of the French-Canadian community, and the isolated former lakesmen he interviewed (1952: 246) were not. They became active narrators in Dorson's presence, the first two men because they again had an audience, and the others because they were presented with a demand for stories, perhaps in their case for the first time.

The presence of an audience is critical to the development and maintenance of legends. Degh states that "in modern society...individuals usually do not accumulate a large body of legends nor do they have an audience to honor their knowledge" (Degh, 1971: 62). In the Mormon communities in and around Salt Lake City legends have perhaps wider currency than in other North American communities. They are told frequently, and there are no particular specialists who tell them. Any member of the community may do so, and a narrator can find an audience at Testimony meetings, church conferences, missionary reunions, Boy Scouts, family groups, and even radio talk programs (Brunvand, 1971: 190).

Data on the process in which narrators gain knowledge of tradition in North American society are few. Dorson presents the account of a man who obtained his knowledge in Europe and became an active narrator after moving to the Upper Peninsula. The man said he had learned the tales when he was young, listening illicitly from behind the door to a beggar who came to the house. The beggar customarily went from house to house, singing Cossack songs for eggs, potatoes or money. At another time the man heard stories from other men at the fairs where he stayed all night
tending horses. "I hear it once and I remember it. I was hungry for songs" (Dorson, 1952: 153). There is no way of knowing how much this rather succinct account is romanticized, of knowing to what extent it is a symbolic statement of the learning process rather than an actual account, but it bears out von Sydow's points about the importance of exposure to tradition over a long period of passive listening in childhood and young adulthood. If opportunities for narration of tales or legends to an audience, and opportunities for listening to them as a passive member of such an audience, are very few in modern North America, it is difficult to see how traditional narratives can be passed on from one generation to another.

There is a relationship between the social context, i.e., the relationship between audience and narrator, and the immediate form in which the narrative is presented. Among the Mormons, where everyone is potentially an active bearer and the contexts of transmission are many and occur frequently, the narrative will change with the context. Whether the context is secular or sacred, and whether the attitude of the narrator towards religion and the supernatural is orthodox or more detached than the attitudes of others will affect the narrative. Herbert Halpert has also recorded an incident in which an item of folklore changed genres as the social context of its transmission changed:

A storyteller who ran a small store dictated to me in some detail a fairly long tall story. When an acquaintance came in to make a small purchase, I was startled to hear my narrator tell a drastically shortened version of the tale as a joke. This was certainly conscious change to fit an immediate situation. (Halpert, 1957: 61).
Folklore and Literacy

The relationship between oral tradition and literacy is not well understood. The persistence of oral tradition in a literate society has come as a surprise to many. Dorson was advised that he had come too late to hear French-Canadian tales. His experience proved that false. In spite of that, and in spite of the fact that for Indians with whom he worked education and literacy had not interfered with story-telling abilities or respect for Ojibwa knowledge, he stated that "storytelling vanishes from modern mechanized America" (Dorson, 1952: 8).

And he may well be right. It is not easy to distinguish the impact of literacy from the other factors of social change in North American societies. Genres of oral tradition vary with culture. Within a society, control of oral tradition by individuals and the genres in use at any one time are affected by migration to urban centres, changes in language competence, industrial changes, and availability of opportunities for mobility from one place to another. The Marchen is less well known and less frequently told. Experience stories and ethnic jokes can more often be found in cities. They are not simply part of an inactive, remembered culture, but are undergoing change and reinvention all the time.

The effects of literacy on society as a whole have been assessed by Boatright as high specialization, nationalism, and acceleration of change in techniques and values (Speck, 1973: 118-121). Goody and Watt saw literacy as bringing the possibility of objectification of the past, with a distinction between past and present they considered impossible in non-
literate societies, a proliferation of knowledge – the cultural repertoire of a society becomes much more complex with the establishment of literacy, a proliferation of roles – in literate societies tradition is less collective than in non-literate societies, and finally in literate societies they saw a greater individualization of personal experience. Again, in considering these characteristics it is difficult to separate literacy from population size, complexities of the division of labour, and social stratification. Perhaps literacy makes these changes possible, but even in societies where literacy has been long established, not all people live in large cities. People in small communities, and even in isolated communities within large cities, may have regular face-to-face contacts, and the range of concepts, habits and skills chosen from the cultural repertoire may be fairly narrow.

Persistence, exchange, change and incorporation of the results of one technique into the process of the other characterise the impact of literacy on oral tradition itself. First of all, folklore persists in literate societies. Ben Goody and Watt, who emphasize that literacy brings enormous changes with it, state that oral tradition remains the primary means of cultural transmission, even though in many instances it is out of step with the literate tradition (Goody & Watt, 1962-63: 335). People are exposed to both oral and written tradition, and there is an exchange between the two. Boatright has said that they "are not most fruitfully conceived as distinct" (Boatright, 1973: 121-122) and Dorson has said that folktales "ascend into literature" and "literary stories descend into popular tradition, when they suit the needs of oral narration and folk fancy" (Dorson, 1971: 181).
The definition of folklore has often revolved on its being a wholly oral form of knowledge, oral in source and transmission. The exchange between oral and literate traditions would seem to threaten this criterion and the folklorist's whole approach to his subject matter as well. Ben-Amos has advocated the definition of folklore as process, and has suggested that once such a definition and approach are established, the exchange between oral and written forms is no longer a problem. A particular text is folklore as long as it conforms to the definition of artistic communication in a small group. The same text presented in a book or performed to a large, undefined audience on television is not folklore (Ben-Amos, 1972: 14).

The dissemination of folklore through written media as well as the spoken word creates changes in the particular texts involved. There is a particularly evident change in narrative lore, e.g., legends about heroes. In oral tradition each locality may have its heroes, but each hero will be known only within a small geographic area. Literature takes heroes from local to national significance, and in the process their characteristics undergo change, for they must appeal to a wider audience, whose shared assumptions in the small community which made the hero's particular characteristics relevant. The distribution of texts in written form creates a standardization of form and content that is not characteristic of purely oral tradition. Instead of a variety of forms of a legend current in a community, one form comes to dominate and displace the others.
Nonetheless writing does not displace oral communication, and what has been written can be incorporated into the oral tradition. In Brunvand's experience in Salt Lake City, books containing legends were considered potentially good sources of them by Mormons, and were recommended to him. Informants also cited popular publications as the source of their own knowledge (Brunvand, 1971: 192). In Gary, Indiana and East Chicago, Dorson found that books were used both as sources of information and symbols of knowledge of the past (Dorson, 1971: 45-56).

In summary, history in both non-literate and literate societies is controlled by specialists who achieve experthood and discharge particular duties in ways that vary with each culture. But, broadly speaking, in the course of their duties they illuminate, continue and occasionally reformulate the traditions of their societies. In literate societies, however, the oral transmission of knowledge of the past has not been clearly described. Two prose genres, the legend and the experience story, are the principal vehicles of transmission of knowledge of the past. The characteristics of specialists, if they exist, the process of their selection and the social context of their operation are hinted, but not fully described in the literature.

The Thesis: Focus and Method

Yale, the community in which I worked, is situated on the Fraser River approximately 105 miles from Vancouver by road. I had visited Yale in 1970, while working on another project, and had encountered various indi-
cations that history was important in the community. The people I met then had told me about the gold rush, and had shown me ruins of old buildings, and photographs of the town taken in the 1880's that had been commercially reproduced and used to cover the menus in the hotel café. I was urged to meet several people who were said to know Yale history. At that time I was interested in the ethnography of the Lower Thompson, an Ntlakapamux speaking people who live upriver from Yale, between Spuzzum and Siska. Beyond recording sasquatch stories from an elderly prospector I did no work in Yale.

The people of Yale are literate members of western society, Indians of Upper Stalo and Ntlakapamux descent, and, in much larger proportion, non-Indians who have come from Europe, the United States and other parts of Canada, or whose parents or grandparents came from these places. In carrying out the fieldwork I did not focus on the various kinds of folklore to be heard in Yale, nor even specifically on historical legends. As I have said in the introduction, the foci of the thesis are the nature of the information about the community's past considered important by the people of Yale, the identity, qualifications and functions of custodians of this information, and the social contexts of transmission of knowledge of the past.

The method of work was informal, in the sense that beyond a definition of the problem and the basic questions generated by its formulation, what guided my procedure was what I found in Yale. My experience in 1970 had indicated that there were people living in the community or in the vicinity who were considered by others to be better qualified than most to give
information about the past, and the first problem was to establish whether or not this was true. This was done through formal and casual inquiry, and for the major part of the work I worked with several "old-timers" who had been recommended to me.

Data were gathered through interview and participant observation, and although I gathered information about the community itself, I did not make a formal study of its social and political organization. My interest was directed primarily to Yale's old-timers, their relationship to the history they presented, and the relationship between those who were not old-timers and the history of the community.
CHAPTER II

YALE IN THE PAST

The focus of this chapter is the development of the social and economic organization of the community of Yale. Its purpose is to give insight into the development of the community through ethnographic treatment of the periods significant in the folk history of contemporary Yale. The folk history can be better understood when the details of the community's past that are available in the written record are known, even though folk and formal history are not synonymous in Yale.

In the period for which written records exist there have been four principal times when external economic and political factors have been responsible for the development and expansion of Yale. Each of these has been followed by a period of economic decline, when the population dwindled and the social and political organization became attenuated. The periods of expansion were the gold rush, the time when Yale was head of navigation, serving as transfer point for goods and people being transported to up-country gold fields and ranches, CPR construction, and CNR construction.

The periods of decline that followed these were not uniform in length - a fairly short one intervened between the transfer of the focus of the gold rush away from the Yale area and the establishment of Yale as head of navigation; a longer one intervened between the completion of the CPR construction and the building of the CNR. CNR construction was brief and while it brought new prosperity and expansion of social institutions in the town, its completion left Yale a small village with minimal social and political organization.
By 1973 there were no Chinese people living in Yale. The Indian community consisted of a few families who interacted on equivalent bases with White members of the community in some respects, and in other respects—kinship ties, visiting patterns, area of residence within the town, and, in part, economy, were separate.

From the beginning of White settlement, the population was mobile; businesses and businessmen came and went. However the political, legal, religious and social institutions established in 1858 and confirmed in the 1860's did not change fundamentally from one period of expansion to another. Nonetheless I have presented the social, economic and political organization of the community separately for each period, for as the economic orientation of the community changed, as the population grew and dwindled, the community became different in cultural detail, and Yale in the 1860's is a community different from Yale in the 1880's, and very much different from Yale in 1910. Contemporary Yale people see the gold rush, Yale as head of navigation, the CPR construction, and the CNR as important periods in the community's growth, and see the development from one period to another as important—although the details of social and political organization are not retained in folk memory—and to this extent folk history can be illuminated by an exposition of the culture of Yale at these various periods.

Since 1858 the population of Yale has had three major component groups, with different ethnic origins: Euro-American, Stalo, and Chinese. Throughout the nineteenth century and into the twentieth, these groups have differed in language, social organization and area of residence within the
town. The differences were most marked between 1858 and 1885 even though the Euro-American economy and missionary effort and exposure to new forms and styles of clothing, tools, foods and architecture and to the people themselves, had forced changes in the annual economic cycle, religious institutions, language, technology, and housing of the Stalo people during these years. The native population, always mobile, became more so. The Chinese entered the country as entrepreneurs and were perhaps more successful in retaining their language and religion, although they met the numerically and politically dominant Euro-Americans on equal, if somewhat separate, terms economically.

The representative population of all three groups declined after 1885, and while they retained their separate identities and areas of residence, their capacity to sustain separate social and religious institutions declined with the population, and interaction among members of the three communities was perhaps more intense. Documentation for this period is sparse. In 1912 there were only two Chinese families living in Yale. Their children spoke English and attended the Yale school. Indian children also spoke English, and while some of Indian descent attended the Yale school, others attended Roman Catholic residential schools outside Yale.

The records available for these periods are primarily newspaper accounts, published by and about the White community. Consequently there is more information about the Whites, and their social organization has been dealt with most fully. The information about the Chinese and Indian communities is sparser and suffers from the bigotry characteristic of White ob-
servers of the time. Since the three communities seem to have existed apart from one another in important ways, I have dealt with them separately, but have included information on interaction among them where it could be found.

1. THE FIRST SETTLERS

In the past 120 years people of three distinct cultures have lived in the area occupied by the Yale townsite and on land along the Fraser River above and below it, but the land had been settled for thousands of years. Information on the prehistory of the Fraser Canyon near Yale has so far only one source - reports of archeological investigations carried out by Dr. C.E. Borden. One of these (Borden, 1968) has provided the substance for the following discussion.

The exact length of time the area has been inhabited is difficult to determine. Artifacts found on terraces which were likely eroded about 10,000 years B.C., when, with the amelioration of the climate the Cordilleran ice sheet vanished, permitting the Fraser River to flow freely, suggest that hunters using crude multipurpose tools were living on the terraces shortly thereafter. The pebble tools are not accompanied by any more sophisticated assemblage, and their isolated existence is difficult to explain, since hunters with sophisticated tools were living east of the Rocky Mountains at approximately the same time. No further traces of the people of this "Pasika Phase" have been found and they seem to have disappeared. Tools of the same general type are found in later phases but constitute a minor proportion of generally much more sophisticated assemblages. There is the possibility that
the appearance of these tools on the higher terraces is the result of specialized activity by later groups.

From the archaeological data it is possible to trace a rather scant history of settlement, population movements, and finally establishment of traditions characteristic of Upper Stalo culture at least eight centuries prior to the historic period. The first establishment of continuous settlement with traceable sequences has been placed by Borden at about 7500 B.C. The information on the sequences comes from two main sites: the Milliken site and the Esilao village nearby. The Milliken site was initially occupied for approximately 3,000 years, and then abandoned, presumably because increasingly dry climatic conditions put an end to the water supply. Esilao village was occupied after the Milliken site was abandoned, and continued to be occupied for 2,000 years, until its creek dried up as well. With the onset of modern climate at approximately 1,000 B.C., people lived again at the Milliken site. Finally, in the centuries before contact with Whites, it was used as a burial ground, perhaps by people then living in Esilao village.

These sites are approximately 2.5 miles upriver from the village sites at Yale. In historic times and proto-historic times they were part of the territory of the Tait division of the Upper Stalo, as were the villages at Yale.

Borden has distinguished seven phases of development. Within this sequence it is difficult to say much about population change, although there are evident changes in manufacturing techniques and the forms of
tools, and some evidence of trade with other groups, and in one case, the Skamel phase, of displacement of one group by another.

People of the Milliken phase (7500 to 6000 B.C.), the earliest phase having a sophisticated assemblage, possessed scrapers, projectile points, pointed implements that were possibly perforators and burins—and in that case they could have worked bone and antler—and thin, ovate and semi-lunar knives of stone. The major technique used for making stone tools was chipping, but grinding and polishing techniques were beginning to be used. There is evidence in this assemblage of the establishment of a culture dependent on hunting and fishing. Although game has never been extremely varied or abundant in the Fraser canyon, hunting, for the deer, black bear and smaller animals that existed in the canyon in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries and perhaps before, has never been completely ignored.

In protohistoric times fishing was the main occupation of the Tait people. The major salmon runs are in August and September, and the gathering of people from down-river villages at the site of Yale at this time of year is a matter of historic record. In the Milliken assemblage, some nine thousand years before, Borden found charred pits of *Prunus demissa*, which ripens in August and September, indicating that people were occupying the site at that time of the year. Evidence from the Dalles on the Columbia River, from comparable time period, indicates extensive exploitation of fisheries there. Although soil conditions on the banks of the Fraser are not proper for the preservation of the organic remains that would con-
stitute more conclusive evidence, these two circumstantial facts suggest that the Fraser River salmon runs were known and used by the people in this area, even at that early time.

But hunting continued. Chipped projectile points continued to be made although the forms changed gradually. Projectile points stemmed for easier hefting appeared between 3500 and 1500 B.C. and by the time between 1000 and 350 B.C. (the Baldwin phase) the local traditions had been continued but the points were being made smaller. Small stemmed points are particularly abundant in the assemblage of this phase and suggest the introduction of the bow and arrow at this time.

With the exception of some specimens charred by fire, organic materials were not preserved at these sites. The perforators and burins of the Milliken phase indicate that bone and antler were possibly worked but it is easier to determine the techniques for working stone than for other materials. Chipping and the beginnings of grinding and polishing are evident in the Milliken phase. By the Eayem phase (3500-1500 B.C.) the ground slate industry was established, and in the succeeding Baldwin phase, a number of ground nephrite chisels and adze blades indicate that abrasive techniques were beginning to be applied to tough stone.

Without preservation of organic materials it is not easy to find evidence of the exploitation of vegetal foods. The charred pits of Prunus demissa in the Milliken phase assemblage indicate that these, at least, were gathered and eaten very early in the history of the occupation of the canyon. Much later, between 1000 and ± 350 B.C., mortars and pestles are
found, suggesting that new vegetables were being prepared by methods not used in previous times. Since this Baldwin phase coincides with the beginning of modern climatic conditions, much wetter than the conditions of the previous phases, these foods may either have been overlooked or were not available in earlier times.

Decorative and ceremonial arts are also difficult to detect, since sculptures, masks and personal ornaments are often made of organic materials. Red ochre was ground for pigment by people of the Milliken phase. Drills of numerous types in the Eayem phase, approximately 2000 years later, were perhaps used to make beads and pendants that have not been preserved. From this assemblage also came a fragment of a siltstone plaque decorated with incised cross-hatching and two spindle-shaped steatite objects that may have been pieces in a gambling game.

Baldwin phase people made a considerable number of personal ornaments in soft stone, especially phyllite and steatite: ear spools, pendants, labrets and beads. They also made some of the earliest known sculptures in the area.

The instances of any culture's existing in complete isolation from others are very rare; nonetheless it is difficult to determine the trade connections the Fraser canyon people had with others at various times in their history. The Milliken phase assemblage, again, gives the first evidence of trade. Transparent obsidian was found in the assemblage. The nearest natural source of this is in Oregon. This suggests that Milliken phase people had trade connections, either directly with the people of that area, or with people in intermediate areas.
The much later Baldwin phase assemblage indicates that the local traditions existing at that later time were continued by these people, but the richness of their artifacts and the introduction of several new techniques suggests that they interacted with other peoples, whose cultures varied widely.

The Baldwin phase culture appears to have been brought to an end in the area by the intrusion of another people, whose culture has been called the Skamel phase. They were also a people who hunted and fished, but their projectile points were triangular and barbed, with expanding stems - different from any in the previous phases. Some organic materials from this culture were preserved by a fire which destroyed a dwelling in approximately 80 B.C., and these reveal techniques of twining vegetable fibres into cordage, and the making of mats. There were several wooden artifact fragments as well - a number of flat, thin fragments with rounded edges and some with corners that may have been fragments of net gauges, and two line spools, which indicate clearly that fishing was an established industry. There was also a portion of a box with a deeply engraved curvilinear design. Their use of fine crypto-crystalline stones unknown in prior cultures suggests that Skamel people enjoyed trade connections their predecessors had not had. They were also the people who introduced the pit house, the characteristic winter dwelling of the Tait people in historic times.

The Skamel phase lasted approximately 500 years. The assemblage for the Emery phase which followed (A.D. 200-1200) suggest a fusion of the
traditions characteristic of the Skamel and Baldwin cultures, and the Mar-pole culture of the Fraser river delta, in which Baldwin phase traditions appear to have been continued and developed after the Skamel intrusion. Work in steatite and phyllite is especially characteristic of this phase. Plain and zoomorphic vessels were fashioned of these stones as well as bowls with sculpted seated human figures, and some magnificently carved effigy pipes.

The continued use of the pit house, and the earth-moving activities its construction entailed, have hindered archaeological investigation of the later periods prior to historic times at Esilao village. In this period, hunting with bow and arrow continued, although projectiles were smaller and lighter than in earlier periods, and the people of this Esilao phase continued to make them smaller still. Their tools also included end-scrapers, small endblades for knives, drills and abraders. Fishing was an established, important industry. Of the many ground slate artifacts, most are fish knives, rectangular in outline and similar to those of earlier phases.

In the early historic period mountain goats were hunted for meat, but also for wool, for blankets which were woven for domestic and ceremonial use, and in the Esilao phase there are vestiges of the horn cores of mountain goats. The effigy pipes apparently were no longer made in this period, but smoking seems to have continued for some time. The pipes characteristic of the period were straight and tubular, with either a plain or expanded mouthpiece and a trumpet-shaped bowl. Aboriginal ornaments are rare, but in the later deposits trade beads obtained from Whites, even
before there was direct contact, are abundant, and also ornaments, especially long tubular beads, fashioned by the people from copper foil obtained through trade.

A stable, unchanging constructed picture of any culture is an illusion, but the archaeological data for the period from 1200 to 1800 do indicate the establishment of the culture of the Tait group of the Upper Stalo as it was first encountered by Simon Fraser. The ethnographic description of this culture was not fully attempted until 140 years after his visit, when all of the characteristics revealed by the archaeological record had long since changed or been discarded. Nevertheless it does contain significant information about the technology, social organization, and political relations with neighbouring groups for the people who lived in the Yale area.

The principal source of information about the culture of the people living in the Yale area at the time of first contact with the Whites is Duff's *The Upper Stalo Indians of the Fraser Valley, British Columbia*. It is based primarily on data gathered in the late 1940's from informants living in the Fraser Valley at several places, including Yale.

The Stalo people lived along the Fraser River from its mouth up to a creek, five miles above the site of Yale. The people who lived at Yale belonged to the Tait division of the Upper Stalo, and their territory ranged from this creek, Five-Mile Creek, down to Popkum, a distance of some twenty-five miles. They spoke a dialect of a Salish language, Halkomelem.
From Five-Mile Creek upriver, lay the territory of a division of the Ntlakapamux, or Thompson people. Their nearest permanent village was Spuzzum, about seven miles above Five-Mile Creek, but they used the intervening seven miles for fishing and hunting. In housing, clothing, technology, and the organization of their kinship system, they were similar to the Tait people, but they spoke a different language and were more closely aligned in major ways with the other divisions of the Ntlakapamux farther up the Fraser River and along the Thompson River.

One of Duff's informants provided him with a name for the whole Yale area, ʰsi'łqət', and the names of two villages at the site of Yale itself, ʰwaʔxʷleːp, on the west side of Yale creek, and ʰciwəp on the east side of the creek. The former was larger, or perhaps just remembered more clearly (Duff, 1952: 32). There were five villages in the canyon above Yale, and about seventeen downriver, that were affiliated with the Tait division, but the population tended to be fluid and mobile, especially in the summer, and villages were moved from one place to another. Since the site of Yale was important in the fisheries, and since food was generally abundant there, the villages were probably more or less permanent.

Yale is situated on terraces eroded by the river and surrounded by fairly low mountains. Just above the site, the terrain becomes much steeper, and the river flows through a very rugged canyon. The Fraser is swift and turbulent at the best of times, but above Yale it is navigable only at low water, even for canoes. In spring and summer it carries melt-water from the higher regions in northern British Columbia, and its level and turbulence increase greatly.
The major industry was fishing, supplemented by hunting and the gathering of wild vegetables. Salmon, trout, and sturgeon were caught, but the five varieties of salmon, in particular spring salmon and sockeye were staples in the diet. The major runs of these were in July and August. The climate of the area at this time is hot and dry, and warm winds blow through it continuously. Wooden frame drying racks were constructed, and butchered fish were hung from these and allowed to dry. When the weather did not permit drying, fish were smoked.

Salmon were caught with dip-nets, conical bags of Indian hemp \((\text{Apocynum cannabinum})\) fibre, held by rings around a supple wooden hoop, which in turn was secured to a long handle. When fishing the fisherman held the net open by means of a cord, again of twisted \text{Apocynum cannabinum}; when a fish entered the net the cord was released and the net closed, forming a bag around the fish. Men fished for salmon from fishing stations, rocks situated along the river near eddies where fish rested, or wooden platforms constructed on such rocks.

Large rectangular bagnets held open by poles or ropes, and dragged along the river by canoes were used to catch sturgeon. A popular place for fishing for sturgeon was at Maria Slough, near Seabird Island, and Tait people as well as others from other Stalo groups met there in the summer when the sturgeon spawned. Such nets were also used near Yale (Duff, 1952: 69). Sturgeon could also be caught with hook and line, the line suspended from a long pole attached to a rock, the hook a large shaft with two four-inch barbs, and the bait eulachon, sockeye-tails or salmon roe. Sturgeon
provided both meat, which was usually smoked, and glue. Harpoons could also be used to catch them.

Trout—steelheads (Salmo gairdnerii), Dolly Varden char (Salvelinus alpinus malma) and cutthroats (Salmo clarkii clarkii) were caught and usually eaten fresh. Larger trout were caught with salmon-harpoons; smaller ones by smaller trout harpoons, small-meshed nets, and hooks, large ones made of thorn or bone barbs secured to bone or wood shanks and smaller ones consisting of two crab-apple thorns tied together (Duff, 1952: 70).

The principal animals hunted were deer, black bear and mountain goat. Grizzly bear and wapiti were more difficult to obtain, but smaller animals, beaver, marten, ground hog and squirrel were eaten, along with ducks, geese, eagles and grouse. Hunters used bow and arrow, spears, trained dogs, clubs, pitfalls and nets. Nets were used particularly for deer and birds.

Vegetables were gathered in season, usually by women. Several kinds of roots, including the root of the bracken fern and probably the camas, were gathered. Berries—huckleberries, blueberries, trailing blackberries, blackcaps—were gathered in the summer, and in early spring the shoots of thimbleberry and nettles were harvested, along with others (Duff, 1952: 72-74).

Food was cooked in earth-ovens, roasted over the fire, or boiled, by means of placing hot rocks from the fire into a vessel containing water. Cooking vessels were baskets and wooden containers.
The clothing worn by the Upper Stalo ranged from capes and skirts woven of cedar bark, robes of bear, groundhog, or rabbit skins sewn together, blankets woven of mountain goat wool or dog wool to buckskin shirts, dresses and leggings. The temperatures in winter in the Yale area were more extreme than downriver, and they were more likely to rely on buckskin clothing. Hunters wore moccasins.

The making of coil baskets of cedar root was a craft learned from the Ntlakapamux, but has probably been practiced by the Yale people for many years. They lived nearby and married Ntlakapamux people sometimes. The weaving of blankets of mountain goat or dog wool, however, was a traditional part of Upper Stalo culture, and two kinds, large white blankets used for bedding, robes and potlatch gifts, and smaller "nobility" blankets with geometric designs, used only for robes, were woven.

For clothing, food and ornament the Upper Stalo, including the Tait people, depended on exhaustive exploitation of their environment, based on knowledge that ranged widely from knowledge of the migration and feeding habits of large and small animals, several varieties of fish, and of birds, of the annual cycle, location and properties of plants, of the conditions necessary for the safe storage of foods. It was also based on the mastery of a multiplicity of skills: the ability to track animals through mountainous terrain, to make nets, to twist fibres into cord and rope, to fashion vine maple into bows, and particular kinds of rock, chosen for its strength, into projectile points, to navigate the Fraser River, to make canoes, and to build shelters that would be suitable for both winter
and summer. There was some trade with people living both upriver and downriver, particularly for canoes, and for foods not available in the immediate areas of the respective traders.

During the winter Tait people lived in pit-houses, consisting of a circular space approximately 25 feet in diameter and four to five feet deep, roofed with a superstructure of rafters supporting logs or poles that formed a cone. This part, which appeared above the surface of the ground, was covered with an insulating layer of earth. In summer they lived in small plank houses with shed roofs. Some larger shed-roofed or gable-roofed houses were built to accommodate large gatherings for ceremonies or social events (Duff, 1952: 49).

Villages usually consisted of one or several extended families, each dwelling housing a family. The population of the villages was mobile, and the location of the village itself could be changed, but each village, and each family was known to other Tait people.

Kinship was traced bilaterally, and people were conscious of the identity and location of their relatives and immediate ancestors, even when they lived fairly far away. Consciousness of "tribal" identity varied from one Stalo division to another. The Tait had very little of this, although they had some awareness of identity with one another based on common traditions, and probably on relatively more frequent meetings with one another than with members of other Stalo groups, but they did not maintain rigidly the boundaries of their territory, or insist that other groups observe them carefully. The upriver boundary at Five-Mile Creek was probably observed
with greater care than others, because it determined the territories in
which the Tait and the Ntlakapamux had fishing privileges. Within Tait
territory, fishing rocks were named and owned, and access to them was granted
to others only at the discretion of the owners. Tait and Spuzzum people
co-operated in sharing some hunting territory.

Trade relations among the peoples living on the lower reaches of
the Fraser and in the plateau region were complex. Trade usually occurred
between adjacent groups, and the variations in environment and available
resources for these groups would be subtle, but the difference in environ­
ments of the Chilliwack people living approximately forty miles downriver
from Yale, and the Ntlakapamux people living along the Thompson River or
of the Lillooet people living in the vicinity of Seton Lake were extreme.
Goods passed from one group to their neighbours were often passed on to the
next group, so that people living in this region did obtain foods and mat­
erials not available in the vicinity of their own villages.

Stalo people traded with Thompson (Ntlakapamux) people living
upriver, and took to them dugouts, dried salmon, rush mats, goatwool blan­
kets, abalone shell, sturgeon oil, and a variety of grass, nxoitatlaxin grass.
In return they obtained soopalalie-oil, dried saskatoon berries, and, most
important, Indian hemp fibre for making rope and cordage. Stalo people had
friends and relatives living among the Thompson, and canoes were usually

1. There is no archaeological evidence of abalone shell for this area
   (Borden: personal communication). Trade in this particular commodity
   may have been recent, although the general trading patterns had undoubted­
   ly been established for some time by the nineteenth century.
taken up at low water in the course of visiting these people. Those who lived in the upper part of Stalo territory traded dried salmon with downriver groups, and in return received fish, potatoes, and sometimes dried or even occasionally fresh clams and sealskins (Duff, 1952: 95).

The Stalo peoples were not without social stratification. Some families had higher rank than others, the rationale for this being that they exhibited the qualities that were most admired. Children of high-ranking families were carefully instructed, so that they would know and uphold their position, and these families took care that the marriages of their children did not compromise the prestige of the family. Consequently members of families of high rank married people with similar rank, even if they lived far away. One of the leaders of the two highest ranking families in the Stalo area lived at Yale.

People of more common rank were free to choose spouses closer to home, as long as the relationship between the two people was not too close. Upper Stalo were relatively peaceful people, but did have slaves, taken in war. Marriage to a slave compromised a family's status seriously, but the stigma could be removed by a potlatch, a ceremonial distribution of gifts by an individual or family to others who came from other villages on the river.

The villages along the river were not isolated, and related families living in different villages saw one another frequently. Travel was primarily by canoe. The Stalo had three types of canoes, which were all made along the river. One of these was also used on the Coast, known gen-
erally as the Nootka canoe, and was forty feet long, with a high projecting bow and a vertical stern-post. These were carved as separate pieces. There were two other varieties of dugout in use on the river (Duff, 1952: 51-52).

People travelled upriver in the summer and camped in the vicinity of Yale to fish for salmon. On the way to and from Yale there were opportunities to visit relatives, and many must have met at the fisheries.

Other occasions when people came together were potlatches and winter dance ceremonies. Potlatches were social occasions, when individuals called others together to confer an important name on an heir, to build a new plank house, to hold a funeral, or to replace the blankets that covered the dead, where they lay, in elevated wooden frame structures. The dead were not interred. Ideally, a family giving a potlatch would accumulate enough food and goods to pay those who performed the services for the occasion, e.g., prepared the dead person, or helped to build the house, and have enough left over to distribute generally to the guests. Most families were unable to accumulate enough at the time when it was necessary to hold the potlatch, and eventually they would hold one at which they would pay those who had done the work at previous ceremonies (Duff, 1952: 87). Although some potlatches were held in winter, and coincided with winter dance ceremonies, the two were separate in function.

The environment of the Upper Stalo was not solely material, but contacts with spirits were matters of individual concern and there were no deities. There were, however, spirits, which could bestow power to do certain things especially well - power to hunt, to fish, or to gamble - on those
who sought it through rigorous training and fasting. Since prowess in hunting and fishing, and even gambling, could be obtained without spiritual help, not everyone went on a spirit quest (Duff, 1952: 102). The power to cure illness did not usually come without training, fasting and waiting alone in the mountains, and those who sought it were often unsuccessful. Those who were successful became shamans, and were able to cure illness in specific ways that were related to the spirit from which they derived their power, e.g., the sucker or the leech gave the power to cure by sucking foreign, harmful matter out of the body of an afflicted person. Sometimes, though, the power to cure illness could come in a dream to a person who had not prepared.

Relatively few people became shamans, but many, perhaps most, received a spirit song, and participated in winter dances. Spirit songs usually came unsought, frequently during the time of winter dancing. A person had a seizure, and then a dream or vision in which the song was taught to him; this was followed by training for four days and then by a run in the forest "to get the complete song". The initial seizure could be induced by already initiated dancers, or the song could be heard at another time of the year, coming from a natural object, such as a tree, or heard in a dream (Duff, 1952: 103).

Spirit songs were individual; each person's was different and it was not permissible to sing another's spirit song. The spirit from which the song had come was, in theory at least, a matter to be kept secret (Duff, 1952: 106).
As winter advanced, power came to dancers, and had to be expressed through dancing. It did not come to all villages at the same time, but began early in the winter or late in the fall at Yale and Chehalis, and progressed gradually downriver to the coast. During the winter people met in large and small gatherings to dance. The person who was the head of the household in the house where they met supplied them with food, or might even pay them for coming and helping him with his song (Duff, 1952: 108). When a winter dance was combined with a potlatch, the food was prepared and served by people other than the host and his family (Duff, 1952: 108). The people of the Yale villages held winter dances and participated in dances held at other villages downriver.

The Tait were a relatively mobile people, living in small family groups, and self-governing in a rather strict sense. Their leaders were chosen on the basis of a combination of characteristics — high rank was one, but wisdom and the ability to hold the confidence of the people were equally important, and the lack of these qualities was sufficient to disqualify a member of a ranking family from leadership. Social control was enforced by the weight of common opinion, rather than by formally constituted laws.

In their annual economic cycle the Tait exploited the fish, game and vegetable resources available to them, and while they procured some particularly necessary commodities such as Apocynum cannabinum fibre through trade, they were more or less economically self-sufficient. The salmon run at Yale brought them into contact with many people from downriver, and rela-
tionships with these people were maintained through informal visits, and through attendance at potlatches and winter dance ceremonies.

Until the gold rush of 1858 the culture of the people at Yale was maintained and developed without grave interruption. Simon Fraser visited them in 1808, and they treated him with courtesy; at least one village above Yale salmon was provided for his party, and four men went downriver from a village at Yale to tell the people there about Fraser and his purpose. At this time Fraser was entirely dependent on the native people he encountered for transportation and food. The people from Yale took him the next day downriver in canoes to a village approximately a day's travel away, and left him there, returning to Yale in their canoes. It was Fraser's responsibility to procure transportation farther downriver (Lamb, 1960: 98-101).

Fort Langley was established in 1827, but few Tait people seem to have gone down regularly to trade. Alexander Anderson and Henry Peers passed through the Yale area in 1847 and 1848 respectively, in attempts to establish a viable brigade route on British territory for the Hudson's Bay Company, which had lost the Colville-Fort Victoria route to the coast through the imposition of tariffs following the Treaty of Oregon of 1846. The Hudson's Bay Company established a fort at Yale, named for James Murray Yale, a factor at Fort Langley, in 1848; that summer an overland route via Spuzzum was attempted with unsatisfactory results.

James Douglas, the Governor of the Hudson's Bay Company, whose headquarters were at Fort Victoria, gave orders for a fort to be erected on
the site of Hope in the fall of 1848 (Howay, 1922: 57), but the route via
the Coquihalla was not sufficiently complete to be used in the trading
season of 1849, so the Spuzzum-Yale route was used once again, for the last
time. After 1849 the Coquihalla route was suitable, and Fort Yale was
closed until the gold rush. Fort Hope became the terminus for pack train
brigades bringing furs from the interior and bateaus carrying trade goods
from Victoria (Howay, 1922: 58). It is unlikely that the fur trade had
much impact on people living in the Yale villages, although goods re­
ceived in trade from Fort Langley by people living downriver likely found
their way upriver in the course of trade among the Stalo peoples.

2. THE GOLD RUSH

The Gold Rush: The Whites

The exact date of the discovery of gold in British Columbia is
unknown but it seems certain that the Hudson Bay Company was aware of it,
and quietly trading goods for it on the Thompson River, at least, for some
time before it had become known to the men working in the California mines.
During the last few months of 1857 the Hudson’s Bay Company agents on the
Fraser River had received 300 ounces of gold (Begg, 1894: 263). By April,
1858, news of the gold fields on the Fraser had leaked to San Francisco and
men were leaving the mines there and travelling north by way of Colville
and the Okanagon, Puget Sound and Whatcom, and by steamer to Victoria.
Several thousand arrived in the space of a few months, and Victoria, es­
tablished as a Hudson’s Bay Company fort in 1843, was forced to expand to
accommodate the needs of men travelling upriver to the bars, by canoe,
whaleboat, steamer and on foot, and James Douglas, the Governor of the Hudson's Bay Company took steps, without legal authority, to regulate the traffic.

It was in the course of this initial race to find gold that White settlement at Yale was established. In the immigrant population in the first two years of settlement there was a preponderance of single men, though women are occasionally mentioned, usually in newspaper accounts of drownings. Boats and canoes were used on the river, even in the canyons above Yale, and were a perilous means of transportaiton at the best of times. Bishop Hills encountered a woman, the wife of a miner, living on Hill's Bar in 1860. He reported that she seemed very lonely, and had no other woman to talk to, except one with whom she did not care to associate (Journal of Bishop Hills, 1860). This may be a rather oblique reference to the existence of prostitutes.

Hudson's Bay Company employees did have families, since they had been established on the river at Fort Langley since 1827, and there had been forts at Hope and Yale, though intermittently staffed, since 1847 and 1848 respectively. The report in the Victoria Gazette of the birth of the first White child to one of these families is significant, since it implies that at least some of those who came in 1858 were expecting White settlement to have some permanence (Victoria Gazette, July 30, 1858).

As the miners progressed upriver and established themselves at various points, small communities sprang up. Miners lived at the bars where their claims were located but there were concentrations of them at
various places, in particular at Fort Hope, Hill's Bar and Fort Yale.
During the first few months mining was delayed, first by high water, for
the immigration of the miners in April, May and June coincided exactly
with the months in which the Fraser River is in flood. Since mining claims
were concentrated at that time on the bars at a level of the river which is
dry only at low water, the miners were forced to wait. Later it was dis­
covered that the banks themselves and the benches above them would yield
gold, but in the early months of 1858 mining was a matter of impatient wait­
ing. Some abandoned the project altogether, condemning the Fraser River
gold as a fraud. During the summer of 1858 mining was interrupted by con­
frontations and skirmishes with Indians, principally the Ntlakapamux people
upriver from Yale. The initial troubles involved only miners working up­
river and on the Thompson River, but when deaths were reported, and travel
upriver seemed to be threatened, miners at Yale and nearby bars became
involved and went up prepared to fight.

The Victoria Gazette kept a close and anxious watch on the miners'
progress in finding gold, for merchants in Victoria were well aware that the
success of their own businesses depended on an active and well-populated
hinterland. There were many bars between Hope and Yale and between Yale
and Lytton. Fargo's Bar was the paying bar located farthest downriver.
It was located near the mouth of Harrison River (Scholefield, II, 1914:
39). There were seven bars between there and Fort Hope, and between Fort
Hope and Fort Yale, about twenty-five bars in the space of about thirteen
miles. Not all of these were rich. Fort Yale Bar, in fact, was not very
rich at all, but Hill's Bar, Texas Bar, and Emory Bar yielded good dividends.
Hill's Bar, one of the first to be worked, and one of the last to be abandoned, was about two miles below Fort Yale and was perhaps the richest of them all. Between Yale and Lytton there were approximately forty bars. Of these, Sailor Bar, China Bar, Boston Bar, Kanaka Bar, and Cisco Bar are commemorated in place names currently in use.

During 1858 all of the bars were being worked with sluices and rockers, and even in October when the weather grew cold and mining became difficult, although the water was at its lowest point, men were building log cabins in preparation for wintering at their claims. Those who were leaving the mines for the winter were those without claims and a reporter for the *Gazette* who was living at Fort Yale wrote that it would be difficult to locate anywhere. Vacant claims were hard to find (*The Daily Victoria Gazette*, October 25, 1858).

Fort Hope and Fort Yale became foci for trade. The population was transient and unstable, but as each miner moved on, he was replaced by one with similar habits and expectations, and traders and businessmen began to establish themselves, although not without difficulty. The colony of British Columbia, and James Douglas' right to govern it in the name of the British Crown were not established formally until November, 1858. Between April and November Douglas had exacted licence fees from miners, appointed government officials at Hill's Bar and Yale, restricted trade by anyone other than the Hudson's Bay Company, at first completely, and then by imposition of a tariff of 10 percent on all goods brought upriver by non-Hudson Bay Company traders, and had attempted to regulate the transport
of freight and passengers on the Fraser River by steamers, which at the
time were owned and operated principally by Americans. All of these mea-
sures were illegal, and most of them sprang from a confusion on Douglas'
part of the Hudson's Bay Company and the British Crown. The Crown did
eventually disallow his attempts to insist that the steamers carry only
passengers who had paid a mining licence, only freight belonging to the
Hudson's Bay Company and that they pay a head tax to the Hudson's Bay
Company for every passenger, on the grounds that the Hudson's Bay Company
charter allowed it to trade exclusively with Indians, but did not give it
a monopoly of trade with White inhabitants (Scholefield, II, 1914: 31).
But the other measures remained in force, for some time at least, and when
Douglas became Governor of the new colony in November, 1858, the charter
that gave him his mandate contained a clause ratifying his actions up until
that time.

During these few months Yale became established as a village of
White inhabitants, and new forms of social and political organization be-
came dominant in the area of the lower Fraser.

Establishment of Businesses and Legal Institutions

White settlement was dependent on possession of rights to land,
and claims were made and confirmed by the White government in ignorance of
the existing systems of the Tait and Ntlakapamux. The land tenure system
of the Whites had different economic foci. Fishing rocks, areas for hunting,
and for gathering vegetables had no importance. Mining, even where there
were partnerships and companies, was a much more individual activity than fishing or berry-gathering, and allotments of land were based on the principle of the individual claim, with specific dimensions governed by a legal body outside the Fraser River area. Land for houses or businesses was again divided into individual lots, to be owned and used exclusively by an individual, or partners comprising a legal unit, and these also had specific dimensions determined by a government, represented in the village but not located there.

Businesses were established before lots were surveyed, and the town grew and declined as the population fluctuated, but by the end of 1858 the geographic position of Fort Yale, and the outline of the White community was confirmed. By mid-August approximately thirty frame buildings had been erected on the townsite, but according to one report miners were coming down from upcountry to buy provisions and finding no great stock on hand. They were purchasing provisions from other miners who were selling out, either to leave the mines or to go below for more provisions. It is not clear why a miner would sell his provisions to go downriver for more, but perhaps his stock in this case was inadequate for a trip up-country but too large to leave behind (The Daily Victoria Gazette, August 10, 11, 1858).

According to another report a few days later, there were at least twenty bars operating in Yale - i.e., bars where liquor was sold, and two or three gambling houses. Allard, in charge of the Hudson's Bay Company post, was the sole official. Another letter dated August 9th and published
in the same issue of the Gazette mentioned the need for a sawmill, and said that board, for those without supplies, was one dollar a meal, or two dollars a day. Provisions at this time do not seem to have been too scarce, in spite of the absence of large stocks in the trading establishments.

Still another letter, dated August 10th, reported that bacon had been bought at Fort Hope for 38 cents a pound, and flour at $12 per hundred, and that there had been cheaper sales at auctions (The Daily Victoria Gazette, August 17, 1858).

Another correspondent reported prices slightly higher than this at Yale in a letter dated August 19th. He reported that flour was selling at from $14 to $15, and hams were 55 cents, presumably per pound. By mid-September, when traders and merchants were becoming established in competition with the Hudson Bay Company, one enterprising man had been able to sell beef at 50 cents per pound, but the standard diet consisted of pork and beans, salmon, bread and potatoes (The Daily Victoria Gazette, September 18, 1858).

Salmon and gold were the two commodities naturally available in large quantities in Yale that summer, but while salmon was eaten, no one was buying gold. The price asked was $15 per ounce but the storekeepers were unwilling to purchase it because they would have to go downriver to sell it, and the Hudson's Bay Company also refused to buy it, even though miners were eager to sell it at Yale (The Daily Victoria Gazette, August 24, 1858). One report said traders were reluctant to buy it at the miners' price of $16 per ounce. By September 20th, gold dust was being purchased by Kent and Smith's Express (the Gazette correspondent did not know the rate...
of exchange) and merchants were accepting it in trade at $16 per ounce (The Daily Victoria Gazette, September 28, 1858).

By the end of September, Land and Fleming had built a sawmill opposite Yale, which was working day and night, producing boards that sold for $125 per 1000 feet. Lots on the main townsite were being laid out and fenced off. The two main streets, Douglas Street and Front Street were established, and some businessmen were facing the possibility that they had established their enterprises on what was to become the public thoroughfare. The lots were not immediately offered for sale, but were recorded and reserved at a fee of $7.50 per month for those who wanted preference when they were sold. One correspondent felt it was important to point out that the renting of the lots was being conducted by the Government, and not by the Hudson's Bay Company. In October, Pemberton, a surveyor, was at Yale, laying out the townsite in 60' x 120' lots. A level area 100 feet wide was being left in front of the town. Many houses that had been delayed because the survey had not been done were being constructed at this time, but even in September lots were occupied and houses were being constructed. By the time James Douglas visited Yale in September the traders' houses lined the whole beach.

As winter approached Yale's population, which had been estimated at 2,000 by one visitor in September (The Daily Victoria Gazette, September 15, 1858), dwindled. One letter of October 16 reported that the gambling houses were nearly deserted, and the "comforts of life" were few. There was no public accommodation available; men had to rely on their own tents
Another letter, from Hill's Bar, was not so pessimistic, and reported that business at Yale was brisk, in spite of the fact that men had left (The Daily Victoria Gazette, October 28, 1858 - letter dated October 18).

Near the end of the year there was some evidence of the beginnings of community organization. Government officials - a Justice of the Peace, a Chief Constable, five policemen and fourteen special constables, had been appointed by Douglas during his visit in September (Douglas to E.B. Lytton, October 12, 1858), and they were at work in Yale. The merchants of Yale joined forces to petition Douglas, protesting the high freight rates between Victoria and Yale and asking for a reduction in the 10 percent tariff on goods imported by traders not belonging to the Hudson's Bay Company. There was also evidence that the people who constituted the community did not concentrate entirely on business, mining or gambling. A ball was held in the courthouse on Christmas Eve, 1858. It was organized by a committee of arrangements consisting of five men: Whannell, the Justice of the Peace at Yale, Perrier, the Justice of the Peace at Hill's Bar, Fifer, who was a doctor and druggist, and Hugh Nelson, and John Kurtz, who were both known as businessmen in Yale in 1860.

Subsistence, Trade and Transport

In 1858 miners ate salmon and deer (Cornwallis, 1858: 195), but the edible plants growing on the mountainsides surrounding Yale were unknown to them, and they were outside the trading networks of the Stalo and Ntlakapamux. On the whole they did not eat native foods, but relied on
relatively imperishable foodstuffs bought in bulk in Victoria, and later at Fort Hope and Fort Yale, and transported from these centres to their claims.

The establishment of retail outlets at Fort Hope and Fort Yale was impeded by restrictions imposed by Douglas. His initial attempts to bar traders other than the Hudson's Bay Company were unsuccessful, but were followed by the imposition of a duty of 10 percent on goods imported by non-Hudson's Bay Company merchants. The merchants believed, probably correctly, that this extra cost was intended to place their prices of their goods out of competition with prices at the Hudson's Bay Company stores. The tariff was lifted eventually, and in the meantime, traders managed to establish themselves in competition with the Hudson's Bay Company store at Yale. Douglas visited Yale in September, 1858, in the capacity of head of the government (although of a colony not yet established), but demonstrated his continued devotion to the interests of the Hudson's Bay Company by instructing the company's trader at Yale to reduce the price of flour and to reduce the company's prices on other goods so that they would be truly competitive. This affected the business of other traders.

Prices of foods in Yale were lower than they had been for a long time: flour at $10 per hundred, pork at 37-1/2 cents per lb., bacon 40 cents to 45 cents, beans 6 cents, potatoes 8 cents, onions 8 cents, corned beef 25 cents, fresh beef 50 cents and California butter 75 cents per lb. At least one house at this time was selling liquor at 12-1/2 cents per glass.
Large stocks of provisions were not always readily available at Yale, either at the Hudson Bay Company's store, or at the traders' stores. Miners coming down from the Thompson River or the Upper Fraser to replenish their supplies sometimes found it easier to purchase them from others who were selling supplies they had originally bought for their personal use.

The imposition of the 10 percent duty also encouraged smuggling. Goods were brought upriver illegally to Yale from Whatcom and Point Roberts, usually in canoes and often under the cover of miner's licences, which were then sent back to be used again (The Daily Victoria Gazette, September 15, 1858). Liquor was smuggled to Yale in this way, and boxes of soap or navy bread frequently turned out to have liquid contents (The Daily Victoria Gazette, September 14, 1858).

Traders in Yale were dependent on facilities for transporting freight and in the early months of mining on the Fraser, miners Douglas, and individual entrepreneurs directed considerable energy toward making provisions for mass transport of goods and people that went beyond the existing trails and transport techniques used by the Stalo people. Canoes were used by individuals and businesses all through the early years, and larger boats not powered by engines were also used, usually by miners travelling to claims with substantial quantities of provisions.

Freight was transported to Yale by water, and from Yale uncountry overland, by individual men with packs, and then, as the trail was improved, by mule trains. Steamboats were established on the Fraser in the summer of 1858. They were owned and run by American entrepreneurs, and had been
brought from California and Puget Sound. British steamers available for transporting freight to the mines were few, and of too deep a draught for the Fraser above Fort Langley.

The first steamer to negotiate the river successfully from Fort Langley to Fort Hope was the Surprise. Its success was due in large measure to the expert knowledge of the river of an Indian pilot hired at Fort Langley (Hacking, 1944: 261). After the initial run it made regular trips to Fort Hope, connecting at Fort Langley with steamers to Victoria. The SeaBird was also launched on the Fraser but its career was short and disastrous. It failed to negotiate the river smoothly, ran aground once and was salvaged with great effort, and then, on a trip to Victoria, caught fire and burned to the water's edge (Hacking, 1944).

The Umatilla, a sternwheeler, reached Yale in July, 1858, and established that freight could be shipped directly to Yale, although in practice goods bound for Yale could also be shipped to Hope and transported from there in smaller lots to Yale. The Maria another sternwheeler, with a carrying capacity of forty tons of freight, was also running on the Fraser in the late summer of 1858, and eventually replaced the Umatilla. When the river fell, Fort Hope became the head of navigation, and at one point the Maria was not able to carry more than half the freight above Murderer's Bar, and had to unload twenty tons and leave it there, and return for it after unloading the rest at Hope.

A letter dated September 20, 1858, and published in The Daily Victoria Gazette on September 28, gives a report of the cost to the trader
of using steamer transport. The cost of landing goods at Fort Hope, excluding incidental expenses and personal supervision was $40 per ton. Transporting goods to Yale cost $30 per ton. The 10 percent tariff was levied on the cost of the goods at Victoria, but when added to the costs of freight raised the mark-up on goods sold at Yale considerably. In mid-October the owners of the Enterprise and Maria raised the price of freight from Victoria to Fort Hope from $40 to $60 per ton (The Daily Victoria Gazette, October 16, 1858). An editorial in the Gazette condemned it and merchants in Yale complained to Douglas.

Even after the establishment of steamers, individual groups of miners went upriver from Victoria in their own boats. In September eleven boat licences had been sold at Victoria to miners intending to go up in canoes and whaleboats (The Daily Victoria Gazette, September 6, 1858).

The improvement of existing trails and the construction of new ones were also matters of concern. Douglas was contemplating the construction of a trail between Yale and Hope, but the Hudson's Bay Company trail between Yale and Spuzzum was not suitable for mule traffic, and miners worked co-operatively to make it adequate for mules with 200 pound loads (The Daily Victoria Gazette, September 1, 1858). Ferries were to be established at Fort Yale, the Rancheria, twelve miles upriver, and the Forks (Lytton) to complete the trail, and in mid-September the total price of packing freight to the Forks was 46-1/2 cents per pound — six cents to the Rancheria, one-half cent on the ferry in operation there at that time, and forty cents to the Forks (The Daily Victoria Gazette, September 15, 1858).
By September 6, Hicks, the Assistant Crown Commissioner for Crown Lands and Douglas' representative in Yale at that time, had awarded contracts for constructing two bridges and finishing the trail. One bridge was across Yale Creek, the second across a deep ravine half-way to the Randeria (The Daily Victoria Gazette, September 14, 1858).

Mules were imported, and mule trains were a primary means of transporting freight over this trail. By September they were arriving daily at Yale from the Forks, loading up with provisions and returning (The Daily Victoria Gazette, September 9, 1858). Many were imported from Oregon via the Okanagon, and at one point in September a train of two hundred horses and mules from Oregon were known to be at the Forks and were expected in Yale at any time (The Daily Victoria Gazette, September 14, 1858). They were not a reliable means of transport the year round, however. In October forty mules were thought to have been frozen on their way to the Forks (The Daily Victoria Gazette, October 19, 1858) and the trail to the ferry at Rancheria was expected to become impassable in the snow (The Daily Victoria Gazette, October 21, 1858).

Not all miners chose to go overland. By September the river had fallen and the canyons above Yale were navigable for canoes and even larger boats. According to a report on September 7, sixteen canoes had got through the upper and lower canyons above Yale; Waddington reported that eight had gone up one day he was in Yale (The Daily Victoria Gazette, September 15, 1858). The river was navigable at this time, but not particularly safe. The September 7th report also mentioned that one canoe had
capsized, and six men had been drowned. On August 31st a Whitehall boat capsized half a mile above the Ferry and three of the nine passengers died.

Express companies also established themselves at this time. One of the earliest on the river between Yale and Victoria was Ballou’s Express, and others, such as Kent and Smith’s Express followed. Wells Fargo and Company acted as agents for express between Victoria and San Francisco, for communication between the two cities was very important. Men working on the Fraser River had come from San Francisco, and shipped mail and gold dust back there. At the beginning of September Fargo was in Yale establishing an express between Yale and the Forks.

The express companies had agents stationed at Fort Yale, Fort Hope, Fort Langley and Victoria, to receive parcels, gold dust, and mail from individuals and were responsible for shipping these to their destination. They used the means of transport most readily available – steamers, canoes, boats, and occasionally foot, and probably constituted the fastest and most reliable method of communication between the mines and small communities on the Fraser River and outside centres. The Daily Victoria Gazette often acknowledged mail and news brought by Ballou and by Kent and Smith.

Law

Before British Columbia became a colony late in 1858, and even for some time afterwards, British law was a rather feeble force. Douglas eventually appointed an Assistant Commissioner of Crown Lands, whose office combined the multiple duties of customs official, court officer, mining
recorder, and coroner, and who, as Douglas' representative, awarded contracts for bridge construction, and recorded claims to land within the townsite. Somewhat later a Justice of the Peace and constables were appointed both at Yale and Hill's Bar.

During the first months of mining activity, however, the Hudson's Bay Company traders were the only quasi-legal officials at Fort Hope and Fort Yale, and the force of law, for practical purposes, lay in the legislative capacity of the miners themselves, who demonstrated it in ad hoc meetings to deal with particular crises. There were at least three such occasions - a public meeting of miners in July to establish regulations of the sale of liquor, especially to Indians, a meeting in August to decide how to deal with Indian hostilities, and a meeting of the miners of Hill's Bar in November, to protest actions by Hicks, the Assistant Commissioner of Crown Lands, and others, that threatened the incumbent miners' possession of their claims. A formal structure was assumed for each of these meetings, and a formal procedure followed, even though there was no formal structure that governed decision-making in the communities of miners between crises.

At the July meeting there were speeches, a committee was appointed to report on a course of action, and as a result of this resolutions were drawn up prohibiting the sale of liquor in the vicinity of Fort Yale, demanding the destruction of liquor already at the bar, and providing for the punishment and expulsion of anyone violating the new regulations. In justification of their actions they took advantage of the fact that there was no liquor licence at Yale and invoked a British law that required persons selling liquor to have a licence, but the real force of the regulations came
from within the mining community, and not from the power of the British Crown. The regulations were posted at Fort Yale and published in The Daily Victoria Gazette. A standing committee of twelve men was appointed "from among the prominent residents" of the bar to enforce the laws (The Daily Victoria Gazette, August 4, 1858).

The liquor regulations were enforced. On August 5th parties who persisted in selling liquor to Indians were visited by Donald Walker, of the Hudson's Bay Company, and several of the residents of Fort Yale, and required to stop (The Daily Victoria Gazette, August 10, 1858). Later the same month liquor was again seized (The Daily Victoria Gazette, August 20, 1858).

This ban on liquor was an attempt to forestall attacks by Indians. The provision of liquor to Indians, in the miners' view, aggravated existing hostility. Bitterness between Indians and Whites stemmed from the more serious matters of trespass on Indian lands, exclusion of Indians from competition for gold, destruction of Indians' property and contemptuous treatment of them by Whites. Prohibition of liquor did not affect these issues.

