A HISTORY OF THE WEST KOOTENAY DISTRICT
in
BRITISH COLUMBIA

by
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FOREWORD

Inspiration for this undertaking came during eleven years residence in the Kootenays, seven were spent in the East Kootenay and four in the West. A persistent curiosity about the history of this region, a history relatively recent in the whole story of Canada, led to numerous delightful little trips, conversations with old timers, poring over old news files, getting a friend to "find another friend who had an old book." Gradually the vast accumulation of details began to form a pattern, the pattern of a history which had to be written. Chapters took shape and grew, and gaps were filled in after I returned to live in Vancouver, where I could easily consult the oldest original sources which are kept in the Provincial Archives in Victoria, and in the Library of the University of British Columbia.

To enumerate all the friends whose interest and encouragement helped to assemble my material and feed my enthusiasm would require another chapter. I include them all when I express my appreciation to these few. Dr. Walter N. Sage, Head of the Department of History, University of British Columbia, guided my plan and criticized my manuscript with great care and patience. The assistance of Dr. W. Kaye Lamb, Librarian, University of British Columbia, and Editor of the B.C. Historical Quarterly, was invaluable in seeking references. The knowledge and achievements of these gentlemen in the field of history is too great and too well known for me to praise them here. That they should spare the time from their busy lives to give help to a beginner was a compliment deeply appreciated, and a challenge to zealous effort.

Miss Marjorie C. Holmes, Assistant Librarian Provincial Archives, and Miss Mabel Lanning, Assistant Librarian, University of British Columbia, with their thoughtfulness and interest have, from the rich stores in their care, assembled for me books and material upon any subject no matter how obscure. Lance H. Whittaker, Editor Cominco Magazine Trail, B.C. and F.A. Jewett, Provincial Inspector of Schools for Nelson district, took a friendly interest in my undertaking and spared no effort to put me in touch with authentic source of material which I could never otherwise have reached.

To Miss Charlotte Wilks and Miss Jean Walton goes gratitude great and sincere. With unflagging and efficient alacrity, they transformed my scrawled sheets into the neatly typewritten pages that follow. Their interest and patience never waned throughout a long and arduous labour. They too, know and love the Kootenays for they were born and brought up there. And last upon the roll of tributes, I put my Mother, whose impatient tolerance of long evenings of silence, and never failing snacks at midnight goaded my tenacity and fed my body for the task of writing, which though pleasant, had to be extended over four years, because it could only be done in spare time.
Thus this story is committed to the reader with the hope that for those who know the land, it may satisfy their historical curiosity as it satisfied mine, to those who know it not, may it bring a worthy picture of the romance, the beauty and the economic and social development that make the West Kootenay so promising a part of our Canada.

Mollie E. Cottingham

April, 1947

Vancouver, B.C.
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Throughout this intensive examination of development in the West Kootenay area the writer has done her best to give a true historical picture of these mountain valleys, rich in their rugged beauty. As far as modern research permits, the story and the customs of the aboriginal Indians have been described. For a century and a half, we have accompanied fur-traders, and surveyors, priests and prospectors, engineers and industrialists, tradesmen and fruit farmers in all their many adventures and enterprises which opened up this region. The past quarter of a century has made these valleys the focal point of interest in two of Canada's racial minority problems. The Doukhobours, welcomed over-exuberantly by the government to a vast wilderness eager for settlers, the Japanese, thrust for a temporary sojourn by the exigencies of war upon the Kootenay.

When we came to examine the subsequent course of events in the Kootenays that section of history which makes the region an intimate part of British Columbia and of Canada the contrast with United States development is striking. Had the Kootenays been American they would, no doubt, have become a separate state in a confederacy of many. The States of Washington, Idaho, and Montana all touch the southern border of Canada's one Pacific province. Indeed, British Columbia is equal in area to the three coast States to the south - Washington, Oregon, and California. The one province, British Columbia, contains about eight per cent of Canada's population, whereas the corresponding area in the United States comprises eleven Pacific and mountain states, and contains about eleven per cent of the nation's population. The British Columbia government must cope with the multitude of problems which spring from a highly diversified economy, while the weight which the province can exercise in the framing of Canadian national policies is roughly proportionate to its population. This influence is in the order of 1:15, or at the most 1:12 in the House of Commons, while the Senate proportion is 1:16. Eleven American states with a congressional represent-
ation of 43 out of 435, and 65 electors out of 531 in the presidential elections, exert a weight about in proportion to their population ratio. Their representation in the Senate, however, is high, namely 22 out of 96, or higher than 1:5. This means that Canadian federal policies are less likely to be framed to consider British Columbia interest than United States federal policies to consider those of her western states.

Although at times the western slope in each country has been influenced by developments peculiar to the region, which distinguish it sharply from the rest of the continent, to a great extent coast and mountain regions of each country have been tied to the fortunes of the federation of which they are a part. After the depression of the 1870's the tide of prosperity began again to flow west, and like a magnet it drew the Americans, and later midland Canadians, into interior British Columbia. Except for restrictions upon the Chinese, immigration was unhindered. In 1893, just after the completion of the Crows Nest Pass Railway, this movement was checked by another severe depression. Then from 1896 onwards, the settlement of the prairies and the growth of a national economy based upon the export of wheat gave impetus to the development of British Columbia. The centre of this wheat boom lay upon the prairies, but the rising tide of settlement and investment spilled into British Columbia. In the twenty years following 1891 the population of the province more than quadrupled, and the Kootenays shared this increase as well as the era of prosperity which came from the prairie market for lumber and fruit. By 1910 the prairies were taking 70 per cent of British Columbia's lumber. By 1913, the production of non-ferrous metals exceeded $17,000,000. These were the decades that witnessed the opening of the Silver Slocan, and of Rossland, the construction of smelters at Trail, Pilot Bay, and Nelson. These were the decades when the British Canadian Pacific and the American Great Northern companies supplanted earlier individual efforts to provide transportation upon river, lake and land, and vied with one another to give efficient service in the Kootenays. The Canadian Pacific extensions
were a part of their vast Trans-Canada development which was subsidized by an optimistic federal government. High foreign investment of capital, rapid settlement, much of it doomed to bitter disappointment (like the mansions built in the Lordeau, the hotels and business blocks in Kaslo and the Slocan), the land boom, and the inevitable depression all formed the cycle characteristic of frontier economy. Yet the hardships and injustices suffered by this pioneering generation were softened by the high faith it held for a province in which the future of its children could be more easily provided. Of course, in the process they were destroying the cultural life of the North American Indian and preparing for his extermination, but it is the custom today to forget this as we deride modern imperialism and the exploitation of more distant foreign peoples.
ORIGIN OF THE NAME, KOOTENAY, and GEOGRAPHICAL DESCRIPTION OF THE REGION

The name Kootenay is given to that south eastern part of British Columbia which comprises three river valleys and their rugged barriers. The derivation of the word can probably be traced to the Indian "Co", meaning water, and "Tinnah", people. It is a fitting appellation for the natives of this region, and their habitat, since they were lake and river dwellers, skilled in the arts of boating and fishing.

In 1807, when David Thompson came west of the Rockies among this people, he gave their name to the Columbia River, to the lakes at its headwaters and to the pass through which the Indians travelled annually to hunt buffalo on the plains. His first post he called Kootenae House, spelling out thus the Indian sounds. Captain John Palliser's report, the first official government book to deal with this district, gives five spellings for the word — Coutanie, Kootanie, Kootonay, Kootenai, and Kootenay. Successive travellers and writers have varied the spelling to Kutunas, Kootanas, Kootenuha, Kutnehas, Kutonas, Coutanies, Cotono1, Kitunahas, until the number of ways has mounted to sixty-one. Elliott Coues, writing in 1897, when he was editing the manuscript journals of Alexander Henry and

David Thompson, says:

"This word wavers in spelling in the Henry copy, but to no greater extent than it does in the writings of the best ethnographers. Henry's Kootonois was a French plural form. Thompson's manuscripts of 1800, and later, which are full of the word usually give it as Kootanai, Kootanaie, Kootanie or Kootanas."

In their official documents, departments of the Dominion Government use to spellings, Kootenay and Kootanie. The government of British Columbia always used Kootenay while the United States government, in official maps, uses Kootenai, to speak of that part of the district which lies south of the 49th parallel. The present writer, except when quoting from sources, will use Kootenay.

The south eastern part of British Columbia is a vast assemblage of mountain ranges, the Rocky, Purcell and Selkirk divisions of the Cordillera. From their glacial summits and timbered slopes the waters rush down to the lakes and rivers that lie between these parallel ranges running north and south. Thus, on the slopes of the Rocky Mountain trench, or valley, which lies between the Rockies to the east, and the more worn down Selkirks to the west, four rivers have their source, the Columbia, the Kootenay, and its tributaries, the Bull and Elk.

From its source in the Columbia and Windermere Lakes, the Columbia River flows northward until, at Boat Encampment, just north of parallel 52, it curves around the end of the Selkirk Range. Then it rushes rapidly south west to Revelstoke and

Arrowhead, through the Selkirk trench, abating its speed in the slender Arrow Lakes, which lie between the Goat and Selkirk ranges, until it receives the Kootenay at Castlegar thirty miles north of the international boundary. From there it flows majestically through Trail, southward, until it leaves Canadian soil at Northport. The source of the Kootenay River, meanwhile, is far to the north and to the east of the Columbia in the Rocky Mountains, about twenty miles southeast of Leanchoil station.

For seventy-five miles the courses of these rivers are almost parallel, though they flow in opposite directions. At Canal Flats, the Kootenay turns sharply westward, breaks through the Purcell barrier to pass within a mile and a quarter of the Upper Columbia Lake, thus almost making an island of the Selkirk Range. During the course of its remaining seventy-five miles in Canada, it receives four tributaries, Finlay Creek and St. Mary’s River which enter from the west, and the Bull and Elk Rivers, from the east, in that order. For another one hundred and fifty miles the Kootenay continues in American territory, turning northward at Jennings, Montana. Once more on Canadian soil, it assumes a meandering habit, entering Kootenay Lake, twenty-eight miles from the boundary through a flood plain subject to much overflow. Kootenay Lake, 1,735 feet above sea level, is about seventy miles long and two or three miles wide, and of a remarkable depth, its flat floor
being from 380 to 395 feet below the surface, to within a short distance from the shore. This beautiful stretch of water is hemmed in by precipitate mountains, rising to altitudes from 7,000 to 9,000 feet, and is fed at its northern end by the Lirdeau and Duncan Rivers. The valley of the Duncan extends north and west for sixty-five miles, and the river enters Kootenay Lake over a broad alluvial plain. The Lirdeau River occupies a trough extending north west from Duncan River to beyond Trout Lake, from where a low pass leads to Beaton River and the head of Upper Arrow Lake. Trout Lake, narrow and eighteen miles long has a depth even more remarkable than the Kootenay; in places it is from 700 to 765 feet deep. Most of the tributaries of the Lirdeau River debouch from hanging valleys and their rapids and falls are potential power sites.

From the western shore of Kootenay Lake, the river Kootenay breaks forth again, and drops in a series of precipitate falls through twenty-seven miles to join the Columbia at Castlegar. In this section the main tributary, the Slocan River is received from the north west at South Slocan. The Slocan River, fifty-five miles in length, drains Slocan and Summit Lakes. The Former, twenty-five miles long, is

bounded by peaks rising from 6,000 to 9,000 feet, and is very narrow and deep, 830 feet opposite New Denver, and 927 feet near its southern end. The river is rapid. This whole area lies between 49 and 52 degrees of north latitude, and 114 and 118 degrees of west longitude. The region is known as Kootenays: the valleys of the Elk, the Upper Columbia and the Upper Kootenay, for the East Kootenay; the valleys in which lie the Kootenay, Arrow and Slocan Lakes, are the West Kootenay.\(^7\)

Not much more than a century and a quarter has passed since the first white trader, of whom we have official record, trod the trails of deer and caribou and paddled on the waters of Kootenay Lake and that stretch of the river which empties from it into the Columbia. The earliest records speak of the Flatbow Lake (Kootenay) and the primitive Flatbow Indians who dwelt in its valley. This was a literal translation of "Arcs-à-Plats"\(^8\) or "Avant-plat", names given to them by French voyageurs of fur company days, who thus described the quaintly modelled pine bark Indian canoes, with long flat bows, unlike any other native craft in the world.\(^9\)

The history of this region is a record first of British exploration, then of initial American enterprise, only gradually supplanted by Canadian construction and development, made permanent just half a century ago with the completion of east-west communication, the Crow's Nest Branch of the Canadian Pacific Railway.

7. See map of the Kootenay District, opposite page 134
8. P.J. de Smet; *Oregon Missions*, New York, Edward Dunigan, 1847, p. 112
9. Baillie-Grohman; op. cit. p. 226
Rugged mountain barriers separate these rich valleys from neighbouring Canadian districts to east and west. The three waterways which form the natural routes for travel in the Kootenays lead directly south of the boundary into United States territory. Thus, it is not surprising that the Kootenays developed first as an extension of the "Inland Empire" centered at Spokane.10 Yet, from the earliest point of development there was asserted a Canadian determination to keep everything north of the 49th parallel British. In eighty years mines have been opened, towns and cities built, rich farm and fruit lands cultivated. Fleets of lake steamers and tugs, railways, highways, smelters and power plants have sprung into existence. Today, the largest smelter in the British Empire, and one of the greatest power developments in Canada are humming at their fullest capacity, while around them, industries of every kind have been established in the Kootenays.

10. Howay, Sage, Angus: British Columbia and the United States Toronto, Ryerson, 1942 Chapter XI, by Dr. W.N. Sage
II

EARLY EXPLORATION

Since in accepting the gifts of white civilization the Indians seem to have lost even the memory of their own previous vigorous lives, the history of this region must begin with the first visits of civilized men to the Kootenay. Not far north of this district was made the first recorded traverse of the Rocky Mountains by a white man. David Thompson discovered Howse Pass and the source of the Columbia River. This led to the opening of Columbia and Kootenay valleys to trade and travel.

From the most western post of the North West Company at Rocky Mountain House, on the North Saskatchewan, Thompson, astronomer and surveyor, made his first attempt to cross the mountains in 1800-1801. His company was eager to extend its trade westward since the exploitation of the plains was diminishing the fur harvest. The Lewis and Clark expedition, 1804-1806 spurred the trader's eagerness to hesitate at no obstacle. But the mountain gaps were guarded by camps of Blackfeet, Blood and Piegan Indians determined to keep the whites from bringing guns and knives to their hereditary western enemies. These latter, the Kootenay Indians, first emerge into the view of the white men during the last years of the 18th century. Earlier in that century, the literature of the Mississippi valley contains references to Indians (Snakes) residing beyond the "Stoney" mountains, on what was called Spanish river, but those were mere references, not records of actual contact. In any event, before
1800, they were coming east of the Rockies to trade at the Forts des Prairies upon the Saskatchewan, and as early as 1800, over this mountain trail of the Kootenays, Canadian fur traders were sending freemen and trappers (Saulteux, Iroquois, and Canadian French) to spy out the road and the land. Because these men were unlettered, for five years no record of their expeditions was kept, but Indian names and tradition preserve the memory of their presence; Tête Plîte (Plat), Pend d'Oreille, Coeur d'Alene originated then. This mountain trail, passing between Mt. Balfour on the north-west and Mt. Forbes on the south, was the Howse Pass, traversed by Thompson, and so named by him "in honour of a rival trader of the Hudson's Bay Company, who followed him through it." In 1807 the Piegans went to Missouri to avenge the deaths of two of their brave who had been killed by Captain Lewis in July, 1806. Thompson, now senior officer of Rocky Mountain House, used this opportunity to make a safe start. In the fall of 1806 he sent Jaco Finlay with his wife and children over the trail, to make it ready for pack horses and to construct a canoe at one of the large rivers. Then in the early spring of 1807, Thompson followed with seven men, his wife and three children, guns and trading goods. Arriving at the junction of Blackberry (Blaeberry) Creek with the Columbia River, he

5. Coues: op. cit vol. 1 p. 508
ascended the latter to the lakes in May 1807.

May 1807 — "thus gave me an opportunity to cross by the defiles of the Saskatchewan River to the headwaters of the Columbia River, and we there builded Log Houses, and strongly stockaded it on three sides, the other side resting on the steep bank of the River."  

According to Thompson's survey notes he first selected a site on what is now Canterbury Point, at the north west corner of Lake Windermere, and completed a warehouse there. He removed the site further north to the mouth of Toby Creek to get easier access to the water. This Kootenae House, the first post erected by white men upon the Columbia headwaters, was known to North West Company officers as Old Fort Kootenae, to distinguish it from Fort Kootenae, built in 1811 by Michael Kinville or Finnan Macdonald just south of the present boundary. Thompson did not realize he had reached the Columbia for he called it

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8. "It might be stated with some assurance that Michael Kinville, an intelligent French Canadian employee of the Northwest Company, carried on the first trade here .... and Finnan Macdonald or Kinville located and began the construction of a post during the year of 1811."

This trading post was moved later to the mouth of Rainey Creek and later opposite Tobacco Plains and finally to the boundary at Gateway, Montana. The dates of these movings are obscure.

the Kootenae after the Indian tribe. The Lakes he called Kootenaes, the Selkirk Range, Nelson's Mountains, after the hero of 1805. The high mountain opposite the post he measured and named Mount Nelson, which name has remained. The Kootenay River he called McGillivray's, "in honour of the family to whom may be justly ascribed the knowledge and commerce of the Columbia River."  

9. A. O. Wheeler, The Selkirk Range; Ottawa, Government Printing Bureau, 1925, p. 122. The name of the range was changed to Selkirk in honour of Lord Selkirk, after the union of the North West and Hudson's Bay Companies in 1821.  

10. "to the west was the rude pyramid of Mount Nelson (for so I named it)"...Thompson greatly admired this peak and estimated its height to be 13,123 feet. By estimating the descent of the Columbia to be four feet, five inches per mile, he determined the height of mountains by measuring them geometrically from the plain. Tyrell, op. cit: - p. 403. Actual height as now measured: 10,772 feet. (British Columbia Tourist Bureau - Georgia Street, Vancouver, B. C.)  

11. The name McGillivray or MacGillivray is famous in the annals of the North West Company, one of the foremost of many "Macs" attesting its Scottish stock. In 1797 or earlier, Duncan McGillivray was a clerk of the company, leaving it in 1802: he did not come west of the Rockies. Archibald left Rainy River House of the company with Harmon and others on July 26, 1808. John, a clerk first mentioned in 1797, went to the Peace River in 1803-4, again in 1808-9, and retired in 1818. Joseph was at Okanagan post on the Columbia in 1814. Memoranda of Simon have been lost or mislaid. From 1786-97 William was in charge at Lac des Serpents, becoming a partner in 1790, and of such importance in 1807 that Fort William was named for him. Before 1821 he returned to Scotland where he died about 1825.  

Thompson speaks of "Mr. McGillivray and the two young McGillivrays" as being all there at Rainy River House, Aug. 2, 1808.  


Joseph McGillivray served in the American War of 1812 as a lieutenant in the Canadian chasseurs corps, commanded by William McGillivray, and composed chiefly of gentlemen and voyageurs of the North West Company.  

During the building of the fort Aug 26, 1807, the Piegan tribes came to see what was going on. However, there was no state of siege but a quiet winter, for Thompson skillfully warned them away before the Kootenae should come and attack. Before proceeding further in the spring of 1808 he sent furs east, including one hundred mountain goat skins, which later brought a good price on the London market.

Then at last he was ready to appease his hunger for further exploration. Leaving Finan McDonald at the Fort, Thompson with four of his men, on April 20th, 1808, descended the Kootenay River to Kootenay Lake, where he traded with the Indians, according to his narrative he:

"left Kootenaie House, proceeded to the Lakes, the sources of the Columbia River, carried everything about two miles across a fine plain to McGillivray's River, on which we embarked....On proceeding to the Lake (Kootenay) where we arrived on the 14th of May: after much loitering along the river looking for Indians, whom at length we found near and at the Lake: the navigation of the river was very dangerous from violent eddies and whirlpools, which threatened us with sure destruction, and which we escaped by hard paddling, keeping the middle of the River.... The Lake I have spoken of is about three to four miles in width enclosed by ridges of high mountains, upon which there was much snow."...."Along the river in places are very fine woods of Larch, Red Fir, Alder, Plane, and other woods: of the Larch, at five and half feet above the ground, I measured one thirteen feet girth and one hundred and fifty feet clean growth, and then a fine head....I could not help thinking what fine timber for the navy (exists) in these forests, without a possibility of being brought to market."14


13. When less than twelve years old, Finan (sometimes spelled Finnan) MacDonald came with his parents to Glengarry district in Ontario. He became a gifted linguist.

T.C. Elliott in Oregon Historical Quarterly, vol. 27 p. 283
Ross Cos op. cit. vol. 1 pp 321-324 gives a vivid description of this brave, cursing stalwart, six foot, four in height, who later made a name for himself in the employ of the Hudson's Bay Company in Idaho and Washington, and spent his last years on a farm in Glengarry County, Ontario.

14. Tyrell: op. cit. pp 385-387
Thompson then went on down to the lower Dalles (Kootenay Falls) returned upstream to Bonner's Ferry, where he laid up the canoes, bought horses and proceeded overland across the south

Thompson's notebooks show that in the autumn of 1808 Finan McDonald's first trading station was established among the Kutenai (Kootenay), when he built a small log hut, a leather warehouse just above Kootenay Falls, probably at the mouth of Rainey Creek, and wintered there 1808-1809. This was the first building in western Montana to be built by a white man.

Cous: op. cit. p.672, note 22
Tyrell: op. cit. p.379, note 1

From here, May 17, 1810, McDonald started east with the first fur shipment from that point, 46 packs, weighing over two tons.


This is the Fort Kootenae whose location was several times moved. Thompson first saw the old Indian river crossing at this point in the spring of 1808, and used the road to Cranbrook and Fort Steele (the present route of the C.P.R.) in September and October 1809, and in May 1810, but he does not mention a post. According to Indian tradition Thompson's post was at the mouth of Deep Creek, a few miles below Bonner's Ferry.

T.C. Elliott in Oregon Historical Quarterly vol. 27, p. 286.

David Thompson's map of 1811, reproduced in Coues' Journals of Alexander Henry, indicates it was where Bonner's Ferry is now. Thompson's 1825 map in the British Museum shows the fort on the north end of Kootenay (McGillivray) Lake, which position agrees with Ross Cox, Adventures on Columbia, vol. 1 p. 188-189, and II p. 155, who places it 200 miles north of Spokane Fort. Most early maps indicate it in the southern loop of Kootenai (Flatbow) Rivers 1830-1857. The Arrowsmith map, 1857, of which a copy is shown in the Letters of John McLoughlin, First Series, p. 376, shows the fort on the east side of the Kootenay River in Montana, five miles south of the boundary. J. Neilson Barry: Early Oregon County Forts, a Chronological List, in Oregon Historical Quarterly, vol. 46, June 1945.

The above article lists two other posts under the name of Kootenay: 1. Kootenay Fort, 1812, built by the Astor Expedition, about 200 miles nearly due south of Spokane Fort, and near the North West Company Fort. 2. Kootenay House, 1812, built at the same place by the North West Company.

It is uncertain how long this Fort Kootenay remained a trading post, but the subsequent history of the site is interesting. When in 1863 the gold rush to Wild Horse Creek began, hundreds of prospectors, following this trail were taken across the river at this point in canoes by Chief Abraham and other Indians. In (continued at foot of next page.)
loop of the Kootenay River by the same trail as that to be used by Governor Simpson of the Hudson's Bay Company in 1841, and the same to be used later by miners and pack trains from 1863-64. From Bonner's Ferry he went north along the bench lands, then northeast across "Service Berry Hill" to the valley of the Moyie River. 16

15 (Continued) 1864, E.L. Bonner and associates bought the crossing rights from the Indians and secured a license from the Idaho Territorial Legislature to operate a ferry. In 1875 Richard Fry bought Bonner's rights, and for many years operated a trading post in connection with the ferry until Malcolm Bruce, and in 1902 Kutenai County bought the ferry. Bonners Ferry has also been known as Bonners Port, and Eatonville, for William Eaton who established the first general store there in 1888. In 1892 the Great Northern Railroad reached the town. In 1930 the population was 1418, and in 1946, 1345.


16. The name Moyie is a corruption of the French mouiller given it by trappers, owing to the dampness described by Thompson. The latter called it McDonald's River; Governor Simpson called it Grand Quete after an Indian Chief. Tyrell op. cit., p. 391-392 notes by T. C. Elliott of Walla Walla, Washington, intimately connected with the early history of the Columbia valley. Though many of Thompson's geographical names have given place to others, he did not neglect to give descriptive appellations to rivers and lakes which he was the first white man to behold. St. Mary's River, he called Torrent, Sheep Creek was Lussier after one of his own men, Bull River was Bad, and Elk River he called Stag.
On the 26th—"We soon came to a deep River with a strong current overflowing in low grounds; we went up its rude banks; our guide went forward...told us we can go no further, we must take a canoe to cross the River, as the mountains are too steep."

As he followed the course of the Kootenay River northward, he found the bottom lands flooded as they continued to be until the Dominion Government reclamation project of 1928-30 protected with dykes this magnificent acreage near Creston where now wheat and fruit crops are grown in abundance. On May 18 Thompson decided to proceed no further down this stream, and crossing Joseph's Prairie (Cranbrook) to the Kootenay River below Fort Steele he returned overland to Kootenay House by an Indian trail. Today this has become part of the highway which connects Bonner's Ferry, Kingsgate, Cranbrook and Windermere.

This had been a terrible journey with rivers and streams in flood from melting snows. When at last they reached McGillivray's (Kootenay River) in safety, Thompson thanked Providence while he dried out his valuable furs. The Indian Chief, Ugly Head, (so named for his curling hair) who had accompanied them from the Lake, turned back at McGillivray's Portage. They had trouble in crossing the Wild Horse Creek, which Thompson named Skirmish Brook.

In their absence the explorer's family and Finnan McDonald

17. Ibid. p. 391
had been reduced to eating their dogs. Soon all started east through the mountain pass, reaching Rainy River House July 22nd.

The same month he prepared for the return, and it was upon this trip that Thompson skilfully asserted his determination. He had made it a law not to take liquor across the mountains to the Indians. Upon this trip, however, his two partners, Donald McTavish and J. McDonald obliged him to take two kegs of alcohol, arguing that for trade this was the most profitable article. When they approached the mountains, Thompson put the kegs on a vicious horse, and by noon the horse had so effectively rubbed the load against the rocks, in trying to get rid of it, that the kegs were empty. Then Thompson wrote to tell the partners what he had done and would do with any other keg. For the following six years that he had charge of trade west of the mountains, there was no further attempt to introduce liquor.

On October 21, he laid up the canoes for the winter, resting the gunwales upon logs, about one foot from the ground, loosening the timbers to keep them from cracking and roofing them with pine trees. Then for ten days he and his men rode through the mountain defiles to the Columbia. There on October 31, they found and repaired their canoe. This side of the mountains the weather was much milder: the grass was green the leaves not yet all fallen from the trees and the horses

20. Tyrell: op. cit. pp 396-397
soon became fatter and free from lameness. Rain delayed
their departure until the afternoon of November 2, when
they embarked upon the Columbia and arrived November 10
at Kootenay House. 21

Here he spent a quiet winter, 1808-09, shooting
abundant deer, swans, geese and some ducks for food. On
17th and 18th of January he described the dangerous business
of trying to catch the wild horses, which would entice the
tame pack horses away. These lakes did not freeze during
the winter. From April to August, 1809 Thompson made
another trip to Rainy River House and back. 22

Upon his return, he lost little time before press­
ing on to further exploration. On August 20, he paddled
down the Kootenay River to a point near Bonner's Ferry, 23
then followed the Indian trail to Lake Pend d'Oreille,
a little east of Sandpoint, 24 where the Salish eagerly
traded their furs for the first guns they were to possess.
Soon they became such good shots that they could hold their
own with their enemy Pieans, who had always previously
been better armed. Thompson built two storehouses, Kullyspell
House on Pend d'Oreille Lake, which he called Saleesh House
(760 miles further on, on Clark's Fork River, which he called
Lake, September 1809, 25 and Saleesh House sixty miles further on,
Saleesh or Flat Head River, November 1809. 26 Here he spent
the winter of 1809-1810) making trading and surveying expedi­
tions. His regular astronomical observations won him the
22. Ibid., op. cit., p. 401-408
23. Ibid., p. 408
24. Ibid., p. 409
25. Coues, op. cit. p. 672 note 22
26. Ibid., p. 672, note 22.
Indian nickname, Koo-Koo-sint, the Star Man. Now he had guessed that his "Kootenae" was really the Columbia, and that McGillivray's and the Pend d'Oreille 27 of (Clark's Fork) were probably tributaries to it.

When he could not pass the Pend d'Oreille rapids to reach the Columbia he returned to Kootenae House up the Kootenay River and hurried over the Rocky Mountains with his furs, intending to rush back for further exploration. By this time the Piegan had grown sullen in their determination to prevent more guns reaching their Kootenay and western enemies; they would not permit Thompson to go through Howse Pass. Although winter was upon him, the intrepid explorer turned north, searched and found a pass that had been visited earlier by Thomas the Iroquois, and by other Nipissings, and Iroquois, but not by white men. 28 Enduring unbelievable hardship, the first white traveller crossed

27. The origin of this curious name is interesting. T.C. Elliott, Introduction to David Thompson's Narrative: The Discovery of the Source of the Columbia, in the Oregon Historical Quarterly, vol. 26, 1925, p. 27, has this to say: "Mention is made of the name of the Ear Pendant Indians, referring to the Pend Oreilles; and this is the earliest use of that name which occurs to the writer. It must have come from free trappers - Indians or mixed blood, who used the French language and had already penetrated into the region of the Spokane and other tribes."

Frederick Webb Hodge, ed., Handbook of American Indians, Washington Government Printing Office, 1912, Part 1. pp. 646-7 States the name was applied to a Salish tribe living along the lake and river so named. The name was used also by Father de Smet in his letter 62, and by Irving in Rocky Mountains. Vol. 1. p. 127-137. pp. 16-17 the custom is described. Ear ornaments were among these people a mark of family thrift, wealth, and distinction. Ceremonies usually religious attended the boring of the ear, and each perforation cost the child's parent or the kindred of an adult, gifts of a standard value. Sometimes perforations were made around the entire rim. Pendants were of shell, metal, bone, or long woven bands of dentalium, hanging nearly to the waist.

Athabasca Pass into the Columbia valley. He discovered and named Canoe River at its most northern point, and followed to its junction with the Columbia, where he rested at Canoe Camp, now Boat Encampment. Here he built the canoes for his long journey to the Pacific.

From here, in April, 1811, with three men, he set off up the Columbia, down the Kootenay, and overland to the Columbia again, and so down that river to Astoria, whence he returned by way of the Columbia. On this voyage he named the Kettle River and Falls, which he called Ilth koyape, and he discovered the site of Fort Colville, which in April, 1826, was built under

29. Howay, Sage and Angus: British Columbia and the United States

30. T.C. Elliott says in Tyrell: op. cit. p. 466 note 2, the word is Salish from Ilth-Kope meaning "Kettle" (basket tightly woven) and Hoy-ape meaning "net." With such Kettle nets Salish Indians caught fabulous quantities of fish at Kettle Falls which were named by David Thompson on this voyage. The Kettle Falls he called Ilthkoyape Rivulet. An Indian name for them, quoted by Tilton, Swan and others, was Ne-hei-at-pitqua. Gabriel Franchere (from Astoria) and other early travellers called the falls La Chaudiere because the water boiled up not unlike the water in a huge kettle. All names were early translated into Kettle Falls. John Work of the Hudson's Bay Company used that name Aug. 31, 1825.

31. This is the modern spelling of Colvile, consistently used by the Hudson's Bay Company since the fort was named after Andrew Wedderburn Colvile, of that Company, and brother-in-law of Lord Selkirk.

At this point it is well to give a brief account of Fort Colville. From J. Orin Oliphant, Old Fort Colville, in Pacific Northwest Quarterly, vol. 16, pp. 29-48, and 83-101, the following is prepared.

After the sale, in 1813, of J. J. Astor's American fur trading interests to the Northwest Company, and the subsequent union, in 1821, of that company with the Hudson's Bay Company, it was felt that an expanding trade warranted a change in posts. In the same year, 1825, that Fort Vancouver was built north of the
Columbia River, the Company decided to erect Fort Colville, six hundred miles up on the Columbia, near Kettle Falls, and abandon Spokane House, built in the summer of 1810 by the Northwest Company, and nearby Fort Spokane, erected by J.J. Astor partners. Alexander Ross, originally an Astor employee, who remained in the territory to take service with the Northwest and later the Hudson's Bay Company, describes the choice of the site after an interview April 12, 1825 with Sir George Simpson, at the mouth of the Spokane River.

"At this place, the site of a new establishment, to be named Colville" was marked out close to the Falls. The situation has been extolled by many as a delightful spot: there is a small luxuriant vale of some acres in extent where the fort is to be built, under the brow of a woody height: this is so far pleasant enough, but in every other respect the prospect on all sides is limited. p.30.

The settlement on Marcus Flat, as it is now known, was named in honour of Andrew Colvile, at one time governor in London of the Hudson's Bay Company. The spelling is in dispute, but "ll" seems to be more common. John Work was entrusted with the building and moving from Spokane House. The work was slow but by March 21, 1826 the latter post had been abandoned, and the Indians were sorry to see them go. Cultivation at the new site was begun at once and, April 1, 1826, McLeod, Ermatinger and Douglas arrived with the three pigs and three cows, whence stemmed an immense cattle industry extending from California to Alaska. During the same month David Douglas visited the settlement and for the next forty-three years frequent visitors wrote glowing accounts of the increasing prosperity of the post. To this principal depot for mountain trade, came supplies six hundred miles upstream from Fort Vancouver, and furs from the Pend d'Oreilles, Flatheads, Kootenais, and Okanagans, who made it their gathering place. The number of accounts increased during the settlement of the boundary dispute 1840-46; and an overland route from Victoria, via Hope, was built to it during the Indian wars 1855-56: and its importance increased enormously during the Wild Horse and Big Bend gold rushes of 1860.

Meantime western expansion was enabling the United States to press her claims to territory which the boundary settlement had declared to be hers, and the British Company had to withdraw. Negotiations were undertaken for sale of the fort and the nearby White Mud Farm. Although the farm ceased to be cultivated in 1860, Angus Macdonald put a value of $15,500 upon the whole establishment, because of its strategic position for supplying the mines. On Sept. 10, 1869, a blanket sum of $650,000 was paid the company for all its claims in United States territory, but what part of this was for Colville is not set forth in the award. June 8, 1871, all goods and property were moved to Kamloops, B.C. By 1925, the buildings were in ruins but the site was still beautiful.

(continued at bottom of next page.)
orders from Governor Simpson, and which replaced Spokane House as the principal distributing centre of the North West and Hud-
sen's Bay Companies. After another winter in the valley, he
left by way of the Athabasca Pass in the spring of 1812, never
to return. In 1813-1814 he recorded upon his map, the explori-
tions which he had completed at the age of forty-one. Although
the rest of his life was spent far from this promising land of
his discovery, his zeal and "faculty of picture-making" did much
to awaken enthusiasm in those who were to follow him. He is
described thus as he gave an address before the Royal Geological
Society of London.

31. (continued)
The present town of Colville, which carries on the name,
dates from the Indian troubles of 1858, as described by J.O. Oliphant in the above articles, and by W. P. Winans, Fort Colville in Pacific Northwest Quarterly, vol. 3, pp. 78-82.

In response to a petition, May 1858, from citizens of Colville valley, who sought protection from Indian killings and steal-
ing, Colonel Steptoe went from Walla Walla and advised that a
post be established between the Spokane and Okanagans. In the
spring of the following year, two companies under Major Pinkney Lougenbell settled on the flat near Mill Creek, about three miles from Colville River and began to build a post and saw-
mill. Up to the spring of 1861, four companies occupied the
post and there were gay times when these California volunteers entertained with dance balls.

In 1868, the Legislative Assembly of Washington changed the
name of this Pinkney City to Fort Colville, and it became the
county seat. A group of real estate men, led by August Belmont,
first laid out the present Colville, three miles from Pinkney City, and it was called Belmont on the first map. However,
the name was changed before the record was filed in 1883.

32. Tyrell: op. cit. p. 464

33. Copy opposite page 8
"No living person possesses a tithe of his information respecting the Hudson's Bay Countries, which from 1783-1813, he was constantly traversing. Never mind his Bunyon-like face and cropped hair: he has a powerful mind and a singular faculty of picture-making. He can create a wilderness and people it with howling savages, or climb the Rocky Mountains with you in a snow storm, so clearly and palpably, that only shut your eyes and you hear the crack of the rifle, or feel the snowflakes on your cheek, as he talks."

The passes which he traversed, the Athabaska, and the Howse, became the principal highways by which the fur trade in Southern British Columbia was carried on for nearly half a century. The overland trail which he followed from Bonner's Ferry to the river became the artery of travel between east and west Kootenay. He merely discovered the existence of Kootenay Lake, and did not traverse it, nor the stretch of river from its outlet to confluence with the Columbia, although upon his journey down the main Columbia he passed the mouth of the Kootenay. In that age of fur trade he had no knowledge of the rich mineral wealth locked within the Selkirk range, nor of the Kootenay River falls, which were, a century later, to make this district a power centre of Canada, yet his name is most intimately linked with the story of the Kootenay, and it is regrettable that his own modesty, and the failure of his partners to realize his

34. T.C. Elliott, in Oregon Historical Quarterly, vol 26 p.200

(cont'd) - J.B. Tyrell, op.cit., introduction, p. lvi acknowledges the source of this description, i.e. John J. Bigsby, M. D.,
Bigsby, a naturalist of the International Boundary Commission, met Thompson first in 1817.
greatness, have combined to keep his name from geographical apppellations in this district of his discovery.

36. Though the partners' casual fulfillment of his requests for astronomical and surveying instruments, and their careless handling of these, was a great hardship and inconvenience to Thompson, this did not discourage him but merely taxed his ingenuity to make the careful observations which gave us his remarkably accurate maps.


His discoveries, the names he gave them, and the posts he built, may be summed up as follows:
1. The Columbia, above Canoe River he called Kootenae River.
2. Upper and Lower Columbia Lakes, he called Kootenae Lakes.
3. Kootenae House, 1807 he built on the left hand of the river just below the lower lake, and due east of Mount Nelson. There he spent two winters, 1807-3, and 1808-9.
4. Kootenay River, he called McGillivray's or Flatbow River.
5. The two mile crossing from the lakes to the Kootenay River, he called McGillivray's Portage.
6. Kootenay Lake, he called Kootenae or Flat Bow.
7. Clark's Fork of Pend d'Oreille River, he called Saleesh or Flat Head River.
8. Finan McDonald's House, 1808, was built on the Kootenay River near where Bonner's Ferry is now. From near here the "Lake Indian Road" ran to Kullyspell Lake. This post became known as Fort Kootenay.
9. Pend d'Oreille Lake, he called Saleesh of Flat Head, or Kullyspell Lake.
10. Kullyspell House, 1809, was built on a peninsula on the east side of Kullyspell Lake.
11. Saleesh House, 1809, was built high up on Saleesh River, whence "Kootenae Road" ran nearly north to Kootenay River. There he wintered 1809-10.
12. He was never on the present Flat Head Lake.
13. Spokane River, he called Skeetshoo River.
14. Spokane House, 1810, was built on Skeetshoo River.

Jacob Finley who built Spokane House had been across the Rockies before 1807 as a trapper on his own account. T.C. Elliott, in Oregon Historical Quarterly, vol. 26, p. 27.

Ross Cox, op. cit., vol. 1 p. 180, writing of his acquaintance with the Spokane in 1812-13. "Their chief Illimspokane, or the Son of the Sun, was a harmless old man."
Alexander Henry, the officer in charge of Rocky Mountain House also crossed the Athabasca Pass, and descended the Columbia to Fort Astoria in November 1813. His journal gives full descriptions of the country and the natives with whom Thompson traded.

In 1810, the Hudson's Bay Company sent Joseph Howse through the pass, discovered by Thompson, to see what he was doing in the west. He used Thompson's route to lead his party into Montana where he spent the winter trading. This attempt at competition in the Columbia was abandoned in 1811, but the pass became known as Howse Pass.

The Columbia River became the highway of travel, the route of the North West Company's express, for the Kootenay with its falls was unsuitable. While the British Company was pushing overland to the Pacific, John Jacob Astor had fitted out an expedition which came by sea on the steamship Tonquin to the mouth of the Columbia, there to establish Astoria, an American trading post of the Pacific Fur Company. After his descent of the Columbia in July 15, 1811, David Thompson with eight Iroquois and an interpreter was cordially received there by Duncan Mc Dougall, the officer in charge. Thompson was able to identify

38. Coues: op. cit; vol 2 chapters 20, 21, 22.
40. Hiram Mart in Chittenden, The American Fur Trade of the Far West, New York, Press of the Pioneers, Inc. 1935, vol.1, pp 201-2. This writer thinks Thompson came across the Rockies and down the Columbia purposely to beat the American traders in a race to the Pacific, which he lost by three months ("The North West traders) did not scruple to apply the code of the fur trade in all its severity against their rivals.

(continued at bottom of next page.)
two Kootenay Indians who had recently arrived at the fort and awakened hopes of profitable interior trade.

"Among the many visitors...were two strange Indians, in the character of man and wife, from the vicinity of the Rocky Mountains... The husband, named Ko-come-ne-pe-ca was a very shrewd and intelligent Indian who addressed us in the Algonquin language, and gave us much information respecting the interior of the country... "Mr. Thompson at once recognized the two strange Indians and gave us to understand they were both females." 41

When the Pacific Company learned of the war of 1812, the Americans realized they couldn't maintain themselves without the ships, which were now blocked by the British. Hence they negotiated with McTavish of the Northwest Company, which bought their furs and offered openings to those Pacific Company members who wished to join them. Alexander Ross, McLennan, Ross Cox, and later Duncan McDougall did so.

After the purchase of Astoria by the North West Company, it was renamed Fort George, and taken over by them November 12, 1812. Then those American partners who did not wish to join the British Company, left the country overland. Although McTavish made Gabriel Franchère, a handsome offer because he knew Chinook well, he refused and travelled via the Columbia and Athabasca Pass to the East and the United States. Franchère's account

41. (continued) Chittenden is keeping alive the "race to the sea" theory which dates back to Gabriel Franchère, a Pacific Fur Company trader who would not remain to join the Northwest Company in 1812.

T.C. Elliott exploded this theory in his notes to Thompson's Narrative, yet Chittenden holds to it, because his sympathies are with the Astor company.

estimates that the expedition travelled thirty miles a day, since it took them a month to go from Columbia Falls to the mouth of the Canoe. 42

May 5, 1814 they arrived at the confluence of the "Coutonois River". The following day, a sunken log punctured their canoe in Upper Arrow Lake, and Franchère gave a brief description of the Indians on the Columbia above the lakes.

"Toward evening we met natives, camped on the banks of the river... The women at this camp were busy spinning the coarse wool of the mountain sheep; they had blankets or mantles woven or platted of the same material, with a heavy fringe all round." 43

These blankets they exchanged with river Indians for fish. 44 Franchère pays a tribute to the work of Father de Smet, and the Roman Catholic missions among these people

"...numbers have been taught to cultivate the soil and thus to provide against famines to which they were formerly exposed from their dependence on the precarious resources of the chase; while others have received, in the faith of Christ the true principle of national permanence and a living germ of civilization which may be afterward developed." 45 Subsequent history has made the latter part of this statement ironical from the Indian's standpoint.

July 5, 1813, La Roque and Ross Cox were sent over the mountains with despatches to the North West Company Head office.

42. Gabriel Franchère: Narrative of a Voyage to the Northwest Coast of America in the years 1811, 12, 13, 14, translated and edited, J.V. Huntingdon, New York, Redfield, 1854, p. 288.
44. Ibid: p. 302.
MAP SHOWING TRAVELS AND MISSIONS OF FATHER DE SMET IN OREGON TERRITORY.

after Father P. J. de Smet.
at Fort William. Upon arrival, September 2, at the source of the Columbia, in the Rockies, they met John Stuart, Alexander Stewart, and Joseph McGillivray, on their way to Fort George with some twenty men. Upon a later occasion Cox, with Bethuen, McDougal, Joseph McGillivray and Alexander McTavish were members of a party which found such difficulty ascending the Arrow Lakes and the Columbia, that at Canoe River seven men turned back. Five were drowned when their boat was lost in the Dalles, and La Pierre, one of the two survivors killed his companion in self defence. After great hardship he got back to the Arrow Lakes, from where Indians took him to Kettle Falls.

Governor George Simpson, and his party traversed the country in 1824 and 1825, after the union of the Northwest and Hudson's Bay Companies, these were merely travellers quickly passing through. Between the years 1825 and 1834 the celebrated botanist, David Douglas explored much of the country from the coast to the mountains when he ascended the Columbia in 1827; his journal mentions that he passed the mouth of the "Cootanie" River. He did not explore the source of the Kootenay, although a persistent legend credits him with discovering the source of the Bluebell outcropping on the Kootenay Lake. In the previous year he had crossed the mountains by the Athabasca Pass from the Columbia.

Although Douglas found the Indians unfriendly and eager to fight, contact with whites must have dulled their savagery. When in 1838, Fathers Blanchet and Derners passed through, the

47. Ibid., vol. 2, pp 143-154.
48. A.G. Harvey, "David Douglas in B.C.," in B.C. Historical Quarterly, vol IV, October 1940, p. 36, dispose of the legend thus. "Douglas' journals do not record or leave any room for him to be on the Kootenay Lake, but at Kettle Falls (Fort Colville) where he was three times in 1826, seven weeks in all and once walked twenty miles up the Columbia and back (continued at bottom of next page)
Kootenays listened to them with respectful silence, and allowed them to baptize some of the children. 49

Starting from Edmonton, July 28, 1841, Sir George Simpson again crossed the Rockies and ascended the Upper Columbia.

"The source of the Columbia showed 40° while that of the Saskatchewan raised the mercury to 53°, the thermometer meanwhile standing as high as 71° in the shade. 50 He estimated the altitude to be 7000 to 8000 feet above sea level. "We took some interest in tracing nature's manuscript of a river, as every rill that trickled down the rocks, contributed its might to the main current of various names, the Kootonais, or the McGillivray, or the Flat-bow." 51

He traversed the Portage and followed the Kootenay and Moyie Rivers south until he struck overland to Kulespelm, by the same trail that Thompson had used.

"We breakfasted near a lofty mountain.... Its base was marked not only by the Kootonais, but also by the Columbia, properly so called, the former sweeping far to the south, and the latter still farther to the north, in order to unite their waters a little above Fort Colville." 52

The next visitor to the Kootenays came to help the Indians. The Reverend Father P.J. de Smet, Jesuit organizer of the Oregon mission matched the zeal of an apostle with the poetic style in which he recorded his efforts. In the winter of 1841-42 he had met some Kootenays at Flathead Lake and won their confidence. On Aug. 7, 1845 he wrote thus from Kalispel Bay.

48. (continued) he may have heard of the galena deposit from the Indians.
"Kiltson, his travelling companion, himself had been up the Kootenay River during the previous summer. Possibly he was Douglas' informant." 49


51. Ibid., p. 121.
52. Simpson: op. cit. p. 123.
"I purpose visiting these two tribes (Flatbows and Kootenays), who have never yet had the consolation of beholding a (black gown) among them."  

He found his way made easier by the efforts of a white trader, who had dwelt among them. Berland had been Simpson's guide in 1841 and came up every summer from Fort Colville.

"Thanks to the instructions and councils of a brave Canadian, Mr. Berland, who for a long time has resided among them in the quality of a trader, I found the little tribe of Arcs-a-Plats docile, and in the best disposition to receive the faith.... They had already been instructed in the principal mysteries of religion, they sang canticles in French and Indian tongues."  

On the Feast of Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary, Aug. 17, 1845, the first religions festival was celebrated on Kootenay Lake. Ten adults and ninety children were baptized, the cross elevated and the Station of Assumption was founded.  

The reverend Father commented upon the promise of the land.

"...quarries and forests appear inexhaustible -- large pieces of coal along the river -- quantities of lead on the surface may be some mixture of silver.... entire tract of the Skalzi seems (to be) awaiting the benign influence of a civilized people."

He emphasized the need of these improvident people to be taught the arts of farming in a region of great agricultural and climatic promise, for the civilizing influence that might come with mineral greedy whites might not be entirely benign. 

At the request of the natives at Assumption Station he sent them

54. Ibid: p. 120.
55. Ibid: p. 120.
seeds and implements, but by 1883 they had become so discouraged by the constant floods that they had given up farming, had ceased to plant anything and had gambled away their horses and cattle. 57

On La Prairie du Tabac 58 (Tobacco Plains) the usual abode of the Kootenays, he erected another station, called after the Holy Heart of Mary. 59 At the source of the Columbia he found Baptiste Morigeau, one of Thompson's men living alone with his family. Father de Smet gives him high praise since he had traded there twenty-six years, and records that he brought his wife and family for baptism. 60 On his way to the plains, at the summit of Sinclair's Pass he erected another cross, the Cross of Peace, to be a sign of salvation to all the tribes east and west. 61

In the spring of 1846, upon his return through Athabasca Pass the Father met Francis Ermatinger conducting the Hudson's Bay Company annual train for York Factory. With him were his

58. La Prairie du Tobac.
For many years the Kootenay Indians had grown tobacco upon the prairie, and Father de Smet uses the name as though it had always thus been called. Further details will be given in chapters three and four, upon the Kootenay Indians.
59. De Smet: op. cit. p. 127
60. Ibid: p. 135.
Lieutenants Warre and Varvasour, who were originally sent west on a military mission. One a painter, has left distinctive sketches of the Indians and the West. From Boat Encampment he descended the Columbia passing the Dalles des Morts and through the Arrow Lakes down to Colville. He did not revisit.


"Between 1834 and 1846, the United Kingdom, had ... great embarrassment in regard to Canada, during 1837-38 in a state of open rebellion," says Dr. W. Fraser Tolmie in a letter to the Oregon Pioneer Association. "Therefore," he continues, "British Councils hesitated to take further territory in North America, and secret preparations were being planned by Britain for a possible war."

On March 19, 1845, Sir George Simpson wrote to Pelly, governor of the Hudson's Bay Company, urging the need for a military force to protect the company's interests on the Columbia. On May 30 of the same year he wrote, instructing Peter Skene Ogden to conduct Warre and Vavasour, two British officers from Red River, across the Rockies, and down the Columbia touching all Hudson's Bay posts. They were to keep their mission secret, pretending to be private travellers, interested in sport and science. In another letter of the same date Simpson sent instructions to Warre and Vavasour.

The report, dated March 1, 1846, made by M. Vavasour, Lieut. R.E., upon this journey contains these sentences,

"Leaving Fort Edmonton on the fifteenth of July we crossed the Rocky Mountains, about 51° North Latitude, and arrived at Fort Colville on the Columbia on the sixteenth of August, with the loss of thirty-four horses. From the nature of this journey, the steep and rocky mountain passes, the deep swamps, and almost impenetrable forests, it could not be made available for the passage of troops to the Oregon territory."

"Dalle is an old French word, meaning a trough, and the name is given by the Canadian voyageurs to all contracted running waters hemmed in by walls or rocks."

De Smet, op. cit. p. 214.
the Kootenays. In a letter of May 29, 1846 to his superior, he thus describes this journey:

"...we launched the barge and rapidly descended the river...

"After some hours we came to Martin's Rapid where a Canadian ... and his son found a watery grave. Guided by an expert Iroquois pilot and aided with ten oars the boat darted over the great rapids, dancing and leaping from wave to wave...

"At sunset we were at the Dalle of the Dead. Here, in 1838, twelve unfortunate travellers were swallowed at the entrance of the Upper Lake. It is about thirty miles long, by four or five wide.

"Its borders are embellished by overhanging precipices and majestic peaks. The two highest peaks are called St. Peter and St. Paul.

"The second lake is about six miles distant from the first. We passed under a perpendicular rock where we beheld an unnumerable number of arrows sticking out of the fissures. The Indians, when they ascend the lake, have a custom of lodging each an arrow into these crevices. The origin and cause of this custom is unknown to me."

This is the reason why the first voyageurs called these Arrow Lakes.

Father de Smet had established two other mission stations, one on Arrow Lake at St. Peter's, where after ten months absence from them, the Indians were very glad to see Father de Smet, the other at St. Francis Regis, near Colville just north of the 49th parallel. The following


65. "Twenty Indian families, belonging to the Station of St. Peter were found encamped on the borders of the lake."

Gregory, their chief, on this occasion was glad to have all the rest of his children baptized (some had been done during the year at Kettle Falls). This tribe was a part of the Kettle Falls nation and very poor.

66. See copy of Father de Smet's map, opposite page,
excerpt would indicate that he planned also a station at the Kootenay mouth, perhaps on the site of the present Castlegar.

"The mouth of the river McGilvray or Flatbow is near the outlet of the Lower Lake (Arrow), It presents a beautiful situation for the establishment of a future Reduction or Mission, and I have already marked out a site for the construction of a church."

Before the coming of Father de Smet no Catholic priest had been among the Kootenay, or the traders in their midst, and the Father estimated their number to be 1500.

In spite of its perils the Columbia continued to be a highway, though no settlers came to stay in the valley. Thompson's map and Douglas' and de Smets' wandering explorations were not enlarged or improved upon until 1858. In 1857, Her Majesty's government appointed an Imperial Commission to study the settlement advantages offered by Canada. Captain John Palliser was put in charge of an expedition to discover a suitable southerly route for transcontinental transportation entirely within British territory. After coming through Kananaskis (now Kicking Horse) Pass, he followed the upper Kootenaie, but could not get Indians to guide his party to Colville, since, unknown to him, the Kootenaies were at war with the Colville Indians.

67. de Smet: op. cit. p. 217
68. Ibid., p. 50.
"The Kootenaies did not wish to tell us this, as they were apprehensive we should carry the information to their missionaries, who appear to exercise considerable influence among the tribe, and do a great deal of good."  

The expedition crossed to the prairies again by way of Kootenaie Pass which was used by the tribes when they went to the plains to hunt buffalo.  

On August 1, 1859, with instructions from Captain Palliser, Dr. Hector, the geologist of the party, started out from Cypress Hills. Coming through Howse Pass, he followed the Blaeberry River to its junction with the Columbia which he ascended to the Upper Columbia Lake, and crossed over to the Kootenay River.  

"We found two families of Kootenaie Indians here drying salmon, which they had caught in the Columbia Lakes, there being none in the Kootenaie River, as they cannot pass the great falls that occur close to where it joins the Columbia."  

He then descended the Kootenaie, describing the gigantic trees,—pine, larch, cypress,—the Indians, the fine  

70. Captain Palliser: op. cit. p. 96.  

71. See copy of Palliser's map, opposite page 33. A geological map of the Bow and Belly Rivers embracing the southern portion of the district of Alberta and part of Assiniboia by G.M. Dawson, assisted by R.G. McConnell, 1884, shows the Crows Nest Pass, the North Kootenaie Pass, and the South Kootenaie Pass almost on the international boundary, with pack trails over all three. From a comparison of Palliser's map with this one, it would appear that he used the most southerly pass.  

72. South of what is now Medicine Hat.  

73. Bonnington Falls.  


75. Ibid: p. 155 "These Kootenaies are very fine Indians, being remarkably free from all the usual bad qualities of the race. (continued at bottom of next page.)
FROM A GENERAL MAP OF THE ROUTES IN BRITISH NORTH AMERICA EXPLORLED BY THE EXPEDITION UNDER CAPTAIN PALLISER 1857, 1858, 1859, 1860

M.E.C.
pasture for their horses, and the winter almost free of snow on Tobacco Plains. At 1:30 on the afternoon of October 7, he crossed the boundary, and reached Kootenaie Post, where he found Mr. Linklater, the Company's clerk, alone in charge in a canvas tent. The rest of the post consisted merely of a little log cabin. Ten days previously he had arrived from Colville having taken nineteen days for the journey. The Indians brought in their furs at the beginning of March, these were then packed to Colville before the shows melted, a dangerous journey. Once the snows melted, rivers and lakes rose to be almost impassable until the end of July. He reported that gold had been worked from the bed of the river at the post, but merely from curiosity and not in large quantities. From Kootenaie post he followed down the river

75. (continued) "The women are rather comely, and the men, though small, are well built. However, they were in good condition, having plenty of food at present, for Captain Palliser described them last summer as being the most miserable tribe he had seen. They are all very religious having been converted by the Roman Catholic priests. Frequently, and at stated times, a bell is rung in the camp, and all who are within hearing distance at once go down on their knees and pray."

76. See note 31 in this chapter on founding of Fort Colville.

77. Ibid: p. 155 "The furs got at this post are of good quality, and generally amount to two hundred bears (principally black and brown) six hundred martens, three hundred beavers etc."

78. Ibid: p. 156. At this point Dr. Hector gives an interesting description of a Kootenay Indian canoe.

"Their canoes were of a most singular shape, somewhat resembling the recently proposed 'sugar boat'. They are made of a large sheet of spruce - fir, which is sewn up at both ends, but sloping outwards at each end, so as to form a conical point. The length of the bottom is, therefore, within the gunwale, only seven feet. They are sewn and gummed together, and have light gunwales and ribs of split willow. They carry a fair load for their size, and are most (continued at bottom of next page)
to the Paddler Lakes,\textsuperscript{79} thence across to Kallespeline (Pend 'Oreille Lake) and from there to Colville which he reached October 23rd. He did not discover Flatbow (Kootenay Lake.)

Three days after Dr. Hector's departure, August 4, 1859, Captain Palliser started westward from Cypress Hills. With his party he traversed Kootenaie Pass, meeting Indians on their way to the plains to hunt\textsuperscript{80} buffalo, and exchanging horses with them; he gave ammunition, clothing and tobacco to make up the difference in value. He too, followed the Kootenaie River over the difficult Hudson's Bay trail, past the magnificent falls\textsuperscript{80} on to Paddler Lakes. On the way he lost several horses. At this point he determined to follow his original intention of continuing on the Kootenaie and travelling to Colville via Flatbow Lake and the lower Kootenaie River. He traded a canoe on credit, promising to send back with two Indians accompanying him, sufficient calico to dress his wife and two children, and some ammunition for himself. Then Palliser sent Sullivan westward and continued alone with the Indians. At sunset, August 30, they arrived at Flatbow (Kootenay Lake)

"A wide rushy lake -- with quantities of wild fowl and very beautiful orange water lilies."

After traversing this water, they found an ingenious

78. (continued) easily paddled by only one person, who, sitting at the extreme end, sinks one conical point that acts as a tail, while the other is canted out of the water. The point being strongly bound with wattles, will stand a severe blow, and therefore acts like a beak to ward off the rocks in running rapids. From their shape, they are, of course more easily upset than any other kind of canoe, but in skillful hands are well adapted to the work."

79. One of the Paddler Lakes is now called Priest Lake.

80. Now Columbia Falls in the state of Montana.
fish weir, where were encamped a large number of Flat Bow Indians. 31 There they reached the western extremity of the lake, overhung with fog. Palliser's men gorged themselves upon fish at the Indian encampment there, and spent the next three days descending the twenty-seven miles of the Kootenay River, which in that distance drops three hundred feet to its confluence with the Columbia. In order to pass this series of falls (now Bonnington Falls) Palliser was obliged to make four severe portages.

On September 5 he arrived at Fort Shepherd, 32 the Hudson's Bay post, well built, but unprotected by pickets, betokening a friendly Indian neighborhood. Here near the mouth of the Pend 'Oreille River miners had been working for gold on both streams.

Still Captain Palliser had not accomplished his purpose, for no suitable route westward from the Rockies, and entirely within British territory had been discovered. On September 8, three days later he sent Sullivan eastward from Fort Shepherd to make his way to the western end of Kananaskis Pass. Sullivan's account of this branch expedition reported that miners were busy working on the Pend 'Oreille River. 33 Upon arrival at the Salmon River, Sullivan stated that he "prospected" himself in the stream, washing out $2.50 in one pan of dirt. In a crevice of the rock one of his Indians picked up a piece of gold which valued 15 s. 6 d. From that point the

32. On succeeding page.
33. On page 39.
Fort Shepherd was established in 1856 as a trading post of the Hudson's Bay Company. It was built on the north bank of the Columbia River nearly opposite the mouth of the Pend d'Oreille River and until 1859 seems to have been known as Fort Pend d'Oreille. Its name was apparently changed in compliment to John Shepherd, who was Governor of the Hudson's Bay Company from 1856 to 1858, and who died on the 12th of January, 1859.

Sir George Simpson's idea in building this new fort in British territory but near to Fort Colville, was to divert the trade from the Colville district and to establish a post that "should be readily accessible for the transport of supplies from Fort Langley and also that the whole route from that place should be within British territory." The discovery of gold in the vicinity was another factor that made the establishing of a post there an advantageous one.

To James Sinclair was to be entrusted the task of building the new post on account of his "experience, judgment and business habits", but owing to his untimely death in the spring of 1856, the task was left to Angus McDonald instead.

The buildings were to consist of one dwelling and three store houses, one of which latter was to be ready by August 1st of the same year. It took practically another year before we hear that "the new buildings at the Pend Oreille are nearly finished." It was March 1859, however, before the report was given that the "establishment had been completed, with the exception of the pickets."

The new post was visited by Captain John Palliser, the explorer in 1859, who on taking an observation found the situation of the Fort to be 49° 1'N. latitude, and that it was only about three-quarters of a mile within the international boundary.

By 1860 the situation of the Fort was discovered to be a disadvantageous one "from the want of arable and pasture land in the vicinity." And so with the approval of the Governor and Committee in London, the decision partially to abandon Fort Shepherd, and to replace it by a new post at Similkameen was made, and the establishment was left in charge of an Indian as caretaker.

In August 1862, when Chief Factor Roderick Finlayson visited Fort Shepherd and discovered that a "Free Trader" who had taken up a position opposite the fort site had
been carrying on a fair business in marten skins, he reported to the Board of Management Western Department that it might be an auspicious time to re-open the fort, especially as gold was again being found in the Pend d'Oreille River. At this time he marked out one hundred acres of land, fifty on the upper bench, and fifty on the lower bench with a good frontage of the river, securing the only available place for a ferry across the Columbia River. All this acreage was in addition to the original fort site.

Not until 1864 was this suggestion carried out, and Fort Shepherd was created a depot for goods in preference to Fort Colville and from 1866 to 1868 it became the headquarters of a new district known as Fort Shepherd, which comprised also Kootenay and Similkameen posts, but in 1869 the Kootenay post formed a separate district and the Fort Shepherd post was again annexed to Fort Colville.

In the spring of 1870, however, Chief Factor Roderick Finlayson decided that the trade in the Fort Colville district did not warrant the keeping open of Fort Shepherd and so he instructed Chief Trader Angus McDonald to close the posts at Fort Shepherd and Spokane, and to remove the residue of goods stored there to Fort Colville by August of the same year. Thus came to an end the fitful life of this Hudson's Bay Company's post in the West Kootenay. The buildings were again left in charge of the Indian chief of the district until they could be disposed of to better advantage, but before any satisfactory arrangements could be made they were burned to the ground in November 1872.

The following is a list of the various persons who were in charge of Fort Shepherd from its erection in 1856 until June 1870:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Outfit</th>
<th>Years</th>
<th>Name</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Outfit 1856</td>
<td>1856</td>
<td>Angus McDonald, clerk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>1857</td>
<td>John D.B. Ogilvy &quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>1858</td>
<td>C.T. George Blenkinsop</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>1859</td>
<td>Herbert Margary, clerk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>1863</td>
<td>An Interpreter</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>1864</td>
<td>William Sinclair, clerk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Outfits 1865/68</td>
<td>1865/68</td>
<td>C.T. Joseph Hardisty</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Outfit 1869</td>
<td>1869</td>
<td>Jason O. Allard, apprentice clerk</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

83. Palliser: op. cit. p. 160

The author at this point offers another reason for the naming of Pend 'Oreille (Clark's Fork) River. The Pend 'Oreille describes a curve as it enters the Columbia. The enclosed land resembles an ear-lobe.
dense undergrowth and fallen timber created such obstacles that all provisions not urgently needed, were sent back to Fort Shepherd. Taking the rest of their backs, the party went on very slowly to Flat Bow Lake, which they reached on the 26th. However, Sullivan considered that this distance had great advantage for a road, "since the traverse of this piece of the country was effected by the valleys of two rivers the whole way." The land to the south of Flat Bow Lake he found to be flat and swampy, and teeming with wild ducks and geese. From the lake he struck eastward across country north of the 49th parallel to follow the Choo-Coas River (now the Moyie) to its source in two small lakes, at which point he established the elevation to be 3,300 feet above Fort Shepherd, and remarked upon the suitability of this terrain for railway building. After descending the Choo-Coas, he cut across into American territory, and followed the Kootanie River through Flat Bow Lake, down to the Columbia and so reached Colville on October 15. The journals which recount these explorations are accompanied by a map of the whole region, from which the appended copy was made.

85. Ibid: p. 161 "From these swamps also, the Kootanie Indians obtain the Khosquis, or thick reed, which is the only article that serves them in the construction of their lodges, and the Klusquis is an article of barter with them to the other tribes, whose lands do not produce this necessary."
86. Ibid: p. 162 "A good horse trail exists, and with the greatest ease a wagon road may be accomplished. Indeed, in the event of the requirements of commerce, as far as my experience of the mountains is concerned, I could not point out so extensive a tract of country where a railway may be brought with comparatively little expense."
87. Sullivan again pays tribute to the fine qualities of the Kootanie Indians. "Great dependence, ... can be placed on the word of an Indian of this tribe: the Kootanies never steal, rarely lie, and are decidedly the best converts to Christianity of all the Indians among whom our travels have led us." Ibid: p. 162.
All the expeditions mentioned in this chapter knew the main Columbia River as a highway of travel, except Captain Palliser, whose ignorance of the Arrow Lakes, is shown upon his map, where he draws three lakes separated by stretches of river. Thompson, de Smet, Palliser and his men all knew the upper Kootenay and the lower part of the lake. Their efforts had discovered the route over which, in this district, a Canadian railway, the Crows Nest Pass Railway, was to be built in the last decades of the country. Palliser could not even dream of the amazing power developments that were to come from the falls which caused him such inconvenience. Sullivan's prospecting was a promise of the development that was to open up this West Kootenay region.

88. "...no river on the continent and few on the globe have held a larger place in history, considering the time it has been known.... The advantages of the fur trader, the trials of the missionaries, the perils of the navigator, the sufferings of the resolute emigrant, and the political controversy of a quarter of a century, are all inseparably interwoven with its history."


89. Conflicting opinions upon the discovery and naming of this pass are interesting. G.M. Dawson in Report B of the Geological Survey and Natural History of Canada, vol. 1, 1885 Montreal, Dawson Bros. 1886, p. 65B-66B gives this description, "The pass is that which has of late years been most used as a means of communication between the Great Plains and the Kootanai Country. A practicable trail has been cut out, and bridges built over several of the larger streams, and considerable numbers of horses and cattle have been driven east by it. The trail as now laid out does not correspond with any well known Indian route and though possessing some advantages over the North Kootenenai Pass, is by no means so direct. It follows up the Middle Fork of the Old Man, or Crow Nest River to its source beyond the Crow Nest Lake, crossing a low summit to the headwaters of a branch of Michel Creek, a tributary of the Elk. Coal Creek is then followed down to the Elk. After reaching the Elk, the trail runs along the east bank of the river to the canon where a bridge has been thrown across. The wide Kootanai valley is finally entered at a point only a

(continued on next page)
"few miles north of the west end of the North Kootanie Pass."

"The Crows Nest is about ten miles north of the North Kootanie Pass and parallel to it. The east end of the pass is usually designated "the gap". Dawson continues,

"The valley of the Middle Fork... like those in the eastern part of the mountains, where extensive meadows border the streams is extremely attractive in appearance. The Crow's Nest Mountain, standing alone amid lower hills, three miles north of the trail and the high limestone peaks which crowd up the lake on both sides, present fine rugged outlines."

Dawson determined the height to be 7,850 feet above sea level, and since it is nearly conical and in an isolated position, it was prominently viewed from the plains far to the south east.

He remarked, also, that on one of Palliser's maps (Papers Relating to Exploration, by Captain Palliser, 1859) it was named Loge des Corbeaux. "Its Cree name, of which the others are translations is Ka-ka-too-wut-tshis-tun."


These two references give credit to Michael Phillips as being the first white man through Crow's Nest Pass and as having named it. However, F.W. Godsal, for thirty-six years a resident of Pincher Creek or thereabouts denied the meaning of the name, substituting a more feasible reason and decrying the reliability of Michael Phillips. The following excerpts from Mr. Godsal's letter in the Provincial Archives give his explanation.

"...as I am one of the last of the old-timers connected with those early days, I wish to establish the truth before I pass to the happy hunting grounds."

