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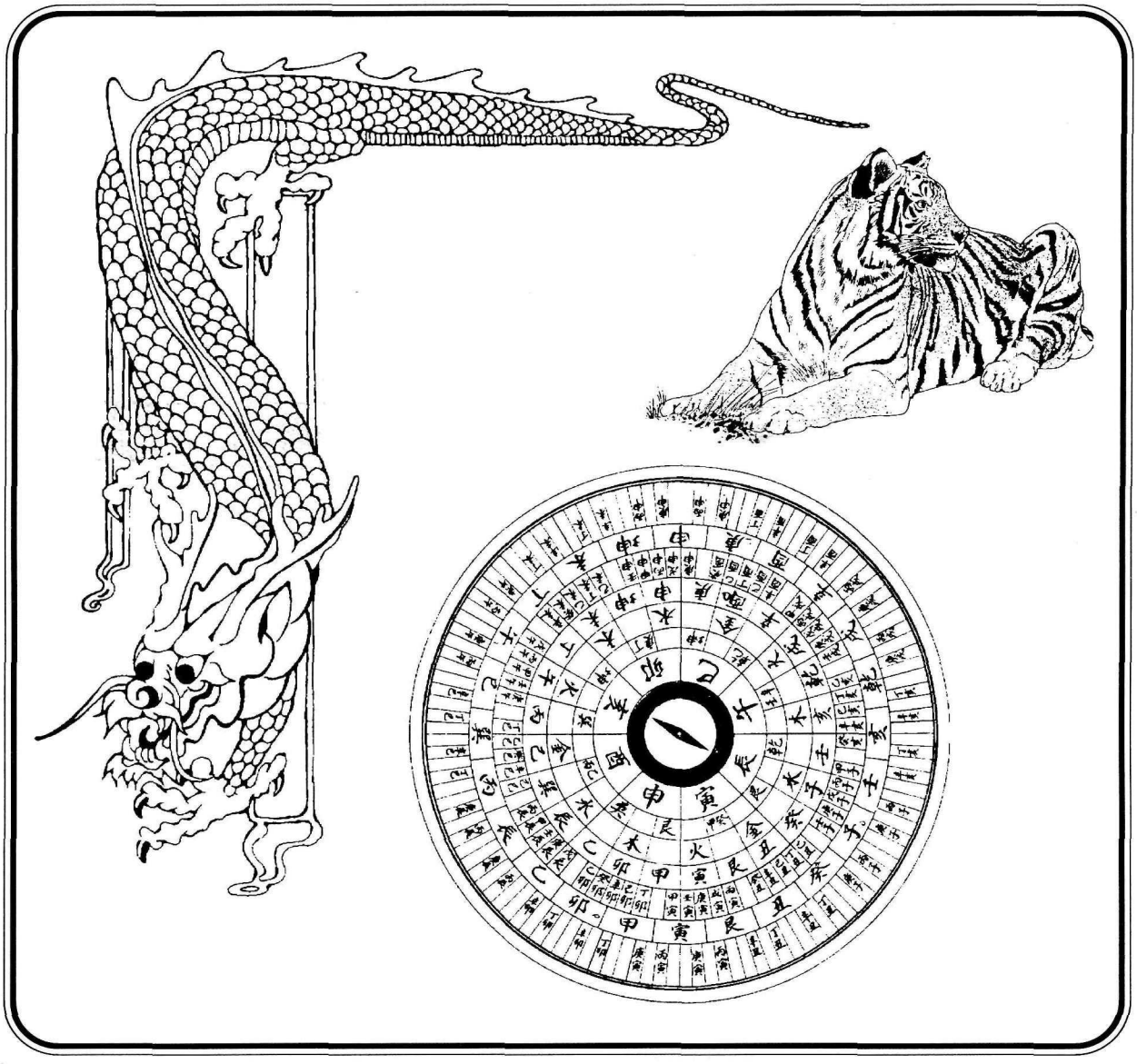

Green Dragons and White Tigers:

Feng-Shui in Barkerville

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Member Societies and their Secretaries are responsible for seeing that the correct address for their society is up to date. Please send any change to both the Treasurer and the Editor at the addresses inside the back cover. The Annual Return as at October 31 should include telephone numbers for contact.

MEMBERS' DUES for the current year were paid by the following Societies:

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Nanaimo and District Museum Society	100 Cameron Road, Nanaimo, B.C. V9R 2X1
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British Columbia Historical News

Journal of the B.C. Historical Federation

Volume 31, No. 4 Fall 1998

EDITORIAL

October is Women's History Month. Jean Barman's research on "Vancouver's Forgotten Entrepreneurs" is a very special presentation acknowledging the accomplishments of six women, describing the challenges of each time period, and giving readers plenty of "Women's History."

As a bonus, the biography of Sara McLagan was received in time to enrich the theme of women who achieved great things.

To avoid an overload of Women's History we present some contrasting topics, such as Jonathan Begg's "Letters from Salt Spring Island 1860-61," "Feng-Shui in Barkerville," and many book reviews.

This Fall issue come to you after much blood, sweat (a super hot summer) and tears (of frustration about a series of technical glitches.) But cheer up! We are already planning the Winter issue with some fascinating material.

Naomi Miller

COVER CREDIT

"Green Dragon and White Tiger on Gold Mountain." Larry Peters has investigated the use of the geomancy compass (shown here) as part of his study on Feng-Shui in Barkerville. Geomancy is a little known science but it has its own special compass. The cover is a composite created by Kwik Print's typesetter Colleen Nelson.

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Manuscripts and correspondence to the editor are to be sent to P.O. Box 105, Wasa, B.C. V0B 2K0.
Correspondence regarding subscriptions is to be directed to the Subscription Secretary (see inside back cover).

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Serving the Great Depression

by N.H. Sprinkling

It started for me when I was six years old in 1929. My dear dad, a prominent tailor in Victoria, lost everything after the stock market crash; from then on we were a poor family of eight and dad had to finally take relief (now called welfare). It's hard to believe we had nothing. I had three sisters and two brothers. My oldest brother and sister quit school to seek employment; my sister served as a housemaid, my brother was fortunate as he landed a job on a C.P.R. steamship and was able to give the family good financial support.

We lived a block from the ocean and a few more blocks from the Ogden Point docks. Both the beach and the docks helped us get through the depression.

My younger brother and I had the job of supplying wood for burning in the kitchen stove, the fireplaces, and an old heater in the hall. We went to the beach for wood and by watching the other boys and men we learned how to differentiate between fir (the best wood for burning) and the other woods: we chipped a log with an axe and smelled the wood. We sawed the fir log into cord wood with a crosscut saw which our older brother had bought. We then split the wood with iron wedges and a sledge hammer.

There was a sea wall to tackle before we could get the wood from the beach to the road. We used a block and tackle to get the wood up to the road where we loaded the wood on an old wooden cart with iron wheels. Home we would go. We were not very old.

We had a row boat - one we built ourselves - on a float inside the breakwater. We would row the boat out to the big freighters, at Ogden Point docks, where the longshoremen were loading lumber. Sometimes they would loose a sling of lumber over the side and when they did we would tie a rope on to as many 2x4's as we could tow to shore and, eventually, to our little wooden cart. I can still remember sawing up 20ft 2x4's, that were clear of any knots, just to burn.

There was another source of lumber at the docks. We called them stanchions. They supported the lumber on the flat deck railway cars. The longshoremen would just break them off as they unloaded the flat decks. And we would stand by with our cart.

Ogden Point docks had other things to offer besides lumber: green bananas and grain for our chickens.

Banana stalks were unloaded, from the freighter holds, in huge wooden crates. The crates were lowered by a sling to carts on the docks. Four or five longshoremen would push the carts into the shed where trucks were waiting. Twelve to fifteen James Bay boys - my brother and I included - would wait fifteen feet away on a chalk line until the last stalk was lifted out of its crate and when it was - it was our signal - we would run and dive into the crates and grab as many loose bananas as we could. Then home we would go to put the bananas in our dirt floor basement to ripen.

In those days, Victoria had a grain elevator. The grain was brought over from Vancouver on railway barges. When the box cars were emptied, they sat on a side track for a few days.

Inside the box car there was tongue and groove siding from the floor up, but not to the top; about a foot short of the top, the wood was fastened to the steel ribs; this left a space of three to four inches between the wood and outside steel of the box car. When the box car was filled with grain, the top grain would spill over and fill up the space between the wood and the outside of the box car.

When the box car was left empty, and unattended, we James Bay boys entered the box car with a brace and bit and drilled a hole one inch from the bottom. Sometimes we would come up empty. But if we did hit grain, we would holler to the other boys, "Got a run", and they would scramble into the box car to retrieve the grain. With our Wild Rose flour sacks filled, home we would go to feed the chickens.

The area of the Ogden Point docks had still more to offer: fish. This was really a Godsend. The area was close by and the fish was plentiful and fresh. With our rowboat, we could fish all year long. We often had fish for breakfast.

We lived on a half acre on Boyd Street. There was an old orchard there and I think it must have been part of the original H.B.C. Beckley farm. The orchard supplied us with apples, plums, pears, and cherries. It still amazes me how my dear mother could make so many dishes out of apples. Of course, mother would put up preserves. And we had a vegetable garden and my younger brother and I got out of weeding it as often as we could. Dad had two goats that supplied us with our milk.

Even though my younger brother and I supplied the wood, fish, bananas, and grain, it was not enough; even in those days, you needed money and he and I had different ways of earning it.

We would go door to door and try to sell six to seven pound salmon for twenty-five cents and lots of times we couldn't sell it. I remember a particularly profitable day in November when we sold eighty easy-to-catch black bass and rock cod. We took the fish in potato sacks to Chinatown and emptied them on the sidewalk. The Chinese paid five cents each for the black bass and ten cents each for the rock cod. The buyers did not carry money with them. They picked up the fish and said, "We go. We bring money back." And they always did.

We also earned money by selling newspapers on the street. And we packed suitcases.

When passengers disembarked from the Princess ships at the C.P.R. docks,

we would say, "Carry your bag, mister?" (or "mam"). If they said "yes" we would pack their luggage to wherever they were going: hotel, bus depot, whatever. They usually gave us twenty-five cents. I remember packing one heavy bag to the bus depot for a gentleman. He got on the bus and said "thanks" but he didn't give me any money.

We picked berries to earn money in the summer. We rode our bikes to Saanich to do this. At Christmas, we sold holly. Of course, we always turned our earnings over to mother. Once I packed a cord of wood off the street for a lady and stacked it in her basement. I received twenty-five cents for this. On the way home I spent ten cents on two butterhorns and I took them home with the remaining fifteen cents. I was scolded by my mother for spending that dime.

As I grew older, I got jobs that paid a little more. I was slow in school and in grade seven I quit it to get a real job to help support the family – which was a common thing to do in those days. I got an apprenticeship as an automobile mechanic. My weekly salary of $4.28 was turned over to my mother for board.

Yes, I survived the Great Depression. And I cannot speak for my brothers or sisters but I would not trade those wonderful years for the greedy ones of today. I know it was hard for our parents, but not for us kids.

Later my two brothers and I joined the navy to fight the war and each month we sent board money home. Thank God we survived the war, too.

In my house today I have a little museum and a little art gallery. In the museum is the crosscut saw and steel wedges and sledge hammer we used to bring the wood home to our dear mother nearly sixty years ago. I am sitting in my art gallery writing this and it occurs to me that the Great Depression is staring me in the face. In front of me is a painting done by my father in the thirties; it is done on a cedar shingle; to the right of me is a painting by Thomas Bamford and it is done on plywood. Artists just didn't have the money to buy canvas.

* * * * *

Mr. Sprinkling contributed to information for Victoria Historical Society members at an outing in the Ogden Point area last year. He now lives in the rural outskirts of Victoria.

CANADIAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

The Clio Awards / Les Prix Clio

Every year the Canadian Historical Association solicits nomimations for its Clio Awards, which recognize excellence and contributions to regional history. The British Columbia Region will issue two awards: (1) one for an outstanding publication or video on some aspect of regional history; (2) one for individuals, societies, or institutions who have demonstrated excellence in regional history. Nominations, accompanied by supporting material, must be submitted by 15 December to John Douglas Belshaw, Department of Philosophy, History & Politics, University College of the Cariboo, Kamloops, B.C. V2N 5N3.

The 1997 Certificates of Merit were awarded to Cole Harris, for his book The Resettlement of British Columbia: Essays on Canadian and Geographical Change (Vancouver: UBC Press, 1997) and, posthumously, to Professor Douglas Cole of Simon Fraser University's Department of History for his long and distinguished contribution to British Columbia historical studies.

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The Beaver, Canada's history magazine, has a special subscription offer for readers of the British Columbia Historical News. It is an opportunity to subscribe to the magazine at its 1995 price of $25. This represents a $2.50 savings from the current one-year subscription rate of $27.50. As added benefits, the offer also includes membership in Canada's National History Society and a complimentary copy of the magazine's 75th anniversary issue. This special edition offers views of Canada's 20th century by some of Canada's leading historians. All this for $25.

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Sara's World

by Linda Maeve Orr

In this portrait taken in 1900 we see Sara Ann McLagan (nee Maclure) with her family. Stepson Jack stands behind her. Her daughters (left to right) are Margarite (8), Doris (6) and Hazel (13). [Daughter Geraldine died in 1891.] John Campbell McLagan is seated with son Douglas (10) at his feet.

Photo courtesy of Peter D. Daniell.

In April 1901, following the death of her husband, Sara McLagan became the publisher and editor of **The Vancouver Daily World** newspaper, which she and her husband had founded in September 1888. She thus became the first woman in Canada to own and publish a daily newspaper, a position she took very seriously.

Day after day she attended the office from early morning till late in the evening striving in every way possible to produce a paper which would reflect in some measure the high journalistic ideas she ever held before her.

Sara's decision to run the newspaper herself was unusual for the time. In an age when women were expected to be wives and mothers, only a few were able to make the transition from the female private world to the public male domain. Women were unable to vote provincially or federally, were prohibited from practising law or holding public office, and as late as 1887 married women in British Columbia had no legal rights to their own property. Hedged in as they were by legal and professional restrictions, few women in Victorian Canada held positions of influence within the corporate world.

Against such a backdrop Sara's "complete emergence into public life" as editor of the **World** seems quite remarkable. However, it should be noted that the printing profession was one of the few areas of employment where women were able to carve out a niche. Traditionally many small Canadian newspapers were family run enterprises with women performing a variety of tasks, from setting type to writing weekly columns. The **Halifax Gazette**, Canada's first newspaper, was printed by Ian Bushell, whose daughter Elizabeth was an excellent typesetter.

It is impossible to gauge exactly how many women were involved in the printing business, as their husbands or fathers were often credited with the actual work. A survey of women's work in Canada compiled by the National Council of Women of Canada in 1900 reveals that over 1,237 women were engaged in printing, publishing and bookbinding, with fifty listed as journalists. Although Sara McLagan was on the committee responsible for tabulating the statistics, her name does not appear on the list, so she might well have remained invisible like so many other women, were it not for the untimely death of her husband. However, after John McLagan's death there was no doubt as to who was in charge. The name S.A. McLagan appeared on the editorial masthead of **The World** and a pamphlet entitled **Industrial British Columbia**, published by the The World Publishing Company depicted a very relaxed confident looking president, Mrs. S.A. McLagan.

What prompted Sara McLagan to assume such a public role when so many of her contemporaries remained confined to the private sphere of hearth and home? Why was she so confident she could succeed? What can her story tell us about the expectations and lifestyles of women in British Columbia at the turn of the century? It will not be easy to find the answers, as very little that Sara wrote survives. Only by piecing together a patchwork of articles about her more famous brothers and combing through reminiscences does a picture gradually emerge.

Sara McLagan was born in Ireland on the first of April, 1856. When she was two years old she travelled to the new colony of British Columbia with her mother Martha and baby sister Susan, aboard the **Thames City** arriving on 12th

April, 1859. Her father John Cunningham MacLure, a surveyor with the Royal Engineers, had arrived in the colony the previous year, and Martha was very anxious "lest her husband had been killed in the wild new country." However, she was overjoyed to find him alive and well and waiting on the dock at Esquimalt.

The McLures 'first home was a beautiful embroidered tent in the Engineers' camp in Sapperton. John MacLure was often away surveying, but Martha and the children were never lonely while they lived in the camp. Sara attended school and the whole family which now consisted of three boys and the two girls enjoyed life there.

When the Engineers were disbanded in 1863, 130 men decided to remain in the colony, among them John MacLure. He set up his own surveying business with his friend James Turnbull, but in 1865 went to work for The Collins Overland Telegraph. Successive attempts to lay a telegraph cable across the Atlantic had failed, so an American entrepreneur called Perry McDonough Collins concluded that it might be possible to connect America with Europe by laying a cable through British Columbia and Alaska across to Siberia. It was a huge undertaking, and John MacLure was given the responsibility of surveying the section from Quesnelle to Telegraph Creek. Despite the enormous outlay, the scheme was abandoned some time after the Atlantic cable was successfully laid in 1866. However British Columbia was left with a working telegraph system which stretched from the border to Quesnelle and John MacLure was appointed to manage the line through "the wild country between Westminster and Chilliwack." He acquired a military land grant of 150 acres near Matsqui and moved his family there in 1868.

After the busy life in camp the Matsqui prairie seemed a very lonely spot and to make matters worse John MacLure was often away repairing the line. In later years Charles MacLure could never understand why his father, with the whole of British Columbia to choose from, had picked that particular spot. However John MacLure realised the strategic importance of the site, as he knew Western Union would eventually build a branch line from La Conner thus making his homestead an important repeating station.

Sara, who was by now twelve years old, became fascinated with the telegraph key which sat in the living room. Her father began to teach her how to use it and she proved to be an apt pupil, which was fortunate for all concerned. John MacLure was away repairing the line when a raging forest fire changed direction and threatened Hazelbrae, the family home. Sara and Martha began to dig a fire break, when suddenly they heard the telegraph ticking and realised he had succeeded in fixing it. Snatching the book of instructions, she slowly tapped out a message warning her father of their precarious situation. She was ecstatic when she deciphered his reply. "coming at once by water". Shortly after John MacLure arrived with a group of local Indians and the family was saved.

None of the family ever forgot this episode, it appears in all their reminiscences with only the slightest discrepancies. John MacLure was so impressed by her ability to remain calm under pressure, he decided to train her as a full-time operator. In 1869, while on an inspection tour, the superintendent of telegraphs was astounded to find a young girl alone in the Matsqui office sending and receiving messages. Picking up a book by Bulwer Lytton, he informed her that when she could relay the first page, she would be officially appointed as assistant operator and placed on the payroll, a feat Sara quickly accomplished.

In November of 1871 Sara was appointed as the regular operator of the Matsqui office at a salary of sixty five dollars a month. The office was a busy place, not only did Sara send and receive messages, it was also her job to ensure the line was kept in good repair. The telegraph line required constant vigilance, as it was a vital link in the province's communication "being the point at which the branch line at Swinomish intersects with the main line from New Westminster." By 1872 the volume of work had increased so much, Sara asked for an increase in salary. Her supervisor granted this request as she was "an efficient employee and most zealous in her exertions to further the interests of the company." By 1873 Sara's salary was 100 dollars a month.

Such a position of authority seems extraordinary for a sixteen year old girl, given the time period, but it was not unheard of in rural telegraph offices, where the office was regarded as a family resource and stations were often handed from one family member to another. Neither was Sara's salary hers to keep; it was used to buy much needed equipment for the family farm. Sara loved music and desperately wanted to buy a piano, but when she had saved enough, it was discovered that a new team of oxen was needed for the farm. So the oxen were purchased and nicknamed Sara's piano. This story is not unusual for the times; for example the heroines of Willa Cather's novels who worked "out" were always buying horses and binders for their fathers' farms.

In 1875 new technology made the repeater station at Hazelbrae redundant, so it was closed down, and the older MacLure children were offered employment at other stations. Susan went to New Westminster, while Sara opted for Victoria. The work of an urban telegrapher differed from the rural one, as it entailed constant high speed sending and was regarded as far more skilled. It was much more unusual for a woman to succeed in this milieu. American telegraph superintendents stated "they did not call upon women to perform at the rate of 1500 words per hour and they did not expect it of them".

Nevertheless Sara thrived in the busy environment and so impressed the Government Telegraph Service, that in 1880, she was sent to take over the busy Yale office temporarily. Yale was a rough mining town and her mother fiercely disapproved of Sara going to such an unsuitable place, but Sara herself seems to have had no qualms about the idea. She soon had the office running smoothly and enjoyed her brief stay in Yale. Her best friend was a charming

young American man who worked as a bartender in the local hotel. He proposed to Sara, but she refused him.

By now it was becoming apparent that Sara's life was very different from that of most young women. At a time when few women worked outside the home, she was establishing herself in a career and was held in very high esteem by her employers, "being a *first-class* morse system operator and thoroughly conversant with the book keeping and accounts of important stations" The details of her stay in Victoria are sketchy, but it appears that in 1881, she was promoted to the position of assistant superintendent of telegraphs for British Columbia, and may have travelled to other stations on tours of inspection. She also established her younger brothers at stations, both Charles and Samuel worked at the Clinton and Vancouver offices for a time.

While Sara was working in Victoria she met her future husband, John Campbell McLagan, a widower from Guelph Ontario with considerable experience in the printing business. In October 1884 Sara resigned from the telegraph company and in December she and John were married. By giving up her job, Sara was conforming to the traditional mores of the day, for it was considered socially unacceptable for married women to work outside the home. Henceforward a woman's task was to consist of looking after home and husband and "providing a refuge from the harsh impersonal public sphere."

Sara and John lived in Victoria for four years, where their first two daughters were born, Geraldine in 1886 and Hazel in 1887. John worked at **The Victoria Times** as managing editor and honed his journalism skills to the point where he felt ready to start his own enterprise. In 1888 the family moved to Vancouver and on September 29 the first edition of McLagan's paper, **The World** rolled off the presses. J.C. McLagan clearly saw Vancouver's potential and the small four paged newspaper reflected his enthusiasm for the city. The first editorial announced the "**The World** proposes first of all to conserve the very best interests of Vancouver," and promised that "**The World** will spare no pains to satisfy the wants of the reading public".

The extent of Sara's involvement remains a mystery. A newspaper article written in 1913 states "with the exception of reading the exchanges and compiling a weekly page which was of great interest to women, Mrs. McLagan took no active part on the paper." (still it does sound like a quite a lot of work). But a brief biography of Sara in the Canadian Women's Press Club maintains "she married J.C. McLagan, and on September 29, 1888, they founded the **Vancouver Daily World**, and she became a working journalist in every sense of the word" Even more intriguing is a statement by family members that Sara personally borrowed 5000 dollars from James Dunsmuir to start **The World**, and that when her stepson Jack took her to court claiming the paper belonged to him, the judge threw the case out as Sara had used her own money to establish the paper.

In any event the amount of space **The World** devoted to women's organizations and the introduction of a women's page reflect her influence. **The World** of course was not alone in publishing a women's page, as newspaper proprietors began to depend more and more on advertising revenue, rather than political patronage. Publishers realised they were missing a potential market. To that end, many Canadian newspapers began to include a page or column featuring articles on dress, society or club news. However a series of articles published by **The World** was much more serious in content. On January 9 1897, an article on suffrage written by the mysterious Lady Cook stated

The tyranny of taxation without representation against which every Englishman feels justified in taking up arms the world over is laid on women still. How long is this grave injustice to continue?

Meanwhile Sara was becoming involved in many fledgling organizations in Vancouver. In working to alleviate the lot of the less fortunate, Sara was very conventional. Women of her class accepted their domestic responsibility but increasing concern over the threat posed to society by urbanisation convinced them of the need to "perform for the larger society the same tasks of mothering and maintenance they performed within their own homes."

Sara's list of impressive philanthropic achievements began in 1888, the year she moved to Vancouver, when in company with Mrs. T.E. Atkins and Mr. Jonathan Rogers, she helped to found the Young Men's Christian Association. Next, in 1894, came The Arts Historical and Scientific Association, the city's first cultural organization. Sara was president from 1903 to 1905 and it was during her presidency that proceedings were begun to transfer the association's collection to the city. Later on in the same year, she was among a number of women who decided to start a Vancouver branch of the local council of women, a decision which had far reaching implications for Sara as it brought her to the attention of Lady Aberdeen, the national president.

From the outset Sara was very active in the National Council of Women, she was treasurer of the Vancouver branch from 1895 to 1897 and president from 1898 to 1900. In 1898 at the request of Lady Aberdeen she helped to start a branch in New Westminster which proved fortuitous as a disastrous fire later that year underscored the need for such an organization. As Sara herself later wrote

I think the New Westminster fire demonstrated to everyone the need of an organized body of women in every community ready to be called together for any emergency; for without such an organization we should have been powerless to act as promptly or as effectively in alleviating the suffering of the distressed families.

The Vancouver branch collected an astonishing $1,555.65 for the citizens of New Westminster. Could the amount have been so large because every day **The World** published the names of the contributors? Sara never hesitated to use the columns of the paper to advance the causes she believed in, this, coupled with her formidable managerial skills made her an asset to any organization.

Sara first made the acquaintance of

Lady Aberdeen in 1895, when she travelled to Toronto for the annual conference of the national council. Despite the differences in class and education, the two women had much in common. Lady Aberdeen always knew she could rely on Sara to get things done, Sara in her turn admired Lady Aberdeen's ability to overcome obstacles in her path.

A major concern of the National Council of Women was "the dangers and hardships encountered by women, who in their greatest hour of need were often miles from medical or professional aid of any kind." Originally the Vancouver Council petitioned the national executive to "bring the matter before the government with a view to offering inducements to medical men to settle in their districts" Then another council broached the idea of establishing a nursing order to commemorate the diamond jubilee of Queen Victoria, and the Victorian Order of Nurses came into existence. However the scheme met with severe opposition from the medical establishment. Undaunted, Lady Aberdeen invited a prestigious American doctor to Toronto to persuade the doctors to change their minds and she changed the format of the scheme to overcome the nurses' objections. The rest of the country was won over by a sensational public relations event.

In the spring of 1898 four Victorian Order nurses, accompanied by a detachment of soldiers and Faith Fenton of **The Globe** travelled to the Yukon, where the discovery of gold had electrified the entire continent. Fenton's dispatches to both **The Globe** and **The World** described the nurses' harrowing adventures on the trail and the reaction of those miners lucky enough to meet the "ministering angels" Fenton reported that the "craving of strong men in their sickness for a woman's care and their complete dependence upon them is a marvellous thing."

The trip needed meticulous planning. In April Lady Aberdeen wrote to Sara about supplies needed by the nurses, "cocoa, compressed tea, essence of beef and vegetables" Sara also organized the nurses' itinerary The two weeks they spent in Vancouver were a constant round of meetings and receptions, every one of which was reported in **The World** "these nurses look to be women who realise that their mission is no ordinary one – the next 3 years will bring much of toil and perhaps sorrow into their lives."

Often personal experience was the catalyst for the decision to work towards establishing much needed services in the community. Adelaide Hoodless, founder the The Women's Institute worked tirelessly to educate women about hygiene after her baby died from drinking impure milk. Sara McLagan may have worked so hard to establish The Victorian Order of Nurses because she knew from first hand experience what it was like to be miles from medical help. When she was twelve years old, the smoke from the dreadful forest fire which nearly engulfed their home gave her mother severe inflammation of the lungs, so her father had to travel to New Westminster for help leaving Sara alone with her mother and younger siblings.

In addition to her charity and newspaper work, Sara was also busy raising her family of three girls and a boy. Her energy is impressive but she was used to working hard, and even more was to be heaped upon her plate. In 1900 her husband fell seriously ill and Sara took over the management of **The World**. She appointed her youngest brother Fred as managing director, but the burden of publishing a daily paper "with enterprise as its watchword, utilizing every modern up to date appliance in producing the several editions", fell on her shoulders. No detail escaped her, at one point she even proofread the paper herself, as she was concerned that reporters might try to insert unauthorized copy. This brought her into conflict with the local typographical union, but Sara was able to get an exemption, which allowed her to "read proof" while allowing **The World** to continue to hold its union label.