Reports of attacks by Indians on miners working upriver, and the appearance of bodies of men apparently murdered, incited the miners in the Fort Yale area to meet. The result of this meeting was not the publication of resolutions but the formation of militia companies, determined to go upriver and fight. An appeal was made to Allard, the Hudson's Bay Company trader, to take charge of the companies, but he refused, and he also refused to lend arms and ammunition from the company's stock to the men, although
he expressed approval of the expedition. A meeting of miners at Fort Hope resulted in resolutions by the miners to continue in their enterprise, and to make the state of affairs known to Douglas. They also appealed to the Hudson's Bay Company for arms, but, Walker, in charge of the company there, agreed to furnish weapons only for defense. Neither the Hudson's Bay Company nor the government in Victoria participated in the miners' actions against the Indians. This was a source of some bitterness to the miners, who believed the government which had taken taxes from miners had an obligation to protect them.

Two companies were formed at Yale to go upriver and confront the Indians but they had been preceded by a rifle company ten days before, which had succeeded in becoming engaged in a battle at the Rancheria (Spuzzum?) in which ten Indians and two Whites were killed. One of the Indians was said to have been a chief, although the basis of the Whites' perception of who within the Indian communities had such standing is not clear. One of the Whites was said to have been a woman from Hill's Bar. The Indians' encampment was burned (The Daily Victoria Gazette, August 20, 1858). The rifle company, on the whole, seems to have aggravated the hostilities rather than brought a solution closer.

The reports were often made at second-hand; they overlap and are ambiguous. It is not clear whether the fight that took place at the Rancheria actually took place at Spuzzum or Boston Bar, 17 miles farther upriver, or at Cross Bar, at the foot of the Big Canyon about 2 miles above Spuzzum, or how many people were actually killed. It is clear that there
was a battle, both Indians and Whites were wounded and killed, and several Indian summer villages were destroyed, along with the food and property stored in them.

Of the four parties that went upriver, the ones led by Snyder and Centras, which travelled together, seem to have been more successful than the others, led by Graham and Galloway. The aim of the expedition was to obtain peace through treaties and chastise Indians who had harmed Whites. In a letter to the Gazette Snyder reported that an Indian from twelve miles above Yale, and an American who could speak the native language were going to accompany him to facilitate communication. Snyder's campaign was successful, as far as reaching agreement with Indian leaders was concerned. Graham was not as convinced as Snyder of the wisdom of peaceable procedures. He and one of his lieutenants were killed by Indians who encountered them after an agreement to restore peace had been effected, but the Indians involved had not been informed about the agreement.

Snyder's company went as far as the Forks and made agreements with the people along the river as they went. This was the end of the force brought to bear against the Whites by Indians, although minor skirmishes were reported in later months. Miners began moving freely upriver again. Snyder's expedition marked the beginning of the subordination of Indians to British law. On his visit to Yale soon after these events Douglas implied that both Indians and Whites were within the scope of the law by saying that the men responsible for the killing of the Indians had been guilty of high treason. None was brought to trial, however.
The injuries done to Indians were not entirely without recognition by the miners. Snyder returned to Yale with five Indians, two of whom were "chiefs" and the other three leading men among the tribes of the upper Canyon, between Boston Bar and Lytton, where the fighting had been most intense. At a meeting with these men, the leaders at Yale exacted promises of future good behaviour of their respective tribes. Goods stolen from Whites - axes, hatchets, buckets, handsaws, knives, clothing, irons (less than six of each) were returned, but there was no offer of compensation for Indian losses, which may have been considerable. The chiefs reported that 31 warriors and 5 chiefs had been killed. A miner who had travelled upriver during the hostilities, but had not accompanied the militia parties, had seen three "Indian ranches" that had been burned at Cross Bar by the rifle company that had preceded the more formally constituted companies, and reported that this group had also destroyed a large quantity of salmon. In August this was a serious matter for Indian people living in the canyon. Salmon, dried and smoked, was a staple in the winter diet. Another miner pointed out that insults by Whites to Indian women had been a cause for complaint, and that White miners had been responsible for causing the difficulties and should take responsibility for keeping the peace.

The participation of the Yale Indians was slight. They gave up their guns to the Whites - voluntarily, according to one report, through coercion, according to another. One report says that Yale Indians offered to accompany the militia companies upriver; the other says they left Yale and went downriver in canoes.
In travelling upriver, fighting with Indians and making agreements with them for peaceful behaviour in the future the miners had not formulated new laws, but had undertaken to extend the force of the Whites' law, and through it, White domination.

The ban on liquor does not seem to have survived the successful completion of the expedition against the Indians. In September a court was in session at Yale to receive petitions and examine sureties for liquor licences (*The Daily Victoria Gazette*, September 8, 1858). Bars selling liquor constituted some of Yale's most thriving businesses.

There were other evidences of the establishment of British law between September and the end of the year. Hicks was appointed with a single title and many duties, and persons accused of crimes were arrested and despatched to Victoria for trial, although one, William King was tried for murder at Fort Hope and sent to Victoria to await transportation. Hicks collected mining licences, trading licences and recorded claims to land for mining and business purposes. Smuggling was a profitable activity at the time, and although it was known and prevented where possible, there do not seem to have been extraordinary measures taken to stop it. Constables were appointed at salaries of $100 per month; the head constable at Yale was named William Kirby, and there was another, Hickson, at Hill's Bar. Justices of the Peace, Whannell at Yale, and Perrier, at Hill's Bar were also appointed.

However, the miners did not relinquish completely their prerogative of self-government. Hicks' honesty seems in retrospect to have been
highly questionable. The miners at Hill's Bar had no doubt of that. There was a sizeable community at Hill's Bar. Waddington had counted at least 73 houses and tents in September, and since it was a rich bar, men did not abandon their claims lightly. In November the miners held a meeting at the saloon of Patrick Martin to protest the actions of residents at Fort Yale, who, over the previous ten days, had attempted to jump their claims. According to the Hill's Bar residents, the would-be claim jumpers had been assisted by Hicks, and they were withdrawing their support from him, although not from other legally appointed officials such as Kirby and Hickson.

The meeting was organized formally, with a chairman, a secretary, and a committee of five men who were appointed to draft a preamble and resolutions containing the sense of the meeting. The resolutions reaffirmed the adherence of the Hill's Bar miners to laws drawn up by them and approved by Douglas the previous May, and stated that these were the only laws they would recognize until they heard "from the proper source" that these laws had been legally changed. They expressed confidence in Douglas, Perrier and Hickson, and also Kirby and the constables at Yale who were subordinates of Hicks, but they called for the removal of Hicks himself. These expressions of confidence in the representatives of the British Government were compromised somewhat by the fact that they sent a copy of the resolutions to Nugent, the American Commissioner at Victoria, and requested that he lay it before Douglas. Their membership in the common body of residents on the Fraser River governed by British law was also compromised by their forming themselves into a company, and promising formally to stand by one another.
Hicks was eventually removed from his post. Douglas' choice of men to represent him in the Fraser River communities seems to have been unfortunate. Late in 1858 and early in 1859 the integrity of the system of magistrates' courts under the jurisdiction of local justices of the peace was temporarily threatened by the irresponsible behaviour of Perrier and Whannell, the justices of the peace at Hill's Bar and Yale respectively. In the course of an incident originally involving the assault on a Yale resident by a Hill's Bar resident, Perrier refused to honour a warrant issued by Whannell to be served at Hill's Bar, Whannell locked up Hickson, the Hill's Bar constable who had gone to Yale to serve a warrant on the original plaintiff, and subsequently cited Hickson for contempt of court. Perrier issued a warrant against Whannell for contempt of court and to enforce it enlisted the support of Ned McGowan, a Hill's Bar miner with a reputation for violent and generally unlawful behaviour, and he went to Yale with twenty men, entered the courtroom while the court was in session, read the warrant, seized Whannell, and Hickson's jailer, and freed Hickson. Whannell was taken to Hill's Bar and made to pay $75 for contempt of court.

Douglas became involved when Whannell sent him a letter representing the affair as a serious threat to the peace, and one hundred marines were despatched, along with Colonel Moody and Begbie and a British Navy lieutenant, Mayne, to deal with the problem. When they reached Hope and realized that an uprising was unlikely, Begbie, Moody and Mayne went alone to Yale, attending a meeting that night of the "Citizens of Fort Yale" at which the actions of Hicks and Whannell were condemned, and attend-
ing the first church service held at Fort Yale, which was conducted in the courthouse by Moody.

The marines did get to Yale, though, for shortly after the church service McGowan attacked a Yale resident, Dr. Fifer, and his action was interpreted as one of defiance of Colonel Moody's authority. The dispute between McGowan and Fifer ended in an apology by McGowan, the marines returned to Hope, and eventually to their work on the boundary commission, and McGowan entertained Begbie, Mayne and Moody at dinner (Milliken, 1972a: 17-21).

The system of justices of the peace and local courts dealing with minor matters, susceptible as it was to abuse by petty and unscrupulous incumbents, survived this incident, and remained in effect in Yale in the years following 1858. By 1859 Begbie had been appointed chief justice and was empowered to hear trials of criminal cases, and a chief of police, Chartres Brew, had been appointed for the mainland colony.

The Gold Rush: The Indians

The information about the Thompson and Stalo people in the vicinity of Fort Yale is fragmentary, and biased by White reporters' perceptions of Indians as ignorant or hostile obstructions to the progress of mining. As the White population increased, the capacity of the Indians to protect their homes, their land and their rights to mine for gold declined. Intermittent attacks on small groups of miners resulted in the mass expedition upriver by miners in August, 1858, and culminated in submission to miners' demands for the right to travel and establish mining camps and settlement upriver.
Although it is the people in the upper parts of the Fraser canyon and the area around the Forks who are most often cited as the aggressors, the people around Yale were not free from the suspicion of Whites. They were confronted with the Whites in their hundreds before the upriver people, and their opportunities for successful confrontation were undoubtedly fewer.

The raids and skirmishing must have played havoc with the salmon fishing that year. August and September are important months for fishing, and the fighting and peace-making took place in August. Camps and fish were also destroyed by Whites, and by the time peace was restored there would have been little time to replace lost stores. Yale was the site of a large summer fishery, but by June the terraces that could have provided campsites for the Stalo people who came from downriver every year to fish, were occupied by White miners, who did not question their own right to camp there. Even after the fighting had ended, there was a report that Indians had been discouraged from fishing at Yale, and had gone downriver because of ill-treatment by Whites (The Daily Victoria Gazette, September 1, 1858).

Indians were expert in the navigation of the Fraser; Whites were not, and Indians figure in newspaper reports as rescuers of people involved in canoe accidents (Cf. The Daily Victoria Gazette, July 29, 1858). An Indian man was responsible for guiding the Surprise successfully to Hope. They also worked for Whites as packers of freight, as guides, and as miners. Cornwallis hired an Indian guide in June, 1858, for $8 to take him to the Forks. At Sailor's Bar, approximately eight miles above Yale, he found Indians with gold, as well stocked with it as the White men, and carrying
it around in skin pouches and bags containing, according to his estimate, from one to five hundred dollars' worth (Cornwallis, 1858: 200). Walker, the Hudson's Bay Company agent at Fort Hope, also wrote to Douglas that "Indians are getting plenty of gold and trade with the miners." Indians' wages were between three and four dollars a day, and eighty Indians and thirty Whites were employed at Hill's Bar (Begg, 1894: 269).

The Indians were being brought within the scope of the Whites' economic and legal systems, but ordinary communication between Indians and Whites was extremely difficult, since two major native languages were spoken in the Yale vicinity, and the Whites spoke neither of them. The Indians did not speak English. Snyder did find a person capable of interpreting for him on his journey upriver, but he did not report which language the man spoke, and it may even have been Chinook jargon. Chinook was a trade jargon developed on the Pacific coast and incorporating modified words from various native and European languages. It was not difficult to learn, for its structure was simple, and it was undoubtedly employed by miners, traders and Indians as a substitute for either Halkomelem, Ntlakapamux, or English. Nonetheless it could not have been satisfactory in all situations, for its vocabulary was small and far more often provided words for the material objects used in trade than for immaterial concepts needed for protest or negotiation between groups.

In 1858 the annual cycle of the natives suffered serious disruption, and the establishment of Whites as the dominant group posed even more serious threats to native systems of land tenure and political autonomy.
Stalo social organization likely remained intact, as yet. The Whites' reports give very few insights into it during this time. There is one report of a feast held at the Yale villages in October, 1858, when the White population at Yale was diminishing and becoming more stable. It is contained in a letter to the *Gazette*, dated October 14, 1858.

The correspondent calls this the "annual feast and distribution of blankets". Canoes, heavily laden, came for several days before the feast, from both upriver and downriver,

...those who came down the river shooting along in the swiftest current, keeping their fairy-like canoes out of the many dangers that attend the navigation of Fraser river, by an occasional dip of the paddle, and awakening the echoes by their loud and (at a distance) not unmusical boat songs.

Canoe after canoe from below as far as Fort Langley and Harrison river, wended their way up, creeping slowly along shore, taking advantage of the eddies, or poling up over the rapids—laden with families and apparently with all their household goods and chattels, even to their dogs.

On their arrival at the flat, at which the council house stands, tents were pitched and wood gathered. The squaws sallied out stick or hoe in hand to old deserted potato patches, and even the caches which of yore held their winter's supplies were carefully grubbed over till every "spud" of the size of a musket ball was gathered.

On the evening before the distribution of blankets soon after dark, large fires were kindled in the council houses along each side, and camp-kettles filled with beans, potatoes and fish were cooked in such quantities as could only be consumed by Indians at a feast.

While the culinary department was in active operation, the chiefs, as well as most of the men, arrayed in thier best and painted with their usual taste, were assembled at one end of the house and addressed the principal orators commencing with the oldest chief, who harangued his audience for about an hour...As soon as the cooking was finished, the food was spread out over the ground floor in large wooden trays, in every available spot, making it
really as difficult a matter to go about the house as to navigate the river.

At this time the house became so crowded that the master of ceremonies sent to the Police Office for an officer to request the white men to vacate the premises, as the guests required room for the arduous duties before them, and Inspector Kirby, with his usual promptness and desire that all men should enjoy their rights in peace, dispatched a policeman to clear the building of intruders — which circumstance prevents a particular description of the feast and dance which followed.

On the following day, the immense piles of blankets were distributed, some torn to shreds and scattered to the winds in the usual manner, after which tents were struck, canoes loaded, adieus shouted, songs howled, and in a few hours the large assembly had dispersed homeward.... (The Daily Victoria Gazette, October 21, 1858)

The people of hax'ip and ci wiip did not abandon their homes in the face of the immigration of the Whites. By the end of 1858 there were two communities on the Yale townsit, White and Indian, separate but side by side.

The Gold Rush: The Chinese

Chinese miners entered the country along with the Whites in 1858. Although most had come originally from Kwangtung, in the southern mainland of China, they came in 1858 from San Francisco and Portland. They left the California mines for the same reasons the Whites left — their luck in California was not so good that it might not be improved on the Fraser River. The Chinese had also encountered ill-treatment and bigotry at the hands of the Whites in the Californian communities, but they did not really fare better in this respect in British Columbia.
Information about the early Chinese miners on the Fraser River is not good, either in quality or quantity. The population is not known, but there were enough of them that White reports mention them several times. They were viewed mainly with suspicion by White miners. One description of what was to be seen by the person who travelled upriver mentioned the Chinese miners:

Anon you meet throngs of Chinamen packing up the river; they pass and greet you in broken English with, "how do you do, John". We are all Johns to them, and they to us. Their bamboo canes and heavy loads are strangely singular to us. (The Daily Victoria Gazette, July 30, 1858)

All through the reports that came to the Gazette from various miners are the assumptions that the Chinese are hostile to the Whites, in that they provide arms and ammunition to the Indians, and that the Chinese are bullied by Indians. "The savages, it is said, levy a tribute on the Chinese of about one-half they make for the privilege of mining, an exaction the facile Orientals generally comply with" (The Daily Victoria Gazette, August 10, 1858). The Whites' assumption that they, themselves, had complete rights to the gold they found was baseless from any logical or legal standpoint. The charter of the Hudson's Bay Company endowed it only with exclusive right to trade with the Indians. It said nothing about gold, or jurisdiction over White inhabitants. Douglas exacted a tax in the form of a licence from the miners, but this, too, was illegal, for the same reason, and did not justify the lack of consideration of native mineral rights. It cannot even be argued that the prerogatives of the British Crown superseded native rights for in August of 1858, what was to become mainland British
Columbia had not yet been declared a colony. In any event many of the miners were not British subjects, but American citizens.

During the fighting, Chinese were again alleged to be in league with the Indians (The Daily Victoria Gazette, August 24, 1858). Men from Snyder's expedition were sent to a Chinese camp to find out if the Chinese had sold arms to the Indians, but they had none to sell, and reported that their arms had been confiscated by the first party of riflemen. At a meeting at China Bar, in the canyons between Fort Yale and Lytton, 160 men belonging to two of the militia companies agreed that the Chinese miners at the bar were to be required to go downriver for the duration of the hostilities. They were promised that their claims would be protected, and that they would be allowed to return, but the basis for this request was, again, fear that they were supplying the Indians with weapons (The Daily Victoria Gazette, September 1, 1858).

There is no information available on the social organization of the Chinese miners. The Chinese population on the Fraser River continued to grow and there is slightly more information for the 1860's and 1870's. This will be discussed in the next section.

Conclusion

During 1858 and 1859 the beginnings of the White community at Yale were made. The townsite was laid out, to the west of the Indian villages and parallel to the river. Douglas Street and Front Street, running along the river bank, provided the physical structure of the townsite, and
the situation of the principal businesses along the river bank on Front Street, was to persist through the 1880's.

The basic legal system was established, if in a somewhat shaky and haphazard way at first. Transient American miners who had come to Fort Yale in the early months of 1858 had, by 1859, become residents of a British colony. Systems of transportation and communication between Yale and Victoria, and Yale and the developing communities up-country had been established as well.

Yale has never been an isolated community. In 1858 it was in the midst of the most intensive mining, and directly on the route to areas being explored. There was a large population. Some were intent on going directly up-country; others were planning to stay at least as long as their claims in the Fort Yale vicinity paid well. Still others had established businesses, and were depending on trade with transient and resident miners.

By the 1859 season, the focus of mining had shifted away from the bars around Yale and was located on the upper Fraser. The attention of those miners who had stayed near Yale was on bench diggings, which required more capital than mining the bars. The population grew smaller, and the traders more dependent on outfitting miners stationed up-country.

Indians at Yale and upriver had incorporated mining, packing and the concept of wages into their economy, but had been forced to yield free access to their territory for purposes of mining and settlement by White and Chinese immigrants. They had experienced the first stages of the supplanting of their own forms of social control by the force exerted by Whites.
Whites exerted control, at first through superior numbers acting together with better weapons than the Indians had, and then through British law. Although the native economy was undoubtedly disrupted by the violence of the late summer of 1858, native social organization and institutions probably did not suffer great change at this time.

The Chinese population had become established on the river, but it is impossible to know if cohesive social organization was established at this time.

3. 1860 - 1880

The White Community - Economic and Political Organization

The 1860's saw the establishment of Yale as a trading centre - a community dominated by small businessmen and depending for its life on its geographic position. As the head of river navigation Yale was pivotal in the transport of people and freight from the Coast to the Interior. But the position of head-of-navigation had to be established, and the beginning years of the 1860's were characterized by attempts by Yale businessmen to establish steam navigation as far as Yale, suitable trails above Yale to Boston Bar and Lytton, and finally the Cariboo wagon road. Miners in the Interior and merchants in Victoria and New Westminster were also interested in facilitating the transport of goods but the necessity of establishing Yale's position as the point of transfer of goods from one system to another so that Yale's businesses could survive and grow encouraged Yale businessmen to work co-operatively - in successfully petitioning the government against the tax on mule freight, which they considered too high (Weekly
British Colonist, February 25, 1860; April 7, 1860), in petitioning again with success against the collection of tariffs on boat freight at Hope rather than at Yale (The Daily British Colonist, February 16, 1861) - they were acutely aware of the necessity for taxation to pay for construction of trails and roads, but also committed to ensuring that such taxation was moderate and that revenues were directed to the benefit of Yale - and in forming a company to build a steamer that could navigate the river all the way to Yale (Weekly British Colonist, April 28, 1860).

There was a Town Council. Douglas reported establishing a council of five Yale residents to determine how to raise revenue for construction of trails north and west of Yale in 1860 (Douglas to Newcastle, July 6, 1860). Dr. Fifer, a physician and druggist who lived in Yale from 1858 until his murder in 1861, was apparently the president (Daily British Colonist, July 15, 1861). How often the council met, and how long it survived, is hard to know. There was no formal council in the 1880's when reports of Yale's activities are more readily available. Yale has never been formally incorporated, but government in the sense of the making of decisions involving the community as a whole has, until the establishment of the Ratepayers' Association in 1967, been a matter of ad hoc meetings of adult citizens - in the nineteenth century invariably adult men.

Yale did become the head of navigation. The Umatilla had reached Yale in July of 1858 (Hacking, 1944: 268) but there were several places between Hope and Yale that made navigation for steamers perilous, and the bulk of freight continued to be transferred to canoes at Hope. The arrival
of the steamer Henrietta at Yale in February of 1860 with fifty passengers and nine tons of freight proved that steam navigation to Yale was possible even at the time of year when the water was lowest, and the significance of this was not lost on the people of Yale. Business was suspended, "anvils were made to answer the purpose of cannon, and quite a brisk firing was kept up during the afternoon. A large banner was displayed on the river front upon which the words "Welcome Henrietta" but echoed the heartfelt sentiment of the entire community." In the evening there was a collation in honour of Captain Moore and his officers (Weekly British Colonist, February 25, 1860).

Three months later the Yale Steam Navigation Company was formed, with five directors on the board, a secretary and a treasurer. Two of the directors, Beedy and Kurtz were businessmen; two others Powers and McRoberts were to be responsible later that year for the construction of part of the trail between Yale and Boston Bar. The secretary, H. Nelson, was another businessman and E.H. Saunders, the treasurer, was assistant gold commissioner and stipendiary magistrate for the area. In a comment, the Colonist said the board of directors for the Steam Navigation Company was composed of the most "solid men" of the community - "all old residents" (Tri-Weekly British Colonist, May 15, 1860).

The company was begun with a capital of $15,000 distributed in 150 shares. The final investment amounted to approximately $23,000. The steamer "Fort Yale" was built in Victoria and powered by engines made in San Francisco. Officers were elected, and a successful maiden voyage was
made on November 23, 1860. The steamer was not in use for long, though. In April of 1861 she exploded at Union Bar riffle, about two miles above Hope, causing at least five deaths and considerable loss in merchandise to the people of Yale - to say nothing of the investment the boat represented. (The Daily British Colonist, April 18, 1861).

The Yale Steam Navigation Company did not build another steamer, but the principle of navigation to Yale under ordinary conditions had been established, and other steamers, leaving New Westminster on twice-weekly runs, brought freight and passengers all the way to Yale.

Improvements were being made at the same time in facilities for transporting goods up-country. In June of 1860 sappers and miners were at work blasting the cliff just above Fort Yale in preparation for a trail, and the Governor gave a contract to Frank Way and Company to cut a trail from Yale to Spuzzum by way of the river (Weekly British Colonist, June 9 and June 16, 1860). In August of the same year Powers and McRoberts were awarded a contract to build a trail along the river from Spuzzum to Boston Bar.

Navigation through the canyon was practically impossible at high water, but at low water boats continued to take freight up to Lytton. A few miles above Yale, a "ways" had been constructed at a falls, and these were operated by George Dietz, later a partner in Dietz and Nelson, a firm heavily involved in the express business (The Daily British Colonist, April 23, 1861).
The construction of the Cariboo wagon road confirmed the Yale-Lytton route as the major route for transporting goods up-country, and the establishment of this route again involved the businessmen of Yale in cooperative political action. A road from Hope into Similkameen territory was under construction by the Royal Engineers in 1861, and the people of Hope were anxious that it be finished that season. They sent a petition to Douglas, with this request, and he replied that this could not be done unless the people of Hope presented another petition, requesting a toll of an additional half-cent per pound of freight passing over the road. In July of 1861, at a public meeting held to consider the suggestion, J. Spencer Thompson, Frank Langvoight and Donald Chisholm of Hope suggested that the road should be built out of public revenue, with no additional request for taxation on their part, although if Douglas saw fit to levy the extra toll through his own initiative they could not object. A delegation from Yale had attended the meeting and interviewed Douglas. Charles Oppenheimer, Frank Fellows and W.A. Powers, all Yale businessmen, were the members (Scholefield and Howay, 1914: 99).

The Similkameen road was abandoned; Douglas went to Yale in October and plans for the Cariboo road were made. Scholefield and Howay said that many pioneers believed that the delegation from Yale had been responsible for the establishment of Yale as the beginning of the route to the interior. In his memoirs William Teague gives a colourful account of the meeting in Hope and the subsequent interview between the Yale men and Douglas. He was convinced, in retrospect at least, that the political action
of the Yale representatives had been responsible (Teague, Wm., n.d. ms.).

By 1863 the Cariboo wagon road was completed. The ferry at Spuzzum, which had been owned and operated by Frank Way, who also owned a small stopping house nearby, was replaced by a suspension bridge built in the spring and summer of 1863 by Joseph Trutch. Some sections of the road were built by the Royal Engineers; other sections were built by private contractors. Charles Oppenheimer, a Yale businessman, was involved with W. Moberly and Thos. B. Lewis in the construction of twenty-one miles from Lytton by way of the Nicomen River to Cook's Ferry. However shortages of workmen through gold fever, and then smallpox, caused delays and finally the cancellation of the contract. The government took over the work directly, with Moberly in charge (Scholefield, 1914: 101).

The construction of the road made possible the use of ox-drawn wagons, capable of carrying much greater loads of freight than mule trains, many more mule trains, and stages for carrying passengers. Freight rates dropped dramatically. Yale was established as the point of departure for mule, horse and oxen teams, and a stage and express business was established there in 1864 by F.J. Barnard.

Businesses in the 1860's and 1870's were concentrated along lines that reflected the importance of the shipment of goods. Several forwarding and commission agents were established during these years that survived through the 1880's. The Hudson Bay Company's business continued to flourish to the extent that the construction of a larger store and ware-
house and dwelling for the resident trader was undertaken in 1864 (The Daily British Colonist, September 5, 1864). Kimball and Gladwin had established their business and were in Yale along with Uriah Nelson, Oppenheimer Bros. and F.J. Barnard. Josiah Beedy and Alway and Bailey were also competitors for a time. There were several related businesses: blacksmithing, harness and saddlery, and stage and express. Independent teamsters also lived in Yale. Tremendous numbers of people passed through Yale on their way up-country, or sent orders down for goods to be forwarded to them, and there were both general and specialized merchants. In addition to stores selling general merchandise, there was a merchant for stoves and tinware, a shoemaker, two bakers and a butcher.

In 1868 Mallandaine's directory listed for Yale one baker, one barber, one butcher, one bootmaker, two boarding houses, three blacksmiths, three clerks, ten merchants - one of them a general dealer, another the Hudson's Bay Company, two others dealers in dry goods and the remaining six merely listed as "merchants" - a hotelkeeper and two saloon keepers, a saddler, two teamsters, a stage proprietor, and a tinsmith. In addition there was a bank manager - a branch of the Bank of British Columbia was established in 1864, with D.M. Henderson the manager (The Daily British Colonist, October 5, 1864). There were several government appointees, including the postmaster, the telegraph operator, the toll-gate keeper, the stipendiary magistrate, and the constable. The missionary (Anglican), the school teacher, and two news editors, and a doctor completed the list.
Between 1858 and 1861 Yale had had a doctor in the person of Dr. Fifer, and although the _Colonist_, at the time of his death, expressed doubts about his qualifications and methods of practice, he apparently had some recognition in the town. By 1866 Dr. J.E. Brouse was established, and according to the custom of the time, he also ran a drug store, in which he sold drugs, patent medicines, paints, oils, varnishes, hair oils, tooth brushes, hair brushes and stationery (The _British Columbia Examiner_, July 20, 1868).

There were two newspapers in Yale at this period. The _British Columbia Tribune_ was started in April, 1866 by George Wallace, who had had an interest in the _Cariboo Sentinel_ at Barkerville, but had sold it after a year. Later in 1866 he was elected to represent Yale in the Legislative Council; the paper had a run of only several months. Another was The _British Columbia Examiner_ established in New Westminster in 1866, and in 1868 its proprietors, Havelock and Rose, moved it to Yale, but it did not survive more than a few months.

Business activity fluctuated with the seasons. In the winter, when navigation was difficult, and the road sometimes impassable, there was little trade. Spring and summer were usually busy. Mining had been pretty well abandoned as an industry by Whites but from time to time partnerships were formed and investment invited. In 1864 the Hill's Bar and Saw mill Flat Mining Company started a venture under the management of Perrier, with ten miles of water frontage, land running back to the mountains, the use of water from several creeks and a capital of $30,000. (The _Daily British_
Colonist, September 5, 1864). In 1866 the Cherry Creek Gold and Silver Mining Company was having a meeting of stockholders at Yale. George Dietz was secretary (British Columbia Tribune, April 10, 1866).

Businesses changed hands fairly frequently during these years, and partnerships dissolved and reformed again, often with one of the original partners maintaining the business either alone or with a new partner.

Yale Residents and the Law

By the 1860's the mechanisms for upholding the law were well established and functioning in Yale. There were three types of courts, each held at specific intervals, and each with a specific purpose. Magistrate's court was held most frequently, and in it the stipendiary magistrate resident in Yale dealt with minor infractions of the law — petty theft, and, very frequently, the sale or gift of liquor to Indians. Penalties were usually fines or short periods of confinement in the jail in town.

The County Court was held once a month, and cases were again heard by the magistrate. In this court civil suits between residents of the town were heard, and people usually brought such suits to recover money owing for goods or services. The disputes themselves were not always straightforward, and a case could be heard at more than one county court hearing before being resolved, if witnesses had to be brought from elsewhere.

Persons accused of offences more serious than minor infractions were bound over for trial at the Assizes, held at Yale. The structure of this court was much more complex. The judge did not reside in Yale, but rode a
circuit through Yale district, of which the town of Yale was only a small part. In 1866 Begbie was the Assize Court Judge (British Columbia Tribune, May 7, 1866). An Assize Court trial required the presence of a sheriff, a registrar or acting registrar, a prosecuting attorney and an attorney for the defense. In addition there were two types of juries, the Grand Jury and the Petit Jury. The grand jury was appointed from among adult men of Yale. In the May of 1866 Assizes the grand jury consisted of fifteen men including the foreman - most of them businessmen - two saddlers, two hotel-keepers, one butcher, one merchant and a carpenter among them. The duties of the grand jury were two-fold. Their first was to determine whether the trial of the accused person should proceed on the basis of the evidence at hand. If so they brought in a "true bill" against the person, and the trial proceeded before the petit jury. The grand jury did not disband, however, but retired again to determine what in the town or the townsite needed improvement or correction. At the end of the proceedings a list of these things was presented by the jury to the presiding judge. In May of 1866 the list included the removal of the post office and attached buildings from the public road, the repair of the road to the cemetery and the protection of the graves with a fence, the extension of the jurisdiction of County courts to $500 and the apprehension of the murderers of two people in 1858 - the murderers had never been caught and the members of the grand jury were apparently confident that their identities could be firmly established in 1866. Presentations by the grand jury in other years followed similar lines. Very occasionally a grand jury found no fault to be corrected.
A person convicted of a crime at the Assizes was usually sentenced to imprisonment at New Westminster, often with hard labour. Confinement in the jail at Yale was for minor offences only.

Religious Institutions and Community Organization

The Anglican Church was established early in Yale. By 1860 there was a building and an appointed minister, responsible for both White and Indian congregations, although separate times and probably forms of worship were maintained. The Church and vicarage were established on Douglas Street, facing the river, on a terrace that was then at the back of the town, if the river can be considered the front. Although the church was removed from the Front Street business section, it was centrally located, and near the residences and the public school which were also on Douglas Street.

There were several Anglican vicars appointed to St. John the Divine during the 1860's and 1870's. By the time John Good was appointed in 1866, and probably before, the customary times of Sunday service, 11:00 a.m. and 7:00 p.m. had been established (British Columbia Tribune, June 25, 1866).

A Wesleyan Methodist minister was established in Yale by 1863 (Howard and Barnett, 1863: 136) and conducted services in Yale, Hope and nearby communities. In 1866 the Wesleyan services were being conducted by Reverend Robson, from New Westminster, although there was some cohesion among the Yale congregation, for they had a social in June (British Columbia Tribune, June 18, 1866).
The Roman Catholic people in Yale were also dependent on visits from a priest in New Westminster (British Columbia Tribune, April 10, 1866).

The need for a school was evident to residents of Yale as early as 1860, when the married men of Yale petitioned the newly arrived Bishop Hills for some provision for one. In 1865, $400 was raised by subscription within Yale for construction of a school house for the twenty-five to thirty children then living in the town. It was expected that the Government would furnish both the school room and a sum to match the money raised in Yale (The Daily British Colonist, January 6, 1865). By the 1870's the school was well established and the ritual public examinations of scholars was held at the end of term, with the attendance of the district superintendent, and invitations to parents and other "friends of education" (The Mainland Guardian, May 15, 1875).

The nature and life-span of the Town Council of which Fifer was president in 1861 is hard to know. Douglas had communicated with the council with regard to taxation on freight, and had received a reply, but there was a complaint in one letter to the Colonist that the council had not consulted the people of Yale on the issue (The Daily British Colonist, February 15, 1861). There is no further references to the council in the newspaper reports of later years.

There was within the town, however, capacity to organize money and energy toward definite goals that would benefit the community as a whole, and not solely in an economic sense. The subscription to build the school is evidence of this. In 1860 a system was devised to bring water from
the creek above the town by pipes to the houses and saloons, which had miniature fountains on their bars (Weekly British Colonist, October 6, 1860). The pipes ran "along the crown of the hill that runs at the back of and parallel with, the town; from which each house has a pipe leading in water" (Weekly British Colonist, November 10, 1860). It was hoped that this would be adequate defense against fire. In fact, it was not, for in 1864 fire destroyed an entire block of business buildings on Front Street (The Daily British Colonist, October 3, 1864).

The meetings of the Grand Jury at the Courts of Assizes undoubtedly provided an incentive for residents to meet and discuss community affairs; it certainly provided a means for them to do so. But activity aimed at developing the community was also independent of the grand jury, although the courts and the courthouse were important institutions in the town. At one point the chain gang was employed under the supervision of Officer Coffee, the constable, to remove stumps from Douglas Street (British Columbia Tribune, September 3, 1866).

When Arthur Birch, the administrator of the Government, i.e., the Queen's representative, visited Yale in July of 1866, the town greeted him with flags, salutes of cannon and anvils and a large gathering, and a delegation representing the town met him with an address concerning matters that needed improvement. The delegation consisted of Good, the Anglican minister, Brouse, the doctor, Sutton, a saloon-keeper, and Oppenheimer and Gladwin, merchants. The address they presented remarked on the absence of crime in the town, the need for a court house, the need for a fence for the
cemetery, the need to have Front Street graded and improved, and the need to improve navigation at the Sisters, a point on the river between Hope and Yale (British Columbia Tribune, July 30, 1866).

Voluntary and formal organizations are reported from time to time in the newspapers. In November, 1864, the Yale Literary Institute was reorganized, to combine a literary and debating society. Following the procedures acceptable at that time, and still acceptable today, for meetings held to organize associations, there was an election of officers. E.H. Saunders, J.P. was elected president, A. Barlow, a businessman engaged in forwarding and commission work was vice-president. There was a treasurer, a secretary and a librarian, and a committee of management consisting of D.M. Henderson, the bank manager, A.C. Wells, a saddler, and Dr. Brouse. The society chose Union with Vancouver Island as the subject for its first debate. The membership seems to have consisted solely of adult men, and the officers were men of standing in the community (The Daily British Colonist, December 1, 1864).

There was also a Board of School Trustees. In June, 1869, they met to select the teacher for the school for the coming year (The Daily British Colonist, June 14, 1869).

Festivals and Social Events

The principal festivals celebrated by the people of Yale as a community were the Fourth of July and Queen Victoria's birthday on May 24th. In 1869 a celebration was planned for July 1st, presumably in honour of the
confederation of the four Canadian provinces in 1867 (The Daily British Colonist, June 24, 1869), but at that time British Columbia had not joined Canada. The Fourth of July celebration was probably the most elaborate. In 1860 most businesses were closed on that day, salutes were fired at sunrise and sunset and in the afternoon there were horse races on Douglas Street (The Daily British Colonist, July 8, 1860). A similar program was followed in 1861 (The Daily British Colonist, July 11, 1861). The year 1866 marked the 90th anniversary of American independence and the celebration was even more elaborate, and involved "all classes" in Yale without distinction. At 3:00 a.m. there was a salute of artillery, and according to the report of the British Columbia Tribune, there was uninterrupted amusement from then until midnight. Flags of all nations were hoisted in the town, although the British Ensign and the Stars and Stripes were most prevalent. During the day there were trotting matches, horse races and boat races. In the afternoon a cold dinner was served at Sutton's saloon, "liberally provided by the proprietor and to which ample justice was done by those present". In the evening there were several balloon ascents and fireworks afterward. The fireworks had been brought from San Francisco. At the end of the day there was a "national salute" (British Columbia Tribune, July 9, 1866).

The people of Yale were not unaware of American politics at that time. Many had come from the United States or affiliated western territories and the celebration of July 4th reflects their continued interest. There were other indications of interest. In July of 1860 a confederate flag was
raised over the sawmill opposite Yale. Although it caused comment, it was not taken down by others who objected (The Daily British Colonist, July 8, 1860). In 1866 there was preoccupation with the Fenians, who were thought to constitute a threat. Lytton residents had held a meeting to decide what to do about an anticipated Fenian attack and during the July 4th celebration at Yale an "original Fenian Bull", a live animal painted and decorated with ribbons was paraded through the town. A figure dressed to represent a Fenian was strapped on its back (British Columbia Tribune, July 9, 1866).

The Queen's Birthday seems to have been celebrated more quietly but that impression may be due to the vagaries of reporting. In 1866 Yale residents celebrated on May 24th by hoisting flags, and firing anvils. There was also an excursion by a number of 'ladies and gentlemen' downriver to Emory Creek for a picnic (British Columbia Tribune, May 28, 1866).

There were other forms of entertainment that were not connected with annual festivals. In 1860 Yale was visited by the Robinson Dramatic Troupe of Victoria, which also toured Hope and New Westminster (The Daily British Colonist, April 22, 1861). In 1866 "The Fakir, De Bordeaux" gave performances at Yale under the patronage of Captain Irving and the officers of the steamer Onward (British Columbia Tribune, August 20, 1866). There was a variety of formal and informal amusements that same summer. Several men went on a fishing trip to Spuzzum Creek, stayed two to three days, and caught many fish (British Columbia Tribune, August 6, 1966); there was a rifle match between the married and single men, won by the married men (Bri-
tish Columbia Tribune, July 16, 1866); people in Yale were also interested in a raffle for a music box being held in Sutton's Saloon (British Columbia Tribune, August 20, 1866), and there were two steamer excursions to Hope involving the whole community, one given by Captain Irving to the people of Yale, and the second given by the people of Yale in honour of Captain Irving.

In program these excursions were similar. The Onward left Yale early in the morning, and went down to Hope. The excursionists entertained themselves visiting Hope during the day and returned to the steamer in the afternoon, eating dinner on board, and arriving back at Yale in the evening. Dinner on board the steamer was a rather formal affair. There were three sittings. Children ate first, then the ladies, then the gentlemen. Wine was served, but perhaps only to the men – the reports are ambiguous.

The excursion in honour of Captain Irving provides further evidence of the nature of ad hoc community organization in Yale. Approximately 150 people attended. The committee which acted on behalf of the citizens of Yale consisted of businessmen, several of whom were active on other committees that same year: M. Oppenheimer, W.H. Sutton, J.E. Brouse, John Reece, J.F. Barry, and Walter B. Gladwin. The steamer left early in the morning, and when it reached Hope the passengers were carried to the banks of the Coquihalla in vehicles provided by Sutton, Oppenheimer and another man, Steinberger who ran a brewery in Yale. Lunch was served at noon, and the food and drinks were provided by the ladies. After lunch several of the gentlemen sang to entertain the gathering, and the Fakir de Bordeaux, who was appearing in Yale at that time, gave a demonstration of tricks. On the
return trip a massive gold watch and chain, bought in Victoria by the people of Yale at a cost of $300 was presented to Captain Irving in the saloon after dinner. Although J.B. Good, the Anglican vicar, had not been long in Yale at this time, he was selected as the most appropriate person to make the presentation on behalf of the citizens. There were other speeches, one by Irving, who was suitably surprised, another by Robert Smith, Member of the Legislative Council, and a third by George Dawson, who is called "an extensive cattle importer" in the Tribune's account of the affair (British Columbia Tribune, August 27, 1866).

The number of people passing through Yale in the 1860's and 1870's was large, but the stable resident population was not. It probably did not exceed a few hundred. It is difficult to judge how cohesive the community was, although the frequently demonstrated ability of the businessmen of the town to come together and organize themselves into a body capable of dividing responsibility and accomplishing a particular goal indicates some cohesion and sharing of assumptions about what was proper and important.

There are a few other indications that particular people were valued. Captain Irving, although not a resident, was important in the bringing of freight and passengers to Yale, and that was important to Yale's survival. John Kurtz was a resident in Yale from 1858 and a businessman when he decided to leave the town in 1860. Before he left he was presented with a gold watch on behalf of the citizens (Weekly British Colonist, December 22, 1860). The report of the death of Mrs. William Reed of Yale in November, 1864, gives more evidence of the cohesive quality of the White
population. Mrs. Reed was thirty-three years old and a native of Waterford, New York. The report does not reveal how long she had lived in Yale. Her illness was brief and her death unexpected. The funeral procession was attended by nearly everyone in Yale, according to the report, and stores were closed and flags were at half-mast.

1860-1880: The Indian Community

By 1860 the Whites had established through force a capacity to settle unchallenged on territory that had been formerly used only by Stalo people and their guests. In Yale the names of the two Stalo villages that had been on the Yale townsite were remembered but were certainly not in use among the Whites. It is impossible to know how much they were used by the Indians, or what designation the Indian community at Yale had in its transitional phase. Records of Stalo and Ntlakapamux cultures at this time are sparse. The Whites, who made and possessed the records, did not for the most part speak any of the Indian dialects or understand Stalo culture.

As the White community of Yale was established, and the townsite defined, the Indian dwellings were confined in a de facto way to the area at the eastern end of the town, in the vicinity of Yale and Mary Anne Creeks. It was in this area that the original villages had been. This separation between the White and Indian communities was not displeasing to the Whites. They wished it were more emphatic. Fifer at one point during the summer of 1860 sent a letter to Governor Douglas on behalf of the Yale town council, saying that the close proximity of the Indian community to the White
town was harmful to both Whites and Indians, since they were capable of corrupting each other, and that the Indians should be removed to some point farther downriver for the winter. He also proposed regulations restricting the entry of Indians into Yale after certain hours (Fifer to Douglas, August 25, 1860).

The Indians did not find a new winter village, either voluntarily or through force, but by the end of 1881 the territory at the eastern end of the town had been confirmed as Indian Reserve, and Indians had come under the jurisdiction of the federal Department of Indian Affairs, which was responsible for maintaining a census, minimal welfare and encouraging changes in Indian culture.

Before the establishment of this department, Indians came to the attention of Whites in various contexts. Only a few of these belonged to traditional Stalo culture - the summer fisheries, and the occasional funeral and potlatch, briefly described and inadequately understood. Most of the contexts of Indian association with Whites were derived from White culture - Indians were employees of Whites, illicit buyers or drinkers of liquor, participants in White festivals, and potential converts to Christianity. The terms "Stalo" or "Halkomelem" were not used. The terms that were used were "Indians", and frequently, the derogatory term "Siwash". Individuals were usually identified in newspapers by nicknames - usually a White given name and a descriptive handle, e.g., Captain Tom.

In his visit to Yale in June of 1860 Bishop Hills found Indians employed as packers for White merchants and express agents. They walked the
trail between Yale and Lytton, with packs on their backs of perhaps 100 pounds or more. The packs were specially fitted to them, and the bishop encountered whole families packing. One little girl was carrying a load of forty pounds (Journal of Bishop Hills, June, 1860).

By 1860 the system had been well established. There was a known rate for packing by Indians, and they would come down from the Interior, carrying the order for goods and the money, and give these to the merchant for whom they were intended. When the goods were prepared, they would return up-country with them. Although Yale was a centre for this trade, since it was a White commercial centre, Indians from communities other than Yale were packers. There is no way of knowing to what extent the Yale people themselves participated.

In 1862 Indians also worked on the construction of the Cariboo wagon road. Smallpox was prevalent in this year, and Hills had encountered it at Yale in 1860. It does not seem to have run its course in the population and then departed, for the B.C. Tribune reported another outbreak in the spring of 1866, although it is not clear from the report if the disease was at Yale specifically. The Tribune's comments on the matter however, indicate prevalent attitudes of Whies toward Indians and disease:

Now that smallpox has made its appearance among the Indians, there should be an inspection of the various Rancheries contiguous to towns in order to have something like sanitary measures carried out in them at once. As a precaution against the cholera as well as smallpox, not a moment should be lost in having instructions issued and properly carried out to effect an object which must tend to preserve the public health. We hope the chief constables of police throughout the country will be instructed to look after this matter without delay. (British Columbia Tribune, May 28, 1866).
The smallpox outbreak among the Indians in 1862 delayed the construction of the Cariboo road, but the completion of the road meant the end of packing as an enterprise for Indians. Oxen-drawn wagons and long mule teams could transport more freight at one time.

There are a few other references to Indians in the British Columbia Tribune in 1866; several concern arrests of Indians for theft, usually of liquor; one records the prosecution of a White man for selling liquor to Indians. (British Columbia Tribune, July 2, 1866). At an auction of Government horses in June, Indians were the principal buyers, although in the opinion of the Tribune, they did not get a bargain (British Columbia Tribune, June 4, 1866).

In July of 1866 the Tribune recorded that Indians had begun to fish for salmon and that the run appeared to be good; in September another good run was recorded, and the Indians were said to have made "a good haul of their favorite muck-a-muck" (British Columbia Tribune, September 3, 1866). "Muck-a-muck" is simply the Chinook jargon word for food, but its use in the context of straightforward reporting of Indian activities is somehow derogatory.

There are two other references in 1866 to events which indicate that Stalo social organization was persisting in the face of White domination:

The death of a native, at this town, on Saturday last, was the occasion of a grand funeral by his brother redskins at present congregated here. Four large northern canoes manned by fourteen Indians, dressed out in their best attire, started with the corpse up the river to the place of sepulture. On the way they all joined in a chant the effect of which at a distance was very good. (British Columbia Tribune, July 16, 1866)
and in October:

The chief of the Yale tribe of Indians held a grand potlatch here on Monday last. There was a large attendance of the neighbouring tribes. Blankets, cooking utensils, and money were dispensed to a considerable amount, to the evident satisfaction of the natives. The usual custom of tearing the blankets was not resorted to on the occasion. (British Columbia Tribune, October 8, 1866)

During the 1860's and 1870's the most intensive contact between Indians and Whites perhaps occurred between Indians and missionaries. Peripatetic Roman Catholic missionaries belonging to the Oblates of Mary Immaculate had established converts at Yale by 1861, and a church building was also constructed. The Anglicans followed. They considered themselves in many respects a rival faction. Although a number of Indians at Yale and in the vicinity became Anglicans, many who had become Roman Catholic remained adherents of that faith. The Yale Anglican mission was centred at Yale, but included territory downriver at least as far as Ohamil and upriver at least to Boston Bar.

Bishop Hills had visited Yale in 1860 and later years, and there had been Anglican vicars resident in Yale in the early years of the 1860's. The mission gathered strength, however, with the arrival of John B. Good in 1866. He did not remain in Yale long, but went to Lytton in 1867 to establish a mission there, in response to a request from the Ntlakapamux people in that vicinity. They had made their request both with a delegation of men to Yale and a telegram in Chinook. The man sent to replace Good at Yale was David Holmes, who arrived in 1867. The principal source of information about Anglican missionary activity of this period is the Columbia Mission Reports, published annually.
Indians were attending Good's services in 1866 and 1867. Some had been affiliated with the Anglican church before his arrival, and he continued instruction for these and introduced it to new converts (Columbia Mission Report, 1867: 16, 70). By the end of his sojourn at Yale he estimated the number of Anglican converts in the Yale district to be 200 (Columbia Mission Report, 1867: 84). His last service at Yale was attended by "all my old staunch Yale attendants - husbands, wives and children, with pretty well the whole Spuzzum village, and many Indians from below" (Columbia Mission Report, 1867: 78).

It is hard to know the extent to which the two Churches created factionalism within the population. Neither permitted prolonged investigation of the teachings of the other Church by potential converts. Once a decision had been made a convert was expected to adhere to the teachings of the Church he had chosen and to demonstrate his allegiance through attendance at services and sessions of instruction.

Both Good and Holmes were themselves disposed to be competitive with the Roman Catholic clergy, and in their reports they may have assumed factionalism within the population that was not really there, or they may have fostered it. Good reported that in a meeting he held on the reserve at Yale in 1866 many Indians showed support for the Anglican Church, but "some few, however, from fear of what the Roman Catholic priest might do or say, withdrew after a few moments; so I confidently expect that very soon there will be a strong line of demarcation drawn between those who hold to us and those who cling to their old views and teaching" (Columbia Mission Report, 1867: 78).
In a report of a funeral held in March, 1867, he said,

...as there were a goodly number of Indians looking on who follow not our standard, it was necessary to show them that we, "Protestant Church" though we were, despised nothing which could be shown to be in union with evangelical primitive christianity. (Columbia Mission Report, 1867: 77)

Holmes believed he was encountering outright interference from the "Romanists". The word is ambiguous and it is difficult to know if these were priests but from his reports it seems likely that they were Roman Catholic converts bringing pressure to bear within the Indian community.

Visited the Indian village in consequence of an Indian informing me that a Roman Catholic Indian had ordered him to quit, and any more of our Indians that might be encamped there. I counselled them to be friendly, and not abuse their opponents; to show them Christian forebearance, and yet to stand their ground; and if they were abused to let me know. They were allowed to remain in peace.

An Indian told me of the efforts the Romanists were making to prejudice them against us, and if possible, to frighten them from us. They told the Indians that if they listened to us they would all go to hell; that the "King George" Indians would have no salmon, etc. (Columbia Mission Report, 1867: 88)

One major point of misunderstanding was baptism. Anglican priests insisted on a long program of instructions, sometimes lasting several years, before conferring baptism on a convert. Those preparing for baptism were called catechumens, for they were being instructed in the catechism, and the principles of Anglican Christianity. Holmes reports some difficulty with this in November, 1867: Indians came to the parsonage and

...stated that the Roman priest had been saying that the King George Church did not baptize, that we did not understand it, and if they were not baptized they could not go to heaven. I had explained baptism to them, but they soon get alarmed. I told them I was now instructing them, and if they were good they might be baptized. (Columbia Mission Report, 1868: 47).
There is indication here of the strength of the position assumed by the clergymen in the Indian community. Holmes' teachings and methods were aimed at preparing Indians fully for participating in the sacraments of the Anglican Church, and also at extirpating traditional practices. In the light of his method the two goals became the same. His scope extended beyond Yale, upriver to Boston Bar, and downriver to Hope and Ohamil, and he went fairly frequently to visit these places, and within Yale to the Yale people themselves, and to the others who came for the fishing in June and July, and to those who came through on their way upriver or downriver. He welcomed the large transient population at Yale because he could reach more potential converts.

Soon after his arrival at Yale Holmes opened a makeshift Indian school, with $20 worth of equipment provided by the Bishop, and persuaded both boys and girls to attend. By August, 1867, there were 21 boys and 9 girls attending, and by September he records an attendance of 27 boys and 21 girls (Columbia Mission Report, 1867: 89-91). His instruction was not limited to children. He opposed the practice of burial in above-ground structures and the periodic ceremonial rewarping of the bodies, and instructed the Indians to inter their dead (Columbia Mission Report, 1868: 55).

On two other occasions he set himself in opposition to native shamans and White medicine and Christian theology in opposition to native methods of curing illness and native conception of the universe. These are rather more separate in Western White tradition than in either Stalo or Thompson culture, but Holmes manages to present them as two connected parts of one
system of power, with himself in control of both parts. The first occasion was at Ohamil, where Holes had gone to baptize a dying boy. He seems to have intruded on a spirit dance:

About nine o'clock in the evening I visited an Indian under­ground house, where about 120 were assembled for the purpose of an exorcism which they practise during this month. They form a circle, and two or three men with painted faces, and feathers, etc., on their hair, enter the ring, and perform a kind of dance, while the spectators beat the ground, or something else, with sticks, and make a dismal howl which keeps time to the dance. They believe this drives away evil spirits and sickness during the ensuing year. When I went down into their very midst, they were in the height of their performance, and were very much surprised to see me at that hour. It was intensely cold, and as I was thickly wrapped up, some did not know me, so that I had a good opportunity of observing them. But when I took off my wrapper and hat there was perfect silence, and then I addressed them, showing the folly of such a performance, explaining the cause of sickness and the spirit world.

The second occasion was in a Thompson Indian house, where Holmes interrupted a shaman's curing ceremony. It was an old woman who was sick:

The old lady was reclining near to him, and he was kneeling down with a vessel of water before him, making the most horrible grimaces and yells he possibly could. He kept his position when I stood there, evidently waiting to see the result. I first told the "medicine man" to give up his practice, and then showed to the Indians the absurdity of his "wow-wowing" over that poor old woman, and doing nothing else for her; and giving her no medicine nor food. I appealed to the medicine-man himself, who said it was "cultus" (foolish). I secured their confidence and on showing them that I was their friend and the Dr.'s, I gave her medicine, which I had with me, and a dollar to buy food; after shaking hands I departed, promising to see her again the next day."

Holmes confronted the spirit dance and the curing ceremony in ignorance, and did not understand very much of what he saw. He probably assumes much more immediate acceptance of his injunctions than the native people to whom he spoke were prepared to give. But as the representative of a different
and unknown spiritual power, the possessor of medicines that were not within the scope of the extensive knowledge the native people had of the herbal cures available in the Fraser Canyon, and the associate of those who had power in the White government, Holmes had a position of power. In setting himself against spirit dancing, and shamanistic cures, both of which were expressions of the native conception of the universe, and against the social and ceremonial customs involved in treatment of the dead, Holmes was aiming at the destruction of institutions central to Thompson and Stalo culture. He did learn Halkomelem and preached in that language. It is not clear that this training helped convince him of the integrity of the native cultures, but it undoubtedly enhanced his efficiency.

Admission into the Church as a full member was gradual in the Anglican mission - a pagan, after instruction, became a catechumen, and after living as a catechumen and adhering to Christian ways for a period of probation, during which further instruction was given, would be baptized. After an additional period of time, and more instruction, the candidate could be confirmed by the Bishop and admitted to Communion. This process took several years for each stage, with one exception. Holmes baptized catechumens and others who professed Christian beliefs if they were dying (Columbia Mission Reports, 1868: 48, 49).

For Holmes, as well as for other missionaries, progress in becoming formally Christian meant adoption of another life style. In 1871 he asked for a fund "to encourage baptized Indians in the improvement of their house, and to assist them in procuring implements of industry, as
well as seed for planting - prizes for the neatest houses and gardens. Such would tend to increase their interest and raise them to a higher standard of civilization (Columbia Mission Reports, 1871: 67). In addition to attacking shamanism and winter dances, he tried to foster new institutions which he thought would promote cultural transformation. To this end he established the day school at Yale, a farm at Hope and an orphanage at Hope. He advocated industrial training, apparently primarily horticulture, as one of the best ways of fostering social change.

At Hope there were 37 gardens attached to the Mission, each cultivated by an Indian family who attended service and instruction. An additional thirty acres had been fenced in by Indian labour, and Holmes had drawn up rules for good conduct (Columbia Mission Reports, 1868: 60). By 1869 the farm had been divided into sixty quarter-acre allotments with seven additional acres for common use, and beyond the stream draining the whole farm lay the school garden, consisting of two and a half acres cultivated by the boys of the school. Holders of individual quarter-acre sections paid rent of several days' labour per year which was used in clearing, draining and fencing. Half of the produce of the school garden went to the Mission, the other half to the school. On the farm as a whole the crops were timothy, wheat, oats, Indian corn, peas, turnips, white and Swedes, potatoes, carrots, parsnips, French beans, squashes, cabbages and flax (Columbia Mission Reports, 1869: 38). In 1870 produce was sold for lumber to build a barn and also for $75 cash (Columbia Mission Report, 1869: 45, 46).
Holmes propagated the gospel in services at Yale, and at other places throughout the mission area, from Boston Bar down to Ohamil. By 1873 he was visiting Chilliwack. People from outlying villages also came to Yale at intervals of varying frequency. As the mission work progressed, Holmes began thinking of native assistants, or agents. In 1871 he speaks of the need for such an agent at Quiyone (Boston Bar) and had a candidate for the position in mind. He also spoke of a general need for native teachers to assist in mission work in their own villages. He saw the industrial school at Hope as an ideal training place for them. In 1871, churches at Spuzzum (St. Judes) and Boston Bar (St. Nicholas') were near completion, and others were planned for Tikwalus, above Spuzzum, Hope, Ohamil, Saelis (two miles up the Harrison River - Chehalis?), and Squa, near Chilliwack (Columbia Mission Report, 1871: 68). There are references to a chapel at Yale but no indication of when the Indian Anglican church was built there. There was one by the 1890's, situated at the east end of the town, but west of Yale creek, and on the northern perimeter of the town.