"Mr. White states that 'Crows Nest' was from 'the nesting of Crows near the base of the peak now called 'Crow's Nest Mountain', a high bare mountain some miles from the trail.....firstly, Crows are rare seen in the mountains there, ... secondly, it is not the nature of a crow to nest as high up as the base of that mountain: thirdly, a crow near the base of that peak could not be seen from the old trail through the pass: and lastly and chiefly, the Peak he speaks of is not really 'Crow's Nest Mountain' as named by the Indians.....Phillips ... had very little connection with the Crow's Nest Pass.....to mention any statement of his to any old-timer who knew him, always raised a smile.....as he was utterly unreliable.....Mr. Wm. Fernie...knew him too well, and he told me that...his statement regarding 'Crow's Nest' (was) decidedly so (unreliable).....Turtle Mountain (not named by the Indians)...(who) have no such word,......was so called in 1880 by (continued at bottom of next page)"
by Louis O. Garnett, who now lives at Cobble Hill, Vancouver Island.

Garnett Bros. at their ranch near the mouth of Crow's Nest Pass...named... 'Turtle Mountain'. Called thus from its former resemblance to a turtle, (it) is the original 'Crow's Nest Mountain' and called so by the Indians... (was) the site of the massacre of the Crow Indians by the Blackfeet Indians.... Hence the name "Crow's Nest", where the Blackfeet got the Crow Indians in their nest, or, perhaps, as we should say, 'cornered' them."

Skeletons and arrowheads, known to be there by W.S. Lee connected by marriage with Indians and intimate with their past history, are now buried beneath the rocks of the Frank slide, which came down in 1903. W.S. Lee was a neighbour of F.W. Godsal.
The first white visitors to the Kootenays left accounts of the Indians they found there. David Thompson and Alexander Henry, the first traders among them, speak of the peaceful disposition of the Kootenay Indians, although in some time previous they had driven the harmless Snare tribe from the Columbia and Kootenay River valleys, being themselves hard pressed by war-like eastern tribes. In fact, Henry found east of the mountains the remains of lodges which he declared to be those of the Kootenay Indians, who had made their home there before crossing the Rockies.

"Along the Clearwater, and near the foot of the mountains, are still to be seen the remains of some of the dwellings of the Kootenays, built of straw, and pine branches. The same are observed along Rivière de la Jolie Prairie and Ram River. This gives us every reason to suppose that nation formerly dwelt along the foot of these mountains, and even as far down as our present establishment, near which the remains of some of their lodges are still to be seen. About the time the Kootenays were in possession of this part of the country, the Snare Indians dwelt on the Kootenay or Columbia".

"This statement is confirmed by Thompson, whose MSS include two valuable itineraries of which little has been known, now preserved in Bk. 13 of Volume VI. Art A of this book opens with a 'Journey to the Kootenaes Rocky Mt. 1800'.

"For this trip Thompson started from the Rocky Mt. house at 8 a.m. on Sunday, Oct. 5, 1800... Oct. 6 to 13 he crossed several tributaries... of the Red Deer River, struck the main river, and ascended this to a little above the mouth of present Williams Creek where he learned that the Kootenays would be on the mountain height the morrow. Oct. 14 he went west about 22 miles further, and at 2:30 p.m. met the Kootenay chief with 26 men, 7 women and 11 horses, at the foot of a high cliff. Oct. 15 he followed the Indians to their camp, travelling all day over a bad road. Oct. 15-17 in camp, where trading on his part went on with gambling and horse-stealing on the part of his customers... He conversed with the Kootenays on geography, asked them to come again to guide him into their country west of the divide fitted out Lagasse and Le Blanc to winter with them, and they left next day Oct. 22".
Henry tells also of the earlier natives in these valleys, who were displaced by the Kootenays

"About the time the Kootenays were in possession of this part of the country, the Snare Indians dwelt on the Kootenay or Columbia. But the former being driven into the mountains by the different tribes who lived east of them with whom they were perpetually at war, in their turn waged war upon their harmless neighbours to the west, the Snare Indians, and soon drove them off the land the Kootenays now inhabit. This is on the upper part of the Columbia and on Rain River, a little south of it, now called McGillivray's, but formerly termed by the natives Flat Bow River; from a tribe of Indians of the Kitunahan family who then inhabited the lower part of it... The Snare Indians, it seems, returned north."  

He remarked that the Kootenays possessed few horses.

"(The Kootenays) have the reputation of a brave and warlike nation, though the whole tribe does not exceed fifty families. They are always at peace with their neighbours to the south and west.... These people are mild to their women, and particularly attached to their children.... The Kootenays having but few horses, as their country will not admit of the use of these animals further north than the headwaters of the Kootenay river."  


"Early in the 19th century some Interior Salish families (the Snare Indians of early writers) seem to have used it (headwaters of French River toward Yellow-head Pass) as a trapping ground." p. 424. (first brackets are Jenness's).

The lower Kootenays he called the Flat Bow or Lake Indians, who

dwell on the borders of a large lake (Kootenay Lake). They frequently come up the river as far as the falls, but seldom attempt to proceed higher. These people are but little known to us.... The country they inhabit does not abound in large animals."3

They lived chiefly on salmon, fishing from peculiar canoes of pine and bark and they had no horses.

Ross Cox who was among the Kootenays two years after Thompson left this region gives much the same description of them, commenting up the psychocological influence of their life upon their disposition. In 1813, he and his companions

"... come to the Cootonais, who inhabit a small and beautiful district near the foot of the Rocky Mountains about sixty miles to the north-east of the Flat-head lands... (it is... very difficult of access. Others, martens, and bears are also found, with excellent deer and mountain sheep."4

The author adds a note to say that the tobacco plant had lately been discovered in this district.

"The Cootonais are the remnant of a once brave and powerful tribe, who, like the Flat-heads, were perpetually engaged in war with the Blackfeet for the right of hunting on the buffalo grounds. Previous to our arrival among them they entertained the most deadly hatred against white man, to whom they attributed all their misfortunes, owing to the assistance which their enemies received in arms and ammunition from the North West Company's people to eastward of the mountains."5

Knowing the traders wanted beaver, the Kootenay brought them to get arms, and immediately impressed the white men with the softness of their spoken words.

From their excursions to the prairie for buffalo they came back victors but diminished in number.

5. Ibid. p. 133.
"A Cootonais seldom smiles. He thinks that sooner or later he is doomed to fall in the field of battle; and this certainty of death joined to the number of relatives annually killed in their constant warfare, imparts to his features a settled melancholy." 6

Cox describes their habits and appearance in some detail.

"The Cootonais are by no means so warm-hearted towards the whites as their neighbours the Flat-heads; but Mr. Montour, who spent some years among them, states that they are strictly honest in all their dealings, and remarkable for their adherence to the truth... Polygamy is unknown among them; and he never knew an instance wherein any of their women admitted overtures of an improper nature."7

Jealous of the whites they concealed their females from them.

"The greatest cleanliness and neatness are observable about their persons and lodges. They are rather handsome, above the middle size, and compared with other tribes, remarkably fair... in their intercourse with white men they are haughty and reserved; in conversation, candid, in trade, honest; brave in battle; and devotedly attached to each other and their country."7

Since the men were principally engaged in obtaining the food, the women were condemned to drudgery. The man killed the deer, then notched the trees to indicate the whereabouts of the carcase. The squaw went to skin the beast, and bring home the meat. She also collected the fire-wood, carried the water, cooked, made and cleaned shirts. Yet she was content thus to serve her husband, who went bravely to battle, naked except for slips of red cloth, or a few feathers for a headress. This busy life left him no time for gambling.8

David Douglas, the botanist, in the londiness of his travels, found the natives on the Columbia unfriendly and described the enmity between the Indians on the lake and those on the upper river. At Kettle Falls he met

"a party of twenty-one men and two females of the Cootanie tribe, whose lands lay on the shores of Cootanie Lake... an old quarrel of nine years!" 8

8. Ibid: pp. 139-140.
standing between them and the tribes on the Columbia Lakes, sixty miles above this place, who are at present here salmon-fishing on the falls, gave Mr. Dease and every other person much uneasiness. The parties met stark naked in our camp, painted some red, black, white, yellow with their bows strung, and such as had muskets and ammunition were charged. War-caps of calumet eagle feathers were the only particle of dress they had on."

Quick action by John W. Dease, the trader, averted the fight. With a blow on the nose he stunned one savage just as he was about to fire. Surprised and frightened, the others separated. 9

Sir George Simpson, in his swift passage seemed to see the Kootenay Indians at their worst. After he had come through forest fire smoke which overcast the sun with a film reminding him of London, he came upon them first.

"In the afternoon we saw a lodge of Flat-bow Indians, our first natives on the west side of the continent. Compared with the Crees, their skins were darker, their features less pleasing, and their figures less erect. The head of the house wore a robe thrown over his shoulders; the mother sported a chemise of leather, rather short and dirty; the younger children had no other dress than what nature had given them: and two grown lads whose bodies were wrapped with shreds and patches, had decorated themselves with caps of green baize and plumes of feathers." 10

He remarked upon their horses, and noted the unfortunate vice of gambling that was contributing to their degeneration.

"all very dirty, dressed in skins, but, squalid and poor as they were, they possessed a band of about two hundred fine horses." 11

They had observed some providence for they had preserved the beaver from destruction, yet the next band he met were:-

"a few miserable Kootenays with some horses.... each loaded with the mother and younger children along with pots, kettles, mats, etc.... On asking one of them who was more destitute than the rest, how he came to be so wretchedly poor, we were told by him with a show of boastfulness, that he had lost his all by gambling."12

However, as early as 1838 Fathers Blanchet and Demers commented upon the friendly respect with which these Indians listened to Christian teaching, and upon their docility when submitting to baptism. When Father de Smet met them in 1841 at Flathead Lake and went to their own country, Tobacco Plains, in 1845, the ease with which he won their confidence delighted him. He speaks of them as two branches, Flatbows and Kootenays, forming one tribe and known throughout the country as Skalzi.13 He too, commented upon their improvidence and poor physique.

"Such are the Arcs-a-Plats. They know neither industry, art nor science; the words mine and thine are scarcely known among them;.... they are strangely improvident.... They feast well one day, and the following day is passed in total abstinence. Their cadaverous figure sufficiently demonstrated what I heard in advance."14

He describes a yearly fish festival in which only men participate.

"A species of sturgeon which measures from six to ten, and sometimes twelve feet in length is taken by the dart in the great lake of Arcs-a-Plats."15

When, after a delay, which took him to Europe, the Father was last able in 1845 to visit, the Prairie du Tabac, the usual abode of the Kootenays, he found that hunger had forced many

12. Ibid: vol. 1. p. 135 - Further impressions are given pp. 128,130, 133, 134.
13. Father P.J. de Smet: Oregon Missions, p. 122
15. Ibid: p. 119-120
to leave this settlement of thirty lodges, and cross the great mountains for food. But he was hailed with joy by those remaining. They had kept a journal, a square stick notched with days and weeks, for the forty-one months and some days since he had been among them at Têteplatte (Flathead). Then it was on the 30th of August that he erected the station of the Holy Heart of Mary and baptized 105 of their number. Fourteen years later when he came again they were still faithfully performing the ritual, he had taught. Michel, their chief was like a father to his tribe, which maintained an admirable integrity in dealing with the Hudson's Bay Company agent when he came among them.

Captain Palliser, also, found the Kootenay Indians in miserable condition.

"....on Kootenay river where we found a camp of Kootenay Indians. They are the most wretched looking fellows I ever met; the men, women, and children all living on berries, the men naked, and the women nearly so, yet strange to say, although these people were starving, destitute of clothes and ammunition, they possess a wonderful number of horses, and these very superior to the Indians horses, east of the mountains.... I had eleven horses with me ... most in wretched condition... these they eagerly exchanged, and good ones were given in their stead."

Elliott Coues writing for publication in 1897 on the subject of early comments upon the Kootenay Indians has this to say:

"These Indians, or some of them, were also called the Bows or Skalzis. They are so different from other Indians in their speech that the earliest traders among them took note of it. Thus Ross Cox, writing of 1816, says... 'Their language.... is so infinitely softer and more free from those

17. Lettres Choisies, Paris Repos 1877, p. 92
unpronounceable gutturals so common among the lower tribes." They are now regarded as alone representing a distinct linguistic stock, which Powell terms the Kitunahan family, in literal conformity with the name used by Hale in 1846, though he calls their principal divisions Cootenai. These are Kootenay proper or Upper Kootenay; Akoklaks or Lower Kootenay; Klanoh Klatlam, or Flat Head Kootenay, and Yaketahnoklalak-makanay or Kootenay of the Tobacco Plains. A recent census showed 964 of them, of which 425 were at Flathead Agency in Montana, and 539 at Kootenay Agency in B.C.  

From the observations of the first white travellers in the Kootenays and from subsequent research by Franz Boas, Diamond Jenness, Marius Barbeau, Alice Ravenhill, V.F. Ray, O.T. Mason, J.A. Teir and others whose special study has been the aborigines of our continent, we are able to piece together the story of the Kootenay Indians and their habits. The most complete and most recent ethnographical account has been done by H.H. Turney-High whose work was published in 1941, and was written from field study among this people over a period of years, concluding in 1940. His informants included eighteen chiefs, shamans, herbalists, and six interpreters consulted in all the centres north and south of the boundary. The remarkable historical remembrances of these proud race tribesmen have been carefully weighed for plausibility against evidence from other sources, and it is interesting to observe how this account at times emphatically confirms previous observations, at other times contradicts them.

Kootenay Indian culture is of the Northern Plateau type, the Bonner's Ferry band has a tradition of Plains origin, and, although an ethnocentric majority having no migration stories  

insist that the Kootenay have always lived where they are now, the conclusion is that they originated east of the Rockies.\textsuperscript{20}

Alice Ravenhill and George Grinnell state the first home of the Kootenay to have been what is now Montana.\textsuperscript{21} Centuries ago they crossed into south Alberta, already accomplished horsemen when first we hear of them.\textsuperscript{22} The horse had been introduced into South America in the 16th century, and its use spread from there to the northern continent.\textsuperscript{23} Francois Adam or Whiskey Jim, one of the

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{20}Turney-High, H.H. \textit{Ethnography of the Kutenai}, Menasa, Mis., George Banta Publishing Co., Memoirs of the American Anthropological Association, No. 56, 1941, pp 7, 10, 199.
\item \textsuperscript{21}Alice Ravenhill, \textit{Native Tribes of British Columbia} p. 23.
\item \textsuperscript{22}George Bird Grinnell, in the \textit{Story of the Indian}. Appleton Century New York and London, 1937, reports that a Piegan, Wolf Calf, born about 1793 gave an eye witness account of the Kutenai first bringing horses into Piegan country from west of the mountains about 1804-06; and states Grinnell, "I believe his statements to be as worthy of credence as any can be which depend solely on memory." The full account follows, pp. 232-237. The author adds, "this would agree fairly well with the statement of Mr. Hugh Monroe, who says that in 1813, when he first came among this people, they had possessed horses for a short time only... and had recently begun to make war excursions to the south on a large scale for the purpose of securing more horses from their enemies."
\item \textsuperscript{23}Tyrell: \textit{Thompsons Narrative}, pp. 370-371 relates an account of the first seizure of horses from the Spaniards. "In the year 1787 (a note established this as the true date, not 1807, as had previously been given,) in the early part of September a party of about 250 warriors under the command of Kootana Appe (Kootanie Man) (A Piegan chief,) went off to war on the Snake Indians; they proceeded southward near the east foot of the Mountains and found no natives, they continued further than usual, very unwilling to return without having done something, at length the scouts came in with word that they had seen a long file of Horses and Mules led by Black Men (Spaniards) and not far off. They were soon ready... and making a rush on the front line of the file, the Spaniards all rode off leaving the loaded Horses and Mules to the war party, each of whom endeavoured to make prize of a Horse or Mules. They were loaded with bags containing a great weight of white stone (Silver) which they threw off the animals on the ground,... and then rode off... The place this war party started from is in about 53\textdegree{}20'N. and the place where they met the Spaniards conveying the silver from the mines is about the latitude of 32 degrees north a distance of 1500 miles in a direct line."\end{itemize}
Turney-High's Tobacco Plains informants, claims that the Piegan were originally Kootenay, thus indicating that they too might be of the Algonkin language family. Edward Sapir in 1929 maintained that the Kootenay had no known linguistic connections, but a year later, though he had not been living among them, he concluded as a result of his philological studies that they belonged to the Algonkin-Wakashan. While judging this sudden reversal of opinion unsound, Turney-High believes there was some former Kootenay Blackfoot connection.24

Whiskey Jim says he received the following explanation from his grandparents "Kutenai" a term given these Indians by their enemies and the whites, is pronounced among them ktunaxa, ktonax, or, at Tobacco Plains, tunáx. They do not use this term to speak of themselves, considering it meaningless, and some even thinking it a Blackfoot word. Abraham Bull Robe of the Flathead Band denies this, claiming it is obsolete Kootenay. It may have been a place name referring to the previous habitat of these people, - near where McLeod is now according to Whiskey Jim's story. About half of this old, extinct Tunáx band, he says, for reasons unknown moved westward across the mountains onto the Plateau and became the Kootenay. Gradually some of the remnant on the plains drifted away from the main body and became the Piegan. Then an epidemic hit the parent group, which, being unable to maintain itself longer, moved westward to join its kinsmen on the plateau. These original Tunáx have bred with Salishan groups to the south, hence only the mixed bloods claim 24. Turney-High. op. cit. pp 11, 190.
Tunaxa ancestry, since the pure tribe is extinct. All the Kootenay refer to themselves as san'ka, an obsolete word whose meaning is now forgotten. They deny that it means Slender Bows or Flatbows, and acknowledge that it is valid only in speaking of the Tobacco Plains and Fernie Indians. In fact, they rarely use a generalized word to refer to the whole people, but usually give the place name of a band plus "nek", meaning "men of". Thus the Tobacco Plains Kootenay AKANEKUNIK, or A' KANOXONEK, men of the Place-of-the-Flying Hwäd, referring to a story in folklore. When this name study is compared with Baillie-Grohman's explanation of the origin of the Kootenay, it is apparent that he must have thought them a branch of the Athabaskan or Dene (tinneh) language group.

The Kootenay derived their customs from the plains people. They lacked unity as a nation remaining in bands, each with its leader and council of older men. The Upper Kootenay who peopled the upper reaches of the river named for them, and who continued under the influence of the bison hunt, were the original migrators. The Lower Kootenay and other bands split off from them. The chief differences between those two sub cultures were in folklore, habitations, social organization and dialect. The lower bands became more sedentary and developed greater integration in their economic life, because they did not have to cross the mountains three times a year for their main

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25 Turney-High op. cit. pp 11-14
26 see p. 1, note 1 of this thesis.
item of food. The snaring of birds and fishing provided adequate supply for their needs. Moreover, these were too poor in horseflesh to risk contact with the virile plainsmen. 27

Tobacco Plains was the ancient Kootenay "capital," or Big Village, whence sprang all upper and lower bands. At the junction of the Yaak River (a'k, an arrow) and the Kootenay (from whose great bow, or bend, this arrow issued) a former village was situated, a-kiyi or Arrowville. Here lived the a'kiyenek, one of the upper groups, now extinct, whose survivors are the Dayton-Elmo band. 28 In the second half of the eighteenth century these bands spread out between the Rockies and the Selkirks, from the 49th to the 52nd parallel. 29 Their range, 30 as described by Chief Paul of Tobacco Plains was bounded in the north by a small stream joining the Columbia at about Donald, B.C. On the East the Rockies were their boundary, but they considered the eastern slopes to be theirs, and maintained their right to hunt there. Chief Paul claimed that the range should run south east to Helena, Montana, and the "Gate of the Mountains," the chief pass of the Upper Kootenay going to the plains. Often, on their way to the prairie, the band would divide at Waterton Lakes, one going north, the other south, to meet at a specific rendezvous. To the south a forested region marked their land's limit, and the west shore of the Arrow Lakes, and the main line of the Canadian Pacific Railway at Revelstoke make the north west boundary. Although some authorities speak of "Lakes" Indians, on the Arrow Lakes, neither 27. Turney-High, op. cit., pp. 9, 14.
28. Turney-High: op. cit. p. 16
30. See map opposite page 59.
Canadian nor United States agents, priests at St. Eugene, nor any Indian informants but one knew of this. While admitting that there are no Kootenay villages there now, they all claimed the Arrow Lakes and their shores, saying that their fathers came there regularly in canoes to fish, without finding any rival or enemy on the way or on the lakes, only Chief David of Bonner's Ferry said that the Kootenay had to fight when they went west of Kootenay Lake. 31

Chief Paul David of Tobacco Plains gave data for the description of eight Kootenay bands, as they used to exist before dispersion and the advent of the reservation system, the Tunaxa descendants of the original, parental Kootenay, who remained on the Great Plains. They lived at the Place-of-Red-Willow-Branches. This

As we have noted on page 30 of this thesis, Father de Smet was welcomed by over ninety Indians when he established his mission among them in 1843, just west of the Upper Lake. The 1939 Census of Indians in Canada, p. 6, lists but four women; members of the Arrow Lakes band, two of these under 16 years of age.

In a letter dated September 10, 1945, J.M. Barre, acting Indian Agent for the Kootenay Agency, writing from Cranbrook, B.C., gives this information regarding the Reservation and the fate of the Indians there.

"... the Arrow Lake Reserve is situated in the Nelson district on the west shore of the Lower Arrow Lake, about five miles below Burton City, West Kootenay District. It has an area of 255 acres and was allotted by Commissioner Vowell on October 10th, 1902. It was surveyed and approved on November 18th, 1902.

"This reserve is wooded, the soil being light and sandy, indifferent to farming. It is also poorly situated. This may account for the migration to other reserves of a number of these Indians.

"Father McIntyre, O.M.I., who was the last missionary in that area, informed me that he buried the last Indian from that Reserve about 1925. This Indian was a man by the name of Louie, who lived the white man's mode of living. It would also appear that a number of Indians died from T.B."
chief says not all the Kootenay came from the plains, that some "woke up" at Tobacco Plains, and the Tunaxa were offshoots of these. This assertion he maintains because of the tradition that the Tunaxa always came west to plant tobacco at Michel's Prairie B.D., therefore this must have been their own home. The Tobacco Plains Band was the real mother band, with the Fernie Band a sub-band to it. With the reservation system some of these were reabsorbed and some went to Windermere. The Jennings Band, the akiyenik, originally at the confluence of Yaak and Kootenay Rivers, were the middle Kootenay. They were an offshoot after the split-off of the Lower Kootenay, and were ancestors of the modern Flathead Reservation. After this band migrated to Libby, Montana, it became known as the Libby Band. The first great offshoot from Tobacco Plains was the Bonner's Ferry Band, from this group stemmed all the Lower Kootenay. The Fort Steele Band had been in residence there so long ago there was no obtainable tradition of their origin, their Indian name 'akamnek' was untranslated. This band is now extinct but later some of the Libby Band, angry at the United States government when reserves were being laid out, migrated there. These were Chief Joseph's people hence the place name Joseph's Prairie, now Cranbrook. The Creston Band may reasonably be considered an offshoot from Bonner's Ferry. The Windermere Band originated, when Chief Michel wanted one big reserve where all the Kootenay could be together and could live in their old way, and he moved with the dissidents who would follow, to Windermere, because the United States' reservation provisions did not fulfill his hopes.32

After 1821, the Hudson's Bay Company ruled Indian and whites

32 Turney High: op. cit. pp 18-20
in this area, as a benevolent despot. The company sent a number of Iroquois to teach the plateau Indians the technique of the fur trade. These, already Christian, prepared the Kootenay to receive the missionaries, many of whose teachings were to find a remarkable counterpart in ancient Indian customs and beliefs. The coming of constitutional government brought sharp discrimination, and the Indians have not fared so well as they did under the fur trading companies. The Canadian government has no treaty with the Kootenay, as it has with the great tribes of the Plains, but it takes care of them in a more beneficient manner than that enjoyed by many other Indians.\footnote{Turney-High: op. cit. pp 20-21.} The census of 1939 gives the total number of Kootenay Indians, 435, of these 159 at St. Mary's, 93 at Lower Columbia Lake, 71 on Lower Kootenay Lake, 58 at Tobacco Plains, 50 at Shuswap, and 4 on the Arrow Lake.\footnote{Census of Indians in Canada, 1939; Ottawa, J.O. Patenaude, I.O.S.O., printer to the King's Most Excellent Majesty, 1940, p. 6.} Writing a year later, Turney-High gives the total population in excess of 1000 and growing, over half of these in British Columbia. This he estimated to be one quarter of their old strength.\footnote{Turney-High: op. cit. p. 27}

The Kootenay have always been a proud, self-conscious people. While admitting the cultural superiority of white men, with regard to material things, they maintain that this is not indicative of innate mental superiority. At the present time they feel a masculine resentment of their lot but they do not whine. Although surround by twenty-one enemy tribes their splendid physical condition, their
superiority as bowyers, their use of horses kept them from being beaten in battle.36 Chief Paul, like all plateau chiefs, uses the first person singular of majesty even when speaking of events in the distant past, and gives voice thus to a just pride.

"My enemies all surrounded me. When one throws food to a dog all the others will fight him. I have always had fine food in a fine country and all the dogs wanted it. Wheh I went after one tribe I got the best of it. No one ever defeated me. The Kootenay are the highest Indians in this country and I am a proud man."37

and again,

"I only fought against the Crow once, and that was about 200 years ago."38

The Kootenay were hunters and gatherers of food. They paid little attention to the natural mineral resources of their range, which were to yield such abundant wealth to their white successors. After the fur traders had brought them fire-arms they did melt lead to make bullets at the Bluebell outcropping on Kootenay Lake,39 and some pounded tubular beads of free copper have been found on the southern boundary of the range.40

The bison hunt of the Upper Kootenay, an expedition made highly successful by the employment of horses and bows and arrows, was the nucleus around which was built their social and economic life. The building of snares, weirs and traps to ensure their food supply made Lower Kootenay society more communal and their life less migratory.

37. Ibid: p. 32.
38. Ibid: p. 149
39. See map opposite page 34.
40. Turney-High: op. cit. p. 27
Kootenay folklore claims that the horse originated with them. Chief David Paul of Bonner's Ferry says horses were acquired from the Crees, their friends, when the first trade muskets came to the plains. At the same time the first trade tobacco made its appearance. In 1939, when this chief was 88, he said that when he was very small he saw an old, old man, who as a young child had been on the bison hunting party which had made the first horse trade. That would be about two hundred years ago.\(^\text{41}\) The Lower Kootenay say they got bad autos almost as soon as they got fine horses. Isolated as they were by mountain barriers, the Kootenay for a long time kept the use of these animals within their own tribe.\(^\text{42}\)

The year passed in a seasonal round of food provision, flesh being procured by the men, vegetables and fruits by the women. From early March to early May they fished. The Upper Kootenay fished for salmon near Windermere, using a line through a hole in the ice, or later in the season when the ice had melted, the fishermen would drift at night in the quiet water with a torch in his left hand and a spear in his right. This was entirely an individual effort. The Indians, are bitter now that the white man's canneries at the coast have cut off this salmon supply. Unlike the white, the Indian caught the fish only when it was on its way to spawn considering it not fit to eat afterward. The upper Kootenay man could obtain permission from the chief to build a fish trap on a specific stream, with the understanding that he share his catch with eight or nine families. Such fishing would last about ten

\(^{41}\) Turney-High: op. cit. pp. 70-71
\(^{42}\) Alice Ravenhill: op. cit. p. 28
days, when as many as 1000 trout would be caught at each weir. For the Lower Kootenay fish was a staple food. Often they took salmon at Nelson but usually joined the Upper Kootenay at Windermere. They invited these to join them in weir fishing in their own districts. Under direction of the Fishing Chief, the community of males built complicated weirs and traps across the flood ponds, left after the swollen rivers had receded in flat areas. The catch was carefully distributed to the whole community even including strangers who might happen to be in their midst. The women, dressed smoked, or dried the fish. Sun drying was preferred since the fish lost neither fat nor flavour that way. They never pulverized the salmon into fish pemmican. The Lower bands liked berry cakes with fish oil condiment, and stored their dried fish in cedar boxes four feet square. They boiled their fish in wooden bowls, and sometimes ate properly dried salmon raw. By preference the Kootenay are entirely a "boiling" people, disliking baked, broiled, or fresh food. 43

In May, while the men grazed the horses, and hunted only casually the women began digging bitter root at Fort Steele and Tobacco Plains. This they broiled or put in a stew with meat. They traded it also to the Lower Tribes, since their bitter root patch was on enemy ground. Immediately, after the bitter root season, both Upper and Lower Kootenay women began gathering camas, not so difficult a task since it grows in moist ground. After this was baked into a porridge in a hot pit, it could be kept for two years. Each digging day the Kootenay women elected one of their number to carry the pipe to the root patch. There she painted

43. Turney-High: op. cit. pp. 44-53
it west and east for the sun's path, and then prayers were said to the earth, which brings forth food under the sun's inspiration. Edible mosses, too, and a gelatinous layer of cambium, taken from the inner bark of the cedar and bull pine supplemented the fish and meat diet.

The indomitable Thompson, during the hardships of his travels, was obliged to report to eating this moss and found it nauseating.

"moss bread and dried carp, but poor harsh food. I could never relish it (the moss bread) it had just nourishment enough to keep a person alive."

Forty years later Father de Smet partook of Indian food when visiting the Kootenays, prepared "camash" root and moss, it was "more suitable for mattresses than the sustenance of human life."

Only three berries were considered to be of economic importance, service berry, huckleberry, choke cherry, all of which were dried for winter use. Though Kinnikinick berries were sometimes boiled for an emergency food, they were not stored but left on the shrub since they did not wither. The present day commercial huckleberry market providing much work at fairly high wages, keeps the Kootenay tied to a part of their old economic life.

In mid June the whole band, never less than 80 lodges with the women and children began moving to the plains for the bison hunt. The Tobacco Plains band invited the Lower Kootenay to join them, but rarely did they do so, being poor in horses. On the plains they met Libby-Jennings-Dayton bands and camped with them. The expedition

44. Turney-High: op. cit. pp. 33-34
45. Tyrell: op. cit. pp. 388-389
46. Father de Smet: op. cit., p. 118
took four weeks or less, and each man typical of Upper Kootenay custom, kept his own killing and returned with on an average\textsuperscript{47} two or three pack horse loads in parfleches. The bison hunt was well organized, and the Kootenay had no fear of Piegan or Blood bands.

"Since the bison hunt was undertaken under military conditions, the band was moved onto the plains in warlike formation. . . . The compact main body . . . was entirely composed of the women, the helpless, the pack horses, all able bodied men considered themselves scouts . . . . Scouts were far flung in fan shaped deployment to the fore and rear. They expected no surprise on the flanks while in the mountains, but in the open spaces flank security was maintained . . . . The chief rode just behind the principal line of scouts where he could command best in any direction. In spite of this . . . they travelled fast.

"Arriving on the short grass plains, the hunt proceeded . . . . A vast circle was formed of pairs of scouts about a quarter of a mile apart. When one of the pairs sighted bison he signalled back to the others, who then converged upon the direction of the game. After they received mirrors from white traders, these signals were made by flashing them in the sun. "There was no attempt to surround a herd . . . this was impossible."\textsuperscript{48}

The fastest hunter picked out the best animal and tried to separate him from the herd for an easy kill. This required a "five-mile horse," one that could keep up this strenuous pace for five miles. No one tried for more than two bison since that was all his women could prepare for transport home. The squaws, with stone knives removed the skin in one or two pieces. The meat was cut up, viscera discarded, for they abhorred the prairie Indian custom of eating entrails. Since there were no trees on the plains,

\textsuperscript{47} Turney-High: op. cit. p. 54.
\textsuperscript{48} Turney-High: op. cit. p. 35.
the meat was dried, not smoked, and then dissected for easy packing. From this was made their pemmican, without berries or fruit, but with wild peppermint, partly for its flavour as a condiment, partly as a preservative and partly to drive away the flies. Some rib bones were used for scrapers, the rest were crushed and rendered for lard. Only the best worker could cut up three bison a day. Until the westward penetration of the North West Company, the Kootenay weapons were bows and arrows. The best cedar bow carefully fashioned with a double curve, sometimes bound with snakeskin for decoration, and strung with bear gut, could be used all day without need of tightening. From this the expert bowyer, holding five arrows like a sunburst in his hand, could despatch with telling force the slender cedar shaft winged with its three striped chicken hawk feathers, and tipped with wooden or flint points. Chief Aeneas Paul Kustata may have been allowing his pride to expand the truth, when he said he had seen a good bowman shoot a bison at sixty yards, the arrow passing through the animal and driving into the ground beyond with such force as to stand erect and quivering.

Upon the return from the hunt the men and horses rested. Although they were dependent upon horses, the care of their animals was the most simple. A Kootenay in comfortable circumstances had at least ten broken horses, a rich man, fifty unbroken on the range, and twenty-five head of broken horses, yet these Indians did not groom or massage their animals nor regularly inspect their feet.

50. Ibid: p. 82-84
Only late in history did the Upper Kootenay learn to make arrow flints, the Lower bands never. The latter winged their shafts with goose feathers. At one time all Kootenay poisoned their arrows.
51. note on page 64. (Continued on following page)
At one time, supposedly they practiced extensive veterinary surgery but the principal remedy now remembered is bleeding. In three days the rider broke a colt; slipping his knees and calves under a cord tied tight around the horses barrel, he simply rode the animal until he was played out. Saddle protection consisted of very soft and smooth well padded saddle blankets. Like all Indians the Kootenay mounted their chargers from the off-side. These horses they commonly named for colour, only the finest were named for some war honour of the owner. West of the mountains the horses roamed free, but on the eastern expeditions they were tethered at night within the camp circle. The chief posted vedettes, whose watch was so successful, and so unusual among Western Indians that no animals were stolen by the Blackfeet.\textsuperscript{52}

From the time of return to late summer the squaws were laying in the berry supply and then the family looked for suitable places for caches, where food could be stores on the platforms in trees out of reach of animals. There was no fear of human pilfering in this land of reasonable abundance, sometimes a hungry man might take a meal or so from a cache, but then he would tell the owner.\textsuperscript{53}

In the autumn both Upper and Lower tribes hunted for elk, south for hides rather than meat. On the grounds between Tobacco Plains and Yaak the gentle caribou, could be conveniently shot. Their flesh was dried, their skin used for blankets. Whiskey Jim remarked, "They are just like shooting cows," and this easy food

\textsuperscript{50} (Continued) a practice which the Upper gave with the coming of white men, but the Lower bands continued. Chief Kustata.

Ibid: p. 86.

Flint arrows heads have been found in great numbers along Kootenay Lake shores on the benches above Bonnington Falls and on the little island in the pool below these falls. G.H. Lee, Bonnington.

\textsuperscript{51} Turney-High: op. cit. p. 197

\textsuperscript{52} Ibid: pp. 71-73

\textsuperscript{53} Turney-High: op. cit. p. 53
supply was not abused but used as a safety measure. It is strange that unlike the Siberian natives, the Kootenay did not domesticate these animals. Just after the first heavy snow the Lower Kootenay invited the Upper bands to join them as they followed the Deer Chief, the cleverest hunter of them all. Then when the deer was fat and heavily furred, boy heaters on snow-shoes would be stationed at twenty-yard intervals along a stream; to hallo at the animals and send them toward the silent archers on the trails. Upon one lucky day a whole season's supply might thus be taken. Then the Deer Chief distributed the meat to every lodge, even though its owner had not taken part in the hunt. Late summer and August were the season also, to hunt goat and moose, but these were both very difficult to get. Lynx were sought for their pelts. Gophers and muskrats provided a tasty food, when the flesh was boiled. Until the fur trade however, the beaver were seldom killed or eaten. Early in September the Upper bands went again to the plains to hunt and to return before the snow fell.

After the New Year the Upper Kootenay busied themselves making snowshoes before departing upon the mid-winter bison hunt. This was undertaken entirely on foot, and only by the able men and women, and the very young children who could be carried in cradle-boards. In the deep snow the hunters could approach very close to the bison who did not like to leave the trails. Flesh, bone and

hides had all to be carried back. From that time until spring there was a quiet period before the fishing began again.

For variety the Upper Kootenay ate also an abundance of birds, cranes, ducks, sea gulls (found on the lakes), fool hens, geese. Eagles, prized for their feathers, were trapped by brave hunters who waited in pits, seize the birds by the legs when they swooped down to take the raw meat which baited the branch covering. Though they did not eat loons, the shamans watched the behaviour of these birds for signals of approaching storms. Lacking a bountiful bison supply the Lower Kootenay made bird snaring a communal effort, and cured duck flesh was for them a staple food. With great foresight and skill a moveable square net was prepared and manipulated by a great number of men who so understood and took advantage of the habits of these birds that they could catch four flights in a morning. Slowly they were dried and stored in cedar boxes. From the variety of food supply and the skill with which it was harvested, it can well be seen that need, scarcity and famine were unusual amongst the Kootenay. In fact, they considered such infrequent calamities to be of supernatural origin, and attributed them to two hostile shaman who was hiding the food or to the proximity of an enemy.

57. Turney-High: op. cit. p. 55
KOOTENAY INDIANS - HABITS AND CUSTOMS, LATER HISTORY

Living customs and crafts, originally brought from the plains, were altered and developed by the adaptable, intelligent Kootenay to suit their plateau habitat. In early times the Upper Kootenay bands used for dwelling a variant of the vegetable covered plateau long house. Set for warmth in a foot deep excavation, large houses were twelve feet high, and could house from forty to fifty people, not necessarily all relatives. This edifice had no centre right poles, and was open along the top to permit escape of the smoke from three fireplaces down the centre. At each end there were doors, and mats were laid on the frame like shingles to shed the rain. These are no longer built by Upper bands with whom the skin tipi has become the standard lodge. The four pole foundation, with fifteen supplementary poles cut just before the band left the timbers to descend to the prairie. To one horse were lashed the top ends of sufficient poles for one lodge, the butts dragging. The horse also carried the covering. Old tipis were larger than now, because the birth rate was larger. According to Madeleine Left Hand of Elmo, eight bison or elk hides were used for one lodge cover. Four women matched the hides, cut them, and sinew-sewed them with great care to ensure that the smoke flaps could be correctly manipulated and that the door flaps would not admit drafts. Such tent makers were much respected. Tent pegs were cut with great care by the men, and kept as long as possible. The erection and furnishing of such a lodge took an hour's time. For weatherproofing a lining of hides was suspended from the poles within, and a carpeting placed round the central fire-hole. Those

1. Turney-High: op. cit. pp 61-62
hides of finest curing were used for beds. Tipis were pitched preferably not to face windward, but some had to do so since villages were arranged in rings. To the right of the door slept the father and mother, to the left, the married daughter and her husband; younger children lay to the rear. Only in severe weather were active unmarried youth supposed to sleep inside. In the centre of the circle stood the chief's tent, no different from the others, — all without decoration. Only in the last century and a half, did the Upper Kootenay not the Lower, copy the Crees and paint their tents. The lower Kootenay use a mat covered tipi in summer, and a longhouse, capable of taking eight families in winter. These mats are made of Indian hemp or dogbone, sewn together continuously, and are transferred from summer frame to winter frame. It is interesting to see that the Kootenay claim the development and use of the true needle with point and eye. The Kootenay had no subterranean lodges. In their sweat lodges they supplemented their daily cold bath with a religiously prompted physical cleansing. These lodges consisted of a willow frame set over a hole, two feet wide and one or two feet deep, for the hot stone. The framework was covered with sods, never with hides.

One of the most distinctive products of their craft is the Kootenay canoe, described by Captain Palliser and W.A. Baillie-Grohman. This excellently designed rough water bark, unlike any other on this continent, bears a remarkable likeness to water

2. Turney-High: op. cit. 56-60
3. Ibid: p. 62-102. Alice Ravenhill, op. cit. p. 55 claims tent and garment painting for the Kootenay. Turney-High's informants maintained this was never original with them, but only adopted after contact with Plains tribes.
4. Turney-High: op. cit. p. 64.
craft in the Amur Basin, Siberia. Whether this similarity has a historical reason more fundamental than coincidence of invention to meet similar transportation requirements and hazards, has not been established. ⁵

For transportation of his family and gear, for salmon fishing, seldom for war, often for migrating, the Kootenay Indian frequently used his canoe upon the extensive water courses of his region. Abraham Bull Robe says that at one time Libby-Jennings and Tobacco Plains bands went by river to Wöndermere in 155 canoes. ⁶ The Kootenay Indian made his frame of white cedar, never cottonwood, 12 foot overall, with a 2½ foot beam commonly, though men with large families built them longer. This frame was fashioned with long bow and stern projections to increase steering speed; buoyancy when oncoming and following seas were running on the lakes, and for increased speed of travel. Ribs were placed six inches apart, for stepping places. To these, instead of Keel timbers, long thin split poles were lashed with dogbone. Then the boat-builder was ready for his covering.

High in the mountains he selected a tree, upon whose trunk he first cut the bark and then pried it carefully with a two inch stick wrapping it to prevent drying on the way to camp. No scraping, seasoning or decorating were necessary, the tree side became the outside of the canoe, and perfection of workmanship made up for lack of ornamentation.

⁶ Turney-High: op. cit. p. 69.
After the bark had been lashed on with dogbane, so that there were seams only at two ends, knot holes and seams were plugged with pitch within and without. For spreader a heavy stick was put between the ends of the longest midship rib. Two shaped sticks were lashed to the concave lines of bow and stern. "The paddler knelt directly on the bottom of the boat, his feet under him, knees spread hard against the sides," to keep the boat steady. 7 Both Upper and Lower Kootenay have leaf-shaped paddles, blade and handle cut in one piece, which is a deficiency. Upper bands say formerly paddles were keystone shaped, but the Lower Kootenay profess ignorance of this. 8

In early times, land carrying was done by dogs, a large hairy breed. They must have had these dogs a long time, for there are no stories about how they got these animals. They never pulled loads, but were equipped with little panniers woven of withes covered with raw-hide. After horses took over the burden-bearing, the dogs, now becoming mongrelized were kept for guarding the camp, and were trained to be specialists in the hunt for elk, moose, deer. They were kept in camp during bison hunting, for there they would only be a nuisance. This specialized hunt training administered by the men and older dogs consisted of wrapping the young puppy in the fresh skin of the animal it was to hunt, until it was nearly suffocated. Kootenay dogs were considered family property. Though they had no kennels, they were never inside the lodge even in

7. Turney-High: op. cit. p. 69
8. Ibid: p. 67-69
coldest weather. As has been noted before, winter carrying had to be done by men and women on snow-shoes. The Upper Kootenay Guide Chief, or the Lower Kootenay Band Chief observed the fir saplings to see just when they were ripe. At this word, all men went out to cut their own, and fashion their own shoes. A sapling measuring the full length of a man’s greatest reach with both arms was bent circular or ovoid and hung up to cure. Later it was meshed with rawhide. Though the horses dragged the lodge poles, the travois was never used in this mountainous country.

Clothing and utensils next occupy our attention in this summary of Kootenay arts and crafts. Although Gabriel Franchère, in his journal, observed Indian women weaving sheep-wool blankets on the Columbia, the modern Kootenay disclaim any knowledge or remembrance of native textiles. They laced their snow-shoes, yet they did not invent fish-nets, and the Lower Kootenay lodge mats were strips sewn together not woven. Rope was common, especially among the Lower bands, either three strands of white willow twisted, or the infinitely enduring raw hide rope, made from stretched strips, treated with boiled tallow, water, and wild rhubarb root.

10. See p. 25 of this Thesis.
11. Turney-High: op. cit. p. 75
12. Ibid: p. 75
At one time baskets of many sizes and shapes were widely used for storage, boiling food, and gathering berries. Now these are rapidly falling into disuse before incursion of the white man's pots and pans. The Upper Kootenay used to make every size of basket, from a few inches to a few feet, as well as cylindrical cooking vessels of birch or cedar bark. As horses came into use with them they relied more upon the Lower bands for baskets. Old Mary of Tobacco Plains said the finest were made from cedar roots gathered in the spring when they send out fine feelers. These were split peeled and dyed with black from boiled carrot root, and green "from a grass that grows high on the mountains." Thus the favourite baskets were variegated green and black. A fine bone awl was used for sewing the baskets, since they had to be watertight. H.H. Turney-High, the authority for this later research upon these Indians, doubts that Kootenay claims to pottery making are well grounded, since they were far from the pottery area. However, there are ceramic deposits not further east than Butte, Montana, and Chief Paul of Tobacco Plains makes his claim forcefully.

"Of course, those ignorant Prairie Indians you know are too dumb to make anything useful. All they ever thought of was murder, stealing, and running after women. We Timber Indians are interested in learning things. I cannot make a bowl, but I have seen hundreds of Kutenai bowls made when I was young, and I remember how my parents said they should be made!"

And there follows the Chief's description of pottery making without the aid of a potter's wheel, or a firing oven.

12. Turney-High: p. 75
13. Ibid: P. 76-77
They desired to create not fine or beautiful ware, but variety in size and shape for practical purposes, for eating dishes, for water-carrying, for mortars in which to wash berries, for boiling meats and soups by the hot stone method, since these fragile vessels could not be put on the fire. Along the banks, cut down by a river, they would find a rock, yellow, red, or white, which they crushed to a flour with a pestle. This they tempered with river sand, and added water to make a round mass of paste, which they put on a flat surface for working. From a centre depression made with the hands, the vessel's sides were smoothed, thinned, widened, heightened, all with the hands, while the hole was kept filled with water until the desired shape had been achieved. Pottery was made in summer, for they knew only sun drying. Wooden bowls for eating containers were common. With a flint knife, and horn chisel, they gouged out and smoothed a section from a log - cottonwood for Upper bands, cedar for the Lower Kootenay.¹⁵

Formerly a very large white spruce bark bucket was made for storage of berries, rarely was it used for cooking. Some of these vessels were beautiful, made from a single sheet of bark, with a wedged bottom, sewn and pitched on the seams. Some were bottle-necked. The Lower Kootenay made also a four foot square cedar box, sometimes with a birch cover, in which to store ducks. The Upper bands deny the use of this, and contact with plains culture tended to drive out the use in favour of the parfleche. Wood carving among them was almost unknown. Even today, however, the ¹⁵. Turney-High: pp. 78-79.
ambitious oarsman, eager for evidence of Indian lore, may row a few miles up the Arrow Lake above Nakusp, and see on a rocky cliff crude animal carvings left by Kootenay Indians. Figures similar to these, of birds, fish, trees, arrows, human beings, were cut boldly in the rock, and the outlines painted red or black. Such an achievement, they thought, ensured long life to the artist. In 1894 such carvings could still be seen just above the lake level on Elephant Mountain opposite Nelson. Even then the Nelson press was deploring the wanton vandalism of boating parties, which defaced these relics for sport. Time and such destruction have long since obliterated all traces of the figures.

The Kootenay were proud to wear spotless white skin clothing. The women were at great pains to prepare the hides with repeated scrapings, solutions, dryings, the final bleach being accomplished by soaking the skin in a solution of animal brains and water. Caribou hides were favourite for soft robes; deer and mountain sheep for women's clothing, bison were favourite for Upper Kootenay lodge covers, elk and moose for Lower Kootenay. When clothing became soiled, it was laid on the ground, rubbed with water and white clay and scraped. In all seasons the Upper Kootenay men wore shirts, well made, of two hides, one for sleeves and a very full collar which could be pulled snug with long laces in cold weather. This garment had no decoration other than heavy fringing, typical of Kootenay garments. Later the women learned porcupine quill embroidery from Cree-speaking plainsmen, but they never became skilled at it. A breach clout and leggings were

16. Ravenhill: op. cit. p. 55 I have seen these carvings myself on the rocky shores of the Upper Arrow Lake above Nakusp. M.E.C.

17. Nelson Miner: June 30, 1894
see these carvings on Sloean lake, and there was one spot in particular where it showed men going away in a canoe and women left on the shore, very clearly. I have not noticed any traces of them for over ten years, probably nearer fifteen, but I can remember them very well when I was a child, even though they have finally finished weathering away now.
attached to a waist string. The precious leggings were removed when travelling through underbrush. The simplicity of their smoked yellow moccasins was defended by Abraham Bull Robe, saying, "We were a square-toed, square-heeled people." These were made of one skin with seam from mid-point of the toe to the ankle, and two seams down the sides of the back. A five inch anklet could be sewn on top of this to wrap over the leggings. For war the Lower Kootenay either stripped to the breech-clout or went naked except for paint. If they wore armour, they might don the shirt over it. This armour, "the thing I use for fighting: my clothing," as it was called by them, was a cuirass of sticks bound with close rows of dogbone. Front, sides and back, as well as upper arms were completely protected. No helmet was known. The bravest used a stone war-club, covered with buckskin and attached to a wooden handle. Feminine garb was a simple two hide dress, heavily fringed and worn with soft leggings in cold weather. The young women put heavy fringes on their most valuable bags and parfleches, thus they could be quickly recognized and seized, if, in case of attack, they had to be saved in a hurry. The Kootenay did not wear the plains feather bonnet, but used either a rawhide hat, or a crownless brim, or a horse's mane hat, a strip around the head with the hair sticking out, or a fur hat, which covered the crown; sometimes a feather was added, flat on the brim. Women might wear willow wreathes.

Never, except for mourning, was the hair cut. The men wore it parted to the right in three plaits, one down each side, and one at the back. Women parted theirs in the middle and plaited two braids, sometimes weaving white weasel tails into the ends.

18. Turney-High op. cit. pp. 80, 81, 90, 91.
19. Ibid: p. 92
20. Ibid: p. 86-87
Even in severest weather they took a daily bath, and used perfumes, dried pulverized flowers and beaver musk in a small perforated buckskin bag. But these were never carried while riding, for the odour would weaken the horses. Every morning they painted their faces, either light or dark red, to prevent sunburn in the summer, and frostbite in winter. The shamans, and the braves in war used white; their hair part was not reddened, but a man who had "counted coup" (accomplished a recognized deed of bravery in war) could paint his hands red, even in peace.

Other customs were developed to a degree befitting their needs. In spite of the prevalence of blindness among the elderly Kootenay it was found that they had named the stars and constellations; Grizzly Bear for the Big Dipper; and P laris, the North Star, they looked for every night. Father de Smet recorded that they had kept count of the time between his sojourns among them. After they began to use tipis the Upper Kootenay adopted the Plains winter count. Each man painted on his tent a memento of the most important event in that year for him. They seemed to have no great concern about nature's cycle, but were anxious to know when midwinter came so they might begin the new year. When this had been agreed upon by the band, some would tie a knot in rawhide rope, and add another for each new moon. They observed six seasons, midwinter, spring, summer, midsummer, fall and winter. Although they realized that the lunar month was not constant they did nothing about it. Moons were named descriptively to record nature's phenomena. Chief Kusata had no knowledge of the former names but gave these of present use. First moon was "to shoot," second "bare", followed 21: Turner-High: op. cit: pp. 90-94.
by "show melting," "ground is cracking," "deep water," "strawberries ripen," "ripe service berries," "berries ripen at night," "choke cherries peel off the seeds easily," "leaves fall off," "dear lamenting," "the first prayer." Kootenay informants claimed they also knew the week, before white men came for they had a ceremonial dance every day. Hence they at once adopted Christianity as true. They divided their day into seven periods, sunrise, morning, noon, afternoon, sunset, night and midnight. From sunrise, from the clouds and even from animal bones, they made weather prognostications.

With the aid of Miss Glady Pierson, a capable musicologist, Turney-High was able to obtain phonographic recordings of thirteen Kootenay songs, personal and ritual. These were then studied carefully and written as best they could be within the conventions of western musical notation. Like so much native music which is only now being "discovered" by western composers, and still more slowly "appreciated" by western listeners, these songs are strange. Key changes frequently or rather there is none, rhythms are unusual, and phrases seem to lack symmetry. Yet they have a beauty or a wild appeal of their own, and it is an exciting experience to sound out their melodies on the keyboard. It is to be hoped that some Canadian composer may use and embroider this virgin material so that the emotional experiences of these, some of our British Columbia aborigines, may be made understandable to us in the language of the immortals. Compared with other Indian songs, these show an unusually low percentage of downward progressions, and some evidence of feeling for key. All these songs were sung without true words, for the Kootenay have no poetry.

22. Turner-High: op. cit: pp. 96-100
23. copies of four of these melodies in the Appendix.
These songs were scrupulously guarded, for they were imparted by the individual's supernatural guardian, and the unnecessary singing of a personal religious song might transfer the power it gave from singer to listener. The accompanying instrument for solo voice or chorus was a drum. Drums were made and owned only by shamans or someone so directed by spirits. A cedar strip one quarter inch thick, and two inches wide was bent to form a hoop 1½ to 2 feet in diameter. This was covered, on one side only, with a rawhide tied over with thongs. It was beaten with a small stick, just long enough to fit inside the drum when travelling. The player held the drum with his left hand, by the thongs at the back, and beat it with his right.

A few examples of these songs will show the occasions and purposes for which they were sung. The Crazy Dog Song, served to work up the members of the society of this name, a body of reserve shock troops, who, in response to the call of the chief's drum, made a "do or die" attack in war when the decision was doubtful. These "crazy" braves, who had to be able to "talk to dogs" before they could join, rushed into the fray with their bodies and those of their horses stamped with human hands which had been dipped in red paint. Abraham Bull Robe, frequently quoted in this study, was, in 1940, Crazy Dog Chief of the Flathead Plains. The Grizzly Bear Dance was sung in chorus. One of many Shaman Songs for treating the sick is embellished with exaggerated grace notes. The Song for the Erection of the Sun-Dance Lodge is a vigorous, symmetrical tune. When giving his Personal Medicine Song, the informant said, "I have kept this secret all my life. I have not sung it for three years. I will die not long from this time, so I will put this on a

24. Turney-High: op. cit. pp. 102-103: 110
record for my descendents." The songs of the first and second gambler as they sang to rouse their powers, were repeated over and over, rising in pitch with excitement. The Recruiting, or Lodge Cover, or Farewell Songs, was a rallying call accompanied by the beating or wooden sticks against a stretched lodge cover: it ends with a falsetto war-cry.

By examining their life cycle and their daily life, the living habits and the moral standards of the Kootenay may be observed. At births, wise-women assisted, not for a fee, but gaining, thereby, immense prestige. Such a woman had her first assignment made by the supernatural in a dream. She washed the new-born child in warm water, moulded his skull carefully into a handsome shape, put her finger through the mouth and pharynx to model the septum and sinuses for ease in breathing, powdered him with punk, and wrapped him in deer or mountain goat hair. After four days he was placed on a cradle board for the remainder of his preambulatory life. This board, of soft wood, three and a half feet long, and less than one inch thick, was ironing-board in shape, and covered with a single hide. It is probable that the use of a stiff board for this purpose came with the use of the horse, for such a cradle made it possible for the mother to ride east to the plains. Before that time it had been made of birch-bark. The child was weaned at two at the latest, and was thereafter expected to help itself to the family food without training.

The Kootenay wanted children; their food supply was ample, and they needed to maintain numerical strength against their neighbouring enemies. Thus they never sold their children, but, in

keeping with their custom of mutual aid, they might give some to a childless couple to rear. A widower disposed of his children to both sides of the family. He hunted for them, but did not take them back upon re-marriage. The widow tried to keep her children, giving them away only when she had to. Without ceremony, the Upper Kootenay named the child by the war-honour of some distinguished relative. If his first name brought him misfortune or illness, the shaman might give him a new one. Basil Left Hand, son of Abraham Left Hand, son of Left Hand were three Upper Kootenay generations. Only the shaman had two names. Among the Lower "coup" names were rare: they preferred magico-religious names, and the father's baptismal name became the son's surname. Paul David, Casimir Joseph, are Lower Kootenay names.

Up to the age of two the child was much fondled with little correction. At one year, he was supposed to walk, at fourteen months to speak Kutenaian plainly. Training began at two years, with spankings for correction. An older child could discipline a younger, but this did not continue after maturity. At six the boy went with his father on deer hunts and killed birds. At ten he killed bison calves, and made and twined his own bowstring. His father and uncles did the training with much lecturing, and cautioning against shouts, loud laughter, or loud speech.

"Do not let anyone hear you but the family you are visiting, lest the old women ridicule you."
"Try and get up before anyone else. Take your bow and hunt. True, the girls will not see your face because you are out hunting every day, but they will know your fame, and will want to marry you. That is surer and better than strutting around before them all the time."
"One cannot keep a lie, and when the truth is known, the camp will be told and its laughter will make you ashamed."
Neither boys, nor prospective fathers, had tabus upon them like the numerous obstetrical tabus put upon girl children from the moment of birth. From the time she could walk she was encouraged to play with dolls. Lavish praise was accorded her efforts as she learned skills by play, and acquired in that way a pleasurable attitude toward them. From five years, she was being taught all the rules, the tabus, how to pack, and from that time she was water-carrier. Her moral instruction included sanctions regarding the afterlife. This was also an inclination toward Christianity which was to be found later so acceptable. At eight years, she could cook a fair meal and care for the smaller children. At maturity she was isolated for seven days. She married at from sixteen to eighteen. When this time came, the young people were allowed more liberty in arranging their matrimonial affairs than most plateau Indians. Physical beauty was a secondary consideration; the man sought a girl who was a good tanner, wood gatherer, and a cheerful worker; the girl wanted a good hunter, provider and a brave warrior. The couple must have no closer kin than a common great, great grandparent. Moral lecturing at this time was unnecessary, so thorough had been the teaching of both young people from earliest childhood. As a result extra-marital sex relationships and adultery were relatively rare. There was no price for the bride nor did she bring a dowry, but both families gave presents. The paternal uncles had to be consulted for approval of the match. The newly wed couple lived with the girl's parents until they were ready to set up their own lodge. In theory, the Kootenay family was mildly patrilineal; actually it was strongly matrilocal. The mother-in-law tabu was observed; the new husband never addressed her directly; he spoke either through her daughter or to the air, without looking at her, "a man was ashamed and bashful before his mother-in-law." Since there was 30. Turney-High: op. cit. p. 144
no need to fear for the food supply, there was no idea of contra-
ception. The largest family anyone can remember is fourteen.

The sick were treated by female herbalists, who did not
lightly disclose their cures, and by male shamans whose ministra-
tions were dancing and singing. When the sick were about to die,
the spirits told the shaman. Thereupon all withdrew from the sick
man's lodge, leaving him to compose himself to die. Part of the
lodge making was afterwards destroyed and the family moved else-
where. When a chief died the whole village moved. Burial, which
took place at once, was quick and simple, with keening and mourning
by the family. Abraham Bull Robe maintains that the custom was
shallow inhumation. Chief Paul of Tobacco Plains said the face
was painted red, and then the body was wrapped in a robe and piled
with logs and stones. In spite of these careless burial methods, the
Kootenay believed that the spirits went to a better life after-death,
another reason why Christian teaching appealed to them. Death did
not terminate the in-law relationships for the mate, who cut his
hair in grief, and went unclean and unkempt for a year, but did
d not mutilate himself.

With their strict moral teaching, the Kootenay were quite
puritanical in sex matters. Yet divorce was easy and common, the
children going in such cases with the mother. Pride of family was
great; Chief Kusata, an old man in his eighties, could remember
137 relatives in seven generations on both sides of his family.
Brothers-in-law and sisters-in-law showed great affection for
each other, and had many jokes together. The modern Kootenay are
dropping the custom of calling cousins as brothers and sisters,
for the reason that gambling has become so common they do not want
31. Turney-High: op. cit. p. 120. Beliefs and burial customs are
confirmed in Jenness: op. cit. p. 360.
"bad blood" within the family. An extreme development from this has been incest among the United States Kootenay.  

Having described the activities of a year and the developments of a lifetime among these Indians, it is now fitting to examine the details of their daily life. All arose before daybreak and went at once to plunge in the nearby stream or lake, even though they walked barefoot through the snow, and cut a hole in the ice to reach the water. This great hardiness was rewarded by complete absence of rheumatism and respiratory infections. To be keener for the hunt, they took no morning meal, though Tobacco Plains might snack on raw kidneys, heart or liver. The noon meal was a hearty one, and with it the men's work for the day was over, though they did not remain idle. The women's varied tasks kept them at work from dawn to dark. Though they were but a small people the Kootenay were never defeated by their numerous enemies. The braves kept fit with strenuous exercise, racing, wrestling, hockey, they raced from the time the sun began to set until supper. This meal was set before the whole family and all ate well. Children ate indoors. Though there was no fixed etiquette of age or rank, it was considered bad manners to get up from the table and walk away before others were finished. The Kootenay were generous and hospitable, being anxious to give others a good impression. Food, lodging and presents, they gave to strangers, even their enemy Piegans, who sometimes came as spies. After dinner was a favourite time for moral instruction to the young. The camp was kept quiet at night for protection.  

32. Turney-High: op. cit. p. 143.  
For meals, and for many necessary crafts, as well as winter warmth, fire was essential. Fire-making was man's work, and two methods were employed. The first and oldest was the palm drill, a sixteen inch stick was twirled until the spark appeared, which lighted a bit of cottonwood down. This took two or three strong men over an hour. The later use of flint and pyrite took only about five minutes. There are no Kootenay fire getting stories which indicates that they must have had this prime comfort very early. Every effort was made to keep the fire burning. On the march, one family member was detailed to keep a torch always alight from a basket of pitchy wood. One family got light from another, and sometimes the end of a fallen log was kept burning as a source of fire for the village.

One of the differences between Upper and Lower Kootenay cultures lay in their systems of leadership. Upper Kootenay chiefs were five in number. The Chief in General, the War Chief, (usually referred to as the chief, which showed the plains and horsee influence), the Guide chief, the Hunting chief, the Sun Dance chief. There was no particular ceremony upon assumption of chieftainship. He who was universally acknowledged the best warrior became the new chief, hence there were no bad ones. Succession was actually weakly hereditary, although they did not consider it to be such, and despised the Salish idea. The Chief said the morning prayers, and had his lodge in the exact centre of the village; often it was larger because the council met in it. The Guide Chief was a very important man. He had to know the country well, and be of superior intelligence, for he

34. Turney-High: pp. 88, 89
directed all transport and economy, planned the day's activities, and controlled the camp scouts except in war. The Hunting Chief was much respected and had great authority during the communal hunt. The War Chief was accustomed to speak of his people in the first person, Chief Paul said, "My enemies all surrounded me." There was also what might be called a sort of weak government by a council of courtesy chiefs who went every night to the chief's lodge to smoke, feast and "count coups." This honourary title was dependent upon making five standard "coups", or brave deeds, such as seeming to shed bullets in battle. There was no hereditary upper class, only a military aristocracy. The recognition of a chief of all the Kootenay was but vague, and of doubtful validity. However, there is a clear impression that the Tobacco Plains Chief was head, but this was only in the bison hunt, and in time the Lower bands ceased to participate in this.

Lower Kootenay chiefs were elected. The strongest in mind, body, skill and spiritual powers "just had to be chief." Each village elected five chiefs, a Band Chief, who had the greatest prestige and was also Sun Dance Chief, the War Chief, and, corresponding to the one Upper Kootenay position of Guide Chief, the Lower Bands elected three economic leaders, Fish, Deer, and Duck Chiefs. Each of the latter for his particular food quest, chose those men who were to work each day and distributed the catch. The position of all these chiefs rested upon prestige rather than power. Precept and ridicule kept the band in line without the need for police. Over-quarrelsome members were expelled to go and "count coup" against the Blackfeet. Similarly theft was

punished, while murder was punished by private vengeance of kin. Kootenay unity was linguistic, cultural and emotional, rather than political, the unity which would have made them formidable against their enemies. After the coming of the missionaries there was created a Church Chief, who sometimes flogged the people unmercifully for their sins, but this was discontinued.

Among the Kootenay there were three lodges of societies. The Crazy Dog, a body of reserve shock troops, of whom mention has already been made in the discussion of the tribal songs. The Crazy Owl, a society of women, whose purpose was to ward off epidemics, has now disappeared. The grandmother of Chief Paul was the last to join it at Tobacco Plains. The Shaman's Society was a group of therapeutic specialists, each of whose members sang over his special part of the patient's body.

Athletics of all sorts were engaged in for military training and for recreation. Two of their secular, non-military dances were the Prairie Chicken Dance, and the Bison Dance, in which one or two pairs of male dancers mimiced the creatures in mating season. Favourite games were a lacrosse-like ball, and shooting at a hoop, like the game of darts. Gambling, mentioned by Sir George Simpson, and Baillie-Grohman, was a game of guessing for sticks held in the clenched hand. This was played with lightning rapidity to the accompaniment of medicine songs. Stakes were high, frequently five horses to a side.

In warfare the Kootenay were at their best on the defensive. For this purpose a levy en masse was made, in which custom they

38. Turney-High: op. cit. pp. 156-159
39. Ibid: pp. 161
differed from other North American Indians. The Guide Chief chose good defensive camp sites, sometimes further protected by rudimentary trenches. These were the only non-agricultural people west of the Mississippi who posted sentinels and vedettes, seemingly an obvious precaution, since Indian success in attack depended upon surprise and stealth. Offensive war was usually undertaken to capture horses, and was eschewed by the Lower Kootenay: indeed, their warring usually resulted from following the Upper Kottenay to the plains. The Upper Bands made one successful offensive when they fought the Kalispel to get a footing beyond Upper Flathead Lake, and on the defensive they never had to yield ground. Those warriors who were entitled to "count coups" for their great deeds wore feathers, and carried a notched stick upon which was recorded these triumphs, but this stick was not for display. For an offensive war enlistment was voluntary, in response to a recruiting song. During the approach march the individuals submitted to command, but the assault was made without organization unless the Crazy Dogs were called in. Each brave carried his medicine bundle and talked to it. Enemy men and women were exterminated. Sometimes, when an enemy warrior begged to be allowed "to look at the sun," he was feasted, drawn out for intelligence, and then sent back with presents to his own chief, to tell him to respect the Kootenay. Such strangers were well treated, so they would report, "These are nice people, we will help them," and the presents with which they returned included Kootenay clothing, so their enemies would easily recognize them and spare them as friends when next their paths crossed. Only the Head Chief in council had power to make

40. Turney-High: op. cit. p. 68.
a lasting peace. They scalped their victims, and if they lost
a life, the victorious band returned with the scalps on a stick
to relieve their tension in the Scalp Dance. Around this pole,
the wildest, wittiest women, their faces painted only at this
time by men, danced their most frenzied steps to a very slow
drumming. Then the surplus plunder was distributed to those
who had not been on the war party. Marriage at such time was
most honourable. Foolhardy bravery was not encouraged. The
man who lost his life attempting a deed too great for his powers
was laughed at, but not mourned.

The core of Kootenay religious life was their search
for supernatural guardians. Usually at the age of seven, some­
times at adolescence the Indian child was sent to the hills to
seek a spirit guardian. These spirits appeared first in humans,
and then in their real animal form. The Indian might have
several such phantom benefactors, one for hunting, one for wars,
and so on. He had implicit faith in their wisdom and benevolence,
and deep affection and a loving dependence upon them. They spoke
to him frequently in the daytime, and deserted him only when he
died.

"The spirits never die. They are the same
spirits our ancestors used thousands of
years ago, and not the ghosts of spirits,
either."42

As part of their affectionate attachment for the super­
naturals, they planted tobacco. The Kootenay explained that

41. Turney-High: p. 169
42. Ibid: quotation p. 171
when they took over the land the spirits could no longer gather tobacco, so the Indians offered it to them in ceremonies, and they in return took care of the Kootenay. From this custom they derived the comforting opinion that, as long as there are Indians to pray and give tobacco to the spirits, the United States and Canada cannot be defeated by any foreign power. For positive good luck, every pious man should fill his pipe and sing at sunrise, and then offer the stem to the east at night, to ward off misfortune, he should offer it to the west and to the ground. It was not offered to the four directions, for the Kootenay had no feeling for the cardinal points. Thus Kootenay smoking had a prayerful significance and was not done merely for pleasure. They almost always smoked it with Kinnikinic. Tobacco Plains, La Prairie du Tabac of Father de Smet, was named for the old Kootenay tobacco gardens. The plant is no longer grown there and the tradition as to whence came the seeds has been lost. Tobacco Plains informants claimed it was first grown at Canal Flats, and that the seeds came from the spirits. At the planting season there was considerable migration. Only the very oldest informants claimed to have seen oboriginal tobacco, and only a part a part of the planting ceremony was remembered.

Every man and many women carried a medicine bundle whose contents and preparation were prescribed by the spirits. The owner sang to this charm and received instructions from it.

43. Jenness: op. cit. p. 361, states that the pipe was turned three times horizontally, thus being offered to the four points of the compass.
44. Turney-High: op. cit. pp. 170-172.
He never sold it, sometimes it was given away at death, but usually it was buried with him. The Kootenay set great value, too, upon the power to talk to the animals.