While she was running **The World**, Sara became involved in The Canadian Women's Press Club. She was thus a founding member of an organization which aimed to "maintain and improve the status of journalism as a profession for women." Like many other professional women, they felt ignored by their male colleagues and resented being confined to trivial stories while "the highest prizes go to men." Of all the women in the club, Sara was the only one with the power to redress this situation and her peers felt it was due to her influence that Vancouver's women journalists enjoyed such a high profile.

In 1905 Sara was faced with a difficult decision: should she sell **The World**? Louis Denison Taylor offered her $65,000 and as it was a good price, she reluctantly decided to accept. In a letter to her mother she wrote, "This is practically my last day with the dear old **World** after so many years of joy and sorrows."

Sara remained active in all the many organizations to which she belonged until 1908 when she moved back to Matsqui. Her father had died the previous year and she was concerned about her mother (they had always been close); every day Sara sent her the newspaper and a little note. The railway engineer used to drop the parcel at the farm gate. Sara took up farming as her next profession. Her attempts at raising chickens proved disastrous, but she succeeded in making a good living from growing fruit.

In 1904, her brother Charles had founded the Vancouver Fireclay Company at Clayburn close to Hazelbrae, the family farm. Although Sara was listed as one of the shareholders it doesn't appear that she was involved in the running of the business. However, whenever Charles got into difficulties he called upon Sara. In 1905 when he discovered a new deposit of fireclay he was faced with the problem of acquiring the land on which it was found. So he telegraphed Sara who was in Ottawa on newspaper business, "she had 640 acres of it in his hand the same day at a dollar an acre."

Despite the fact that she was living quite a distance from Vancouver, Sara maintained her links with the women's press club. A Vancouver branch was formed in 1909 and Sara gave a witty speech at the first annual luncheon, then in 1913 she helped to edit the special women's issue of the **Vancouver Sun**.

That same year she moved to Kilgard where her brother Charles had built a new brick plant. He had lost control of the Vancouver Fireclay company but was equally unsuccessful with his new enterprise and this caused Sara and other shareholders to lose a great deal of money.

In 1914 when her son Douglas left Kilgard to enlist in the war, Sara returned briefly to Vancouver, before moving to California to live with her daughter Marguerite. Although Sara was now 61 years old, it seems she had no intention of retiring as she applied to work as a telegrapher with the Los Angeles shipbuilding company. The Board's initial refusal to hire her because she couldn't type didn't deter Sara in the least. Three weeks later she took her typing test and passed with flying colours.

Then in 1917 her son Douglas was killed in action and on the last day of the war her son in law R.H. Winslow died. Sara was devastated, her world had been turned upside down, but her response to tragedy was unusual, she decided to go to France to help the victims of the war rebuild their lives. Her old friend Julia Henshaw was in charge of relief work in the Canadian sector at Vitry and she arranged for Sara to assist her in relocating the refugees. One of Sara's most enduring memories was Christmas day 1918, when she helped distribute food to over 500 families who waited patiently in the pouring rain for tins of Canadian peaches and coffee and bacon. As all the trees had been destroyed in the conflict the best they could do for a Christmas tree was to nail some bare branches to a pedestal and cover them with ivy. Her daughter Doris was also in France working for the Red Cross and on Sundays she would drive Sara around the cemeteries in a battered old ambulance looking for Douglas' grave, but sadly they never found it.

On her return to Vancouver in 1920 Sara, who was now 64 years old, was made Superintendent of the Old People's Home in Vancouver where her mother was a resident. She enjoyed the work and was very popular with the old folk, they used to have wonderful chats about the good old days when the province was young. She also hosted many meetings of the Vancouver branch of the C.W.P.C. After a long and accomplished career and a life so full it makes one breathless just to read about it, Sara McLagan died of cancer on March 20, 1924 at the home of her daughter Doris.

Sara McLagan assisted with WWI refugees in Europe. She is shown here at Vitry, France in 1918.

Photo courtesy of Peter Daniells.

So having looked closely at her life, what does her story reveal about the history of women in British Columbia, and even more importantly, what does it tell us about our present? To some extent Sara typifies that generation of reforming middle class Anglo-Saxon women who realised that the unjust laws affecting women had to be changed. Faced with the problems caused by the changing focus of Canadian society, they banded together to work for the good of both family and state, and slowly began to emerge from the private sphere.

On the other hand, the life Sara led was quite different from the norm. At a time when few women held careers, Sara pursued several; she was a telegrapher, a publisher, a social activist, a relief worker and finally a matron in a senior citizens home. As the publisher of **The World** she maintained a high profile in Vancouver, and at a time when women were unable to vote provincially and federally, she was able to exert her influence by publishing in her paper the names of the candidates she preferred. So great was her interest in politics that on election night she would sit at the telegraph key herself in order to obtain the results as fast as possible.

It is difficult to understand why Sara was so comfortable in the public world of business when many of her contemporaries were cocooned within the private familial world. Perhaps it had to do with her upbringing. The MacLures seem to have instilled a quiet confidence in all their children. Her brother Samuel spent only a year at art school but he became one of the province's most revered architects, and although Charles faced financial setbacks, he did succeed in establishing a thriving brick industry in the Fraser Valley. Another reason may be that her family home Hazelbrae straddled both worlds, the private and the public, with a telegraph key sitting in the middle of the dining room table and a steady stream of customers wishing to send telegrams. The family home was a busy place.

Another reason Sara was able to achieve so much was that attitudes were somewhat different in a pioneering society. The rules were different, and many

women often found themselves performing tasks they would never have dreamed of doing in the old country. The contributions of both men and women were equally valued in the struggle to establish farms, businesses and families. However as Vancouver grew in size and importance, local society became far more structured, and expectations changed. Women found themselves relegated to less significant roles.

Sara McLagan was a strong independent woman who demonstrated just how successful women could be provided they were given the opportunity. She was and still is a powerful role model. At a time when so many women were confined to hearth and home she truly was a woman of the world.

* * * * *

The author is Head Interpreter at Burnaby Village Museum. She researched the life of Sara (MacLure) McLagan for a course in Women's History at Simon Fraser University. The original essay, beautifully written, ran to 8000 words with 139 footnotes. Mrs. Orr condensed her work for this magazine. Any reader wishing a copy of the complete essay may obtain it by sending $5.00 to the editor at Box 105, Wasa, B.C. V0B 2K0.

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BOOKSHELF

First Across the Continent: Sir Alexander Mackenzie. Barry Gough. Toronto, McClelland & Stewart, 1997. 232 p., illus., maps, bib. $29.95

A reviewer in the **Globe and Mail** twice referred to this as a slight book, but ignored the fact that it is published as number 14 in the **Oklahoma Western Biographies**, and simply conforms to the format of the series. She quite ignored the fact that exceptionally good use was made of the space available.

Quite properly, the bulk of the narrative is devoted to Mackenzie's two great voyages of discovery; proper recognition is also given to earlier explorations, notably those of Peter Pond, who was the first to cross the Methye Portage and opened up the way to Athabaska from which Mackenzie set out on his two great voyages to the Arctic and Pacific waters.

Mackenzie's ambition extended far beyond these explorations. He envisaged a trans-Pacific trade to the Orient - supply ships would leave Montreal or Britain, travel round Cape Horn, engage in the sea otter trade and, in addition, pick up the furs that the North West Company had collected in the far west of Canada, thus saving the long exhausting overland trek to Montreal. When he retired from the North West Company, he tried to implement this scheme, but circumstances in the end defeated him. But he never lost the vision and in later years took an active interest in certain American expeditions that were leaving the Atlantic Coast, rounding the Horn, and heading for the Northwest Coast, and China and Russia.

Mackenzie also became engaged in various clashes in the fur trade, and with Lord Selkirk and his plans for a Red River Colony and domination of the Hudson's Bay Company. He retired to his native Scotland where he had an attractive estate, but spent part of the year in London for the season. Soon after arriving in London, his remarkable journal was published, and this was followed shortly afterwards by the honour of a knighthood. He was also frequently in Montreal, where the wild dinners of his confreres were famous.

The maps and illustrations are adequate and informative. It is a pity that the fine reproduction of Lawrence's portrait of Mackenzie on the dust cover is not repeated as a frontispiece of the book proper.

The **Oklahoma Series** has a "no footnote" format, but Gough has added a detailed, annotated bibliography that is the best available source of material related to Mackenzie and his achievements.

W. Kaye Lamb,
Dr. Lamb, former Dominion Archivist and National Librarian, edited the ***B.C. Historical Quarterly*** *for its first 10 years.*

Pnina Granirer: Portrait of an Artist. Ted Lindberg. Ronsdale Press, 1998. 191 p., illus. $39.95 hard cover.

Pnina Granirer has said that her work as an illustrator, draftswoman, printmaker, and painter "is a magic carpet" that takes her "to unexpected worlds of new shapes, images and ideas." Likewise, Ted Lindberg's exploration of Granirer's colourful, electric, innovative, and provocative work transports the reader through her personal history and the progression of her work. An individual who "has come under the shadow of catastrophe at several times in her life," Granirer has also had to balance her struggle to be an artist with her domestic duties as a wife and mother. Lindberg thoroughly scrutinizes the way in which Granirer's Jewish heritage, family life and circumstances, and intuitive and spiritual inspirations have shaped her art. The result is, as Lindberg states, "lucid, life-affirming and extraordinarily resourceful."

One hundred and eighty-five splendid illustrations complement Lindberg's insightful accounts of the themes that have shaped Granirer's work: The Childhood Series, the Wild Goose Series, the West Coast Series, The Trials of Eve Suite, the Carved Stone Series, and the Buddha Series, among others. Excerpts from Granirer's diary, selections of her poetry, commentaries from the artist, and reviews of her work layer the text with differing perspectives, much as Granirer layers her paintings with symbols and meanings.

Granirer is a Romanian born emigre to Canada whose work has been exhibited locally and internationally. A resident of Vancouver since 1965, she has had an impact on the city and the country: for example, she was an instructor in the Art Department, Centre for Continuing Studies, UBC, until 1996; in the 1970s she gave presentations and workshops at Vancouver area schools; in 1989 she was a founding member of the Jewish Festival of the Arts, and a founder of the Art Gallery at Vancouver's Temple Shalom; in 1993 she was a co-founder of the "Artists in our Midst" program in which the public is invited to artists' studios. Granirer has twice won prizes for book design from the Alcuin Society (1990, 1989). Some of her commissions include drawings and woodblock prints for **Canadian Fiction Magazine**; covers for magazines such as **Prism International** and **Playboy Magazine**; sets for the Vancouver productions of **A Midsummer Night's Dream** (1983) and **The Comedy of Errors** (1984); a Christmas card for **Amnesty International** (1985) and one for the Cancer Society (1996); and two paintings for the Vancouver International Airport (1996).

Lindberg's analysis of Granirer's career is detailed; his book thoroughly portrays the history, inspirations, and passions of a talented local artist.

Sheryl Salloum,
Sheryl Salloum is the author of ***Malcolm Lowry: Vancouver Days*** *(Harbor Publishing, 1987) and* ***Underlying Vibrations: The Photography and Life of John Vanderpant*** *(Horsdal & Schubart 1995).*

Letters From Salt Spring Island 1860-61

by Tom Wright

On July 27th, 1859 a small group of pioneer settlers landed on Admiral Island, even then popularly known as Saltspring Island. Across the Straits, the Fraser River gold rush was in full swing.

Among the newcomers was a Scot named Jonathan Begg, who recently arrived in Victoria, coming from California by way of Ontario. He was lucky in the draw for land, and selected a prime 200 acres stretching from Trincomali Channel to the beautiful lake now known as St. Mary.

Begg was a market gardener and was determined to set up in business. He built a small store in what became known as Beggsville and eventually was called Fernwood.

On March 10th, 1860 he wrote to William and Margret Chisholm in Onion Grove, in Cedar Country, Iowa, to tell them of his arrival and to describe his new home. William Chisholm, who travelled back and forth from Scotland bringing Clydesdale horses for eager Iowa farmers, was married to Jonathan's sister Margret.

Years later when William died, Jonathan Begg's letter was one of several left behind in a small black chest. The chest became a family treasure.

During the hard times of the Depression, William's grandson sold some of the envelopes, then valuable because of their packet stamps. According to William's great-grandaughter one "black packet stamp," possibly the very one sent by Jonathan Begg on his letter, realized $750, which was enough to feed the family for a year!

Fortunately the letters themselves survived. Not long ago Jonathan Begg's great-grandaughter brought copies of some of them to Saltspring Island, where they are now safe in our archives.

In March of 1860, Jonathan Begg had lived on Saltspring for less than eight months. His letter to the Chisholms provides a fascinating glimpse of life on the island during very early pioneer days.

Here is the letter in its entirety. To help the reader, I have divided it into paragraphs, added commas and periods and edited out the capital letters which Jonathan used with enthusiasm. Some interesting spelling has been left in.

Aboyne Place
Salt Spring Island
Near Vancouver's Island
March 10th, 1860

Dear William and Margret,

I take this opportunity of again writing you from this place. The history of my transactions and operations since I came to the pacific coast are so voluminous that I cannot begin to tell you all. You are aware that I wintered last year in California, where I immediately got employment at $40 per month to superintend a nursery. After remaining there some 3 mo. and having seen quite enough of the society and climate to suit me I left without a penny in my pocket to push my fortune in the North.

On arriving in Victoria about the first of June of last year the town was suffering from a reverse in business caused by bad news from the mines. Finding I could get no work of any kind as there were hundreds more out of employment, I immediately went to work and rented a vacant house with 2/5 of an acre of land where I put in about 1500 cabbage etc. As the land was of poor description I did not realize much from it. In the fall advertised as gardener etc. in the local paper when I got a job to work for Mr. Wood the banker, which set me a little on my feet again.

When I resided in Victoria I had other work on hand of greater moment than my everyday employment. I found the land system in such a deplorable condition that no one out of employment of the H.B. Coy. could procure an acre of the public domain. I saw that justice and reform was necessary, so I commenced a movement which has since changed the whole land system of the colony. I got up a public meeting in one of the principal hotels where strong resolutions accompanied by an urgent petition to the governor and local legislature was carried. A deputation of the most respectable citizens was chosen to wait upon the governor etc. So the movement went until the H.B. governor and councel had to submit to the popular demand. The result is we have been allowed to pre-empt for 2 or 3 years the public land to the extent of 200 acres each with the prospect of being able to obtain them at about $1.25 per acre, as by that time they will be in the hands of the local legislature who are pledged to a man to reduce them to the above figure.

After the above movement was concluded to the satisfaction of all parties I was one of 18 adventurers who went out to view the land, when we lighted on the island mentioned on the heading of this letter. It is about 20 miles long and varying from 2 to seven miles wide. It lies at the bend of the Canal de Horo in the Georgian Channel, and lies immediately opposite the mouth of Fraser's River, being distant about 40 miles N.W. of Victoria, and within 1/2 mile of Vancouver's Island. I can see the mouth of Fraser distant about 20 miles with the Cascade Mountains distant 75 miles any clear day on going back about 1/4 miles to the top of a mountain behind me.

This is one of the most romantic regions I was ever in. Scotland is no where in that respect. But to my narrative, the bank of adventurers referred to including myself finding the island beautifully situated in the midst of an archipelago more beautiful than the 1000 islands on St. Lawrence. This being the most convenient to Victoria (north?) and to San Juan, we determined to form the settlement here. We drew for choices of selection, and I was fortunate enough to get the second, so you may readily conceive I have not a bad farm. My lot fronts 1/4 of a mile in a nice little bay where about 2 miles opposed between me and Fraser's River lies a long is-

land shielding me from the N.W. summer wind.

Behind my lot, on its rear, it borders a beautiful fresh water lake of some 2 miles in length, teeming with fish. I have about 80 acres of prairies on the farm. It is not exactly a prairie as it more resembles an English park, as here and there is a clump of beautiful balsam growing. Last fall I erected a cabin on my lot - 14x17 - it is a log one and covered with shakes on poles, being altogether more open than a house that would freeze to death a cow in winter in Canada, with nothing but a small fireplace and mud floor, yet so beautiful is the climate that I have passed the winter in it very comfortably.

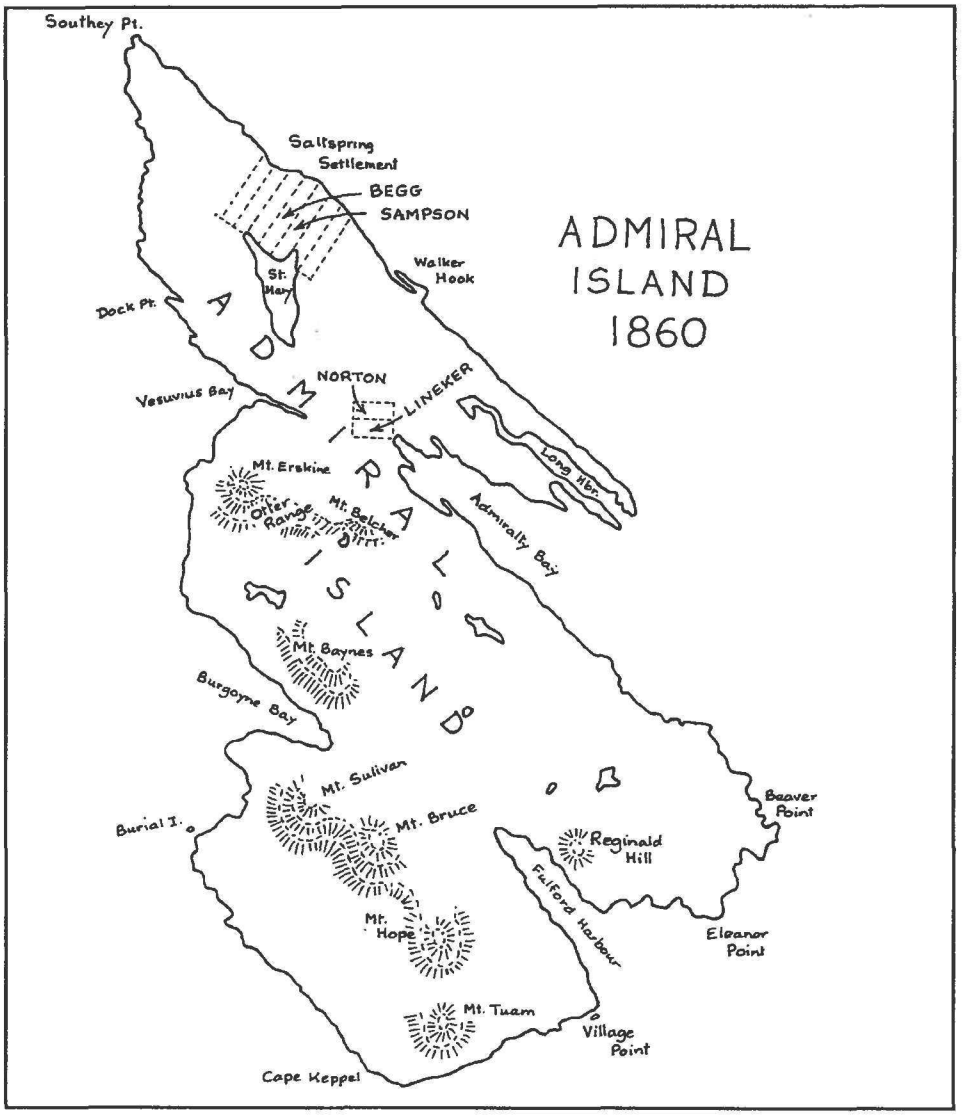
I need not tell you that commencing in a wilderness without capital, and a stranger to boot, had been a hard task, but I have by perseverence and industry so far surmounted all my difficulties very satisfactory, and am now in possession of 200 acres of the best land on the Pacific coast. This spring I have commenced operations in company of 2 young men I have taken in company for this year only. I have got about 3 acres enclosed and under cultivation which I am at present at work on. We will be able to put in 1 acres vegetables, 1 acres turnips and cabbage, 1 acres potatoes. I have planted 75 apple trees this spring, and put in a number of goose berries and current bushes in addition to the crops already referred to. You may imagine how vegetables pay here when green peas sell at 10 to 2 1/2 cts lb, cabbages from 2 1/2 to 10cts lb, turnips 2 1/2 cts - 10 cts etc.

Schooners pass to Victoria by my place from Nanaimo about 3 times a week, and we have a weekly mail. I am Post Master, and have established a little store on my lot in addition to my farming operations. I will send you a paper with my advertisement in it.

There are now 50 settlers on the island. The farms are 200 acres each 1/4 mile fronting the Straights and 1 1/4 back, so there is a settler and house 1/4 mile on each side of me for quite a distance.

From being the originator of the land movement I am known through the length and breadth of the Colony, and I now mingle in the best society in it.

I have not been in such good health for many years as I am at present. The fine climate, plenty of work and good prospects I



have at present has done it.

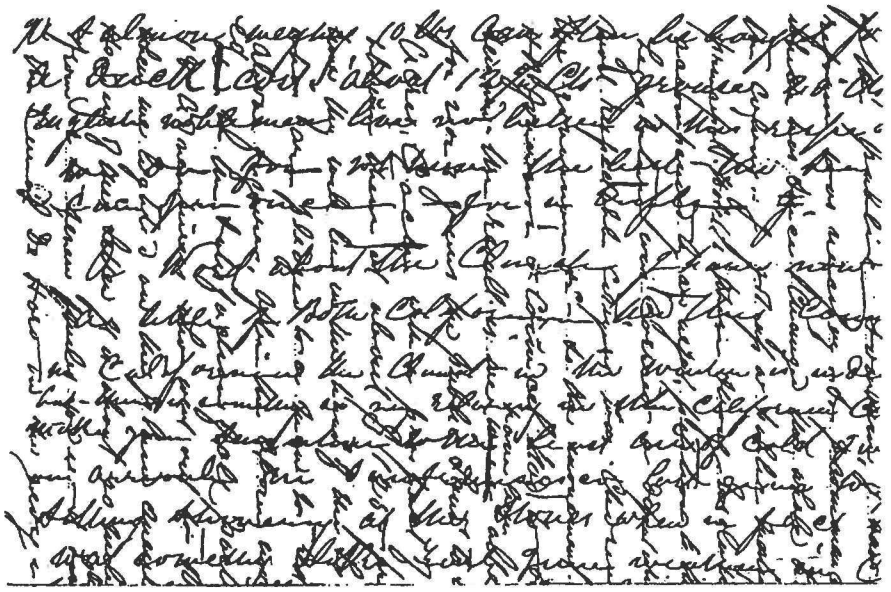
My live stock at present consists of a tom cat and young dog. I may mention that I have a valuable salt spring on my lot, very strongly impregnated with pure salt, being 1/5 salt.

The fare is $25 from Sanfrancisco to Victoria to my place they chg $2 in schooners.

It is very cheap living here as the Indians who are very useful and very good to white men bring us large quantities of the best the waters, woods and forest can produce for a mere song. For instance, I buy a good buck weighing 100 lbs for $1.50 in trade, that trade costing me originally about half that amt. A salmon weighing 10 lbs can often be bought for 12 1/2 cts. A duck costs about 12 1/2 cts. Grouse 25 cts in trade.

English noblemen live no better in this respect than we do for we have the best the sea and land can provide for a trifle.

A word about the climate. I have now seen a little of both California and this country. In California the climate in the winter is indeed beautiful, but there is something so very relaxing in the California climate as to make you sensitive to the least air of cold. I was astonished on arrival in Sanfrancisco last year to find men sitting shivering at the stoves when in fact the weather was something like early June weather in Canada. I felt the effect myself. After being there a few mos. I began to be sensitive to the least air of cold wind, and the winds blow very strong in many places there. The summer here is like Italy, while in California everything is burned up by an almost vertical sun, turning the seasons most completely so that the summer is the season of rest in the vegetable world of California. The society of California, although improving, is not any the best, and the government is rascally bad. No man except a clever rogue or Irishman can attain any position there. The only thing I like about California were her



Deciphering a 130-year-old letter was not easy. Can you find the two passages shown?

fruits. In that she is superb. This colony and the adjacent territory presents numerous advantages for a new beginner over California. The land here is excellent in many places. The government is better and this climate and society is more to my taste. I have quite a number of Canadians for neighbours, at least parties recently from Canada.

This is the cheapest place in the American Continent to live in. Every thing wearable and required in a family can be bought as cheaply as in Toronto, and many things cheaper owing to Victoria being a free port.

Now having brought forward my history for the last two years I may now ask you what you have been doing and what are your prospects, for I have learned nothing from the East since I left it except one letter from yourself in California, which contained no news except a number of queries which I have now tried to answer in the above.

If you get this all right do please answer your answer to this No. 2 so as I shall know what you reply to. Send me all the news far and near for 18 months past, and I will write in return. Give my kind regards to any of my friends you may see or write to. Rem me to the Buffalo folks, and also to your Pickering friends.

Yours truely,

Jonathan Begg
Saltspring Island P.M.
by Victoria
Vancouver's Island
via overland route.

Jonathan Begg - Chapter Two

Jonathan Begg described his 1859 arrival on Saltspring Island to his sister and brother-in-law in his letter to Iowa of March 10th, 1860.

Having had no response to his first letter, he tried again on June 3rd, 1860, as follows:

Balmoral,
Salt Spring Island,
Near Van Couver's Island,
June 3rd, 1860.
My dear Friends,

I take this opportunity of again writing to you. I have not up to this time heard from you since I arrived in the colony. In my last I related my experience on the Pacific Coast together with my views etc., so that it would be needless to repeat it. Suffice it to say that it, the country, has shown proofs of lasting greatness this summer few have dreamed of, and so far as the Fraser River is concerned it is now proved beyond a doubt that it contains inexhaustible supplies of the precious metal all along the river and its numerous tributaries through 6 or 7 hundred miles of country.

I have taken a farm – and am now hard at work putting in cabbages &c. I have 4 acres under fence and two acres already in potatoes and vegetables. The balance will be in cabbage and turnips. I hope to have in 10,000 cabbages this summer which will bring in sometimes at 10¢ per lb. which I expect they will bring me in the spring.

My farm contains 200 acres of the best land in the colony, and is admirably situated midway between New Westminster and Victoria, the respective capitals of British Columbia and Van Couver's Island. I am very well pleased with my prospects here, and should the gold field of British Columbia prove of a lasting character, which I have every reason to believe, I can not fail doing well here in a few years. The climate is excellent so far as I am able to judge, and I have now just one year's experience of it. The summer here is unrivalled and the country looks like a gentleman's pleasure grounds, so splendid and variegated does it look in its summer vesture.

Farming is not conducted here on grand principles. Any little that is done or has been done heretofore has been by old servants of the H.B. Coy. who are more awkward than the animals they drive. One can see here the old carts, farm implements and mode of cultivation in vogue 50 years ago in Britain. A good practical farmer here with a little means would not fail to make it rich in a few years; for instance turnips sell at 1 cent per lb. by the quantity, hay 30 to 50 dollars per ton, butter 50 cts lb, eggs 75 cents doz. and every other thing of produce in propor-

tion – and these prices must last so long as the gold fields are productive, and that is now a fixed fact, for dry digging of boundless extent has been discovered this spring which averages from 5 to 10 dollars per day to the man.

We are not badly off for company here. There is already quite a number of Canadians co-settlers on this Island as we lie on the highway to Nanaimo, the coal fields and only 25 miles distant from that place. We have always as many as three or 4 schooners &c calling on us weekly on the way from Vancouver to Victoria, and we have a mail about every ten days. And your humble servant has been appointed postmaster.

We had an election of legislative assembly men and Salt Spring &c sent a member. I was appointed returning officer on the occasion. The members had to be worth $1500 so we had to appoint a man from Victoria as no settler could qualify. The member is elected for three years. By that time we hope to be represented by a local man. I had the honour of organizing the first agricultural society in the colony so we have the Salt Spring Island Agricultural Society and hope to have something good to show next fall. We are at present anxiously waiting to hear from home [i.e., Britain] in order to have the land reduced to $1.25 pr. acre. A petition from the local legislature has gone home to obtain said reduction.