Holmes left the mission at the end of 1873. At one point during his work he had reported 300 catechumens and 100 additional applicants. In a letter written in September, 1874, Good reported approximately sixty baptized Indians connected with the Yale mission.

After Holmes' departure Good again assumed responsibility for the Yale mission, until the appointment of George Ditchem in 1875. He left in 1878.
By 1880 the Indians in the vicinity of Yale had been involved in a money economy as well as their own annual cycle for over twenty years. Fishing for salmon in the summer, and the gathering of people from other parts of the river at Yale persisted. Hunting and the gathering of vegetable foods probably did too. These suffered to the extent that time was devoted to earning wages, packing freight or working on the highway construction. As cloth became universally available, and as Whites provided new models, styles of clothing changed. Methods of cooking may also have changed with cooking utensils, and new foods—certainly flour, rice and tea—were adopted.

Architecture may have changed at this time too, although the only photographs of the reserve were taken several decades later. Milled lumber was available in Yale from 1858, when Land and Fleming established a sawmill across the river. Other sawmills were established in later years five miles above Yale, and downriver, at Flood (by Mr. Flood in fact). In 1867 Good reported "The Indians belonging to Yale proper are well off, and have most of them erected new houses on their Reserve" (Columbia Mission Reports, 1867: 71).

Potlatching, funerary feasts, winter dancing and native curing continued during these years but the people were under enormous pressure to abandon these institutions, and with them the most fundamental aspects of their social organization. Just how great the changes were in response to these pressures cannot be known, but although the institutions did not disappear, they did not survive without change.
The Chinese community in the 1860's was comprised primarily of businessmen and miners. The vast proportion in the early years were miners, but by 1860 Chinese were coming directly from Hong Kong as well as San Francisco. Many came as miners, but merchants were also establishing businesses in Victoria and exploring the upriver communities as prospective sites for branch houses.

The Chinese population on the river near Yale during these years is difficult to determine precisely. The sources are estimates in newspaper accounts, particularly those of the Daily British Colonist. For knowledge of Chinese businesses we are primarily dependent on directories compiled and published in Victoria. These are more informative about the late 1860's and some years in the 1870's, and not all businesses that were in operation may have been mentioned in the directories. There is very little information on social organization. A few reports were published in 1866 in the British Columbia Tribune, but these are marred by the reporter's lack of knowledge of Chinese culture.

The Miners

The population estimates for the early 1860's refer to miners working in the vicinity of Yale, since the richer bars were up and down river and not at the townsite itself. The Colonist, early in 1860, published estimates of the Chinese population on individual bars, and taking these together
one can arrive at a figure of 700 Chinese men working between Cornish Bar, below Hope, and Lytton (Daily British Colonist, January 26, 1860). Others were coming in daily. The Weekly British Colonist reported on March 10, 1860, "Four canoes left here on Saturday for the diggings. They were loaded with Chinamen and their effects. The names of the boats are Fy Lanpan, Yeh Sanpan, Fat How, and Saint S."

In June and July of 1860 Bishop Hills encountered and talked with Chinese miners in the vicinity of Hope and Yale. He reports that at Hope the staples of the Chinese diet were fish, rice and tea, occasionally supplemented with chicken and potatoes. He talked with one miner, a young man who had gone from China to San Francisco in 1851, and had come from San Francisco to the Fraser River in 1858. He had sisters and brothers still in China and had kept up some contact with them, for he reported he had sent home his photograph (Journal of Bishop Hills, ms., 1860).

Hills found many Chinese miners on the river. Some were employed at Hill's Bar. They were considered better workmen than Whites, according to what he was told, and, according to the tradition of the times, were paid less. Others were independent miners. Between Lytton and Yale "Chinamen are purchasing claims from White miners and in some instances paying good prices for them" (Weekly British Colonist, June 2, 1860). Some living near Yale had made gardens, but many were travelling. Hills' observation that the clothes they wore were exactly like those depicted on crockery gives some indication of the meagre basis that a Westerner of even above-average education had for making intelligent observations on the Chinese.
The majority of Chinese miners moved north to follow the gold rush. Some were at Yale still in 1862, and suffered from poverty and want during the particularly harsh winter of that year (The Daily British Colonist, March 17, 1862). Many stayed, or came back in later years, to work the claims abandoned by White miners.

**The Businessmen**

By early 1860 Chinese merchants were touring the gold fields to find places to start businesses, or branches of businesses already established in Victoria. In January, 1860, the Weekly British Colonist published this report:

Mr. Ly Wing, a Chinese merchant, came down on the steamer after a tour in the mines, and expresses himself highly pleased (with?) prospects — and expects a Chinese immigration the present year of 7,000 or 8,000. He brings down considerable dust and proposes starting branch houses at Hope, Yale and Douglas. (Weekly British Colonist, January 28, 1860)

A receipt preserved from the records of Ballou's express shows that Ly Wing entrusted gold dust to Ballou on August 26, 1860, at Yale for shipment to Kwong Fuk, Victoria. Other receipts indicate that by September, 1860, Kwong Lee and Co. was established in Yale and in a position to ship gold dust to the main branch, also called Kwong Lee and Co. at Victoria. Kwong Lee and Co. dispatched gold dust to Victoria through Ballou's Express through 1862, and probably remained in business in Yale right through the 1860's, although it is first mentioned formally in the Pacific Coast Directory published by Langley for 1867. There were directories for 1860 and 1863, but these did not carry lists of Yale names or businesses.
The Bank of British Columbia, established in Yale in late 1864, appears in one photograph of Front Street in the 1860's, and the photograph shows a sign in Chinese on the front of the bank. Chinese people must have been expected to do business at the bank in the mid-1860's.

Ly Wing is not mentioned after 1860, but Mallandaine's Directory for 1868 lists both Kwong Lee and Co. and Yan Wo Sang and Co. as Yale merchants. In 1869 and 1871 He Tie, and Kai Kee, also merchants, are listed along with Kwong Lee and Yan Wo Sang. In the list for 1874 Yan Wo Sang and Co. does not appear, although the other three are still there, but Wing Wo, a baker, and Chuck (the other name was omitted), an employee of Oppenheimer Bros. have been added. Hibben's directory for 1877 lists Kwong Lee, He Tie, Ki Kee (sic) and Ah Chuck, and also Hem Ah, Lee On, Mon Ah, Yung, Charley, and Yung Quong. Some of these names may be backwards. On Lee was a merchant in Yale in the 1880's and later years. There is also no indication of the occupation of those listed, and they may not all have been merchants.

The scope of at least some of the merchants is indicated by an advertisement placed by the main branch of Kwong Lee and Co. in 1868 (Mallandaine, 1869). According to the advertisement the company imported all kinds of Chinese merchandise, opium and dry goods. They were also wholesale and retail dealers in general merchandise. The principal houses were Kwong U. Shing, Canton, and Kwong-Man-Fung, Hong Kong, and these operated in connection with Hop Kee and Co. in San Francisco. Within British Columbia there were branches at Yale, Lillooet, Forks Quesnelle, Mouth Quesnelle,
and Barkerville. The retail stores always had on hand a large stock of groceries, provisions, rice, tea, sugar, cigars, tobacco, opium, clothing, hardware, mining tools, boots and shoes, and these were sold at both wholesale and retail prices. The actual inventory of each store probably depended on the idiosyncrasies of freight shipment and the rate of demand by purchasers.

Social Organization

Information on the internal organization of the Chinese community and the relationships between Chinese and Whites is scant. The Chinese had names for many communities in the Lower Mainland and Interior, including Harrison Hot Springs, Hope, Barkerville, Quesnel, Quesnelmouth, Quesnel Forks, Keithley and Yale. The name for Yale was Huo Chie.

White miners gathered together on particular bars and at Yale by a combination of mere chance and former associations at mines in California, had a capacity for community organization that was manifest on particular occasions and this may have been true for the Chinese as well. Colonel Moody was at Yale in 1860, and when he left the "Chinese had a grand affair with crackers in honour of his departure" (Journal of Bishop Hills, ms, 1860). Gambling was a pastime of Chinese miners as well as of Whites and according to the Colonist, they had a gambling house at Yale.

Last week the police made a descent on a Chinese gambling house at Yale and arrested the inmates; two of the gamblers were fined $50 each and several others $25 each. (The Daily British Colonist, July 8, 1861)
Other references to Chinese encounters with the legal system are few, and there is no indication whether interpreters or defence counsel were available to Chinese men accused of crimes. In 1861 two were convicted at Yale of larceny, in fact of the theft of a pistol from one of the White residents, and sentenced to two years imprisonment.

In 1866 Chinese miners in the vicinity of Yale were slow to comply with a law passed by the Legislative Council requiring a mining licence from all miners. Coffee, the constable at Yale, went six miles upriver to a place where twelve Chinese men were working. They refused to cross the river to talk to him, but he went farther up, obtained a canoe and went to the site of their claims, and demanded their licences. When he found they had none, he preferred charges against them. They appeared at Yale before E.H. Sanders, the gold commissioner, and four of them were fined $25 each and made to pay for their licences. The others were required only to pay the licence fee. The fines were paid immediately. The incident seems to have constituted a kind of statement, or affirmation of policy, on the part of the representatives of the legal system at Yale. In imposing the fines, Sanders said that he would inflict the full fine of $250 on future delinquents, and that in his opinion the Chinese contributed little towards the revenue of the colony, in comparison with other nationalities (British Columbia Tribune, June 25, 1866).

The Chinese in Yale had some contact with another British institution, the Anglican Church, although it is probably safe to assume that very few were either Anglican or even Christian. A missionary in Yale in the
early 1860's, Mr. Reeve, had had some experience in China, and according to Hills, had established good relations with them. In fact he hoped to convert some of them. He was able to do some translation for them, although they were Cantonese, and he had learned a dialect of Shanghai (Columbia Mission Reports, 1862: 15).

There was also a Chinese cemetery in Yale at this time. Hills visited the graves, and described them in his report.

I visited the Chinese burial place, in which about forty have been interred. They are particular in this respect. The ground is nearly square. The graves are all neatly made, with a mound over each, and at the head a painted board, on which are inscribed words, among which the first and prominent are - "May he rest in peace".

These Chinese are Buddhists. They bear testimony to the groaning and travailing of the creature seeking for rest and peace, but they know not yet the Prince of Peace.

At the foot of each grave is a bundle of very light paper, about eight or ten leaves; each leaf has several incisions. Mr. Reeve tells me, the Chinese themselves do not know the meaning of these incisions. The leaves are symbolical of the volatile character of the soul, and a number of incense-burners are stuck at the foot of the grave, to propitiate the presiding part of the soul, which has nine parts - six spiritual and three animal. One of the animal parts remains to guard the body, and this they propitiate.

At the head of the cemetery is a raised enclosure of three semi-circles of stones, at the ends of which are five painted boards, three of which stand more prominent than the rest. These are the five districts of Canton. When the Chinese come to make their oblations, they kneel opposite the board of their district. They send Mr. and Mrs. Reeve presents of tea and such like. (Columbia Mission Reports, 1862: 15, 16)

Relationships with Whites as a whole were probably not good.

Although the Colonist remarked in 1860 that the Chinese miners had made merchants in Victoria more prosperous with their purchases (Weekly British
Colonist, July 14, 1860), the White miners on the river had displayed suspicion and outright bigotry in dealing with the Chinese and they were not disposed to modify their attitude. Hills, in discussing Reeve's relationships with the Chinese, said "they are usually much despised and sometimes till-treated here as well as in California" (Columbia Mission Reports, 1862: 15). Not all the Chinese living in Yale were full-time miners or businessmen. Some may have been employees of businessmen, such as the man named Chuck, who was listed in the directory for 1874 as an employee of Oppenheimer Brothers. Others may have been more generally available for employment from time to time. Some were employed by the Lands and Works Department in clearing the road to the Whites' cemetery in 1866 (British Columbia Tribune, June 4, 1866).

There is some evidence that the Chinese in Yale acted cooperatively from time to time for particular reasons. In 1862 the Hung-men society was established in Barkerville and in later years it spread to other Chinese communities in the Interior, including Yale. Although it had a definite political orientation - against the Manchu dynasty and in favour of the restoration of the Ming dynasty - it had many of the characteristics of a secret society, with rules regulating the behaviour of its members, particularly with regard to mining claims, and offering them protection. Although there is no information about its activities specifically at Yale, it seems to have been a powerful organization in the Chinese communities, with a membership that included the Chinese male population as a whole. "The Chinese workers were not able to earn a living without being members of the Hung-men Society" (Lee, typescript: 168).
The Chinese in Yale assumed at least a minimal responsibility for the burial of a man who was brought in, near death, in 1866. He was placed in one of the stores and a coffin was provided for him (British Columbia Tribune, May 21, 1866). There was also at least one celebration in the Chinese community; there were very probably others, in other years, but the British Columbia Tribune carried a report of only one in 1866.

Saturday last was celebrated by the natives of the Flowery Kingdom resident here as a holiday. Grand dinners were given by the Tyhees, and the festivities were kept up with considerable spirit. Fire crackers innumerable were discharged during the day. (British Columbia Tribune, September 14, 1886).

This report, like the reports of Indians' activities, is brief and not very informative. The tendency to use Chinook jargon in reporting activities of non-Whites who were not fluent, or assumed to be not fluent, in English, even when no conversation is part of the report, has the effect of setting the people whose activities are discussed apart from the ordinary population. This particular report, however, does give some insight into the Chinese community in Yale. There were "Tyhees", i.e., chiefs in Chinook jargon, or influential men, who entertained one another, and perhaps other residents of Yale at dinners. There is an implication here that the community had some structure, that was manifest, formally or informally, on certain occasions.

4. THE 1880's

When construction of the Canadian Pacific Railroad began in British Columbia in 1880, Andrew Onderdonk, the contractor for the line between Emroy Creek and Savona's Ferry, established his headquarters three miles
above Emory Creek, at Yale. The declining economy of the town revived, the population expanded, and new houses were built, and new businesses begun.

A newspaper, The Inland Sentinel, published by Michael Hagan, was established, at first at Emory, in anticipation that a new city would grow up at the railroad terminus, and when this proved unlikely the Sentinel was moved to Yale. It began publication on May 29, 1880, and its weekly reports provide insight into the economic and social organization of Yale in the following five years. In the first issue Hagan comments on the sudden revival of Yale:

A few months since the population might have been placed at a couple hundred Whites, a hundred and fifty Indians and a hundred Chinese. At present the white population is more than doubled, and in every direction buildings are going up, with a prospect of an increase. (The Inland Sentinel, May 29, 1880)

In the prosperity of the early 1880's the social organization of the White community became somewhat more complex than it had been in the preceding twenty years, but the basic format had been established in the early 1860's, and it did not change. The physical layout of the town also remained basically the same: the Indian community was at the east end of the town, there were residences and some vacant lots at the west end, and in the central part of the town the main business and residential section was arranged along Front Street and Douglas Street, which ran parallel to the river, and were crossed by Regent, Albert and Victoria Streets, short streets perpendicular to the river. Another street parallel to Douglas was beginning to be used behind the church. Indians, Whites and Chinese
were still the principal components of the population, and continued to be distinct from one another in language and social organization.

The White Community

In 1880 when the community was looking ahead, and anticipating new growth, there was consciousness of old-timers, of people who had been in Yale since 1858. In the first issue of the Inland Sentinel, Hagan published a list of them: D. Oppenheimer, I. Oppenheimer, G. Oppenheimer, L. Oppenheimer (sic), Uriah Nelson, D.W. Kimball, W.B. Gladwin, B. Bailey, P. Clair - all merchants. Their businesses had survived the twenty years. William Teague, F. Alway (sic) - he was usually known as John Alway - Thomas York, J. Lawrence, W.H. Ward, F. (sic) Peck (he was usually known as Edwin), W. Mahary, and G. Gordon were also still in Yale. Teague was Government agent, Alway a farmer, York a hotel-keeper, Lawrence, a butcher, Ward, a freighter, Peck and Mahary, both builders, and Gordon a farmer and the owner of a cattle corral.

Builders and carpenters were in great demand in the summer of 1880. Existing stores were renovated; new hotels, stores and residences were built. A sawmill at Emory provided the lumber, and there were builders in Yale, Crotty and Henderson, in addition to Peck and Mahary, who assumed responsibility for much of the work. Other businesses involved in construction work became established, e.g., Quick and Co., contractors, Thrift and Woodruff, manufacturers of brick, E. Suske, who was established a few miles up the Cariboo road and received orders for lime through U. Nelson, John 0. Strauss, an architect who advertised briefly in 1880; A.H. Scovill, a car-
penter and builder and also a dealer in furniture, both new and second-hand was in Yale in 1881 and 1882; W.H. Stratton, a landscaper, gardener and florist in 1882, and F.Lt. Budlong, who was married in Yale in 1881, but just advertised in 1883. He advertised a multiplicity of skills, including carpentry. M. Rush and Francis Jones were both carriage and sign painters but not partners. M. Rush also did paper hanging and glazing. F. Jones remained in Yale until his trial and conviction for a shooting accident that involved two other residents of Yale.

A boarding house was built by Frank Crotty and run by a Mrs. Proutt on Douglas Street, but businesses were concentrated on the three sections of Front Street. Vacant buildings and lots were occupied and businesses were densely placed along the street. The Chinese merchants had their stores at the far east end of the street. The Hudson's Bay Company store was still in operation, at the west end of Front Street.

The railroad was just begun. Yale was still head of navigation and, although the railroad construction was destined to interfere with its function before rendering it completely obsolete, the Cariboo wagon road was still the main artery to the interior. Forwarding and commission agents, such as Kimball and Gladwin, blacksmiths such as James Stott, and saddlers and harness manufacturers such as Douglas and Deighton still had a function in Yale. New blacksmiths shops were established, such as Quintin Walker's, established in 1881. F.J. Barnard's Express and Stage Line business was still in operation, but now under the local direction of Stephen Tingley, who lived in Yale, although Barnard retained an interest in the business.
General merchants - the Hudson's Bay Company, Uriah Nelson, J.Q. Romano, Kwong Lee and Co., and Oppenheimer Brothers were still in Yale, but new businesses were springing up to meet the demands of the larger population and some of these were small and specialized: McPhee had established a butter store in part of a building at the west end of Front Street in the 1880's, and he remained in business selling a selection of perishable goods at least through 1884. In 1882 he was selling butter, eggs, potatoes, and in 1884 he and another merchant, apparently in partnership, were selling fresh salmon. General merchants advertised a wide range of goods for sale - from dry goods, to groceries, to hardware, to provisions. There were some, like Eepien, who established a green grocery and commission business in 1880, that seem to have been somewhat smaller enterprises than Oppenheimer Bros. or Uriah Nelson, but not as small as McPhee. James Beer offered a complete range of general merchandise at his Front Street Store, Bossi and Vellatti sold groceries, provisions, liquors and fruits at their store at the corner of Front Street and the Cariboo road at the east end, and Sciutto established a fruit and provision store in 1882. In 1883 Powers Bros. established a general merchandise business, selling groceries - teas, sugars, coffee, canned fruits, provisions - flour, ham, bacon, fish, eggs, potatoes, and clothing and dry goods, including blankets. They shipped goods up-country or delivered them in town.

During the railroad construction days there were several meat markets in Yale. The principal one was the British Columbia Market, at the corner of Front and Regent streets. It was owned by Harper and Van Volkenburgh, who had an outlet in Victoria, and ranges up-country for raising
cattle. Van Volkenburgh was the partner looking after the Yale business, and he had a residence on Regent Street, near the store. Harper came to Yak̓ã̱l̓ee occasionally, usually with cattle he was driving down to market. Beef, pork, and mutton were sold.

The other meat markets were smaller and less stable and reflected the general instability of small specialized businesses established to capitalize on new or anticipated markets created by the construction. Edward Cannell, who had sold out to Harper and Van Volkenburgh, bought out Young and Nelson's meat shop. Nelson had another shop, where he sold beef, pork and mutton in 1882 and 1883. Cannell eventually moved up to Chapman's Bar and in 1885 was preparing to settle in Kamloops. In 1881 there was an advertisement in the Sentinel for P. Gannon and Co. butchers. Their store was located across from the Steamboat landing, and they, too, advertised beef, pork and mutton. In 1883 Thomas Woodland started the West End Meat Shop, again on Front Street.

Individual Yale residents sold some foods. William Prout advertised milk at 40 cents a gallon in 1880, and a few years later smoked salmon could be obtained from Edwin Pick.

Saloons and hotels were a major enterprise in Yale during the railroad construction days. Some, like the California House, had been in Yale for many years. Others were built in anticipation of an increased demand for accommodation, food and liquor. The Jewlin House was one of these. It was at the west end of Front Street, and could accommodate 50 lodgers. This particular hotel was destroyed in the fire of July 27, 1880,
and was not rebuilt. One of the proprietors, John Insley, invested in other property, on the corner of Front and Albert Streets, and built the Cascade House, with a parlour, sitting and reading room in addition to the bedrooms. In 1883 Insley built an ice house out of the lumber of an old railway warehouse that had stood opposite the hotel, and in that winter stored away approximately forty tons of ice, taken out of the river, near the first railway tunnel, about two miles to the north. He also had an interest in a hotel in New Westminster and some of the ice was destined for summer use there.

Other hotels on Front Street were the California House, run by Guy Tuttle, (the stage departed from and arrived at this house), the Caledonia Hotel, the Oriental Hotel, run in 1880 by an old-time resident, York, and his partner, DeBeck, and the Palace Hotel, built in 1880 by Benjamin Bailey, another old resident.

There were hotels on Douglas Street, too. The Ontario House was advertised first in 1881. It was located on the west end of Douglas Street. The Railroad House was also opened on Douglas Street in 1881, with Reuben Elley the first proprietor.

At the east end of Yale the Yale Creek House was opened in 1882. W.J. Taylor was the proprietor. The Traveler's Rest with Alex McDonald the proprietor, was located on Cariboo Street, the street that bounded the community on the east.

Liquor licences were granted to hotels, but there were also saloons in Yale. The Branch Saloon dated from the days before the railroad
construction, and boasted a billiard room, club room and bar. There were also the Pioneer Saloon, Cosmopolitan Saloon, and Gem Saloon. There were at least five restaurants, although not all were built in 1880. The Yale Restaurant, run by two partners, Street and Gannot, was located at the west end of Front Street. The Branch Restaurant, Cowles and Matthews proprietors, was also in Yale in 1880, and offered board by the day or week, and individual meals as well. There were others, the Palace Restaurant, and the Alki Restaurant, which advertised game in season and preparation by a French cook, in 1883. Previous owners had called it the Magnolia Restaurant, and had advertised game in season, "the best of everything arriving in the market" and meals at all hours. In December of 1882 the proprietors opened a shooting gallery in this establishment, and Yale men competed at fixed matches.

There were smaller retail outlets which did not sell food or clothing. In 1880 Thomas McNeeley and George Palmer were proprietors of stores selling stationery, fruits and tobacco. McNeeley's store was in the west part of Front Street and adjoined the post office. Palmer's News Depot was opposite the steamboat landing, and he also advertised nuts, oranges, lemons, and candies. In October of 1880 there was a notice that he was acting as an agent for William Irving who ran a line of steamers. In 1881 W. Harrison of Victoria opened a store and sold books, periodicals and stationery. His business did not thrive, and by September, 1882, he was offering his stock at reduced prices. He finally left in 1883.

T.R. Pearson and Co. established a store in 1883 on Front Street, advertising
themselves as stationers, booksellers and news agents. Pearson, himself, did not live in Yale but came up periodically from New Westminster.

Clothing could be purchased in Yale at the stores of many of the larger general merchants, such as Kwong Lee and Co., Oppenheimer Bros., the Hudson's Bay Company or Uriah Nelson. Gilmore and Clark's advertisements appear in 1882. They sold men's and boys' clothing, hats, capes, rubber apparel, boots and shoes, umbrellas, and Cape Ann oilskins. At times, there were also a tailor and seamstress in Yale. In 1881 Peter Brodie, a merchant tailor, had a shop, at first at the rear of the telegraph office, and then at the rear of a tin shop on Douglas Street. Mrs. M.M. Sebastian received dress goods from San Francisco "to suit the ladies of Yale" and invited them to call at her house on Douglas Street. She also undertook to make dresses and mantles in the latest fashions.

Artisans also established shops. MacQuarrie was still in Yale, making and selling boots and shoes. There were two other shoemakers, Louis Quinn and William Lloye. Deas was no longer in Yale but James McBride was selling stoves and tinware. James Fraser, a watch maker, established a repair and retail shop. He was also an agent for Thomas Russel and Sons, London.

Medical attention and supplies were probably more readily available in Yale at this time, than in any previous period in Yale's history. Dr. Frickelton was established already in Yale in 1880. He had come from Ontario in 1876, and had practised medicine and kept a drug store since that time. He remained in Yale until his death in 1884. With the railroad came
other doctors, specifically Hanington, and McLean. Hanington's responsibility was primarily for railway employees. McLean advertised a medical degree from Harvard (1863) and established an office at the California House in 1880. He was not in Yale continually, and was absent in 1882, but returned for a brief period in 1883 before moving with his family to Chilliwack.

Dr. Welsh, a dentist, established a shop next to Douglas and Deighton's shop on Front Street, but was at Yale only part of the time, dividing his work among New Westminster, Yale, and communities up-country.

There were two drug stores, in addition to Frickelton's, established in Yale. A branch of Moore and Co., chemists and druggists, was located in Yale next to the B.C. Express Office, in the central portion of Front Street, in 1880. The head office was in Victoria. The Yale City Drug Store was established in 1881, next door to Douglas and Deighton's shop, with W.E. McCartney, manager. It was a branch of the Wholesale and Retail City Drug store, run by A.M. Herring in New Westminster.

Not all of the businesses prospered. The ball held to celebrate the opening of Benjamin Bailey's Palace Hotel was followed closely by a meeting of his creditors. Nearly all of the hotels and saloons changed hands at least once between 1880 and 1885, and partnerships were formed and dissolved again, sometimes after only a short time. The Palace Hotel was owned, first by Bailey, then by Crotty and Anderson, then by McGirr, McGirr and Davis, and finally by Davis and McCoskery - all in a space of four years. The Oriental Hotel is another example. Originally built by
York and DeBeck, it passed into the hands of Louis Gold, and then was purchased in 1882 by George McCoskery, and was finally purchased by L. Salter in 1883. The California House was run by Guy Tuttle in 1880, but was owned by McGirr in 1882, and then by Tuttle again, later in 1882. Of the hotels, only the Cascade House, the Yale Creek House, and the Traveler's Rest saw the completion of the railroad with no change in their proprietors. Several men - William McGirr, John Davis, and George McCoskery - were involved in the proprietorship of several hotels although generally only of one at a time.

Saloons and restaurants changed hands as well. The old Branch Saloon, owned by Newton Ash in 1880, was owned afterwards by Elliott and Doyle and Co., and then by Elliott and Fisher. The Pioneer Saloon and Gem Saloon also changed hands, and the Magnolia Restaurant, run by T.H. Forester and Co. in 1882 became the Alki Restaurant, owned by Irving and Lawrence.

Businesses already established in Yale when construction began, tended to remain, although Oppenheimer Bros. closed out their Yale store in 1884, and concentrated their business in Victoria. But some of the new enterprises did not find enough business to sustain them. Walker's blacksmith shop, Quick and Co. contractors, and William Harrison, a stationer, were three entrepreneurs who did not remain long. Skilled craftsmen with small shops did remain - Louis Quinn, the shoemaker, moved down to Katz (at the time called Cat's) Landing, but returned to Yale within a short time. James Fraser, the watchmaker, and James McBride the tinsmith, remained in Yale.
Mining was not completely forgotten at this time. At least two companies, the Yale Force Pump Mining Company and the Stahlo-Chuck Mining Flume Company had shareholders among the residents of Yale. It was overshadowed, however, by the railroad and other business concerns.

There were two major fires in Yale, one in July of 1880 and the second in August of 1881. The first destroyed all of the Front Street buildings from Albert Street as far west as Uriah Nelson's store. The Hudson's Bay Company building, to the west of that, was not burned. Buildings on Douglas Street were also burned, including a boarding house and the school. Another house and barn, belonging to W.H. Ward, a teamster, was pulled down to prevent the fire from spreading to the next block.

The second fire destroyed the block Ward's house had been pulled down to save. All of the businesses along Front Street between Albert and Regent Streets were destroyed, and on Douglas Street some residences and the courthouse were burned.

In each case some of the businesses were at least partially insured, but others were not. The buildings were rebuilt within a few weeks, however, and saloon-keepers managed to begin business again under makeshift tents not long after the ashes had cooled. The buildings under government jurisdiction, such as the school and the courthouse, took longer to build. Neither one was rebuilt until well into the year following the fire that destroyed it.
Political and Social Organization

The basic legal system established in 1858 and 1859, and carried on in the 1860's was still operating in Yale. The three types of court - police court, county court and assize court - still met. Grand juries were appointed from among Yale citizens at assize courts and performed their dual function as before.

The courthouse, which combined a court room, with an office and residence for the Government agent, was on Douglas Street, and the jail was on the same property. The principal representative of the provincial government and the law was the Government agent, whose duties were manifold. He assumed responsibility for the government buildings, looked after the government accounts, acted as a stipendiary magistrate, registered voters for elections, posted notices of courts of appeal and revision of tax assessments, collected taxes, acted as assistant commissioner of lands, recording applications for registration and record under the Land Registry Ordinance, entered mining records for the Hope and Yale polling division, issued free miner's certificates, and registered births, marriages and deaths. (The Inland Sentinel, June 10, 1881). When railroad construction began, the incumbent Government agent was William Teague. He was succeeded by W. Dewdney in June, 1881.

The number of officials connected with the law had grown by the 1880's and it continued to grow. At the beginning of railroad construction Yale had a watchman, who patrolled the town, apparently mostly at night, and was responsible to the Government agent. The jail was used as a lodging
place for indigent people and for people whom the watchman found drunk and without a home. It was his duty to escort drunks to the jail, and an inquest held in 1881 resulted from the death of a man whom the watchman had delayed taking to the jail for shelter, apparently in accordance with an order that had been previously issued by the Government agent.

H.B. Roycroft was appointed Assistant Government Agent, toll-keeper and constable in 1880, and in June, 1881, a second constable, Kirkup, was appointed. He came from Victoria. Roycroft was later appointed a deputy for Yale and vicinity in addition to his other duties, and in 1882 George Fleming was also appointed a deputy sheriff. The Provincial Superintendents of Police visited Yale on occasion, and when there was need, special constables were sworn from among other Yale citizens.

There were also several Justices of the Peace. B. Douglas, R. Deighton, W. Teague and E. Pearson from Boston Bar were all Justices of the Peace, and performed the duties associated with the appointment along with those involved in their own occupations. They had the power to perform marriages, and had jurisdiction over the police courts, which were convened once a week. The Sentinel did not choose to print much of the police court business, but recurring issues were violation of the liquor laws and petty theft. Persons appearing in police court could be bound over for trial before a higher court. Those convicted in police court could be fined or given jail terms.

Justices of the Peace had other duties as well. In the absence of the regular coroner, who was spending the winter in New Westminster, a Justice
of the Peace conducted an inquest early in 1881. On another occasion Deighton and Pearson acted as a board of magistrates to grant liquor licences to business establishments (The Inland Sentinel, June 16, 1881).

The police court and the officers connected with it were responsible for maintaining order within the town, but they may not have been altogether successful. In December, 1881, there was a petition made by Yale citizens to the Governor-General, saying that crime had increased in the town with the coming of the railroad, that the magistrates and police were doing their best to preserve order, but that magistrates' decisions were being quashed by the Supreme Court. Consequently the selling of whiskey to Indians, and the selling of liquor in Chinese railway workers' camps were particularly widespread (The Inland Sentinel, December 1, 1881).

In September, 1882, A.C. Elliott arrived at Yale. His duties combined those of a Railway Commissioner and a stipendiary magistrate along the public works. His headquarters were at Yale and he acted as a magistrate in the town.

Provincially appointed circuit judges presided over county and assize courts. When the assize court was convened the Government agent acted as the clerk of the court. The sheriff, and one and sometimes two of the attorneys came from Yale. Andrew Leamy, who advertised himself as a barrister and attorney, practised in Yale from 1880 until the autumn of 1883, when he moved to Kamloops. W. Gibbs was in Yale, at least during 1881. He advertised himself as a law agent, writer, collector of wages, rents and mercantile bills, and said that his practice included the police and county courts.
Grand juries were appointed from Yale residents, usually men with verifiable business connections in the town. Dr. Frickelton was foreman of a grand jury in November, 1880, that was composed of fifteen men, including Newton Ash, a saloon keeper, J. Stott, a blacksmith, J. Alway, a Yale resident of many years' standing, W. Gladwin, L. Oppenheim, and F. Crotty. Membership on grand juries did not usually overlap from one assize court to the next, but Frank Crotty served on the grand jury in July, 1881, as well. The foreman of that jury was William McGirr, a hotel proprietor.

The recommendations of the grand jury were aimed at the elimination of what were considered nuisances in the community. They usually inspected the government buildings and reported on their condition, finding it satisfactory more often than not. In July, 1881, the grand jury asked that prisoners be kept in Yale, to clear and clean the streets, instead of being sent to New Westminster for their terms, that police challenge men without visible means of support, that the indiscriminate sale of poisons without registration of the purchasers be stopped, that the railway construct crossings and guards at places where the track intersected public roads, and that the railway company remove a warehouse obstructing the street opposite the Cascade House. They also complained about the large number of railway accidents that were not investigated through inquests, and about the new school. The building had just been completed, but the jury found that if the ideal amount of space were allowed for each pupil, the building would be able to accommodate nineteen of the seventy-five children in Yale who might attend the school. They remarked, also, that the desks
were inferior and inadequate, and that the school needed a woodshed and other accommodations. This jury also presented a petition from a number of citizens against the occupation of a house, them empty, by women who were considered to be of lewd character (The Inland Sentinel, July 28, 1881). Another grand jury complained of gambling in saloons, and chairs obstructing the sidewalks.

The government was represented in Yale through other services. The telegraph operator, postmaster and teacher were all government appointees. The offices of telegraph operator and postmaster were merged in 1881, although many people in Yale were not in favour of this, believing that there were too many responsibilities for one man. However, D. McMillian, who had come to Yale in 1880 to take the position of postmaster, left, and a man named Lindsay became both telegraph operator and postmaster. There were recurrent complaints against both services, although these were never directed against the person in charge. Mails were slow. They arrived with the steamer, and the outgoing mail departed with the same steamer. If a steamer was late in arriving, but intended to depart at the appointed time, businessmen were hard pressed to prepare their mail in time. The telegraph lines were often out of order. Nonetheless both the mails and the telegraph were important means of communication between Yale and other centres in British Columbia.

There was a small elementary school in Yale, with one teacher. When it was destroyed by the fire in the summer of 1880, no temporary quarters were found, and children went without. There were no replies to ad-
vertisements for tenders for construction of a new school, even though Teague was in a position to receive them by the autumn of 1880, and it was not until May that two Yale contractors, Henderson and Jamieson, began to build the new school (The Inland Sentinel, May 19, 1881).

When it did open, in the summer of 1881, fever prevalent in the town kept many parents from sending their children to school. In October it opened with 32 pupils. The teacher seems to have been different, from one year to another. Joseph Boag was the teacher in 1881-1882, and he was succeeded by Joseph Irwin.

Yale citizens were involved in the functioning of the school. There was an annual election of the school board, which usually took place in late June. In 1881, Oppenheimer, MacQuarrie and Gladwin were the members of the board, with MacQuarrie the secretary. The half-yearly examination of pupils was also observed in Yale. In 1875 it had been a relatively modest affair, with the district superintendent making a speech, and, because it was a Monday and an important day for business, many of the parents absent. In 1883 the pupils competed for more than $30 worth of prizes (The Inland Sentinel, January 3, 1884).

In an early editorial the Inland Sentinel noted that people in Yale were viewing incorporation with favour (The Inland Sentinel, August 12, 1880). Yale was never formally incorporated, but as in the 1860's the organization of adult men to plan to meet specific needs or to deal with particular crises constituted an ad hoc form of self-government.
Although there was no perennially constituted structure for the government of the town, individual public meetings had a structure that recurred from one meeting to another. Men who attended public meetings organized themselves, with a chairman and a secretary, before proceeding to deal with the business at hand. If the meeting ended with some matter to be investigated, or further work to be done, committees were formed from among those in attendance.

There were several such meetings between 1880 and 1884. Their purposes varied. Two were political — one to protest statements by Vancouver Island about the position of British Columbia in Confederation, or at least to protest Vancouver Island's right to speak for all of British Columbia (The Inland Sentinel, November 18, 1880), and another (actually two successive meetings) to consider the nomination of a candidate for a seat in the lower portion in the new House of Assembly. There were also meetings to prepare for the welcome of two important visitors — Sir Charles Tupper, in September, 1881, and the Governor-General, the Marquis of Lorne, and his wife, Princess Louise in September, 1882. In April, 1883 there was a meeting of merchants to demand the reduction of freight rates between Victoria and Yale, and the following month there was a public meeting of the Ratepayers (the only mention of such an organization) to formulate demands for various improvements to the cemetery, the schoolyard and the town in general, a bridge at Savona's Ferry, and to protest a bill then before the legislature that proposed construction of a railway from Kootenay Lake to a point on the Columbia River (The Inland Sentinel, March 15, 1883).
Yale was not a large town, and the number of men who could participate actively in its affairs was not large, but even so, there were a few men, e.g., Deighton, Teague, McGirr, Crotty, the Oppenheimers, who were particularly active— as members of grand juries, members of the school board, and chairmen and members of committees in public meetings.

There were two permanent organizations formed for the benefit of the community—the Fire Brigade, at first known as the Hook and Ladder Co., and the company that constructed and maintained the water works. The Fire Brigade was first established in response to the disastrous fire of 1880. The first annual election of officers was held in that summer. A chief officer, two assistants, a secretary and a treasurer were elected (The Inland Sentinel, August 6, 1880). Buckets and ladders were purchased, but during the year it was remarked in the Sentinel that interest in the organization was not as keen as it ought to have been. At the second annual election of officers, however, committees were struck to make by-laws, look after property owned by the company and find a suitable meeting place (The Inland Sentinel, June 9, 1881). The B.C. Express hall was secured as a temporary meeting place, but a Yale carpenter, Scovill, was building a fireman's hall for regular meetings.

He built it in the right place. It was in the block to the east of the block that was destroyed by fire in August, 1881. The fire company was unable to check the fire for two major reasons: there was not enough water pressure, and there were not enough men fighting the fire. Burr, the captain, testified that of the thirty members of the Fire Brigade, only six
were helping him during the fire. The others were concentrating on removing their own belongings from burning buildings (The Inland Sentinel, August 25, 1881).

The Fire Brigade was not defeated, however. In September a committee consisting of Burr, Insley, and McGirr was appointed to secure an engine. Petitions asking for aid were sent to New Westminster and Victoria, and these two communities responded with donations. Yale citizens raised money for the engine through public subscription and a ball (The Inland Sentinel, October 13, 1881). In April, 1882, the engine, hose cart and hose had arrived (The Inland Sentinel, April 20, 1882). The Yale Fire Brigade was incorporated as an organization at a session of the legislature (The Inland Sentinel, June 7, 1883), and during the summer of 1883 care was taken to see that the water tanks were repaired. There was only one other large fire in Yale before 1885 - in December, 1883, several buildings in the east end caught fire and burned, causing $50,000 worth of damage. The Fire Brigade turned out to fight the fire, and did bring it under control, but found in the process that the engine did not work.

In April, 1884, there was a public meeting in the court house to elect fire wardens, in accordance with an act passed in the previous session of the legislature. Three were elected by acclamation: Kirkup, the constable, Lovell, a merchant, and MacQuarrie, a shoemaker.

The original meeting to consider the construction of the water works was held in 1880 in Douglas and Deighton's shop. A joint stock company was formed to pay for the costs of pipes, hydrants, and their installation. It
was decided to sell six hundred shares at $10 each (The Inland Sentinel, September 16, 1880). B. Douglas, I. Oppenheimer, Ward DeBeck, and J. Insley and L. GGold, all businessmen of some standing, were the directors (The Inland Sentinel, October 14, 1880). Wyckoff's patent pipe, capable of sustaining pressure of 80 lb. per square inch, was to be laid the length of the town, from Victoria Street in the west, to Yale Street in the east, then along Douglas Street back to Victoria Street, and along Albert Street, connecting Douglas Street with Front Street. A tank capable of holding 2,000 gallons was to be built and hydrants were to be at the corner of each street, and in the centre of each block (The Inland Sentinel, September 16, 1880). The contract was let and the work completed. By January the monthly water rates were published in the Sentinel.

The water works company was not as active an organization as the Fire Brigade, but new officers were elected in April, 1881. Like the Fire Brigade's arrangements, the water works were not without problems. During the winter of 1883-84 the pipes froze, and residents either carried water from the river or bought it from teams that went around town selling it by the pail or barrel (The Inland Sentinel, February 21, 1884). Lack of water pressure in the hydrant was a critical factor in the Fire Brigade's inability to halt the fire in 1881. On that occasion the water works had proved susceptible to the long, dry heat of the summer.

There were other voluntary associations in Yale, with somewhat less serious purposes. In 1880 there is reference to the Odd Fellows Literary Relief Association, which held meetings Wednesday evenings in the Methodist
Church (The Inland Sentinel, October 28, 1880). On the occasion of a visit of N. Shakespeare, Deputy for the Independent Order of Good Templars, who gave a lecture in the Methodist Church on the benefits of temperance, the Echo Canyon Lodge of Good Templars was formed with twenty-two charter members. The names of businessmen active in public meetings and community organizations do not appear among the twenty-two. Meetings were to be held on Saturdays, and the organization may have survived, but there is no further reference to it, or to the Odd Fellows, in the Sentinel. In 1882 another association, either openly or tacitly connected with the Anglican Church was formed. It was the Yale Institute, with a reading room and a debating society. Horlock, the Anglican minister in Yale at the time, was active in its formation. Donations to the library came from within Yale, and from a publisher in London.

I have no information on voluntary associations for women. Associations connected with the various churches may have existed, but they are not mentioned in the pages of the Inland Sentinel.

Religious Institutions

In the White community there were three churches, the Roman Catholic, the Anglican, and the Methodist. Of these, only the Anglican church, St. John the Divine, had a full-time vicar. In 1879, A.W. Sillitoe was appointed Bishop of the newly created Diocese of New Westminster, and in the following few years he made regular visits to Yale. There was a choir and Sunday school connected with this church. In the spring of 1882 Horlock replaced Blanchard as the vicar, and he remained until 1884.
A new Roman Catholic Church was built in 1880 at the east end of Douglas Street. Frank Crotty was the contractor and the lumber came from the mill at Emory. When finished the church was 20' x 40', and 18' to the eaves, with a belfry that stood 30' to the top of the cross. The inside was painted white, the outside light blue. There was a porch in front, and a picket fence about 40' long (The Inland Sentinel, November 4, 1880).

The priest who conducted masses in this church most often was Father Horris, who came frequently from New Westminster. Other missionary priests, Lejeune, Chirouse, Peytavin, and Coccola, conducted masses when visiting Yale. A church choir was formed, with several younger people members, and it sang at services. An organ was purchased, and in June the St. Mary's Mission Boys' Band came up by steamer from St. Mary's school at Mission to participate in a concert held in the B.C. Express hall to raise money to pay for it. They also played at the service the following Sunday, and non-Roman Catholics attended as well.

Methodist services were also held by visiting preachers, and this church seems to have had the most tenuous organization of the churches in Yale. In September, 1880, there was an advertisement in the Sentinel that tenders were being received for the purchase of the whole or part of the Methodist Church property, which consisted of four lots in a block on the upper part of Douglas Street. However, in 1883, preachers visiting from Victoria and Maple Ridge held services in the Methodist Church. There was some organization within the Methodist congregation, for in 1884 they were preparing a Christmas social to be held in the court house (The Inland Sentinel, December 18, 1884).
Celebrations of Queen Victoria's birthday on the 24th of May and of the Fourth of July were the principal festivals in Yale at this period. In 1880 the Sentinel remarked that there was no celebration of July First — it was all work (The Inland Sentinel, July 1, 1880), and in the following years July First was celebrated with private picnics.

The program for the celebrations on each day was arranged by a committee of businessmen. Generally the two festivals had the same sort of program: a gun salute at sunrise, canoe racing (by Indians), horse racing, foot races and other athletic competitions, such as the standing jump, high jump, greasy pole climb, and tug of war. Sight-seeing, carriage-riding and making social calls were informal activities. The 24th of May celebrated ended in 1881 with an impromptu social at the Cascade House, with dancing until 3:00 a.m.

The Fourth of July picnic in 1881 was special, for it was organized in aid of the Fire Brigade, and they hired the railway cars to take excursionists to Emory for part of the day. Emory's hotels were open; meals were available for 50 cents, and there was music and a platform for dancing. There were swings for ladies, quoits and races. At twelve o'clock there was a salute of 21 guns, and excursionists returned to Yale for the sports in the afternoon (The Inland Sentinel, July 7, 1881).

In 1884, as the railroad construction was drawing to a close, the May 24th celebration was not as elaborate as in previous years, but there was still sight-seeing in the afternoon, and races.
There were other festivals in communities within travelling distance: the fall races at Spences Bridge, the Chilliwack fall fair, and the B.C. Agricultural Association Annual Exhibition, held, in 1883, in the new agricultural hall at New Westminster.

Concerts, dances, entertainments, and bazaars were other occasions when large numbers of Yale people met socially. "The Grand Vocal and Instrumental Concert for the Benefit of the Musical Fund," i.e., the concert held to raise money to pay for the Roman Catholic Church organ was one of these. To aid the engine and hose fund, a ball was held at the California House, with dancing until midnight, then supper laid out on two tables, each with a pyramid cake, and then more dancing, although some of the more prominent citizens followed supper with rounds of toasts and responses. The Yale Institute gave entertainments in 1882, and in 1883 the Yale Amateur Minstrels gave a series of entertainments with songs and skits.

There were more informal sorts of entertainment that included families and friends. These included picnics at Emory, outings at Texas Lake six miles downriver, in the summer and skating parties in the winter, and grouse shooting at Maria Island farther downriver in the fall. On Christmas and New Year's days people paid social calls. There is even one report of a display of rockets by Edwin Peck, in honour of Dr. Frickelton's 59th birthday (The Inland Sentinel, October 6, 1881).

1880's: The Chinese Community

Before 1880 there were substantial numbers of Chinese living in British Columbia as miners and merchants. Some were still mining in the
The Inland Sentinel, August 19, 1880), and many more were working up in the Cariboo.

With the coming of the railway construction, the Chinese population increased. Onderdonk imported Chinese workmen through the Lien-ch'ang Company, which was organized both in Victoria and Hong Kong by a merchant, Li T'ien-p'ei, of San Francisco, later of Portland. He worked with Li You-ch'in of Kwang-an-lung, Li Yi-Te of T'ai-yuan in Victoria, and Li-T'ien-shih of Kwang-hua-yuan in San Francisco (Lee, trans. typescript: 104). Fifteen hundred workers were also recruited from Portland (Lee, trans. typescript: 105).

In 1881 Onderdonk brought 2,000 workers from Hong Kong in two ships through the Lien-ch'ang Company. Some Cantonese people came of their own initiative. From 1881 to 1884, 15,701 Chinese people came from Hong Kong, San Francisco and Seattle, but only about 6,500 were hired as railway workers. The rest went into business. Lee, in his history of overseas Chinese in Canada, provides these figures, and states that "Between 1881 and 1884 there were three saloons, seven restaurants, five groceries and fourteen laundries run by Chinese in Yale" (Lee, translated typescript: 105).

The Chinese Railway Workers

The Chinese workmen were lodged along the railway line in tent camps, and not in bunkhouses as the White workers were. Supplies for these camps were purchased by the railway company by contracts separate from those
for the White labourers' camps. Chinese workers did not work in the same
gangs as White, but were supervised by White foremen, although there is at
least one reference in the Sentinel to a Chinese bookkeeper working with
one of the gangs.

Cole, a White man with some experience in China, was hired as an
interpreter, but there were Chinese intermediaries between the workmen and
railway authorities as well. A journalist visiting the area in 1880 en-
countered a man whom he described as "a distinguished looking Chinaman,
well mounted on a powerful horse, with a large umbrella protecting his
head from the rays of the sun, and followed at a respectful distance by a
Chinese servant...." (The Inland Sentinel, August 26, 1880), and this man
functioned as an intermediary between workers and foremen.

There were several reports of accidents, many of them fatal,
involving Chinese workmen, at the beginning of the construction, and inter-
mittently until the railroad was finished. Anger and bitterness accompanied
these, and even violence. In 1882 when a Chinese man was killed at Seabird
Bluff, below Yale, by a blast, the work gang chased the foreman until he
took refuge on the river with a passing boatman (The Inland Sentinel,
December 14, 1882).

Chinese workmen were not admitted to the Railway hospital in Yale,
and medical attention seems to have been uneven. Dr. McLean, of Yale, was
appointed doctor for the Chinese working on the railway by the Chinese High
Commissioner, but he assumed these duties in addition to his regular practice,
and in 1882 was apparently away from Yale for a time. There were recurrent
reports of illness. In 1881, a Chinese man suffering from "yellow janders" died on board a steamer while awaiting transport to hospital (The Inland Sentinel, June 1, 1881), and in February, 1883, there were many deaths from a disease that was variously named as scurvy, "black-leg", and "berrie-berrie" (The Inland Sentinel, February 1, 15, 22, 1883). A temporary hospital was established in March, 1883, by the Benevolent Association in the Chinese community at Yale. It was located at the house of Sam Sing, who ran a laundry. The Sentinel reported that there was no medical attendance - Onderdonk refused to interfere, while the "Lee Chuck Company, that brought the Chinese refuses, through their agent, Lee Soon, who runs the Chinese store at Emory, to become responsible for doctor's bills or medicines" (The Inland Sentinel, March 1, 1883). Williams' Directory for 1882-1883 lists a Dr. Po On as a resident in Yale, but there is no reference to him in connection with the treatment of railway workers.

Ill-treatment of Chinese by White railway authorities is intermittently reported. Late in 1882 the Sentinel published a letter from a man reporting on conditions in the vicinity of Port Moody and Maple Ridge. He stated that the Chinese workmen had, on at least one occasion, been given inadequate warning that their camp was to be moved, and had been forced to move under crowded and inhumane conditions. From day to day, they were forced to buy goods at company stores at Company prices that exceeded San Francisco market prices by a significant amount (The Inland Sentinel, December 21, 1882).
During the winter of 1883, when work above Lytton was shut down, Chinese railway workers were dependent on rice shipped up to their camps and many moved down to Yale. These men were destitute; they took shelter in old buildings on Douglas Street, and found food where they could (The Inland Sentinel, January 3, 1884). Todd, the Superintendent of Police, came from Victoria to inspect the conditions of the camps above Lytton, and concluded that there was enough rice there to last the winter (The Inland Sentinel, January 17, 1884), but Chinese workers suffered poverty and hunger nonetheless.

Attitudes of Whites toward Chinese

Editorials and articles in the Sentinel reflect some of the Whites' attitudes toward the Chinese at this time. There was probably little contact or communication between the average White citizen of Yale and the average Chinese workman. In the newspaper reports the Chinese are referred to as "Celestials", "Chinamen", and "John".

At the beginning of railway construction the Sentinel published an editorial favorable to the Chinese. There was, however, considerable anti-Chinese sentiment in the province at large, and in Yale, while the railroad was being built. In 1881, in a dispute with the railway authorities, Chinese workmen went en masse to the warehouse at Yale, and a skirmish ensued between some of them, and some Whites inside the warehouse. The Chinese involved were brought to trial at an assize court, and Justice Crease, a supposedly impartial representative of the law, had this to say:
This singular race have such an habitual aptitude for organization, so complete, so effective yet so secret, in its character that the prospect of their collective action in a wrong direction must inspire proportionate caution and firmness in dealing with them. (The Inland Sentinel, July 28, 1881)

He spoke for some length on the necessity of requiring the Chinese to obey the laws and then said

...it becomes the white men to show these heathens a better example than they so frequently exhibit, especially in this town (The Inland Sentinel, July 28, 1881)

Such sentiments existed in Yale, as well. William McGirr, a hotel-keeper nominated to run for a seat in the legislature in 1882, spoke about the Chinese in his public address to the electors:

I heartily dislike to see such hordes of these heathens crowding into our small communities, forcing out white labor and crippling our resources. But with the supply of white labor obtainable it seems impossible to complete the present railway contract within the specified time without resource to the Chinese element. But if elected, I shall deem it my duty to support any measure that may be brought forward to impress upon the Dominion Government the desirability of stopping further Chinese immigration. (The Inland Sentinel, June 29, 1882)

Fear of the potential power of the Chinese acting together was also expressed in an editorial of the Inland Sentinel, following the accident at Seabird Bluff, when a Chinese man was killed, and the foreman was chased into the river. The Sentinel felt that the Chinese should have been given fair warning about the blast, that "not even Chinamen should be exposed to injury or loss of life" but that in failing to prosecute the Chinese who had threatened the foreman, the railway company was "sowing a wind that may reap a whirlwind" (The Inland Sentinel, December 14, 1882).

The necessity of Chinese labour on the railway could not be denied, even by the most antagonistic. However, in October, 1882, the Inland
Sentinel reprinted an editorial from the British Columbian that pointed out that Kurtz (who had been a resident of Yale in the late 1850's) operated a successful cigar-manufacturing business that was dependent solely on White labour, even though cigar-making was practically a Chinese monopoly in San Francisco at the time (The Inland Sentinel, October 12, 1882).

There was antagonism, but also curiosity. At the beginning of construction, at least, there was even some attribution of extra-human powers to the Chinese. One workman was believed fatally injured in a railway accident, but surprised his employers, and the Sentinel, by appearing the next day and requesting his pay (The Inland Sentinel, August 19, 1880). An editorial in 1882 discoursed on the reasons why Chinese burned paper at funerals – so the dead would have paper money readily available – why the Chinese welcomed distinguished visitors elaborately – they had been trained in habitual deference to persons in authority in their own nation, and there was a brief account of a legend about a former Queen of China's accidentally marking the wax impression of a coin with her fingernail, and the subsequent production of the coin, mark and all, because the mark she had made could not be removed (The Inland Sentinel, October 26, 1882).

Chinese and the Law

Confrontations between the Chinese and provincial legal authorities almost always sprang from conflicts between the Chinese workers and railway authorities, or refusal by the Chinese to comply with provincial requirements such as taxation. There were occasional cases of assault and petty theft,
and one trial of a Chinese man for the murder of a Chinese merchant in Yale, but this case was eventually dismissed. There was also some indignation in Yale over the sale of "Chinese brandy" or Chinese gin in camps along the railway line, but the selling of liquor in railway camps was certainly not confined to the Chinese. There were a number of entrepreneurs.

In 1881 there was conflict with the law over the census and the school tax. Some Chinese workers were fined for refusal to answer questions put to them by the census taker (The Inland Sentinel, May 5, 1881). Railway workers, both White and Chinese, were generally single, had not before been residents of Yale, and did not have children eligible to attend the Yale school. Nonetheless, payment of the school tax was required of them. The Whites did not approve of this, but since the tax was deducted by Onderdonk from their wages, they did not have opportunity to refuse to pay. Onderdonk did not deduct the tax from the Chinese workers' wages.

In July, 1881, constable Kirkup of Yale met with considerable hostility and no success in an attempt to collect school tax from the Chinese workmen (The Inland Sentinel, July 14, 1881), and in October, the Provincial Superintendent of Police went up with Roycroft and eight special constables to enforce payment. They took agents of the Chinese companies as interpreters. They were successful in collecting the tax, but only after they threatened to use force.

Grievances of Chinese men against the Railway company resulted in a gathering of men at the warehouse at Yale, and some violence. Three men were tried as a consequence of this event - Ah Gee, for rioting, Ah King,
for trying to rescue Ah Gee and for assaulting Roycroft when he was making the arrest, and a White man for firing into the crowd during the riot. The case against the White man was dismissed. Ah Gee was sentenced to five years in prison, and Ah King to eighteen months in the common jail with hard labour. On the way to New Westminster to serve his prison term, Ah Gee jumped over the side of the steamer and drowned. At his trial the prosecuting attorney had been Walkem, then Attorney General, the defense counsel, A.T.: McElman, a lawyer with a practice in New Westminster, and the interpreter was Ah Foon.

Eight men were convicted of assault on a foreman in November, 1882. They were represented by Mills, of the firm of Fell and Mills, in Victoria. Four were sentenced to four years imprisonment with hard labour, and the other four to three years (The Inland Sentinel, November 23, 1882).

Chinese residents in Yale did use the legal system when appropriate occasions arose. At one point On Lee, a merchant, employed Gibbs, a collection agent, to collect a debt from Yun Chung, another Chinese resident in Yale, who testified that he was a barber by trade. There was a fracas. Yun Chung was arrested for assault on Gibbs and Co., but he, in turn, brought suit against Gibbs and Co. for malicious damage to his property (The Inland Sentinel, December 15, 1881).