Some youths upon the first supernatural visitation became shamans, whose advice was sought both for the body and the soul. Young shamans were preferred to old, and their position was pragmatic, depending upon their success with their patients and public confidence. Although such an occurrence was not common, a shaman could be induced to kill an enemy for a client. Much stress was laid upon purity by all who participated in shaman seances. Upon such occasions the shaman retired behind a blanket which partitioned off a corner of the lodge, and before which juniper smoke was kept smoldering. In his seclusion the shaman became bound, and called up as many as four spirits who mumbled with him, imparting advice which he later came forth to pass on to the assembled believers. Sometimes, they maintained that the shaman was taken away by the spirits, while others took possession behind the curtain. At the direction of the spirits, also, the Kootenay took sweat baths, offering prayers and songs while they remained from ten to twenty minutes in the hot steam.

There were few ceremonials for occasions of economic importance, and these were but weak displays. Much has been written about their most famous ceremonial, the Sun Dance, which brought all the Kootenay together, and is thought to have been adopted from prairie custom. Alice Ravenhill describes it as a winter festival held at Lake Pend 'Oreille to await the

45. Turney-High: pp. 173-177
return of their dead from the sun. Jenness comments upon the mutilation to which they would resort, in the extremity of their fanaticism, chopping off the joints of the first fingers, or offering to the sun pieces of flesh from their arms and breasts. W.A. Baillie-Grohman, in his Sport and Life included an illustration, which purported to depict the physical tortures of a Kootenay sun dance. W.W. Bride in July, 1932, received this description from Matthew, interpreter of the Kootenay tribe, at an Indian gathering above Tobacco plains.

"The sun dance.... that made men out of the young bucks a huge medicine lodge, the roof supported by a central pillar from which hung a single, long raw-hide rope. Behind a railing at one side of the lodge stood a group of braves, each with a tom-tom and a ceremonial whistle. In the centre stood the medicine man of the tribe, naked to the waist and gaudily painted. The first candidate enters: the tom-toms beat furiously; the whistles shrill; the squaws ranged around, pick up the burden of a chant.... The medicine man, aided by the young buck's relatives, throw him to the ground quickly and efficiently. When he is allowed to rise he has a sharp skewer of wood forced horizontally through the thick muscle of his breast. To the protruding ends of this, the lariat from the post has been tied."

Turney-High's description differs decidedly from these. His informants were Francis Adam (Whisky Jim) the Sun Dance Chief at Bonner's Ferry, and Abraham Bull Robe, Crazy Dog Chief of the Elmo Band. According to these authorities the dance was held once a year preferably in the spring. It

46. Ravenhill, op.cit., p. 94.
47. Jenness, op.cit., p. 361.
might be skipped, as it was in 1939 and 1940 unless the spirit told them when and where to hold it. There was no mutilation, no tying up to a pole no dragging a bison's head around by thongs tied into human flesh, no torture. Acting upon instructions for the spirits, the Sun Dance Chief fashioned a Sun Dance Doll after three days, but sometimes as much as three months, of ceremony and drumming in his own lodge. Then under divine direction he found the pole which was cut for erection of the Sun Dance Lodge, and which must never touch the ground in being felled. The lodge was quickly erected in a day with much ceremony, drumming and painting. Therein was ensconced the doll, three feet high. Then with painted faces the whole tribe came to heap lavish gifts and abandon themselves to an orgy of dancing which lasted three nights and two days. Afterward the gifts were distributed to the poor. The whole dance usually lasted seven days. Informants claimed the Sun Dance came from "across the eastern ocean where the Sun Dance spirit lives." Next in emotional importance came the Grizzly Bear Dance, which was the nature of a prayer for plenty at the beginning of the berry-picking season. The Fir Tree Ceremony bears an interesting resemblance to the Western Christian's Christmas tree custom. When game deer was scarce, the Kootenay decked an evergreen with gifts and prayed to it. There was also, at one time, a midwinter festival to usher in the New Year but this has not been held for a very long time. Nature was neither so bountiful nor so harsh that the Kootenay ceased
to feel the need and the efficacy of prayer. Every morning
the adult family left the children asleep to go out and pray,
invoking the Dawn to help their children, and the Sun to
help other young people who were not their relatives.49

The Kootenay have always been proud of the linguistic
difficulties of their speech. As in speaking Chinese, tone pitch
with them alters meaning. For example 'a kal', as written, means
a cloud, and is pronounced with falling pitch on the first
syllable; if this pitch is altered to a rising one the word
means gunny-sack. Long words are built up polysyllabically,
and the grammar is exacting. Both Upper and Lower Kootenay
dialects are in process of rapid change, not through intro­
duction of English words, or new coined words from the machine
age, but from the lip-laziness of Kootenay youth. Moreover,
as they become bilingual they are losing the rich vocabulary
of Kootenain synonyms with which they used to be familiar.
The Italian "a" which was the "a a" introduction to vowel
sounds is giving place to the nasalized "ae" sound. Both
Turney-High and Edward Sapir believe the Kootenay had some
former connection with Easter Indians, but Turney-High does
not agree with Sapir in placing them in the Algonkin-Wakashan
language group.50

Various myths and legends have come down to us from
these people. They are usually long explanations of those
natural phenomena most necessary for existence. The chief
figures, as a rule, are animals, and few men appear, like the
story which tells how the coyote brought the salmon to this
49. Turney-High: op. cit. pp. 178-188
50. Ibid: pp 189-190
country. In her book Alice Ravenhill quotes in full one Kootenay fable, which draws a moral from the infectious quality of fears that have no foundation. Coyote, wolf, and grizzly bear, each flee in turn at sight of other's fear, until they discover that a running rabbit began this flight. Then they all laugh at their own folly.

Non-linguistic communication was confined mainly to the Upper Kootenay. They never used smoke signals, but the entire Plains sign language was used expertly by them, and was fairly well known to the Lower Bands.

Hospitable, kindly the Kootenays had quick perceptions: they were reliable and possessed of a keen sense of humour. Too remote to be much reached before the second half of the nineteenth century, they had already settled to ranching and raising horses before white and yellow prospectors poured into feast upon the wealth below the soil. The unfortunate degeneration, for the Indians, resulting from such incursion had been sadly foretold by Father de Smet and by W.A. Baillie Grohman.

"...to a great extent I found the Kootenays to be in 1883 just what de Smet described them to be in 1845, the only exception being perhaps that gambling among themselves had increased to a dangerous degree. They are without exception, the only tribe perfectly untrammelled by white man's presence in close proximity. But the simple Kootenay days are numbered, for the whites are beginning to invade their isolated realm, this year they are to have a reserve assigned to them by the Government. It will be an interesting but suggestively sad study to watch the rapid deterioration which will inevitably take place. The evening prayer bell that now sounds in every little Kootenay camp, strangely out of place as it seems, will no longer be heard, while the breechclout will be replaced by white-men's cast-off dress."

51. Ravenhill: op. cit, p. 98
52. Turney-High: loc. cit, p. 190
53. Baillie Grohman: Appendix to W. Barnby's Life and Labour in the Far Far West, p. 420
In the days of the gold rush, the Indians kept proudly aloof from the whites, and such was the chief's control over his tribe, that infringements of this rule were severely punished. When the white tide of settlers swept west across the prairies and the buffalo died out on the plains the Indians were taught by the Catholic Fathers to plant and reap and tend their own cattle. For this purpose, Father Leon Fouquet O.M.I. established the first permanent mission among the Kootenays in October, 1874 on St. Mary's river, six miles above its junction with the Kootenay. The two storlog house was the beginning of St. Eugene Mission. During the thirteen years of his service there, Father Fouquet laboured with understanding and zeal to teach the Indians how to make their land yield a generous crop. By this time white settlers were steadily filtering in, yet the Father bears testimony to the high character of the people he knew so well, while he strove to reconcile them to their lot.

That the white settlers felt uneasy in their new claimed land, is proved by the fact that they petitioned the provincial government to establish a military post in this district, as early as 1874, the very year in which Father Fouquet came. For ten years the government did nothing, while Indian unrest continued to smoulder without breaking out. Chief Isadore of the Upper Kootenays, considering his tribe to be rightful owners of this valley resented the coming

54. Wild Horse Creek 1865
55. Andrew Mara, their representative in the Provincial House moved a resolution to that effect. *Sessional papers*, 1865 Quoted in S.L. Thrupp op. cit. p. 48.
of farmers, miners and railway surveyors, white and yellow. As he looked into the future, he saw the time when his people would be outcasts in their own land. Moreover, in the United States, whose nearby Indian settlements were often visited by his tribe, Isadore thought a similar problem was being treated with generosity and justice. There the Indians were given compensation for lands taken away, annuities, and large reserves. Moreover, even in Canada, the Dominion Government was making treaties with the Plains Indians.

The focal point of unrest came to be the grazing area east of the Columbia Lakes, where Isadore's people had about four hundred head of cattle and five hundred horses. Until 1882, the only settler here had been Baptiste Morigeau, whose house and trading post were accepted on the creek of this name. With the approach of the Canadian Pacific Railway, however, employees of the company began to stake off land and record their claims, some of which lay on the cattle run. Finally in 1883, A.S. Farwell was sent to make a report, and although he wrote that

"all the upper Kootenays are civil, good natured and appear well disposed towards the whites," in his report, dated December 31 of the same year, he urged

"the grave necessity of settling the Indian land claims in this district at the earliest possible date."56

Upon receipt of this report, the government lost no time in sending Peter O'Reilly, Indian Commissioner, to settle the question, and after careful consideration of Indian needs,

by the end of 1884, he had allotted reservations of about forty-two thousand acres, including blocks on Tobacco Plains, the Lower Kootenay and Lower Columbia Lakes, a reserve on St. Mary's river, and three ranches. The Chief Commissioner of Lands and Works protested that this was too much, but the grants remained as O'Reilly defined them. Insadore, however did not consider them enough. Two more grievances fanned his fury to flame. Colonel Baker bought land and began to cultivate land which Insadore considered to be his own, and one of his tribesmen was accused of a murder, and, in 1887, was lodged in a Wild Horse jail. The chief, thoroughly roused, galloped with his braves to Wild Horse and freed the accused, refusing to recognize the constable's authority. The whites were now in terror of an Indian uprising. The government ordered a detachment of mounted police under Major Steele to proceed to the district, while a Commission was set up to effect a settlement. When he arrived at the end of June, Major Steele leased land at the mouth of Wild Horse Creek and began to build a fort. Insadore delivered his tribesman for trial, whereupon the latter was freed for lack of evidence, and the other matters were amicably settled by compromise.

Just as this difficult point, when the Indians were filled with distrust and hatred of white settlers, Father Nicholas Coccola, O.M.I. arrived at the mission to replace Father Fouquet, whom failing health forced to retire. Late in the fall of 1887, he proceeded from Golden alone with an Indian guide into the country of the Kootenays. The latter were in no
mood to welcome him. A band of young braves rode up to stare at him silently and then turn abruptly with their

"Variegated blankets painted faces, hair frizzed out and full of wire and other ornaments." 57

No wonder his first night on the bone strewn floor of a Kootenay tepee was a wakeful one! But he knew how to deal with them; full of understanding and sympathy, he proved his friendship and smoothed the way for their submission to the white man's plan. In October 1890, at the request of the Indians, a school was opened at St. Eugene Mission with the Sisters of Providence in charge. Father Coccola laboured here until his removal to Stuart Lake in 1905. Yet in spite, of such devotion and the education of their children in the school the Kootenays have been overtaken by moral and physical degeneration. Ages of living on a spare diet, or rather, alternating buffalo feast with famine, have produced a people of little stamina, every year they trap less. At present they seem content with their lot. It is to be hoped that further degeneration may somehow be arrested and that by education they may be brought to more healthful living. Before 1850, the Kootenay numbered about 1200, today they are about 1050, of whom 435 are in Canada in six bands Arrow Lakes 4, Lower Columbia Lake 93, Lower Kootenay 71, Shuswap 50, St. Mary's 159, Tobacco Plains 58. 59

The Upper Kootenay stock today is mixed with Shuswap, since a small group of the latter Indians came to settle around the Columbia lakes at some time early in the 19th century.

58. "My uncle, Father Nicholas Coccola, O.M.I. died on the first of March 1943 at the Smithers Hospital and was buried at the Le Jac Industrial School," Letter from Jean Coccola, Powell River July 10, 1945. (Affairs Branch, 1939, p. 6.
59. Census of Indians in Canada, Dept. of Mines and Resources, Indian
It was the inaccessibility of Kootenay and Columbia valleys which permitted the Aboriginal Indians to develop the culture we have described. It was the rivalry of fur trading companies which opened this rugged region to the explorations of intrepid white men. Not, however, until the second half of the nineteenth century was revealed the abundant mineral wealth which brought settlement to the Kootenays, and made this rich area a prize to be coveted by both nations then developing north and south of the newly defined boundary, parallel 49°. On mountain tops, in sandbars along rivers and creeks, on the shores of lakes, "base" metals and "precious" lay awaiting man's desire to put them to his uses. In the last two decades of the nineteenth century, the prosperity of Great Britain, and especially of the United States spurred enterprising adventurers to overcome nature's obstacles. Pathless forests and impassable waterfalls could no longer hold back the opening of the Bluebell, the Silver King, Red Mountain and Silver Slocan.

In 1854, Alfred Waddington, a former Mariposa miner, saw an Indian chief in the Colville country who had placer gold in his possession. On September 4, 1859, Captain John Palliser found Scotsmen, Americans, and Indians working for gold on the Pend d'oreille and Salmon rivers, and on the

Columbia near the mouth of the Pend d'Oreille. The same activity was observed in the first report upon the geology of this country prepared by H. Bauerman, in connection with the Boundary Commission expedition of 1859-61, which purposed to establish the position of the 49th parallel in this area. Since these observations were never printed, no reference is made to them in the geological survey reports on British Columbia until 1884. Although this gold working was a part of the northward movement of placer mining, not Salmon River and the Pend d'Oreille, but Wild Horse Creek, and the Big Bend became centres of the first mining rush to the Kootenays in the 1860's. As the California rush of 1849 passed its peak prospectors drifted northward into Oregon picking up a few nuggets along the Yakima, Pend d'Oreille and Coeur d'Alene rivers, but prevented by Indian wars from venturing further. Hopes frustrated by the failure of the Queen Charlotte.

2. Captain Palliser's Explorations in British North America 1863 p. 160 "I took an observation here in latitude about 49°1', and the mouth of the Pendoreilla River is about three-quarters of a mile within the British Territories. While I was observing, a circle of Scotchmen, Americans and Indians surrounded me, anxiously awaiting my decision as to whether the diggings were in American property or not: strange to say the Americans were quite as much pleased at my pronouncing in favour of Her Majesty as the Scotchmen: and the Indians began cheering for King George."

3. Report by H. Bauerman, from observations made 1859-61, upon the geology of the country near the 49th parallel of North Latitude, West of the Rocky Mountains, published 1884, in Report of Progress, 1882-3-4, Geological and Natural History Survey and Museum of Canada; A.R.C. Sewyn Director: Montreal Dawson Bros. 1885, p. 37B. "In the Pend d'Oreille valley during the season of 1858, the gravel terraces lying above the present high water level were successfully worked for gold, as much as £20 per man per diem, having been realized by working sluices on ground for twenty-five feet above the river."

Island veins were quickly revived by the discoveries along the Thompson and Fraser Rivers. In 1858 Victoria became a suddenly a city bustling with the hurried inrush of prospectors to whom every distant mountain creek beckoned with glittering promise. To a public in this state of mind, came first rumour, and then authentic story, of a new gold field in the Kootenay. First reports were published in American papers, as early as March 1864, the Walla Walla Statesman, Boise News Lewiston Golden Age. On the coast, the Victoria Colonist printed the official news, June 18, 1864.

"The government of British Columbia has obtained official information of the most startling nature as to the extent and richness of the gold mines... We are informed the diggings are richer than anything in Boise or Cariboo, besides being much more accessible... The diggings are at present entirely in British territory, and are believed to extend over the whole country between the mouth and source of the river."

A letter, dated May 27, 1864, from Rock Creek, described the excitement at Colville:

"Everybody talked, dreamed and spoke of nothing but Kootenay. There are a thousand and one rumours in regard to that country of untold wealth, but I could trace none of them to any authentic source."

The letter concluded with advice about the best route to the mines.  

Since the region was more accessible from the American side of the boundary, the first prospectors came from there, and unemployment resulting from the failure of the Boise mines contributed to their first rush to the Kootenay.

5. The Colonist: June 20, 1864.  
Pioneers agree in crediting the discovery to a half-breed son of David Thompson's servant, Finlay. In 1863 Finlay washed out several hundred dollars worth of coarse gold from the creek, thereafter named for him, and wrongly spelled Findlay on the maps. This gold he sold to the nearest white man, John Linklater, the Hudson's Bay Company agent at Tobacco Plains. At the time an English surveyor, James Manning was staying with Linklater, planning to try his fortunes in British Columbia, after his failure to find satisfactory employment in San Francisco. Observing the quality of Finlay's gold, he determined to go north himself and returned with a band of Shuswap Indians from the Columbia Lakes, to spend the winter with them and to begin exploring in the spring.

This story of Finlay's gold spread quickly, and while the snow and ice were still too thick to work upon it, a party of men arrived at the Creek. Further south they found nuggets in abundance on a more sheltered stream in the crevice of a mountain. Manning joined them in time to stake out one of the richest claims along Stud Horse Creek, as they called it, after a black cayuse seen on the hillside. That summer five hundred claims were staked in four and a half miles along the creek. Soon the town of Fisherville made its appearance, named for Jack Fisher, a "squawman," and one of S.L. Thrupp: p. 23.

(a) Manning M.S. Provincial Archives, ref. in S.L. Thrupp loc. cit. p. 23.
(b) Howay, Sage, Angus: British Columbia and the United States 1942 p. 266.
the first miners. Prospectors flocked in from Idaho over a trail built from Colville almost entirely through British territory. At its height the settlement had a population of over a thousand, and in this camp was found the largest nugget yet discovered in the colony, a piece of gold weighing thirty-seven ounces and valued at $666,00.9 John Carmichael Haynes was appointed gold commissioner for the district and arrived in August to set up his headquarters in one of the little log huts rapidly been set up to establish the town. He was recognized as the sole authority, and neither he nor his successors had any trouble in maintaining law and order.10

In the fall of the same year, Arthur N. Birch, the Colonial Secretary, came over five hundred miles of rugged trails from Hope to Fisherville to see for himself the boom which produced official returns and exaggerated tales of fabulous wealth being taken from the first diggings. His official report estimated that there were seven hundred men at Wild Horse. There were numerous substantial stores, four restaurants and a large brewery. Birch closed his report with a tribute to Mr. Haynes in fulfilling the many difficult duties of his position. Upon his return the Secretary took out about fourteen or fifteen thousand dollars worth of gold dust. Thus he and companions were "the first gold escort direct from the

9. Howay, Sage, Angus op. cit., p. 266.
Rocky Mountains to the seaboard of the colony. The following spring Peter O'Reilly was sent from Cariboo to be Gold Commissioner but by that time most of the "wild boys" had rushed away to seek shallower diggings on new bars at the Big Bend of the Columbia.

On August 31, 1907 one of the last Wild Horse Pioneers died in Cranbrook hospital. This was Robert C. Dore, who came to the creek in 1864, located one of the first three very rich claims, and put in a hydraulic plant. He had this machine specially made in San Francisco. During his first weeks at the creek, his gravel pans averaged from $1.00 to $20.00, and his estimate of the total amount of gold taken out of Wild Horse was $15,000,000.

After a revival of excitement in 1884, the diggings were left mostly to Chinamen, who at one time numbered 500. Content with far less than white miners, these Celestials formed two mining companies. In 1902, when one of them returned to China it is said not one took less than $15,000. Lee Jack, one of the last of the oriental miners died in 1930. Ban Quong, perhaps the sole survivor lives near Cranbrook.

11. (a) from Birch's Report, published in B.C. Gazette, Nov. 1864 ref. in S.L. Thrupp, op. cit. p. 27.
   (b) Trimble, William J. Mining Advance into the Inland Empire Madison Wis. 1914, pp 192-195.
12. He changed the name to Wild Horse after the many wild horses in this region; these were mentioned by both Thompson and Henry. Fred J. Smyth: Tales of Kootenays Cranbrook 1942, p. 56.
Dan Drumheller, later a Spokane business man, ran a pack train between Walla Walla and Wild Horse in 1864, arriving there first on June 15, of that year, where he found 1500 miners on the ground. In his little log shack store, all goods were paid for in gold. In one day, a $56.00 nugget and several other big ones passed across his counter.15

15. Ibid: p. 54.

In his book, Mr. Smyth prints stories from the lips of Wild Horse pioneers, Dave Griffiths, who arrived late in 1864, stated that the camp had about fifty buildings. Prices were tremendous, flour, $1.25 a pound; tobacco $15.00 "and they would soak it in the creek all night so it would weigh more."

The money taken in 1864 bought in about five thousand people in 1865, and that was the year that millions were taken out. I knew lots of men who cleaned up from fifty to sixty thousand dollars that year. I had two partners that year and my dividends ran one thousand to fifteen hundred dollars a week, and I would go to town every Saturday night and spend the whole thing. —No one will ever know how many millions were taken out, and I will tell you here, that when this old bed is discovered there will be millions taken out again."

Mr. Smyth adds this comment, "We pin considerable faith on what Mr. Griffiths had said for -- he was a frequent visitor to Cranbrook and we have had many personal talks with him. In his later years his claims were worked by Chinese on shares and the old man usually brought a nice bunch of nuggets to town with him."

Mr. Smyth also prints an account from the Fort Steele Prospector of March 18, 1896.

"A half-breed named Findlay and two companions were passing through the country in 1863. --Here (on Wild Horse Creek) they cleaned up about $700 in pumpkin seed gold. On their way out to Frenchtown, near Missoula, they sold this gold to a man named Linklighter, a Hudson's Bay factor in charge of the post at Tobacco Plains, and the only white resident in the valley at that time. --The following spring saw quite a number of men making their way into the country."

"One party of fifteen came in from Hell Gate, Montana, arriving at Wild Horse early in March 1864. About the time another party — Pat Cuddy, Curly Carroll, Lem Harris, James Smith and Bob Dore came in from Walla Walla by the way of the Moyie and Joseph's prairie, and prospected — until they got up to the mouth of what is now called Brewery Creek they ran across a fine black cayuse stallion, giving rise to the original name, "Studhorse Creek."

"Bob Dore recorded the first claim — then followed the French Fisher, Cuddy and others. As much as $7,000 was taken out of the Dore in one day, the average being about $3,500" (Continued on succeeding page)
Merchants in the British colony at the coast were loath to see this prosperous trade monopolized by the United States. In 1864, in reply to the merchants' urgent request, Governor Seymour sent George Turner, formerly of the Royal Engineers, to explore a road to the Kootenays. Turner and his men arrived on the Columbia near Death Rapids, having proceeded by Lytton, Kamloops, and the South Thompson, and the Shuswap Lakes to the divide. Although they did not reach the Kootenay mines, they prospected on the bars of the Columbia and were the pioneers of the rush to the Big Bend, whence wild rumours of "shallow diggings!" drew men from the Cariboo, from Wild Horse, Idaho, Montana, and even from California. Miners of every nationality rushed in 1865 and 1866, full of confidence to the creeks along the bend of the Columbia. Not the variable and uncertain yield, the hardships of travel on this worst stretch of the river, nor the scarcity of food could impair their hopes. Because this area was well within British territory and less than three hundred miles from Yale, there was more chance for colonial competition for trade. The government gave a contract to G.B. Wright to build a road from Cache Creek eastward producing altogether in three years the sum of $521,700. During the season of 1864 there were in the neighbourhood of 3,000 miners on the Wild Horse. The Wild Horse diggings paid from $20 to $50 a day per man. "About 800 men wintered in the district in 1864-65. Flour went up to $1.25 per pound, tobacco $15.00 and other things in proportion. There was no beef, but about 100 sheep were brought in and sold at 50 cents per pound. This was a very prosperous season, and there must have been from 5,000 to 8,000 men in the district. Wild Horse Creek paid better in 1865 than any creek in California did during the palmy days. Hundreds of men made $3,000 to $5,000 in a few months, and some as high as $20,000."

to Savona's Ferry at the western end of Kamloops Lake. This was finished in April 1866 after five months, and in May 1866 the Hudson's Bay Company completed the steamer "Marten," and ran her regularly on the lake that summer from Savonna's to Seymour. From there the goods had to be taken forty miles by pack train over the Gold Range to the Columbia. Walter Moberley widened the trail that had been used by F.J. Barnard's first express in July 1865. Such incommodious transit was no deterrent to Steinburger of Yale, however, for in 1866, he took a complete brewery to be established at French Creek. Meantime the steamer "Forty-Nine" was built at Colville to take miners and goods up the Arrow Lakes and the Columbia.

The Big Bend season of 1866 was disappointing, however, for the whole production did not exceed a quarter of a million dollars. By September the miners were coming out, many unable to pay their passage on the Forty-Nine which made but three trips. A few remained on French and McCulloch Creeks, and obtained gold in small quantities for about ten years thereafter. Thus within three years, this miniature El Dorado flowered and faded, an incident in the search for a trail, which when it was built, ran hundreds of miles to the south of Big Bend.

19. Ibid: p. 236
20. Ibid: p. 239
22. (a) Ibid: p. 242
     (b) H.H. Bancroft op. cit. p. 530-538.
Meantime the Government of British Columbia was beset by insistent demands that Wild Horse gold and trade be diverted from the natural geographic channel which took it south, out of Canada on the same trails along which the miners entered. Upon completion of the boundary survey the Hudson's Bay old post, Fort Kootenay proved to be south of the boundary. It was abandoned, and a new one placed at Tobacco Plains, about seventy miles from Wild Horse Creek. However, in spite of its nearness to the mines it did not capture all the trade.

As soon as they heard the news of Finlay's discovery, John and James Galbraith, adventurous sons of a Dublin professor, made their way up the Kootenay. They stayed to engage in trade when they saw the promising nature of the mines. Galbraith Brothers set up a ferry on the Kootenay River, a store, and procured horses and mules for pack trains. Keen competition from many other traders and packers only served to increase the ferry business. In the end Galbraiths absorbed most of their rivals, and their trading post later became the city of Cranbrook.25 A curious pack animal found upon these trails

25. (a) John Galbraith arrived on Fisher Creek in a party of fifteen miners from Walla Walla. Early in March 1863, Galbraith was soon joined by his brothers, James and R.T.L. Ferry charges were $100 per head for horses and mules and $5.00 for men. The ferry crossed the Kootenay River where the town of Fort Steele is now located. When in 1874 the customs office was removed from Wild Horse to Joseph's Prairie, John Galbraith left his brothers to carry on the ferry business, and went with his wife to open a store at the new location. Here his stock ranch and the extensive acres of land purchased by him included all of that upon which now stands the city of Cranbrook. Note compiled from Clara Graham, Fur and Gold in the Kootenays, Vancouver, Wrigley Printing Co. Ltd. 1945 pp. 127-132,161.

was the camel, which had to be abandoned here as elsewhere in rugged country. The last lone camel turned loose, finally served as part of Galbraith's diet in 1870. Goods came by two trails from Walla Walla, a distance of four hundred miles. Large herds of cattle were driven in, making beef a cheap article of food, but tea, tobacco and butter were high. Sir James Douglas planned a waggon road across British Columbia to meet another from Canada at Edmonton. This route was to have gone from Hope via the Similkameen to Okanagan Lake, across the Columbia to find a pass through the Rockies in the Kootenay district. A trail was put through to Similkameen but the project had to be abandoned when it was barely begun. Meanwhile citizens of Colville cut a trail through from Fort Shepherd to Kootenay. This route, however, was unsatisfactory being long and rough, and necessitating a detour through American territory.

Since private enterprise had thus failed to find a practicable route, it was left to the Government to do so. George Turner was sent to find a way from Shuswap Lake across the Gold Range to the Columbia. Although as we have seen

26. (a) S.L. Thrupp: op. cit. p. 29.
(b) T.C. Elliott, Camels in the Inland Empire, in the Oregon Historical Quarterly, vol. 30, p. 126, quotes from the Walla Walla News Files of the Washington Statesman, March 12, 1864. *A Pack Camel -- In the train that left here this week for the Kootenai mines was something new in the shape of a pack animal, for this country, an Arabian camel. Mr. William Henry of Bitterroot Ferry is the fortunate owner of the camel... (he) had 400 pounds on his camel, and thinks he can make profitable use of him in packing between here and the Kootenai, as the country to be travelled over is... but little unlike that of his native deserts.*" and p. 128

The author goes on to say that they were most unsuitable for they made the pack horses stampede on the trails, and they seemed unhappy among this people of no prayers.

27. R.E. Gosnell: Yearbook of British Columbia Victoria 1897 p. 35.
prospecting by some members of his party resulted in the gold rush to the Big Bend, Turner had to turn back at Boat Encampment. He reported this route unsuitable because of mountain snows and the number of rapids in the Columbia. Another party under J.J. Jenkins, late of the Royal Engineers, examined the country round the Kettle River and Grand Prairie and advised that the trail follow the valley of the St. Mary's River through the mountains. Early in 1865, upon receipt of this report Governor Seymour ordered Edgar Dewdney to make further explorations and extend the Dewdney Trail from Princeton, then known as Vermillion Forks, to Wild Horse Creek. In the estimates of 1863, 30,000 pounds was set aside for the building of this and trails toward the Big Bend.

Construction of the trail, just wide enough for a prospector and his horse was begun in early spring of 1865. Dewdney chose his route by way of Goat River in preference to the St. Mary's River pass, where snows would be late in melting. From Princeton the trail wound its way entirely within British territory, along the Similkameen past where Keremeos now stands, then to Rock Creek, through the Kettle River valley to Midway, up Boundary Creek to Grand Forks, past Christina Lake, through what is now Rossland, down Trail Creek (named for it) to the Columbia, down this river to Fort Shepherd, and from there by way of the Moyie and Joseph's Prairie to Wild Horse. Since Europeans were anxious to get rich quick in gold mining, much of the labour was done by Chinese, who did not spurn wage-earning at seventy-five dollars a month. Two

29. Afterward Lieutenant Governor of the Province.
30. S.L. Thrupp: op. cit. p. 32.
hundred labourers rushed the work to completion by the early part of September in the same year 1865. The cost had been $74,000,32 but neither time nor money were sufficient to make the trail practicable. Within a year the "Colonist" observed, "Dewdney's trail on which $80,000 were expended, is useless."33 No bridges were constructed although the trail crossed many creeks and rivers, which in summer were unfordable, while in winter, the deep snow in the mountains beyond Hope blocked all travel. Detours into American territory continued to be necessary, and the very purpose for which the trail was built was unfulfilled. Geographic considerations prevailed over Government desires. Trade continued to be with points south of the boundary, and before the next mining boom brought development to the Kootenays in the last two decades of the century, the Dewdney Trail had become impassable through long neglect.

Mining activity on the Kootenay Lake dates from the discovery of a galena outcropping at Bluebell, on the eastern shore. The history of this discovery is a very interesting one from a research point of view.

"Late in the twenties, Hudson's Bay Company trappers used ore from the Bluebell outcrop for making bullets and left several drills behind,"34 A number of books, and many local

Kootenay residents insist upon the story that David Douglas, a Scottish botanist, (who was the first white man unconnected with the Hudson's Bay or North West Company that travelled in British Columbia for scientific purposes,) went through the Kootenay country in 1825, and sent home a specimen or two of the glittering ore with his report. Judge Howay, however, after careful examination of Douglas' journals, was unable to authenticate this, since in 1825 Douglas remained at the mouth of the Columbia, and in 1831 (when he was supposed to have had the samples assayed) he remained in California. Douglas' journals do show that in April and May 1826, he was at Kettle Falls and Fort Colville, where he was befriended by John Work, Dr. John McLoughlin and Governor Simpson of the Hudson's Bay Company, whose hospitality and influence with the Indians was every way exerted to enable the young Scot to enrich his collection of botanical specimens. In view of the fact that Douglas' excursions from these points were frequent and extensive, it seemed not unlikely that he observed the Bluebell and heard the Indians talk of it in 1826, and that somehow an error was made in the date when the story was passed on. However, further research by A.G. Harvey

35. (a) W.A. Baillie-Grohman: Sport and Life, 1907 p. 232 (b) Chas. St. Barbe: First History of Nelson, 1897, C. Rohrabacher and Son. In quoting from this latter reference paging is not given because the writer of this thesis used two copies, one typed transcript in the Nelson Public Library and one a printed pamphlet privately owned.
38. This story is also told in the mining reports of 1889 and 1909. Howay and Scholefield: op. cit. p. 468.
disposes of the story as quite unfounded.39 These old tales die hard especially when they appeal to the imagination of local residents.

When Father de Smet journeyed through the Kootenay country to the source of the Columbia in September 1845, he said in his letters "Le pays des Skalzi n'attend que le travail et l'industrie de l'homme--. Le plomb y est si abondant que dans plusieurs endroits il se trouve en morceaux sur la surface du sol même, et d'une qualité si belle qu'il y a peu de doute qu'il ne soit mêlé avec une certaine quantité d'argent."40

The next observation of the Bluebell was made by H. Bauerman in a report prepared by him in connection with the Boundary Commission expedition of 1859-61. This was printed for the first time in Dawson Bros., Report of Progress, 1885. Bauerman says, "Very pure galena of a moderately argentiferous character occurs on the Kootenay Lake, yielding by assay 83 per cent of lead with 20 oz. of silver to the ton. The specimens were obtained from A.C. Anderson of the Hudson's Bay Co. at Victoria. The locality is however practically inaccessible, the only means of approach being the Kootenay River, which is barred by falls and rapids near the mouth, and can only be navigated by light canoes."41

About 1864, after he had sent prospectors north, and received favorable reports from the George Hearst of California, made a trip to the Bluebell. A wealthy mining man, Hearst

40. De Smet Letters Missions de L'Oregon, p. 82
41. Geological and Natural History Survey and Museum of Canada, Report of Progress -- Montreal, Dawson Bros. 1885 p. 36B.
became afterwards a United States senator. His persistence overcame the many hardships of the journey and upon reaching the property, he erected a small open-hearth furnace and smelted out some bullion.\(^{42}\) This galena, a metallic grey, cleavable lead-sulphide, from which almost all usable lead is extracted, yielded eighty percent. However, Hearst found this low grade of ore, the difficulties of transportation and the inability to find markets, obstacles which he could not surmount, and he abandoned the project.\(^{43}\)

When in the following year, Edgar Dewdney, was building his trail into Wild Horse, the Indians pointed out this locality calling it Chikamin, mineral mountain, and they said they were in the habit of making lead bullets there.\(^{44}\)

The claim was never worked until its rediscovery in the eighties. Then this glittering gash was to become the cause of murder. In the spring of 1882 three prospectors, led by R.E. Sprowle, built themselves a boat at Dick Fry's ranch (later Bonners' Ferry) and set out down the Kootanie river to see what they could find during the summer. Fifteen years before, Sprowle had discovered the coal beds near Tacoma, and pre-empted part of the land on which that city now stands. As the three rovers rowed slowly along the eastern lakeshore, they noticed a large iron stain on the face of the cliff. They decided to prospect and made camp in a cove. Examination showed a wide vein of silver-bearing lead which cropped out in parallel

\(^{42}\) H.S. Fowler son of the late S.S. Fowler for 35 years manager of the plant at Riondel, told the writer March 1943, that if this furnace is still there, it is now buried beneath a huge pile of limestone. \(^{\text{R.}}\)

\(^{43}\) R.E. Gosnell: op. cit. pp 175-176

\(^{44}\) Howay and Scholefield: op. cit. p. 469
streaks almost twenty-feet wide the whole three-quarter mile length of the promontory. Since, however, they had come to prospect for placer gold, they had no means of finding out then how high in silver this ore would run.

At that time in British Columbia, the only mining laws in force had been framed to suit placer mining. According to these laws, the discoverer must register his claim at the nearest gold commissioner's office, and yet not be absent from his claim for more than 72 hours at a time. This meant a journey of 480 miles by canoe and trail to Wild Horse, an impossibility, since it would take 22 days.45

Shortly afterward Thomas Hammill sent by Captain Ainsworth of San Francisco, arrived at the "big ledge," and staked claims. He had the advantage since he had brought the Wild Horse gold commissioner with him, though legally Sprowle's claim was good since he had posted his notice first on the ground. Since a legal battle was inevitable and since Ainsworth had wealth and Sprowle had not, the latter went to Helena, Montana, and offered an interest in his claims to any person of means who help him fight the case. Early in 1883 Baillie-Grohman inspected the ledge, took Sprowle's offer and established himself with his three partners at the site.46 The provincial government appointed Grohman Justice of the Peace, the first in West Kootenay, since the nearest officer of the law was the gold commissioner 240 miles away at Wild

Horse. This little camp, and Hammill's rival one nearby, were the only houses within 100 miles.

Hammill had the best mining lawyer in B.C. Grohman also engaged counsel, but when at the last moment his lawyer could not come, Grohman had to conduct his own case. When Judge Kelly arrived for the trial, he slept in Sprowle's camp and ate in Hammill's so that no favouritism would be shown. Court opened August 31, and the Judge insisted that all revolvers be deposited in a box at his side, so long as the court sat. All thought that millions were at stake and feelings ran very high, especially when Americans were used to mining camps in their own land, where quarrels were quickly settled with "gun play." On October 16, the final judgment was given: all four claims were decided in Sprowle and company's favour. Each party had taken up the same four claims on the ledge.

Shortly afterward, the case claimed its first victim. The counsel of the losing side succumbed to an illness brought on by the exposure and privations, suffered on his journey to the Kootenay.

The Ainsworth-Hammill group appealed against the decisions to the Supreme Court of British Columbia, and Chief Justice Begbie reversed three of the judgments. Since the winning side got costs of the three suits as well, and

47. In this connection the first document of the kind was drawn up in the West Kootenay. See Appendix.
48. Ibid: p. 239
   (b) Sessional Papers of B.C. 1884, p. 260 in Howay, Sage, Angus op. cit. p. 270.
Sprowle could not settle the large amount claimed by the Ainsworths, his remaining interest was attached and sold by the sheriff. This heaping of misfortune so unsettled Sprowle's mind that he determined to murder both Grohman and Hammill. The next year he made two attempts to kill Grohman. The first time when Sprowle shot from ambush on the trail to Sandpoint Grohman's horse shied and saved him.

A few days later Sprowle held a pistol to Grohman's head on the train westbound from Sandpoint, intending to force him off and shoot him at Algoma. This time the conductor came through in time to save him.

Sprowle then went back to the Bluebell where he shot Hammill from ambush and killed him. After a lengthy pursuit, he was forced by hunger to give himself up, and paid for his crime on the gallows in Victoria. Since he was an American and his brother was wealthy, repeated efforts to him retried or delivered to United States authorities brought him three respites before he paid the penalty. Not only did Sprowle discover the Bluebell, but across the lake he first took up the 160 acres of land where now Ainsworth stands. Had his ungovernable hatred of opposition, and his limitless vindictiveness not overshadowed his better qualities, he might have been a millionaire.

49. Baillie-Grohman: op. cit. p. 241
50. Ibid: p. 242
51. Ibid: p. 249
52. Ibid: p. 251
Not until 1887 did Dr. W.A. Hendryx with a party of Minnesota and Connecticut capitalists undertake the systematic development of the Bluebell. 53

In 1867, -- some say even ten years earlier, -- gold was discovered in the bed of Forty-Nine Creek, which flows into the Kootenay River, nine miles below Nelson. A letter in one 1894 issue of the Miner to J. Fred Hume of Nelson, states that Richard Fry was making from $6.00 to $12.00 a day working with sluices and rockers on Forty-Nine Creek. 54 But in 1867, 1868 and 1869 when excitement on the creek could be described as "a miniature Klondyke," two men made $1900 each in two weeks, and Fry himself cleaned up $2500 the first summer. The largest nugget found was worth $20,000, and gold dust sold for $18.00 an ounce. Expenses were in proportion, to offset this quickly won wealth. Flour cost $25.00 per 100 lb. and bacon, $75.00 per 100. In 1885 Alex McLeod and others were placer mining there. 55 On September 30, 1893 eight citizens of Nelson formed a syndicate to develop mining at Forty-Nine Creek; J.F. Hume was among their number. They called themselves the Nelson Hydraulic Mining Company.

The Report of Progress, 1871-72, contains the first geological survey record of the Kootenay area, and that for 1876-77, contains this note upon the mines and minerals of economic value in British Columbia.

53. (a) R.E. Gosnell: op. cit. p. 176.
55. Nelson Miner; January 6, 1894
56. Charles St. Barbe; First History of Nelson; pub. C. Rohrabacher and Son, 1897.
The Report of Progress, 1871-72, contains the first geological survey record of the Kootenay area, and that for 1876-77, contains this note upon the mines and minerals of economic value in British Columbia.

"The yield from Kootenay, for 1875 is stated by the Minister of Mines to have been about $41,000 forty white, and fifty Chinese miners being employed. The yield for 1876, according to some authority was only about $25,000. Much labour and money is being expended to bring in water at a sufficient height to work the hills and benches of Wild Horse Creek."55

Though the ledges on both the East and West shores of Kootenay Lake were rich in galena, the first locality to open up was on the west shore, where Ainsworth now stands. For many years the Indians had known of the chalybeate springs, which issue a few feet above the beach. They came to bathe in the healing waters, impregnated with iron, which gush steaming from rocky caves at a temperature of 120°. When white men came to the country they called this Hot Springs Camp. In 1883 the site was purchased by George J. Ainsworth of Oakland, California, and the named changed to his.57 A millionaire, Ainsworth, died December 30, 1893.58 He had organized and operated for thirty years the Oregon Steam Navigation Company which put the first steamers on the Columbia River. He was also president of the Oakland Central Bank, and built Redondo Beach, the pleasure resort near Los Angeles.59

In the Miner, July 7, 1894 appeared a note on page 117.

57. Nelson Miner: January 6, 1894.
detailed description of the Ainsworth Concentrator No. 1 which could treat from 15 to 20 tons per day giving about one ton of concentrated which ran from 500 to 800 ounces of silver.

None of these discoveries caused development of a large settlement, not the Klondyke on Forty-Nine Creek, the galena at Bluebell, nor the silver at Ainsworth. The rich discoveries upon Toad Mountain fathered the founding of a city of Nelson, later called the Queen of the Kootenays.

The Selkirks enclosing Kootenay Lake rise as high as 10,000 feet. Between Queen's Bay and Procter the main lake joins the Kootenay river, which at this point is flowing north in Canada. There it turns, and the west arm of the lake, (which no good Nelsonite will ever admit, is really the Kootenay River) is navigable as far south as the city, twenty miles. From Nelson it narrows and can no longer hide its river identity, for after picking up speed for a mile, it begins to drop percpitately in a series of rapids and falls, 350 feet in 25 miles, to join the Columbia flowing from the Lower Arrow Lake at Robson and Castlegar. Just where Nelson stands, Cottonwood Creek tumbles into the Kootenay, having crossed from Salmon River valley through a low pass in the mountains.

In the eighties, access to this area was slow and difficult. Though the Dewdney trail still existed, it had become impassible in some parts through neglect. In 1884,
there were two routes into the country, the first from Missoula, Montana, through Tobacco Plains to Wild Horse Creek, where placer claims were still being worked.\textsuperscript{60} This way the journey was 200 miles. The alternative, by land, was to come from Walla Walla to Sand Point on Lake Pend d'Oreille in Idaho, and then to Joseph's Prairie or Wild Horse, 165 miles in all. In the autumn of 1886, a party composed of Winslow Hall, Osner his brother, with his sons, Billy White,\textsuperscript{61} Bill Miller, Oakes and an Indian were prospecting for placer ground along the Salmon River.\textsuperscript{62} Since there was plenty of water and good feed, they headed up Hall Creek, which runs down from Toad Mountain to enter the river. Along this stream, then unnamed, they camped. Winslow, the leader was discouraged because they found nothing,\textsuperscript{63} but he decided they should prospect one more day, and then, if they were still unsuccessful, pull out for home. In the late afternoon, Tommy Hall, Winslow's son, and Billy White were sent to fetch the horses, which had strayed. And on this errand, they stumbled upon pieces of copper pyrite,—the Kootenay Bonanza outcrop. The boys mistook the chunks for gold. None the less, Tommy threw his specimens at grouse, but White brought his back to show at the camp. The next day the whole party made a trip to the outcrop and rejoiced to find their disappointments over. Since they

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{60} Charles St. Barbe: op. cit.
\item \textsuperscript{61} "Billy" White, an unlettered half-breed died in Colville, Washington, last week at the age of 24, of consumption. This was the White of the Hall Mines discovery." From Nelson Tribune, December 7, 1893.
\item \textsuperscript{62} Chas. St. Barbe: op. cit.
\item \textsuperscript{63} This is the country through which Sullivan in 1858 had found travel so difficult because of burned and fallen timber.
\end{itemize}
would have had to travel 300 miles to the nearest office at Donald to register claims, they did not bother to stake any, but trusted to the remoteness of the district to preserve their secret. They took thirty pounds of samples to Colville, where the assay proved this discovery too good to lose. In the spring of 1887, they returned to stake four claims of the Silver King group, the Silver King the Kootenay Bonanza, the American Flag, and the Kohinoor.

At the time, not even the mountain was named so that the property was described as being on the divide between Cottonwood Smith Creek and Salmon River. On July 27th, 1887, half a mile from the Silver King group, Charlie Townsend sat on a log to write the location notice, he had just come to the words, "situated on" — when a big toad jumped from under the log and he continued "Toad Mountain" the "Toughnut" recorded by "Sandy" Morrow, and the "Porcupine", March 1, 1888, by Newlin Hoover and James Mackenzie refer to Toad as Mineral Mountain. As Cottonwood Creek hurried down to the lake, it fell over several benches which slope down from Toad Mountain. But until the time of these discoveries only Martin Fry, an old trapper, had penetrated the dense growth along the creek banks. From 1887 until 1888, his son Della Fry acted as mining recorder until the provincial government sent Harry Anderson. By September about thirty claims had been located.

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64. Donald was situated on the newly built main line of the Canadian Pacific Railway.
65. (a) Chas. St. Barbe: op. cit.
   (b) Howay, Sage, Angus: op. cit. p. 272. This occurred July 27, 1887.
The Wild Horse Creek on the above map must not be confused with the Wild Horse Creek of the gold rush, 1865-1866, which is near Cranbrook, B.C.
and men were working on about eighteen of them. During the year, between 300 and 400 miners came to camp on the banks of Ward Creek which flowed into the Kootenay river half a mile north of Cottonwood.

The promising yield from these lake mines induced further geological study of the whole Kootenay region. Dr. G.M. Dawson, J. McEvoy, W.W. Leach, H.Y. Russel, R.G. McConnell, R.W. Brock and many others have recorded their findings in reports and maps.

Resorted glacial material and local drift make up superficial deposits of limited occurrence. In the large valleys, at certain points, where conditions have been favourable to their preservation are found terraces, consisting of silts, sand, gravel and other glacial material. These are the wide benches described by Thompson Baillie-Grohman and others. Most of these terraces have an elevation of less than 2,500 feet above sea level, though they occasionally extend to 5,000 feet. At some points in the Columbia valley, there is boulder clay, and brick clays in the Columbia and Kootenay valleys. All the rocks except the tertiary volcanics, the Rossland and Valhalla granites, are mineral-bearing, and the Rossland granites are themselves to some extent auriferous.

Most of the ores occur in composite shear-zone or replacement veins. The ores in the Rossland district are

68. Chas. St. Barbe: op. cit.
principally pyrrhotite,\textsuperscript{70} chalcopryrite,\textsuperscript{71} with some pyrite, and molybdenite.\textsuperscript{72} A little galena,\textsuperscript{73} and blende\textsuperscript{74} and free gold are also found. In the Slocan, the ores are largely argentiferous galena and tetrahedrite, sometimes with native silver sulphides. Argentiferous copper ores are found on Toad Mountain near Nelson, and auriferous silver lead ores about Ymir. Beside the "wet" ores, "dry" silver and gold ores are mined in the Slocan. These quartz veins are usually narrow and often have definite walls. On Sheep Creek, near Nelson, and near Rossland also occur auriferous quartz veins containing some sulphides.

The revelation of these riches has taken place in the last sixty years, and the industries that have developed from them have made the West Kootenay one of the most vital parts of the British Empire in peace and war. However, before miners and their supplies, traders and their goods could come in, or minerals be taken out, lines of communication had to be immensely improved. To that part of our story we now direct our attention.

\textsuperscript{70} A tough milling sulphide ore, containing other substances beside iron in physical compound, e.g. gold.
\textsuperscript{71} Copper pyrites.
\textsuperscript{72} Containing molybdenum, used in production of high-speed steels.
\textsuperscript{73} Lead sulphide, common lead ore.
\textsuperscript{74} Native sulphide of zinc.
V. LINES OF COMMUNICATION

Like an historical romance is the tale of the gradual spinning of lines of communication between Kootenay mining regions and the world outside. The packer, stumbling over the roots and stones in his trail, gave place to the wagon, jolting over a rutty road and, by 1892, the rocky valleys resounded with the shrill whistle of a locomotive, that chugged warily over wood trestles, and raced down steep grades to come to rest beside the lake. Small screw steamers gave way to heavier and speedier stern wheelers of shallow draft, built first entirely of wood, in later years, with steel hulls. From 1865 to the present the drama of traffic on the lakes has featured canoes, tugs, paddle-wheelers, former mine sweepers, and gasoline launches in its many roles. For every railway line and every boat that was built at least half a dozen other plans died as dreams or got no further than sketches on paper, or coloured lines on maps.

As the Canadian Pacific extended its line through the mountains and across B.C. to the coast, and as mining claims were staked on Kootenay Lake, in the Slocan, in the Lardeau, on the Upper Columbia, the dreams of the farsighted knew no bounds. On a map from the Department of Lands and Works, Victoria, dated 1885, are shown at least three Kootenay lines which were never built. From Revelstoke, then also known as

Farwell and the "Second Crossing of the Columbia", the Kootenay and Athabaska Railway was to skirt the head of Upper Arrow Lake, run south west of Trout Lake, along the Lardeau River and terminate at the head of Kootenay Lake. There 1,000 acres, lying between Upper Kootenay Lake (now Duncan) and the main Kootenay Lake were to be of considerable value as the only possible site for a city at the terminus of this railway. From Golden (also then on the completed Canadian Pacific Railway line) the East Columbia Railway was to run south east, following the Columbia River on its right bank to Upper Columbia Lake. There in the mile and quarter portage between the Columbia headwaters and Kootenay River was the site for Kootenay City. Across this portage a canal was then under construction. 2

2. In the Field on May 11, 1889, under the title "Seven Year's Pathfinding in the Selkirks of Kootenay" W.A. Baillie-Grohman describes at length, the great arcs formed by the Columbia and Kootenay rivers, so that nature's handiwork alone, bringing the Kootenay within a mile and a quarter of the headwaters of the Columbia, almost encloses the great Selkirk chain,

"The easy nature of the intervening ground, a perfectly level flat raised only a few feet over the water, makes the project, (a navigable connection) as I found on my first visit to this then immeasurably remote spot, a very feasible one from an engineer's standpoint.

"Today the hand of man, in the shape of sundry Chinamen and white navvies, has accomplished the work, and a canal of sufficient depth and width to allow small shallow-draft river steamers to pass through it, from one river to the other, makes an island of the great Selkirk claim."

A.C. Wheeler, F.R.G.S.--The Selkirk Range Government Printing Bureau, Ottawa vol. 1, 1905 p. 120.

At one time called Grohman, this is now known as Canal Flats.

In 1894, Captain Armstrong, one of the earliest pilots on the Kootenai, built the North Star at Jennings, Montana, ran her up the wild stream to Canal Flats, thence through the canal to the Columbia Lakes, and into the River itself. In the summer of the same year, the canal was wrecked in the great flood. The North Star continued to ply the Columbia, however, until her destruction by fire in 1900. William Denison Lyman, The Columbia River, New York and London, G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1917. p. 289.
follow the right bank of the Kootenay River, south to meet the Kootenay Lake and Crows Nest Line running east and west, and terminating at the south end of Kootenay Lake. From the point at which the Kootenay Athabaska was to skirt the Upper Arrow Lake, the Columbia Valley Railway would run south the whole length of the Arrow Lakes along their Eastern shore, a tremendous engineering feat. From that point the Kootenay Railway would follow the right bank of the Kootenay River to the West arm of the lake of the same name.

Up to 1889, seventy-three railway companies were incorporated in British Columbia, of these twenty-seven were in the Kootenays. Eleven Kootenay railways were incorporated from 1890-93, and ten from 1897-1898.\footnote{3}
Out of these, eleven actually constructed lines. The Columbia-Kootenay Railway was built from Robson (formerly Sproat's) to Nelson in 1892.\footnote{4} In 1893 the Canadian Pacific began the Nakusp-Slocan Line. In 1894 it reached Three Forks, in 1895 Sandon. The same year, 1895, saw the Nelson and Fort Sheppard come into Nelson from the United States, and the Great Northern build the Kaslo-Slocan Railway from Kaslo to Cody; later this was extended to Three Forks. In 1896, the Canadian Pacific took over the Columbia and Kootenay, and the following year saw them put in a branch to Slocan City from the point where the Slocan River joins the Kootenay.\footnote{5}
The Red Mountain Line came into Rossland from Northport in

\footnote{3}{Sessional Papers, 1899: pp. 905-8.}
\footnote{4}{Howay and Scholefield: op. cit. p. 471}
\footnote{5}{Ibid: p. 485.}
By 1898 the Crows Nest and Kootenay Lake Railway had reached Kootenay Landing at the south end of Kootenay Lake. Trail was linked with Robson and Midway by 1899, and a branch of the Canadian Pacific Railway connected Revelstoke with Arrowhead on the Arrow Lake in 1896.

Navigation on the Arrow Lakes dates from 1865, when the gold rush in the Big Bend caused the building of the first sternwheel steamboat to ply this stretch of the Columbia River. The "Forty-Nine" was launched Nov. 18, 1865, just south of the boundary by Captain Leonard White. Powered by the engines of the old "Jennie Clark" (built in 1854), the "Forty Nine" left Colville, Washington, Dec. 9, 1865, and, after being delayed by ice on the lakes, finally reached the foot of Death Rapids, above Revelstoke, April 1866. However, the gold rush soon faded in the Big Bend, and the "Forty Nine" made but three trips.

In the eighties, when the Canadian Pacific and the Great Northern were completing construction to the west coast, the Kootenays were being opened up. These valleys had neither railways nor highways. It was then that Fred Hume, William Cowan and Captain Sanderson built the catamaran, "Dispatch" at Revelstoke, to serve on the Arrow Lakes.

6. D.C. Corbin made this extension of the Spokane Falls and Northern Line, up Sheep Creek.
8. "All these lines except the Red Mountain and the Nakusp-Slocan received from the province a grant of 10,240 acres per mile, and from the Dominion $3,200 per mile" Ibid, p. 485.
9. S.G. Kennedy -- "Shallow Draft" in Cominco, January 1943. The "Forty-Nine" made her first trip from Colville to Death Rapids with 85 passengers but little freight, and arrived at the latter place April 26, 1866, being ten days in making the trip up through the ice, taking passengers for $25 and freight at $200 a ton. She paid for herself the first season. Victoria Colonist, April 7, 1866; New Westminster Examiner, Sept. 25, 1867. From Dalles de Mort freight was carried in boats. In H.H. Bancroft op. cit. p. 533
was the little vessel that could "float on the morning dew."
In Dec., 1889, at Revelstoke, these owners laid the keel for
a larger swifter vessel a fine sternwheeler, the "Lytton."
Thus these Canadian pioneers began the capture for Canada
of trade in the South Kootenay, which in the eighties was
almost entirely in the hands of Americans.

William Baillie-Grohman put the first small screw
steamer the "Midge" on the waters of the Kootenay Lake in
1884. This small steam launch, which had been used for
pleasure jaunts along the Norwegian Coast, Grohman had
brought across the Atlantic on the S.S. "Polynesiah."
To escape customs duties, he brought her into Canada as an
agricultural implement. From Sandpoint, the furthest
western terminus of the Great Northern, the "Midge" had to
be carried, forty miles, by a party of Kootenay Indians
and ten or twelve white men to the Kootenay River, where she
was launched at Dick Fry's ranch. Amongst the Indians this
craft created a tremendous sensation, and they were delighted
to cut piles of wood along the way for her fuel, in return
of the privilege of pulling the string and sounding her
shrill whistle, or having their canoes towed. Grohman used
the "Midge" to explore the river and lake, and to bring

"It took upwards of three weeks and cost an unconscionable
sum," says Baillie-Grohman of this undertaking in his book,
_Sport and Life_, London, Horace Cox, "Field" Office, Windsor
p. 253 there is a picture of this historic boat.
supplies up to his dredging project\(^{11}\) on Kootenay River just below Nelson, at the outlet of the Creek which now bears his name.

Later, T.D. David got her and renamed her the Mud Hen.\(^{12}\) This Welshman came to work for Baillie-Grohman after the experimental farm at Cranbrook which he had been

\(^{11}\) (a) William A. Baillie-Grohman, who did so much to assist the development of the Kootenay district, both through personal enterprise, and through articles, wrote in the Field of April 25 and May 29, 1885, an account of his first visit to the Lower Kootenay valley in 1883, and to the Upper Kootenay valley in 1884. In the Selkirk Range, A.O. Wheeler F.R.G.S., Vol. 1, Ottawa, Government Printing Bureau, 1905, the author gives copious extracts from Grohman’s descriptions.

Upon his arrival in June 1883, Grohman found the rich bottom land flooded with from two to eight feet of water where the river enters lower Kootenay Lake (now the farm lands near Creston). He soon discovered the cause, the tremendous rush of water from spring thaws, on the steep slopes of the lower lake, level rose from 10 to 20 feet, from March to June. Just below where the lake arm narrows, into the river a great fan of stones and boulders had formed, choking the passage still more. This bar Grohman planned to remove and thus alleviate floods on the main lake, fifty miles away. Although he secured dredging, the project was later abandoned. A.O. Wheeler: op. cit, pp. 248-252.

(b) In 1939-40, this channel in the Kootenay River was dredged out by the Consolidated Mining and Smelting Company. "He (Baillie-Grohman) entered into contract of enlarging the outlet of Kootenay Lake at Grohman Creek at a cost of $10,000... but this later was given up. Mr. Grohman realizing, as he says, that he had bitten off more than he could chew."

"The Kootenay Valley, a report on certain cases involving reclamation and the development of water power in the valley of the Kootenay river, under the terms of article IV of the treaty of January 11, 1909. Heard before the International Joint Commission. Ottawa and Washington 1935, Ottawa, King’s Printer, 1936 p. 33.

\(^{12}\) (a) H.M. Cottingham the writer’s great uncle came to Nelson first on the "Midge" in 1888, and often told of his journey down the river and lake from Bonners Ferry.
(b) In the "Midge" Baillie-Grohman carefully explored the main Kootenay Lake and even tried to force the boat up the swift flowing Lardeau River. Grohman: op. cit. p. 187. Clare Graham:
sent to supervise, for Colonel Baker, failed to materialize.\textsuperscript{13} This little "Mud Hen" brought prospectors and supplies up from Idaho, until the excitement from the Bluebell workings warranted the bringing in of more craft. In 1885-86 the S.S. "Surprise\textsuperscript{14}" was bringing men and supplies to the Bluebell. And in 1888 Dick Fry\textsuperscript{15} and Captain Thompson brought the S.S. "Idaho\textsuperscript{16}" up from Coeur d'Alene Lake with "Hi" Sweet,\textsuperscript{17} the first engineer.

In 1884 Dr. W.A. Hendryx bought the Bluebell Mine,\textsuperscript{18} intending to erect a smelter at Pilot Bay. Although the doctor severed his connection with the company ten years later, before the completion of this project, the work was finished by his brother, A.B. Hendryx representing a wealthy American syndicate.\textsuperscript{19} After the mine went into production in 1887, this company began building the S.S. "Galena," which was launched at Bonners Ferry and brought to the lake three months after the "Idaho". The "Galena", a twin screw vessel was loaded at Nelson with Dr. Hendryx's friends to enjoy the thrill of her first trip up the narrows, fifteen miles. Alas--her engines were not strong enough to get through.

\textsuperscript{14} Built by Dr. Hendryx's Kootenay Mining and Smelting Co. W.G. Kennedy: op. cit.
\textsuperscript{15} In 1884, Dick Fry, with his squaw and their half dozen half-breed children was the only white man residing in the whole Lower Kootenay country. His "Ranch" was the site of Bonners Ferry. Baillie-Grohman: \textit{Sport and Life} p. 252.
\textsuperscript{16} The "Idaho", like the "Midge" had been brought overland. W.G. Kennedy: op. cit.
\textsuperscript{17} Hiram Sweet installed the engines on the S.S. "Galena." He was chief engineer on many of the Kootenay Lake Steamers. W.G. Kennedy: op. cit.
\textsuperscript{18} A map in Begg's "History of British Columbia," pub. 1894 shows the site of the Bluebell mine, now Riondel, as Hendryx.
\textsuperscript{19} St. Barbe: Chas: op. cit.
so that she was obliged to lie over at Balfour, and be towed up to the Bluebell, by S.S. "Idaho" the following day. After that disappointment she was cut in two and lengthened to eighty feet, with a sixteen foot beam. For years she was the only means of transportation on the lake. One stormy night when a wild south wind was whipping directly off the main lake into Pilot Bay, Captain Hayward\(^20\) was bringing in the "Galena." The little ship flooded and sank with all on board, nine passengers and the crew. In 1897, they raised her and towed her to Kaslo, but she was found to be beyond repair, and her engines were sold to a bottling works.\(^21\) Thus Nelson's first boat and first house, Bunting's cabin, in the path of the railway, were destroyed within a few days of each other, August, 1897.

As soon as the news of the prospectors on Toad Mountain reached the outside world, enterprising Revelstoke business man determined to bring supplies to them. May 14 to 18, 1888, saw R.E. Lemon bringing groceries down the Columbia on a flatboat.\(^22\) At the junction of the Columbia and the Kootenay, called Sproat's Landing,\(^23\) after the gold commissioner's visit in 1884, Lemon made camp and built a trail from there to connect with the Toad Mountain and Poorman Mine roads into Nelson. This trail

\(^{20}\) Captain George Hayward was, for many years senior captain on Kootenay Lake, S.S. "Idaho" was his first command.

\(^{21}\) St. Barbe: op. cit.

\(^{22}\) Collins: op. cit.

The trip from Revelstoke to Sproat's Landing was made in four days. Among those with Lemon on this trip were G.O. Buchanan, Harry Sheran, Thomas M. Ward, Bob Hall, and Thomas Dow.

\(^{23}\) Collins: op. cit.

Sproat's Landing was never a rival of Nelson's, only a

(Continued on succeeding page)
COPY OF MAP 1885

Department of Lands and Works,
Victoria, B.C.

LEVEL FLAT

SITE OF KOOTENAY CITY

Upper Columbia Lake

Reduction Plan of Canal in Upper Kootenay City

Proposed Railways

Completed Railways

The 1000 acres at this spot promises to be of considerable value owing to the fact that this flat is the only available site for the terminus of the Kootenay-Alberta Rly.

The 200 miles of navigation controlled by the canal will connect the navigable waters of the Columbia and Kootenay Rivers, giving 200 miles of navigation controlled by canal.

Partage one mile, the only unnavigable place on the river.
was surveyed for a road by A.S. Farwell after he had surveyed the new town and was coming out from Nelson in 1889. This road followed the north west side of the river, where now both highway and railway run. In 1890-91, the Canadian Pacific Railway secured a charter for the construction of the Columbia-Kootenay railway from Robson to Nelson. This was completed in 1892. During the construction Lemon had a store at Sproat's as well as one in Nelson, then he concentrated on Nelson. At that time Sam Green of Kaslo, whose brother was later dominion senator, also had a store at Sproat's. During the construction, the Canadian Pacific Railway contractor, W.C. McLean was sued by Thomas Sproat for having used his land for grazing.

In the winter of 1893-94, D.C. Corbin, president of the Spokane Falls and Northern Railway, extended this line north of the boundary along the Salmon River, over a low pass and down Cottonwood Creek into Nelson. This was

23. (Continued) construction camp during the building of the Columbia and Kootenay railway. There was a railway-company store, stores owned by R.E. Lemon and Sam Green of Kaslo, John E. Gibson owned a hotel, and Mrs. Schroeder a restaurant. When the railway work was finished all the residents moved, one after another to Nelson. None of them purchased town lots in Sproat's, nor paid rent for the land, upon which their businesses stood. Those who settled afterward were sued by some; judgments were given in favour of Thomas Sproat. Sproat's Landing is now East Robson.

A. Begg — History of British Columbia 1895 — shows E. Robson as Sproat's Landing.

24. T.C. Collins: op. cit.


25. The cost of the piece of railway, 28 miles, exclusive of the bridge over the Kootenay River, was $589,000.  


"The incoming of the first train on the Nelson and Fort Sheppard was witnessed by 100 or more people.—— The train was an hour and half late in arriving, and the brass band had (Continued on succeeding page)
the Nelson–Fort Sheppard railway. Where first it sights the city, the grade is much too precipitous for the line to enter directly, so it passes by, a mile and a quarter up the hill from Nelson, to what is now called Troup Junction.27 There it had to stop in 1894 for the Canadian Pacific Railway owned the right of way back into town. Though the company completed construction in spite of the silver slump, and though the line was kept open winter and summer despite floods, mud and snow slides and hours of delay, Nelson's people were not satisfied. Says the Miner, Jan. 6, 1894.

"Nelson people have to rise at five, go a mile and a quarter to the N. and F.S. station on the hill and wait until eight or nine when the train pulls out."

Yet in six weeks, ore shipments over this route had been 1899 tons, with an average value of $130. Even after the disastrous summer flood of 1894, this line was able to open again in two weeks. By October, Nelson citizens had petitioned 26. (Continued) plenty of time to practice up on the pieces they intended playing, and George Arthur Bigelow, secretary of the South Kootenay Board of Trade, had nearly enough time to memorize a speech that he intended delivering if the delegation on the incoming train was large enough to warrant the delivery of a welcoming address."

The train arrived at 7:05. The band played, but there was no speech.

There were two boxcars, a baggage coach, and passenger coach, pulled by engine No. 1, driven by engineer Shearwood, Mr. Drennan was conductor. Of the thirty passengers, twenty got off at Nelson, while ten went on to Five Mile to catch the steamer for lake points.

27. Five-Mile it used to be called, later it was named Troup Junction for Captain James W. Troup, who took over the management of the C. & K.S.N. interior fleet in 1895. He had previously been in charge of the Union Pacific fleet of river boats on the lower Columbia. He remained C. & K.S.N. manager until 1898, when he transferred to Vancouver to take charge of the Canadian Pacific's coastal fleet.
the government which, by withholding the return of the N. and F.S. Company's $25,000 deposit, forced that company to complete the five mile switch back into the city. Of late years when this American line had been taken over by the Great Northern, he who would travel that way, must again take street car or taxi up to the old "mountain station". In 1942 the passenger service was discontinued entirely and travellers over that route take a bus from Nelson to connect with the Great Northern at North-port.

In the eighties, Fred Hume, Wm. Cowan, and Captain Sanderson had organized the Columbia Transportation Company, and built the "Dispatch" for service on the Columbia. When the Spokane Falls and Northern was about to reach the boundary in 1890, they laid the keel for a sternwheeler, the "Lytton." For this venture they found they needed more capital, so the Columbia and Kootenay Steam Navigation Company was founded. The new organization had a capital of $100,000 and included John Andrew Mara, Captain John Irving, and Frank Barnard. In May 1890, they launched S.S."Lytton" at Revelstoke, a giant in her day. Sir William Van Horne was one of the sixty-four passengers on her maiden voyage to Little Dallas, Washington.

30. Ibid.
31. J.A. Mara had operated steamers on Kamlopps Lake. Ibid.
34. Cost $40,000, 131 feet long, 125 tons and capable of 12½ miles per hour. On her maiden trip, July 2, 1890, Captain Frank Odin was her master. W.G. Kennedy: op. cit.
Then the company bought the S.S. "Kootenai" at Little Dalles to carry men and freight to the Canadian Pacific Railway construction. The line from Robson to Nelson was completed in 1892, from Nakusp to Rosebery and Sandon in 1894, and from Slocan to Slocan City in 1895. The last two railways tapped the rich and newly opened Slocan valley. The Canadian Company paid for the "Kootenai" in promissory notes, $10,000 worth, on the first few trips from Revelstoke to Robson she paid for herself.

In 1890 the Spokane Falls and Northern Railway reached Little Dalles. The year 1892 saw the Columbia and Kootenay line link the Columbia Kootenay Lake at Nelson. A little later the Great Northern reached Bonner's Ferry, and extended the line to Kuskanook on Kootenay Lake and in 1895 the Nelson and Fort Sheppard had reached Nelson proper. These new links with the outside world brought added prosperity to the Kootenays and more traffic for the boats.