I like this better than any country I ever lived in and had we only a little good society it would be a perfect paradise. I may remark that society is daily improving by respectable families coming from England and the colonies.

It costs little to live here. Our natives supply us with all luxury of the season for a trifle. Fancy a fine buck for $1 – salmon weighing 20 lbs. 12 1/2 cents, brace of grouse 25 cents &c. This is the country for any epicurist.

I am in excellent health and spirits, hoping this may find you all the same. Hoping you will send me a long letter with all the news from there.

Yours truly
Jonathan Begg.

Via Overland Route
Address
J. Begg
Post Master

Salt Spring Island, July 16th, 1860.

Salt Spring Island
Near Vancouver's Island

Written across page one is the following:

James and Elspet must be grown to quite a size. I should be glad if James were here. He would be excellent company for me, and would thrive here like the cedars of Lebanon in its native forest.

Jonathan had no sooner sent this letter than a reply to his first letter arrived on Saltspring Island. He again took up his pen, and wrote the following: (remember that Vancouver's Island and British Columbia were not to join Confederation for another eleven years, so "Canada" and "Canadians" refer to what we would now call "Eastern Canada".)

Dear Friends,

I am in receipt of your letter dated on March 1st and observe its contents. I was expecting never to have heard from you any more. I think the excuse of not knowing my address a very lame one.

In gleaning over your letter I notice that George has got an heir. I was glad of that as I thought my family name was doomed to die out with this generation. I regret to hear of the death of Mr Green. I suppose his brother is working the farm.

I am glad to notice that your republican tastes are dying out. That institution is beautiful in theory, but will not stand the taste (sic) of practice in this degenerate age. I am loosing (sic) interest in Canada, and were it not for a few friends I left there I should blot it from my rememberance for ever. I am discouraged at some of my Canadian friends' conduct in not writing to me. I have sent several letters & papers to Legg and others, but I have got no reply.

I got a letter from Mr. J. Begg, Aberdeen distillery. He tells me that P. Legg has got married and Rachel is about being married to a doctor in Demerara.

A friend McIntyre who left Canada with me is about 200 miles up the river and is connected with a sluicing company who are averaging there 8 dollars per day to the man. There is no fear of a man that likes to work can do very well anywhere he likes to go throughout this region of country. But the place is cursed with a lot of fellows who came out after government situating who are too genteel to handle a spade and pick, and useful for no purpose in a new colony. The result is many of them has met bitter disappointment coming out here, and they write of losing accounts accordinly. I often meet with men who have excellent, yea most aristocratical connections in Canada driving a cart, wheeling a barrow, or taking lumber from a sawmill. This is the country that has no respect of persons. The Doom is work or

starve! But to the man who is willing to work there is rich reward.

Note: Here a page is missing. The narrative continues:

It is now mid-summer, and the weather is all that the heart can desire. The climate here is beautiful in the extreme. Seldom does winter last longer than a fortnight, and the spring, summer and autum is superb.

Referring to the subject you have (...?...) referring to the soil I couldn't give you a more approximate idea than stating that the soil resembles very much the best lands of Scotland, with here a range of mountains and there a fertile valley, and there is a beautiful valley of 200+ miles on the Fraser River a little distance from the mouth.

Everything is going on wonderfully on Fraser's River this season. It has been proved now beyond a doubt that gold does exist there in large quantities. All the miners are doing well this year on the Fraser River. Trails are being cut, steamboats are being built on the Inner Lakes, and everywhere vast improvements are being carried on throughout the Interior.

Farming will be paying business here for a long time, as witness butter 50cts lb eggs 75 dozen. Oh for a good clucking hen with a well filled nest!

You will be wanting to know what I have been about this summer. Well, I hve fenced 4 acres and have the most of it under crop, principally potatoes, cabbages, turnips. The potatoes I expect to be able to sell for 2 1/2 (...?...) cts lb, and the other crops in proportion. [Undeciphered sentence here.]

I put in 64 apple trees this spring and they are all doing well. Some of them are grown in fat sprouts this spring already.

This is the most bountiful country for wild berries in the north they are so beautiful.

I have a valuable mineral Salt Spring on my lot from which this place has derived its name. I have named my place Balmoral, and hope to make it a fashionable watering place some day.

I have just returned from Queensburgh, or rather New Westminster, the capital of British Columbia, being situated 15 miles from the mouth of the Fraser River. It is a very stirring place. Only one year ago since it was laid out, and now it has so far progressed as to show the outlines of general streets, wharfs and docks, and with houses occupying a good deal of frontage of the town already. There were eleven boats lying in port at the time of my arrival there.

There is nothing finer or more romantic in the world than the scenery round about here. On going back of my house a little way you can see the mouth of Fraser's River and its course to the Cascade Range, that range towering like huge giants in the distance 80 miles away. The snow is to be seen all year round on them.

I think I will be able to make more out of my 4 acres this year than you will out of your improved farm.

Mr Donald McKay is the only man in Canada that has taken the trouble to answer my letters, and the only person in consequence with whom I correspond. He informs me that in his last that T. Legg was just returned from Demerara, and Rachel was about being married and that Kate was, horrible to relate, in a nunnery.

[The next part, written across the earlier missing page, is lost.}

. . . labourers' wages from 25 to 40 dollars the month and board, a man and his wife can get 50 dollars readily. A good woman can earn far more than a man in this country as a general wage.

I have just to close the mail as the schooner is waiting in the office opposite my door to take it on board.

P.S. Give my kind regards to all our friends. Remember me to your Buffalo friends and give them my condolences too. It was a serious affliction the loss of such nice children as theirs. You know I am not likely to relish children much but I had a particular liking for these as they were so gentle and pretty. I hope all your family are well. Jammie (sic) must be quite a lad by this time. I hope to be able to pay you a visit in five years should I live as long. By that time I expect a RR will be pretty much under way connecting this side to the (...?...) East.

Yours very truly,
Jonathan Begg.

So things seemed to be going smoothly for Jonathan Begg. His store and nursery business near present-day Fernwood were thriving. Perhaps all he might have wished for was a companion to share his life in this new land.

Jonathan could not know it at the time, but a major disruption of his life was to occur only a few months later.

Nearby Fort Victoria had undergone runaway growth, land speculation and a building boom as the sudden influx of overseas and American gold miners had overwhelmed the formerly peaceful fur trading post. Victoria had not yet begun to develop the genteel 'Little England' atmosphere of which it would become so proud in the first half of the twentieth century. It was then very much a 'wild west' town.

Eye-witnesses at the time speak of the whizz of revolver bullets, the rattle of the dice box, discordant sounds of instruments badly played, angry words, and oaths too terrible to name.

Unlike the fur traders, who had every reason to get on well with the natives, the new settlers feared and mistrusted them, and had already taken steps to remove the local Songhees village farther from the fort. Many settlers had newly arrived from places where the solution to the "Indian problem" had been to eradiacate them altogether.

Many townspeople were infuriated by what was now an annual migration of many hundreds of northern Indians (Haidas, Tsimshians, Kwakiutls and others) who camped around the fort each winter and spring to trade. Even though their camp was separated from that of the Songhees, bad blood between the two groups and also the white settlers resulted in skirmishes and drunken brawls.

Amor de Cosmos in **The Colonist** talked darkly about 'vagrancy, filth, disease, drunkenness, larceny, maiming, murder [and] prostitution", and advocated a policy which would put an end to the annual migrations.

In May of 1861, as the northern visitors started on their long journey home, a band of about 400 Haidas, in thirty canoes, landed at Beggsville on Saltspring Island, to camp for the night. In spite of

remonstrances from the settlers they then proceeded to ransack Jonathan Begg's store, stripping it of blankets, clothing, tools, and utensils and food.

When the Haidas had shoved off in their canoes and continued north, the distraught settlers sent an urgent call for help to Governor Douglas in Victoria.

The gunboat **Forward**, under Lieutenant Robson RN, was soon in hot pursuit and caught up with the travelling band of Haidas near Cape Mudge on Quadra Island.

The jeering warriors refused to parley and a cannon shot over their heads simply brought a volley of rifle fire in response. Metal shields were raised on the **Forward**, and cannons were brought to bear on the Haida canoes. A withering fire from the riflemen on the **Forward** then raked the shattered remains of the native canoes, forcing the warriors to take to the woods.

When several chiefs had been taken hostage, the remaining Haidas surrendered and were disarmed. A large quantity of pilfered articles was recovered, including saws, hammers, planes, clothing, blankets and food, and also some navigational instruments from an unknown source.

Among the items recovered was a "writing desk with the owner's name" and it is intriguing to speculate that it might have been the very desk on which were written letters of Jonathan Begg of Beggsville, on Saltspring Island, near Vancouver's Island, over one hundred and thirty years ago.

*****

Tom Wright lives on Salt Spring Island. He recognizes the local despute between those who call the Island Salt Spring and those who favor the one word Saltspring, Canada Post uses two words; BC Tel just one. We thank Mr. Wright for sending these chapters previously published in the Gulf Islands Guardian.

My War Years

by Hon. James Harvey

As a member of the Non-permanent Active Militia, I was called up for active service with my unit, the 102nd Coast Battery, on August 26, 1939.

In late September 1939, I also made my most important contribution to the war effort. Barrett Fort, near Prince Rupert, had not been completed but we had one of the two six-inch guns in action. These were the main armaments. In action they were armed with 100 lb. armour-piercing shells and two bags of high explosive. We also had in action a 6-pounder gun to fire over the bow of a vessel approaching the inner harbour to signal it to stop. The guns were mounted on top of a hill about 400 yards from a temporary construction shack used by us as the orderly room, pending completion of a permanent building on the hill. Meanwhile, there was no telephone communication between the orderly room and the Observation Post on the hill.

I was the senior officer present at the time. The officer in the Observation Post (O.P.) was an elderly officer whom I will call Joe, recently posted to our Battery from somewhere in the interior. He had some training in field gunnery but none in coast gunnery, which is a very different thing, and he was unfamiliar with Prince Rupert, or indeed with the Pacific Ocean.

Anchored in the harbour was a naval vessel (Examination Vessel) to which incoming vessels were required to report before proceeding to the inner harbour. It was manned by naval personnel and communicated with our O.P. by flag signals and with the Senior Naval Officer (formerly the Harbour Master) in Prince Rupert by Morse code.

At the bottom of the hill I had noticed the approach of a beautiful white American cruise ship. It was making its last return voyage of the season from Alaska, stopping in Prince Rupert, before proceeding to Seattle and, of course, was well known to me but Joe didn't know the difference between a friendly cruise ship and a hostile cruiser.

With complete innocence the ship had failed to report to the Examination Vessel which then signalled us to fire our six pounder over its bow. By this time I had started running up the hill. The vessel continued to sail on, either not noticing the splash of the six-pounder shell, or not recognizing its meaning. We had now been signalled by the Examination Vessel to stop the ship, which meant to fire at it with our six-inch gun. At that range we couldn't have missed. The ship would have been blown up. I shudder to think of the consequences, particularly as the U.S.A. was then an isolationist neutral, at war with neither Japan or Germany.

With great good fortune I was able to save the situation, but only by seconds as the 100 pound armour-piercing shell had been rammed up the gun barrel, followed by the first bag of cordite.

Before shouting "STOP", not the correct word of command but nonetheless effective, I was impressed by the efficiency of the gun crew, whom I had trained. Needless to say, this incident became one of the best kept secrets of World War II.

From this time until after the defeat of Japan the war for me was largely six long years of boredom, loneliness and frustration, punctuated by periods of hard work and long hours. My first break was towards the end of 1940 when I was appointed Staff Captain of the 10th Infantry Brigade of the 4th Canadian Infantry Division, an odd appointment for a Coast defence gunner. The brigade was forming

Portrait of Jim Harvey during World War II.

at Nanaimo where accommodation was being built. Other regiments joined us as accommodation became available, first the British Columbia Regiment, next the South Alberta Regiment and finally the 16/22nd Saskatchewan Horse. After training there for some months we went to Debert, Nova Scotia, with a brief period in between at the Niagara area. It was originally intended that we would follow the 3rd Canadian Infantry Division overseas but at Debert we were reformed as the 4th Canadian Armoured Division. In the event our departure overseas was delayed until after that of the 5th Canadian Armoured Division.

Meanwhile I was posted to Ottawa with the rank of Major, awaiting my attendance at the Fifth Canadian War Staff Course in Kingston, Ontario, for four months between October 1942 and January 1943. This turned out to be the hardest work I have ever done and I was surprised to survive it with a passing grade.

Thereafter I held a variety of staff jobs in England, Normandy, Belgium and Holland. By chance I was in London on V.E. Day.

Against my strong but ineffective objections I was next posted to Washington, D.C., with the rank of Lieutenant-Colonel. I was there on V.J. Day. I was then able to resume my law practice in Prince Rupert. I was awarded the M.B.E. for my services in Europe.

*****

Judge Harvey is now retired, still living in Prince Rupert. His youngest son is Christopher Harvey, Q.C., a partner in the firm of Russell and DuMoulin in Vancouver.

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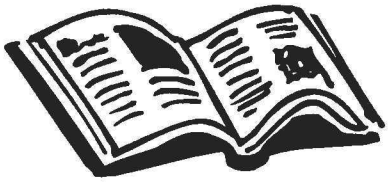

Green Dragons and White Tigers on Gold Mountain:

Feng-Shui in Barkerville

by Larry Peters

Geomancy:
The art of adapting the residences of the living and the dead, so as to co-operate and harmonize with local currents of the cosmic breath . . . Chatleys.

This sturdy hypothesizes that the Chinese in Barkerville employed *feng-shui*, (sometimes called Geomancy), an ancient Chinese art and science, to determine the location of the Chinese graveyards at both Stanley and Richfield. The methodology of this study is to first provide a brief history and model outlining the parameters of *feng-shui*, which translates literally as "wind and water" and its use to place humanity in harmony with nature; and them formulate a conclusion by studying the cultural landscape of Chinatown in Barkerville. It will examine: artifacts retrieved at the site relating to use of *feng-shui*; Chinese architecture at Barkerville and its position in the environment; and finally, the burial sites' topographical relationships within the natural environment.

The Chinese who came to Barkerville in the 1860s, like the occidentals, came dreaming of gold, hoping not only to gain individual wealth, but trying also to increase their family's wealth and good fortune. They brought with them an ancient set of beliefs, with origins predating the Han dynasty[1] (202 BC-AD 221), that they imposed upon the natural landscape of the Cariboo in an attempt to achieve this goal. This religion, the fifth largest recognized belief system in the world, sometimes called Chinese folk religion, was a mixture of the teachings of Confucius, Tao and Buddha. It reflected the ideals of the Chinese people: polytheism, Yin and Yang theory, divination, filial and ancestor worship.[2] Central to this

2	9	4
7	5	3
6	1	8

belief is the concept of feng-shui, the ancient Chinese art of placement. The belief is that the "universe is composed of invisible, shapeless, and untouchable currents of energy called Ch'i" (dragon's breath). This ch'i forms the source of all life, linking the universe together as one.[3] The earth itself is seen as a living entity (the dragon). When the dragon breathes it creates yang, or positive energy. Resting creates yin, a negative or passive force which works together, (not opposed as in western thought) to form all life. Proof of this energy is manifested in chains of mountains. Careful community planning in relation to ch'i, is seen as beneficial to the inhabitants of dwellings and future generations.[4] Since the Chinese miners came to Barkerville to increase their families' good fortune, they would not have jeopardized this by failing to carefully consider where to bury friends and kin unfortunate enough to die before returning home.[5]

Parameters of the Model

The feng-shui model exhibits two main fundamentals: Li Ch'i (arranging ch'i), which uses a compass to access proper site locations; although more commonly used was a concept called Luan Tou (mountain peak). This philosophy makes use of the topography, hydrology, and vegetation of the landscape.[6] An observable model such as this is more understandable than the astrological concept of Li Ch'i's use of a compass to position humanity in the cosmos advantageously. The positioning of dwellings within the natural configuration of the earth's surface to take advantage of shelter and natural resources concerns anyone who has ever built a house. To avoid any confusion, this paper will refer to both as Feng-Shui.

There are four major requirements for an ideal feng-shui site: First, the topography should be smooth in form and outline. Rough mountains, chasms, steep declivities and difficult terrain that exert evil forces should be avoided. Straight lines of water ways, mountain ranges, roads, railways and other natural and human features should not point to the tomb site as these will disturb the quiet repose of inhabitants.[7] The reasoning is that ancient spirits travel in straight lines, but would become lost on a winding path. Secondly, water courses should be open to view from site. Water is the symbol of wealth and influence and sites set where streams converge gather ch'i thereby increasing the good fortune.[8] The third parameter relates to feng-shui. Nature is a living organism that breathes. When it moves, its breath produces the yang or male energy, when it rests it produces the Yin or female energy. Yin and Yang interact and produce all forms of existence on earth. Mountain chains are indications of the life giving energies of Ch'i. The "Green Dragon" is

symbolized by the higher mountain, where all yang energy originates; while the lower range is beheld as the "White Tiger" and represents the feminine or yin energy.[9] Fourth, a well-drained slope of a dominant mountain is necessary where these two forces interact vigorously and are kept in constant harmony. Such a site, with an abundance of streams and commanding view of the water and valley is an ideal location for a tomb.[10] Topographically such a site has the dragon mountain running out to the left and the tiger mountain out of the right forming an armchair or horseshoe configuration opening to the South and containing a stream.[11] Variation in topography can make this model quite complex. If possible, sites should be situated as to obtain three-fifths yang and two-fifths yin. In order to achieve the desired balance, the geomancer's main tool, the compass, makes use of the hexagrams of **I Ching**, as well as lunar cycles, cardinal points, and days of year.[12] Some compasses are so complex that they contain forty levels of information around the heaven pool (center of the compass containing the needle.)[13] In the graveyard, the heads of the deceased should point northward, and the graveyard entrance should be from the South; although, if this is impractical, measures such as planting trees or building mounds of earth can divert or trap the ch'i as needed, in a beneficial way if all parameters cannot be met.

History of Feng Shui

To properly understand Chinese culture in Barkerville, an exploration of the origins of Feng-shui is necessary. While this paper is not the proper venue to explore fully such a diverse subject, a brief overview tracing ideas central to this belief should help to understand it.

The origin of feng-shui is unclear. Research suggests that feng-shui pre-dates the Han dynasty. It is probable the idea's roots originate with Taoist naturalists seeking harmony and balance with nature attempting to improve agricultural conditions. What is certain, is that feng-shui long pre-dates the age of Neo-Confucians (circa 12th-18th centuries) who popularized it and employed it as a means of urban planning and social control.[14] As stated earlier, the compass was the main tool used for divination of sites by the geomancer. Joseph Needham has traced the origin of the compass, developed in China, as far back as the fourth century BC, but he contends its primary purpose was for Geomancy, not navigation.[15]

The elite of the Han Dynasty developed a cult of "centrality" with the sacred number five, involving the study of astronomy, numerology, and geography. Like other civilizations they needed to place themselves at the center of the universe, in order to regulate their realms. The Middle kingdom of China was seen as the center of the inhabited world consisting of nine provinces, and that China was one of the nine continents. These nine continents formed one central mountain, called Kunlun, known as the universe.[16]

This belief known as "centerquest" manifests itself in the study of numerology. Taking the form of the magic square of three and viewed as proof that nature intended man to be at the center of the universe.[17] (see page 17)

This combination of numbers provided certain proofs such as: the sum of any combination of numbers, horizontally, vertically, or diagonally totals fifteen. That number is divisible by the center five; the product of which is three, the base number of the square. One can see there are many such combinations possible from this configuration. The ancient Chinese saw them as proof of man's place in the perfect balance of the universe.

Coincidentally, the eight numbers surrounding the five also correspond with the eight hexagrams of **I Ching** surrounding the heaven pool or center of the universe.[18] These ideas remained sacred until the Sung dynasty (AD 960-1279) when Confucian philosophy underwent a profound change in medieval China. Centerquest then became a more secular and popularized theory with common people, who viewed it as an available avenue to increase their own wealth and fortune.[19] Feng-shui was so popular it became entrenched into the mythology of the Chinese. The name Kowloon (Nine Dragons) alludes to a tale of the last Sung dynasty emperor. While fleeing the invading Mongols, a seer advised the emperor to seek a land in the South with nine dragons. Upon arriving at the designated site, he found the landscape contained only eight mountains. Becoming despondent, he threw himself into the sea, forgetting that as Emperor, he constituted the ninth dragon.[20]

Is there any evidence that the Chinese in Barkerville actually used feng-shui in the construction of their community? Would the Chinese, considering themselves temporary residents in the Cariboo, discard established beliefs for a short time? One factor that compounds the problem of determining whether feng-shui contributed in the construction of a building is that many of the same conditions feng-shui seeks to address such as orientation to wind, sun, and view are the concerns of every builder. A person unaware of feng-shui, may mistake various features of architecture, believing the builders to be merely pragmatic in their approach to construction. Neville Ritchie in studying the Chinese miners in New Zealand's gold rush of the same time period concludes that it is "unlikely that the Chinese would have neglected their deeply entrenched notions of feng-shut."[21] Ritchie extrapolates this theory upon the American Chinese immigrant as well.

A Survey of Barkerville's Architecture

A comparison of the feng-shui model and the location of the graveyards at Stanley and Richfield, combined with a survey of surviving artifacts, and the remaining architecture in Barkerville, should reveal if Chinese miners did practice feng-shui in their daily lives.

Most popular contemporary works suggest the Chinese miners' segregation to the southend of town as a result of racism.[22] This paper contends that the miners' consciously chose to live there and actually preferred the location over the lower flatter sections of Barkerville. This is not to suggest that racism did not exist, it did, but is offered to suggest another possibility explaining the location of "Chinatown" within the community. If the Chinese miners held to the ideals of feng-shui as suggested by Ritchie, then one can surmise that the south-end of the community would be a desirable place to live. The construction of traditional Chinese cities follows a strict pattern, displaying a hierar-

chical power structure along a north-south axis. The markets anchor the north end of the axis and the southern urban area is reserved for royalty.[23] In the Chinese mind, the position where the royalty resides receives the most beneficial ch'i; therefore that area of any urban area would be first choice when considering their habitation site. Add to this idea, the fact that the south-end of Barkerville constitutes the high ground (elevation) of the community, creating a favorable position according to feng-shui theory,[24] and you can see how the concepts of feng-shui work in the favor of the Chinese in Barkerville. This elevated position generated several complaints concerning sanitation from the occupants of the lower, northern section of town.

Just as location within the landscape holds significance for the Chinese in Barkerville, the position within a building can influence fortune. Environments as large as the universe or as small as a room fit the feng-shui model. The consideration of a building's location and structural design, in an urban setting is called ba-gua. This is a concept where doors, windows, sleeping quarters, and offices all take on importance in the architecture. Any entrance is symbolic of the North, the source of killing ch'i and is best avoided. The position of power in a building is in the left hand rear in relation to the entrance. If a person's bed or office is too close to the door there will be too much disrupting ch'i thereby reducing good fortune.[25] Observations of the architecture in Barkerville confirm such features do exist in the Chinese structures.[26] Structures such as the Kwong Sang Wing Store (circa 1890) and the representations of the Wa Lee and Yan War stores demonstrate the concepts of feng-shui withing a building; each contains an office or storage room at the back of the building.[27] The Kwong Lee Wing Kee Co. Manager's residence (circa 1901) is an excellent example of a house designed with good feng-shui. The manager's bedroom occupies the position of power. A small wooden tablet on the wall of the kitchen faces the front entrance. An inscription written on the tablet translates roughly as the "The Dragon's Breath." It was common to place a stone or wooden tablet called a Tai San Shui Kan to deflect bad ch'i. Since this tablet aligns with the main entrance it is possibly meant to adjust or deflect bad ch'i.[28]

In order to maximize the effects of feng-shui on a building it is necessary to consider the alignment of structures with the magnetic lines of force. Nearly all buildings in Barkerville face the street in an east-west configuration, but there are two Chinese buildings that display a different orientation. One is the Lowhee toolshed, and the other is Trapper Dan's Cabin named after Chan Fong who died in the 1950s. Measurements indicate the walls of Trapper Dan's cabin align precisely along the magnetic lines of force in a north-south axis.[29] The building's south facing entrance opens into a single room dwelling. The building is rectangular in shape, measuring five meters long and four meters wide,[30] a size and shape common for the bunkhouse style housing of Chinese miners.[31] Ritchie suggests in his study that these dimensions were favoured by the miners for good feng-shui. Before Chan Fong purchased this building its main use was that of a Chinese hospice house, a hospital where old men came to die.[33] It may be the design of the building was intended to provide maximum beneficial ch'i either to prolong the lives of the residents or to ease their suffering and secure good feng-shui in death.[34]

One other building, the Chui Kung T'ang deserves some scrutiny in this discussion of feng-shui, and connects Barkerville with the numerology discussed earlier. Lily Chow states in her book **Sojourners in the North**, "the Chee Kung Tong assumed the role of preserving and promoting the Chinese beliefs in Barkerville," that since the Chee Kung Tong building is the only Chinese structure now displaying original signs and given the assumed role, the translation of the signs given in Wright's book **Barkerville** take on new meaning when placed in context of feng-shui. The two blue banners on the outside of the building read "Outside, nine mountains lie beautifully verdant" and "Inside the temple, three Gods are solemnly seated." This translation places the importance of myth and ancient beliefs of Barkerville's Chinese into historic context. A connection between the "nine mountains" and the "three Gods" could suggest devotion to either a cult of centrality or the myth of Kowloon or both. Regardless of what is signified, a connection between the signs and the landscape of the Barkerville area is visible. The translation links the belief and importance of the physical and mythological landscape to the three Gods: Lao, Confucius, and Buddha,[35] thereby providing strong evidence that the Chinese in Barkerville practiced feng-shui.

The Graveyards At Stanley and Richfield

The main argument of this hypothesis is similarity in the topography of the Chinese graveyards at Stanley and Richfield. Stanley, a small ghost town about twenty kilometers west of Barkerville started in 1861 when gold was found.[36] Very little of Stanley now remains that would suggest the large Chinese community that lived there. The only remaining evidence is the depression in the ground marking the now exhumed graves of the Chinese. In 1959 the Chinese Benevolent Society located and exhumed the graves of Chinese individuals to return to their homes for burial alongside their ancestors. Could the empty graves reveal anything about Chinese Culture in Barkerville? Will the graveyard conform to the given paradigm? The exhumation left clearly defined depressions in the ground orienting the sites of the graves. Compass readings reveal that the graves at both sites align along a north-south axis.[37] The graveyards exhibit similar patterns of interment except that two of the exhumed graves in the Stanley site align along an east-west axis. As no records exist one can only assume that the people who buried them were either not Chinese or if they were Chinese, they had become so acculturated into Wester tradition as to have lost their own culture. Both of these grave sit inside the fenced off section containing Caucasian graves and align east-west like the graves of White residents.

The topography of both sites bears a striking resemblance to the armchair model as well. The Stanley site sits on a south-facing slope of Dragon Mountain with a slightly lower mountain running

out to the left and an even lower range to the right. The site has a view of Lightning Creek that runs through the valley.

The graveyard at Richfield fits the model presented in the same way as the Stanley except it faces north overlooking Stout's Gulch above Barkerville. The graveyard sits on Richfield Mountain, the highest of the three mountains surrounding Barkerville. Barkerville mountain assumes the role of the Green Dragon running out to the left, while Conklin Mountain the lowest of the three mountains become the White Tiger mountain forming the classic armchair configuration needed for a good feng-shui site.[38] William's Creek runs by to the East and a smaller creek converges with William's Creek just below the site.