**Businesses**

Several businesses had been established in the 1860's and 1870's, and these, He Tie, Kwong I.Lee and Co., and Kai Kee and Co., were still in Yale in the 1880's. There were other Chinese businesses in Yale during the
railway construction as well. Some may have been there before, but not represented in the directories. Others were undoubtedly new and were established as a result of the railway construction. In October, 1880, The Inland Sentinel reported "the Chinese residents have a number of buildings recently erected at the east end, now occupied, and appear to be doing a fair business" (The Inland Sentinel, October 7, 1880), and in April, 1881, there were other reports of new buildings. A hotel and restaurant was being built for a man known to Whites as Spuzzum Charley, and a smaller building was being built for Kwong Lee and Co. A Chinese merchant from Victoria had also built a store and stocked it with goods (The Inland Sentinel, April 21, 1881).

Information on the number and kind of Chinese businesses in Yale at this period is difficult to find in the Inland Sentinel, since only Kwong Lee and Co. and two of the wash houses advertised in the paper. The directories are more helpful, but unless some of the general merchants had highly diversified businesses, or unless some of the businesses went completely unreported in the sources known to me, as is certainly possible, the three saloons, seven restaurants, and fourteen laundries reported for Yale by Lee are difficult to verify. Between 1882 and 1885 there were four wash houses, run by Ye Hop, Sam Sing, Mrs. Yen Kee, and Yuen Wo, who first advertised in May, 1881, but had sold his business to Chong Yoke by January, 1882. Yuen Wo provided the services of an employment office, as well, and advertised that he could supply situations and secure employment (The Inland Sentinel, May 5, 1881).
Of the three general merchants, Kwong Lee and Co. was probably the largest. The agent for this company at Yale was Won Cumyow. In 1883 he erected a telegraph line from the post office where the telegraph office was to the east end, and was receiving instructions from Lindsay, the telegraph operator, in operating it. Kwong Lee and Co. advertised a vast range of goods, from groceries, dry goods, clothing, carpenters' tools, hardware, crockery, glassware, tents, wagon covers made to order, suits made to order, overalls, and jumpers, to boots and shoes which they imported from their own factory in San Francisco.

There were four grocers: Lun Sang, Hop Wo, On Lee and Foo Yuen. There was also a shoemaker on Douglas Street, Hong Lee, and two doctors, although they may not have been in Yale at the same time. Dr. Po On was in Yale in 1882-1883, and Dr. Yuen Sing Tong had an office on Douglas Street in 1884-1885. His advertisement in the *Inland Sentinel* in May, 1884, read:

...having had a proper education and considerable experience in China as well as a long practice in this Province he is prepared to treat the most stubborn cases. (*The Inland Sentinel, May 24, 1884*)

Chinese merchants in Yale still supplied men working in the mines up-country. In August 1883 both Kwong Lee and Co. and Kai Kee sent large pack trains with goods bound for Chinese mining camps (*The Inland Sentinel, August 30, 1883*).

The Chinese business community suffered some $50,000 worth of damage, when fire destroyed several buildings in 1883. A letter signed by Kwong Lee and Co., E. Tai and Co., Kai Kee, On Lee, Gee Kung Tong and Co., Lun Sang, and Foo Yune accompanied a donation the following week to the Fire
Brigade. The businessmen contributed $140 to the organization itself, and $40 for certain repairs to the town (The Inland Sentinel, December 6, 1883).

In 1884 Won Cumyow left Yale, and travelled to San Francisco, New York and Montreal. He did not return to Yale, but became an agent for King Tye and Co. in Victoria, when he returned to the west coast.

**Social Organization**

There is evidence that the Chinese community had institutions of its own, apart from those of the White community, and that celebrations, weddings and funerals, initiated and attended primarily by the Chinese, occurred in Yale. There was also co-operation among Chinese businessmen in dealing with crises in the Chinese community.

A temple was built in 1882 on the upper side of the railroad track on Douglas Street. The article that announced it said that it was to be a building 24' x 30', and one and a half stories high. The pidgin word "joss house" was used in reports (The Inland Sentinel, October 19, 1882). The temple was opened in April, and Chinese visitors from Victoria and New Westminster were present for the celebration, as well as a band. Balloons and firecrackers were part of the festivities (The Inland Sentinel, April 12, 1883).

According to the Sentinel the Chinese Freemason's Lodge, a branch of the lodge established in San Francisco and Victoria had existed in Yale for some years. In 1883 a building and lot were purchased from On Lee, adjoining his store on Douglas Street, for $600, and the building was fur-
nished as a hall. At the opening a flagstaff 63' high, with a flag, red with a white border and containing Chinese characters, was flown from it, as well as two yellow streamers. There were over sixty members in the Lodge at Yale, and the officers were Chung Gim, Chung Yey, and Ming Tehe (The Inland Sentinel, August 3, 1883).

A member of this society died at Spences Bridge in 1884 and was taken to Yale for burial. The Sentinel's report of the ceremony is incomplete, for the reporter did not understand the meaning of what occurred, but the report does state that flags, bunting and streamers were displayed at the east end of Douglas Street, tables containing food and ornaments were spread in the streets, a ceremony occurred, and then the wagon with the coffin, preceded by a band and followed by members of the society, was taken to the graveyard (The Inland Sentinel, April 24, 1884). The Sentinel also reported a much simpler burial of a man, not a member of the society, who died in the hospital at Yale.

The wedding of one of the merchants, On Lee, occurred in January, 1884. The bride had come recently from China, and the ceremony was at On Lee's residence. The Grand Master of the Chinese Freemasons officiated, and a large number of On Lee's friends attended. After the ceremony there was a dinner at the Masonic Hall (The Inland Sentinel, January 17, 1884).

Chinese New Year was celebrated every year in Yale. In 1883 the Sentinel reported that a number of ladies and gentlemen had visited Kwong Lee and Co. and had been received generously by Won Comyow (The Inland Sentinel, February 8, 1883).
The report of the 1884 New Year's celebration was more elaborate. Thousands of fire crackers were reported to have been exploded, and a band had played continuously in the Chinese hall. Kwong Lee & Co. again played a prominent part in entertaining Yale citizens, both Chinese and White.

Tuesday night Kwong Lee & Co. gave a grand entertainment to a number of our citizens, officials, public men and others in the private walks of life. The preparations were extensive and the best of luxuries were provided, and wines for those who partake of the liquids of that character. Mr. Cumyow presiding, and ably assisted by Dr. Hanington as Vice-Chairman. At the conclusion of the delicacies of the season toasts and responses, speech-making and songs occupied the attention up to the "sma' wee hours" when Mr. Fraser's bagpipes tuned out, with his well known ability, the closing farewell. All together the entertainment was a success and the popularity of the famous firm of Kwong Lee & Co., and especially the polite Manager here, Mr. Cumyow, largely increased. (The Inland Sentinel, January 31, 1884)

When it became apparent that many Chinese railway workers were suffering from illnesses, and receiving no medical attention, a number of prominent Chinese businessmen formed a Benevolent Society for the purpose of opening a hospital (The Inland Sentinel, February 22, 1883). Chinese businessmen also contributed to causes that would aid Yale as a community. Kwong Lee and Co. headed the list of Chinese subscribers to the engine fund, and Ki Kee (sic), E. Tie, Kwong On Wo, Luen Sang, Boen Tong, Hue Ling, Yen Kee, Sun Sing, and Yun Yuen also contributed various amounts (The Inland Sentinel, October 20, 1881). The businessmen contributed again to the fire brigade after the fire late in 1883. Earlier in 1883 there had been cooperation between the Fire Brigade and the Chinese merchants in inspecting buildings to reduce fire hazards, with Won Cumyow acting as representative of the Chinese community (The Inland Sentinel, March 15, 1883).
Some social and business relationships were established between the Chinese and White communities in Yale, but in the location of their residences and businesses, and with respect to their religious and social institutions they were in many ways separate.

1880's: The Indian Community

The first photographs of the reserve at Yale, that have been preserved, were taken in the 1880's and 1890's. An early one shows the reserve on the low land at the east end of the town. The houses are of frame construction, although it is difficult to tell from the photograph whether they are of traditional or White design, or combine characteristics of each. They run more or less in a line from west to east along the river bank, and there is a fenced plot of land adjoining each house, between the house and the river.

Other photographs, taken in the 1880's and 1890's, show houses scattered over the area of the reserve, from the river bank to the railway track. The fenced plots of land are there, and the Roman Catholic Church by Yale Creek, and in one photograph the Indian Anglican Church, on a rise of land above the railway track. The houses are small, and of frame construction, although the boards often run perpendicular to the ground. They are of a size suitable for single nuclear families. The custom of accommodating an extended family in a single large dwelling had been discarded.

In the mid-1870's the Indians in British Columbia had come under the jurisdiction of the federal Indian Affairs Branch, and the Yale people
were within the bounds of the Fraser superintendency. Agents of the Indian Affairs Branch did not get to Yale frequently, either then or in succeeding years, and the information to be obtained from the Annual Reports of the Branch is scant.

Population estimates for the Yale band for the years between 1879 and 1882 are suspiciously uniform - according to them 267 people were members of the Yale band in every one of those years. The figure can probably be taken as a guide; in 1883 it changed to 232. During these years the population of the Indian villages along the Fraser was fluid. The villages in the canyon above Yale came to be abandoned, and although people did continue to live at Yale and in the vicinity there was a tendency to move downriver. Many of the people living on Seabird Island came originally from upriver villages, or their parents did. Some people who are now old-timers in Yale remember a division within the reserve between Roman Catholics and Anglicans. The two groups lived in different territories within the reserve area, Roman Catholics in the vicinity of Yale Creek, and Anglicans near Mary Anne Creek.

Like the missionaries, the Indian Affairs Branch wanted Indians to take up horticulture. This was somewhat more feasible at Yale than in the Fraser Canyon, where the policy was also pursued, and where sites for houses, let alone fields, with adequate water supplies, were relatively scarce and small where they could be found.

The fenced fields behind the houses at Yale may indicate that gardens, at least, were planted. The superintendent for the area, Lenihan,
reported in 1878 that he had sent agricultural implements and carpenters' tools to Yale: a harness, three hoes, a scythe and snath, a grindstone, a drawing knife and a froe (Indian Affairs Branch Annual Report, 1878: 74-75). He also sent twenty packages of assorted seed (1878: 79).

Fishing, however, continued to be a mainstay of the Indians' economy, and the Inland Sentinel reported the beginning of the summer fisheries each year. People from downriver settlements came up to Yale to fish, still.

The Anglican and Roman Catholic Churches were now established institutions. The Roman Catholic Church was visited by missionaries, usually Lejeune or Chirouse, and Horris, from New Westminster, also held services in that church occasionally. The Anglican Church was supervised by Reverend Wright. The Indian and White Anglican congregations were distinct, with different places of worship, if not different forms. When there was no Roman Catholic Church for the Whites in Yale, Horris held different services in the church on the reserve for Whites and Indians.

There were boarding schools for Roman Catholic children at St. Mary's Mission and Kamloops. Later in the 1880's there was a boarding school for Indian girls at Yale.

In 1881 the location of the Indian reserve at Yale and several reserves downriver from Yale, but associated with the Yale band, were confirmed by Peter O'Reilly, the Indian Reserve Commissioner. In his report he stated that the population at Yale when he was there was 143, and the chief was Le-cut-tum (Indian Affairs Report, 1881: 176).
The newspaper reports about Indians in the 1880's reflect the harsh social distinctions of the time. The custom of not referring to individual Indians by name, or of referring to them by nicknames easily pronounced by English-speaking people, continued. There are a few recurring contexts in which Indians were discussed in The Inland Sentinel: infractions of the liquor laws, usually the sale of liquor to Indians or the appearance of Indians drunk in public places; participation in festivals. Indians did participate, and often came from other villages to participate in festivals at Yale such as the Fourth of July or the Queen's Birthday, but they competed in specifically designated events, particularly canoe races, in which Whites did not compete. The visits by missionaries to the Roman Catholic Church on the reserve, were noted, along with Christmas services in both Roman Catholic and Anglican churches. There is no other mention of Indian ceremonial life. If potlatching (heavily discouraged by the Indian Affairs Branch and later forbidden by law) and spirit dancing continued, no Sentinel reporter attended.

The drying of fish in the summer time and the camping at Yale of other Indians from downriver were always mentioned. There was a mixture, in these reports, of polite, almost glad, acknowledgement, for the event was scenic and newsworthy, with condemnation, for according to traditional practice the Indians did not throw the offal into the river and other Yale citizens objected to the stench. The only other reference to the annual economic cycle was one that stated they were downriver getting their potatoes, but this was accompanied by a sarcastic prediction that they would soon return to Yale and resume drinking.
The Sentinel did object to the exploitation of the Indians by the railway company. Part of the Indian cemetery was destroyed by the construction, and there was no compensation, although it is difficult to imagine adequate compensation for such a loss. The proper treatment of the dead was an important consideration in traditional Stalo culture. Although standing grave boxes had been replaced by graveyards in which bodies were interred, the care of the graveyard remained important.

Later, Indians lost their wages when both Onderdonk and the subcontractor, Paterson, defaulted on paying for work done in constructing station houses along the line. Indian men and women had transported lumber across the river and up the line, according to one who had also worked for Paterson, and had not been paid. The Sentinel called for the protection of Indians but not as equal citizens. The air of "children of the forest" clung to their statements, and the phrase was, indeed, used once.

Very occasionally, Indians are mentioned as employees of Whites in Yale. Most frequently they were hired to take people downriver in canoes.

The Sentinel expressed agreement with a legislator who, in January, 1884, called for resettlement of Indians on lands in more remote places than those that had been allotted to them and the throwing open of the allotted Indian lands to Whites for settlement. This did not apply to Yale but the sentiment is clear.

The Impact of the Railroad

The coming of the railroad had meant more business for established merchants, and new opportunities for artisans and merchants to establish
businesses in Yale. The population had expanded. While construction lasted there was prosperity, although not enough to support all of the new enterprises, but the building of the railroad ultimately impoverished Yale.

Onderdonk, the contractor, and some of his officials, such as Dr. Hanington, lived in Yale. The workmen lived in camps on the line. One was located about fifteen miles above Yale at what came to be known as the Big Tunnel. The camps were supplied by contract. Harper and Van Volkenburgh did supply meat for the railway workers, but the railway company was not always a good client, and bills were not always paid promptly.

The railway company constructed new buildings at Yale. An acid works and powder factory were constructed at the west end of the town, and at the eastend were machine shops, a turntable, a roundhouse and a carpenter's shop. New houses were built for Onderdonk and some of his employees in Yale. Onderdonk's house was at the west end of the town. Hanington's was on Douglas Street, just to the west of the Anglican church and vicarage.

Railway workers spent their paydays in Yale, patronized the saloons and hotels and drew complaint about their rowdy behaviour from the Sentinel. Much of the illegal liquor traffic and some of the petty theft dealt with in the police court stemmed from the railway work.

A hospital was built in Yale behind the Anglican Church. White workers contributed to its upkeep from their wages. Chinese workers were not admitted. A hospital was later established in the Chinese community at Yale. The Railway hospital did not admit Yale citizens, or even sick railway workers. It only treated those injured in accidents, and there were
enough of these to keep it busy. Mrs. Ward, the matron, moved to Yale to work at the hospital, and left when it closed as construction ended. Yale people felt a need for a hospital - the closest one was at New Westminster - and there was resentment against the railway company, at least at the beginning.

The railway company officers did not participate greatly in Yale's society. Hanington did so more than any; both he and Onderdonk were accorded respect, but Hanington also served on reception committees for visitors, and was a shareholder in one of the mining companies. They did enjoy a relatively privileged position in Yale, perhaps merely because their position and income seemed secure.

As construction progressed, there was concern expressed in grand jury reports, about the careless handling of blasting powder along the line, and the frequency of accidents. Some people, both Whites and Indians, lost money working on the construction of station houses for a sub-contractor who failed to pay and whose debt Onderdonk refused to cover, and this caused the Sentinel to criticize the Railway company bitterly.

By the end of 1884 a line was established from Harrison River, and then from Port Moody, to beyond Yale. Trains began to replace steamers in transporting both people and freight. There was complaint about high fares and freight rates, and lack of regard for passengers' safety.

It had become clear to the Sentinel, and to businessmen in Yale, that the railway had rendered Yale obsolete for business purposes. Yale was still the head of navigation, but the transport of freight no longer depended
on the river. The Cariboo wagon road, maintained by Onderdonk throughout the construction period, was eventually destroyed by the railroad, and the transfer point for goods in shipment was moved up-country. In recognition of this, businesses of long standing in Yale, such as U. Nelson, and Kimball and Gladwin were moving their enterprises up-country. The break was made even more emphatic by Kimball's death, and in fact several of Yale's residents, either old-timers or prominent citizens, had died by the time the railway was finished: Frickelton, Edwin Peck, and William Laidlaw, who had come to Cariboo in 1862 and had lived in Yale for many years. Their deaths certainly had nothing to do with the railroad, but both people and habits that had become established in the 1860's and 1870's and had been continued into the 1880's were passing away. The Inland Sentinel moved up to Kamloops in May, 1884.

The railway tracks had been laid straight down the centre of Douglas Street, and the river bank and Steamboat Landing, foci of business for nearly 27 years, were obsolete. The railway station became the focus of business and Douglas Street became the main street in a commercial as well as residential way. Peter Clair, for example, remained in Yale, but moved his business up to Douglas Street in 1885. Artisans and hotel-keepers were affected by the change as well as merchants and forwarding and commission agents. Yale was no longer a centre of business where people had to wait for connections between one kind of transport and another. It had become a station on the main line. Trains stopped there briefly, but the services required by those passing through were far fewer than they had been when Yale's position as head of navigation was central to travel and transport from the coast to the interior.
5. AFTER THE CPR

Yale declined with the departure of the CPR construction workers but did not disappear. There was mining, small gardening, railway maintenance, and opportunities for a few businesses, still. The businesses did not vanish as construction ended, but they changed hands, their number grew smaller, and most of them were finally closed. According to Williams' Directory, in 1887 James Fraser was still a watchmaker at Yale, James McBride still a tinsmith, Daniel MacQuarrie still a shoemaker. Guy Tuttle still ran the California House, but W.J. Taylor, who had been proprietor of the Yale Creek House was now running Insley's Cascade House, and James Stott, a former blacksmith, had become a general trader. There were three saloons, a grocery store, a general store, and a general merchant, a butcher and a dairyman. The Railway Hotel, sometimes and eventually called the Railroad House, was in business on Douglas Street, down the street from the CPR station.

Other men working in Yale were the school teacher, the postmaster and telegraph operator, the government agent, and a special constable. All of the rest, with the exception of a few men involved in mining enterprises, were engineers, bookkeepers, conductors, blacksmiths and foremen for the CPR (Williams, 1887: 241).

In 1889 Williams listed five Chinese businesses at Yale: E. Tai, Kai Kee, and Lung Sang, merchants, He Tie, the proprietor of a general store, and Yune Woo, the proprietor of a laundry (Williams, 1889: 268). In 1891 there were listings for Kai Kee and Tai Kee, which may have been an error in recording the single name Kai Kee, and through 1898 Kai Kee was the only
Chinese business listed in Yale. Kai Kee was also listed in 1900, with a note that there was a branch store in Spuzzum (Henderson, 1900: 539), and Quan Wo appeared as a second Chinese business in Yale.

By this time other businesses in Yale were few. Two hotels remained, the Station Hotel, originally run by W.J. Taylor in 1889 (Williams, 1889: 268) and in 1900 run by W.H. Ward, who had been a teamster living in Yale for many years, and the Railroad House, run by Mrs. J. Reevesbech. David J. Creighton’s general store, which first appeared in the lists in 1887, was still in operation, and he had become the postmaster (Henderson, 1900: 539).

A small and relatively stable population subsisted at Yale during these years. The foci of travel had been changed by the CPR. North Bend, always the site of an Ntlakapamux village, but never a town with a large White population, became an important station for railway maintenance, and grew much larger. It was on the CPR line, and there was increased communication between Yale and North Bend, and between Yale and Agassiz, the next town on the CPR downriver.

In the days when steamers had been the only means of downriver transportation, destinations for travellers had frequently been Chilliwack, New Westminster, and Victoria. The last two cities were terminal points for the steamers, but people had travelled much further afield – to San Francisco and frequently to Oregon. In the early 1880's one or two Yale residents even went back to visit their homes in Europe and returned again to Yale. Merchants had made regular trips between Yale and the coast, and Yale and
the upcountry communities. Steamers were still running, but had definitely taken second place to the railway. The CPR facilitated travel greatly, but there were far fewer businessmen in Yale who needed to take advantage of it.

In 1885, with the encouragement of the Bishop of New Westminster, an Anglican school for girls was established at Yale. It was first housed in the parsonage of St. John the Divine, the Anglican church, but soon moved into the house at the west end of town which Onderdonk had built and then vacated. The school was run by the Sisters of All Hallows, of Ditchingham, England, and was actually two Anglican boarding schools, a relatively exclusive private school for White girls, who paid annual tuition, and a boarding school for Indian girls which was supported at least in part by the Dominion Government and by the Society for the Propagation of Christian Knowledge. Few of the girls in either of the divisions of the school came from Yale. The white girls came from as far away as Victoria and Golden, and the Indians from Spuzzum, Lytton, Ashcroft, and farther.

A separate building for the Indian school was eventually built beside the main house, which housed the White school. The two divisions of the school were different in curriculum, the scheduling of the terms and the uniforms worn by the girls, but members of the two divisions attended chapel and ceremonies together, although in separate groups. The curriculum for the White pupils stressed English composition, history, geography, French, music, needlework, drawing, arithmetic and scripture. Study of scripture was probably common to both schools, but for the Indian pupils spoken English and domestic training were stressed.
All Hallows School was in Yale until well into the 1900's. The White school was maintained, although support for it grew harder to find, and it finally closed in 1923.

Yale persisted as a small, quiet community through the early years of the century. Information on the social organization of the community during these years is practically non-existent. The Anglican Church was the principal religious institution. There was a resident vicar, Charles Croucher, who lived at the vicarage with his wife next door to the church. He conducted services at North Bend as well. The Bishop of New Westminster continued to come to Yale for confirmations and other special occasions.

Creighton's general store and post office, and Mrs. Reevesbech's Railroad Hotel also continued. W.H. Ward ran the Station Hotel at least up to 1902, but in the directories for 1904 and 1903 his name appears alone, with no occupation.

There were several Chinese businesses in town, but there is no information on the social organization of the Chinese community. It is likely that the White and Chinese communities became more closely integrated as they both grew smaller, and their respective social institutions became more attenuated. All the businesses are listed as general merchants. Fook Wo and Kai Kee are listed from 1901 through 1904 and again in 1910. I do not have lists from directories in intervening years. Quan Wo and Quong Suey appear only in 1901. From 1902 through 1904 Sang Lee is listed. It cannot be taken for granted that the information in the directories is complete. Contemporary old-timers in Yale remember On Lee as early as 1910, and his business and family were well established in Yale at that time. He may well
have been established in Yale since the 1880's or before, since the Inland Sentinel recorded both a legal suit in which On Lee was involved, and a wedding in which he was married. There may have been more than one On Lee, but there is no evidence for that.

The CNR

While the Canadian Northern Railway was being constructed on the river terrace opposite Yale, the town flourished again. Accounts of the days of the CNR construction ca. 1912 can be found in the reminiscences of some contemporary Yale old-timers (see Chapter V). The newspaper of that time was published at Hope, a town suddenly prosperous because of the construction of the Canadian Northern and Kettle Valley Railways, and anticipating continued growth as a result of mining ventures in the vicinity. The abortive Steamboat Mountain Gold Rush occurred at this time, but Hope residents were not discouraged and believed that worthwhile ore would be found in the territory prospected during the Steamboat Mountain rush.

The newspaper had various names in 1910 and 1911: The Hope News, The Gold Trail, The Steamboat Nugget, The Hope-Steamboat Nugget, and finally The West Yale Review. The last issue of The West Yale Review was published on November 24, 1916. There were some subscribers in Yale, but it was also sold to Yale residents in single copies. It carried some Yale news, at least as long as the CNR construction was occurring there.

The business growth that accompanied the CNR in Yale was by no means as extensive as the growth in the CPR days. Nonetheless several new
businesses were established, and improvements - sidewalks along Douglas Street, a new Parish hall - were made in the community. D.J. Creighton was operating his general store and post office, and the Railroad Hotel was still there, although Mrs. Reevesbech was building a new hotel on the north side of Douglas Street, just west of the station. The new businesses were built along this street, and generally near the station. Opposite the depot the Spokane Cafe offered quick lunch at all hours, and, also near the station N. Schultz and Co. had a barber shop and pool room, where one could buy cigars, tobacco and soft drinks. Miss Florence Castle sold fruits, confectionery, cigars and soft drinks at a News Stand (The West Yale Review, August 26, 1911).

A.W. Cox had moved to Yale and was in business as a builder and contractor. On Front Street was the Palace Cafe, and apparently a store owned by J.D. Nicholls, but he moved his business up to a new building on Douglas Street in 1911. Another Douglas Street business was the English Kitchen, managed by C. Black and A.E. Egan, in the building facing the railway station, and adjoining the post office on the east. It combined a rooming house, restaurant, tobacco store and pool room and was advertised as open almost continuously (The West Yale Review, January 27, 1912).

There were also mining companies operating, or starting to operate at Yale at this time, principally the Yale Mining and Development Company and the Siwash Creek Gold Mines (The West Yale Review, November 18, 1911).

The Anglican Church was the main religious and social institution in the town, although in the years between 1911 and 1914 a number of voluntary associations were started, some associated with the church and others indepen-
dent. Most of the social events held in the town were connected with one or another of these organizations. A new parish hall was opened in December, 1911, and a concert, preceded by a tea and home-made candy sale was held to celebrate the event (The West Yale Review, December 16, 1911). Other voluntary associations were the St. John's Ladies Guild, which gave a garden party, a fancy dress ball, and an afternoon tea on various occasions, the Yale Whist Club, which held weekly meetings, which were occasionally followed by a dance, and a tennis club. Matches were sometimes arranged with the Hope tennis club. The Yale Dramatic Society held amateur theatrical performances in the Parish Hall, and also went to North Bend to perform there.

With the beginning of World War I a local branch of the Canadian Patriotic Fund was established. In November 1914 a concert and dance were given in aid of the Belgian and Canadian Patriotic funds (The West Yale Review, November 27, 1914). At first it met semi-monthly, and then held semi-weekly dances; by July, 1915, it was holding fortnightly meetings (The West Yale Review, July 2, 1915). A Red Cross Branch was started with ten or twelve members and in one month forwarded to the Red Cross headquarters 200 bandages, 40 handkerchiefs, 20 face cloths, 20 bags, 10 pair of socks, 10 pair of slippers and 10 triangular bandages (The West Yale Review, October 29, 1915).

The parish hall was the centre of most of the social activity of the town. Yale people did attend the annual closing ceremonies of All Hallows School. They also attended the closing ceremonies of the Yale Public School each year, but these, also were held in the parish hall.

There was a local constable in Yale, and a police court, but in April 1912, the police court had more business than had been before it in a long time,
when the preliminary trial of a worker for the IWW who was accused of trying to induce CNR workers to strike was held there. The IWW had a headquarters in Yale, and the workers had, in fact, called a strike, demanding a minimum wage of $3 per day and a nine-hour work day.

Judge Howay, of New Westminster, visited Yale to hold the County Court, but in at least one instance there was no case for him to hear (The West Yale Review, July 6, 1912).

During these years Yale people travelled - to North Bend, Hope, Vancouver, and Kamloops. D.J. Creighton and his wife went for a visit to his old home in Chatham, Ontario and were away for five months.

According to the reminiscences of old-timers living in Yale now there were at least two Chinese families with businesses in Yale at this time, but they are not mentioned in the West Yale Review. The On Lee family and the Fook Wo family had businesses on Douglas Street, and their children attended the Yale Public School.

There are only two references to Indians, but these indicate the beginnings of political consciousness and organization to deal with the White government. In the summer of 1914 there was at first an embargo and then a partial closure of fishing on the Fraser. This drew bitter, but well composed protest from Indian leaders between Hope and Lytton. They made two written statements, outlining the importance of fishing in their economy, and asking compensation for their loss. In a letter to the editor of the West Yale Review, signed by Chief James, Chief Michael, Chief Jimmy, Chief Paul and Dennis S. Peter, they said:
It isn't the Indian fishermen between Hope and Lytton who are to blame for the scarcity of fish that reach the spawning grounds. We all know too well who is to blame. It's the salmon traps on the coast and the 25,000 fishing boats with 50,000 fishermen. Their nets are 150 fathoms long and 30 feet deep and block the mouth of the river where the salmon enter to reach the spawning grounds. Hell's Gate, the C.N. railroaders and the government are to blame. We all agree that we do not want police to come and make any trouble. If they leave us alone there will be no trouble and no money loss to the government. If they do stop us from our Indian fishing we will stand for our compensations - maybe $100,000 for the several tribes between Hope and Lytton. This is yearly compensation. (The West Yale Review, July 25, 1914)

Conclusion

Since the gold rush Yale's history has consisted of brief periods of prosperity and economic development followed by much longer periods of subsistence. The population and the complexity of its social organization have each time grown with the economy, and have become attenuated as prosperity declined.

The Chinese and Whites came to Yale from different cultures but with the same purposes, and the Indians were forced to adapt to their presence to such an extent that much of traditional Stalo culture was discarded. Nonetheless the three groups maintained separate identities and social organization throughout the nineteenth century and well into the twentieth century.

From the beginnings of their settlement the Whites maintained an ad hoc political organization, expressed in meetings of residents, usually only of men, to deal with particular problems. No standing organization persisted between crises, but meetings always had the same formal structure, and action that resulted from them took the same form from one generation to ano-
ther; petitions and resolutions if the problem involved Yale and a larger or more powerful political body, and the formation of joint stock companies if the problem was economic and could be solved through co-operation within Yale.

With the exception of the miners' laws in 1858, and after the colony of British Columbia was legally constituted, the creation and enforcement of laws were the prerogatives of the Colonial Government, at first, and then of the Provincial and Federal Governments. Laws were enforced at Yale by agents appointed by external authorities.

Education was primarily the responsibility of the Provincial Government, after 1872, and Yale's single school was staffed by teachers who met provincial training requirements and their work was subject to inspection by men appointed by the province. There was some local control, expressed in a Board of Trustees, elected annually from among Yale residents. This board selected or confirmed the selection of the teacher for the school. The school was a social institution important in the community, and when there was no school, as after the fire of 1880, or when the building was considered inadequate, as in 1881, there was concern among the townspeople. At various times in the nineteenth century the semi-annual examination of pupils was a social event attended by adults as well as by children.

The major social institution in the community were the Churches, particularly the Anglican Church, which was able to support a resident vicar until well into the twentieth century. The Methodist and Roman Catholic congregations were not as large, and perhaps not as stable, although Methodist
ministers and Roman Catholic priests visited Yale from neighbouring centres, especially during the 1880's.

Voluntary associations, particularly for adult men, existed in each period, but were transitory. Even so, they all had a similar formal structure, with elected officers and committees to organize their activities.

Throughout the nineteenth century the public festivals celebrated by the White community indicate two primary national orientations: British and American. Affiliation with eastern Canada was slow to be felt and expressed, although before the construction of the Canadian Pacific Railway and during its construction there were certainly expressions of antipathy toward eastern Canada in the press of British Columbia as a whole, and in Yale itself. July First was not a prominent festival in the nineteenth century, although it may have become more important in the twentieth.

Basically Yale was a village with a small population subject to periodic and sudden increases. While it was head of navigation, the community

2. Statements of the population of Yale in the nineteenth century are few, and principally based on estimate rather than on formal census. Directories, which exist for most years following 1867, include names of adult men only, and perhaps not all of these. Women, children, Indians and Chinese residents who were not proprietors of businesses, have been excluded.

The gold rush population fluctuated from month to month and eventually declined as the focus of mining activity moved north and east, away from Yale. Douglas estimated the population between Hope and the Falls, just above Yale, at 190 Whites and twice that number of Indians in the early summer of 1858 (Douglas to Lord Stanley, June 10, 1858). After his visit in September of the same year he set the population at Fort Yale itself at 1300, with 4,000 people between Cornish Bar, below Hope, and Yale, and 300 between Fort Yale and Lytton (Douglas to E.B. Lytton, November 9, 1858). A year later the population had diminished — only 600 Whites were between Hope and Yale (Douglas to Newcastle, 18 October, 1859).

(Continued . . . .)
could support businesses such as Uriah Nelson, Kimball and Gladwin, Oppenheimer Bros., Kwong Lee and Co., that had markets that extended beyond the population of the community into the up-country areas. Once the railway had made river navigation obsolete as far as the transport of freight was con-

2. (Continued....) In 1872 the Canadian government published a report by Langevin, the federal Minister of Public Works. It contains a statement of population for the area between Hope and Lytton, which includes Yale, although there are no separate figures for Yale itself. The ethnic categories reported are Whites - 640 men and 93 women, Coloured - 20 men and 3 women, and Chinese - 305 men and 6 women (Langevin, 1872: 152).

The 1891 Federal census does contain a statement of population for Yale: 382 people, consisting of 111 families living in 109 dwellings. Williams' directories for 1892 and 1893 estimate the Yale population at about 200 and about 220 respectively.

Population estimates for Indians became part of the duties of the agent in charge of each district, once the Federal Indian Affairs Branch was established. However the results of any census at Yale would have varied with the seasons - Yale was far more heavily populated in the summer fishing season than during the winter, and a proper census would have required linguistic skill that the Indian agents did not necessarily possess. The early population estimates are suspiciously uniform: in each year between 1879 and 1882, 267 Indian people are reported to have lived in Yale. In 1883 the figure changed to 232.

The most reasonable conclusion about the population of Yale as a whole is that it was enlarged greatly and very briefly during the gold rush, and then the White population declined to a stable number of, perhaps, approximately 250. The Indian population was undoubtedly affected by smallpox, prevalent in the 1860's, the consolidation of villages and the general trend toward downriver movement.

The construction of the CPR brought a new influx of both White and Chinese men, but these people were transient, and the majority of them were housed and fed outside Yale. After the CPR, the population declined again to a relatively stable minimum, reflected in the estimates for the 1892 and 1893 directories. The Chinese people were perhaps fewer than the Whites, but their population grew and declined in much the same pattern, and as a result of the same factors.
cerned, Yale ceased to become an economic centre with a hinterland, and could no longer support these businesses. The small, stable population could support minimal economic activity, with very few specialized enterprises.

When construction of the Canadian Pacific Railway began, many new enterprises, some of them highly specialized, were started, but even in such a time of particular prosperity the business community was fluid. Leases, properties and entire enterprises changed hands; partnerships were formed and dissolved, sometimes within a few months. Those who were prosperous at the beginning of a boom could retain their prosperity, but it was difficult to establish a stable, long-lasting enterprise on the strength of something like railway construction, which certainly generated a larger demand for goods and services, but a transient one.

The Chinese community established itself in an area of town between the Indian and White communities and developed a social organization separate from both. Chinese and White businessmen engaged in similar enterprises and did meet socially in the course of Chinese festivals, although Chinese participation in White community festivals is not documented. Eventually Chinese and White businessmen co-operated in regulating fire hazards, a common danger. The Chinese community at Yale had some contact with Chinese communities at New Westminster and Victoria, for representatives of these communities attended the opening of the joss house at Yale.

As both Chinese and White populations became much smaller than they had been, they became less separate, so that in the childhood of some of Yale's contemporary old-timers, Chinese and White children attended the Yale school together, and all spoke English.
The native, Stalo, culture underwent the most fundamental changes. The population moved downriver gradually over the years. The canyon villages above Yale were abandoned as winter residences, although not as summer fishing places. Yale's Indian population fluctuated with the seasons, but ultimately declined until the resident population consisted of a few families.

Although winter dance ceremonies are no longer held at Yale they have remained a significant part of Stalo culture. Roman Catholicism and Anglicanism also became social institutions, and the focus of ceremonies held and attended by Yale people, although the Anglican population eventually declined, leaving a Roman Catholic Church and a Roman Catholic population.

The Indians participated as they could in the Whites' economy. They were never enterpreneurs competing with White businessmen, although they transported people and goods over considerable distances in canoes, and sold fish and baskets. Baskets had largely been supplanted as household utensils by factory-produced goods, but Indian women continued to make them for sale to Whites. In materials and techniques of manufacture and decoration they did not change these baskets, but they often modified the form and modelled them on containers and articles of furniture common in European culture. The making of baskets was a small, cottage industry. Fishing remained an economic activity of primary importance, and was supplemented by trapping, the harvesting of some wild foods, some horticulture and wage work.

Although intermarriage between Whites and Indians occurred, generally Indians and Whites remained apart in residence, social organization, economy, language and kinship ties. Indians were governed by the same laws
as Whites but some laws were directed at them and did not affect Whites in the same way, such as prohibitions against Indians drinking and potlatching. Indians appeared in court as defendants, but never as officers of the court. They were governed under the same political constitutions as Whites, but until the mid-twentieth century could not have the franchise and retain their Indian status. Indian children were educated in schools apart from White children, and although significant acculturation, e.g., adoption of Christianity, the more frequent use of English and incorporation of wage work into their economy, took place during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, White and Indian communities remained apart, and White and Indian residents of Yale, while acquainted with one another, communicated and interacted only in limited ways.

By the mid-twentieth century Yale was a small community with a population that was predominantly White and English-speaking. In the following chapter is a description of the community as it existed in 1973.
CHAPTER III
CONTEMPORARY YALE

Although Yale's layout has changed slightly in response to current conditions, the principles of its organization have not changed. In 1880 it was a community laid out on a rectangular grid, bounded on the south by the Fraser River, on the north by the Coast Mountains; the eastern and western ends of the rectangle tapered and extended out to form residential areas whose physical and social characteristics were in many ways opposed.

The places of business were grouped near the main arteries of communication and transportation, the river and the Cariboo wagon road. The houses faced each other across streets, and Douglas Street, one street north of the river, was the main residential area. In the centre of this area was the Anglican Church for the White population, with a vicarage attached; across the street and a few houses to the west was the school. In the next block to the east was the courthouse and residence of the Government Agent, and in the block further to the east the Roman Catholic church for Whites was under construction. The residential areas did not extend north, although the sidehill was known and exploited for water, wood, minerals and perhaps grazing land.

To the west of the town were a few large houses facing the river. Each was situated on a large lot, and was owned, then or formerly, by a man with substantial business interests or an official position in the town. The Chinese people who came into the area in the 1880's to work on the CPR, and stayed on after construction was finished, lived and had their
businesses in the easternmost blocks of Front and Douglas Streets. At the very east end of the community was the Indian reserve — perhaps twenty houses of frame or upright logs. There was land attached to each house, fenced for cultivation or pasture, and two churches were located on the reserve, one Roman Catholic Church (St. Joseph's) and one Anglican Church.

Since at that time Yale was the head of river navigation and a distribution point for goods being transported to and from the Interior, people who lived in Yale derived their livelihood from the community itself, supplying fuel for steamboats, services and goods for residents and travellers or from industries that were not confined to the townsite but did have offices and employees in the community, particularly CPR construction and express.

The present layout of the community offers many contrasts, but the principles of its organization have not changed greatly. Front Street, the former business section, is now nearly deserted. There are no businesses there. Some of the lots are devoted to pasture for livestock, others to sheds, and five to houses. The places of business are still clustered around the main transportation artery, but that is no longer the river, nor even the CPR. It is the Trans-Canada Highway, which now runs through Yale to the north of Douglas Street. After the CPR was built, Yale was no longer a point where two systems of transport meet, causing people to halt their journeys temporarily to transfer from one to the other, and there was little incentive for travellers to stop. Travellers, however, are the main focus of the contemporary business enter-
prises. Of the six different businesses in Yale, two are gas stations, and three are motels. One of the motels has a cafe. The sixth business is a small store and post office. Local people patronise the store, get their mail at the post office, get gasoline, cars and repairs at the gas stations, and have coffee in the cafe. The cafe is an informal meeting place for two or three businessmen, the storekeeper and one or two of the motel owners, and sometimes for women and younger adults or teenagers. Banquets for voluntary associations such as the Junior Forest Wardens are also held there.

The main residential area of the town still includes Douglas Street, although it is bisected longitudinally by the CPR line. But there are also houses on the Trans-Canada Highway, and there is a new development above the highway near the school, a single street of mostly mobile homes. The school is no longer in the central part of the residential area. It is in the northernmost part of the townsite, beyond all the houses.

The reorientation of the community to the highway looks less complete than it is, partly because the houses on Douglas Street are several feet lower than the highway, and one's eye is drawn to the river as it is drawn to them. Also the church faces the river, with its back to the Trans-Canada Highway. Nonetheless in the three blocks of the highway that comprise the length of the main section of Yale, are situated all of the businesses, the Anglican Church, and the community hall, which has been on that site since 1910.
The traffic on the highway and the absence of sidewalks and sheltered storefronts discourage adults from gathering on the main street to talk. The most popular gathering place, the hotel beer parlour, was lost when the hotel burned down in September, 1970. It had not yet been replaced in 1973, although construction began on a new one while I was there. People gather in the community hall for specific occasions, Ratepayers' Association meetings, pot-luck suppers, tea and bake sales, dances. Whist drives are held in the school.

Yale has a population of approximately 300, mostly white and of European, predominantly British, descent. The Indian population is very small; about 30 Indian people live in Yale. One, and occasionally a second, family live off the reserve, in the central part of the town. Three families live on the reserve, two on the west side of Yale Creek, and one on the east side. There are no Chinese people living in Yale, although the last two families who lived there are remembered and contact is maintained between a member of one of the families who now lives in Vancouver, and long-term residents of the community. A member of the other family made a surprise visit to Yale in the summer of 1973 to renew acquaintance with a resident of Yale with whom he had gone to school.

When I was in Yale there were 78 dwellings inhabited for some or all of the year. Ten of these were mobile homes, which tended to be permanent dwellings, intended to be stationary for some time. Porches had been added, lawns planted and maintained, signs that the inhabitants did not consider themselves transient. Dwellings were concentrated most heavily on Douglas Street, the Trans-Canada Highway and Bridge Street north of the
highway. The side streets which intersect them each have a few dwellings and the residential area extends west along the Trans-Canada Highway for about a mile and a half. Forty-six of the seventy-eight houses were located on the Trans-Canada Highway and Douglas Street. Across the river from Yale were five or six homes.

People who live in Yale work in the surrounding area. The businesses in Yale employ only one or two people outside the families who own them. With the exception of one or two women who work in a bank or cafe in Hope, Yale people do not commute to Hope to work in businesses there. Work is seasonal and not always plentiful. One man works on the highway maintenance crew; a few work on railway maintenance. A logging firm cutting timber near Spuzzum hires local men who commute every day from their homes, and so does the Giant Mascot mine, located between Yale and Hope. One independent logging contractor lives in Yale, and there is one prospector, who came to live there relatively recently, and occasionally works in the area, but often goes as far away as Dawson City. Occasionally there is temporary work on the highways, and on pipeline and hydro projects in the general area. In the summer, Indian men and women fish for salmon in family groups. One fisherman sets his net in front of the town. Another family has a fishing site near Emory Creek, and a third fishes at Spuzzum. Fishing is a seasonal occupation, and even in season is restricted to a certain part of the week, usually between 6:00 p.m. Thursday and 6:00 p.m. Sunday. Non-status Indians and Whites are legally barred from fishing with nets in the river, although they may angle for
spring salmon. Some do, but this is considered recreation rather than employment.

Most men in Yale expect to work outdoors and with their hands, or as self-employed businessmen. Scarcities of employment, seasonal or absolute, create dependence on government assistance. A few men are unable to work, and others are retired. Dependence on welfare is not unknown, and while it is not considered a condition to be admired or sought after, it is common enough that it does not entail irremediable loss of prestige in the community.

The food eaten by people in Yale comes primarily from the three grocery stores in Hope, although some comes from the river and the land. One man told me that I would see as many Yale people shopping in Chilliwack as in Hope, but another person's statement that "Yale people shop in Hope; Hope people shop in Chilliwack" seems more accurate. Different people expressed preference for different stores in Hope, although I shopped in all three and met more Yale people in Supervalu than in either of the others. Excursions to Chilliwack occur less frequently than shopping trips to Hope, but when they do happen, shopping is extensive, since Chilliwack offers a large supermarket and a department store.

There is a small store in Yale which stocks, in addition to souvenirs and magazines, some food: bread, baked goods, canned goods, sugar, coffee, cooking ingredients, frozen meat, ice cream, soft drinks and a small quantity of fresh meat and vegetables. Not all of the inventory is displayed, for the store is small. Customers frequently ask for
something they need and it is produced from the stock room at the back. Some clothing — shirts, running shoes, workmen's socks and blue jeans — and a few tools, spades, axes, and lanterns, are also sold. Most people in Yale shop there occasionally, often for items they have run out of and need quickly. Those who shop there regularly are those who are tied to Yale through lack of transportation or lack of ready cash, for credit can be obtained there but not at the chain stores in Hope.

Six people keep vegetable gardens and grow potatoes, tomatoes, cucumbers, radishes, beans, carrots and lettuce, or varying combinations of these. When I was in Yale only one man sold vegetables on the highway. Most people who grew them used them fresh, stored them, in the case of potatoes and carrots, and canned or froze them for use during the winter. Vegetables are also exchanged or given away, usually by giving gifts of freshly picked ones to people who come to call.

Picking berries is acknowledged by Indians and Whites alike to be a worthy occupation, but not everyone does it. Two non-Indian women went regularly to Spuzzum during the blackcap and trailing blackberry season, and picked as many as they could, bringing them home to can. Two others, one Indian, the other White, went up to Frozen Lake late in the summer to get huckleberries but found them few and poor. Frozen Lake is a traditional berry-picking ground for Indians in the Yale area and Whites have included it in their knowledge. Others picked the blackberries that grow on bushes down on Front Street. Berry-picking is a private, random enterprise, usually undertaken by women. Occasionally two women will
agree to go together but there are few arrangements that persist from year to year.

Yale used to be celebrated for its cherries, in the days when passenger trains stopped at the station. Cherry trees grew well and abundantly, and those who wished to sell cherries to passengers and had no tree of their own, could arrange to buy and pick cherries from a tree belonging to someone else. Cherries were also sent by train to other centres to be sold there and one of the oldest residents can remember rising at 4:00 a.m. to pick cherries so they could be sent away on the train.

There are very few trees left. Most of them lived out their span, died, and were not replaced. Others were displaced by new building. Most of the few that remain grow along the river side of Front Street. There are some on the Indian reserve, and some grow along the track, on the properties in the west end of the town where the houses have ceased to exist. As the cherries ripen, they are picked, by adults, children and birds. They are not considered to be owned by anyone in particular. One child, questioning me about the location of a plum tree I said I had seen, said, "Oh, it's by the river. The Government owns it. Nobody owns it," implying by his tone that the plums were free for the picking. Plums and apples that grow in the same places as the cherries are picked in the same way.

Wild mushrooms are picked in the spring and fall, especially in the fall, and are valued by some people. One or two people are considered to have extensive knowledge of them and one man is said to dry them for
later use, but most people limit themselves to picking one or two or four varieties — only the ones they are sure they can recognize. Morelles, chantarelles, shaggy manes and inky caps are the most frequently mentioned kinds, and the sub-varieties of each of these are not specified. Handbooks are rarely used as guides, although one person was glad to obtain the B.C. Provincial Museum handbook, and she said she had heard it was good.

For some people, Whites as well as Indians, salmon is a substantial part of the diet. A few people angle for spring salmon, and trout at the mouths of the creeks, especially Five-Mile Creek and Siwash Creek. Salmon of all varieties, obtained in other ways, is canned or frozen. Two of the Indian families customarily dry a portion of their catch, and freeze or can another portion. One particularly skillful angler, a White resident, smoked part of the fish he caught. Most families have freezers, and most women, young and older, do some canning. Jars become very scarce in stores in Hope at the beginning of the canning season. Wild berries, fruit from the Fraser Valley and the Okanagon, and salmon — "Fraser River Strawberries" — are all either canned or frozen.

A woman who cans a substantial amount, and cans it well, earns respect, and women take pride in canning a great deal of food, although it is possible for a woman to can so much, and to have so much left over from one year to another, that others will comment that there is no need for such an excessive amount. Canning is not simply a way to be frugal — it represents an accomplishment and gives a sense of self-sufficiency.
One woman who was canning tomatoes for herself and her mother, who had been seriously ill and unable to can anything that year, said that her mother had felt better when she saw the jars on the shelf. She had been feeling bad because she had been able to do nothing.

Meat or fish or chicken, potatoes and vegetables constitute the ideal main meal of most people and even those without large or steady incomes achieve it much of the time. Meat comes from stores in Hope or Chilliwack; some people buy beef or pork in bulk from outlets or farms in the Fraser Valley. Some men, but not all, go hunting for moose or deer in the fall, but people do not rely on this for their major supply. Only one man in Yale raises cattle. Two other families, living in the central part of the village, keep animals other than dogs and cats - one keeps goats and chickens; the other keeps ducks, geese and sheep. They both keep their animals in fenced yards beside their houses. One other fenced lot on Front Street serves as a sort of open stable for a horse.

Some women in Yale bake their own bread; some others use frozen loaves of prepared dough which they store in the freezer and take out as they need them. On the whole, people are not unwilling to use prepared foods. Pie-crust mixes, cake mixes, prepared spices for cooking chicken - all are part of the standard diet. When a visitor comes, the usual refreshment is instant coffee and canned milk, although that is not invariable. Brewed coffee and tea may also be served.

Clothing comes from stores in Hope and Chilliwack. A few women sew clothes for themselves and their children. Older women are more likely to wear dresses more frequently than younger housewives, but women of all
ages wear slacks and blouses for housework and everyday errands, and even for social occasions such as pot-luck suppers and dances. Dresses, rather than slacks, are worn to church, however. Since most men go out to work in the bush or on the highway, they wear dark working clothes, rather than business suits and ties, and wear casual shirts and pants after work. Only the school principal and the magistrate wear business suits to work. The standard dress for children, both boys and girls, is slacks or jeans and shirts, although girls may wear dresses to school.

Some people in Yale, especially those who are elderly and retired, have no car, and depend on rides offered by others if they are to leave Yale at all. The bus service between Yale and Hope is incidental to the regular schedule of Greyhound Bus Lines, and while it is possible to catch a bus into Hope in the morning, it is necessary to wait until late afternoon to catch a bus back to Yale. There is a morning bus out of Hope that will stop in Yale, but a person catching the early bus into town and that bus back to Yale would have only an hour to spend in Hope. But most families own cars, and are, in theory at least, mobile. The most frequently made trips, other than back and forth to work, are made to Hope and Chilliwack to shop or visit friends and relatives. Trips to Vancouver are much rarer and are usually made for an annual shopping trip, a special entertainment, or to visit close relatives - parents or children who live there. Vacation trips are usually farther into the Interior. One person said, "I go to Vancouver once a year if I'm lucky. If I'm not lucky I go twice." Most people who talk about Vancouver mention the traffic, and say they are very reluctant to drive in the city.
The visiting patterns of Indians in the community are different, although they, too, do not go frequently to the city. But their relatives are located in different places. Some are at Hope; others are at Seabird Island, Spuzzum, Boston Bar, North Bend and Lytton. On the whole, Indians have more occasion to go up the canyon to visit than Whites.

The common needs of Yale residents can be satisfied in the valley without much trouble. They do not need to go to Vancouver to get food and clothing; both can be obtained in Hope and Chilliwack. There are doctors and dentists in both places and Yale people use regularly the hospitals at Hope and Chilliwack and occasionally the one at Abbotsford.

**Political and Social Organization**

Yale is an unincorporated community, part of the regional district of Fraser-Cheam. The governing body of the regional district, which comprises approximately 30,000 people, is a regional board, each member of which represents about 3,000 people. The people of Yale may vote to elect one member of this board, who will not represent Yale, alone, since the population of the community is considerably less than 3,000.

Within regional districts are fire prevention districts and irrigation districts, although fire prevention is the service most important to Yale. Regional districts were created in British Columbia in 1965 to enable constituent communities to obtain the same services as municipalities. Money from taxation is returned directly to municipalities, along with per capita grants. Unincorporated communities in a regional district are taxed through the regional district and depend on it for services. There
is some feeling among Yale residents that unincorporated status leaves Yale at a disadvantage, and that the community benefits less from taxation than it would if it were incorporated. On the other hand, incorporation would increase the number of services for which the community was responsible, and also the area over which they were to be dispensed.

Within Yale the only political organization is the Ratepayers' Association. It was fully organized in 1968, and it was founded to improve the townsite, and to provide public facilities for Yale residents, such as street lighting, a new public hall, a museum and a recreation program. Any resident of Yale may join the Ratepayers' Association, on paying a nominal membership fee. Tenants may join, but are prohibited from voting on matters concerning taxation.

Ratepayers' is an organization with a formal structure. The executive consists of seven members. Three are elected for two years in January of one year, and four in January of the following year, so that there is always someone with experience. Each year the executive appoints a president, vice president, secretary, treasurer and a committee of two to act as a nominating committee for the ensuing year. A secret vote by ballot is required for the election of directors and all motions requiring the expenditure of money in general meetings. General meetings are held each month; executive meetings are held before each one. Officers can be removed only by election, by ceasing to be members in good standing, or by a two-thirds vote in a general meeting. A member of the executive who misses three consecutive meetings can be replaced by some other qualified member appointed by the president.
Since the formation of the Ratepayers' Association, Yale's streets have been equipped with lights; a new public hall is a long-term project, but plans for it are being made and a new site is being chosen. In the meantime, meetings of the association are held in the old town hall. The Ratepayers' Association underwrites children's voluntary organizations - the Guides, Brownies and Junior Forest Wardens, although the Junior Forest Wardens are now self-supporting. The leaders of each group make reports on activities to the Ratepayers' at monthly meetings. The recreation program includes several baseball teams and costs about $500 annually. The association also owns a movie projector and from time to time shows movies in the town hall. This is not a profit-making activity, but is considered a part of the recreation program.

The garbage dump, located about three miles west of Yale, is one of the Ratepayers' Association's responsibilities, although not all of the people who use the dump belong to the Ratepayers'. Prior to the inception of Ratepayers', the dump was the responsibility of the Parent-Teachers Association, which was at that time the only formal organization in Yale. When the Ratepayers' Association was formed, responsibility was transferred. The dump may become an issue in the incorporation of Yale, since expenditures required for its proper maintenance exceed the resources of the Ratepayers' Association. Some of the cost is offset by the sale of decals to Yale residents. The ownership of a decal entitles a resident to use the dump; however, no way of preventing those without decals from using the dump has been invented, and many people do not buy them. Some feel
that membership in the Ratepayers' Association entitles them to use the dump.

Various projects supervised by the Ratepayers' Association have been financed by federal Local Initiative Project grants. A television satellite was financed by a Local Initiative Project grant, supplemented by an assessment of $75 per household. Grants provide employment for Yale residents as well as improvements for the town. Other projects paid for by the Local Initiatives Projects, and to a lesser extent, Opportunities for Youth, another federally funded program, have been the restoration of historic sites, the establishment of a tourist booth and picnic area, the construction of a hiking trail, and provision of community services such as repairs to the community hall and transportation of people without cars to Hope for shopping and doctors' appointments. This kind of activity is dependent on the grant, and ceases when the money is no longer available. The community does not have the resources to sustain it.

Other income for the Ratepayers' Association is derived from fund-raising activities organized by members and designed to involve the people living in Yale. Stage-Coach Day, held each August, is the major fund-raising event. There are dances and social nights throughout the year. Additional funds come from the sale of medallions, members' dues, donations from other organizations, and the sale of garbage dump decals. There is one provincial government grant of $300 towards the recreation program. Expenditures made for insurance, fuel, coins, hiring of costumes, stage coach day preparations, nearly equal the income. Approximately $10,000 is required to finance the community's activities for a year.
Although the majority of people in Yale belong to the Ratepayers', not everyone feels an obligation to join, and some do not. There are a few perennially active members of the association, and these are not only the businessmen of the town. Many members, however, are inactive. Although nearly everyone participates in at least one activity financed or organized by Ratepayers' during the year, those active in the organization itself are few enough that dissension among them can seriously inhibit the Ratepayers' programs.

The Volunteer Fire Department was formally established by a referendum in 1971. The money for the two trucks and a portable pump was raised in the community. The department requires $1,000 each year, $500 to pay for the truck, and another $500 for maintenance. The department has twenty members, including a fire chief, an assistant fire chief, and a secretary-treasurer, and provides services for the area between Yale tunnel, just east and north of the town limits, and Texas Lake, six miles south.

The two kinds of crises which occur in Yale with the greatest frequency are fires and highway accidents. The community is almost completely self-sufficient in dealing with both, although the fire department's efficiency is hampered by the water pipes in the town, which are old and wooden, and cannot withstand much pressure. Both the ambulance and the Royal Canadian Mounted Police must be dispatched from Hope to attend accidents occurring in or near Yale.