In Aug. 1891 the Canadian steam company built the S.S. "Columbia" at Little Dalles, and later the same fall

35. She had been built in U.S. in 1885, 140 feet long and 200 tons, she was not as powerful as the "Lytton" but was speedier. W.G. Kennedy: op. cit.
36. In 1893 Archduke Franz Ferdinand travelled from Revelstoke to Robson on the "Columbia". He was on a round the world tour on the occasion of his coming of age. In 1893 from the S.S. "Columbia", Captain J.A. Anderson installed a ship-to-shore telephone, to the C.K.S.N. office at Revelstoke. W.G. Kennedy op. cit.
37. Ibid.
the S.S. "Nelson"\textsuperscript{38} which did not go out of service until 1916. In 1892 came the "City of Ainsworth", which went down in 1897 in the narrows near Balfour, over-loaded with freight, and in the doubtful care of a captain and crew who had been drinking.

These lake boats of very shallow draft,\textsuperscript{39} were stern wheelers, which could and still do, run up almost anywhere on the beach to discharge or pick up passengers and freight or, in the old days, to load cordwood for the boiler. Many a prospector made his grubstake cutting cordwood for the lake boats. The Miner, July 28, 1894, carried this account of the "Columbia"s end.

"The S.S. Columbia left Northport Wednesday at 6 p.m. After discharging at Waneta until 9:30, it tied up at the woodpile just below Sayward. At 1:30 the watchman was roused by a call of "Fire!" In six minutes all were at work on the hose, but everything was as dry as tinder and the vessel burned to the ground in ten minutes. When it was still standing on the iron frames, fire broke out in the last cabin on the starboard side on the engine floor. One carload of hay and one of mixed produce for Nakusp were lost. Six passengers escaped in their night clothes, one a lady. Officers, crew and customs officers lost their entire outfits. Though this fine vessel was insured for $15,000, the loss was $50,000.

The "Spokane,"\textsuperscript{40} the company's freight boat met the same fate.

\textsuperscript{38} note on page 135a.

\textsuperscript{39} These shallow-bottomed boats drew as little as 22 inches, and a few drew more than three or four feet.

W.G. Kennedy: op. cit.

\textsuperscript{40} The "Spokane" was built in 1892 at Bonner's Ferry. She was 125 feet long, of 400 tons gross, and cost $15,000. After the floods of 1894 had washed away Kaslo's wharf, the "Spokane" served as a floating pier. There she caught fire and burned. W.G. Kennedy: op. cit.
These were both stern-wheelers, the "Columbia" for the Arrow Lakes, the "Nelson" the first C.K.S.N. Co. steamer on the Kootenay Lake. S.S. "Columbia" entered the service August 1891, in command of Captain John C. Gore.

The "Nelson" built at "Nelson", was launched in June, 1891, and in August, was put into service under Captain McMoris who had been on the "Dispatch" and the "Lytton". The aim of her owners was to bring outward bound Kootenay trade to Nelson, there to be shipped by rail to Robson, and so up the Arrow Lakes to Revelstoke, to be on the main line of the Canadian Pacific Railway, by this time completed, thus the whole route of travel could be kept in Canada.

W.G. Kennedy, op. cit.
By 1896, the smelters at Trail and Nelson were operating, and were depending upon the boats for fuel and supplies. At the same time the Canadian Pacific was expanding its enterprises. In 1896 this company purchased for nearly $200,000, all the holdings of the C.K.S.N., including seven steamers, ten barges, shops and other equipment.\textsuperscript{41}

For Kootenay Lake service, the Canadian Pacific Railway added the "Kokanee"\textsuperscript{42} built at Nelson in 1896, "Moyie" 1898, "Kuskanook" 1906,\textsuperscript{43} "Nasookin," 1913,\textsuperscript{44} and many tugs\textsuperscript{45} of which the "Grant Hall," a mine sweeper during the last war, is now the only one in service.\textsuperscript{46}

For a time the "Kokanee," was a floating hotel, the "Nasookin" is now a government ferry crossing the lake from Fraser's Landing to Gray Creek. The "Moyie", with the "Minto" on the Arrow Lakes is still in service, though the other boats were dismantled and converted when the Kettle Valley and Crows Nest Railway Lines were completed.\textsuperscript{47} The "Moyie" and

\textsuperscript{41} Howay and Scholefield: op. cit.
\textsuperscript{42} The "Kokanee" was 142.5 feet long and 24.8 feet wide, and very speedy. W.G. Kennedy: op. cit.
\textsuperscript{43} The "Kuskanook" was a wooden steamer 193.5 feet long and 1008 tons, with Toronto engines. W.G. Kennedy op. cit.
\textsuperscript{44} The "Nasookin" had a steel hull, was 200 feet long and had a gross tonnage of 1896. W.G. Kennedy: op. cit. A.D. Wheeler, of Ainsworth chose her name which meant "Queen of the Lakes"---from Mrs. W. Allan now of Nelson who lived in Wheeler's home when she taught at Ainsworth. The "Nasookin" was a sister ship to the "Bonnigheton" which now lies at Nakusp.
\textsuperscript{45} In 1898 the tug "Ymir": 1901, the "Vâhalla": 1909, the "Hosmer" The tug Valhall, now lying opposite Nelson on the shore, near the ferry landing, was bought and remodelled by Mr. and Mrs. Reginald Dill for their home. W.G. Kennedy: op. cit.
\textsuperscript{46} The story of the "Grant Hall" was told the writer by her Captain Malcolm Macleod, April 1942.
\textsuperscript{47} 1930--- The Kootenay Landing-Procter link was completed.
"Minto" were two steel vessels, originally intended for service on the Stikine during the Klondike rush. From Toronto they were shipped in sections and assembled on the lakes.

The Great Northern also had its lake steamers and its Kootenay headquarters at Kaslo. In 1892 they launched the sternwheeler "Kaslo" and a number of barges. In 1893 they built the "State of Idaho" at Bonners Ferry to outstrip the Canadian "Nelson", for whichever first reached the wharf would pick up the freight. The "Idaho" usually won this race, with the passengers cheering on the fore-deck. Alas—in November of the same year, she ploughed up on a rock near Ainsworth. Though she had cost $75,000 she was sold for $350 to Mr. Alexander of Calgary who refitted her under the name of S.S. "Alberta", after which she continued to serve the Nelson-Kaslo run until 1910.

In 1897 the company brought in the S.S. "International" to compete with the C.K.S.N. ship "Kokanee". The Canadian ship won. When the "Kaslo" sank at Ainsworth in 1910 the Great Northern withdrew from the lake service and sold its railway from Nakusp into Slocan to the Canadian Pacific Railway.

In 1930, when the Canadian Pacific Railway extended the Kettle Valley line from Procter to Kootenay Landing, the boat service out of Nelson ceased to be a necessity. The "Nasookin" ferried cars from one stretch of highway to another, across the lake, from Gray Creek to Fraser's Landing.

48. W.G. Kennedy; op. cit.
49. The "State of Idaho" was 140 feet long, and 23 feet wide, and a faster boat than the Canadian steamer. Captain W. Shaw was her skipper.
50. W.G. Kennedy; op. cit.
51. Ibid.
an hour's run until it was replaced in 1946 by a new provincial government car ferry the S.S. "Anscomb." The "Kuskanook" was sold in 1931 to be used as a floating hotel a few miles up the west arm of Kootenay Lake from Nelson. The project was not successful and the boat was finally beached, her pilot cabin being used as a hot-dog stand on the Nelson Balfour highway, and her hull was picked clean by beach-combers, and only the odd timber now remains. Only the "Moyie" in summer and the "Grant Hall" in winter make the run once a week from Procter to the head of the Kootenay Lake, stopping as of old, at the way points to deliver and pick up mail and freight. In May, 1942 the rail service from Lardeau to Gerrard was discontinued and the tracks taken up.

52. Lance H. Whittaker, letter to the writer, November 6, 1946.
53. "The Gerrard-Lardeau Branch of the Kootenay Arrowhead Railway Company, was incorporated by Dominion Act in 1901 and constructed in 1902. The exact mileage was 33.1 miles. Application for abandonment was made in 1941 and the tracks were removed in May 1942. This Railway Company did not receive any actual land grant. Although it received its Right-of-Way from the lands of the Kaslo and Slocan Railway to whom there had been a grant of 250,000 acres, and included in this grant, was 50,000 acres of lands lying along the line of the Kootenay and Arrowhead Railway. The Railway Company however, acquired a subsidy under the Subsidy Act of $153,866."
J.M. Stewart, Deputy Minister of Railways, British Columbia; letter to the writer, November 13, 1946.
NELSON DOMINATES THE WEST KOOTENAY

There are two local accounts of the early history of the city of Nelson. One of these entitled, First History of Nelson by Charles St. Barbe, appeared in the September 14, 1897 issue of Nelson's first newspaper, The Miner. On the 25th of the same month, in the rival journal, The Tribune, T.C. Collins published his History What Is History Collins came to the Kootenay Lake mining centre in 1888. St. Barbe arrived in 1894. In most details one account supplements the other without contradictions and both were published in a thin pamphlet by Charles Rohrabacher and Son in the year, 1897. In this booklet Dr. E.C. Arthur made additions and corrections some years subsequent to its publication.

It is in the actual determination of a townsite that the two accounts differ most decidedly. The Tribune gives the 1
honour to a son-in-law of Dick Fry, of Forty-Nine Creek fame, one Arthur Bunting, who knew the area as home. Charles St. Barbe, of the Miner, champions the cause of Gilbert Malcolm Sproat, 2 the gold commissioner, whom he pictures coming as a government emissary to choose a site for Kootenay's capital. Nelson was to become the centre for administration of British law and order in a part of Canadian territory which was being rapidly developed by an American mining boom.

1. Whose ranch at a bend of the Kootenay River later became Bonner's Ferry.
   W.A. Baillie-Grohman: Sport and Life, 1907, p. 231

(Continued on succeeding page.)
2. (Continued) Gilbert Malcolm Sproat was born April 18, 1834 in South Scotland, the son of a farmer of moderate means. From 1855, the boy was an occasional student of commercial law at King's College London, where he was training for the Indian civil service. However, in 1860, Anderson and Company London ship owners sent him to Vancouver Island, with men and equipment to establish a sawmill for ship spars. He carried a letter of introduction to Governor Douglas who made timber grants to him on Alberni Canal and Barkley Sound. The sawmill began operations in 1861, and the following year Sproat succeeded Captain Edward Stamp as local manager for the Anderson Company. At the same time he established an importing and insurance business in Victoria, where he took a lively interest in community affairs. In 1863, he succeeded Stamp as Justice of the Peace and Magistrate. This post amounted to an unofficial government agency for the West Coast District. Sproat kept clear of politics, but did much directing from behind scenes.

"The London Committee for watching the affairs of B.C." was organized by him in 1865. In 1871, after B.C. joined Canada, he revisited the settlement and upon his return to London, became first agent general of the province, or in other words, chairman of the committee which he had created. In this capacity he published in 1873 a handbook, a valuable early account of B.C. for prospective immigrants and did all he could to attract settlers. A previous publication, dated 1868, "Scenes and Studies of Savage Life," grew from two papers upon anthropology which he had written. His contention was that for the Indians on Vancouver Island the "bone age" antedated the stone age, since implements of bone were efficient for working the soft coast woods, for example cedar.

In 1876 Sproat became a member of the Indian Land Commission whose other two members were former Hudson's Bay Company Chief Traders, A.C. Anderson and A. McKinley. During the years 1878-1880 when he was sole commissioner, he travelled to all parts of the province assigning lands. His first visit to the Kootenay was made by pack-train, accompanied by his friend A.S. Farwell, when as a special agent of the government he reported on Ainsworth the Baillie-Grohman land, and the railway plans. At Farwell in 1885 during Canadian Pacific construction, he was Stipendiary Magistrate, and the following year he was made Gold Commissioner and Assistant Commissioner of Land and Works. Tall and dignified in bearing and kindly in manner, he became much respected, and was known as the "Father of the Kootenay". Although in 1889 he left the government service, he remained for nine more years in the Kootenay where he and Farwell were much interested in real estate. He is generally regarded as the founder of Revelstoke Sandon, New Denver and Nelson. The claim to founding the last named city is disputed, but Sproat did put the first auction sales of lots in 1888, and name the principal streets.

At least five places in British Columbia were named for him. Mount Sproat, 8,000 feet is not far from Arrowhead on the Upper Arrow Lake. Sproat Lake on Vancouver Island was christened in 1864 by Dr. Robert Brown. Sproat River and Sproat Bay, Barkley Sound, are also on Vancouver Island. The following is his own humorous sketch of Sproat's Landing upon the Columbia River, near where the Kootenay joins it.
"...I have never been able to discover," he wrote, 1897, "what or where Sproat's Landing was.... All that I know about the matter is that, according to my diary, on the 23rd of October, 1888, I saw from my canoe a towel attached to a pole, on the Columbia river bank somewhere about the mouth of the Kootenay river. The object attracted one who had not enjoyed a good wash for several months. On landing I found also on the pole, a yeast powder can containing a letter addressed to me from Kootenay Lake. This incident and perhaps my pranks with the towel, amused the Indian crew and they I suppose, spoke and continued to speak of the place where Mr. Sproat landed. I was a notable personage among the Indians in those days. Such is history...."

Upon his return to Victoria in 1898, he wrote several historical sketches and biographies, which are now in the archives. In 1910, with E. Gosnell, and later E. Scholefield, he planned to write a history of Vancouver Island, but poor health prevented him. Unfortunately it was found later that neglect had so damaged his notes as to make them illegible. His literary ability was considerable. Beside his British Columbia books and articles his achievements included a translation of Horace's odes, an essay upon the poetry of Sir Walter Scott, and an essay upon the British Opium Policy in India and China, for which he won a $1000 prize. "No history can be true; though the writers be honest," thus he stated his theory of the subjectivity of history (page 31).

In 1862 he married Catherine Anne Wigham, and there were three children. The eldest was a daughter Agnes Mary. Hector an engineer on B.C. coast and Arrow Lake steamers, and superintendent engineer of the White Pass and Yukon Company, died in 1906. Alexander lived at Kleecoot, Sproat Lake for many years and supplied much of the material for this account to T.A. Rickard. Sproat's later years were saddened by separation from his wife who remained in England. He died in Victoria June 4, 1913.
In 1885 George Ainsworth and G.B. Wright, upon deposit of $25,000, secured from Victoria, a charter to construct a railway from Columbia River to Kootenay Lake. Though in 1887 the company's charter had expired the reserve had not been lifted. All unaware of this Arthur Bunting, decided upon this townsite near the mouth of Ward Creek, and the government accepted his deposit. When a mining recorder and constable arrived, the same year in the person of Harry Anderson, he made a location to the east of Bunting's ground and not on the reserve, as was Bunting's. Anderson called the place Salisbury, and C.W. Busk made the first survey.

(b) According to W.A. Baillie-Grohman: op.cit, p. 235.
   "At the 1882-3 session of the British Columbia legislature a private bill had been read granting the Ainsworth party 750,000 acres in all, including not only this land for the railway but also the best alluvial bottoms lying at the south of the main lake. In return they were to build this short narrow gauge railway twenty-one miles in length. At this juncture W.A. Baillie-Grohman, backed by influential letters and representing British interests, made his offer to the Legislature. His offer was to reclaim the 48,000 acres where Kootenay River enters the lake, and to pay one dollar an acre for it within ten years. In view of this, the Ainsworth party failed to get the concession in the form they wanted.
(c) The Ainsworth-Wright deposit and charter is also described in T.C. Collins' History What Is History, 1897.
4. "In running the lines, he (C.W. Busk) came across a stake marked 'Government Reserve' within the boundaries of the land that Anderson claimed. Busk made this reserve his boundary line but in filing his field notes in the Lands and Works Department at Victoria, reference therein to this 'reserve' called forth much surprise from the officials, who said that they had no knowledge of any such reserve having been made. As Bunting was still claiming the present townsite of Nelson when Anderson took up his land, it always puzzled old timers to understand why the reserve crowded Bunting out but could not crowd out Anderson." When the place was big enough for a name, Anderson described as being so far from Salisbury. T.C. Collins: in History What Is History 1897.
Bunting's cabin was the first to be put up. Next to it, Fry's sons built another, in which A.D. Coplen and Silas H. Cross kept their supplies. These were humble beginnings for a town that was to dominate the West Kootenay. In 1888, came Gilbert Malcolm Sproat, gold commissioner and stipendary magistrate, to found a capital in the Kootenays. Bunting's land, he said, was covered by the reserve. Anderson's name, he said, would not do. In a letter to the Miner, March 17, 1894, he tells why he chose this site which he called Stanley.

Gilbert Sproat, a blue-eyed Scot of Herculean frame came to Vancouver Island in the service of Anderson's, the English ship-owners, to purchase "sticks" for yards and masts, on the timbered Pacific coast. For him, Sproat Lake on Vancouver Island was named. Presently, he left this service to become Indian Commissioner for the Dominion government and later he represented British Columbia in London as its agent general. In that capacity, his descriptive letters to the Times, turned England's attention to this province. Upon his return, he was made gold commissioner of the Kootenay. In 1884, he was sent up the lake to report upon the minerals of the district. At that time the Slocan was unknown. Trail

5. Ibid.

"The old galena ledge on the east side (Bluebell) which contains moderate quantities of silver has again attracted attention owing to the approach of railways to the district, and perhaps more (Continued on succeeding page)
Creek was traversed only by a trapper, who knew nothing of the rich gold ore under the floor of his tent. The wealth of Toad Mountain was still hidden, and Sproat reported that there was no gold in the district.

Upon a summer day in 1888, this tall Scotsman stood on a bench by Cottonwood Creek looking down over the densely wooded flat. The heavy timber had been burnt off by the fire in 1885. In his letter of 1894 to The Miner, he says,

I chose this site because it is close to promising mining camps. It is at the meeting of two valleys along which land traffic from the west and south will have to come. These valleys meet at navigable waters which connect with the mining regions of Kootenay Lake and of the United States. I intended Bogus town to be included. (This residential district, now Fairview, lies along the lake shore, to the north of the main city, past a bluff.) It has the advantages of Cottonwood water fall, meadows for a town common, Ward Creek for a sewer, and a basin between Vernon Street and the lake, as a park for the women and children, God Bless them. My dream was that here, where nature was so bountiful, there might be, could we but keep out newspapers and lawyers, the town of all towns for civilized habitation.

7. (Continued) largely owing to improvements in the process of separating the silver from the lead which creates hopes that such low grade ore may now be handled profitably. Galena ledges, supposed to be silver bearing, have been discovered last year (1883) on the west side of the lake. Practical men who have been sent to examine the region generally, and have spent several months in exploring, have been satisfied with its promising character. Almost everybody who was employed at Kootenay Lake in 1883 had what he considers to be a silver bearing galena claim," quoted in "First History of Nelson" by Charles St. Barbe: 1897.


9. Lots in Bogustown were sold to strangers under the misleading title, "Nelson City," hence its name, since it claimed to be what it was not. In 1897 the terminus of the Nelson Ft. Sheppard Railway was there. T.C. Collins: op. cit.

Then he bemoans that the town was preyed upon by speculators under the Robson government.

When, in 1888 the British Columbia government replied favourably to Sproat's report, the latter "in some mysterious way, unknown to the science of survey" used a rope to lay off a portion of Vernon Street, which at that time was a beach on the water's edge, since the lake level sixty years ago was much higher than now. The settlers built in the clearing along Ward Creek, back as far as Baker Street, now a distance of one paved block, and flanked by buildings of brick and stone. These who took lots still one block further back on Victoria Street, found it dangerous to seek them in the thick pines and firs.

In October 1888 the first lots were sold, in the little log shack, which afterward became Giffin's office. Sproat presided at the sale and Jack Kirkup was auctioneer. Two years later 1890, as much as $295 was paid for one lot, and thirty-two lots brought $8,515 cash. During the winter of 1888-89, Colonel E.S. Topping continued to sell lots. This

13. T.H. Giffin— a constable at Donald came to Nelson in the spring of 1889 to be mining recorder for Toad Mountain District, when Anderson was transferred to Ainsworth.—T.C. Collins: op. cit.
14. Jack Kirkup, was constable with Onderdunk's contracting party at Yale, later at Revelstoke, and finally went on to Rossland. F.J. Smyth: Tales of the Kootenays: p. 25.
16. Colonel E.S. Topping was born in New York State in 1844. Little is known of his life before coming west except that he was a sailor for eleven years. In the west he was a railroad builder, trapper, miner, fisherman, constable, and author. He was a member of Cook's expedition against the Sioux in (Continued on succeeding page)
west of the approach to the government wharf, was demolished in August 1897, to make way for the new railway line. In the same month of October 1888, A.S. Farwell came to make a survey of the land; this work occupied him until the following year, when he laid out a wagon road along the river, on the trail which ran south to Sproat's Landing. The rest of the town was surveyed in 1890 in Latimer.

Soon the woods resounded with the cheery ring of axes, and the crash of falling trees. Many an original settler, whose name is now perpetuated in the designation of city streets, put his dwelling up that first autumn. John F. Ward, whose great voice could be heard booming across the

16. (Continued) 1876, For some years he prospected in the Yellowstone, and used this material to write the Chronicles of the Yellowstone, (St. Paul, 1883).

    After four years of prospecting worthless ground he came to Nelson. There an accident to his hand laid him up for several months and exhausted his savings. As soon as he could manage with one hand he fished, then took charge of a store and was appointed recorder and constable. In 1890 it was upon his advice that the rich claims at Rossland were staked. As an inducement to F.A. Heinze to build the Trail Smelter, he deeded to Heinze forty acres of land on the hill and one-third interest in the main parts of Trail, (from Howay, Sage, Angus: op. cit. pp. 273-274 note 16 in which is quotation from Trail Creek News for October 23, 1896, republished in the Nelson Daily News, April 29, 1932.)

17. Arthur Standhope Farwell was born in Brixham on the coast of Devonshire, England, 1841, the son of an English church rector. Travelling via the Isthmus and San Francisco, he arrived in British Columbia in 1862, and resided in Victoria for many years. Shortly after 1866, when this province became part of the Canadian federation he was made surveyor general, which post he retained under the first two provincial administrations.

    In the early eighties he acted for the dominion government and the Canadian Pacific Railway in locating the line or road through Roger's and Eagle Passes.

    In 1884 he located and laid out the town of Farwell, now the city of Revelstoke, and for ten years carried on what became a historical law suit with the dominion government over this land, finally winning his case.

18. note on page 145.

(Continued on succeeding page)
water at night, built a cabin for his wife and family where Ward Creek gushed over the beach to the lake. Now that creek, long since piped, has become Ward Street, and a block to the east and parallel to it runs Josephine, named for his

17. (Continued)

Early in the eighties, in company with Gilbert Malcolm Sproat Farwell visited the Kootenays to report upon them to the provincial government. Coming in 1888 to what is now the city of Nelson, he camped out on Squire's point, and later surveyed and laid out the first eight blocks of the townsite. The following year he took up his residence in Nelson, spending the winter months with friends in Victoria.

As an active member of the executive committee of the Provincial Surveyor's association he was respected by all in the profession, and public and coast authorities sought his advice and considered him the court of last resort in all the matters concerning surveying or laying out of lands in British Columbia.

Three times as conservative candidate he contested the West Kootenay seat in the provincial legislature, each time unsuccessfully. In 1890 Kelly defeated him by one vote in a four way contest with Haskins and Brown. In July 1898 J. Fred Hume defeated him by a small margin, and again in 1899 in a bye election caused by his own resignation Hume defeated him.

Death came suddenly in the early morning of July 29, 1908, after Farwell had spent a pleasant evening chatting over old times at the Nelson Club with F.J. Deane. Another close friend, Harold Selons found him in bed where he had peacefully passed away.

So far as could be learned Farwell left no relatives in Canada, but had a brother, a married sister, and a cousin, Mr. Justice Farwell, in England.

Farwell had been president of the Nelson Club, and a member of the Union Club, Victoria. from account in the Nelson Daily News: Thursday July 30th, 1908, Courtesy Miss Marjorie C. Holmes, Assistant Librarian, Provincial Archives.

18. In October 1888, Farwell surveyed blocks 1, 2, 3, 4 and the north half of blocks 5, 6, 7, 8. The next summer he surveyed blocks 9 and 10 and the north half of blocks 10 and 12.


wife. Beside his house, Ward started the first boarding house in a tent. After a year he built a log hotel, and John Walsh used the tent for a store. Next to this stood the office of Giffin, registrar of the supreme court, mining recorder, and constable. In 1849 Giffin had left his Ontario home to ride across the continent to California in the gold rush. In the fifties he pursued the fickle golden goddess north to the Cariboo. In another tent beside this government shack, James A. Gilker started a store, which soon became also the post office. On the other side of this tent J.F. Hume put up first a store, then a hotel. Frank Hanna built his cabin at the very fringe of the forest on Baker Street, and there on Christmas Day 1888, Mrs. Hanna gave the first formal dinner. Among her twelve guests were Colonel Topping, Henry Anderson, the mining recorder, who died at Ainsworth in 1894, Dr. D. La Bau, the town's first doctor, who long remained a revered advisor of the community, and Bart Henderson who died in Nelson, and was the first to be buried in the old cemetery near the Columbia Kootenay office.

The story of Harold Selous, who died just a few years ago, is a romantic tale of struggle, typical in the pioneering eighties. After a trip down the Yukon, then almost unprecedented, he wintered at the mouth of

24. Ibid.
Forty Mile Creek, where he suffered great privation for lack of food. In 1889 he reached Nelson. First he cleared a lot for A.J. Marks, for the site of the Nelson Hotel, after carrying Mark's trunk up from the landing. Then he cut stovewood for Colonel Topping and with Collins, cleared the streets of Bogustown.

At that time an English Company, with large grants of land on the upper Columbia, was seeking a means to stop the annual floods. For this purpose, they gave a contract to Selous and Lewis to drain out the gravel bank on the Kootenay River below Nelson. But, this gave Selous his start. Later he became a prosperous land-owner. Baillie-Grohman, then manager of the English Company, gave his name to the creek which enters the River, opposite Nelson and somewhat south of it.

In 1891 Jack Matheson set up the first barber chair in front of Soderberg and Johnson's store on Vernon.

24. T.C. Collins: op. cit.
25. William Adolph Baillie-Grohman, a British sportsman, came to the Kootenay in the early eighties looking for mountain sheep and goat. He was struck with the fertility of the bottom lands of Kootenay Lake and sought a means to reclaim them. He conceived two plans, both of which he attempted. One was to relieve the overflow by widening the narrows on the Kootenay River below Nelson (the project here referred to). The second was to divert the waters of the Upper Kootenay into the Columbia, by building a drainage ditch across the narrow flat portage between the Upper Columbia Lake and the narrow flat portage between the Upper Columbia Lake and the Kootenay River at what is now Canal Flats. In this second very ambitious project he invested his own money and that of British capitalists, forming the Kootenay Valley Company. The government at Victoria approved both schemes and conceded large grants of land in both Kootenay Valleys since the investment of British Capital and the resultant attraction of settlers to this fertile land where developments much to be desired in the province. Kootenay soon came to be talked about for this reason as well as for its mining interests. When, however, the Canadian Pacific Railway learned that the ditch would send still higher the waters of the Columbia which were already giving (continued)
PLAN OF CANAL FLAT
OR
McGILLIVRAY'S PORTAGE

60 miles north of Columbia
Present population about 400

From Canal Flat to mouth of Columbia River, 1264 mi.
Descent 2619 feet

M.E.C. from M.J. Lorraine
Street. He soon made enough to pay his travelling expenses, but lost all his tools in the Columbia. 26

That first winter also came Hugh Madden.

Today Madden House still thrusts its wooden balcony over Baker Street. Its beer parlour still is merry but

25 (Continued) trouble, they appealed to the Dominion Government to have work on the ditch stopped. Since the company had already spent large amounts upon surveying and machinery, the provincial authorities were caught unpleasantly between two bursts of anger one from the federal government one from the British capitalists. The outcome was a compromise. The ditch should be made a canal with a lock so that ore from the mines on the Kootenay might be transported by water to the smelter at Golden. Grohman pointed out that this would be unsuccessful unless expensive dredging were done on the Upper Columbia where the canal entered it. This the government promised to do. The Kootenay Valley Company completed the canal and lock, the channel was not dredged. The steamer North Star, and possibly another used the canal before the route was destroyed by the flood of 1894. Meantime the Commissioner of works at Victoria became uncomfortable at questions which demanded why valuable lands were being given away and no reclamation done, Thereupon the company began dredging on the Lower Kootenay narrows below Nelson. But these undertakings brought no revenues; the company called halt in the midst of the work and left Grohman to pay for the season's work on his own. Then they passed over their rights to the Alberta Exploration Company. When the government appointed engineers of this company planned to dam the river before it entered the lake, Grohman refused to continue as the company's manager. In 1898 he left forever the Kootenay which he loved, having spent in vain nine years of his life and vast sums of money to develop for settlement a rich region, only to see his schemes wrecked by those who misunderstood them. At his ancestral home in the Austrian Tyrol he devoted his remaining years to literary pursuits in a land not unlike British Columbia.

From a summary of the project published by Mrs. W.A. Baillie-Grohman in reply to a statement in the Victoria Daily Times by J.P. Forde of Dominion Public Works Department January, 1922, in which he said the canal was intended originally for transportation.

Mrs. Grohman's summary is quoted in the Kootenay Valley Ottawa 1935, pp. 29-31.

See Chapter XIV for further discussion of these schemes.

26. T.C. Collins: op. cit correction by Dr. E.C. Arthur.
less noisy than upon that afternoon in 1888 when a stranger asked H.M. Cottingham, "Could you tell me how to get to the hospital?" and the Irish reply, "Just put your head in the Hughie Madden's beer parlour, and yell 'to hell with the Pope,' you'll get there soon enough!"

In all these months, the new town had not yet received its birthright, — a name. Both Sproat and Anderson were bull-headed, and the settlement continued to be Stanley to the gold commissioner, Salisbury to the mining recorder. In the winter of 1888-89, Sproat lost his post through this feud. Even after G.C. Tunstall came down the Columbia in 1889 to succeed him, the town continued to be called by the two names. During the same year, however, the town residents applied for post office rights, calling it Stanley but it was decided to call the Kootenay settlement after the lieutenant governor of the Province, Hugh Nelson. Perhaps those who decided were remembering, too, the glory of Lord Nelson after whom David Thompson had named the Selkirk mountains in 1807.

Since the granting of postal rights was the occasion for Nelson's achieving identity, it will be well, at this point to consider the mail service of the Kootenays in those days. The Miner Dec. 1, 1894 carried this descriptive fragment,

27. Half-brother of my grandfather Herbert Morrison Cottingham. See bibliography.
29. (a) Ibid
   (b) Howay, Sage, Angus: op. cit. p. 271
30. (a) T.C. Collins: op. cit.
   (b) Howay, Sage, Angus: op. cit. p. 271
"Those of us who are not yet over 21, may confidentially expect that by the time their grandchildren want spectacles, the Canadian Post Office may be abreast of the times."

No doubt, this remark was justified since a letter from Ainsworth, 35 miles away, took eleven days to reach Nelson, and registered letters to Spokane travelled via Victoria. Yet an advertisement in next week's issue boasted, Stanley Weyman's "My Lady Rotha" for sale in Stanley's Book Store, within one month of publication in England.

The Ottawa appointment for postmaster was given in 1889 to J.A. Gilker, who did business first in his tent. Since the Columbia during the summer months was navigable from Revelstoke to Northport, throughout the entire length of the Arrow Lakes, 250 miles, a weekly mail came this way to Sproat's Landing. From there it got through by chance, pack train, or river craft. For a long time Dr. Hendryx, of Pilot Bay and Bluebell, brought the bags seventy miles up the Kootenay Lake from the States on his boat, the S.S. "Galena", giving this service gratis. In those days, however, rivers and lakes were closed to traffic from November to the spring. Mail had to be brought monthly during the winter via the Kootenai Station on the North Pacific Railway. The winter of 1889-90, Ned Bray took this contract for $100 per month. This was no princely payment for the hardships encountered. In 1890-91 since the government would still give only bi-monthly service, the citizens took up a collection to pay the difference and bring in the mail once a week. Joe Wilson got this contract, but drowned.

    (b) T.C. Collins: Biographical notes to First History of Nelson, 1897.
32. Howay, Sage, Angus: op. cit. p. 270
in the lake before he began. In the end Billy Perdue brought it 60 miles from Marcus to Trail, and Mexican Juan the remaining 55 miles to Nelson. Bets were laid on the time of each arrival and the contract was renewed in 1891-92. In 1892-93 Robert and Anthony Madden were doing this work. All stamps in Nelson were U.S. stamps in 1888-89 and even after the post office was established, one-third of the stamps continued to be American because that proportion of the mail was carried through the States, an indication of the pull toward the south, which transport could not offset for some years to come.

Meanwhile, to justify the extensions of railways and steamer routes, the tents and cabins along Ward Creek had become a hamlet. By 1891, according to G.O. Buchanan, there were 200 people in Nelson, living and doing business in frame buildings, for which he supplied a great deal of the lumber. By the time the town was incorporated as a city, in March 1897, the population had grown to 1,000 people.

Buchanan built his lumber mill first on the lake where Harrop now stands. After the flood of 1894, which swept

33. Billy Perdue—a native of Ohio, was one of the first adventurers to come to Nelson. True to the spirit of the wanderlust, by 1897 he had moved on again and was taking a herd of cattle to the Klondike.

T.C. Collins: Biographical sketches in Nelson's First History, 1897.

34. (a) Stanley Deaville: Early Post Offices and Colonial Postage Stamps of British Columbia: Victoria, B.C. 1928. U.S. stamps were also used in B.C. before 1871.
(b) In the years 1890-92, subscription lists of the Nelson newspaper, The Miner, were sent out to Marcus and Colville and accorded the privilege of U.S. mails on payment of U.S. rate of postage. The bulk of these papers returned to Canada through U.S. mails.

T.C. Collins: op. cit.

35. George Owen Buchanan, one of Nelson's pioneers later moved to Kaslo and was government candidate in the first provincial election in this district.
the mill 18 miles down to Nelson, the owner moved his establishment to Kaslo, and in August 1894, was cutting 15,000 feet of lumber for the new building developments at Pilot Bay.\textsuperscript{36} He claimed that he was the first man, other than a prospector, ever to come into this valley. According to this account, published originally in the \textit{Nelson Daily News},\textsuperscript{37} in the spring of 1888, after coming down the Arrow Lakes from Revelstoke, he landed where Robson is now. He found not the slightest hint of a trail along the Kootenay, and was forced to beat his way along that river, through twenty-seven miles of woods and underbush, until he saw the first sign of a human presence ever having penetrated here a tent, -- on the very spot where the Hume Hotel stands. This and a deserted log shanty were all that was to be seen in the valley, apart from the forest clothing the mountain side. By 1891, residences and stores along Baker Street were so numerous that Buchanan was given a government contract to bridge Ward Creek. No able-bodied man in Nelson would spare the time from mining and prospecting. So Buchanan brought men from his Harrop mill to construct a 150-foot wooden bridge, across the ravine, where now the Canadian Bank of Commerce stands. The next year 1892 he built the first wharf for the government,\textsuperscript{38} since all

\textsuperscript{36. (a)} \textit{Nelson Miner}: August 25, 1894.
\textsuperscript{37.} This is repeated in F.J. Smyth: \textit{Tales of the Kootenays}: 1942 pp. 29-30.
\textsuperscript{38.} \textit{Nelson Miner}: op. cit.
supplies came in by boat from Bonners Ferry.

To the first stores of J.A. Gilker, 39 J. Fred Hume, 40 and R.E. Lemon, 41 was soon added a butcher shop, opened by J. Wilson. The same year that brought rail service in from Robson, saw also the establishment of the first bank. Though for five years after the building of the railway, rail service was discontinued during the winter months, the Nelson branch of the Bank of Montreal, which had its modest beginning Jan. 2, 1892, has continued to do business without interruption.

39. J.A. Gilker was born and grew to manhood in Quebec province. During construction, he was employed by the Canadian Pacific Railway in its technical department, and in that way came to British Columbia in 1885. At first he was stationed at Revelstoke, and in 1889 he came from there to Nelson, bringing one of the first stocks of goods offered for sale here. In the same year he was appointed postmaster. However, when trade did not come up to his expectations, he left a clerk in charge of the store and as deputy postmaster while he returned to Revelstoke for the winter. In the spring of 1890 he returned with F.D. Wells, who continued as his partner until December, 1896. Gilker put up the fourth frame building in Nelson.

T.C. Collins: Biographical Notes: op. cit.

40. John Fred Hume was born in the United States, arrived in Nelson in 1888, established one of the first stores here, and his name is associated with practically every early community development in the city. He was the first member elected to the Provincial Legislative Assembly from this riding. In the Semlin government of 1898-1900, he was Provincial Secretary and Minister of Mines.

41. Robert E. Lemon brought the first groceries and supplies in to Ward Creek in 1888, from Revelstoke, via the Arrow Lakes Sproat's Landing and pack horse to the mining settlement. His name is now perpetuated at Lemon Creek, in the Slocan where a large Nisei settlement was established during World War II.

to this very day. A.H. Buchanan, came to Nelson on snow-shoes via Spokane. In his pocket was capital amounting to $11.50, with which he opened a branch what was at that time the largest bank in America. In connection with their real estate business Edward Applewaite and Allan ran a private bank. In March, 1892 the Bank of British Columbia established a branch in Nelson under A.F. Daly's management. This bank had been incorporated by Royal Charter in 1862, with head offices in London. Grange V. Holt succeeded Daly as Nelson agent. Interest on savings was allowed at 3\%\, and the office did business at the southwest corner of Stanley and Baker Streets.

To the first frame hotel, Nelson House built by Marks and Van Ness, was added to Ward's which later changed its name to the Lake View. In 1892 was established the Phair Hotel, "the best in the interior." In May of that same year, the Hudson's Bay Company opened a store in Nelson, with G.R. Robson as manager.

Though a visitor to the city now is impressed by the great number of buildings made solidly of hewn stone, eight years passed in the early days, before Clements and Hillyer erected the first brick building in 1896.

Real estate in Nelson was valued at $252,000 in 1892; and in 1893 this assessment value had increased to $328,275. Lots were valued from $100 to $3,250, which was the assessment placed upon R.E. Lemon's property, lot 1, block 2.
In January 1894, Nelson lots were being urgently advertised for sale, since the price would be bound to go up, when the city became a new railway centre, and the seat of the government for the West Kootenay. In May, a 25 foot lot sold for $900, and the owner of a 30 foot lot refused $1500, for it. However, in December of the same year, a sitting of the court of revision reduced the value of Nelson lots 25 per cent.

In August 1893, the Nelson Hospital was completed, the total outlay being $2254.35 for the year, while the receipts, including the government grant, were $4655.28. Dr. Labau was superintendent of this institution, whose eleven directors were calling for regular citizen support of $100 per man, since the hospital served such a wide district, and the government grant was only $1000.

The danger of fire was ever present amid these forested mountains, where buildings in the settlement were at first all of wood. The first fire company was formed in 1891. The Tribune of Jan. 27, 1894, reports reorganization of this Deluge Hook and Ladder Company, with C.E. Arthur, president, J.H. Matheson, vice-president, T.D. Gillis,

47. Loc. cit. May 5, 1894.
49. Nelson Daily News: summary of History of Kootenay Lake General Hospital on the occasion of its fiftieth anniversary of April 1, 1943. It was incorporated under the Societies Act of the Province of British Columbia, April 1, 1893. The Board of Directors elected Frank Fletcher first president, G.A. Bigelow, secretary. "A male nurse was employed to help care for the seven patients admitted. Two of the seven died, four were discharged as 'cured', and one remained in hospital." Ibid:
50. Dr. D. La Bau, was one of the first men in Nelson. He came in 1888 from the United States, and returned there to practice in Spokane after he had been in Nelson about seven years. Later he went to Victoria when he died. Diligent research has failed to uncover more than this scanty account from Nelson Daily News 1894.
52. T.C. Collins: op. cit.
Secretary, J. Fred Hume, Treasurer, and Charles Van Ness, Thomas Madden, and E.E. Phair on the Finance Committee.

The fee for non-active membership was $1.00, plus 50 cents per month. From this fee, the sixteen active members were exempt, receiving instead an annual stipend of $18. The first sixteen, were J.F. Hume, John F. Gill, George H. Keefer, John McGinty, T.D. Gillis, John A Kirkpatrick, Jacob Dover, James Seale, John M. Keefer, John Malone, Alfred Olson, Thos. Sproat, M.F. Corrigan, C. Kauffman, W.J. Scully, C.V. Dake. This practical arrangement was made after the burning of the International Hotel; when "the citizens gave enough to get the fire equipment out of hawk" -- $364. Later that same year the Nelson Ladies raised $89 to purchase a 300 lb. bell for the Fire Hall. Fires were frequent and soon caused citizens to forget petty hatreds. When Buchanan's house burned in May, Hume and Houston, his bitter political opponents, gallantly spent the night rescuing his goods from the blaze.

53. Keefer, of late years a resident of Vancouver, was born in Dufferin County, Ontario in 1865. In 1885 he came to Victoria and in 1890, came to this district when his uncle, Hugh Keefer and Dan McGillvray contracted to build the railway from Sproat's Landing to Nelson. In partnership with Micky Monaghan he prospected for Captain Tatlow of Vancouver, staking 18 claims. In 1894 with A.E. Hodgins he put in a plant for Fred Ritchie and Company, whose Nelson Hydraulic Mining Syndicate was formed that year to develop Forty-Nine Creek. With Seneca J. Ketcham a former Nelson Chief of police published the *Idea* in San Francisco. Then he returned again to Nelson to open a cafe and later a moving picture house. At the turn of the century he was in charge of 35 carpenters working on the construction of the Hall Mines Smelters. He organized Nelson's first Brass Band and played the violin for the Quadrille Club dances in the early days. Even as late as 1932-34 he was back, working a leased claim on Forty-nine Creek. R.G. Joy--Nelson District Old Timers Association Historian, in *Nelson News*: Jan. 19, 1943.

55. *Ibid*: May 12, 1894.
When, in 1894, the *Miner* and its political affiliates bitterly opposed Houston and Hume in the first election of a provincial candidate from the south Kootenay riding, they based their antagonism upon the unhappy state of the Nelson water supply, which they blamed upon these two. It seems that in 1889, the Canadian Pacific Railway tried to get a monopoly upon the water from Ward and Cottonwood Creeks. This attempt was frustrated by a group of citizens led by Hume and Houston. In 1890, these gentlemen with one or two others, built a local water system, called it "The Consumer's Waterworks Company," lobbied two weeks to get it through the legislature and sold shares. The water pressure in 1894, was quite inadequate, just enough to water plants. Yet when the city wanted to buy and improve the system, these public spirited men demanded for price, not only the cost of construction, but 15 percent per annum, to cover interest and upkeep to the time of purchase, —"God knows how much," as the *Miner* said. After Nelson was incorporated in 1897, the city bought these same old water works for $5000. They then proceeded to bring the water from Anderson Creek to a new reservoir above the city. For this purpose a loan of $50,000 was raised: bonds sold at 98, to bear 5 percent interest.57

In 1891 the Nelson Electric Light Company was started,58 but nothing was done until 1894, when in July59 telephone poles were going up and the citizens expected to have electric light by

56. Loc. cit: January 20, 1894.
57. T.C. Collins: op. cit.
58. Ibid.
59 *Nelson Miner*: July 14, 1894.
winter. Moreover, that same year, plans were laid for street lighting and sidewalks and a bandstand was built at the corner of Baker and Josephine. In August, R.E. Lemon was the first merchant to have electric light in his store, and he was paying from $12 to 8 cents per candlepower, per month.60

Those were the days when the telegraph was in its infancy and far from efficient. Instead of telegraphing "wire reply" Nelson's citizens used to say "send reply by freight train!"61 for in 30 days they received but 12 wires on the prices of silver and lead.62 In 1897 a second telegraph line was put in along the Nelson-Fort Sheppard route to connect with the Western Union service.

Miners, prospectors and trades people have to be assured of justice, before they can afford the luxury of politics. Yet within five years of its location, Nelson was embroidering its own political pattern, like a metallic thread against the broad background of provincial and world events. The latter were described in the local press with the same pungent and witty style that related Kootenay events.

As in all mining settlements in the interior of British Columbia, the first guardians of law and order on Ward Creek and in Nelson were the mining recorder, H. Anderson and the gold commissioner, G.M. Sproat, who with Constable Kirkup, were all present at the first auction of townsite property in 1888.63

60. Loc. cit. Aug. 18, 1894.
In 1889, George Christie Tunstall replaced G.M. Sproat, and in 1891 was in turn succeeded by Captain Napoleon Fitzstubbs, an English gentleman, whose straight forward ways at times roused keen resentment against "The Englishman". According to the late Colonel R.T. Lowery's account of the early days in Nelson, "The camp was new and short of ... parsons, lawyers, and prohibitions orators. It had plenty of whiskey... and several pianos. All the rest of the population were male skinners, packers, trail blazers, remittance men, and producers, with a slight trace of tenderfeet. The police slept only in the daytime... Colonel Topping was the victim of the first accident. He was stooping at the creek to get a drink, instead of drinking out of a bottle, when his .44 dropped out of his pocket and opened a crosscut in his wrist. Ike Loughead accidentally shot his partner on Toad Mountain, and the body was buried in a coffin made of whip-sawed lumber." On May 2, 1890, shortly after his arrival, Justice of the Peace Bigelow, walked to Sproat's Landing to sit with John McLeod, associate justice, upon the case of Mrs. McKenzie, who was accused of selling liquor to the Indians, and of being "a loose, idle, disorderly person". She was fined $50 by each justice, though Bigelow expressed regret that he could not hang her. In July of the same year, the first judicial dignitary arrived in Nelson. Ward Spinks, judge of the county court, 159.

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64. T.C. Collins: op. cit.
65. Ibid.
66. One of the most colourful of Kootenay Editors -- started and conducted several publications, of which New Denver Lodge was one. F.J. Smyth: Tales of Kootenays 1942 - p. 173.
68. Quoted in F.J. Smyth: op. cit, pp. 31-32.
69. T.C. Collins: op. cit.
presided at the trial of Tom Brady, who was sentenced to eighteen months hard labour for cutting and wounding Billy Gorman. At that time, either the execrable cooking, or some other reason frequently caused prisoners to escape from the jail. Grady got out by the fire escape, and was pursued by Selous and Constable Giffin, who fired a shot and caught him. 70

Since this court sat in Nelson only three times in two years, and had to decide as many as 200 cases in two days, sessions were very long, and some thought judgements were none too fair. Fortunately there were no murders or violent crimes in the Kootenays in the nineties. This was a contrast to crimes conditions at the coast and across the line. In 1894 Kaslo petitioned to have county court sessions there also, so as to save the expense of bringing as many as 200 people down the lake to attend the 50 cases from Kaslo. 71

In those days, the rule of the road was the opposite from what it is now. When a "gent" from Kaslo, driving some "girlies" from Comique Opera House along the Sandon road, refused to turn to turn off for an ore sled, and threatened the hauler with a gun the dispute came before Stipendiary Magistrate Sproat. Though the gun turned out to be merely a cigar box, the "gent" was at fault, for according to English highway law, "it was an offense on the part of the driver, not to keep his vehicle on the left, or near the side of the road, when meeting, or being overtaken by another." Only on the Cariboo

highway, in those days, did the light vehicle take the outside.

In those days too, there were even a few public hangings. Henry Rose paid the penalty at the last public execution, in November 1902, on a scaffold erected in the provincial jailyard. "Goodbye all," he said, smiling just before the black cap was drawn over his face. For a long time a piece of the rope could be seen in a cabinet in the Bodega Saloon.

In the British Columbia Board of Trade report for the year 1893, 1337 mining claims were recorded in the West Kootenay, and 1167 transfers were made. 225 men were employed in these mines, and from December 12, 1893 to May 31, 1894, 5374 tons of ore were shipped to Swansea, Wales, and to the United States, with an average value of $120 per ton. It can be easily understood why the West Kootenay began to agitate for greater representation in the provincial house.

In January 1894, J. Fred Hume announced his intention of running as opposition candidate to the "Davie Government for the whole West Kootenay district, and proceeded, with his sponsor John Houston, editor of the Tribune, to arrange a convention of the district voting population, to be held in Nelson. The disapproval to this plan found loud and fluent voice in the Miner, the rival organ, owned by Bogle and Whalley. I wonder if, today, apathetic voters in our democracy, would be more readily roused to action, if their opinions were stimulated

73. F.J. Smyth: Tales of the Kootenays: P. 33.
74. R. McClanidish: An old timer here, told this one evening, Mar. 1943.
75. Nelson Miner: July 14, 1894.
occasionally, by such witty columns as Political Chronicles reproduced in the appendix.

In spite of the blame that many Nelson residents placed upon Hume and Houston for the very inadequate public water supply, the convention voted Hume its candidate for the South Riding. A Provincial Redistribution Bill of February, 1894, divided the area into two ridings, the south having the greater population. Hume's platform had twelve planks cut to fit every desire of miners, and the fast growing Kootenay townships. In fact, all that the Davie Government had failed to give, he would provide, and much more beside. Commissioner Fitzstubbs was also drawn into this. He drew the wrath of the opposition for failing to hurry on the building of the New Denver Wharf, and for failing to pay wages to men whose work on the Lardeau-Trout Lake road was unsatisfactory. In the thick of the fireworks of epithets, he went to the coast, because of ill health. W.J. Goepel replaced him.

In May, G.O. Buchanan came forth as government candidate to oppose Hume, and was loudly praised by The Miner for his definite platform. Kellie for the government, Brown for the opposition contested the seat in the North Riding.

77. (a) Howay and Scholefield: British Columbia II p. 491.
   (b) Nelson Miner: Feb. 17, 1894.
78. Loc. cit.: April 21, 1894.
80. Loc. cit.: April 21, 1894.
81. Loc. cit.: May 12, 1894.
82. Loc. cit.: May 12, 1894.
83. Loc. cit.: July 7, 1894.
In the Miner of July 28, next to an account of the christening of the Prince of Wales (now Duke of Windsor) with water from the River Jordan, appeared the story of Nelson's first provincial election. All saloons were closed until evening. Polling began at 8:00 a.m. Sometimes three or four votes would come in a rush. Then again, for twenty minutes there would be no one. In the evening bars opened and there was much hilarity.

Hume had 138 votes in Nelson, Buchanan 72, and when all the returns were recorded Hume had a majority of 146, though the Davie Government was returned in the legislature with the nineteen seats to the opposition's eleven.

An editorial in the Miner consoled its disappointment by remarking that Hume was elected because "he's a jolly good fellow," not because of the principles for which he stood, and continued, "the water supplied to Nelson is rank poison—a threat to the population and especially to the children." The article concluded with some good counsel to the new member; Hume was urged to obtain legal advice before aspiring to mend the laws in the legislature. J.F. Hume continued to represent his district, when the Turner ministry succeeded the Davie, and in the Semlin Cabinet he held the portfolios of the Provincial Secretary and Minister of Mines.

Nelson's interest in federal politics was not as keen. The main line of the transcontinental railway which was drawing the Pacific province into the fold of confederation only skirted the north of the Kootenays, passing through Golden, Donald and Revelstoke. Only in 1892 did the Canadian Pacific line reach Nelson from Robson, and this was but a part of a

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84. Ibid: July 21, 1894.
subsidiary line in which gaps continued to be served by lake steamers until the completion of the Crows Nest Branch from Nelson to Kootenay Landing in 1930. Had the mining advance to the Kootenays occurred earlier so that the Crows Nest rather than the Kicking Horse Pass had been chosen as the main line would pass the Rockies, the history of both the gap through which East and West Kootenays might have been very different. At least the American influence might have been sooner modified by a consciousness of participation in the affairs of the Canadian Dominion. The Kootenays did not send a direct representative to the Federal House until the same year in which October 1895, when Governor General Aberdeen and his lady visited Nelson. In 1896 this area was first represented in the Dominion House by Hewitt Bostock, as a part of the Yale Cariboo District. In March 1897, Nelson was incorporated as a city, the same year that saw the incorporation of Grand Forks and Rossland. John Houston was elected the first mayor. Then as now, 

87. Ibid. 
88. Ibid. 
89. John Houston, 1850-1910 moved to Nelson in 1892, where he established the Tribune Newspaper and served four terms as Nelson's mayor, 1897, 1898, 1900, and 1905. Nelson Daily News: Dec. 18, 1942. In 1900 he was elected to the ninth provincial assembly from Nelson riding and was later slated for the portfolio of Minister of Lands, and Works. Unfortunately a disagreement with Premier McBride just as this time caused the appointment to be called off.
the council had six members. Messrs. Fletcher, Dow, Teetzel, the first druggist, Gilker, Hillyer, and Malone were the first Aldermen. Houston appointed Charles Wolverton, the first Chief of police, to be succeeded soon afterward by Seneca G. Ketcham. Nelson's public school system dates from 1891, when the first school was opened with Miss Annie Roth, as teacher. The city now has two Elementary schools, a junior and senior high, a boarding school, conducted by the Catholic Sisters of St. Joseph and for a time, 1929-35, there was a Lutheran Day School, whose six to fifteen pupils were taught by the Rev. Jahnzow.

In the early days, the public school opened for the fall term August 13th, and teachers qualified for their posts by written examination only. When on the list of 57 successful candidates in the province, Miss Nellie Delmage passed 9th with 2129 marks out of 3150, she was appointed mistress of Nelson Public Schools. At this time the enrollment was 42 pupils. Each month the Nelson Miner published the names of students who were topping their classes.

91. F.J. Smyth: op. cit. p. 32. "Houston and his chief Ketcham, had much in common—sometimes the Chief of Police took the mayor home, and then again, sometimes the mayor took the chief of police home, a most fraternal arrangement, as it were."
93. When the Junior High School was named, Trafalgar was chosen, since many thought the city was named for Admiral Nelson.
94. The same misconception early in the present century caused the Senior High to adopt the admiral's motto, Palma qui meruit ferat, which the school still retains.
95. Nelson Miner: August 11, 1894.
The first religious service to take place on the mainland of British Columbia, was a Mass celebrated at Big Bend on the Columbia River October 14, 1838, by Fathers Demers and Blanchet. These brothers of the Oblate Order travelled from St. Boniface with the express of the Hudson's Bay Company, to carry the cross into the far west. Two thirds of the party then came down the Columbia, to the company post near its influx into the Upper Arrow Lakes. Here, at the House of the Lakes near what is now Arrowhead they waited while the boat ascended the river to bring down the rest of the party from Boat Encampment. Days later the broken barge drifted down to the post, a tragic announcement of the catastrophe that had befallen at the rapids on the river. Just at dusk, when attempting to run them, the little craft was swamped and twelve of her twenty-six passengers drowned. This melancholy event gave the name Dalles des Morts to these angry waters. Baptisms, funerals and marriages were performed by the priests at House of the Lakes.

Three years later, in 1841, and again in 1845, Father de Smet visited the Kootenay Indians on Tobacco Plains. In 1874 the St. Eugene Mission was established, and on November 1, 1887, Father N. Coccola arrived there.

96. Howay and Scholefield: British Columbia II, p. 606
97. (a) Howay and Scholefield: op. cit. vol 2, p. 606.
   (b) Two of the victims were Robert Wallace a young botanist recently arrived from England, and his bride Maria, daughter of Sir George Simpson. The couple had been married at Edmonton and were travelling westward with the Hudson's Bay Fur brigade bound for the Lower Columbia (from Graham, op. cit. pp. 93-94.)
By 1891, there were three servants of the Lord ministering to the spiritual comfort of the motley crowd on Ward Creek. Rev. A.J. Reid led the Anglicans, Rev. James Turner, the Methodists. Turner had been sent to Revelstoke, when first the Methodists established themselves there in 1888, going in 1891 to Nelson where he replaced Rev. R.J. Irwin, who came first in 1890. For members of the Presbyterian faith, the Kootenay region was attached to the Presbytery of Calgary, which placed Rev. Thomas Rogers in Nelson.

By 1894, the $200 indebtedness of the Anglican church was paid off, and the incumbent Rev. H.S. Akehurst was broaching the subject of a vicarage. At this time both Presbyterians and Anglicans had churches, but the Methodists still used the schoolhouse. The Roman Catholics had a chapel in which mass was celebrated every other Sunday at 10:30, by Rev. Father Accorsini.

Today, Nelson has thirteen churches representing ten denominations. Four of these have fine organs. One Anglican Church, St. Saviours, in a pro-Cathedral. The Roman Catholics also have two churches, one of which is also a pro-Cathedral. With the bishop's palace, the church hall and the convent, followers of this faith have a fine block of buildings in the heart of the city.

Life was not all work in those pioneer days. There was abundance of good sport and entertainment in the community whose

100. Howay and Scholefield: op. cit. p. 632.
size was ideal, for everyone knew everyone else. Many gatherings were arranged to raise money for community projects. Such a one was the moonlight excursion to Balfour and Pilot Bay in July 1894, planned for the purpose of raising funds for the public school. One hundred and fifty people went from Nelson, and danced at the old Pilot Bay hotel, where refreshments were provided by the generosity of A.B. Hendryx and other residents. In November, money for the hospital was raised at a ball in the Phair hotel. In its issue of January 27, 1894, the Miner advertised a variety entertainment to be given the local society of Doves and Ravens.

Long before there was a settlement here, weddings were the occasion for hilarious celebration. The yellowed notebook pages of a very old timer, Bob Yuill, record that Dick Fry married his squaw at Hoover's Point opposite Nelson, in 1867. Even in the nineties some couples sought novel surrounding for their nuptial ceremony. One Saturday evening on the steamer to Kaslo Pleasant Oakley Hackleman of that city, and Margaret Elizabeth Fitzgerald of Chicago were united in marriage by Rev. H.S. Akehurst.

Beer and strong waters were consumed in plentiful quantities in those days when even transportation difficulties seldom retarded their copious flow. In 1899 there were twenty-three hotels, each with a bar, six saloons, and four wholesale

108. Loc. cit: December 1, 1894.
liquor houses. It is not to be wondered that celebrations were merry and frequent. J. Riesterer the brewer, four years previously dispensed free beer from his new brew to test it. The first meeting of the Nelson Masonic Lodge was held Mar. 8, 1894. And, on May 24, of the same year the Oddfellows made an excursion to Kaslo where they were royally greeted under a welcome Arch. John Elliot was elected president of the Athletic Association, formed in May to promote baseball, football, cricket, rowing, and other sports on the newly completed grounds.

For the Dominion Day sports, bevies of beribboned beauties, bent over balcony rails, in front of the hotels lining Baker Street. At 10:30 A.M. a sàvo of 21 shots started the day's festivities with a regal salute. From 10:00 a.m. to evening, a progression of shooting contests delighted citizens and guests; and for these events the prizes were indeed worthy of the occasion, ranging from $3.00 first for 15 year boys 50 yard dash, to $70.00 first in the quarter mile race. The winner of the Chinese race had stuffed his hankie in his mouth, "to stop him wind allee go!" Fireworks and dancing until dawn put an end to this glorious holiday.

The celestials were not long in following the white prospectors into the Kootenay valley. For many years they continued to take out gold from Kasb and Wild Horse. In Nelson they soon

settled into those two occupations that seem to have become their right in the interior of B.C., laundries and restaurants. One early press account relates with rage the discovery that Chinese laundry men, who cannot put their white patrons' names into Chinese, designate them in their accounts by the names of the creatures they most nearly resemble. There were Nelson's leading citizens listed as Ass, Toad, Weasel, Skunk.

Then, as now, these valleys were a paradise for hunters and fishermen. In two weeks an Indian, Narcisse, shot eight cariboo, including four cows. This incredible kill still left Narcisse outside the embrace of the long arm of the law, since he was an Indian. At that time, the B. C. Government paid bounties, two dollars for each wolf killed, and one for each coyote. Sometimes nature presented a spectacle for Kootenay inhabitants, like the flood of 1894, which soon became a disaster. On June 2, the Miner advertised a round trip from Nelson via Kaslo, to Bonner's Ferry, on the S.S. "Nelson" to view the flood; the fare was four dollars.

Journalist talent has always been plentiful in the Kootenays and there were many papers in the early days. Upon the editorial page of the oldest issue of the Nelson Miner, now extant in the files of the Daily News office, this heading

120. Loc. Cit: September 1, 1894.
The Miner  
Jan. 6, 1894  
No. 177

The Miner is printed on Saturdays, provided the staff is sober, and will be mailed to any address in Canada or the United States, for one year on receipt of two dollars. Those desiring sample copies will secure same on receipt of ten cents.

Contract advertisements inserted at the rate of $3 per inch (down the column) per month, and as much more as patrons will stand.

Transient advertisements------------------

Quack, Cure-all, Private Remedy and Next-to-Pure-Reading Matter advertisements are not wanted.

From 1888, John Houston had been publishing *The Truth* in Donald when that town was a divisional point on the Canadian Pacific Railway. Extracts from this paper appeared weekly in the *Mining Press* of San Francisco. Soon, however, he followed the trail of prospectors to the new settlement west of Toad Mountain. In company with C.H. Ink, Charlie Dake, and a man called Allan, on June 21, 1890, he put out the first issue of a newspaper in Nelson -- *The Miner* a weekly. The plant was packed in by Joe Wilson's pack train from Sproat's Landing. This claimed to be the oldest paper in the southern Kootenay, and the first mining paper in British Columbia. In the first number appeared four editorial items of particular historical interest. In "A Short Sketch of Nelson" appeared the names of the earliest pioneers, many of whom, seven years later, were the town's chief business men. They included Eugene Seyre Topping, who once 121 St. Barbe: *First History of Nelson*. 
owned Trail, and who, in 1897, was exploiting the riches of Deer Park on the Arrow Lakes. "The Oldest Town on the Lake" described Ainsworth. Sproat's Landing was pictured in "Kootenay's youngest metropolis" and "Another Smelter for Kootenay" told of the smelter at Golden which was blown in, but later allowed to "freeze up." When the paper changed hands W.A. Jowett was one of the later managers, and in 1892 David B. Bogle and Clive Phillips Whalley bought the Miner, whose capital was estimated to be $10,000 in January, 1894. The timely news reports and editorials in this paper are a fertile source of contemporary material for any historian who wishes to write of the Kootenays, or, indeed, of British Columbia, in the nineties.

In April 1894, Charles St. Barbe, who had formerly been sub-editor of the New Zealand Times, came to edit The Miner.

122. T.C. Collins: History What is History.
123. Ibid.
125. Clive Phillips Whalley, who liked to be called by his full name, was connected with several business enterprises in Nelson, made much money from mining in the Slocan, and conducted important business in the Hall Mines. T.O. Collins, op.cit.
126. His literary achievements is also worthy of note, for he was one of the first poets in British Columbia to achieve more than local fame. About 1900 his poems and novels were widely read in Australia, New Zealand, South Africa, Great Britain as well as in this province, and their vigorous narratives stirred many young men to come to Canada. In 1915, the poet was knighted in recognition of a coronation hymn which he wrote to honor the coronation of King George, and also in appreciation of his war work in British Columbia. An Englishman by birth, Phillips-Whalley was strongly imperialist and patriotism was his favourite theme. His western poems suggest the style of Robert Service, though they are more formal in wording. For thirty years he lived on Piers Island off Sidney.


125. (Cont'd) P.W. Luce in a letter to the writer, Sept. 12, 1946, insists that Clive Phillips-Whalley is the correct spelling, (over)
as found in his books, and that "Woolley," "Whalley," or "Walley" would greatly have annoyed the irascible poet.
In the next issue the amusing heading to the editorial page, quoted at the beginning of this section, was dropped, and a more polished announcement took its place.

In November 1892, Houston started the second Nelson paper, which he called the Tribune, and which became a daily. About 1905, F.J. Deane came from Kamloops, and arranged a deal, which absorbed the two plants, and started what is now the Nelson Daily News. 128

Houston's career was a varied one. As a practical printer, he had toured the country, travelling in box cars before he came to Nelson. After his arrival in 1890, he was four times mayor of the city, and also served in the provincial legislature. Had it not been for a disagreement with Premier McBride, he would have been Minister of Lands in one Conservative Government. 129

A huge, bluff man versatile and vitriolic in speech and writing, Houston had staunch friends and bitter enemies. Even while he was Mayor, he would absent himself for long periods. Once he went to Nevada, drawn by a mining boom, and once to Spokane, where he had to earn his fare in a sawmill to get home.

On one occasion after a bitter attack in his columns, upon the Canadian Pacific Railway, he threw the protesting

superintendent out of his office, where he had come to
remonstrate. Houston left Nelson to start a paper in
Prince Rupert, and from there moved to start another
in Fort George. There he died, but his remains were
brought back to Nelson to be buried beside Ink and Dake
in the cemetery, high above Cottonwood Creek. A monument
to his memory stands today in front of the Hume Hotel
on Vernon Street, at the very spot from which the city
grew. For a time Nelson even had a third weekly paper,
the Economist, edited and published by Dave Carley.

In the nineties West Kootenay had several papers
beside those of Nelson; The Slocan Times' first issue
opened with a violent attack on Napoleon Fitzstubbs, the
gold commissioner, whom New Denver residents blamed for
their failure to get adequate provincial assistance in
building a wharf and roads. In November 1896, D.R.
Young established the Slocan City News. Kaslo's
journals were the Examiner, the Kootenay Mail and
the Kootenain, which still publishes weekly. Editors of
the letter got apprenticeship in Kaslo, which enabled them
later to gain fame elsewhere. Davie King afterward collaborated with Rex Beach to produce "The Spoilers"; Harold
Bolce of the Kootenain, became associate editor on the

131. "John Houston loved the city of Nelson, fought for what
he believed in and was largely instrumental in placing
the feet of the young city on the road to success and
achievement. He it was that took steps to procure a power
site on the Kootenay River, and championed our cause until
in 1905, money was voted for the project."
135. Colonel Coy retired from ownership of this paper in 1894.
Cosmopolitan Magazine, and another Kaslo editor, Sam de Rakin, made a name for himself afterwards in the Phillipine Islands. 137

During the height of the Slocan City Boom, Ed Cowen started a second paper there. He was internationally known for he had been Paris representative of the New York Herald, and had accompanied ex-President Grant on a world tour as special correspondent for that paper.

Colonel R.T. Lowery was one of the most colourful of early editors. The New Denver Lodge, the Claim and the Float were best known of a dozen different publications conducted by him. 139 Lowery's literary style was, at times a gift to be envied, as for instance,

"We would rather be a frog and live upon the green scum of the swamp than supinely sit and not use our pen in the defence of liberty and justice. The good have nothing to conceal and have only admiration for a trenchant editor. It is only the sneaking, cowardly, dishonorable, back-biting and black-mailing curs that writhe in mental agony when posing their detestable acts to the gaze of an outraged and indignant world." 140

In 1890 the Golden Star began publication and later the Golden Era. 141 J. Butterfield, later of the Daily Province in Vancouver was connected with the Golden paper. A.B. Grace, at Fort Steele started the Prospector in a modest way in 1896, putting out the first issues in mimeograph. After the completion of the Crows Nest Pass Railway in 1898, he moved his plant to Cranbrook.


(cont'd) No less indignant was his pen when Queen Victoria's granddaughter turned Roman Catholic to marry King Alfonso of Spain - Grace E. Macdonald - long of Ainsworth
David B. Bogle started the *Rossland Miner* in 1894. This is a sample of advertisement from its pages the following year.

**TRAIL HOUSE**

Topping and Hanna, Proprietors

To those satiated with the turmoil of Rossland city life, this will prove a pleasant resort. One of the proprietors will drink and the other will smoke with every guest. No extra charge for sociability. Terms: $2.00 per day.

Two years later W.J. Thompson started the *Trail Creek Times*. Later W.K. Esling, for many years Federal member of Parliament took over this journal and he has since also been owner of the *Rossland Miner*.

Humour abounds in the early pages of these Kootenay journals. In a letter dated Feb. 6, 1894, G.M. Sproat replied thus in the *Tribune* to that journal's previous remark about the political defeat in 1890 of A.S. Farwell, Sproat's friend.

"The triviality and low moral tone of our politics, the sneaking, shuffling and selfishness, is to me saddening and revolting. This is one reason why I desire that women should have votes, so that the religion and moral sentiment shall not be further repaired."

During the first provincial political campaign on the Lake the pages of Nelson's journals supporting rival candidates sparkled with wit. The *Miner* cleverly maligned F.J. Hume and his supporter Houston in Political Chronicles, quoted note on page 175.

in the appendix, Houston soon retaliated in the Tribune with this,

"The Miner likens itself into a Tiger but the people judges it by its bray, and likens it unto an Ass, And the people are not far wrong." 144

It is to be hoped that the discursive vagaries of this lengthy chapter are justified by their revelation of the manifold aspects of early economic and social development in this typical Kootenay city. Ensuing chapters will show how geography determined that the opening of this area should first be made by American adventures and American capital. Ainsworth and Bluebell workings on Kootenay Lake, and the mines in the Slocan Valley were developed by Capital from south of parallel forty-nine. Supplies came to them from the United States, their ores were shipped for refining to smelters in Montana and Idaho. During that era Kaslo, not Nelson was the centre for traffic and business activity in the West Kootenay. Those were the days when the main lines of communication were not east and west, but north and south, and since Nelson was off the main lake, Kaslo was bound to outstrip her. However, before 1900 the race was evened between these Kootenay centres. The investment of British capital in the Hall Mines, the completion of the Hall Mines Smelter, and the Crows Nest Pass Railway tipped the balance in favour of Nelson and the Canadian influence grew steadily from 144. Nelson Tribune: Mar. 3, 1894.
The City of Nelson

Pulpit Rock

Elephant Mountain

Summer Cottages

West Arm, Kootenay Lake

Ferry to North Shore

Lakeside Park

C.P.R.