Taken separately, the architectural and the topographical evidence provided could just be mistaken as coincidental. What is needed is some concrete evidence to tie these disparate clues together with the use of feng-shui. That piece of evidence is found in the room of Small Treasurers in the Chinese museum. Pushed in behind and partly hidden in a display cabinet is a small geomancer's compass. Actually there are two small compasses, a pair of geomancer's compasses, complete with the **I Ching** hexagrams surrounding the heaven pool. One, a small wooden folding device that contains the cardinal points and the **I Ching** hexagrams, is a simple device and could have been used solely for finding direction. The other is larger and more complex. It contains all the information displayed on the smaller compass but includes several levels of graduations, designating finer graduations of the compass points. This is not a compass to be carried in a pocket like the small wooden one, this is a geomancer's compass. One used for quasi-magical purposes.

Conclusion

The idea of place is very important to humanity. While different cultures express similar ideas differently, we all seek some understanding of our place within the universe. When the Chinese came to Gold Mountain (North America), feng-shui created a place, both physically and psychologically in an ever-expanding set of relationships in the world and universe. The Chinese miners, isolated from civilized life in a frigid and hostile landscape, segregated from the main community by language and cultural differences, were secure in their place in the universe. When they gazed at the snow-covered mountains surrounding them, they saw green dragons and white tigers.

The ancient Chinese mind contemplates the cosmos in a way comparable to that of the modern physicist, who cannot deny that his model of the world is a decidedly psychophysical structure.

Carl Jung[39]

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The author was a student in History 407 at the University of Northern B.C. His instructor Dr. Mary Ellen Kelm encouraged Peters to share his research with readers of this magazine.

FOOTNOTES

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6. Ke-Tsung Han, "Feng-shui and Landscape" Unpublished Masters Thesis, Department of Landscape Architecture University of Illinois, Urbana Champaign, Illinois 1994.
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13. Joseph Needham, **Science and Civilisation in Chins Volume 2. History of Scientific Thought**, (London: Cambridge University Press, 1962, p. 359.
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17. Ibid, p. 218
18. Ibid, p. 219.
19. Ibid, p. 216.
20. Sarah Rossbach, **Feng-Shui The Chinese Art of Placement**, (New York: Dutton, 1983), p. 34.
21. Neville Ritchie, "Form and Adaptation: Nineteenth Century Chinese Miners' Dwellings in Southern New Zealand", **Hidden Heritage Historical Archaeology of the Overseas Chinese**, Ed. Prisilla Wegers, (New York: Baywood, 1993), p. 366.
22. Lily Chow, **Sojourners In the North**, (Prince George, B.C.: Catlin, 1996), p. 71.
23. Sarah Rossbach, **Feng-Shui The Chinese Art of Placement**, (New York: Dutton, 1983), p. 84.
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25. James Swan "Befriending the Dragon: The Art of 'Feng Shui Geomancy," **The Power of Place**, ed. James Swan, (Wheaton, Ill. U.S.A.: Quest 1991), p. 208.
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Vancouver's Forgotten Entrepreneurs: Women Who Ran Their Own Schools[1]

by Jean Barman

In Canada, as elsewhere, the business world was long considered a man's game. The qualities associated with being an entrepreneur - to use a dictionary definition, "a person who organizes and manages any enterprise, esp. a business, usually with considerable initiative and risk,"[2] - are not the qualities long associated with being a woman. Vancouver may have been especially entrepreneurial among Canadian cities in being shaped by single individuals, as suggested in R.A.J. McDonald's **Making Vancouver**.[3] Among the best known of those taking a chance on the young city in the hope of making a living and, if possible a very good living, were the Oppenheimer brothers in real estate, B.T. Rogers in sugar, Henry O. Bell-Irving in salmon canning, W.H. Malkin and Robert Kelly in wholesaling, Charles Woodward in retail, and so on. Such a list can easily be continued down to the present day, and be it Vancouver or some other part of Canada will be almost wholly comprised of men. Still today, when you look in the **Globe and Mail** at the announcements of appointments to major business positions across Canada, it is mostly the faces of men who peer back at you.

A consequence has been that women who were entrepreneurs could not under any circumstances allow themselves to be perceived as such. They had to live a contradiction. Their success depended on appearing to be what they were not. The qualities of refinement and gentility and deference associated with being a woman had to remain front and centre for them to maintain the reputation essential to the success of a business venture. A man could be, and likely was expected to be, aggressive, tough, hard-nosed, but these were the very same qualities that for a woman would have spelled disaster. It is in good part for this reason that the women who did become successful entrepreneurs from Vancouver's beginnings at least through the Second World War have been for the most part forgotten. They themselves, by their necessary duplicity, almost wholly determined that they would not be perceived as entrepreneurs either contemporaneously or in retrospect. Women's success depended on not being found out, in not appearing to be what they in fact were.[4]

If any field of entrepreneurial activity was amenable to female initiative, it had to be education. State-run, free, nondenominational public schools were established soon after British Columbia's entry into the Canadian confederation in 1871, but the law said absolutely nothing about private alternatives.[5] All that was necessary was that each British Columbian be somehow educated. Such an arrangement then remained virtually unchanged for over a century, until 1978 when private schools were offered ongoing financial assistance in exchange for adhering to certain general guidelines in accord with the public school system.

Thus, for over a century in British Columbia the business of running a private school, be it for children, youth, or adults, was quintessentially entrepreneurial. As one woman head put it to me, "anything could go on in schools."[6] Unlike the public system whose upper bureaucracy and teaching force quickly became controlled by men, any person could begin a school, advertise as they would, and hope that enough individuals would be enticed there to make a go of it. This uncontrolled speculation in people's lives constituted, in many ways, the consummate, perhaps the ultimate, business adventure. And it was one in which women did have an advantage growing out of the broad based acceptance of teaching as one of the few occupations considered to be "woman like" because it encouraged the nurturing attributes which young women were perceived to need in order to be good wives and mothers. Female teachers were often preferred in the public system, and by the early twentieth century came to dominate its lower levels. On the other hand, that was about the extent of it. Women were expected to dabble for a few years in anticipation of marriage as opposed to making teaching their life's work.

Jessie Gordon.
Photo courtesy of Crofton House School.

Sufficient information survives in oral[7] or written form to profile half a dozen of these entrepreneurial ventures. The portraits of women who ran their own schools, which are based so far as possible in their own voices or the voices of those who know them, divide into three pairs, in a roughly chronological sequence from Vancouver's beginnings through the Second World War. The first two are what might be conceived as genteel entrepreneurs, the second collegial entrepreneurs, and the third entrepreneurs of necessity. Then comes the nutty question of succession, of what happened when women running their own schools decided they had had enough. While this was a serious dilemma for any founding entrepreneur, it was particularly so for women, most of whom were single and so without the direct biological heirs possessed by many of their male counterparts in the business world. The sequences of events around succession suggests yet another reason why these early Vancouver entrepreneurs have

been largely forgotten.

GENTEEL ENTREPRENEURS

The first two women, while very different, share a common impetus to entrepreneurship in the Klondike gold rush on 1898. Although Vancouver never became as important as Seattle to the south, it was also a gateway seemingly destining the city for success. Jessie Gordon and Eveline Richards each grasped the opportunity to become their own person.[8] To do so they had perforce to give up important aspects of their personal lives, including what were likely numerous opportunities for marriage, but in those years it was virtually inevitable that this would be the necessary trade off for any genteel entrepreneur.

JESSIE GORDON

Of pioneer Vancouver women who ran their own schools, the name most likely to come to mind is the indomitable "Miss Gordon," as Jessie Gordon was always known.[9] The founder of Crofton House, a large private girls' school which endures very successfully to the present day, she has taken on the stuff of myth.

Jessie Gordon came to Vancouver at the age of thirteen, arriving with her parents and six siblings on the new railroad in 1886.[10] The family settled in Mount Pleasant cottage, and Jessie and her sister Mary walked across the bridge to Schenley House School, where their classmates included the daughters of some of the new city's leading families.[11] Two years later, about the time that their father helped found one of Vancouver's first newspapers, the **News-Advertiser**, the Gordons, including Jessie now aged fifteen, returned to England so the daughters could get a proper education and their ill mother could die at home.[12] Jessie then studied for two years at Newnham College, Cambridge University, to get a teaching credential,[13] just before which she lived in residences known as the Crofton Cottages.[14] By the time Jessie followed her family back to Vancouver in 1894, her father's economic situation had turned sour.[15] So, after acting as governess to the Bell-Irving daughters, Jessie attended the new Vancouver high school to acquire the knowledge necessary to pass the provincial teaching examination, and taught for a time under Mademoiselle Kern at Granville School.[16]

Then Jessie Gordon gambled, at what she later termed "a crucial moment" in Vancouver's history, in a fashion as entrepreneurial an many men of the day.[17] In 1898, amidst the Klondike euphoria, the twenty-five-year old Jessie, assisted by her sisters Edith and Mary, opened "a school for young ladies," enrolling just four girls in the basement of the family home at 1219 Georgia Street in the West end.[18] The very first ad in the **News-Advertiser** was the soul of discretion: "Miss Gordon, late of Newnham College, Cambridge, has vacancies for pupils after Easter. Terms on application."[19] One of her early students was the future novelist Ethel Wilson, whose recollections capture what were clearly some of the attributes allowing Jessie Gordon to be at one and the same time an exemplar and an entrepreneur. "It seems to me that, to begin with, there were about eight pupils at the school, perhaps more. Then quickly twelve of us, and so on and on. Miss Gordon, who was fair and pretty and young, did most of the teaching herself, and a good deal of it was done in so small a school by the method of sitting down beside a pupil and 'showing her how,' and a very good and kindly method it was . . .Perhaps the most important things that were taught at Miss Gordon's School were not mentioned in the curriculum at all. They were, I think integrity, consideration, and simple good manners, and they were taught more by example than by precept. We did not all learn these things, I'm sure; but certainly Miss Gordon, Miss Edith and Miss Mary taught them to us."[20]

Three years later Jessie Gordon took an even greater risk. Borrowing money from her English aunts, she bought a piece of land on the southwest corner of Nelson and Jervis, then at the edge of the forest but also, as she would later explain, strategically sited "on the brow of the hill overlooking English Bay and Stanley Park in the highest and healthiest position of the west end of town.[21] As Jessie's sister Mary later recalled, "Nelson street at that time was just a lane with dandelions growing in profusion along its borders, bush on both sides, and only one house below us towards English Bay."[22] The building, to serve both as school and as residence for the Gordon sisters, was equipped with the most modern conveniences, both electric lighting and central heating, at a total cost of $7,000, a huge amount for the time.[23] Ethel Wilson personified the accomplishment: "This was Crofton House, a real school with a real name and real boarders upstairs, and monitors and uniforms and - later on - prefects. Secretly I felt a slight uneasy grandeur about this fine new name. Crofton House. As for me, I still went to Miss Gordon's School."[24]

Jessie Gordon had gambled and come up a winner, surely the mark of a successful entrepreneur, but she soon lost one of her main supports. At this point in time no question existed but that a married woman's place was in the home; to run a school like this, however genteel one might be, it was absolutely essential to be single. And so, according to an early student, "When forming the school Miss Jessie, Miss Mary and Miss Edith made a pact. That was to always stay together and never to marry."[25] Then one day Jessie Gordon appeared with what this student recalled as "very red eyes and halting voice," and "it later came out that Miss Edith had broken the pact and become engaged. . . . We all suffered with Miss Jessie."[26] Edith Gordon married in 1904, but Mary spent her life assisting Jessie with domestic arrangements to do with boarders and school finances.[27]

Even with sibling assistance a business the size of Crofton House was no easy matter, as Elizabeth Bell-Irving O'Keily has shown in her history of the school.[28] The qualities necessary for success were in many ways the antithesis of the crafty business strategies associated with male entrepreneurship. Crofton House did discreetly advertise with an annual prospectus, as well in the newspaper. The 1913 prospectus lauded its headmistress as: "Miss Gordon, Newnham College, Cambridge; Registered Teacher's Registration Council, London; Cambridge Higher Honours Certificate' First-Class Teacher's Certificate from the Education Department of the Province."[29] The prospectus included fees, and in 1913 it cost about $100 a term for board, and

$25 for tuition with additional fees of $10-16 for piano or drawing,[30] meaning that, with about 175 girls enrolled, over $10,000 a quarter flowed through the school.[31] By the standards of the day, Crofton House was no mean enterprise, and Jessie Gordon no mean entrepreneur.

EVELINE RICHARDS

The second school to come out of the Klondike gold rush was as different as different could be from Crofton House, however much the two were joined by the tenacity of their founders. The outward uniqueness of Pitman Business College lay in its aura of association with the very popular Pitman system of shorthand, but its less visible strength was its genteel entrepreneur. In reality the two were closely linked. Eveline Richards' father had been both a friend and student of Sir Issac Pitman, who in the late 1830s in England invented a new phonetic system of shorthand that quickly became extraordinarily popular around the world.[32] From the age of twelve Eveline took shorthand dictation from her father and then transcribed it on that other great secretarial innovation of the day, the typewriter. At the age of sixteen she won a prize for all of Britain as most proficient in shorthand, and soon thereafter graduated from a technical school with a certificate as a teacher of the Pitman system.[33]

In 1898, Eveline Richards' father and cousin took her with them on a ship they had chartered with about sixty others to travel around the southern tip of South America on a grand scheme to set up a steamship line servicing the Klondike gold rush.[34] On arriving in Vancouver they heard stories about how rough and ready the Yukon was, and the men persuaded their sole female passenger to stay behind.[35] The head of a local law firm somehow found out about her skills, and persuaded her to instruct some young women to work in his office so that, by the time her father returned to Vancouver later in 1898 after the ship had gone on the rocks to pick up his daughter for the return trip home to England, he found her hard at work.[36] As she later recalled to an interviewer, "she just commenced getting busy and doing a little pioneering on her own account" and "launched forth in the conduct of a business school, where the youngsters of the day could learn typing, business writing and the things which were deemed necessary to business then.[37] Eveline Richards' father returned home alone whereas she, at first with "just a little handful of students," continued her entrepreneurial adventure.[38] Up to that time, the only institutions bearing the Pitman name were run by the Pitman family, but her father persuaded his old friend to make an exception so that hers became the only independent Pitman's anywhere in the world.[39]

Pitman Business College was, from the onset, Eveline Richards' gamble. As put by her niece Virginia Richards Bazilli, "she ran it, trained the teachers, and ran the business . . . she rented the building, paid the staff, totally in charge, didn't have a bookkeeper."[40] Eveline Richards was aged just twenty-two when she began Pitman Business College, but she caught a wave, so to speak. The young city of Vancouver boomed in the early years of the century, and Eveline prospered. As her niece explained, "every Vancouver woman up to the Second World War had three choices: Vancouver General to become a nurse, Vancouver Normal to become a teacher, or go to Pitman's."

At first Eveline Richards taught just three subjects - shorthand, typing and bookkeeping,[41] but by 1905 Pitman's was advertising itself as "the only Telegraphic School in the province that has successfully trained operators for the Canadian Pacific Railway and the Cable Co."[42] Growth brought larger premises, in 1905 conveniently opposite the Hotel Vancouver,[43] and in 1930 Eveline Richards opened a branch at the corner of Broadway and Granville, which eventually became the school's main premises.[44] The passage of time also meant a greater range of classes, which eventually encompassed office procedures, business English, business machines, receptionist skills, and manners for dealing with the public. To quote her niece: "It was a college that was grooming people more than just training them" There was a nine-month secretarial course, but one in which students, almost all of whom were female, "would go at an individual pace, so [it took] maybe six

Eveline Richards.
Photo courtesy of Virginia Richards Bazilli.

months, or maybe eleven months." In addition, "there were quite a few men taking bookkeeping" and some being trained as court reporters. Small classes, "a lot of one to one," and a night school twice a week made it possible for a very diverse student body to complete their preferred program and get out into the workforce. Pitman's was, according to Eveline Richards' niece, "known to the employers of Vancouver," who were "always phoning her" for prospective staff.

In 1931, by which time several thousand students had passed through Pitman Business College, about two-thirds of them women, Eveline Richards shared her positive business philosophy with a male reporter: "Keep sticking! Just keep sticking, no matter what happens. Never give up. When you make your plan just stay right with it through thick and thin - through adversity and success. If the plan is one which will help other people to greater happiness you are bound to win out. You just can't fail!"[45] Yet, as with Jessie Gordon at Crofton House, there was a trade-off for such genteel entrepreneurs. Outwardly, Eveline Richards was what her niece has characterized as an "English gentlewoman" who "never lost her English accent." She was "very composed, quiet, soft spoken," and also perforce a single woman. As summed up by her niece, "she was married to the college, and that was the only way that the place survived, it was not an eight-hour-a-day, five-day-a-week

job." As put by Eveline Richards herself in 1931, after over four decades in charge, "my school is my life, it is my romance - for what greater romance could one ask than those years of helping others to happiness."[46]

All the same, Eveline Richards may have operated her business differently had she been a man. Her niece recalls her as "a very gentle, sweet, caring person" who "made it possible for many people who couldn't afford to go, to do dictation or clean and get tuition free." As well as paying students, "she allowed others to learn without having to pay. When there were about 150 taking shorthand, she had to have a lot of readers, who were paid," and also classrooms which needed cleaning. Eveline Richards went further, for "when girls came from out of town, she personally checked up on places for them" to stay.[47] Social life was very much a part of the college. There was a "marvelous piano," a Christmas dance, and graduation ceremonies. It was "a happy place, very well behaved." There was even an alumni association intended to keep students in contact after finishing their schooling, intended to "make all of them better citizens," and "Vancouver an even finer city in which to live."[48] The practical consequence may have been even greater success, for, to quote her niece once again, "all students loved her and the staff were devoted to her." Eveline Richards took risks and exercised leadership equal to that of any man, but in the ways that she worked to provide community for her students she did so very much as a women.[49]

COLLEGIAL ENTREPRENEURS

While it was often individual women who became entrepreneurs, some groups also did so, and enough information can be gleaned to evoke two of them. The first were the women who came together to found York House, the second the cluster around Miss Isabel Bodie at Queen's Hall.

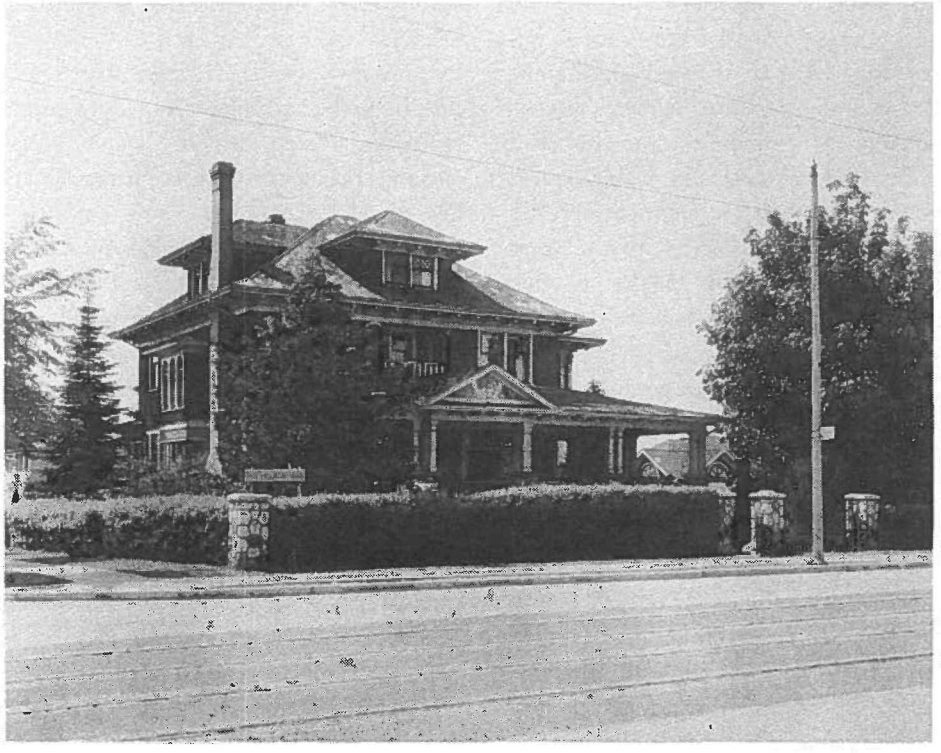
THE WOMEN OF YORK HOUSE

The origins of York House go back to yet another of the myriad women who founded girls' schools. Born in Ontario, Alice Keenleyside had moved with her family to Vancouver in 1899 when she was eight.[50] Her younger brother Hugh, who would become well-known as a diplomat, considered her "the intellectual of the family," and in 1913 she received her bachelor's degree from McGill intending to become a teacher.[51] The degree likely took on even greater significance when her soldier fiance in the medical corps was killed one week before the 1918 armistice by a wounded German to whom he had offered a canister of water.[52] Alice Keenleyside worked for a time under Miss Seymour at St. Mirina's[53] and some time in the 1920s founded St. Clare School for Girls in Shaughnessy.[54] Then came the crash of 1929, which she met by letting some staff go and reducing the salaries of others in order that the school itself might survive.[55]

It was this sequence of events which in 1932 led five of the "teachers and the matron of our old St. Clare staff" to strike out on their own "group venture."[56] These six women and one other who joined them a year later wanted "to continue the idea of a Canadian private school . . . We weren't going to teach an English accent, for instance, which so many of the schools did all the time."[57] Thus, a note in the original ledger of York House explained that there should be "not too much emphasis on C. of E. (Church of England) for the prospectus."[58] The initiative also had a more practical impetus, for three of the group had husbands, and, as one of them recalled, "we wanted to keep on working and were not allowed to teach in public school because we were married."[59] The women were clearly assisted by their mutual respect, complementary areas of expertise, and willingness to divide up responsibilities without any of them feeling compelled to assume control.

To the extent there was a leader, formally or informally, it was Mrs. Lena Cotsworth Clarke, daughter of local intellectual of sorts Moses Cotsworth, best known for advocating a thirteen-month calendar,[60] and the oldest among them at forty-two.[61] The group chose her collegially and consensually, by acclamation,[62] for, as Lena Cotsworth Clarke recalled, "we started the school because we were a group of teachers and felt we might be able to give something and we got together and I was asked to be the leader. . . we were seven women and we never had a fight."[63] Perhaps to honour her willingness to assume the position of principal, the new school was named after her county of birth in England.[64]

The foundation of York House re-



York House School, 1933.

Photo courtesy of City of Vancouver Archives #CVA99-4358.

mained very much of a joint enterprise. As one of the group explained, "we were women with fervor."[65] Another wrote at the time to a friend: "We may be criticized for venturing into new fields in a time of business depression. But we have confidence that our strength lies in the union of a few well-qualified teachers with successful experience."[66] There was a considerable amount of risk, for, as yet another of the six recalled: "In the best sense it was an adventure. It was in the depths of the depression . . . we didn't have any money; actually I don't think we realized how little we really had."[67]

The company that the group incorporated in June 1932 established a block of 1000 shares at $10 each, of which two of the women bought forty shares each, most of the remainder being issued over the next years in lieu of salaries.[68] In other words, as one of the founders explained, during York House's first years the women worked for nothing.[69] "We survived (as a school because we were) willing to give of ourselves without compensation."[70] One of them kept very careful control over the finances, and, "if we asked for something and we couldn't afford it, we we just didn't have it."[71]

The women arranged to lease at $75 a month what one of them described as "a comfortable Shaughnessy home."[72] Since, to quote from the group, "the School was founded on ideas, not equipment,"[73] they fixed up the house located at 27th and Granville as economically as possible "with borrowed furniture" and breathed a sigh of relief when in September 1932 seventeen students enrolled.[74] Numbers doubled by the first Christmas, and within three years a neighbouring house had to be leased as well.[75] Collegial entrepreneurship had paid off, and York House was on its way to becoming the popular private girls' school it remains to the present day.

ISABEL BODIE AND QUEEN'S HALL

In comparison with York House, the Queen's Hall initiative lay far more with a single woman, but it was its collaborative character which contributed mightily to its success. As her niece, Janet Bingham, has recorded, for over a decade Isabel Bodie taught senior French at St. Anthony's College, a large girls' boarding school run by an Anglican order of nuns who in 1939 decided to convert themselves to Catholicism and the school into a rest home for the elderly.[76] "When it was suddenly announced to me that St. Anthony's was closing I decided, out of the blue, to start my own school."[77] Thus Isabel Bodie seized the moment, encouraged to do so by former St. Anthony's pupils searching for a successor school for their daughters and, very importantly, by a strong collegial support group.[78]

Isabel Bodie's willingness to take a risk was almost certainly assisted by her educational background. Born in Scotland, she had attended an Aberdeen girls' school, on which she would model Queen's Hall, before her family came to Vancouver in 1907 when she was aged sixteen.[79] After finishing high school in Vancouver, Isabel went east to McGill to get a BA and then attended Vancouver Normal School for a teaching certificate.[80]

Nonetheless, the decision could not have been easy. Not only was Vancouver still at the tail end of the depression, but Isabel Bodie was already aged forty-eight and without financial resources.[81] Somehow she managed to scrounge the downpayment on the old turreted West End house[82] at the corner of Granville and Nanton that had stood vacant for several years,[83] and gather around her a group of women willing to take a chance alongside her. One of them later recalled: "so there we were - the eight of us . . we were bound together by the ties of our profession, and some of us at least, by the love of what was still a small and tender thing, the school."[84] They were also, much like their predecessors who founded York House, bound together by gender. They were, as this woman put it, "an organization of women."[85]

It was to a considerable extent the ties of gender which spurred Isabel Bodie's loyal band onward. During the summer of 1939 they accumulated as many used desks and chairs as they could find and cleaned and painted the house.[86] This was, however, the easy part of what the chronicler of the first years of Queen's Hall has termed the "Rehearsal."[87] Would there be pupils? Would it all be a financial debacle? The risks inherent in entrepreneurship were lived on an everyday basis during the summer of 1939, and are graphically caught in this excerpt. "We were waiting, just as the house was, but we made much

Queen's Hall senior students and staff with Isabel Bodie in the centre, 1946.

Photo courtesy of Janet Bingham and Vancouver City Archives.

Anna Sprott.
Photo courtesy of Vancouver City Archives #br.P.50 N.40.

more fuss about it. The house slowly came to life, collecting its dignity about it, until it showed a certain pride and mellowness. We spent excited days scanning letters from parents of prospective pupils, arranging desks in prospective classrooms, engaging domestic help and answering the telephone. Above all, in answering the telephone! The days that it did not ring were counted as lost, or the days when it only rang twice, we wanted to weep. We did not care who phoned - people wanting prospectuses, salesmen wanting orders, newspapers wanting information - the activity showed that we had started our venture, that we were on the way and that our new school planned for and dreamt of for many months was indeed to be a reality. But the excited frenzy of rushing from the top floor of the building to answer the phone, and the terrific activity occasioned by having two dozen chairs to paint or varnish was all a secondary occurrence. Each afternoon we took off our paint stained smocks, washed our faces, combed our hair, and prepared to receive our visitors. It was all very well to do our own painting, cook our own meals, but when that all important person, 'the parent,' came in view, we had to present a serene & well-ordered front. It was true that we usually answered the door ourselves, and we tried not to rush unduly or to give our visitors a too obviously hearty welcome. It was true that our impromptu tea-parties lacked method, the tea often being delayed and the china sketchy. There were a thousand and one errors in procedure and 'dignification,' but we did things as well as we could. We talked charmingly to our guests, we showed them our sunny halls, our extensive plumbing. We marched them to the top of the house to see the view. We banged the mattresses on the beds to show their worth. Above all, we stressed our adequate grounds, quaint annex, and convenient proximity to the street cars. Our visitors were impressed - at least those who sent their daughters must have been - and we felt full of the dignity and importance of our position."[88]

In September 1939, just days before the beginning of the Second World War, Queen's Hall opened its doors.[89] As growing attendance demonstrated, the school filled a niche, attracting not only former St. Anthony's girls but others whose families may have wanted a greater dose of Scottish common sense and resourcefulness than was offered in the existing girls' schools.[90] By 1944, the school was taking in almost $20,000 a term in tuition and board.[91] No question can exist but that collegiality and the ties of gender could provide an important basis for entrepreneurial success.