An alarm bell signals a fire and members of the fire department can be at a fire within Yale in a matter of minutes. When an automobile accident occurs, one particular garage owner is notified. He brings his
wrecking truck, and flares if it is night, and stops traffic with the wrecker in the appropriate lane, using the flares to direct traffic around the site, if that is possible. His wife follows in their car and gives first aid where it is required. Other townspeople in the vicinity also help. The police can take up to half an hour to arrive, depending on their location and occupation when they are notified. The ambulance usually takes half an hour. On one occasion when an accident involving two trucks and a car, which exploded, occurred in the middle of the town at 6:00 p.m., when everyone was at home and likely to crowd into the street, the crew from the garage and the fire department co-operated with little confusion. The driver of the car was removed from the vehicle, given first aid and taken into the store to await the ambulance. The police arrived about twenty-five minutes after the accident occurred and the ambulance a few minutes later. In that time, the main work of coping with the accident had all been done by the townspeople. By the time the police got there, the fire was out except for one stubborn spurt of flame and the men were preparing to tow the wreck off the road. The ambulance had been called, first aid given, traffic halted, spectators kept clear of danger, the fire extinguished; then one lane had been cleared and traffic directed through it - all by Yale people. The police were free to take down information from the men who had been driving the trucks.

There is no policeman stationed in Yale. The town is within the jurisdiction of the R.C.M.P. detachment in Hope. The nearest magistrate's court is in Hope, but until the autumn of 1973 one of the magistrates
lived in Yale. He subsequently moved to Hope, because as magistrate he was required to live there.

Vandalism and infractions of the laws governing fishing prompt most other meetings between Yale people and the legal authorities in Hope. When I first went to Yale I was warned that gasoline might be siphoned from my car. I never lost any, but from time to time I talked to others who had. Pickets were taken from the church fence, the walls of the new tourist booth were defaced, and on one occasion damage was done to private property. Children were considered responsible for these acts. Some older boys under drinking age were apprehended for liquor offences.

Fishing infractions generally concern Indians caught fishing on the wrong day, selling fish or transporting fish for sale. Salmon caught by Indians with gill nets may lawfully be preserved for later use by those who catch them, but may not be sold.

Children attend the Yale school from kindergarten through grade six. The school building was built fairly recently and there is a covered play area which is even more recent. There are four teachers, two of whom, the kindergarten teacher and the principal, live in Yale. The other two live in Hope. The high school is located in Hope and children go by bus every morning and return in the evening.

The P.T.A. meets once a month and both men and women are active members. It provides a bursary of $50 to a Yale student graduating from the high school in Hope.

Children's voluntary organizations, the Junior Forest Wardens for boys, and the Guides and Brownies for girls, require some adult super-
vision and participation. Each has at least one adult who attends meetings and guides activities. Meetings are held in Yale, but the Junior Forest Wardens have a camp at Spuzzum, and the Guides and Brownies combine with their counterparts in Hope for outings.

Some other voluntary organizations to which Yale people belong are located in Hope: the Women's Institute, the Masons and the Legion. Approximately seven older women belong to the Women's Institute and attend meetings, especially excursions.

There are two churches in Yale, but neither is a very active institution. The Roman Catholic Church on the reserve is not used in the summer. In the winter catechism is taught to Catholic children by Sisters who visit Yale for that purpose. All of the Indians on the reserve are Roman Catholic, but one family in particular supports the Church.

The Anglican Church was once a central institution in Yale, not simply in its location, but central to the life of the community as well. Residents who remember Yale in the 1920's and before remember a large congregation, long services, and rigorous constraints on Sunday behaviour. The minister who served the Yale church in the early years of the century is especially well remembered. The Church building still stands, and is valued as an historic site by the community as a whole, but the practising Anglican population had dwindled to the point where there are sometimes not more than three people at a service. The congregation is no longer able to underwrite the upkeep of the building. Yale no longer has a resident Anglican minister, and St. John the Divine is no longer a
missionary church affiliated with the Anglican church in Hope. The
needs of the church and the congregation have recently been met by a team
of ministers whose jurisdiction has included six churches in the parish
of Fraser-Cheam. Ministers take services at each church in rotation, so
that the same one does not come to the Church every week. The general
work of parish ministry, e.g., building maintenance, family counselling,
is divided among the ministers. Within Yale this was supplemented until
the summer of 1973 by a Sunday school and occasional preaching conducted
by a Mennonite minister from a Mennonite camp four miles south of Yale.

The Anglican Church has expressed reluctance to continue to
support the church building. With a small congregation of relatively fixed
membership, they would prefer to conduct services in the homes of members
of the congregation, in a different home each week. The congregation com-
plied with this for some time, but in the spring of 1973 were unwilling
to continue. The service held in the church had a dignity and solemnity
that a service held in a familiar livingroom could not provide. Also,
holding services in the homes presented practical problems. Many of the
members of the congregation were women. Their husbands did not attend
services and resented having to vacate their livingrooms and be quiet
while the service was being held.

The Easter service was held in the church, with approximately
thirty people, not all of them Anglicans, and some of them from outside
Yale, attending. The minister made an effort to encourage feelings of
unity in the congregation, addressing some by their first names, and having
everyone address his neighbour with a formal religious greeting appropriate to Easter. He also attempted to emphasize the unity of the Fraser-Cheam parish, and even the world-wide Anglican community, by serving, instead of the usual unleavened bread, a roll baked by a woman from Sardis at the far end of the parish, and by placing the roll on a tray from Uganda.

The Anglican Church Women, customarily associated with the Anglican church in the community, is no longer an active association. Its membership has dwindled to two or three and in 1973 it was in the process of disbanding.

The Yale Community Guild was a non-denominational organization being founded in 1973 by several women of different faiths who were interested in having the church maintained, and in keeping it open for services. They also planned to devote some time and effort to maintaining the Roman Catholic church and had obtained permission to do so from the Roman Catholic authorities. Financing was difficult and uncertain. Some money was hoped for from the Anglican Church Women; they hoped to raise additional funds from a bake sale or rummage sale. One of the greatest problems was in maintaining the momentum of the organization itself. Each of the founding members was either elderly or actively involved in other organizations of the town or in business. They hoped to extend the organization to include the whole community, men as well as women, but since they were assuming responsibilities generally associated with the Anglican Church Women, their chances of enlisting men as members were small.
Informal Social Gatherings

Those that are intended to draw attendance from the community as a whole are usually sponsored by the Ratepayers' Association or one of the other voluntary associations in order to raise funds. Many of these events have raffles, and they are also places where raffles sponsored by other voluntary associations are sold. At the P.T.A. tea and bake sale there was a door prize, but a person was also informally selling tickets for a raffle sponsored by the Hope Hospital Auxiliary. The tea and bake sale was attended mostly by married women, younger and older. Some children came with their mothers; others, older teen-agers, came together and clustered in a single group.

The community was more widely represented at a pot-luck supper sponsored by the Volunteer Firemen. Both men and women came, old and young, and children came with their parents. Most sat in family groups, and since the tables were large, families who were particularly friendly sat together.

Attendance at beer gardens and socials, sponsored sometimes by the Ratepayers', sometimes by the Volunteer Firemen, is more selective. Mothers with young children are not likely to attend a beer garden, especially in the afternoon. Not every event is well attended and social evenings, which involve drinks and dancing, have to be well spaced or attendance dwindles. At all of these events people are free to associate with whom they please, and most groups are bound by kinship or friendship. Indian and White adults frequently sit apart, but not always. Drinking-
age teenagers, Indian and White, are likely to sit together and apart from other adults.

Whist drives are held once a month from October to May. They attract a limited number of mostly middle-aged people. At one I attended there were sixteen people, most of whom knew one another well. People gather initially according to friendship and then re-arrange their seating to comply with the rule that each table must have two men and two women. During the game people circulate around the tables as individuals; whether they move and in what direction are determined by their score in the game they have just played and whether they are men or women. There is an informal tea hour afterwards when conversation can range from fishing for trout, to working conditions, to gardening, to children.

Stage Coach Day, the major social event of the year, provides opportunities for Yale people to associate with one another according to ties of kinship, friendship and membership in the Ratepayers' Association. Formal and informal activities take place over an entire day, and involve nearly everyone in the town, and people from Hope and the surrounding area as well. Organized activities on the morning of Stage Coach Day in August 1973 were a pancake breakfast, a parade involving people from Yale for the most part but also a band from Chilliwack, members of the R.C.M.P. and elected queens from Hope and Boston Bar, presentations of awards for costumes to participants in the parade, the crown to the new Stage Coach Queen, whose identity was announced at that time, and tokens to two people from Spuzzum, who had been singled out for honour because of their long
residence in the area. The morning ended with several events which occurred simultaneously: the beer garden for adults, children's arcade games, a bingo game for both children and adults, and a frog race which was cancelled because there was only one participant. In the afternoon there was a Hardy Men's pack race, a children's show, in which children from Yale participated, and a dinner, which was purchased by Yale residents and visitors alike. In the evening there was a song-and-dance show, a beer garden, which was much more crowded than in the morning, and a street dance.

Activities for Stage Coach Day are carefully planned, with a certain content in mind. A particular time is set for them; certain people are responsible for organizing them. The various events are coordinated with regard for one another, so that events that would attract the same potential audience to two different places are not set at the same time.

Stage Coach Day is the principal fund-raising event of the Rate-payers' Association. It is organized by Yale people and designed to involve all of the members of the community. Nonetheless it is considered a good thing to have people attend from other parts of the district, e.g., Hope and Boston Bar, and people passing by on the highway are welcome to stop and join the audience or attend the beer garden. Certain people from outside Yale are expressly invited to lend strength to the more formal activities such as the parade (the Mounties and the band from Chilliwack), and the presentations: the Queens from Hope and Boston Bar, the disc
jockey from the Hope radio station who acted as the announcer, and the M.L.A. for the area.

Each of the events created a gathering of people. There was an audience for the parade, the presentations and the children's show, although the same people were not necessarily at each one. People stood in these gatherings in family groups, with friendship the second link, but, with the exception of the older children, rarely overriding the family connection. Work groups - people selling food, hats, and beer, and supervising entertainment, were linked by common membership in the Ratepayers' Association rather than by family and friendship.

There was an informally appointed hostess, whose social standing in the community was high, who opened her house to out-of-town visitors for rest and refreshment. The out-of-town visitors who took advantage of this seemed to be those of similar social standing who were already among the hostess' friends.

Most informal social events are focussed on Yale and involve Yale residents almost exclusively. The baseball tournament, held for three days on the 24th of May holiday, is an exception. Both men's and women's baseball teams are sponsored by the Ratepayers' Association and they participate in a league that extends into the valley and interior far beyond Yale. Teams from Hope, Yale, Cloverdale, Boston Bar and Lytton competed for a cup at Yale in the third annual tournament in 1973.

Even less formal spontaneous gatherings occur in Hope at the beer parlour. Since Yale's beer parlour was destroyed by fire there has
been no place where people can gather casually, although both men and women had been accustomed to meet there in the afternoons and evenings for beer and informal conversation. Although people tend to keep their doors open in the summer time, adults do not often talk together in casual groups on lawns or at corners.

Young people do use certain places in Yale for informal gatherings. There are hardly any activities specifically designed for older young people. In the evenings they gather sometimes around one of the gas stations. The Anglican church yard is a meeting place in the day time and early evening for children of twelve and thirteen, and for older teenagers. The beach is a meeting place as well. Most informal gatherings of people who are not yet adults but are too old for childhood games take place in the evening. One or two have cars, and for them and their particular friends movies in Hope are accessible. Occasionally four or five will gather at a table in the cafe for cigarettes and coffee.

At about 8:00 p.m. on a warm evening in September I walked through the central part of Yale. Several four-to-six year olds were playing around the big rock behind the hotel site. A few ten and eleven year old girls were riding bikes, and boys of about the same age were also riding bikes but not with the girls. Some twelve and thirteen year old boys were walking down the street, and several fourteen-to-seventeen year olds of both sexes were sitting in a circle on the lawn beside the church. There were no adults to be seen, except one couple in their early thirties who were looking over the new hotel structure. Down the street an older
couple were standing with a visitor, looking over their garden. The visitor was preparing to leave.

Not everyone in Yale knows everyone else. At the tea and bake sale women who had lived in the community for over thirty years met for the first time women who had lived there one or two years. People frequently say that they don't know any of the new people who are moving into town.

Families tend to associate most closely with one or two other families. There does not seem to be any one large cohesive group. People do visit one another for drinks or cards or dinner, but the most frequently employed means of informal communication within Yale is the telephone. Women do most of the telephoning, much of it in the daytime. Most women participate in the bingo game. Cards can be bought for fifty cents apiece at the store or from one of the townspeople, and the numbers are chosen each morning at the school. They are relayed to a woman who phones all of those who have cards and gives them the numbers for the day. The first person to have all of the numbers on her card called, wins a cash prize. Much information about events and people is relayed by means of that telephone call. Also, many women - there are exceptions - tend to phone and gossip with three or four particular friends, and these telephone groups can intersect. Women also visit one another for coffee during the day.

To a limited degree the store is a point of dissemination for information of various kinds. The walls of the little vestibule leading to the front door serve as a place to put signs announcing coming events:
Ratepayers' General meetings, whist drives, social nights, pot-luck suppers, beer gardens, health clinics at the school, and so on. Generally, though, the store is not a place where people gather to talk informally. Some who know the storekeepers well will chat with them while their purchases are being wrapped or weighed up, but the small size of the store discourages this. There is not much space for two or more people to stand together and still allow others to circulate freely. The storekeepers do not encourage long conversations.

Social Stratification

The only index that can readily be used to separate one group of people in Yale from another group is the distinction between Indians and Whites. It is an important distinction, and influences all transactions between members of the two groups. Nonetheless the system of rank in the town does not consist of a simple assignment of lower status to Indians and higher status to Whites.

Indians differ from Whites in significant ways: subsistence patterns, drinking customs, residence - the geographical isolation of the reserve from the rest of the town-, language and kinship ties with people on reserves upriver and downriver from Yale set them apart from the larger White community. Some of these characteristics are diminishing. Fishing is only a part of Indians' subsistence. They also work at logging, at railway maintenance and depend on welfare. They are not the only welfare
dependents in Yale. Not all Indians live on the reserve; some live in the central part of the town. Children and young adults speak English only.

The assignment by Whites of rank within the population of the community is not solely dependent on Indian or White identity. Rather, it depends on the individual's possession of a combination of social characteristics. There are approximately half a dozen characteristics that have positive value: White identity, industry (as shown in a well-kept home), participation in the activities of the community, independence of welfare, sobriety and care for one's family. The reverse of these, taken together, constitute the common stereotype of the Indian. Only one White man possesses all of the positive characteristics, and of him one person who has lived in the town for several years said, "As far as I can see, X is the 'mayor' of Yale." Most of the active participants in the Ratepayers' Association possess all but one or another of the characteristics, although all are White, industrious, and care for their families, in addition to performing services for the community. Participation in the community's affairs is a pivotal factor in the assignment of rank. People with low status generally do not participate. Those people who possess all of the positive characteristics but that one tend to be isolates. They do not associate extensively with people of either high or low status, although their particular friends usually have high status. Contributions

1. This is generally expressed in the negative sense: "Y does not look after his (or her) children." People are expected to look after their children, and when they do so the matter is not mentioned.
to town activities from these people are welcome when they are offered, but they are not sought after by those who are active.

Dependence on welfare is not enough to confer low status on an individual, as long as he exhibits a well-kept home, cares for his family and is active in community work. There is certainly a correlation between social respectability and the appearance of one's house. Several families with relatively low status live in houses surrounded by cars, animals, and poorly kept lawns. The low rank of one family in particular, who were referred to whenever an example of carelessness or laziness was needed, was attributed in part to "living conditions", although these were inevitably linked to reliance on welfare and frequent use of alcohol.

A man who is white, industrious, independent of welfare, cares for his family and also drinks fairly heavily will not lose status, as long as his drinking is conducted in such a way that he does not alter any of his other characteristics, i.e., does not neglect his home or work. Liquor is valued and used as a prize at raffles. But excessive, open or loud drinking is frowned upon.

No Indian possesses all of the negative characteristics, although one or two possess enough in combination that their status is very low. On the other hand no Indian possesses five of the positive characteristics, although one younger man does participate in Ratepayers', cares for his family well and maintains a well-kept home, and he is accorded respect on this account.
A woman's position is usually derived from her husband's. If a woman who has lived alone starts living with a man but does not marry him she becomes the subject of gossip and loses prestige. There are women in Yale who have lost their husbands in one way or another, and consequently live alone, but there is only one woman, who is in her eighties, who has never been married, yet lives alone.

The child assumes the rank of the adult members of his family, although Indian and White children and young adults associate freely, and the same distinctions may not hold for their group. The characteristics that the child possesses after he becomes an adult can change his status to a certain extent, if they are different from those of other adults in his family.

No one in Yale is excluded from participation in anything. Some people choose to participate with others in certain activities, and some choose not to. These choices are related, though, to the social characteristics of those making the decisions. Those who participate in the Ratepayers' Association and the Volunteer Fire Department tend to be White, industrious people who do not neglect their families. Most are independent of welfare; most of the businessmen of the town participate heavily. The P.T.A. involves women to a greater extent, but they, too, are people who conduct their private lives and homes with propriety, and if they are dependent on welfare their status is improved by the very fact of their participation. Yale people who belong to the Masons in Hope are businessmen or professional men who participate in activities centred in Yale as well.
The Women's Institute has as Yale members one or two wives of professional and business men but also a few older residents of impeccable respectability. One Indian woman belongs to the Women's Institute. High status does not seem to be equally associated with membership in the Legion.

Long-term residence in the town cannot materially enhance low status, although it can reinforce high status. Being a newcomer can retard the assumption of high status by someone who does possess a number of positive characteristics, since newcomers are not entirely free to participate actively, especially where initiating new activity is concerned. There are no formal restraints, but newcomers who try to initiate activity too quickly are likely to meet with persistent refusal of other townspeople to become enthusiastic.

Summary

Yale is a community. The people who live there identify with one another at least on the basis of common residence, although the boundaries of the community are not rigidly defined and may extend south along the highway to Emory Creek, and for the purposes of the Volunteer Fire Department to Texas Lake. But the people live in Yale - not Spuzzum, Boston Bar, Hope or Chilliwack. They are linked to one another by the facts of common residence, membership in the Ratepayers' Association, and the P.T.A., participation in the Yale-focused activities sponsored by Ratepayers' and other voluntary associations, informal association with one another in visiting in homes and over the telephone, working together,
attendance at socials, and by the fact that their children associate with one another.

Economic support of most Yale residents is not based in Yale. "People live here and work out." It is centred in the region, in logging, mining, railway maintenance and highway maintenance, and even those businesses that are situated in Yale are there to provide services primarily for those passing through. The store, cafe, service stations, and beer parlour when it is operating, do serve Yale people, but serve tourists and area residents as well.

Yale has institutions and social activities of its own, but people supplement them by participation in institutions and activities in neighbouring larger communities. The Legion, Masons, Women's Institute, bingo and beer parlour are all located in Hope with members and participants from Yale. People have friends and relatives in Hope and Chilliwack, and sometimes grown children living in Vancouver. Nonetheless a great deal of day-to-day social interaction occurs in Yale. Everyone in Yale is not necessarily known to everyone else: "I don't know any of the new people moving in" - but no one is anonymous. One child of about eleven was very puzzled because even though I was an unmarried person living in Yale he could not place my family. In the absence of specific information about a particular individual, accounts of his identity and activities grow through surmise and ad hoc invention. Every family has a place in the community, and the place of every individual is determined both by his family's characteristics and his own personal characteristics. Accounts of a person's
origin and present place are maintained by others, generally through gos-
sip, and these accounts are informed by the extent and nature of the inter-
action between the person accounted for and the person giving the account.
CHAPTER IV
THE OLD-TIMERS

Among the people of Yale are approximately sixteen older people, most of whom are informally, and on certain occasions formally, designated "old-timers". There are some exceptions. One person in her 80's, who is very shy, almost reclusive, is one of these. Occasionally certain of the older residents are called upon, or volunteer, to impart knowledge of history to others in the community and to visitors from outside. Those who do so often become known as "old-timers".

When I first went to Yale eleven older people were recommended to me, by a couple who had lived many years in the community, as people who had knowledge of history, and in subsequent conversations various ones were recommended again, independently, by others in the village. Two of the eleven were from Spuzzum, two from Hope and the rest from Yale, although one of these had recently moved to Hope. Four were women, three of them identified with the Indian community, although of these one had married a White man many years ago and had raised a large family according to White conventions. Of the seven men, only one was identified with the Indian community, and he was identified equally strongly with his father, who was White: his cultural identification depended in fact on the social situation in which he was acting or was referred to. All of the old-timers were over sixty years of age. The two who had lived their lives in Hope died before I moved to Yale.
According to the perception of the Whites, the social status of those old-timers who lived in Yale ranged up to the fairly high status of a man with an official position in Hope and many of the characteristics that constitute respectability discussed in Chapter III, but just as the social gradations within Yale as a whole are not clearly distinct, it is difficult, and somewhat pointless, to try to place the old-timers with knowledge in a ranked order.

All of them were accorded respect on account of their knowledge, but none was an active participant in the political affairs of the community, although the man with the official position recognized and fulfilled an obligation to participate in the more important community social events. But with this exception, all of the old-timers were peripheral to community affairs, and the knowledge of the past they possessed, while respected, was not necessary for the proper conduct of the community's business.

There is no set number of old-timers considered appropriate for the community. Those in the village who recommended particular people or named several, were designating them according to certain characteristics they believed the old-timers possessed. By the time I was working in Yale, two of those who had been recommended had died, and two others were hospitalized in Chilliwack. In the end I worked with five of the named potential informants. However, interest in the past was not confined to these people. Others in the community proffered information, advice and comment, and this was gladly accepted.
Mrs. Clara Clare: very elderly in 1973. In hospital in Chilliwack, but still considered by others to have knowledge of the past. Born in Spuzzum, of Ntlakapamux descent, and educated in the Indian division of All Hallows School at Yale. Married Frank Clare when she was still very young. He was White and worked for the CPR. They raised a large family according to White conventions, and she participated actively in the White community after her marriage. She was especially active in the Anglican Church. While she did not renounce her kinship with her Indian family, she did not teach her children to speak Ntlakapamux, and they eventually married Whites.

Mrs. Gladys Chrane: elderly in 1973. Living in Yale, in the west end of the town, in a house built by the brother of former Governor Trutch. She is the youngest daughter of William Teague, an Englishman who came up with the miners in 1859, and settled at Yale. He returned to England for a time, married there, and brought his wife and young child back to Yale in the 1870's, settling there permanently and raising a family. He was Government Agent for a time in the early 1880's, and had lifelong interests in mining in the area. He lived in Yale until his death. William Teague had several daughters and one son. The son and the eldest daughter died in childhood. Of the other daughters only Mrs. Chrane married and settled in Yale. In 1973 she had grown children, two of whom were living in Yale. She had been active in community affairs from time to time, and while she was not active in the Ratepayers' in 1973, she was
interested in current affairs, especially anything to do with current recognition of the history of the town.

C.E. Barry: the grandson of Ned Sout, a miner who came in 1858, and had fought in the battles with the Indians in the canyon. In 1973 Ed Barry was a magistrate in Hope. He had lived in Yale all his life, and had run the store and post office until his son assumed responsibility for the business. He and his wife, who had come to Yale from Agassiz to teach school, and had settled permanently in Yale after her marriage, were strong supporters of the Anglican church. They had wide acquaintance in Yale, took part in some social functions, but were also part of the Hope community, and participated in functions there too.

E.U. Cox: he was 71 years old in 1973. He had not been born in Yale but his family had moved there in 1910. During his childhood he had lived in both Yale and Hope and also in Vancouver. In early adulthood he had worked in a mining camp on the northern coast for five years and had then returned to the Hope-Yale area. He married and eventually settled in Yale and raised two daughters there. For most of his working life he had worked for the Department of Highways. In 1972 he moved to Hope to spend his retirement years there. However, he maintained connections with special friends in Yale on the telephone and through occasional visits. At times he met some Yale people in Hope when they came in to shop or go to the hospital.

Miss Annie York: born in Spuzzum, principally of Ntlakapamux descent, although one grandfather was Cataline Caux, a noted pack-trainer, and
the other was an Englishman named William Palmer. She had lived in Spuzzum for brief periods during her childhood, although her early years were spent primarily in the Lower Fraser valley, where her father was working, and her early adulthood in Merritt, where her parents had moved, again to follow her father's work. She had returned to Spuzzum as an adult, and in 1973 had lived there approximately forty years. She had been instructed in the history of the area, and of the Ntlakapamux of Spuzzum, by older relatives of her parents' and grandparents' generations. She had also received instruction in the Ntlakapamux language from a Lytton resident, and this had confirmed and developed the knowledge of the language she had acquired in childhood from her father's mother and her mother's mother's sister.

She is identified by Whites with the Indian community and maintains contact with Indian relatives, principally from up-country: Merritt, Lytton and Thompson Siding. She worked when younger in Yale, in the hotel, and for a White family, and she maintains friendly, if somewhat distant, contact with both Whites and Indians in Yale.

A. Urquhart: Miss York's first cousin: his mother and her father were sister and brother, the children of Cataline Caux and Chayxken. Mr. Urquhart was born in Yale, the son of William Urquhart, who had come from Scotland and worked on the railroad. Rhoda Urquhart, Arthur's mother, had been born at Spuzzum and educated at All Hallows School, in the Indian division. Mr. Urquhart was educated at the Yale school, and although his home was at Spuzzum, he lived with the Clares while attending school. Mrs. Clare and Rhoda Urquhart were half-sisters.
Mr. Urquhart has lived his adult life mostly in Spuzzum, where he has worked for the railroad, the CPR police, and the Department of Highways. In 1973 he was retired. Like Annie York, he maintains friendly and casual acquaintance with the people of Yale, but their house is visited every year by other people from Vancouver, the interior of B.C., and the United States, who came originally on some specific errand, and have come back again to renew their friendship.

M. Castle: the last member of an old and respected family to live in Yale. He had spent some of his early years in Vancouver and Langley, but had lived in or been associated with Yale for most of his adult life. He had made his living as a prospector, but in 1973 was nearing eighty years of age, and was retired. He had a cabin in Yale, but was in hospital in Chilliwack most of the time.

J. Lee: was not born in Yale, but came there as a young man during the Depression. He had lived there ever since.

Mrs. Margaret Emery: in 1973 she was over eighty years old. She was born at American Bar, in Stalo (Halkomelem) territory, but her mother came from Spuzzum and several of her mother's relatives, including at least one brother, had lived at Spuzzum. Mrs. Emery had married a man of Stalo descent, and had lived at Yale since her marriage, raising a large family. She was considered to have knowledge by others in the community, both White and Indian, but she did not volunteer information, or respond freely to requests for it. While I was in Yale, however, she collaborated with Mary Charles, from Seabird Island, in giving the history of the sxwaixwe mask.
to a representative of the Vancouver Centennial Museum, and constructed a model of a pit house for the Coqualeetza Indian project at Sardis. Although elderly and in failing health, she made Salish blankets using traditional methods of spinning and dyeing and traditional designs, and sold these to help support herself, and meet the expenses of family crises.

I worked formally with five of these people. I did not work with Jimmy Lee, Mrs. Clare and Mrs. Emery, although I knew them all and spoke with them from time to time.

A.C. Milliken: he was not born in Yale, but first came there during the 1920s. He left for a while and then came back to settle. In 1973 he was about 70 years of age and lived with his wife in a house on the outskirts of town. He has had an interest in the history and prehistory of the area for many years, and has made substantial contributions to its preservation. He pointed out an important archeological site to Charles Borden, of U.B.C., and the subsequent investigation yielded the basic knowledge of the prehistory of the canyon. In addition Mr. Milliken has undertaken to search out and preserve records in the possession of others. He has collected photographs belonging to individuals or families, or obtained copies of them, or both. Although he distrusts oral history, and believes that the vagaries of people's memories invalidate that sort of work, he has talked to old-timers, many of whom are now dead, and valued the information he learned from them. He has published several articles on the early history of the area in periodicals such as Canada West Magazine.
and has made frequent contributions of articles and photographs to The Hope Standard.

Qualifications

The old-timers in Yale possess various personal and social characteristics and although they are all presumed to have knowledge of the past, no two of them have identical qualifications. There are several criteria relevant to the designation of persons with knowledge of the past by others in the community: one of the principal ones is descent from a pioneer, or, since the current generation of White old-timers are at most two generations removed from pioneer forebears, membership in a pioneer family. Indian ancestry can have equivalent importance but it is believed that the current generation of Indians have lost much of the knowledge and dignity their ancestors possessed. Indians who were instructed by elders who are now remembered by Whites with respect, or whose aloofness and dignity of bearing imply the possession of knowledge they do not care to divulge, and are honoured as old-timers on appropriate occasions.

Having been born in Yale or the vicinity, and this includes Hope and Spuzzum, is another qualification, which often accompanies membership in a pioneer family, and in any case is nearly equivalent in importance. Long residence in the town is a third important qualification. But there is a subtle difference between having lived for many years, from birth, through childhood, to old age, in the town, and merely having lived there a long time, even though that long time extends back into childhood.
The one implies experience, plus a right to know and to be acknowledged as knowing. The second implies experience only. There is slightly more proof needed to substantiate a claim based on sheer experience. Nevertheless having been born in Yale is not sufficient qualification for recognition as one who knows about the past. Reputations are based on additional criteria.

Everyone who has any interest in the past possesses artifacts, photographs, newspaper clippings, and, more rarely, books. These are also things that substantiate a family's claim to a place in the history of the town or the area. Particular objects are not as significant to other people in the town as they are to the people who own them. A photograph of one person's grandfather certainly has more significance to her than to another person, who also has the photograph but is related in a more distant way. But the possession of such things is important, and the possession of a large or unique collection helps qualify one for recognition as one who knows about the past.

Not all old-timers were instructed in history and perhaps none has been trained specifically to impart knowledge of the past. The majority seem to have acquired old-timer status late in life, and through factors other than their own efforts to acquire and disseminate knowledge. One person told me "My husband's system of filing isn't selective. When he put those clippings together he never thought he'd be giving people information about history." Sometimes people who do not now live in Yale will possess extensive knowledge of its history. Frequently they have worked
in the canyon at some time - for B.C. Hydro, or logging companies, and
combine their knowledge with an extensive knowledge of the terrain. In­
deed, knowledge of the terrain came first, or at least began prior to
knowledge of history. I met two men who had acquired knowledge in this
fashion. One now lives on Vancouver Island, and visits the canyon only
once or twice a year, but at one time he worked for a logging company,
and while surveying, stumbled on the site of Emory City. He told me that
after finding bricks and bottles and other evidence of habitation, he
had gone to Hope and asked an old man for information, and the old man
told him there had been a town there. He also sent to the archives for
maps, and supplemented his knowledge with reading, mostly popular liter­
ature on the history of the area. The other man has lived in Yale and the
vicinity since the end of the second World War and has raised his family
there. He likes to hunt and fish, and when his family was young, he did
so to help support them. He came upon various evidences of pack trains,
railway construction and old Indian villages, and supplemented and con­
firmed his knowledge by talking to older people in the area, including
many of his wife's relatives, who are Indian. He also subscribes to a
popular history publication.

However, neither of these men is considered to be an old-timer,
although the second man may come to be considered to have special knowledge
as he gets older.

The act of dispensing information to outsiders helps establish
a reputation as historian. The basis of an old-timer's status is self-
ascription, and ascription by others, i.e., the making of a claim and the recognition of its validity by others in the town. Occasionally it happens the other way around. Outsiders ask to meet old-timers with knowledge, in much the same way I did when I first went to Yale — and I was by no means the first to come with such a request — and townspeople name persons whose casual status of older resident is reinforced, and they become old-timers. However, these circumstances never become the articulated bases of the claims to old-timers' status. These are matters of descent, birth, residence, possession of artifacts, and the possession of information. The possession of information, knowledge of the past, is assumed to be the definitive qualification, to which all others are subordinate. In fact, a recognized old-timer born in Yale and of a pioneer family may not possess information about the gold rush or the railroad construction independent of a set of scholarly publications which include some history of the Yale area and some biographies of Yale pioneers, and may consider her rich memories of Yale in the days of her childhood in the early years of the century irrelevant to her function as custodian of Yale's history, while another, who was not born in Yale, and is not a member of a pioneer family, but has conducted research and absorbed much information from archival records, may be granted uncertain and reluctant recognition by the townspeople.

No one old-timer possesses all of the possible relevant qualifications. Each possesses one or some, and he or she considers these the most significant. Consequently, negative evaluation of others' claims to
to experthood are based on their lack of the particular qualifications possessed by the person making the evaluation.

Yale is a small community, and the old-timers have known one another for many years. While no two of them are close friends, there is no open enmity, and when they meet, greetings are friendly, if casual. Where their function of dispensing knowledge of the past is concerned they are rivals to some extent, for knowledge of the past is private knowledge, and each one's private evaluation of the others' qualifications tends to be negative. This is particularly true of those who claim exclusive right to custodianship of Yale's history because of their birth, ancestry, possessions, or childhood instruction. Those whose claim to knowledge is based only on long experience and not on ancestry or having been born in Yale are more willing to acknowledge that others, especially those older than themselves, may have equivalent or better qualifications. On the other hand, they are likely to discount claims based on birth or descent if they believe that those who make the claims have not observed keenly, or used their experience well.

Criticisms levelled against the second group tend to take the form of "He knows a lot, he has a lot of ideas, but he's not a real old-timer. He can't tell you about Yale as head-of-navigation", or "He hasn't lived in Yale long - he can't give information about old times," even if the person involved has lived in the area forty years or so, or "He lived in the valley when he was young. Only in Yale since he was a man. He can't give historical information."
Criticism of the first group may be phrased, "They never had any interest", i.e., in things concerning the past, or "He never listened to his parents", i.e., when they were talking about the past.

There is a certain amount of inter-town rivalry, at least from Yale's perspective. One old-timer who equated Yale's history with Yale's identity expressed resentment over the loss of Yale's old buildings to Hope, and said of Spuzzum, "At Spuzzum they've got nothing....Spuzzum wasn't a mining place. It was just a stopping place on the Cariboo road."

Knowledge of the past is private knowledge. The resources and information possessed by each old-timer are different in extent and kind, and although they are shared with outsiders, they are not shared among old-timers within Yale. In fact, they are jealously guarded, and an outsider who is known to be working with more than one old-timer may be enjoined by each from sharing his acquired knowledge with the others. This is complemented often by an inquisitive interest in what the outsider has learned from others, in what the resources of the others actually are.

One person, whose knowledge is firmly grounded in experience, considered the possibility (hypothetical) of pooling of knowledge among old-timers and expressed the opinion that as each person's knowledge depended on his or her own particular associations, training and experience, no two people would offer compatible versions of Yale's history. "Even Q — I get along with him real well. But if he and I were to get together telling stories, we'd get tangled up."
Historical dates are considered very important. They are the backbone of any statement about major events affecting Yale, but they are not often known offhand. When a story is told, or a statement made about an event, it is stated that the date is important but not immediately available, and will be looked up in the written materials that are available.

Role

Although each one has an identity in Yale of which his or her status as old-timer forms a part, it is difficult to know if the role of old-timer was generated from within the community or from outside. Certainly many of the demands for knowledge of history are placed on old-timers from outside. Visitors come to the community, with casual or serious interest in its history, and they are provided with information. And this has been going on for some time. As early as the 1920's journalists were coming to Yale and writing about visits to Ned Stout and the Teagues.

While I was working in Yale another person was coming periodically from the valley to interview Mrs. Chrane about the history of the town, and another, who had worked with her before on the history of All Hallows School, came back once to do some work. A busload of children came from Delta, and although Mr. Barry had intended to take them on a guided tour, he was called away on an emergency, and his place was taken by the foreman of the Local Initiatives Project in charge of refurbishing
historic sites. On another occasion Mr. Barry spoke to a group in Chilliwack on the area's history.

In the summer of 1973 there were two separate projects established to generate and meet public demand for historical information. One of the old-timers decided independently to open her house as an informal museum. She had signs painted reading "historic site" and "museum" and had them set out on the highway. She moved some of her artifacts from the hallways where they were kept and where she showed them to individuals who came to visit her, into an unused bedroom adjoining the hall and set them out on tables. The family portraits were cleaned and hung in prominent places around the room. She was helped by two neighbours.

There were no labels for the exhibit. Instead she met visitors to the museum at her door and gave each group a tour of the house, explaining as she did so, the name and significance of the man who built it, the age of the house, her father's position as a pioneer miner and government agent, and the nature and function of the various artifacts, which consisted of Indian baskets, stone projectile points, opium bottles, gold pans, and others.  

The Local Initiatives Project had concentrated during the spring on refurbishing historic sites in Yale, had done research on the history of the town, and in the summer they set up a tourist booth at the rear of the Anglican church, facing the highway. They gave information about historic sites to visitors who stopped, and also gave tours of the church, the principal historic building in Yale.
The two projects, although operated entirely independently of each other, were not completely free from rivalry. Neither really acknowledged the right of the other to present the town's history to the public on the town's behalf.

Although other old-timers did not meet with public demands in such formal ways, they were not free of them. Mrs. Emery provided the history of the sxwaixwe mask to a researcher from the Vancouver Centennial Museum on one occasion during the summer, and at another time built a model of the interior of a pit house for the Coqualeetza Indian project at Sardis. Miss York taught the Ntlakapamux language to a linguist who comes each summer from Hawaii, taught me the history of the area, and on separate occasions told briefly the history of Spuzzum to six French exchange students studying at Simon Fraser University, gave information to a journalist from Vancouver, and gave information about old trails to yet another person.

Old-timers meet demands and fulfill roles within Yale, too. Projects of voluntary associations in the community sometimes require information about the past. For the Local Initiative Project's work on the community's history, one old-timer provided books and information, and another intended to provide information about street names, and the families represented in the graveyard. The Community Women's Guild considered making a recipe book and Mrs. Chrane was able to provide them with a recipe book from All Hallows School.
Information about the past is supplied also in casual conversation on topics of current interest. Two of the old-timers present their information primarily through anecdotes about the past in general evening conversation. Arthur Urquhart is one of these, and although he does not claim to have unique knowledge, and his status as an old-timer is recent, others are beginning to make the claim for him, and he was recommended to me often.

People in the community will always reserve for themselves the right to believe or disbelieve any piece of historical information that has been provided, but what an old-timer has said - about the history of a house, or the railroad right-of-way will be remembered, repeated and discussed, if briefly, when that particular topic arises again.

There are no formal occasions when old-timers in Yale meet for debate, to recite narratives or to confirm family history. However they did participate in Stage Coach Day. Mrs. Chrane, who treasures the clothes her mother had made in England in the nineteenth century, has for many years worn them to various festivals in Hope and Yale that had historical themes. She has actively participated in these festivals and was only prevented by sudden illness from participating in the same way in the 1973 Stage Coach Day. Other old-timers went to Stage Coach Day as observers, but the Ratepayers' Association formally invited three to appear as honoured guests, because of their old-timer status. One, Mrs. Clare, could not leave the hospital, but Miss York and Mr. Urquhart did attend. The role they were assigned was passive and symbolic. They were presented with a
corsage and boutonniere, and the length of time they had lived in the area was publicly noted. It was the fact that they were of local birth and long residence that was important for this purpose, not the knowledge they possessed.

An older member of the community can become the custodian of information about the past, and the representative of the past in an important way, for a significant part of the people, without claiming to have relevant knowledge, and without becoming fully conscious of his status. One man had come to Yale 57 years ago from Europe, and had lived in Yale ever since. Although he had stayed in Yale all that time, and had talked to old-timers and seen the changes that had taken place, he was not interested in imparting Yale's history. His interest was focussed on his native country, and he was much more interested in its history, and far more willing to talk about it.

His wife, whom he had married when they were both middle-aged, was Indian. She had died a few years before I went to Yale. He was known and respected in both communities. He had strong socialist leanings and was able to marshal a coherent denunciation of the treatment of Indians by Whites. Because he had lived in Yale for so long, he had known many of the Indian people who are now middle-aged when they were toddlers, and he had also known their parents. He had come to represent a link to their past and they valued him for this. This was conveyed to me by Indians in the town and was underlined by another incident.
When he decided to move back to Europe in the autumn of 1973 a party was given for him by some of the townspeople. During the party he made a speech, in which he unwittingly betrayed a role he may not have known he had. To establish the remarkable length of time he had lived in Yale, he said that when he came to Yale there were "very few White men - lots of Indians, more Indians than Whites." This indicated how deeply ingrained the White/Indian distinction is in Yale culture, and it also demonstrated the use of a criterion of long tenure that is standard in White perception of history. But there were shocked murmurings across the room where members of several Indian families were sitting, and it was only after dancing had been resumed, and he had danced with Indian friends, that they became more relaxed, and reassured that he had not meant his words to convey an insult to them.

Successors

When working in the Upper Peninsula in 1946, Dorson was told "you've come fifty years too late" to record traditional stories, and the theme, "You've come a year, ten years, a generation too late" runs consistently through conversations about recording history in Yale. With respect to particular persons who possess knowledge of the past, it is, of course, true. Two of the current generation of old-timers in the Yale area died while I was preparing to move to Yale. Another, who had been still active in the community three years before, was in hospital in another town, and although she could, from time to time, summon up in general
conversation pictures of berry-picking expeditions and people now dead for two generations, her mind slipped from one time to another, and her memory failed her at times.

But people regretted also that I had come too late to talk with people who had died before I was born - _they_ had had information no member of the present generation could possess. They had not passed on their knowledge, certainly not to a selected successor, and it was considered lost. Nevertheless, I found old-timers imparting knowledge, claiming qualifications to do so better than others, and evaluating others' qualifications in this generation. The knowledge they impart may be different - the knowledge of the previous generation, with a few exceptions (Ned Stout's reminiscences, Wm. Teague's reminiscences, Duff's Upper Stalo) is largely unrecorded - and the process of achieving the status of _old-timer_ and transmitting information may have changed - it is impossible to tell. But the role of _old-timer_ continues to be filled, and the process of selection of persons to fill it and transmission of information about the past, particularly to outsiders, continues in Yale today.

However, contemporary old-timers do not look to individuals to succeed them. In fact, they believe that their descendants will not care for the knowledge of the past and the old things they treasure. One family gave many artifacts to the Provincial Museum when the grandparents were young, and did not foresee their role as custodians of local history. Another person has given letters and memorabilia to the Provincial Archives and sees the large government institutions, responsible for the preservation
of general historical knowledge, as the proper place to confide her heirlooms and records. Another wished to set her knowledge down in written form, and plans to give her heirlooms away one by one to particular individuals she knows will care for them.

The status of old-timer exists in the culture, but it is not filled through selection and instruction of successors by members of the generation that is passing away. Rather, certain individuals acquire the status of old-timer through recognition by the community that they possess certain characteristics, such as relatively advanced age, having been born in the area, long residence in the area and descent from a pioneer. Having known old-timers who are now dead enhances their position but it is not a qualification separate from the others - it is the result of having lived a long time in the area, or of having lived longer than other residents.

It may be that folk history in Yale will not endure after the generation now in their 70's and 80's, but it may also be that every old-timer for the last three generations has been unable to recognize a worthy successor and had died without formally passing on his or her knowledge.
CHAPTER V

THE HISTORICAL ACCOUNTS

Folk history and formal history are separate areas of knowledge. Folk historians - the old-timers - do not achieve recognition through the study of old records or the exposition of the social organization of the community in former times. The childhood of some of the old-timers - GC, and EC - coincided with the early 1900's and the CNR construction and consequently the reminiscences of these people coincide with and amplify the written record. But not all old-timers present reminiscences as history - folk traditions and family history constitute the presentations of others, and Annie York's narratives and expositions constitute a record that has no counterpart in contemporary documents, for the accounts of Spuzzum in newspapers and other records are scant, indeed.

To this extent, written history is irrelevant to folk history. The themes of written history - the gold rush, the place of Yale as head of navigation, the CPR construction, do occur in folk history, and the books in which history has been written have a place in the folk history of the community. Their significance will be discussed in Chapter VI.

In Chapter V the accounts of history given by old-timers are presented in part.

The history Miss York presents is primarily the history of the Indian people of Spuzzum, although family, and community, and others who passed through Spuzzum are foci of her accounts rather than native identity.
Indian and Chinese cultures emerge as themes and topics of White folk history and enrich it because of their presence. The sense of this enrichment is present in the accounts White old-timers give, even though perception of nineteenth century Indian and Chinese cultures, never clear in the newspaper and travellers' accounts of that period, may not be the same as Indians' perceptions.

Conceptions of historically significant information vary from one old-timer to another, and these are connected to each one's credentials. Consequently the kinds of material they present as history vary from the evidence of records or possessions, to reminiscences of childhood experience, to folk traditions and family history.

For one old-timer, whose qualifications are her membership in a pioneer family, birth, and long residence in the town, history reposes in her land, her house, her birthplace, her collected artifacts, her books and records, but not in what she remembers, even though her reminiscences, casually given at odd moments over cups of tea or at some spot that symbolizes a past institution or event, or in response to direct questions about particular topics, provide a rich picture of Yale from the perspective of a relatively well-to-do girl in the early years of the century. Her conception of history is complex. She combines a concept of Yale's history as private knowledge, possessed mainly by herself and shared with others at her own discretion, though freely, since as the sole possessor of certain knowledge she has an obligation to share it, with a firm concept of Yale history as what has been written in books, particularly Howay and
Scholfield's *History of British Columbia*. These two apparently divergent views come together through her father, who was connected with the provincial government in his capacity as Government Agent for the town, and owned the books, which she connects with his government position and with government records. For her, history is in the books. She passes on knowledge by directing people's attention to the books and giving access to them.

Nonetheless some information that is not in the books is important to her function as old-timer in the community—knowledge of the families represented in the graveyard, her connection with All Hallows School, her knowledge of street names. This, too, she recognizes as important, but in directing my attention to the books, she said, "I would tell you what it says in here. I would have to, in order to be right."

Another old-timer, Mr. Cox, not born in Yale, whose family came from another part of Canada, drew heavily on his early childhood experience for the information he contributed, and he considered intelligent use of experience, in combination with listening to old-timers as a child, the basis of his knowledge. That which he presented as significant consisted mainly of reminiscence with some tales relating to Yale's past but not directly within his experience.

Commenting about his childhood learning experiences, he said, "Of course I was there in 1910. I was a little kid. If you want to know anything in a community just ask a little kid. And I talked to the old people when I was a kid. Asked them questions. They didn't kick me out
of the way either. They'd sit down and talk to me and tell me whatever I wanted to know."

"For example Eddie Barry's grandfather was the first White man to go up the river and he'd tell me stories. Even at Hope I'd talk to the old people and they'd tell me. And then I've been to the places they were telling me about."

He contributed many reminiscences ranging from his early school-days in Yale to the 1940's. I've selected some of these along with the stories he told.

When I first went there (Yale) I was about eight years old. For kids there was nothing. Went to school of course. House with "Rock Shop" painted on the roof used to be the school. Weren't many of us there. Five or six my age. Any fun we wanted we had to make it ourselves. Old-time bar room still wide open. Men used to go there - play poker, drink. Kids went fishing. That's about all there was until teen-age. Then we started a baseball team. A few more kids were there by that time.

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They had a Chinese store down the other end of town where the telephone exchange is. Kids used to go down, sit on the bench on the porch, and eat peanuts. The Chinese mother was there. She used to wear those black pyjamas all the time. Across the street was the Chinese laundry. He was here for a time and then brought his wife from China. At the time it was the style for Chinese women to bind their feet. When she came she couldn't walk. They had to carry her home. After a while she took the rags off and she learned to walk.

The Chinese people all spoke English pretty well. Some of them pretty broken English. At that time all the extra gangs on the CPR were all Chinamen. Bunkhouses all Chinamen - they'd do all the heavy work.

Was there a Chinese church? Yes, right where MacQueen's service station is but down closer to the track. Great Buddha idol in it. One Hallowe'en some young fellows took it out and set it on the highway. That was the end of that.
They used to sell bread there in the store, and sour? My God, you never tasted anything so sour. Called it sour bread.

There was another grocery store. Fella named Dave Creighton, he had a store right down below the Esso station. There's a house there now where his store was. It had been the Hudson's Bay Company store. He moved it up from the Hudson's Bay Company property. It had gas lights. They were worked by a pump just like a tire pump. You'd pump air into the tank - there was a meter where it registered - the gas went up into a tiny copper tube tacked to the wall and ceiling into the lamp.

Both stores were about the same size. They were old-time stores. Not self-serve.

Dave Creighton used to get bananas in once in a while. Maybe one bundle in a whole year. Hung from the ceiling. Sold by the dozen. There was a knife there - you could cut what you wanted. People used to pick all the biggest ones since they were sold by the dozen so he used to cut them himself - wouldn't let people pick them. It was a big bundle, like off the tree. It would be all a man could do to lift the whole bundle.

If one store didn't have what you wanted you went to the other. There were fresh vegetables very seldom. No fresh meat. Only smoked meat. You could get fresh meat in Vancouver. It was a day's trip on the train. You could go to Spencer's where Eaton's is now. Woodward's was there.

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I was in Vancouver when you could go up Hastings Street and see Indians women wearing moccasins still - sitting there in front of the store.

There were Indians in Yale too? Quite a few then. That whole reserve was pretty near filled up with Indian houses. A lot different then to what they are now. Some could hardly speak English.

One there - it's a story. I don't know if it's true or not. An Indian before paper money - only gold coins - when he got too many coins he'd put them in an old lard pail up back of the reserve someplace toward
the mountains a bit. He kept putting them there. He got blind, and couldn't find them. They might be there yet. It's just a story.

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I missed a lot of school moving around and when I came back it was all changed. I was up at Spuzzum one year and I never got to school at all, that winter. Spent the winter in a tent up there. The old man was cutting ties for the CNR.

Teachers came from all over. Don't know where from. They would live at some house while they were teaching. Two teachers down at All Hallows School came from Peachland in the Okanagan. Just one teacher in the Yale School. Usually a woman. They did have a man there at one time.

I remember one day there was a big field of ripe tomatoes next door to the school, nice and ripe. I crawled over to swipe one and looked up and there was Dave Creighton looking at me so I didn't get my tomato. He had a long beard right down to his waist.

The school they use for the kindergarten now: I owned two lots just below that. Little brown house on one. On one lot there was a white house - supposed to be a rooming house and cafe for men. Turned out it was headquarters for the IWW union. In 1910-1911 the CNR workers held a strike. This was the Headquarters for the strike. The policeman stationed at Hope, George Blue - he was in the Provincial Police and they had no uniform - went to Yale, gathered up all the men on strike and marched them down the CPR track on foot to Hope and further. Men on speeders brought soup and food to feed the men while they were walking. He kept them going single-handed. Two hundred men. Provincial police didn't have uniforms in those days.

Before I was there - during the gold rush - Yale had lots of bars. All that Front Street was nothing but bars. I never got in Mrs. Reevesbeck's bar but I looked in lots of times. Under-age - they wouldn't let you in. They sold whiskey in little square bottles you could put in your hip pocket. You could buy one and take it out. They used to give us a nickel for one of those bottles. You didn't see many beer bottles in those days.

People had beer in bar rooms, but draft beer. Didn't bring it out. After they shipped beer out in barrels, then bottles got around. Before that, draft beer. You'd get a whole quart for a nickel, pretty near. What beer there was, was in quart bottles. After prohibition they started putting beer in smaller bottles.

If you had a nickel, what would you buy with it? Package of gum, chocolate bar, all-day sucker, apple, orange, - each a nickel. Couple of
pennies were all you needed. There was a great big jar full of penny candies. Round ones. Something like jawbreakers.

How did most people make their living? When I was there, most worked on the railroad. Some prospecting. They had bridge gangs on the railroad, and they were hiring men. My father was building houses and he'd hire men to help him with that. Men were working on the CPR, keeping the CPR repaired. A man could go out and cut ties. Cut them to the proper length and square them with a broadaxe. A summer doing that would keep him for a year. Others cut poles. Telegraph poles.

There was very seldom any work in the winter time. Usually just in the summer, in those days.

What did people do in the winter time? Got into trouble - nothing to do. They'd go to the bar room, play poker. Usually those that were any good would cut their wood in the winter. Those that didn't look at it that way would cut wood as they needed it. There was no oil. Naphtha gas for lamps. Mostly wood. You could go any place for wood.

Some people'd order coal. Usually a Chinaman would take orders for coal. People would order a ton of coal and he'd order the coal from Vancouver. It would come up by freight train and he'd deliver it with his horse and wagon.

Dave Creighton used to get bread shipped up once or twice a week. It came up on the passenger train in sort of a basket box about three feet high but most women made their own bread. Somebody'd have a cow or two around to supply you with milk. Usually you bought butter at the store. If people had a cow they'd make butter for themselves. No margarine. It was against the law to sell margarine in B.C. for a long time.

I was eight years old when I went there first. We lived in a tent for a while while he (EC's father) was building a big roominghouse. We lived in the back in a tent. He sold the roominghouse just before he finished building it. We moved into the house that Shilsons live in now - the same house. That house is over 100 years old. That was 1911.

The contractor building the railroad had a store in a little cabin below us. There was a cable - they'd hook a scow onto the rigging or they'd use a bucket anchored in a different place. They'd leave the rigging there. That was a government ferry. They had one at Hope and one at Spuzzum. (for cable at Yale).

At that time to get into Hope you had to cross the river from Haig on a ferry. There was a wagon road from Vancouver but that was all it was - a wagon road. It'd take you a month to get anywhere on it.
The old courthouse was at Yale at that time and the government agent was there. But they didn't hold court any more. After the railroad went through, why Yale just died right out. At one time - oh, I guess it'd be some time in the 20's, you could count the people pretty near on one hand. I counted 75 one time - that's Indians, Whites, kids and all.

You know the Hudson's Bay Company used to come across the trail there from Yale to Hope. There's a story that prospectors from Barkerville used to take that trail. Word that some were coming down with gold dust. There were a couple of women in the group. A bunch decided to go out and pretend to rob them as a joke. The Barkerville people didn't know it was a joke and started shooting. They all started shooting and the Barkerville bunch got killed. They figure the gold is buried on that trail. They got scared and buried it. They didn't want to bring it in because they'd get blamed for it. The government sent men out to try and find it but they couldn't find it. Martin Castle figures that there's three cabins near where the hold-up was and he thinks he's found one of the cabins. But he can't get up there anymore.

The 1894 flood: That flood at Yale covered Front Street. I don't know how deep it was but it covered it right up to the bank where the road goes up the hill there. Up at Saddle Rock - Acars might know that - there's a rock with an iron drill set into it. That's the high water mark for the flood of 1894.

Were there stories about that flood? I have one here. One about Hope here first. When you come off the bridge, there's a gas station on the corner, with a lawn. They used to give the contract out to carry the mail. The mail came up by CPR to Haig. They let the contract out to carry mail beyond that point, in a canoe. A man told me that in 1894 he was carrying the mail and that's where he landed his canoe, by that house, Carl Anderson's house.

Two stories now. The first one is straight baloney. If you stand in Yale and look across the river, up at the top of the highest mountain, there's a rock sitting there that looks like someone sitting there. Eddie Barry's grandfather told me this, when I was ten years old.

He said in those days the reserves were much bigger than they are now. They were like small cities, especially the one at Spuzzum Creek. The Yale Indians always were fighting the Spuzzum Indians and the Spuzzum witch doctor was sent out to spy on the Yale Indians, to find out how strong they were. He went up to the top of that mountain, and he sat right where that rock is. The witch doctor at Yale came out of his house or tipi or whatever one morning and he saw the witch doctor sitting up there and he
said "Oh that guy's spying on us. I'll fix him. Well," he says, "I'll fix that guy," and he clapped his hands and he turned him into stone and he's been standing there ever since. That's old Eddie Barry's grandfather's story of it.

Now, the Indians' story is a little different. All that was reserve down there, you know, near the track. That bench. You stand at Lady Franklin Rock and you see a bench. When the 1894 flood came, water kept coming up and up and the Indians were still there and they didn't know what to do. They went to the witch doctor and he prayed and finally got a message from somebody through his herbs and that. The message was "Look up" and they looked up and saw that rock like a finger up there and it looked as if it were pointing up. So they climbed the sidehill and waited up there until the waters went down.

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The old toll gate: Originally when they first built the highway through the canyon they made it a toll road. Everyone paid $1.00 to go up and $1.00 to come back. Trucks paid $2.00 plus 10 cents for every pound of load. That's the highway that was opened in 1926. The toll gate was built at Spuzzum and then they moved it down to Yale sometime during the latter part of the hungry '30's.

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Lady Franklin Rock: This Franklin, he was an explorer. He was to cross Canada and come down the Fraser River. That was the plan. So his wife came out here and she came as far as Yale and she was going to meet him here at Yale. She used to get the Indians to take her across and she'd sit on that rock all day waiting for her husband to come down that river. But instead he came out some other river. He never did come down the Fraser. And that's how it got the name Lady Franklin Rock.

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Some people lived across from us here at Hope. Originally they came from the state of Maine. Quite a lot of people would buy basic foods in the fall of the year, like 100 pounds of flour, and tea and sugar. That was supposed to last as close to spring as they could get.

I went to visit these people one night. They were sitting in the kitchen. It was a barn of a building. I chummed with the boy. The father was quite a drinker. He went out to the bar room.

I sat there visiting until about 8:00 p.m. I had to be home at 9:00 p.m. She said, "I'll have to ask you to go home. We've only enough
wood to last until breakfast." That was how close they cut it. Just cut enough wood for the day.

And sometimes people went to bed at dark. Got up at 5:00 a.m. Did everything in daylight. In our home we used to go to bed at 9:00 p.m. No sense staying up late. Nothing to stay up for. We had a gramophone - just a square box - a later model. They'd done away with the horn. It was called a Victrola. You didn't play that very often because you didn't have many records. Anything that cost money you didn't have much of.