Fairview

the newest residential district used to be called Bogustown.

C.P.R. Depot

To Trail

48 miles west

To Spokane

18 miles south

Nelson

Street Railway

Ball Park

GYRE Park

Here a fine lookout on a high bluff, commands the whole city and a splendid view up and down the lake.

from a tourist map.
that time. After the first Great War, the Great Northern withdrew from lake traffic, during the second Great War even the rail link to Nelson was withdrawn with the discontuance of the Nelson Fort Shephard branch of the American railroad.

Today Nelson has a population of 5,750 and has within a radius of 150 miles many sources for its business activity, no longer spectacular, but steady. It has become the distributing and judicial centre of the Kootenays. Through Nelson railway yards pass ore shipments from the world's largest lead zinc mine at Kimberley. Through the same yards pass metal, fertilizer chemical and (during the war) explosive shipments from the world's greatest smelting and subsidiary plant at Trail. In the Slocan, not fifty miles away in Canada's richest silver-lead country. Down the Salmon River Valley lie attractive gold fields at Salmo, Ymir, Erie and Sheep Creek, and at Emerald, a great tungsten deposit. From a point ten miles down the Kootenay River five hydroelectric power plants, spaced within a distance of four miles, produce 231,000 horsepower. Corra Linn comes first, spilling its surplus through sixty ton gates. A mile further the Upper

145. Kootenay and the City of Nelson, Nelson Board of Trade 1934 and further information from current issues of Nelson Daily News.
146. Built 1930-33 to supply extra power needed for Trail's $12,000,000 fertilizer plant. 57,000 horsepower. River had to be widened. Ibid: p. 27.
Bonnington Plant, and Nelson's own power development are situated. One mile further stands the third West Kootenay station and two miles beyond, the company's South Slocan works. Now, at Brilliant, not far above the confluence of Kootenay and Columbia, has been completed a plant whose horsepower surpasses the total of all of these.

For its size the city of Nelson is unique in owning its own gas plant and electric street railway. There are several manufacturing plants, a sash and door factory, three saw mills, a matchlock and veneer works, foundries, machine ships, jam factory, fruit packing establishment, shipyard, small boat factory and Canadian Pacific Railway repair shops.

Not fifty years after incorporation, and less than sixty since its founding, Nelson can boast as enterprising a civic consciousness as any city in Canada. A fine civic centre comprises theatre, recreation hall, library, club rooms, skating arena which seats 2000, curling rink, and parade ground with grandstand. In Fairview, Lakeside Park accommodates 10,000 people at one time, and in summer is a Mecca for holiday-makers from less favoured Kootenay centres. All this is owned by the people, and operated in their interests for their own profit.

150. Power goes from these plants to Consolidated Mining and Smelting Company plants at Trail mines and mills in Ymir, Salmo, Erie; mines in Rossland, manufacturing lighting, street railway in Nelson; farming districts: hundreds of miles to fruit and farming districts in boundary and Okanagan valley.
LATER MINING ACTIVITIES ON KOOTENAY LAKE

The growth of Nelson is inextricably bound with the development of mining in the West Kootenay. Silver priced at $1.10 in 1888, gave the impetus to its founding, and it grew in spite of the price slump that brought silver down to 55 cents in 1897.

Until Canadian railroads overcame natural geographic barriers, the whole Kootenay outlook was southward to the United States. American prospectors and capitalists staked claims and began the workings. Boats on the Columbia and the Kootenay Rivers took the ore across the line to be smelted in Montana and Colorado. The Southern republic, in the last quarter of the century was still in the stage of rapidly expanding pioneer development. Prices were low and money scarce. There were only about $14 for each person in the country.1 To westerners, many of whom owned silver claims or were interested in them, the remedy was to increase the circulation of money to about $50 per person, by coining silver freely at the ratio of 16 to 1 with gold. This had been the practice of the United States government before 1873, but, in that year an act was passed "demonetizing" silver, that is to say, silver as money was abandoned except for small change.2

Advocates of silver considered this act a crime and the cause of the panic in the same year. For twenty years the struggle went on, as silver, under the circumstances declined rapidly in value. The Bland Allison Act of 1878 and the Sherman Silver Purchase Act of 1890 forced $450,000,000 of silver into circulation, but this did not satisfy the silver men, while the advocates of a straight gold standard argued that "sound" money was better than plentiful money.3

Both Democrats and Republicans evaded the issue in the election of 1892, but in 1896 they could hesitate no longer. The Republicans declared for a gold standard, and McKinley after some indecision (since he had voted in Congress for free coinage of silver) concurred. The Democrats came out for a "free and unlimited coinage of silver at sixteen to one," and nominated William Jennings Bryan for presidential candidate.4 The old parties were split, wealthy Democrats abandoned their party, lest a rise in prices brought about by free silver coinage make their income buy less. Silver advocates among Republicans voted Democrat for "human rights against property rights."5

After a bitter campaign the country decided in favour of the Conservatives, fearing that Bryan's radical policy would

4. An impassioned orator, Bryan spoke with great honesty and conviction as in this speech to a vast Chicago audience at the Democratic National Convention.
   "The contest is between the idle holders of capital and the toiling millions... We shall answer their demands for a gold standard by saying to them, 'you shall not press down upon the brow of labour this crown of thorns! you shall not crucify mankind upon a cross of gold!""  
bring disorder. Free silver was abandoned and the gold standard adopted in 1900.\textsuperscript{6} The price of silver never rose again to the dizzy heights of 1880, but presently the circulation of money was enormously increased in another way. The discovery of gold in the Klondike and in South Africa brought $1,000,000,000 more money into circulation within a few years.

These politics and their disastrous effect upon silver prices had their repercussions in the Kootenay country in Canada. In fact, the slump gave a feverish haste to building of roads, mills, smelters, so that the glistening ore might be got out and sold before the price dropped still further. Fortunately other metals too, were found in abundance, copper, lead, zinc, and gold, and when the Slocan region opened in 1891, Nelson was bound to benefit. In February 1894, the Minister of Finance, in his budget speech, before the Victoria house justified the increased expenditure in the Kootenay district upon trails, wharves and such, by a much increased revenue from that region. In 1886, this revenue had been $45,052; in 1894, it was $91,050.\textsuperscript{7} Of this amount the West Kootenay alone was contributing $77,000 and was demanding vociferously a Redistribution Bill which would increase her representation from one to three. She felt she was justified also, because

\textsuperscript{6} Woodburn, Moran, and Hill: p; 586.
\textsuperscript{7} \textit{Nelson Miner}: Feb. 24, 1894.
her voting population was 900. Pithy press articles pointed the demands with comparisons; Cariboo with 491 voters and $13,560 revenue, had three representatives; and Cowichan with 430 voters and $7,200 revenue had two members.

The story has already been told of the original claims which made up the Hall Mines group on Toad Mountain. Dick Fry, of Bonner's Ferry, located several extensions of the Silver King, but when he failed to do the assessment work, these ran out in 1890, and the ground was restaked by Michael Kealey, ...the "Daisy", "Yankee Girl", "Silver Bell", The four original claims covered an area of 56 acres. These were the Silver King, Kootenay Bonanza, the American Flag, and the Koohinoor. In 1893 they were sold for over $1,000,000 to the Hall Mines Company, and in the same year, H.E. Croasdaile floated this Company in England. Because the slump in the metal, it was the only silver company to be launched in London that year. At first, time was devoted almost entirely to development work, making extensive use of prospecting drills run by compressed air. The ground was surveyed to a depth of 1,000 feet below the surface, and the ore veins proved to be rich and continuous.

In January 1894 John J. Jordan arrived from England to be manager of the Silver King. He had formerly gold mined in the British Gold Coast Colony, in Mexico, and in Spain.

Situated four miles in a straight line south of Nelson, these claims were reached by a wagon road eight miles long, and a trail 6 miles. The top of Toad Mountain is a vast amphitheatre, encircled by a rim of bush-clad mountains, from which emerge two peaks, Mt. Atkins, and Mt. Dawson. The Silver King was under the shelter of the latter, the Kootenay Bonanza on top of the ridge, at a height of 6,000 feet. In the Silver King, a tunnel 920 feet long was connected by winzes and inclines with two upper tunnels. There was also an upper drift, 200 feet long, with numbers of cross cuts. The ore lay chiefly in two large bodies. The rock from the lower tunnel was the richest. In 30 to 40 tons of shipping ore, there was 130 to 150 ounces of silver, 12 to 15% copper, and a few dollars in gold in each ton. This ore was made up of Bornite or Peacock Copper, Tetrahedrite or grey copper ore, Chelco-pyrites, or yellow copper ore, some iron pyrites, and traces of galena. At the mine at that time there were ore sheds, smithies, stores, offices, a machine house, dwelling houses, and sheds. From 30 to 40 tons a day were then being turned out. Three hundred tons lay on the Nelson wharf, and from 2500 to 3000 in the dump at the mines.

Though the whole of Toad Mountain was covered with claims, no other deposit or vein similar to the Silver King was ever

14. **Nelson Miner**: Sept 1, 1894.
15. Ibid: Sept 1, 1894.
16. **Loc. cit:** Mar. 17, 1894, "Hall Mines will ship 40 tons of ore to Denver, Colorado."
17. **Nelson Miner**: Sept 1, 1894.
Indeed, the whole country from Nelson south to the junction of the Pend d'Oreille and the Columbia is full of minerals, west across the Kootenay, and east across the Salmon River. Four miles south-west of Nelson at the junction of the Eagle and the Kootenay was a very old mine, the Poorman. In 1890, it was owned by Hussey and Davenport, but by 1894-5 the latter claimed sole ownership. In 1897, a ten stamp mill was running (during such seasons as there was sufficient creek water to drive it) to reduce the free milling gold ore from this vein. Four frore vanners were also employed to concentrate the tailings. Since this establishment was privately owned, figures of profit were not obtainable, but it was rumoured to be very rich.

Between the Poorman and Forty-Nine Creek were the Royal Canadian and the Majestic. While close above Nelson, there were four claims, of which the Athabasca, the best, returned $75 to $100 a ton. Here were three ledges of quartz-carrying sulphides. Originally the mine was owned by George Neelands: in 1897 it was purchased by the Hall Mines Company. Although copper and gold were found everywhere, silver was mined only at the Silver King. Both sides of Gîveout Creek were covered with claims, among which was the Golden King. In the Salmon Valley were the North Fork Quartz Creek, and Wild Horse, and on Hall Creek the Fern Mine, high in pure gold.

19. Ibid.
20. Ibid.
In March of 1894 the Hall Mines Company was seeking permission from the province to expropriate land for a smelter at the lake side, and a tramway to bring the ore down from the mine to it. New machinery was being hauled up the Silver King Wagon road.

In April this Hall Mines Bill (shorn of its objectionable features) was approved in the House. The Company was given power to expropriate land for tramway purposes only and to construct and maintain electrical works to run the tramway or any other works.

At the end of May, seven feet of snow still prevented the hauling of air compressing and crushing machinery up to the mine. And fourteen men were at work on the pumps in the flooded Kootenay Bonanza. By July a contract had been

21. In 1894, A.H. Holdrich was summoned from Revelstoke, where he had been in business since 1892. His advice was respected and the smelter erected. After this he established an assay office in Nelson.

Holdich was born in Northamptonshire, England. At 17 he entered the Royal School of Mines in London, under Prof. A.W. Hoffman, and Drs. Perry and Tyndall. After a three year course he took a post with the Morfe works in Swansea. Later he was seven years with Williams, Foster Co., and seventeen years chief chemist with the Wigan Coal and Iron Co., which post he surrendered to come to the Kootenays, then attracting wide attention.

T.C. Collins -- History What is History, 1897.


23. The Company demanded water rights which were not given.


25. This was the first smelter in British Columbia to be built by British capital. Howay, Sage and Angus: British Columbia and the United States: p. 283

let to haul the machinery up, and to bring 400 tons of ore down. As soon as the first 100 tons was brought down, shipping to Denver, Colorado, was to commence. At that time seventy men were working at the mine, and the company stock was quoted at $3.75.

When Croasdaile set up the Hall Mines Company, "further remuneration" for his services was to be left to Winslow Hall, who later refused to pay a cent. Whereupon, in 1894, Croasdaile sued the Hall interests for $15,000, and the defendants put up $10,000 security. In September the plaintiff was awarded a judgment of $5,750.

Meantime, the company proceeded with the development of the smelter and the tramway. The former was erected in 1895, under supervision of Paul Johnston, who, in 1897, went to Mexico. The first furnace, a jacket made by Fraser and Chalmers, was blown in January 1896. It worked at intervals until, in 1897, a new one was put beside it. This, the largest furnace in the North West, had a crucible 144 inches by 54, which could put through 250 tons of ore a day, besides coke, lime and other fluxings. At first the company was satisfied to turn out matte containing about 48 per cent copper and silver. In the summer of 1897 they put in a refinery, whose furnaces produced "blister copper" containing 98 per cent copper, plus gold and silver.

27. Nelson Miner: July 14, 1894.
32: Ibid.
33. (a) Ibid.
(b) Howay and Scholefield: British Columbia II: p. 471
In 1897 the first trainload of this was shipped to Montreal, en route to Liverpool and Swansea. There an electrolytic process separated the gold, silver and copper. Robert Hedley succeeded Paul Johnson. After 1896, J.J. Campbell came from Assiniboia, where he had been Indian Commissioner. From that time until its destruction by fire in 1908, Campbell remained general manager of the smelter. During this time the Hall Mines Company was transformed into the Hall Mining and Smelting Co. During this time, too, S.G. Blaylock was superintendent of the smelter, and perfected the process that made it possible to separate the silver, lead, zinc, gold, copper from the rich and newly found Sullivan ore. This discovery led to the development of the Kimberley mine, and made the Trail smelter the great plant it is today, the empire's greatest centre of its kind and that same S. G. Blaylock was until his death in 1945, president of the Consolidated Mining and Smelting Company which owns it.

The problem of transporting the ore to the Nelson smelter was solved in 1895, by the installation of a wire rope tramway, on the ground secured from the provincial government for the purpose. Superintendent Parsons of the California Wire Works in San Francisco was in charge of this construction, overcoming all difficulties to make this longest tramway in the world working upon that system. The suspension bridge across the Fraser, on the old Cariboo Road was built according to the same Hallidie

34. St. Barbe: op. cit.
35. (a) St. Barbe: op. cit.
   (b) Hedley B.C. was named for him—Mrs. S.S. Fowler of Rhondel, B.C. is his sister, April 1943.
36. J. J. Campbell, August 1942.
37. J. J. Campbell, August 1942.
System, as it was called. The Nelson tramway worked entirely by gravity, full buckets going down raised the empty ones going up from the smelter site to the mine 4800 feet above, a distance of 4½ miles. On the way, the lines had to cross the canyon at Giveout Creek—necessitating a long-span without supports. Each bucket weighed 100 pounds, and these were spaced about 100 feet apart. Since the unbroken strain of such a distance was too much for the iron rope, the tramway was cut, and a loading station erected halfway. In 1897, the buckets were bringing down 10 tons an hour with ease. To-day the cables still span Giveout Creek, and the rusty buckets hang disconsolate, four empty, four tipped and partly filled, as upon the very day in 1908 when the burning of the smelter stopped their journey. From November to April, a white line of snow still marks the path of the tramway. Close by the stopping place on the creek great hollow buildings with their huge stone vats and broken wood stairways are all that remain of the Athabasca Mill. Indeed, on that whole vast mountain only one lonely miner had the temerity in 1943 to be working doggedly at the tailings of the old California. On the Highway leading southwest from Nelson some stacks of broken brick, a few rotted timbers, bits of old iron machinery and a great heap of slag mark the site of the once famous plant.

40. Ibid.  
40A. The mining boom of the first post-war winter and spring brought new activity to these long quiet workings along Kootenay Lake and south of Nelson. Whether the resultant promising development will be sustained remains to be seen. In February, 1946, Harold Lakes, a well-known Kootenay mining engineer reported a large number of medium and small-scale operations. The occasion was his visit to Vancouver to arrange for development of the Fern Mine. Eighty-five men were working at the Granite-Epperman and surrounding claims six miles west of Nelson, for Kenville Mines, a subsidiary of Quebec Gold Corporation. Twenty-six miles in from Tye on Kootenay Lake, Bayonne Consolidated had sixty-five men opening ore preparatory to mill resumption. Sheep Creek Gold had a crew of 110 to 115 men bringing their operation at Salmo back almost to prewar (continued at bottom of next page)
The western extension of railways in the United States, led to mining discoveries, and so fostered the erection of smelters in Montana and Colorado. In the same way prospectors in Canada became busy in the "Railway Belt" the area extending for twenty miles on either side of the newly constructed Canadian Pacific Railway. It was not long before mining interests were urging the construction of smelters near the rich British Columbia deposits, so that they might save the expensive transportation costs to foreign smelters, either in the United States, or as far distant as Swansea, Wales.

Of the nineteen smelters erected from time to time, within the province, to treat the ores of British Columbia mines, but one now remains, the giant at Trail.

The Kootenays claim the first smelter in British Columbia erected in 1883, on the south side of Spillimachene River near its junction with the Columbia. This was built of stone and

40A. (Continued) tonnage. The list of revived workings continued, the gold Belt Mine, the old Reno Mine, and the Silver Dollar at Salmo; the Second Relief, the Arlington, and the Kootenay Belle at Erie; the Golden Age south of Nelson; the Oxide group on Porcupine Creek, and the X-ray property, both near Ymir. Interest in silver and lead stimulated development work on the Kootenay Florence in the Ainsworth district. (from a press report by George C. Cross in the Vancouver News Herald, Feb. 28, 1946.

41. S.S. Fowler: "Early Smelters in British Columbia: "in British Columbia Historical Quarterly Vol III. July 1939, p. 183. Eleven of these were erected before 1900.

(a) At Spillimachene and Columbia Rivers.
(b) Woodbury
(c) Golden
(d) Vancouver
(e) Revelstoke
(f) Pilot Bay
(g) Nelson
(h) Trail
(i) Grand Forks
(j) Greenwood
(k) Vananda
iron by an old prospector, John McRae, to smelt ore from the silver-lead exposures on the Jubilee and Spillmacchene Mountains. It was dismantled in February 1906, and the stone used to repair a bridge over the river.42

The Victoria legislature gave whole hearted encouragement to prospective smelter-builders, in 1866, when it passed "An Act to encourage the erection of Smelting Works."43 By the terms of this act, "a bonus of not more than $7,000 would be paid to any approved person after he had erected smelting works, capable of crushing, reducing and treating at least thirty tons of ore per day for twenty-four hours and after, not less than one thousand tons of ore shall have been first crushed, reduced and treated."44

Thus in 1889 was constructed the first of four smelters45 to be built on Kootenay Lake. This was the "semi-mythical" plant at Woodbury, whose remains may still be found there at the mouth of Woodbury Creek some three miles north of Ainsworth. This was a small ten-ton plant, which used wood for fuel.46 The body of the furnace was small, and it cracked after making a one day run from ore from the "Early Bird" and "Reindeer" mines. The moulds in which the molten lead was to have been cast were made of cast iron and said to be identical with those built by the padres in Mexico.

42. S.S. Fowler: op. cit. p. 184.
44. S.S. Fowler: op. cit. p. 184.
45. These were: Woodbury: Pilot Bay, Hall Mines Smelter at Nelson, and a sampler for reducing zinc ore located near the ship-yards in Fairview, Nelson.
The opening of the Slocan in the early nineties and the development of the Bluebell and the Hall Mines gave a new impetus to the erection of concentrators and smelters in the West Kootenay. Although in 1894 the Canadian Pacific was backing a proposal to establish a smelter on the Arrow Lakes, perhaps at Nakusp,47 most of the capital invested in these enterprises was American48 certainly not British Columbia money. Such Victoria and Vancouver investment as found its way to the Kootenay was spent largely in giving a false impetus to real estate booms.49

In July 1894, the concentrator at Ainsworth was running smoothly.50 Carter and Clarke, the owners, had erected a wooden building four and a half miles from Ainsworth on steeply sloping ground, 2500 feet above the lake. From the mine, a short distance away, a light tramway brought trucks to the top of the building where they dumped ore through a shoot, into the crusher. After it was broken up there by wheels of hardened steel, it was transported by elevator into two nearly horizontal cylindrical screens of different mesh. The fine ore that escaped through this, was lifted to a classifier, a long wooden flume where three pumps spaced at intervals, poured water into sort the ore into three sizes.

48. (a) Hall Mines Smelter, British capital—see first part of this chapter.
   (d) Pilot Bay—American capital—see next part of this chapter.
From there it went to three jigs for further sorting, and the larger pieces were returned to the crusher and wheels for more crushing. At last a fine blackish and poured onto a revolving twelve foot disc, raised one foot in the middle. As the ore and a stream of water were delivered to the centre of this, the lighter parts were carried away and the heavier metal left behind. After making the circuit, a strong jet swept it below, and then to the vanner, whence it emerged, as pure as mechanical means and gravitation could make it. This plant could treat from 15 to 20 tons a day giving one ton of concentrates which ran from 500 to 800 ounces of silver.  

In 1894 the Bluebell interests, purchased by Dr. W.A. Hendryx, ten years previously, were incorporated in a new company, the Kootenay Mining and Smelting, with a paid capital of $2,250,000, subscribed by capitalists, in New Haven, Connecticut, Minneapolis, and Victoria. The largest interest was held by Andrew B. Hendryx, brother of the doctor who severed his interest with the Company. A.B. Hendryx was to reside at Pilot Bay, and be treasurer and general manager, E.W. Herrick, of Minneapolis, was president, and R.P. Rithet of Victoria, vice president. Plans for the smelter future were elaborate. The boundless wealth of low grade Bluebell ores and fluxes would enable the smelter to

52. Chas. St. Barbe: First History of Nelson
54. Originally Pirate's Bay—the site of a sawmill. T.C. Collins *History What is History.*
deal with ordinary galena ores, as well as the dry ore from Toad Mountain, and the refractory quartz from Trail Creek. Gold, silver, lead, and copper would pour from its crucibles. Phair was in charge of construction, which included sampling works, assay offices and laboratory, roasters, a one hundred ton concentrator, four roasting furnaces, a water jacket blast furnace, and a wharf to be constructed like a breakwater to protect the workings from future floods. Prosperity was to radiate from this undertaking. Company barges on the lake would transport ore; employment would be increased; miners, with a small amount of ore could convert it to money, without the impossible expenses of shipping it out to a smelter. To bring out ores from the Slocan, the Kaslo-Slocan Railway would become a certainty. This would be the largest plant in the province, and would make Kootenay the cheapest smelting point on the continent. Even then United States critics were predicting failure, due to a lack of cheap fuel and the impossibility of getting from British Columbia mines, five tons of dry ore to smelt one ton of wet.

 Nonetheless, the stacks were completed in 1894, lime came from near the Bluebell, and the smelter was blown in Dec. 8, 1894, and began to operate March 1895.

After functioning intermittently for two years, it closed, to be reopened with increased capacity by the Braden Brothers of Helena, Montana. Now only the stacks and empty buildings of Pilot Bay have remained mute monuments to that once busy centre, from which the inhabitants rushed away in a day. Though the S.S. "Moyie" still calls at Riondel, here too the workings are deserted, except for a caretaker, ever since work ceased when the strongest pumps could no longer keep the tunnels under the lake from flooding.

60. Ibid.

61. "The Bluebell Mine was never a great success," Howay, Sage, Angus. Op. Cit. p. 270. It was subsequently taken over by a French Company and during this time S.S. Fowler came in 1906, to be manager, which post he retained until his death in 1941. Before the last Great War there were as many as 350 men on the payroll at one time, in a very happy and self contained little settlement. The depreciation of the franc after the peace, made times difficult for the Bluebell.

The present name, Riondel, was given in 1907, when Fowler applied for postal rights. Riondel was the president of the then French Company.

During the management of M. Fernan, S.S. Fowler's predecessor ore was shipped to the Pilot Bay smelter which was owned by the Company. They also built a smelter at Frank, Alberta, but this was never operated commercially. Since 1919 the largest population at Riondel was 85 to 90 men on the payroll, and from 30 to 40 women and children.

In 1929 the Consolidated Mining and Smelting Company took an option on the mine and completed purchase in 1931. The lost ore was milled in 1927, and the Consolidated carried out underground investigations 1929-30.

For the above information I am indebted to Mrs. S.S. Fowler. It was she who suggested to me that the original name, Bluebell, doubtless came from a misappellation by the very early prospectors, who, observing the profusion of purplish blue pentstamons that deck the rusty lakeside cliffs in summer, thought them bluebells, and so named the mine the Bluebell. March 1943.

In the nineties, too, the Trout Lake and Lardeau country was beginning to attract attention which drew many prospectors in 1902. A nugget weighing over two ounces and valued at $37, was found at Trout Lake, in December 1894. As early as 1893, over 100 claims had been staked, two of which, the Black Prince, and the Silver Cup, were fairly well proved. Because of the low price of silver, no ore had been shipped, but it was lying in dumps, waiting for a road to Thompson's Landing from Trout Lake, and hoping for a railway. The railway was finally built in 1902 and only torn out in May 1942. Lardeau, the town, is now deserted; one could shoot ducks on the main street without danger of harming anyone. Since the advent of the Nisei, to Kaslo, there is talk of extending the lakeside highway to Lardeau, and over the railway bed to Trout Lake and so on to Beaton on the Arrow Lakes. A more beautiful scenic drive could not be imagined, and one which would make more easily accessible a paradise for hunters and fishermen.

This decoration on the wall of Nelson Time Kill Club's dining room, proved a good appetizer.

"Eat, drink, and be merry, for to-morrow though mayest be in Kaslo."66

64. Nelson Miner: Dec. 8, 1894.

65a. J.M. Stewart, Deputy Minister, Department of Railways, British Columbia, letter to the writer, November 15, 1944.
No doubt a pang of jealousy prompted the printing of that quip, for Kaslo outstripped Nelson in population and prosperity for some years and became a city in 1893, four years before Nelson's incorporation.

The name Kaslo is derived from Kasleau, the name given to the river which runs through the city, by John Kasleau who came in the eighties with a Hudson's Bay party, to secure lead bullets from the outcrop at the Bluebell site. The townsite was staked as a pre-emption, in 1890, by George and David Kane, and was known as Kane's Landing. When, the following year, minerals were first discovered in the mountains behind the landing and along the river, a settlement soon grew up. By popular subscription the citizens built a wagon road 30 miles back to the mines. The big silver-lead discoveries in the Slocan acted as a magnet to draw people from all over the northwest. Especially from Spokane, miners, prospectors, saloon men, and gamblers hastened here to make easy money. For a time, in fact, Kaslo was considered almost an outpost of Spokane, since capital from that city built the S.S. "Spokane" and the S.S. "Kaslo," the first steamers that plied the lake between Bonner's Ferry and Kaslo.

69. Ibid.
70. "Tribute to Kaslo", 1933, and chapter V in this thesis.
George Owen Buchanan was prominent in the early history of Kaslo. He operated the first sawmill and cut most of the timber for building the city. "The first time I was in the town of Kaslo, there were fourteen barbers and one school teacher. I lived to see the day, however, when there were fourteen school teachers and one barber," Mr. Buchanan is quoted as saying.

Kaslo held its first assize court in 1891, in the "Comique" a branch of the Spokane variety show of the same name, which was requisitioned for the court sessions. The Comique had eighty dance hostesses. When a criminal trial extended into a second day, the sheriff found the best means of keeping the jury of twelve together was to retain a booth in the theatre with twelve chairs for the jurors, and twelve for their lady partners from the Comique's company. No wonder the accused sometimes failed to be convicted!

The year 1894 brought both fire and flood to the new town. In March, the business section of Kaslo was wiped out by a $100,000 fire, destroying property on which insurance was carried only to the extent of $20,000. Then in June when an unusually balmy spring and high lake water culminated in a terrific storm, Kaslo suffered the worst devastation. First a violent sea swept up 50 miles from the south end of the lake and knocked the houses into matchwood.

72. "Tribute to Kaslo" 1933.
Then the swollen Kaslo river, rushing down from the Slocan mountains behind the town swept property and houses into the lake. One small boy remarked, "The house is alright, but the lot is gone." Great booms of massed wreckage floated on two sides of the town, while the river raged on the third. The whole part of the business section, not formerly destroyed by fire, now was gone. S.S. "Nelson" cruised about towing store and buildings back to the shore. The hospital lay half buried in shingle in the middle of the stream. Loss of life, fortunately, was light. The Gold Commissioner headed the list of relief subscriptions with $500, on behalf of the government. Mayor Kane allowed the purchasers of lower lots to use their deposits and take others higher up. The same torrential fury swept out the wagons road from Three Forks to New Denver and raised the waters of the Fraser and Columbia to heights unheard of before.

American capital came to the rescue, and that same year the rail line from Kaslo to Cody was laid, and extended later to Three Forks and Sandon. This gave impetus to rebuilding and to activity which reached fever pitch when the Slocan opened up since all ore was taken out to lake boats by way of Kaslo and shipped from there to smelters in the United States. These were the years when H. Giegrich,

74. Loc. cit: June 3, 1894.
S.H. and R.F. (later Senator) Green, moved their stores from Sproats and Ainsworth to Kaslo.  

Everyone talked mining and everyone seemed to have money. There were few sidewalks and no electric lights and at night, people found their way about by using "bugs", made of tomato can with a hole punched for a candle. Every night around the gaming tables, or in the Comique, businessmen, miners and boxrustlers rubbed elbows. On one occasion a wedding took place on the theatre stage. Activity at Pilot Bay and the opening of mineral claims in the Lardeau increased prosperity still further, until the population of Kaslo rose to over 6,000 in the later nineties.

And, in 1895, this city was the first to be incorporated in the interior. George Kane was the first mayor. As the centre of the Great Northern interests, the city made further strides during the steam boat era, and acquired its own water works, lighting and power systems.

The importance of Kaslo diminished with the recession of American influence in West Kootenay. Today it is beautiful but is off the main line of traffic. British capital investments and the Canadian Pacific Railway offset the geographical pull to the south and made this area truly a part of Canada and of British Columbia. Kaslo lost ground very definitely when the Great Northern withdrew to leave the Canadian

76. F. J. Smyth: op. cit. p. 11.
(b) Tribute to Kaslo.
Pacific a monopoly of lake traffic in 1916. Population declined steadily as mines upon the lake and in the Slocan valley were abandoned, and the people turned to fruit ranching, especially cherries. By 1942 only about 500 remained of what was at one time 6,000 people. In that year, long vacant hotels and rooming houses were renovated to receiver over 900 Canadian Japanese sent to Kaslo relocation centre. But this is the subject of a later chapter, and before that story is told, further mining industries must be considered.
THE OPENING OF THE SLOCAN AREA

The completion, in 1885, of the Canadian Pacific Railway's main line, opened much of the mining country that previously could not be worked profitably. Upon Captain Palliser's map published in 1863, appears a small stream, marked Sloghan, and meant to represent the river, whose Indian name has now become Anglicized as Slocan. Although, in 1874, good prospects for gold were obtained upon the Slocan River, they were not of sufficient importance to check the general decline in the Kootenay mining that followed the Wild Horse boom, and endured as long as the transport of supplies along trails from south end west, kept them prohibitively expensive. In the 1880's the discovery of the Bluebell, and the Silver King on Toad Mountain brought prospectors swarming to this area.

Local residents claim evidence to show that Hudson's Bay traders traversed this area and discovered the outcropping upon the site of the future Payne mine. Large

1. Bancroft, H.H. History of British Columbia, San Francisco, The History Company Publishers 1890, p. 529. In 1874 under the stimulating impulse of government appropriation, designed to encourage new developments. Good prospects were obtained on several streams, such as Sloken River, emptying into the Kootenai a short distance above its mouth.
pieces of ore lying upon stumps, an old forge, a wedge driven into a rock, and old rotten sluice boxes upon Wilson Creek near Roseberry are the fragments upon which these claims are based. Their reality depends upon the validity of the memories of those few surviving residents who can recall these details of environment exactly as they were almost sixty years ago. One is inclined to doubt, yet the claim is made.2

The issue for Feb. 10, 1894, of the Nelson Tribune gives a very complete description of Slocan's history and mining development up to that date written by Randall H. Kemp. On Sept. 19, 1891, John L. Seaton and Eli Carpenter, set out from Ainsworth to prospect on the ridge which lies back from Kootenay Lake on the west side. After a discouraging trip, Carpenter, on the way home, stumbled upon the outcropping and staked the Payne Mine on the Kaslo River. There was wild excitement upon his return, and in spite of weather, 140 claims were staked by January 1, 1892. In October, 1892 came S.S. Bailey, representing capital. He purchased four claims, the Payne, Maid of Erin, Mountain Chief, and Two Jacks.

Among the first to locate claims were: W.F. and J.J. Hennessy, J.G. McGuigan, and F.W. Flint. These claims included the "Noble Five!" worth $500,000. In 1894, Dr. W.A. Hendryx and Captain Hayward of the S.S. "Nelson" were suing

2. New Denver Eldorado of the Past, booklet prepared by pupils of Grade VII and VIII, New Denver Elementary School, 1944, and published by the Miner, Rossland, B.C.
the Hennessey brothers for one fifth interest in the mine, since the Hennesseys into the Slocan to prospect for them, before the discovery was made. Judgment gave the plaintiffs a title to half Will Hennessey’s interests, but claimed no agreement had been made with J.J. \(^2\)\(^A\) This is the same Noble Five at Sandon, which, in December, 1942, reopened for operation after a shutdown of seven years. The war time demand for silver, lead, and zinc made it worth while for Ontario interests to finance the Nelson Slocan Consolidated Mines, which became the new owner. \(^3\) The mill has a capacity of 100 tons.

Within a month of the first claim staking in 1891, businessmen of Nelson commenced a trail from the Columbia and Kootenay railway up the Slocan, thirty days to go twenty-five miles, so difficult was the terrain. \(^5\) Once they got above rapid water, boats could be laden on Slocan River and rowed to the mouth of Carpenter Creek. That summer the government put a trail up Kaslo River four or five miles. Late in the fall, the parties owning Kaslo town sites extended the trail a distance of twelve miles. \(^6\)

Of those who ascended the Slocan River, about thirty wintered on Slocan Lake, building themselves cabins on the shore at El Dorado (now New Denver). In February prospectors, miners and capitalists were heading into the country and by the first of April there were 500 men around El Dorado. \(^7\)

\(^2\)A. Nelson Miner: Sept. 22, 1894.
\(^5\) Nelson Tribune: Feb. 10, 1894, article by Randall H. Kemp.
Because the spring was slow that year, many left in
disgust before prospecting could begin in June. However,
as soon as the snow was gone, trails were completed on
three different routes. That along the Slocan River
was completed to the Lake, and then was run in from Nakusp
on the Arrow Lakes to the Upper end of Slocan Lake, and
a trail was extended from Kaslo along the Kaslo River to
Watson or Bear Lake. From El Dorado a trail was made to
the Forks on Carpenter Creek. The district covered
both sides of the dividing ridge of the Selkirk Mountains.
The mineralized portion covered an area about 20 by 12 miles,
and the general trend of formation ran north and south, with
true fissures carrying valuable metalliferous contents,
which extended to great depths. Some claims lay outside
this area. During the summer of 1892, trails from groups
of claims were put out to the main trails. While at El
Dorado that spring the hull of a steamboat, the S.S. "Wm.
Hunter" was laid. She was launched that fall sixty feet
long, with a twelve foot beam and five foot depth. Every
pound of her machinery had to be packed in on mules.

10. (a) F.J. Smyth: Tales of the Kootenays, p. 20.
   Her owner, Wm. Hunter was later the leading merchant of
   Silverton and a member of the provincial legislature.
   Capt. Eastbrook was the skipper and this barge handled
   a great deal of freight in those days.
   (b) The lumber was whip sawed on the beach. Often the boat
   was over-loaded and started to tip and once she upset at
   New Denver wharf. Finally, Hunter sold his vessel to
   the Canadian Pacific Railway. Day and night it ran up
   and down Slocan Lake, with a crew of two or three, and an
   engineer and captain. In 1897 the Canadian Pacific built
   the "Slocan" at Roseberry, a much bigger boat, which after
   years of service was run ashore to be used as a bunkhouse.
   In 1898 the "Sandon" was built and put on the run, but it
   rotted quickly and was run ashore and dismantled in 1928.
   The "Rosebery" built in 1928, was put on the run from
   Slocan to Roseberry in 1930.
In 1894, from thirty-five locations, ore had either already been shipped or was about to be. The first mine to ship ore was the Freddie Lee, from which "Jim" Wardner packed out the loads. The government was asked to build a road 20 miles from Nakusp to Slocan Lake, but refused. Then the Kaslo people persuaded Wardner to take his pack horses from the Nakusp to the Kaslo trail. Later, by subscription the Kaslo people got enough money to begin a wagon road late in the fall. By mid December this was passable for 20 miles, and was then extended a further 12 miles for sleighs to Cody Creek. During the winter the ore was transported over the snow by "rawhide trails." Each horse pulled a lode of fifteen sacks of ore wrapped in raw cowhide, and weighing from 1500 to 2000 pounds. From one to four horses were in charge of a driver. Even after the advent of railways in 1894, into the Slocan area, these "rawhide trails" continued to be used until 1898 at least. Before the sleigh road was completed to Three Forks in the winter of 1892, six carloads of ore were shipped from the Freddie Lee via El Dorado (New Denver), Nakusp and the Columbia River.

Silver, lead, and zinc were the product of these mines. Although the Payne was the first discovered, in Sept. 8, 1891, and in 1894 was employing eight men, the Slocan Star was the bonanza of the district. The four claims

15. Sessional Papers of British Columbia: 1894:II
According to our records Mr. Cody was born on a farm in Prince Edward Island on October 16th, 1861. We have no information regarding his early life before he came to British Columbia except that he spent a year or so in the Coeur d'Alene District of the State of Idaho where he worked in the mines.

After leaving Idaho he came to British Columbia arriving in Ainsworth around 1886 or 1887 just about the time the late Henry Giegerich, the late Samuel and Robert Green, and the late Andrew Jardine, arrived and settled there. Mr. Cody made his headquarters in Ainsworth for some years before moving on to Kaslo. He came to Kaslo about 1892 or 1893 and made his home there until his death on July 16th, 1921.

During the period he resided in Ainsworth and Kaslo he spent most of his time in the hills mining and prospecting. He was considered a very good miner but like a good many other miners he never made a great deal of money out of the mining game. He was interested in a number of claims the Windermere district at one time.

The late Mr. Cody was a very hard worker and never spared himself. He put in many years underground under all sorts of conditions with the result that about the time the first World War ended his health began to give away. He apparently contracted what is now known as silicosis and as his condition was aggravated by the fact that he (as well as his relatives) was more or less susceptible to lung trouble there was little or no hope for him. He eventually passed away on July 16th, 1921, leaving very little of this world's goods but a lot of friends. He was a single man and the only surviving relatives as far as we knew were a sister-in-law and nephew. They have since passed away."

In a letter received from Claude Macdonald, Government Agent Kaslo, B.C., October 11, 1946.
comprising it, the Star, the Slocan King, the Jennie and the Silversmith were located Oct. 7, 1891. In 1894, the Bryon W. White Company, organized under the laws of Wisconsin, with capital of $500,000 became owners. Fifteen men were employed and one ton of ore sacked in the warehouse ran over 1000 ounces of silver. By 1896 the mine had paid $300,000 in dividends.

In 1892 the Mountain Chief was purchased by George W. Hughes for $15,500, and in 1894, it was employing from 15 to 20 men. The Northern Belle was owned by Seattle Company with Capital stock of $250,000. It employed twenty-four men in 1894. The Noble Five, discovered on Sept. 28, 1891 was owned by W.M. and J.J. Hennessey, Frank Flint, J.L. Seaton, and J.G. McGuigan. They employed twenty men in 1894. The Payne caught up to the Slocan Star in 1897, and between that year and 1904, it paid $1,438,000 in dividends.

After 1891 people poured into the "Silver Slocan" over the trails through three passes, South from Nakusp, West from Kaslo, and North from the Slocan River. Nelson merchants reaped the benefit from this rush. R.E. Lemon established a branch store at Three Forks, the central point of the Slocan, where $800 was asked for lots. Frank S. Barnard and John Andrew Mara introduced the bill at Victoria to make a crown grant of land for the townsite at Three Forks.

The government favoured this, although others had filed a petition to purchase the site for mining claims. In 1894 the government appropriated $1000 for a lock-up and constables' quarters in the new town. By the winter of 1894 a concentrator had been built at Three Forks and was almost ready to run.

The provincial government laid out a town, New Denver, at El Dorado near the mouth of Carpenter Creek. It still is one of the most beautiful sites in the Kootenays. However, the eager crowd could be happy only at the mouth of the mine, and so squeezed itself into the ugliest spot

25. (a) Nelson Miner: April 28, 1894. There were 500 men in New Denver, Sept. 8, 1894. New Denver and Silverton, further up the lake, were connected by telephone.
(b) The first government building, built of logs, enabled the miners to record their claims here without having to go to Nelson or Kaslo. The gold commissioner Alex Sproat came also in the year 1894. The name El Dorado given by some hopeful miner to the place in which they hoped to find much gold, became unpopular when the rich deposits proved to be galena, a mixture of silver and lead. Among the citizens who met to decide upon a new name was Thomas Latheen from Denver Colorado, who suggested New Denver in the hopes that this mining city would become even greater than the American one. Silverton, also was named for Silverton, Colorado, from New Denver, El Dorado of the Past.
of all, -- Sandon. Sandon had one narrow street and you met the same person so often going and coming, that the population appeared to be larger than it really was. The B.C. government put New Denver lots on the market in 1892 and in one day, sold by auction $28,000 worth, for people felt that New Denver would become a wealthy centre. However, when the railway was extended in 1895, from Sandon to Nakusp, the steep grade made it necessary to sidetrack New Denver, and Rosebery at the head of Slocan Lake, became the point which connection was made with steamboat navigation. Silverton, on the lake shore, between New Denver and Rosebery, also grew into a busy centre with stores, three hotels, and a newspaper, the Silvertonian, to cater to hundreds of miners and prospectors.

Where the Slocan River empties from the lake, there grew up a fourth lake settlement, Slocan City. In 1896, hotels were so crowded that many slept on chairs and pool tables. This townsite was located and laid out by Frank Fletcher of Nelson. A.M. Beattie was the first townsite agent and later Suckling Bros. of Vancouver took it over. At the boom peak from 1896 to 1898, men could be seen waiting in line to buy town lots. Half a mile away Brandon, laid out by Don Brandon and now forgotten, became a good sized town.

26. Nelson Miner: Nov. 17, 1894, Sandon—Three Forks road was completed Nov. 13, 1894.
which for a time, rivalled Slocan City. The Arlington (of which Neil Gething was part owner), Hicks House, Madden House, and Wilson House were among the prominent hotels. They were advertised in the newspapers of Nelson, whose citizens had opened many of them.

Big deals and small ones, were made every day in the week; no wonder money was plentiful. Some deals were honest, others were not. One man made a business of staking claims without bothering to see whether there was mineral on them. With the aid of a few good ore specimens he had no difficulty selling these worthless claims to gullible buyers in the settlement, who never doubted his word that the ore came from them. In fact, when they paid only $100 to $300 for such a claim, the purchasers felt they were taking unfair advantage of an ignorant man, for he always pretended not to know the worth of the samples. Others held out for unreasonable prices for their holding and lost. One man, Peter McNicol, refused $500 in cash for two wildcat claims which had cost

29. Now of Hudson Hope, Peace River, where he owns a coal mine. Nancy E. Dunn, M.B.E., organizer of provincial health unit in British Columbia Peace River Block, 1930-1936. Gething was her personal friend.
(a) Charles Moore, now of Creston, was with Perry, Gray and Davys, Mining Engineers and Surveyors, when they laid out Nakusp, New Denver, Silverton and at the head of Slocan Lake, Bonanza City, which never materialized. Moore came first to Nelson in 1892. Nelson Daily News. April 9, 1943.
him nothing but the price of recording. In three months he was walking to Nelson, a pack on his back and a few sandwiches in newspaper. He had not two dollars in his pocket.\textsuperscript{31}

In 1894 the Canadian Pacific Railway under the urgent encouragement of the Davie government was building the railway from Nakusp to Rosebery and Sandon. The Nakusp-Sandon railway, as it was called, was to lease and operate the road for 25 years, paying the government 40 per cent of its earnings. It was permitted to issue bonds to the extent of $25,000 per mile, at 4 per cent.\textsuperscript{32} Since this tapped the mining region at Kaslo's very back, that city became seriously alarmed at its precarious position. A delegation of citizens rushed to Victoria to urge the cause of the Kaslo-Slocan Railway.\textsuperscript{33} In the same year that line was built from Kaslo to Cody. The opposition's resentment over the Nakusp-Slocan Railway deal was so violent that the premier appointed a Royal Commission\textsuperscript{34} (Sir Mathew Begbie and Judge Burbidge) to investigate. Of course the government was exonerated and the opposition wasted time and money.

In 1898 news of a big strike in the Kondike seemed to burst the Slocan bubble. Men rushed out of the valley

\textsuperscript{32} Nelson Miner: Mar. 17, 1894.
\textsuperscript{33} Loc. cit. April 7, 1894.
\textsuperscript{34} Loc. cit. April 21, 1894.
as fast as they had come in. For years these towns were
dreary places, and the Canadian Pacific Railway train
has been making the round-about trip but once a week from
Nelson to Slocan, to Nakusp, to Rosebery, to Sandon, to
Kaslo, back to Nakusp, and finally to Nelson. Today
Lemon Creek, Sandon, New Denver, Slocan City, Rosebery
have again become hives of activity, as Japanese evacuees
to the number of 7,000 have been poured into these narrow
valleys. During the war many mines long closed have
started up again and new investments and developments may
bring permanent activity to aid in solving the post-war
rehabilitation of these Nisei displaced from coastal areas.35

35. Harold Lakes, well-known mining engineer of the Kootenays,
reported these activities in February 1946. The Zincton
operation at the Lucky Jim was milling about 350 tons of
zinc daily with a full crew. Whitewater was starting
up on the dump ores. The main tunnel at the Silver
Ridge, Sandon was being extended. At Three Forks, en-
quiries regarding the old Monitor Mine gave promise
of its reopening. George Gormly who has a lease on the
old Payne mine was doing some cleaning up. At New
Denver, Santiago Mines Ltd., was employing seven or
eight men on the Bosun mine. Western Exploration Co.,
had fifteen men working at the old Enterprise property
and at the Standard. (from a press report by George
C. Cross in the Vancouver Daily News Herald. February
28, 1946.)
ROSSLAND - RISE AND DECLINE OF A GOLDEN CITY

First at the mines, first in railway construction and lake and river shipping, first in smelter building, American adventure was reaped, speculative profits, before Canadian and British capital came to supplant the earlier interests about 1897 and 1898. The stories of Rossland and Trail are another illustration of this general theme of West Kootenay history, to which the story of Hall Mines upon Toad Mountain is perhaps the one exception.

Nearly sixty years ago the first prospector stood upon Red Mountain chipping with his pick the mineralized rock showing on the surface. Less than five years later, his discovery had resulted in the great mining camp of Rossland, which was calling prospectors, miners, investors and adventurers from far afield, and holding out to them, promise of great fame and fortune.

For more than twenty years after its construction the Dewdney Trail was used by trappers and prospectors who travelled its winding way along Red Mountain and down the creek to the Columbia without ever suspecting the wealth under their feet. In 1887 George Bohman and George Leyson located the first mineral claim in the camp. This was the Lily May, at the head of Trail Creek, on the old Dewdney Trail, seven miles from the Columbia River.  

2. Ibid.
In 1889 it was relocated by Oliver Bordeaux and Hoover. In March 1890, Bordeaux met Joe Moris, a Quebec born French Canadian, in Colville and hired him to do the assessment work on the Lily May claim. Leaving Colville March 17, 1890, they travelled by sleigh to Little Dalles, where they hired a boat and two men to take them up the Columbia to the mouth of Trail Creek. Here, since the snow still lay five feet upon the ground, they could not use horses, but had to pack their supplies on their backs up the creek. Gradually as the snow melted, showing the bare ground, the very red surface of the south slope of the mountain was revealed. Before the assessment work was finished, Bordeaux announced that he could not pay Moris until they went to Nelson where he had his money. This did not worry Moris, since he wanted to get supplies in order to prospect on his return. Before they set out for Nelson, he located and staked the Home Stake. In the morning of April 19th, they left for Nelson, where Bordeaux again promised to leave the money in a day or two. However, Moris waited several days and then Bordeaux had to acknowledge that he had no money. Moris, thereupon went up to the Silver King on Toad Mountain, and in seventeen and a half shifts, earned enough to outfit for his return to Trail Creek.\textsuperscript{3}

Bad weather delayed prospecting upon his return, so Moris worked on the Home Stake until Joe Bourgeois and his partner, Pat Clark appeared. After three days Pat

\textsuperscript{3}Ibid.
departed in disgust, whereupon Bourgeois and Moris continued together, and staked four claims July 2, 1890. These were the Centre Star, War Eagle, Idaho and Virginia. The same day Moris put two stakes on the extension of the Centre Star, calling it the Le Wise. Since they already had two claims apiece, they could not hold the Le Wise, but intended merely to secure the ground, in case someone else came before they returned from Nelson.

After a day's travel, they arrived in Nelson July 4, where, out of ten samples, six showed not a trace, and the best was $3.25. Bourgeois was so disappointed, he said the claims were not worth recording and stated that he would not go back. Moris argued otherwise, though both prospectors were loath to pay out the recording fee. Finally Bourgeois approached E.S. Topping then Deputy Recorder at Nelson, and made a bargain with him, whereby he paid the $12.50 recording fee for the five claims in return for being given one of them, the extension on the west end of the Centre Star.

On the eighteenth of July, Moris and Bourgeois returned to Trail Creek and went to work on the Centre Star. Three days later Topping came, located the Le Wise, west of the Centre Star and called it the Le Roi. That same fall, Topping went to Spokane and bonded the Le Roi.

4. According to B.C. mining law at that time.
5. Bourgeois had $700, Moris had only $18. Moris, loc. cit.
to I.N. Peyton and his associates, who at once put four men to work.\textsuperscript{6} In the spring of 1891 Moris and Bourgeois bonded the Centre Star and the Idaho to Oliver Durant and Alex Tarbutt for $25,000 and in January 1892 the same men bonded the War Eagle for $15,000 and paid $1,000 down, with $6,000 to pay in six months. This amount Durant and Tarbutt failed to pay, so the War Eagle was bonded a second time to Captain Burbidge for $17,500. Moris and Bourgeois received a tenth of this sum, but Burbidge also failed to pay up to the $6,000 in six months. For the third time, in 1894, they bonded to Austin Corbin, E.J. Roberts and W.J.C. Wakefield who were joined by Patsy Clark and J.A. Finch, and took up the bond Dec. 1894.\textsuperscript{7}

The story of the Le Roi Mine reads more like fiction than truth, a story of fabulous wealth wrested from the red earth, of human passions unleashed, of legal battles bringing death, and ignominy, fame and fortune to peoples in three countries, Canada, the United States and England.

When, in July 1890, Topping took out samples from the Le Roi and had them assayed, he was so convinced of the worth of his claim, that he went to Spokane that fall.

\textsuperscript{6} Ibid.\textsuperscript{6}
\textsuperscript{7} Ibid. Moris in 1938, was living in Spokane, Washington, aged 72. He did not make much money from these mines.
to interest capital. At Colville he met George Forster, a Spokane lawyer, and Colonel W.M. Ridpath, and impressed them with his samples. A group composed of George Tunner, Oliver Durant, W.M. Ridpath, Alexander Tarbutt, George Forster and F. Graves decided to take a bond on 16-30th of the claim for $16,000 and to do $3,000 worth of assessment work on the property before June 1, 1891. W.S. Harris, a small hotelkeeper of Spokane, to whom many of these men owed money, accepted a number of shares in settlement, hoping for the best from the new company.

Meanwhile, I.N. Peyton purchased the remaining 14-30ths of the claim from Topping, and disposed of it to friends in Spokane. Thus the LeRoi Mining and Smelting Company of Spokane was registered in the State of Washington, with a share issue of 500,000 at $5.00 per share. 400,000 of these were sold among the principals for $3,000,00 while 100,000 were kept in the treasury. George Forster was elected president and Billy Williams secretary. The nine directors included those given above and Mayor Armstrong.

In the early spring of 1891, Durant, Harris and Topping set off for the camp. Upon their arrival at Trail Creek they spent the night on the flats above the river, where Tadanac is now. Before noon the next day they were gazing upon the Le Roi. By June 1, with the aid of three men under

8. "Three Nations were Involved in Epic Battle" article in Rossland Miner Historical Edition Oct, 11, 1938 -- compiled from stories of two original prospectors and old files of Rossland Miner.
foreman, E. Kelly, Durant and Harris had sunk an incline shaft for 60 feet. The ore uncovered, ran 5 to 20 percent copper, 30 to 10 ounces in silver, and from $48.00 to $47.00 a ton in gold.

The prospect had not been overrated, but transportation difficulties and the great distance from a smelter made the outlook very gray. No great shipment of ore could be made to provide ready cash for further development. In this emergency, 30,000 of the treasury shares were sold at 25 cents a share, to persons unknown, and the remaining 70,000 to Colonel Peyton's brother, a banker, and his partner J.G. English of Danville, Illinois at 22 cents a share. This gave the promoters cash to go on, though progress was slow.\(^9\)

In the fall of 1891, ore was ready for shipment; seven tons were loaded on mule back and transported over the Dewdney Trail to the landing on the Columbia, where they were transferred to a river boat which took them to Waneta, where they were again transferred to the Nelson Fort Sheppard Line, in order finally to reach the smelter at Butte, Montana. The cost per ton by this route from the Le Roi to Waneta was $4.25. Columbia-Kootenay River steamers that handled the ore were the S.S. Kootenay, Columbia, Illecillewalet, and the Lytton.\(^10\)

9. "Three Nations were Involved in the Epic Battle," loc. cit.
The alternative, nearly as costly, was to take the ore to Northport ($4.00 per ton), the terminus of the Spokane Falls and Northern Railroad. A rough wagon road from the camp to Northport was completed in 1892, and D. McKellar began to drive a stage coach over this route for passenger business.\textsuperscript{11}

When in 1893, the Le Roi Company made such a fine strike as to assure the future of the mine, they applied for, and obtained assistance from the provincial government to build a wagon road to Trail Landing. And in August of the same year Brig Atkinson began to haul ore over the road. Outputs to smelters at Tacoma, Washington and Montana (Helena), increased then, and the camp took on a new life. In December, 1894, the War Eagle signed a contract with the East Helena Montana Smelting Company to deliver a minimum of 1000 tons per month.\textsuperscript{12} By the end of February 1895, $19,708 worth of ore had been hauled by sleigh over the Northport road. Melting snow and the spring break-up made travel very difficult and deliveries uncertain, and the trouble was accentuated by the narrowness of the road. Traffic was very heavy. The Le Roi Company ordered forty wagons from Chicago and there were thirty teams of horses in the camp.\textsuperscript{13}

Each wagon, (often with trailer) was drawn by a team with four or six horses, the driver walking and driving with

\textsuperscript{11} "Romance of Transportation" loc. cit.
\textsuperscript{12} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{13} Ibid.
a "jerk" line, that is, only one pair of lines. Since American horses could haul into Canada, duty free, but were liable to payment if hauling out, freight wagons often left the camp with Canadian teams doing the work and the American horses walking behind.

As the crowds of visitors to the camp increased there arose the need of a stage line from Trail Landing. This was inaugurated March 16, 1895 by Ashcroft, Seale and Gillies. The coaches had room for ten passengers with space on top for baggage. They were fairly comfortable for they were equipped with large side springs and massive leather straps. Teams of four or six horses or mules enabled the stages to make the trip to Trail Landing in less than two hours at a cost of $2.00 per passenger.

The greatest need continued to be a smelter close at hand, and in 1895 there was every indication that D.C. Corbin, president of the Spokane Falls and Northern, and of the Nelson Fort Sheppard Railways, would construct a smelter at Northport, the terminus of the former line. This would make it convenient for shipping the matte to American refineries. Such a construction was strongly opposed by Canadians since much of the wealth would thus be drained away to the United States. Just at this time, in the midst of uncertainty about a smelter location,

15. Ibid.
F.A. Heinze announced that he was beginning operations at Trail Landing, which made the smelter a reality in 1896. On condition of receiving 75,000 of Le Roi ore, he would erect the smelter to treat it. The first 37,500 tons would be charged $11, per ton, and the balance at a lower rate, if possible.

This forward step increased the value of Le Roi shares, but dissension appeared at this juncture, among the directors. A Chicago company offered to buy the mine for $500,000, whereupon a squabble ensued. George Forster the president resigned, and the others bought his 52,000 shares at $1.00. Oliver Durant also disposed of his devoted himself to development of the Centre Star. Col. W.W. Turner was then elected president.

Favourable circumstances now converged to make the mine a front rank producer. With the erection of the smelter at Trail Landing, and the advent of the Red Mountain railway from Northport in December 1896, the owners were able to increase the production and, when John Maynahan, was appointed superintendent, the mine began to pay dividends. From Oct. 1895 to Oct. 1898 $225,000 was returned to the shareholders, $50,000 worth of machinery was installed, and the mine workings much improved. 17

17. The details of this construction are more fully dealt with in the next chapter of this thesis, on Trail.
During the same year, Judge George Turner, became general manager, with offices in Spokane, W.J. Harris, mine manager, and Col. Ridpath representative of the company at Trail Smelter. From then on dividends of $25,000 a month were consistently maintained. Moreover, in Nov. 1896, Colonel I.N. Peyton, who had resigned in 1894, was returned to the board of directors.

As the prosperity of the mine was assured, the owners became desirous of selling, but at that point disagreement began. The Peyton brothers on one side, the Turner brothers on the other, each with a following, differed decidedly as to the value of their holding. The story of the vagarious clashes and developments that ensued is too long to be told here. Scenes were laid in London, in Spokane, in Rossland and on special trains running between the last two cities. In 1898, United States deputy sheriff, Bunce, acting on orders from the Turner minority group, attempted to keep the battle within the jurisdiction of the United States by preventing a train crew, at the point of a revolver, from taking the coach containing the Peyton majority party into Canada. The arrival of Austin Corbin, president of the line, countermanded that manoeuvre.

The multiple threads of the plot included the opening in Oct. 1897, of a smelter at Northport by the Le Roi company.

20. Ibid.
This was built by W. J. Harris of the Le Roi Mine, and Herman Bellinger and J. Breen of the Trail smelter, who severed their connections with Heinze, for this purpose. Another development was the launching in London, of the British American Company, by Hon. Charles MacIntosh, Lieutenant-Governor, of the Northwest Territories, and his boyhood friend Whittaker Wright, leading luminary of the London and Globe Finance Company, which was formed to acquire mining properties in British Columbia and Alaska, and its 300,000 shares at $25 were quickly subscribed for, - a precedent of high value in mining stocks of this type. MacIntosh, the managing director in Canada, purchased in Rossland, the Josie, the Great Western Columbia and Kootenay, the Poorman, the Nickel Plate and the West Le Roi. To this company Peyton arranged to sell the Le Roi for $3,000,000, while Turner, in England, had failed to find a buyer at his price, $5,000,000.

After a long drawn out fight, the deeds of agreement were drawn up and signed November 22, 1898, when the last of the original company relinquished all claim and title for $7.40 per share, payment for the ore en route, and the matte in the Northport Smelter. Besides, in the eight short years of its life the Red Mountain Mine had richly rewarded its pioneers with over $900,000 in dividends. In the hands of the Whittaker Wright group the mine settled down to steady production, and for better financing, the new owners floated, in London, the Le Roi Company with capital of $5,000,000.

22. Ibid.
23. Ibid.
The calm course of events was disturbed at the turn of the century when the Wright financial structure began to waver. A public examination of the Wright companies was ordered in London. The court found Wright guilty of fraud, and sentenced him to seven years imprisonment, but he evaded punishment by quietly taking cyanide as he returned to his prison cell.

This was the final chapter in notoriety. The Le Roi—King of Mines—settled down to give a steady flow of wealth for many years, from 1895 to 1916.

When Joe Moris and Joe Bourgeois took samples from the War Eagle to be assayed in Nelson by G.E.R. Ellis, they went $24.00 in gold. The locators bonded the property several times, only to have it thrown up, until, in 1894, Patsy Clark took 200 samples out to Coeur d'Alene, and found that to be the property he wanted. Then he waited patiently for Burbridge to throw up his bond, because Burbridge's samples, taken from a different ore chute, gave poor returns. In the fall of 1894, in Spokane, he organized a company composed of John A. Finch, Austin Corbin, E.J. Roberts, W.J.C. Wakefield, and two others. Clark was elected president, Finch, vice-president. They changed the course of the tunnel begun by Moris, and after 70 feet struck a big chute. Early in 1895, the company

25. This story of the Le Roi differs in some details from the one published in 1898, in the Spokane Spokesman-Review Quarterly, accompanied by a full colour replica of Governor McIntosh's check for $1,042,054.00, in part payment for the mine. This account is reprinted just as it originally appeared in "The Million Dollar Check," in Cominco Magazine, Trail, B.C. January, 1945.
paid its first dividend of $27,000, the first paid by any mine in the new camp. Three companies offered to purchase. Of these, sale was made January 22, 1897, to the Gooderham-Blackstock syndicate of Toronto, for $700,000. John B. Hastings was appointed mine manager by the new company, and John Fitzwilliams, foreman. In eighteen months between June 1898 and February 1900, dividends of $544,250 were paid. The Consolidated Mining and Smelting Company bought out the Toronto interests in 1906, and operated the mine successfully until 1928. For ten years, from 1932 to 1942, lessees continued mining operations on a small scale on the ore dumps, and in the workings.

The Centre Star, the first location made in 1890 on Red Mountain, by Moris and Bourgeois, was a full claim, 600 by 150 feet. Oliver Durant shortly afterward purchased the claim from Moris for $25,000. Durant, in partnership with Alex G. Tarbutt started work April, 1891. Only dogged perseverance overcame the many difficulties, excessive cost of supplies, and absence of experienced miners. By 1895, however, two shafts to depths of 113 feet and 50 feet had been sunk, and a tunnel driven a distance of 460 feet. The promising showing warranted the incorporation, July 10, 1895, in Butte, Montana of the Centre Star Mining and Smelting Company. Officers were: President, P.A. Largey; Vice-President, J.Lavell; Secretary, W.G. Benham;

28. "Early Locators of Mining Camp" Loc Cit.
29. Ibid.
Treasurer, T.M. Hodgans; and General Manager, Oliver Durant. Now development became rapid. By the fall of 1897, between six and eight thousand tons of ore had been taken out, but the whole amount lay intact on the dump, except for a few tons shipped out for sampling.

At this point, a dispute ensued with the adjoining claim of the Iron Mask Gold Company. The mining law in force when the claims were recorded permitted miners to follow the ledge or vein that had its apex upon their ground. In the following of such a ledge, the Centre Star Company travelled under the surface area of the Iron Mask claim, and the latter company dropped into this cross-cut in sinking a winze from their property. Suit instituted December 31, 1897, by the Iron Mask Company was the opening of a long drawn out legal battle that created wide interest in the mining world. Preliminary proceedings were fought in Nelson and Victoria, and action began in earnest when, on April 20, 1899, a courtroom was established in Rossland in the Miners' Union Hall, Justice Walkem presiding.

The point of contention revolved about the ownership of the ledge and the question of priority in recording claims. It was alleged by the plaintiffs that a re-recording, July 7, 1891, by Moris and Bourgeois, joint owners of the Centre Star, cancelled the first recording made by Bourgeois July 7, 1890; thus the Iron Mask recorded July 28, 1890, was really the prior location. For sixteen days of highly technical testimony by experts the action dragged on, until the trial was adjourned on June 1899.

32. Ibid.
application by the plaintiffs, on condition that they bore the
$40,000 costs. Pending a definite ruling the Centre Star was
to continue to work the ledge. The trial was never resumed.

In the meantime, the Centre Star Mine, the cause of this
altercation, had become the property of Gooderham and Black-
stock, the Toronto firm, who had already purchased the War
Eagle. On August 20, 1898, they purchased the claim for
two million dollars cash, although the mine had never shipped
more than three carloads of ore to a smelter.33 A unique little
ceremony marked the transference of the property. Oliver Durant
and Gooderham, the two principals of the deal, went to the
tunnel, where Durant broke a bottle of champagne on the ground,
a token of good luck for the new owner. Then, in accordance
with an ancient Cornish mining custom, Peter Joyce, the foreman
of the mine, sprinkled two handfuls of rich ore over Gooderham.
This survival of an old law gave absolute and complete possession
of the property, in the sight of witnesses, to the one so
sprinkled. When the legal forms were completed, the party
repaired to the famous Allan Hotel, where a champagne banquet
sealed the transaction according to Rossland Tradition.

The founder of the townsite came to these Trail Creek workings
in 1891, the year following the great strikes. Ross Thompson, the
son of a farmer, was born in Bruce County, Ontario, in 1864.34

33. "Centre Star...Had Discouraging Start," Loc. cit.
34(a) "Townsite of Rossland was founded by Ross Thompson in 1892"—
34(b) In 1904, Thompson left Rossland to go to the Coast, where he
still lives in Vancouver, B.C.
On August 28, 1946, he arrived in Rossland to take part in
the 50th anniversary of the city's incorporation."She certainly
had grown," he commented, and said he was unable to find a
familiar landmark. (from "Rossland's Founder Finds Big Change"
Vancouver Sun, Aug 29, 1946.)
While still a child he moved with his parents to Portage La Prairie, Manitoba, and when he was ready for work, he left for the Western States. In 1869, the fever of mining caught him in Vancouver, B.C., and he travelled to Seattle, Butte, Great Falls, (where for a time, he worked for James J. Hill), Bonner's Ferry, stopping in each place, and finally he crossed the boundary and made for Nelson. There he hoped to make a stake on Toad Mountain, but found every prospect taken. Then he turned to the Trail Creek workings, arriving there in 1891. The bright prospects in this locality gave him confidence to preempt the townsite of 160 acres in January, 1892, the only cost being the recording fee. He erected a log cabin to the rear of the southeast corner of what is now Columbia Avenue and Spokana Street. From them the camp was known as Thompson. In May, 1894, Thompson obtained a crown grant from the government for his holdings, at $1.00 an acre. Meantime he had sold a part interest to John R. Cook and others, and made arrangements with J.F.Ritchie of Nelson to survey the 160 acres. William M. Newton was appointed to handle the selling. In September of the same year the name was changed to Rossland, when postal authorities considered Thompson confusing because there was a Thompson Landing on the Arrow Lakes. Thus the founder's name was commemorated.  

When, in 1893, the Le Roi and other properties gave ample proof of early promise, all kinds and conditions of men flocked to this new Eldorado. That section of the trail that wound between what is now the Velvet Block to a point opposite the present telephone office was widened to permit the passage of 35. Nelson Miner, Sept. 8, 1894.
ore wagons, and was named Sour Dough Alley. This was the Breathway of the camp, and the eating houses, hotels, and dwelling houses, thrown together along its sides, did a roaring business. Then a straight roadway was laid along Columbia Avenue, and buildings of rough lumber, rushed from Lloyd Blue's overworked sawmill, soon lined its sides, differing immensely in their ground elevations.

The first house was Thompson's cabin, and Stack and McDonald bought the first lots for $30 apiece. In the spring of 1894, David Stussi constructed a small store at the West end of Columbia Avenue. At the same time, Clifton House, the first hotel, was also erected through Thompson's enterprise, on the northeast corner of Columbia Avenue and Spokane Street.

In the winter of 1894 the population was 250, by 1895 it approached the 1000 mark, and 1899 official records showed 7,000. "Rossland Record", a newspaper published by Eber C. Smith, made its appearance in February 1895, followed by the "Rossland Miner", the first copy of which was printed March 2, 1895, by David B. Bogle, part owner of the "Nelson Miner". The first first issue of this paper summed up the city of its birth as follows:

"Rossland has already four hotels, three restaurants, three general merchandise stores, three fruit and news stores, two barber shops, one bath house, one bakery, one tin shop, one blacksmith shop, three doctors, one lawyer, one land surveyor,

37. Ibid.
40. Ibid.
one customs house, two sawmills, two newspapers, and neither a real estate agent or a constable. Justice is dispensed by one Justice of the Peace, and straight whiskey by four bartenders. The town is orderly and there are more than enough children to start a school."