ENTREPRENEURS OF NECESSITY

By the time of the Second World War, and especially during the war, it became more acceptable for women to put themselves forward into public life and, where necessity called, to take advantage of the unexpected. The last pair, Violet Dryvynsyde and Anna Sprott, were what might be termed entrepreneurs of necessity. Unexpectedly widowed, they each rebounded to turn adversity into opportunity, surely the mark of a true entrepreneur.

VIOLET DRYVYNSYDE

Perhaps nothing so exemplifies the ambivalent shifts that occurred in Vancouver, in terms of expectations for women, as Athlone school, founded in 1940 for boys rather than girls by a widow rather than an unwed woman. Still, Violet Dryvynsyde remained encapsulated in the identity of her husband, never being referred to publicly by a first name, always in the press and by former students into the early 1970s only as "Mrs. Dryvynsyde."[92]

Violet Dryvynsyde's husband had, after immigrating from England following the First World War, taught at boys' schools in Toronto and Winnipeg before, married with a young son, moving on to St. George's boys School in Vancouver.[93] Three years later he died suddenly, and his widow found herself at the age of forty with a child of five virtually penniless without prospect of employment. So she decided to chase her husband's dream, which was one day to have a school of his own, but now it would have to be her school alone. She used her husband's life insurance to buy a piece of property at 3235 West 39th Avenue on the edge of the prosperous suburb of Kerrisdale. With the business advice of a family friend who was a lawyer, Violet Dryvynsyde set herself up as a limited company of which she held all but one of the shares in order to allow the company to carry on in the event of her death.[94]

Athlone opened in September 1940 as a kindergarten of just five boys, including Violet Dryvynsyde's young son. At first the energetic and dynamic widow did absolutely everything from teaching to cooking to ensuring that boys turned up in their school uniform of short pants, blue sweater, and hat. There was no gymnasium or playing fields, but simply, as recalled by her son, a woman of determination who was convinced she could build a community of learners. So each year Violet Dryvynsyde added another class, until by 1949 the school reached grade 9, and then she stopped, which meant that she did not have to invest in the expensive science and other equipment by now expected at the high-school level. She also had the good sense, in this era when many of the pupils had fathers in the armed forces, to hire men to teach the upper grades.[95] Violet Dryvynsyde gave families what they wanted: a strict academic education with Latin and French being taught earlier and to a far higher level than in the public schools.[96]

Despite the ongoing competition with the much better established St. George's boys' school, whose headmaster Douglas Harker is said to have resented the uppityness with which Violet Dryvynsyde had met the challenge of her husband's death, Athlone became a success, although not without its head having had to demonstrate her mettle in a fashion comparable

to any male entrepreneur of the day. In the summer of 1944, by which time Athlone enrolled about 85 boys,[97] she decided that the time had come to expand into boarding facilities and acquired two and a half acres on the corner of Granville and 49th, with the intention of accommodating what a supporter lauded as "just 24 little boys up to 10 years of age." By this time the city of Vancouver required various permits to operate boarding facilities, and unhappy neighbours in this area of single-family houses were soon forming themselves into a South Granville Ratepayers' Association numbering about fifty to sixty members. To counter them, Violet Dryvynsyde and her supporters mustered some 293 signatures of what they termed "South Granville mothers." A two-hour hearing before the civic licensing committee was packed to capacity with her "mothers," reported in the press to have "cheered loudly when their spokesmen made a point in their arguments." In the end Violet Dryvynsyde won the day with a five-four vote on Vancouver City Council, clearly through having powerful friends in the right places, some of them very likely parents of students taught just a few years earlier by her husband at St. George's who now wanted to do right by his plucky widow.[98]

Not just in the dispute with neighbours, but more generally, Violet Dryvynsyde used her powers as a woman at one and the same time to coopt other women and to persuade men. A student of the school's first year has explained how, to quote him, "she sought advice but remained in charge."[99] He recalled conversations late at night in the family kitchen between her and his father, a medical doctor, on how best to run things at the school.[100] Violet Dryvynsyde also networked with the heads of the other private schools and would, according to her son, gossip with the head of Crofton House until the early hours of the morning. From 1942 she had a board of directors, made up of Jessie Gordon, by now retired, and, in a fine act of cooperation, John Harker of St. George's. Violet Dryvynsyde clearly was, as recalled by those who knew her, a determined, passionate woman with a good head for business, knowing just how much to charge to make a living but not too much to appear greedy. It was a fine balance, but she managed to walk that line with care and precision.

ANNA SPROTT

The second entrepreneur of necessity was quite different in that she inherited, rather than created, the educational institution that she headed on her husband's death. Born in Ontario, Anna Sprott's husband Robert had in 1903, in his early thirties, taken over an existing business college on downtown Hastings Street and renamed it the Sprott-Shaw Business University after himself and a business partner named Shaw.[101] Irish by descent, the future Anna Sprott arrived in Vancouver from Ontario in 1911 as a young widow in her early thirties with a daughter, took a course at Sprott-Shaw, became an instructor there, and in 1918 married its proprietor.[102] Over the next years Robert Sprott absorbed six competing schools,[103] opened Sprott-Shaw branches in North Vancouver and Victoria,[104] founded the first radio station west of Winnipeg,[105] and began a separate Sprott-Shaw Wireless and Radio School and then a Sprott-Shaw Aviation School.[106] At least in the public eye, Anna Sprott was an active "club woman" and very much a social asset for her husband.[107] On the other hand, reflecting back in later life, Anna Sprott considered that she had "worked all her life," and that she and her husband had "together" expanded "their business interests."[108] All of this may explain why on his death in 1942, already in her early sixties and unmentioned in her husband's obituaries except as an unnamed "sorrowing wife,"[109] Anna Sprott nonetheless seamlessly took over as head of Sprott-Shaw Schools and, either then or later, also as president of CKMO, the Vancouver radio station he founded.[110]

It is difficult to disentangle the extent to which Ann Sprott ever became an entrepreneur of desire such as was Violet Dryvynsyde as well as an entrepreneur of necessity. Press accounts continued to emphasize her voluntary activities and to laud her as "one of the city's most active clubwomen,"[111] but at the same time Sprott-Shaw business schools expanded, opening new branches in Nanaimo, New Westminster, and Calgary.[112] Interviewed in 1947, Anna Sprott emphasized that even "today she could no more give up teaching than breathing."[113]

What is clear is that Anna Sprott used her entrepreneurial position to advantage, exactly the opposite of what would have been possible for Jessie Gordon or Eveline Richards half a century earlier. In 1949 she ran for Vancouver City council precisely on that basis, being the first female candidate sponsored for a council seat by the ruling Non-Partisan Association.[114] Interviewed during the campaign, she proclaimed: "I have always been active in business."[115] A large newspaper advertisement was headlined "Anna Sprott is a successful business woman," and gave as the first of numerous positions, "President-Sprott-Shaw Schools."[116] Anna Sprott was elected on her first try, decisively defeating among others CCF incumbent Laura Jamieson, and after ten years on council becoming the longest serving woman in the history of the city.[117] Stories about her would from time to time emphasize her entrepreneurial face, as in how, "due to her former business training, she . . . can still pick up her pencil and take down dictation or conversation in shorthand with the swift, sure speed of a telegrapher tapping out a message . . . She runs her beautiful home on Southwest Marine Drive, her offices, her life and her mind with the measured preciseness of pneumatic drill encased in felt. . . and when she sinks her teeth into a cause, she worries it to victory in a manner somewhat similar to a fox-terrier meeting up with its first rag doll."[118] In 1951 Anna Sprott became the first woman to serve as acting mayor of Vancouver, the press observing that "part of her time is still given over to her job as president of Sprott-Shaw Schools, since she is vitally interested in young people who are mapping out careers in the business world."[119] Anna Sprott remained president of the Sprott-Shaw schools to her death in 1961 at the age of eighty-two.[120]

THE SUCCESSION

Succession was no easy matter for Vancouver women who ran their own schools, whether it be genteel entrepreneurs like Jessie Gordon and Eveline Richards, the collegial entrepreneurships

at York House and Queen's Hall, or entrepreneurs of necessity as were Vivian Dryvynsyde and Anna Sprott. At least three options existed, and all three were tried by them and their counterparts.

The first was for female entrepreneurs to equate themselves with the adventure, and on their retirement for the school simply to close, as did many of the small girls' schools scattered around Vancouver. For all of the collegiality which underlay the initial adventure, Isabel Bodie had always identified Queen's Hall with herself and held on until 1969, when she was seventy-eight and broke her hip.[121] At first "the ever-energetic Miss Bodie," to quote a newspaper account, determined to run the school from her bed, but by the end of term had decided that she had had enough. As she put it, "I couldn't have had a happier time, but the time comes when you have to stop."[122]

"This has been a 24-hour job."[123] The Sun newspaper headline told the story, "School's Out - and Over."[124] In some cases a school's closure was not intentional, as with Violet Dryvynsyde at Athlone who may also have made do for too long without making adequate provision for her succession.[125] The announcement of Athlone's closure in 1973, following her death, emphasized that "it was a question of economics. The school needs certain structural repairs and a fee increase of at least 30 percent would have been necessary to cover these costs."[126]

A second option was for the founding head to ensure a transition. Eveline Richards of Pitman Business College effectively did so by incorporating a private company on her father's death in 1921 of which she became president and her lawyer brother a director.[127] This meant that when she died in 1941 her brother almost seamlessly took charge.[128]

A third option was for a school to be reformed under a male-dominated board of governors. The existence of a board, it should be emphasized, did not necessarily mean the eclipse of female entrepreneurship, as exemplified by Pitman Business College and also by the women of York House who in 1936 set up an advisory board of governors without any directive power over the school or its finances.[129] As one of them recalled, the board, comprised mostly of parents, "gave advice and moral backing - nothing more."[130] The real decision came in 1958 when the two oldest founders reached retirement age with the capital that they needed to live on tied up in the school, since they had received so little in salaries over the years.[131] As one of their fellow founders recalled, "The rest of us didn't want to go on with the school separately, and we, as a company, didn't want to expand. . . We could either close the school or pass the leadership on to an educational trust."[132] Parents decided to keep York House in operation, and the board formed a non-profit educational trust, which then bought the property and furnishings.[133]

With Crofton House the transition to a male-dominated board came in May 1937 when Jessie Gordon and her sister Mary retired without making provision for a successor.[134] As Jessie Gordon phrased it at the time, "Ah, well - but after 40 years one realizes that a time must come when someone else will have to take up the work. . ."[135] According to a former student, they had simply "planned to close Crofton House forever."[136] But almost immediately a group of seven men, mostly fathers, set up an "emergency committee," so the local press put it, "determined that Crofton House School for Girls with its name, ideals and tradition will continue."[137] The school was within four years totally reorganized into a male image of success. The first step was incorporation under a board of governors[138] A mortgage was secured to buy the building and all its fittings.[139] The new head selected by the board was a professional as opposed to being an entrepreneur, having previously headed a girls' school in Calgary.[140] The embodiment of the school further shifted from the person to the institution with the organization of a formal alumni group in the spring of 1938.[141] Three years later Crofton House moved to new quarters, a ten-acre estate on West 41st in Kerrisdale purchased by issuing bonds.[142] As the socially prominent **Province** newspaper summed up, "the old gives way to the new and the old West End is out-dated with the rapid growth of the residential suburbs."[143] Miss Gordon's genteel entrepreneurship of almost forty years was in the course of just four transformed into an impersonal highly professional educational institution.

CONCLUSION

What do these half dozen profiles tell us? Most of all perhaps, that it is not surprising that, even in a city as entrepreneurial as Vancouver, the women who ran their own schools should not have been recognized alongside their male counterparts. The assumption was long held that women simply did not count in the "real" business of city building. Up until the Second World War, for a woman to have been acknowledged as an entrepreneur would have run counter to, and likely made impossible, the very real success that many of them achieved. Yet women were incredibly versatile and, as with the groups who founded York House and Queen's Hall, could be ingenious in ways very likely unacceptable to their male counterparts. Only in the war's aftermath could someone as self-confident and well placed as Anna Sprott dare publicly to use female entrepreneurship to advantage. The individual initiative which women brought to education extends to other fields of endeavour, as with Sara McLagan who owned the **Vancouver World** newspaper, first with her husband and then on her own after his death in 1901,[144] and the hundreds and likely thousands of women who into the present day quietly and unassumingly run their own business.

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FOOTNOTES

1. This essay originated as an invited talk given to the Friends of the Vancouver Archives in March 1997, and I am grateful to Vancouver City Archivist Sue Baptie and to Janet Bingham and Elizabeth O'Kiely for cajoling me to delve into the topic.
2. First definition in **Random House Dictionary of the English Language**. Unabridged edition (New York: Random House, 1966).
3. R.A.J. McDonald, **Making Vancouver: Class, status, and Social Boundaries, 1863-1913** (Vancouver: UBC Press, 1996).
4. Ir is not just that the women themselves had to live a contradiction, but the source materials that might demonstrate their ingenuity have been largely structured on the same assumption. Often there is absolute silence. Nothing has been collected. Even what little that exists can be misleading or inaccurate. In searching fo rone woman entrepreneur, I eventually turned up her obituary, but filed under the name of her father who, rather than his daughter, was identified on the file folder as the business' founder. At the time this woman died, in 1941, it was believed that a man simply had to have been in charge. Compare Envelope of M 7942, CVA, which identified the father as the school's founder, with for example, "Graduates Have Taken Leading Place Here," unidentified clipping, 16 August 1939, CVA, which in the first paragraph describes "Miss E.A. Richards" as the founder."
5. On the history of education in British Columbia, see Jean Barman, Neil Sutherland, and J. Donald Wilson, ed, **Children Teachers and**

Schools in the History of British Columbia (Calgary: Detselig, 1995), and Jean Barman, **The West Beyond the West: A History of British Columbia**, rev. ed. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1996).

6. Conversation with Mrs. Marie Gerhardt-Olly, Vancouver, 25 February 1981.
7. The essay draws in part on conversations and other research undertaken for Jean Barman, **Growing Up British in British Columbia: Boys in Private School** (Vancouver: UBC Press, 1982.
8. Jessie Gordon and Eveline Richards were not, it should be emphasized, the first women in British Columbia, or in Vancouver, to run their own schools, although many of their predecessors have survived as names and not much else. One of Victoria's first female entrepreneurs was Madame Pettibeau who simply moved her school north from San Francisco with the gold rush and taught a generation of young women the social graces. The earliest women to run their own schools in Vancouver were likely a Mrs. Hayes in the favoured residential area near the False Creek Bridge in 1886 and a Miss Wales, sister to the CPR treasurer, on Seymour Street in the even more fashionable West End in about 1887. The next year a Miss Upton began Schenley House on Oppenheimer Street, later renamed Cordoba Street, and in about 1889 Miss Maria G.E. Maitland opened a school at the corner of Dunsmuir and Granville, followed soon thereafter by a Miss Julia Johnston who headed Vancouver Collegiate Schol on Burrard Street near Robson, all in the West End. In 1896 Mlle. Marie-Louisa Kern and her sister began Granville School with a distinct French flair in the tradition of Victoria's Madame Pettibeau. Some of these schools were fairly simplistic, a former student of Miss Maitland recalling "apple boxes and coal oil cans - for seats." See Major Matthews' notes on private schools and his interview with Jessie Gordon, 1 March 1944, in CVA, and Beatrice Darling, "Ambasadress of Culture," **Province**, 1 May 1954, and prospectus (1900-06), CVA.
9. Dorothy Bell, "Words Can't Be Found for What Miss Gordon Means to Old Girls," **Province**, 26 February 1948; and "Miss Gordon of Crofton House," **News Herald**, 13 April 1951.
10. Walter Gordon, "Crofton House Marks Half Century," **Province**, 28 February 1948; and Noel Robinson, "'Old School Spirit' Bred in Young Vancouvet," **Province**, 11 December 1937.
11. Elizabeth Bell-Irving, **Crofton House: the First Ninety Years 1898-1988** (Vancouver: Crofton House School, 1988), 10.
12. Gordon, "Crofton House Marks Half Century."
13. Bell-Irving, **Crofton House School**, 14.
14. Robinson, "'Old School Spirit'."
15. Bell-Irving, **Crofton House School**, 12.
16. Robinson, "'Old School Spirit'."
17. Jessie Gordon, 1898, quoted in Bell-Irving, **Crofton House School**, 17.
18. Robinson, "'Old School Spirit'", and "Miss Jessie Gordon, Great Teacher, Dies."
19. **News-Advertiser**, 8 April 1898, quoted in Bell-Irving, **Crofton House School**, 3.
20. Ethel Wilson, "This was Miss Gordon's School in 1898," **Province**, 2 May 1948.
21. Jessie Gordon, quoted in Bell-Irving, **Crofton House School**, 21.
22. Mary Gordon, quoted in Robinson, "'Old School Spirit.'"
23. Bell-Irving, **Crofton House School**, 21.
24. Ethel Wilson, "This Was Miss Gordon's School in 1898," **Province**, 2 May 1948.
25. Margery Wade, quoted in Bell-Irving, **Crofton House School**, 36.
26. Margery Wade, quoted in Bell-Irving, **Crofton House School**, 36.
27. Bell-Irving, **Crofton House School**, 23; Robinson, "'Old School Spirit'"; and "Miss Jessie Gordon, Great Teacher, Dies."
28. Bell-Irving, **Crofton House School**.
29. Crofton House, School for Girls, Vancouver, B.C., **Prospectus, 1913**, in CVA.
30. Crofton House, **Prospectus 1913**, in CVA.
31. Crofton House, **Prospectus 1913**. The assumption used is that about a quarter were boarders and half took extra lessons.
32. Pitman Business College Limited, **Fifty Years of Service, 1898-1948**, in CVA.
33. Pitman Business College, **Fifty Years of Service**; and Andrew Selwyn, "Business Romances of Successful B.C. Women: Miss E. Richards (Pitman Business College)," **Sun**, 25 September 1931.
34. Selwyn, "Business Romances."
35. Pitman Business College, **Fifty Years of Service**.
36. Conversation with Virginia Richards Bazilli, Mission, 3 March 1997; and Selwyn, "Business Romances."
37. Selwyn, "Business Romances."
38. Selwyn, "Business Romances."
39. Conversations with Bazilli.
40. Conversations with Bazilli. Where not otherwise cited, information in the next paragraphs on Pitman Business College comes from this and a subsequent conversation on 1 April 1997 with Virginia Richard Bazilli.
41. Pitman Business College, **Fifty Years of Service**.
42. "Telegraphy $2 per month," unidentified clipping, about 23 January 1905.
43. "Telegraphy $2 per month."
44. Pitman Business College, **Fifty Years of Service**.
45. Quoted in Selwyn, "Business Romances."
46. Selwyn, "Business Romances."
47. Conversation with Bazilli; and Selwyn, "Business Romances."
48. Selwyn, "Business Romances."
49. Before moving on to the next pair of forgotten entrepreneurs, it is important to make the point, once again, that the women able to be profiled here were not alone, particularly in the case of girls' schools, for, as one female entrepreneur recalled, they "sprang up like mushrooms' during these years" (Conversation with Gerhardt-Olly). For example, Miss B. Carmell advertised herself in 1913 as head of Burrard College at 850 Burrard (Ad in **New Advertiser**, 15 March 1913), from about 1916 Miss Mary Seymour headed St. Marina's School at 1185 Burrard, also in the West End (Gail Edwards, "Chasing Ghosts in the Archives: Toward a Methodology for Research on a Vancouver Private Girls' School," unpublished paper used with permission of the author), Miss E.P. Guilland began Crosby School in 1921 and four years later moved it to North Vancouver where it continued to operate at least during the inter war years ("Crosby School." **Vancouver Sun School Supplement**, 3 August 1935), and in 1927 Mrs. B.M. Ruffell founded a second Vancouver Collegiate girls' school in residentially prestigious Shaughnessy area ("Vancouver Collegiate School and Kindergarten," **Vancouver Sun School Supplement**, 3 August 1935). Then there was Miss Joan M. Railton who in 1940 moved her Taunton House girls' school from the south side of the Burrard Street Bridge, where it had operated since at least 1930, to a vacant hotel in North Vancouver (Conversation with Bazilli; and "Taunton House," **Vancouver Sun School Supplement**, 3 August 1935, and various materials, CVA).
50. Hugh L. Keenleyside, **Memoirs**, vol. 1 (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1981), 16 and 40.
51. Keenleyside, **Memoirs**, 16 and 85.
52. Keenleyside, **Memoirs**, 74.
53. Conversation with Gerhardt-Olly.
54. Prospectus from about 1935, CVA.
55. Conversation with Gerhardt-Olly.
56. Janet MacDonald to Madame Sanderson-Mongin, undated, quoted in Meredith Yearsley, **Not For Ourselves Alone: Fifty Years at York House School 1932-1982** (Vancouver: York House School, 1933), 1.
57. Maria Gerhardt-Olly, quoted in Yearsley, **Not For Ourselves Alone**, 1.
58. Janet MacDonald's notebook, quoted in Yearsley, **Not For Ourselves Alone**, 3.
59. Conversation with Gerhardt-Olly.
60. Yearsley, **Not For Ourselves Alone**, 6.
61. Conversation with Gerhardt-Olly; and "Funeral services set for York House founder," **Sun**, 6 December 1983.
62. Carolyn Gossage, **A Question of Privilege: Canada's Independent Schools** (Toronto: Peter Martin Associates, 1977), 263.
63. Conversation with Mrs. Lena Corsworth Clarke, West Vancouver, 10 May 1980.
64. Conversation with Gerhardt-Olly.
65. Conversation with Gerhardt-Olly.
66. Janet MacDonald to Madame Sanderson-Mongin, undated quoted in Yearsley, **Not For Ourselves Alone**, 1.
67. Virginia Moore Mackay, quoted in Donna Anderson, "Old things pass into new," **Sun**, 29 June 1971.
68. Donna Anderson, "Old things into new," **Sun** 29 June 1971; and Yearsley, **Not For Ourselves Alone**, 1.
69. Conversation with Gerhardt-Olly.
70. Conversation with Gerhardt-Olly.
71. Gladys Morden Jopling, quoted in Yearsley, **Not For Ourselves Alone**, 9.
72. Janet MacDonald to Madame Sanderson-Mongin, undated quoted in Yearsley, **Not For Ourselves Alone**, 1.
73. Gladys Morden Jopling, quoted in Yearsley, **Not For Ourselves Alone**, 1.
74. Virginia Moore Mackay, quoted in Anderson, "Old things pass into new"; Lillooet Davidson, "School founders honored," **Vancouver Times**, 26 September 1964; and Yearsley, **Not For Ourselves Alone**, 4.
75. Virginia Moore Mackay, quoted in Anderson, "Old things pass into new"; and Yearsley, **Not For Ourselves Alone**, 5.
76. Janet Bingham, "Queen's Hall School, 1939-1969, "1996, CVA.
77. Isabel Bodie, quoted in Sally Abbott, "School's Out - And Over," **Sun**, 28 June 1969.
78. Bingham, "Queen's Hall School."
79. Abbott, "School's Out," and Bingham, "Queen's Hall School." 1996. Bodie's obituary has her arriving in Vancouver only in 1910 (Queen's Hall founder dies," **Province**, 11 December 1971).
80. Bingham, "Queen's Hall School."
81. Bingham, "Queen's Hall School."
82. Aileen Campbell, "Housing history," **Province**, 10 October 1974.
83. Bingham, "Queen's Hall School."
84. Patricia Johnson, "School Chronicle, 1939-40," CVA.
85. Johnson, "School Chronicle."
86. Bingham, "Queen's Hall School."
87. Johnson, "School Chronicle."
88. Johnson, "School Chronicle."
89. Bingham, "Queen's Hall School."
90. Bingham, "Queen's Hall School", CVA: and Abbott, "School's Out."
91. Income tax statement for Queen's Hall for 1944, CVA.
92. The use of Violet appeared in the press only on her death ("Boys' School Founder Dies," **Sun**, 31 October 1969).
93. Conversation with B.O. Dryvynsyde, Vancouver 29 January 1980. Information not otherwise cited in the next paragraphs comes from this conversation.
94. Conversation with B.O. Dryvynsyde, and Athlone School Company Scrapbook, in possession of Violet Dryvynsyde's son B.O. Dryvynsyde. The outstanding share was held originally by John Harker, being transferred in 1959 to her son Barry.
95. Conversation with Dryvynsyde, and clipping from **News Herald**, 9 June 1944, in possession of B.O. Dryvynsyde.
96. Conversation with Tom Neilson, North Vancouver, 21 January 1980.
97. Clipping dated 1 April 1944 in B.O. Dryvynsyde papers.
98. This paragraphy is based on "Boarding School Protest Goes to City Council," **Sun**, 7 September 1944; "Plan Court Action if City Refuses Licence to School," **Sun**, 12 September 1944. "School Battle Still Stalemated," **News Herald**, 12 September 1944; "Would Allow New School" **Province**, 14 September 1944; "Licence Granted with Reservations." **News Herald**, 15 September 1944; "Ratepayers' Group Continues Protest," **News Herald**, 16 September 1944; "Again Attack School Plan," **Province**, 16 September 1944; "Council Sidesteps Licence Question," **News Herald**, 19 September 1944; "Air Officials Protest School," **News Herald**, 25 September 1944; "School License Hits New Snag," **Province**, 25 September 1944; and "City Approves Boys' School," **Province**, 26 September 1944.
99. Conversation with Tom Neilson, North Vancouver, 21 January 1980.
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The Spanish Fort At Nootka

by John Crosse

A rough survey was made in August of 1996 of the flat area on the top of San Miguel Island at Friendly Cove in an attempt to locate the old Spanish fort there.

Although previous examinations of the island have been made, notably that by Parks Canada in 1966, none had available Salvador Fidalgo's chart, first published by Warren Cook in his book 'Flood Tide of Empire' in 1973.[1]

San Miguel Island is the small island furthest out in the cove. It is accessible via the larger San Rafael Island, where the lighthouse stands, though you have to fight your way through dense scrub and inch round a cliff to get there.

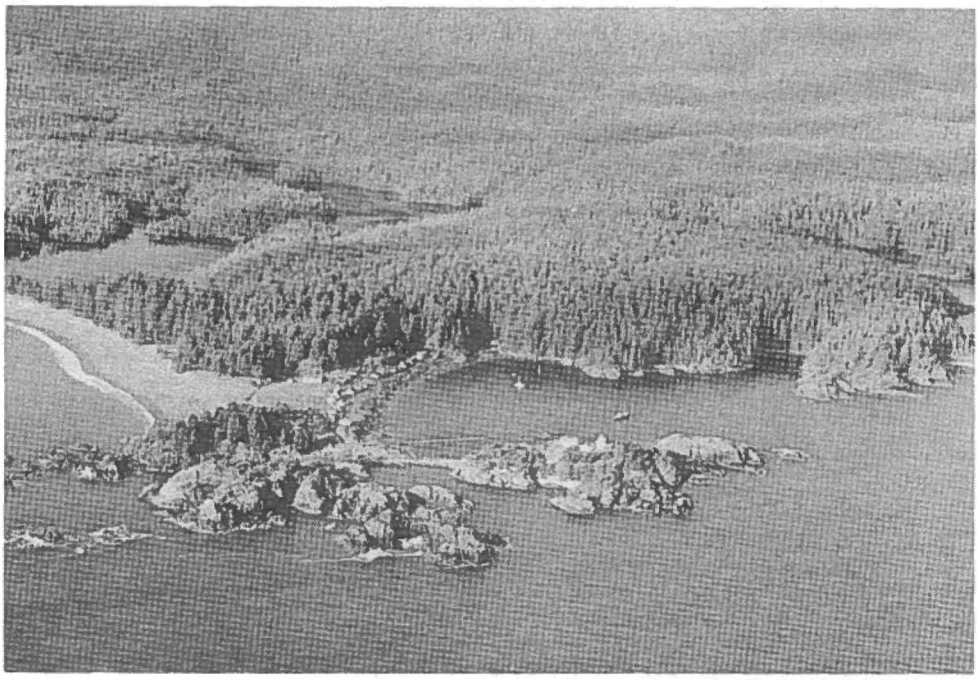
In recent years breakwaters have been added between the various islands to provide better protection for the bay, and inside the breakwaters beaches have formed.