When I started out earning a living when I was 13, I was pretty well grown up. Had to be. My father died when I was 16 and I had to tie in. My mother got about $60.00 a month from the army, and she got an allowance for each youngster until the age of 16. Then it was cut off. Nothing after that. I had to start working early. I never did get a suit of clothes until I earned the money and bought it myself. Never got a bike until I bought it myself. My one and only bike. I got that job at the school. Got $35 a month and my meals. Bought clothes and the bike but I always had to donate something to the family.

When I went up the coast, to the mining camp, those days when you went out to a camp you had to carry your own blankets. Camps didn't supply anything. The camp I went to had four bunkhouses: one had a hallway down the middle and bunks (double-decker) on each side. The bed bugs were so thick they'd wake you up at night just walking down the hallway. Got into your clothes and everything. And the next bunkhouse up was two to a room. Had a doubledelecker bed. Next bunkhouse was still two men to a room but the doublededecker bed was cut in half so there were two beds. There was no charge for those, if you stayed in those. The fourth one was two men to a room; the room was plaster, with two white beds that looked like hospital beds but weren't. There were two men to a room and they charged $2.50 a month for that room. And they charged 20 cents a month for a lunch bucket.

Were there things you worked at? Oh, yes there was something. Just about when we first went to Yale. They put out a newspaper at Hope here - the West Yale Review. I used to peddle that. And the Vancouver papers. When I came to Hope I got the route here too. The Vancouver papers were the World and the Advertiser. We had them for a long time and then they just petered out and we were left with the Sun and the Province.

When I went to school at Hope he (EC's father) got me a job. The old man was quite a guy for getting jobs for me. A man here had ten or fifteen cows. He worked all day, then milked the cows and delivered the milk. I brought the cows in. I'd get a quart of milk a day for bringing the cows in.
The money I got for the newspaper I had to turn into the family. Any tips I got I held them back. Didn't say anything.

I might have been the first boy to deliver papers in Yale. I was the first to have a bicycle. I worked down at the school, got enough money and bought the bicycle. Nearly got killed over that. All the boys wanted bikes and their fathers were upset about that.

Those days money was hard to get. If you had a nickel from your Dad, that was something. I used to do chores for that Richards I told you about. We had a depression in Hope about 1913 or 1914. The railroad was finished; there were no jobs; people were pretty hard up. My paper money was what kept our family going for a time. That's why so many people joined the army.

Were there a lot of people in Yale that took the paper? No, there weren't many people there then. They were building the CNR then and most of the people were over there. They had a couple of male nurses in the hospital next to the Town Hall. There were cots on each side. More like a bunkhouse for the CPR. They had a boiler and compressor down on the next corner where the blocked crossing is - a steam boiler and compressor to pump air for the drill across the river. The pipes ran up to Lady Franklin rock and across. In front of the guide hall they had a warehouse to keep supplies. There was a store at the corner where Bob Robinson's house is. Originally it was the stage coach departure place. Old Gwyer had a survey crew working on the CNR.

Outside of that there were only the two section crews and Dave Creighton running the store and post office. Don't suppose there were 100 people outside what I've given you. As far as I can remember I didn't sell more than a dozen papers at a time. The papers came every week.

Did people subscribe? No. I'd go around and peddle them. For the Vancouver papers I had subscribers for some. Some I sold.

How much did papers sell for? When I lived in Vancouver during the war I could go down to the Sun office and buy three papers for a nickel and then I'd go out on the street and sell them for a nickel each. I imagine they'd be the same up here at that time. It was a good way to get money.

Even though they do not represent her conception of what is significant in Yale's history, Mrs. Chrane's reminiscences provide an equally detailed picture of Yale in approximately the same period. Since
they offer a different perspective from Mr. Cox's, since when young the two people led very different lives, I have included them.

AL: I'd like to put down what it was like to get up on a Sunday and have the day before you....

When Sunday came we weren't allowed to do any work. It was a day of rest. Couldn't do sports of any description 'til afternoon. If the afternoon was free we could play tennis or ball or whatever. There was a service in the morning - 7 a.m. Communion service, then 11 o'clock, then home again, then 3 o'clock Sunday school.

Mr. Croucher was the clergyman but he didn't teach Sunday school. We were taught by governesses from All Hallows. One was ... Miss Allison. Then my eldest sister taught Sunday school and played the organ for years. Then we went to service again at night - 7 o'clock. Sunday then was a day we had to be in our Sunday-go-meeting clothes. Dress and hat for Sunday.

Then they had the curfew bell at All Hallows. Everyone had to be in bed by 9 o'clock - boarders that is. I was a day (pupil).

Did others pay attention to the 9:00 p.m. curfew? Oh yes. Those particular about their children being out. We couldn't be out down in the town or down in the walk. Had to be in by 9:00. If not, mother and father would be out looking for us. Nothing to disturb you then. No murders. But those were just the rules. The village people didn't have to abide by it, who didn't go to the school.

Saturday night we had dances in the dining hall. None from the town were asked. Just All Hallows girls. Boys used to go down and stand on the bridge and look in - they'd get a kick out of watching them dance with each other.

They used to put on wonderful plays. Every closing of school. In June. They used to put on a play. The Canadian girls - Mrs. Croucher used to give a gold medal every year. The White girls had the gold; the Indians had the silver. They used to put on plays like Rumpelstiltskin - all English plays like you like to see nowadays. The village people would all go.

The place used to be beautiful with flowers. There was a large vegetable garden and orchard, with apples, pears and plums.
Then my spare time was in the hills with my dogs and horses fishing and hiking, mining with my father, going to his different mines. That was my life. Picking cherries and fruit. A natural home life. That's what I would call it.

We had picnics - Mother would look forward at the end of the week - you had a big white cloth, and cooking utensils you'd take with you. You'd cook your fish at the creek. Take your bacon with you. It was a lot of work but we didn't think so then. People now wouldn't do it.

The little Methodist school house was next to the firehall - that was the first school house. The Methodist Ministers' Association took it over, and had their Methodist Church there. Then they turned Mrs. Sims' house into the public school. That was where the older girls went to school. Those that were in the town that didn't go to All Hallows School went to that. And the boys. All the pupils. I believe Mr. Shepard was the first teacher.

Then comes the CPR station with the operators, and agents - three. They had so much work they had three. And they had an expressman. Two operators and an agent day and night. Two at night and two in the day beside the agent. Five altogether. Then the baggage and express man. He did all the chores.

They all lived in Yale? Yes. Very nice station. Bedrooms upstairs. Kitchen and all. And a most beautiful garden. Their garden took first prize one year. It was just like the lovely big hotel they had at North Bend. Miss Mollison ran that. North Bed was a divisional point. There was hardly any Boston Bar then. Hardly any to speak of. Just a little stopping station. But North Bend was beautiful.

The post office woman at North Bend would know. Her name was Richardson. She was there for quite a number of years. Don't know if she is still.

The train used to stop for half an hour at North Bend. Passengers would go out and have a meal there. The fountains and pillars in the gardens were just beautiful.

The CPR always gave prizes for each station to compete for - for the garden. Yale got one once, and Ruby Creek.

And everybody used to go down and meet the train? That was the big excitement. Even when mine were small. In the summer they stayed here a longer time because they used to sell the cherries. The CPR used to try to stop them but they couldn't - not on CPR property. The CPR
didn't buy any property. It was all given by the people of Yale. The people were so glad to have the railroad go through. They should never have taken the old station down. But probably there would be no one to keep it up if it were standing.

They sold cherries mostly all in Indian baskets. Made these little cones. They'd sell them at 10 cents a cone. They were very very good until later times when you got a different kind. They'd put the old ones on the bottom and a few good ones on top. Just cheating. That was very poor for Yale.

They used to make cones out of Eatons and Simpsons catalogues. Had to be a stiff piece of paper. Catalogues were kept for that.

How did they keep the cones in the baskets? Warp and weft of strings. Made a little square place for the cones to go in. Yale was known as "Cherry town". Every orchard was a cherry orchard.

Were they mostly sold by kids? Yes. And the Indians. And some of the women used to go and sell them. They'd make lots of money. It was a pleasure for the kids to make a few dimes.

I used to be up in the cherry trees, my sister and I, early in the morning - four o'clock - picking cherries, picking cherries and taking them down in a wheelbarrow to the noon train to ship them to Kamloops to Wades' store. Never used to waste time. Picked cherries all day. Not like today.

The cherry trees are all vanished from Yale now. Just left to go and all this other vegetation came in and killed them. Brought in different kinds of insects. We had beautiful cherries - White Spanish - they didn't get ready until September - Black Republicans, Byngs, and Lamberts, Oxhearts and yellow Spanish cherries, mazzards - and they were tiny sweet cherries - lots of juice.

There are two russet trees left there yet - on Mrs. Stephenson's lot.

We played down at the tennis courts in the All Hallows playground. They had two lovely tennis courts and a croquet lawn and baseball.

We used to have so much of that in our own yards. We didn't go out. Had friends come in. Tea and soft drinks. Then supper and in the evenings we'd go for a walk. Used to hold nice dances too.
My sister's husband (W. Bailey) was a contractor for All Hallows School.

Joe Sujick's was the minister's place. Mr. Croucher was the minister for the village, and that was the rectory for All Hallows. Mr. Underhill lived there. It was owned by All Hallows. My brother-in-law built it for All Hallows.

My sister used to have card parties and small dances in a lovely room in her house.

Then there was Thalenberg's house, beyond Joe Sujick's. That was Mrs. Vickers', from Kamloops. Her husband was a government surveyor.

When Mr. Underhill lived there we used to go back and forth for tea. We had to be all dressed up in the afternoon to go visiting with mother. If not, there'd be something popping. You didn't sit around in your morning clothes.

Sunday or every day? Every day. Sundays we got dressed up and went to church. I've known Sundays when I went to church four times.

What do you remember of Chinatown? I remember the joss house, the Chinese church. It was all with idols in it. On one side there was a huge board put up with a painting of the devil on it. That used to scare the life out of us. We used to run up and look at it, then run away. It was up by Fook Woo's laundry, where MacQueen's is.

There was an alley where Jimmy Lee's house is now, leading from Douglas Street down to Front Street to Kai Kee's store, right in the middle of Chinatown. That led you to all kinds of China stores, China laundry. They were all down on Front Street. Albert Street divided Chinatown from the remainder of the White community. Then the road that takes off Chinatown from the Indian reserve is Yates Street. It goes up past Mr. Brown's to the CPR.

Did Albert Street go right down to Front Street? Yes, right down to Front Street, from Bridge Street.

Then at China New Year time they had all their Happy New Year. And they shot off all their firecrackers. They used to have them hanging down from the upstairs right down to the ground. To kill the spirits. And they used to go from house to house, giving their China gifts, China candy and China nuts, li-chi, citron, spiced roast pork.
Did they go to every house? Yes, to every house. To their biggest friends they gave a quantity. To newcomers a small amount.

Was Fook Woo's laundry up by MacQueen's? No, right down on the street that goes down - on Douglas Street across from On Lee's. But he had another laundry up beside (west of) the Joss House. I've forgotten the name of the Chinaman he took that laundry (the one by the Joss House) over from. When the CPR came it divided everything off.

On Lee's was across Douglas Street from Fook Woo's. Kai Kee was on Front Street. It's still standing there - it's Kai Kee's big cellar - they used to keep merchandise - Chinese wines and things they brought up on the boat.

Then just as you went over the old wagon road bridge there was a big hotel - on this side, on the track side - it was taken down when the CPR was built. French people ran that - I can't remember their name - Mother used to speak so much of her. I think she ran a sporting house - this French woman ran it. It was a hotel, but I think it was nothing but a sporting house, from Mother's history of her. Mother could never stand her, had no use for her.

Then across the bridge, that old wagon road bridge, that was all Indian reserve. Mary Anne owned all that land where Clare's are. I don't know how the Chinese cemetery got there....

You see, mostly all the blacksmith shop, and all the horses, it stood at the end of Front Street, where Peter Emery lives. That's where they used to harness up the stages. Then when the CPR came they had the turntables where the engines used to turn. It was the head of the CPR, was Yale.

Johnny Ward had a hotel behind the station, Yale Hotel, it went as. Old Johnny Ward, when that was going, he had three girls and one boy. Somebody was talking about them the other day. They're related to the Creightons.

Creighton's store was here, On Lee's store, Kai Kee's store - they were in my time - all the others were before my time. The hotel was Mrs. Reevesbeck, the CPR boarding house they called it, and Johnny Ward's hotel behind the station.

Do you remember going into Kai Kee's store? Um hmmm. What was it like inside? Very nice inside....Kai Kee's were very high class in China....That little alley way - the poorer class of Chinamen lived up where
Jimmy Lee lives now on the remainder of Douglas Street. It was all Chinatown. Quite a mining—they were employed by the CPR.

We used to go to Kai Kee's. We used to deal with Kai Kee's. Father being in the government did a lot of writing for the Chinamen. He had a little room down there, did a lot of business for the Chinamen, transferring goods in and out. The room was in Kai Kee's store. He did a lot of transferring of gold and things like that for them.

What sort of things did Kai Kee sell? All kinds of merchandise, clothing, boots, mining boots and all the mining equipment in the way of overalls, etc. Besides groceries, a tremendous lot of groceries. It was a big store.

Adjoining it was a big roominghouse. It belonged to Kai Kee. Like a boardinghouse. Those that worked on the river would sleep there. I don't know what the charging was. Then they would have their big cookhouse. They used to be on the river fishing for suckers and ling. They used to have big barrels. Kept them in there alive. They'd never kill a fish. Kill it and put it in the pan right away. We used to go in there and see them tumbling over in the barrel with the water running over it. They'd have a big table in there with Chinese dishes and chopsticks on it. Always set with chopsticks and Chinese dishes and little round cups for tea. Always tea in their pot. Always sipping tea. The cookhouse was out back of the store. As you go off the main big entrance of the store. The kitchen was—on one side and the little office on the other. At the back of that was the opium den. It was dark in there. There was a mattress and blankets and men lying there. There was a big pipe, about that big around. They would smoke it and get all the fumes and come out like ghosts.

One bed—no, it ran like a little hallway. You go in and it's pitch dark. Four or six bunks made in the wall on either side. They'd lie on the bunks and smoke their opium. They'd smoke as much as they'd buy. They used to buy that. It came from China. They used to send back all the money they made to China. They kept their families over there. The opium came over in those little bottles. We had endless of them.

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Kai Kee's (continued)

For fire equipment they used to have great big iron stoves. You put a whole cord stick in them—a whole cordwood stick. That would be to heat the house. The fire never went out.

There were stories of them staying up all night to keep the fire going so the merchandise wouldn't be frozen.
On Lee's store

All Hallows got their laundry done here

Kai Kee used to sleep in there as well. There was a bunk. (One had to be downstairs all the time.)

Office, where Father would go.

Laundry

- All Hallows
- got their laundry done here

Garden

- In here

Kai Kee used to sleep in there as well. There was a bunk. (One had to be downstairs all the time.)

Kitchen

- Counter
- Kitchen stove
- Store
- - you could walk all around in here

- Entrance

FRONT STREET

Chinese frame with a little curtain where they used to do all their accounting with an abacus. The curtain was of bamboo, ornamental, behind a square thing with wooden bars, all fancy cut. Had all their pens and Chinese ink back there. Made their own ink. Had block of paste and water. Used to do their writing with a brush.

Kitchen: water was piped in.
- There were barrels of fish.
- The waterworks was fixed up in 1880.

Store: shelves up to ceiling.
- Merchandise - clothing, shoes, barrels of rice - used to have rice brought in sacks, and sugar and every thing that had been poured into big bins. Built in the store and you pulled them back. Had big scales for weighing everything out. Had gold scales for the gold. Handled tremendous amount of gold. Kept them behind the little private thing. Tea, coffee, all kinds of Chinese duck and meats, different canned meats from China. Fish, lots of fish. Never did anything in the way of putting up anything from Canada. Brought everything from China.
- No ornaments of any kind. Miners' shoes and socks, heavy gum boots. No Vancouver then. Had to bring them from China.
Then you went off into the kitchen.

There was a big upstairs. Kai Kees lived upstairs. They never left the store to any other Chinaman. They had a roominghouse on the Indian reserve side. Had a huge garden on this side. They used to grow lovely vegetables. All their Chinese cabbage and beans.

On the other side of this boarding house was the little China cabins put up for individuals. Probably for those that got married. The one next to the roominghouse was taken down not so long ago. Between the walls they found gold coins, gold and silver coins.

Next to the garden was the alley, leading up to On Lees. Then on this side of the alley was a laundry. Fook Woos didn't own that. That's where All Hallows got their laundry done. There'd be about four Chinamen walking down the track and the old wagon road with poles over their shoulders, carrying the baskets of laundry. Mrs. Clare is the only one now to have one of those poles.

Was there just one Kai Kee or did he have any relatives? No, he had two brothers. There was two brothers that ran it. There was Ah Hun and one they called Billy. He had a China name too. I have a letter he wrote to Father. Billy died here. They sent his remains back to China. Then he had a great great friend that came out, Ah Chou. He did business with them. He was linked in that same grade of Chinaman. My eldest sister taught him the White language.

Did he work with Kai Kee? Yes.

Lived there? Yes. He was in the same class, as Chinamen. They sent over for their own class to do business with them. Ah Hun went back to China.

Did Ah Chou go too? Yes. Chou had a son with him and he went back too. They all went back to China when the business was finished.

Ah Hun was a nice Chinaman. He used to bring our groceries up. And Mother used to get him to do jobs for her - like killing chickens - Father never had time for anything like that.

Did he have a wife? No. Billy, the eldest brother, the one that managed the place, had a wife in China. And Chou, I think, had his wife in China because he brought his son out here. But Ah, Hun, he never did.

Chou's son was a young man then? Um hmm. He never could speak a bit of English until he came out here. Then of course my sister taught them.
On Lee's store  
(ground floor)

Counters on each side. Shelves, above, to the ceiling. Bins near the floor. Barrels of nails and kegs of nails.

Were you ever in the kitchen? Not so much so. We didn't roam around that part so much. So many Chinamen there. All had pigtailed. We used to yank one when we had a chance. The one that lived in the little house down next to the graveyard - we used to chase him. Used to get him running after us. He used to come running up the bank with an axe.

Old Harvey. He used to cook for Mr. Croucher, the clergyman. When Mr. Croucher left, he had to go down to Chinatown to live. Lived down on the bank with his pigs. The pigs were underneath. They used to come in his house. He used to have his bunk over top of the pig pen.

There was one across the river where the CNR tunnel is now. It was a cave he had. Partly wooden, and the back part was a cave. He made all kinds of money there with gold. Good place for gold. When Walter was placer mining Tommy Joe used to take him across and he'd sit and talk to this little Chinaman. One day he had a copper pot boiling on the stove. Asked what it was - soup. Asked what was in it - mice and rats. He'd skin them and boil them up in the soup. He stayed there for years and finally died. They stayed there like that - must have got gold. Wouldn't have stayed otherwise. But a little gold to them meant an awful lot. He couldn't have got many groceries or he wouldn't have eaten rats and mice.

Were there people living in the alley by Kai Kee's? Yes, the alley was lined up with China houses, all on each side. It was surprising
how few of them had Chinee wives here. Never seemed to have brought their wives from China. Kai Kees didn't bring theirs - sent money back to support them. I guess it cost too much to bring them into Canada. I don't know. It seems a long time to be away from their own family.

Were the houses in the alley very big? Yes. Upstairs things, like a store would be. Like big boarding houses. Nearly every building had an upstairs to it. People living upstairs and downstairs. There were a lot of Chinamen here. The CPR hired a lot of Chinamen. They always used to mix with the Indians.

Did your family get laundry done at Fook Woo's? No, we used to do all our own. Used to have a big boiler, a copper boiler. We had all our chores to do. My eldest sister did the sewing, my second sister all the cooking, she and mother, my third sister did the lamps and dusting and sweeping and Bess and I - we were outdoors, looking after the cattle with Father. That's how we got around so much with the horses.

The one that served the whole community in navigation time with vegetables and fruit was old John Alway. John Alway, when he first came to the country was with Barnard's Express. He wasn't a miner, he was with the Express, with stagecoaches and horses. He bought this property originally from a man named Hicks. He came here originally with Barnard and Bailey Express. This property here that we're on - Father bought it - John Trutch bought it from Alway. When Alway got it he got it from someone named Hicks. Who he was - whether he was a Hudson Bay man, or who, I don't know. When Trutch bought it from Alway, he sold it to my dad. He had it for about fourteen years before he sold it to Father. How I know - I've got all the back deeds of it. Father bought it from Trutch. We didn't live in it. Father and Mother and my eldest sister didn't live in it at first because they lived on the other lot, while Father was Government Agent. Trutch went to Victoria, and then he left his house and made a decision and went back to England.

Yale when the CNR was being built: It was built from 1910 to 1914. Yale was built up then. There were sidewalks up from the Church to the Hall and along Douglas Street. There was a boom.

There was a scow to take people across the river, and a new store on Douglas Street. There were two new houses built - Gwyer's - he was a civil engineer of the CN. I think he had the eastern - and Mr. Mallory - he had the other division. There were two civil engineers. And they had surveyors of course, and camps. In these divisions they had construction camps. One at Saddle Rock. All on the CN side, though, across the river. I think they went so many miles apart. There was one at Hill's Bar and one at Emory. As far as Yale goes, it was all built up. We had
the hall then - the CNR boys....It belonged to the Church then, the hall. It was donated by Mr. Croucher to the public, and the CNR boys they put a dancing floor in it and put a kitchen on. For pleasures. There were balls then - mostly private. We had our own theatrical then. Took it to North Bend and Hope. The teachers from All Hallows were in it. That money went towards repairing and keeping up expenses. Oh, they boomed up the little town.

Then we had two restaurants and two new stores - pool room.

What kind of plays did you put on? Oh, we put on those theatrical plays, like they used to have in the vaudevilles. One was "Beauty and the Beast" and all that sort of thing, you know. "The Colonel's Consent" was another one. Then there was "Bluebeard". Then they held a lot of whist drives. There was a whist drive every week, every weekend. There was something on all the time. And tennis. There were tennis courts down here at the auto court. They kept the tennis courts up after the school left. Tennis tournaments and picnics. Picnics on while the tennis was going. And we had school picnics - the public school.

And the surveyors used to take you downriver in the boat to each one of the camps. And then you had a big dinner. You'd go down to one camp at a time - there'd be a big dinner at the camp, with the table set. You'd go down in canoes west, for the enjoyment of the river, cross over to the other shore; go east on CN speeders to the camps. Many picnics we went on a handcar, even way up near Saddle Rock. We used to cross the river on the scow too.

They didn't build up Front Street as much as they did Douglas Street. Front Street was more where all the heavy work went on. There would always be kind of a mess and everything. But when they got going and built the sidewalks Douglas was nice.

The CPR - every train used to stop here then. We don't get that train service now.

We used to start the dances at 9 o'clock. They never started after the beer parlours closed - half the night's gone. Now they have to get loaded with liquor before they have a dance.

We used to have program dances. Names of partners written on cards. Especially at Easter. The surveyor boys used to make them. They'd draw a little chicken on each side and have the kind of dance - waltz, two-step. The man would come over and ask you to sign your name on his card and he'd sign his name on yours. And then you couldn't dance with anyone else for that dance. But you can't do anything with these men these days.
Did your parents know the people building the railroad? Oh yes, the teachers and the young men were always invited here for singing and refreshments. And they always went to Church, the boys. We always had a full church. Mr. Croucher was here and the vicarage.

They shouldn't have taken the vicarage down...then we could have a clergyman here. A clergyman has a lot to do with keeping up a town.

Mother used to be right in it. Nothing rowdy then. No liquor except in your own home.

There was a lovely hotel here then, the Borden Hotel. They used to have lovely banquets there. It was run by Mrs. Reevesbeck.

What sort of banquets? To celebrate any special doing with the CNR company. And then if anybody was married they held everything in the hotel. They had a beautiful big dining-room and saloon - they called them saloons then, didn't they. All cut glass and mirrors. You can see them down in Virginia City.

And then, of course, the big courthouse we had, and the Dodds were there then.

Then we had the orchestra, the music used to be wonderful. The orchestra from Vancouver used to come up, the Hotel Vancouver. Mr. Dyke. The very best of music.

Would the orchestra play in the hotel? Just for special occasions. Not for everything.

And it was at that time when the CPR used to give prizes for the best-kept garden at the station. From North Bend to Vancouver. And it was one year there Yale got the prize for the best-kept garden.

They used to have croquet in every station garden. Croquet used to be played a lot. You don't see it any more. They used to keep the gardens beautiful. Even Spuzzum and that. They were very particular about their stations, you know, the CPR. Highways, buses, have destroyed all that.

Oh, and another thing that was great for drawing people was the way the Indians used to dry their fish. Now you don't see that any more. I've got picture after picture of the Indian camps - people used to come from all over to see it.

Did everyone from Yale go to the dances? Yes, they all used to go to the dances, even the teachers from All Hallows School - not the girls.
But the teachers used to go out all the time because that was their recreation. Music teachers...they were mostly all middle-aged women, you know.

And then the head ones of the CNR, Mr. Gwyer and Mr. Mallory, with his family and they always had servants, ladies' help. No babysitters then. No difficulty in getting one to look after the family. Did all the work in the house. Oh, and then after the CNR was finished, the men had to find new jobs and they got scattered. One went to New York, and one went to another place. South America - a lot went, and some went to Mexico.

Mr. Barry was born in Yale and is of pioneer descent. The information he presents to outsiders and to members of the community is based on reminiscences from his childhood and is told in anecdotal form. I did not do extensive work with him. The Chinese and Indian communities as they existed in the days of his childhood and before are frequent themes in his reminiscences.

Fook Woo's Laundry on Douglas Street:

We had a rather large Chinatown here. I think we could say the population was about 250 in 1912, 1913.
One man was reported for selling opium - not when I was there. The police got off the train and went through. Didn't find anything. They did it again and found Ah Foo with some in his possession. Possession wasn't much in those days - fined $50 or something.

Then there was an old Chinaman living where Jimmy On Lee did. Ernie McLinden, the brother of Freddie, was a member of our gang. We went down to steal cherries even though we had great big Bings at home and these others were little. There was a board fence with barbed wire on top. It didn't stop us. A Chinaman came out and said he'd shoot us. We didn't pay attention. The second time he came out with the gun and Ernie got stuck on the fence. A few pellets hit him, but he was wearing "tin pants" - heavy canvas. The pellets went in just enough to bleed. We picked them out. One chap went and got iodine from his house. His mother was a nurse. But we didn't know it had to be diluted and it took the skin off.

Mr. Barry said he was sure that the Chinese man had never intended to wound the boys seriously.

In the same building (Fook Woo's) in the living quarters there was a poker game - over $1000 on the table. Old Gus Castle was playing in the game. Playing stud poker. One fellow there had a patch over his eye. He had two deuces up and a fellow opposite him had a king, an ace, etc. - no pairs but high cards. Anyway the betting came round and this fellow with the pair of deuces, hebet, and the fellow opposite him called him and raised and this fellow with the patch, he came back and raised again. There was a lot of gold coins on that table. The fellow with the two deuces won, the other fellow didn't have a pair.

The IWW called a strike when the CN was being built. The hotel used to be across the street, right across from the church, practically on the track; we had double tracks then. There was sommany of them from all over - had a convention here - camped in tents - blocked the railroad track with so many of them and the train couldn't go through. Just a mass of people across the track. They swore in provincial police to clear out these men. They talked to them, pushed them aside and so forth. Unfortunately somebody got shot - I don't know if it was fatal - I think it was. Two or three of the leaders were arrested and the thing just broke up.

The CPR hasn't got the right of way through the town here so the kids went out - used to make bags in cones - used to sell cherries in them for 10 cents - at one time there were five passengers (i.e., passenger trains) a day. They all stopped here. We used to go along the sides of the train. The windows used to open in those days - some of us got real smart and started getting on the train. They sent the CPR police after us,
but Creighton, the post master, came and said the CPR didn't have the right

to prevent them selling cherries from the platform though they couldn't go

on the train.

One time there was a tragedy. The MacQuarrie kid was hit by the

engine. He went on one side of the train - the windows were not open or

something. He went to cross in front of the train to the other side. The

engine knocked him up against the abutment or wall.

The train used to stop fifteen minutes for water. Cherry season

was in the first of July for two weeks. Twenty years ago there were 13

kids of all ages selling them.

They used Indian baskets - paid $2.50 each for the Indian women

to make them. You could put 18 cones to a basket. You'd fill the cones

and then take big black cherries in the palm of your hand and turn them

over on top of the cherries in the cone, with all the stems down.

The last year they sold cherries - the train was held up five

hours. It was a rainy day. We picked them, and the kids put them in bags

and sold them. One pound bags. Sold them at 25 cents, and they sold as

well as they had for 10 cents. They used to ship them to Alberta. They'd

hold trains up for the shipment.

In all the years we had cherries none was ever stolen. If kids

didn't have cherries (i.e., to sell) they went to the school teacher (or

anyone else who wasn't going to use theirs). The trees were all over town.

Now there aren't so many. Birds seem to get them. They didn't before.

Mr. Barry told a story about a building where one could rent

furnished rooms, on Douglas Street. It has since been torn down.

There were ladies of light repute there. Croucher lived across

the street. He came out of his place and was going down to Creighton's.

He was always up at Creighton's store, arguing with him. They were about

the same age. Had a fence they used to move back and forth on each other.

And there was a fellow threw one of the girls out of the window bare naked

because she owed him some money or something. Croucher reported it to the

police - the police were down near Front Street. Dick Bowen, the provin-
cial policeman, came up. The madam went out the back window, slid down

into the lilac bushes. Had a rope all ready. Dick Bowen was waiting for

her, so were a couple of us kids. We'd been selling papers and had been

kicked out of there. They were said to have a girl kidnapped from Montreal.
She was under 16. They got seven years.
Here's a story you'll like. There was an old Indian on the reservation named George Hope. He was Lawrence Hope's grandfather. Alex Miller and I knew him very well....Well, he used to tell a story his father had told him. Jesus Christ came here once. Appeared at the mouth of Siwash Creek. In those days there were a lot of fish in the river. The Indians used to go in on the rocks and catch them in their hands. Jesus Christ appeared in a black robe and he had a net with him in a little black bundle, and showed the Indians how to use it to dip a dozen fish out of the river at one time.

Mr. Barry said it was probably a Spanish Roman Catholic priest from one of the times when the Spanish were up here. He believes the Spanish were here a lot more than is generally believed. There is, he believes, Spanish mixed in with the Indian language, and they have found many Spanish artifacts around Yale.

Another story, told during the same evening, but with quite a different theme:

There was a surveyor who got off the boat at Yale by mistake. EB thought he should probably have got off at Agassiz. Anyway he got off at Yale and he was all dressed up in plus-fours. He went to the Borden Hotel and while there had a salmon steak. He asked where he could get a fish like that and was told any Indian would sell him a fish. It was not illegal in those days. He went to the reserve, still in his fancy clothing, and he heard them say something about "tyee" but didn't pay much attention. He met a man with a fish, asked how much it was, took out a fat wallet and was told, "Maybe four dollars." He paid the money happily - it was a nice fish - and took it back to the hotel. They asked "How much did you pay for it?" He said, "Four dollars". "You got rooked! We only pay two bits". (Not verbatim, partly paraphrased.)

On another occasion Mr. Barry told about a trip to Chilliwack on horseback with his grandfather. They took the road to Hope and crossed the river on a boat or ferry run by a man named Gardiner. The boat was big enough to take a horse. They rode down the other side of the river and
stayed overnight at some place - he thinks it may have been Popkum. They got to Chilliwack the next day. When they were there they went to visit Isaac and Henry Kipp. Isaac was a frail old man; Henry was big and fat. They crossed the river again and took the train home from Agassiz. Mr. Barry cannot remember what they did with the horses, and wonders about it still.

On that same evening, which was devoted to discussing history, Mr. Barry talked about Yale's Chinatown, mentioning the old vault still in existence, and also the Kai Kee Company. He said that when men were needed for the railroad, Kai Kee, who was an aristocrat "a mandarin", went to China and arranged to import men - no women. Then he went to the contractors and offered 1000 Chinese labourers at $50 per head. So when the labourers came out he had the $50 each from the contractor, in addition to a sum each labourer paid him out of his wages, presumably for their fare and his trouble. He had the Kai Kee store, and Mr. Barry remembers him walking down to the station, with his beard down to his waist, very aristocratic and Chinese. He and Wellington, the station agent, would go through a ritual greeting, saying hello and agreeing on the state of the weather for about 15 minutes until Kai Kee asked finally if there was any Express for him. Mr. Barry said, "These old Chinese, you couldn't hurry them."

In 1911 Kai Kee decided that he wanted to make sure his bones rested in China, so he sold the store to On Lee and went back home. Shortly after that On Lee died. Old Mrs. On Lee held very much to the traditional Chinese ways - wore a Chinese costume.
About the sasquatch, as about no other historical/folkloristic phenomenon, people in Yale exercise their option to withhold belief. The sasquatch is the focus of several popular publications, and has a relationship, if somewhat attenuated by now, with a mythological figure known to Upper Stalo peoples. Sasquatch stories are reports of encounters with the monster, and these are always originally proffered as true, but when they are repeated by others there is a strong tendency to withhold belief, or at least affirmation of complete belief.

One of the most famous sasquatch stories is about an encounter between one and a resident of Ruby Creek, about twenty-five miles away from Yale, but not considered far away, since they are both on the CPR main line. Martin Castle told me the following sasquatch stories, one of them about the sasquatch at Ruby Creek. Mr. Castle was not living in Yale for most of the time I lived there, but he was still considered one of Yale's old-timers. I recorded these stories in 1970, and include them here because they are typical of the stories he told.

Did you ever see a sasquatch? Well, I've heard lots about them. And I thought I saw something but I didn't know whether it was or not. But a lady who used to live on this side of Ruby Creek — her husband was working on the CPR railroad. And they had two or three children, and the children were playing out in the front yard and they had quite a garden there between the house and the railroad. The children saw something coming over the railroad track and went in and told their mother. She looked out and there was a sasquatch about seven feet tall. He walked — he came walking from the railroad track — walked right over the CPR fence, he walked into the garden and looked at the cards there and he pulled up a card and took a bite and he didn't like it. He walked on a little further and he pulled up another one, took a bite out of it, and didn't like it.
So she had called the children in, she got scared and he walked over to the house and he walked around the house, right around the back. He went into the woodshed and of course his shoulders must have been pretty wide. He had to go into the woodshed sideways. He went up to a barrel of salmon, salted salmon. He took one and didn't like it and he threw that down. He went to the barrel and he upset the barrel and took another bite and she beat it out with the children. She beat it out to the railroad and headed down to Ruby Creek. And after when she was telling — she had to meet the section men and her husband and all of the men on the railroad track there, and then they saw him walking across the railroad track going down to the river. And he washed his mouth on account of that salt, I guess. And she beat it, and she never went back there again. She wouldn't go back home again. So after, he came out and he got to the railroad track and he went up the mountain and he disappeared and they never seen him no more. And one of the boys, I knew him pretty well, he measured the footprints. The footprints were sixteen inches long.

Down at Agassiz there was a girl and a boy, a young couple walking down the tracks just about dark. They saw something walking along the field and while the boy was looking at a rock to throw at it, she spotted it better than he did, I guess, and she ran. And so he looked around and so he left the rock and he beat it too. The sasquatch ran around in the hay field.

The sasquatch is known, recognized and referred to on occasion by people in Yale, but I did not encounter many sasquatch stories. On the other hand I did not seek them out, accepting them as they came along in various contexts. Miss York told two other sasquatch stories, one involving Chief Pelek and a sasquatch captured by a White construction crew, the second concerning an encounter Chief Dick had with a sasquatch while alone in the bush. A man in Yale told me a humorous anecdote about a hunting expedition that ended in retreat of the hunters back to town, and the humorous sequence of events leading to the rout depended on general fear of the sasquatch, which was thought to inhabit the wild country to which the men had gone to hunt.
In the history given by old-timers in Yale, family history is not prominent, even where the old-timer's status is based on ancestry, genealogical knowledge is lacking or not considered relevant to the custodial function of the folk historian.

However, for Miss York and Mr. Urquhart, whose knowledge is drawn from and concerns "the old people" - their parents, uncles, aunts, their grandparents and people of their grandparents' and great-grandparents' generations, genealogical connections are kept in mind, and guide the stories, even if they are not made specific. Miss York is primarily a teacher, and Mr. Urquhart a raconteur, although his knowledge is no less for the fact that he does not draw on it for teaching purposes, and Miss York acts as a raconteuse when the occasion is appropriate.

I interviewed Mr. Urquhart about his childhood in Yale and he was generous in his cooperation. But he quietly functions as a story-teller and in the evenings after dinner draws on a fund of stories told by and about the "old people". He does not claim a role as story-teller, but functions as one nonetheless, and is acquiring a stronger and stronger status as old-timer.

Miss York's knowledge has a wide range. It includes information about household arrangements in pre-contact and early post-contact times, stories of pre-contact inter-tribal disputes, post-contact adjustments between Indians and Whites who were suddenly sharing the canyon, and more recent reminiscences about twentieth century people and events.
What she presents as significant depends on the occasion. Different people come to her for different things, and these she accommodates generously and with considerable dexterity. In presenting the history to me, however, two themes were constant: the village of Spuzzum, and her own family in relation to it. The people she tells of are her relatives, and Spuzzummux (i.e., "Spuzzum people" in Ntlakapamux). This is not to say, though, that the themes of the discussions in which this information was presented were confined either to her genealogy or the development of the village or even to history itself. Information involving the village and her family was relevant in many contexts, and was presented to develop general topics that in themselves had no necessary relationship to family or village history. I hope to make this clearer when I discuss the social contexts of transmission of historical information.

In presenting stories Mr. Urquhart told I shall have to paraphrase them, for they came to me spontaneously, in casual, informal situations when I did not have recording equipment with me, or had finished formal work for the day. It is in this kind of context that he preferred to tell them, and have them remembered, and retold.

Paul Youla worked on the survey for the British/American boundary. Feelings ran very high at the time. He and an American got into a dispute. The usual way of settling quarrels was with Hudson Bay knives. This method was used and Paul Youla came out alive and victorious. The other fellow did not come out. Arthur told the story seriously, with touches of irony, and in few words.

He recalled the story of the girl who got lost in the woods across the river. She was lost for a whole year, and when they found her she had the mentality of an animal, but still carried
the little berry basket she had when she was lost. They found her by going back to the same place when the season for berries came round again. The medicine man spent time brewing his herbs and then said, "If you're going to find any trace at all of her, you'll have to look over there," indicating a direction. And he told them what to do. They made a big fire and set salmon to roasting, then hid round the fire in a large circle. The roasting salmon could be smelled far away. Arthur didn't recall how many nights they had to do this but finally she came to the fire and they caught her. They say she used teeth and everything in her struggle to get away. They took her back to the village and Annie said they bathed her with hemlock to restore her mind.

On one occasion the subject of witchcraft came up, but it turned into a discussion of Indian doctors. Mr. Urquhart recalled Johnny Anderson, an Indian doctor up at a reserve nearby. During the 1918 influenza epidemics Mr. Urquhart remembers hearing him work night and day. He worked side by side with the White doctor. He spoke excellent English, although he had never been to school. Later he told Mr. Urquhart's father that it was very little use trying to cure the people - they would not take the medicine the doctor gave them and they all had consumption anyway.

Two other stories, set in a somewhat earlier time:

There was an old man who lived on Spuzzum reserve and he used to ride into Yale for supplies when the Hudson's Bay post was open. He bought brew there; it was made on the premises. One day the Hudson's Bay proprietor decided he no longer wanted his custom and offered to show him how the brew was made. He led him into a room. An old bucket was on the floor. It contained a liquid smelling strongly of alcohol. You couldn't see the bottom. The storekeeper put a stick into it and brought several garden snakes to the surface, saying they were a basic ingredient. The man never returned for more brew.

Another man when into Yale when it was a thriving place. He went to the bakery and saw others working the dough for pilot bread. He was shocked and came home without bread. It was summer and the summer houses were all along the river. He went
along in front of the lean-to's and addressed all the women, telling them never to buy pilot bread from that bakery. He had seen men with their pants rolled up to the knees, working the dough with their bare feet. And he said the holes that were in the pilot bread were made with cork boots.

Another time Mr. Urquhart told a story about a man, many years ago, who visited a prostitute and when finished asked how much the fee was. The answer was "Sitkum dolla hyas closhe." But the man didn't know Chinook jargon and exclaimed, "Sixteen dollars and all my clothes!"

On still another occasion Mr. Urquhart said that his mother's grandmother had been able to remember a season when there was no fish in the river, and no game. People were coming down from Lytton and Siska, looking for food. They decided that their only chance to find food was to go up to Broadback mountain to find wild rhubarb there. Some of them didn't make it up there. Others did, and found roots to subsist on, but there are two places on Broadback where it was once possible to find bones - the place where the people were killed by the Chehalis raiders (see below for this story, told by Miss York) and the place where the people starved.

Another evening Mr. Urquhart was talking about money and cheques, and said the old people never used cheques. They always paid for everything in cash, even if it cost $1,000. They thought of cheques as something issued by big businesses, like the CPR, and even that was recent. In the old days everybody got paid in cash. This led into a story:

1. The sentence, translated freely, is "Fifty cents is okay". Sitkum means "half"; sitkum dolla means "half a dollar" (Hale, 1890: 50). Hyas closhe is an idiom that can be formally translated as "very good" (Hibben, 1899: 6).
When the old chief was just a kid he was working on the CPR and one payday he took Annie's father, who was very young, when he went to get his pay. The pay car stopped near the church on the reserve and he went up to it and the pay master counted five gold dollars pieces into his hand. Five dollars was his pay. The pay car went to every section and doled out the pay-roll in gold coin.

About that time, or on that occasion, the old chief got permission from Amelia, or whoever he was staying with, to go to Yale and they went and brought back rolled oats and brown sugar and bacon. They didn't make porridge out of the rolled oats. Cooked and ate the bacon first, then added water, rolled oats and brown sugar to the pan and made a kind of cake. Annie's father said it was good. He didn't care for rolled oats in the form they came to be sold in. The old kind were big flakes. He used to say the porridge wasn't at all what it used to be.

And on still another occasion, Mr. Urquhart told a story about two Italians who were working on the CNR.

They fell to arguing about whether it was possible to swim the river - one said it wasn't, the other said that only a wider river would defeat a swimmer. There was a bet made and the second man dived in. But as Arthur said, everyone found out about the bet later.

Chief Henry James and Jimmy Spuzzum were fishing on the CPR side and they kept hearing a noise. Finally it became clear that someone was shouting for help. Downstream a head would come up, shout "Help!" and disappear again. So Henry James said, "Maybe we'd better take the canoe down that way". They reached the place where the man was and Henry James grabbed him but wouldn't let him come to the canoe or grab it, for fear he'd tip it. So he held him up and told Jimmy Spuzzum to go where the labourer's camp was and when they got the chap safely to shore they asked him what he was going to give them for saving his life. He went to his belongings and got 50 cents. They grabbed him and started dragging him toward shore, saying that if 50 cents was all he'd give they'd throw him back. They didn't mean to, really. So the Italians held a conference and one man took off his hat and passed it around. They took up a sizeable collection.

Here are some excerpts from Miss York's contribution which represent some of the topics and themes of her knowledge. It is not possible
to include here all of the information she has. The first is part of a taped interview.

I think about 500 people lived down there on the reservation before the Whites came into the country. And most of them lived further back towards the mountains and they had keekwillee holes down there where Williams lives now. That was a flat there; there was a clear open. There were big trees all around, and they had several keekwillee holes there before, before my grandmother and grandfather and my uncle cleared it off. They filled all those keekwillee holes and that's what makes the farm there now, it's all flat.

Up above the highway. That's where the keekwillee holes were. There was quite a number of them, of the Indians there. Some were living down below, down at the edge of the river there where the mouth of Spuzzum Creek is. There was quite a number there before the white people came. They died, the ones that lived down there by that flat where the orchard is now, on that side of Spuzzum Creek. They died over something. Some kind of sickness or something. It happened to be that a young man went up the mountain and got this piece of ore, a beautiful - looking ore. He brought it with him, and when he brought it in the evening everybody was so excited - they'd never seen an ore like it. So they started looking at this thing. And every place where he brought it in the keekwillee houses - I think there were about four of them there - they brought it in and everybody passed it around. They looked at it and touched it and they went to the next keekwillee house and did it there again and showed it, this big slab. And the last one was the one that was on this side, where Grandpa's field is now, and that was the last keekwillee house that he went into.

Well, the next morning, when they woke up, when the other people woke up they didn't see any sign of them except one little child that was sitting up on top of the keekwillee hole; one little boy was sitting up there. And there was no sign of fire in any of those keekwillee holes. So somebody came down and talked to the little kid - he says, "What happened to your neighbours around?" "Oh," he says, "I don't know" he says, "they all sleepin'," he says, "they all sleep." So the man went in and looked in every one of them, and every one of them was dead. There was some kind of a thing that was in this thing. Some kind of a sickness or something, maybe sleeping sickness or whatever it was. So they looked in every one of those four keekwillee houses; they were all dead. So, the man went up to the upper flat where Williams' house is now and brought the other Indians down. So they didn't dare go any more into that building.

So they thought to themselves, nothing they could do - just cremate them. So they set fire to the keekwillee holes and all those places,
and after it had been cremated two or three months, they gathered all the ashes and put it in a great big dug-out and brought it this side on the point, on this point, you know, where the cemetery is. They brought them there, and that's where they buried them. And in fact they weren't buried; they were upon a scaffold at that time.

So that was the story of that flat there. But they didn't touch this slab of rock, they just left it there. And what happened to it, nobody knows. Nobody knows what happened to the rock after they buried it. They set fire to it. I guess it maybe demolished whatever it was, whatever the ore was.

So they took the little child. And, of course, the Indians are very superstitious about those things, so they never went in there after that to live there, around there, because it might have been a severe sickness that took those lives. So the Indians never went there to live.

So they went and all moved up there, up on that flat towards the mountain. There were about six big keekwillee holes there, where Auntie Rhoda showed me the places where they used to fill them. And it's a nice sandy loam place, and it's easy to dig out, so they all lived over there. So one time there was one old lady who lived there, and she got sick. She was very sick. So these Indians wondered what happened to her after a while. Her flesh began to come out, just rotted. The Indians got scared of her, everybody got scared of her, so they moved her further back towards where the cemetery is now. They moved her there. And what she had was leprosy.

They moved her there, and there was one old lady that went and fed her, cooked for her and fed her and did anything for her, gathered sticks for her and made a fire for her, and she was a very sick woman. So one day she woke up and she told the lady what her dream was, that she dreamed about the cedar cones. That she must use that, she must bath with that, and she must drink that too. So the other old lady went out and gathered an awful lot of it in a basket and she heated the rocks and boiled this stuff and gave her a good drink out of it. And then they bathed her with that water, washed her hair and everything with it. And they kept doing that for so long. After a while she was cured of it, but just the same she never lived with other people. She lived by herself until she died.

But most of the people that lived over there, their work was to go out hunting. They went way up to that mountain over there, that Slashatch Mountain, and over to Yuyuwaní Mountain. Yuyuwaní Mountain was one of the main places where they got their living. The Indians used to go there and trap and kill the game.
Well the Indians went there and they hunted and trapped. The way they trapped the bears of course, they had a peculiar way. They snared them. And they made a hole, a great big well, and then they had the snare on that and when the bear got caught on the snare it jumped around, you see, wiggled around, and fell into this hole. And that was the way they got them - the bears.

And there was a peculiar lake up there, according to what my grandfather tells me, this Yuyuwan lake up above Williams'. This lake is quite a size, and once in a while if you camped around the lake there - it's kind of a weird lake. There's this weird story about it. At night time all the drift logs that were around this lake, round the edge, they all moved into the centre, and piled up just like an island, and at 5 o'clock in the morning, every morning, in the early part of the morning, they scattered again all around the lake just the same as they were, and stayed that way, until when the sun went down they moved again into the centre, and made the form of an island. And that's the way this lake is.

And that's where the Indians mostly gathered their berries; they had trails way up there. They made their trails and they did that in the fall of the year, the womenfolks gathered their berries, and dried them, and when they were not doing that over there they came to this side, to this range up here, Broadback. And they went up on this mountain too, and they climbed up there, and of course, the Indians used to burn patches here and there in the fall of the year so they could get most of the berries. They burned here and there and they cleared off and for so many years their berries grew again and wild potatoes and all the vegetables that they have to use. And that was the way they did it, so they kept on doing that. They burned it here and there. They didn't let it get away on them. They knew how to do it.

So they just cultivated their foods that way. And they were doing that most of the time. They were gathering most of their berries and the wives brought the berries down. The men went out hunting and when they were down here they were drying fish. They dried their fish on racks. And the rest of the Indians up above - some of them lived up there where the store is now; there were some Indians living there. Quite a number of Indians lived there. And they had keekwillee holes all over, here and there.

The following story was one of the first which Miss York told to me:

Pelek was the chief in Spuzzum when the first Whites came to the country. He was the ruler for the land, for the law and also for the prayer, and he was such a man that his word was law. He dressed in weasel skin.
His hat and robe were made out of weasel skin, and he had a stole of buckskin, which was embroidered. The decorations on this stole were in the shape of roses, and some were crosses, and some were like diamonds. It was really beautiful, according to the present chief, Chief Henry James, who was the man who told this story about Chief Pelek.

And Chief Pelek lived in Spuzzum when the white man first came to Spuzzum. When Simon Fraser came they were all down at the beach there, my great-great-grandmother and my great-great-grandfather. They were the people that met Simon Fraser. And later on other people began to come in, the Whites began to come in, the miners coming from all different places. So the people began to get civilized in Spuzzum.

Then after that Chief Pelek went and got to be Christian and he learned Christianity. He had to go to Langley to learn the prayers, the Lord's Prayer. He went to a lady at Langley; her name was Miss Young. So Miss Young taught this particular chief the Lord's Prayer. He came, he walked his way and he travelled by canoe, and he came back home and he told his tribe about this special Lord's Prayer that they had to use in their Christianity. And every night before he went to bed he would say his Lord's Prayer and all the people did so too.

Well, one day he heard that the Americans were coming into the country from the States and people began to talk about how they were going to have a dividing line between Canada and the States and there was going to be a flag right at the line with the stars and blue and white stripes. And so this particular chief went - he was invited, I guess - to the do's that they were having in the States, in Washington. He went there and he met this particular man. He was told that he had to drink and whoever lost was going to pay before he could go through the line into the States. So Chief Pelek thought to himself - he went to his came and told his family what was going to happen the next day. So he took his sturgeon oil and he drank that the next day. Then he went to visit this man.

Both he and the doctor sat together and smoked a pipe, which is very customary to the Indians, to have a peace pipe between anybody that they are going to talk to. So he smoked and then here comes the drink. Both he and the doctor drank and drank and drank. Finally the doctor fell over first, but he, who had been drinking the oil, fell last. And when that was over everybody clapped their hands, the tribesmen. And when it was over, they said to each other that from there on the people from Spuzzum could go through the line without paying, without any kind of trouble. So from there on they always did, and some of the people from here, the Indians, do go through the line without much trouble. And that was Chief Pelek's story.
Another story about Chief Pelek:

When the CPR was laying its track through this area there was a construction camp up at the long tunnel above Spuzzum. The contractors who lived in the camp used to miss a lot of their stuff from the outside meathouse. Two cowboys had an idea about what to do. They took some long rope, the two of them, and they stayed up all night to watch this meathouse.

Along came a sasquatch to the meathouse to take the food away. "So there," the cowboys thought to themselves, "that's the chance for us to catch that monster that's been taking our food away." So they lassoed him, and of course when they lassoed him they had the string around his neck. Then he jumped and he snapped his neck and died.

One of the Indians above the tunnel there, from the reservation came along and saw these Whites looking at this monster lying on his back. The man came all the way down from there to Spuzzum to the chief and told the chief what had happened to the monster, which the Indians call "Sasquatch". So the chief called together his retainers, his warriors. He put his robe on - his robe made of weasel and his banners were made of buckskin with beautiful pictures on them. He took these things and went with his warriors to the construction camp. When he got there his interpreter asked what they had done with the Sasquatch. "Oh well," said one of the men, "we'll do something about it. We'll bury it."

The chief insisted he would claim the body because the Indians have always reverenced these sasquatches. The Indians claim the sasquatch is a human being, and they always claim the body and they bury it or put it on a scaffold, if they have that kind of system. So finally these men gave up and they gave him the body. He took the body all the way from the tunnel right down to Spuzzum. He gave it his blessing and buried it as a human being.

The Indians claim that sasquatches are human beings because they are the people who practised to be medicine men when they were young. When boys or girls are young and want to be medicine men, their father or grandfather takes them up to the mountains and leaves them there with very little to eat. While there they had to sleep and pray and stay alone, and some of them never returned. They got wild in the woods and never came home again. The Indians claim that that is where the sasquatch came from.

Another story about the sasquatch:

Chief Dick, the step-father of the present chief, was a chief for the prayers. One day he went hunting in the mountain range across the
river from Spuzzum. While he was hunting it got dark, and he said to himself, "I'm not going out from this camp here. I'm just going to stay here because it is a beautiful lake." I've been up there, and oh, it's beautiful. There are flowers - white lily pads and yellow lily pads - all around the lake, and there is a little stream that runs into it.

So the chief said to himself, "Well, it's getting late. I'm going to camp for the night." He put down his gun and got his little bucket, his little pail." He was going to dip the water to make tea, and carry it away back to where he thought he was going to camp. He turned around and looked across the lake - it's quite wide - he looked over there because he thought he heard something. When he looked over there, here was this person coming from the bush.

The person went to the end of the lake and took a drink. The chief just dodged back and watched it. That was the sasquatch. He went for a drink just like a human being, with his hands cupped, like this, and washed his paws - his hands - and wet his face. So the chief just dodged back slowly. He didn't want to hurt him. Chief Dick took his pack and his stuff and he walked quite a ways from it before he camped. He made a big fire and then he camped, because he was afraid. They say it wouldn't hurt you. It would not disturb you. A sasquatch will never hurt you unless you try and hurt them. Then they will go after you.

The following story is from the time before the Whites came to the Fraser Canyon.

In the winter the people from Spuzzum village at the mouth of the creek moved up to a huge house on the mountain side. They would come up in the fall and start fixing it up. They would go up to Broadback Mountain and dig potatoes and other vegetables in the fall - August, September, October. When people went up to Broadback for berries they always went up along one worn trail, then went to their various berry patches. Once when they were up there the Chehalis Indians came and raided them. There was a grandmother and her granddaughter up there. All that woman's children had died except this one granddaughter. All of those people died in the raid except that girl. And the old lady ran, and there was a big basket she was using. At first she told the granddaughter, "I don't like this. I dreamed last night we were raided. I think," she said, "that you and I ought to be prepared." And so when the old lady saw them start fighting with the people she ran into the bush and hid inside the basket.

She hid in the basket, you see, and they took the girl, the raiders. There were four warriors that captured the girl. And when these four warriors captured her they took her to Harrison. Up at the fork of Spuzzum
Creek, that's where the Harrison trail comes in. And this girl was looking. She felt so sad about her grandmother being left behind. And so she was looking as those men pulled her along. And she saw that plant. It was a poisonous plant and in the fall it has a seed. And while they weren't looking she grabbed these things in her hands and stuck them inside her little buckskin clothes. So they all sat around, those four warriors, and told her to cook. They even told her to carry those wild potatoes and that stuff that she had with her in her basket.

And she did, she cooked, and the fourth night she was with them, she fooled with them and played with them, ran around, and the dog too. It got so that the dog got kind of used to her. Anyway she fooled with them and they got so tired that they fell asleep. So she took the poison stuff and she mixed it in the food and she gave it to the dog. And, of course, that straightened the dog's leg.

And she took one of the bow and arrows and she took all of the arrowheads off and threw them away. And she took one bow and arrow with her. And she took their knives and threw them away and took one herself. They were all made out of jade, those knives.

But there was one dog that defeated that poison stuff. It came alive, the one dog. I guess she didn't give it enough. And when these men woke up, there was no girl.

And when she did that, she ran all the way down, all the way down the creek from up there. And she took her basket and she threw it to a tree. It hung on the tree. She didn't want to walk over there. And that's where she fooled the dog. They say this one dog, after he traced her, was mad, after she poisoned the dogs. The one dog came alive and he was really mad. He went wild.

So when they came to the spot where she'd thrown the basket the dog sniffed around and around on the one place because he was tracking her, and these men were tracking her too. And when the dog did that, sniffed round and round, it made the guys confused. And it gave her time to come down further ahead of them.

And when they got so close to her she could hear the dog barking she jumped into the creek, and she swam across and went on the other side. And that's where the dog lost her for a while. So when she was coming along not very far from the waterfall up there, there was a rock with a hole in the middle, just like a tub, sitting in the creek. You can get into it. So she jumped into this thing when they got close. She could hear the dog barking again behind her. She jumped into the creek and then jumped into this thing, and that's where the dog lost her.
And of course by that time her grandmother had managed to get down to Spuzzum Creek to the warriors. And she told the people what had happened over there and so the warriors came up, some across the creek and some on this side, and some on the trail over there. And by that time the girl managed to swim back again on this side. And so she ran all the way on this side until she met these people over here.

And the people, and these men that were coming, they hadn't much of a weapon. And two of them turned back, but the cranky ones - two of them were cranky - thought they could set fire to these people at the creek.