A fortnight later the law arrived in the new camp, March 18, 1895, in the person of Jack Kirkup. He was mining recorder and constable. A man of tremendous physique; he soon won a place in the hearts of all pioneers, for his championship of justice and for his kindliness. Instead of guns, his equipment was at once novel and more effective; he carried a cane. An ex-convict had fashioned his cane of sole leather, cunningly worked over a core of steel rod, heavily loaded, and silver plated at the butt.

Fifty pupils answered the first roll call, the fall of 1895, in the Methodist Church building sitting just off Sour Dough Alley, where D.D. Birks, the pastor, instructed them.

By the end of 1896, capital from Eastern Canada, the United States, and England began flooding the town. Two railways were doing a rushing business. Under the supervision of F.P. Gutelius the Columbia and Western Railway Company, organized by F.A. Heinze, completed the narrow gauge line from Trail to Rossland. The first ore-train left the camp on this line.

41. "Jack Kirkup was Law and Order in Early Days" Oct. 11, 1938. article in Rossland Miner, Historical Edition, this was Kirkup, auctioneer of the first lots sold in Nelson. He came to Rossland from Kamloops.
42. "Jack Kirkup... in the Early Days," loc.cit.
Two days before Christmas, that same year the first train rolled into Rossland on the Red Mountain standard gauge line from Northport. This was an extension of D.C. Corbin's Spokane Falls and Northern Railroad. E.J. Roberts, the construction engineer in charge, had managed to overcome some difficult problems of grade at Little Sheep Creek.

The town spread out like a web from Columbia Avenue. Though the first lots brought only from $30 to $50, by 1897, and 1898 tremendous prices were obtainable. The site upon which the Bank of Montreal was erected in 1900, brought the townsite company $30,000. Electric light and water companies were floated through the efforts of Ross Thompson.

On March 4, 1897, after two years of agitation and negotiation, the Hon. Edgar Dewdney, Lieutenant Governor of British Columbia, put his signature to "The Speedy incorporation of Towns Act" which gave Rossland the status of a city, and the right, to borrow up to $50,000 a year for civic improvement. Robert Scott was elected first mayor, and C.A. Fraser, Hector MacPherson, J.B. Johnson, H.J. Raymer, W.A. Campbell, and H.S. Wallace were the council. Rossland was now one of the most thriving communities in the Pacific Northwest.

In the second year of incorporation five banks were doing business and a stock exchange was in operation. Forty saloons catered to the tastes of the inhabitants. Brokers were almost as numerous as claims recorded. And no less than six newspapers

45. Ibid.
46. Article by Sidney-Norman: op. cit.
competed with the "Rossland Miner." The International Music Hall, and the Opera House offered diverse amusement from prize fighting to leading opera companies from the east. Churches, clubs, ice carnivals, ski contests, hockey games, horse races, -- Rossland had diversions for every taste. 49 Every many in the Golden City felt himself a potential millionaire. Dimes were unknown. In the fall of 1898, hotel rooms cost ten dollars a night, and those who could not afford beds at such a price, bought the privilege of sitting on a chair at the International for one dollar a night. 50

The name of one of the most famous missionaries in the Kootenays is intimately linked with Rossland. The well-remembered Father Pat came to Rossland January 27, 1896, and six days later held his first service here and in Trail Camp on the Columbia. For four years he spared neither time nor effort to minister to miners both rough and remote throughout the boundary and Kootenay regions. After his untimely death in 1902, the miners vied with one another to honour his memory and purchased an ambulance to be used in and about town, as a practical memorial to their best friend and benefactor. On the main street of Rossland there stands also a fine stone monument, suitably inscribed upon four sides, Atop its corners four lights symbolize the light he followed and from a fountain in one side flows the water of life which he strove to give to all to drink. Nearby the miners themselves erected a cairn of specimens of all the rich ores produced by the mines of Rossland, each in its 49. "Rossland in Review:" Op. cit. 50. Ibid.
own division and labelled with the name of the mine.\textsuperscript{51}

The progress of those early years was truly amazing. Forty-nine claims were recorded in 1894, and that number vaulted to 1997, the following year 1895. Between 1894 and 1899, production increased from 1856 tons valued at $75,524.64, to 180,300 tons, valued at $3,211,400. These figures included:

\textsuperscript{51} Details of the life of this famous Kootenay missionary are not commonly known, although his ministering influenced the early history of British Columbia in many of its localities. Henry Irwin, affectionately known by all whom he befriended, as Father Pat, was born August 2, 1859 in County Fermanagh, Ireland, the eldest of four brothers. His father was the incumbent of Newtown Mount Kennedy, his grandfather the precentor of Armagh Cathedral, and his great-grandfather, archdeacon of Emly. Even as a child he expressed his intention to be a missionary, and his first teacher testified to his sunny disposition and love of riding, both of which were to serve him well in the far west.

At twelve years, he entered the Irish Eton, St. Columbia's school at Holly Lodge, County Dublin, where as a diligent but not brilliant student he maintained his missionary ambitions, and took interest in athletics. In 1878 he went to Keble College Oxford, founded eight years previously. Here the English boys named him Pat, By this time he took his degree in 1881 he had definitely decided to take Holy Orders. At Yarlet he remained a year and a half, master in a boy's school; his great sympathies made him a wonderful teacher, but he was destined for greater things. At Ely Theological College he was ordained as a deacon in 1882. His first curacy was under Rev. John Murray, a rector of Rugby, where in 1884 he was ordained as a priest. When that same year he left for missionary work in British Columbia, his departure was much regretted by all, and he carried the precious token of his parishioners' regard, a travelling case containing the sacred vessels necessary for administering Holy Communion. He sailed from Liverpool to New York, thence to journey across the continent.

After correspondence with Bishop W.W. Sillitoe, of New Westminster Father Pat Began work in Kamloops, in 1885, as assistant to the vicar Reverend Mr. Horlock. Father Pat rode to the mountain mining camps where his devout earnest

(Continued on following page)
spirit. winning humour, and pluck won the itinerant parson a wide circle of friends amid this wild population of mixed nationalities. During her visit with the Horlocks, Father Pat met Frances Stuart Innes, daughter of J.H. Innes, superintendent of H.M. Naval Establishment at Esquimalt, a sweet gentle woman to whom he became engaged.

In the busiest days of Canadian Pacific Construction, Father Pat went to Donald, where in 1887 he erected the first church in the Rockies, St. Peters, since removed. Rev. C.F. Yates, rector of Golden in 1909 wrote: "Father Pat did not confine his work to the main line of the Canadian Pacific Railway, but journeyed as far south as Nelson, then a mere mining camp. We find too that he followed the Columbia from Golden to the Kootenay River." He did some missionary work with Indians but did not know their language and had to rely on an interpreter.

January 8, 1890, in the Church of St. Paul's, Esquimalt, he married "Fanny" Innes. Irwin then became domestic chaplain to Bishop Sillitoe and assistant priest at Holy Trinity Cathedral. For almost a year this perfect couple enjoyed supreme happiness in their home on the bank of the Fraser, which was later to be used for Columbian College. Then ensued a swift series of tragedies which revealed the great depth of Father Pat's courage and made the rest of his life a complete devotion to missionary work.

In November 1895, his wife and baby died within three days of each other. In January 1896 he returned to Ireland to assist in his father's parish during the latter's illness. In July Bishop Sillitoe died and Father Pat mourned him as a son. Two months later his own father died. Father Pat remained long enough to see his father's chapel at ease converted to a church with a parish. Then he wrote to John Dart, new Bishop of New Westminster, who had gone out from Manchester at the close of 1895. Bishop Dart appointed Father Pat mission priest to Rossland, where he brought spiritual and physical comforts to poverty-stricken prospectors of all races and creeds.

January 27, 1896 he arrived in Rossland, and six days later held a service in the opera house, going on to Trail in the afternoon. But the expense of printing hymns and canticles, since there were no books, and the rent of the theatre were too much. Father Pat left the hotel and put up in a shack with four other men, until with the aid of a Lady's Guild a church began to take shape within two months. This barn-like erection stood below the roadway, the shops, and the houses. Underneath were rooms for the priest, but these he converted into reading rooms, always open to any who came, whatever denomination, while he continued to live in a shack.... "and yet this seemed to him too great a luxury to enjoy alone; for he constantly had some sick or needy man to share it with him."

In May of the same year he visited the Kettle River district and Grand Forks; in June the foundation was being laid for a church in Trail. By Christmas the new Rossland church was ready for services, put up with a legacy from Bishop Sillitoe and donations from subscribers. For fifteen years Father Pat remained in the Kootenay. His energy was tremendous, and his mountain journeys on his Indian pony "Tom" were phenomenal. He was friend and confidant to every pioneer and prospector, whether or not they saw eye to eye with him. In 1899 to Miss K. in England, he wrote "... (I am) licensed by the American Bishop as well as our own, so that I can pray for the President now and then when I've got a foot across 'the line.'"
As Rossland became more civilized Father Pat begged to be sent again to pioneer ground, though the Bishop wished to spare his waning strength and give him a lighter post. In 1900 he went to Fairview in the Okanagan district where times were very hard, and overstrain gradually caused the priest to shrink from physical hardships which once were the joy of life to him. During 1901 the Bishop urged him to go for a rest to Ireland, intending upon his return go gratify his desire by sending him as itinerant missionary to some of the wilder districts of British Columbia. In the winter he set off for England, and must have got off the train some distance before Montreal intending to go for a walk. Then, as he was wont to do in all seasons in the western province he lay down to sleep, and early on a January morning of 1902, a farmer found him pushing his numb legs and feet over the ice.

He was taken to Notre Dame Hospital in Montreal where he gave his name as William Henry and entrusted to Dr. D.A. Kingston, his true identity and papers not to be divulged until his death. Canon Wood of St. John's visited him frequently, and with him, and the nurses Father Pat laughed and joked in his agony. Then came the delirium and a quiet final death January 13, 1902. His body was sent west to lie beside his wife and child in the churchyard at Sapperton. The claim that before death he became Roman Catholic is vigorously denied both by the sisters of the hospital and by Canon Wood.

gold, 376,362 ounces, value $7,382,361: silver 696,016 ounces value $410,425.40: Copper 17,363,890 ounces, value $1,998,044.44

From then the increases were steady. In 1901, 283,307 tons of ore valued at $4,621,299 were mined. Until 1916, the Le Roi, War Eagle, Centre Star, and Josie, were mainly responsible for fifty percent of British Columbia's total gold output. Between 200,000 and 300,000 tons of ore a year came out of Rossland, the value fluctuating between two and a half, and four million dollars. By 1916 the camp had mined $60,000,000 in minerals and although, in that year, production was curtailed, $20,000,000 more had been taken but by 1938. For every million a mile of track has been laid in the workings. In the peak years before 1900, over 1000 men were employed and the payroll was over $100,000 a month. Until the curtailment in 1916, between 600 and 800 men continued to be employed.

After the Consolidated discontinued operations in 1938, individual lesasers continued to work over the dumps and the tunnels, taking out comfortable livings. These leases were cancelled in 1942. Now Red Mountain is patterned with rings of fencing, old and new to guard wanderers against tumbling down old shafts. Massive stone foundations and gigantic machinery stand at intervals along the roads, and reminder of the great activity that once was here. Workmen dismantle piles of boards painted

53. Ibid.
red. They are old mine buildings that have blown down in recent windstorms. There are great heaps of tailings everywhere, and, in the spring, beds of yellow glacier lilies carpet the slopes between. A city on a mountain top,—once it numbered 10,000 today Rossland has become a residential suburb for workers in Trail, whose vast smelter owes it existence to the once great mineral output of the golden city.56

56. Rossland population today is just under 6,000.
THE ASCENDANCY OF TRAIL

Trail, which began as a "half-way house" serving the Rossland mines, to-day has become the hub of Kootenay prosperity. It owes its name to the Dewdney Trail. The Rossland gold mines, reason for its initial development, have become depleted as a source of wealth, but a far more wealth-producing industry has taken their place. Trail is the home of the Consolidated Mining and Smelting Company of Canada, Limited, which operates the world's largest non-ferrous metallurgical plant, and the home of the Consolidated nitrogen and fertilizer development which has cost $12,000,000 and came into operation in 1931. During the recent war this plant has been producing explosive nitrates and has become one of the Empire's most vital war industries. Here, too, the West Kootenay Power and Light makes its home, one of the leading power companies of Canada.

The first white men in the district were David Thompson and his party who explored and mapped the Columbia in 1807 and 1811. Perhaps David Douglas and Bauerman passed the junction of the creek and the Columbia River, when they were in the district in the 1830's and in 1859 respectively. Certainly Captain Palliser and Sullivan explored this part of the river in their travels in 1860. The completion of the Dewdney Trail in 1865 made this creek the line of communication for the trail which traced its way from Grand Forks over the Cascade summit to the headwaters of the stream, and down its winding course to the Columbia River, giving its name to

1. Trail, B. C., a brief story of the history and development of the most important industrial centre in interior B.C. Trail Board of Trade, July, 1931.

2. See Chapter II of this thesis.
the creek in passing. From there it followed the banks of the Columbia south to Fort Sheppard and so east to Fort Steele. When the mining excitement of the eighties brought prospectors to Kootenay Lake, they spread out from there to the Slocan and Trail Creek. Rowing down the Columbia by boat at that point they would land, camp on the flat above the river, and then follow the creek bed. In this way the Red Mountain discoveries were made.

As these strikes began to prove themselves, the Landing assumed interest as a stopping place worthy of development. In 1890, Colonel E. S. Topping came here from Nelson and staked out a pre-emption of 320 acres at the mouth of Trail Creek. On this ground, close by the river he and Frank Hanna, also from Nelson, erected a frame hotel, Trail House, that same fall. This was an overnight lodging for miners and prospectors on their way to the camp at Red Mountain.

Shortly afterward, W. R. Poulton put up an hotel, a store was erected and rented to Stewart and Lynch, Merchants, and Pryor built a log cabin. These, with an ore depot, made up the entire settlement. There was practically nothing on the present site of Trail. In 1891 the site was surveyed, Topping became a Canadian citizen, and several Victoria men began to invest in the town.

3. Trail, B.C.: loc. cit. page 6
4. Eugene Seyre Topping, see note 16, foot of p.143. Of his life in Nelson, his accident there, and his connection with the Le Roy Mine, account has been given elsewhere in Chapter IX and X of this thesis.
5. Trail, B.C.: Loc. cit. p. 8
6. Ibid.
7. Ibid.
The flood of 1894 swept away this entire settlement, the gateway to Rossland. Only the Le Roi ore depot was so weighted with gold ore that it withstood the ravages of the water. In 1893 Topping and Hanna began the construction of a wagon road up the creek, and, upon application from the Le Roi interests, the provincial government gave assistance to complete this project, which greatly facilitated the transport of ore down to the river boats. From there the ore was floated to Northport, whence it was shipped by rail to Montana smelters. These early shipments were handled at a loss, due to excessive transportation charges.

The crying need was rail transportation and a smelter, conveniently close, to give impetus to Red Mountain production. As these were built Trail Creek became a prosperous settlement and a city. The *Nelson Miner*, October 6, 1894, reported that O. Bergstrom, the assayer of the Colorado Smelter at Butte, was working up an enterprise to erect a smelter in the Trail Creek district. That same fall, A.E. Humphreys, fortunate mining investor of Duluth, Minnesota, came and suggested Trail as an excellent site. Soon Frederick August Heinze arrived, a young man of vision, unbounded enthusiasm, determination, and resourcefulness, although only twenty-seven years of age. Heinze had already played a vital part in Montana and Nevada mining history. His coming was a good omen for he quickly grasped the advantages to be gained by constructing a smelter only seven miles from the mines, and he chose Trail Landing for the site.

Without fuss or publicity James Breen, A. E. Humphrey and J. D. Farrell were sent under Heinze's instructions to arrange details. Breen completed the agreement with the Le Roi Mining Company to treat 75,000 tons of ore. Humphrey had arranged with Topping of Trail Creek that a smelter would be erected in return for a grant of one-third of the townsite and a suitable building site, forty acres of land on the hill. Farrell had surveyed a proposed tramway route from Rossland to Trail. Heinze filed notice of intention to build a narrow-gauge railway over this route and November 18, 1895, contracts were let to Charles King of Tacoma for the construction, at a figure considered very low to allow a margin of profit. Fortunately a mild winter permitted the work to be pushed with haste, but not without many man-made obstacles, as we shall see.

Meantime, September 1, 1895, indicated that the smelter was to become a reality. By September 13, between 150 and 200 men were at work on the plateau, erecting the buildings, under the contractors, Anderson and Costello, of Spokane. Contracts

15. (a) ibid: p. 274 (b) "The Consolidated Mining and Smelting Company," loc. cit.
16.
17. "Romance of Transportation": loc. cit.
were also let for 25,000 cords of wood to be used in the smelter, and for the grading of a wagon road from a point opposite the smelter site to Sayward, where machinery from the Nelson-Fort Sheppard Railroad would be unloaded. The first pay-day was October 21, 1895. Bricks for buildings and stacks were made on the site. February 1, 1896 the water jacket furnace was blown in for a trial run.

The plant, consisting of two O'Hara furnaces, two reverberatory furnaces, one circular furnace and one water jacket furnace, had an estimated capacity of 250 tons a day. There were also large storage bins and an office. On March 12, 1896, a furnace was blown in and the output began in earnest. The first two carloads of matte left Trail Creek, April 1, 1896, for Butte.

The new company was called the British Columbia Smelting and Refining Company. F.A. Heinze was president, and he transferred the officials from his Butte smelter to Trail, Herman Bellinger, superintendent, Mr. Wedekind, general manager, F. Lansing, commercial manager, J.W. Bohn, chemist and assayer, Matt Blake, foreman, H. Yost, engineer, and Duncan Campbell and J.P. Manihan, skimmers. Most of the seventy-five men then employed for operations in the new plant came from Butte. This was a young man's enterprise, for none of the staff were over 30 years of age.

21. (a) Ibid. p. 8.
    (b) "The Consolidated Mining and Smelting Co.": loc cit.
    (c) Howay, Sage, Angus: op. cit. p. 275.
23. Ibid.
24. Ibid.
The April shipment of matte encouraged Heinze to construct another blast furnace that permitted treatment of a possible 500 tons a day. In those days the method was "heap roasting." About twenty tons of ore were put on appile of several cords of wood, in an open yard. Then the whole was sprinkled with coal oil and fire set to it, whereupon it would burn for several days. A reporter of that time stated,"It gives out flames of wonderful coloring but of fearsome odor."

In December, 1896, flumes from Stoney and Trail Creeks were completed to a generator plant at the foot of the hill. This supplied electric power for the smelter. 1897 saw the construction of a refinery of gold, silver and copper. The Rossland Miner, August 10, 1897, thus describes this development.

"The Trail smelter turned out its first gold ingot last night. The brick weighed 250 ounces and bore the initials of 'B.C.S. and R. Company'"

This was an event in the history not only of British Columbia but of Canada, for this was the first refined gold ever to be produced in the Dominion. The brick was melted in a graphite crucible and put on display in the Bank of Montreal in Rossland.

Operating costs were high, when coke had to be brought from near Nanaimo on Vancouver Island. Nonetheless, the smelter was

25. Cominco: January 1941
27. Ibid.
28. Ibid.
29. Ibid.
profitable for Heinze. In 1898, the company tried to get the Slocan silver-lead ores for treatment, but the Canadian Pacific Railway more or less monopolized this area, since it transported those ores to Nelson and Pilot Bay smelters.

In the meantime, Heinze had completed his narrow gauge line from Rossland to Trail in the face of opposition from Corbin of the Nelson-Fort Sheppard line, from the Trail Townsite company, and from the Canadian Pacific Railway. He was young, and a fighter, and equal to his three antagonists. When Corbin built his line to Nelson, he was given immense grants of land from the provincial government. These covered the whole Rossland area, and he refused Heinze the right of way for his new railroad. In similar manner, the Townsite Company declared that Heinze could not cross their property unless he paid $5000 for the necessary twenty-six lots. Defiantly, Heinze condemned the right of way proceedings, and threatened to bring his terminal to a place outside the Townsite limits which would cause the $5000 property to depreciate to about 25 cents an acre. Corbin, at this juncture, made a masterly stroke to put Heinze on the defensive. He obtained a writ from the supreme court of the province, overruling Heinze's injunction and enjoining his Trail Tramway Company from trespassing on Corbin's land. At this point, February, 1896, the last obstruction to Corbin's Red Mountain line from Northport was removed, when the North Colville reservation was opened for settlement. Corbin was willing to settle his differences with the Trail Tramway

Company amicably, so that he could plunge into construction of his own line. And in the following month the Townsite Company also came to an agreement. Then it was possible for the Trail-Rossland line to become a reality on June 11, 1896.

By this time the boundary country was proving a source of ores, and Heinze wanted to tap this unexploited region for his smelter. To this purpose, he announced his intention of extending the Trail Tramway westward. This company he incorporated in a new one called the Columbia and Western Railway Company. When he visited Victoria, the government gave him a charter for construction, along with a grant of 10,240 acres per mile of narrow gauge, or 20,000 acres per mile of standard gauge, upon construction.

By this time the Canadian Pacific Railway had determined to run their southern branch, from Macleod to the Coast, through the Crows Nest Pass, so that the rich coal fields of that district would enable them to capture the coal business of West Kootenay smelters. From Robson, they planned to follow the Columbia to Trail, and then transfer to Heinze's Columbia and Western Railway to Rossland.

Heinze, meanwhile, was wasting no time. When upon a visit to London, he failed to raise the funds to finance his Columbia and Western Railway, he mortgaged his Butte smelter and returned to Trail to invade Canadian Pacific Railway territory. On December 9, 1896, he let the contract to Parsons, Winter and Boomer to build a line from Trail to Robson for $600,000. When, that same month, Corbin's Red Mountain line from Northport to

34. "Romance of Transportation," loc. cit.
35. Ibid.
36. Ibid.
37. Ibid.
Rossland was completed the Canadian Pacific Railway became somewhat alarmed at its apathy in allowing its rivals to gain such an advantage in southern B.C. By September 27, 1897, the Columbia and Western Railway was completed and the Trail Smelter was trying to get the Slocan ores. They had the Trail-Robson line; the Columbia-Kootenay Steamship Company controlled the river and lake boats, and the Canadian Pacific Railway controlled the Robson-Slocan connection. Compromise or agreement seemed impossible. At this point the Canadian Pacific Railway declared they would build a smelter on the banks of the Columbia at China Creek, and construct a direct line from there to Rossland, isolating Trail. Perhaps Heinze decided he had played his game long enough to get the best price; perhaps he realized that his opponents had so much power as to make their ultimate victory inevitable. At any rate, on March 1, 1989, Walter Aldridge, acting for the Canadian Pacific Railway, announced that the company had acquired the smelter and the narrow gauge railroad. The price was reputed to be $1,400,000.

The railroad company began operations on a large scale and changed the name to Canadian Smelting Works. On May 1, of the same year, Smelter Junction, now Tadanac, was opened by

38. This and the need for a more energetic policy in the Kootenays is expressed by Sir William Van Horne, in the Canadian Pacific Railway Annual Report, 1896, 9-10, quoted in Howay, Sage, Angus—op. cit. p. 255.
42. "The Consolidated Mining and Smelting Company": loc. cit.
43. Trail, B.C., loc cit. p. 10.
J. H. Schofield. When the Crows Nest Pass Railway was opened, cheaper coal and coke was available from East Kootenay coal fields, and treatment charges for Rossland ores could thus be reduced at the smelter. High freight rates had always been an obstacle to trade with the coast. In 1894 Colonel Peyton bought supplies in Winnipeg for that reason. Since acquisition by the Canadian Pacific Railway removed obstacles to the treatment of Slocan ores, the smelter installed furnaces to extract lead bullion in 1901. This bullion was shipped to San Francisco for refining. Meanwhile exhaustive experiments were being conducted to perfect some process that would obviate this shipping. These efforts were successful when in 1902 a process of electrolytic refining was adopted, and Trail became a producer of refined lead.

From then the smelter continued to grow, as it treated more and more ore from other points as well as Rossland. In 1906 the Canadian Pacific Railway reorganized its interests and formed the Consolidated Mining and Smelting Company of Canada Limited, which name it continues to bear. The proving of the Sullivan Mine at Kimberly gave a new impetus to the ever-increasing output. The complicated problem of separation and treatment of the zinc-lead ore from this mine was solved by Dr. S.G. Blaylock, later president and managing director, and a group of research workers. At that time he was assistant general manager. This discovery led to the erection of an electrolytic zinc recovery plant, the first of a

44. Trail, B.C.: p.10. For over twenty-five years, Mr. Schofield was M.L.A. at Victoria for Trail riding.
47. Ibid.
48. Note on page following.
Selwyn Guillym Blaylock was born Feb. 18, 1879, at Paspebiac, Quebec. The son of Rev. Thomas Blaylock of Ulverston, England, and Eleanor Marion (Lawndes) Blaylock of Quebec, Quebec. He was educated at Bishop's College School, Lennoxville, Quebec, took his B.Sc. from McGill University in 1899, and received the honorary degree of LL.D. from McGill in 1929, and from Alberta in 1930.

The year of his graduation he came to British Columbia where he was employed as assayer with the Consolidated Mining and Smelting Works at Trail. In 1901 he assumed the position of Chief Chemist for this company, and from then on he held the important positions of Chief Chemist and Metallurgist, General Superintendent, Hall Mines Smelter, Nelson, B.C., and General Superintendent of St. Eugene Mines Ltd. for the Consolidated Mining and Smelting Company, Moyie, B.C. This was followed, in 1911, by appointment as Assistant General Manager for the Consolidated Mining and Smelting Company which position he held until 1919, the year which he became General Manager. In 1922 he was appointed a Director of the Company, and in 1927 Vice-President. In 1938 he was made Managing Director, in 1939 President and Managing Director, and in 1944 Chairman.

He received a great many honours for his outstanding contributions to metallurgy and the mining industry. The University of Toronto in 1924 awarded him the McCharles Prize for outstanding work in Canadian Metallurgy; from the American Institute of Mining and Metallurgy he received the James Douglas Medal, Feb. 21, 1928; for outstanding work in mining and smelting he was awarded the International Nickel Company's platinum medal in 1935. In 1936 he was made Commander of the Venerable Order of the Hospital of St. John of Jerusalem. He became a Member of the Institution of Mining and Metallurgy, London, England, of the Australian and of the Canadian Institutes of Mining and Metallurgy, of the American Electro Chemical Society, of the Society of Testing Materials, and an Associate Member of the American Zinc Institute. He was President of the Canadian Institute of Mining and Metallurgy in 1934, and received the medal of the Institute of Mining and Metallurgy, London, England, 1940.

Mr. Blaylock was twice married, Nov. 4, 1904, to Ruperta Margaret Riddle, and Dec. 31, 1918, to Kathleen Louise Riddle, daughters of the late James Riddle, Danville, Quebec. There are one son and three daughters. He had membership in numerous sporting and professional clubs in the cities of Montreal, Rossland, Trail, Nelson, Vancouver and Victoria, and his recreations were gardening, tennis, golf, fishing and shooting. His religious denomination was Anglican. He had a home in the Tadanac residential district in Trail, and a large country home and estate on Kootenay Lake near Willow Point. (Continued at bottom of next page.)
series of developments to recover by-products, and extend the
company's activities to their present vast scale. Sulphuric
acid, and sulphur, fertilizer, ammonium sulphate, gold, silver,
copper, lead, zinc, cadmium, bismuth, antimony, arsenic insecti-
cide, - all are produced annually in thousands of tons. Acres
of building house intricate machinery and up-to-date apparatus
which made possible these marvels of modern science. After the
beginning of the second World War, plants of a value of over
$16,000,000 were built by the company and operated without profit
or loss to them for the Canadian and United Kingdom Governments.

48. cont.
The responsibilities of the tremendous war time
expansion of the Consolidated Mining and Smelting Company
in all its activities overtaxed even his great strength. He died
He died in Trail, November 19, 1945, after an illness of
some months. He was buried at Canville, Quebec. Mr.
Blaylock's multiple interests and achievements and the wide
respect in which his judgment was held are evidenced by the
many responsibilities he held at the time of his death.
Besides being Chairman and President of the Consolidated
Mining and Smelting Company of Canada, Limited, he was
Director of the Sunloch Mines Limited, of the Electrolytic
Zinc Process Co. of Montana, of the Buena Vista Mining Co.,
of Canadian Airways Limited, of the Canadian Pacific Railway,
of the West Kootenay Power and Light Company Limited, and of
the Bank of Montreal; he was Vice-President and Director of
the Solar Development Company Limited, he was a Governor of
McGill University, he was an Honourary Member of the American
Institute of Mining and Metallurgical Engineers.

supplied by Lance H. Whittaker, Personnel Division, Consolidated
Mining and Smelting Company of Canada Limited, Trail Office,
March 15, 1946.


50. Report by Dr. S. G. Blaylock published in Nelson Daily News
April 30, 1943.
As the Trail smelter grew, it became more and more apparent that but one such centre was necessary to treat Kootenay ores, and inevitably the Nelson smelter declined, until in 1908, a fire put an end to its activity. Trail, which owed its existence to Rossland mines, and whose pioneers and their business emanated from Nelson now contributes in a very large measure to the prosperity of both those cities. Rossland has become a residential district for smelter employees. Nelson has become a Canadian Pacific Railway divisional point. Through its railway yards pass the thousands of cars that are bring ore to the smelter from mines all over the Kootenay and boundary country: and thousands pass eastward again carrying metals and smelter products. Nelson has not had a mushroom growth, but its advance has been steady and well grounded, and the city has preserved its natural beauty, whereas Trail, by the very intensity of its industry, has had to sacrifice trees, grass, flowers, for miles around, and foul fumes hang like a pall over the ugly landscape night and day.

After the disastrous flood of 1894 swept away the new settlement at Trail Landing, not much time was wasted in rebuilding. In October Topping and Hanna were rebuilding Trail House. This was finished and occupied by Christmas. The building, 24 feet by 93, contained 30 rooms, with accommodation for 50 guests, and contained a dining room, in the centre a post office and news stand, and, in the other end, a saloon, the first one in Trail.

_F bold Nelson Miner:_ Oct 20, 1894
There Jack Lloyd and Charles Harrington, "genial and accomplished mixologists, administered to the thirsty day and night." W. F. Brown was Postmaster and proprietor of the dining room. The Trail House Laundry was in the basement of the building.

New business houses and dwellings were going up in every direction, and growth would have been faster had it been easier to secure building material.

"Had Trail been able to furnish lumber to all who wished to build this summer, our town would now be twice as large as it is, but our troubles are about over in this connection, for before our next issue, two first class lumber mills will be in operation, turning out lumber at the rate of 40,000 to 50,000 feet per day."

On the very day that the Townsite Company sold a site for a sawmill to Bell and Naden of Rossland, the first carload of their machinery arrived on the grounds, and every day more continued to arrive.

"...at the rate with which the work is being pushed, the mill will be turning out lumber by Friday next."

The same week saw the arrival of the last of Peter Jennell's sawmill machinery. He had a contract to supply the smelter with heavy timbers. This sawmill was located on the Columbia below where the skating rink now stands. Huge booms floated down the river, and it was a morning diversion to watch the men swing the booms into the eddy.

52. Trail Creek News: Oct 21, 1895.
53. Ibid: April 4, 1896. "Postmaster Brown received his salary Monday. For three months work he is paid $7.75 by a liberal government. There is talk of a public subscription to make the office worth while keeping open."
55. Ibid: loc. cit.
After the flood, the oldest building and business was that of Steele and McDonald, the sole building to survive the disaster. It was not long before these men had many business competitors.

At first, there was, of course, no landing stage for passengers. "The Boats ran their nose into the west bank of the river and were swung around quickly by the current. Planks were thrust out to the shore and passengers ran for it. Most succeeded in reaching shore: some did not." In the fall of 1895 the Townsite Company was grading for new wharfage and warehouses which were built at the foot of what is now Spokane Street. However, landing was often far from leisurely or certain, due to the swift eddies in the river as it curves past the city.

"The Steamer Trail will land her passengers at the foot of Victoria Street, near St. Elmo. Don't forget the place, and in getting off, be as expedient as possible as the steamer will not tie up."

At first the principal business street was the "Bowery", but it was soon outstripped by Bay Avenue, destined to be the Broadway of Trail. Montana House and the Crown Point Hotel were also doing business in 1895. The wooden building which preceded the present Crown Point on the same Bay Avenue site is described thus:

57. Trail Creek News: Oct 21, 1895.
59. Built by S. F. Petersen during the summer and fall of 1895. Letter to the writer from Lance H. Whittaker, November 6, 1976.
"(It) is to Trail and the West Kootenay district what the Hotel Spokane is to Spokane—the finest hotel in the district. It is three stories, built in the latest style of architecture, and able to entertain 50 guests, besides its local trade. The house is richly furnished from cellar to garret, and would be an honour to a city ten times the size of Trail. A fine bar will be run in connection with the hotel, and a meat market is being built on the north side of the building."  

Behind the hotel stood the Trail Livery Stable, and next to it, on stilts, the British North America Bank. Close by was the Trail Bathhouse, "where the travel stained miner may wash himself as white as snow at any hour of the day or night for twenty-five cents."  

In the draw below the Crown Point, W. Johnson, pioneer brickmaker molded 35,000 bricks a week for smelter and local trade. Next to it stood the Trail boathouse, possessing not one boat. W. Noonan, the blacksmith, shoed horses from dawn until dark. Bay Avenue had, at that time, also, a bakery erected by Chris Hartbauer, H.M. Coursier's general store, Gragdon's large hardware store, which carried also mining and milling machinery, and a new building which was to house post-office, public telephone station, drug store, variety store, and owner's private office. This was in process of construction by Topping and Hanna. The town also had a laundry.

60. Trail Creek News: Oct 21, 1895.
61. Loc. cit. Oct 21, 1895
62. Loc. Cit.
"Lee Chung, an open-faced, almond-eyed celestial, has built a fine log house at the foot of Bay Avenue, where he is busily engaged in renovating soiled clothes. The building, as it stands, cost him $400 and is an ornament to that end of town."

The first newspaper office in which all this contemporary record was printed, was situated in a small building across the land from the present high school. In 1895 W.F. Thompson came from the United States with two trunks of type. Although he had hoped thus to bring them in duty free as personal effects, he was discovered and had to pay the duty with his last ten dollars. The first issue was printed on brown wrapping paper and contains Thompson's own explanation.

"The News of today is not published on this wrapping paper because of any peculiarity of taste or freak of the presiding architect, but because no other paper was available. Our paper, ordered a week ago, is flirting along the road, somewhere between Trail and Spokane, accompanied in its erratic wanderings by a can of news ink; but as all roads lead to Trail it will probably show up some day next week in time for future issues....we did not expect to greet you in clothes that would look better-encircling a yard of calico...(but)if the news had delayed issuing for another seven days the town of Trail would have such a start on us we would never have been able to catch up."

Trail Creek ran through the town in those days, when the water was high the town along its banks was flooded back as far as Pine Avenue. This made a good swimming hole. A wooden bridge spanned the creek along Bay Avenue.

63."Trail Creek News": Oct 21, 1895.
64. Reprinted in Cominco: January 1941.
65. "Notice is posted on the bridge asking teamsters to drive no faster than a walk. These notices should be heeded, for someday we shall have no bridge." Trail Creek News: May 22, 1896.
East Trail could boast of only one cabin. The owner had a cow, some pigs, and a few chickens. Every day he came over in a row-boat bringing his can of milk and fresh eggs, which he traded at the bar of the Crown Point Hotel.

The first schoolhouse was built in 1896 and E. A. Dewer and Miss M. Bunting were the first teachers in the two-roomed structure.

"Trail's new schoolhouse is fast assuming proportions. Last Friday work was begun on it and today it is ready for the plasterers. One week from today the contractors expect to turn it over to the district. If that is not quick work the News is mistaken. This school is 75 feet by 28 feet with 16 foot ceiling and is being built according to plans and specifications submitted by the government architect. The building is both ornamental and built for convenience and is the same as all school houses built by the government for towns of this size—the twin of Trail's schoolhouse is in Rossland." 66

Two rooms sufficed to educate Trail youth until 1911, when the school was enlarged to eight rooms.

In the pioneer days, "Father Pat," the famous Anglican minister would come from Rossland to hold services. Then, in 1896, the Presbyterians led the way, putting up a church building. The Methodists followed in 1897, the Anglicans in 1898: the Baptists held their first meeting in 1899, and the Roman Catholics established a mission in 1900.

67. See Note 51, Page 233, in Chapter X of this thesis.
The present hospital in Trail owes its origin to Dr. Douglas Corsan, who supervised the construction of a small building, (later the Aldridge Apartments) which contained a doctor's office, residence, the hospital and the nurses' home. This continued to serve until 1907 when a second hospital was built (now the Park Hotel.)

By 1897 the town of Trail Creek had a population of 2,000, and in 1901 it was incorporated as the City of Trail, with E.S. Topping, first mayor, and C. A. McAnally, Noble Binns, James Dawson, J.P. Byers, W. Furnell, and E. A. Steele, Aldermen. W. J. Devitt was the first city clerk.

The two hundred fifty men hastening in 1895 to complete the smelter on the hill for F.A. Heinze have increased to 8509 employees of the Consolidated Mining and Smelting Company, over 5000 of whom work in Trail. The picture of the growth of Rossland and Trail is not complete without giving some account of the origins of the West Kootenay Power and Light Company, which owes its existence to the mines and the smelter, and which has become one of the largest power companies in Canada.

In 1895 Rossland was anxious to improve upon coal-oil lamps and candles, then her only means of illumination. The possibility of development attracted W.S. Norman of Spokane,

69. "Dr. Douglas Corsan, late surgeon of Canadian-Australian liner Warrimo, has been appointed surgeon of the Trail Smelter Company" Trail Creek News: May 16, 1896
70. Trail, B.C.: loc. cit. p. 46
who had constructed the first dam there for the Washington Power and Light Company, and who now formed the Rossland Light and Water Company with Spokane capital. Partners of this company were Patsy Clark, J.A. Finch, R.K. Neil, and Frank and A. M. Campbell. Ross Thompson offered the water-rights on Stoney Creek if the company would furnish these services to the town. Notices of the company's incorporation were filed November 8, 1895. The first electric light plant consisted of an Edison bi-polar d.c. 700-lamp capacity generator, coupled to a steam saw-mill engine, and a three wire distribution system brought electricity to the stores on Columbia Avenue, Spokane Street and Sour Dough Alley, January 7, 1896. Soon a larger plant was constructed in the South Belt, and a pipeline laid from the reservoir to the new plant to drive a Pelton wheel generator-set. The company offices were next to the Miner's Union Hall in Rossland.

The increased use of machinery in the mines caused various companies to be formed in 1896, to supply cheap electrical power for this purpose. One of these was the West Kootenay Power and Light Company, incorporated by Oliver Durant, P.A. Largey, and Charles R. Hosmer, with Sir Charles Rose of Scotland, active head. The charter of incorporation was passed in the provincial legislature May 8, 1897. Soon construction commenced on a hydro-electric plant at Lower Bonnington Falls on the Kootenay River.

74. Ibid
75. Ibid
76. Ibid
77. See Chapter X of this thesis.
At this time Lorne A. Campbell arrived in Rossland, and was shortly appointed manager of the new company, with the responsibility of directing the venture. The construction of the building and the installation of two 1,184 h.p. hydro-electric units was accomplished at Bonnington in 1897. Then was built the longest power-line from the plant to Rossland, where the War Eagle and Iron Mask Mines became the first users. A feeder line from Rossland served the power requirements of the Trail Smelter. In 1899, the company acquired the holdings of the Rossland Light and Water Company and added another unit at the Bonnington plant to satisfy increased demands for mines. Succeeding years contain a story of steady expansion. In 1906 two turbines were installed in a second plant constructed one mile above the first at Upper Bonnington. Further units were added to this in 1914 and 1916. In 1923 Lower Bonnington plant was demolished and rebuilt on a much larger scale. Scarcely was this complete when work began on a third plant at South Slocan just above the mouth of the Slocan River. 1931 saw the construction of a fourth plant at Corra Linn, nine miles downstream from Nelson.

Up to 1939, these plants were generating a surplus of 50,000 horse power of electrical energy, above the requirements of Trail centres, Northport, and the mining properties and communities of Ymir, Salmo, and Sheep Creek, which they served with

78. L.A. Campbell was born in Perth, Ontario, where he attended Collegiate Institute. Then he joined the engineering staff of the Edison General Electric Co. (later the Canadian General Electric Co.) in Toronto. He held a responsible position with this company before he obtained his majority. "The West Kootenay Power and Light Company." loc. cit.

79. Ibid.

80. Ibid.

high tension lines of 60,000 volts, which spread over the whole area. The installation of war plants at Trail added 57,000 horse-power to the load and took up all this reserve. Under the War Exchange Conservation Act of 1940, assistance was asked and received from the government to build a power plant at Brilliant. At the height of construction over 1,000 men were on the payroll, being drawn from the Kootenays as well as many others who were attracted or brought to the district for the purpose. At a cost of $9,000,000 this dam was built by the Kootenay Engineering Company of Canada, Limited, subsidiary of the Consolidated Mining and Smelting Company, and is operated under lease by the West Kootenay Power and Light Company. Throughout World War II it provided power for the Government plants operated by the Consolidated Mining and Smelting Company at Trail. Two generators were installed, each with a rated capacity of 35,000 horse-power, bringing the total average annual capacity of the West Kootenay Power and Light Company plants on the Kootenay River to 329,000 horse-power. This fifth plant makes the Kootenay Company the largest producer of power in the province, the British Columbia Electric Company being the second, with a total installation of 273,000 horse-power. Thus, the Consolidated plants at Trail, which use the bulk of the power developed on the Kootenay River, consume considerably more power than the total of the cities.

of Vancouver and New Westminster, and adjacent areas, even some in the northwestern United States, all of which are supplied by the British Columbia Electric Company.

Eventual complete utilization of potentialities of the Kootenay River as planned when the installation of two more generators at Brilliant is completed will raise the capacity of development to over 380,000 horse power. In 27 miles between Kootenay Lake and its junction with the Columbia the river drops nearly 400 feet, and at the low water season the entire river flow is used at each of the five plants of the Company, Corra Linn, Upper and Lower Bonnington, South Slocan, and Brilliant. The Brilliant dam which impounds a 92 foot head of water was begun in April, 1942, and was under construction for just two years. Almost 1200 carloads of cement, 210,000 yards of concrete, were used.

In 1930 the Consolidated Mining and Smelting Company embarked upon a nitrogen and fertilizer programme for this reason. The sulphur content of the ore from the Sullivan Mines at Kimberley was so high as to constitute one-quarter of the total weight of the ore. During the smelting process at Trail this sulphur, evolved as sulphur dioxide gas, was highly destructive to vegetation in the surrounding area.

even as distant as the neighbouring state of Washington. This damage continued in spite of the high stacks which assisted the dissipation of the gas, and in spite of its dilution with air. The Consolidated Company decided, therefore, to reclaim this by-product as sulphuric acid, and a programme was developed whereby the acid so obtained was used in the manufacture of soluble phosphate fertilizers, with intention to supply the future needs of Canada's great arable western plains. In order to make a fertilizer containing nitrogen as well as phosphate, the Company began to make nitrogen by a process which required large amounts of hydrogen both costly and difficult of production. The tremendous development of low-cost electric power in four plants on the Kootenay river made possible the manufacture of hydrogen by the electrolytic process, which, in turn, led to the construction of the fifth and largest power plant at Brilliant. Thus, at the outbreak of the World War II and up to the early part of 1940, did Trail supply a large part of the output of synthetic nitrogen which made Canada ninth in world production.

In the spring of 1940, Great Britain's own sources of nitrogen came within bombing range of the Luftwaffe, and she requested Canada to create a reserve supply of nitrogen, mainly in the form of ammonium nitrate. To fulfill her

programme Canada undertook four projects which increased her synthetic nitrogen production. In the first project at Trail, additions to the electrolytic hydrogen plant and to other equipment were made sufficient to increase the ammonia output 50 tons a day. Then a new plant at Trail using a different process brought the output up to 250 tons a day.

When, on August 6, 1945, a parachute floated down upon Hiroshima to drop the first atomic bomb, man's scientific advance projected him into a new age, with which his long retarded stagnant spiritual evolution leaves him ill-equipped to cope. Whether for good or evil, in this production of atomic energy Trail will play its part. For the creation of atomic bombs "heavy" water is necessary, that is, water containing twice as many atoms of hydrogen as ordinary water: it controls or slows down neutrons in the changing of uranium into the radio-active element plutonium. To make heavy water in any quantity large amounts of power and a continuous electrolytic process are necessary. Trail has both of these requirements in abundance. From the electrolysis of water to separate its component hydrogen and oxygen in the making of ammonia was developed the long process which gives heavy water. Thirty or forty passages of the electric current, and a very high concentration of electrical energy result finally in an appreciable amount of heavy water. In about six months one

ton of ordinary water is thus reduced to a mass of one-third of an ounce, almost pure heavy water. Trail's production began after the war in the race of nations to produce and use this first atomic bomb, the epitome of horror. Twice this force has been unleashed for destruction, and its power has been greater than any other conceived by mankind. We can only say that the possibilities of this energy for the conditioning of medical and biological processes, or indeed for any constructive purpose are but in the speculative and experimental stage, since all published information upon work in this field has been "blacked out" since the beginning of the war.

Trail's war effect, mainly through Company enterprises, was tremendous. Lead and zinc production in excess of Canadian requirements were made available to the British Government at a contract price, thereby saving Britain an estimated $100,000,000 over market prices. From British Columbia ores also, the Company produced for the Allies vital mercury, tin, and tungsten. The ammonium nitrate plant at Trail, as well as the one at Calgary, was built and operated for the Dominion government. In Trail shops were constructed engines for mine sweepers. Not less important than this metal and chemical production, and these war contracts, were the trained technical men lent by the company for work on government inspection bodies and purchasing committees.

Out of the Company's total payroll, 7,500, over 2,500 men went into military service, of whom 84 gave their lives. 88

88. Summary of Consolidated Mining and Smelting Company of Canada, Limited, War Effort, report obtained from Lance H. Whittaker, Personnel Division, Trail, B.C.

The reader who seeks further information upon the growth of the Consolidated Mining and Smelting Company and its part in the development of the West Kootenay is referred to Lance H. Whittaker, All is Not Gold, A story of the Discovery Production, Processing of the Mineral, Chemical and Power Resources of the Kootenay District of the Province of British Columbia and the Lives of the Men Who Developed and Exploited Those Resources.

This excellent manuscript, just completed, January, 1947, is now in process of publication.
THE SOUTHERN PART OF KOOTENAY AND ARROW LAKE

DISTRICTS

LEGEND:
- Modern Highways
- C.P.R. and railways taken over by it.
- Columbia and Kootenay steam routes later taken over by C.P.R.

Routes 1, 2, 3, 4: Waterfalls on Kootenay River making navigation impossible. Dams and power plants now located at each point.

Nelson-Ft. Shepherd, Nipper, later Great Northern, Great Northern Steamers

Dotted line: Old wagon road from Sprout's to Nelson

Map includes locations such as Nelson, Kaslo, Bonners Ferry, and various steam routes and waterfalls.

Columbia and Kootenay steamer routes taken over by CP-R.

Slocan City

Kokanee Park and Glacier

BONNERS FERRY
THE DOUKHOBOURS - AN EXPERIMENT IN COMMUNISM

If fur traders, railway surveys and boundary commissions explored the Kootenays, if American miners and prospectors uncovered the rich ores that have attracted American and British capital to build Kootenay industries and cities, undoubtedly the most successful agricultural development in this area has been the Doukhobour settlement along the Columbia, Kootenay and Slocan rivers. The picture of West Kootenay would not be complete without an account of this communist experiment, upon the best alluvial land in the region. A study of this communist society poses the question, whether communism could ever be successful without enforced ignorance and absolute dictatorship. Such have been the means of attempting to preserve the customs and traditions of this ethnic group for several decades and to isolate it in the midst of the rapid progress of Western Canada. Of the five groups upon the Canadian frontiers of settlement,¹ the Doukhobours have so far placed the heaviest burden upon Canadian institutions and patience during the long period of their readjustment. Moreover, in their resistance to inevitable absorption these people have placed their burden most directly upon the backs of the communities in which they

¹ The other four are the Mennonites, the Mormons, the German Catholics and the French Canadians all settled east of the Rockies.

April 6, 1946, David Reimer wrote his graduating essay upon the Mennonite Settlement at Yarrow, British Columbia, for the Department of History, University of British Columbia. Unfortunately, the library does not have a copy of this thesis.
have settled, namely the West Kootenay, northern Saskatchewan and Western Alberta. Yet the constitution of our country does not empower these sufferers to take effective action to relieve this unhappy state of affairs. The Doukhobours live in farm villages; they have a distinct "way of life," they have collective ownership and operation of land, they have their own language and social practices. These four characteristics, preserved by a hereditary dictatorship, whose instrument is enforced illiteracy, have maintained an isolation, which ceased to be geographical, with the inroads of railways, highways and government schools.

The roots of Doukhobour economy spring from the Russian serf village or mir, where under the feudal land tenure of the Czar's regime the peasant was owner of nothing but his labour with which he paid for a bare existence. Arduous toil, and common misery made the members of the mir one great family with a passion for equality and fraternity. Lack of leisure, isolation, or any education gave little opportunity for individualism. In the 18th century however, some devout peasants were doing original thinking in the only channel they knew, they were denying some church doctrines. Cut off politically, the great intellectual activity of the Russian peasant devoted itself to the founding of religious sects. When in 1654, Archbishop Nikon, the highest authority in the

2. Orest Novitsky in a thesis for a doctor's degree made a careful study of the Doukhobour creed, which he summarized as follows:

(a) There is one God. They do not deny the Trinity, but expressions about it are mystical.
(b) We are not born in sin.
(c) God is in all of us. Christ is not divine.
(d) The soul, not the body rises after death.
(e) We should deny our lower selves.
(f) Government is needed only for the wicked.
(g) We should tolerate all religions which hearken to the

(Continued on succeeding page)
Russian Orthodox Church, introduced a reformed prayer book, many schisms resulted, among them the Doukhobours,\(^3\) whose sect took a negative attitude toward all priests and formalism in religion. During the regency of Tsaritsa Sophia and the reign of Peter the Great, all dissenters were hunted and tortured. Anne and Elizabeth, sovereigns from 1730 to 1762 left them alone, and by the latter part of the eighteenth century both men and women followers were to be found scattered throughout Southern Russia west of the Volga.\(^4\) As early as 1785 the word Doukhobour was used to name this people. "Spirit wrestler," it means, because the Orthodox Christian church considered them to be wrestling against the Holy Spirit. Persecution and illiteracy led them to conceal their beliefs which were seldom put on paper, while generations of submission of authority made them docile in acceptance of decisions by a recognized leader.\(^5\) In 1762 Catherine the Great seized the Russian throne with a heavy hand, and dealt harshly with the Doukhobours. Paul too, persecuted them, for their defiance of religious authority led them to the conclusion that no rulers were needed.

This purely propagandist period of their history came to an end with the reign of Alexander I, 1801. He

2. (Continued) inner word.
   (i) Holy scriptures are not necessary for the sons of God.
   (j) No external priest is necessary.
   (k) No ikons, fastings, church decrees etc.

from Alymer Maude: A Peculiar People the Doukhobours, New York, Funk and Wagnalls Company 1904, pp. 11-18.


allowed them to gather from all parts of Russia to form a settlement, near the sea of Azov at the "Milky Waters". From that time they became an industrial and economic community. There 13,000 people gathered in nine villages, upon 500 acres, and they were to be exempt from taxes and left in peace, so long as they obeyed legal authority. Though they invariably recited a set of answers to evade government questioning, "We are all equal ..., we have no leader, and none among us is greater than the other," they gave blind obedience to Savely Kapoustin (Or Kaspustin) who was the first leader to assume divine authority, and who introduced community of goods.

"As truly as the heaven is above me and the earth under my feet, I am the true Jesus Christ your Lord!" With the aid of their elders and twelve apostles he governed the property and thoughts of his subjects. Common members were discouraged from learning to read and write. Trade and commerce were discouraged lest they engender covetousness. Kapoustin and his nominees paid the taxes and dealt with the Russian government. Ostensibly to provide for the welfare of the ages and orphans, he established the "Orphan's Home" called by the Doukhobours "Zion", this became the seat of government and repository for community wealth. There, too,

8. A. Maude: op. cit. p. 129.
the virgins were trained to sing the psalms. Those who were conscripted for the Turkish War, 1806-1812 threw away their arms and when they continued to proselytize in spite of the leniency to be given them, only upon condition that they should not do so, their unpopularity led to stern measures. In 1826-1841, the main body was transported to the wet mountain area of the Caucasus, where it was hoped that the severe climate, the altitude, 6000 feet above sea level, and the resultant change economy would make them more amenable to discipline.

Adversity served but to reveal an amazing adaptability and a tenacity of purpose in these large, strong men and women of purest Russian type. By 1891 they had so prospered that there were 20,000 in three parts of the Caucasus, namely, in Tiflis Government, in Elizavetpol Government, and in Russian Armenia, the Kars Territory. Leadership, though never openly acknowledged, had become hereditary. Kapoustin's inadequate sons, Vasily and Ilarion Kalmikof, were followed by the more successful Peter Kalnikof, illegitimate son of the latter. Upon his death, his widow Loukerya Vasilyevna Kalmikovna directed this highly prosperous self sufficient community, which devoted itself to cattle and sheep-raising, while longing for a milder climate which would make its vegetarian principles.

more readily attainable. At this time they were content not to oppose a political authority which left them alone, and they even supplied horses and wagons for Russian military campaigns. In 1887, however, Loukerya died and conscription for military service was introduced in the Caucasus. Since about 1880, some years before her death Loukerya had kept her handsome nephew young Peter Veregin, in her immediate entourage, as though with purpose to prepare him for succession. Whether or not this intention was openly expressed by Loukerya, all the Doukhobours were not disposed to accept Peter. A quarrel ensued over disposal of the community property, in which Loukerya's brother claimed management of her estate. After having avoided Russian law courts for fifty years, the Doukhobours presented their case to them and the property was adjudged the brother's.

This award caused a major division in the community. The majority 12,000 chose to follow Veregin, and accept direction by messenger from him in Archangel and later Siberia,

10A. Snesarev in his work gives the story that a protest from Veregin's wife at this procedure caused Loukerya's death. He quotes James Mavor, the Doukhobours, p. 17, "She (Veregin's wife) went boldly to Loukeria Kalmykov who was a woman of violent temper: Kalmykov became enraged and in the presence of Veregin and his wife, died in an apoplectic fit."

to which he was with his six brothers promptly exiled by the Russian government for being such a troublemaker. These "fasting Doukhobours" or "Large Party" as they were known, obeyed implicitly the injunctions brought by Veregin's messengers with arduous patience and physical endurance, in spite of government vigilance which tried to prevent such communication. The "Middle Party" refused to follow these injunctions and looked upon Kalmikovna's brother as leader. In exile Veregin talked with other exiles, Baptists and Stundists and read for the first time Leo Tolstoi, the great philosopher and experimenter in communal living. These influences combined with his own previous observations, his shrewd estimations and ambitions gave form to a framework of principles and rules for community guidance, at once material and mystical, childlike and philosophical. These principles brought by messenger were fanatically obeyed by all followers.

"inasmuch as all men are equal and the children of God do willingly without coercion, they do not require any government or authority over them. Government if needed at all is needed only for the wicked. To go to war, to carry arms, and to take oaths is forbidden."12

A quarter of a century later Peter thus expressed his people's principles again, writing in the Independent, July 3, 1913,

"The Truth About the Doukhobours,"


The foundation of the Doukhobour community is not based on the economic but on the spiritual for which individual psychology is taken of the fundamental issue of everything—institution is nothing. Only by keeping equilibrium between himself and the universe does man obtain the highest happiness and freedom. We are our own law-makers; our individual laws must be in perfect harmony with the laws of nature and the universe and not contradict them."13

In September 1886, after he had already written friends in England announcing the change, Peter told his people they should call themselves The Christian Community of Universal Brotherhood. He ordered abstinence from meat, from alcohol, from tobacco. When in 1894 Nicholas II became Czar, the Doukhobours refused to take the oath of allegiance.13a The climax came in June 1895, upon Peter's name day, when as evidence of their firm resolve not to use force against any fellow man, the Doukhobours publicly burned their arms in the Caucasus, and to disperse them to the number of 4000. For three years their suffering was intense.14 Then Leo Tolstoi took up their cause, and much to the distaste of the Russian government published an account in the London Times, October 23, 1895. After an investigation, Petersburg offered to restore their land and property if they would take the oath of allegiance and submit to conscription. Of course they refused.

Early in 1898 they received permission to leave Russia, provided they would go at their own expense and that Veregin and others in Siberia should remain there to work out

their sentences. How was an illiterate poor people, ignorant of the outside world, to emigrate without a leader to the unknown? Loans, gifts of food, and other supplies were soon forthcoming from sympathizers, individuals and societies, Tolstoi, the English Society of Friends (Quakers), members of the Purleigh Colony in Essex, the Canadian government, the Canadian Pacific Railway, the Philadelphia Quakers, gave assistance during and immediately after the migration in an amount not less than $150,000. Twenty years previously Mennonites from Russiá, seeking freedom from military service, had emigrated to Canada, hence it was decided to make inquiries about the feasibility of Doukhobour settlement there. At their own expense, Prince D.A. Hilkoff, nephew of the Russian minister of ways of communication, Alymer Maude an English merchant long resident in St. Petersburg, and two Doukhobour families, numbering twelve persons travelled, to Canada to determine upon what terms immigration could be arranged, the Doukhobour delegates were soon distrusting Maude and Hilkoff, whose intelligence and experience, none the less made them alone capable of promoting arrangements for a people, about which in reality they knew little. Canadian Government officials were favourably impressed by the robust, cleanly appearance and earnest intentions of the Doukhobour delegates. Meanwhile at Batoum on the Black Sea, Leopold "Soulerzhitsky 15. Dawenn: op. cit. p. 12 note 16.
engaged the Beaver Line steamer, "Lake Huron" to convey the first part of about 2100 direct from there to Halifax, where they arrived January 23, 1899. Two ships in two trips each brought 7,363 Doukhobours to Canada by June of the same year; 12,000 remained in the Caucasus, and 110 remained in exile in Siberia. The cost to the Canadian Government for their reestablishment was $55,000.

It is illustrative of the trend of the Doukhobour mind that not until three months after arrival did they seek guarantee from military service. The Canadian government admitted them upon these conditions. In due course they must make individual entry for their homesteads, supply vital statistics, conform to the country's laws, pay taxes. According to the Military Act, they were exempt from bearing arms, because of their religious aversion, which general exemption was supplemented, December 6, 1898, by an order-in-council which expressly named the Doukhobours as a sect enjoying this privilege. Moreover, as a concession to their desires for communal living, they were permitted to do the equivalent of work legally necessary before a homestead could become individual property upon any part of the "township" in which they settled. In the early months of 1899, first in

15A. From: August 26, September 28, 1898 a group went to settle in Cyprus, but the climate and extent of the island were unsuitable. 100 died there. Snesarev: op. cit. p. 19.


immigration halls, later in barracks on the prairies, their craftsmen prepared spades, forges, wagon tires, harnesses for use as soon as they arrived on the 270,480 acres of prairie land allotted to them. As long as they remained in Russia the Doukhobours could not put into practice the community ideal which had been developed in an earlier period. However, from 1899-1908 they settled in 57 villages spaced from two to four miles apart in three communities. Thunder Hill 13 villages, Devils, Lake 34 villages Saskatchewan, 10 villages; each village accommodating 100 people.

Since many youths were in exile, there was a surplus of adult females. Few children were under five, for Veregin had urged sexual abstinence before and during migration, and most adults were under 40. This vigorous group set to work with a will. The women built the villages and ploughed the land, twelve pairs to a plough, not because they were too poor to afford animals, for the men and boys went to work on roads and railway grading to earn money necessary for supplies, and because in Russia it had been traditional

(b) Members of one community were from Elizavetpol province of another, from Tiflis; of the third from Cyprus.
Snesarev: op. cit. p. 25.
for virgins to pull the plough in a circle about the field in order to ward off evil. Generous contributions from Philadelphia Society of Friends, and the Dominion Council of Women, together with seed supplied by the government for spring sowing ensured success. Already in 1902 they had a generous cash surplus to send to Siberia and to make easy the way for their beloved leader as he should come to join them after his release in the autumn of that year.21 Throughout the fifteen years of his absence from them Veregin continued to exert his authority through his letters, but it was inevitable that, in a community so large, by some his instructions should be misinterpreted, by some openly flouted. Thus it was in 1900 an educated non-Doukhobour Russian anarchist, Alexander Bodyansky, almost succeeded in moving several hundred to California or Australia, exploiting their disappointment with the severe prairie conditions. Some Doukhobours influenced by the example of other farmers in neighbouring settlements chose to be independent and conform to Canadian laws, taking the fruits of their efforts in land ownership as individuals. Some perplexed fanatics took literally one of their beloved leader's theorizing letters (never intended for them), cast out every metal object, set free their cattle and horses, ceased to cultivate the land, and removing their clothing began a great nude pilgrimage to Winnipeg in October 1902, 21. They sent $1000 to each of the five towns through which he might pass. On his way to Canada Peter Veregin at last met and took council from Tolstoi. Maude: op. cit. p. 208.
"to make ready the path of our Lord Jesus" when he should arrive from Russia.\footnote{22} This episode, many times repeated, has made the whole sect infamous throughout Canada, and has proved a most effective means of drawing attention to their grievances, real or imagined. A participant in the Second Pilgrimage May 1903, thus describes the experience in a letter dated September 29, 1903:

"We went in the manner of the first man Adam and Eve, to show nature to humanity how man should return into his fatherland and return the ripened fruit and its seeds."\footnote{23}

With a firm hand Veregin promptly curbed these worst excesses upon his arrival, in December 1902, and set about establishing a communist dictatorship, but this was not to be worked out without a fourth migration, which brings this people to the valleys of West Kootenay. Until Veregin's coming they hesitated to take oaths and make entry for the homesteads as required by law, they objected to registering births and deaths and to paying the light road tax. On April 16, 1903, Veregin with three other Doukhobours and two agents of the Mining Department made 1738 entries for homesteads, giving the impression that within three years, they would take the oath of allegiance and receive 160 acres for each Doukhobour. Thus up to December 1904 they enjoyed government sponsored monopoly of nearly 500,000 acres of excellent prairie land. To complete government requirements, however, might commit them to future military service, and Veregin doubted whether

\footnote{(a) Dawson: op. cit., pp. 18-20.  
(b) Maude: op. cit., p. 190  
(c) Veregin's release came one year before expiration of his term, hastened by application of the Canadian government to the Russian. Snesarev: op. cit., p. 32.  
23. Maude: op. cit., pp. 230-241.}
the Doukhobours would be willing to surrender their holdings to the community, if they were acquired as individuals. Meantime expanding communities nearby resented this leniency on the part of the government, and brought political pressure to bear, until 1906 to 1907 an investigation recommended adjustments, and a ten year commission was established to carry them out. As a result the entries of those who were not cultivating their own homesteads were cancelled, and only 15 acres was allowed for each Doukhobour who chose to remain in the communal system. In other words more than half the land formerly held for community members, 100,000 acres, was made available to the general public. As new settlers came to this land many dispersed Doukhobours became "tainted by the world" and desired to leave the community. This tendency and the reasons for it are well illustrated by the following quotation from the files of the Department of Immigration and Colonization at Ottawa, being part of a report dated April 28, 1908, by H. Harley, agent at Swan River to his superior at Winnipeg:

"Peter Veregin has ordered out to work three fourths of the men left here, and the one fourth will stay and take off their crops ... Every man sent out to work must bring home at least $150.00 in the fall, or be put out of the Community... There is one village where over one hundred have refused to put their earnings and money in the general communal fund, so Peter has ordered them all to get out of the community... so you see the work goes on, and Peter's family will be getting smaller all the time." 25

   (b) 1000 became independent during their first six years in Canada. Snesarev: op. cit. p. 34.
Veregin now directed his attention toward salvaging a nucleus of his colony. By looking upon the government's decision of 1907 as persecution he could intensify sectarian feeling. Weary of prairie winters, his people easily responded to promise of warmer climate. Moreover, they wished to return to the mixed farming to which they had never been able to engage since leaving the Milky Waters. Then Veregin realized that, on a large scale, the Community could make enormous profits by improving virgin land. Probably the biggest factor of all in promoting this fourth migration was the fact, that, for all his efforts in Saskatchewan, Peter had never been more than in part successful in organizing the colony on a communistic basis. This included the basic unit village (of which there were 57), then three main settlements namely Yorkton, Thunder Hill, Prince Albert, finally the attempt to unite all three under a central organization with headquarters at Veregin. In bringing the Doukhobours to British Columbia, the foundation for a completely communal organization was well prepared. They were again under persecution; in the new wilderness outside influence would be difficult; land clearing and orchard planting would need all their work and hold them together; having no shelter to start with, under their leader's guidance they would build on a plan suited to community life. Another very important consideration was the fact that now they were not
in desperate straits as when they left Russia ten years previously. They could purchase these lands from private individuals, and obtain the crown grants that former-owners had obtained. Investigations were made of Arizona, New Mexico, Oregon, Alberta, but when Nicholas Zibiroff and Peter Veregin submitted their report January 25, 1910 to a general meeting of the community, Southern British Columbia seemed to have climate, topography, soil, transportation facilities (or lack of them) peculiarly suited to the establishment of a semi-isolated self contained colony. In fact this report justified purchases and settlements already made and gave impetus to the fulfillment of Veregin's plan. 27

Settlement in the Kootenay area began in 1908 on 2700 acres of semi-arid land, clothed in virgin forest along the banks of the Columbia near Brilliant, for which payment was $52.50 an acre. 28 Two men from each Saskatchewan Community Village, eighty-five men in all began communal clearing and house building, and were joined in the spring of 1909 by their wives and children. Alexander Evalenko, one of their number, thus describes the naming of the valley and of Brilliant, at the confluence of the Columbia and Kootenay rivers, which was to become the dominant trade and

27. (a) Gregory: op. cit. p. 29.
(b) Dawson: op. cit. pp. 37 and 41.
(c) Snesarev: op. cit. pp. 38-42.
social centre for the adjacent valleys.

"The first one (settlement) we gave the name of the Valley of Consolation, Village of Brilliant, from a brilliant diamond of the first water, on account of the great river Columbia flowing through the land."29

By 1913 most of the British Columbia lands had been acquired 14,403 acres, purchased for $646,017; around Brilliant 3,649 acres, through the "Valley of Consolation" to the uplands: at Glade, along the Kootenay River 1092 acres; at Pass Creek, fifteen miles north of Brilliant, 2465 acres; at Champion south of Brilliant, 927 acres: at Crescent Valley, 1302 acres: on the Slocan River between Crescent Valley and Slocan City 837 acres: on the Kootenay River, West of Nelson, 321 acres.30 Thither migrated more than two-thirds of the Community members including many of the older settlers to ensure continuity of policy, tradition and teaching.

According to the census of 1931 there were 6033 Doukhobours in British Columbia.31

The work of clearing was hard but land values thereby


30. (a) Gregory: op. cit. pp. 31-32.
(b) These settlements were made in this order. 1908 the first Oteshenie (Consolation), near Brilliant, and Frooktovoe, near Grand Forks.
1910 - a second party was absorbed in the above.
1912 - Plodorodnoe, near Glade.
1913 - more to Brilliant.
1914 - some to Oteshenie
some to Malinovoe, near Robson.

Snesarev: op. cit. p. 43.

enormously increased, and revenue came from lumber, poles, posts and cordwood. These first months of preparation and marketing forest products were followed by the settling out of orchards, which in due course became heavy cropped, as their owners developed skill in grafting the trees, they also established grape production and as railway building advanced their fruit found ready local and even more distant markets. Although the valley bottoms were arable the elevated areas had to be irrigated. By 1931 $438,000 had been spent upon ten systems to supply from 2,000 to 3,000 acres. At Brilliant they built a concrete reservoir capable of storing 1,000,000 gallons. Later some improved fruit lands were purchased. At Brilliant were built a jam factory, and brick yards, and several sawmills at different places. During the first World War years when agricultural produce sold high, the colony prospered greatly. In 1916 two hundred settled in Alberta at Lundreck and Cowley on the Canadian Pacific Railway to ship flour to Brilliant, 300 miles away. The immigration period took from 1908-1913. The movement was financed from a central fund to which all members in Saskatchewan contributed from $100 to $200 per man. Levies and other contributions made this fund $342,099, in 1911. By 1912 two miles of road had been built near Brilliant and a suspension bridge over the Kootenay gorge, toward which the community paid $40,000 and the province $20,000. This had been kept in good repair and forms a part of the semi-private Christian Community of

(b) Gregory: op. cit. p.32.
By 1916 they were well established in British Columbia. Of 19,000 acres of land, 7,500 or 39.5 per cent, were under cultivation. Livestock was valued at $106,000, farm machinery at $44,000, and fourteen industrial establishments were valued at $400,000. These comprised eight sawmills capable of shipping two or three carloads of lumber daily to the prairie, two brickyards made 2,500,000 bricks annually; three small sawmills; one canning factory. Irrigation facilities (mentioned before) were valued at $100,000 an electric power plant at Brilliant $25,000, and road improvements at $24,000.34 The years of the first Great War brought intensive cultivation and industrial expansion. This was the period of one hundred per cent communism, when all individual earnings and income were turned in to the central organization to pay off the huge debt incurred during migration. Although each village elected an elder he was merely an intermediary with little authority. When at home all community members were provided by the central office with shelter, flour potatoes, salt, plus a certain sum of money varying from year to year and depending upon whether the recipients were men, widows or old people. Each year was determined the sum of money which each adult had to bring to the central office. The various settlements were considered as one unit, and a commodity scarce in one village was taken from another where it was plentiful. These 34. Dawson: op. cit. pp. 52-53.
villages or "Families" began with one hundred members each, and their allotment was as far as possible made equal taking into account acreage, soil, water, improvement. There were 44 of these "families" in British Columbia, eleven at Grand Forks, a few in the Slocan Valley, all the rest within eight or ten miles from the CCUB35 headquarters Brilliant. Depending upon its manpower each village paid an annual assessment to the central office, not a rent because all share in owning the land, this money goes to reduce the interest and the debt only. The family's first object was to care for operation on the land assigned them, then the surplus of working force was placed in remunerative jobs away from the village. In the early years these jobs were farm work for other settlers and road work for the provincial government. In the thirties they worked mostly upon CCUB enterprises.