But in Spanish times San Miguel would have been only accessible by boat, the larger island being used to keep pigs, and marked on some charts as 'Hog Island'.

San Miguel itself is an uneven rocky island about 30 ft. high at its highest point. There are numerous off-lying shoals, so its size varies with the height of the tide. Fidalgo's chart shows it to be about 115 yards from east to west, and 75 yds. north to south, with fort located in the centre of the island.

To reach the top of the island it is necessary to find your way up a small basalt cliff. The Spaniards had built a wooden staircase here, but this has long since disappeared. Once on top there is a concrete marker, about four feet high, on the highest point of the island. Being the most visible landmark on the island, this is a natural point from which to start a survey.

The top of San Miguel is reasonably flat and it is not difficult to see where the Spaniards would most likely have built their fort. On the east side there is a small cliff which would have been a natural location for the rampart from which to cover vessels approaching from the sea.



Friendly Cove from the south. San Miguel Island, on which the Spanish fort was located, is the furthest to the right.

Between the pillar and this cliff, a surveyor's benchmark[2] was found set into the rock. Because this is a geographically identifiable location, it is an even better spot from which to commence a survey.

It was decided to run a rough survey round the reasonably flat area on the top of the island. A line was run from the benchmark to the highest point at the south-east end of the cliff, and from thence along the top to another high point at the north-east end. The surface here becomes reasonably flat and the survey line was therefore continued to the west to the highest point. To close the survey, the last side returned across an overgrown and pitted area up to the starting pillar.

Back in Vancouver it became clear that the present concrete pillar (E) marked the location of the old Spanish Ammunition Store. 25 feet to the east is the Bench Mark.

In conclusion we might say that the main rampart of the old fort was probably 60 ft. northeast of the present concrete pillar,[3] though a more professional survey would be needed to establish this more exactly.

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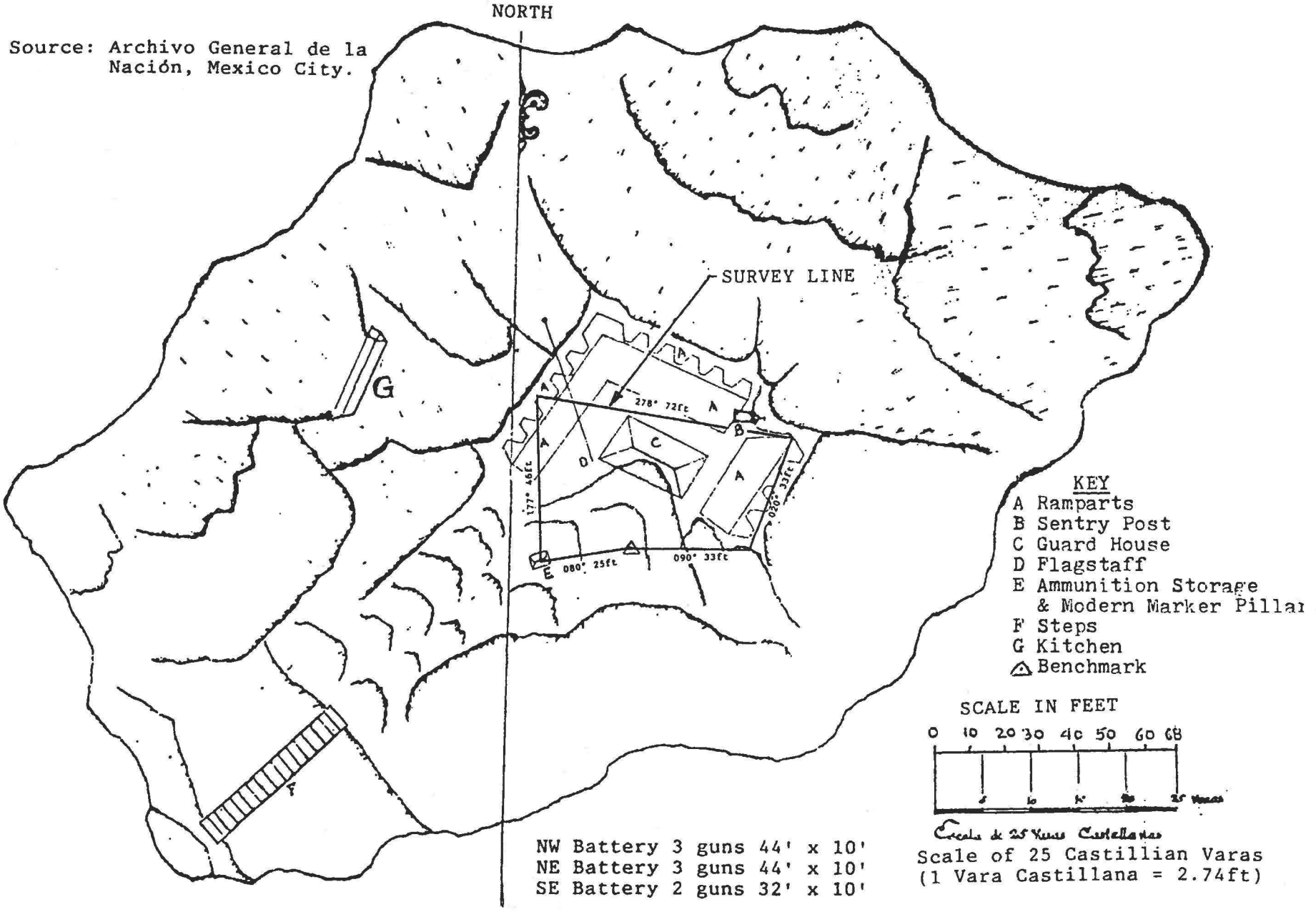
FOOTNOTES

1. Previous surveys seem to have assumed that the fort was constructed of granite blocks, although the Spanish artist, José Cardero, clearly shows a log construction. The confusion seems to have arisen because the other two sketches of the fort, by the North European artist, Sigismund Bacstrom, shows what appear to be large granite blocks at the water's edge. There is no evidence that the Spaniards ever employed stonemasons at Nootka, and it is far more likely that the fort was, as Cardero shows, built of logs, the traditional building material of the Pacific Northwest.
2. The benchmark is a small round bronze plate cemented into the rock and enscribed: -

   B.C. Legal Survey Marker 1966
   644
   WT 3 O S
   417

   It marks a survey point for a Water Lot off San Rafael Island.
3. The survey was made with the most rudimentary equipment, and the exercise became even more difficult because a thick blanket of fog rolled in halfway through. It was only when back in Vancouver and able to plot the results that it was possible to locate the Northwest Rampart. Photographs of this area show rosehip thickets, which makes it difficult to verify results without further examination.



SALVADOR FIDALGO'S PLAN OF SAN MIGUEL ISLAND WITH THE 1996 SURVEY ADDED.

John Cussse
15/4/98

A Presbyterian Heritage, Princeton, B.C.

by Margaret Stoneberg

St. Paul's United Church is in Princeton, a town in the centre of several communities in an area where its history goes back to the very beginning of British Columbia as a Province. The story of the church therefore starts with the first Presbyterian presence.

Presbyterians are those Protestants who belong to churches in which rule is exercised by Presbyters or elders, both clerical or lay (as opposed to the hierarchical system of Episcopalians). It dates back to the Reformation and Calvin and was introduced into Scotland by John Knox (1505-72). He had lived for a time with Calvin befoe he returned to Scotland in 1559.

Doctrinal standard is the Westminster Confession of Faith (1646) which is definitely Calvinistic. Each individual church is governed by the kirk-session, - that is an ordained minister and a number of elected lay-elders. The Presbytery of the District is made up of a minister and an elected lay-elder from each congregation. The General Assembly represents the whole church. The president is the Moderator.

IN CANADA

In the early 1800s the Anglican and Presbyterian churches were the "Established" churches, - those endowed with "Clergy Reserve" land, and were the only Protestant churches empowered to perform marriages. Other denominations challenged these privileges. This was one of the causes of the 1837 Rebellion.

IN BRITISH COLUMBIA

The new colony had a strong Presbyterian flavour since so many of the Hudson's Bay men were of Scottish descent. Rev. John Hall is said to be the founder of the Presbyterian Church in B.C. He arrived in 1861. In 1862, in New Westminster, Rev. Robert Jameson organized St. Andrew's Church as well as missions in surrounding territory. In 1865 the minister was the Rev. D. Duff.

The church was at first connected with the Church of Scotland but in 1874 became independent and the first Presbytery included Mr. George Murray who was assigned to Nicola. He had spiritual oversight of the whole country east of the Cascades. He travelled over his territory on horseback and came to Granite Creek 1885-90 once a month, holding a service either at Archie Irwin's house or at one of the hotels. Business would cease for an hour and recommence afterwards.

From that time on the following gentlemen have held the appointment in Princeton: Rev. R.A. Finlayson, 1901; Rev. John Stuart, 1902; Rev. A.J. Fowley, 1904-5; Rev. D.F. Smith 1906; Rev. M. McDonald 1907 when the name St. Paul's was used; Rev. J.F. Conn, 1909; Mr. Craig 1911-12; Mr. Stewart 1912; Rev. R.J. McLean 1912-13; Rev. Mr. Gillam 1913-15; Rev. Jas. A. Leslie 1915-17; Rev. J.B. Miller 1917-18; Rev. R. Herbison 1919-24.

ST. PAULS, PRINCETON

Services were held in various places, records show, such as schools at One Mile and Five-Mile, also at Coalmont, Blakeburn, Tulameen and Copper Mountain. Weddings were often held at the minister's house, sometimes at the local hotel. Midweek meetings at homes were held. Latterly services were held at the Land Company's building, and the Court House. The Anglican St. Cuthbert's church was built in 1911 and the facilities were lent frequently to St. Paul's organizations. In 1916 for a time, when the Anglicans had no minister, St. Paul's church was held in their facilities.

AT LAST A CHURCH BUILDING

When the Rev. Mr. Herbison was appointed at his own request to a rural parish, namely St. Paul's Princeton, the congregations grew steadily. He found that he was required to travel by automobile, and in bad weather he frequently walked, to Coalmont (12 miles) and to Copper Mountain (14 miles). He was serving 300-400 families.

He brought forward the idea of building a church. This found favour with the congregation and by hard work the ladies raised $1,000 and this was soon raised by contributions, ranging from $100 to $3,000. The list of donors can still be seen. The final cost of the building was $4814.86 being $900 for the land and $3900 for the building. the mortgage was paid off Nov. 1920. Total grant provided by the Presbyery $1,000.

The church opened for worship Dec. 9, 1920 and was dedicated on the second Sunday in January 1921 by Dr. G.A. Wilson. There was a manse built by Dec. 1921 to replace the house rented for the minister for which the Ladies Aid paid $10 monthly. Two years later girls' club, the Bluebirds, raised money to buy a bell which was installed in the belfry. This was the first church bell in the Okanagan and still rings today (1995) every Sunday to call worshippers to church.

The church premises were not too large and it soon became apparent that another facility must be added. This building of a sort was donated by Mr. Gibson and by much work and labour was converted to an addition behind the church building. From 1931 on the ladies had a kitchen and there was a Sunday School room (This annex was torn down when the new hall was added, adjacent, in 1965).

The ladies were very active helping to pay off the church debt, paying the taxes, contributed to the minister's stipend, half the cost of the minister's car at $25 a month, and paid a boy $2.00 a month to light the heater before chruch.

CHURCH UNION

In 1925 the Presbyterians joined with the Methodists and Congregationalists and some Baptists to form the United Church of Canada. In St. Paul's when the vote was taken nine people voted in favour but there were no dissenting votes.

The minister was Rev. J.K. Unsworth. In 1927 Dr. Goodfellow was the Minister at St. Paul's. Her contributed much to the community and was renowned as a histo-

rian of the B.C. United Church. He was President of the B.C. Historical Association 1941-42.

ANNIVERSARY

The present congregation celebrated 75 years in the same building, holding a weekend of events at Thanksgiving, 1995.

Wherever the Presbyterian Church has been found it has stamped its imprint on the life and habits of the public. It has not aimed at controlling the state but has tried to inform it with its spirit. Since Union many changes have taken place. At one B.C. Presbytery gathering the theme was "Unity in Diversity". This is very evident in St. Paul's where the Anglican congregation in the '70s merged with the United Church and the two have lived together happily ever since.

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Margaret Stoneberg has been active with the Princeton Museum and Archives for many years.

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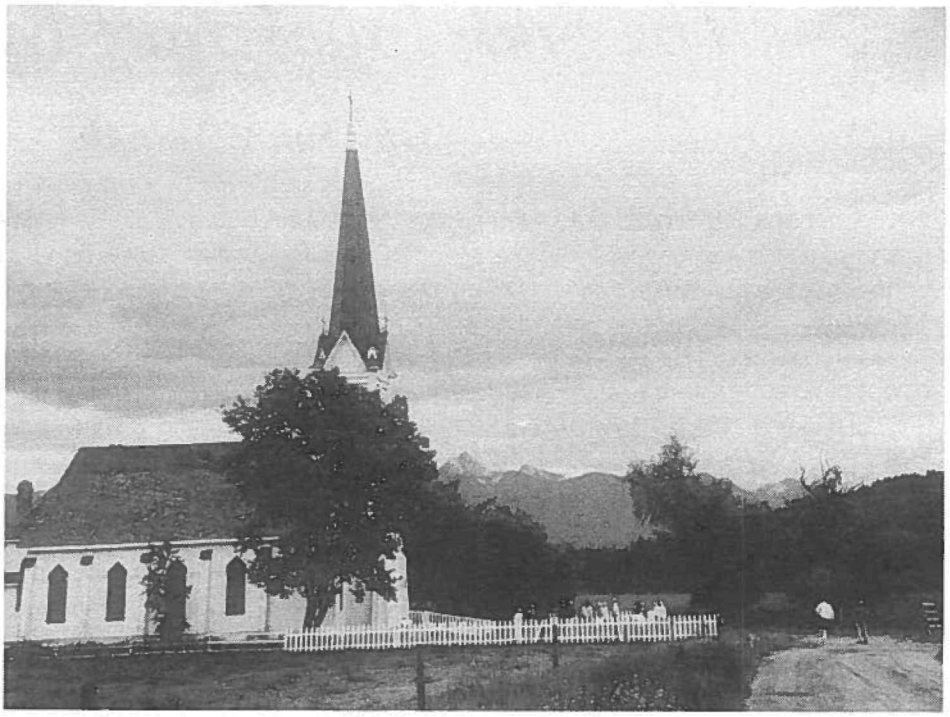
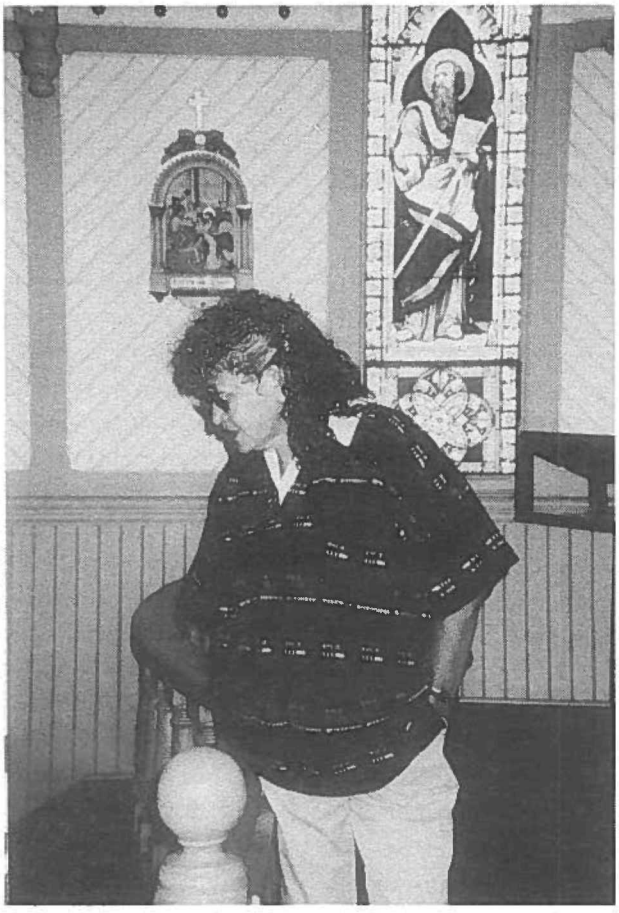


Another B.C. historic church. This is St. Eugene Mission Church near Cranbrook,
Photo courtesy of Betty Nakahara.

Galiano Island Museum
Photo courtesy of A. Ross.



This shows a glimpse of the recently restored interior of the St. Eugene Mission Church. Band elder Agnes McCoy gave a talk to visitors from the East Kootenay Historical Association.
Photo courtesy of Betty Nakahara.

The Sikh Immigrant Experience

by Sonia Manak

This paper is dedicated to my grandfather, Karm Singh Manak and all the early Sikh pioneers, both men and women, who fought through the institutionalized racism to create a home for themselves and their future children and grandchildren. When I feel the injustices of racism I think of all my grandfather and the early pioneers overcame and it gives me hope.

I was never the same after my encounter with racial discrimination, Canadian style. With the passage of time, the hatred faded and disappeared. But I never lost the rage at the injustice, stupidity and blind cruelty of prejudice.

Rosemary Brown

Today Canada is seen as a diverse nation that consists of a multitude of ethnic groups. Canada is a nation which is held in high regard by people around the world for its humanitarianism and acceptance of all peoples. However, this has not always been the case. Canada and in particular the Province of British Columbia has a strong history of racism and prejudice against Asian groups. It is only in the last 40 years that Canada has begun to remove some of the structural barriers put in front of minorities. While government sanctioned racism and discrimination has more or less disappeared, racism among the general populace has not. Subsequently, as various minority groups become an ever increasing percentage of the Canadian population, it becomes more and more important to recognize and acknowledge their history and suffering in Canada. This essay will examine the early Sikh immigrant experience in British Columbia. In doing so, this essay will look at the institutionalized racism inflicted on Indo-Canadians by the federal and provincial governments as well as racial attitudes exerted by the British Columbia public.

By the middle of the nineteenth century, almost all of India had come under the political and economic control of Britain. The British rule in India invoked many changes in traditional Indian life. Colonial rule brought poverty stricken conditions to most of India. The interests of India were hence subordinated to the interests of the empire as "India was to be an economically vassal state."[1] British policies brought about the decline of the domestic handicraft industry, throwing many craftsmen out of work. The Punjab, which was the last province to succumb to British rule, was especially hard hit.[2] The villages in the Punjab were rapidly immersed into a money economy. Agriculture was transformed from a subsistence to a commercial enterprise.[3] The villagers were faced with rising agricultural prices as well as rising land values. Subsequently, mortgages became a part of everyday life:

Mortgages were rare at the beginning of the British regime, but by the 1920s they made up a large proportion of a vastly increasing rural debt.[4]

The destruction of the traditional means of livelihood left the Indians in search of new lands, adventures, and economic opportunities. Sikhs migrated to Hong Kong, Singapore, and Malaya, as dairymen, cart drivers, and mine labourers.[5] High wages for farm work attracted a few adventurous men to Australia until the passage of anti-oriental immigration laws in 1901.[6] Canada also became a viable option as news spread about the abundance of economic opportunities in British Columbia.

There were two initial contacts with Canada before the onset of Sikh immigration. The first Sikhs to visit Canada were in the British army who passed through Canada after the celebration of Queen Victoria's diamond jubilee in London in 1897.[7] The Sikhs were attracted by the potential they saw in British Columbia, which at the time, was undeveloped agriculturally and industrially. They saw this British dominion "full of vast opportunities" for employment and prospects of a good future.[8] In June, 1902, a Hong Kong regiment which included some Indians crossed Canada on its way to the coronation of Edward VII. These two initial contacts would help to initiate Indian immigration to Canada as the word about this new land was spread.[9]

During these two initial contacts, the Sikhs were well received by the Canadian population. The Sikhs were admired for their exotic costumes, their strength and stature and their superb military capabilities. This initial positive view of Sikhs only occurred because the Sikhs did not pose a threat to "white Canada." The Sikhs "were not immigrants and were in a sense, safe foreigners."[10]

There was already a large number of Chinese and Japanese in British Columbia by 1900, most of whom were brought over as indentured labourers to work on the Canadian Pacific Railway. In 1903 a head tax of $500 was placed on all Chinese immigrants in order to reduce Asian immigration.[11] Thus, the anti-Asian sentiment had roots in British Columbia well before the Indians arrived. With the implementation of the head tax, Chinese immigration began to decline. The result was an increased number of vacant jobs for unskilled workers. Many employers were unhappy because they had to pay white workers more money to do unskilled jobs that an Asian would do for less.[12] Subsequently, the capitalist desire for cheap Asian labour also played a role in initiating Sikh immigration. British Columbia employers were happy to benefit from this cheap source of labour.

CPR advertising was also another impetus for Sikh immigration to British Columbia. The Chinese head tax also affected the CPR shipping lines. Their trans-pacific passenger service from Hong Kong to Vancouver suffered a substantial decrease in Chinese passengers. As a result the CPR lost money.[13] Thus, the CPR

agents wanted to increase immigration from India in order to cover the loss of profit from the decrease of Chinese immigrants. The CPR agents "circulated posters in Calcutta and in the Punjab advertising the benefits of coming to Canada."[14]

The news of good job opportunities in Canada and America spread quickly amongst the rural people in India. The advantages of this new land were spread by word of mouth and by CPR advertisements. The few Indian Sikhs who reached British Columbia in 1904 wrote back to relatives and described the opportunities in this new land. For many Indians, especially those in the Punjab, British Columbia seemed to be the answer to all their economic ills. Preferring adventure abroad to starvation at home, they left in large groups for Calcutta where the ships destined for Vancouver were docked.[15] The majority of the early Sikh pioneers believed they would be able to accumulate their savings and then send the money back to India to help pay their mortgages.[16] Mihan Sing Manak, an early Sikh pioneer, came to Canada in 1906. His reason for leaving the Punjab, as with many others, was economic. He wanted to make enough money so that he could pay off his land debt in India. Unfortunately, he and many other Indians soon realized that British Columbia was a white society and the government wanted it to remain a "white man's land."[17]

From the period 1904 to 1906, Indians entered British Columbia with no legal restrictions. This was partly due to their relatively small numbers. There were only 387 Indians in B.C. in 1906.[18] The Province of B.C. was mostly concerned with the overwhelming population of the Chinese and Japanese at the time. Thus the Indians did not pose much of a threat. This would change in 1906 with a sudden increase in Sikh immigration. Between 1904 and 1908, more than 5000 Indians reached British Columbia and, of this total, approximately 3000 crossed into the United States.[19] Most Indians obtained jobs easily. There were two main reasons for this: they were willing to work for low wages and they were willing to do the jobs that were considered "dirty" by the white population. Many worked in mines and built railroads. But the biggest employer was the sawmill.

The increased number of Indians created immense fear in the white population in British Columbia. The influx of Indian immigrants resulted in hardened government attitudes which produced discriminatory legislation. From 1906 to the outbreak of World War I, the "coverage of South Asians in papers was to be the most negative accorded to any B.C. ethnic group."[20] The language and terminology found in the newspapers described Sikh immigrants as the "other". They were described as alien, foreign, and form an inferior race. Quotes taken from British Columbia newspapers in 1906 describe "Hindus . . .(as) a peculiar people".[21] Further newspaper articles stated that "they (Hindus) present a grotesquely striking spectacle "because they are" unkempt and somewhat slovenly appearing natives."[22] People with Euro-British ancestry were seen as number one on the human hierarchy while Asians, Blacks and First Nations peoples were seen as inferior. A quote from the **Vancouver Province** in 1908 describes this Social Darwinism approach to racial stratification which was prevalent in B.C. society at the time.

. . . *declare unequivocally for total exclusion of all class of Orientals (as the) one method whereby the ascendancy of the white race can be maintained.*[23]

Headlines like "Get rid of Hindus at Whatever Cost", "Horde of Hungary Hindoos invade Vancouver city" and "Hindoos are the filthiest"[24] were found in all B.C. newspapers. The press described them as immoral, diseased, with unacceptable religion and cultural practices.[25] The newspapers of Vancouver and Victoria printed stories that Indians were a danger to white women. They described Indians as undesirable, sick and a menace to society.[26] One article entitled "Hindu Hordes Make Themselves at Home," describes how the Hindu invasion was the most pressing problem. The mayor of Vancouver was upset at the fact that many Hindus were camping in Stanley Park and were a "danger to the city and the province."[27] What the mayor and the paper fail to acknowledge is that White landlords would not rent houses to Indian immigrants even though they had the money to pay for it.[28] As a result many had to spend cold sleepless night in Stanley Park. The Vancouver city council searched for every possible means to evict all Indians. The resentment towards Indians became so apparent that many Indians could not buy firewood or food.[29]

The Japanese, Chinese and Indian communities made up a significant part of British Columbia's population. There was a concealed fear among members of the white population that the Asiatic community was, in fact, superior. This fear resulted from the belief that an evil genetic difference made the Asiatic community inherently undesirable. According to S.S. Osterhoust in 1929: *Asiatics are a virile, potential people, possessing an ethnic potency almost unsurpassed in the human race. They possess ambition and thrift with marvelous power of adaptation to new conditions.*[30]

Thus, with their vitality, thrift and willingness to do hard work for less, the Asiatics were able to compete with their white counterparts. Subsequently, these characteristics made their Canadian competitors in the labour was vehemently opposed to the importation of cheap labour. All Asian groups were refused union membership.[31] Consequently, the working class remained divided to the benefit of the white capitalist.

Although the majority of Sikhs were able to find employment, they had to face a great deal of discrimination from the federal and provincial governments and the host community. The Sikhs were easily identified because of their beards and turbans and, thus, became an easy target of hatred. By the time 1300 Indians had arrived in Vancouver, two Vancouver M.P.s went to Prime Minister Sir Wilfred Laurier "demanding that the Hindoos be shut out."[32]

From 1906 to 1907 there was increased pressure on the federal government by the Province of British Columbia to put a ban on Indian immigration. Two factors contributed to this sudden preoccupation with Indians: the sudden increase of immigrants from India and the decline of the B.C. economy in 1907.

Consequently, things grew worse for Indian immigrants as there was increased unemployment and racial hostility. The rise in unemployment increased pressure on local services. In Vancouver, 500 whites lost their jobs.[33] The majority of unemployed whites felt that the Indians were taking away their jobs. However, most of the jobs the Indians held were previously jobs held by Chinese and Japanese labourers and were not normally jobs held by whites.[34] Furthermore, owners of lumber mills "preferred Sikh labourers as they were hard working, displayed great skill, were rarely absent, and 'did not haggle over wages.'"[35]

The federal government received numerous petitions, telegrams and complaints from white residents in British Columbia. The white population and the B.C. government wanted immigration stopped. Mass meetings were held in Vancouver and Victoria in 1906 by the Trades and Labour Councils. At these meetings citizens "passed resolutions requesting the Government to stop further immigration of the Asiatics."[36] One city official summed up the whole situation when he said "the city of Vancouver will not stand for any further dumping of East Indians."[37] The federal government was extremely cautious about restricting Indian immigration. Indians were, after all, British subjects with British rights and privileges. This angered the provincial government.[38] Furthermore, the government of British Columbia was appalled when it learned that because Indians were British subjects they had the right to vote.[39] Subsequently, the government of British Columbia began to take matters into its own hands.