And when she got down here, when she met these men, they told her to keep on going until she got to the mouth of Spuzzum Creek where those keekwillee holes are. They said she had no time to cry. So when she got down there she warned all those people in the keekwillee houses not to stay near the keekwillee houses. They ran in all directions to hide. Some went across the river in a canoe.

So when these two men got here and they saw those warriors right here at the gate they didn't know what to do. So they captured them, those two men. The other two went home, the ones with no bow and arrow.

So when that happened the chief of Spuzzum went to Chehalis with those two men. He took the two men by himself, mind you. Pelek took them back. And he told the chief there at Chehalis, "This is it. If you're going to do that all the time I'll take them to my warriors and you won't see them again. But if you stop that, stop raiding people." So they had to make peace between Spuzzum and them.

So from there on there's peace with the Chehalis Indians. And from that day when people went berry picking up on Horseshoe range from Broadback they never forgot that place. From that day until 1951 all the Indians went up there, they would take their packs off at that spot and kneel down and say their prayers there. Chief Henry and my grandfather always did. Horseshoe range is part of Broadback, the part that goes around.

The warriors down at the creek always watched the river. If any enemies were going down that river, they would try to stop them from going up above. They did that all winter and summer. When one went hunting, the others watched. Spuzzum had a royal lady, Mrs. Garcia. She was the one that had retainers like that. They didn't like people confiscating each other, fighting each other and making slaves. That was Kenny's great-great-grandmother, Mrs. Garcia. We adopted Kenny. Mrs. Garcia was related to our grandmother so we adopted Kenny.
They say that woman had a string, and when enemies came up she put that string with buckskin flags across the river. And she always had two or three canoes there for the warriors. And if they made peace with them, if they took the peace, then they gave them a party.

Then Pelek would come with his weasel robe. He would take his drum and sing a special Indian hymn when the peace was made. And that was his son's house up there at Crowsnest, that we were looking at on Sunday. That was old Youla's father, Pelek. Paul Youla was related to my mother.

Not all of the people would come up to live in the house, on the mountainside in winter. Kind of weaklings. They didn't like to be involved with anything. But they say it was hard for them here. Too far from the others to be watched, to be looked after. So they moved down there.

But they came up here every year until the White people came and they quit that kind of house. Summertime, they all had summer homes down by the river where they could fish. Lean-to's. And they always had a fire in front. I've seen it myself when I was a little girl about eleven. The summer homes were made out of bark, cedar bark.

There is supposed to be another house pit down there closer to the creek. There were two or three over there where WWilliams' is but Granny filled them up. They were across the creek, where the garden is now. That was Uncle Graham's property.

Once I was sitting here and this eighty-year-old lady was here with me, telling me all these stories. I was digging cedar roots for her, Annie Lee. I wrote those stories down, but the book burned up. One day when we were picking berries up at Broadback I asked her why the rocks were like that (they're arranged in a special way at the site of the Chehalis râ̄d). And so she told me. That's how she came to tell me all these stories. And the old chief told me stories too.

Miss York's knowledge of the life of the Spuzzum people ranges from technology, to household arrangements, to marriage customs, to ways of gathering, storing and preparing food. The following represents only a part of it. She knows, too, about another people, neither Whites nor the ancestors of contemporary Spuzzum people, who once inhabited part of the village of Spuzzum:
But Granny used to tell us that about these other people. She was just a young girl, just a child, you might as well say. And she said that they used to come, and they used to live on the other side all the time, Grandpa and her mother and her grandfather, they lived on the other side, where Chief Paul's house was. That's where they lived. But once in a while they'd cross over and they used to trade with these people. They'd bring their stuff. You see Granny was half Thompson Indian. You see her grandfather came from Thompson Siding. There were five of them, five men, and they all married along the road here. And her father being one of the Thompson Siding Indians, naturally he was a hunter. And he was connected with the people up there and he used to receive a lot of stuff. They had it. So they used to go and they'd put it in a basket, saskatoon, you see the saskatoons are quite different in the interior from what there is around here. They're very plentiful up there, and the soapberries were plentiful, so his relatives used to bring them down here to him. And they used to trade for the dry salmon.

And anyways Granny's grandfather would cross over in the canoe on this side of the creek, and they'd trade with these people, these people called "yokw", and they were very funny people. They say they were very amusing, like magicians. At least the Indians thought they were. But they were big beautiful people, that's what Granny told us. She said they were very fair and their eyes were blue. And she thought that they were Scandinavians maybe. Descended from Scandinavians. You see they claim the Scandinavians came to this country long before Christopher Columbus was here, and maybe these people remained here and got mixed up with the Indians.

And Granny told us that. But, she says, they spoke a peculiar language, and that's the only part they could trace, they used to say "yokw" and the fire would start. But they did some beautiful carvings, in fact some of the Indians learned it from them, the carvings, and down in those two keekwillee holes there, they used to watch these people. They fixed railings right down to the river, right down to the creek. And they had them all decorated with different designs, and usually she says that they used geese feathers and swan feathers, and they had them all fixed just like a fan, and all their railings were decorated with that. And they went there early in the morning before the people saw them and they went bathing down there. And they dressed exactly the same as the Indians - they had buckskins and they made their own beads. They made it but it was made out of the coral, that's what Granny said. Some of them were made out of little shells.

And the Indians went there and traded this stuff. They'd go and they'd go up on top, and they had a big basket and they'd fill it with everything. They'd drop it in on a long string, the Indian rope, and they'd let it down. They'd take everything that they wanted out of it and they'd fill it with something else different, like clothing, like fine buckskin work,
and these carvings, these big carving dishes, that they made, these big bowls, beautiful bowls. They made spoons, carved spoons, and the way they made them, they were beautifully carved. So they just filled that basket with all the stuff, and then they pulled it up close to them, but they never went and mixed with them. They'd talk to them, when they wanted something, but they'd never go inside their keekwillee holes or mix up with them.

But after a while when the Whites first came to the country the first man that came here - I guess he was an engineer. And he came through here after Fraser went through. And this man came through, trying to locate these places around, where they could go through and make a trail. And when that happened, these people just moved out - it was never seen where they went to. They just disappeared and that was all. They abandoned their buildings there and that was the way it went.

At the edge of one part of the old Spuzzum village, on the west side of Spuzzum Creek, a large hydro-electric sub-station has been recently constructed. It destroyed at least one house-site and has perhaps destroyed another one, which was at the east end of the land the hydro station now occupies, and was deep and square-shaped. When the Indians and miners were fighting, British soldiers had their camp there to watch the Indians, on the orders of Governor Douglas. Miss York found a cup and a gun barrel there once, but left the gun barrel there. She asked Henry James why the house pit was square, and he gave her the account of the soldiers. One day I had been to the village site and had noted that behind the substation housepits were located both along the river and the creek, for that part of the village is situated on the point of land formed where Spuzzum Creek meets the Fraser River. Later I mentioned this to Miss York and asked about the arrangement of the houses in the village. She responded with a description of village life, as it was remembered by her father's older sister when she was a very young child, and before.
All of the keekwillee holes belonged to the same people but the deepest ones belonged to the Yokw. The one nearest the CPR — you can still faintly see it; it wasn't deep. Arthur's mother remembered because she lived in it as a little girl. Arthur's mother was telling me there were maybe six people living in it, mostly their own relatives, no outsiders. Just themselves, aunts and uncles. It was the most recent. She was a very little girl. She said she must have been around three. She saw quite a number of things, herself, because she was the oldest. She even remembered the ones around Williams' place.

Auntie lived in that one twice in her life. She was small both times. She said she remembered it in the fall, with her grandmother and aunts cleaning it out. By that time they had a door at the back — a modern keekwillee hole. They still had cedar bark on the roof to keep everything out.

She and Henry James both remembered a lot. They were like brother and sister. Her mother raised him, though he was older than she, maybe ten years older.

She said she remembered running out of it when she was a little girl to see the pack trainers go by. And she said the White people didn't notice the Indians when they lived in it, in the keekwillee hole. They just visited them and talked to them, in Chinook, of course. But Auntie said she remembered the one at Williams' — across the creek, across the highway, in Williams' field this side of the cemetery. There were about four there but Auntie said those were new. She remembered when people used to use one of them. She was about six when she remembered it. After that Onderdonk came and showed the miners how to make a log house. Uncle filled one in and used one as a cellar.

Auntie said no one had a stove — just a fire place and a chimney built inside the log house where they cooked. The keekwillee hole always filled in when it wasn't used. They scraped it out and held the walls back with a border of sticks braided together. Early in the spring they would take the cedar and fall it and split it into strips. They would weave them.

And every corner was a bedroom and each one had a bed made of a pole frame and a platform of lodgepole pine poles. And a mattress of brown needles from lodgepole pines. Children would sleep there. In a corner they would have that made and an Indian mat closed it for privacy. Families slept together in a long bed. And each one had a pot made out of birchbark, all sealed with pitch. That was for the children. Auntie said she sure remembered using it. And she said outside, and sometimes it was inside too, they made a shallow birch basket for a basin. And they had a slop pail too.
And when one washed his face he would throw it there and an older person would take it outside.

And the people, of course, from down below, came up here and traded with these Indians and that was how they got those big clam shells they used for different purposes. They used them for dishes.

When daybreak came the grandmother would start cooking. By that time they were using cast-iron saucepans. And Auntie was saying they cooked in that big cast-iron pot and frying pan. The handle of the frying pan was about three feet long, a flat iron handle. They didn't use a table. They just spread this grass table mat and they all sat on the floor to eat. Even at that time Auntie said everybody used a wooden spoon. Then when it was daytime all the old ladies would each take those boughs; they would take them all off when it began to get day. And they cleaned them, took them out and gathered fresh ones. Auntie said it smelled good all the time. No flies got into them. And she was saying when she was a little girl her grandmother had a great big basket as a bathtub. But they didn't bath inside the house. They had a special place to bath in down by the river. They even did that in 1900. They made a place down by the creek, with a slant roof, with a cover on top and on the sides, and that's where they bathed. They made a big fire. And Auntie said it was a perpetual thing, almost every other day the little children had to have a bath.

But the most important thing she could remember as a young girl was a young lady, a young lady that was coming as a woman. She could remember that like yesterday. She said this girl cried, so the grandmother took her outside. And the grandmother made a house outside, a slant-roofed summer house for her outside. In the winter they would make a nice door but they make a different building for her inside. She couldn't stay in the keekwillee hole when she was like that. The grandmother would take her out and they would take this tree, a smaller fir tree - it was as high as this door - and they put it like this, so all the tops came to a point and she crawled inside to sleep. She had a blanket and her grandmother stayed with her inside the summer house. And she taught her to do sewing and to make a little basket. But the first thing they did was braid her hair, in two braids, and then fold the bottom of each braid to the top and tie it with buckskin. It had to stay that way four days. They took Indian paint and plastered her cheek first with sensen, made of pine pitch and a little grease or tallow and then they rouged her cheeks with the Indian paint. And that had to stay four days without washing it. All she did was wash her mouth and wash her hands. And then after four days she was allowed to eat anything she wanted. But all during that time she couldn't have too many foods. I think they only fed her once a day.
And when that four days was up she stayed there with her grandmother all the time and learned everything, learned how to cook, how to dig vegetables. Her grandmother teaches her everything, how to prepare them. She stayed there with her grandmother; no more could she mix up with the other people. She was trained to be a lady.

And then she made her little baskets, split her own cedar roots, and when that three months was up, after she had been doing all those things, she had quite a number of them, quite a number of baskets, everything that she had woven. After so long that she finished a lot of those things, she had to bath early in the morning — her grandmother had to accompany her to bath early in the morning, every morning, — and her grandmother would look at this stuff she had woven — they say she had some little Indian blankets about three feet long — and her grandmother would say to her, "This morning you are going to pack all that stuff to the creek, to where you were bathing." So she would go. There was always a tree where that was. So she would go and climb up the tree and hang all those little articles that she had been doing, and then she would go to the place where she and her grandmother stayed. Then her grandmother would go and ask some of the old women around and say, "Anything that you want, you go down and look around and pick it up out of the work that my granddaughter has been making." Oh, they say, sometimes those old people would pull that, say, "I want this one." "No, I want this one myself," those little baskets like cups, even moccasins, and then when that was over those old people would take those things and then the old lady, the grandmother, would invite those women to come and have a little party with her granddaughter. They had a little feast out of their own style, of their own food, berries and stuff that the granddaughter had been drying, and when they went home they took some of that too. Everybody had something to take home from a feast. Then after that what she made and what she wove was hers. She got her hope chest then. She made big baskets after that, for her berries. There was one Indian girl that did that at Canford and all the White people went over there and stole it off the tree.

Oh, it was something wonderful, they say. I've seen them when they've made it, those young ladies, purebreed Indians; they made a lot of little baskets and their sewing was beautiful.

And then of course when a girl got married those were all her belongings, those big articles that she made. She'd take them with her. They were all hers, those big blankets that she wove. She had to have everything: spoons, a theeble — she had to have all of those things. She made some of the spoons out of goat's horn. The handle was goat's horn; the spoon part was wood. We had one once, in Granny's house. And if she was going to be an Indian dancer, of course she had to make her own rattle. And she had that too. All her string she made. She'd have a big ball of string that she had been making out of milkweed. And you know she would twist that milkweed, a big ball of it, and when she got married, the man would use that
for his big scoop net. And even her own thread - they made it out of deer sinew - and she would twist that. It was just like silk. And that was what she used to sew with. Her moccasins and her buckskin clothes were all sewn with that. And that was what the Indians called a real lady, a person who could do all those things. And usually they made an expensive wife too. Somebody from a long ways would come to buy her, offer a good price for her.

And if they were satisfied, they'd take it up and say, "That's fine, you take her." And then when they were satisfied they would perform a marriage for her. And they would take a long goat hair blanket. They would fold it just enough for two to sit on and they would make them sit there, both of them, her and her husband-to-be. And they preached them, told them they must stay together and they must be loyal to each other, until death parted them. And wherever the man came from, if he came from a long ways, her parents would take them, would pack that stuff for that girl; she would already have a big fish basket for her husband - her parents would pack it. If he came from Lytton, they would take it up there. Of course they had a big celebration after the wedding, a feast.

Of course if she was going to come home to see her parents that was a funny occasion too. She never saw her parents for maybe four or five years before she came home. Then, when she was up there she might have a little baby, and she thought about her parents, she wanted her parents to see her baby, her children, so she would tell her mother-in-law, her sister-in-law, "I would like to go home." And then, her sisters-in-law, all the man's cousins, all would make something, buckskin clothes, woven blankets. Of course the Indians up there didn't make many baskets like here so they would make them all out of birch. They would put two or three dressed on her and when she came across here (across the river) she had to put all those clothes on, a double coat - she would put several skirts on.

And her parents knew that already, that their daughter was coming home, and they would prepare everything. They would even make little toys, little wooden tops, little canoes for the grandchildren, if they were boys, and if they were girls they would make little wooden dolls. And then, if she came from this direction, (east), she would holler from there and her parents would recognize her voice and they would take a canoe and they would cross over there. Then, all her sisters-in-law and cousins-in-law would have come with her, and her husband, and her pack, and when she went to sit down, of course, her husband would take his big pack of dried deer meat, whatever he had, and then they - this girl's mother and father, would ask their people to come and look at their son-in-law's food. They would cook it and spread it out and everybody would eat and then the girl would take her clothes and there would be some old people sitting around, the special guests, these older people. The girl would take these off - her jacket and her skirt and give them to these old ladies that were there.
She would give them a gift. And then she would take two off except for what she had on, and then when these old people were going to go home, they would take that food that was spread out there; each one would take a little portion. And then she would stay with her parents and she might stay a whole year with them, she and her husband. And when they went to go back it was the same thing - her mother and father had everything ready for their son-in-law - they made new buckskin pants for him, new jacket new moccasins. Even to his bow and arrow. The father-in-law made that and his pipe, a tobacco pipe - he took that home with him. And it was exactly the same, he had to put on several pants and several jackets when he went back again, the same as his wife. And when it was time for him to go home, the parents again took them home, took them all back home again where they came from. And they took food with them, took all the vegetables, dried salmon. And when they got up home with their son-in-law, the old people there, the mother and father of the son-in-law would do the same, they would cook and invite others in. And that was why the articles and artifacts and all kinds of things moved to another place and you'll find them. And that's why you see them, you see at Lytton you see these artifacts from here and from way down from Chehalis and even from Queen Charlotte Islands. And the same from the other way.

And when they got there the man would do the same too, take his pants off, several pairs of pants, except what he was going to wear, and give it to the people, and several Indian pipes. And when that is finished, of course, the girl's parents come back home where they came from.

Do the man's relatives stay or go back after the feast? They go back, but sometimes they buy the sisters, e.g., Grandmother's (Chayxken's) grandfather came from Thompson Siding and there were five of them (brothers) and she went to live at Thompson Siding. When they brought their sister-in-law home they married her sisters.

Did they live at Thompson Siding or here? Some at Thompson Siding, some down here and father down. Children of some are at Penticton. And then of course after so many years you can't keep track of them.

Chayxken's great-grandmother's sisters live at Chilliwack and her great-grandmother survived the slide near Yale. She was visiting relatives there - I think it was her mother and her father fishing down there and she was the only one left, and so they brought her up here to her grandmother. That's why that coat-of-arms basket design - some Chilliwack people can't use it...it's all related to her that uses it.

That is why a lot of Indians have cousins all over the place - it was like that. And they never married into the place where they lived. They never married their relations. Our family never did that. But some
people around here did; they married their own cousins. And that system of giving things to your cousins-in-law — our family still does that. All the people in a chief's line are supposed to do that. Like Walter Chrane — some day he is going to get gloves from us — that's the way it works. Algy has one — he got gloves from Kathy. Anybody that has that chief's origination has to do that. You have to give them a basket if it is your cousin's wife.

Many of Miss York's narratives concern the time after the coming of the Whites, when miners, packtrainers, missionaries and government agents came into the canyon, and placed various demands before its inhabitants to change their economy, habitations, styles of dress, social organization, and conception of the universe. In fact, the people of Spuzzum and the other canyon villages managed to accommodate these demands, and incorporate tremendous changes into their own lives, while retaining for two or three generations, at least, much of their oral tradition and an economy that incorporated money and new sources of it into a modified annual cycle. This adjustment was not accomplished, however, without hardship and misunderstanding, and many of the narratives about these times present these misunderstandings in a comic light.

Briesta was the first postmaster in Spuzzum. He was down where the project is now. There was a butcher store there too, at the spot across the road where they’ve moved Alan Urquhart’s house. The old chief gave me all the dates of that but I lost it in the old house. This man, Briesta, satyed there all the time. Packtrainers would come up from Yale, and some came by the old Hudson Bay Company trail. And any mail that came he would keep there until the other party came along.

Packtrainers going to Boston Bar used that old trail at Alexandra Lodge. But he kept the mail here because they would have to take it across in a canoe. The packtrainers had to unload there and take their horses across. There wasn't much mail. And they say there were no envelopes. People were that honest.
That trail that goes in at Alexandra Lodge goes to Princeton. Where that MacDonald's mine is now. Of course, it's not working now. It was working around 1912, 1913. Horses can go through that trail. It's a big trail. Horses went through that trail until 1930. I saw an Indian from Coldwater bringing a horse that way to Spuzzum.

And they say that when all the miners were here, when that was played out, and they heard that Tulameen was the new place, everybody went over that trail. And they say then you could see that Tulameen mine was open. Chinamen just went through that trail to Tulameen and went in all directions. My mother said she saw tents at that Tulameen, just white. Chinese and white men were mixed together, mining. Of course, some of the people from Hope, those that had packhorses, used the Hope-Princeton trail into Tulameen. And somewhere around Tashme that Chinaman had a ranch and all the Indians stopped there and stayed there overnight. And the same on the way back. And the Chinaman had a half-Indian daughter. I don't remember his name. My mother said she was a pretty girl.

That Chinaman lived with an Indian woman. He raised pigs for the miners, smoked them. Sometimes the packs were pipes, water pipes. It took four horses to carry the pipes. My mother said there were cooking utensils packed over there - pails, stove pipes, and little tin stoves with ovens. That's what the bachelors used for cooking.

Mother said at Tulameen the gold was as big as your fingernail. She used to see them washing it. It was quite interesting. The Chinamen that used to be here, Tie Louis, told me his father went to Tulameen by way of the trail up by Alexandra Lodge, through that old MacDonald's mine. That Tie Louis was quite a businessman up at Ashcroft. I don't know his Chinese name. He was saying that that was where the Chinamen went.

And those packtrains carried a lot of rice. Packed in sacks. And when a horse got shy and bucked, the rice would fall off into the water. The packtrainers had to gather it up and spread it out to dry and pack it into the rice-mat sacks again. And tea - they carried a lot of Chinese tea.

And that's why the Indians are so fond of rice, because they carried it so much. When they packed for the White people, their pack consisted of rum that came in kegs. And blackstrap molasses, and smoked ham. That was the miners' staple food. And cheese - it came in great big squares. And dried apples and raisins. And when they were going to make a sort of a pie they just made bannocks and put their apple sauce between the bannocks. And when they made bread, of course, they used fermented potatoes and hops. That was their yeast. And they cooked it in a jack, a pot with a cover and legs. They cooked it in the ashes. They built a fire, first, and when it was going they dug a space in the ashes and put the ashes over it. And that
was how they baked things. Everything was baked that way - cakes and breads.

Raisins didn't come the way we see them today. They came in clusters. And you took the seed out yourself. And when they were going to make a plum pudding they just put it in a bag and boiled it. They used raisins and blackstrap and suet.

The miners used butter very little those days. They used dripping, bacon dripping. And of course they used wild game such as deer, bear meat, grouse, all that kind of stuff, and fish. But that packing rum in kegs - that was where the Indians learned to drink. Sometimes they loosened the metal rings. The rum would drip and they would drink it. Some of them watered the liquor and were caught doing it.

And of course when they got their money they bought guns, musket guns usually. And they would buy blankets, Hudson Bay blankets - that's the main thing they would buy. And goods - cloth - and make their own clothes out of that. Shirts, pants, everything - they made it. The women made those things. They would buy needles and thread, scissors and thimbles. They were the main things.

They never bought shoes very much; they made moccasins. In those days they used moccasins a lot. Very little did they use shoes. And after a while when they got kind of civilized and started making gloves the women wanted silk embroidery threads. They came from China, those silk embroidery threads. That's what they used for embroidering on jackets and gloves. And the old Indian women bought kerchiefs too. They were beautiful, those Hudson Bay kerchiefs, and Chinese silk kerchiefs.

I wish I'd kept my grandmother's comb. It was a Hudson Bay comb of metal; the back was brass. And the teeth were like wire. It was long, about eight inches long. Most of the combs were metal. In later years there were whale combs. Of course the Indian combs were wood.

That was comical, the way my grandaunt told me about that time. The Indians wanted cast-iron pots and copper pails, and a frying pan with a long handle, for holding it over the fire when cooking bannock. After a while they started buying stoves. But in those days everybody had a fireplace outside where they lived. When they were going to cook rice they raked all the embers to one side and set the cast-iron pot on that and it cooks slowly. And they attached the cast-iron kettle to a stick propped up by another forked stick and set it over the fire.

Then of course the Indians liked axes. They bought axes. When they saw axes and knives, hunting knives, they would do anything for them.
They call the axe, "la hatchee".

When they worked packtraining and trapping, they would buy that stuff or exchange pelts — beaver, muskrat and martin pelts. When they were working at Lytton, it was queer, my grandmother was telling me, they wouldn't take money. One white man asked one Indian to pack something from Thompson Siding to Lytton, and you know, he wouldn't take money. He wouldn't take gold pieces. He just wanted shirt, pants, buttons. He told the white man, "Halo chikaman; just wants iktus".

And after a while the Indians started using saws. And that's where the comical part was, the saw. You know, they bought ripsaws instead of crosscut saws. You use a crosscut saw for cutting wood or building a house. Instead of a crosscut saw they would buy a ripsaw. They didn't know the difference. And you know what Chief Henry James told me? They were using the ripsaw instead of a crosscut saw. And the blade got dull. And a guy told them, "That's not for wood, that's a ripsaw." Some man that had learned more than they. And one of the chaps used sandstone to sharpen it. And some of the teeth were long. They didn't know enough to use a spider. After he sharpened it the flukes were square. The old chief was just a little boy. He remembered seeing them doing it.

They even tried to make a nail out of wood, when they made their summer shacks. They whittled them and took a wire, put it in the fire to get it hot and then made a hole. Then they put the wooden nail into the hole and hammered it. The Indians' summer houses around here were not like other Indians' tipis. They were kind of lean-overs.

Before when they were building the CPR, you couldn't pick up spikes. Onderdonk built the slab church. He used small spikes. He gave them to the Indians.

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Archdeacon Small sat down to eat with an Indian. And he did this (grimaced). You see, the Indians make a kind of head cheese out of salmon eggs. They take the salmon eggs and spread a layer in a birch basket; then they spread a layer of maple leaves; then they cover it and make a hole in the earth and set it there. They make several like that for winter use. Some are smoked and some are dried and some are like that. And they sure smell funny. That poor Archdeacon Small had to put up with that. The Indians cooked that with dried saskatoon. And when the Whites came they put a little flour in there, thickened it with flour, and it was like a pudding. They mixed it all together. And when Archdeacon Small came to see these people, to visit these people, that was what the Indians had for their supper. When they cooked it, it had a very strong smell. So Arch-
Deacon Small held his nose with one hand and spooned his food into his mouth with the other.

And when the Indians had no butter they used fish oil. They fried the bread with the fish oil and he had to eat it. And when they used bear fat for butter, he ate it. And he had to eat dry meat too. He had to put up with it, just like the Indians.

They say there were terrible conditions when he came. Some of the Indians were very poorly dressed. Some were well dressed too. The hunters had very nice buckskin clothes. Of course when he came the Indians wore cloth. But some were very poor. Some of the Indians were lazy and some not.

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One old man must have got hold of a woman's hat. Some old woman had died, and by that time women's hats had come too. So that old man wore a woman's hat. The old chief was a little boy and he looked at him and said, "You know, Grandpa, you're wearing a woman's hat. You better take the flowers off." So he helped him take the stuff off and he says, "So I pushed it for him, to make it look like a man's hat."

And one old man, after the Whites had come around Yale and they had liquor, went with his wife to Yale. And Granny was here on this property. She had a summer camp and was making bannock. And the old chief was raised by his aunt, Amelia, our grandmother. His mother didn't want him. She put him to her breast and he lived through it. And the old man came back with his wife and he was drunk. He was wearing a fur coat. And he said he was going to walk through the fire. There was a big fire burning. And his wife couldn't stop him and he walked through that fire. And his fur coat was scorched and it stank and his pants were scorched.

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Archdeacon Small came after Bishop Sillitoe. He had a hard time with the Indians. Bishop Sillitoe and Horlock organized the Indians here in Spuzzum first, to be their interpreter when they got up to Boston Bar. And when they got there, they say it was comical; by that time Chief Paul, Henry James' father, had learned to speak good Chinook and part English. He used to work with my grandfather, Palmer. He was just a young man when they organized some of these people here, four of them, to go up to Boston Bar to tell them about what the Bishop was going to do, to tell them that he was religious and was going to form a religion. Bishop Sillitoe went up with them, and Horlock, and Bishop Sillitoe had two pack horses for his luggage and four Indians.
Indians were very fond of buttons. In years gone by the Hudson Bay buttons were very fancy. I have two or three left around. Did you see Maquinna's suit in the museum? It was all trimmed with buttons. They liked them. They trimmed their clothes that way.

When the women saw brooches, they panned gold and went and got them. They would rub their index finger across their heart - that was the sign for the brooch. Their brooches were made of bone and their earrings of coral, sea shell. But they wanted Hudson Bay brooches and the Hudson Bay got to know that, too.

They first saw an oven with a pipe going through it down at Barney's cabin. It was an oven like a drum and a pipe went through it. It had a door. They were very popular in the old days. Barney's cabin was near Five Mile Creek, on the Yale side. He was a white man, a prospector. He taught the Indians about cooking. He taught them how to cook biscuits. They were sitting around watching him and he said, after the biscuits were in the oven, "In a few minutes they'll turn brown." One of the Indians there said, "He must be a magician."

Miss York said that at one point Barney told the Indians, "Some day you'll cook with a wire." He meant an electric frying pan.

They saw that thing down at Barney's and a man came and said to Grandpa and Grandma, "He puts his bread right into the pipe." They were going down to Yale and this man (Barney) asked them to come in and he gave them tea and they didn't like that tea at all. He taught the Indians to drink tea. Of course in those days it was all black tea.

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The old chief told me that Chinamen went over that old trail to Tulameen and Barkerville with blankets on a stick over their shoulder. They carried everything in there - gold pans, picks, shovels. The Indians called the Chinamen, "People with stick over their shoulder."

That's how the Indians learned to eat those nettles, from the Chinamen. In springtime they gathered those nettles and mixed them in with a little bacon and rice. That was their meal. They used wild spinach - that wild spinach that grows in the garden. The Chinamen used that too. They even dried the nettles for winter use.
The coming of the CPR is also the subject of stories that are part of the history of Spuzzum and Miss York's family.

So finally when Cambie got well established he asked Granny to have a little shack close over here because my father remembers the Cambie boys. So they had a little log house over here by this, which was called Cambie Creek, this little creek over here. And my father said they lived in a little log house there and Granny would come here and she would do the scrubbing and washing laundry, because the Cambies had quite a number of children.

So one day they gave my father a dress, you know, a morning coat with the pads. They gave him that and he said it was funny. My father said, "It just fit me right, this thing." He said, "It was all silk, and it was all padded. And I thought that it was a coat you could use every day." But it was a dressing gown.

So my Dad, he said he put that on, that little short dressing gown. He went to Yale with it and everybody looked at this thing. But that was his coat, and he was happy with it. And after he grew up he saw people using it as a dressing coat. And so he thought to himself, "That was the coat I used to use. No wonder people used to look at me." The White people would look at him because he wore a dressing gown everywhere he went. He loved this coat and he wore it all the time; everywhere he went he had a dressing gown on. It was kind of peculiar, the way he told it. "Yes, when I was in Yale," he said, "When I was a kid, my grandmother and I went to Yale to shop. And in the store," he said, "everybody looked at me. They kept looking at me all the time." I guess they thought the little boy must just have got up from bed.

And anyway that was the way it went. So the people here stayed around here and they worked on the surfacing of the track, and Grandpa York worked on it. And he was just a young man too, and he worked here, and you know what he did? He worked, and these engineers came and worked on here, and of course my grandfather from my mother's side appeared here too and he worked just as a working man, I suppose. He worked with Grandpa York, and he told Grandpa, he said, "When you get up in the morning, you make some coffee." And the way they put it is "coffee and ham and eggs" and Grandpa York didn't understand that very well. Anyway he made the fire and he made coffee and said, "Coffee and ham and eggs, that's funny." But anyway he'd gone to school a little, he knew a bit, but he couldn't understand that, why it was called coffee and ham and eggs. So he turned around and he took the coffee in his hand and he sprinkled it over the eggs and over
the ham, and when the engineers woke up, they said to him, "Joe, did you have your ham and eggs and coffee made for us?" "Oh yes," he said, "it's already cooked." So they all got up and when they looked at it their eggs were sprinkled with coffee. So they scraped it off and ate it anyway. And then they showed him how to do it, told him, "Make the coffee this way," and showed him how to make the ham and eggs. So he learned something. He always told that story about him too.

And all along the road here they had buildings. The CPR construction had buildings. And all these old Indians has a job of shooting deer for the company. They went around hunting in the woods and brought the game such as grouse, deer, bear meat, etc., and up at Tunnel, up there the Youla family did that, and Grandpa, our great-grandfather on my grandmother's side - that's my father's mother - her father did this for Cambie. He hunted for Cambie and got grouse and things, and she went out berry picking, picked huckleberries and blackberries, and by that time the surfacing was finished and they went and told the Indians, "There's a machine coming. This engine is coming." And they asked, "Where is it going to stop." So they told them.

You see Onderdonk had a logging camp up there, up above Williams', where the Hudson's Bay trail is. That's where his camp was, where he cut his logs and made his timber for these CPR buildings. So he had quite a number of slabs. And he was the one that made the church out of the slabs for the Indians. So Bishop Sillitoe had a little slab church there, a little further back from where the other one was built.

So anyway the Indians were all excited over this machine that was coming, an engine that was coming that was called Curly. And this thing came all in parts. All the wheels were in parts when it got off at Emory. You know, somewhere around Emory Creek. And it was coming up so everybody was excited. They went to Yale and got some dress goods; the ladies all did. She said, it was something to see. They couldn't afford real cloth so they bought lining. And the old fashioned lining was shiny, stiff and shiny black. Some were black and some were brown. Some of them couldn't afford real cloth, a real print or anything like that to make their dresses so they made them out of that.

And anyways by that time Henry James was a big boy. I guess he was around maybe eight or nine - he must have been about ten by that time. And his step-sister was older than he. So he said to his step-sister, "You know, there's a thing coming, and everybody is dressing up, making dresses. But," he said, "I wonder what I'm going to make for you. And," he said, "you'll have to have something. We can't go around there because there's White people in that thing." His sister said, "I don't know. I haven't got any clothes. I can't go there." "Oh," he said, "I know what to do.
I'll make you a good one." So he went and he took a flour bag and he said, "We'll wash that and we'll make a blouse for you." And he did. You know, he was very clever. So he washed the thing but he couldn't wash the writings off. So he cut an opening up on the end of the flour bag and made holes in the sides and sewed the sleeves into it and he showed his sister how to do it. And she didn't have any shoes, so he said to his sister, "I'll fix those shoes for you so they'll just fit you and they'll be just perfect for your feet." So he went and he took it to the block, and he chopped the toes off. Then he went and got some wood, you know, the strong wood, like the maybush, the thorns of the maybush, and he nailed that on the front of the shoes to make them short; he couldn't fold it in so he just nailed it like that. And he said to her, he said, "Tomorrow morning I'll fix your hair." So he did; he fixed it. "I watched people," he said, "the way they fixed their hair." So his sister went and he washed her hair and said, "We're ready; I'll give you a hand." So he went and got the wire, a piece of wire, put that into the fire and it was red. It wasn't quite right. So he went and he rubbed bear grease into his sister's hair in front. He took the wire and he curled it just like this, wound the hair on this thing. And when he took it off the whole hair came off with it. And there was no hair in front. So somebody saw him and told him, "You stop that. Don't do that to your sister."

But anyway they managed to push her hair over it and the lady came, this other woman, and she said, "I'll show you how to do that." So they came and curled the end of her hair. That was the way they used to curl their hair. They used to use a wire. You warm the wire and you curl your hair with that. I know. I've done it when I was young. You know, my sister and I used to do it. We used to watch our aunt doing it so we used to do it, curl the ends of our hair that way.

Anyway the old chief, he said they went over there where the church is now, where that old church is, the Anglican church. They got there and they met the train right there. It was the first time they ever saw a machine in their lives. And that was where they met first. And they celebrated. They say when the Indians all got there some of the men had no shirt at all, just a flour bag wrapped around them. And some had a gunny sack, and some had gunny sack pants. You know, the Indians were very poor in those days. And that's the way they were dressed. And the women - they say you've never seen anything like it. Some had just a shiny dress of this lining. So they celebrated it with quite a thing.

But after a while the chief - he was maybe fourteen or eleven, went out to work, as a water boy, working around, he and his father. And he used to be a water boy for the section crew. And my Dad said, by that time they had cows and horses. And my Dad was telling me, he said he remembered the time Curly came up with the paymaster. So the chief took my father, put him on his back and gave him a piggy back and went up to where that church
And my father said, "And all the Indians that worked on the CPR gathered around, those that were going to receive payment. And," he said, "they got $5 gold piece, and for Chief Henry James, that was his first wage, a $5 gold piece." So my dad said he stood around. The man gave him the lamp, the lantern, to hold and my Dad said the gold pieces were in a big bag. There was no paper money so they just used gold pieces. They gave them to everyone. Everybody put their hand out and they got a gold piece. But my Dad said he was standing there holding this lamp, so he said, "The man must have pitied me, so he paid me a nickel for holding the lamp, and he said that was my wages." For holding the lamp for them. "And," he said, "the thing went off toot toot, went along the track here, went to another place. Nobody even thought of holding up the train, at that time. And that was the way it went, as far as North Bend, and all those places, places where the track had been reached.

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And you see the chief in Spuzzum couldn't handle his people. So Onderdonk looked at it this way: It would be better if Christianity came into the country, into the place. So he made an arrangement to have the clergy coming in, so they sent away for a clergyman, but Bishop Sillitoe himself had to do the location and he had to find the location where he could have all his Christians handle his Christian people. And in the first place Spuzzum only had seventeen Christian Indians and that was in 1905 when that was counted.

So Bishop Sillitoe and the chiefs made an arrangement that they'd have Christians, different kind of churches like the Roman Catholic and the Anglican. So Chief Paul went down with the other chiefs and went down to Chilliwack. And he took the canoe with him. He went as far as Lady Franklin. He left the canoe and carried it - he had several of his other men to help him to take it off and went to the other side and put it back again when he got to that Deadman's Eddy. When he got there he put his canoe back and he rowed down. He went down, he paddled all the way down, and he stayed overnight at Hope and from there he went to Chilliwack. When he got to Chilliwack he met the Bishop and the rest of the chiefs.

So he took his canoe and turned it around and came up. He came up in the canoe with the other chiefs and camped alongside the beach with the bishop and the bishop had to eat what the Indians ate, too. He even ate dry salmon and bannock. And they came to Hope and stayed with the people there in Hope. Some of the Whites - they kept them there. And then from there they crossed over and left the canoe on this side of Haig. And the Indians looked after Chief Paul as he was very well known and he was a linguist. He spoke Stalo as well as his own language.
So when he came there he got the horse and hitched the horse and he brought the Bishop on horseback as far as Yale. And from Yale they struggled their way up in that trail, came up as far as Spuzzum. And from there they had to have two horses for him, one for his pack and a few foods that he carried with him. And Chief Paul came, and he had met all his people in Spuzzum and the rest of the royalty of the family, say, for instance the chief of the religion and the chief of the land, and all the other chiefs from other places came to meet him right here in Spuzzum. And from there Chief Paul and the Bishop went up as far as Boston Bar, Anderson River and all along there.

When they got to Boston Bar they had to make an altar out of the boughs and they stayed for a whole week at Boston Bar right where the ferry is. The present ferry is now in that little flat. The Bishop set up a little tent where he camped for the night and the rest stayed outside, camped under the trees, and they had a service. So he performed the Christianity there for the people, taught the people how to be Christians. And they taught them how to do their catechism first and the Lord's Prayer and their Grace.

So while he was there there was a little girl took sick on the other side, on the other side - that's in the North Bend district. So the Bishop felt sorry for the little girl. So he asked the chief at Boston Bar to take him across. So he did. The chief paddled him across and he performed medicine for the little girl, gave her something to eat. And he went and stayed on that side too. He taught the Indians there, he taught them how to be Christian. He told them later on that he was going to bring clergy-men to look after his diocese.

So when that was finished he crossed back again and said to the Indians at Boston Bar, to the chief at Boston Bar, "We'll have another special occasion here, we're going to have a big do tonight." So the Indians gathered together and said their Lord's Prayer together in their own tongue. And Paul, Chief Paul, spoke in Chinook and part English, as he was well posted in English because he was already among the Whites. So he understood some English and Chinook so he spoke in Chinook and Thompson. And so their Grace was mixed with Chinook and the Indian language.

So when that was finished the other chiefs from Sisko and Lytton came to meet the Bishop there, so they said they were going to take him to Lytton. So from there on, Chief Paul came back to Spuzzum, and the rest of the chiefs and the other people from Lytton took over and took the Bishop up there. They met at Sisko and all the Indians there gathered together and did the same thing again. They pitched up their tents and they said their Lord's Prayer at day and they taught the Indians what to do. And their interpreter was the Indian chief - he did all the interpreting to the Indians, and when they got to Lytton, Chief Michelle, who is Mr. Dunstan's grandfather, was the one that took over, and he spoke for the Bishop, and they made an
arrangement that they were some day going to have a big celebration up there. And the chief said to the Indians, "We'll teach the Bishop how to eat the roots that we eat too." So the Bishop agreed that he would learn everything and by that time he said he would come up, he and his wife, and they were going to be together with the Indians.

So in that following year he made an arrangement and appointed his clergy, who were going to take over. So they did. They came up to Lytton and they made a camp up at Botani Mountain and Chief Michelle went up there and they had a great big celebration. All the women went up there and gathered all the roots and cooked them, the same as they always did in their native way. And they had a big feast with the Bishop. And everybody from up-country as far as Ashcroft, Spences Bridge, Shulus, 14-Mile, were all up on that mountain. They got together and while they were there, they say there was a big storm. And the bishop and his wife had, by that time, three horses, one for his wife's saddle horse, and one saddle horse for himself, and one for his pack horse. They tied them close to their tent and of course the Indians looked after that for them. And while they were there the storm came and it blew their tent way up in the air and everything was scattered all over the place and the Bishop just laughed over it and the Indians chased the tent up in the air for a while, and then they got it back again and they pitched it. Part of it was ripped too.

So they celebrated there and they said they were going to go. The next morning, after he got through, he told his guide, "We're going to Ashcroft". So they went to Ashcroft. They travelled on a horse as far as Spences Bridge and stayed overnight with the Indians there. And they Christianed them, told them what to do, and one day he said, "You people, you're going to have a church." And away up he went and stopped at Spatsum and Teetleneetza was the man that was there and he said to him, "We'll have to gather all the people here and I'll speak to them, and you are going to do the interpreting." So this Teetleneetza gathered all his people, and he told them all the Christianity, and he interpreted the Bible, the Lord's Prayer to the rest of the people. And from that day most of the people at Spatsum are all Anglicans. They never forgot their Bishop. And still remains the little church that was built there at that time.

And when the Bishop was there the storm came again. This time it was a whirlwind. So the whirlwind came so bad that it took the tent away up in the air, so that they couldn't find where it went to. So the people gathered round and found the man that was a packtrainer. And this packtrainer said, "Oh, I've got an extra tent," he said, and so he gave it to the Bishop. And so the Bishop had a tent to cover over his stuff for the night.
And they stayed there at Spaptsum, and from there went to Ashcroft. And at Ashcroft he got a number of people there. And they stayed there, and from there they came back, travelled all on horseback, he and his wife, and went to Shulus. He went to Shulus and he gathered all the Indians there, and the chief that was there at that time, and they told him that they were going to have a church, and the Indians at Shulus said, "Oh yes, we'll build a church for you by the time you come around again." Because it was a long trip. He had to go to Kelowna to visit the Whites there too and he went right around Princeton. Some of the pioneers that were homesteading - he visited them. And from there, from Princeton, he came right around on the trail, the trail that comes out into Hope. And this trail is a long ways, and he had his guide with him. From that end they guided him the trail, and followed the packtrainers' trail right into Hope. And when they got into Hope, the people there, the White people, gathered around and fed him and from there they took him back to his journey. And he went as far as Jones Hill, what is called Jones Hill today. There were people there called Jones, so he stayed there overnight with them and then from there he went back to Chilliwack. He got into Chilliwack and went back to Westminster and from there he figured out all his diocese and he sent out clergy, like Archdeacon Small, Reverend Good and Reverend Wright. And several others like Horlock. Reverend Horlock was one of them. And the one that did the most work on the Fraser Canyon was Archdeacon Small.

And here and from there he went back again, and came as far as Yale, and by that time all the churches were built by several other people that were helping to build those churches. And all along again he did all his round trip to the same places where he had been, he and his wife. And also he did a lot of medical work for the people, and told the people that they must send their children to school, the Indians, send them to the Yale school. So some of them did, and the other clergy too came up - of course the Catholics were the first ones that were here, the first religion that came, but then some of the people went Catholic and some went Anglican. So by that time they had a school at Yale. And the Indians went to school there and later on they had a church at Hope.

They figured out the best thing when Hope was the first church that was built. The Bishop thought he would invite all the Indians from different points, so one year they did. So all the people from different places, Ashcroft, Kelowna, Lytton, 14-Mile, Shulus, Spuzzum, Yale, and from as far as Princeton and Penticton all came down to Hope, the Indians on horseback. Some were coming different way, some were coming on foot to come to the service at Hope. So they had a great big celebration at Hope when the church was built. They had tents as far as to the beach there under those trees, and some of the Whites went there to see the celebration and take part in the Christianity.
So the Indians had quite a time. They didn't speak to each
other in the same language, so they got Chief Paul to interpret the Stalo
language and to interpret it into Thompson. The chief at Hope thanked the
Indians from all the various places in his own tongue, and he thanked the
people for coming to celebrate there. And so Chief Paul interpreted the
language because Chief Paul could speak Stalo, Thompson, Shuswap languages.
He could speak Penticton language, and the Shulus language, so he could
interpret the languages. So all the other chiefs spoke to each other and
they had to have an interpreter to each other because they couldn't under­
stand each other. So when they were going to have the service, they car­
rried this Union Jack flag, and they got together and sang a hymn. It said,
"The Indians are going to be together today. The Stalo Indians, the Pen­
ticton Indians, the Shulus Indians, the Shuswap Indians, Ashcroft Indians,
Lytton Indians, Spuzzum Indians, Yale Indians, are here today."

Yes, that's the way they went there. And some of the people never
believed it. At the time of the Centennial year that's what they should
have had. They should have had all the Indians from various places there
by that little Anglican church, Bishop Sillitoe, in his diary, had that all
there, and Mrs. Creighton from Yale was present there, and Arthur's mother
was there also. She was a little girl. But the chief's daughter, Chief
Paul's daughter, she was older than Auntie. Of course she remembered it
very well. And Mrs. McInnes, Mrs. Mary McInnes, did because she was the
first scholar at All Hallows School. She remembered when that celebration
was held in Hope.

Who did you learn the history from? I learned it from Bishop
Sillitoe's diary. I read his diary....Chief Paul and his son worked to­
gether because he was teaching his son all about Christianity and when
that happened, and what happened before. So he was telling his son all
those things and that is where I got it. And when I did go to ask him all
these questions before he died he told me all those things. He used to
come and visit me and tell me all these histories. And that's what he was
telling me, that the Indians had done at that little church in Hope. That
was one of the most important places at that time the Indians celebrated
that church when it was first open, when it was consecrated. You see they
consecrate them after they're finished. So everybody came there. They
say it was so crowded that the tents were even down to the beach.

There were many people. Some had tipis too, little tipis. They
brought buckskin tipis and put them up and pitch them up and had little
fires, and they had a big flag pole there right on the other side of that
little church. And the people's pictures were in this book, the diary of
Bishop Sillitoe. And all the Anglican children that went to school at that
time - I think the chief's daughter must have been around sixteen at that
time because Auntie was just a little girl, going to school. So she went,
Auntie Rhoda went, and Mrs. Creighton from Yale and several others from Yale went. George Siemeten - that was the chief at Yale - he went there, to take part in the service, because most of those Indians were Anglicans in the first place, like the Indians at American Bar. There were a lot of Anglicans there. They had an Anglican Church there. So that's that they took from there and they all went down there and they had a great big celebration. They say at night time, they sang at night, that all these Indians sang in their tongues, the different ones, the different languages. They sang in their own tongues and when that was finished the others sang. They kept on taking turns in their own. And at the end they had to use Chinook so Chief Paul led the Chinook hymn, because he knew how, and then they understood each other in this Chinook hymn, and the Chinook prayers.

And that's where I got this one, from Chief Henry James and that teacher that used to teach me, Meyers Michelle. Of course his sister went to school at All Hallows and that was Mrs. Dunstan. Her name was Susanna Michelle. She was the first Indian girl that went to school in that school at All Hallows. I met her. She came to visit Auntie one time and she was talking about these things. But I also read that Bishop Sillitoe's diary. And that's how I know it.

One man who experienced these changes, and by the time Miss York was a young child had become an old and respected man in Spuzzum, was James Pau̱alXixenet, who is often referred to in Annie's narratives simply as Chief Paul. One day Miss York, Mr. Urquhart and I visited the site of Chief Paul's house and I recorded the following information about him.

His house was situated west of Spuzzum Creek, on the flat land well above the river. He was known as Chief Paul, but his Christian name was James, and he was sometimes called Jim Paul Xixenet. The cellar of the house used to be full of apples. Annie remembers the Dodd children playing around the house. On a Sunday the long table in the house used to be full. "That was the real home for everybody." The barn was over toward the creek, and Mr. Urquhart could remember an old wagon near the house.
Miss York: Anything that went on, gatherings of the Bishop, the people came here.

Mr. Urquhart: It's where Bishop Dart stayed.

Miss York: Children would come here for Sunday School, right in this house. And anybody that was going to get married, he was the one that preached to them to live together until death parted them. He taught Catechism in both languages.

Pauline Johnson visited in this house here, visited his daughters to look at all the craft work his wife made. She was a famous woman for making Indian blankets, both she and her sisters-in-law. Both of her daughters went to school at All Hallows. And his grandchildren, all of them - Mrs. Lena Hope is one of them, one of the step-grandchildren, and Mrs. Dodd and all of her children, are all well-educated children. Now they reside in Williams Lake. And one of the boys, called John E. Dodd, holds a medal from overseas in the Second World War.

Mr. Urquhart: John Ellsworth Dodd, D.S.O.

Miss York: And these ladies, Paul's daughters, all went to the church before Sunday evening. They prepared the Church, had the little church clean for Sunday.

And Paul's nephews and nieces would all come and bring refreshments on a Sunday - some bread, donuts, cakes, and fruit, because he had a table twice as big as our table.

All walks of life that went on this road - they all stayed for the night in this house. He never turned them down. And of course, his son, Henry James, that was his successor after he died.

And one of his daughters always remained with him, one of his step-daughters, Rosie Charlie. She married one of the Patricks in Yale. That was Lena's mother.

And Paul was a chainman on the Cariboo highway. He worked with my grandfather. That was how he got the name Paul, because they couldn't say his name all the time because he was Indian. So they called him Paul. So when he was christened, he carried that name. He even went as far as Quesnel, with the packtrainers when he was young. All the Indians from the Interior were acquainted with him.
That time was McBride's time and the Indians were making treaties, and they got a woman from Boston Bar, Lily Blatchford, she was a teacher, and Art's mother. His two daughters were not around. They were out working in Vancouver after they graduated from All Hallows. Art's mother was the only one that was around, with that Lily Blatchford. They had to have her too because she was a well educated woman. The treaty was what the Indians were supposed to get in later life - no White person was to trespass on their lands. They sectioned the Indians' lands, surveyed them. They recorded all their fishing places for them. The Indians were supposed to have no licence for fishing, shooting and trapping. Of course they have changed it now. They only give them so many days to fish.

Lily Blatchford and Art's mother were interpreters. There couldn't be just one. One was supposed to watch the other so it would be clearly understood. Old Paul could speak English very well but just the same there were lots of words he didn't understand.

And the hymns were translated right in this house. Some of the hymns are still used today, Indian hymns.

And the Indian agent in those days was McKay.

And Paul was the one that divided all the seeds, potato seeds, fruit trees. And he had to watch his people that they didn't cheat each other. And all the old people sat in that house, my father said, and Chief Henry James told me this. They cupped their hands and he scooped the seeds to everybody. They all sat on the floor and everybody had their little container or whatever they had, and they got their seeds. Carrot seeds, turnip seeds, onion seeds.

And the fruit trees were the same. He divided them all - for the people across the river, at Stout, Chapman, and everyone. And when the first fish in the springtime came, even if there was just one when he got it, his children would cook it; they barbecued it outside and they cut it in all small pieces for the old people. And they were all invited to eat it. And thimbleberry bushes were their vegetables, young shoots. And by that time they had potatoes. And they said a special prayer. He would stand at the end of that table and thank the Lord:

O Lord bless our food, that we receive this fish, and we will be thankful that we survive through this life. And help us, that we may see the next spring, and all those that are partakers of this food be strengthened. And those that are not here will be strengthened; and help the poor all through the world.

He carried that Grace from generation to generation. And that was the house here where you could see the old-fashioned wooden plates. Kind of oval, and decorated, carved. And wooden spoons.
They didn't sit at a table then, when they were doing that. They sat on the floor because there were so many of them. And when they did that they used that bullrushes stuff for their tablecloth. It was all woven. And each one carried his own cup and his own napkin, which was made out of cedar bark. He had to do that every year, every spring. He had to be the one, because he was the chief. His house had to be used for everything, for funerals, and when the White people came on the packtrains - by that time his mother and father used to have a little field down there and they grew hay as well as vegetables - they fed those packtrainers' horses.

They say it was something. Those packtrains had little bells and they would go ding ding ding ding. And Cataline would come along and my father would be watching by the fence, and Cataline would say to the packtrain to keep going and he would come down and give money to my father, but my father wouldn't take it because he didn't know his father. And every time he came he would buy clothes for his children. They say that Cataline was the most generous man.

And the Indians too, the Indians from the Interior, were packing with horses, and Paul treated them the same as anyone else, as equals. He let them use his bake oven.

This house was a small one at first but when they enlarged it, it came from the CPR construction house. They floated it down.

The addition to Paul's house came from the CPR eating place after the construction. At that flat at the mouth of Chapman Creek, up at the long tunnel. It was floated down the river. The high water came and they wrecked the house first up there and floated it on a raft like logs. They caught it at the mouth of Spuzzum Creek and that's what the house was built of. It was the eating place for the CPR construction camp.

My Dad would go up there with his grandfather when they wrecked it. They bought it - I don't know how much they paid for it. They bought everything in it, including a boiler stove. The house was made of rough board, Onderdonk's boards. He had a sawmill. I guess the CPR was finished and they sold all the buildings.

The first house the old people had was a slab house. It wasn't log - it was made out of slabs. They brought everything from the building, hinges, locks that were hooks that dropped into hasps.

They floated it down and he followed it in his canoe. When it got to Spuzzum Creek they pulled it in with a rope. Paul was very mechanical. He made wagons - two of them. He brought Bishop Dart up from the station in one.
I remember the first time in 1911 when I was there. I was old enough to be there. He sat us in one place, my brothers and I, and he preached to us in Indian. And he said to us, "Don't forge a cheque," and we didn't know what a cheque was. And he said, "Don't ever steal. Don't steal shirt, stockings from the White man. If you do that you're going to see a penitentiary." And we didn't know what a penitentiary was. We were just kids. He told us, "Never steal money." And we had never had money in our fingers.

And he turned to my parents and he preached to them too. He said, "Tell your children never to steal, or drink, and to treat older people well."

He wore a white shirt. Auntie Mali was his oldest daughter. We called her Auntie because she was our father's cousin. That wasn't her real name but we called her that for a pet name. He told us whenever we went to a table and there were old people there, we were to let them take their food first, and not to ask for ours first. And he told us always to pray when we went to sleep. He got a long beard when he got older.

The stove came by handcar. Some kind CPR man brought it to Spuzzum and then it was taken to the house with a horse. It could burn wood almost as long as a tie.

I don't remember the feasts that Paul used to have. I remember the one in my uncle's house. But I remember the religious services in Paul's house.

I never saw Susan Paul's hands idle. She was either making rugs or baskets or Indian blankets. She had her floors covered with woven rugs. She had poor eyesight too, after she got old, yet she used to do that, making rugs and baskets.

The poor old man, he died there, right in that place. I guess he had a stroke.

It was wonderful, the old people, the very little money they got, yet they could do things for themselves. They got clothes for their baskets and turned them into patchwork. Their blankets were beautiful patchwork.

That was how the old people got their cooking utensils. It was from the CPR eating place and the Cariboo highway. They bought it from them. Their cookstove was from Barney's cabin. Barney left, and my father says his grandfather and grandmother went down and got the stuff. Copper kettles and utensils. The spoons were funny - just metal, lead.
Miss York has some childhood memories of Spuzzum, although she spent much of her time living in the lower Fraser valley, either with her parents, or her mother's mother's sister. She did spend some time with her father's mother in Spuzzum, though, and attended church and Sunday School in the Anglican church on the reserve and knew the people who lived there. I have included here her reminiscences of a winter dance she attended when a very young child.

It happened in my granduncle's house. James Paul Xixenet invited those people to come. Some were from North Bend, some from Chilliwack. They do that about this time of year, just before Christmas. Everybody donates food - dry meat, dry berries, dry salmon.... They got long grass mats and Indian blankets long as this room. They put food on the grass mats and the people sat on the Indian blanket. There were great big wooden dishes like this (stretches her arms out to meet). All the guests sat on the Indian blankets. They'd make the blankets long and then cut them into pieces a few feet long for the guests.

Even the CPR employees came with pies, donuts. My mother and father were there. But I didn't like it, didn't like it a bit. Dave wasn't there. Just me and Alfred.

I saw a wooden dish with birds on the end - it must have been as long as the bed. Made out of maple. The spoons were beautiful. There were logs to be hit on with hardwood sticks. Carved with diamonds, etc. One was cedar and one was maple. The men and women who were going to sing sat on one side. They beat the logs like a drum, beat them to the time they danced. Old George Stout used to beat out of time and they'd stand and look at him.

Annie Lee and her sister were great singers. They lived over on the other side of Spuzzum Creek. Her maiden name was Annie Gilmore. She was part White. She's buried at Lytton.... There were a lot of dried huckleberries. There was candy but it went to the guest kids. We only got one or two stick candies, hard candy - no chocolate. There were eulachon eggs, dried, and also shrimp and fish. Outside they had a big fire where they cooked the meat. They would slice it and put it on a big plate. All the Indian foods filled these big dishes. There was freshly steamed dog-tooth lily - cut in pieces about 6 inches long. It tastes sweet. Steamed tiger-lily. They didn't cook the dried huckleberries and everybody scoops out
[what they would take home from the feast]. Everyone took his own cup and container and his own spoon. Only the chiefs and the chiefs' families were allowed to sit and eat at the kitchen table. Especially chiefs like old Youla never sat on the floor.