The business manager at Brilliant ordered everything necessary to feed and clothe the community, in which task he was advised by a representative from each village. Goods were ordered by the carload and stored in the warehouse at Brilliant, where members came and asked for what they required. There was no limit and no accounts were 35. Christian Community of Universal Brotherhood.
kept, members being on their honour to take no more than they needed. For their toil the people received clothing and abundant food of a narrow variety. No money was used, no labour wasted; no one was idle until the age of sixty when he began to enjoy a well earned rest. Each village kept an account of each individual's work, this balance sheet was in turn sent to the headoffice at Veregin, Saskatchewan, where the surplus passed to the sole control of Peter Veregin for reduction of the debt as he saw fit.

Under this communal system land cultivation, production development, and accumulation of wealth was far more rapid than would be possible under any individualistic system. But the strength in turn depended upon the loyalty of the women, which was profound. Their influence in preserving tradition was very great. They had no need to learn English, since they did not leave the community, and the work at home depended upon them when their men were absent earning money. Thus they kept alive the old loyalties and beliefs.

Although he disclaimed leadership, Peter Veregin was the source of every decision, and the influential men acknowledged him "benevolent despot." He was born in Transcaucasia, 1840, and received a good education, enabling him to make the most of natural gifts of reasoning capacity, diplomatic skill and subtilety. For twenty-five years this "Theocratic czar" held three quarters of the Doukhobour
community under his authority more or less in the midst of freedom. A capacity for governing, strong religious instincts, and a personal magnetism made him at once irresistible and all powerful. Veregin was a tall man, broad, muscular, massive, yet remarkably gentle, with a natural courtesy and simple dignity. He walked with proud bearing, spoke in low tones, and the dark eyes in his fine head expressed thoughts of one who had suffered much but triumphed over all through courage and constancy. Shrewdly he modified his plans and habits to strengthen his hold upon the community. When first he came to Canada he emulated the Russian nobles, and drove in state from village to village with an entourage, which included a number of young women and a band of singers. His clothes were those of a wealthy gentleman and he had six or seven different equipages. However, he soon responded to the criticism of this display, ill-befitting one who was "Christ" to a community of pioneers in poverty. He discarded it all for an old straw hat and rough clothes with trousers bound at the bottom with binder-twine; and he never lived in the $75,000 house which he had built. Thus did he succeed in making the Doukhobour community one of the best paying and most progressive institutions in Western Canada.\(^{36}\) In 1917 the Christian Community of Universal Brotherhood Limited was incorporated by Canadian charter, Veregin and 36. Gregory: op. cit. pp. 73-80.
his associates being president and owners, and all other community members nominally shareholders. 37

These were the Halcyon days thus described, by Evalenko,

"System and co-ordination of effort permeate the whole existence of the Doukhobour communities:—no labour is wasted in single handed effort and none is undertaken unless the requisite number of hands can be put on the job to effect the maximum saving of time coupled with highest efficiency. No one is ever left idle, except upon reaching the age of sixty, when men settle down to enjoy their well earned rest. In summer time all work is suspended between the hours of 11 to 3 in the afternoon. All work stops at noon on Saturdays.

"Tilling of land is all done in one piece... Men are put to work on whatever task they are best suited for, and may be changed to another more congenial to them, if it greater efficiency... laziness is very seldom met with." 38

Like religious recluses in an institution they had no worry about the future. There was no striving and jealousy over riches. Weekly assemblies met for religious singing and for discussions. These men and women were described as follows:

"The Doukhobours are people of the purest Russian type large and strong, men and women both being of magnificent physique. They are characterized by broad, square shoulders and heavy limbs and a massive build generally. Their features are prominent but refined, and bear the marks of a life that is free from vice of any kind. The men wear moustaches but do not let a beard grow. Their hair is usually quite short, with the exception of a little tuft which they allow to grow, over the forehead, which is broad and open. The

37. (a) Dawson: op. cit. p. 85
(b) The capitalization was $1,000,000. There were fourteen directors who elected from their number, president, first and second vice presidents and a secretary. These fourteen the Supreme Council of the Company Limited, appoint Branch Managers, Cashiers, Accountants, Bookkeepers and Superintendents of the Doukhobour Department of Public Education and the Doukhobour Department of Public Health. Women are eligible to the supreme council elected by eighty village delegates.

38. Evalenko: op. cit. p. 75
most striking characteristic of all is the bright kindly sparkle of their eyes which gives a winning expression to the whole face and quickly wins confidence in their character. All their habits demonstrate that they are possessed of keen minds, which, however by reason of their persecutions and the nature of their occupation, they have not been able to develop in any way that gives a proper idea of their ability."

Even an outsider, Alymer Maude wrote thus about them, just a few years before their migration to British Columbia,

"With all their limitations and deficiencies, with their history for nearly a century before us, one may fairly say of the Doukhobour that (except in times of external persecution) without any government founded on force, they have managed their affairs better than their neighbours have done with no army or police they have suffered little from crimes of violence; and without priests or ministers, they have had more practical religion, and more intelligible guidance for their spiritual life. Without doctors, or medicine, or bacteriologists (and though ignorant even of the first principles of ventilation) they have been, on the average, healthier and stronger than most other races. Without political economists wealth among them has been better distributed, and they have (apart from the effects of persecution) suffered far less from extremes of wealth and poverty. Without lawyers or written laws, they have settled their disputes, without books, they have educated their children to be industrious, useful, peaceable, and God-fearing men and women, have instructed them in the tenets of their religion, and taught them to produce the food, clothing and shelter needed for themselves and for others.

"As a community they are today abstainers from alcohol, non-smokers, and, for the most part vegetarians."

Now a glance at the homes and habits of these people before we examine the impact of their settlement upon the

40. Maude: op. cit. pp. 21-22
life of West Kootenay and the modification of Doukhobour customs by contact with this life and with British Columbia institutions. The first Doukhobour community houses in British Columbia were built of wood forming an open quadrangle with an inner court. The newer ones were built as separate houses of brick in groups of two, facing south and half a mile apart. These houses were all built according to a uniform plan. Downstairs there was a large sitting room, furnished with one table and several benches. Behind this there might be two bedrooms for the headman and his family. At the back was the dining room and kitchen combined with a huge built-in Russian oven for warmth and cooking. All the residents used this common kitchen and dining room, where the women took turns cooking and baking bread. Each family group had separate sleeping quarters upstairs, where there were eight bedrooms nine by ten feet square, each with a window and curtain doorway. Here the furniture was one or two beds piled with linen, blankets and coverlets, a lamp, small table and chair. Some individual families were proud to own their bedroom furniture and feather comforters. Water was piped to the kitchen from the irrigation works, but there was no other running water, no water closets or shower baths. Around a courtyard thirty feet by forty extending in U shape behind the houses were built the storehouses (containing neat rows of bins for white, red, and black beans, millet, clover seed, wheat), the steam bath house for weekly baths, the work rooms, all in a single file under one roof. These served as a wind and snow break in winter.
and in the great yard, which they enclosed, fruit, grains and vegetables were spread upon tarpaulins to dry in the sun. Though the ventilation in these houses is generally poor they are kept scrupulously clean. Contact with Canadian towns and stores is gradually causing the young ones especially to abandon the Russian oven for the Canadian cook-stove and to replace home-made benches, tables, bedsteads and large clothing chests with factory furniture. Feather beds and spinning wheels are ubiquitous, while kitchen utensils are few and practical, kettles, iron pots, wooden spoons, and large bowls from which several eat at one time. Kindly courtesy and hospitality are characteristics of these simple homes, whose occupants refuse to accept payment from any travellers who should stop there. 41

Although the Doukhobours worked long hours, they rested when they felt the need. Abstinence from meat, tobacco and alcohol, and a simple diet of bread (baked in huge loaves, 10 inches by 16) milk, eggs, butter, vegetable and all sorts of fruit, these foods have kept them remarkably vigorous and healthy. Flour, sugar, oatmeal, rice and tea they had to purchase. Coffee they made from roasted barley or wheat: honey for sweetening: roasted pumpkin and sunflower seeds to them were a special treat. Community Doukhobours have altered this diet very little since coming to Canada. Some Independents, however, use meat and when they began the innovation, it was

41. (a) Dawson: op. cit. pp. 63-64
(b) Gregory: op. cit. pp. 34-35
(c) Snesarev states that originally each house had 14 rooms for 35 people and that by 1931 this number had been reduced to about 22.
Snesarev: op. cit. p. 44
poultry they tasted first. The only disease that has so far affected them to any extent is tuberculosis. Until 1911, visits of doctors from Nelson and Grand Forks were common, then they stopped abruptly because of the fees. Since they have their own midwives, bonesetters and dentists, medical aid was not sought except in extremities, which state of affairs is still true among community Doukhobours. At one time, outside pressure sufficiently moved Veregin to build a hospital which, with a well equipped dispensary, cost several thousands. Unfortunately the Russian "quack" in charge proved a failure and the venture was abandoned. Independents, however, use patent medicines commonly and tend more and more to call doctors in case of serious illness and accident, while they are frequent patients in Kootenay Lake General Hospital at Nelson. 42

Crime has been little known among them. Offenders are admonished first by one, then by two or three of their brethren and finally by the general assembly. Young people marry at an early age, the decision being made first, before consent of the parents is sought. When this has been endorsed by the next general meeting the ceremony is complete, informal but binding although the bond may be dissolved, as when a Doukhobour leaves the community and, his wife not wishing to follow, they both remarry. Children in the home are intelligent, respectful

42. (a) Gregory: op. cit. p. 36.
and obedient, being taught the cardinal virtues by their parents who dread sending them to secular schools lest this gentleness be undermined. Family ties are based upon affection, not obedience, since mutual love is by them the most highly respected virtue. No obedience is considered binding if it conflicts with their conscience. Children call their parents "old man" and "old woman", and the father calls the children "ours"; men call their wives "sisters".  

Costumes in these early homes were as austere as the simple furnishings, but even the community women have replaced sombre hues with bright colours and patterns while retaining, the original distinctive clothing, - blouses, long full skirts worn over numerous petticoats and topped with a much beribboned and lace trimmed apron. Where once they cropped their hair close now it is allowed to grow long, but bangs frequently show beneath the ever-present head shawl (platoke), handwoven and embroidered. Independent women now even wear broaches. The men have worn Canadian clothes ever since they wore out the ones in which they crossed the ocean. The women spin wool, knit socks, scarves, mittens and make rugs from discarded clothing, as well as doing beautiful embroidery on hand woven linen. These handicrafts they make little attempt to commercialize. Factory coats, leather shoes and boots are common, but women still go barefoot in summer.

43. Gregory: op. cit. pp. 40, 41, 47.
The final consideration in this brief sociological survey must be an examination of religious beliefs and practices, since they have given birth to the actions and the stubborn resistance of the Doukhobours, which have so continuously inflamed public opinion against their sect. They conceive of God as the Soul of the Universe, not as a separate personal being. The soul of man is a faithful image of God who is reproduced in man's spiritual capacities as the Father in his memory, as the Son in his reason, as the Spirit in his will. Both Testaments but prefigure the mysteries which are accomplished in every faithful man, hence we need study only the sayings of Christ as passed on by word of mouth. This revelation of God in man or "Book of Life" is the supreme authority in religious questions, and the source of all wisdom. Its hymns, meditations, precepts are always memorized and passed on to the child when from the age of six to fifteen his soul is gradually entering his body and his memory, reason, will are being shaped and developed. In the open air in summer, barefoot and bareheaded all gather to recite the prayers they know, sing psalms together, and explain to each other the word of God. There is no preaching. In winter these meetings take place every Sunday in the Community Assembly. On these occasions men, great men, women greet women by grasping right hands, bowing three times and kissing; the hand clasp for union, love and mutual understanding; the embrace for cleansing and repulsing pride. 44. Evalenko: op. cit. pp. 103-114.
Prayers are sincere and simple. There is no communion, and the dead are commemorated in good deeds, not otherwise.

Before Peter Veregin brought his colony to the Kootenay area, perfect unity had disintegrated into four groups showing varying degrees of "Canadianization," and abandonment of original customs. Kernels of all four were in the colony which came to British Columbia, and not geographical, isolation, nor their leaders' determined devices could keep them from feeling and responding and British Columbia institutions, especially schools. These four groups were the Christian Community of Universal Brotherhood (the community members), Independents, and other Independents (who were different to Peter's spiritual leadership and wanted 45. This prayer was recited at an ordinary meeting.

Evalenko: op. cit. pp. 113-114.

"To whom shall I go from Thee, my God? from they face to whom shall I run? If I were to ascend to heaven Thou are there: if I descend into hell, Thou are there: if I had wings to fly to the farthest seas, there would Thy arm reach me, and Thy right hand hold me. To whom shall I go, and where shall I find eternal life, if it be not in Thee, my Creator? To whom shall I go, and where, to find consolation, joy, a home, peace for my soul? To whom shall I go from Thee, my Lord God, for Thou hast in thee the words of life? Thou are the source of life, the giver of all blessings, my soul is thirsting after Thee, my heart is thirsting after Thee, the God of my life! Let us rejoice in Thy sacred name. O Lord Jesus, full of blessings, let my soul be pierced by it, so that nothing in all my life be dearer to me than Thy sacred Spirit. Let thy words be sweeter to me than honey, let Thy ways of salvation be dearer to me than gold."

Somehow it reminds one of Francis Thompson's "Hound of Heaven."
to have their own farms), and the Sons of Freedom (Svobadnik), free men and radical extremists in their interpretation of the tenets of faith. The crystallization of these groups began during the first World War.

Either officials of the Dominion government, when they welcomed the Doukhobour migration to the pioneer prairie frontier in 1899, had hoped that the process of assimilation would be rapid, or they simply failed to look into the future, and were ruled too completely by the expediency of the moment. In any case they counted without the stubborn resistance to social submission by this colony whose lives were directed by spiritual rather than economic considerations. As the importance and need for conformity with federal, provincial and district regulations grew with development in southern British Columbia it was inevitable the Doukhobours would become a problem. They objected violently and effectively to registration of births, deaths and marriages, as well as to schools, all for religious reasons. Why swear allegiance, since Christ forbade it, and since they were citizens of the world?

"And why was it we forsook our native land and took our abode with you in Canada? There were no reasons, but that we declined to swear allegiance to Nicholas Alexandrovitch. We had our grounds, for this refusal, and have still—Christ forbids us to swear."46

46. Evalenko: op. cit. p. 41
and again,

"In migrating here to British Columbia we assumed that the Government would not disturb us any more with their different regulations, since we declined swearing allegiance on the strength of the teaching of Christ, and bore the severe punishment therefore." 47

When the officials of British Columbia government gave them printed forms for the purpose of registering births, deaths and marriages, they refused because they refuse to assume allegiance.

"We cannot regard our residence in Canada as fixed for all ages." 48

Since marriage concerns no one but the two parties to the contract, why obtain a license and pay for it? Why notify the police of a death?

"because life emanating from our Father in Heaven cannot be held back by mere man." 49

After four men were arrested for not reporting two deaths, a deputation of the Community at Nelson and Grand Forks, sent this letter to the Chief Police Officer at Victoria, B.C.

"We believe that the favourable adorable power is ruling all the world, and endeavour to be written in eternal life book and propose ourselves obligation to live quietly and to employ honest labour on the earth so as to get substance. All the human race registration we calculate unnecessary ... ... The proof that we sincerely wish to be peaceful people is this, for four flowing years not one criminal question were about the Doukobours.

... We calculate the government, and especially police menages, no matter which country, only for the pacification of wicked people." 50

47. Ibid: p. 46
49. Quoted in Gregory, op. cit. p. 53.
50. Ibid: p. 55
In Russia the sect had opposed village schools, since these were dominated by state and religious precepts. Coming to Canada largely illiterate they continued to evade efforts at education, and successfully so for some time, because the Canadian government couldn't keep up with the need for schools in the early years of rapid settlement. Moreover, attendance did not become compulsory in Saskatchewan until 1916. The Independents who remained there to own their own farms, sent their children to school, and are as a result more bilingual. The zealous sectarians who came to British Columbia, however, have expressed their aversion to education upon numerous and spectacular occasions. Their three objections are fundamentally religious. Schooling requiring military drill and rifles practice would lead to enlistment for war, the epitome of anathema. School teaching is

"a matter of easy lucre from Emperor and down to all officials, lawyers, doctors, and all manner and species of commercial by-and-sell men, who have a great need of arithmetic and rapid reckoning in their insatiable greed for easy money and luxury."52

It may be true that some advanced men like Lyov Micholoyevitch Tolstoi are found among the educated, but communion with themselves, not college education has brought them spiritual regeneration. Finally the Doukhobours have migrated so much they do not feel permanent in any settlement.

"Being of Russian birth, we yet dwell in our own community and consider ourselves citizens of the entire earthly globe. There are no time to be educated anew in each new place."53

52. Evalenko: op. cit. p. 53.
In November 1912, at Brilliant over 4000 met to discuss the education question thoroughly.

"So we could better teach and educate our children ourselves in Jesus Christ's law and eternal righteousness.... And we not agree at all to teach our children by foreign teachers and have darken by their sciences children's our intellect. We are teaching our children by private methods, by not sense of dead letter, but by sense of live word."54

A school was opened at Brilliant, but it closed after one term, because the imprisonment of their people for disobedience to registration laws seemed to fulfill their worst apprehensions. Moreover they observed that Canadian education seemed to drain youth from the land to the cities. No further attempt was made to enforce the schools act until 1915. In January 1916 a school was opened again at Brilliant at which, in the first six months, average attendance was seventeen. Other schools opened at Glade, Krestova, and Pass Creek. These were administered, under the regulations of Section 129 of the School Law by a department appointed official trustee, who controlled general administration, engagement and dismissal of teachers, assisted by a committee of Doukhobours to provide fuel, clean, and light the fires. By June 1921, eleven teachers were engaged in purely Doukhobour work. By 1920 the Doukhobours had built nine schools but in 1922-23, against their wishes the provincial government

built two more at Brilliant and levied the cost upon the community property. Then began the protestations. By 1924 all but one school had been burned, their own as well as government buildings, and the nude parades became more frequent. The latter, which began as soon as the Brilliant settlement was established were the demonstrations of the most radical Sons of Freedom. After each outburst Peter would write a letter to a local newspaper condemning them.55 In 1917 when the Doukhobours were exempt from conscription Veregin tried to persuade the government to take the Independents.56 In 1924 when the school burnings were followed by the destruction of Veregin's own home at Brilliant he wrote to Premier Oliver blaming the Sons of Freedom who had become corrupted anarchists in the "too free life" in Canada, and requested their removal lest further burnings take place. On the other hand, the teachers felt that the people themselves favoured education but were prevented by their leader from sending their children to school.57

Canadian freedom was accomplishing what Russian tyranny had failed to do. It was breaking up the community. In his efforts to hold his flock to the communal ideal, to keep a footing in the Canada that he loved though he might dislike Canadians, to shut out inevitable Canadian influence, and to discipline the freedom of thought encouraged by that influence—in these conflicting tasks the policy of the master and "Christ" became vacillating. At 1 A.M. on the morning of

56. Dawson: op. cit. p. 79.
57. Gregory: op. cit. p. 66.
October 29, 1924, while he rode a Kettle Valley day coach westbound two miles from the town of Farron, Peter Veregin was blown up in the explosion of a bomb which wrecked the train and took the lives of five other people. Predominant belief put the blame upon the anarchist "Czar of Heaven" a leader of the radicals whom Peter had expelled from the community. Accusation was never fixed, however, any more than for the numerous cases of arson. The mourning, the burial, the remembrance rite are described in all their colour and beauty by Miss Gregory in her work. Peter Vasilyvitch had achieved the ideal conceived in exile by him, while reading talking and meditating. But before his death he was grieved to see his structure crumbling; instead of leading the whole sect, 27,000, in 1920 he led but 6,000. He had been obliged to begin the modifications which were to be continued by his successor, whom the Doukhobours were once more faced with the task of choosing.

Anastasia, Peter's niece and companion for many years, illiterate though she was, claimed succession and led a few hundred of the "Lordly Christian Community of Universal Brotherhood" to Arrowhead, Alberta. During the next three years while burnings continued, some young Doukhobours attempted to get control and work out a policy more cooperative.

Miss Phyllis Gregory is now Mrs. Frank Ross and resides in Vancouver, B.C. At the October, 1945 Convocation at University of British Columbia, she received an honorary L.L.D. During the Second World War, as Mrs. Phyllis Gregory Turner, she was Dominion Controller of Fats and Oils at Ottawa.
for life in Canada. However, at the remembrance rite, held six weeks after Peter's death, were read his letters naming his son, Peter Petrovitch, which succession was almost unanimously endorsed at that time. Three years went by before he could be located in Russia, and persuaded to come to take up his leadership. Upon a previous visit to the prairie settlement he had found pioneer austerity not to his liking, accustomed as he was to riotous living. This wastrel who did not lack his father's dynamic energy, attempted to unite all Doukhobours in Canada upon a religious basis without reference to communism or independence. He did not succeed but he became an adored leader to those who remained loyal. The Sons of Freedom took him literally and persisted in their anarchist extremes. The Independents were by this time too Canadianized to submit. However, criticism of his failures served only to unite his followers more strongly.

Peter Veregin II altered the system of his father in many ways. He sought to give the people a tangible incentive to work the lands more diligently. He reduced the size of the economic unit, introduced the system of buying and selling in all aspects of the relations between the central office and the individual Doukhobours. This buying and selling was done with money. The mandatory aspect of communism was removed, and the overburden of work done by the central office was now delegated to the smaller communes. Irregularities and dishonesty 59. Gregory: op. cit. p. 96.
were not eliminated but such conflicts were more easily supervised in the smaller arenas. Supervisory tours which had been the custom of Peter I ceased, and petty officials failed to get the same respect. The impact of Canadian non-communistic farming and business practices were plainly visible.

"Prosperity, age and sex proportions, inclinations of the people, and even favours from the CCUB office in the forms of jobs, determine the extent to which living in the"families" is communistic." 60

The central office of the Christian Community of Universal Brotherhood collects the assessments from the families (money to reduce interest and debt incurred in migration 1908-1912), collects rents from surplus farm and town properties (either Doukhobour or non-Doukhobour occupied) pays debt charges, taxes, costs of capital improvements, operates retail stores, like those at Brilliant and Glade. Modern machine methods are taking the place of the old world peasant farming. More and more the community is becoming integrated with world economy. Saskatchewan flour and Brilliant jam and fruit are sent to the world markets, while Brilliant buys sugar, salt, rice, men's clothing cottons, woollens, tools and machinery from world markets. The most important centre by far is the one in British Columbia, since it is the home of the fruit and jam industry, and of the manufacture and sale of lumber and poles, the greatest enterprise in turnover.

60. Dawson: op. cit. p. 46.
and number of employees. Wages for such labour are paid on paper and set off against the obligations of the family. Whereas all Independents meet their own outlays, community families pay this obligation (for use of land, buildings, machinery, horses, owned by the CCUB Limited) in the form of an annual levy. In the West Kootenay this is based upon the number and age of adult males, while in Saskatchewan it is based upon the acreage of cultivated land. For example in 1932, from one "family" containing twenty-three males, four between the ages of 16 and 19 were assessed $200 each, twelve from 20 to 44, were assessed $350 each, seven from 45 to 55 were assessed $250 each, totalling, altogether, a levy of $6,750. In the same year the average income and expenditure per person based upon four families containing 321 persons was as follows: Income, $84, including crop sales $9, farm produce $11, custom work and other receipts $64, (much the largest item). Cash expenditure $290, including investment and farm expenses $237, and cash living $53. The latter sum was spent thus, food $34, clothing $12, household operation $2, health $5, automobile less than $1, advancement goods $1. To this cash living expenditure was added the farm contributions valuing $55, which included rent $11 (ten per cent of the value of the house), livestock 0, other farm produce $44. Thus the total yearly average living expenditure was $108, a remarkable contrast still, to the British Columbia standard of life
in 1932.  

At the time of the 1931 census, Doukhobour wealth in British Columbia showed a remarkable accumulation during the twenty-three years since their advent. Of 22,056 acres of land, valued at $154 per acre 12,427 or 56.3 per cent was under cultivation. Livestock facilities at $441,000. Thus the aggregate of their wealth in the Kootenay area was estimated to be $4,559,675, against which they owned obligations of $459,600 to the Manitoba Department of Lands, to a Canadian Bank, and to insurance companies, for debts incurred during the migration. 62 Huge loans and gifts from well to do Independents as well as the family levies were made to the CCUB. Limited, to reduce this debt. The whole fund was controlled by Peter B. Chistiakoff (the cleaner). This tremendous financial power Peter was ill suited to administer wisely. The habits of an extravagant youth, a violent temper, a ridiculous vanity that could not adjust itself to criticism, a lack of moral integrity, led him to extreme of drunkenness, gambling and immorality when his plans for administration went awry. His financial rehabilitation scheme became such a burden that many families couldn't meet their assessments. When they withdrew or were expelled they joined the radical Sons of Freedom. These extremists, who claim freedom from all restraints of civilization, have settled around South Slocan and the nearby town of Thrums, where their nude demonstrations have

62. Ibid: pp. 52-54
been frequent. Without persecution they might have died out of existence, but they thrive on every act of oppression. At first Peter II flattered them, and by commending their zeal tried to bring them into the new Doukhobourism he hoped to build up. But when he found them too extreme, he became bitter and they grew still more in number.

For education he had high ambitions, also. He brought to Canada Birukoff, a cultured Tolstoyan to edit a journal and hold classes. After a year's fruitless effort he returned to Russia in disgust, as did also an agriculturist who was to have given advice in farming. However, after Peter's arrival in 1927, school attendance did improve. Under old Peter, in the first year 1916-17 B.C. Doukhobour enrolment was 76, average daily attendance 41; in 1920-21, the best enrolment 414, average daily 209; and in 1923-24 this had dropped to enrolment 188 with average 115 during the wave of opposition to government schools. Under Peter II, enrolment in 1927-28 was 657; the following year 861 and in 1931-32, 816. The preponderance of these was in the lower grades, 95 per cent being in grades 1 to 5 and only 7 pupils out of the total being in high school. Only for the first time at school do the children learn English, at examination time in the spring they must be absent to help with home gardening, and they are withdrawn at 16 or younger. In twenty-five years the Independents
in British Columbia produced but two teachers, other Doukhobours none. Still the fear persists that the public schools will alienate the children. Even though the younger ones would like to go to night school, the old ones arrange meetings for that time to prevent them.63

None the less, Canadian recreation and newspapers as well as economic contacts are influencing the younger Doukhobours. Since none of their literature except new songs is written, their desire to read is satisfied by American, Canadian and Russian newspapers which circulate among them. Most popular and cheapest is the Free Press Prairie Farmer (Winnipeg). These with a Chicago daily, Rassviet, and the New York Russian Voice and Novoye Russkoye Slovo are taken by the CCUB office which reads and interprets the news at meetings. In both 1921 and 1931 census data were secured from all but the Sons of Freedom, CCUB officials acting as enumerators the second time. In 1930 the first generation of Canadian born Doukhobours voted in the federal election.64

Communism under Peter II was becoming merely a matter of personal choice. In 1928 at a meeting near Kamsock, Saskatchewan was formed the "Society of Named Doukhobours" to include all but the Sons of Freedom, with a programme of non-violence, marriage based on love, orderly registration of members, internal adjustment of disputes except criminal offenses, for which members were to be expelled, endorsation

64. Ibid: pp. 74-75.
of public school education but not of the teaching of imperialism and hatred. In 1932 the "Named Doukhobours" were again divided into Community and Farmer sections, which meet separately.\(^5\) Burnings and violence continued; the sawmill and two schools burned and the Glade school was dynamited in 1930; elevators, flour mills, lumber yards, schools were burned on the prairie from 1926-32. No company would put fire insurance upon any building in a Doukhobour neighbourhood, and every Doukhobour school in British Columbia was guarded at night.

The attitude of Kootenay Canadians to this hard kernel of violence and obstinacy in their midst has been one of resentment, tempered by a certain amount of economic exploitation. Any large scale action which this resentment has taken so far has been expensive and ineffectual. It is to be hoped that lack of strong leadership, may to some degree hasten the Canadianization that has been but a slow process so far. When first the Doukhobours came to the West Kootenay, Nelson and Trail merchants disliked them because they gave no trade, but it was soon realized that their wholesale trade was enormous. Moreover, they purchased much surplus fruit for jam making and provided cheap labour to pick and pack for others. While the credit of the community was good that of individuals was not, nor did they seem to practice the Christian virtue of honesty.

Store keepers have to guard against their thievery, train conductors and bus drivers have to be vigilant in extracting their fares, and charwomen, although very clean, are light fingered. Perhaps these responses in the outside world are a reaction to be expected from people so restricted in community life.

In 1912 a Royal Commission was appointed to report upon the problem of the Doukhobours in British Columbia. This report published in Victoria in 1912, summarized objections to them. Because of their land holdings they were likely to "swamp" the community. It was highly objectionable than any group should be permitted to subordinate Canadian laws to their religious beliefs. Since they refused to register births, deaths and marriages they must be immoral. Since their commercial life was so different from our own, their examples as citizens was most undesirable. The report recommended that pressure be brought to bear upon the leaders to secure adequate enforcement of the Public Schools Act, and attention be given to the selection of some Russian teachers for maintenance of elementary instruction only.

The report placed its hopes on education. As we have seen the conflict subsided during the First Great War, to flare up more angrily after it. Then dissensions within as well.

as influences from without culminated in the violent death of the first spiritual leader. Three leaderless years brought continued violence which grew with increased dissension under Peter II. By 1931, the burnings and parades of this colony had become such a danger and an outrage to the people of West Kootenay that in July of that year, federal legislation amended the criminal code to provide a maximum penalty of three years for those convicted of nude demonstrations. Finally in 1932 after weekly Sunday nude parades, 600 adults in British Columbia were put in separate prison camps upon Piers Island in the Gulf of Georgia, while their 306 children were kept in provincial institutions. Although this measure was highly expensive to the government it kept the offenders segregated so that they returned at the end of three years with purpose unaltered, and determination fortified to cause such embarrassment that the government would finally in desperation, either grant them land somewhere free of all civil obligations or assist them to migrate to another country.

Toward the end of 1932, Dr. J.T.M. Anderson Conservative premier of Saskatchewan, and R.B. Bennett, Conservative prime minister of Canada, decided that Veregin was the cause of all Doukhobour trouble and should be

68. Wright, J.F.C. op. cit. p. 337.
deported. In January 1933 without notifying his counsel, Peter Makaroff, (an educated Doukhobour who had been made a K.C.) two plain clothes men from Ottawa whisked Veregin from prison, where he was serving a term of perjury, the outcome of one of his numerous lawsuits. However, at Halifax his departure for Russia was stayed and a Nova Scotia judge freed him, as being illegally held out of prison when he should have been in. The outcome was a pardon, and Canadian public opinion rose against any further suggestion to deport him from Vancouver.

The Piers Island experiment was costly for British Columbia. In 1933 the finance minister was faced with an estimated $86,000 to maintain the children though the fiscal year. This figure he pared down to $40,000, but that summer began the release of Sons of Freedom from Piers Island, and continued until the last were freed toward the end of March 1935. Each returned to the settlement with a new outfit of clothes, a railway ticket, and $10. John Sherbinin, representing the Doukhobours; F.F. Payne, editor of Nelson Daily News, the public; and David Brankin Superintendent of the Provincial Boys Industrial School, the government; formed a committee of three for rehabilitation. The returning Sons of Freedom were not welcomed in the Doukhobour Community, and Peter wanted to settle them on the sandy soil at Champion Creek. 69 These fanatics who

69. Wright: op. cit. pp. 352-357.
refuse to exploit animals, who plough by man-power, and feed their children canned milk, were in 1931 living in three settlements; 250 at Plodorodnoe, near Glade, 150 at God's Valley near Grand Forks, 125 around Thrums, and another 50 at Crestovoe were potential members, not yet wishing to be called Sons of Freedom. These were all very poor. The ones near Glade spent much time in jail and would then go among the community Doukhobours begging food. Most fanatical were the God's Valley sons, where the extremists in one community house, men, women and children slept together in shelves in an upper room. Those at Thrums had been forcibly driven from community villages in 1931. They were loaded on carts taken to Thrums and dumped, there to live in tents upon the Canadian Pacific tract, and be taken care of by Independent farmers nearby, many of whom were relatives. Paragraph nine of the minutes of the meeting of CCUB Limited directors, held February 25, 1931, defines the standing of those who leave or are expelled. Any such member has no legal claim to any property but may petition the Board of Directors, which may, upon its own discretion allot a certain share from the community's property, or reject the petition.

These expulsions by Doukhobours who either wished to conform to Canadian ways, or to make the best of community life without provoking interference, incited the victims to further violence, burning, bombing more nude demonstrations.

These in turn influenced the government to discriminate against the whole Doukhobour community. Under the bludgeonings of dissections from within and censure from without Peter Veregin's excesses became more and more violent until the sound economic foundation built up under his father's leadership in the first two decades of the colony's history in British Columbia was undermined by debt; fruit lands became neglected, and sawmills and factories fell idle, and mortgage companies began to foreclose on property.

The economic depression of 1929-1935 struck the Doukhobours hard, yet Peter continued to waste money speculating on the wheat market and gambling at cards. In 1932 he was sent to Saskatchewan penitentiary for perjury, in 1934, he was jailed in Winnipeg for assault, in 1937, he was jailed in Nelson for obstructing traffic on the highway. His excesses that provoked such action, his fighting, poker, meat eating, vodka drinking, he explained in two ways. He behaved thus to fool the Canadian government, otherwise they would persecute him as Christ had been persecuted. This behaviour ensured his descent to Hell after death so that he could release the Doukhobours there. Such tales were believed by the old, but they confused the young. Some Doukhobours in Saskatchewan began to vote, and Makaroff stood for election as C.C.F. candidate in June 1934. If the Doukhobours would not appreciate the privileges of
citizenship, they would have them taken away. In October 1931, a provincial act barred the Doukhobours from voting in British Columbia provincial elections. In July 1934 legislation was passed by Bennett Conservative Government to prevent them from voting in Federal elections in British Columbia. W. Esling Conservative member for West Kootenay supported this heartily. Mackenzie King, leader of the opposition, and J.S. Woodworth, C.C.F. leader opposed it, as being an unprogressive perpetuation of racial distinction. On the 29th of the same month Doukhobour conferences in Veregin declared this disenfranchisement left them unperturbed, and reelected Veregin their leader. Three years later, however, Peter Makaroff declared that Veregin's excesses debarred him from membership in the Society of Named Doukhobours, who wished to be law abiding.

In the meantime the collapse of the community economy, was being completed. Observations made in 1931 forecast this deterioration as inevitable, unless strong action were taken by a strong leader. Peter's policies were too vacillating, the disagreements with which he had to cope too great. He could not even provide spiritual leadership. Already in 1931 62.6% of the total income of community farms was obtained by sending nearly all the able bodied men to work for the General Management of the CCUB. Here, since 1929, after

work on railway contracts and government roads had come to an end, they worked felling trees, making poles, in saw mills and flour mills, in the jam factory and packing houses, built new houses and cleared land. The average wages were from 25 to 35 cents an hour for men, 10 and 15 cents an hour for jam factory girls, and 2 cents a box to girls for packing apples. CCUB prosperity had ceased to be real, finances depleted. As it became more difficult to earn money outside the community, they became more dependent upon jam factories and these upon the fruit. But the farms were too neglected to keep up their responsibility. The soil was becoming impoverished and nothing done to replenish its fertility; water supplies were inadequate, because irrigation facilities were in disrepair, much fruit was unmarketable, since no proper pruning or spraying methods were used and insect pests and fungus were destroying the orchards. Snesarev, to whom we are indebted for this intelligent and careful study, at that time, classified prosperity thus in the three divisions. Taking for standard a human unit, that is, counting the labour efficiency of an adult man as one, of an old man as one half, of a child one third, he estimated the average capital per human unit to be $159.92 for Sons of Freedom, $691.80 for Community Doukhobours, $908.80 for Independent farmers. The superiority of the lastter was due to their
having better and more land, better water supply, better location and better implements. These farmers had left the community because they were above average ability and initiative.\textsuperscript{75}

These departures placed more burden upon the less efficient. In May 1937, upon Veregin's orders, members were being ejected for non-payment of dues. They went to join the Sons of Freedom. Upon April 4th, of the same year eleven buildings were burned in the Brilliant district. Three hundred Doukhobours at Castlegar asked police protection, but would not cooperate by bringing any of the guilty to justice through fear that their own homes might be burned and through traditional fear of the police. June 29th, Peter's Day, and the anniversary of the burning of arms in the Caucasus, 300 marched toward Nelson to protest their leader's cruel imprisonment and had to be dispersed with tear gas. In that year the Sun Life Assurance Company, and the National Trust Company took legal proceedings to foreclose upon the property of the CCUB Limited in British Columbia. As the inventories were being taken more Doukhobours left to join the fanatics in the Valley of the Slocan, one of the largest villages being Kestova (Crestovoe) where twenty-seven years before old Peter had established an advance party to cut timber.\textsuperscript{76} The soil here is very unproductive and the villages most gloomy and poor, their inhabitants having no truck with

\textsuperscript{75} Snesarev: op. cit. pp. 131-136.
\textsuperscript{76} Wright: op. cit. pp. 392-393: 400: 412-417.
the inventions of civilization beyond riding the bus to and from the Nelson jail.

Up to October 1937, depredations by these fanatics in British Columbia had mounted to 75 school houses destroyed by fire, 25 school houses damaged by fire or explosives, and 150 houses, halls, barns, bridges, churches and other buildings had been fired. Out of these 250 instances of incendiarism, less than twelve convictions had been made and all but three of these on circumstantial evidence. As had been indicated before, the segregation of the Doukhobours and their total lack of cooperation makes the task of the British Columbia police very difficult. Often the results of their patient experience is quickly undone by the stupid actions of the government officials. Such an unfortunate missionary was sent in 1937 to investigate the Doukhobour situation thoroughly. He thought they should be sent to the Peace River. Finally, as it became obvious that he was doing more harm than good he was recalled, soon to reappear as special collection agent for the Sun Life Company. 77

Throughout that winter Peter continued to gamble and lose. Crops were poor, grain prices low but the CCUB Limited managed to pay $10,000 to delay the final foreclosure order of the Sun Life and Great West Life companies. Dissension continued to grow until by 1939, 77. Wright: op. cit. pp. 420-422.
as J.F.C. Wright states in his book, the only three things upon which the Doukhobours were in accord were borsch soup, steam baths, and pickled cucumbers. In Saskatoon Hospital, upon February 11, 1939, death put an end to Peter's violent tempers and peregrinations among his unpredictable people. With much ceremony his body was buried in the tomb with that of his father at Brilliant.

For the second time since their arrival in British Columbia, the Doukhobours were faced with the problem of succession in leadership. Peter's aged mother, Dunia, and his widow Anutha, living near Grand Forks, put forth Johnny Veregin, his grandson, but his personality was far from captivating. Most of the still faithful followers thought the mantle should fall upon Peter's son. But where was he? Was he emulating his father in a Bolshevik jail in Rostov on Don? At the graveside ceremony six weeks after death, Peter's constant companion, John Maloff, revealed his last advice. His son should not be sent for. In good time, he would come. Meantime they should pay taxes, become independent family owners, and send their children to school. The inevitable arguments ensued, and, in their true fashion the Sons of Freedom, interpreting instructions by opposites continued their burnings and nude parades. The Sun Life and National Trust took legal action against the CCUB Limited intending to let the land again to those.

78 Wright: op. cit. p. 426.
who would farm independently. However, early in the summer of 1939, orders for eviction were postponed, because the government feared embarrassing trouble during the royal visit. The British Columbia government, now owner of the mortgaged lands, worked out a scheme to help ex-community Doukhobours become independent farmers, thus placing the burden of these troublesome people upon the taxpayers of the province. From the time of their exodus to Canada their numbers had increased approximately 2000 every decade. By 1940 the original 7500 had become 17,000. In due course various wills of Veregin's came to light, but these were filled with confusion. Perhaps Loukerya's old prophecy would be fulfilled. "After I am dead there will be only two leaders, and then you will forever decide for yourselves what to do."79

The coming of the second World War brought them together again in antipathy to it. Although during the Spanish Civil War, three of the 1200 Canadian volunteers were of Doukhobour parentage, and several young men did give themselves to one of the three services from 1939 to 1945, they were the exception. To the unbounded rage of Koo enay communities, hundreds of able-bodied young Doukhobours remained at home working for high wages in wartime mining developments in the Salmon River valley and on the dam construction at Brilliant. Even the Canadianized Peter G. Makaroff, K.C. resigned from the vice-presidency of the

the Saskatchewan C.C.F., when that political party gave its support to the Canadian war effort.

The last two years have been increased Doukhobour violence in the West Kootenay area. A bomb shattered the Veregin shrine beyond recognition, nude demonstrations at various centres there and even in Vancouver's Stanley Park, have sent many to provincial jails and even to Kingston penitentiary, numerous Kootenay buildings have been burned. Local authorities provincial and federal governments seem as far away as ever from solving this unhappy riddle of absorption. One of the guilty conspirators who participated in the plot uncovered in 1946, to supply secret information to Soviet Russia was a Doukhobour woman, Mrs. Emma Woikin, born near Brilliant, and living in Blaine Lake, Saskatchewan, Doukhobour district whence she went to Ottawa in 1943. Whether her sympathies are shared by many of her compatriots, and whether the desire to return to Russia expressed by speakers at a Brilliant convention in January 1946, will ever result in the actual return of any appreciable number to the country of their origin remains as yet an unopened chapter in the history of the West Kootenay. It seems very unlikely that

82. Ibid: May 15, 1946.
83. Vancouver Daily Province: March 5, 1946.
84. Ibid: January 16, 1946, John D. Tarasoff of Crescent Valley in a letter to Nelson paper said "Several speakers expressed it (a desire to return to Russia). Many other delegates agreed and enthusiastically supported them. A resolution has been drawn to that effect."
Soviet Russia now would welcome these wanderers with the same warmth that Canada facilitated their settlement in the first years of this century. On the other hand, one can easily imagine the speed with which the efficient Communist dictatorship would liquidate the Sons of Freedom upon their first demonstration of non-conformity.
THE JAPANESE RELOCATION SETTLEMENTS

It is interesting to contrast the tempestuous progress of the absorption of the Doukhobour minority, with the unfortunate and confusing treatment accorded another of Canada's racial groups, the Japanese Canadians who during the years of World War II have had a temporary sojourn in the ghost towns of West Kootenay mining valleys. British Columbia's Doukhobours, as far as Canada is concerned are her permanent residents, whose adjustment she has taken infinite pains and expense to facilitate. The return for thirty years of privilege and encouragement has been non-cooperation, violence, arson, stubborn resistance to the assumption of citizenship's duties. As we have seen, this is not true of all Doukhobours, but it is true in sufficient measure to be causing anxiety, expense, trouble that is likely to continue for many years before the problem is solved. On the other hand, the Japanese Canadians during approximately seventy-five years of residence in British Columbia, have made a remarkable adjustment to the economic and social life of our province, and this in the face of vigorous antipathy which denied them full citizenship rights. The exigencies of war uprooted them rudely, and accorded them such inexplicable treatment under the stress of wartime emotions as to make any intelligent Canadian pause to wonder what citizenship means. While Japanese residence in the West Kootenay will probably not be permanent, this was the only area in Canada, willing and able to take a majority of these uprooted people. The story of this area would not be complete without an examination of Japanese relocation centres which brought a temporary revival of prosperity to old mining towns, long peopled only by ghosts.
The story of Canada's Japanese has been a colourful continual adjustment of human lives, first as settlers, then as families, then as communities. The first Orientals on the Pacific slope were Chinese who came to the Fraser River sand-bars in 1858.¹ The first Japanese are thought to have come in 1877, attracted by the opportunity to continue fishing, their traditional occupation, near Japan. By 1884 other settlers in British Columbia resented the Orientals, and after 1884 were agitating for action for two good reasons. Since the economy in this frontier area was far from stable, being dependent upon lumbering, mining and fishing rather than agriculture, the white settlers in the province feared that they could not compete with the Orientals, who were willing to accept a low standard of living. Second, at first the Japanese birthrate was higher than that of settlers of European origin: the white settlers wanted the province to be predominantly British, yet Japanese labour was a necessity before this far distant frontier began to attract British immigrants in large numbers. The fears of the province were not only domestic. From the time of the first Sino-Japanese War in 1894, encouraged by the 1902 treaty of alliance with Great Britain, and profiting by industrial expansion and occupation of former German Asiatic possessions during World War I, the expansion of the Japanese Empire was rapid and steady. By 1907 British Columbia was alarmed at her military might, and her fears increased with every Japanese conquest. The province appealed to the Dominion for exclusion of further Japanese immigrants. Though the Dominion government controls immigration, it

¹ Actually some Chinese came to the Pacific slope with John Meares in 1788, but they did not stay, Dr. W.N. Sage, Head of Department of History, University of British Columbia.

Meares. John. Voyages to the North West Coast of America in the years 1788, 1789, etc. London, Lithographic Press, p.2
could not grant this request because it had to abide by treaty agreements which had been made between London and Tokyo. Even though Chinese immigration ceased by 1924, the Japanese could not be treated the same way. In 1928 arrangements were made for a quota of 150 per year to be admitted to the Dominion. This did not satisfy. Moreover, with the quota, or even with an exclusion measure, it looked as though the Japanese group already in the province was there to stay, since there was a fairly equal proportion of the sexes, unlike the Chinese group, where women were scarce and hence the population trend was downward toward extinction. Actually statistics show that the birthrate is declining, since families of Canadian born Japanese are smaller than those of parents born in Japan.

Emotions stirred by Japanese imperialism were more potent to fire activity than the logic of statistics or measures of exclusion, British Columbia continued to fear the Japanese. They were a "peaceful penetration" by Tokyo, especially since some entered illegally; they were suspected of being loyal to Tokyo even though born and educated in Canada. The occupations in which the Japanese could earn a living were restricted. Since it was assumed that they could not become Canadians, they were denied full citizenship rights. They could not vote, serve in the armed forces, give jury service. Though the linking of East and West by steel made the pattern of western life more uniform and more stabilized, and though World War I with its boom and depression

Average size of Japanese family from Canadian born Japanese women 2.75.
brought the various racial groups closer together, because these were problems common to all, this underlying fear of the Japanese is the background for what followed Tokyo's attack on Pearl Harbour, December 7, 1941.2

At the outbreak of hostilities there were in British Columbia about 16,000 Japanese who had immigrated within the last 50 years, representing usually the poorer classes in their own country, and 7000 Canadian-born Japanese. Most of these were on the coast or in the Fraser Valley where they were employed as follows: fishing, canning, and boat building in southern British-Columbia and Vancouver Island, logging and mill work, small fruit and vegetable farming in the Fraser Valley, miscellaneous small businesses in Vancouver and Victoria, restaurants, dry-cleaning, tailoring, grocery and fruit stores, gardening, domestic service. From 1921 to 1941 the number in fishing declined as the number in agriculture and manufacturing increased.3 Approximately half were in large cities and towns.

"They proved quick to familiarize themselves with the laws and customs of this country, and their apparent slowness to become assimilated into community life has been, quite probably, due to the existing colour prejudice and the Provincial denial of the right to vote. It has been inevitable that the denial of the franchise, and also the restrictions against their entry into certain professions, have of necessity driven them to concentrate their initiative and energy in those channels of business available to them, and to which they were especially suited."4

3. A detailed account of the figures for population and occupation is an interesting comment upon the wild statements made in the press by racial prejudice mongers during the war.
   (Continued on succeeding page)

4. note on p. 323.
The Royal Canadian Mounted Police registration for March 1941 showed:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Children</th>
<th>Adults</th>
<th>Balance in Canada</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Canadian born</td>
<td>6,328</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Naturalized Canadian</td>
<td>7,433</td>
<td>543</td>
<td>48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Japanese Nationals</td>
<td>10,700</td>
<td>896</td>
<td>128</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>United States Citizens</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>24,525</td>
<td>1,483</td>
<td>205</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>22,337</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Children under 16 are here listed as being of the nationality of their parents.

The Dominion census of June 1941 showed:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Children</th>
<th>Adults</th>
<th>Balance in Canada</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Canadian born</td>
<td>14,119</td>
<td>39%</td>
<td>50%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Naturalized Canadians</td>
<td>3,159</td>
<td>23%</td>
<td>24%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Japanese Nationals</td>
<td>5,924</td>
<td>31%</td>
<td>25%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>United States Citizens</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>7%</td>
<td>1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>23,724</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

43.4% were female, 56.6% were male, with age groups thus distributed:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age Group</th>
<th>Male</th>
<th>Female</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Children (to 19)</td>
<td>39%</td>
<td>50%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Youths (20-34)</td>
<td>23%</td>
<td>24%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Middle aged 35-59</td>
<td>31%</td>
<td>25%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Over 60 (and over)</td>
<td>7%</td>
<td>1%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The percentage gainfully employed, 14 years and over as compared to the total employed, in the industry:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Industry</th>
<th>In the Industry</th>
<th>In Various Industries</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Fishing</td>
<td>15%</td>
<td>16.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lumbering</td>
<td>5.1%</td>
<td>8.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Labourers</td>
<td>5.1%</td>
<td>14.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agriculture</td>
<td>3.9%</td>
<td>18.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manufacturing</td>
<td>2.5%</td>
<td>13.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trade</td>
<td>2.4%</td>
<td>8.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Service</td>
<td>1.8%</td>
<td>12.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transport and Communication</td>
<td>.9%</td>
<td>2.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clerical</td>
<td>.7%</td>
<td>2.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miscellaneous</td>
<td></td>
<td>2.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>In all industries</strong></td>
<td>2.8%</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The distribution figure 1931:

|                      | 3.9% |

These tables taken from Report of the Department of Labour on the Administration of Japanese Affairs in Canada 1942-44.

Hon. Humphrey Mitchell, Minister of Labour, Arthur J. MacNamara, Deputy Minister of Labour, and director of National Selective Services August 1944, pp 2 and 3.

4. Removal of Japanese from Protected Areas; Report Issued by B.C. Security Commission, Vancouver, B.C.

March 4, 1942 to October 31, 1942, p. 1.
Through industry and self-sacrifice these Japanese families had built their homes and their businesses. Seldom did they become public charges, and although full Canadian citizenship might be denied them they hoped for it for their children. According to the census of 1941, the average family contained four persons, and the birthrate was at or below the occidental level.\(^5\) Often the children were taken or sent back to Japan for from one to five years of education. There were 1500 such in Japan at the outbreak of war. These "Kibei" as they are called were difficult to assimilate. The Canadian born "Nisei", however, spoke only enough Japanese to converse with their parents and it is these unfortunates who must now, in 1946, attend the Japanese language school in West Vancouver before going to Japan. By the 1941 census only 12.5 spoke neither English nor French. On the whole their desire for education is keen, and as is the case with other racial minorities, some leaders have done exceptionally well in industry, commerce and scholarship.\(^6\)

In August 1941 all Japanese on the coast had been registered, and the committee appointed to handle the problem locally, had recommended that no Canadian-born Orientals be drafted for military

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\(^5\) Report of Department of Labour, August 1944, p. 3.

\(^6\) Ibid: p. 4.
service. No plans, however, were made for evacuation from the coast. Immediately after Pearl Harbour, they were all classed as alien, no matter whether they did retain their loyalty to Japan, were indifferent and interested merely in their physical well-being, were Canadian born and town between family ties and appreciation of their Canadian home, or were the extreme Canadian born quite uninfluenced by family ties and wanting only their Canadian heritage. All were to be treated alike, because they all retained oriental physical characteristics. Not for several weeks was Canadian public opinion really roused against them. Japanese language schools and newspapers were closed, and those known to be subversive were interned by the Royal Canadian Mounted Police. Fifteen hundred were put in road camps in interior British Columbia, operated by the Department of Mines and Resources. Japanese fishing boats were impounded by an Order in Council, January 13, 1942. By a government notice from the Minister of Justice, February 26, 1942, they were required to surrender automobiles, weapons, cameras, radios, which were placed in the safe keeping of the Custodian of Alien Property. This office created on March 4, 1942 had from that time complete responsibility for Japanese real estate, personal effects, businesses, farms.

Meantime Japan's naval and military successes were mounting at an alarming rate in the Pacific. Canadian prisoners of war were in Japanese hands. British Columbia had always assumed that in event of war with Japan, all Japanese would be evacuated from the province.

8. Ibid: p. 3.
Public opinion flamed. Ottawa decided to move Japanese males from 18 to 45 who were citizens of Japan, out of the Coastal Defence Zone; it was decided to sell the impounded fishing fleet to other operators. These measures were half-hearted and inadequate. The Japanese were unprovided for, suffering from unemployment and loss of business. British Columbia was not being properly protected.  

Finally, February 26, 1942, came the Ottawa order for complete evacuation on the basis not of loyalty or citizenship, but of race, an entirely new development in relations between Occidentals and Orientals in Canada. On March 4th 1942, Privy Council Orders 1665 and 1666 created the British Columbia Security Commission to carry out this evacuation with speed, economy, and a minimum discomfort. Authority of this commission was vested in a chairman and two assistant commissioners, aided by an advisory board of twenty British Columbia persons in various walks of life. The chairman was Austin C. Taylor, a prominent Vancouver industrialist, the assistants F.J. Mead, of the Royal Canadian Mounted Police and John Shirras of the British Columbia Police, both high ranking veteran police officers with a wide knowledge of Japanese conditions. Their task, to take more than 23,000 people from their homes and means of livelihood, acquired by painstaking industry to strange and perhaps hostile surroundings was a tremendous one, requiring vision and administrative experience. By October 1942, all except two hundred who were in the T.B. hospital in Vancouver, had been evacuated. About

9. La Violette, F.E. op. cit. p. 7
11. Ibid. p. 4.
half of the total 23,000 went to temporary housing centres in British Columbia. For the fiscal year April 1, 1942 to March 31, 1943, expenditures of the commission were $4,062,232.31, from April 1943 to March 31, 1944, the total cost was $2,598,567.44, and the Department of Labour appropriation for the year 1944-1945 for this purpose was $2,750,000.\textsuperscript{12}

Hastings Park in Vancouver was made a clearing centre to which the Royal Canadian Mounted Police effected a smooth evacuation of Japanese from their homes. But to procure permanent relocation was a problem. No community was willing to recognize the emergency as a national responsibility, and every district in the province and in Canada sent vigorous protests to the Commission at the mere suggestion of a Japanese relocation in their area. Through the clearing centre passed four main groups in succession. Fishermen from outlying districts, who for years had not seen many compatriots, resented the clearing station. From Steveston, the focal point of their fishing industry, and the only place in Canada where a corner of Japan was to be found, these new Canadians, clinging tenaciously to the language and customs of the old world, bade "Sayonara" (good-bye) to this ghost town, as they set out for other ghost towns in the Kootenays, which had been abandoned in gold rush days. Japanese farmers from the Fraser Valley left their berry farms to sink in abandoned ruin, as they went to expend their meticulous care upon the beet farms in Alberta and Manitoba. From Vancouver and Victoria little business people had a last mad flurry of department store buying before setting out for the mountainous interior. Those women who had married whites, were, with their children allowed to

\textsuperscript{12} Report of Department of Labour, pp. 5, 6, 9. 
\textsuperscript{13} Report of B.C. Security Commission, pp. 5, 6, 7.
remain upon permits issued April 11, 1942, to the number of about 100.\textsuperscript{13} Accommodation at Hastings Park was provided for 4,000, who were guarded by 45 of their number, Canadian Legion Veterans of World War I. About 8,000 Japanese in all passed through this station before its closing September 30, 1942.\textsuperscript{14} Thirty six hundred went directly from the Fraser Valley to Alberta and Manitoba; 3,500 from their homes to interior centres; 2,150 went to road camps in British Columbia and Ontario; 3,000 left voluntarily for self-supporting projects; and, 750 were interned in Northern Ontario.\textsuperscript{15} About 1,200 having sufficient means established self-supporting group projects at Minto, Bridge River, McGillivray Falls near Lilloet, B.C. and in the Christina Lake district in the Kootenay area.\textsuperscript{16}

The road camp workers, who had been sent before the Security Commission was established, protested the separation from their families with sit down strikes, but no violence. Therefore, when Ottawa was besought to establish the families in communities where there would be no resentment, the federal government was relieved to find available the old mining districts of the Slocan valley. Fourteen miles from Hope, the Department of National Defense leased the Trites Ranch which became the Tashme settlement. Most relocation in British Columbia, however, was to the West Kootenay area. By July, 1942, a large building program was under way at Slocan, New Denver and adjacent to Lemon Creek and Roseberry, where a completely new town was established upon leased land. Kaslo, Greenwood and

\textsuperscript{13} Ibid: pp 7, 8.
\textsuperscript{14} Report of Department of Labour, p. 5.
\textsuperscript{15} Report of British Columbia Security Commission, p. 11.
Sandon took them also, but here no new buildings were needed. All interior centre housing was complete for the winter of 1942-3, and the last schools and hospitals were finished for the spring of 1943. For the repairing of old buildings and the construction of 100 new houses, chiefly 14 feet by 25, of rough lumber and tar paper, Japanese labour was used, supervised by white foremen. Some new buildings were larger to accommodate groups of single men. Each town unit was in charge of a supervisor and assistant, who were responsible primarily to the Head Office of the British Columbia Security Commission. Clerical work in the towns was done by a Japanese staff. When evacuation was practically complete, Mr. George Collins of Manitoba was appointed general Supervisor, November 1942. He remained in charge during the transition period until the dissolution of the Commission by order-in-council, February 5, 1943. Its responsibilities then reverted to the Minister of Labour, and Mr. Collins became Commissioner of Japanese replacement. The same order established a new advisory committee, consisting of the three former commissioners, the Honourable George Pearson, B.C. Minister of Labour, Dr. Lyall Hodgins, and the Officer Commanding the Royal Canadian Mounted Police at Vancouver. This Committee of Placement had its head office in Vancouver, with branches at Nelson, Lethbridge, Winnipeg, Fort William, Toronto and Montreal.

Circumstances of this largest mass transplanting in Canadian

17. Report of Department of Labour, p. 6
history created many inevitable problems of welfare. Japanese men feel particularly devoted; they will not leave their families unless they are provided for. A general supervisor of welfare was appointed, under whom were field supervisors to set up each department, a welfare manager in each town and Japanese social workers to visit the families. These operating managers as well as those for a financial part of the undertaking cooperated with the town supervisors but were responsible to their own head offices in Vancouver. Both from the long range point of view of permanent readjustment, and the more immediate possibility of juvenile delinquency, it would seem obvious that satisfactory arrangements for continued education of this displaced youth would be a prime necessity. British Columbia "refused to accept any responsibility or to be liable for any part of the cost of educating these children," who were merely being shifted from one part of the province to another. The Commissioner, therefore, had to purchase correspondence courses and necessary texts from the Provincial Department of Education. These course and books were supplied to the towns on a ratio basis to 2700 elementary grade children in nine school centres. A fully qualified Japanese teacher was made general supervisor with eleven assistants. These were made principals at various points and 120 university and high school students were selected to act as teachers. This staff worked under close supervision of the commission which laid down the educational policy to follow closely the regular school curriculum and to give all instruction in English. Despite the negative attitude of the

department, teachers throughout the province and particularly in Vancouver gave voluntary assistance to instruct these teachers, and prominent educationalists drafted courses to be mimeographed. Only in one area was it necessary to construct a building. High school students made their own arrangements to pursue their education, and some university students were admitted to colleges outside British Columbia.

Over 15,000 Japanese were thus temporarily housed in interior towns, where strict supervision could be exercised over all their movements. The only outlets from these valleys were by a few roads, upon which the Royal Canadian Mounted Police placed road blocks and checked all the passers-by. All over 16 were registered and a file upon them kept by the police; all under 16 were kept in the file of the head of the family. The intention of the whole plan was that relocation to outside employment near these centres, in lumber camps and mills, and in the east, would lead to complete rehabilitation in self-supporting family units. In the meantime, construction, town maintenance, and work projects employed 2397 or 19.74 per cent in January, 1943, decreasing to 1628, or 15.58 per cent of the population in July, 1944. For these workers the commission provided relief rates, so that the people could purchase their own food, and prepare and consume it

in their own dwellings. This was a contrast to the United States plan, where they were given free food in local dining rooms. Outdoor workers were paid at hourly rates from $22\frac{1}{2}$ to 40 cents. Professional and indoor employees were paid partly hourly and partly monthly to April 1, 1943, and from then entirely monthly at from $30$ to $75$. Dentists and doctors received more.

An examination of the individual Kootenay settlements shows how population and necessity awakened these derelict mining towns from the somnolence of years. In Kaslo only 500 whites remained of the 6000 who lived there at the turn of the century. To Kaslo went 964 Japanese. The commission leased and reconditioned 52 buildings, repaired the sewerage, cleaned beaches, streets and lanes, much to the pleasure of the residents. The city-owned light and water services required no improvements. Thirty acres of fertile land were leased to supply Kaslo and Sandon with vegetables and fruits, especially cherries. In cooperation with the Provincial Game Department large quantities of fish were obtained and sent fresh, smoked and salted to supply other communities. The men found employment in woodcutting, toy making and furniture making, and the district offered good opportunity for shingle mills and logging operations. Kaslo had a 24-bed hospital and clinic, a resident Japanese dentist and optometrist, and there was plenty of indoor and outdoor recreation. In September, 1942, the school was 24. Report of the Department of Labour, p. 10.
opened. In due course a Japanese weekly newspaper, the New Canadian, was published there. Natural increase by January 1943 had augmented the population to 976, which number had fallen to 826 by July, 1944, due to relocation to Eastern areas. By the summer of 1945 there had been a further drop to 500 since only self-supporting non-repatriate families were being maintained there. In March 1946 only 200 remained and these were being moved to New Denver to reduce the expense of a separate administration now unjustified because of so few. This 200 though not deportable, had refused offers of employment in the East. The Kaslo Board of Trade was vigorously opposing the action of removal, which would indicate that they had found the period of Japanese settlement satisfactory. In defending the removal, T.B. Pickersgill, director of the Vancouver bureau of the Japanese division of the federal Department of Labour, stated that Kaslo shelters were needed for the returning veterans and that circumstances of housing, schooling for children, and employment or allowances would continue as before.

At Sandon, remotely isolated in a valley between New Denver and Kaslo, only 20 whites remained of the 7000 inhabitants there in 1900. Without fishing or farming, and with mines idle, employment there was scarce, but the commission rehabilitated the town to receive 933 Japanese, a large proportion of whom were elderly men. Fifty-five houses were rebuilt and renovated with fire escapes and bath houses. A

(b) Report of the Department of Labour, p. 11.
27. Loc. cit., March, 1946
central running stream provided natural sewerage. Snow clearing, road work, gathering scrap iron and cutting firewood provided most of the occupation for these people, many of whom were families of Japanese National internees. There were possibilities for dressmaking and woodworking. There was a twenty-bed up-to-date hospital in a two-storey building; a resident Japanese doctor and a dentist made weekly visits. By July 1944 the population had shrunk to 541, and later that summer the centre was closed.

In New Denver, once the El Dorado of the Kootenay, only 350 whites remained out of several thousand when 1505 Japanese were sent there. The settlement extended from the 80-acre Harris ranch which was leased on the south, sixteen miles to Roseberry on the north. Two hundred and seventy-five homes were built, thirty-one for two families, two hundred and forty-four for one. Bath houses were constructed, a new water system developed from Wilson Creek, and electricity supplied. This settlement included a well-equipped hospital, and a sanitarium to accommodate 100 tuberculosis patients was built. This disease is common among the Japanese. All this construction, with water mains and the cutting of winter wood, employed everyone the first winter. Nearby reopening mines were anxious also to obtain Japanese labour. Since New Denver was the pool to which were sent unemployables from other closing settlements, the population tended to increase; in January 1943, including Roseberry, there were 1601, eighteen months later, 1771.

(b) Report of Department of Labour, p. 11-12.
(b) Report of Department of Labour, p. 11.
To Slocan City and the Slocan area including Lemon Creek went 4,814 Japanese. Here, also, only 350 whites remained out of a population that had once been thousands. Forty-nine abandoned houses were renovated for their reception and new constructions included 629 new dwellings, bath houses, firehall and equipment, three hospitals, warehouses and stores. The Commission leased a nearby power plant, overhauled it thoroughly, and increased the voltage from 440 to 2200. Mountain water was piped three feet underground all over the settlement. Two hundred seventy-one acres of fully arable land, 20 acres of orchards, and 355 acres of wild land were cleared. All married females and families were employed in this truck gardening in order to reduce food costs. Several families were given one and a quarter acres each. At Lemon Creek farm there were 30 head of cattle and 100 pigs. Throughout the summer Slocan was used as a transfer point for baggage and evacuees going to New Denver, Roseberry and Sandon. To feed and house such numbers upon such short notice was a difficult problem, and the Commission purchased many second-hand tents which were still giving chilly shelter to hundreds when the heavy frosts came in late October. During the winter, road work employed 300 men, while the unmarried were encouraged to volunteer for outside work in sawmills and lumber camps, and cutting firewood. Here were 1083 Japanese children for whom Lemon Creek school was ready, May 1943. Recreational welfare, religious and educational interests were all looked after.

to the best of the Commission's ability. By July, 1944, the population in this area was reduced to 4085. In cooperation with the provincial Department of Game and Fisheries, predatory non-game fish were processed or sold fresh in the area, and sent as feed to hatcheries. Quantities of spawn were sent to other breeding grounds.

Very early in the evacuation, when Japanese were arriving in the Kootenay by the Canadian Pacific Railway at the rate of 500 a day, the first official examination of the Commission's work took place. July 14, 1942, the Spanish Consul General in Montreal, coming in his official capacity as the High Protecting Power, arrived with a high-ranking official of the Department of External Affairs, a representative of the International Red Cross, and a senior officer of the Royal Canadian Mounted Police. They were given every assistance to make a complete inspection, and to question thoroughly. They were satisfied that the Commission was doing everything possible to carry out its task in a humane manner. Feeling was divided both among the displaced Japanese and the whites amidst whom they settled. Among the former discontent was at a minimum during the busy construction period. This was but a second adjustment in a new land for the older folk, retaining customs and language of their native land. For the young, born to Canadian environment, with practically no

Japanese affiliation, it meant being thrown amidst an almost different race of people. For the majority, old and young, accustomed to Canadian living standards, it was uncomfortable to be housed eight people in a 16 by 24 foot house of rough lumber, as the rows and rows of homes in New Denver and Slocan were built. Mori Moto, of Steveston, for thirty-three years a fisherman could say smiling of his new home, where he continued to salt fish, "Kaslo is Number 1 place." A young Vancouver Canadian newly arrived in Slocan said, "I don't like living here. There are too many Japs." The feelings of their new white neighbours were also mixed. Most violent dislike came from those who had no dealings with the Japanese. Storekeepers and businessmen, on the other hand, soon came to respect them, and in some communities Japanese doctors, dentists, optometrists provided the permanent residents with services they had never before enjoyed.

When we examine the subsequent years of Japanese sojourn in the Kootenays, it is not the evacuation itself which makes the thinking Canadian uncomfortable, but the problem of education, disposal of property, and repatriation of Canadian nationals to a foreign land of their ancestors, which were inadequately settled. The effects of this action leave us uneasy and doubtful in a world where Canada's future depends upon peace and trade relations with every nation, particularly those bordering on the Pacific.