In March 1907 the British Columbia government invoked oppressive limitations on the rights and privileges of Indians. B.C. Premier Bowser introduced a bill that denied all Indians the right of vote even though they were British subjects. This bill was passed unanimously. Bowser introduced the bill and stated that: *It must be admitted that the Hindu being strange to our language, laws and customs can never assimilate with the people of the province, and although we have been told that we have not the right to bar him out, we have at least the authority to deny him the privilege of franchise and to . . . keep B.C. a white man's country to the extent that is in our power.*[40]

There was also a change in the Municipality Incorporation Act which denied Indians the right to vote in Vancouver.[41] As a result, even though an Indian paid taxes, was a permanent resident in B.C. and a British subject, he would "not be permitted to exercise his franchise."[42] The effects of this change were enormous because in order to vote federally one had to be on the provincial voters list. Thus, Indians lost their right to vote both federally and provincially.[43] Without the right to vote Indians could not vote for, or become, school trustees. Furthermore, Indians could not be elected to public office or serve on juries. Other discriminatory restrictions also became universal. Indians were prohibited employment on public works contracts, they could not sell Crown timber and they were prohibited from the professions of law and pharmacy.[44] The B.C. provincial government had done everything in its power to socially and politically isolate Indian immigrants from white society in the hopes that they would return home. However, the racial discrimination did not stop there.

In 1907 the Asiatic Exclusion League was formed in Vancouver. It was a racist organization that wanted the government to ban all Asian immigration. Its members included jobless workers and some of the province's most prominent business, military, and religious leaders. They arranged meetings where they delivered speeches against immigrant groups, such as Sikhs and Hindus, met ministers and members of parliament, sent deputations, submitted memorandums, and published articles. In order to protest to the government over the number of Asians entering British Columbia, they caused the worst race riot in Vancouver in September 1907 against the Chinese and Japanese. In what is known as the Anti-Asiatic Riots, participants carried signs reading "Keep Canada White" and "Stop the Yellow Peril" as they descended on City Hall.[45] The riot caused $36,000 worth of damage to Chinese and Japanese property.[46] The local Indian community escaped "from being in the riot by discreetly remaining indoors."[47]

As a result of the Vancouver riot, the federal government responded to British Columbia's fears and legislated two discriminatory Orders-in-Council. The federal government realized that because Indians were British subjects, they could not produce legislation to strictly prohibit Indian immigration. Due to India'a status within the British Empire, and the supposed equality of all British subjects, an attempt had to be made "to avoid any embarrassment to the imperial government" by passing regulations which appeared "not to be directed specifically against East Indians."[48] The result was legislation that mentioned no specific people but stated that: *All immigrants* must henceforth come by continuous journey and on through tickets from the country of their birth or citizenship.[49]

In addition, all immigrants required in their possession $200 instead of the former $25 when they arrived in Canada.[50] The "continuous journey" legislation was the most effective in curbing immigration from India as the only company which operated a direct cargo service from Calcutta to Canada, the Canadian Pacific Railway, was "by secret order of the Viceroy," barred from taking any Indian passenger on its ship.[51] It is evident from the immigration records of 1911 that these orders almost stopped Indian immigration. In that year, 11,832 Chinese immigrants entered Canada along with 2986 Japanese and 37 Indians.[52] Only three Indians entered Canada in 1912.[53]

British Columbia was still not satisfied with the immigration laws. The provincial government introduced an act which barred immigrants entry into British Columbia who could not pass a test in a European language.[54] this legislation was struck down by the courts after a group of Indians appealed it. In 1913 the federal government passed another Order-in-Council that stated: *In view of the present overcrowded condition of the labour market in B.C. it is illegal for artisans or labourers, skilled or unskilled to land at any port of entry in that province.*[55]

By 1914, there were three Orders con-

cerning Asian immigration. These discriminatory orders made it virtually impossible for Indian immigrants in Canada to have their wives and children come to Canada from India. As a result, B.C. got what it wanted. Indian immigration declined substantially. There were 2292 Indians in B.C. in 1911. In 1921, there were only 951 Indians in BRITISH COLUMBIA.[56] Although there were minor changes in Canada's immigration policy after World War I, the men who had arrived in 1903 to 1908 formed the bulk of the Indian population in British Columbia until the 1940s.

The Sikh community did not take the restrictions set out by the provincial and federal government lightly. The **Komagata Maru** Incident is an example of the Sikh attempt to challenge Canada's racist "Continuous Journey" legislation. In April, 1914, Gurdit Singh, a Sikh business man, chartered the **Komagata Maru**. The ship set sail from Calcutta to Vancouver. the **Komagata Maru** arrived in Vancouver on May 23, 1914. In total, 376 prospective Indian immigrants remained in Burrard Inlet for two months because local immigrantion authorities refused to allow the ship to dock. This incident occured despite the fact that the ship had followed Canadian law and come directly from India thereby complying to the two orders in council.[57] The views of Canadian and British Columbian authorities on this matter were quite clearly represented by B.C. premier Sir Richard McBride. According to McBride: *To admit Orientals in large numbers would mean in the end the extinction of the white people and we always have in mind the necessity of keeping this a white man's country.*[58]

Despite efforts by the local Sikh community to fight the deportation orders, the **Komagata Maru** was ordered to leave. The ship began its return voyage on July 24, 1914 after a two month ordeal with Canadian and British Columbian authorities.[59] All Indians living in Canada and America - whether businessmen, priests, students, farmers, or workers - resented the expulsion of **Komagata Maru** passengers from British Columbia. This resentment was to play an important role in relations between Indo-Canadians and the government for many years to come.

During the 1920s and 1930s many Indian delegations from India and Canada protested to the Canadian government about the unfairness of its policies towards Asians. In the 1930s, the CCF began defending the rights of Asians and provided the Indian community with political support. However, it was not until after World War II that the Indians in Canada made gains. The Khalsa Diwan Society which was formed in 1906, was the main instrument for the Indian community. This society organized the building of the first Sikh temple in Vancouver and was also the main instrument in pressing for Indian voting rights.[60] On April 2, 1947 the Khalsa Diwan Society achieved one of its goals; the right to vote for Indians.[61]

In 1952, Karm Singh Manak and a group of Indians formed the East Indian Welfare Association. The main focus of this group lobbied the federal government throughout the 1950s to change the restrictive immigration policy. Finally, in 1962, a new system for immigrating to Canada based on points was introduced.[62]

The discussion so far has focused on the institutionalized racism exerted by the provincial and federal governments towards Indian immigrants. It is important to emphasize that there is another side to racism which may be even more harmful. This type of racism affects the individual. This racism is found in everyday activities and includes name calling, stereotypes and prejudicial attitudes. It is important to provide a few examples of this society-based racism because one often disregards how racism affects that individual.

Karm Singh Manak was a main proponent in the fight to gain the right to vote for Indian immigrants and to have the discriminatory immigration legislation changed. He lived through much of the institutionalized racism. Manak describes how "in those days" the Indians, Chinese, Japanese and Yugoslavians all formed their own unique community in Duncan. There was a general dislike of these groups by the dominant white population. A by-law existed in the city of Duncan which stated that all people of Asian descent could only live in the west part of town.[63] Thus, many friendships were formed between the local Chinese, Japanese and Indians. Rajinder Manak, one of the few Sikh women living in Duncan during the period, describes how friendships, which were formed as a result of this segregation, continue to exist to this day. Mrs. Manak describes how even the movie theatre in Duncan was segregated: *We had to sit upstairs in the balcony with the Chinese, Japanese and Natives. The whites sat in the lower part. I never thought much of it at the time. It just seemed normal.*[64]

Mr. Manak has an interesting story about how, before World War II, the local white barbers would not cut Asiatic hair. There was one Japanese barber that cut both the Asiatics' and the aboriginal people's hair. However, during the war, the Japanese were interned so there was no place for the "undesirable Asiatics" to have their hair cut. Mr. Manak decided to get his hair cut by one of the white barbers. The barber told Mr. Manak that he was busy. However, there were no other customers in the shop. Mr. Manak realized that the barber just wasn't going to cut his hair. To solve the problem, Mr. Manak bought shares in a barber shop: *I knew one guy who owned a half share of one of the barber shops and his partner wanted to leave. So I bought half interest in the barber shop (laughs), so that way we got our family's and our people's hair cut there. That solved the barber shop problem (laughs).*[65]

Mr. Manak is not resentful over the way he was treated. He also points out that there were many supportive white people. Mr. Manak always believed it was important to be a good Canadian. Canada was his home. Thus, he felt it was natural to demand some basic democratic rights. He never let the racism interfere with his goals.

The plight of the Sikh community in British Columbia from 1903 to 1960 proves that the Province of British Columbia was racially intolerant. Furthermore, the history of Indo-Canadians is the history of institutionalized racism and discrimination in government policies. The discriminatory legislation produced by the federal and provin-

cial governments had immense negative effects on the Indian community in British Columbia. The legislation purposely kept the community small and isolated. It also contributed to the imbalance in the Indian population. Only 400 Indian women and 423 children migrated to Canada before World War II and, prior to 1920, there were only 18 women.[66] Subsequently, a lack of normal married life meant a delay in Canadian-born Indians.[67] The Indians were an unwelcome minority group who were ridiculed and alienated by the government and the public. They were used as a cheap source of labour by the white British Columbian capitalists and relegated to unskilled blue collar positions. The Indian community has struggled and continues to struggle against racism and prejudice. It is unfortunate that it took some 50 years before Indian immigrants were allowed some basic democratic rights so that they would finally begin the process of feeling truly Canadian.

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This was written as an essay for History 355 at the University of Victoria for instructor Dr. John Lutz.

FOOTNOTES

1. Kernail Singh Sandu, **Indians in Malaya** (London: Cambridge University Press, 1969), p. 32.
2. Karm Singh Manak, Interviewed by Sonia Manak in Duncan BC on November 25, 1995. He arrived in Canada in 1921. His father was one of the first Indians to arrive in Vancouver in 1906.
3. B. Singh Bolaria and Peter S. Li, **Racial Oppression in Canada** (Toronto: Garamond Press, 1985) p. 139.
4. Hugh Johnston, **East Indians in Canada**, (Ottawa, Canadian Historical Association,) 1984), p. 3.
5. Johnston, **East Indians in Canada**, p. 3.
6. Johnston, **East Indians in Canada**, p. 5.
7. Sarjeet Singh Jagpal, **Becoming Canadian: Pioneer Sikhs in their Own Words** (Madeira Park and Vancouver, B.C.: Harbour Publishing, 1994) p. 18.
8. Sohan Singh Josh, **Tragedy of Kimagata Maru**, (New Delhi: People's Publishing House, 1975) p. 1.
9. Norman Buchignani, **Continuous Journey: A Social History of South Asians in Canada** (Toronto, McClelland and Stewart Ltd., 1985) p. 6.
10. Shahnaz Khan, "Influences Shaping Relations Between the East Indians and the Anglo-Canadians in Canada, 1903-1947," **Journal of Ethnic Studies**, 1991, Vol. 19, No. 1, p. 102.
11. I.M. Muthanna, **People of India in North America** (Bangalore, Lotus Printers, 1975) p. 84.
12. Buchignani, p. 8.
13. S. Chaindrasekhar, "A History of Canadian Legislation with Respect to Immigration from India," **Plural Societies**, Vol. 16, p. 263.
14. Buchignani, p. 9.
15. Johnston, **East Indians in Canada**, p. 5.
16. Karm Singh Manak.
17. Karm Singh Manak.
18. Osterhout, S.S., **Orientals in Canada** (Toronto, Ryerson Press, 1929) p. 18.
19. Johnston, **East Indians in Canada**, p. 5.
20. Ted Ferguson, **A White Man's Country, An Exercise in Canadian Prejudice** (Toronto: Doubleday Canada Ltd., 1975) p. 19.
21. **Victoria Times**, Aug. 15, 1906, p. 3.
22. "The Invasion of the Hindus," **Victoria Colonist**, Nov. 25, 1906, p. 20.
23. "Anti-Asiatics to Offer Candidate," **Vancouver Province**, May 21, 1908, p. 1.
24. Khan, p. 108.
25. Khan, p. 109.
26. Johnston, **East Indians in Canada**, p. 6.
27. "The Hindu Hordes Make Themselves at Home," **Province**, Sept. 1906, p. 1.
28. Khan, p. 109.
29. Buchignani, p. 19.
30. Osterhout, p. 5.
31. Khan, p. 10.
32. Johnston, **East Indians in Canada**, p. 6.
33. Johnston, **East Indians in Canada**, p. 7.
34. Johnston, **East Indians in Canada**, p. 6.
35. Mahinder Singh Dhillon, **A History of the Sikhs in Canada and California**, (Pariala, India: Royson Printers, 1981) p. 5.
36. Muthanna, p. 36.
37. Muthanna, p. 36.
38. Johnston, **East Indians in Canada**, p. 7.
39. Buchignani, p. 19.
40. "Hindus are Excluded by Unanimous Decision," **The Vancouver Province**, March 27, 1907, p. 10.
41. Buchignani, p. 22.
42. Muthanna, pp. 49-51.
43. Buchignani, p. 21.
44. Muthanna, p. 56.
45. Ferguson, p. 4.
46. E.W. Morse., "Some Aspects of the Komagata Maru Affair 1914," **Canadian Historical Association Report**, 1936, p. 100.
47. Muthanna, p. 55.
48. Bolaria and Li, **Racial Oppression in Canada**, p. 164.
49. Muthanna, p. 55.
50. Morse, p. 100.
51. Bolaria and Li, **Racial Oppression in Canada**, p. 146.
52. Ferguson, p. 7.
53. Johnston, **East Indians in Canada**, p. 8.
54. Buchignani, p. 24.
55. Morse, p. 101.
56. Buchignani, p. 73.
57. S. Chandrasekhar, "A History of Canadian Legislation with Respect to Immigration from India." **Plural Societies**, xvi 1986, p. 264.
58. Ferguson, p. 10.
59. Ferguson, p. 141.
60. Hugh Johnston, "The Development of the Punjabi Community in *Vancouver since 1961*." ***Canadian Ethnic Studies***, *Vol. 20, No. 2*, p. 6.
61. Karm Singh Manak.
62. Karm Singh Manak.
63. Karm Singh Manak.
64. Rajinder Manak., Interviewed by Sonia Manak in Duncan, B.C. on Nov. 26, 1995.
65. Sarjeet Singh Jagpal., **Becoming Canadian: Pioneer Sikhs in their Own Words**. (Vancouver, Harbour Publishing., 1994) p. 58.
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67. Bolaria, **Racial Oppression in Canada**, p. 176.

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Victoria Colonist, Nov. 25, 1906, p. 20.

Victoria Times, Aug. 15, 1906, p.3.

Some clips from WILSONS advertisements, 1917.

NEWS FROM BRANCHES

North Shuswap Historical Society

When the North Shuswap Community Hall held its 50th Anniversary in July 1984 the attendees decided to form a Historical Society. The initial enthusiasm took members and friends to visit local homes built prior to 1940. An archives was started and many old photos were copied and filed. The first **Shuswap Chronicle**, dedicated to Pioneers was published in 1988; Vol. II, dedicated to First People of the Shuswap, came out in 1989, and Vol. III in 1990. **Chronicle IV**, entitled "Love, Laughter ad Good Home Cooking" appeared in 1993, and **V** followed in 1995. Many of the original members are now gone but the North Shuswap Society has put flesh on the bare bones of history with feelings and a sense of humour for the benefit of citizens, especially school children.

Alberni District Historical Society

This group is preparing to host the BC Historical Federation Annual Conference in the year 2000. Meanwhile it concentrates on maintaining the archives in the Alberni Valley Museum building at the corner of Wallace Street and 10th Avenue.

Volunteers open the archives to the public every Tuesday and Thursday from 10am to 3pm. New major collections in this archives are records from the West Coast General Hospital Society, Branch 55 Royal Canadian Legion and Alberni Plywood Company.

Boundary Historical Society

Alice and Jim Glanville were presented with Grand Forks Centennial Rose plants while on the June 1997 farm field day tour. Members visited an apiary, a Jersey cheese factory, Hardy Roses of the North nursery, a potato farm and concluded with a feast of borscht at Bea Zucco's acreage.

This spring four hard working members of the Boundary Historical Society were declared "Freemen of the City of Grand Forks." Honored were Ray Orser, Helen Campbell, Alice and Jim Glanville. Congratulations!

District 69 Historical Society

The main thrust of this organization is to maintain and operate the Craig Heritage Park & Museum in Parksville. They do enjoy outings. Also they have found novel ways to raise funds, such as the Fashion Show by Ivan Sayer which netted $2500, and the Heritage Bridge Tournament, plus renting out Knox Church at Craig Village complex.

Cowichan Historical Society

The Society has undertaken to restore and preserve a giant poster. (13 ft. by 8 ft.) of the 1924 British Empire Games. The poster hung on a wall in Duncan Elementary School from 1924 to 1996.

The Municipality of North Cowichan celebrates 125 years of incorporation this year. A special exhibit is created for this anniversary. Cowichan Valley history has gone high-tech with a C-D Rom Project funded in part by the B.C. Arts Council.

Bowen Island Historians

In June 1997 Bowen Island Museum & Archives Building was officially opened. Many activities have taken place centered around this collection point for photos and artifacts.

A Wine Tasting affair in September was a great fund raiser. Since then there have been Christmas, Heritage Week, Fish n' Ships display and an Elderhostel class hosted by these historians.

Gulf Islands Branch BCHF

The scattered members travel by boat to attend meetings, talks or tours on a neighbouring island. Special highlights in recent months included a talk by former premier Mike Harcourt at his Pender Island home, Mayne Island pioneer Vera Robson and Andrew Loveridge on his research in Scotland on the Georgeson family.

Galiano Island, meanwhile, has established a small museum, and the proponents participate in every possible community festival to keep islanders aware of their history. Galiano is mourning the loss of Ralph Brine, author of **Canada's Forgotten Highway**, who died at his home in December.

Burnaby Historical Society

This very active society meets monthly in the Carousel Pavillion in the Burnaby Village Museum. They have speakers, Show & Tell evenings, Christmas dinner, and a picnic which attract members to participate enthusiastically.

Kootenay Museum and Archives

These people were very busy throughout 1997 with emphasis on celebrating Nelson's Centennial. The reunions and walks down memory lane resulted in donations of many artifacts and archival items. These in turn overcrowded the storage area of the museum. Kootenay Museum staff and supporters are begging for a larger home - with separate space for a Public Art Gallery. Nelson has been named "The Top Small Art Centre in Canada" for its many presentations by repeated Artwalks, so it is certainly justified in planning a public art gallery AND expanded museum facilities.

Nicola Valley Museum & Archives

The enthusiastic delegates from Meritt extended a cordial invitation to all to attend the BCHF Conference there from April 29 to May 2, 1999. Their museum presents the history of the Coldwater and Nicola River watersheds. Buses will take delegates in 1999 through some of this territory.

Princeton & District Museum & Archives.

Thirty-five members of the Old Cemeteries Association visited Princeton to study the Princeton Cemetery and the private Allison family cemetery.

Canada Trail organizers took many pictures in and near Princeton. The abandoned Kettle Valley Rail route was traced for a considerable distance to evaluate that as a possible hiking or biking trail.

Leonard and Leone Brewer were honoured as a family living on the same property for 100 years. Leone is a member of the Rabbit family of Tulameen.

Nanaimo Historical Society

This group has over 90 members, many of whom attend regular monthly meetings. A committee is collecting short stories of historical significance to be published this fall.

Salt Spring Island Historical Society

This group is looking to expand archival storage with a view to becoming the holder of Islands Trust records. Their speakers and topics of interest ranged from the naming of streets and roads, how a local murder became a mystery on the "web", to fisheries, the HBCo, and Hawaiian settlers on Salt Spring. Ken Mackenzie, retired archivist for the CN Railway, is president this year.

Silvery Slocan Historical Society

A tremendous amount of work was put into restoring the Bank of Montreal building in New Denver which houses their museum. The parent company ignored early pleas for financial help with the project but when a representative attended the re-opening ceremony in August 1997 he relayed an enthusiastic recommendation to Head office. The Bank of Montreal contribution toward the $200,000 reconstruction was $15,000.

Surrey Historical Society

Apart from hosting the BCHF 1998 Conference this organization has had success with a historical essay competition in the high schools, plus placing their earlier publication (courtesy Surrey Metro Savings) **LOOKING BACK AT SURREY** in every school library in the district.

Sidney & North Saanich Historical Society

The membership here has dwindled to the point where meetings are held in private homes rather than in the hall previously rented for their use. Volunteers are putting their time and energy into "The Saanich Pioneers" or the "Saanich Historical Artifact Society" or the Sidney Museum.

Trail Historical Society

Members worked with the committee preparing TRAIL MEMORIES. (see Bookshelf page 41).

Entertainment at a recent picnic were tapes of two Amos & Andy radio programs. At an-

other meeting they heard the history of the Rossland Light Opera Player from a lady who had performed with that troupe for 35 years.

East Kootenay Historical Society

The September 1997 bus tour took participants to Wayside Garden and Arboretum in Creston, the Doukhobor Village Museum and Zuckerberg Island in Castlegar and Verigin's Tomb. The evening menu was delicious Doukhobor food.

Arrow Lakes Historical Society

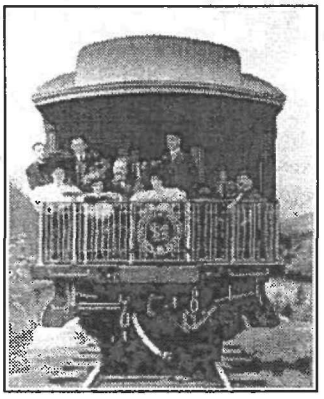
A new book SILENT SHORES AND SUNKEN SHIPS came from the printers shortly after Christmas. This is the third book in the presentation of Arrow Lakes history.

A new society has been created to sponsor the Nakusp and District Museum, splitting off from the archival, research and publishing function of the Arrow Lakes Historical Society.

Victoria Historical Society

Members have arranged for a plaque to be set in Irving Park in the James Bay district. This will tell of Captain John Irving, founder of the Canadian Pacific Navigation Co. Ltd. (which later became the B.C. Coast Service of the Canadian Pacific Railway.) Captain Irving's home sat on the property now called Irving Park.

The group's annual scholarship to a history student at the University of Victoria has been increased to $500.



Soo Line Railway Car.

Courtesy of Cranbrook Archives.

NEWS & NOTES

Reader's Responses

Commenting on the Price Ellingson biography in the Summer 1998 News, a lady wrote, "finally someone tells both sides of the story. Too many of the historical articles paint such glowing pictures of a scoundrel." Meanwhile a gentleman from Victoria protested, "It seems to be 'flashy' in offering a tale of corruption by one of our early politicians, when Ellingson bankrupted himself trying to save a large B.C. trust company. We are exposed to much worse by present day politicians."

Pacific Northwest History Conference

The Pacific Northwest History Conference, organized by Washington State Historical Society, will be meeting in Victoria April 15-17, 1999 at the Laurel Point Hotel. All members of the B.C. Historical Federation will be welcome to attend. For details contact Dr. Patricia Roy at the Department of History, University of Victoria, Victoria, B.C. V8W 3P4 or by E-mail, proy@uvic.ca

S.S. Moyie 100th Anniversary

The **S.S. Moyie** sits in a cradle on the beach at Kaslo. It was launched from the shipyard in Nelson in 1898 to serve on Kootenay Lake, initially connecting with the new Crowsnest line at Kootenay Landing. The steel ribbed **Moyie** is the only surviving sternwheeler on Kootenay Lake. The Kootenay Lake Historical Society has been caring for the historic vessel since 1957. Major restoration commenced in 1988. The refinishing of the main deck has seen dramatic revelations of decorative panels and stained glass window panes, hand sanding of parquet flooring, retrieval of treasures and junk dropped below windows into the wall, and the Ladies' Saloon has been refurnished with upholstered chairs, new curtains, luxurious carpeting and more. Incorporated but subtly hidden are numerous safety devices such as sprinklers and alarms. The **S.S. Moyie** truly deserves its status as a National Historic Site.

Canadiana Costume Museum

President Iris Emerson will be missed after contributing leadership and countless hours of volunteer work. Emerson passed away on July 1st, 1998 after a short illness. The Canadiana Costume Museum and Archives of B.C. holds a collection of period clothing which is brought out for displays at various heritage sites and occasionally at the Royal B.C. Museum in Victoria.

Bob Johnstone of CBC Radio Honoured

Canada's National History Society awarded the Pierre Burton Award for popularizing history to Bob Johnstone of the CBC radio program "Today in History." This program is currently carried by 24 CBC stations across Canada and is heard daily by hundreds of thousands in the listening audience. A book containing a selection of his broadcasts has sold over 8,000 copies.

Captain Vancouver Respectfully Acknowledged

May 10, 1998 was the Bicentennial of the death of Captain George Vancouver. He died a sick and lonely man, discredited despite his completion of difficult mapping of our B.C. coastline. This anniversary, however, church services were held in Petersham, Surrey and in Victoria, B.C. to honour his memory. In England a Royal Navy Captain laid a wreath on Vancouver's grave on behalf of the Admiralty, and the Hon. Roy MacLaren, P.C., led a contingent of public representatives at the memorial service.

Cattle Drive

Two hundred visiting riders paid for the privilege of accompanying a cattle drive in early July. This annual event commences at some distance from Kamloops and treks toward this city. Nancy Green Raine accompanied riders from her home at Sun Peaks. Fifty volunteers kept things running smoothly. Participants were entertained in the evening by cowboy poets and singers. Riders came from parts of the United States, eastern Canada, Alberta and even Australia, leaving Kamloops with many happy memories.

B.C. Historical Federation Scholarship

Frances Gundry and her committee were very pleased with the entries received for the 1998 Scholarship. The winning essay was submitted by George Richard of Kelowna. Mr. Richard graduated with a B.A. in History from Okanagan University College and will be attending the University of Victoria to pursue the Secondary Teaching Professional program. Congratulations!

Stephanie (Bowes) Manson 1913-1998

Stephanie was born in Victoria, educated at St. Ann's Academy and Oak Bay High, then worked for the Motor Vehicle Branch where she worked closely with the B.C. Police Force. Cecil Clark, head of the B.C. Police at that time, was a close friend. She joined their pistol shooting club and became a crack shot, beating all in the force at their own game, and won several trophies.

She married Gordon Bowes (author of **Peace River Chronicles**) and the couple were very active in the Vancouver Historical Society. After Gordon died, she married Norman Manson and moved to Victoria. The Mansons were closely associated with the Victoria Historical Society.

Speakers Sought: "B.C. Prior to 1871."

Historians willing to present a 30-40 minute talk at a "Birthday Party" to be held January 9-10, 1999 at Fulford Harbour on Salt Spring Island are asked to contact Richard Mackie, 3005 - 2363 Lam Circle, Victoria, B.C. V8N 6K8 Phone (250) 477-8023.

BOOKSHELF

Books for review and book reviews should be sent directly to the Book Review Editor:
Anne Yandle, 3450 West 20th Avenue, Vanvouver, B.C. V6S 1E4

The Life and Times of Grand Forks: Jim and Alice Glanville. Blue Moose Publications 1997. Available from the authors:
Box 746, Grand Forks, B.C. V0H 1H0,
Fax: (250) 442-3265. 210 pp., $18.75

Leafing through an old poetry book, I was stopped by lines expressing a wish to have listened more. I thought-those are my sentiments! Why hadn't I listened to my older family members - their stories rich with the history, not only of my family, but also of my home-town.

How fortunate that Jim and Alice Glanville have published the history of Grand Forks in print and pictures, a wonderful, lastng document for the enjoyment of generations to come. This book is both for those who have had the good fortune to live in the area and for those who are researching a fascinating part of our province.

The Life and Times of Grand Forks (Where the Kettle River flows) is a centennial history, produced to commemorate the one hundreth anniversary of the 1897 incorporation of the City of Grand Forks.