Granny brought a great big Chinese crock filled with blackberry jam. I remember my mother bringing in cranberries in big candy jars. That's after the Indian dance, though, when that happens. Crackers in big boxes and bread. Granny used to make sourdough. Mrs. Allan Urquhart used to make donuts. Made out of ordinary cake batter. The nicest donuts you've ever seen.

They have a special woman that does all the work with the food - a woman from way up-country. Her husband was here visiting.

Why a person from way up-country? She has to have a present of something. After they're through they give her a present.

There were quite a number of dancers. One old woman from Skalulala7elw was nicknamed Squirrel and she acted like one too. She ate nuts and danced around like a squirrel.

One of the most famous was Jijek. He was from Chehalis and was part Chehalis, part Lillooet. He married into Spuzzum. They started hammering and singing away and he never danced. Just sat there. Someone said, "There's lots of pie in the kitchen". I guess he was hungry. He got up and started dancing and singing "Cultus potlatch pie". He took a feather, the tail of a pheasant, and blew into it and it flew around and it made a queer noise. Then he caught it and put it back inside his clothing.

Then after that he was dancing. He saw that water on the stove. Auntie Mali put it on the stove to steam the house with it and make the air fresh. He went "Tchekwa, tchekwa, tchekwa," like a train, and said, "The train is going to get a drink." His hair was oiled with goat fat and there was down on it. He took the can of cold water and poured it over his head and everybody squealed and looked at him. He said, "Take the can away. I want more." Auntie Mali had to fill it again and he did it again, but there was none on the floor.

He was still dancing and they gave him a whole pie and he gave it to his wife and she wrapped it up in a handkerchief and put it in a basket, plate and all, to take home.

One old lady was a chickadee and went "Chickadeedeedeedee." She had a cedar costume, all in shreds, and a headdress of swan's quills. They were dyed and used as beads, on leather. Braided cedar up above. Shredded cedar fringe from her headdress down to her elbows. It was decorated with
swan's quills. She had a cedar cape. Her name was Yentgo. She came from Spuzzum.

Old James Paul could fly around, acting like pigeons.

Jijek was wearing swan's down on his head and his cape was cedar sewed with swan feathers. Arthur's mother used to say that the real old ones, they had slate masks. Carved inside and made into all different designs. The masks came from Five-Mile. There was a young man - he washed his face in the river after his father died. A sea lion came and told him how to make the masks to use in dancing.
CHAPTER VI

THE OPERATION OF FOLK HISTORY

Concepts of History

The reminiscences of old-timers are not generally accessible to other people in the community. There is no public occasion on which old-timers present their knowledge of the past, and their anecdotes and stories are told usually only to those who come to visit, and this includes only a small proportion of Yale people. Much historical information is directed towards outsiders, even if it is not consciously reserved for them.

The knowledge of old-timers is considered by them and by others in Yale to be unique, and it does vary in content and scope from one person to another. Nonetheless there are certain assumptions, shared by old-timers and ordinary citizens alike, about what is necessary for history.

There is a prevailing tendency to see history as fact; the true history of a place or an event gives little room for interpretation. The history of Yale is often presented succinctly as a sequence of factual statements representing the events that stimulated the town to grow or become important in the shaping of larger affairs that affected the province or the country as a whole.

A young man I talked with who had just begun to work on the railroad but had already picked up knowledge of history said, "When the gold rush went out, the railroad came in" and this statement was not very different from others I heard from old-timers. One, who has lived all his
life in the community, commented on the historical sequence of the Hope-Yale area: "First there was the Hudson's Bay Company, then goldminers, then the CPR, then the other railroad, then World War I. That's what really gave Yale a kick in the pants. The town never really recovered from World War I." There is a feeling, not without foundation, that the external stimuli that were responsible for Yale's rise to importance at various times, were also responsible for its decline. Another old-timer, talking about Emory City, said that it had been important at the time of the railroad, "But the railroad killed it, just like the railroad killed Yale." And a third considered that the most important epoch in Yale's history would be described as "Yale as head of navigation."

History is a symbol of the identity of the community. There is a feeling that history exists in the community and that it should be developed. A businessman active in the Ratepayers' Association, but not an old-timer, told me, "There's so much history here - it's too bad someone doesn't do something about it." This has been repeated, in more or less the same words, by two others who are new-comers to the town, a man who comes there to visit his wife's parents from time to time, and by an old-timer - although her perspective was slightly different from the others' and her claim to involvement more urgent.

**Landmarks and Material Objects**

Yale's history is part of the environment. It is lodged in places - usually the places where buildings stood - and things, usually
artifacts from the three cultures that have been found on or near the sites of buildings now gone. Relics are of central importance, in spite of the fact that most have been given away or sold, and the most substantial of all, the buildings, have been destroyed, sometimes through accidental fire, but often, e.g., the courthouse, and the Railroad House, to answer present mundane needs.

People in Yale accept without much question that folk history exists in the community. They say that the old-timers who knew history are gone, that there is not much left. Yet they do not necessarily assume that all history resides in the archives and museums in cities at some distance from Yale. History consists of objects and memories, and of being connected to one who made or possessed the objects, and had, and passed on, the memories. And people have a very good idea who put those objects that are no longer in the community into the archives. They did, or their parents did. Everyone in Yale who has knowledge has given something to the archives, or, later, to the museum, and is proud to know that it is preserved there, or withheld something, or mourned the loss of something that was given.

People who have given artifacts to museums continue to identify with the artifacts they have given. The current practice in large museums of using unlabelled or scantily labelled artifacts selected from large collections kept in storage to illustrate broad themes is confusing to those who wonder why their own artifact is not labelled or is not on display. When I said that I had worked previously in a museum, one family introduced this problem immediately, and asked for an explanation of the general system for storing and displaying objects. They were not old-timers themselves,
but were expressing concern for a friend, who had given something to the Provincial Museum and had then gone to Victoria and been unable to find the object she had donated, and also for Yale as a whole, for it is a long-standing ambition of the town to have a museum. Another person, who has given many objects to the Provincial Museum, said regretfully, "They don't label things any more."

While the policy of the Provincial Museum and other large museums is consonant with their obligation to present and interpret cultural and social history of all the peoples they represent, it does not accommodate the strong identification between the individual and the object that represents his family identity, and between the community and the objects that represent the identity of the community as a whole.

Old-timers and non-specialists both appeal to landmarks and material objects for substantiation of history and of knowledge of the past. Material objects can be substituted for explicit expression of fact. Some artifacts relating to the past have remained in Yale, and these are in the hands of private persons. Newer things that relate to history, such as newspaper clippings about events in the area's history, and folk publications about the history of the Cariboo and Fraser canyon, are beginning to have value and are saved and stored away.

The possession of artifacts with historical value usually indicates an interest in history, and sometimes it constitutes a qualification to expound on it. A collection of artifacts helps to establish a claim to a long family history, or at least old-timer status for the individual
involved. Alone, though, it is not a sufficient basis for old-timer status. An old-timer must have the other characteristics of long residence or birth in the area, or membership in a pioneer family. A relative newcomer cannot buy old-timer status by buying a collection of Victorian or Indian artifacts.

When the person who possesses objects of historic value dies, his or her heirs may dispute or subsequently regret the division or disposition of them. These things pass out of families through fire - an enormous percentage of them - through sale or gift to museums, and through sale or gift to amateur collectors who do not have the age, residence and descent qualifications of old-timers, and do not function as old-timers, i.e., do not impart knowledge to those who seek it and are not selected as symbols of the past.

Historical objects are symbols of knowledge, but in keeping with the fact that knowledge of history is private knowledge, they are displayed only with great discretion. They are protected from use. There is, indeed, no public occasion to use them, although one old-timer has always made a point of using her parents' Victorian clothing as costumes at historical festivals at Hope and Yale. She is, however, the only one to do so.

Material things with historical value are also collectibles, a term I have borrowed from the sign on an antique shop on the road between Chilliwack and Yale. There are many collectors who are not old-timers but live in the area or come to visit in the hope of adding to their collections. The principal criterion for determining if an object is of value
as a collectible is its relation to history - whether it was made and used in a time now past. But there are many categories of collectible objects: bottles, Indian baskets, Indian artifacts of all kinds, telegraph wire insulators and all sorts of Victorian household objects.

The status of collectible old things has increased greatly in recent years, in proportion to their actual and supposed cash value. The increasing monetary value of the objects is an important consideration to the collector, and while he may have a genuine interest in history, the investment value of his collection is often not subordinate to its historical worth. In one conversation about antiques, the talk focused on Indian baskets, and some of the comments were "They're worth a fortune." "You can't buy them any more". "It's a lost art", i.e., basketry, and "We used to trade old clothes for them."

There is a bottle dump on the river bank at Yale, and from time to time visitors to the town could be seen digging in it, although the ones I talked to came up only with fragments. Other sites in the town that were likely sources of old bottles had also been searched fairly thoroughly. "Pothunting", or "arrowheading", i.e., the rifling of Indian village and burial sites, is definitely against the law in British Columbia, but does go on surreptitiously.

Landmarks are important in folk knowledge of history in Yale. They substantiate the town's claim to having a history, along with the old-timers themselves. In 1972-73 the work of the Local Initiatives Project was largely concerned with marking the most important historic sites in the
town with signs, with brief paragraphs about why the site was significant. The sites they chose are clues to the events and institutions important in the folk history of the town: the Hudson's Bay Company fort, Barnard's Express Company, the Steamboat Landing place, the CPR, the old stone vault at the east end of Front Street, the graveyard for the Whites, the graveyard for the Indians, and Lady Franklin Rock.

These sites do not represent the entire range of places named or known to be significant in the history of the town or the area. Several categories of these can be distinguished:

1. Unnamed sites that are described, e.g., the site of the CPR powder and acid works, the site of the turntable, the site of the slaughterhouse, the steamboat landing rock. Often these sites are mentioned in the course of conversations about history, and may be known only to certain of the old-timers.

2. Named geographic features with historic significance, e.g., Hill's Bar, Lady Franklin Rock, Hell's Gate, Strawberry Island, Deadman's Eddy. These are very commonly known, and with the exception of Deadman's Eddy, are referred to in common conversation. The named geographic features important in the Spuzzum area: Broadback Mountain, Anderson Mountain, Spider Peak - are referred to only by Annie York and Arthur Urquhart, although they also know the important Yale features.

There may be a subdivision of this category, i.e., named geographic features with historic significance known only to certain types of specialists, e.g., Barney's Bluff, about which railway men know.
3. Named geographic features with no known historical significance, e.g., Linky Mountain, the Jew's Nose, Saddle Rock.

4. Named man-made phenomena of historic significance, e.g., Bell Crossing, Emory, Chinatown.

All of these have their origin in White settlement and experience. There is, in addition, the pointed rock on the mountain above Lady Franklin Rock, referred to as "The Indian" by one old-timer, "Lady Franklin's Brother", by another, and "the Medicine Man", by another resident of Yale who is not an old-timer but lived there in childhood and has returned to live there as an adult.

Still another person told me that the rock would look exactly like the picture of the seated human figure bowl in Hill-Tout's "The Great Fraser Midden". Two stories about this rock have been set down in Chapter V.

Arthur Urquhart has referred to Five Mile Creek as the "Skunk Cabbage Place", the English translation of the Stalo name. I do not know how current that usage is among other area residents. Five-Mile Creek seems to be the most common name for it; Sawmill Creek is also used. Frozen Lake is another place known and used by Indians that has been incorporated into White knowledge.

There are now places that derive their names from proximity to geographic features bearing the names, e.g., Sailor Bar Tunnel. Sailor Bar, approximately eight miles above Yale, was the site of gold-mining in 1858. The tunnel is on the currently used highway, far above the river and
the bar, but approximately in the same place. It is a place now in that
someone lives there, and automobile accidents occur there, and when either
of these facts are discussed, the name of the tunnel is used to pinpoint
the location.

Landmarks are valued and the man-made ones are seen as worth
preserving. The loss of those that have been destroyed or have decayed
beyond repair is regretted. Buildings in Yale are ephemeral. They are
all wooden, and often heated with small stoves that use wood, oil or gas
for fuel. Consequently they are highly susceptible to destruction by
fire, and until 1971 there was no fire-fighting equipment in Yale. Many
buildings have been burned; others have been taken down so that the wood
or the land could be used in other ways. There is regret over this, but
expressions of this regret are sometimes accompanied by acknowledgement
that at the time the destruction was necessary, or that decay could not
be prevented.

The most important landmark in Yale in 1973 was the Anglican
Church, St. John the Divine. As I have said before, its viability as a
church had been declining for some years, while its importance as a land-
mark had been increasing. Sources for local support for the upkeep of the
building and the grounds had been declining with the congregation. With
other historic buildings physical préservation, or the lack of it, had been
a critical factor in their destruction, and there was considerable concern
in Yale that the church building be preserved. Although the congregation
had dwindled to a few, there were non-Anglicans interested in having a church
functioning in the town, and it was important to find a solution that allowed both the religious and historic functions of the building to continue. Eventually this was accomplished through transfer of responsibility for the building from the parish and diocese to the Provincial Government.

The Written Record

People in Yale who are interested in history have great respect for books. Scholarly works, when they are available, and folk publications such as *Wagon Road North*, *Paddlewheels on the Frontier*, *Canada West Magazine*, and even more popular magazines published in the United States such as *True West*, *Real West*, and the *Frontier Times*, are valued both as symbols of knowledge and as sources of information when needed. The Local Initiatives Project group consulted one scholarly work and several folk publications in the course of their work on historic sites. As symbols of knowledge the folk publications have a place similar to antiques and are often kept in the same place in the home.

There is some recognition that folk history, or at least the knowledge of history that is found in the community, differs from the formal presentation of history in books. One old-timer has a repertoire of historical anecdotes based on his childhood experience and knowledge probably gained from his parents and grandfather; family history, i.e., genealogical knowledge, is not a theme of these stories. Nonetheless, when he was thinking of writing a book about history he was primarily concerned with finding information about his pioneer grandfather's family in Europe.
Folk and formal history operate in different spheres, and rarely conflict. When they did conflict on one occasion in Yale, the folk memory was subordinated to the information in the written record. The controversy centred on the origin of the name of Lady Franklin Rock. One story about Lady Franklin Rock has been set down in Chapter V (p. 253). I recorded another from Arthur Castle, a man now in his late 70's, who was born in Yale and lived there from childhood to adulthood, but later moved to the Lower Fraser Valley and now lives in Port Coquitlam:

Joe Mackenzie told me. 1 This lady came up to Yale looking for her husband. He was lost up there, way up there. And I guess that was as far as she could come. She had a boat, a skiff. And they gave her a night at Yale, quite a send-off. They gave her quite a do.

The Local Initiatives Project workers erected a sign on the bank opposite Lady Franklin Rock, and the information they put on the sign was similar to the story Mr. Castle told:

The Rock thwarted Lady Jane Franklin in her efforts to proceed up river in search of her husband. Sir John, noted explorer, was lost on an Arctic expedition.

A resident of Hope wrote an open letter to the LIP group, praising their efforts, but pointing out that this sign was in error, and citing information given by W.B. Crickmer, the Anglican vicar at Yale at the time of Lady Franklin's visit, to the Christian Advocate and Review in 1871.

The letter was published in The Hope Standard, and was followed by a letter from A.C. Milliken, of Yale, confirming the error about the

1. Joe Mackenzie was the brother of Mrs. Revesbech who ran the Railroad House and later the Borden Hotel. He lived in Yale for many years and died late in the 1930's. At that time he was considered an old-timer.
reason for Lady Franklin's visit, but disputing Crickmer's reliability as a source of historical information. It was accompanied by a more formal article on Lady Franklin's visit, originally written by A.C. Milliken in 1957. And these were followed by a third letter, from another person, defending Crickmer. I have included copies of the various letters in an Appendix.

The result of the controversy was the replacement of the sign at Lady Franklin Rock with one containing information that corresponded to the written record. The new sign read:

Lady Franklin Rock
To mark the visit in 1861 of Lady Jane Franklin on a speaking tour, continually seeking news of her husband. Sir John, noted explorer, was lost on an Arctic expedition.

In a discussion by two older residents of the controversy, one, who had given the story recorded in Chapter V, expressed the opinion that that story was good enough. The other man thought that the written record should probably supersede the folk memory in this case, because Crickmer had apparently been present during Lady Franklin's visit and had given eyewitness testimony.

History and Community Festivals

The participation in history of non-specialists in the community is generally either passive or in the form of spontaneous response to an immediate situation. Most Yale people participate in Stage Coach Day and the major theme of this festival is historical. But history is invoked in an ad hoc, casual way. The pancake breakfast served sourdough pancakes,
considered a staple dish of early miners on the Fraser River. The themes
of the costumes and floats in the parade were only selectively historical.
The representatives of the Royal Canadian Mounted Police wore both modern
and old-fashioned dress. The old-fashioned uniform may have been worn es-
pecially because 1973 was the centennial year of the R.C.M.P.

The Native Brotherhood representatives, people from outside Yale,
wore facsimiles of old-time native dress but as a symbol of native identity
as much as participation in the historical spirit of Stage Coach Day. There
was an old-fashioned horse-drawn buckboard with people in it dressed as
old-timers. Yale people also represented the Fraser River Mermaid and the
Sasquatch, the latter only rarely considered to be an historical reality,
and the former perhaps a recent invention. One of the oldest residents
contributed the only genuine old-time costumes, her parents' suits of
clothing, and two of her friends, new-comers to Yale, supplemented these
with a 1901 car rented in Chilliwack. The Sasquatch and the Fraser River
Mermaid won the prizes.

As a town, and as individuals, Yale old-timers and relative new-
comers participating in Stage Coach Day interpret the themes of Cariboo
history with freedom. The making of costumes representing old-time miners,
Chinese labourers or simply Victorian styles of dress is highly acceptable.
Yale people also participated in Hope Brigade Days, especially in the parade.
The costumes and floats represented themes from the gold rush and CPR con-
struction, and old-time life generally. Not all the costumes had historical
meaning. Logging and the R.C.M.P. both figured prominently in the parade.
Both Yale's Stage Coach Day and Hope's Brigade Days are primarily community festivals, celebrations of contemporary community life, and the appeal to history gives depth and added substance to the community's identity.

Old-timers participate in these festivals in the same way as non-specialists, and as symbols of history themselves. But they also control more knowledge of history, and this is usually expressed explicitly only to outsiders. Yale people provide the criteria for the identity of old-timers, and appeal to them as symbols of the community's history, but it is most frequently outsiders who provide an audience.

Social Contexts of Transmission

The interview situation is artificial and not the normal context for transmission of historical information, although an experienced teacher such as Annie York has adapted to it. Still, her technique of conveying information became noticeably more formal when a tape recorder was introduced than when I was using a simple pen and notebook, and she was most relaxed when we were simply talking in the course of ordinary activities, such as driving to town, washing dishes, or preparing dinner. The information did not change much in content, but for the tape recorder she gave a flowing narrative, or a narrative in which one part was made to connect with another, while information given under more relaxed conditions tended to be in shorter form, and themes and stories tended to be pursued and dropped, to be picked up later with fresh detail added.
An illustration of the potential difference between a tape-recorded interview of reminiscences and the actual operation of folk history occurred in Annie York's home. Her brother and sister were visiting from Merritt when I went to Spuzzum one day, and although I had come with a tape recorder, prepared to work with Annie, I was equally prepared to abandon my plans and just visit, when I found them there. When I was first there, Miss York's brother, David York, and Mr. Urquhart were talking of the Pitt Mountains, the bad country in that area, lost gold mines and miners who had gone into the country and never returned.

Miss York realized that I had come to work and encouraged me to interview her brother about his reminiscences, since he is older than she is. The interview was not entirely successful. Mr. York was very cooperative but it was clear that he found his early life irrelevant to much that was important. When it was over, and I had put the recorder away, talk flowed freely again and Mr. York told a story about a famous teamster who surreptitiously siphoned some of his cargo of whiskey out of the barrel and into his mouth as he drove his team. From there the talk went on to relatively modern but thematically consistent stories about siphoning whiskey out of boxcars in trains standing still on sidings. For Mr. York, the reminiscences simply interrupted the folk history.

Again, the interview situation may have shaped Mr. Cox's reminiscences in a way that would not otherwise have occurred, although his relative isolation from other Yale people did not really provide me with opportunities to listen and learn from him in other contexts. He did tell me that he had
told stories to others before, but never at such length as he had to me. This reservation does not change my conviction that his knowledge, whenever professed, would be based on his experience, or that his claim to knowledge, and others' recognition of it, were based on long residence in the town.

For the most part, occasions on which information about the past is given are informal. The visit in which Mr. Urquhart and Mr. York swapped stories about the Pitt mountains region and siphoning whiskey was typical of many that occurred in this home. Sometimes I was the only visitor, and the information may have been directed at my interest in history, but at other times there were other people present, with different interests and different relationships to Miss York and Mr. Urquhart. The formal work sessions with Miss York were didactic in intent and flavour; informal "just visiting" conversations were not. But in both settings I learned much about the history of the area.

When Martin Castle, another old-timer, was living in Yale he would sit every afternoon and evening in the beer parlour, at that time a favourite informal gathering place for many of the townspeople in the late afternoon and early evening, and if a group gathered around him, as sometimes happened, he would reminisce about his experiences as a prospector or tell sasquatch stories, such as the two recorded in Chapter V. The beer parlour had burned down by the time I lived in Yale and consequently I did not explore it as a possible setting for the informal transmission of information.
Incidents of the past were recounted in informal visits in other homes. Unless he is requested formally by some outside agency such as a school group or the Women's Institute to give a talk on history, Mr. Barry generally provides information informally, and through anecdote. In Mrs. Chrane's home, too, this occurred. On one occasion four of us gathered for an evening's recreation that had nothing to do with history. One played the piano. The rest of us sang and later had sandwiches and coffee. While we were relaxing with the food, the conversation turned to property, and Mrs. Chrane talked about the former extent of her father's property—several lots east of All Hallows School that extended back beyond where the highway runs now. She also mentioned that he had had two lots on Front Street, where he had had his Gold Syndicate office. At that time there were dredges working across the river, and Mr. Teague owned lots across the river, where he had cattle, and a foreman to look after them. Mrs. Chrane remembered that the cattle had fed all of Yale. Her father had also owned land down at Chilliwack. He and Reece and Kipp had at one time owned among them much of the land where Chilliwack now stands.

The talk shifted to her property up above the highway, and she said that there are old house pits up there. In the winter the Indians used to leave the village down at Yale and spend the winter up there. She and her family had dug one of the house pits out and found a quantity of Chinese money.

Again the talk turned away to a new topic, this time to fish and fishing. Someone remarked that the time, early spring, was a good time for
sturgeon, and half-asked, half-stated that the Indians had begun the season's fishing. I said, in reference to fishing in general (for Indians in the area fish with nets), that I had seen a fishing rod stuck in the beach sand one day, with the line in the water. GC said that they were fishing for ling and that the Chinese used to go down to the beach to fish for them. For each of these topics history was recounted to inform an audience about something occurring in the present, and it was the present situation that initiated the references to history.

Much informal contact occurs between men, particularly, in work situations. I do not have much information about transmission of information in such situations, primarily because my size, sex, and the demands of my work made it impracticable for me to secure a job with a railway maintenance crew or a logging crew. I did encounter two indications that information is transmitted in these contexts.

One evening when I was down on the railroad track, comparing an old picture of Yale with the present town, a young chap came out of the section house to find out what I was doing. He explained that the track on which I was standing had once been the old road, the road in the picture. The track in the picture was the track now unused, and off to one side. It was formerly the main line. I said that I had been thinking the picture must have been taken from the hill behind us, and he pointed out, correctly, that the hill was not there before 1926 when the highway was built. He also showed me that each rail has a date on it - the ones in current use are dated 1971, but the rails of the old main line have a 1930's date, indi-
eating the last time the rails were changed. There are some rails up towards Spuzzum that are dated 1902. He said he'd also seen a place above Yale where the date 1863 is scratched into the rock.

This person was neither a Yale old-timer, nor an old railroad hand. He was young, perhaps just into his twenties. He said he came from Northern Saskatchewan, and he and his friend had been travelling around but stopped in Yale but stopped when they "racked up" their car. They planned to work in Yale for a few months and then move on. They had been working on the railroad for perhaps a month, changing ties, checking bolts, etc. He said that on Fridays they crew walked the track, checking bolts, and that was when they saw things. He said, "When the gold rush went out, the railroad came in." He had also read the signs on the highway with summary paragraphs about the history of Yale and the Fraser Canyon and he recommended these to me.

Another person, also a man in his early twenties, came to Yale to work with a logging crew at Spuzzum, and got a ride to work every morning with local people who also worked on the crew. On one occasion he told me that he was learning about the country and its history from the men he worked with. They pointed out to him the gold diggings, and told him that 'there are miners buried all around here (Yale), and you can go anywhere and dig things up, there's so much left around in those days. Yale had ten thousand people then. You can dig up a lot of Indian relics too.' 'The Indians didn't inhabit this area all year round - just came in the summer because the fishing was so good. Because they were transient they left a lot of stuff around.'
On another occasion he told me that he had learned there were Viking caves in Yale, left by the Vikings who were in the area before the Indians. He said that he had been told this by one of the men with whom he worked, and that his landlord, who had lived in the town for over twenty years, had confirmed it.

Although only a few specific "old-timers" are recommended to the outsider who comes and asks for information about history, it may be that many Yale residents of some years' standing feel it is incumbent upon them to inaugurate newcomers into some knowledge of the area's history. One evening when I was walking along Front Street I was joined by a young boy, about ten years of age, whom I had never met before, and who did not know me. Since we were going in the same direction, we walked together, and as we walked along we talked of various things, each inspired by something we encountered on the way; the horse, Gypsy, stabled in one of the yards, the cherry trees clustered at one point on the bank above the beach, the old Chinese vault. He knew nothing of "old Harvey", whose house-site we passed — Harvey is remembered by all of Yale's folk historians as an elderly Chinese man who worked for Mr. Croucher, the vicar of the Anglican Church from 1892 to 1917. After his retirement, according to the various reminiscences, Harvey lived in a small house on the bank above the beach at the east end of Front Street, and he kept pigs. The young boy had never heard of him, but when we came to the old Chinese vault, he pointed it out and said, "If Jim Lee wanted to sell that he could get thousands and thousands of dollars for it. It's a real old building. Built in 18-something." He said,
"There was a fire there once and an old guy lived there and he had a lot of gold. He ran out and let the place burn up and left the gold. But when he went back in after the fire he still had the gold. It was all melted."

Travel and Transmission of Knowledge

Information about the past is passed on in the course of travel - relatively long trips, like the one from Spuzzum to Merritt, or short ones, like shopping excursions from Yale to Hope. Reminiscences and anecdotes are inspired by landmarks. While driving Miss York and Mr. Urquhart from Spuzzum to Yale one day, I learned about the old miner, Barney, and the site of his cabin was pointed out to me. On another occasion the site of Stout, a reserve and former village across the river about seven miles above Yale, was pointed out. As we drove through the Nicola Valley Annie pointed out 14-Mile, where some of her mother's family had lived, and other houses and sites of former houses of people important in her mother's family history and her own. When we came to one bridge across the river, Arthur told me the story of the sudden death there of the entire Merritt police force at the hands of a few other residents of Merritt during the 1930's.

One afternoon a Yale resident and I drove to Chilliwack and as we passed a spot near Ruby Creek she said "That's where the sasquatch came over the mountain" and said she had not been a witness, but had been busy elsewhere when it occurred. On two different occasions when driving to Chilliwack, Miss York and Mr. Urquhart remarked on Devil's Lake, a very small body of water near the Katz reserve. Arthur said that a work train
had sunk in it one time, and many Chinese workers were killed. The bottom is said to have much the same consistency as quicksand. Swimmers have also died there. People have tried to fill it in before this, but the lake always reasserts itself. On the second occasion Arthur said they had the biggest frogs anyone had ever seen in that lake, and Annie said there was said to be a huge water snake in it. While driving into Chilliwack Arthur also reminisced about driving to Vancouver and Chilliwack on the old Yale road, and said there had been a certain farm where they used to stop and buy fresh milk.

Sometimes travelling to the site of an historic event was part of more formal instruction for landmarks are central to folk history. Mr. Cox generously guided me around Yale, pointing out the site of the Hudson's Bay Company fort, the various hotel sites, the route of the old road and of the telegraph, and sites important in the construction of the CPR and CNR.

Miss York and Mr. Urquhart also guided me to the places where significant events occurred. The story of the Chehalis raid was told while we were sitting at the large housepit on the mountain above Spuzzum village; the story of Youla's fight with the American was recounted at the site of his house up at Crowsnest, a small settlement founded by the people of the Spuzzum reserve at the turn of the century in a small meadow on the mountain above Tikwalus. In addition we visited the site of the old village of Spuzzum at the point where Spuzzum Creek and the Fraser River meet, the site of the old bridge across the Fraser that was built originally for the Cariboo road, and then rebuilt and maintained by the Spuzzum residents when the CPR
made the road and the bridge obsolete, the site of Chief Paul’s house, the old Indian Anglican Church on the Spuzzum reserve, the site of the ferry crossing used by the original miners and pack-trainers, the modern village of Spuzzum, Yale, and Alexandra Lodge, which stands on the site of 14-mile house, a stopping place in the 1860's and 1870's.

The visit to Alexandra Lodge was ostensibly an occasion for Annie to instruct me in the history of the building and the neighbouring village of Tikwalus. However, when we arrived, we found that the person who owned and ran the lodge needed historical information that Annie could provide. A journalist was coming from the city to interview the lodge owner about the lodge's history, and she felt that her own knowledge was inadequate. Consequently Annie instructed us both at the same time. Much of the discussion between Annie and the owner centred on the identity of the successive owners of the lodge, and whether any part of the original building was still standing. Later, Annie and Arthur and I walked out and saw the beginning of the old mule trail, an old house, now in ruins, that had belonged to Charlie Chapman, an old-timer of the area who is still remembered, and Annie told me about Tikwalus, and the early days of the Lodge. She said that in the early days the Lodge served deer and bear and grouse (at Christmas time), and fish, including sturgeon. The Indian women dug onions for the meat and picked huckleberries for pies. Louis James' father was the hunter on the Lodge side of the river. Paul Youla was the hunter on the other side.
When we returned to the Lodge, Arthur mentioned that the King of Siam had been entertained there. He had had policemen for his retainers. Over lunch the talk turned to the old material things around the property. The owner had found some bottles, and believed there were likely more to be found. Arthur observed that they were likely under the highway or CNR tracks. Annie said that in the old days men used to throw gold coins in the air and shoot at them. When they got really drunk they would shoot through the house.

Holidays, Community Festivals, and the Transmission of Knowledge

On occasions such as Stage Coach Day and the Agassiz Fall Fair people who are related by kinship or friendship but have not seen each other for some time, may meet, renew their acquaintance and exchange information and reminiscences, each confirming or renewing his or her knowledge of the past in the process.

I was present on three such occasions. At Stage Coach Day, Arthur Urquhart and Walter Chrane, Mrs. Gladys Chrane's son, met and talked for the first time in perhaps several years, although they have seen each other briefly in that time. Both were born in the area and have lived there for most of their lives. There is an age difference of about ten years, which prevented their attending school together, but they have known each other all their lives. Recently they came to be related by marriage, when Mr. Chrane married Mr. Urquhart's first cousin once removed (Mr. Urquhart's mother's sister's daughter's daughter).
At the beginning of their conversation they were exchanging news that is fairly recent, but still over a year old. In the course of the conversation they reminisced about a common working experience on a highway crew, discussed the fact that Yale had changed greatly over the years and exchanged reminiscences about the Chinese temple (the Joss House), the burning down of the Borden Hotel, the agents at the CPR station, and several of the old Yale families. Since their experiences and memories did not coincide exactly, each contributed facts the other had not known, or confirmed some he was not sure of.

At the Agassiz Fall Fair a similar encounter occurred between Miss York and Mrs. Mary Charles, who now lives at Seabird Island, but when she was a girl, ran the Spuzzum store and post office with her father. They had not seen each other in a very long time, and had to go back a long way to establish a basis for the conversation. They exchanged family news, for while they are related, their immediate family connections are in diverging branches of the family. Mrs. Charles had been to Spuzzum the day before the fair and had looked at the old building where she had lived. People and places were the two foci of the conversation, and the talk shifted back and forth between them. They reminisced particularly about two old Spuzzum residents, Shinmualaxw and Pauline Youla, who are now dead, but remembered well and with affection.

On Easter Sunday it is Mrs. Chrane's custom to put flowers on the graves of her parents and brother and sister, who died in childhood. When she was preparing to do so after lunch on Easter, a former neighbour who was
visiting Yale briefly came to pay a call. They went to the graveyard together, for the visitor wanted to see her own father's grave, and while they were there, they walked about, noting the graves of families familiar to them — and there are not many members of these living in Yale today — and recalling characteristics of particular people or families. Here, too, reminiscence and exchange of information were part of the same process.

**Story-Telling Sessions**

Sessions primarily devoted to the telling of "old-time stories", whether formal or informal, are not a characteristic of Yale social life. Rather, anecdotes and information about people and events now past are recounted to develop topics and themes in current conversation, and "the past" per se is not generally one of these themes.

One evening Miss York and Mr. Urquhart both told several old-timer stories in the course of the after-dinner conversation, and each one was related to some general theme that the conversation was following, even though these varied widely from the beginning to the conclusion of the evening. The topics included the current manufacture of false teeth, and experiences that people now living have with them. From there Annie mentioned that the gums of her aunt's false teeth had been rubber and had tasted of rubber. Arthur said that they had been making false teeth for a long time. There was a story of a group of Indians who came upon a miner working when white men and their ways were not commonly known. While they were watching him he went to eat, or had eaten, and he took out his teeth,
to wash them. And the Indians were amazed that he could do such a thing and concerned that he had special power. They were worried he would next remove an arm or a leg.

The talk shifted to more current events and they told me about a visitor the previous day who had been eating berries as she worked, absent-mindedly spilling them as she ate. Another visitor had followed her with a cloth, wiping up the berries. That led to an anecdote Arthur told about an old-timer who lived alone, who had a big bowl of cranberries. He spilled them on the floor, and then got down on hands and knees and picked every one of them up. But he had a cat that was a great hunter and brought in everything it butchered and by the time he finished picking the cranberries up off the floor he had more stuff in his bowl than when he began.

A story about the past does not necessarily lead to another about the past. This story led to a discussion of the impeccable housekeeping habits of an elderly bachelor who is their friend. On the other hand a story about the past that Arthur tells may remind Annie of another one, also set in the past, but with a similar theme. Arthur told a brief story about a man trying to settle his account with a prostitute in the early days (see Chapter V). That reminded Annie of a story about two "working girls" in the old days who had a quarrel. They were walking along Front Street and one of them kicked the other in the behind, and tore her dress at the bustle, causing all the stuffing to come out.

In an evening's conversation with Mr. Barry, the theme of fishing gave rise to three stories, at least, the one about the naive surveyor who
bought a salmon for many times the accepted price (see Chapter V), one about an Indian fisherman who lived several decades ago, and one about an Indian fisherman currently living in the area.

Artifacts as well as landmarks are sources of inspiration for conversation concerning both the present and the past. A visitor to Miss York's and Mr. Urquhart's home remarked on the old gramophone standing in the livingroom. Arthur told him about an old gramophone that used to play Chinese music in one of the Chinese stores in Yale. The members of the Chinese community used to gather there and listen.

The topics of my conversation with the youngster on Front Street depended on particular features of the landscape but were not confined to their historical associations. Gypsy, the horse, was the inspiration for brief remarks on the care of horses, the old vault of the story about the fire and the melted gold, and from there the conversation turned to the recent fire the youngster's grandparents, who live in another town, had suffered in their home. By that time we had rounded the corner and were passing the Indian reserve, and there was a quantity of loose gravel on the road. He observed that this was the place where he had "wiped out" on his bike the day before, and we parted in agreement that driving any wheeled vehicle over gravel was difficult. Although one would not expect the past to be a common theme in a ten-year-old's repertoire of conversation, the talk I had with him was not different from conversations with adults, as far as the pursuit of themes, and the shifts between past and present were concerned.
Although the past is rarely a theme in itself, the supernatural can be a theme of a conversation and can inspire stories primarily set in the past. The exchange of ideas and even traditions between anthropologists and the people with whom they work is a tradition of long standing in field work, and is part of my experience as well. On one occasion after I had stopped living in Yale, I went with other friends to visit Miss York and Mr. Urquhart. We have all come to know one another rather well, and during the visit we went for a walk to Spuzzum Creek. There was still snow on the ground and on the way back someone observed that we should have made a snowman. Someone else said facetiously that we should have made a snowman by the highway with its thumb out, and a third member of the group said laughingly that when the sun shone the snowman would truly be a vanishing hitchhiker, and explained to Annie about "vanishing hitchhiker stories" and sketched a typical plot. Annie replied with a story.

She said that down the road, towards Spuzzum, in the old house where she was born, the old people used to say they had seen a lady carrying an umbrella from time to time. She appeared around dusk and always vanished. She said her mother had never seen the lady with the umbrella, but when she was living in that house two old people came to stay with her, a man and a woman. They were prospectors.

One day they were sitting there, on the verandah, and the man called out, "Lucy, you've got a visitor," and went to open the gate for the lady. But when he got there, there was no one there. He looked, and went down the highway a bit but there was no one there. He was the only one who saw her.
Annie said the old Indians thought it might be the ghost of the lady who is buried in Spuzzum, near the old road but near the river bank too. A great amount of garbage has been dumped on the site now. This lady came up the river in a Haida canoe to Spuzzum, but she got sick and died, and the Indians buried her right away, just as she was, in her clothes. Henry James was a little boy and he could just remember it. He told Annie the story. The old Indians used to think that perhaps she was Lady Franklin, but Annie said she was not.

Another time, the simple mention of the Yale graveyard inspired a short account of a supernatural appearance. I was explaining the location of my house to other visitors in Annie and Arthur's house, and said that it was across the highway from the graveyard in Yale. Annie said that a man in a black cloak used to stand sometimes at the gate of the graveyard. He may have carried a scythe. There used to be a white fence running along the back end of the graveyard, where the highway is now, and a gate near the tracks, where the old wagon road used to be. That was the entrance to the graveyard originally, and the ghost would stand at that gate. Other supernatural stories did not follow this one.

The Act of Story-Telling

Although stories are woven into ordinary conversation and presented with the intent of imparting information on some relevant topic, there is no doubt in the minds of either the story-teller or the audience about when a story is being told. Nevertheless story-telling is a very low-key activity.
At any given moment during a story a distinction can be made between the active and passive participants, but in many cases, especially those where information is fragmentary and not quite complete enough to provide an entire story, everyone enters into the discussion and contributes relevant knowledge, no matter how slight, and regardless of whether they are young or old, visitor or resident, newcomer or old-timer.

There can be, though, tacit recognition of the characteristics of a good story and a good audience. People who tell historical tales have a respect for dates and other signs of accuracy. A tale's worth increases with the likelihood that it is true. Nonetheless a story can be a good one without being wholly accurate and objections to the validity of a good story on the basis of suspected inaccuracy of some of its detail can be considered improper. This imposes certain duties on the audience. Mr. Urquhart mentioned a man who had failed to appreciate this, and was consequently considered not worth telling a story to. Arthur had told him a story about the train robber, Bill Miner. Miner had a hide-out in the mountains up above Alexandra Lodge, near the mule trail, and he would periodically come down from his hide-out and visit the Lodge, and buy drinks for the miners. He earned their loyalty in that way. The man heard Arthur through, and then said, "There's just one thing wrong with your story. Bill Miner didn't drink."

This throws some light on the criterion of belief as a characteristic of legend. Belief, narrative structure, and historical setting have been considered the major characteristics of legend, and although their
validity has lately been challenged, consideration of them in the context of Yale's folk history cannot be escaped.

Belief concerns the relationship between the narrator and his audience. The act of telling a legend, particularly to an outsider, is an act of identification by the individual narrator with the community and with its history. Affirmation of belief is superfluous on the part of the narrator. It is the legend's embodiment of some aspect of the community's past and the present community's view of its past that is important. An expression of disbelief is a challenge to the integrity of this view and is an act of grave discourtesy on the part of the person who hears the legend, especially if he is not a member of the present community.

Accounts of events in the past that are not explicitly family history are considered to be legends. Legends are assumed to be stories, i.e., to have narrative structure, but the narratives are not always recounted when the legend is referred to. Often legend and landmark are merged, and the currency of the legend is reinforced in the community by reference to the landmark associated with it. When legends are recounted, such as the legend of Lady Franklin Rock, the sasquatch at Ruby Creek, or the disastrous encounter between the Hope people and the miners on the Hudson's Bay trail, they are brief, and the central incident is recounted in few words.

The historical nature of legends is unquestioned by Yale people. The importance of history to the identity of the community gives an anti-historical quality to the invocation of legends in current conversation,
but the event of each legend is assumed to have occurred in a knowable past time. This is often made explicit in the topic of the legend, since each major factor in shaping Yale's history is distinct in nature and time from the others, and each accordingly carries its own time association with it. The recurrent factors that invoke time and make explicit expression of sequence unnecessary are the establishment of the Hudson's Bay Company, the gold rush, Yale's role as head of navigation, the construction of the CPR, and the construction of the CNR. Everyone in Yale knows the order in which these events occurred.
SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

Orally transmitted knowledge of history in Yale incorporates some of the characteristics of history in non-literate societies, and some of the characteristics of North American folklore, but differs from both in important ways. In non-literate societies, history is political in content and function. It is closely integrated with the identity of the social group, and those who have knowledge of history represent the group politically. Custodians of knowledge acquire it through formal or informal instruction, but exercise it by virtue of other characteristics, such as their position in the social structure - which is often based on descent from a particular ancestor - or relatively advanced age.

In Yale, history is closely bound to the identity of the community, but is not necessarily political in content and is definitely not political in function. Different kinds of information are necessary for political action in the present, and persons who are not old-timers are those who are most active politically. Every Yale resident participates in Yale's history occasionally, if only as a passive listener or a participant in a community festival, but some of the residents, old-timers, are considered to have special knowledge of history. One or two may have sought out information, or may have been informally instructed in their childhood, but the basis of their status lies in characteristics such as membership in a pioneer family, birth in Yale or the immediate vicinity, long residence in the town, and possession of artifacts or books with historical associations.

Review of the relevant literature in Chapter I showed that in literate societies folk history has not been studied, but several characteristics
of North American folklore have possible relevance. Two genres - legends and experience stories - exist as possible vehicles for transmission of knowledge of the past, although their characteristics are subject to considerable debate, and their place in the social process of folklore transmission in North American society has not been studied.

Old-timers in Yale do have knowledge of the past, but the legend, although it occurs is not the only form in which it is presented. Some old-timers combine legends with reminiscences about their own childhood or young adulthood. Others consider their own reminiscences less important than family history and combine legends with narratives about their own ancestors. One old-timer, who embodies all of the characteristics necessary for old-timer's status, and has a rich store of reminiscences, considers written records to contain the only true history.

I have not discussed the genres of oral literature that may be found in Yale. There are legends - narratives relating an event that is supposed to have occurred in the past and is generally known in the community. In Yale, legends are most often associated with landmarks. They may be very briefly told, with a narrative structure that is minimal, but there is a tacit assumption that accompanies the telling of them, or even simple reference to them, that if they were fully told, they would be longer narratives. The event central to each occurred prior to the birth of any of Yale's old-timers.

In the general study of folklore, the process of transmission itself has not been investigated fully. The social matrix in which folklore of all types exists and is transmitted has been assumed to be fairly large,
definable groups with characteristics that bind members to one another and set them apart from neighbouring people. The particular context of transmission is the small group.

Folklore, like history in non-literate societies, is not collectively known. There are specialists and non-specialists, i.e., active and passive bearers. Von Sydow, drawing his examples from Scandinavian society, has set out the characteristics and functions of each, along with the process by which active bearers may be replaced and their knowledge remain viable in the community. The basic requirement is repetition over a long period of time to the same audience, one of whom may absorb the narratives or songs sufficiently to become an active narrator or singer if the need arises.

There is no public occasion for Yale's old-timers to present their knowledge to members of the community. Within Yale the contexts of transmission of information about the past are informal, and occur in the course of travel, social visiting, and work. References to the past, and accounts of history are inspired by landmarks and current events. They are presented for the purpose of illuminating both present and past. There is no occasion on which people meet, specifically to discuss the past, unless an outsider requests it.

Audiences for old-timers' knowledge are frequently composed of outsiders, whose presence also reinforces and confirms the old-timers' status. These outsiders do not all come to Yale at the same time, and do not necessarily know one another. No two audiences have the same members. Consequently, the opportunities for old-timers' knowledge to be absorbed in the community
according to the kind of process described by von Sydow, and to become folklore in the accepted sense, are few.

There is a community festival at Yale with a broadly historical theme. And Yale people participate in the festival with spontaneous expressions of particular historical themes, freely adapted for the occasion. Events in Yale's history are not re-enacted, but the identities of gold-miner, Victorian lady, Victorian gentleman, etc., are expressed in costume. Old-timers participate in the festival in this way, but they can also be selected as symbols of history themselves, by virtue of their descent or long residence. Their role, in this case, is passive.

Although most of Yale's residents do not have access to old-timers' knowledge unless they consult them for some specific purpose, and this occurs rarely, there are assumptions about the nature of Yale's history current in the community: history is factual, sequential and not subject to interpretation. It can be briefly summed up by repetition of the sequence of major forces that influenced the growth and decline of the community. There are legends, and awareness of these is an important component in folk history, but artifacts that have come from the past, and landmarks that commemorate events in the past are equally important. Pointing out landmarks, and showing collections of artifacts are as important as verbal descriptions of past events. Old-timers indicate landmarks, and show and describe the significance of artifacts and they present reminiscences, legends or family history as well. But for residents of Yale who are not old-timers, folk history is in many ways non-verbal.
The people of Yale are literate. They are aware of written history and own books relating to history. Some are scholarly publications, but popular publications are more accessible and more numerous. The records on which such publications are based are not accessible to most Yale people. The themes of the history that can be written from these records emerge in old-timers' reminiscences and in folk history in Yale generally. Specifically, these are the gold rush, the role of Yale as head of navigation, the construction of the railroads, the decline of Yale's prosperity, and the existence of nineteenth century Chinese and Indian cultures in Yale. Some old-timers have affirmed that scholarly and popular publications about history have been sources for some of their own knowledge, or that they constitute the best potential sources for someone seeking knowledge of history. When the validity of a legend current in Yale was challenged because it did not conform to statements in the written records concerning the event, the legend was discarded, at least publicly.

However, folk history is, on the whole, not based on the records that have accumulated since the beginning of White settlement. Old-timers exercise their prerogative to dispense knowledge of the past by virtue of characteristics other than familiarity with the written record. Participation in folk history and formal history are two separate activities. Books are important in folk history, but not simply as sources, or potential sources. Along with material objects, they are symbols of knowledge of the past, and the fact of their presence, complemented sometimes by information about them, or about the circumstances in which they were inherited or collected, can be substituted for narratives about past events.
As at other periods in Yale's development, many of the families currently living in the area have settled there fairly recently - since the Depression, since World War II, or within the last few years. Yale has never been incorporated.

The Ratepayers' Association is recent, and while it acts on behalf of the community, its membership does not include all of the population. There is, however, an awareness of history in the community, a conviction that Yale's history is important. There are three categories of people involved in the folk history of Yale - outsiders, who are expected to ask for information, old-timers, who, by virtue of their age, long residence, descent and birth, are expected to have knowledge, and relative newcomers or younger people, for whom history consists of a consciousness of landmarks and artifacts known to have historic significance. History is an accepted characteristic of Yale, that exists now in the community and is also a resource to be developed. In this respect folk history is a factor in the identification of Yale's residents with the community and in the formation of the identity of the community itself.
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APPENDIX
Open Letter

Praises Yale Project Work

Local Initiatives' Program
Yale, B.C.

Dear Initiators—I am sending this Open Letter to Yale
and to the Hope Standard because I do not know how to
contact you personally.

First, may I congratulate you on the nice job you are doing to bring Yale's colorful history to the notice of people today. Who knows—this could be a first step toward some kind of major recognition and reconstruction of Yale's other days and other ways.

Now, may I draw your attention to an error in the signboard that says "Lady Franklin travelled up the Fraser in an attempt to search for her husband, the Arctic explorer, Sir John Franklin."

Even logically it is highly improbable that an educated and well-travelled person would ever consider the Fraser River as an access to the Arctic. Also, when Lady Franklin visited Yale her husband had been missing and presumed dead for 14 years.

The facts are: Sir John Franklin was lost in the Arctic in 1847. Yale came into existence in the gold fever of 1858.

Lady Franklin visited the thriving community in 1861.

For corroboration: William B. Crickmer, writing personal memoirs for the Christian Advocate and Review in 1871, states that he took part in the ceremonies that honored Lady Franklin when she arrived at Yale by paddle steamer. The population's enthusiasm for this titled celebrity resulted in a canoe trip during which they took her up-river through the Little Canyon and on the return trip they announced to her that the narrows were to be known as "Lady Franklin's Pass". This version is accepted by Akrigg in his 1,000 Place Names and, being a first-hand memory, is undoubtedly correct.

Perhaps you would consider it worthwhile to use your government grant to correct your sign and to record this small scrap of B.C.'s history more accurately:

"Lady Franklin's Rock and the canyons were named in 1861 to honor the widow of Sir John Franklin, Arctic explorer, on the occasion of her visit to Yale."

JOAN GREENWOOD
Box 1625, Hope, B.C.
**Lady Franklin Rock**

By A. C. MILLIKEN

(Reprinted from The Hope Standard, April 25, 1957)

At the mouth of the Fraser River Canyon, half a mile upstream from the village of Yale, stands one of the best known landmarks on the Fraser River, and certainly one of the most photographed. It is known as "Lady Franklin Rock." It has been known to the Indians from time immemorial, as "The Bad Rock." Simon Fraser was the first white man to view it. He arrived at 4 p.m., June 28th, 1808, and although he was accustomed to many varied scenes, awe-inspiring and spectacular, he took time and trouble to make note of it in his journal. Anyone familiar with Fraser's Journal will be well aware that he gave little space or time to anything except the business at hand. His mention of it is a compliment to the Rock and is assurance that it is unusual. If you should pass that way, stop at the wide place a few hundred feet downstream, walk up opposite the Rock and look over the cliff. There bursts the full force of the mighty Fraser, confined in its restricted channel for over 20 miles, flowing, as it were, perpendicularly as compared to the average width of the river bed. The roar of the water as it tears against this last obstruction, with a wrath built up during its tortuous downward trip, can be heard but not described. Huge waves dash up the cliffs on either side as the river reverts to a horizontal position, large fir and pine trees tossed up and dashed to splinters, or left high and dry, the huge eddies a short distance downstream sucking those that have escaped below the surface out of sight, to appear again in calmer water. You are at the head of navigation (for all practical and sane purposes).

**A MONUMENT**

This Rock is a monument to a woman's undaunted courage and perseverance, a woman who spent the best years of her life and much of her personal fortune, in quest of her lost husband or knowledge of his fate. This woman was Lady Jane Franklin.

yielded no clue to the fate of Franklin's party. It was not until 1853 and 1854, and again in 1857 and 1859, that John Rae and Sir Levolod McClintock found any clue to movements or probable fate.

With this information Lady Franklin tried to arouse the British Admiralty to make a further search, but without success, their reply being that they felt that they had already spent enough public money, amounting to 60,000 pounds sterling, in the endeavour, and that it was, in their opinion, needless to risk further life in this connection. They did, however, offer a reward of 15,000 pounds to which Lady Franklin added 3,000 pounds. The colonists of Van Dieman's Land, where once Sir John had been governor, also added 1,500 pounds.

**LAST EFFORT**

The final search, outfitted with funds raised by the efforts of Lady Franklin, whose faith was greater than her fortune, cost 20,500 pounds. Part of this sum was supplied by Sir Roderick Murchison. Mention must also be made of Mr. H. Grinnel, a wealthy merchant of New York, who purchased and outfitted two schooners and paid all expenses resulting from a two year search.

The "Fox," a screw yacht, under the command of Capt. McClintock, was the last search in Lady Franklin's time, and probably the most successful from a point of information gained.

For her years of untiring work, and the greater part of her personal fortune, the sum total of the information Lady Franklin received was contained in one paragraph of Capt. McClintock's letter of September 10, 1859, in part as follows: "H.M. Ships "Terror" and "Erebus" were deserted on 22nd April, 5 leagues W.N.W. of this, having been beset since 12th September, 1846. The officers and crews, consisting of 105 souls, under command of Capt. T. R. M. Crozier, landed here. Sir John Franklin died on the 11th June, 1847, and the total loss by deaths in the expedition has been to this date 9 officers and 15 men."
have a name. He replied “With your Ladyship’s permission, we will call it Lady Franklin Rock.” And thus the Rock was given the name it bears today.

(Continued on Page 10).

The Rock is also a grim reminder of the ill-fated expedition of Sir John Franklin, just over one hundred years ago. This expedition is notable for two things. It settled for all time the question of the long sought North West Passage, and it created the greatest historical mystery of modern times.

In 1845 Sir John Franklin, in the “Erebus” and “Terror,” set out to discover the North West Passage. Three years passed without any word from the expedition. Forty search parties were sent out, most of which were privately financed through the efforts of Lady Franklin. The first of these search parties were led by Sir John’s brother, Robert, who had accompanied him on the voyage. The search parties made their way through the treacherous waters of the Arctic, searching for any signs of the missing expedition.

Despite the years of disappointment, Lady Franklin never gave up hope or relaxed in her efforts. Her last days were occupied in planning a new expedition. The luxury yacht “The Pandora” was being outfitted to continue the search.

(Continued from Page 9)

Despite the years of disappointment, Lady Franklin never gave up hope or relaxed in her efforts. Her last days were occupied in planning a new expedition. The luxury yacht “The Pandora” was being outfitted to continue the search. One of her last acts was to arrange for a monument to Sir John which was unveiled in Westminster Abbey a few days after her funeral.

Lady Jane Franklin passed away July 18th, 1875, at the age of 83. The London Times eulogized—“Today we record the death of one who, among the gifted women of her time, has certainly not been the least remarkable.”

England has many statues and monuments to remember Sir John. Australia has likewise honored him. Canada has at least one tablet in his memory, though few have ever seen it. At Victory Point, overlooking the water where his ships wintered, a marble tablet in his honor keeps its lonely vigil.

VISITS B. C.

Lady Franklin, accompanied by her niece who was her constant travelling companion, visited Victoria in 1861, in search of further funds to carry on the work. It was on the occasion of her visit to Yale in March of that year, that the Rock received its present name.

It seems that Mr. Allard of the Hudson’s Bay Company arranged for a large canoe and a dozen stalwart native paddlers to take Lady Franklin, her niece and as yet an unnamed Yaleite up the Canyon and proceeded to a point known then as Simpson’s Falls. While they were gone another group from Yale prepared a large banner bearing the words “Lady Franklin Pass” and suspended it from the over-hanging rock. As the canoe party returned and came close to the Rock Lady Franklin...
If controversy stirs, especially interest in the excitement of our pioneer past — then it serves a worthwhile purpose. While I shall avoid the temptation of jumping into the authenticity of the various sources of historical information — still, I think it should be remembered that history through the ages has been colored by the people who lived it and/or by those who chronicled it. Whether the source is in the form of an officially acknowledged document, or whether it has the added dimension and viewpoint of one man's "eye-witness" account (if he be responsible) seems to me of less importance than the validity and value it holds in the extra breadth of information made available.

Certainly we are indebted to Mr. Milliken for his storehouse of fascinating accounts of the early history of this area — but I take great exception when he presumes to pass judgement on the credibility — indeed the dedication, devotion and accomplishment of a man who left a comfortable and secure future to bring not only the civilizing influence of Christianity — but also culture to a then wilderness area.

I am happy to possess the publication "William Burton Crickmer — Pioneer of the Crown Colony of British Columbia," written of course not for "the glorification of the Rev. Crickmer" but written by his grandson for the centennial of British Columbia as a British Colony, and in honor and memory of his mother who was the first child of the Crickmer's and for their part in the birth of this Province. I, for one, am indebted to this early pioneer and his family for their devotion, and for his own detailed notes and sketches of that place — at that time. I found them exciting as well as enlightening and humorous. I am compelled to quote in part the perceptive and moving account of one of the first journeys made by himself and Bishop Hills to Lytton:

"Below the cemetery is the junction of the two rivers, the Fraser and the Thompson; the former, large and discolored; the latter, clear as crystal — an emblem of the two races of whites and Indians, now in God's providence united. And truly the type stops not here; but, if the truth must be told, the larger, more fierce, rolling and filthy stream of the sinful whites, after flowing for a short space apart, gradually pollutes, absorbs and destroys the unsophisticated children of nature. Alas, for the horrible influence of the white's blackness and lust upon the unwary Indians, tempting them to copy their covetousness, gambling and drinking, and by debauchery destroying the race."

I find little evidence of the "self-glorification", Mr. Milliken speaks of — however, even if I had — I would hope to be amongst the last to cast the first stone — and that's a fact.

FRANCES THOMAS