33. Vancouver Daily Province, article by Lloyd Turner, September 12, 1942.
The democratic way of life perpetuates our privileges of dissension and disagreement, but it takes a toll in impeding efficiency. The Security Commission did a fine piece of work in the face of opposition from other provincial and federal departments upon several issues. The British Columbia Department of Education refused to continue the education of 5500 evacuees under eighteen years. The Commission built, equipped and staffed schools to accommodate 3000 of these in their centres. Miss H. Hyodo and Miss T. Hidaka were in charge of this system with 130 teachers trained in 1943 and 1944 in intensive summer courses. In the summer of 1943 Dr. A. Anstey was appointed to guide the school administration. The regular British Columbia curriculum was followed to Grade IX. Stanford Achievement tests given in December of that year showed an average comparing favourably with accepted grade standards, even though the children had missed several months of school. There were school clubs outside to encourage the use of English. Parent Teacher Associations cooperated to provide playgrounds, sports equipment, prizes and libraries. There were kindergartens in all housing centres. Approximately 1000 high school students up to seventeen were educated by church mission schools under occidental teachers with provincial correspondence courses. In many cases they were admitted to local high schools, which were aided by the Commission. The fundamental weakness of the whole plan was the lack of association with other children. These educational costs mounted from $57,000 in 1942-3 to $100,000 in 1944-45. East of the Rockies
2000 Japanese went to elementary and high schools, universities and colleges with white students. The Report of the Royal Commission upon Japanese welfare in January 1944 stated, "Your Commission recommends that negotiations be reopened with the Department of Education of the Province of British Columbia to the end that it reassure its obligation in respect to the education of the children of the Japanese." The obligation, however, was not reassumed.

Since at the time of evacuation most of their property was tied up by the Custodian, the Japanese in interior centres had limited means upon which to live, unless they had liquid assets. Many were employed in construction, town administration and local work projects, while others went elsewhere to self-supporting employment. The balance, however, had to be supported by the Commission; these were the sick and physically unfit, the old, the families of several hundred internees and the families with many children. These were paid the basic provincial relief rate to cover necessary food and sundries, and some were able to work for a part of their maintenance. In addition to this cash allowance, they received, of course, free housing, fuel, lighting, schooling, clothing, medical and hospital facilities, spectacles, dentures, etc. In spite of the circumstances, the proportion receiving such assistance never reached fifty per cent. The lowest number upon full maintenance was 1678, or 15 per cent of the total 12,114 population at January 1, 1943. The highest

34. Report of Department of Labour, pp. 15-17
number was 2864 or 24 per cent of the total 11,772, at July 1, 1943, when the housing had been completed but the work projects were not yet begun. At January 1, 1943 the lowest number upon partial maintenance was 1309, or 11 per cent of the total, the highest at July 1, 1943 was 2998 or 25 per cent of the total. Thus the highest number to receive maintenance was 5862, or 49 per cent.

In the main, as the employables left the settlements the number of unemployables also declined. Plans were developed for a programme of apprenticeship training for boys and girls, for example, commercial work, salesmanship, clinic and hospital work, domestic service, cooking, carpentry, painting, plumbing, electrical and diesel work, garage mechanics, shoe repairing, warehousing, and so on.

"The primary purpose of the Japanese administration since January 1943 has been to get the employable Japanese into commercial employment, not only to disperse and establish them on a self-supporting basis, but also to aid in meeting Canada's need for more and more manpower in essential industries." 36

However, it was easier to state the general policy of full employment than to define it in particular cases. The eastern movement never developed as fully as had been hoped. About 3000 moved to Ontario and Quebec in the "east of the Rockies" movement. The Japanese have not been anxious to go East, for

35. Report of Department of Labour, pp. 18-19
like most of us who have made our homes in British Columbia, they are westerners. Eastern living conditions were difficult. Racial discrimination was exerted there also, and wartime congestion made accommodation difficult, especially since the Dominion Government early in 1942 prohibited Japanese from buying houses and farm properties. 37

Order-in-Council PC 1665, March 4, 1942 gave to the Custodian of Alien Property the control and management of all properties and chattels of the Japanese except their liquid assets, cash, bank deposits, stocks and bonds. A later order-in-council, PC 469, of January 19, 1943, empowered the Custodian to sell or dispose of the property and chattels. The revenues so obtained were dispatched without limit to those living outside housing centres. But the revenue to those in housing centres was restricted to $100 a month for living expenses. Families were required to live upon their own assets down to $260 (1000 yen) a year for each adult, and $50 for each child, so that they would have some reserve for post-war contingencies. 38

This sale by the government of citizen’s property without their consent caused much discussion, especially when numerous sales were at very low prices.

Although the health of the evacuees was good, they were not happy. This relocation even under critical circumstances was very disturbing after thirty years residence in Canada

37. La Violette, op. cit. p. 11.
and few Japanese had immigrated within that period. Even those citizens by birth were not permitted to serve in the armed forces, except about 150, who were accepted in February 1945. The property losses through sale without consent caused them to be uncertain of their legal position. Moreover, when numerous agitators and even members of parliament joined a chorus demanding their return to Japan, the evacuees felt their future in Canada was hopeless, even though it was the land of their birth or the country of their adoption. Complaints were sent to the Department of Labour, the Protecting Power, and the International Red Cross, from individuals and committees in the settlements.

In December 1943, a Royal Commission was appointed, comprising Dr. F.W. Jackson, Deputy Minister of Health and Public Welfare, Manitoba, Dr. G.F. Davidson, Executive Secretary of the Canadian Welfare Council, W.R. Bone, Administrator of Social Services for Vancouver, and Mrs. Mary Sutherland of Revelstoke. Extensive hearings were held in Vancouver and each settlement. In January 1944, a unanimous report to the Minister of Labour, which was later tabled in the House of Commons, summarized the situation in this sentence:

"Your commission is of the unanimous opinion that the provisions made by the government of Canada through the Department of Labour for the Welfare of the Japanese in the Interior Settlements of British Columbia are as a wartime measure reasonably fair and adequate."

This commission made recommendations for its findings under six headings. Food, maintenance, housing, were found to be adequate and an increase of not more than ten per cent was recommended for unemployables. Housing in general was found to be equal or superior to pre-war housing. For improved administration the commission recommended the strengthening or placement organization in towns. The commission felt that negotiations should be reopened with the province to have them reassume their obligations for education of these evacuees. Medical care was found to be excellent; there were no epidemics in 1943. Recreation was adequate. The Royal Commission commended the work of the Security Commission, and was sympathetic to Japanese war veterans who requested preferred treatment. The Japanese appreciated the fairness of the Royal Canadian Mounted Police and many disagreed with the committees of their race who had lodged complaints. The policy for disposal of Japanese assets was considered by the Commission to be adequate, and the government report gives this account of the sale of property, which at best seems highly unjust, for this sale in no way promoted the war effort or contributed to the welfare of the Canadian people.

When, in 1942, they left their homes, the Japanese were allowed to take with them to the centres, many personal and household effects at the Commission's expense. In June 40. Report of Department of Labour, pp. 23-24
of that year, a thousand of their farms in the Fraser Valley were placed under control of the Director of Soldier Settlement of Canada, and subsequently a greater number were expropriated, at an impartial valuation, to be used for post-war veteran settlement. After the summer of 1943 a number of city properties were sold by tender. In 1942 and 1943 the Japanese had the right to apply to the Custodian to locate and forward any of their chattels (furniture, utensils, etc.) at their own expense. This privilege included even the radios and cameras which had been collected by the Royal Canadian Mounted Police. Early in 1944 the Custodian began to sell the balance to prevent further deterioration in storage. Anything of sentimental or religious value was reserved for sale by the owners, to whose credit all proceeds were held. In 1943 the Japanese took legal action in an effort to block the sale, when three tests

41. In September 1944, the writer visited one of these fruit farms. Formerly worked by from 25 to 150 Japanese, it was in a sad state of neglect under the inadequate care of one occidental and his two sons. Acres of orchard bore but a fraction of a normal crop for want of pruning, spraying and irrigation.

42. The writer was privileged to examine the contents of one such parcel of goods purchased "sight unseen" for the sum of one dollar and fifty cents. Among a number of other objects of lesser value, it contained eleven groups of ceremonial dolls. Each group included one or more exquisite figures clothed in silks and satins, and arranged in a setting of most delicately fashioned trees, flowers and shrubbery. Each was mounted upon a lacquered base and fitted for transport in a hand-fashioned wood box. Every one of the eleven might have well been a collector's piece, fetching a handsome price in a shop.
cases, one each upon behalf of a Canadian-born Japanese, a naturalized Canadian, and a Japanese national, were brought before the Exchequer Court of Canada. These cases were argued in May 1944, and judgment was reserved.

By far the most serious problem facing the Canadian people in this whole issue is the ultimate disposal of these evacuees, of whom so great a number found shelter in Kootenay ghost towns. Since the preservation of our democratic freedoms rests in no small measure upon the solution of this problem, it would seem worth while to discuss the matter further even though it takes us beyond the boundary of the Kootenay area. Not until August 4, 1944, did the Prime Minister, the Right Honourable Mr. Mackenzie King, make a statement upon post-war Japanese policy, which sets forth the basic principles upon which the government is formulating that policy. Natural concern is felt in British Columbia at having nearly the whole Japanese population within its borders, and demands for its removal are not entirely unjustified. (Yet economically they are needed in this province.) "...no person of Japanese race born in Canada has been charged with any act of sabotage or disloyalty during the years of war." Therefore, for the sake of both loyal Japanese and of Canada, no disloyal persons of Japanese race should be allowed to remain. There should be no Japanese immigration in the years following the war, but this is not to be a policy binding indefinitely upon the future. The government promises to deal justly with those who have

43. Report of Department of Labour, p. 47
committed no crime. Since Canada's neighbour, the United States, has the same problem, Canadian policy must be a part of a continental policy. Thus the Prime Minister summarized the government policy.

In 1942 the total number of Japanese interned was less than 800; during 1943, this number declined from 730 to 433, and July 1, 1944 the number was 425, of whom fewer than half were Canadian born. In 1942, forty-two Canadian Japanese were repatriated and in September 1943 a repatriate exchange upon S.S. "Gripsholm" took 61 more, 24 of them Japanese nationals, 20 naturalized Canadians, the rest Canadian born, mostly children. The government's policy is to have a commission determine who are disloyal and then by the terms of peace, compel Japan to accept these deportees, who would lose their British citizenship, whether they were naturalized or born British subjects. Of the remaining loyal subjects, a limit should be put upon those returning to British Columbia, and the rest encouraged to go elsewhere, but no barrier should be put upon the movement of Canadian citizens. A wide distribution will eliminate race hostility which is synonymous with Naziism, whose defeat cost us six bitter years of warfare. Fortunately Canada is committed to this policy of fairness and justice, but as the repatriation proceeds, we shall see there are other forces at

44. Report of Department of Labour, p. 28-29.
45. Ibid, pp. 49-50
work endeavouring to modify this plan, and they seek recourse to the British Empire's highest court in order to achieve that modification.

The crime rate among the Japanese has been exceedingly low in spite of the upsetting effects of dispersal. There have been no serious disorders, acts of espionage or sabotage. Thus it was possible to employ Japanese upon essential work helpful to the war effort. Late in 1942 charges of disloyal activities in the "Black Dragon Case" were made against Etsuji Morii, but these were declared to be unfounded by a Royal Commission of Inquiry at Vancouver, B. C. During the period of evacuation travel was prohibited without a permit from the Royal Canadian Mounted Police or a Security Commission Officer. Once they were established in the isolated Housing Centres this stringent regulation was relaxed, and after August 1943 temporary visiting permits were permitted in certain limits. During the winter of 1943-1944 a Japanese employment office was set up in Nelson through which Japanese could be obtained for job vacancies across Canada. In July 1944, 3065 Japanese were in the East, 2613 in Ontario. Cooperation with the International Red Cross enabled them to receive messages and gifts from friends and relatives in Japan, Spain, which was named the High Protecting Power, made numerous trips of inspection, and Japanese nationals had complete and private access to Spanish officials by letter or telegram. Here, it would appear that commendable behaviour has

46. Report of Department of Labour, p. 30
been rewarded with reasonable and humane treatment. This is acting upon our democratic moral principles. Yet during the war and even now, there are many who, because Canadian prisoners were inhumanly treated in Japan, would have us sink to the same moral level, to use that treatment upon Japanese in Canada.

In two years up to September 1944, at least 1000 had applied for repatriation to Japan, unhappy in the ghost towns and uncertain of their future where dislike on every side was vocal and one by one their citizenship rights were being replaced with racial barriers. Upon January 2, 1945, the United States lifted the ban, thus permitting their Japanese Americans to return to the Pacific Coast, and in four months following that date only about 1870 evacuees returned to the West Coast while 3940 went eastward from the centres where they had been held. Moreover, in the United States their property was not sold. Surely if the Canadian bans were similarly lifted the Japanese Canadians would disperse themselves in similar fashion, and the dread menace to British Columbia's safety would be removed. On March 12, 1945, a Federal government order in seven parts was issued to the Japanese of British Columbia. This document informed "those who will be returning to Japan that provision has been made for their return." "Japanese Canadians who want to remain in Canada should now reestablish themselves east of the Rockies as the best

evidence of their intentions to cooperate with the government policy of dispersal:" and that "failure to accept employment east of the Rockies may be regarded at a later date as lack of cooperation with the Canadian Government in carrying out its policy of dispersal." The unhappiness and confusion of the three years since their evacuation, the loss of a lifetime of savings, the uncertainty of the future in a country where so many voices urged racial discrimination against them, caused many, particularly middle-aged Japanese, to sign up for return to Japan. Under these circumstances of anxiety parents were naturally loathe to leave their Canadian-born sons and daughters behind. The following extracts from a letter written by a Japanese Canadian girl in the Slocan valley show the turbulent state of mind.

"We are in a state of nerves and anxiety about all this voluntary repatriation or go east (i.e. of the Rockies)...So many have signed to go to Japan; about 95 percent at Lemon Creek because all that goes with signing that, is so much more advantageous than going east, but we have decided to go east. I would gladly go east except for one thing. The clause which says 'subject to relocation again after the war.' Do we have to move again then? Oh, Lord, when will this thing ever close! It means every time we move we have to leave all the improvements we have made and start all over again. The financial loss is considerable besides all the work we have put into it...

...We sign tomorrow and I hope many will sign to stay. To sign to go to Japan is to make everything so fine for now, but after the war, what? To sign to go east may be hard now, but we hope for better later and I pray that I may be right in thinking so. I never did so much useless worrying and thinking before.... But I guess millions are suffering more than us, so why worry."

49. Ibid. p. 4
On December 15, 1945, three orders-in-council, P.C. 7355, 7356 and 7357, were issued setting forth arrangements for the deportation of three of four classes of Canada's Japanese. The terms of the first-mentioned order-in-council allow the removal of the value of all property and assets held in Canada and provide for minimum financial credits and government assistance in needy cases. Persons leaving under these circumstances will be accorded free transportation for themselves and families and for whatever baggage allotment is allowed by shipping conditions. From intelligent Canadians capable of a long-range view of our country's social and economic future, Canadians of strong moral principles and courage, came at once outbursts of protest and dismay at these measures. Student delegates from nine Canadian colleges sent resolutions of protest to the federal government and to Premier E. C. Manning of Alberta, the province in which they were conferring.

"The manner in which we act in this matter will stand as a test of democratic institutions and the practice of Christian principles." 51

So vehement became the protest by prominent citizens like B. K. Sandwell, editor and publisher of Toronto Saturday Night, that a campaign was begun to reverse the government policy. Speaking as a member of the Toronto Co-operative Committee on Japanese Canadians, he said in an interview in January:

"I know the Japanese are very much more a problem to B.C. than to any other part of Canada. However, I can't quite see them as a war problem within at least the next 50 years.

"Therefore, the anti-Japanese attitude here is a purely racial and economic one. I don't like that in the case of the people who have been admitted to Canada under the general laws of our country, with many of them becoming citizens.

"That (a better distribution across Canada) would be an excellent thing, but I don't see how you can compel a citizen to live where he doesn't want to. You have the great fortune of having the best part of the country to live in, and unfortunately it attracts Japanese as well as Englishmen.

"...We have no desire to further increase the Japanese population. We are only thinking of the claims on humanity and citizenship of the existing population in Canada."  

The Toronto cooperative committee filed a _factum_ contending that the orders-in-council were _ultra vires_ of the governor-in-council. During the discussion that ensued in the House of Commons, Saskatchewan supported this contention. The attorney-general of British Columbia filed with the clerk of the Supreme Court a _factum_ arguing the validity of the orders-in-council, upon the grounds that the War Measures Act was within the legislative competence of the Dominion "Parliament, and that the orders-in-council under discussion, being made under the War Measures Act," are now in force pursuant to the provisions of the National Emergency Transitional Powers Act, 1945. meantime the young Japanese in Slocan settlements and elsewhere sent reasonable pleas to Prime Minister King begging for leniency.

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52. Daily News Herald, January 26, 1946

toward their parents, that they themselves might remain to enjoy their birthright in the land of their birth. Marriages have been frequent and even Occidentals have offered to marry Japanese girls to save them from deportation.

The Supreme Court of Canada declared the orders-in-council valid, but four of seven judges held the Governor-in-Council had no authority to deport forcibly the wives and children. The Toronto Committee announced an appeal on behalf of the Japanese to the Privy Council. March 13, 1946 Prime Minister King announced the suspension of further action for deportation pending this appeal, and the deferment of the appointment of a commission to review the cases of those listed for deportation. March 31, 1946, the Slocan Valley Nisei Organization petitioned the Prime Minister and other government officials to allow Japanese of sixteen and under, born in Canada, to remain, and that those over that age, whom parental obligation to support forces to return to Japan, be given passports so that they might return and retain their British birthright, once their duty to parents was fulfilled by delivering them into reliable hands. It is quite understandable that about 3500 Japanese, settled during the war upon sugar beet farms in Southern Alberta, look forward in spite of the successful work they have done there, to their ultimate return to the Pacific province, where lumbering, fishing and fruit farming provide the work they are best equipped to do. Meantime the appeal to the Privy Council

is to be heard in July, when British Columbia attorney general Gordon Wismer will represent the province, and argue for the Liberal stand, permanent legislation to ban Japanese from the coast. That the matter has become both a political and a geographical issue, was evidenced during the debate in early May over the new Canadian Citizenship Bill, which was amended to remove the possibility that it might return to the Japanese the freedom which had been taken away from them by the December orders-in-council. During the discussion the C.C.F. members from Saskatchewan supported the cause of fairness and justice above racial prejudice, while James Sinclair, Liberal member for North Vancouver, and Veterans Minister, Ian Mackenzie, stood strongly upon the undertaking that no Japanese should be allowed in British Columbia from the Rockies to the Pacific.

Meantime, inexorably, those for whom deportation arrangements had been completed are moving through Vancouver. Most repatriates from outside the province to the number of 672 sailed the night of May 31, 1946 aboard the United States troopship S.S. "Marine Angel." Few faces were smiling, most said they were returning for family reasons. In the immigration sheds 300 more are awaiting the arrival of a large contingent from Slocan, and they are to sail June 15, about 1000 in all.

60. Loc cit. June 1, 1946.
However, the picture is not entirely gloomy. About 100 Japanese Canadians have been accepted in colleges and universities in the east, and Vancouver-born Henry Ide recently received an appointment to the teaching staff of the Toronto Board of Education. It is easier to be just two thousand miles from the scene of Pacific anxiety, yet not only for the domestic reasons, which have been made evident throughout this chapter, but for Canada's international good standing, we must guard against castes of privileges and most especially those of race. Undoubtedly we shall re-establish diplomatic relations with Japan. Even though we shall probably insist upon total exclusion of Japanese immigration, it should be made possible for traders, tourists, students, to visit Canada. We shall want trade with Japan. It is to Canada's interest that Japan be a well-organized, economically stable country. There will have to be good feelings between the two countries for trade to exist. In our dealings we must act upon our own moral principles, not upon theirs; we must treat them as we would want to be treated, not as they would treat us. Our other oriental minority, the Chinese, is not considered a menace because it is dispersed. Dispersal of our Japanese can only be accomplished by correcting citizenship legislation to apply to all peoples regardless of race, by redressing grievances with respect to property, so that our democracy is a reality, by

giving citizens freedom to live where they choose, and by educational efforts directed toward elimination of prejudice against Canadians because of race.

Public opinion polls in Canada show that more than half our population, including British Columbia, favours allowing loyal citizens of Japanese ancestry to stay. It remains then for us to see that these beliefs are put into action.
Throughout this intensive examination of development in the West Kootenay area the writer has done her best to give a true historical picture of these mountain valleys, rich in their rugged beauty. As far as modern research permits, the story and the customs of the aboriginal Indians have been described. For a century and a half, we have accompanied fur-traders, and surveyors, priests and prospectors, engineers and industrialists, tradesmen and fruit farmers in all their many adventures and enterprises which opened up this region. The past quarter of a century has made these valleys the focal point of interest in two of Canada's racial minority problems. The Doukhobours, welcomed over-exuberantly by the government to a vast wilderness eager for settlers, the Japanese, thrust for a temporary sojourn by the exigencies of war upon the Kootenay.

Before closing the history of the West Kootenay, let us examine briefly its political and economic relation to the rest of the Pacific province. During the half century after David Thompson crossed the Rocky Mountains to build Kootanae House upon the upper Columbia, the Kootenays became an extension of the fur-trading empires of two great British Companies. For a brief period, furs from the valleys became the property of the North West traders. After the union of the Companies in 1821
the Columbia and Kootenay Rivers became highways of transport for fur cargoes and personnel of the great Hudson's Bay Company. In all this period, there was no settlement beyond the widely spaced trading posts, nor any attempt to displace the native Indians. Company factors, frequently Scotsmen, and the priests of Roman Catholic missionary orders, often Frenchmen, traded with the Kootenay natives and spread Christianity among them. As they did so, they penetrated the remote recesses of the area, but made no guess as to its future economic development other than to admire the fine forest growth, or to curse the waterfalls and swift streams which made their journeys arduous.

In the succeeding half century, however, from 1860 to 1910, except for a lull in the 1870's during a depression, the mining frontier of the western United States moved northward, and the Kootenays felt the effects of this advance more directly than any other part of British Columbia. First there came an influx of prospectors, who had drifted north from the California rush. These were followed by experienced promoters and capitalists, who knew the risks, developed the claims and undertook the first lake and river shipping and railway construction to provide the necessary transport. Often these men lived in Spokane, the capital of the "Inland Empire," and their mining methods were American. Placer mining spread north and east from California, lode mining came from the Comstock Lode of Nevada.
After these courageous promoters had reaped the first speculative profits, Canadian and British capital arrived, interested by the Hall Mines near Nelson, and the mines in Rossland. The first Kootenay smelters were opened by American capital. An observation of the map, showing the north and south direction of mountain ranges and river valleys from the Rockies to the Pacific, makes obvious the reason for an American impetus to early Kootenay mining enterprise. Moreover, the Dewdney Trail never linked the Kootenay mines to the coastal settlement of British Columbia as the Cariboo Road, and, later, the Canadian Pacific Railway linked the Fraser mines to the Pacific cities. The Crows Nest Railway, which was to be that link, was not built until very late. Yet, after the swift American boom, and in spite of geographical impediments, Canadian and British elements asserted themselves at once, north of the boundary. There was less responsible government than upon the United States frontier, there were no counties or townships, but there was more law and order. This deep-laid design for a safe political and social organization sprang from a British tradition, which went back to fur-trading and Colonial days, when the tone was set by strong, far-seeing men like Governor James Douglas, Colonel R.E. Moody, and Judge Matthew Baillie Begbie. This tradition was perpetuated in the firm wisdom of local magistrates and gold commissioners in Wild Horse, Donald, Nelson, and Rossland. Their judgment curbed the exhuberance of American adventurers and helped those who remained
to become good Canadian citizens. The government of the province of British Columbia at this time was frequently quite weak; as under the administration of Governor Seymour. Thus the British quality of the legal, administrative and political aspects of the new Canadian district developed gradually from the desires and the efforts of its citizens, not from central direction.

For twenty years the seat of government for the whole Kootenay area was Wild Horse. In 1884 when the Canadian Pacific Railway was being built, Revelstoke and Donald became government centres. The post office, established in July 1886 in Wild Horse, and known as Kootenay, continued to function until 1900. The customs house, also known as Kootenay, was moved in 1870 to Joseph's Prairie (Cranbrook) where it was easier to contact miners going to all localities. In 1897 out of thirty-one municipalities in British Columbia, five were in the West Kootenay, namely Rossland, Nelson, Kaslo, Grand Forks, and Greenwood. Prior to Confederation, from 1864 to 1871, East and West Kootenay were represented at Victoria, by J.C. Haynes, Peter O'Reilly, George W. Cox, Edgar Dewdney, and Robert J. Skinner. From 1871 to 1897, the representatives were Charles T Todd, John A. Mara, A.W. Vowell, Charles Gallagher, R.L.T. Galbraith, J.M. Kellie, and Col. James Baker. Almost all these men were British born.

As we have seen, when churches and schools were built they were essentially Canadian. Gradually Canadian and British capital displaced American. Yet the Kootenay retained the stamp of its American origin. As late as 1900 both Canadian and United States holidays were celebrated. In 1900 both Americans and British in Rossland celebrated the relief of Mafeking. This co-mingling of interest and origins in an area more American than any other in British Columbia, has been strongly conducive to the production of goodwill and friendship between the two countries.

When we came to examine the subsequent course of events in the Kootenays that section of history which makes the region an intimate part of British Columbia and of Canada the contrast with United States development is striking. Had the Kootenays been American they would, no doubt, have become a separate state in a confederacy of many. The States of Washington, Idaho, and Montana all touch the southern border of Canada's one Pacific province. Indeed, British Columbia is equal in area to the three coast States to the south - Washington, Oregon and California. The one province, British Columbia, contains about eight per cent of Canada's population, whereas the corresponding area in the United States comprises eleven Pacific and mountain states, and contains about eleven per cent of the nation's population. The British Columbia
government must cope with the multitude of problems which spring from a highly diversified economy, while the weight which the province can exercise in the framing of Canadian national policies is roughly proportionate to its population. This influence is in the order of 1:15, or at the most 1:12 in the House of Commons, while the Senate proportion is 1:16. Eleven American states with a congressional representation of 43 out of 435, and 65 electors out of 531 in the presidential elections, exert a weight about in proportion to their population ratio. Their representation in the Senate, however, is high, namely 22 out of 96, or higher than 1:5. This means that Canadian federal policies are less likely to be framed to consider British Columbian interest than United States federal policies to consider those of her western states.

Although at times the western slope in each country has been influenced by developments peculiar to the region, which distinguish it sharply from the rest of the continent, to a great extent coast and mountain regions of each country have been tied to the fortunes of the federation of which they are a part. After the depression of the 1870's the tide of prosperity began again to flow west, and like a magnet it drew the Americans, and later midland Canadians, into interior British Columbia. Except for restrictions upon the Chinese, immigration was unhindered. In 1893, just after the completion of the Crows Nest Pass Railway, this movement was checked by another severe depression. Then from 1896 onwards, the settlement of the

prairies and the growth of a national economy based upon
the export of wheat gave impetus to the development of
British Columbia. The centre of this wheat boom lay upon the
prairies, but the rising tide of settlement and investment
spilled into British Columbia. In the twenty years following
1891 the population of the province more than quadrupled,
and the Kootenays shared this increase as well as the era of pros-
perity which came from the prairie market for lumber and fruit.
By 1910 the prairies were taking 70 per cent of British Columbia's
lumber. By 1913, the production of non-ferrous metals exceeded
$17,000,000. These were the decades that witnessed the opening
of the Silver Slocan, and of Rossland, the construction of
smelters at Trail, Pilot Bay, and Nelson. These were the
decades when the British Canadian Pacific and the American
Great Northern companies supplanted earlier individual efforts
to provide transportation upon river, lake and land, and vied
with one another to give efficient service in the Kootenays.
The Canadian Pacific extensions were a part of their vast
Trans-Canada development which was subsidized by an optimistic
federal government. High foreign investment of capital, rapid
settlement, much of it doomed to bitter disappointment, (like
the mansions built in the Lardeau, the hotels and business
blocks in Kaslo and the Slocan), the land boom, and the
inevitable depression all formed the cycle characteristic of
4. Canada, 1945, Official Handbook of Present Conditions and Recent
frontier economy. Yet the hardships and injustices suffered by this pioneering generation were softened by the high faith it held for a province in which the future of its children could be more easily provided. Of course, in the process they were destroying the cultural life of the North American Indian and preparing for his extermination, but it is the custom today to forget this as we deride modern imperialism and the exploitation of more distant foreign peoples.

The outbreak of war in 1914 brought a sudden close to this period of buoyant hopes. British Columbia, with a large recent immigration from the British Isles, moved with enthusiasm to immediate active participation. Loyalty to Empire, King and Country is more easily given than loyalty to an elected government against which thousands have campaigned and voted. In spite of the enormous waste of the struggle, Canadian economy made substantial and permanent gains. A large expansion in export production supplanted the capital imports and the construction boom upon which prosperity had been dependent before 1914. Resources and men threatened with prolonged unemployment were quickly drawn into industry. The War created a demand for non-ferrous metals, and spurred the improvement of processes for the treatment of ores and their conversion into refined products. Under these circumstances the output from the Trail Smelter increased. At the same time, as exports from Europe declined and shipping became more
difficult, British Columbia, along with the rest of Canada, found domestic and United States markets.

In the period between the two wars the economic history of British Columbia becomes more closely integrated with that of Canada. The opening of the Panama Canal and the low ocean freight rates after the war helped the Pacific province to develop her export economy. A high level of prosperity was achieved in the first post-war decade. Kootenay participation in this affluence was reflected particularly in the production of non-ferrous metals. The output of copper increased by more than 100 per cent, of silver, by 200 per cent, of zinc by 300 per cent, and of lead, by 1000 per cent. This greatly increased output was accompanied by a development of water-power higher per head than in any other province, and by a volume of new construction in British Columbia nearly equal to those of three prairie provinces combined. In fact, the per capita income in the province was $600 in 1929, higher than that of any other, while that of Canada as a whole was about $470.

The result of this activity of the twenties was to make British Columbia economically independent of the rest of Canada, though still bound by federal policies which she found irksome. Half the lumber, most of the fish, nearly all the minerals and a large part of the apples were sold in foreign markets. The increased wealth from these sales abroad made

the economy vulnerable to any decrease in foreign markets or any fall in world markets, with the result that British Columbia felt the full force of the depression. When prices fell in the export markets unemployment resulted and was accentuated by a sharp check to investment, which caused a collapse in the construction industry. Large numbers of workers were left without means of support and had to be looked after by public relief in industries operated by large scale corporate methods, as, for instance, the Consolidated plant at Trail. Nelson, on the other hand, where industries are upon a much smaller scale, did not suffer to as great an extent. With its box factory, railway repair shops, furniture factories, and its relatively large proportion of retired people, Nelson felt the effects of the depression perhaps less than any other city in Canada.

British Columbia, like all the rest of the Dominion, failed to anticipate the depression, but her burden was increased by the migration of prairie unemployed to the milder coast climate. Hence her per capita relief expenditure was second only to that of Saskatchewan. At first, none of the relief costs were met out of current revenues. Debts mounted rapidly and by 1933 the credit of the province and municipalities was exhausted. The municipalities were tided over for the last two years by Dominion loans to the provinces, which in turn assumed a larger

portion of the total relief costs as well as extending loans, so that British Columbia municipalities contributed less than 9 per cent of the total outlay. Federal action in this instance was felt to be almost disastrously slow in coping with the problem. During those years British Columbia found further cause for complaint when the Ottawa government depreciated the Canadian dollar in an effort to enable export industries to meet their fixed costs better. After Britain departed from the gold standard in 1931, and two years later the United States did likewise, the federal government boosted tariffs in an effort to protect Canadian industry. British Columbia then complained bitterly that the prices paid in world markets for her exports fell more heavily than the prices at which she had to buy products for her use. Even after some concessions had been obtained in the British marked by the Ottawa Agreement of 1932, it was contended that greater advantages could have been obtained had the province tariff and monetary autonomy. However, the province as a whole was not ready to face the political implications that implementation of such desires would necessitate.

The expansionist optimism of the twenties found an outlet in the Kootenay district in a project to reclaim the flats at the eastern entrance to Kootenay Lake. A similar plan, born in the brain of W.A. Baillie Grohman in the eighties had

miscarried of achievement, due to the contending authorities and interferences of federal and provincial governments, so that the result of a fine scheme for agricultural development matured in a poor substitute, the ill-fated canal that linked the Columbia and Kootenay rivers. On October 27, 1927 the Creston Reclamation Company, Limited, made formal application to the International Joint Commission for permission to construct permanent works in the channel of the Kootenay River at Creston. The land which they proposed to reclaim was about 30,000 acres lying along the river in a strip from one to four miles in width, and subject to periodic flooding. About two-thirds of this typical floodplain was in control of the province, while the balance was privately held, or formed a part of Indian Reserves administered by the Dominion Department of Indian Affairs. At an extended public hearing held in Nelson in November of the same year, were represented the interested parties of both sides of the line, for the workings of any such scheme would affect both British Columbia and the State of Idaho, through which the Kootenay River flowed. The West Kootenay Power and Light Company was concerned with the effect the resultant rise in lake water level would have upon its power plants along the Kootenay River after its emergence from the lake below Nelson. The Public Works Department of Canada was concerned with any possible effect upon the navigability of the Kootenay Lake and River. Besides seven important private
wharves upon the Kootenay Lake, the Department maintained twenty-seven public wharves, valued at $200,000. Approval of the reclamation was covered by an Order-in-Council. After a hearing in Washington the following April, the Commission ordered the company to proceed according to its plans, April 3, 1928. These specifications included construction of a dyke around the area to be drained, the diversion of Goat River into the Kootenay at two points by false mouths. The building of drainage ditches within the area, and the installation of machinery for pumping. However, after obtaining approval, the Creston Company did not proceed with its scheme.

Meantime, the company launched by Baillie-Grohman in 1891 for the same purpose, the Alberta and British Columbia Exploration Company, Limited, had begun construction of dykes in 1892, had received a grant from the Crown of about 7,705 acres in 1894, and, after floods and adversities, had continued expenditures upon reclamation construction in 1896, 1903, 1904 and up to 1909. As long as they could, this British company continued to farm at least a part of the land. In May 1930 after severe floods they sold the property to the Kootenay Valley Power and Development Company. In September, 1932, this Company made application to the International Joint Commission for permission to rehabilitate, reconstruct and repair the permanent reclamation works there. Again all

interested parties sent representatives to a hearing in Nelson, and in October, 1933, the company was given an order of approval to proceed with its schemes. About 7,700 acres of fertile soil were thus reclaimed to produce wheat, peas, small fruits and vegetables.

The difficult thirties made British Columbia aware that her prosperity was exposed to two dangers. The first, the danger of depletion, is inevitable and not far removed, in the case of stands of large trees. Inevitable, too, is the depletion of mineral wealth, and no efforts can be made to conserve it. On the other hand, abundant mineral wealth lies as yet undiscovered in British Columbia, and new mining methods and changed industrial techniques may quite likely divert mining quests to other goals than the minerals at present so cherished. The past decade has reopened long quiet mines in Kootenay and Slocan as companies seek to develop tungsten deposits, to find gold in old workings, and to work again over discarded tailings.

(b) The following small item from the Vancouver Sun of June 5, 1936, Page 12, is interesting:
"15,000 acres of flooded area have been reclaimed in the Kootenay flats near Creston in the past three or four years, and an application has been made to reclaim another 2300 acres. The land is exceptionally rich and if the climate proves suitable Creston may be the site of several canning factories to take care of the produce.
In 1935 farmers on the reclamation land had 5000 acres sown mostly to wheat, and yields as high as sixty bushels to the acre were noted...
An elevator and a feed warehouse have already been built and another elevator will be constructed in the near future. About fifty families are settled on the 15,000 acres and all are operating with power equipment."

Courtesy of Miss Marjorie C. Holmes, Assistant Librarian, Provincial Archives, Victoria, B. C.
The second danger to British Columbia is the loss of foreign markets. The province cannot consume within itself the output which investment has enabled it to produce. It prospered in a world at war, while we, the Allies, possessed the weapons of war. It can prosper in a world at peace, the peace of prosperous neighbours, accessible markets, low ocean freight rates. It cannot prosper in a world of rising defensive tariffs.

In January 1947, the world is at the cross-roads, and the outlook for the future in the Kootenays is bright. Five months after cessation of hostilities, demands created by the war are still encouraging output, while developments upon the international scene have, as yet, given no cause for apprehension. British Columbia's largest peacetime industry, The Consolidated Mining and Smelting Company of Canada, Limited, produced at Tadanac plants during 1945, metals valued at $40,000,000, an increase of roughly $10,000,000 over production figures of the previous year based upon figures of the Dominion Bureau of Statistics. This increase was due partly to a larger output of lead, but mainly to high prices for zinc. For the Company's very large and expanding chemical production no estimates were available. To a large extent this goes into chemical fertilizer. Details of metal production were:

<table>
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<th>Metal</th>
<th>Value</th>
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<td>Bismuth</td>
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<td>Cadmium</td>
<td>498,860</td>
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<tr>
<td>Lead</td>
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<td>18,537,930</td>
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<tr>
<td>Silver</td>
<td>2,566,471</td>
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$39,399,219
There was no output of mercury in 1945. Under these circum­stances R.W. Diamond, Vice-President and General Manager, made an optimistic statement upon the Company's 1946 program.

"...About 1100 men have already returned to our ranks from the services and many more are yet to come....

"The Consolidated is very fortunate in that its products are in great demand in peacetime, as they are in wartime, and we see no reason why our present scale of operations cannot be sustained. Because of the changed nature of our mining operations we have more men employed now altogether than we had before the war. We see no reason why present numbers cannot be maintained, in fact, we expect present numbers to be increased, somewhat.

"We have certain construction projects in mind for both Trail and Kimberley....We have every reason to believe that the Company will expand in the future as in the past. There is a ready market for our products, and we expect this condition to continue for some time to come...."13

This optimism was paralleled by the humming activity in the mines of the Kootenay-Boundary country toward the end of 1945. Increased silver prices, and the scouting of mining engineers for large interests in Eastern Canada and the United States were the impetus. Among the almost forty mines operating or preparing for operation are the Kenville Mines Limited, a subsidiary of the Quebec Gold Mining Company, Toronto, which at the end of 1945 was employing 65 men upon a large group of old claims on Toad Mountain near Nelson. Residents of Nelson did work in the summer of 1945 upon the Fern along Hall Creek, and the Golden Eagle and Arlington near Erie. Another property

near Erie is operated and owned by a syndicate from Salmo, while, near Ymir, the Oxide group has been optioned by the International Mining Corporation of Toronto, and the X-ray group is operated by the Ymir Good Hope Mining Company of Seattle. From five to twenty-five men were working at each of Bayonne, Kootenay Belle, Sheep Creek, Gold Belt and Nugget. Other mines were opened and operated in the Rossland area, the Grand Forks area, near Ainsworth, Kaslo, Sandon, Silverton, New Denver, and Larderou.

Nelson, the distributing centre for most of these operations, shows faith in the continuation of her prosperity by the construction of new business blocks. Although coddling moths, fruit flies and worms caused a decrease in output of apples, cherries, plums and prunes, the total production value was only slightly lowered due to the general upward price revision. The estimated value of the 1945 fruit crop was $1,253,390. Flowers, too, from the Nelson area, find a ready market in the prairie cities. In the same year forest industry for the district set a record pace, total value of output being $6,767,800. The products from 179 saw-mills operating included logs, cedar poles, mine-timbers, Christmas trees, cordwood, fence posts, hewn ties, and fir piling, cut from larch, fir, spruce, hemlock, yellow pine, cedar, white pine, jack pine, balsam, cottonwood and birch in that descending order of quantity. Shipments were to the prairie, 51 per cent, to Eastern Canada, 28 per cent, local consumption, 13 per cent, and to the United States 1 per cent. These forestry operations extend over

15. Ibid.
both East and West Kootenay and brought some construction to Nakusp on the Arrow Lakes. Secondary industries, such as sash and door and box factories in Nelson and Cranbrook anticipate increased markets from post-war housing construction. Last, but not least, in this hasty view of Kootenay economic prospects, the tourist trade. Natural beauty unexcelled, of mountains, lakes and streams, abundance of game and good fishing, and the promise of improved roads should make this area a magnet for visitors, particularly visitors from the south.

As the Kootenay country became an integral part of British Columbia, and of the whole transcontinental federation, political consciousness was aroused amongst its citizens. The party system made its appearance comparatively late in this province, and in the Kootenays even after the adoption of the party system in 1903, representatives have been elected rather because they are "fine men" capable of expressing and standing up for the needs of their constituencies, than because they stand for parties whose loyalties are sharply defined. When a new party, the Cooperative Commonwealth Federation, made a bid for power in 1933, with a definitely socialistic platform, it polled a substantial vote at the expense of the disintegrating government of the day, but its parliamentary quota was not in proportion to this vote. In 1941, it polled more votes than either of the other parties, so that the Liberals and Conservatives had to form a coalition to secure a parliamentary majority. At that time H.W. Herridge of Nakusp became legislative member for Rossland-Trail, a sign of the times in an area where so large a proportion of voters are workers for one company. However,
in 1945, Mr. Herridge's capabilities must have transcended his supporters' loyalties to the new party for they elected him to the federal house, after the C.C.F. had expelled him for disobeying the orders of their executive not to stand in the Dominion election.

The difficult problem of determining where the line is to be drawn between Dominion and Provincial control over citizenship privileges which concern Canadians of foreign origin has been thoroughly discussed in the two preceding chapters. Neither in provincial nor in federal constitutions is there a list of things which a provincial government may not do, yet the federal government may disallow any provincial legislation within a year of its enactment. Both the Doukhobours and the Japanese have caused this ineffec­tual competition of powers to function without successfully solving two very unhappy problems, and in the process the spotlight has been turned upon the West Kootenay, their temporary abode.

In less than a century and a half white settlement has completely supplanted red Indian aborigines in the Kootenays. The traders of British Companies, and the priest of French religious orders explored their mountain valleys. American prospectors and capitalists opened the mines that brought development. Canadian and British influences have made the area politically, socially and economically a part of British Columbia and of Canada. The resources of nature,
the energy and ambition of outstanding men from all three countries have combined to establish there the greatest industrial plant of its kind in the world. In a world at peace, economic prosperity and social happiness should shine upon this section of our province, where every major industry is represented and where such friendly relations exist with our great neighbour.
BIBLIOGRAPHY AND ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I PRIMARY SOURCES

A. INTERVIEWS

1. Edward Affleck — at one time a student at Nelson High School, now a graduate of U.B.C. A keen student of local history, when he heard of my interest and plans to journey up the lake to Larder, he at once put the fruits of his research about early rail and boat transportation, at my disposal. I am indebted to him for the preliminary work on that section.

2. Conversations with J.J. Campbell; His life story reads like a series of five romances, each a life in itself. Youth in Barbadoes, Indian agent in Assineboia in the eighties, superintendent of the Nelson Smelter in the nineties, consultant to mining companies in the United States, a member of the Royal Commission on Agriculture whose report was published in 1913, fruit rancher on a large scale in the valley along the lake. Now at 86, prominent in B.C. Fruit Growing Organizations, he is still practicing his violin two hours a day. He lives at Willow Point, five miles from Nelson.

3. Conversations with H.M. Cottingteam, my grandfather's half brother, who left his Irish Ontario home to seek adventure and fortune. In 1866, he came through the Crow's Nest Pass in a pack train with Bill Fernie. He travelled through British Columbia over the Dewdney Trail. In 1888, he came up from Bonner's Ferry on the Mud Hen to see for himself the excitement at Toad Mountain, and he got his start by putting some money in the Hall Mines. For years he was a hotel owner in Vancouver and in Stewart, Alaska. He died in Vancouver March, 1942.


5. Mrs. S.S. Fowler -- whose husband was manager at Riondel (Blue Bell) from 1906 until his death in 1941. Through her kindness I was able to use Baillie-Grohman's Sport and Life.

6. H.S. Fowler -- son of the above whose generosity permitted me the use of an autographed copy of his father's article on smelters.
7. F.A. Jewett -- provincial inspector of schools in this district. He takes a keen interest in local history and arranged with Mrs. J.A. Riddell of Kaslo, to lend me Palliser's Blue Book. He tells an interesting story of a map of this district which used to hang in the High School Office when Mr. C. McLean Fraser was principal here in 1904. Alas! it had disappeared before the arrival of the late principal, L.V. Rogers, in 1922. Mr. Jewett relates that this map was presented to the school by A.D. Barrow, a surveyor at Mirror Lake. Barrow bought this map in Montreal, in a second hand shop, in a barrel, in 1892. The map was dated 1836, and bore the name of King William IV's map maker. The southern boundary of B.C. was the Columbia river to its mouth, and both Hot Springs Camp (Ainsworth) and the Blue Bell were marked on it. If this were authentic it would surely prove that the Blue Bell outcropping was known to the fur trading companies before the mention made by H. Bauerman in 1858.

8. R.S. Joy -- old timer prospector and grocer here. For twenty years he has made it his hobby to collect stories about old timers. He is historian of the Nelson Old Timers Association.

9. G.H. Lee -- of Bonnington. Information about Indian relics to be found near his home and upon islands in the Kootenay River there.


11. Conversations with Captain Malcolm McLeod -- of S.S. Moyie, formerly on the Okanagan Lake, but well versed in Kootenay lore.

12. Conversations with Captain Walter Wright of S.S. Minto -- and for about forty years captain of boats on Slocan and Kootenay Lakes.

B. NEWSPAPERS, and MAGAZINES, ARTICLES


C. REPORTS, LETTERS, PAPERS

optimistic outlook upon the future of the Consolidated
Mining and Smelting Company, and of Trail.

18. Fitzsimmons, Captain James article in B.C. Historical
Quarterly vol. 1.

19. Fowler, S.S. "Early Smelters in British Columbia"

20. Hardy, Reginald - Report from Ottawa upon House of Commons
deliberations on Japanese repatriation in Vancouver Daily
Province, January 21, 1946.

21. Moris, Joe - article on Rossland Mines written January 9,

reading, and source of many local facts, as well as spicy
bits about European history.

23. Nelson Tribune -- issues Nov. 1893 to Nov. 1894. Similar
to the above.

24. Trail Creek News - Issues Oct. 21, 1895; April 4, 1896;
May 22, 1896; July 10, 1896; May 16, 1896; valuable
source material for Trail.


26. Wasson, W.E. -- review of thirty-six years service as
clerk for the city of Nelson, in Nelson Daily News,
January 27, 1943.

27. Nelson Daily News - current issues. These from time to
time contain reminiscences of old timers.

28. Cominco -- Lance Whittaker, Editor - pub. by Consolidated
Mining and Smelting Company of Trail, B.C. Frequent articles
of historical interest upon the Kootenays profusely
illustrated with old pictures.

very valuable source, in it were printed many accounts
from the first issues of the paper.

30. Young Joseph, "An Indian's Views of Indian Affairs," with
an introduction by William H. Hare, Missionary Bishop of
Biobrara, in the North American Review, edited by Allen
Throngike Rice, vol. CXXVIII, New York, D. Appleton and
Company, 1879. pp 412-433. An eloquent expression of the
red man's dismay at the loss of his home lands to the
incursion of white men who supplant him.


37. Godsal, F.W., Letter in Provincial Archives relating to Naming of Crow's Nest Pass. Courtesy of Miss Marjorie C. Holmes, Assistant Librarian, Provincial Archives, Victoria, B.C.


40. Removal of the Japanese from Protected Areas - report issued by British Columbia Security Commission, Vancouver, B.C. March 4, 1942 to October 31, 1942. Courtesy of C.V. Booth, Department of Labour, Japanese Division, Vancouver, B.C.


48. Wolfenden, Madge assistant and sometime acting archivist, Victoria, B.C. note on Fort Shepherd.

D. BOOKS


52. Tom C. Collins History What is History C.A. Rohrabacher, Sept. 1897. Since Collins came to Nelson in June 1888, this early history is considered authentic. There are biographical notes appended describing Nelson's old timers in 1897. There are some corrections by Dr. E.C. Arthur.

53. de Smet, Father P.J., Lettres Choisies Paris, Repos, 1887.


55. de Smet, Father P.J., Oregon Missions and travels over the Rocky Mountains New York, Edward Dunigan 1847.


57. Franchère, Gabriel - Narrative of a Voyage to the Northwest Coast of America in the years 1811, 12, 13, 14. Translated and edited J.V. Huntingdon, New York, Redfield - 1854.


62. St. Barbe, Charles *First History of Nelson*-published C.A. Rohrabacher and Sons Aug. 1897. Similar to Collin's history, with which it disagrees in only a few trivial details. The two accounts were issued in one booklet at 50 cents. One original is now in possession of R.C. Joy another in that of Leo Gansner, barrister in Nelson. Mrs. Gansner has made a typed transcript and presented it to the Nelson Civic Library. Since I consulted both original and transcript at different times, I did not give page references in foot notes.

II SECONDARY SOURCES

A. Newspapers, Magazines, Articles, Papers, Letters.


2. Coccola, Jean - letter to the writer concerning death and papers of his uncle, Father Nicholas Coccola O.M.I.


5. Doukhobours - a brief typed historical outline of the history of this people by an unnamed Doukhobour furnished the writer by F.A. Jewett, Provincial Inspector of Schools.


8. Elliott, T.C. "In the Land of the Kootenai" in Oregon Historical Quarterly vol. 27.


18. **Nelson Daily News** January, 1943 article on Dr. D. Labau.

19. **Nelson Daily News** April 1, 1943 summary of Kootenay Lake General Hospital.


22. Oliphant, J. Orin "Old Fort Colville" in **Pacific Northwest Quarterly** vol. 16.


30. Winans, W.P. "Fort Colville" in **Pacific Northwest Quarterly** vol. 3.


32. Angus. H.F. Japan, Our Neighbour, No. 3 in 1946 Series (vol. 6) Behind the Headlines Series, Canadian Institute of International Affairs.

33. **Canada, 1945**. Official Handbook of Present Conditions and Recent Progress Ottawa, Dominion Bureau of Statistics.
34. Census of Indians in Canada 1939 Ottawa, J.O. Patenaude, Printer to the King's Most Excellent Majesty. 1940.


37. Kootenay and the City of Nelson. Nelson Board of Trade 1943.


43. Thrupp, S.L. - History of the Cranbrook District in East Kootenay April, 1929. MSS in U.B.C. library.

44. Trail, B.C., brief history Trail Board of Trade July 1931.

45. White, James, Place names in the Rocky Mountains between the 49th Parallel and the Athabasca River in Royal Society of Canada Transactions 1916. Section II.

C. BOOKS


47. Barbeau, Marius -- Indians in the Canadian Rockies, Macmillan Co. Toronto, 1923, Detail about Kootenay migrations.

48. Begg, Alexander, History of British Columbia, 1894. Mention of the Kootenays is very brief. An interesting map shows Sproats and Hendrix (the Blue Bell).


57. Gosnell, R.E. *Yearbook of B.C.* Victoria, 1911. Reports Alfred Demean Wheeler's account of Hearst's connection with the Blue Bell. Wheeler long a resident of Ainsworth was a brother-in-law of Ainsworth for whom the town was named.

58. Graham, Clara, *Fur and Gold in the Kootenays*. Vancouver Wrigley Printing Co. Limited, 1945. In a complete record of the exploration and prospecting of the district this author has caught its romance and beauty which she conveys in clear and colourful prose. There are one or two inaccuracies, as for instance the confusion regarding Thompson's routes.


63. Howay, F.W. and Scholefield, E.O.W. British Columbia from the Earliest Times to the Present. S.J. Clarke 1914 — Vol. II. Most valuable material about all this region in early days.

64. Vol. IV of the above biographical — Further details about the lives of men prominent in early Kootenay History.


70. Mercier, Mrs. Jerome (Anne) Father Pat A Hero of the Far West, Florence, Minchin and Gibbs, 1909.


73. Moore, Elwood, S. American Influence in Canadian Mining, Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 1941.

74. Moore, Elwood S., Canada's Mineral Resources, Toronto Irwin and Gordon, Ltd. 1929. Excellent for an account, understandable to the layman, of deposits, and for explanation of chemical and geological terms.


76. Niven Frederick, The Lover of the Land Bohi and Liveright 1925. Poetry that expresses the Kootenay's beauty and magic.
77. Ravenhill, Alice. *Native Tribes of British Columbia*. Victoria, King's Printer 1926. Not as detailed as Jenness, but very good.


86. Whittaker, Lance H. *All is not Gold; a history of the Consolidated Mining and Smelting Company and its influence in the Kootenays.*

MSS now in process of publication.

Full of authentic detail, written in clear, forceful style, this history stimulates interest throughout, with a fine sense of proportion, balancing meaningful matter with worthy estimation of personalities, and humorous anecdotes.
APPENDIX

1. Four examples of original Kootenay Indian melodies.

2. The first document drawn up in the West Kootenay.

3. Political Chronicles.


5. Statistical tables showing mining production in the West Kootenay districts from 1895 to 1931.


7. Descriptive verses by a poet of the Kootenay.
A PERSONAL MEDICINE SONG

Of this song, the informant said, "I have kept this secret all my life, I will die not long from this time, so I will put this on a record for my descendants."

SONG OF FIRST GAMBLER

Two Indians gambled, one guessing in which of the other's hands was enclosed a small chip which he passed from hand to hand behind his back. As the changes and guessing went on with incredible speed hour after hour, each repeated over and over his own song, sung to his "power", rising in pitch with excitement.

SONG OF THE ERECTION OF THE SUN-DANCE LODGE

This vigorous symmetrical tune is to some extent un-Kutenai.

Voice $q = 92$, Drum $q = 92$, Rattle $q = 92$

RECRUITING SONG

The rhythm for this Lodge Cover, or Recruiting, or Farewell Song was beaten out with wooden sticks against a stretched lodge cover. It ended with a falsetto war cry.

Voice $q = 92$, Percussion $q = 92$

Carry On!
THE FIRST DOCUMENT DRAWN UP IN WEST KOOTENAY DISTRICT

Somehow there is always an aura of romance surrounding "first" things. The following is of considerable historical interest. It is the first document to be drawn up in the West Kootenay district. This is the petition, drawn up by Baillie-Grohman and signed by every white man in the district, begging the government to alter its mining laws so as to accommodate quartz miners as well as placer miners.

Kootenay Lake Mines,
British Columbia,
October 12, 1883.

Petition to the Chief Gold Commissioner of the Province of British Columbia.

We, the undersigned, humbly petition for the granting of the following concessions, alike important to us and to the proper development of the mineral resources of the Kootenay Lake district:

Firstly, — That the statutes incorporated in the Mineral Act of 1882 and the Mineral Amendment Act of 1883 be brought into force in this district in time for the opening of the season of 1884. There are no placer mines in this district, at least none have as yet been discovered: the mineral resources, which are of a most promising character, consisting chiefly of silver and lead ores that cannot be worked by poor men, and hence do not return any immediate profits to the prospectors who find them. The discoverers have to hold their

claims till they can find a purchaser, which is impossible at short notice considering the extreme remoteness of this district. It is therefore very hard upon prospectors that the above-mentioned two Acts were disallowed, much more so than were this a placer mining district.

Secondly, — That a Recorder, or Deputy Gold Commissioner, with powers to issue mining certificates and records of mining claims, be appointed for the season 1884, or that powers be granted to the district Justice of the Peace to appoint one of our number elected by ourselves as temporary Recorder of the Kootenay Lake District. The great distance to the Assistant Gold Commissioner's Office at Wildhorse Creek, Upper Kootenay, a journey there and back of 480 or 500 miles by boat and bad trail, make it impossible for us to comply with the requirements of the law respecting miners' certificates and records, while at the same time the law requires that work be done on a claim every seventy-two hours.

W.A. Baillie-Grohman, J.P., free miner
Martin M. Fry, free miner
Robert Gorsuch, free miner
Jesse Hunly, free miner
Jacob A.M. Meyers, free miner
R.E. Sprowle, free miner
G.E. Harman
A.O. Fry
Gay Reeder
This piece of sustained satire appeared in The Miner, January 11, 1894, immediately after J. Fred Hume announced his intention to stand as Kootenay candidate for the provincial legislature.

Chapter 1.

1. Now it came to pass that the day when the present judges should cease to reign over the people, approached.
2. So the people began to bestir themselves, and say to one another, whom shall we send up to be judge for us.
3. Now, there lived in the land, a certain scribe, one John, surnamed Hew Stone, who spoke unto himself and said:
4. For what hath a man in these days for his labour, if he hath nought to say in the councils of the people; if he cannot glean in the public harvest fields.
5. As it happened to the fool, so shall it happen to me.
6. I have been but as a hiding place for the wind, a screech owl crying to the rocks.
7. Those in high places listen not to my voice. Now therefore I will gather my brethren together, to put those in high places who will hearken unto me.
8. I will give them pastors according to mine own heart, whom I will feed with knowledge and understanding.
9. Wherefore, O, ye people, give ear unto me.
10. Gather ye together, every tribe at its own city, listen to the words I send unto you.
11. Choose ye your headmen, each tribe according to the numbers I have said.

12. Let them gird up their loins, gather together their scrip, bringing with them their seal of office, and hasten unto the city which I have appointed.

Chapter 2.
1. But when the people of the land heard the words of the scribe and saw the tablets on which it was written, they waxed exceedingly wroth:

2. Saying one to another, Who is this man that saith: Dance when I pipe unto you? Come when I call you?

3. What manner of people thinks he, run up and down these mountains?

4. Are we but cattle, driven with the herder's rod?

5. Who hath set this man up for a ruler and a judge?

6. After this manner spoke the men of the different tribes.

7. But when their anger had ceased they laughed among themselves, saying:

8. The gale of this man hath no bitterness, it savoreth of the pleasantness of a joke.

9. Let him that wisheth to sit in high places, come forward that we may size him up. Him will we esteem or condemn.

10. And they each went his own way, every one to his own saloon, and those who had shekels gave them to the dispenser of drinks for refreshment, and those who had not, subscribed their names on a big slate.
HOTEL RULES IN THE EIGHTIES

These were the days when men worked long and doggedly. When fabulous wealth crowned their hopes, they spent money freely, and took their pleasures with riotous freedom, too. The following is a list of hotel rules drawn up to govern the conduct of guests in western hostleries in the eighties.¹

1. Guests will be provided with breakfast and dinner but must rustle their own lunch.
2. Spiked boots and spurs must be removed at night before retiring.
3. Dogs are not allowed in the bunks but may sleep underneath.
4. Candles, hot water and other luxuries charged extra, also towels and soap.
5. Towels changed weekly. Insect powder for sale at bar.
6. Crap, chuck luck, stud horse poker and black jack games are run by the management. Indians and niggers charged double. Rates to "Gospel Grinders" and the "Gambling Perfesh."
7. Private entrance by ladder for ladies in the rear.
8. Every known fluid (water excepted) for sale at the bar.
9. A deposit must be made before towels, soap, or candles can be carried to the rooms.
10. When boarders are leaving a rebate will be made on all candles or parts of candles not burned or eaten.

¹ W.K. Clark, Nelson hotelman, in a speech to the Rotary Club—(unfortunately I cannot determine the date) M.E.C.)
Special Rules

1. Two or more persons must sleep in one bed when requested so by the proprietor.

2. No more than one dog allowed to be kept in a single room.

3. Baths furnished free, down at the river, but bathers must furnish their own towels and soap.

4. No kicking regarding the quality or quantity of meals will be allowed. Those who do not like the provender will get out or be put out.

5. Assaults on the cook are strictly prohibited.

6. Quarrelsome or boisterous persons, also those who shoot off without provocation, guns or other explosive weapons on the premises and all boarders who get killed will not be allowed to stay in the house.

7. When guests find themselves or their baggage thrown over the fence they may consider that they have received notice to quit.

8. Jewellery and other valuables will not be locked in the safe. This hotel has no such ornament.

9. The proprietor will not be accountable for anything.

10. In case of fire the guests are requested to escape without unnecessary delay.

11. The bar in the annex will be open night and day. All day drinks 50¢. Night drinks $1.00 each. No mixed drinks will be served except in cases of death in the family.

12. Only registered guests will be allowed the privilege of sleeping on the bar room floors.
13. Guests without baggage must sleep in the vacant lot and board elsewhere unless their baggage arrives.

14. Guests are forbidden to strike matches or spit on the ceiling, or sleep in bed with their boots on.

15. No checks cashed for anybody. Payment must be made in cash, gold dust or blue chips.

16. Saddle horses can be hired at any hour for the day or night or the next day and night if necessary.

17. Meals served in own rooms will not be guaranteed in any way. Our waiters are hungry and not above temptation.

18. To attract attention of waiters or bell boys shoot a hole through the door panel.

19. All guests are requested to rise at 6 A.M. This is imperative as sheets are needed for table cloths.

20. No tips given to waiters or servants. Leave them with proprietor and he will distribute them if he thinks it is considered necessary.

21. Everything cash in advance. Following tariff subject to change.

  Board..........................$25 a month
  Board and Lodging .............$40 a month
  Board and Lodging with wooden bench to sleep on ......$50 a month
  Board and Lodging with bed.....$60 a month
The following tables are taken from Harold A. Innis, Settlement and the Mining Frontier, Toronto, Macmillan Company of Canada, 1936.

They give a statistical picture of mining production in the West Kootenay districts from 1895 to 1931.

Ainsworth Production.\(^1\)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1895, Value dollars</th>
<th>1896, Value dollars</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Silver</td>
<td>171,759</td>
<td>125,489</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lead</td>
<td>217,185</td>
<td>64,100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>388,944</td>
<td>189,589</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Total Production for the Nelson District\(^2\)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1895, Value dollars</th>
<th>1896, Value dollars</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Gold</td>
<td>25,500</td>
<td>10,220</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Silver</td>
<td>32,487</td>
<td>423,413</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Copper</td>
<td>5,621</td>
<td>111,896</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>63,608</td>
<td>545,529</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Production of Silver King to January 1, 1897

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ore (tons)</th>
<th>Silver per Ton of ore (ozs.)</th>
<th>Copper (per cent)</th>
<th>Silver (ozs.)</th>
<th>Copper (lbs.)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Amount Shipped by former owners</td>
<td>200</td>
<td>190</td>
<td>18.7</td>
<td>38,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Amount shipped to 1,160 outside smelters</td>
<td></td>
<td>119</td>
<td>12.9</td>
<td>138,331</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Amount shipped #29,860 to company smelter</td>
<td></td>
<td>21</td>
<td>3.7</td>
<td>627,060</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Amount shipped 47,560 to company smelter (1897)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>954,585</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#in addition outside ores (542,070 lbs.) were handled by the smelter.

Mining Output of Slocan District

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ore (tons)</th>
<th>Silver (ozs.)</th>
<th>Lead (lbs.)</th>
<th>Gold (ozs.)</th>
<th>Value (dollars)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1895</td>
<td>9,514</td>
<td>1,122,770</td>
<td>9,666,324</td>
<td>1,045,600</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1896</td>
<td>16,500</td>
<td>1,954,238</td>
<td>18,175,074</td>
<td>1,854,011</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1897</td>
<td>33,576</td>
<td>3,641,287</td>
<td>30,707,705</td>
<td>3,280,686</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1. Innis: op. cit. p. 276.
Costs of Coal and Coke at Nelson, British Columbia

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>From the Coast</th>
<th>From the Crowsnest</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(dollars per ton)</td>
<td>(dollars per ton)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Freight rate on coal and coke to Nelson, B.C.</td>
<td>3.25</td>
<td>2.25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Price of screened coal at Nelson, B.C.</td>
<td>10.00</td>
<td>5.75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Price of coke at Nelson, B.C.</td>
<td>11.00</td>
<td>7.00</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Mining in Ainsworth and Slocan Divisions, 1899

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Mines Employed</th>
<th>Men Employed</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Mines</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(Number)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ainsworth</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Slocan</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Population of the Kootenay District, 1901-1941.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Kootenay East</th>
<th>Kootenay West</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1901</td>
<td>8,446</td>
<td>23,516</td>
<td>31,962</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1911</td>
<td>22,446</td>
<td>28,373</td>
<td>50,819</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1921</td>
<td>19,137</td>
<td>30,502</td>
<td>49,639</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1931</td>
<td>22,536</td>
<td>39,443</td>
<td>62,479</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1941</td>
<td>25,559</td>
<td>40,088</td>
<td>65,647</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1. Innis: op. cit. p. 283.
2. Ibid:
### Value of Production of All Metals in Kootenay Districts

**British Columbia 1895-1931**

Nelson in (thousands of dollars)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Kootenay Lakes</th>
<th>Trail</th>
<th>Slocan</th>
<th>Ainsworth</th>
<th>Fort Steele</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1895</td>
<td>2,241</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>702</td>
<td>1,058</td>
<td>389</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1896</td>
<td>4,157</td>
<td>546</td>
<td>1,243</td>
<td>1,854</td>
<td>346</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1897</td>
<td>6,930</td>
<td>789</td>
<td>2,097</td>
<td>3,281</td>
<td>441</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1898</td>
<td>6,176</td>
<td>695</td>
<td>2,471</td>
<td>2,620</td>
<td>160</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1899</td>
<td>6,254</td>
<td>879</td>
<td>3,229</td>
<td>1,740</td>
<td>298</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1900</td>
<td>8,236</td>
<td>787</td>
<td>2,739</td>
<td>2,064</td>
<td>349</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1901</td>
<td>9,752</td>
<td>1,245</td>
<td>4,621</td>
<td>1,866</td>
<td>331</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1902</td>
<td>7,939</td>
<td>773</td>
<td>4,893</td>
<td>1,609</td>
<td>273</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1903</td>
<td>6,628</td>
<td>601</td>
<td>4,256</td>
<td>1,127</td>
<td>220</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1904</td>
<td>6,987</td>
<td>467</td>
<td>3,761</td>
<td>1,237</td>
<td>168</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1905</td>
<td>7,989</td>
<td>508</td>
<td>3,673</td>
<td>831</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1906</td>
<td>7,513</td>
<td>471</td>
<td>3,174</td>
<td>516</td>
<td>267</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1907</td>
<td>7,035</td>
<td>587</td>
<td>3,050</td>
<td>574</td>
<td>365</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1908</td>
<td>6,711</td>
<td>393</td>
<td>3,573</td>
<td>677</td>
<td>342</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1909</td>
<td>6,025</td>
<td>557</td>
<td>2,875</td>
<td>555</td>
<td>572</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1910</td>
<td>6,309</td>
<td>876</td>
<td>2,966</td>
<td>845</td>
<td>318</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1911</td>
<td>5,124</td>
<td>481</td>
<td>2,881</td>
<td>799</td>
<td>51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1912</td>
<td>7,171</td>
<td>554</td>
<td>3,196</td>
<td>1,951</td>
<td>372</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1913</td>
<td>8,049</td>
<td>819</td>
<td>3,282</td>
<td>2,258</td>
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1. Innis: op. cit. p. 318.

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1. Innis: op. cit. p. 319
Mineral Production of the Slocan Mining District, 1923-1931

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<th>Zinc (pounds)</th>
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1. Innis: op. cit.: p. 295
THE LURE OF THIS LAND

These memorable lines are from the pen of Frederick Niven, the Kootenay author, who came from his native Scotland to make his home beside the lake at Willow Point, and who died January 30, 1944, after writing many novels, short stories and poems about the Canadian West. During the first Great War these verses passed from hand to hand in the Canadian contingent, until the Nelson News pages, upon which they were printed, became mere tattered shreds. At that time they brought comfort to weary, homesick lads far "up the muddy line." To all who have dwelt here, these lines express the exquisite nostalgia that, in times of absence, makes the heart yearn for this beloved Kootenay valley.

The yellow bench-lands gleam and glow
Under an azure sky;
Above the benches trees arow
March upward, very high;
And higher than the trees again
The scarped summit stands:
My heart is desolate because
I cannot see these lands.

The winding trails go up and down,
The tributary trails
That lead to roads that lead to town,
A town beside the rails.
But happy he who quits the train
And on the wagon-road
Rides watching for the old blazed tree;
He needs not any goad.

Dear God, if prayers of men avail
For special things with Thee,
This would I pray--To hit the trail,
And smell the balsam tree;
To see the eagles coasting heaven;
The sun-shafts striking deep
In lonely lakes and laughing streams;
To hear the chipmunks cheep.
To give the high-ball to old friends,
And throw the reins abroad,
As men there do when travel ends;
This would I ask, O God;
To see the pack train glide and lope
A-patter through the woods,
All silent in the old cone-dust
Of these old solitudes.

Some call the Indians dirty folk,
But I again would see,
And smell, Great Spirit, wood-fire smoke
Of some red man's tipee.
One sign that I was back again
In these tremendous lands,
Would be the sight of silver rings
On brown and lissome hands.

The bench's yellow pales and fades,
The sun ebbs up the hill,
'Tis dark in the deep forest glades,
'Tis dark and very still;
The sunlight on the summit dies,
--Was that a drop of rain?--
I knew it once from dawn to dusk
And would go home again.

Frederick Niven: in The Lover of the Land Boni and Liveright, 1925.