The Glanvilles are both Life Members of the Boundary Historical Society and Alice is a Past President of the B.C. Historical Federation. Both Alice and Jim were born in B.C.'s Boundary Country, and have lived all their lives there. Their love of the area, their admiration for its extensive history and their intimate knowledge of this history manifest itself on every one of the over two hundred pages.

Generously augmented with numerous pictures plus applicable illustrations and maps, the book is divided into five chapters, presented in chronological order.

Chapter One- 1897-1906 First Decade.
Chapter Two- The Buoyant Years to 1920.
Chapter Three- Consolidation and Regeneration in the 20s and 30s.
Chapter Four- Development through the 40s, 50s and 60s.
Chapter Five- The Changing Society 1970 to Present.

In each chapter, explicit information is given on subjects much as Mining, Agriculture, Forestry, Railroads, Transportation, Electric Power, Water, Schools, Business, Leisure Time, Church, World Wars, People and Heritage. The culture and contributions of the Doukhobor people, an integral part of Boundary history, are presented with clarity and understanding.

Included in the book are three appendices: Organizations Celebrating 100 Year Anniversaries, Colour Photographs and City Councils-Mayors and Aldermen (Councillors) 1897 to 1997. Also included are maps, table of contents, index of names and a bibliography.

Grand Forks, located in Sunshine Valley at the junction of the Kettle and Granby Rivers, enjoys a vast history aptly recorded by the Glanvilles. This volume surely meets the criteria of the authors when they state: "To recognize 100 years of achievement we have attempted to capsulize, between these pages, the toil and triumph, the prosperity and adversity and the culmination of the dreams of a citizenry that has made Grand Forks what it is today."

Indeed, **The Life and Times of Grand Forks** should be in every B.C. historian's library!

Dorothy Zoellner,
Life Member Okanagan Historical Society, co-author of ***Tours Made Easy*** *and* ***More Tours Made Easy****.*

Trail of Memories; Trail, B.C. 1895 - 1945. Trail, Trail History and Heritage Committee, 1997. 679 p., illus., map. $55. hard cover. Available from Trail History and Heritage Committee, City Hall, 1394 Pine Ave., Trail, B.C. V1R 4E6.

This handsome volume will be of interest to anyone who lived in Trail in the first fifty years of its history. It is the product of a large co-operative effort by many dedicated volunteers of the area, and it has obviously been a labour of love.

It is impossible for me to be objective in my overall assessment, because I was part of the period. A few of the submissions are too long for the material they contain, but they do not detract significantly from the general interest. Taken together these family stories represent a good cross section of the lives of people in a small industrial city in this province from the turn of the century, through World War I, the twenties, the Great Depression (which barely affected Trail), and through the W.W.II era. While most of the accounts reflect a gratitude for the good fortune of having lived in the area at the time, a few are tinged with real pathos.

The first hundred pages give a nice, balanced overview of the history of the community, and contain a number of essays on the various ethnic groups and social and cultural organizations represented. There are listings of many of the businesses, and civic councils and cultural organizations, and a few photographs of some of the more famous athletic teams, but none to the point of tedium. The remaining five hundred pages are given over to the family stories, many of which have been submitted by friends or relatives now far removed from Trail. Inevitably some of the pioneers would have left no descendants to write of their contributions, but it is to the great credit of the editors that they have reprinted abstracts from the obituaries of some of the outstanding early citizens, such as W.K. Esling, Lorne Campbell and J.D. Anderson. Representative photographs have been well chosen, and throughout one can see the guiding hand of the civic archivist, Jamie Forbes. The pen and ink cover design by local artist Stella LaRoque sets the tone nicely, and the front cover liner by Cushner recreates the 1896 origin of the town, Trail Creek, or Trail Creek Landing on the Columbia River.

The large Italian community seems to have been particularly involved in the project, but little wonder when the first generation were largely immigrant workers who were refugees from oppressive conditions in their home land. Today, three or four generations later, they comprise a large part of the skilled and professional workers of the local population. Indeed many of the elected civic and community officials today have their roots in families going back to the turn of the century.

Of course I recognized most of the names of the students with whom I attended school in the twenties and thirties but it was interesting to note the places of origin of their parents and the fact that many of them had spent a few years on the prairies or in the Crow's Nest mines before coming on to Trail. Many families reported losing breadwinners in the Spanish Flu of 1918-19, but equally remarkable was the support system they describe which helped them through desperate days before the advent of the welfare state we have today.

While it was vaguely known to us at the time that we were living in a privileged community and enjoying the fruits of a paternalistic industrial relations policy of the Company, one senses that many of the workers had come from dependant social stratas in European and British countries, and were probably more comfortable with the existing company union than they would have been with the big American AFL or CIO models.

Many of the families in writing their accounts paid tribute to the generally excellent teachers that we had at the time. It was rumoured that the Company either subsidized their salaries, or saw to it that there was a continuity in School Board personnel with progressive policies which attracted better teachers. Several mentioned Otto Niedermann, a graduate chemical engineer from UBC who was very effective as a science teacher, then for a short time director of a model apprenticeship training program for Cominco.

While the medical care was not described in detail, there were several references to the Company subsidizing state of the art facilities for the hospital. The doctors united into one group about 1925 and were paid largely by monthly contributions from the Workmen's Benevolent Society. In some ways they operated like a mini Mayo Clinic, but particularly at the time of W.W.II, there were serious threats of what we would now call job action because their incomes were so low in comparison to doctors in the rest of the province, even though their overall standard of work was probably higher.

The Chinese community was very small and as would be expected in a community with many single workmen it was made up largely of restaurant workers and laundrymen. A high profile exception was that of Harry Pang, a young greengrocer in the thirties who was a fanatic swimmer and innovative businessman. Several of the contributors remembered one or two of the market gardeners who pedalled their produce from shoulder yokes or from a small wagon pulled by a grey horse, and recalled the seasonal gifts of Chinese lilies, ginger or leechee nuts.

In all this volume is a very creditable production from the people of Trail, enjoyable to read or browse, and for any Smokeater it will be a con-

stant source of conversation to have on one's coffee table. It may even be a valuable addition to the social history of the area.

Adam Waldie

A Perfect Childhood; 100 Years of Heritage Homes in Nelson. Art Joyce. Nelson, B.C., Kootenay Museum Association and Historical Society, 1997. 176 p., illus., maps. $23.95 paperback. Available from Shawn Lamb, 402 Anderson St., Nelson, B.C. V1L 3Y3.

Art Joyce writes a weekly column on heritage homes in the Nelson Daily News. In conjunction with the local Museum and Historical Association he has produced a fine, glossy coffee table book as part of the 1997 Centennial celebrations of the City of Nelson. Its anecdotal style, readable text, quality photographs and distinctive typography make it a very attractive volume indeed. The helpful end notes and the decorative half tone drawings of period artifacts add to the quality of the production.

One is amazed to read of the accomplishments of John Houston, an itinerant printer who settled long enough to become Nelson's first mayor and the push behind one of the first civic-owned hydroelectric plants in Canada, the first municipally owned electric street car system, and the incorporation of the City itself in 1897. He then abandoned his wife and small family, was elected MLA, and is said to have brought in the legislation for the first 40-hour week. He disappeared again, surfaced briefly in the new port city of Prince Rupert, and died suddenly at 150 mile House en route back to Nelson. One can only assume that with this history he would be known today as a manic-depressive personality disorder. The home he built at 702 Carbonate Street in 1907 still stands, and is currently owned by a retired surgeon.

Many old-time Nelson families occupied these heritage homes, amongst which one recognizes the Dewdneys, the Dawsons, the Gansners and the Wragges, and many others.

There is a particularly good chapter devoted to the life and times of Selwyn G. Blaylock, the pioneer metallurgist who developed the Trail smelter and its far-flung properties, and operated the company for forty years. The building of his country estate, Lakewood, at Willow Point, a few miles east of Nelson on the North Shore, provided badly needed work for tradesmen in the early depression years. Fragmentary as it is, there is no better account anywhere of the private life of this scientist and industrialist who carried the company through the First World War, the expansion period in the twenties, the depression, and through to the end of World War II. He was particularly noted for his paternalistic style of labour relations and his easy camaraderie with his workmen and their families.

The present tense narration of anecdotal material takes a little getting used to, and one wonders about the imaginary conversations reported. But these are small matters. The book is a delight and will be of interest to anyone who ever lived in the Kootenays, at least until after the Second War.

Adam C. Waldie,
Dr. Adam Waldie grew up in the Kootenays.

Looking Back at the Cariboo-Chilcotin. Irene Stangoe. Surrey. Heritage House, 1997. 157 p., maps, illus. $14.95, paperback.

Irene Stangoe is a Cariboo successor to Herodotus, the Greek father of history who wrote "in the hope thereby of preserving from decay the remembrance of what men have done, and preventing the great and wonderful actions of the Greeks and barbarians from losing their due need of glory." Writing about the Cariboo-Chilcotin, Irene Stangoe was short of Greeks. She had, however, Italians, Mexicans, Americans, Scots, English, Canadians, and Irish. She begins with herself and her husband, Canadians.

In 1950,Irene and Clive Stangoe bought the **Williams Lake Tribune** newspaper; they published it for 23 years. When they retired, they stayed in the Cariboo. They know the country well.

Looking Back at the Cariboo-Chilcotin is a collection of 26 short essays and stories - the publisher calls them factual yarns - about the central interior, with Williams Lake as the pivot. The Cariboo gold creeks, the Cariboo Road, and the Pacific Great Eastern Railway are a backdrop to many stories and give a reason for the influx of Europeans into the region. Well-chosen photographs enhance the book.

Leslie Kopas

Goldpanning in the Cariboo: A Prospector's Treasure Trail to Creeks of Gold. Jim Lewis and Charles Hart. Surrey, Heritage House, 1997. 95 p., maps, illus. $9.95, paperback.

Goldpanning in the Cariboo is aimed at the innocent. According to the publisher's foreword, the Cariboo creeks "are still laden with gold." All you need to get started is a gold pan, enthusiasm, and the book.

The book begins with advice on where to look for gold in a creek, how to pan for gold, and how to stake a mining claim. The second section lists and comments on the Cariboo creeks where gold has been found.

The information about the creeks is largely irrelevant for novice gold panners. It tells of gold strikes from at least half a century ago - and diggings far below the surface.

Misinformation about well-documented events is astonishing. The authors say that Williams Creek was named after "Bill Williams." It was, in fact, named after William "Dutch Bill" Dietz. A photo caption claims to show "**William** Cameron of 1858 gold rush fame." It actually shows **John** "Cariboo" Cameron at his Cariboo claim on August 20, 1863. Cameron was not famous in the 1858 gold rush. Brief historical analysis goes astray, too, when the authors explain that "in 1912, with war approaching, there were less miners around." The war started in August 1914.

The list of gold creeks and the sketch maps might give the book some use for exploring the Cariboo gold rush country. The historical comments are too disjointed and suspect to be more than entertainment.

The stories are taken from a span of more than a century. For any Cariboo writer, Judge Matthew Begbie and John "Cariboo" Cameron are nigh irresistible subjects. They make an appearance. More recent notable characters are described, too, such as Rudy Johnson, who put a private bridge across the Fraser River in 1968 for easier access to Williams Lake from his ranch. At the western edge of the Chilcotin, the local people built their own road into the Bella Coola valley in 1953. What is one to make of the bizarre Cariboo Indian Girls Pipe Band dressed in tartans and blowing bagpipes? They were very accomplished, playing on Parliament Hill and at Expo 67 in Montreal. The Lac La Hache sport of "skating down fish" - chasing fish swimming beneath clear ice and spearing them at an opening - is no longer done. It is now illegal to spear game fish.

Looking Back at the Cariboo-Chilcotin is loaded with accurate historical facts. But only within the most basic definition of history - an account of past events - can the book be called history. The 26 articles are neither linked nor arranged chronologically. The characters in them seldom cross paths. The book as whole does not have a thesis. It is the place, the Cariboo-Chilcotin, that unites the stories. It comes from the page as a very interesting place, past and present. In addition, a number of Cariboo characters have received their due need of glory. Herodotus would approve.

Leslie Kopas

The Promise of Paradise: Utopian Communities in B.C. Andrew Scott. Vancouver. Whitecap Books, 1997. 224 p., maps, illus. $17.95, paperback.

Only four years after Queen Victoria named British Columbia, the place had its first utopian settlement. Since then, it has seldom been without one. The history of utopian communities in British Columbia runs as a counterpoint to the history of the conventional communities. Both are manifestations of human ideas and ideology; utopias are notable for their refusal to conform fully to the currently governing ideology.

In **The Promise of Paradise** Andrew Scott begins with a discussion about utopias, pointing out that they are created by deliberate intent, and that they have a common purpose that differs from the surrounding society. Scott continues with a concise history of notable British Columbia utopias. His book is a commendable meld of thorough archival research and professional journalism. It has a comprehensive bibliography.

Metlakatla, the north coast holy city established in 1862 by Anglican missionary William Duncan and peopled by Tsimshian Indians, was the first British Columbia utopia. Norwegians looking for free land more than for God (but looking for Him, too), established a "colony" in the Bella Coola valley and at Quatsino in the 1890s. On their heels were Danes at Cape Scott, also after free land and the freedom to be clannish. A Finnish utopia began at Sointula in 1901 to escape the hell of Robert Dunsmuir's Nanaimo coal mines.

The interior of British Columbia received its first utopians in 1909 when Doukhobors settled in the boundary country and the West Kootenay. They were particularly exasperating to the reigning conventional ideology because they were successful and

very unconventional.

Utopias seem to need either a strong leader or interminable discussion; it is hard to say which is best since they both ultimately fail. But with a strong crackbrained leader things go very wrong very fast. For example, in 1927 Edward Wilson, also known as Brother XII, convinced members of the Aquarian Foundation to establish a utopia on the Gulf Islands. By 1932 it was British Columbia's first dystopia (if William Duncan's church politics are overlooked.)

The interior acquired another utopia in 1940 when Martin Exeter, a British Lord, founded the Emissaries of Divine Light on his ranch at 100 Mile House. In 1952, American Quakers, rejecting United States society, moved to Argenta on Kootenay Lake. The classical soprano, Nancy Argenta (stage name) comes from this utopia.

When the Age of Aquarius officially arrived in the 1960s and 1970s, utopianism acquired vogue. The back-to-the-land movement spawned many small utopias called communes. One of the first was set up on Lasqueti Island by Ted Sideras, an American, in 1967, the hippies' summer of love. In 1970 the group of about 80 moved to Calvert Island on the central coast, then to Kingcome Inlet, then to Fiji. Nearly all the Age of Aquarius utopias died quickly - the land does not forgive foolishness. Exceptions are the hardnosed Ochiltree Commune in the Cariboo, and the New West Co-op in New Westminster.

The last chapter of **The Promise of Paradise** describes co-operative communities in British Columbia today. They are mostly housing co-ops. In British Columbia the impulse toward utopia has shifted from a search for God to a search for affordable housing with a communal ambiance. It remains, above all, a search for community.

Leslie Kopas,
Leslie Kopas is a resident of Bella Coola.

Dangerous Waters: Wrecks and Rescues Off the BC Coast. Keith Keller. Madeira Park, B.C., Harbour Publishing, 1997. 272 p., illus., $28.95, hard cover

All of us hear radio reports about mariners in distress along our coast, and of rescue operations that have succeeded (or failed). Keith Keller, listening to many such newscasts, came up with an intriguing idea: he contacted and interviewed the participants in twenty-one of these harrowing maritime disasters.

Keller's interviews with fishermen, tugboat crews, yachtsmen, lightkeepers and Coast Guard rescue personnel have a gripping immediacy that no second - or third hand reporting would possibly convey.

A commercial fisherman, for instance, tells of his ill-fated run up the outer coast of Vancouver Island, with a forecast wind of only about 25 knots. He recalls his mounting tension as the wind escalated to 75 knots, his thirty-six-foot troller lost power and control, and the vessel finally capsized. He vividly communicates his terror as he discovered, after crawling out through the wheelhouse window, that the violence of the seas was too great to permit him to hang on. This story ends with the fisherman's rescue by a nearby seine-boat. Two other vessels close at hand were lost, with their crews.

Coast Guard rescue ships and helicopters feature largely in many of the rescues. The author/interviewer gives us a sobering look at the stresses and risks involved in professional rescue work. A case in point is the incident of a small Coast Guard cutter, designed chiefly for inshore rescue, but dispatched out into Hecate Strait in an 80-knot hurricane. While the little cutter (in her commanding officer's words) "tossed like a cork" in 40-foot seas, her crew climbed into an inflatable Zodiac for the actual rescue.

A recurrent theme in some of the stories raises an implicit concern: one example is an interview with the skipper of a small tugboat that began to list dangerously while travelling up Vancouver Island's west coast. After the tug foundered, her crew took to their liferaft in a southeasterly gale and huge seas. Their rescue, after a 35-mile, all-night drift, occurred only because they were spotted by the keepers of the Lennard Island Light Station.

The book cites more than one instance of lives saved because of the proximity of manned lighthouses. Although Keller does not explicitly comment on the automation of lightstations, one does find oneself mentally reviewing that issue.

It is difficult to give an adequate impression of the range and variety of incidents the author has surveyed here. In additon to commercial shipping disasters like those mentioned above, the book comprises cautionary (to this reader, at least) samples of distress involving private small craft. For instance, a kayak, capsized in the huge seas of a storm swept Johnstone Strait, may seem especially relevant to many people.

From his file of cliffhanging interviews Keller draws some fascinating insights. One of these is the fact that the several participants in a traumatic misadventure tend to have quite discrepant memories of the event. I was once told by an oral history specialist at the B.C. Provincial Archives that this is a recognized feature of eyewitness accounts.

Another insight involves a salutary trait often found among both rescuers and survivors: a tendency to downplay disaster. One westcoast fisherman, interviewed after his hairbreadth escape from death, described the sea-state during a 70-knot storm as "wrinkly."

Keith Keller's excellent book is indexed, and is provided with good sketch-charts for each marine incident.

Philip Teece
Philip Teece is a librarian at the Greater Victoria Public Library.

Around the Sound; a history of Howe Sound - Whistler. Sound- Doreen Armitage. Madeira Park Harbour Publishing 1997. 250 p., illus. $28.95.

Around the Sound by former educator, Doreen Armitage, provides a much-needed overview of the several locations, communities and enterprises within this geographical area. While some of the places have already been dealt with in their own books, surprisingly no books outline the history of Squamish or Woodfibre in any detail, nor is material readily available on most of the smaller islands. Mrs. Armitage attempts to fill that void, and does a good job of it.

Apart from the almost obligatory chapters on geology and early exploration, the work is more or less chronologicallly organized into thematic chapters, each cutely beginning with "s", a gimmick which could well have been avoided.

As well as relying upon other written accounts, Armitage has made extensive use of interviews of pioneers and their descendants. Their recollections sometimes strike me as somewhat idyllic; surely it could not have been much fun rowing in all types of weather to the nearest community to get medical attention, supplies or mail.

I was impressed by the self reliance of the pioneers, and was not aware that so many of them depended on the sale of produce from their own gardens to supplement their otherwise non-existent income. It is interesting to read that so many of the remote islands and communities were settled by single families or hermits, indicating that escaping urban hustle and bustle is by no means a new phenomenon.

The author paid suitable attention to the importance of issues of transportation; the P.G.E. Railway, the Union Steamships and other ferry systems, and of course the notorious Highway 99. She also adequately touched upon the recreational feature available in the Sea to Sky Corridor. She has been meticulous throughout in explaining the derivation of place names, and has often included the Indian names.

Because of my personal long-standing connection with Squamish, I had naturally hoped to have read more about its history. Perhaps Mrs. Armitage would consider making use of her obvious literary talents and would further extend her local contacts in doing a book on Squamish. It is greatly needed.

She might have devoted a little more attention to Britannia and the unusual funky community it has become. Also it would have been fun to have read about the mysterious ill-fated **M.V. Prince George**, and its recent demise.

I did make special note of Mrs. Armitage's simultaneous political correctness and practicality, in using both metric and imperial measurements throughout. A typically Canadian compromise, eh!

All in all, a most informative and enjoyable work.

Carl Ian Walker,
Carl recently retired after a 38 year stint as Magistrate/Provincial Court Judge at Squamish.

A Thousand Blunders; the Grand Trunk Pacific Railway and Northern British Columbia, Frank Leonard. UBC Press, Vancouver, B.C. 344 pp., illus. $25.95 paperback.

This is the history of one Canadian railway that was built into northern British Columbia, its promoters convinced that the area's relative proximity to Asian markets would eventually tip the balance in its favour over southern ports such as Vancouver. Known as the Grand Trunk Pacific Railway

(GTP) it was built at enormous cost to connect the north-west coast with its hinterland, the rest of Canada. It is hard to obtain this sense of destiny, let alone any idea of the merits of the case, from Leonard's book. He appears to have commenced with a pre-conceived idea of "arrested development" (Preface p. viii) and never looked back. "Stumbling" and "bumbling" along (p. 14), he would have us believe that the GTP was an unmitigated disaster from its conception right up to what for him was its regrettable completion. This book is avowedly a lexicon on how not to build a railway. Unfortunately it is also an example of how not to write an academic history.

A Thousand Blunders . . . is breathtaking in its diligence. There probably remain no records that could be used to add to what Leonard has uncovered, unless some of the long-lost CN records which he bemoans periodically should somehow miraculously appear. Its footnotes are comprehensive, and in all this the book is a worthy production.

There are really two main issues making up the multitude of errors: the fundamental one as to whether or not the railway should actually ever have been built. In this he quotes contemporary opponents of the project with gusto. As these include the CPR, to which any competition was anathema, and the federal Minister of Finance, who in the normal progression of railway building Canadian style could be expected to be drawn willy-nilly into providing financial succour in one form or another, it is hardly surprising to find opposition to the scheme. But that does not prove Leonard's claim that the underlying mistake was in going forward (p. 268).

The other issue was how "the company failed to control expenditure" on what turned out to be the ruinously-expensive western section, from the Rockies west. Here Leonard is on much firmer ground, as the GTP was built to ridiculously high standards. But what railway ever adequately and accurately estimated the real cost of penetrating the Rockies and driving west? In the forty one pages of Chapter Three Leonard gives us chapter and verse on the woes faced by the GTP's construction engineers. It is fascinating reading. He also reveals the ancillary aspects of pioneer railway-building- how to deal with those whose expectations of fortune run amok whenever a surveyor's stake pokes above the horizon. The chapter on the company's operations is necessarily scant, as the line was hardly in operation by the time he brings the story to his conclusion.

We do not learn much about the principals of the story, particularly the character of the GTP's president, Charles Melville Hays. Unquestionably the GTP would never have been built had Hays not been around. The records are regrettably sparse, but Hays was so important to the story a better effort at painting his picture should have been attempted. He was not a stupid man, and he single-handedly convinced a highly sceptical Board of Directors in London to keep going.

As to the story of GTP's maritime efforts we are told little except for the litany of errors in building the floating dock at Prince Rupert (p. 148), nothing of the fine fleet of coastal passenger and freight vessels the company employed. These performed yeoman service, and fond memories remain to this day of the many who travelled in them up and down the coast. Canada's war effort during both world wars benefitted from the existence of this dock.

Factual errors are rare, but egregious is that which mis-states the nature of construction on Sanford Fleming's Intercolonial Railway, in the Maritimes. It is bad enough to misspell 'Sandford' throughout, in a book dealing with railway building in Canada, but to suggest it had "many timber structures" (p. 56) is wrong. Fleming's railway had very few, as he built for permanence.

Read this book for its facts, and form your own opinions as to the extent of the blunders committed. In the final analysis access to a hinterland is what makes or breaks coastal communities. The GTP, for all of its warts, provided Prince Rupert and the Pacific northwest with just that access early enough in its history to show that the rest of Canada was involved. As this review is being typed people in the north-eastern corner of the province are discussing secession to Alberta, claiming isolation from the movers and shakers in southern B.C. Had the GTP not been built when it was, it is highly unlikely it would ever have been built. Perhaps Leonard is correct, and that would in the long run have been the better solution. Without the railway, though, Prince Rupert stands little chance in this modern world of ours.

Kenneth Mackenzie,
Kenneth is a transportation historian, living in Salt Spring Island.

Copying People. Photographing British Columbia First Nations, 1860-1940. Daniel Francis: Saskatoon & Calgary, Fifth House Publishing, 1996. 150 p., illus. paperback $19.95.

Few travellers today venture to foreign parts without a trusty camera or camcorder dangling from their necks or hanging out of pockets. Indeed, if a photographic device is forgotten, whole ranges of cheap instant cameras, with or without flash, are available from the closest pharmacy. And usually tourists are anxious to take images of the locals to show the folks back home. In many cases the locals happily cooperate, sometimes in exchange for a polaroid or a promise, in other cases the images appear to be exploitative or stolen and ethically questionable. Travel is cheap today (well, relatively so) but those of us who cannot afford the time or the money to go to exotic spots can see them in comfort at home on the television, or possibly on the Internet. We are accustomed, with the click of a channel changer or mouse, to visit anywhere in the world and to see with our own eyes, from many different points of view, a vast display of different cultures and societies.

Photography was not so easily accessible in the period (1860-1940) Daniel Francis has chosen to explore in **Copying People** but a curious white society was eager for information about the aboriginal people who occupied the far west. Travel was neither cheap nor easy. Many of the early images in this collection of photographs were taken by professional photographers, surveyors, anthropologists, and civil servants. In the earliest days of photography they were constrained by the technology; cumbersome equipment, and fragile glass plates which were easily broken when hauled by canoe or horseback. Long exposure times resulted in stiff strained portraits. The introduction, in 1888, of the hand held Kodak camera made it possible for amateurs to enter the field. Faster exposures resulted in more relaxed subjects. What professionals and amateurs had in common was that their photographs reflected a white world's image of the First Nations people.

Mr. Francis, a freelance historical researcher and writer whose work has chiefly focused on native history and the fur trade in Canada, has gathered together a diverse collection of the images of native British Columbians taken by non-natives. His title reflects his theme. "Copying people" is a translation of a Haida word for camera, which is a play on the word for masks. Mr. Francis believes that photographs, like masks, both reveal and conceal the truth. He shows how many of the photographs attempted to document the "traditional" Indian, with subjects dressed up in costumes and props, while others portrayed their subjects in contemporary dress with an eye to indicating they had joined "civilized" society. Some tried to present the "noble savage" while others preferred to focus on the savage. All influenced the contemporary image of the Indian.

Following a short introduction, which gives a brief history of photography and photographers in the colonial west, the book divides into three main chapters: The Pioneers, 1860-1900; Peoples of the Coast; and Peoples of the Interior. Each chapter contains a very short account of the photographers of the period followed by a generous number of illustrations. The photographs are identified, where possible, by location, photographer, date and archival source. Some are also accompanied by brief historical notes. The book concludes with a list of suggested readings which should prove helpful to those who wish to extend their knowledge of the subject.

Some of the 140 images chosen by Mr. Francis are, perhaps, overfamiliar to those who are interested in the interpretation of the photographic record of First Nations life. And one wishes that some of them, the Curtis photographs for example, could have been seen in all their original glory. Nevertheless there are many powerful and beautiful images in the collection. There is a haunting quality in many of the faces which is slightly disturbing. As a person of distant native heritage myself I wondered fleetingly about the images Mr. Francis selected. Did he fall into the same temptation as the early photographers did and opt for the sensational and picturesque in order to prove his point? Were there other, less dramatic, photographs available to him in the archives and museums he visited which might have shown a different way of life? **Copying People** raises many questions about photography and its intrusion into the lives of First Nations people. This is a useful and relatively inexpensive introductory book for those who have an interest in the subject and it gives a good lead into future study.

Laurenda Daniells,
Archivist Emerita,
University of British Columbia.

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The British Columbia Historical Federation invites submissions of books for the sixteenth annual Competition for Writers of B.C. History.

Any book presenting any facet of B.C. history, published in 1998, is eligible. This may be a community history, biography, record of a project or an organization, or personal recollections giving a glimpse of the past. Names, dates and places, with relevant maps or pictures, turn a story into "history."

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